Songs from the Hunters' Qur'an: *Dozo* Music, Textuality, and Islam in Northwestern Côte d'Ivoire, from the Repertoire of Dramane Coulibaly

Joseph Hellweg

Abstract: The hunting songs of the majority-Muslim, Odienné region of Northwestern Côte d'Ivoire accomplish more than meets the ear. They conjoin and distinguish Muslim goals and ostensibly non-Muslim hunting practices. The musical repertoire of my host, Dramane Coulibaly, is illustrative. This study examines the role that Dramane's songs played in motivating initiated *dozo* hunters to kill game during dozo funerals, a primary concern for dozos at these events. Next, it analyzes the structure and content of Dramane's songs in relation to the embodied, emplaced, and material dimensions of dozo funerals, where Dramane's performances served to calm the spirits of the dead so that they would leave the living in peace. Finally, it examines the musical aspects of Dramane's songs in relation to Islam, with the aim of broadening the study of Islam in West Africa and beyond to encompass the texts and performance practices of dozo funerals.

Résumé : les chants de chasse de la région à majorité musulmane d'Odienné, au nord-ouest de la Côte d'Ivoire, accomplissent plus qu'il n'y parait. Ils joignent et distinguent les objectifs musulmans et les pratiques de chasse apparemment non-musulmanes. Les chansons de mon hôte, Dramane Coulibaly, sont représentatives. Cette étude examine tout d'abord la relation substantielle que les textes de chansons de Dramane établissent entre ses performances et la chasse, une préoccupation

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centrale des dozos. Ensuite, il analyse la structure et le contenu des chansons de Dramane en relation avec les dimensions symboliques réalisées de mises en scène des funérailles dozo, où ses performances ont servi à calmer les esprits des morts afin qu'ils puissent laisser en paix les vivants. Enfin, il examine les aspects musicaux des chansons de Dramane en relation avec l'islam, dans le but d'élargir l'étude de l'islam en Afrique de l'Ouest et de l'islam en général, pour y inclure l'esthétique sonique et cinétique des performances dozo.

Resumo: As canções de caça típicas de Odienné, uma região no noroeste da Costa do Marfim de maioria muçulmana, cumprem mais funções do que o ouvido alcança. Elas articulam e distinguem os objetivos muçulmanos e as práticas de caça aparentemente não muçulmanas. As canções de Dramane Coulibaly, o meu anfitrião, são disso exemplificativas. O presente artigo analisa a relação de causa e efeito que as letras das canções de Dramane estabelecem entre as suas performances e a caça, uma preocupação central para os dozos. Em seguida, analisa-se a estrutura e o conteúdo das canções de Dramane e a sua relação com as dimensões materiais e de concretização dos funerais dozo, onde as suas performances serviam para acalmar os espíritos dos mortos, de modo que estes deixassem os vivos em paz. Por fim, o artigo debruça-se sobre os aspetos musicais que, nas canções de Dramane, se relacionam com o Islão, tendo como objetivo um aprofundamento do estudo do Islão na África ocidental – e do Islão em geral – que inclua a estética sonora e cinética das performances dozo.

Keywords: Côte d'Ivoire; dozo hunters; dozos; hunters; Islam; Jula; Malinke; Mande; orality and literacy; West Africa

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The Sorcerer's Apprentice: Orality, Scripture, and Embodied Performance

This article explores the relationship between texts and materiality in Islam by examining the songs of the initiated *dozo* hunter Dramane Coulibaly.[1] For decades, Coulibaly sang to other dozos at dozo funerals in the majority-Muslim region of Odienné in Northwestern Côte d'Ivoire. Because most dozos there practice Islam, a dozo receives Muslim burial rites for his soul (*ni*) within twenty-four hours after his death, followed seven, then forty days later, and finally a year afterward by memorials accompanied by Qur'anic readings. After his burial, after months or even years, he then receives another funeral intended to placate that aspect of his person that lingers among the living after death: his "shadow" or *ya*, in Wonjɛnɛkakan, the Manding language of Odienné—his double.[2] Dramane therefore sang, in part, to enable dozos to inhabit, simultaneously, the realms of Islam and *dozoya*—"what dozos do"—by managing the doubles or "shadows" of dead dozos. He used his verbal and musical artistry to close the gap between the Qur'an's Arabic text and the secondary funeral practices in which dozos engage by provocatively calling the harp that accompanied his songs the dozos' "Qur'an." His songs, along with the dancing and other actions that accompany them, were intended to move a dead man closer to final judgment.

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Texts and Contexts

Rudolph Ware (2014) and Geert Mommersteeg (2010) have wonderfully shown how Qur'anic teachers prepare and discipline the bodies of their students to *receive* Muslim texts in West Africa, highlighting the embodied resonance of Qur'anic learning. Here, Muslims impose the Qur'an upon the body for its beneficial effects. Muslim dozos point to a different relationship between bodies and texts, however, one that is *mutually* constituting, in which bodies, places, and performances generate and sustain sacred texts as much as the reverse. Over the last decade, Jean-Pierre Warnier (2007), David Morgan (2010), Manuel Vásquez (2011), and others have urged a turn to the material, embodied, emplaced, and performative aspects of ritual, moving beyond the historical focus of religious studies on scripture. Vásquez (2011:131, 150–55) may have put it best when he critiqued scholars for depicting sacred texts as imposing social control on passive bodies and an inert world, as if bodies and matter lacked agency. Dramane's songs, in contrast, highlight the determining role that bodies and their settings played in the composition of his songs.[3] I aim to build on the growing literature about the music of initiated hunters in Manding-speaking West Africa (e.g., Durán 1995, 2003; Ferrarini 2014; Keita 1996, 2011; Konkouris 2013; Maxwell 2008; Strawn 2011) to address the ways in which dozos have musically and poetically engaged with Islam.[4]

This essay is organized into six sections or "movements," following the introduction, "The Sorcerer's Apprentice." Part one, "Killing Game Loudly with His Songs," reveals the consequential relationship that Dramane's song texts posit between his performances and hunting, a central preoccupation for dozos at dozo funerals. Part two, "The Grateful Dead," explains how Dramane sang to calm and move to the afterlife the shades of dead dozos at their funerals. This section also introduces the dozo harp that accompanied Dramane as well his comparison of the harp to the Qur'an. In part three, "Let's Dance," I discuss how Dramane's songs and dozo performances reflect the moral relations among their gendered participants. Part four, "Textual Feeling," examines how Dramane's songs reflected contrasts among various dimensions of the dozo role—Muslim and non-Muslim alike. Part five, "Eine Kleine Dozo Nachtmusik," shows, in turn, how his songs also reflected distinctions among different *kinds* of dozos, demonstrating the extent to which he composed his songs in response to the embodied landscape of dozo funerals. Finally, in part six, "Even the Score," I focus on the musical aspects of Dramane's songs in relation to Islam. My aim is to expand the study of Islam in West Africa, and of Islam in general, to include the sonic-kinetic aesthetics of dozo performances, which are imbued with a sense of textuality all their own. Dramane's songs offer sources for understanding Islam that transcend the study of written texts. Although Shahab Ahmed (2015:73) took pains to study Islam beyond scripture and jurisprudence alone, he limited his sources to writing in languages of the "Balkans-to-Bengal-Complex," the area between Eastern Europe and South Asia which,

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for him, "comprised a relatively distinct and integrated world." I want to show how Dramane's songs extend this Muslim realm, relating dozoya to global Islam despite tensions between them.

Meeting Dramane

I met and came to know Dramane starting in 1994 when I was living in the Odienné region of Northwestern Côte d'Ivoire, doing fieldwork among dozo hunters.[5] Whereas most men learn to hunt in the Odienné region, only some become dozos. Dozos are more than hunters; they are also sorcerers and healers, knowledgeable of the forest's medicinal plants, and they make ritual sacrifices to Manimory, the spirit of the first dozo. In return, Manimory protects them from danger in the forest and beyond. In the 1990s, dozos exploited their ritual networks, sorcery, and skill with guns to organize security patrols across Côte d'Ivoire in response to corrupt and inefficient state police.[6] Then, from 2002 to 2007 and again from late 2010 to April 2011, they helped overthrow the Islamophobic regime of President Laurent Gbagbo (Hellweg, Palus & Koné 2015; see also McGovern 2011).

Dramane became my host during my fieldwork and was, until his recent retirement after making the *hajj* in 2014, the area's most important dozo singer (*dozongɔnunfɔla*). He regularly emceed dozos' nighttime funeral rites, called *kozi*, where he sang to dozos who danced together in response, sometimes with dozos' wives.[7] The problem posed at dozo funerals is a distinct one: Whereas a Muslim man's death raises concerns about the ultimate destination of his body (*fari* or *fisi*) and soul (*ni*), which Muslim funerals resolve, a dozo's death raises fears over the status of his double (*ya*), whose passage only dozo methods can assure but whose fate is one that all Muslims share: divine judgment (see Hellweg 2011:91–101).[8] The occasion calls for singing dozo texts that reference Islam, just as West African Muslims host Qur'anic readings at memorial services for deceased Muslims.

I first learned Dramane's thoughts about the relationship between words and writing in an unexpected, unsettling way. I had entered his house to ask his permission, as my host, to go to Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire's economic capital to the south, a thirteen-hour bus ride at the time.[9] I wanted to interview dozos there. While I was taking notes on our conversation (jotting down Manding words and expressions he was using), he removed a large padlock from beneath his bed, a formidable device that might have secured a pirate's treasure chest. He told me that if he wanted me to bring something back for him from Abidjan, he needed only to mention the name of the object over the lock, along with my name, and, if he closed the lock, I would deliver the object to him. He then declared, curiously, that the writing I was doing in my notebook was *my* way of doing sorcery; the lock was his. As best I could tell, he was equating his words and mine—his spoken onto an iron lock, mine transposed onto paper. He was telling me, I think, that he could fix my intentions with the lock the way I could secure his

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portrait in my notebook and that we each lacked the ability to alter the other's representations of reality. His "orality" and my "literacy" ineluctably joined words and matter, evidence of the "graphemic equality" he presumed (see Oyler 2005:99). This essay scrutinizes the Qur'anic metaphor Dramane used to illustrate this equality.[10]

Killing Game Loudly with His Songs: Dramane Coulibaly's Hunting Aesthetics

One night in the village of Nienesso, Dramane explained to me in his family compound why songs are so important to dozos (see figure 1):[11]

Dozo byɛ tɛ kɛlɛn ye. Dɔ ye dozo yɛrɛ yɛrɛ ye. Dɔ ye morifatigi ye.	All dozos are not the same. Some are real. Others just own guns.
N'i k'a se examen na, a ka nyi. I sawanin. I facɛ sawanin.	If you do well on an exam, that's good. You're happy. Your father's happy.
Ni n ka donkiri da, dozo sawanin . . .	If I sing, dozos are happy . . .
Lekɔlden ka ʃya. O byɛ tɛ se *examen* na.[12]	There are lots of students. They don't all do well on exams.
Morifatigi ka ʃya. O byɛ tɛ dozo ye.	Lots of men own guns. Not all are dozos.
N'i ka *examen* kɛ, i bɛ kɛ lekɔlden yɛrɛ yɛrɛ ye. I bɛ ferinya sɔrɔ. A ka d'i ye.	You become a real student by taking exams. It gives you courage. It pleases you.
N'i ka donkiri lamɛn, i bɛ kɛ dozo yɛrɛ yɛrɛ ye.	You become a real dozo by listening to songs.

I had never hunted in the United States by the time of my fieldwork, and I became a reluctant, ambivalent, and unaccomplished hunter in Côte d'Ivoire. Dozos interested me because of their songs, which, Dramane assured me, were inseparable from killing game, and vice versa. I understood Dramane to mean that words are as crucial to hunting as killing game, that his songs inspired dozos to hunt, and that songs and bodies—both animal and human—became conjoined through his words. I now draw on Dramane's performance in the village of Kombèdougou on April 13–14, 1995 to show why this is so.[13] The original recordings of the song excerpts presented here are accessible online at the following link: https://doi.org/10.1017/asr.2018.142

The Grateful Dead: Dozo Organology, Comparative Religion, and the Aesthetics of Emotion

Dramane usually sang at a kozi funeral performance from about eight o'clock p.m. until *fayiri* (*fajr* in Arabic), the next day's first Muslim prayer at dawn.

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Figure 1. Dramane Coulibaly and the author in Dramane's compound (*lu*). January 24, 2009.*

*I have chosen photographs taken in daylight to offer clear images of the people and elements present at kozis. Kozis occurred only at night.

His dozo apprentices accompanied him as a chorus on the dozo harp, the *ngɔnun*, a calabash-based, bridge-harp with six strings arranged in two parallel, vertical rows (see Charry 2000:69–80; see figure 2).[14] The strings anchor to each end of a wooden neck at the bottom of which is affixed a calabash resonating chamber cut across the top and covered with duiker or goat skin in order to support a bridge for the strings with the help of bamboo supports. The harp plays a pentatonic scale in non-equidistant steps. Musicians strum each row with their thumbs and forefingers, usually holding the harp like a guitar or banjo with one hand held lower along the strings to play one row and the other hand held higher, playing the other row. Dramane rarely played the harp publicly, but he played well in private.

Dramane sang at kozis to goad dozos to kill game. The bravest promised to slay an animal that night, even predicting the kind of game they would kill and where. Gifts of meat to the dead man's family calmed the spirit of the dead man as dozos temporarily took his place and cared for his family in his absence.[15] Such work often involved expelling a force called *nyama* from felled game by using incantations and/or medicinal plants to prevent the nyama from infecting the slayer, his wife, their as yet unborn children, or anyone coming into contact with the meat, which could otherwise make them ill (Hellweg 2011:53, 92). The dead man's presence would then fully leave the world of the living to await the final judgment.

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Figure 2. Dramane Coulibaly, Yacou Koné, Abou Touré, and Managnouma Alpha Koné, the former chief dozo of Nienesso, from left to right, heading to the dozos' ritual area, the *dangun*, to make a sacrifice to Manimory, the dozos' tutelary spirit. Abou, Dramane's senior apprentice, plays the *ngɔnun* while Dramane plays an iron rasp, or *kɛnkɛnyɛn*, January 20, 2009.

Otherwise he might sicken his family's livestock, ruin their crops, or spoil the hunt for hunters out of spite. Dramane's songs thus accomplished Muslim ends, moving the whole of a dead man towards the afterlife and assuring his family's well-being. At the start of the kozi in Kombèdougou in 1995, Dramane even called the dozos' harp, "the Qur'an":

A ye ni bara n bolo bla ali kurana lɔ	Since I began putting my hand in the Qur'an
Sogolu la dununkan ye	Lo, the sound of the animals' bass drum
N bara n zara Ala la, ka n zara cɛlaba Mamadu la	I have confided myself to God and to the Prophet Muhammad
Ka n zara Kɔmbɛdugu dugu da jina[16] la	And confided myself to the protective spirit (*jinn*) of Kombèdougou

Dramane linked his career as a dozo singer to both hunting *and* Islam. When he sang, he put his hand into both the "animals' bass drum" *and* the Qur'an. Just as drums bring people to life, prompting them to dance, he implied, the dozos' harp excites animals to action when dozos hunt them.

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His Qu'ran had a double identity, bridging Islam and dozoya. Never far were God and his Prophet, Muhammad, to whom Dramane dedicated himself as a singer. He also invoked the protection of Kombèdougou's local forest spirit (*dugu da jina*), legitimizing the religious pluralism of Odienné's dozos. When Dramane's apprentices plucked the *ngɔnun*'s strings, and he sang, they turned the pages of the Qur'an—while pounding a venatic drum. Dramane also called his harp a *kitabu*, from the Arabic *kitab*, meaning "book." In Arabic, the Qur'an is "*the* book," *al-Kitab*, or *Kitabullah*, "the book of God." For Dramane, his songs were a book of God, too, which helped secure salvation for dozos.

Another dozo from the Odienné region, Mory Diakité, echoed Dramane's claim. He told me that killing game was a form of almsgiving that wins God's favor for dozos at their last judgment and for their dozo apprentices at theirs (Hellweg 2011:83). Islam was, in fact, a dozo preoccupation, and dozoya, "what dozos do," was a valid one for Muslim dozos. Dramane claimed, for example, that Manimory, the first dozo, had descended from Abraham through Ismael, in Islam's prophetic line, through a man named Enzu: Esau, the hunter of the Book of Genesis (Hellweg 2011:118–19). But such details appear nowhere in the Qu'ran, only in dozo lore. Dramane effectively conceived of his songs as Muslim texts in his own Manding language (see Derive 1983) about the dozo prophet, Nabi Enzu, just as the Qur'an tells stories of Muslim prophets in Arabic.[17]

In Côte d'Ivoire, however, followers of the eighteenth-century reformer ibn Abd al-Wahhab condemn the initiatory sacrifices dozos make to Manimory as *shirk*, or apostasy. Al-Wahhab enjoined Muslims in his treatise, the *Kitab al Tawhid* (Wahhab 1992), to avoid associating any power with God in a way that might compromise the Muslim community's submission to Him (Hellweg 2006:465).[18] Dramane is aware of such critiques. "I cannot know their business," he told me vaguely when I asked him about Salafi Muslims, "but they do not appeal to me."[19] He challenged the very basis of their criticisms—dozos' alleged failure to know and follow Muslim scripture—by provocatively comparing dozo orality with Muslim literacy. I understood Dramane to say that his performances were a form of what Richard Bauman and Charles Briggs (1990) have called "entextualization," a way of objectifying oral texts that opens them to critical reflection, making them memorable beyond their original performances: the "process of rendering discourse extractable, of making a stretch of linguistic production into a unit—a text—that can be lifted out of its interactional setting. A text . . . from this vantage point is discourse rendered decontextualizable" (Bauman & Briggs 1990:73–74).

At the same time, Dramane's performances grounded his songs in their embodied, emplaced, and material contexts (see Connerton 1989:102). His lyrics referenced the events at which he sang, anchoring his songs in their hunting-related settings. His songs therefore emerged from *within* and then moved *beyond* their contexts as much as they imposed meaning *upon* them. Ruth Finnegan (2007) has highlighted such "multi-modal" aspects of African "orality," such as the dances, objects, sounds, and allusions to the written Qur'an that

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accompanied Dramane's ostensibly "oral" performances.[20] His "oral texts" were more than oral, more than texts. They were enacted word problems that required action to solve, like the "exams" to which he compared them.

His songs, for example, often contrasted living dozos unfavorably with dead ones:

Jacɛdugu Jɔmɔn nɔ ko caman kɛ	Diatièdougou Jomon did many things
Sama bi kɔnɔntɔn [ni] sama kɔnɔntɔn ka o kɛ lakira kan kali	Ninety-nine elephants went swiftly to the beyond
Sedugu Jɔmɔn bɛ min ?	Where is Seydougou Jomon?

In this passage, Dramane nostalgically and implicitly compares a heroic dozo—who allegedly killed ninety-nine elephants—to living dozos for whom such exploits, Dramane insinuates, are impossible because they are less competent hunters.[21] His turns of phrase, joined to the rhythms and melodies of his chorus and to dancing by dozos, gave his words more than occasional importance; they "naturaliz[ed]" the "intertextual relations" he asserted between dozoya and Islam (Briggs & Bauman 1992:158), between hunting and the divine, between a dozo's death and salvation. His performances gave his words a lasting, ethical life capable of molding dozo character well beyond the kozi, into the forest, and, beyond death, through Islam.

These remarks would have raised the eyebrows of Walter Ong (2013) and Jack Goody (1977), who argued that writing has a permanence orality lacks, that non-literate people have less capacity for critical thinking than literate ones since oral texts are transient (Ong 2013), and that writing intervenes where mediated social interactions prevail over face-to-face relationships (Goody 1977). Writing, for Goody and Ong, was more or less permanent because of its material trace, which, they claimed, allows authors and readers to contemplate ideas at a critical distance.[22] Whereas Goody and Ong minimized orality the potential to entextualize, Dramane asserted it. Although the Qur'an gave dozos little chance to legitimize their hunting in Muslim terms, Dramane's songs made space for dozos in Islam, extending dozoya's reach beyond its hunting contexts. Whereas the Qur'an shapes dozos' lives as Muslims, Dramane let their lives as hunters shape his Muslim songs. His songs therefore challenge invidious distinctions between so-called "world religions," with their global, literate populations—a category invented to model non-Christian practices awkwardly after Christianity (Masuzawa 2005)—and "indigenous religions," those more "local" practices that reputedly lack the geographical reach and literary corpus of their supposedly more cosmopolitan counterparts.[23] But if Dramane's songs reconciled dozoya and Islam, and if most dozos in Odienné were Muslim, then Dramane preached Islam in songs to his kozi audiences as much as any imam in Odienné did to Muslims at large in his sermons. Dramane, however, drew on far more than words to do so.

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Let's Dance: The Place of the Body, and Bodies Emplaced, at Dozo Funerals

Dozos danced throughout the night to Dramane's songs in a counterclockwise circle around a central fire in or near the dead dozo's compound. They moved at an ambulatory pace as if in search of quarry and to the lilting syncopation of the iron rasp (*kɛnkɛnyɛn*) that Dramane played. Near the end of most of Dramane's songs, he accelerated the rasp's tempo, and dozos burst into a rapid dance in small groups as if in hot pursuit of game, leaving the dance circle and moving toward Dramane and his apprentices wherever they had removed themselves to make room for the dancers.[24]

When I asked Dramane why a dozo's eyes sometimes changed as he danced with such vigor, he replied, "His eyes become red. His heart . . . is pained . . . It is as if, your eyes, you and an animal have seen each other again."[25] Dozo singing and dancing thus evoked and mimicked hunting as a way to excite dozos to kill game. Each dozo often danced with his gun, Dramane explained, because "it is with that that he kills game."[26] Funerals evoked joy as well as sadness because dozos came to kozis in part to express through dance the pleasure they feel while hunting: "The happiness you have from the things you do in the bush, you dance that in the village," Dramane said, presuming a close, cyclical relationship between the motivation to hunt generated by music and dance at a kozi, the joy dozos feel on the hunting that follows, and the exuberance they later express for hunting by dancing at the next kozi.[27]

Dramane and his apprentices were not the only ones who made music on these occasions, however. Dozos commented appreciatively on Dramane's songs, blowing their hunting whistles with which they called for help in the forest. Other dozos fired gunpowder volleys from locally handmade, muzzle-loading muskets, emitting sonorous booms. Women clapped and sang. The result was a thick, sonic underbrush through which dozos trekked and ran, invoking the forest and the hunt within the village in order to bring together those troubled by a dozo's death. Together, dozos and women re-embodied the moral connections sundered by the demise of the dozo who once personified them so he could leave for the afterlife, reassured.[28] The kozi's sounds (clapping, musket volleys, the metal rasp, and dozo harps) indexed the various participants (women, dozos, and dozo musicians, respectively) whose moral interrelations the parties reconstituted after a dozo's death. The texts of Dramane's songs emerged from within and around the material imperatives of these relationships, not over and against them, especially with regard to Islam.

Textual Feeling: Context and Audience in Dramane's Compositional Style

When Dramane sang at kozis, he sang throughout the night, superimposing one song over another, as it were, exploring multiple facets of being a dozo with melodic content that differed from song to song, reflecting different

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lyrical content in a set of structural contrasts that would have made Lévi-Strauss sing. The result was a musical portrait of dozoya to which dozos enjoyed both listening and dancing. Most songs identified distinct components of the dozo role, from the heroic to the vulnerable to the mortal. Songs followed one after the other, clarifying the dozo role and how dozos should respond to the deceased man's death. Dramane deployed a melodic menagerie to distinguish the attitudes, skills, and preoccupations by which he and other dozos defined themselves in relation to non-dozos at the funeral.

One song, "That Which Some Know, Others Do Not" (*Dɔ ye dɔ lon, dɔ ma o lon*), models good character for dozos, who rely on sorcery and friendship to kill game:[29]

Dramane: He, dɔ ye dɔ lon	Hey, that which some know
Chorus: Dɔ ma o lon	Others do not
Dramane: Dɔ ye dɔ lon, dɔ [unintelligible]	That which some know, some [unintelligible]
Chorus: Dɔ ye dɔ lon	That which some know
Dramane: N ko byɛ man kan	I say everyone is not the same
Chorus: Dozo dɔ ye dɔ lon, dɔ ma o lon	Some dozos know something that others do not
Dramane: He, dɔ ye dɔ lon	Hey, that which some know
Chorus: Dɔ ma o lon	Others do not

These lyrics highlight the importance of humility. My friend, Drissa Koné, who first introduced me to Dramane, also helped me to record his songs, transcribed them into Manding for me, and translated them into French (Hellweg 2011:18–21). Drissa told me that dozos who vaunt their hunting prowess do so at great risk. Competitors may use sorcery to "cut" them—*ka o tɛgɛ*—that is, to prevent them from killing game. Other dozos confirmed Drissa's assertion. A display of humility to a dozo powerful enough to counteract such sorcery—likely a more senior colleague—might help solve the problem.[30] For Dramane, sorcery could undo such constraints that might prevent dozos from freeing a colleague's spirit for the afterlife by killing game. Dramane therefore inflected sorcery with Muslim purpose, or at least a neutral cast beyond apostasy, construing it as a tool, like a gun, useful for hunting with ethical ends in mind.

The musical features of "That Which Some Know" complement its lyrical content, especially in the way that Dramane's voice interacts with the voices of his chorus who sing the song's refrain.[31] Dramane ornaments his voice with great tonal variety, singing the syllable *lon* as a melisma—drawing

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it out over several different tones—as if reciting the Qur'an or the Muslim call to prayer (*adhan*) (Skinner 2015a:25; Skinner 2015b).[32] This is no coincidence. West African singing reflects the vocal styles of North Africa and the Middle East due to cultural interactions fostered by the trans-Saharan trade. Although Charry (2000:23) writes of the influence of Qur'anic recitation on Mandé *jeli* or "griot" music, he might have mentioned dozo music too:

> . . . music of the jelis has been influenced by some of the musical aesthetics carried in the recitation of the Koran that is bound up in Islam wherever it travels. Two noteworthy features that sometimes distinguish the music of [S]ahelian Muslim peoples from some of their non-Muslim neighbors include monophony, wherein vocal harmony is largely absent, and a high degree of melodic ornamentation. Although it is possible that these tendencies might predate the coming of Islam, they do conform to Arab musical practice and help to bind a large musical culture area.

Dozo music is, correspondingly, both monophonic and highly ornamented. Dozo vocalization reflects and/or has facilitated a history of interaction with Islam.

Amulets on the protective shirts that dozos wear for their ritual activities do the same. They may contain Qur'anic verses or their numerological representations (see Mommersteeg 2010:97–116). Dozos need not be Muslim to wear them, but even then such amulets inject Islam into dozoya.[33] Dozos also use the word *saraka* from the Arabic, *zadakat*, or "alms," to denote the offerings they make to Manimory and to dead dozos at kozis (Hellweg 2011:81). If amulets exemplify the appropriation of Islam by dozos, and if dozos compare their offerings to Manimory with alms destined to God, then Dramane's comparison of his harp to the Qur'an is as unsurprising as the melismas that appear in his songs—indications of a more pervasive assimilation to Islam. Indeed, dozo songs themselves, and the dances that they inspire, are components of the alms meant to produce good feelings at dozo funerals in order to calm the dead man's spirit (see Hellweg 2011:94–95). In "That Which Some Know," the result is a series of ostinato parts that return cyclically to the full refrain, *Dɔ ye dɔ lon, dɔ ma o lon*, which bounces back and forth between Dramane's call and his accompanists' response, so much so that it becomes unclear at points who is calling and who responding, indicative of the oneness to which participants at dozo funerals aspire. Dramane interjects other content, like the line, "I say everyone is not the same," for contrast.

A resultant musical "complementarity" (Kafumbe 2018:47, 56, 60) infuses Dramane's songs. Whereas he and his chorus sing in simple 2/4 time, a syncopated compound meter of 6/8 prevails in the instruments, creating a hemiola, most audibly in the rasp that Dramane plays. The outcome is a regular, danceable meter (see Agawu 2003:79–86; Hellweg 2011:185) characterized by a tension between its duple and triple phrasings, a result that Steven Friedson (1996:169) describes as inducing possession trance in Tumbuka healing in Malawi by invoking spirits called *vimbuza*:

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> "Twos" and "threes," even and odd meters, are co-present in the rhythmic structure of *vimbuza* drumming at all times . . . Music mediates this rhythmic binary opposition, and in doing so its very structure becomes a paradigm of doubling: the rhythmic doubling of acoustical illusions is reflexive with the doubling of spirit type, which itself is the prerequisite for a doubling of consciousness. In all of these, doubling is both a splitting apart and a bringing together.

Since Tumbuka dancers can only induce possession through music, by which they call on spirits, the "tonal" reality of spirit possession is all-encompassing. The hemiola *is* the existential ground of the shifting ontological experience of Tumbuka spirit possession. Music is the material medium in which corporeal transformation occurs. Such "musical structure" is "a mode of being-in-the-world" (Friedson 1996:168).

Dramane's metrical complementarity similarly reflects dozos' ability to shift adroitly between Islam and dozoya. Dramane additionally brought dozos together as a group in order to separate them by challenging them to excel as *individual* hunters. As the dozos danced, the excitement of moving from a slow to a rapid pace accomplished the desirable transition between inaction and hunting, notably when dozos displayed the "red eyes" and "pained heart" that Dramane mentioned. By singing, he aimed to make each dozo say to himself, "tomorrow [before the end of the funeral], I will kill game . . . to the point that if God wants it, it will die. [And even] if God *doesn't* want it, it will die" (emphasis mine).[34] Although Dramane recognized Islam's compatibility with dozoya, he acknowledged tensions between them, compelling him to make their complementarity explicit. Hence his songs moderate the boundaries between dozoya and Islam as much as they bring them together, "suppress[ing and] . . . foregrounding intertextual gaps between them" (Briggs & Bauman 1992:158).

The interlocking lyrics, meters, and concerns—both dozo and Muslim—signal the importance of collaborative if competitive ties among the funeral's participants and their contrasting but equivalent loyalties to dozoya and Islam. "That Which Some Know" distills a situation in which dozos rely on each other to expel a dead man's spirit and try to outshine one another by providing meat for his family. Their embodied, material imperatives at the funerals where Dramane sang shaped the form and content of a song that reflects their multivalent dozo identities (see Feld 1984:405). Juxtaposed duple and triple meters echo dozos' twinned but discrepant natures as dozos and Muslims. The transfer of the song's refrain between Dramane and his chorus signals an interdependence between each dozo and dozos as a whole in placating the dead by killing game. And the acceleration from an ambulant to a swifter pace—initiated by musicians and followed by dancers at dozo funerals to this day—enacts a dozo identity that ideally stimulates participants to kill game in the forest. The song locates key features of dozo identity at the intersection of dozoya and Islam.

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Figure 3. Red monkey (*sura wulen*), rock hyrax (*farabanun*), and cane rat (*kɔnyina*) meat in Nienesso after a hunt, January 20, 2009.

Other songs do so too, with even more specific reference to Islam, such as "Wait for me, God" (*Ala N Makɔnɔ*):

Chorus: Ala n makɔnɔ, nɛ wala dozobalu sira lɔgbɛla	Wait for me, God, I am going to clear the great dozos' path
Dramane: Bolifen jugu ye nala	The bad power objects are coming
Chorus: Ala n makɔnɔ, nɛ wala dozobalu sira lɔgbɛla	Wait for me, God, I am going to clear the great dozos' path
Dramane: Kurusitigi ye nala dɛ	The ones who wear the pants are coming
Chorus: Ala n makɔnɔ, nɛ wala dozobalu sira lɔgbɛla	Wait for me, God, I am going to clear the great dozos' path
Dramane: Subabu ye nala	The sorcerers are coming

Between the song's refrain, which asks God to "wait" for Dramane while he greets dozos at a funeral, come recurrent images of dozos as "bad power-objects," that is, repositories of arcane expertise; "pants wearers," dangerous men you should avoid, who "wear the pants," so to speak; and "sorcerers."[35]

Typically Dramane greeted dozos at the edge of the village or compound where they arrived for the kozi. These dozos may have hunted along

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the way, possibly using sorcery. Many arrived wearing amulet-covered dozo shirts and holding power objects. In moving to greet them, Dramane moved toward the morally ambiguous realm of the forest and dozoya, away from Islam; yet his words confounded reformist condemnations. He depicts dozos as moving *between* their esoteric power and God rather than away from either one. Dozos can hunt their Islam, he seems to say, and eat it too. When dozos use sorcery to kill game, they give the game they kill to a dead dozo's family as alms, protecting Muslims from hunger and moving a dead man toward judgment, fulfilling dozo and Muslim expectations at once.

If Dramane reconciled dozoya with Islam, then surely his songs resemble the Qur'an. Although hunting may not be among Islam's five "pillars," Islam is a pillar of dozo hunting, at least for Dramane, who makes this clear in his song, "A Good Person's Death Is a Sign from God," in which he depicts Islam and dozoya as inextricable from each other:

Chorus: Mɔgɔ bɛrɛ sa Ala le nɔ e	A good person's death is a sign from God, eh
Dramane: Braima Jan bara byɛn	Tall Brahima has fallen
Chorus: Mɔgɔ bɛrɛ sa Ala le nɔ	A good person's death is a sign from God
Dramane: Kombɛdugukay la Zumana Jan bara byɛn	Tall Zumana of Kombèdugu has fallen
Chorus: Mɔgɔ bɛrɛ sa Ala le nɔ e	A good person's death is a sign from God, eh
Dramane: Dozo, i ni kon	Good hunting, dozos!

If God decides the time and place of each person's death, as most Muslims in the Odienné region believe, then every person's death, including a dozo's, is a sign from God, literally a "trace" or "print" (*nɔ*) of God's presence. In this song, Dramane invoked, by nickname, two dead dozos, "Tall Brahima" and "Tall Zumana," whose hunting exploits were worth commemorating in song. He memorializes them as "good people" (*mɔgɔ bɛrɛ*), morally upright persons who, as dozos, made alms-like gifts of game meat (*saraka*, from the Arabic, *sadakat*) to others throughout their lives (see Hellweg 2011:81).[36] Songs like this make the dozo's harp a Qur'an because they portray hunting as a form of Muslim piety, a way to be closer to God. Dramane praises living dozos for their hunting in his song's final line because, by hunting, they aspire to salvation, following in the footsteps of their illustrious dead colleagues. Although Dramane acknowledges differences between dozoya and Islam, he argues that hunting can achieve sanctity for dozos.

Eine Kleine Dozo Nachtmusik: Shifting Targets for Musical Performance

In other songs, however, he focused on more specifically dozo identities: for example, on (1) dozos whose hunting reputations he contested,

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(2) dozos who have lost their first wife and child, as Manimory is said to have done, and on (3) dozo blacksmiths, or *numu*, in Manding.[37] While most of his songs featured distinctive refrains shared with his chorus, Dramane sang these kinds of songs without refrains, further proof that he composed and sang in response to his performance contexts. His song, "Blacksmiths" (*Numu*), for instance, praises dozos whose worth transcends killing game per se:

He, numu, i ni sɛnɛ, ni la numu, i ni sɛnɛ	Hey, blacksmiths, welcome, my blacksmiths, welcome
Gban jala numu la kalo wɔrɔ	Forge-loving smiths at the forge for six months
Gban ma ja numu la kalo wɔrɔ	Forge-hating smiths at the forge for six months
Kata Mɔzɔnba nɛ tagala lakira Wasolon	Since Mozonba went to paradise in Wasolo
A na ni sinala numulu nyɛ dɛ	He really made me fear smiths
Kata Mɔzɔnba nɛ tagala kiyama	Since Mozonba left for the final judgment
Kɛla kɔnifɔ Dramani na dɛ	Dramane has really despaired

When Dramane sang, "Blacksmiths," he sang alone—unlike for most of his songs—without chorus or refrain. Only dozo blacksmiths danced, present at every dozo gathering I attended since smithing, a profession inherited in certain clans, produces the knives, hunting axes, twelve-gauge rifles, and muskets with which dozos hunt (see McNaughton 1988:3, 159).[38]

Dramane opens the song with a greeting, followed by three successive couplets.[39] The first starts with the word, *gban* ("forge"), which begins each line of the first couplet. The first lines of the second and third couplets begin with the word, *kata* ("since"), followed, in each case, by a line that expresses Dramane's misgivings about the state of the world. These couplets give the song its structure without a refrain, displaying a form and reusable content that enabled Dramane to adapt to the occasion, as with his reference to renowned dozo, Mozonba.

The song portrays dozo blacksmiths as formidable because they work without pause—happily or not—making hunting tools. Without blacksmiths, Dramane fears, hunting would end, a thought that recurs at each kozi. When a dozo dies, something of the hunt dies with him, requiring a funeral and its songs to reinvigorate the hunt over and against the potential mischief wrought by the dead dozo's spirit (see Hertz 1960). Dramane's songs provoked dozos to hunt in the dead dozo's place. They also responded to circumstances at dozo funerals more generally. When Dramane sang for

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dozos as a whole, his chorus accompanied him and alternated with him in singing verses and refrains. When Dramane sang for particular kinds of dozos, however, such as blacksmiths, he sang alone, without refrains, just as dozo blacksmiths danced alone without other dozos. Bringing dozos together therefore also meant distinguishing them from each other, just as forging links between dozoya and Islam meant noting their differences (see Briggs & Bauman 1992:158). Dramane altered the lyrical and musical features of his songs accordingly, tailoring his words to the diverse characters of funeral participants who included more than dozos.

For women he sang songs such as "Pity" (*Nanyumani*), addressed to the wife or wives, sisters, and daughters of the dead dozo, usually while Dramane stopped in the dead man's compound at the door of the home or room where these women had gathered for the night. For this song, dozos refrained from dancing, and Dramane highlights the vital roles women play—like blacksmiths—in dozos' lives. Women prepare the game dozos kill, and dozos may confide hunting secrets to their wives or daughters, who can then transmit them to future husbands, sons, or other men (see Hellweg 2011:68, 114–15). Dramane regularly provoked tears among women with this song; I have also seen dozos weep in response:

Dramane: We nanyuma—, nanyumani, dozo byɛna	Oh pit—, pity, a dozo has fallen
Dramane & Chorus: Nanyumani	Pity
Dramane: [A]la	God
Dramane & Chorus: Nanyumani we	Pity, oh
Chorus: Dozo byɛna e	A dozo has fallen, eh
Dramane: Dozo bar'i la	A dozo has lain down [died]
Chorus: Nanyumani	Pity
Dramane: Minali wulu b'r'i la	A hunting dog has lain down
Chorus: Nanyumani we dozo byɛna e	Pity, oh, a dozo has fallen, eh
Dramane: Woloba b[ɛ]rɛ lu we	My good [b'rɛ] mothers, oh
Chorus: Nanyumani	Pity

The song bemoans a dozo's death with repeated reference to the theme and refrain, "pity," echoed in a separate, second part of the refrain that appears either in two lines, sung between Dramane and the chorus, or in a single line sung by the chorus alone, "Pity, oh, a dozo has fallen, eh" (*dozo byɛna e*). Metaphors for a dozo's death—a dozo falling and a dozo lying down—follow, followed, in turn, by the word, "pity," then by the image of a dog lying down,

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another metaphor for a fallen hunter. Then comes the longer line of the refrain, "Pity, oh, a dozo has fallen." The subsequent line sorrowfully calls attention to the "mothers" assembled at the kozi; they are as "good" (*bɛrɛ*) in their roles as the dead dozo was in his (see "A Good Person's Death Is a Sign from God" above). This song stands out not only because of its two-line refrain but also because it shows, once more, how Dramane adjusted his compositional style and poetic content in the face of various audiences and performance venues.

Even the Score: Taking Note of Meter and Melody in Dramane's Song "Pity"

How then did Dramane use the specifically melodic and rhythmic characteristics of his songs to reflect his compositional relationship with his audiences? I now turn to these features, using his song, "Pity," as an example. Below appears a transcription of the song's nine opening bars, in order to display their sonic characteristics visually for the purpose of analysis (see figure 4). In the transcription, the top line is Dramane's; the bottom is that of the chorus.[40] While no transcription can adequately represent musical sound, I intend this one as a heuristic around which to build a discussion.

I begin with what ethnomusicologist Damascus Kafumbe (personal communication), has called "the rhythmic heart of the piece": the figure comprised of an eighth note followed immediately by two sixteenth notes—DAAH dah-dah—which permeates the song, most often attached to the word, *nanyumani* ("pity"). It first appears in the second bar of Dramane's vocal line, starting on a rest. He and the chorus sing it together in the third and fourth bars, after which the chorus repeats it in the fourth. It comes next from Dramane in the fifth, then staggers between both lines in the sixth, and in the chorus's again in the seventh and ninth. The figure therefore jumps between Dramane and the chorus, including a brief overlap by the two early on to vocalize the night's collective grief. The resulting tension is a creative one, about when and if a musical resolution will occur, sustaining a rhythmic suspense that matches that of the evening, over when and if dozos will hunt and kill game that night.

A similar oscillation occurs with the word, nanyumani, itself. Dramane sings the word first in the second bar. He and the chorus sing it together in the third and fourth, overlapping rhythmically. From then on, though, only the chorus sings the word in the sixth, seventh, and ninth bars while Dramane sings short verses in between, in bars five, six, and eight. While the pattern here is not one of call and response, it is nonetheless conversational. Dramane and the chorus contribute two interlocking parts of the same song, taking turns or coinciding vocally, conveying musically the collaboration needed from their audience for the night to end in the consensus that will release the dead dozo's shade into the afterlife.

Vocal ornamentation is another of the song's striking features, along with the use of dramatically sustained notes, particularly around the sound,

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Figure 4. Transcription of Dramane Coulibaly's song "Pity."

Nanyumani

Music by Dramane Coulibaly
Transcribed by Elizabeth Kafumbe
Engraving by Peter Hoesing

We Na nyu ma Na nyu ma ni Do zo biɛ na

Na nyu ma ni [A]la Na nyu ma ni we Do zo ba r'i la

Na nyu ma ni Na nyu ma ni we do zo biɛ na e

Mina li wulu b'r'i la Wo lo ba br'ɛ lu we

Na nyu ma ni Na nyu ma ni we do zo biɛ na e

Na nyu ma ni

we—an onomatopoeic lament, reminiscent of human crying—and the exclamation, *e*. Whereas the plaintive *we* opens the song and next appears as a dotted eighth note in the fourth bar for Dramane, it appears as a three-note descending melisma at the same moment for the chorus. It then shifts between the chorus and Dramane in the seventh and eight bars, respectively. The exclamation, *e*, appears as a half note in the fifth and eighth bars from the chorus. Such details again call to mind the vocal ornamentation and suspension of Qur'anic recitation and the call to prayer, sources of stylistic inspiration that permeate Mandé music. Dramane's use of these features is hardly unique to dozo singing in Northwestern Côte d'Ivoire, but they make his claim that his harp is the dozos' Qur'an all the more, not less, remarkable,

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given the long history of integrating Muslim elements into Mandé cultural practices.[41] Dramane's work then is emblematic of, rather than exceptional to, Islam in West Africa.[42]

Coda

In sum, the poetic and musical elements of Dramane's songs—their content, melodies, meter, the presence or absence of refrains, and the way they target particular audiences—echo the moral interdependence that dozos cultivate with multiple parties and influences. These connections with each other, the dead man's family, and the dead dozo serve to assure his transition—body, soul, and spirit, dozo and Muslim alike—to the afterlife. Melodic differences between songs index distinctions as well as links among participants: dozos vs. non-dozos and dozos in general vs. particular kinds of dozos. And, within each song, rhythmic and melodic patterns reiterate these continuities and contrasts.

With changes in audience come changes of style and content; with changes of style and content come changes in audience, revealing Dramane's deictic or indexical compositional process. The structure and content of his texts depended intimately on their embodied, emplaced, and performative contexts. His textual references to sorcery and other arcane practices would have been blasphemous without serving the broader, Muslim aims of dozo funerals. His Muslim allusions stand out, consequently, as necessary to sustain dozos' dual identities as both Muslims and hunter-sorcerers. The dozos' "Qu'ran" is therefore impossible to "read" without taking account of its performative, material environments. While Dramane cites the Qu'ran in his songs, he had no need to read it. Dozos inherit their Muslim identities through vocational descent from Manimory and, through him, via Esau and Abraham. Their hermeneutic principle is the hunt itself, because it assures a dozo's journey to the afterlife, an important concern in their lives as Muslims. There is no contradiction here, only convergence.[43]

In short, the embodied, emplaced conditions of Dramane's performances *are* the poetic and musical structures of his songs. His lyrical, metrical, melodic, and compositional techniques follow from the moral relations that participants at dozo funerals aim to recreate and sustain. To the extent that these entextualized features of Dramane's songs achieve Muslim ends by playing on textual gaps between Islam and dozoya, they are the dozos' Qur'an: a series of Muslim texts that encompass the complexity of dozos' hunting roles, dozos' relations with each other and their wives, and the parallels and differences that dozos perceive between dozoya and Islam, with special regard to each dozo's death, his lingering spirit-double, and his final judgment. These preoccupations and the conjoining of dozo ritual with Muslim soteriology risk eliciting tendentious responses from some Muslims, especially reformists. Yet, Dramane's songs make it possible to both distinguish and integrate dozoya and Islam into a single, if multifarious, identity, attuning dozos to Islam while tuning Islam to the key of dozoya. Dramane's words

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derive from dozos' understanding of their bodily connection to two invisible energies: their soul and their double, which depend upon Muslim and dozo rites, respectively, for an auspicious departure from the living. Because dozos and their families already engage physically and materially with both Islam and dozoya, Dramane's songs express the theological complementarity that participants chart between the two at each dozo funeral.

The dozos' Qur'an, then, is very much a Qur'an for dozos. Dramane's songs and the dozo harp raise Muslim pluralism to the level of critical, ethical thought, justifying participants' continued engagement as Muslims with dozoya. If the harp is the dozos' Qur'an, as Dramane sang, and if dozos interpret Islam on the landscapes they traverse and on which they dance and sing, then scholarship that weighs such claims and dispositions exclusively in terms of Arabic scripture does Muslim dozos little justice, amounting to no more than fundamentalism.

Supplementary Material

To view supplementary material for this article, please visit https://doi.org/10.1017/asr.2018.142

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Notes

1. In Mali, the title is usually pronounced *donso* and in Burkina Faso, often *donzo.*
2. Hertz (1960:56, 67) depicts such secondary funerals as enabling the living to exert some control over death, determining when the spirit of the deceased enters the realm of the dead, bringing society back into a stable situation after death has temporarily torn the social fabric with the disappearance of one of its members. Such is the case with dozo funerals where dozos reconstitute their relationship to the dead man's family that the dead man once incarnated.
3. I consider Dramane here as an intellectual, a theologian, and an authority on Islam both despite and because of the fact that he neither reads nor writes Arabic or French, Côte d'Ivoire's national language. Instead Dramane masters the Manding language of Northwestern Côte d'Ivoire, which he considers a language of Muslim reflection for dozos.

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4. It is uncertain for how long Islam has played a role in dozos' lives in Odienné, but dozos may have begun cultivating Muslim identities well before the colonial era (see O'Sullivan 1976; Hellweg 2011:122).
5. My first fieldwork in the Odienné region consisted of a three-year stay from 1994 to 1997. I returned again in the fall of 2002, then in January of 2009, and several times since then, including annually from 2015–18.
6. While on patrol, they also collected pots and cooking and eating utensils left outside at night to prevent the transmission of zoonotic diseases to human populations (Hellweg 2011:166).
7. In Manding, the word for song is *donkili*, which means something like "call to dance," as Cherif Keita once told me (Hellweg 2011:247). The word may also more literally mean, "dance call." Heather Maxwell (2008:30), in contrast, interprets the word as "the egg or testicles of the dance." These alternative interpretations caution against relying on any single etymology for such words, although singers do intend their words to inspire their listeners to dance. In Zora Neale Hurston's (1998:83) words, Dramane's songs are "dance possible"; they link lyrics, melodies, and rhythms with bodies to inspire listeners to move.
8. Dozo funerals, in fact, consist of two parts: the *yaladon* and the *kozi*. Because the yaladon is preparatory to the final send off of the dead man's spirit, I only discuss the kozi here. See Hellweg (2011:91–101) for more information about both rites.
9. In the 1990s, the trip took so long because of delays at roadblocks manned by state security forces, mostly for the purpose of extorting money or sex from passengers who either lacked the proper identification papers, were transporting commercial goods, or, during Côte d'Ivoire's decade-long crisis from 2002 to 2011, who had the misfortune of bearing a Northern-descended (Fulbe, Jula, or Senufo) name.
10. Dramane was on firm ground. Oral transmission had an authority superior or equal to that of writing in early Islam (Dutton 2012; Schoeler 2009; Vajda 2012), and the Qur'an remains as legitimate a text in its oral form as in its printed version.
11. My translation of Dramane's remarks here differs slightly from the original (Hellweg 2011:189). I prefer this version.
12. Dramane used the French word for "exam," although he speaks little French.
13. I have discussed other aspects of the kozi in Kombèdougou in Hellweg (2011:213–24). I used a pseudonym there for the village, given the tense political climate of the time in which Manding-speaking Muslims had become *persona non grata* in Côte d'Ivoire.
14. Manding-speakers living elsewhere may use the word, *nkoni* or *ngoni*.
15. Dozos also hunted *before* the kozi and brought the meat with them or hunted along the way. The dead dozo's family shared the meat with dozos at the kozi and gave a portion to Dramane or whichever singer emceed the event.
16. Drissa Koné translated *Kɔmbɛdugu dugu da jina* as *génie protecteur de Kombèdougou*, in French: "protective spirit of Kombèdougou." The phrase, *dugu da*, indicates the position of the jinn's shrine at the "mouth" or "entrance" (da) of the village (dugu). The shrines of such jinn may appear just off the road at the entrance of a village where the jinn keep watch over the settlement.
17. Dramane Coulibaly, Interview, Odienné, May 13, 2015.
18. Although Dramane was clearly responding in his remarks about the Qur'an to the growing presence of Salafi Muslims in Côte d'Ivoire (Hellweg 2011:107),

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Salafism was hardly the sole source of Muslim condemnations of dozoya. Many Ivoirian Salafis have long avoided open confrontation with those they criticize on religious grounds (Madore 2016); and, well before Salafism's arrival, Muslim status was a potential hedge against being enslaved by the nineteenth-century Muslim polity of Odienné. This situation may have motived some dozos to practice Islam to the extent possible at the time (Hellweg 2011:122–23).

19. In Manding, Dramane said, *N tɛ se oy ta o lɔn, mɛ ai man di n nyɛ* (Dramane Coulibaly, Interview, Odienné, May 13, 2015).
20. Ruth Finnegan, like Dramane, considers orality, materiality, and literacy as overlapping rather than inherently contrasting domains. I therefore embrace Paul Connerton's (1989:76–9) skepticism about the apparent differences between what he calls "incorporation," or embodied practices, and "inscription," writing.
21. These lyrics recall the plaintive medieval genre, *Ubi sunt qui ante nos fuerunt?* "Where are those who came before us?"
22. But for Paul Connerton (1989), as for Jacques Derrida (1974), all communicative acts, whether corporeal or signifying, are open to critical interpretation: "It has long been acknowledged that both incorporating and inscribing practices may be the objects of our interpretive activity. This acknowledgment dates back at least to Schleiermacher's proposal of a general hermeneutics. Interpretation is now seen as the explicit, conscious understanding of meanings under conditions where an understanding of those meanings can no longer be presumed to be a self-evident process but is viewed instead as intrinsically problematic; it is here assumed that misunderstandings about what we seek to interpret will arise not occasionally but systematically" (Connerton 1989:95). Where then is literacy's concreteness?
23. Robin Horton (1975:392) has noted a tendency of pre-colonial West African rulers to shift through time between an adherence to local ritual practices and Islam, depending on the rulers' political goals. Leaders sustained local ritual practices to define "the state as in important respects an autonomous, sovereign unit, even though not a unit entirely insulated from the outside world"; and they aspired to the status of *khalif* to redefine the "state as an entity which in a certain sense had lost its autonomy and its sovereignty, since it had now become an administrative unit in a wider international order." The alternative practices of "local" and "world" religions in such instances were more a matter of contrasts than contradictions, each a complementary feature of the same "'basic' cosmology" (Horton 1975:391).
24. A young dozo might at this point take up a pair of basket rattles woven in the shape of bells, filled with pebbles, and closed on the bottoms by calabash bases that the pebbles strike when shaken. The dozo would then agitate them up and down by their loop-shaped handles, one in each hand, in rhythmic accompaniment.
25. *A nya le bɛ wulen. A dusu . . . ka dimi . . . O bɛ kɛ kɔmi i bɛ, i nya, i ni sogo ye nyɔgɔn ye tuguni* (Dramane Coulibaly, Interview, Odienné, May 13, 2015).
26. *A sogo faga we le ya* (Dramane Coulibaly, Interview, Odienné, May 13, 2015).
27. *I na min kɛya kɔŋ ɔ, o sawa le kɔsɔn, e ye don kɛya so* (Dramane Coulibaly, Interview, Odienné, May 13, 2015).
28. Robert Hertz (1960) argued that a funeral repairs a tear in the integument of society after a person's death undoes the relationships that she or he once embodied. Dramane likewise sang to encourage dozos to fill the gap left by the dead dozo by hunting for his family in his place.

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29. The second half of the title literally translates into English as "others did not," but the present tense is more idiomatic in English, so I have accordingly altered the tense in the English translation.
30. Since no dozo can know everything about hunting, admitting his vulnerability to trusted friends opens the possibility of sharing knowledge between them. Dozos also need help transporting large kills home. Arrogant dozos have less chance to secure such help when they need it. Even distributing game meat after hunting is a social matter, because dozos divide the game they kill in ways that reflect their relations with others, gifting certain parts of animals to relatives, other dozos, and even the first person they meet on their way home after hunting (see Hellweg 2011:80). Hunting is therefore a venture in moral reciprocity.
31. Contrary to Maxwell's (2008:41) observations in Wasulu (also called Wasolo)—the area astride Guinea, Mali, and Northwestern Côte d'Ivoire—Dramane's accompanists often sang refrains or alternated between singing refrains and non-recurring lyrics with Dramane.
32. Ryan Skinner (2015a:24) notes that the bridge of the kora "takes the form of a prayer tablet." The same was true for the ngɔnuns I saw in Northwestern Côte d'Ivoire, an interesting parallel to Dramane Coulibaly's consideration of the ngɔnun as a Qur'an.
33. John H. Hanson (1995:102) writes: "Muslim leaders inserted verses of the Qur'an into amulets or made potions from herbal mixes washed off writing boards; local populations sought such amulets and potions as protection against illness and future misfortune." He cites the work of Lamin Sanneh (1979) to amplify the point: "The history of the Jakhanke people of West Africa illustrates this development. They were members of the Wangara trading diaspora who settled in Senegambia after the decline of the Mali empire. While some Jakhanke continued to engage in regional trade, the most famous were *ulama* who supplied non-Muslim kings with amulets. Although they usually did not convert local kings to Islam, Jakhanke leaders maintained the traditions of the faith within their own community and enhanced perceptions of Islam's spiritual efficacy in the general population" (Hanson 1995:102-103). Dozo musical style appears to be the result of an analogous appropriation, one in which musical elements associated with Islam became definitive of dozo performance.
34. *A b'a fɔ ko sini . . . Fo k'a fɔ ko n'Ala sɔnna, a bɛ faga. N'Ala m'a sɔn a bɛ faga* (Dramane Coulibaly, Interview, Odienné, May 13, 2015).
35. "Bad" in this sense comes from the Manding word, *jugu*, or "dangerous."
36. I have only ever heard the word *bɛrɛ* used to describe a person, connoting someone who is both good and worthy of imitating—a moral exemplar. Being a "real dozo," a *dozo yɛrɛ*, then—whom Brahima and Zumana were by definition—means being a moral person or *mɔgɔ bɛrɛ*, too, in the broadest sense: someone who pleases God. In the Bamanankan of Mali, the equivalent phrase would be, *mɔgɔ sɛbɛ*.
37. I discussed such encounters in Hellweg (2011:181-212).
38. Any non-blacksmiths who dance at such moments risk potentially fatal attacks of sorcery from blacksmith colleagues who jealously guard their distinctive status. Dramane Coulibaly is himself a dozo blacksmith.
39. I follow Dell Hymes's (1981, 2003) habit of exploring the formal and poetic qualities of oral texts to reveal the compositional process that generated them—what Hymes called "ethnopoetics."

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40. Elizabeth Kafumbe, faculty at the Middlebury Community Music Center, contributed the original hand-written transcription of "Pity," which Damascus Kafumbe, Associate Professor of Music at Middlebury College, and I have discussed at length. Their work has been indispensible to my analysis here, as has that of Peter Hoesing, Sponsored Programs Director at Dakota State University, who engraved the transcription of "Pity."
41. I agree with Steven Feld (1984:406) that "everything that is socially salient will not necessarily be musically marked." Likewise, musically marked features need be of no especially noticeable social salience. Islamic idioms in Dramane's music, for example, such as monophony and vocal ornamentation, were notable but pervasive musical features in the region. In contrast, the lyrical, melodic, and rhythmic features of Dramane's interactions with his chorus accompanied shifts between different kozi audiences, distinguishing dozo music from *jeli* music and that of young people's associations (*kambɛrɛnton*). These latter, marked features followed from participants' attempts to collaborate in a soteriological project shared by both Islam and dozoya.
42. To take a well-known example, the epic of Sunjata traces the dozo king's ancestry to Bilali Bounama, the Prophet Muhammad's muezzin (see Niane 2006:2, 85–86n4; Johnson & Sisòkò 1992:25–27; Hellweg 2011:120).
43. The term "syncretism" may come to mind to describe dozos' appropriation of Islam. Without the space to nuance the use of that term here, however, I avoid it. It usually privileges the contingent conjuncture of worldviews over their deliberate conciliation. Although dozos perceive Islam and dozoya as contrasting domains, they live them deliberately as parts of a single whole. The term tends to beleaguer ritual communities with less power while those with more power—namely those who subscribe to so-called "world religions"—practice syncretism, too, although few observers ever make that point. The term often becomes, as a result, a way to marginalize indigenous ritual practices and those of new religious movements while sparing hegemonic religions from similar scrutiny.

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