African retentions in Go Tell It on on the Mountain (from Dr. Henderson's book)

Babacar Mbaye
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James Baldwin's Go Tell It on the Mountain reflects African-American folkloric patterns that are similar to those found in West Africa. The sermons, music, and spirituality in the book evolved out of African-American culture. Yet these elements are comparable to a diversity of cultural practices that are traceable to those of the Wolof ethnic group of West Africa. This parallelism between the folklore in Go Tell It on the Mountain (hereafter referred to as Go Tell It) and those of the Wolof opposes the current interpretations of Baldwin's relationships to Africa. The pervasive African remnants in Go Tell It show that Baldwin had intimate connections with Africa.

Since it was published in 1953, Go Tell It has received extensive reviews that generally dismiss the book's contribution to an understanding of the connections between African-American and African cultures. At one end of the spectrum, there are critics who are so busy with negativist, racist, or ethnocentric judgments that they cannot appreciate the transnational value of the book. At the other end, there are critics who focus so much on the novel's relevance in the local history of African-Americans that they forget to put it in its global and cross-cultural contexts. In order to appreciate Go Tell It fully, one must examine the African cultural parallels in the book. In so doing, one is able to see James Baldwin as a writer who had intimate connections with Africa.

In The Crisis (1953), Henry F. Winslow stated: "In Go Tell It on the Mountain there is considerable nature, for there is much truth; but there is less art, for there is nothing new" (637-638). Winslow also said that Baldwin “attempts to invest the religious experience of Negroes with a significance which supposedly links them with a peculiar ‘tradition’ or ‘past’ ” (637). Winslow's
comments are biased. *Go Tell It* represents the history of African-Americans and European-Americans as fluid and interrelated. Yet many critics assume that *Go Tell It* distorts the images of Black culture and Africa. In “The American Negro in Search of Identity: Three Novelists: Richard Wright, Ralph Ellison, and James Baldwin” (1953), Steven Marcus wrote:

> Baldwin’s concern with Negro culture is not so much to deny or discover it, but to present it in its pitifully tragic contradictions. His portrayal of Negro life demonstrates how the myth of African savagery is perpetuated among the Negroes themselves both by condition of the Negro community in America and by the institution that affords their principal refuge from that savagery, religion. (459)

Marcus’s statement repeats the prejudice surrounding Baldwin’s representation of Black culture, ignoring the cultural and racial crosscurrents in *Go Tell It*.

The notion that Baldwin misrepresents Black culture was shared even among some Black critics. In a letter to Arna Bontemps, Langston Hughes said he wished that *Go Tell It* were written by Zora Neale Hurston, who could have used “her feeling for the folk idiom” to make it “a quite wonderful book” (302). The novel, Hughes stated, was “a low-down story in a velvet bag - and a Knopf binding” (302). Hughes’ sentiment was reiterated in Larry Neal’s criticism on Baldwin. According to Carolyn Holmes, Neal considered Baldwin “a failure for focusing on morality as the central issue of the American race problem. He [Neal] felt that Baldwin was in a sense a traitor to his people for not using ‘the traditional aspects of Afro-American culture’ to speak directly to black people, not to them, but to their psychological and physical oppressor” (48).

On the other hand, when it was published in 1953, *Go Tell It* received a few positive reviews. In the *Chicago Sunday Tribune*, RoI Ottley wrote: “This is a distinctive book, both realistic and brutal, but a novel of extraordinary sensitivity and poetry” (7). Harvey Curtis Webster of the *Saturday Review* observed:

> Mr. Baldwin’s first novel is written as skillfully as many a man’s fifth essay in fiction. His handling of the flashbacks so that they show the past without interrupting the drama of the present is masterful. His penetration of the mind of John, especially in the scene of his conversion, is as valid as anything in William James’s ‘Varieties of Religious Experience’ and as moving as the interior monologues in Faulkner’s ‘As I Lay Dying.’ (14)

Other reviewers applauded what they perceived as Baldwin’s celebration of the power of religion as a displacement of guilt and an appropriation of the beauty and strength of Black-American culture. Thus Donald Barr wrote in the *New York Times*: “Judicious men in their chairs may explain the sociology of guilt, and so explain Negro religion away. Mr. Baldwin will not have it away. In this beautiful, furious first novel, there are no such reductions” (5). Taking
Barr's lead, a reviewer in *Time* praised Baldwin's vivid representation of "the powerful rocking rhythms of a storefront-church meeting," arguing that such scenes are "as compelling as anything that has turned up in a U.S. novel this year" (127).

Recently, a few critics have discussed Baldwin's ideas about Africa. In "Notions and Nuances: Africa in the Works of James Baldwin" (1996), Ezenwa-Ohaeto stated:

> Africa was real to Baldwin, but he did not conceive it as sensitively as he conceived his American heritage. This attitude clearly accounts for his lack of passionate fury in articulating the reality of that continent and also for his lack of sustained attention to the continent's predicament. However, his realization of that inadequacy towards the end of his career enabled him to make fairly distinct the evidence of the things he had seen concerning Africa. (113)

Ezenwa-Ohaeto's perspective is important since it assesses Baldwin's relationships with Africa in terms of the imbalance in the author's discrete intimacy with Africa and America. The discrepancy, however, is irrelevant since Baldwin validates his roots in both regions explicitly and implicitly, pointing out the social and economic oppression of Black people on both sides of the Atlantic. Baldwin's authentication of Africa outweighs his early distortions and minimizations about the continent, especially since *Go Tell It* reflects distinctive African retentions that affirm his reverence for his African heritage.

In *In Search of Africa* (1998), Manthia Diawara praised Baldwin for opposing Richard Wright's representation of colonialism in Africa. Diawara wrote:

> Baldwin takes issue with Wright's notion that colonialism might be a good thing for Africa in the long run if it could enlighten Africans and rid them of their old traditions and gods. To his mind, Wright misunderstood blacks in America if he thought they were free from the church and therefore secular. (67)

This statement shows that Baldwin recognized the strength of tradition in African and African-American cultures. Baldwin's reverence for Black culture was instilled in him from a young age. In a recent biography entitled "James Baldwin," David Van Leer said that James Arthur Baldwin was born on August 2, 1924 in Harlem, New York (perhaps out of wedlock) (2). In 1927, Emma Berdis Jones, Baldwin's mother, married David Baldwin, a strict preacher who was embittered by what he viewed as "the tyranny of 'white devils'" (2). David projected his anger on Baldwin by calling him "the ugliest child ever seen" and "the Devil's son." David's abuse led Baldwin to seek a way out of oppression through reading and inquiry. "By the fifth grade it became clear that he [Baldwin] had a talent for research and writing. At home he read and reread *Uncle Tom's Cabin* until his mother, fearing for his eyes, hid it from
him" (Leeming, 13). Emma was proud of her precocious son, "but her husband said he wanted the boy to be a preacher of the gospel" (13).

In Go Tell It, Baldwin tells his own story through the voice of John Grimes, a fourteen-year-old boy, who struggles with his repressive stepfather, Gabriel, and with religious conversion. In the first part of the book, John is anxious as he realizes that the freedom and education that he wants to have are in the White world, outside the community and religion that his parents expect him to uphold when he becomes adult. "Everyone had always said that John would be a preacher when he grew up, just like his father" (11). In the second part of Go Tell It, the narrator takes the reader back and forth to the South and up North in Harlem where most of the story takes place. The flashbacks allow the reader to see the dualism that overwhelmed John's father Gabriel, his mother Elizabeth, and his aunt Florence before and after they migrated North in the early part of the twentieth century.

John's story begins to unfold in Harlem on his fourteenth birthday as he also wrestles to come to terms with his own sexuality and his complex relationships with his family. The image of a "yellow stain on the ceiling transforming itself into a woman's nakedness" (18) and the reminiscence of a moment when "in the school lavatory," he was "alone, thinking if the boys, older, bigger, braver, who made bets with each other as to whose urine could arch higher" (19) lead John to believe that he has sinned. His father's wrathful condemnation of sin reinforces John's guilt-ridden conscience, forcing him to seek spiritual repentance and salvation in the Temple of the Fire Baptized where Gabriel serves as deacon and caretaker. Later, John experiences religious conversion when he falls on the "threshing floor" of the church and discovers his intricate relationships with God and his family.

Beneath its plot, Go Tell It reflects cultural patterns that have parallels in Africa. The African traits are visible in the rhetorical strategies that Baldwin uses when he describes how Gabriel, the deacon of The Temple of the Fire Baptized, interacts with his congregation. In his sermons, Gabriel uses rhetorical strategies that are similar to those of the African griot [poet and historian].2 The oratory devices that Gabriel uses include dramatic description of characters, emphasis on actions and time, and repetition of names.3 These elements are visible in the following passage:

He [Gabriel] took his text from the eighteenth chapter of the second book of Samuel, the story of the young Ahimaaz who ran too soon to bring the tidings of battle to King David. For, before he ran, he was asked by Joab: "Wherefore wilt thou run, my son, seeing that thou hast no tidings ready?" And when Ahimaaz reached King David, who yearned to know the fate of his headlong son, Absalom, he could only say: "I saw a great tumult but I knew not what it was."
And this was the story of all those who failed to wait on the counsel of the Lord; who made themselves wise in their own conceit and ran before they had the tidings ready. This was the story of innumerable shepherds who failed, in their arrogance, to feed the hungry sheep; of many a father and mother who gave to their children not bread but a stone, who offered not the truth of God but the tinsel of this world. This was not belief but unbelief, not humility but pride; there worked in the heart of such a one the same desire that had hurled the son of the morning from Heaven to the depths of Hell, the desire to overturn the appointed times of God, and to wrest from Him who held all power in His hands powers not meet for men . . . Oh, yes, they had seen it, each brother and sister beneath the sound of his voice tonight, and they had seen the destruction caused by a so lamentable unripeness! Babies, bawling, fatherless, for bread, and girls in the gutters, sick with sin, and young men bleeding in the frosty fields. Yes, and there were those who cried—they had heard it, in their homes, and on the street corner, and from the very pulpit—that they should wait no longer, despised and rejected and spat on as they were. (119)

Gabriel’s sermon is consistent with the African-American preacher’s storytelling strategy. The relationships are visible, first, in Gabriel’s act of warning sinners against the hellish life that awaits them if they do not change their ways, which is a parable and a rhetorical technique that is traceable to the oral performance of the Black preacher. As James Weldon Johnson describes in his introduction to God’s Trombones: Seven Negro Sermons in Verse, the African-American preacher usually ends a sermon by invoking “the Judgment Day” or by warning or exhorting the sinners (2). According to Johnson, the use of admonition is the last stage of the preacher’s sermon, following a long process during which the orator represented “the Creation, went on to the fall of man, rambled through the trials and tribulations of the Hebrew Children, [and] came down to the redemption of Christ” (1–2).

Another connection between Gabriel’s sermon and Johnson’s poem is the function as conveyor of the message of God that the two Gabriel characters play. The sermon “The Judgment Day,” which is the last oration in God’s Trombones, has a scene in which God asks the angel Gabriel to go blow “the silver trumpet” and “wake the nations underground” (54). The angel took God’s message to the sinners:

Oh-oooh, sinner,
Where will you stand,
In that great day when God’s a-going to rain down fire?
Oh, you gambling man—where will you stand?
You whore-mongering man—where will you stand?
Liars and backsliders—where will you stand,
In that great day when God’s a-going to rain down fire? (55)

The function of whistle-blower and invoker of divine punishment that the angel Gabriel plays in “The Judgment Day” is analogous to that which Bald-
win's Gabriel plays in Go Tell It. Like Johnson's Gabriel, Baldwin's Gabriel is a counselor to the Lord whose mission is to wake the sinners and urge them to leave their secular and epicurean ways, repent, and walk in the holy path before the Judgment Day comes. This profound message, which underlies both orations, suggests the wisdom, inventiveness, and emotional intensity of the African-American religious folklore and theology from which Go Tell It was crafted.

Yet Baldwin's literature, including his sermons, is not comparable to African-American oration only. For example, Baldwin's biblical narrative can be interpreted as a story about the frustration that King David felt when he found out that his son Ab'salom had plotted to kill him. Gabriel's tirade suggests that King David interpreted Absalom's act as a thoughtless act of pride and vanity. Despite its biblical origin, Gabriel's sermon reflects the African griot's way of narrating an epic. This similarity is visible in how Gabriel tells the story about King David in a dramatic manner that allows the reader to see the correspondence between the lives of the two characters. Like an African griot, Gabriel impersonates the character of the epic that is being told. Gabriel's use of impersonation is noticeable in how he creates a parallelism between King David and himself. In this sense, the tension between King David and Absalom alludes to the conflict that occurs between Gabriel and his son Royal. When he walks in Harlem during a race riot, Gabriel imagines Royal's body "sprawled heavy and unmoving forever against the earth, and tears blinded his eyes" (143). In Harlem, Gabriel meets Royal in the streets and sees "a blank hostility" in his eyes and "a burning cigarette [hanging] from between his lips" (142). From Gabriel's point of view, Royal's deportment is, like Absalom's, a defiance of divine law that can lead to destruction.

In addition, Gabriel's sermon refers to many names, such as Ahimaaz, King David, and Joab. This use of names in oratory is common in African epic poetry. One example is the passage in the legend of Sundjata Keita, told by Guinean historian Djeli Mamadou Kuyate, where the character of Sumanguru Kante talks with his griot Bala Faaeye. The conversation, which is taken from Ralph Austen's In Search of Sundjata: The Mande Oral Epic as History, Literature and Performance is as follows:

What is your name?

The griot replied, "My name is Nyankuma Dookha."
Sumanguru said, "I am going to take your name from you;
And apart from those with special knowledge,
No one will know your name any more.
I shall name you after my xylophone.
What I am going to do to you,
That is what I shall make your name.
The third will be your surname
Your first name is Balo;
I will cut your Achilles tendons;
Your surname is Kuyate."
They call him Bala Faasege Kuyate. (36–37)

The griot’s reference to names such as Nyankuma Dookha, Sumanguru, Balo, and Kuyate is consistent with Baldwin’s allusion to Ahimaaz, King David, and Joab, revealing the importance of names in African poetry on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.6

Moreover, Baldwin’s sermon and the African epic share the use of actualization, which is the storyteller’s representation of the past in a vivid, theatrical, and life-like manner.7 One example of actualization is in the sermon above where Baldwin describes the destruction that King David saw looming towards the unbelievers (119). Gabriel’s apocalyptic vision of people who fall in the “gutters” of pride shows his ability to create graphic words and images that can frighten the believers and bring them to repent for their sins. The use of this apocalyptic quality in Gabriel’s sermon is traceable to African epic poetry where the speaker’s ability to create graphic images is vital. For example, in the legend of Sunjata Keita that was referenced earlier, Sumanguru tells Bala Faasege, “I will cut your Achilles tendons/your surname is Kuyate” (37). The statement suggests Sumanguru’s intent to make Bala his lifetime poet and historian, deceiving the image of dismemberment that the griot uses for a theatrical purpose only.8

Another parallel in Gabriel’s sermon is in the way in which the preacher interacts with the audience. A patient narrator, Gabriel tells the story of King David gradually, reminding the audience that the story is unique because it describes the fate of “all those who failed to wait on the counsel of the Lord” (119). In this statement, Gabriel creates a time and setting for the particular story that he is about to tell. Earlier, he invited his audience to show interest in his story by asking, “Is there a soul here tonight?” to which the congregation responded by saying, “Yes!” “Tell it!” “Amen! You preach it, boy” (103–105). The call-and-answer exchange in the Temple of the Fire Baptized is identical to those of the Wolof people of West Africa. When Wolof listeners want to show interest in the performance of the griot artist such as the musician Youssou Ndour, they say, “waaaw waaaw!” [Yes, indeed!], “eskeey!” [tell it!], or “deug-la!” [that is so true].

The African presence in Go Tell It is also visible in the possession rituals in the book. When he goes to church, John, the central character, participates in a series of possession rites. Baldwin describes: “On this threshing-floor the child was the soul that struggled to the light, and it was the church that was in
labor, that did not cease to push and pull, calling on the name of Jesus" (113). The trance that John experiences is traceable to the series of intense spiritual and emotional revivals that occurred in American churches during The Great Awakening. As suggested in William D. Pierson’s Black Yankees: The Development of an Afro-American Subculture in Eighteenth-Century New England, the Great Awakening started in New England in the 1730s and 1740s when preachers of the New Light such as Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield began to manifest their faith in “overt physical responses such as screeching, fainting, convulsions, visions, and possession by the holy pulpit” (67). The Awakening was an important moment in the history of American Christianity since, as Pierson pointed out, it weakened “the cold, inhibited Yankee style of religion” and emphasized “felt religion,” opening “the possibility of conversion without so much attention to doctrinal niceties or closely scrutinized preparation” (67–68). The Awakening was also important since it allowed the Africans to participate in the series of possession and emotional downpouring despite their limited knowledge of the Biblical texts (68).¹⁰

Yet, although it is traceable to American Protestant tradition, the trance that John experiences on the floor is analogous to the possession that takes over the participants in West-African Islamic Sufi night-chants known as Jaang. These night-chants are centuries-old rituals in which Muslim congregations in Africa are joined in sequences of singing, crying, worshipping, and dancing that may last all night long.¹¹ The revivals are similar to the ones in which Gabriel and his parishioners participate in a series of songs, dance, trance, and rituals.

More evidence of the similarity between West African Islamic rituals and the Christian performance in Go Tell It is visible in the praise singing and spirit worshipping that characterize both of them. Baldwin represents praise singing and spirit worshipping in the scene where John is on the threshing floor. Baldwin describes:

The silence in the church ended when Brother Elisha, kneeling near the piano, cried out and fell backward under the power of the Lord. Immediately, two or three others cried out also, and a wind, a foretaste of that great downpouring they awaited, swept the church. With this cry, and the echoing cries, the tarry service moved from its first stage of steady murmuring, broken by means and now again an isolated cry, into that stage of tears and groaning, of calling aloud and singing, which was like the labor of a woman about to be delivered of her child. On this threshing-floor the child was the soul that struggled to the light, and it was the church that was in labor, that did not cease to push and pull, calling on the name of Jesus. When Brother Elisha cried out and fell back, crying, Sister McCandless rose and stood over him to help him pray. For the rebirth of the soul was perpetual; only rebirth every hour could stay the hand of Satan.
Sister Price began to sing:

"I want to go through, Lord,
I want to go through.
Take me through, Lord,
Take me through." (113)

The scene reflects the influence of African-American Christianity on *Go Tell It*. The actions described in the passage are examples of the African-American religious and vernacular tradition known as "testifying." From a religious sense, "testifying" is a moment of spiritual awakening in which the African-American worshipper enters into a state of trance or possession, expressing his/her true belief in God and his/her strong desire to have privileged relationships with Him. As visible in Brother Elisha's act of falling "under the power of the Lord," the person who testifies conveys through words or action his/her beliefs in the omnipotence of God. In *Talkin and Testifyin: The Language of Black America*, Geneva Smitherman writes: "To testify is to tell the truth through 'story.' In the sacred context, the subject of testifying includes such matters as visions, prophetic experiences, the experience of being saved, and testimony to the power and goodness of God" (150). In this sense, the series of wailing, moaning, calling, singing, and dancing in which the worshippers in *Go Tell It* participate is a form of "testifying" since it bears witness to their strong belief in God. Likewise, the hymn "I want to go through, Lord" that Sister Price sings is a form of "testifying," since it shows her desire to become united with God.

However Sister Price's song also reflects elements that are similar to those in African Islamic praise singing and spirit worshipping. The series of emotional down-pouring, isolated wailing, and testimonials, singing, and dancing in which the congregation in *Go Tell It* participates is similar to those in the Wolof *Jaang*. Like the spiritual and physical performance in *Go Tell It*, the Senegalese *Jaang* is a ritual in which the participants sing, wail, worship, and dance together for hours. The rituals in the Wolof *Jaang* and those in the church in Baldwin's novel create social unity, respect for the ancestors, and faith in God.

An additional parallel between the performance in *Go Tell It* and that of the Wolof Muslim ritual is in the songs. Like Sister Price's song, which is polyphonic in structure, the songs in the Wolof *Jaang* are often composed of two melodies sounded together. In Sister Price's song, an accented line "I want to go through, Lord" is juxtaposed to an unaccented verse "I want to go through." In a similar way, the Wolof *Jaang* song tends to juxtapose two or more independent musical phrases that are sung in the style of a call-and-response verbal exchange. One example is the song "Mame Malick Sy" of the
Senegalese band Touré Kunda.\textsuperscript{12}

\begin{verbatim}
YA ILAHI

........................
Coming through from God
Passing through from the Prophet
Going through to Cheikh
Passing through to Malick (Touré).\textsuperscript{11}
\end{verbatim}

Like Sister's Price's stanza, the four verses of "Mame Malick Sy" juxtapose a series of accented and unaccented phrases that form a harmonious unit. In the Senegalese song, the first two lines of the verse "Coming through from God" and "Passing through from the Prophet" are sung in a highly pitched voice in contrast with the last two lines that are chanted in a low pitch. The first line of "YA ILAHI" is a condensed form of "La I laha, Ila laha," which is an Arabic phrase that translates as "there is no God but Allah." This line may have influenced slave culture in the New World. In Black Music of Two Worlds, John Storm Roberts notes:

Some Jamaican hymn-singing occupies a position halfway between the British and black U.S. styles. However, a host of differences are there all the same: vocal tone, fractions of timing, backing—a whole developing tradition. Also, some African singing, especially Muslim prayer songs such as the Guinean "La Ilah Ila Allah," available on Vogue Esoteric, makes equally striking use of long, highly decorated notes. (163)

Robert's argument that Muslim prayer singing and spirituals have structural similarities can be corroborated when one analyzes a slave song that Michael E. Gomez documented in Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South. According to Gomez, the following song was chanted by Tony William Delegal, a hundred-year-old African who lived in Currytown, Savannah, in the 1930s (174). The song goes:

\begin{verbatim}
Wa kum kum munin
Kum baba yano
Lai lai tembe
Ashi boong a nomo
Sha wali go
Ashi quank
Kum baba yano
Lai lai tambe
Ashi lai lai lai
Shi wali go Dhun. (174)
\end{verbatim}

Delegal's song is proof that the free slaves did not forget the traditional
songs of their homeland. As Gomez argued, “The fact that Delegal (a form of Senegal?) could remember these words is itself testimony that African languages were kept alive by the African-born and passed on to descendants in certain instances” (174). As Sterling Stuckey suggested in Going Through The Storm: The Influence of African American Art in History, one factor that eased the survival of African languages in slave culture was that the African slaves used them to send “unspoken” information safely in songs, tales, and conversation while avoiding the reprisals of the planter (71–72).

Moreover, one may argue that Delegal’s song might have come from an African Sufi psalmody. Delegal’s verse repeats the words “Lai lai lai” which is similar to the Muslim invocation “La I Laha I la Laha.” This Muslim verse is commonly heard in the religious revivals of the Senegalese Islamic sect known as the Layenne. In this sense, the expression “lai lai lai” that Delegal repeats could have been from Senegal or from any parts of Africa where Islamic Sufi culture was influential during the slave trade.15

Go Tell It deserves much more critical attention than it has so far received since this book reflects major African retentions in African-American culture. The novel is steeped in the African-American religious tradition from which Baldwin evolved. Yet, as the African parallels in the book suggest, this tradition is inseparable from the African heritage in which striking cultural and ontological similarities exist. In this sense, Go Tell It on the Mountain has a cross-cultural and transnational significance that enriches its status as a celebration of the resilience of family, religion, solidarity, and faith in the African-American community.

Notes


4. See 2 Samuel 18.

5. According to John William Johnson and Thomas A. Hale, the epic of Sunjata Keita–his first name is also spelled as Soundjata or Son-Jara–is a 3,084-line poem that celebrates the exploits of the leader who founded the Manding empire of Old Mali some 750 years ago [Johnson and Hale, Oral Epics from Africa: Vibrant Voices from a Vast Continent (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1997) 11].

7. This device is similar to the narrative strategy that Anthony Graham-White described as the storyteller's impersonation of the character of the epic "as dramatically as possible" [Graham-White, *The Drama of Black Africa* (New York: Samuel French, 1974) 27].


11. *Jang* is the Wolof term for Islamic singing ritual. The word also means, "to sing," "to study" or "to worship."

12. Toure Kunda (the Kunda family in Manding) is one of the most prominent Senegalese music groups. The band was founded in the 1977 by Amadou Tilo Toure and his brothers Ismaila and Sizu Tidiane Toure. The Toure Kunda is one of the first modern bands to export African traditional music to Europe and the rest of the world. The group draws from the traditional rhythms of the Mandingos, the Wolof, and the Arab-Sufi to the modern sounds of African Americans such as James Brown and Aretha Franklin.

13. See Ismaila Toure and Sizu Tidiane Toure, "Mame Malick Sy," *Moula*, compact CD, Mesa, 1996. The stanza quoted from the Wolof song is:

   YA ILAHI

   .........................

   DIOGUÉ TCHI YALLA
   DIAR TCHI YONENTE
   DIAR TCHI MALICK
   INEUL LEUHUOU DIEFFI MAODOK
   KHALIFA MALICK AMO MOROME


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