



INANGA

A SONG OF SURVIVAL
IN A DAUGHTER'S RWANDA

The inanga and Kirusu Thomas. More than a musical instrument. More than an individual inanga player. More than a father and teacher. More than royal Tutsi court instrument. Together Kirusu and his instrument created history. The Inanga documentary and audio CD are dedicated in loving memory to a great man.

AN INTRODUCTION—The *inanga* is an 11- or 10-string chordophone, a musical instrument found in the East African country of Rwanda. Frequently used to accompany storytelling or epic historical recounts, the *inanga* regularly supports important governmental functions and non-governmental celebrations. At one time the *inanga* was played in the royal court to sooth the *mwami*, the king of the Tutsi people. It was also played to incite war in years past. Despite its specific cultural and ethnic-based roots, the *inanga* remains a rich symbol of contemporary Rwandan cultural unity. It is part of the contemporary everyday soundscape of Rwanda, despite the omnipresence of the sounds of electric guitars and keyboards and the popular hits of artists such as Meddy, Diplomat, Miss Jojo, and The Ben. The acoustic, plucked through-strung *inanga* now functions as a musical badge of identity for members of all Rwandan ethnic groups (Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa). The musical instrument also continues to accompany the strong, historically situated lyrics of players trained in a centuries-old tradition while also introducing newer lyrics addressing important issues such as unity and reconciliation.

More than a simple “trough zither,” the *inanga* today contributes significantly to the emergent identity of a country still recovering from the horrendous genocide experienced in 1994. Thus, the *Inanga* documentary and audio CD document, preserve, and celebrate the art and gift of the *inanga* in contemporary Rwanda by allowing individual *inanga* players to pay tribute to historical players and the deep tradition within which they exist. Yet, each also intentionally situates the *inanga* within clear, contemporary contexts. The *inanga* is—perhaps—a musical instrument that could have easily disappeared from historical memory in the past few decades. That it remains a part of the contemporary Rwanda soundscape—and in a significant way—is a lesson about the endurance of special aspects of material and expressive culture.

PRODUCER'S NOTES—The recordings featured on both the *Inanga* film and accompanying audio disc were made over the course of two summers (2009 and 2010) in an attempt to document the role of the *inanga* musical instrument before and after the Rwandan genocide of 1994. Along with the musician Théogène (“Totto”) Niwenshuti, Oxford postgraduate Scott Krenitski, and Vanderbilt undergraduate Patrick McGovern, I made my way through the Rwandan countryside for several months at a time from the northern volcano region, to the western Congolese border areas, the

Nyanza mountainous regions, to the Southern district surrounding Butare and the lush central areas surrounding the capital city of Kigali. Recording traditional musicians, dancers, and singers along the way convinced me that a resurgence of musical activity, especially drawing on local, traditional sensibilities, was in fact re-stabilizing a post-genocide culture in addition to contributing to governmental mandates related to unity and reconciliation.

“You American ethnomusicologists and film makers come to Rwanda and all you want to talk to us about is the genocide. The genocide this... the genocide that. We have suffered. We have suffered for so long. Now we need to recover. So, when we sing about unity and reconciliation, you people need to listen.”—Totto Niwenshuti

During the summer of 2010 McGovern and I filmed and recorded *inanga* players I had previously encountered in the country. The goal was never to retell the horrors of the 100 days of mass slaughter of nearly 800,000 Tutsi and Hutu sympathizers. Rather, the objective of the documentation project was to listen careful, as Totto Niwenshuti suggests above, to the voices of recovery as an entire country acts deliberately to heal and to reconcile living together in a united and peaceful Rwanda. The result is the film documentary featured on the enclosed DVD, *Inanga, A Song of Survival in a Daughter's Rwanda*.

BRIEF HISTORY OF RWANDA—Landlocked in East Africa, the Republic of Rwanda is bordered by Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The republic is mountainous with terraced farms covering the lush hills and valleys of the country. Rwanda became a German colony in 1890 after the Berlin Conference of 1885 when Africa was divided between dominant European nations. German occupation of Rwanda continued until 1916, when Belgian troops took control of the region following the first World War. A United Nations mandate in 1946 made Rwanda a trust territory of the Belgian League of Nations and the region was combined with Burundi. Thus, Rwanda-Urundi experienced administrative control by Europeans also occupying the Central African Congo region. After nearly a century of colonial rule, Rwanda became an independent nation in 1962.

Historically, the Rwanda region has been home to three ethnic groups—the Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa (the Twa comprise a 1% minority in the region today are considered to be the region's original inhabitants, the Hutu, and the Tutsi). The Hutu and Tutsi have been historically categorized as distinct, yet they have long spoken the same language and share deep cultural traditions. The historic conflict between the Hutu and Tutsi that led to the genocide of 1994 did not, however, always exist between the two communities. Before colonization, Hutu and Tutsi are thought to have lived peacefully with group distinction only established by colonial occupation. Tutsis—a defined elite 10% minority—owned cattle, while the majority Hutu worked as agricultural laborers. It was not

until the later Belgian occupation and a mandate to carry authority-issued identity cards in 1933 that the ethnic distinction became a racially determined barrier. Historically, the Tutsi people were thought to have a taller build and lighter skin than their Hutu neighbors, who were perceived as shorter with darker skin. The Belgian authority favored the Tutsis because their perceived physical features were stereotypically "more European" than the Hutus. Consequently, Belgian-issued identity cards frequently underscored appearance and resulted in cattle ownership and other forms of economic and educational privilege. In addition, it was convenient to position the minority Tutsi in a higher social and governing position since they already possessed wealth and cattle.

The barrier between Hutu and Tutsi grew into a significant ethnic conflict, forcing many Tutsis into exile before the Hutu assumed authority of the region after Rwanda's colonial independence. As conflicts in the area became increasingly violent, the number of Tutsi living in exile grew to more than 700,000 by 1990. The Tutsi exiles established a movement called the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) in Uganda, Rwanda's northern neighbor. In 1990, the RPF invaded Rwanda in an attempt to reclaim their homeland. The Tutsi attempted to strike an agreement with the Hutu President of Rwanda, Juvénal Habyarimana, in order to reclaim political power. The invasion intensified the ethnic tension created by colonialism to a breaking point. Violence continued until official peace agreements, known as the Arusha Accords, were signed in 1993, supposedly ending the internal war begun with the RPF invasion. A peacekeeping mission—the United Nations Assistance Mission to Rwanda (UNAMIR)—was launched to supervise the separation of government between Hutu and Tutsi in the region. President Habyarimana supported the UNAMIR authority that was implemented to affect a cease-fire and grant equal power and authority to Hutu and Tutsi.

RWANDAN GENOCIDE—On April 6, 1994, President Juvénal Habyarimana and President Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi were assassinated when their plane was shot down en route to the Kigali airport from Dar es Salaam in Tanzania; the genocide that ensued in Rwanda was instantaneous. Within an hour, a culture of terror gripped the country and the Hutu majority began a killing spree of any and all Tutsi people. Over the next 100 days, an estimated 800,000 Tutsi and moderate or sympathetic Hutus were slaughtered. The Interahamwe (Kinyarwanda, "those who stand together"), a Hutu paramilitary group, was the main institutional source for planning and executing the murder spree throughout the country, although much of the Hutu-led government in Rwanda was implicated in organizing, inciting, and funding the genocide. Though acts of cruelty too numerous to mention were committed, no country came to aid. UNAMIR withdrew as the world watched from the outside, deeming the genocide a "civil war" that did not necessitate the involvement of foreign authority. The RPF, led by Paul Kagame (Rwanda's current president), fought their way through Rwanda, eventually ending the genocide in mid-July 1994. Only 15% of the Tutsi minority population remained as a result of the genocide.

The perpetrators of the genocide fled in numbers greater than 1.7 million to the neighboring country of Zaire to the west, now known as the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Harboring victims and perpetrators together, refugee camps were established along all borders of Rwanda. Hutu militia began attacking from camps in Zaire, creating a conflict zone and a threatening military presence along Rwanda's western border. The Tutsi rebels founded a government with Pasteur Bizimungu as president and Paul Kagame as vice president. Bizimungu, a Hutu, was specifically elected to support national unity; he remained in power until his resignation in 2000. Paul Kagame subsequently became president of Rwanda and spent a significant amount of his early time as president promoting reconciliation and cracking down on crime. Since his first term, Rwanda has seen vast improvements in economic, social and political areas.

Despite the success of Kagame's governmental initiatives, an impossible dilemma remained in Rwanda after the genocide. The country had an overwhelming number of criminals responsible for the genocide and little resources to attempt imprisoning offenders. Most head perpetrators responsible for planning and funding the genocide had already fled the country, leaving jails in Rwanda overcrowded with those publically accused of perpetrating genocide crimes. It was estimated that the process to try all accused criminals would take over 100 years. In 2001 Rwanda revived the local, traditional Gacaca court system originally created to settle disputes within small communities. The grassroots Gacaca system elects judges from respective communities to attend and adjudicate in order to try the accused from a locally informed perspective. With the intention to expedite a crippled court system, normal terms for crimes began to reduce drastically, and many genocide offenders were released from prison upon submission of a confession. Consequently, tens of thousands of prisoners have been released in Rwanda.

POST-GENOCIDE UNITY AND RECONCILIATION EFFORTS IN RWANDA—In many ways, the music of *Inanga*, both the documentary film and audio CD, documents contemporary efforts to ameliorate the effects, the deep cultural wounds produced by the slaughter of nearly one million Tutsi-identified people by fellow Rwandans in the early 1990s. For institutional guidance the documentation project first sought council and research clearance from the Commission on National Unity and Reconciliation and the Ministry of Culture, both located in Rwanda's capital, Kigali. Additional research clearance was granted by the National University of Rwanda's research division in Butare.

In 1998, the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission was established as a semi-autonomous national institution, now provided for by the National Constitution. The Commission was established with the aim of eradicating the devastating consequences of the policies of discrimination and exclusion that had characterized the successive repressive regimes of Rwanda. Although the issues of unity and reconciliation were first raised in the Arusha Peace Accord of 1993, the massacres and genocide of 1994 elevated these issues to national concerns. Since it was established, the

National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) along with the recently launched National Commission for the Fight against Genocide (CNLG), provide a platform where Rwandans of all social conditions can ameliorate the problems of the young republic, especially those related to unity and reconciliation. This is where contemporary music making fits in to the picture. Musicians are often tapped due to their ability to communicate a sense of hope and reconciliation at both national and grassroots levels.

MUSIC AND THE INANGA IN RWANDA—Historical musical traditions in Rwanda are thought to have been primarily vocal. Dynastical praise songs [*urugera*], wrestling songs [*amusare*], hunting songs [*amahigi*], war songs [*indirimbo z'ingabo*], pastoral songs [*amahambo*], and choral songs [*ibihozo*] comprise the majority of these inherited traditional songs (see Misago and Mesas 2003). A variety of local instruments continue to be played in rural contexts, including a variety of drums [*ingoma*], aerophones [*umwirongi* and *urusengo*], lamellaphones [*ikembe*], chordophones [*inigiri*, *umuchiri*, and *imango*], and the great *inanga* trough zither (*cithare* in French). The one-string *umuduri* chordophone featured on several tracks is thought to have been a relatively recent introduction to Rwanda, at least since the turn of the last century (ibid. 69). Rwandan music after colonization was heavily influenced by European musical sensibilities as well as later Muslim and African American musical traditions. Since the 1960s, however, traditional music began reasserting itself by being infused into Christian liturgical practice and in the formation of *ballets*, national dance troupes that helped present local music and dance traditions.

The *inanga* is typically constructed of a single piece of blond hard wood with a series of ten or eleven notches on each end of the nearly four-foot long instrument. Today the instrument is through-strung with manufactured string or cord, while animal tendons or wound fibers were typically used in the past. Smaller versions of the instrument are still found with eight or fewer strings, although larger stringed versions are more typically representative. The tuning system applied to individual instruments varies according to the preferences and vocal range of the performer, although all examples recorded for this collection rely primarily on a pentatonic tuning system, typically with an anhemitonic ambitus—the strings are tuned so that there are no semi-tones in the complete scale created by the pitch set grouping.

Music in Rwanda before the founding of the Republic and through the end of the royal Tutsi dynasty in 1961 was dominated by court traditions that included a long tradition of musical and poetic performances involving the *inanga*. Music performed on the *inanga* was distinct from the traditions of the Hutu and Twa peoples co-existing with the Tutsi. The musical repertoire of *inanga*, the “queen of all Rwandan musical instruments” according to Sibomana Atanase (featured on this film), underwent significant expansion during the reigns of Rwabugiri and Musinga, Tutsi *mwamis* (kings) from 1860-1931 (see Gansemans 1990). After the fall of the Tutsi dynasty, the historic *inanga* repertoire all

but fell out of existence, save for the efforts of a few players formerly associated with the court. The *inanga* entered into a transitional period leading up to the genocide. It was played by both Hutu and Tutsi performers alike, yet the songs performed on the *inanga* maintained textual links directly back to the monarchical heritage as a Tutsi-defined musical instrument. In contemporary post-genocide Rwanda, the *inanga* contributes in a significant way to a pan-Rwandan soundscape that is neither Hutu nor Tutsi.

This documentary and CD represent more than a desire to preserve and document an important musical instrument and tradition before they disappear. The producer, an ethnomusicologist specializing in the musical cultures of sub-Saharan Africa has long embraced the presence of change and adaptation in African musical traditions. After all, “modernity happened!” as Tanzanian composer and choir director Gideon Mdegella once said. No, the project began several years ago when the producer first confronted the efforts of the great elder *inanga* player Kirusu Thomas to make meaning out of the recent genocide and the national promotion of efforts to bring unity and reconciliation to his country. That he would pick up his *inanga* and sing through his reactions, play through his responses, surprised no one. Kirusu's untimely death at a critical point in this project opened many doors and opportunities, none as significant as a shift in focus toward Kirusu's daughter, the great *inanga* player Sophie Nzayisenga. With a new focus on the transmission of tradition, from one generation to another, “the sound of survival in a daughter's Rwanda” is not only documented and preserved, it is lovingly displayed as a gift of cultural resilience.

TRACK NOTES

TRACK 1—“TWIYEGERANYE” [“LET'S COME TOGETHER”]

Sophie Nzayisenga (*inanga*), recorded at Sophie's home in Kigali

Sitting in the front room of her small compound, Sophie Nzayisenga discusses her role as a mother, a player of the *inanga*, teacher, and...daughter of the famous *inanga* player Kirusu Thomas. She readily admits to the changes she has introduced and the adaptations she has made to the historical performance tradition of “her ancestors,” but she frames her comments within the context of finding ways of maintaining the older traditions within contemporary Rwandan culture. “Before the genocide, the *inanga* might have been associated by some with the historic, royal Tutsi court of the Tutsi *mwami* [king]. Now, we are all Rwandans. No more Hutus and Tutsis. So, the *inanga* is of all Rwandans and for all Rwandans...My names are Sophie Nzayisenga. I play the *inanga*. I am a Rwandan woman.”

Hey Rwandans, all of you who are who still alive
Let us come close together and talk about equality
Me, I sing the praises of reconciliation
Our equality will be the beginning and source of overflowing peace
Peace will bring the better life we have always dreamed of
Remembering our unity helps us attain reconciliation
Reconciliation in Rwanda reminds us where we come from
Let us look back and remember where we come from
Let us abandon this deep sorrow we lived through
Come on, let us sit together in the Gacaca courts
And debate what has happened to us and use these words—unity and reconciliation
Without being suspicious of going into the houses of one another, without halting our steps
Without avoiding being like someone afraid of visiting another
Helping to take care of one another is a traditional core value still valued today
Fortunate are those who have accepted forgiveness and those who ask to be forgiven
Let us come together with one vision
When people engage in a common dialogue, even God comes down and spends the night with them
Come, let us have our paths join together and bring together our strengths
We will join together with ideas for progress and development
And we will leave behind a heritage of sustainable progress for our descendants
We will create this heritage for our grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and great-great-grandchildren
Me, I am singing the praises of reconciliation

TRACK 2—“INGANJI,” [“THE VICTORIOUS WINNER”]

Sophie Nzayisenga (*inanga*), recorded at Radio 10, Kigali (with Ngarukiye Daniel, *inanga*)

On a quiet Monday evening, we accompany Sophie to a performance on the weekly Kigali radio program, *Igitaramo Radio Show*. This week’s program focuses on the *inanga* as a traditional aspect of Rwandan culture, with Sophie as musical guest, and took place at Radio 10 Kigali, located on the seventh floor of a large office building in the Remera district of Kigali. Accompanying Sophie was a young man also carrying an *inanga*. The small studio’s entrance was a blank white door with a loud, flickering florescent light overhead. The show’s host, Eric, stood behind a large mixing board while Sophie and the young man sat in front of vocal microphones fronted by windscreens. The host was joined on the air by another “presenter” with a low, scratchy voice that accented Eric’s rapid, higher pitched radio personality. The show began with a short interview before Sophie played. The young man accompanying her— Ngarukiye Daniel, a student of Sophie’s for over five years—struck his *inanga* with a ferocity equal to his teacher. As the performance continued, a resounding difference in timbre emerged when the two *inangas* were played simultaneously. As a duo, Sophie and Daniel

accomplished much more than in solo performances. With Daniel present, Sophie improvised more often, changing her rhythm as Daniel maintained core, repetitive melodies. Sophie was obviously accustomed to performing with other *inangas*.

“Inganji” highlights and stresses the historically important position the cow has held in Rwandan society. The lyrics praise the beauty and the many functions of the cow in Rwandan culture at large. The song is a compilation of several short poems in praise of the cow and outlines the various names Rwandans assign to the cow in praise songs. Several of these poems outline the roles of cowboys, herders, and cattle owners in regards to their cows.

TRACK 3, “RWANDA NZIZA” [“BEAUTIFUL RWANDA”]

Sophie Nzayisenga (*inanga*), **Mushabizi Vianey** (*inanga*), **Rusatsi Yerd** (*umuduri*), **Ayirwanda Godefraid** (*ikembe*), **Muhire Theogene** (*inanga*), recorded in Akarere (Mukingo) Village

I am proud of the beauty of Rwanda starting with those that were in doubt
God, we lived together and shared everything
Long ago in Rwanda we had leaders and a national ruler
In the past there were games, and one of the games was hunting
When they went hunting they woke up early, prepared the dogs and bells
They took their bows and arrows and went into the forest
They would hunt leopards and warthogs
Whoever wished to give something to the mwami would go to the palace
The mwami would in return give him land and a chiefdom.
Chorus—Peaceful Rwanda, hilly Rwanda, Rwanda the land of milk
One early morning I traveled far up to Gasa rock
I found the community still asleep peacefully
They had the aroma of love
Among the good things, I heard ladies’ ululation,
Ladies drumming, all pledging to support Rwanda
Chorus—Oh, Rwanda, dear Rwanda
Come to Rwanda you all, peaceful Rwanda, hilly Rwanda
Rwanda the land of milk, Rwanda my lovely country
The reason we praise Rwanda in song and build her beauty
Dear Rwanda, long ago people dressed in hides and skins and were smart
Now we have garment factories that manufacture beautiful cloth here in Rwanda
Long ago if you fell sick, medicinal plants were used to treat you
Now we have hospitals and health centers, here in Rwanda
Dear Rwanda, we had our language that united us

But today we even speak foreign languages here in Rwanda
In the past, our car was the “stretcher” on which the sick were transported
Now we travel in motorcars and satellites, here in Rwanda
Today we use mobile telephones and the Internet
Technology is fast developing here in Rwanda
Come and see Rwanda, you Rwandans living abroad!
Come and see your motherland
Chorus—Peaceful Rwanda, come and see Rwanda

TRACK 4, “THE BRAVE SOLDIER”

Ngarukiye Daniel (*inanga*), recorded at Radio 10, Kigali

Sophie’s young *inanga* student Ngarukiye Daniel performs this song, praising a brave soldier by singing the various names associated with this particular man. In this track, Daniel performs alone on the *Igitaramo Radio Show* at Radio 10 after accompanying Sophie on several tracks. When he plays, his body straightens up as his hands grip the top six strings of the *inanga*. He begins to sway rhythmically with his elbows propped out from his stronghold on the *inanga*. The performance begins with fast and soft vocals characteristic of old Rwandan storytelling styles. Later in the performance, he closes his eyes and sings with an intensity rivaling that of his mentor, Sophie. Although he has a deeper voice than Sophie, his performance style matches that of his teacher. Sophie sits next to him during his solo performance, proudly smiling at the young student. Such a young talent on the *inanga* is a rarity in modern Rwanda.

TRACK 5, “CHANDARI”

Mushabizi Vianey (*inanga*), recorded in Akarere (Mukingo) Village

On a Friday morning we wake before dawn to accompany Sophie to a remote village in the Nyanza province where she had been raised. When we approach the vicinity of the village, we park our car along the side of the road since the terrain immediately adjacent to the paved road immediately drops off to a steep hill covered with terraced farms, mostly of banana trees. Sophie’s uncle, Mushabizi Vianey, greets us before we make the trek down the steep grade to enter the natal village. Round huts built from mud and cow dung scatter the hillside adjacent to the dirt path leading down from the road. The hut’s walls are a light orange tinge and have roofs of thatched straw. The small plots of farmland immediately adjacent to the homes are thick with banana trees and coffee plants. Cows and goats stand next to the traditional Rwandan homes, harnessed to the ground by rope on stakes. We walk for almost five minutes down the slope when Sophie identifies her late grandmother’s home, the smallest on the hillside village. Sophie informs us that

this is where she first learned to play the *inanga* as a child. We pass three different village homes before stopping at Sophie’s uncle’s compound. His home, constructed from the same materials as the others in the village, is considerably larger with a clay tile roof. In front of Mushabizi’s home, a shaded clearing with a short wooden bench perched next to a large oak tree becomes a makeshift outdoor recording studio. This meeting ground in front the elder’s house is the center of the remote, hillside village. Three elders of the village—the *muzees*—came to the performance area with their instruments and warmed up on the shaded wooden bench. In this track, the elders played their instruments—*inanga*, *ikembe* (plucked lamellaphone), and one-string *umuduri*—as local villagers gathered.

This song focuses on cattle rustlers who terrorized cattle herders in historical times. The *inanga* player praises the cattle herders’ courage and their collective exploits by describing some specific, daring missions as well as the contexts in which the rustlers managed to steal cows from the herders. One example is the point at which the rustlers boast about having stolen cows from a family where a man and his wife had fought over who should close the *kraal* [stockade].

TRACK 6, “ABAHIGI” [“THE HUNTERS”]

Sophie Nzayisenga (*inanga*), recorded at Radio 10, Kigali (with Ngarukiye Daniel, *inanga*)

“Abahigi” is a sung poem in praise of hunters. Long ago there used to be traditional sports and games in Rwandan culture. Chiefs and the *mwami* loved these games. There used to be *intore* dancers and hunters participating in events in which the *intore* dressed in the hides of panthers. The *mwami* would order the chiefs to bring panthers’ hides who in turn would order the hunters to find these hides. The hunters would then meet and plan where to go to hunt for the panthers. The hunters met in the bush ready with their dogs. They would then put bells on their dogs. In this track, a variety of hunters’ poems are included with texts intended to intensify the courage of the hunters in their final preparation to enter the forest and hunt. The song ends with a series of calls to ensure that none of them is left behind in the forest in addition to victory songs performed after capturing an animal.

TRACK 7, “NYIRAMAJAMIRO”

Sophie Nzayisenga (*inanga*), **Mushabizi Vianey** (*inanga*), **Rusatsi Yerd** (*umuduri*), **Ayirwanda Godefraid** (*ikembe*), **Muhire Theogene** (*inanga*), recorded in Akarere (Mukingo) Village

A crowd gathers around the bench of elders in the village in the Nyanza Province as Sophie makes her way down the steep slope. She eventually places a blanket on the ground in front of the *muzees* before handing her one-year-old daughter to one of her nephews in order join the elders in their

performance. She respectfully begins to play, powerfully striking her *inanga*'s strings and singing with a strong, steady voice along with her uncle and two other *muzees*. The *inanga*'s timbre blends well into the soundscape of the terraced farming village.

Midway through the piece, a younger cousin of Sophie's begins a traditional Rwandan dance, stamping her feet to the music and thrusting her arms in the air to mimic the horns of cows. Sophie jumps up and begins to move in step with her cousin with a wide smile on her face. The gathered crowd cheers and laughs, happy to see their relative and friend back to visit. Sophie's ten-year-old cousin sits next to her on the blanket at the feet of the elders. When Sophie notices the boy staring intently at her *inanga*, she stops, lifting her *inanga* into the hands of the young cousin. She moves his hands in order to assume the correct positions on the strings, and he begins to play. As her uncle and father taught Sophie, she now also teaches. The young boy is a keen learner, and the father, Mushabizi, looks on fondly as his son participates in the music making that day in the village. "Nyiramajamiro" song is about a young girl who failed to obtain a suitor who would propose marriage. It is a collection of short poems, discussions, and general gossip as well as dances specific to women.

TRACK 8, INSTRUMENTAL PERFORMANCE

Sophie Nzayisenga (inanga), Mushabizi Vianey (inanga), Rusatsi Yerd (umuduri), Ayirwanda Godefraid (ikembe), recorded in Akarere (Mukingo) Village

Mushabizi Vianey, Sophie's uncle, and two other *muzees* straddle a bench, holding three traditional Rwandan instruments. Mushabizi sits between the two old men holding his *inanga*. To his right, the tallest elder, Rusatsi Yerd wears plaid dress pants and a particularly bright green sport coat. He holds an *umuduri*, a traditional, one-string struck musical bow with calabash resonator. To Mushabizi's left sits Ayirwanda Godefraid, the shortest elder clad in a tan vest. He plays a small traditional Rwandan plucked lamellaphone (thumb piano) called an *ikembe*. When the three *muzees* perform the sound fills the surrounding landscape. In this instrumental track, the *muzees* perform an extended introduction as a group of villagers gather to listen to their songs.

TRACK 9, INSTRUMENTAL PERFORMANCE

Sophie Nzayisenga (inanga), Mushabizi Vianey (inanga), Rusatsi Yerd (umuduri), Ayirwanda Godefraid (ikembe), recorded in Akarere (Mukingo) Village

TRACK 10, "KAMANANGA"

Sophie Nzayisenga (inanga) and Mushabizi Vianey (inanga), recorded in Akarere (Mukingo) Village

This is a song about a man named Kamananga, a brave fighter who rebelled against a Rwandan *mwami* named Rugwizakurinda. Kamananga went off and created his own small territory in Umurera currently known as Ruhengeri. The *mwami* begged Kamananga to return and reconcile, but Kamananga ultimately refused. One day he agreed to come and listen to what the *mwami* had to propose but did not agree to what was proposed. Kamananga died on his way back to his small territory. The song documents Kamananga's bravery and courage and the *mwami*'s desire to unite his kingdom.

TRACK 11, "NYIRAMAJAMIRO"

Mushabizi Vianey (inanga), recorded in Akarere (Mukingo) Village

Mushabizi Vianey, Sophie's uncle, is the oldest member of Akarere village and holds a position of high respect. On the day of this recording, he wears a striped button-down shirt with black khakis and a black full-brimmed hat. He appears to be older than seventy and is approached with the term *muzee*, meaning elder in the Kinyarwanda language, when addressed by local villagers. He is exceptionally hospitable to the foreigners visiting his village and demonstrates a keen interest in discussing his knowledge of the *inanga* and his relationship to his brother, Kirusu Thomas.

After performing several collective songs on the shaded bench in front of his house, he performs a song of Rwanda's past, one associated with his late brother. When Mushabizi begins this solo performance, the villagers watch attentively, holding onto every word of his song. His style of performance is noticeably different than the much younger Sophie; he begins to sing with a soft and fast rap-like vocal iteration rather than straightforward singing. He holds the *inanga* in the same position as Sophie, but produces a gentler timbre as he plucks and strikes the instrument's strings. The *muzee* performs in a highly poetic dialect of Kinyarwanda. When working through translations of his lyrics, most local Rwandans will respond that Mushabizi's performances are in the "old style" that is difficult for many to understand today. This is a solo *inanga* version of the piece performed a year later in Track 7.

TRACK 12, "INGANJI," ["THE VICTORIOUS WINNER"]

Sophie Nzayisenga (inanga), recorded in Akarere (Mukingo) Village

Version of the song featured in Track 2, but performed in a village context.

TRACKS 13-16 OVERVIEW

Sibomana Athanase (inanga)

From its remote mountainous location, one might find it difficult to believe that Buseke Village, near Sharangi, is a mere thirty minutes from Kigali, Rwanda's capital. The scenic views in this area are famously breathtaking, having caught the attention of numerous filmmakers, including the producers of *Un Dimanché a Kigali*. The lush, steep hillsides—every available tract terraced for farming—stretch for miles before disappearing into the omnipresent Rwandan mist. In the area, the only sign of civilization is the random placement of a few traditional Rwandan huts.

The following 4 tracks featuring the *inanga* player, Sibomana Athanase, were recorded at a hillside residence in Buseke. The home boasted walls of grey clay, a rare building material in an area of homes built with a mixture of mud and cow dung. Outside the traditional home, a wooden fence encased a small dirt courtyard creating a distinct compound for the family. A few steps down from the courtyard, the landscape opens into a lush landing with a stunning view of the endless green valleys of the outlying Buseke region. In addition to playing the *inanga*, Sibomana Athanase is a journalist, performer, and radio presenter living in Kigali. He is a serious man with a deep respect for traditional Rwandan culture. In the many hours the producers spent with the middle-aged man, an intensely alert expression never left his face. On a sunny Sunday in late May, Sibomana traveled to Buseke village to perform the *inanga*. He wore traditional Rwandan clothes, consisting of a leopard print cap and shiny leopard print bottom wrap called an *imishanana*. As Sibomana began his performance a crowd gathered from every direction. Within ten minutes of Sibomana's arrival a seventy-person crowd surrounding the dirt plaza. In an area that only had three huts in the visible distance, a gathering of this size was surprising. Before Sibomana's performance of track 13, he demonstrated the process of stringing an *inanga* while giving a brief history of the instrument [note: see the scenes dedicated to Sibomana in the accompanying *Inanga* DVD documentary]. The crowd, pressed attentively against the fence surrounding the dirt courtyard, listened to the local Rwandan star. Sibomana seemed to love the crowd and he later confessed to enjoying being a history teacher for the entire village for a day.

TRACK 13, "URUTANGO"

Sibomana Athanase (*inanga*), recorded in Buseke Village

In Track 13, Sibomana performs in the dirt courtyard after demonstrating the process of stringing and tuning the 10-stringed *inanga*, wrapped with a single string. His performance style is soft and brooding, in many ways different from the powerful playing style adopted by Sophie in earlier tracks on this CD. Track 13 invokes a style reminiscent of older, historical playing styles adopted by players such as Sophie's father, the famous Kirusu Thomas. However, unlike older *inanga* players, Sibomana composes his texts in a form of Kinyarwanda that can be understood by most Rwandans. The poetic form and linguistic dialect of many of the older songs, such as sung by Sophie, cannot

always be readily understood by a native Kinyarwanda speaker. When Sibomana sang, the gathered crowd hung on his words, attentive and respectful of the visiting *inanga* star from the capital.

Sibomana completed an initial performance in Buseke Village before moving out into a more natural landscape with a scenic view of villages surrounding valleys. The congregated crowd, now over one hundred strong, opened a path for the celebrity who grabbed an older *inanga* and shifted to the landing below the dirt courtyard. In preparation for Sibomana's arrival, the owner of the family compound had cleared the land of its bushes and trees and laid a thick mat of local grasses. The ground was described by the film documentary's cameraman and assistant, Christian Gankombe, as "Rwandan carpet."

TRACK 14, "IMPACA"

Sibomana Athanase (*inanga*), recorded in Buseke Village

With the crowd resettled around the steep cliff landing, Sibomana began his performance of Track 14, a story about a type of animal typically used to tell stories in Rwanda. He immediately adopted a shift of style and timbre on the instrument, different from the style of his previous performance. This track was popular with the surrounding crowd. The crowd was captivated and all faces focused on the *inanga* player, with the only sounds coming from a few babies in the crowd. Some older men and women in the crowd nodded their heads in approval throughout the song, as the younger Rwandans were fixated on the *inanga* player. The song highlighted deep aspects important to Rwandan culture.

TRACK 15, "UNTITLED"

Sibomana Athanase (*inanga*), recorded in Buseke Village

During the four-hour long recording session with Sibomana in Buseke Village, this song marked the only moment his intensity broke and a grin emerged on his wrinkled face. The playing began with a more playful a feel than his other tracks, and the crowd responded by bursting into uproarious laughter. This humorous *inanga* performance illustrates that innovation in the historical *inanga* piece can steer away from the usual context within which the *inanga* is performed to communicate a deep poetic parable in order to teach a lesson.

TRACK 16, INSTRUMENTAL

Sibomana Athanase (*inanga*), recorded in Buseke Village

The Buseke Village recordings concluded with a solo, instrumental piece. Before beginning this performance, Sibomana addressed the producers, asking if he could give them the gift of an *inanga* piece he had not previously performed. He proceeded to demonstrate a more complex *inanga* playing style that nevertheless retained Sibomana's overall performance aesthetic.

TRACK 17, INSTRUMENTAL RIFF

Ngarukiye Daniel (*inanga*)

In a side room at the Kigali Music School Sophie teaches *inanga* to local youth of a variety of ages and stages. In the film documentary we see teacher silently looking through a glass door as student practices and struggles with his assigned work. Sophie resists the urge to step in and guide the young man, choosing instead to allow him the opportunity to tackle and conquer the difficult pattern himself. Young Daniel, one of Sophie's most advanced students, plays a melodic pattern over and over until he begins to feel confident enough to introduce variations and ornamental nuance. This brief track is not included on the CD to demonstrate the existence of a solo *inanga* playing tradition in Rwanda or the beautiful acoustic timbre of the instrument. Rather it is included to illustrate the highly repetitive approach adopted in Sophie's pedagogy. By working the melodic pattern slowly into the fingers a player can acquire, as Sophie says repeatedly, the "touch" of the *inanga*.

TRACK 18, "SHIRIMPUMU" ["TAKE A DEEP BREATH, RWANDA"]

Muhire Theogene (*inanga*)

Before leaving Mukingo village for the first time in 2009 I noticed a young nine-year-old boy pick up one of the *inangas* stacked against a tree and silently strum its strings as if he knew the basic finger picking patterns. I stop the packing up of equipment and ask the *muzee* Mushabizi about the boy and whether any of the youth had been interested in picking up the *inanga* tradition. He smiles as he tells me that Theogene is his youngest child and plays the *inanga* just like his father! When he asks if we would like to record the boy playing the same piece that he himself had recorded for me earlier in the day I eagerly agree. Young Theogene was surprised when asked to play, but he eagerly situated his father's *inanga* (which was bigger than he was) between his legs and began to play "Shirimpumu" ["Take a Deep Breath, Rwanda"]. The other musicians present in the village are eager to play along with the young boy, but his elderly father asks them to refrain so that we can focus on his playing. Theogene not only demonstrates a strong plucking technique on the *inanga* and a clear, youthful singing voice, but perhaps more importantly he was clearly able to captivate and hold the attention of everyone in the village who halted their return to the fields to hear the young boy's *inanga* performance. Mushabizi has intentionally passed along the "touch" of the *inanga* to his son, as did the great *inanga* player Kirusu Thomas to his daughter Sophie Nzayisenga as demonstrated in the final two tracks of this recording.

Take a deep breath and feel at peace
You must take a deep breath and feel at peace, our beautiful Rwanda
Let us give you [Rwanda] ululations [shouts of praise, traditional female whooping]
You the cloth [traditional cloth that holds babies on the backs of their mothers] that holds us
Now that we have the time, let us give you beautiful gifts that come from what you gave us
Your heroes showed Rwandans a good path without fighting each other in war
They worked hard with courage
You gave us the Rwandan culture
They gave us back our Rwandan strength
They opened up the path for progress
That progress needs a developed economy
Rwanda is now bound together by happiness
We elected our leaders
In the villages and sectors there is security
Our unity as Rwandans is characterized by tolerance
There is no discrimination among Rwandans
Let us love our country and contribute to its development
Let us fight for and promote security for all people and their possessions
We will shout for joy and there will no longer be gossip among Rwandans
There is a Rwandan proverb that says,
"Humanity grows when you physically leave your home to visit that of another"
Rwandans have communion, we meet and talk
No one halts their steps or is afraid or suspicious
And all of these good things are a result of our Rwandan heroes
Let us stand together and build our country
Let us support our country and give it hope for the future
Where does intolerance among the descendants of Rwanda come from?
We can find its origin from people outside Rwanda
Poverty and racial and ethnic discrimination?
In Africa this has become a permanent problem
If contemporary Rwanda cooperates with all of Africa
And has relationships among the peoples of Rwanda
Everything that holds us back will be overcome forever
Long live Rwandan unity!
Long live Rwanda and its inhabitants
Let us have real peace that links unity and compassion
So we can always live in Rwanda

Kirusu Thomas, (inanga)

After traveling several hours from Kigali-ville to the country's Southern Province by taxi, bus, bicycle, and foot we arrive with our recording equipment at the remote Akarere (Mukingo) village (Nyanza District) and are greeted by Mushabizi Vianey, Sophie's uncle and brother to her father, Kirusu Thomas. After we are welcomed to the village Mushabizi brings out his *inanga* and begins playing in the shade of a large lemon tree. Another musician playing the *ikembe* lamellaphone ("thumb piano") soon sits down alongside him on the bench. After an hour or so of music making, an extremely elderly man makes his way down the precariously steep path with a cane to the village from the main road. A young boy follows him with an *inanga* balanced on his head. All music comes to a halt as the *muzee* (elder) enters Mushabizi's home compound. I greet Kirusu Thomas, the *muzee*, and thank him for making the effort to join us. As we sit and talk about his past I read into the cloudiness of his eyes that he has seen much and experienced a great deal. Kirusu recounts for me about the times he used to play for the mwami (king) to calm him at night, recalling the specific songs and tales he used to sing. In response to my questions he tells me that he does not know how old he is, but that he recounts that he has played his *inanga* for kings, for presidents, and for muzungu (foreign) researchers (!). After resting for a few minutes, Kirusu asks someone to fetch his *inanga*, which has many stapled repairs applied to cracks in the wood. He tunes his *inanga* by stretching the strings back and forth until he achieves a tuning he is comfortable with. He softly sings a song about local post-genocide reconciliation efforts. Mushabizi's wife leaves the clearing and begins unloading a sack of groundnuts to be dried in the open air in the background. A cow tied to a nearby tree continues to chew loudly and furiously adding occasional polyphony to the soundscape. Kirusu's voice might at first to appear frail and his playing tender compared to younger players featured on this recording, but the strength of his lyrics and presence compel everyone in the village to pay attention and stop what they are doing to listen. His style and melodic devices are at once familiar to me from working with Sophie, his daughter. He has passed on his "touch" on the instrument. As I listen to Kirusu I realize that Sophie has intentionally maintained the roots of the repertoire and style of her father while taking them into new acoustic directions. Kirusu was a national treasure not only to the local village network, but also to the greater country. (Note—Kirusu died only weeks before filming of *Inanga*. This recording is drawn from earlier recordings made by the producer with this artist.)

*Taste real peace
Peace comes with opportunities
This is the type of peace we praise in Rwanda
If you need that peace, you have to give it
That is how peace will prosper*

*The ones who represent peace the most are the ones who promote communion
Taste real peace
Communion is the most important foundation
Among the most useful things we need to achieve is sustainable peace
Those who are united in communion have to decide that it is their duty
To have a united vision to resolve the problems that concern us
One that promotes our vision
It is real peace, that is communion
To meet another without fear, without halting your steps towards another
As someone who fears going to another's house
Communion is the source of overflowing, complete unity
For all people living in our world
Let us always fight for communion among people
Friendly communion is the type of communion that we want
It is the foundation for all possibilities
And it is the foundation of hope that brings serenity to us all
When you trust your community you have everything that can help you
They say it is essential to help many people
It is real peace, taste real peace, it is real peace
Living in communion is best if we can assist one another by offering them justice
The path that helps us visit one another is walked on often in our countries
Starting from the continent of Europe, and then unity in Africa
Communion is promoted among travelers and tourists
Guests that are welcomed, and people feeling as if they were at home
It is good real peace, taste real peace
Many countries came together, communing
They trust one another, they know when there is a problem
They receive visitors, they work with a common vision
That helps them make great strides in a communal meeting
Communion has a very important role in the international community
When these communities come together
There is the possibility to fight against fearless troublemakers
The ones who bring bad spirits, jealousy, conflict, troubles, and violent arguments
Taste real peace, those who can listen, taste real peace
Let us reject poor behavior, let us know from where this behavior comes
Those who value communion should place importance on communication
To support one another, aid one another
Good marketplaces give loans to one another
Support goes both ways, things coming in should then go out*

Real peace depends on helping one another, it comes with wise behavior
It always fights against poverty and hunger so that the wealth of a country increases
Taste real peace
Communion among people, communion without suspicion, without troubles
Communion is celebrated by coming to each other's rescue in difficult times
And giving justice and sovereignty to our world
So it is further developed
It is real peace

TRACK 20

Sophie Nzayisenga training young Ngarukiye Daniel

In the building behind the Kigali Music School is a room dedicated to the training of traditional Rwandan musical instruments and dance. Against the far wall stands a shelving unit for half a dozen *inangas* and an assortment of *endingidi* tubefiddles and one-string *umuduri*. It is here at the Kigali Music School that Sophie comes several times each week to serve as "mentor" to young students wishing to learn more about traditional aspects of their culture. In this penultimate track on the CD we hear Sophie instructing young Ngarukiye Daniel (featured elsewhere on this album as soloist and supporting *inanga* player to Sophie) on a new melodic pattern. She stops and starts Daniel, adjusting his fingers, suggesting different ways of creating the desired timbral effects by both plucking and striking the strings. At times Sophie models for Daniel how the pattern should be approached. At other times she allows Daniel to play freely until he picks up the pattern so that they can then both play together. She makes affirmative sounds while also questioning some of Daniel's fingering choices, guiding him in ways to best approach the overall pattern. This instrumental track illustrates one of the central themes of the film documentary, namely the responsibility Sophie has assumed in the transmission of the *inanga* tradition to the younger generation. It has been the gift Sophie has been given, the "touch" of her father that has led her to become a strong voice of history and tradition in contemporary Rwanda.

TRACK 21, "INANGA NYARWANDA" ["RWANDAN INANGA"]

NPC (aka Niwe Paulin Christian) and Ngarambe Richard (featuring Sophie Nzayisenga, *inanga*, sampled)

Track written by Niwe Paulin Christian and Ngarambe Richard; Beat by Bizab the Brain for the Future Production; Mixed by Bizab the Brain; artistic producer: Moukhtar Omar Sibomana for Line Up Production, Kigali.

In a small, dark recording studio in the predominantly Muslim area of Nyamirambo in Kigali, Bizab the Brain works as a recording engineer for Omar Moukhtar's Line Up Production. On a challenge, Bizab very reluctantly agreed to sample a riff from one of Sophie's recordings and bring in a few local MCs to the studio to rap about one of the main theme of the *Inanga* documentary: the transmission of the historic *inanga* musical tradition in contemporary Rwanda. ("It cannot be done. No one has ever sampled the *inanga* in Rwanda. The beats are not the same—they won't work. Do not have any hope that anything will come from this!") After two intensive days in the studio, the track "Inanga Nyarwanda" emerged as a solid, captivating interpretation in a way never tried in Rwanda. Rather than hiding or absorbing the sampled *inanga* riff, Bizab foregrounds the aggressive playing style of Sophie, highlighting both the rhythmic opportunities she affords the composition as well as positioning her playing within an aural framework for the track. Her dynamic approach on the *inanga* lends itself well to not getting buried in the many layers of sound Bizab uses in the composition. Both engineer and performer were highly pleased and impressed with their product. In fact, they could not stop smiling when they first aired the final cut. Both admitted that no one had yet successfully reconciled historical performance styles with popular performance styles in such a way that features the *inanga*. "This cut is going to be hot in Rwanda!" Bizab kept repeating. The MC, NPC, raps in an older style at first and then after a chorus sung to the tuning of the *inanga* he begins to rap in a newer style of rap common in Rwanda. He spits about the need to embrace older styles and embrace them as part and parcel of the contemporary musical culture of Rwanda.

Chorus—Come and listen / Listen to this *inanga* / Mixed with the beat / And this is how we do it

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ABOUT THE PRODUCER (GB)

Gregory Barz is associate professor of ethnomusicology and anthropology at Vanderbilt University and holds the ongoing position of Senior Research Professor at the University of Bloemfontein in South Africa. He teaches courses in African music, American popular music, World Music, Medical Ethnomusicology, and music and global health. He is co-editor of two editions of *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology* (Oxford) and

Mashindano! Competitive Music Performance in East Africa (Mkuki na Nyota). He is author of *Singing for Life: HIV/AIDS and Music in Uganda* (Routledge), *Music in East Africa: The Performance of Tradition and Modernity* (Oxford), and *Performing Religion: Negotiating Past and Present in Kwaya Music of Tanzania* (Rodopi). He conducts ongoing collaborative field research in Rwanda and South Africa, most recently as a Senior Research Fellow in the AIDS Research Program of the Fulbright Fellowship Program.

ABOUT THE ASSOCIATE PRODUCER

Patrick McGovern is completing an undergraduate degree in the College of Arts and Science at Vanderbilt University. He is on a pre-medical track and majoring in neuroscience. He traveled to Rwanda on a scholarship from the Vanderbilt Undergraduate Summer Research Program (VUSR). His hometown is Austin, Texas.

ABOUT LIME PULP RECORDS

Lime Pulp Records is a recording label located in Nashville, Tennessee. The first recording released on the label was *God in Music City*, a 2-CD compilation of field and studio recordings documenting the deep roots of religious traditions in the contemporary music cultures of Nashville. The label recently released an album of Ugandan hip hop titled *Kampala Flow: East African Hip Hop from Uganda*.

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