The Calf of the Wild: Sound, Embodiment, and Oral Poetry among Cattle Herders in Southwestern Angola

CHRISTINE DETTMANN

Abstract: By employing an ecomusicologically inspired approach, this paper explores cultural expressions of Muhumbi cattle herders in the Angolan province of Cunene. The focus on the relationship between herder and herd animals reveals to what extent these practices display a vast body of experience informed by cattle herding alongside wildlife, among other things. Male-dominated genres of playing the mouthbow onkhondji *and combat games such as* khandeka, khakula, *and* engolo *are a means of imitating and enacting the animals through movement and song. Moreover, these practices act as a means of sustaining herding and the continuous transmission of knowledge. To complete the picture, this paper sketches out the role of women in these agropastoral communities and the current preoccupations (2010/2011) of the herders in communicating their traditions.*

Résumé : Au moyen d'une approche inspirée de l'écomusicologie, cet article explore les expressions culturelles des éleveurs muhumbi, dans la province angolaise de Cunene. En se focalisant sur la relation entre les éleveurs et leur bétail, cette étude révèle dans quelle mesure ces pratiques exposent un vaste ensemble d'expériences nourries par l'élevage en bordure de la vie sauvage, entre autres choses. Les genres, à prédominance masculine, de l'arc musical à résonateur buccal (onkhondji) *et des combats ludiques tels que le* khandeka, *le* khakula *et l'*engolo *constituent des moyens d'imiter et de jouer le rôle des animaux par le mouvement et la chanson. En outre, ces pratiques constituent un moyen de soutenir l'élevage et la transmission continue du savoir. Pour compléter ce tableau, cet article esquisse le rôle des femmes dans ces communautés agro-pastorales et les préoccupations actuelles (2010-2011) des éleveurs en ce qui concerne la communication de leurs traditions.*

In 2011, our team, comprising a historian, a filmmaker, a capoeira master, a translator, and myself — an ethnomusicologist — returned to the homestead in Mucope, Angola where we had stayed the year before. As part

Dettman, Christine. 2019. The Calf of the Wild: Sound, Embodiment, and Oral Poetry among Cattle Herders in Southwestern Angola. *MUSICultures* 46 (2): 33-61.

of a state-funded project based at the University of Essex, our fieldwork aimed to explore alleged historical connections between the Afro-Brazilian martial art of capoeira and combat games in Southwestern Angola, mostly among rural agropastoral communities.[1]

While verifying information that we had collected in 2010, Alberto Vakussanga, the younger brother of the homestead owner, caught sight of the photograph that was displayed on my laptop computer (Fig. 1). I had chosen the image partly because of its contrasting colours: the filmmaker's red shirt stands out against a grey-brown and white background and the encroaching dusk. I felt that the photo captured our presence on the homestead, with Richard Pakleppa filming a scene of cattle and herders in a smoky hue of dust. Excitedly, Vakussanga started pointing at some of the cows in the image and naming them. For him, there were obviously many more individuals present in the photo. He was particularly delighted to be able to see the one in the middle since the creature had died in the intervening time. To him, the image seemed to present a recollection akin to that of remembering close family members.[2]

The surprise I felt about his intimate knowledge of, and relationship with, the cattle has stayed with me since then. A growing body of publications on pastoralism, together with new trends in musicology, have inspired me to

Fig. 1. From left to right: Cattle, Alberto Vakussanga, Lito Ginga, and Richard Pakleppa in kraal at sundown. Mucope, Angola. August 14, 2010. Image by Cinezio F. Peçanha (Courtesy of The Angolan Roots of Capoeira).

adopt another perspective toward some of the creative expressions that we witnessed in southwestern Angola. For example, Natasha Fijn's compelling etho-ethnography focusing on the behavioural interactions between herders and their cattle in Mongolia made me aware of how herders and herd animals influence each other. Her concept of "co-domestic" relates to and draws from "*mutual* cross-species interaction and social engagement" (Fijn 2011: 19; emphasis in original). In terms of musical utterances, this relationship, or rather "the aesthetic use of sound communication" (Martinelli 2008b), has been ascribed to both humans and animals in research under the headings of zoo- or biomusicology (see, for example, Wallin, Merker, and Brown 2000; Rothenberg and Ulvaeus 2001; Martinelli 2008a). Equally, in times of highly pressing environmental issues, ecomusicology has sparked new research and discussion related to terms as broad as "music, culture, and nature" (Allen 2013: 80; see also Titon 2009; Pedelty 2012; Allen and Dawe 2016), which political stances frequently feed into. Ethnomusicological research has also touched on the extent to which humans can draw from their observations of other non-human beings (such as animals and birds) in order to create unique music — in the broadest sense of the term (see also Sorce Keller 2017) — containing further referential meanings and perspectives (see, for example, Feld 1982; Levin and Süzükei 2011; Brabec de Mori 2013; Silvers 2015; Post 2018: 173-6).

I have been socialized largely in urban settings where I did not have much opportunity to root my life in close connection to other non-human beings. My encounter with the Olunyaneka-speaking Muhumbi in Angola has therefore provided me with a glimpse into an essential relationship: namely that between herders and herd animals, which I intend to explore further in this paper. The scene described above reveals Vakussanga's very close connection to the animals he lives with, exemplifying the extent to which these animals shape the daily life of the Muhumbi. Moreover, "studying cattle," as one interviewee put it (Tchikunda, August 7, 2010), lies at the heart of shaping many Muhumbi cultural expressions in an almost literal way by evoking sounds and movements and drawing from an intimate knowledge of the animals.

From our observation, agricultural products, together with other livestock such as goats and chickens, played a greater role in daily subsistence than that of cattle. Instead, cattle seemed to present an "intrinsic economic worth" (Beinart and Brown 2013: 1), also referred to as "money that can die" (Ntchongolola, personal communication, July 5, 2012). In our documentary, *Body Games: Capoeira and Ancestry* (2014), the importance of cattle raising is explicitly highlighted by capoeira master Mestre Cobra Mansa (Cinezio Feliciano Peçanha):

> The *kraal* is the place where they practice their fights. So everything is linked. Cattle are the principal economy. So I believe that in everything the [Mu-]Humbi do there is a deeper connection to cattle. Because their culture, the culture of cattle, is very strong. (*Body Games* 2014: 51:43-52:23min, translated from original Portuguese by author)

At the same time as Cobra Mansa's Portuguese voice-over,[3] Vakussanga and a younger boy, Lito Ginga, are shown with a sledge, pulled by two oxen along a sandy road, entering the kraal to fetch the massambala wheat for storage at the homestead. In the next shot, the voice-over mentions the "deeper connection," which is illustrated by Ginga calming one of the oxen by softly stroking its horn.

Cobra Mansa's observation about the intimate link between herders and their cattle has been firmly inscribed into the film. Nonetheless, the storyline focuses on the Afro-Brazilian's search for possible ancestral roots of capoeira and other Afro-Brazilian combat games. Since the 1960s, ethnographic details of a particular combat game called *N'golo* (or *engolo*) from Mucope in southwestern Angola have emerged among communities of capoeira practitioners in Brazil in different forms, simultaneously igniting alternative images of the past for unprivileged Afro-Brazilians (see also Dettmann 2013). Cobra Mansa had long identified himself in his own practice as a capoeirista, with an imagined warrior lineage stemming from the engolo tradition: "I am the descendant of a warrior!" (*Body Games* 2014: 01:11:32h). In the film, this exclamation is set to visuals in which Vakussanga and the younger boy Ginga engage in a playful stick fight next to their cattle which have just entered the kraal at sundown.

At this point, the filmmaker Richard Pakleppa hinted at how our eyes and ears have been fully primed with expectations, departing from pre-existing knowledge of capoeira. An ecomusicological approach might thus offer a fruitful perspective, disentangling some of the project's research questions from the rich footage, and hopefully moving a step closer toward a deeper understanding of the expressions and concerns of our hosts in Angola. I therefore draw from fieldwork material containing not only audiovisual footage but also extended interviews that have been transcribed and translated. For this paper, I focus on data collected in the inland province of Cunene, which borders Namibia to the south, specifically the areas of Mucope, Humbe, and, a little further afield, Quiteve. Inhabitants of this area identify themselves as "Muhumbi" (sing.: Humbi) and consider some of their traditions, such as engolo, as being particular to them.[4] I also draw from conversations I had with the Olunyaneka interpreter Ntchongolola whose

father was Humbi and had imparted some of the cattle-raising knowledge to his son, who was keeping some animals himself.

In order to bring the close relationship between herder and herd animal into sharper relief, I present different cultural expressions, which take the form of songs, combat games, oral poetry, and dance, with reference to cattle. For the moment, these generic terms may function as placeholders, but further details about emic concepts will be provided throughout this paper (for translation issues see also Seeger 2004: 33; Finnegan 2007: 158-178). For the purpose of illustration, I select representative fieldwork scenes that have also been included in our documentary *Body Games: Capoeira and Ancestry* (2014), henceforth cited as "*BG*" with the respective time code.[5] Interview excerpts and conversations that were recorded but not used in the film are labelled in greater detail in the References.

I start by exploring songs and sounds related to herding cattle within the wildlife population ("Herding Cattle in the Wild"), followed by a description of songs, combat games, and oral poetry that not only show clear links to the preoccupation with cattle but also present an embodied performance ("Embodying Cattle"). Here, I also diverge from the male-dominated genres to include the women's dance-drumming-song genre *ovissungo*. Under the subheading "Overlooking Perspectives," I will first offer a general conclusion, discussing the extent to which these musical practices present significant ways of maintaining and sustaining different layers of knowledge for the cattle-raising culture. In order to achieve a robust methodology in ecomusicology, Boyle and Waterman have recently suggested aiming for a "holistic approach to the study of music" (2016: 36). I am therefore also outlining missing perspectives by sketching out further issues of space, place, and time which are worthy of exploration (Boyle and Waterman 2016: 36).

Herding Cattle in the Wild

On the homestead where we were accommodated, Alberto Vakussanga, the younger brother of the house owner, minded his own herd of cattle. In terms of livestock, the family also kept pigs in the kraal next to the homestead. The wife of the homestead owner, Angelina Lombe, compared them to children who need to be looked after: "One has to look after them, feed them in the morning, in the evening" (personal communication, August 8, 2010). On the other hand, cattle and goats moved freely, finding food on their own outside the homestead. Nonetheless, Vakussanga emphasized that the cattle did need herding, mainly for their own protection (personal communication, August 11,

2010). As well as the water *calabash*, the herder's basic equipment also consists of weapons. They are used to scare cattle thieves (*katuno*) but also to ward off predators. In the latter context, the song by Tchitula Pahula, played on the braced, mouth-resonated bow known as an *onkhondji*, is illustrative:

> "Onthana yepunda vakwe kaikapite, onthana yepunda vakwe kaikapite."
>
> "The calf of the wild/forest must not pass here, the calf of the wild/forest must not pass here." (*BG* 24:01-24:05min, translated to Portuguese from original Olunyaneka by Ntchongolola, English translation by author)

For our benefit, Pahula verbalized the lyrics of the song which normally remain unheard since the mouth is preoccupied with shaping the overtones and forming the resonating body of the instrument (for playing technique see also Yegnan-Touré 2008). Instead, as one interviewee told us, one sings the words with one's heart (Tchiapukulua, August 27, 2011). Pahula explained that the image of the "calf of the wild/forest" (*onthana yepunda*) referred to in the song was another name for a lion (*ononkheiama*).[6] However, herders are careful not to speak the actual word "lion," so as not to attract its attention. Otherwise, the nocturnal predator might come into the kraal at night and kill some of the other animals (Pahula, interview, August 17, 2011). Taboo terminology such as this is typically found with respect to powerful and/or dangerous animals (see, for example, Levin and Süzükei 2011: 31 for bear-naming in Tuva).

Pahula's singing in the documentary is an excerpt from a longer melody which includes the previously mentioned words. Following his singing, the sound of the mouthbow's faint overtones can be recognized as resembling the melody. At times, he can still be heard humming or repeating the song for us, then playing the melody on the mouthbow with variations (*BG* 24:05-24:46min).

The mouthbow onkhondji is perceived as strongly intertwined with cattle herding, or rather cattle themselves; this is expressed as: "*Onkhondji yonongombe*." (Pahula, interview, August 17, 2011).[7] Literally, this can be translated as "Onkhondji is of the cattle." The simplicity of this phrase is deceptive. Recurrently, interlocutors use it to underscore the importance of an object or to justify an action, drawing from an extensive set of practices interlinked to the art of (successful) cattle herding. Wary of regional and, sometimes conflicting, postcolonial concepts of "tradition" and/or "culture"

(see, for example, Otto 2015), I noticed that, for our convenience, the translator Tchilulu Ntchongolola would enhance the translation, inserting the word "tradition"; it then read "Onkhondji belongs to the tradition of cattle herding." However, exploring what the instrument means to the herder helps to illuminate Pahula's original statement.

Compared with the southwestern Angolan gourd-braced musical bow called the *mbulumbumba* (see also *BG* 32:05-32:20min, 46:30-47:15min), the mouthbow onkhondji is associated with significant status and prestige since owning and playing this instrument requires an economically stable background, which means keeping cattle. Our interviewees frequently referred to the mouthbow as an important aid when carrying out their herding duties (Tchikunda, August 7, 2010; Tchiapukulua, August 8, 2011). It helps to keep the herdsman's spirits uplifted, preventing "his heart from becoming dark" when in solitude with the cattle, and helping him to see the herd as a source of joy and wealth (Pahula, interview, August 17, 2011). However, playing the mouthbow has a much stronger and more direct link to the cattle. For instance, playing the instrument is thought to speak directly to the cattle and encourage them to eat well, thus contributing to the prosperity of the cattle owner.[8] Moreover, the sound of the mouthbow can be heard as representing the animals walking (Pahula, interview, August 17, 2011). There is a special repertoire that imitates different "walking" situations from the herder's perspective. Tchixicua Tchiapukulua (Fig. 2) names and demonstrates typical instances, such as the walk-

Fig. 2. Tchixicua Tchiapukulua demonstrates the mouthbow onkhondji. Mucope, Angola. August 8, 2010. Image by Cinezio F. Peçanha (Courtesy of The Angolan Roots of Capoeira).

ing of the grand bulls, the walking of the calves, and the walking of their mothers, on the onkhondji (interview, August 7, 2010; see also *BG* 56:12min with Tchikunda).

Observations with regard to the "walking of the cattle" (*okwenda kwonongombe*) form an important part of a herder's knowledge, yet they can denote more than mere movement. For instance, if an animal is referred to as "walking a lot," it means that it will always be in front of all the others, leading the way (Vakussanga, personal communication, August 11, 2010). Thus, these observations can provide hints and information about the different roles that animals take on within the herd. As the Swiss eco-farmer Martin Ott explains, cows and bulls engage in a social web of relationships in a herd; thus, there are hierarchies, but at the same time kin and friendship ties have to be factored in (2012: 105). Observations about the "walking of the cattle" therefore offer a rich, multi-layered knowledge of situations, relationships, and character traits with which the herder will engage. The following example illustrates the central role of the musical bow onkhondji in this aspect of cattle herding.[9]

Fig. 3. "Walk (Unspecified) of the Zebra to the Water Post." Representation of rhythm and audible overtones of braced mouth-resonated bow onkhondji playing by Tchixicua Tchiapukulua. Mucope, Angola. August 27, 2011. Transcription by author.

In a demonstration in 2011, Tchiapukulua evokes the walk of a plains zebra (*Equus quagga*) to the water post where it drinks side by side with cattle. He plays recurrent 6-pulse patterns including a pause on one pulse. The staff notation shows the rhythm, together with an approximation of the audible overtones that he produces with his mouth cavity and by repeatedly hitting one of the two unequal string sections (Fig. 3). There are recurrent motifs revolving around a higher and a lower tonal pitch, whereby the changeover is occasionally marked by motifs of transition (in Fig. 3, the entire second bar is an example of a low-pitched motif and the entire tenth bar is a high-pitched motif).

Although it cannot directly approximate a real zebra's walk, the playing nonetheless carries the unmistakable trace of an equine gait that was incidentally found to share similarities with the natural gaits of horses (Estes 1991: 237). This impression is mainly induced by the pause between the short motifs which equates to the brief moment of suspension when all four legs are off the ground. In literature, the walking and galloping of zebras are usually described as 4-beat sequences (237). One could, therefore, conclude either that the sounding of 5 beats in this 6-pulse pattern represents a creative interpretation of a zebra's gait, or that the existing knowledge in literature contains inaccuracies when compared to observations in situ.

As he finishes his playing, Tchiapukulua expands further on the meaning of the scene evoked through the mouthbow:

> When you take the cattle to the water and you see the zebra at the side of the cattle, you must not take the bow [and arrow] out to shoot it. Because like that [with the zebra] it is a joy for the cattle. It is good luck for the cattle. You don't do anything, you let it run. (Tchiapukulua, interview, August 27, 2011; translated to Portuguese from original Olunyaneka by Ntchongolola, English translation by author)

Naturally, one would tend to assume that zebras or other herbivores would compete with the cattle for a share of the forage crops, and therefore would be far from a sign of good luck. Recent research by Odadi et al. has shown evidence of this competition in the dry season when they found depressed weight gain among cattle. However, zebras, in particular, proved to be beneficial in the wet season. Due to their digestive systems being able to process fibrous grass stems, they facilitate a grazing-succession that leads to higher-quality forage for the cattle. Odadi et al. conclude that an interaction occurred "that was nearly great enough to overcome the preceding season's competition" (Odadi et al. 2011: 1753).[10]

I cannot verify whether Tchiapukulua was aware of these side effects and therefore has a positive association between zebras and his herd. However, the example demonstrates the extent to which onkhondji playing facilitates herding by accompanying cattle to different grasslands and water posts, and facilitating the birth, or sometimes death, of single animals on these journeys. Songs and mimetic play are closely aligned to this routine of the herder, who is continuously inspired by watching the cattle. In addition, herdsmen have to avoid falling asleep and playing an instrument helps to keep them occupied (Tchikunda, interview, August 7, 2010). A herdsman is required to interpret animal behaviour and, in some instances, react according to the knowledge transmitted. In this regard, onkhondji playing serves as a mnemonic expedience: reproducing the sound and pattern of a zebra's gait helps the herder to remember the associated value and appropriate reaction.

To summarize, this example lends itself to distinguishing between the different conceptual layers of (musical) meaning and their unique conjunctions (see, for example, Green 1988: 14-31). Borrowing from Green's model, the inherent meaning would imply the actual sound material as the experience of the sonic reproduction of an animal's walking habitus on the mouthbow, at least from the herder's perspective. Delineated layers of meaning introduce further social assumptions; in this case, it applies to recognizing the zebra's gait and, equally, the fact that a zebra alongside a herdsman's own cattle must not be killed. Normally, the mouthbow playing occurs in very isolated situations. Decoding the delineated meaning is a process which occurs in intimacy, compared to other contexts where, for example, performers and listeners are involved and thus a "web of potential meanings" has to be taken into account (Leante 2009: 192). Hence, it is noteworthy that the identified layers are intrinsically linked to the art of cattle herding to a remarkable extent, thus illuminating the important place this instrument holds within the tradition and echoing Pahula's initial statement of "onkhondji yonongombe," the onkhondji is of the cattle.

Moreover, the heritage of the corporal instrument itself is enshrined with a strong ancestral belief system (see also Teffo and Roux 2000 [1998]). It might have been inherited from deceased male family members who had introduced the art of cattle herding to the then young boy. Against this background, the playing and possession of the instrument are furthermore imbued with different layers of knowledge and experience which are beneficial to cattle herding.

Some of the examples referred to above relate to experiences with wildlife. Indeed, historical records document a variety of ungulates, amongst them zebras, as well as other animals such as elephants, lions, snakes, monkeys, etc. found in this southwestern part of present-day Angola (see, for example, Earl of Mayo 1883; Fox 1912; Colonel Breytenbach qtd. in Chase and Griffin 2011:

357). There is also testimony from as early as 1882 referring to native herders of Humbe driving their cattle onto the grassland (Earl of Mayo 1883: 467). These records highlight the proven coexistence of cattle herders and wildlife for at least a couple of generations, if not more. Observation and experience have thereby also led to beneficial solutions, as the zebra example illustrates, whereby the appropriate behaviour can also be wrapped within musical signifiers.

However, 27 years of civil war in Angola (1975-2002) have had a tremendously destructive effect on the wildlife population as a result of excessive hunting by both army forces and refugees (Dudley et al. 2002: 322; see also Golan and Ron 2010). That explains why predators such as lions are no longer seen by Vakussanga (who was 21 years old at the time of research) in the foraging areas. Vakussanga's foremost concern when herding is the threat posed by cattle thieves. Wildlife dispersal from other countries, such as Namibia and Botswana, has been restricted since extended veterinary fences hamper migration. The national parks of southern Angola have witnessed a limited degree of successful repopulation, but this is impeded by frequent illegal killing (see, for an example in Namibe, Agência Angola Press 2017). Furthermore, Angola has long been one of the largest ivory markets and the government has taken very little action against poaching and vending (Chase and Griffin 2011: 359). The 2016 ban on trading ivory has still to show any real effect since profitable ivory sales to Asian markets continues underground (see, for example, Diário de Notícias 2017). Whereas an older generation such as the one represented by Tchiapukulua, Tchikunda, and Pahula, at the time of research between 45 and 80 years old, still holds valuable knowledge about herding within wildlife populations, the younger generation is on the verge of losing this contact and respective know-how. Concomitantly, some of the songs and "walking patterns" are losing their deeper meaning and are in danger of becoming obsolete. In this respect, the past continues to exert a powerful impact on the musical practices of the present; some of them are still being practiced today but by an older generation.

Embodying cattle

On our journeys to certain parts of southwestern Angola, we presented ourselves to the local chiefs (*sobas*) with governmental approval, which at that time was still an important asset in post-war Angola. Normally, we would then agree to help organize a feast by providing goods and/or money for food preparation and freshly brewed beer. At these events, the villagers gathered to welcome us and demonstrated their dances and combat games. In return, we gave them a demonstration of capoeira whereby we taught them the chorus of one or two

songs that accompanied the capoeira presentation. These events also brought us into closer contact with individuals whom we visited and interviewed in the ensuing few days. The documentary showcases one of these events in Quiteve (*BG* 14:30-20:02min), situated on the Cunene river. In the film, the sequence ends with the playing of a combat game called *khandeka*, or *onkhandeka* (*BG* 18:24-20:02min), which is regularly practiced by the younger male generation and seems to be thriving to a much greater extent than the engolo combat game that we had been seeking.

Khandeka is usually accompanied by handclapping and a repertoire of songs which can also appear in other working contexts. In the documentary, a singer emphatically sings: "*Twalye ondema yongolo*!" to which the chorus responds: "*Ê ondema yongolo*!" The English subtitles translate this as: "We ate a very big cow," followed by a chorus of: "A very big cow." Again, the translation is prone to over-simplification, causing certain ethnographic details to be lost. *Ondema* is the word used for an adult cow that is able to procreate. However, an *ongolo*-coloured cow or bull implies certain additional characteristics. Primarily, it refers to a black animal with rust-coloured patches that is normally very well fed. At the same time, an ongolo is very hard to control because of its appetite. It is inclined to wander off and become preoccupied with grazing. It is also said that these animals neglect their offspring. The joy that is expressed about eating such a cow has to be understood within this context. It is a well-fattened animal but its other characteristics — or as one might call them, personality traits — mean that there is little long-term value in keeping such an animal.

By explaining these details, our interpreter Ntchongolola also alluded to humans who were similarly very preoccupied with food. Whether this literal transferal in terms of personification, or rather personality, figures much in the imagination of the herders — as demonstrated in the case of other pastoral societies, past and present, in eastern Africa (Deng 1973: 96-97; Eczet 2015) — remains subject to speculation at this stage of the research. However, certain physical characteristics of cattle are clearly linked to human bodies, as I will outline below.

When watching the khandeka scene in the documentary, the lyrics of the song about the ongolo cow fade easily into the background. The action that takes place between the two opponents leaves a much stronger impression. Gesturing with their arms in a crescent over their heads, they ready themselves to exchange blows with each other. The arm gesture is especially significant. In another form of dueling called *khakula*, the men explicitly link this gesture to the horns of their bulls. The obvious conclusion, therefore, seems to be that in khandeka the youngsters enact a bullfight in which their horns enmesh and lock together or, in human terms, the hands are a weapon with which to hit one's

opponent and force him into an inferior position.[11] Additionally, the youngsters of Quiteve practice *ondjumbo*, which involves trying to grab one's opponent around the waist and throw him skillfully onto the ground. The short excerpt used in the film demonstrates that this practice relies much more on technique than strength.

A direct association with bullfighting has also been noted in the sporting activities of herders in other parts of the world. Following both Tomikawa's (2006) and her own observations, Natasha Fijn suggests that traditional Mongolian wrestling (*bökh*) physically enacts and incorporates herders' observations about the aggressive behaviour of antagonistic breeding males (Fijn 2011: 73). In the case of other pastoral communities across eastern and southern Africa, the embodiment of cattle, especially denoted by the raising of one's arms, has also been described in anthropological literature (Lienhardt 1961: 16-17; Deng 1973: 98, 202, 204; Burton 1982: 268; Evans-Pritchard 1956 [1947]: 38, 1990 [1951]: Plate VII; Eczet 2015: 125-126). Yet, music and/or respective combat games do not feature ostensibly in the literature, probably due to their ambiguous nature, meaning that they do not fit easily within common Western tropes of dance, music, or sport, as I will illustrate below in relation to further translation problems.[12]

In order to celebrate the ownership of cattle, **khakula** is practiced as soon as several experienced herdsmen gather together (*BG* 41:32-43:20min; for Namibia see Mans 2006: 36-38), such as at special celebrations held to mark the coming of age of their sons and daughters (*ekwendje, efiko*) and at feasts for the cattle departing and/or returning from their summer grazing lands (*okuya kohambo*, *okukondoka kohambo*). Soba Pingafana Choea of Humbe explains the context of this tradition in the following excerpt:

> Khakula is the celebration of the animal, of the bull which is our main source of wealth. Those kids there, if their father owns cattle, they will have faith in their father's wealth. So when he starts dancing, he has to demonstrate: what is the horn of the greatest bull in the kraal like? And the poorer one shuts up because he has nothing to show. (*BG* 41:38-42:05min, translated from original Portuguese by author)

When referring to the demonstration of the horns, Soba Pingafana makes a gesture that involves lifting both his arms into the air, resembling the "dance's" key feature. In Portuguese, he actually uses the word "dance" (dança), which was one of the common translations of *otchimamo* that we came across on our travels. On further inquiry, however, it was found that people also referred to

otchimamo as *brincadeira* in the Portuguese translation, encompassing a range of meanings around "playfulness," "fun," "play," etc. The concept of "dance" in Olunyaneka, therefore, has wider associations.

Similarly, John Blacking assesses an extensive range of associations with "dance" in traditional African performing arts, where they could be categorized as "play, games, sport, and/or physical and moral education, depending on context, use, and user" (1987: 15). He also points to the special vocabulary often used with reference to the Venda people where he carried out fieldwork (15). In Olunyaneka, we found that the word otchimamo was used by men and women to encompass a variety of cultural expressions, including playful encounters with mutual challenges, some of which could also be described as dance-play (see also Bakare and Mans 2003: 225) or combat games. Although different to khandeka, khakula abstains from using direct physical contact. Rather, it is a conjoint performance constructed around the praising and appreciation of the cattle, in bodily enactment as well as through verbal dueling.

In the case of khakula, men start with a typical 12-pulse handclapping pattern (Fig. 4) which accompanies a succession of short performances. Line a) demonstrates the handclapping which takes place at the beginning and has the effect of motivating the others to join in and build up a degree of tension (such as what occurred during a presentation in Quiteve on August 16, 2011). As soon as a herder embodies one of his bulls or oxen, pattern b) and/or c) becomes established.

An individual will then enact interlocking parts with his feet and further articulate vocally. The latter can be heard as a mixture of animal cries and vocalizations of herdsmen to their animals (for an example, see *BG* 42:21min). Khakula is performed with the participants sitting close together. In terms of a cattle herd, this also makes sense because, in further references, herdsmen allude to a spatial awareness of their animals' walking patterns, even expressing a certain fondness for a bull who runs in the middle of the herd (for example, this occurred during a duel between Tchikunda and Tchiapukulua on August 27, 2011). The changeover from one short performance to the next is signaled by another individual raising his arms. The arms can be pointed or shaped differently, for example, extended upwards, or even twisted, according to the

a)	X		X		X		X		X		X	
b)	X				X		X			X		
c)	X		X		X		X			X		

Fig 4. 12-Pulse Handclapping pattern for khakula.

horns of the bull being embodied (for examples of different horns see Fig. 5). Individual performers may also stand up and make use of the space (*BG* 42:34-43:20min). Here, the changeover can be initiated by another performer entering the space and taking the lead. Raising one's loincloth and figuratively showing the buttock is regarded as part of a playful interaction (*BG* 42:45min).

Another element of khakula comprises a form of dueling in which two people alternately praise their cattle and their herdmanship, and speak poetically of their experiences as herders while the others listen attentively. References to favourite bulls, their horns, their well-defined shoulders (if the bull has not been castrated), and their colours are interwoven into these descriptions. The dueling occurs with each individual uttering their words in one breath, generally accompanied by descending melodic contours. In contrast to singing (*otahimbi*), which is often identified with women's dances, this type of poetic speech has been referred to as *okutango muna* (for example, in our interview with Tchiapukulua, August 27, 2011), which would literally mean "to speak of something seen or known" (see, for example, Bonnefoux 1941: 132). Interestingly, Ntchongolola also suggested the option of "to translate"; in other words, people translate what they have seen into poetic language. The rendition resembles a *sprechgesang*, sometimes leaning more toward the "sung word," and sometimes more toward "vocal enactments" (see also Finnegan 2015: 94). This kind of okutango muna is omitted from the documentary. Nonetheless, the young herder Vakussanga can be seen "translating" his current preoccupation by playfully commenting on an ox pulling a sledge along the ground, heading to his mother's home (*BG* 51:19min). The scene demonstrates the extent to which even communal expressions form part of the herder's daily routine, helping to mitigate the solitude and monotony of the herding way of life. A spontaneous outburst of okutango muna, inspired by the surroundings, is a means of bridging these moments, as well as of preparing the herdsman for subsequent gatherings and performances.

Unlike khandeka, the combat game **engolo** does not involve the direct embodiment of cattle. Rather, interviewees referred to different wild animals — curiously enough, without horns — in order to explain both engolo's physical expression and the humming sound created between a slow handclapping pattern. For instance, Pahula referred to the call of the zebra and the way it kicks its hind legs (*BG* 24:50min). In the wild, zebra stallions have been observed kicking and biting aggressively, either to displace another stallion from an existing herd or in the act of play-fighting (Penzhorn 1988: 4-5). Regardless of whether the gestures and movements of the combat game are inspired by zebras, one can observe that the hands are barely used in engolo. Instead, the main focus is on the legs. For instance, raising a leg at a different angle will

cause the opponent to either dodge or brace his body in defence. Sweeping the opponent's leg from underneath him is a hallmark of the short game, in which the tension of attack and defence is palpable (for an example, see *BG* 01:19:58-01:22:03h).

The predominant use of legs in engolo could be interpreted as representing another animal embodiment. In the Olunyaneka language, the arms and legs are distinguished in animals as well as in humans. An animal's forelegs are regarded as arms (pl.: *omvoko*), whereas the hind legs are seen as "proper" legs (pl.: *omaulu*). By examining bone structures, the evolutionist Carl Zimmer confirmed that "bats, cats, dolphins, elephants, and frogs," among other animals, also have hands (Zimmer 2012: 66). For speakers of Olunyaneka, embodying a "four-legged" animal would thus involve discriminating between the different limbs. The kicking of a zebra's hind legs, as Pahula suggested, places the focus on (human) legs through the act of attack in the kinetic habitus of engolo.

To encourage the short engolo games, onlookers will also recite verses of varying lengths. Similarly to khakula, this kind of oral poetry is identified as okutango muna, although in this case it is embedded in the overall humming sound and handclapping. In the case of engolo, okutango muna can build on formulaic phrases hinting at the danger of the game. It is also concerned with images of cattle but even more importantly with those of hunting (for the latter, see *BG* 01:18:00-01:18:05h). At the same time, it provides a metaphorical commentary on the unfolding game. Here, I concentrate only on cattle metaphors, thereby illustrating the inferred meaning of okutango muna where complementary knowledge is a prerequisite for understanding. A line such as "*Omphandi ongombe*" (Mumbalo, interview, August 3, 2010) might be easy to decipher. It translates to "The foot is the bull," thus suggesting that an engolo player's foot is as strong as that of a bull.

A recurrent verse in Kahani Waupeta's oral rendition, edited in the documentary to include extended engolo performances from August 2011 (*BG* 01:20:08-01:20:12h), contains the following phrase: "*Wehangele, aikandua, taupumbuwa onthana*" (Waupeta, interview, August 3, 2010). The line literally translates as: "Met, milked, the calf lost," but its enhanced meaning is: "(I/You/Someone) met (that cow), took the milk, the calf lost out." Again, depending on the perspective adopted, the strength or weakness of a person is alluded to. Here it is noteworthy that human calves and ankles are considered strong indicators of the economic conditions in which an individual may have been raised. Strong calves with proper ankles are a marker of economic prosperity and stability, similarly to a cow's offspring (calf) that is able to drink all the milk by itself without needing to share it with the herder's family. For instance, when complimenting a woman on her strong and shapely ankles, referred to

as *mumbombolo*, one would jokingly add that the "calf had got all the milk" (*onthana yelinhamena)* (Ntchongololа, personal communication, July 2012). Hence, a mutual relationship exists between a person's physical condition, their attributed upbringing, and the raising of cattle, to which there are references in engolo. Within this context, Waupata's line can be read in different ways: as a comment on a weak person embodying the calf itself which has lost out on the nutritious milk, or possibly on a strong person who has had the milk.

Before concluding, I return to the homestead in Mucope, Angola, where I was impressed by the strongly gender-segregated division of labour; as one interviewee recalled his father expressing in performance: "You, son, stay at the [outside] fireplace (*tyoto*), you cannot go into the kitchen which is for the girls." (Mongrese, interview, August 5, 2010). In many parts of southern and eastern Africa, a woman's role is thus very much associated with contributing to the "routine material reproduction of the household" (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991: 39; for Angola, see also Melo 2007: 86-98). However, the homestead where we were accommodated was overseen by Angelina Lombe who, as the first woman in Mucope, had learned to drive a car and thus was regularly able to

Fig. 5. Inocência, second youngest daughter of Felipe Kapueya and Angelina Lombe, holding on to two oxen. Mucope, Angola. August 7, 2010. Image by Cinezio F. Peçanha (Courtesy of The Angolan Roots of Capoeira).

sell some of her livestock at markets in Lubango, more than 160 miles away. She reinvested the profits in goods that she could sell from her kiosk in the centre of the village (Lombe, personal communication, August 8, 2010). However, a strongly gendered framework persists within these societies, as evidenced by some of our research on regulations surrounding the female puberty rite known as *efiko*. Cattle herding does not form part of the daily routine for girls and women, although they have occasional contact with the animals (Fig. 5).

Moreover, as observed in other southern African pastoral communities, there are certain taboos that forbid girls and women to enter the kraal or handle cattle (Beinart and Brown 2013: 221-247). Our interpreter, Ntchongolola, explained that a girl who had already menstruated but had not been through efiko would not be allowed to enter the kraal. It is believed that if she did so, her period would not stop and the cows' ability to produce milk would be impeded (Ntchongolola, personal communication, July 2012). It has not been possible to determine the precise extent to which such regulations are still followed. Recent research by Beinart and Brown showed that although these taboos linger on, some households no longer believe in or adhere to them (2013: 233). Nonetheless, a perusal of the lyrics used in the female-dominated dance-drumming-song genre ovissungo demonstrates a clear lack of specific cattle knowledge. It is thus conceivable that women's exclusion from the pastoral economy results in cultural expressions that, at first glance, seem to neglect any obvious links to or intimate knowledge of cattle raising on women's parts. For instance, the lyrics of the two songs in the documentary refer to the greeting of guests but also to cultivating crops (Extra: "Engolo and Women's Dance" in *BG* 01:37-04:07min). The excerpts chosen only present the songs with their melodies, since after a couple of minutes of dancing, the lyrics tend to dissolve into the melodic background.

Ovissungo, like some other female dance genres, is accompanied by the exclusive drumming of the women. Men do not dance ovissungo but they can participate in it by performing their individual khakula moves on the outer circle (Extra: "Engolo and Women's Dance" in *BG* 04:03-04:06min). This is made possible by the fact that the basic handclapping pattern of ovissungo resembles that used in khakula (compare Fig. 6a with Fig. 4c). In Fig. 6, the

a)	X		X		X		X			X		
b)	R		L		R			L		R		
	L		R		L			R		L		

Fig. 6. 12-pulse handclapping pattern of women's ovissungo dance-drumming-song genre (a) and basic steps of right and left feet (b).

ovissungo handclapping pattern is represented (Fig. 6a) together with the basic steps of the right (R) and left (L) foot over two 12-pulse lines (Fig. 6b, taken from a demonstration at Agatha Nangombe's homestead in Mucope, August 5, 2010). More advanced dancers also tend to improvise as well as interact with other dancers.

Ovissungo dance movements also display some similarities to the body posture adopted by men in khakula. Arms are outstretched to form horns while the little jumps accompanied by stomping feet resemble the heavy stomp of hooves, as practiced in khakula (Extra: "Engolo and Women's Dance" in *BG* 01:37-04:07min). In the case of the South-Sudanese Atout people, John W. Burton suggested that in their *anyatta* dance, women imitate "the slow gallop cows make as they saunter across a pasture" (Burton 1982: 268). However, we did not find such explicit references during our fieldwork, which is why, at this stage of the research, I leave the interpretation open, hopefully inspiring future research.

Overlooking perspectives

An ecomusicological approach has enabled me to focus on an essential relationship, namely that between herder and herd animals, found in some of the cultural expressions among the Muhumbi in southwestern Angola. The mouthbow onkhondji, for instance, was identified as being closely linked to layers of observation, including sound and knowledge related to the art of cattle raising. Previous literature that refers to this braced mouthbow in the cattle context mentions "rhythms with which the bow is struck" (Mans 1997: 56), whereas the almost onomatopoetic replication of the walking patterns of animals has not yet been accounted for. This type of playing device allows the herder to translate his present observations into sound, while at the same time keeping himself entertained and awake. Apart from this immediate function, the onkhondji can also serve as a mnemonic instrument, paralleling Megan Rancier's image of instruments being an archive (2014) or Regula Qureshi's statement of an instrument "becom[ing] a privileged site for retaining cultural memory" (1997: 4). The mouthbow itself, which is sometimes inherited, and the songs and walking patterns it produces, all help to recall deeper layers of meaning within the cattle raising culture. Regrettably, the recession of wildlife during periods of war has an ongoing adverse effect on the knowledge and thus the repertoire of onkhondji playing for future generations.

Nonetheless, the embodiment of bulls involving the representation of different types of horns with the arms remains prevalent. A glance at the

accompanying songs and oral poetry (okutango muna) used in combat games such as khandeka and engolo, as well as khakula, revealed further contextual references to cattle, such as to their colour, walking patterns, and bodily shapes which are inherently regarded as personality traits and characteristic of their upbringing. Furthermore, the creative aspect of the accompanying oral poetry reaches into the daily routine of the herder, enabling him to become absorbed in creativity and inspired by his surroundings, thus mitigating the solitary nature of the work.

For me, this is a pivotal aspect of the practices described above, regardless of whether they are performed in solitude or as part of communal gatherings. The herder is constantly surrounded by cattle — as well as wildlife — and he can use the sound and visual stimulation of this experience as inspiration for the cultural expressions associated with pastoralism. Performing, or preparing a performance, constitutes a sustainable way of entertaining himself. Consequently, he will not fall asleep but will remain alert and attentive, drawing from previously transmitted knowledge. Similarly, it will enable him to endure the hardship associated with long periods of isolation from other humans and domestic comforts. Finally, maintaining the centrality of cattle to these practices further enhances exchange and communication among the herders at gatherings, thus increasing and sustaining knowledge of the cattle-raising culture. In sum, the cultural expressions described above act to sustain both herding and the continuous transmission of knowledge. I will return to the latter aspect when referring to the conflict with present-day schooling.

By advancing this kind of minimalist interpretation, I refrain from attempting a greater explanatory framework. The very notable, almost mimetic, link to cattle (and other animals) could lead, for example, to an interpretation that might relapse into evolutionary terminology (see Molino 2000), thereby adhering to colonial paradigms (see also Biakolo 2000 [1998]). A comparison with herder's music-making in other communities of Sub-Saharan Africa would refine the focus, yet such an approach needs careful examination. For instance, the whistling, *washïnt* flute-playing, and singing of Goǧǧam herders in the northwestern highlands of Ethiopia can certainly be seen as a similar way to pass time in the pasture (Morand 2013). However, as Katell Morand points out, such music-making has an ambiguous nature because it exposes the performer to a certain vulnerability in the forest, at the same time bridging intimate moments of solitude, reminiscence, and sometimes even fear (2013: 576-8). Like the mouthbow onkhondji, the washïnt flute is considered exclusively an instrument of the herders. Yet its repertoire of melodies consists of songs from communal festivities, gatherings, and the like (577), thereby making it less connected to the specific knowledge of a cattle-raising culture. This — I would

argue — may be due to the apparent lack of social prestige associated with cattle herding and possession in this area (Morand 2008: 46-47). Surely more in-depth studies are needed to foster further perspectives and dimensions revolving around Sub-Saharan music-making in the context of pastoralism.

Having drawn a cohesive picture of Muhumbi expressions, one might lose sight of the requisite holistic approach to the study of music, and to exploring contexts of space, place, and time in more detail (Boyle and Waterman 2016: 36). So far, I have limited my scope to references to cattle, foregrounding practices that can be cross-checked against shots from the published documentary, set in Angola, *Body Games: Capoeira and Ancestry* (2014). Over 70 hours of film footage and its respective translation work contain more examples of cattle herding references as well as allusions to other birds and animals in song and dance. Furthermore, non-human beings offer just one way of investigating the manifold relationships between rural-based people and their environments. Senses of identity (in some cases among animal-related clans) and belief systems require further assessment. Moreover, historic power dynamics in Angola have also left their mark on Muhumbi life through the former presence of various colonial powers. These include the slave trade (for Humbe, see Candido 2013: 260), alliances, and wars that occurred up until the 20th century integration of Cunene into present-day Angola (see also Pélissier 1997 [1986]); the arrival of missionaries beginning in the late 19th century, initially also responsible for Christian schooling systems in Angola (Birmingham 2006: 28-61; Omatseye and Omatseye 2008); and finally the acrimonious colonial war, followed by civil war, with only brief intervals in between, during the period from 1961 to 2002. These events continue to shape the future of Muhumbi performing arts.

Undoubtedly, the brutal and prolonged wars, which saw no prospect of a peace settlement until 2002, exerted a heavy toll on life in Angola in terms of cultural expressions as much as anything else. Celebrations that went on until night time had to be curtailed in order to avoid attracting the attention of adversaries. Several younger generations were forced into the military, their absence resulting in a missing link for the transmission of performing arts (see Pahula in *BG* 25:02min). I have previously discussed the repercussions of the war on wildlife. Hence, one could even argue that one of the reasons engolo has fallen into decline, but khandeka has not, is that the younger generation is increasingly losing contact with wildlife, and consequently with its expression as embodied in engolo.

Concomitantly, regular school attendance has been underrated as a factor in weakening the continuous transmission of cattle herding knowledge (for similar implications among the East African Maasai see Galaty 1989). Tchiapukulua explains that his son would only come home from school at night

during the week, and thus did not have time to learn the mouthbow onkhondji (Tchiapukulua, interview, August 8, 2010). The young herder Vakussanga had intentionally left school to pursue his herding work (personal communication, August 11, 2010). "The 'school' of former times was only cattle herding," Mucope's headman Soba Grande Alberto J. Muaninga explained, using the Portuguese word for "school" (escola) in his Olunyaneka statement (group conversation, August 27, 2011). He complained that school attendance not only takes their sons physically away from home, but they also often prefer other, more modern, pastimes. However, even if the educational systems are unable to adapt quickly to the needs of traditional herder families, there is still hope. In discussion, the elders suggested that engolo should be added to football games on Saturdays so the youth will learn to appreciate its importance (Muaninga, group conversation, August 27, 2011).

Notes

1. The international team comprised the Namibian filmmaker Richard Pakleppa, the German historian Matthias Röhrig Assunção, the Brazilian Capoeira Master *Mestre* Cobra Mansa, and the Angolan translator Tchilulu Ntchongololа, as well as the associated Brazilian historian Mariana P. Candido. The AHRC-funded project The Angolan Roots of Capoeira: Transatlantic Links of a Globalised Performing Art (2010-2013) was based at the History Department at Essex University (UK) while the fieldwork was carried out during two trips to Angola (in July and August of 2010 and 2011) and one to Brazil. Throughout this paper, I occasionally use the collective term "we," since the fieldwork was very much a collaborative effort by the whole team. I am thus indebted to my colleagues as well as to the people whom we were fortunate to meet in Angola.

2. In 2011, we brought with us some paper copies of photographs taken in 2010 to distribute, which focused on humans rather than animals.

3. The documentary has been carefully edited by letting the story unfold using the images and words of the respective stakeholders. Nonetheless, Mestre Cobra Mansa's personal quotations occasionally feature as voice-overs. On the one hand, they bridge possible information gaps for the audience, and on the other, they also reveal more of his personal background in pursuing engolo as a cultural ancestor of capoeira.

4. Stemming from colonial literature, the term "Nyaneka-Nkumbi" (e.g. Esterman 1979), also written as "Nhaneca-Humbi" (e.g. Ruíz 1996), is still in use, although it has undergone critical revision (Melo 2007: 52-56). I therefore base myself in the self-description of our interviewees.

5. The award-winning documentary *Body Games: Capoeira and Ancestry* (90min, English or Portuguese subtitles) can be purchased via the project website on the Essex University webpage by selecting the research projects from the History Department:

https://www1.essex.ac.uk/online_shop/history/dvd/. If you have any problem acquiring the DVD you can also email the author. Some audiovisual impressions can also be seen in the trailer of the film and in teaser videos (search for: Angolan roots of capoeira), the latter of which were released together with a crowdfunding appeal in 2012/2013.

6. In translation, Ntchongolola used the Portuguese word "mata" which, according to the local habitat, should evoke a picture of southern African open grassland and mixed woodland, and which is also the preferred hunting habitat of lions (see also Gutteridge and Reumerman 2011: 21, 30). I use the options of "wild/forest" in the English translation to remind the reader that it has a special and particular meaning.

7. Ongombe (sing.) and onongombe (pl.) represent generic terms for cattle in the Olunyaneka language, but they are based on images of male animals.

8. In other interviews, interlocutors denied that the sound of the mouthbow elicited any direct reaction from the cattle (for example, a laughing Tchiapukulua in an interview on August 27, 2011; Tchikunda, interview, August 7, 2010). Yet Pahula seems to allude to the calmness of the herder induced by playing, which has a beneficial effect on the herd.

9. Among the Muhumbi we visited, the name "utah" (bow), not "onkhondji" was also used to refer to this instrument (for example, Tchikunda, interview, August 7, 2010; Tchiapukulua, interview, August 27, 2011; see also "outa" in Kirby 1953: 227; Mans 1997: 54-57 for Namibia). Mulalati Tchikunda was even more specific, using various names: "utah okuhika" (bow to play) and "utah yonongombe" (bow of the cattle), thereby distinguishing it from a shooting bow (Tchikunda, interview, August 7, 2010). It should not be assumed that "utah" and "onkhondji" denote two different instruments despite Tchiapukulua playing it with his mouth situated towards the upper end of the bow (Fig. 2). By contrast, Pahula and Tchikunda, who call the instrument "onkhondji" and "utah," place their mouths in the middle of the bow's stave. Moreover, in conversation people did not correct the given names because they thought it was obvious what they were referring to.

10. The process of facilitating grazing succession has also been observed within migrating wildlife populations. For instance, when zebras, wildebeests, and Thomson's gazelles move together, zebras start eating the grass stalks and establish vegetation to more selective leaf-eaters (Boer and Prins 1990: 265).

11. The link between khandeka, the erected arms gesture, and the position of a bull was confirmed by Lito Ginga (personal communication, August 8, 2010).

12. It is noteworthy that wrestling games in sub-Saharan Africa, accompanied by music, have so far been described by linguists, anthropologists, or sports historians (e.g. M'Baye 2013; Peano 2007/08; Carotenuto 2013; for an overview see Paul 1987). In ethnomusicology, the Afro-Brazilian combat game capoeira has sparked particular interest and might indicate the beginnings of a growing awareness about musically accompanied combat games (e.g. Kubik 1991; Larraín 2005; see also Diaz 2017: 48).

References

Allen, Aaron S. 2013. Ecomusicology [Ecocritical Musicology]. In *The Grove Dictionary of American Music*, 80-81. 2nd ed. Ed. Charles Hiroshi Garrett. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Allen, Aaron S. and Kevin Dawe. 2016. Ecomusicologies. In *Current Directions in Ecomusicology: Music, Culture, Nature*, 1-15. Ed. Aaron S. Allen and Kevin Dawe. New York and London: Routledge.

Agência Angola Press. 2017. Caçadores matam zebras e orixis no parque Nacional do Yona (Poachers Kill Zebras and Oryx Antelops in Yona National Park). *Agência Angola Press.* May 22. http://www.angop.ao/angola/pt_pt/noticias/ambiente/2017/4/21/Cacadores-matam-zebras-orixis-parque-Nacional-Yona,78f568fa-11fa-4a33-84a0-63165933252e.html (accessed April 21, 2018).

Bakare, Ojo Rasaki and Minette Mans. 2003. Dance Philosophies and Vocabularies. In *Musical Arts in Africa: Theory, Practice and Education*, 215-234. Ed. Kofi Agawu, Anri Herbst, and Meki Nzewi. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Beinart, William and Karen Brown. 2013. *African Local Knowledge & Livestock Health: Diseases & Treatments in South Africa*. Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer.

Biakolo, Emevwo. 2000 [1998]. Categories of Cross-Cultural Cognition and the African Condition. In *The African Philosophy Reader*, 1-14. Ed. Pieter H. Coetzee and Abraham P.J. Roux. Reprinted. London: Routledge.

Birmingham, David. 2006. *Empire in Africa: Angola and its Neighbors*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.

Blacking, John. 1987. Games and Sport in Pre-Colonial African Societies. In *Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History*, 3-22. Ed. William J. Baker and James A. Mangan. New York; London: Africana Publishing Company; Holmes and Meier.

Boer, W. F. de and H. H. T. Prins. 1990. Large Herbivores That Strive Mightily but Eat and Drink as Friends. *Oecologia* 82 (2): 264-274.

Bonnefoux, Benedicto M. 1941 [1940]. *Dicionário olunyaneka-português* (Olunyaneka-Portuguese Dictionary). Huila: Missão da Huila.

Boyle, Alice W. and Ellen Waterman. 2016. The Ecology of Musical Performance: Towards a Robust Methodology. In *Current Directions in Ecomusicology: Music, Culture, Nature*, 25-39. Ed. Aaron S. Allen and Kevin Dawe. New York and London: Routledge.

Brabec de Mori, Bernd, ed. 2013. The Human and Non-Human in Lowland South American Indigenous Music. *Ethnomusicology Forum* 22 (3), Special Issue.

Burton, John W. 1982. Figurative Language and the Definition of Experience: The Role of Ox-Songs in Atuot Social Theory. *Anthropological Linguistics* 24 (3): 263-279.

Candido, Mariana P. 2013. *An African Slaving Port and the Atlantic World: Benguela and its Hinterland*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Carotenuto, Matthew. 2013. Grappling with the Past: Wrestling and Performative Identity in Kenya. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 30 (16): 1889-1902.

Chase, Michael J. and Curtice R. Griffin. 2011. Elephants of South-east Angola in War and Peace: Their Decline, Re-colonization and Recent Status. *African Journal of Ecology* 49: 353-361.

Comaroff, Jean and John L. Comaroff. 1991. "How Beasts Lost Their Legs": Cattle in Tswana Economy and Society. In *Herders, Warriors, and Traders: Pastoralism in Africa*, 33-61. Ed. John G. Galaty and Pierre Bonte. Boulder and San Francisco: Westview Press.

Deng, Francis Mading. 1973. *The Dinka and Their Songs*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Dettmann, Christine. 2013. History in the Making: An Ethnography into the Roots of *Capoeira Angola*. *the world of music (new series)* 2 (2): 73-98.

Diaz, Juan Diego. 2017. Between Repetition and Variation: A Musical Performance of Malícia in Capoeira. *Ethnomusicology Forum* 26 (1): 46-68.

Diário de Notícias. 2017. Dois detidos pela polícia angolana com 65 quilogramas de marfim (Two Arrested by Angolan Police with 65 Kilograms of Ivory). July 10. *Diário de Notícias* http://www.dn.pt/lusa/interior/dois-detidos-pela-policia-angolana-com-65-quilogramas-de-marfim-8625374.html (accessed April 21, 2018).

Dudley, Joseph P., Joshua R. Ginsberg, Andrew J. Plumptre, John A. Hart, and Liliana C. Campos. 2002. Effects of War and Civil Strife on Wildlife and Wildlife Habitats. *Conservation Biology* 16 (2): 319-329.

Earl of Mayo. 1883. A Journey from Mossamedes to the River Cunéné, S. W. Africa. *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography* 5 (8): 458-473.

Eczet, Jean-Baptiste. 2015. Des hommes et des vaches: l'attachement entre les personnes et leurs bovins en pays Mursi (Ethiopie) (Of Men and Cows: The Bond Between People and Their Cattle in the Mursi Land [Ethiopia]). *Anthropologie et Societes* 39 (1/2): 121-144.

Esterman, Carlos. 1979. *The Ethnography of Southwestern Angola. Vol. 2: The Nyaneka-Nkumbi Ethnic Group*. New York: Africana Publishing.

Estes, Richard D. 1991. *The Behavior Guide to African Mammals: Including Hoofed Mammals, Carnivores, Primates*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Evans-Pritchard, Edward E. 1956 [1947]. *The Nuer: A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People*. Reprinted. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

———. 1990 [1951]. *Kinship and Marriage Among the Nuer*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Feld, Steven. 1982. *Sound and Sentiment: Birds, Weeping, Poetics, and Song in Kaluli Expression*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Fijn, Natasha. 2011. *Living with Herds*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Finnegan, Ruth. 2007. *The Oral and Beyond: Doing Things with Words in Africa*. Oxford, Chicago, and Pietermaritzburg: Currey, University of Chicago Press, and University of KwaZulu-natal Press.

———. 2015. *Where is Language? An Anthropologist's Questions on Language, Literature and Performance*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Fox, F. Douglas. 1912. Some Notes on Big Game in Angola, S. W. Africa. *Journal of the Royal African Society* 11 (44): 430-437.

Galaty, John G. 1989. Cattle and Cognition: Aspects of Maasai Practical Reasoning. In *The Walking Larder: Patterns of Domestication, Pastoralism, and Predation*, 215-230. Ed. Juliet Clutton-Brock. London: Hyman

Golan, Tamar and Tamar Ron. 2010. *Angolan Rendezvous: Man and Nature in the Shadow of War*. Durban: Pinetown Printers.

Green, Lucy. 1988. *Music on Deaf Ears: Musical Meaning, Ideology, Education*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Gutteridge, Lee and Tony Reumermann. 2011. *Okavango: Field Guide*. Johannesburg: 30° South Publishers.

Kirby, Percival R. 1953. *The Musical Instruments of the Native Races of South Africa*. Johannesburg: Witwattersrand University Press.

Kubik, Gerhard. 1991. *Extensionen Afrikanischer Kulturen in Brasilien* (Extensions of African Cultures in Brazil). Aachen: Ed. Herodot.

Larraín, Nicolás R.S. 2005. Capoeira Angola: Música e Dança (Capoeira Angola: Music and Dance). MA thesis, Universidade Federal da Bahia.

Leante, Laura. 2009. The Lotus and the King: Imagery, Gesture and Meaning in a Hindustani *Rāg*. *Ethnomusicology Forum* 18 (2): 185-206.

Levin, Theodore with Valentina Süzükei. 2011. *Where Rivers and Mountains Sing: Sound, Music, and Nomadism in Tuva and Beyond*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Lienhardt, Godfrey. 1961. *Divinity and Experience: The Religion of the Dinka*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Omatseye, Jim Nesin and Bridget Olirejere Omatseye. 2008. *Going to School in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Westport and London: Greenwood Press.

M'Baye, Babacar. 2013. Verbal and Acrobatic Strategies in Senegalese Wolof Wrestling. *Storytelling, Self, Society* 9 (2): 188-216.

Mans, Minette. 1997. *Ongoma! Notes on Namibian Musical Instruments: An Introductory Resource Book for Teachers*. Windhoek: Gamsberg MacMillan Publishers.

———. 2006. Meanings and Messages in Musical Arts. In *Centering on African Practice in Musical Arts Education*, 31-48. Ed. Minette Mans. South Africa: African Minds Publishers.

Martinelli, Dario, ed. 2008a. Dossier Zoomusicology. *Revista Transcultural de Música* 12. http://www.sibetrans.com/trans/published-issue/3/trans-12-2008 (accessed April 21, 2018).

———. 2008b. Introduction (To the Issue and to Zoomusicology). *Revista Transcultural de Música, Transcultural Music Review*. http://www.sibetrans.com/trans/article/93/introduction-to-the-issue-and-to-zoomusicology (accessed April 21, 2018).

Melo, Rosa. 2007. *Homem é Homem, Mulher é Sapo: Género e Identidade entra os Handa no Sul de Angola* (Man is Man, Woman is Frog: Gender and Identity among the Handa in the South of Angola). Lisboa: Edições Colibri.

Molino, Jean. 2000. Toward an Evolutionary Theory of Music and Language. In *The Origins of Music*, 165-176. Ed. Nils L. Wallin, Björn Merker, and Steven Brown. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Morand, Katell. 2008. Chanter pour soi: La *tïzïta* du berger (Gojjam) (Singing for Oneself: The *tïzïta* of herders [Gojjam]). *Annales d'Ethiopie* 23: 45-59. http://www.persee.fr/doc/ethio_0066-2127_2007_num_23_1_1497?q=katell+morand (accessed March 19, 2018).

———. 2013. En forêt, la musique: Entre inquiétude et sentiment d'intimité (Goğğam, Ethiopie) (In the Forest, the Music: Between Anxiety and Intimacy [Goğğam, Ethiopia]). *Etnográfica* 17 (3): 561-579. http://etnografica.revues.org/3291 (accessed March 19, 2018).

Odadi, Wilfred O., Moses K. Karachi, Shaukat A. Abdulrazak, and Truman P. Young. 2011. African Wild Ungulates Compete with or Facilitate Cattle Depending on Season. *Science, New Series*. 333 (6050): 1753-1755.

Ott, Martin. 2012 [2011]. *Kühe verstehen: Eine neue Partnerschaft beginnt* (Understanding Cattle: A New Partnership Begins). 4th edition. Lenzburg: Faro.

Otto, Ton. 2015. Transformations of Cultural Heritage in Melanesia: From *Kastam* to *Kalsa*. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 21 (2): 117-132.

Paul, Sigrid. 1987. The Wrestling Tradition and its Social Function. In *Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History*, 23-46. Ed. William J. Baker and James A. Mangan. New York and London: Africana Publishing Company; Holmes and Meier.

Peano, Irene. 2007/2008. Wrestling Masculinities: Metaphors of Purity and Metonymical Bodies in Senegalese Arenas. *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology* 27 (2): 36-56.

Pedelty, Mark. 2012. *Ecomusicology: Rock, Folk, and the Environment*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Pélissier, René. 1997 [1986]. *História das Campanhas de Angola: Resistiência e Revoltas 1845-1941 (History of the Campaigns of Angola: Resistance and Revolt 1845-1941)*. Vol. 1. 2nd ed. Lisboa: Estampa.

Penzhorn, B. L. 1988. Equus zebra. *Mammalian Species* 314: 1-7.

Post, Jennifer C. 2018. Ecological Knowledge, Collaborative Management, and Musical Production in Western Mongolia. *Ethnomusicology: A Contemporary Reader, Volume II*, 161-179. Ed. Jennifer C. Post. New York: Routledge.

Qureshi, Regula Burckhart. 1997. The Indian Sarangi: Sound of Affect, Site of Contest. *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 29: 1-38.

Rancier, Megan. 2014. The Musical Instrument as National Archive: A Case Study of the Kazakh *Qyl-qobyz*. *Ethnomusicology* 58 (3): 379-404.

Rothenberg, David and Marta Ulvaeus, eds. 2001. *The Book of Music and Nature: An Anthology of Sounds, Words, Thoughts*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.

Ruíz, Pablo Rodíguez. 1996. *Los Nhaneca-Humbi de Angola: Procesos Etnosociales* (The Nhaneca-Humbi of Angola: Ethnosocial Processes). Cuba: Editoriales Ciencias Sociales.
Seeger, Anthony. 2004. *Why Suyá Sing: A Musical Anthropology of an Amazonian People*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
Silvers, Michael B. 2015. Birdsong and a Song about a Bird: Popular Music and the Mediation of Traditional Ecological Knowledge in Northeastern Brazil. *Ethnomusicology* 59 (3): 380-397.
Sorce Keller, Marcello. 2017. Do We Still Need To Think Musically? (Musings about an Old Friend, Fishing Nets, Templates, and Much More). *Ethnomusicology Ireland: The Journal of ICTM Ireland* 5: 1-15. http://www.ictm.ie/?p=2090 (accessed April 21, 2018).
Teffo, Lesiba J. and Abraham P.J. Roux. 2000 [1998]. Metaphysical Thinking in Africa. In *The African Philosophy Reader*, 134-148. Ed. Pieter H. Coetzee and Abraham P.J. Roux. Reprint. London: Routledge.
Titon, Jeff Todd, ed. 2009. Music and Sustainability. *the world of music* 51 (1), Special Issue.
Tomikawa, Rikido. 2006. Mongolian Wrestling (Bukh) and Ethnicity. *International Journal of Sport and Health Science* 4: 103-109.
Wallin, Nils L., Björn Merker, and Steven Brown, eds. 2000. *The Origins of Music*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Yegnan-Touré, Angeline. 2008. La technique et le jeu de l'arc musical (The Technique and Playing of the Musical Bow). *Cahiers d'ethnomusicologie* 21: 205-223.
Zimmer, Carl. 2012. Alles aus einer Hand (The Common Hand). *National Geographic* (May 2012): 66-73. English version online: https://www.nationalgeographic.com/magazine/2012/05/hands/ (accessed April 21, 2018).

Videography

Pakleppa, Richard, dir. Matthias Röhrig-Assunção and Mestre Cobra Mansa, co-dirs. 2014. *Body Games: Capoeira and Ancestry // O Jogo de Corpo: Capoeira e Ancestralidade* (BG). On Land Productions / Manganga Produções. DVD. 87mins.

Interviews and Personal Communications

Ginga, Lito. 2010. Conversation with Richard Pakleppa. Mucope, Angola. August 8.
Lombe, Angelina. 2010. Conversation with Richard Pakleppa. Mucope, Angola. August 8.
Mongrese, Tchapinga. 2010. Interview with research team including the author. Humpata, Angola. August 15.
Muaninga, Soba Grande Alberto J. 2011. Group conversation between Muaninga and

others, with research team including the author. Mucope, Angola. August 27.
Mumbalo, Maurício. 2010. Interview with research team including the author. Mucope, Angola. August 3.
Ntchongolola, Tchilulu. 2012. Conversation with author. Colchester, United Kingdom. July 5-6.
Pahula, Tchitula. 2011. Interview with research team including the author. Quiteve, Angola. August 17.
Tchiapukulua, Tchixicua. 2010. Interview with Mestre Cobra Mansa and Matthias Röhrig Assunção. Mucope, Angola. August 8.
———. 2011. Interview with Matthias Röhrig Assunção and author. Mucope, Angola. August 27.
Tchikunda, Mulalati. 2010. Interview with research team including the author. Mucope, Angola. August 7.
Vakussanga, Alberto. 2010. Conversation with Richard Pakleppa. Mucope, Angola. August 11.
Viliwaliwa, Patrício. 2011. Interview with research team including the author. Quiteve, Angola. August 17.
Waupeta, Kahani. 2010. Interview with research team including the author. Mucope, Angola. August 3.