Anna Maria Busse Berger

University of California, Davis

The Leipzig Mission and Bruno Gutmann

Abstract: Bruno Gutmann (1876–1966) was the most important German missionary/ethnographer active in East Africa in the first half of the 20th century. His stay in Tanzania spanned two periods: 1902–1920 and 1926–1938. In addition to translating the New Testament into Chagga, he wrote numerous studies of Chagga law and society. Even though Gutmann was not a trained musicologist, his views on church music in the mission field are of great importance. Why was he so skillful in preserving Chagga culture but did not advocate the introduction of local music into the service? In his first years, he and his colleagues introduced the Lutheran chorale mainly because for them local music was morally unacceptable since it was invariably linked to dance and rituals which they found repulsive.

However, when he returned to Germany in the 1920s his views changed radically: he fell under the spell of *Jugendmusik*- and *Singbewegung* which promoted a sense of *Gemeinschaft* by means of communal singing of folk music and early music, particularly medieval music. The movement sought an escape from modernity in “primitive” cultures. Most of the German musicologists in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s were members of the movement (Heinrich Besseler, Friedrich Blume, Konrad Ameln, etc.). When Gutmann returned to Germany in 1920 he was received by them with open arms: he talked about *Gemeinschaft* in Africa, the *Singbewegung* publisher Bärenreiter published several of his books (Chagga participatory music is described as the ideal *Gemeinschaftsmusik*), and African songs were transcribed and performed all over Germany. As a result, also Gutmann’s attitude to music changed. When he returned to Africa in 1926 he argued that the Lutheran chorale is inextricably linked to the Gospel. He translated all Lutheran chorales into Chagga (he was quite a poet) or wrote new texts for the melodies which would correspond to a Chagga ritual. Both the rituals and chorales are alive and well to this day: Lutheran chorales are a required part of the regular choral competitions taking place every year in Tanzania.

Keywords: missionary, ethnographer, Lutheran chorales, *Singbewegung*

What do the Imperial Navy officer Hans Paasche, the missionary in German East Africa Bruno Gutmann, and the distinguished musicologist and editor of the premier German publishing house Bärenreiter, Konrad Ameln, have in common?¹ At first glance they would make an unlikely group, aside from the fact that they are roughly the same age; and yet they all come from the German youth move-

¹ Paasche wrote a bestseller entitled *Die Forschungsreise des Afrikaners Lukanga Mukara*, Hamburg 1921. The book is a fictitious account of a young African who visits Germany, is completely alienated by modern society, and finally ends up with members of the *Jugendbewegung*.

ment *Jugendbewegung* (in music *Jugendmusik-* and *Singbewegung*) that grew to dominate German musical life in the first half of the 20th century. They all shared a dislike for modernity, wanted to sing old folk songs and chorales, and longed for the Middle Ages and a sense of community (*Gemeinschaft*), which they thought they could find in what they called “primitive societies.”²

This movement goes back to the early 20th-century German *Wandervogel* which was intended to revive the singing of folk music from all over the world; they also combined music with a rediscovery of the Middle Ages and nature. It is no exaggeration to say that this movement profoundly affected every German in the first half of the last century. It is this background that explains why many of the missionaries in German East Africa did not consider their life in Africa a sacrifice but rather loved the simple life they encountered, wrote passionately about the people who lived it and their musical culture and tried everything in their power to preserve it. In other words, even though there can be no doubt that the missionaries were active in German East Africa because it was a German colony, it would be a gross oversimplification to call them colonists. Some of them certainly were, but many were not.

The central character I will focus on is Bruno Gutmann (1876–1966) (see Fig. 1). Even though he came from a modest background and never attended a university, he became one of the great Africanists in the first half of the 20th century. Not only was he a superb linguist who essentially created the written Chagga language (the Wachagga are a tribe living around the Kilimanjaro), compiled a grammar and translated the New Testament into Chagga; he also is generally considered a great Chagga poet for having translated many of the German hymns into Chagga. His scholarship is equally impressive: 1926 saw the publication of a large three-volume study of Chagga law,³ which the British anthropologist Jack H. Driberg reviewed at length in the ethnographic journal *Africa* in 1929 and called “the best monograph which we have read on an East African tribe.”⁴ Another anthropologist followed suit: Sir Edward E. Evans-Pritchard called Gutmann “the German social anthropologist,”⁵ and Franz Steiner and Lucien Levy-Brühl were profoundly affected by his ideas. More recently, the Harvard anthropologist Sally Falk Moore relied heavily

² The best book on *Jugendmusikbewegung* is D. Kolland, *Die Jugendmusikbewegung. Gemeinschaftsmusik, Theorie und Praxis*, Stuttgart 1979; see also H. Antholz, *Jugendmusikbewegung*, MGG-online; see also my article “Spreading the gospel of Singbewegung: An ethnomusicologist missionary in Tanganyika of the 1930s,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 66, 2013, no. 2, pp. 475–522; and my forthcoming book *Searching for Medieval Music in Africa and in Germany: Scholars, Singers and Missionaries, 1891–1961* (Chicago 2020).

³ B. Gutmann, *Das Recht der Dschagga*, Munich 1926; see also his *Die Stammeslehren der Dschagga*, 3 vols., Munich 1932, 1935, 1938.

⁴ J.Ch. Winter, *Bruno Gutmann, (1876–1966): A German Approach to Social Anthropology*, Oxford 1979, p. 10.

⁵ E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *Social Anthropology and Other Essays*, New York 1962, p. 111.

on his work in her study of Chagga law.⁶ Even though his writing style suffers from “affected ponderous prose,”⁷ and his approach to ethnography is dated, his work on Chagga culture remains to this day the most detailed and important we have. In addition to the three-volume study of Chagga law, in the 1930s he published three compendious tomes of Chagga initiation lessons.

Figure 1. Bruno Gutmann and his teachers; reproduced with permission of the Leipzig Mission

His research into music is also of interest to us. He lacked the background to analyze local music or introduce it into the service. Thus, when Erich Moritz von Hornbostel asked him in 1913 to make recordings for the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv, he delegated the task to the remarkable missionary Elisabeth Seesemann, a graduate of the Berlin Musikhochschule.⁸ And yet, he is responsible for the appropriation of numerous Chagga rituals that include music and are performed to this day. Last, but not least, he also collected Chagga songs and sayings.

Gutmann was widely admired during his lifetime: he received two honorary doctorates: one in theology in 1924 from the University of Erlangen and another in 1926 from the law faculty of the University of Würzburg, a remarkable achievement for someone who was essentially self-taught. So the question is, where did he come from and how did he achieve all of this?

All of the Leipzig missionaries sent to Africa attended the six-year mission seminary located in Leipzig in the Mission House, but they could also attend lectures at Leipzig University. As a result, Gutmann was able to sit in on lectures by

⁶ S.F. Moore, *Social Facts and Fabrications: “Customary” Law on Kilimanjaro 1880–1980*, Cambridge 1986.

⁷ J.Ch. Winter, op. cit., p. 15.

⁸ Hornbostel’s letter was written on 9 July 1913. Gutmann responded on 8 August 1913. Elisabeth Seesemann did all the Wachagga recordings for Hornbostel which are transcribed in Marius Schneider’s *Geschichte der Mehrstimmigkeit*, Berlin 1934. Her notes and translations of the Chagga songs, now in Phonogramm-Archiv in Berlin, are detailed and impressive.

the psychologist Wilhelm Wundt which had a profound influence on him.⁹ Leipzig missionaries were taught to walk a narrow line between “völkisch” and Christian values.¹⁰ However, it is important that German missionaries since the middle of the 19th century were all under the influence of Johann Gottfried Herder.

After completing his training, Gutmann was sent to German East Africa in 1902, first to Mamba where he worked with an older missionary Gerhard Althaus, then in 1904 to Machame, where he started his ethnographic work. It is here that he had his first run-ins with colonial officials as he defended the local population who were taxed by the German administration and forced to work under miserable conditions on German plantations.¹¹ Two years later he established a new station in nearby Masama. In 1908, he had to return to Germany because of health problems and returned to Africa in 1910, this time to Old Moshi, where he stayed until 1938 with a six-year break between 1920 and 1926.

Even though Gutmann considered the preservation of Chagga rituals and culture one of his primary goals, he did not try to preserve local music except when associated with rituals. It never seems to have occurred to him to introduce Chagga music into the service, as other German missionaries of his generation did elsewhere in East Africa. Several of the Leipzig missionaries offered explanations as to why Chagga music could not be used in the church from the very beginning. By far the most common is the close association of African music with dance, which many considered morally suspect. Gutmann’s missionary colleague and brother-in-law, Paul Rother (1878–1956), provides a detailed description of male circumcision rituals which can be summarized in one sentence: the dancers are naked, sexually aroused and drunk.¹² Clearly, missionaries did not consider this an appropriate source of music for a Christian service.

The Chagga also practiced female circumcision. The German military doctor August Widenmann described in 1899 how the girls undress, dance around naked and only wearing a few shells until they collapse of exhaustion and the circum-

⁹ W. Kornder, *Die Entwicklung der Kirchenmusik in den ehemals deutschen Missionsgebieten Tanzanias*, Erlangen 1990, p. 220.

¹⁰ “Völkisch” is an untranslatable term, but it essentially means that one should preserve local culture.

¹¹ See the map of Leipzig Mission stations in German East Africa in: G. Althaus, *Mamba-Anfang in Afrika*, Erlangen 1968.

¹² P. Rother, “Wieich das ‘Waldfest’ der Waparesah,” *Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt* 1906, pp. 468–473. Rother was active in German East Africa in the years 1901–1917 and then again in the years 1925–1939. He founded the Teacher Training Seminary in Marangu and was an excellent musician. Rother was probably the most musically educated of the Leipzig missionaries. Rother’s book *Afrikanischer Sang und Klang* (Leipzig 1925) has a lot of interesting observations on Chagga and Pare music and rituals. For an excellent discussion of Rother’s description of Chagga music, see W. Kornder, op. cit., pp. 32–39 and pp. 87–91. Rother’s Chagga name was “Mwimbi,” which means Singer.

cision is completed.¹³ Elisabeth Seesemann wrote an article in the missionary journal about Chagga women, in which the Leipzig Mission Society did not allow her to state directly what exactly was happening to the women, so she wrote:

all the songs and ugly, disgusting dances, performed by the naked girls rubbed with ointment, only wearing clasps, necklaces and pearls — all this is inexpressibly sad [...] The ceremony is accompanied by dances and songs, songs which are almost impossible to write down because of their filthy contents and others which breathe an unimaginable sadness and melancholy.¹⁴

Thus, for some of the missionaries in areas where female circumcision was practiced, it was impossible to think of these dances and their music as something positive. And other music was not mentioned.

And yet, in 1935, that is, thirty years after his negative experience with dance, missionary Rother published a memoir called *Meine afrikanischen Jungen*. A lot had happened in the meantime, various scholars in Germany and abroad were now treating African music seriously, and Rother, who was musically much more up to date than Gutmann, might well have read Hornbostel's articles on African music in the ethnographic journal *Africa*.¹⁵ Now he provides a different rationale for not introducing local music when he describes his experiences at the Teachers Training College in Marangu:

At the end came the singing. Every day we sang for half an hour. And they were always participating fully. We would have loved to sing with them in their way. But to do so is really very difficult for us white people. They have a completely different tonal system. Their scales would sound completely different than ours. We always heard them sing their own songs. Sometimes we sort of were able to sing with them to some degree. But when we tried to play them on the harmonium, it was a different matter. And I have to add that even today most of us are unable to sing their songs. Thus, we had no choice other than to translate German songs and teach them our melodies. And they participated in this with great pleasure. Thus, they sang our old German folk songs.¹⁶

¹³ A. Widenmann, *Die Kilimandscharo-Bevölkerung. Anthropologisches und Ethnographisches aus dem Dschagga-Lande*, Gotha 1899, p. 47. For a more recent description of the ritual by the anthropologist O.F. Raum see the article "Female initiation among the Chaga," *American Anthropologist* 41, 1939, no. 4, pp. 554–565. Raum, who grew up as the son of the Leipzig missionary Johannes Raum, and wrote a Ph.D. dissertation under Bronisław Malinowski, concentrates more on the instruction connected with the initiation.

¹⁴ "[...] all die Lieder und die häßlichen, widerlichen Tänze, von den nackten, nur mit Schellen, Ketten, und Perlen geschmückten, mit Fett eingesalbten Mädchen getanzt, — all das ist unsäglich traurig [...] die Zeremonie wird begleitet von Tänzen und Liedern, Liedern, die zum Teil sich wegen ihres schmutzigen Inhalts kaum aufzeichnen lassen, und andere, die eine unbeschreibliche Traurigkeit und Wehmut atmen" ("Frauennot und Frauenhilfe," *Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt* 1914, pp. 105–111, see pp. 105–106 [there are no volume numbers in the *Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt*). All passages translated by the author.

¹⁵ E.M. von Hornbostel, "African Negro music," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 1, 1928, no. 1, pp. 30–62.

¹⁶ P. Rother, *Meine afrikanischen Jungen*, Leipzig 1935, p. 12. See also, Tobias Robert Klein, who cites a passage by Rother from 1936 where he still recommends only the singing of Western

In short, we have seen that Lutheran chorales were introduced by the Leipzig missionaries for three reasons: first, and most importantly, this is what the mission society had trained them and expected them to do; the question of preserving the local music did not even come up and they needed real songs in the Western style, which the Wachagga did not have. Second, there were too many unpleasant rituals associated with local music and dance for them to seriously consider using them in the church. And third, they did not understand the African tonal system and felt unable to sing the African songs.

The first handwritten hymnbook in Chagga dates from 1897, the last printed hymnbook under Leipzig supervision is from 1955. All of them are essentially translations of German chorales. The 1929 hymnbook includes most of Gutmann's translations but also newly created texts appropriate for the Chagga. There are 256 songs. Almost all melodies are German, and only a few of the texts are by local poets. This hymnbook was reissued in 1967 and the chorales were still sung in 2011 when I visited Marangu. In the same year, I was told by Professor Athanasius Mphuru, the son of the Lutheran pastor in Marangu, that he much prefers Gutmann's translations into Chagga to the Swahili texts. He is very upset that Chagga is dying out because the language is so much richer than Swahili. Gutmann is to this day considered a great poet, also because he employed specifically Chagga images in his texts. In 1933, Rother published a four-part version of this hymnbook. The settings are not trying to imitate Chagga music but are typical of Western music. Of course the congregations were also exposed to how these chorales were supposed to sound when performed by the Leipzig Thomanerchor (see Fig. 2 for an early 20th-century photograph of a group of Maasai listening to a recording of the Leipzig Thomanerchor).

So how did the Wachagga do when singing the German chorales? In the first years, there was general consensus among the missionaries who taught the German chorales that the Wachagga were simply unmusical because they could not sing the German songs in tune. Gutmann writes in 1907:

On two afternoons each week I practiced singing with my twenty-four choirboys to gradually get the church singing to a more elevated level. For their efforts they are getting 1 rupee for Christmas and in addition clothing. But even though I selected the best singers, thus far I have not been able to teach them how to sing in tune [...] It is completely incomprehensible to me that especially our people from Machame are such terrible singers, but this is the fact [...] In their own songs this is not so apparent, because they are mainly sung in falsetto. Nevertheless, no matter whether it sounds good or bad, if the singing of sacred songs becomes for our people an important inner need and joy, then it is always sung well for our Lord.¹⁷

chorales accompanied on the harmonium ("Bach in Afrika. Eine Rezeptionsskizze," [in:] *Johann Sebastian Bach und die Gegenwart. Beiträge zur Bach-Rezeption 1945–2005*, eds. M. Heinemann, H.-J. Hinrichsen, Köln 2007, pp. 19–34).

¹⁷ "An zwei Nachmittage in der Woche übe ich den Gesang mit meinen 24 Singbuben, um allmählich hier den Kirchen gesang zu heben. Sie bekommen dafür 1 Rupie zu Weihnachten und außer-

Figure 2. Photograph of a group of Maasai listening to music with a phonograph, entitled *The “Thomaner Choir” singing at the Maasai, 1927–1938*; reproduced with permission of the Leipzig Mission

Similarly, missionary Karl Knittel writes in 1913 that singing is very “primitive.” Students had asked him to sing four-part chorales which they did with great enthusiasm. He also gave them regular violin and harmonium lessons, and this was a great challenge for him: “I really want to run away. They don’t have any ear whatsoever.”¹⁸

How would the Lutheran chorales have sounded? The Chagga tonal system is pentatonic. Even though the Leipzig missionaries did not have any training

dem Zeug zur Kleidung. Aber obwohl ich hierzu die besten Sänger ausgewählt habe, ist mirsdoch bis jetzt nicht gelungen, einen völlig reinen Gesang herauszubringen [...]. Es ist mir schier unbegreiflich, dass gerade unsere Madschameleute so schlechte Sänger sind, aber die Tatsache besteht [...]. Bei ihren eigenen Gesängen tritt das nicht so auffällig in Erscheinung, weil die meist mit der Fistel gesungen werden. Nun, mag es gut oder schlecht klingen, daß unseren Leuten das Singen geistlicher Lieder Herzensbedürfnis und Herzensfreude werde, dann ist es alle wege gut gesungen vor unserem Gott,” B. Gutmann, “Der erste Bericht aus der Station Masam,” *Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt* 1907, pp. 36–37.

¹⁸ K. Knittel, “Unser Lehrergehilfen und Mittelschule,” *Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt* 1913, p. 561.

in comparative musicology, some of them realized that the Chagga tonal system differed from their own, because they relied on a pentatonic scale with the following relative pitches: f d c a g f. As a result, the missionaries observed that the older Wachagga were completely unable to sing half-steps, which are common in chorales.

And yet, even though Gutmann did not use Chagga music in the service, he felt strongly that Chagga traditions needed to be preserved wherever possible. His preservation efforts included documenting fairy tales, proverbs and sayings. This is not surprising and accords with what Brothers Grimm and members of *Wandervogel* had done before. He was just as concerned as Hornbostel that Chagga culture could die out. At the same time, he observed rituals and tried to appropriate them as Christian rituals. Also, and most originally, after many years of ethnographic observation, he concluded that only among the Wachagga could one find true participatory music making as had been described by the leaders of the *Jugendmusik-* and *Singbewegung*.

All three subjects are intertwined, so it is impossible to discuss them separately. Gutmann started in 1905 with a publication entitled *Neun Dschagga Märchen* and ended in 1961 with the article “‘Stammenentfremdete Massen’ unter den Bantu,” a span of years in which he wrote 148 articles and books altogether.¹⁹ Throughout his life Gutmann argued consistently that only in Africa are the original family ties still present, that they need to be preserved under all circumstances and protected against modern society. The concept of *Gemeinschaft* was central to his work. Like members of the *Jugendmusik-* and *Singbewegung* he was hostile to popular and American culture. In a letter to his daughter he wrote:

Robberies and thefts now occur all the time [...] The cinema with all of its bad pictures teaches the blacks properly how they should go about stealing and robbing. And it is so sad that all of these temptations come from Europe and America, where no one is concerned when people do bad things which ruin other people [...].²⁰

The sources of Gutmann’s ideas and convictions are not hard to trace. Gutmann’s early work is firmly rooted in the publications of the German sociologist

¹⁹ Winter includes a complete bibliography of all of Gutmann’s publications, which amount to 148 items (J.Ch. Winter, op. cit., p. 215–235).

²⁰ “Raubüberfälle und Taschendiebstähle kommen jetzt häufig in Neu-Moshi und auf den Wegen vor. Das Kino mit seinen schlechten Bildern zeigt den Schwarzen richtig, wie sie es machen müssen, wenn sie stehlen und einbrechen wollen. Und es ist so traurig, dass all diese Verführungen von Europa und Amerika kommen, wo sie sich schon lange gar nicht mehr dabei denken, wenn sie schlechte Dinge tun, die andere Menschen verderben müssen, nur damit sie Geld verdienen,” as quoted by his great-grandson Tilmann Prüfer, *Der heilige Bruno*, Reinbek 2015, p. 225. The letter is not dated but must come from the 1920s.

Ferdinand Tönnies (1855–1936), but with slightly different terminology.²¹ The terms *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* are central to Tönnies's view: *Gemeinschaft* refers to groupings based on feelings of togetherness, that is, family and neighbourhood, *Gesellschaft* to groups that are sustained by them being instrumental for their members' individual aims and goals, that is, the state or a corporation. Gutmann adapts these concepts to his description of Chagga society. The individual is still organically bound to the community, which he organized into what he calls "primal ties," of which there are three: the clan, the neighbourhood, and the age group. Clanship is the most important of these because it is based on blood. He quickly realized that in each of these groupings, folklore played a crucial role in maintaining the primal ties.

For example, he helped revive an old Chagga harvest festival, *mtingo*, which hadn't been celebrated for years, did some research on how it was originally done, and resurrected it with local instruments (long narrow drums) which he made according to instructions from local musicians. This festival still takes place every year and is attended by thousands (see Fig. 3).

Figure 3. *Mtingo* harvest festival; reproduced with permission of the Leipzig Mission

All German missionaries were interned in 1920 and then sent home. They found that musical life in Germany had been fundamentally transformed by the

²¹ See J.Ch. Winter who provides a detailed explanation of Gutmann's interpretation of Tönnies (op. cit., pp. 158–161). For Tönnies, see also P.-U. Merz-Benz, "Die begriffliche Architektonik von 'Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft,'" [in:] *Hundert Jahre "Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft"*. Ferdinand Tönnies in der Internationalen Diskussion, eds. L. Clausen, C. Schlüter, Opladen 1991, pp. 31–64.

Jugendmusik- and *Singbewegung*, which also centers around *Gemeinschaft* (community). For members of the movement the old folk songs and the chorales, which they believed to have originated during the Middle Ages, exemplified the spirit of community at its best. As Walter Hensel, one of the leaders of *Singbewegung*, wrote in 1926 in the journal *Singgemeinde*:

The secret of “Volksgemeinschaft” lies deep, very deep [...] For that very reason there has to be in true “Volkstum” deep religiosity: folksong and chorale have the same root. For that reason, a singing congregation is not an association, not a corporation, not a partnership of convenience, but a living cell of a nascent “Volksgemeinschaft.” In this way we can say about the folk song that it ties us together.²²

While in the Middle Ages this spirit was still alive, it was needed to be artificially created through communal singing retreats. Numerous reports describe how after only a full week of hard work the singers experienced the feeling of *Gemeinschaft*.²³ Hermann Reichenbach, the most important intellectual leader of *Jugendmusikbewegung*, published in 1925 an entire essay on the mindset of *Jugendmusikbewegung* in which he argued that the mindset of the movement had two key elements: truthfulness (or genuineness) and *Gemeinschaft*. The latter means that members were part of a whole, which results in certain expectations (such as looking out for one another), but which also allowed members to fulfill their life goals.²⁴

Communal choirs were formed all over Germany, sing-alongs were organized in public parks. For example, in 1929 between 3,000 and 4,000 singers from all political parties participated in a sing-along in Berlin *Jungfernheide*, and similarly thousands sang in retreats organized by the *Singbewegung* which had a more Lutheran dimension. Virtually all major German musicologists were members of the movement: Heinrich Bessler, Friedrich Blume, Wilibald Gurlitt, Konrad Ameln, etc.²⁵

This feeling of *Gemeinschaft* went hand in hand with a passionate interest in folk music from all over the world. African folk songs were particularly welcome because in Africa there were no concerts, everyone participated in the perform-

²² “Das Geheimnis der Volksgemeinschaft liegt tief, sehr tief [...]. Daher muß in jedemechten Volkstum tiefe Religiosität stecken: Volkslied und Choral habendieselbe Wurzel. Eine singende Gemeinde ist demnach kein Verein, keine Körperschaft, kein Zweckverband, sondern eine lebendige Zelle der Volksgemeinschaft. In ebendiesem Sinne können wir vom Volkslied sagen, daß es bindet,” W. Hensel, “Zur Musikerziehung,” [in:] *Die deutsche Jugendmusikbewegung in Dokumenten ihrer Zeit von den Anfängen bis 1933*, eds. W. Scholz, W. Jonas-Corrieri, Wolfenbüttel 1980, p. 212.

²³ See, for example, H. Hoffmann, “1. Schleswig-Holsteinische Jugendmusikwoche,” [in:] *Die deutsche Jugendmusikbewegung in Dokumenten ihrer Zeit von den Anfängen bis 1933*, eds. W. Scholz, W. Jonas-Corrieri, Wolfenbüttel 1980, pp. 182–183.

²⁴ H. Reichenbach, “Die Musik der Jugendbewegung,” [in:] *Die deutsche Jugendmusikbewegung in Dokumenten ihrer Zeit von den Anfängen bis 1933*, eds. W. Scholz, W. Jonas-Corrieri, Wolfenbüttel 1980, pp. 33–35.

²⁵ See also my forthcoming book *In Search of Medieval Music*, chapters 7 and 8.

ance of music and dance. And then there was the general belief that music in “primitive” cultures was similar to medieval music.

When Gutmann and his fellow missionaries returned to Germany in 1920 they were warmly welcomed by leaders of *Singbewegung*. They were not only invited to music retreats to talk about African music but also asked to describe the reception of the Lutheran chorale in Africa.²⁶ More importantly, Gutmann published three books with the *Singbewegung* publisher Bärenreiter and two articles in their journal *Singgemeinde*.²⁷

Gutmann’s publications for *Singbewegung* audiences address two areas. First, in his article for *Singgemeinde* he transcribes and explains the greeting songs of the Wachagga, which teach children how to interact with adults and with each other in a respectful manner; but he ends pessimistically: “The greetings songs of the Wachagga are doomed. And with it goes again a part of the inner control from which the African attained the pleasant demeanor which characterizes him. Now he is attacked and crushed increasingly by the formlessness of the modern European, from which he can only degenerate;”²⁸ that is, European formlessness will kill their culture.

The second area of interest of the *Singbewegung* concerns the manifestation of *Gemeinschaft* among the Wachagga. According to Gutmann, only in Africa can you find real *Gemeinschaft*; surprisingly, participatory music making is at its best when the Wachagga sing Lutheran chorales. The earlier education of sayings, greetings, and didactic songs, which the Wachagga received from their mothers and grandmothers — customs which Gutmann documented in fascinating detail — had already laid the ground for the communal chorale singing. “They already knew the elements, and now they found them again in a higher and more pure order.” He continues, “Our chorales are incomparably valuable for bringing crowds into the mood of collective emotion to have all souls resonate towards one goal. They have been accepted by our people gladly and willingly.”²⁹ In short, while earlier he had introduced the chorales more or less because he did not know how to cultivate local music, he was now convinced that Chagga culture was the

²⁶ Rother was a frequent lecturer to the *Singbewegung* about African Music in Germany in the 1920s and 1930s. See W. Kornder, op. cit., p. 90.

²⁷ For Gutmann’s books see *Freies Menschentum aus ewigen Bindungen*, Kassel 1928; *Schildwacht am Kilimanjaro*, Kassel 1929; *Zurück auf die Gottesstraße*, Kassel 1934. For his articles, see “Grußlieder der Wadschagga,” *Singgemeinde* 1928, pp. 521–524 and “Deutsche Weihnachtssitten und Weihnachtslieder in Ostafrika,” *Singgemeinde* 1929, pp. 44–48.

²⁸ “Die Grußlieder der Wadschaggasind dem Unterganggeweiht. Mitihnenvergehtwiederein Stück der inneren Beherrschtheit, unterderen Einflusse der Afrikaner das umgängliche Wesengewann, das ihnauszeichnete. Nun überfällt und überwältigtihn mehr und mehr die Formlosigkeit des modernenEuropäers, an der erentartenmuß” (B. Gutmann, “Grußlieder...,” p. 22).

²⁹ “Unvergleichlichwertvollaberfür die Einstimmung einer Mengezugleichem Fühlen und zu freiem Mitschwingen aller Seelen zu einem Ziele sind unsere Choräle. Sie sind von unseren Leuten gern und leicht aufgenommen worden,” B. Gutmann, *Gemeinde aufbau aus dem Evangelium*, Leipzig 1925, p. 92.

ideal place for Lutheran chorales, that this is the only place where *Gemeinschaft* is still found. After all, Luther created his chorales mainly in order to foster *Gemeinschaft*. As the leaders of *Singbewegung* saw it, Luther was the first one to espouse participatory music making, now only found in Africa.

In contrast to the other mission societies from the 1920s and 1930s, he made no attempt to incorporate local music into the service, and local music and sayings were valuable only in so far as they prepared the Wachagga for what they considered the supreme expression of music, religion, and community: the Lutheran chorale.

Thus, it is not surprising that the Chagga hymnbooks include predominantly German melodies alongside a few English hymns and Sankey songs.³⁰ However, Gutmann created new poetry for these melodies in order to incorporate Chagga events and daily life. There is, for example, the so-called Kibo song, which refers to one of the peaks of the Kilimanjaro. Here is the first verse in Gutmann's German translation:

There towers a chief beautifully and light
High above our heights
It is the Kibo, it is him whose face
Everyone in the country sees
High above the sea of clouds
He is striving for heaven
The last evening light
Greets us purely
And will become home up there

Esragtein Häuptlingschön und licht
hochüberunsreHöhen:
der Kiboist's, das Angesicht,
das alle Landesehen.
Hoch übers Wolkenmeer
Strebt in den Himmel er.
Der letzte Abendschein
Grüßt von ihm her so rein
Und wird zur Heimat droben.

In his publications he laments the loss of communal singing in Germany and asks "Where are the shepherd and crèche songs of the German Middle Ages?"³¹ The answer is, obviously, in Africa, among the Wachagga.

From these years onward, Gutmann no longer offered apologies for not using local music in church services, instead affirming that "the chorale is the strongest missionary power of the Lutheran Church."³² As a result, gospel and Lutheran chorale belong together, one cannot be practiced without the other. And according to Gutmann, African Christians understood this link and have appropriated it, made it their own. They used chorales as chorales had been used in the Middle Ages in Germany.

³⁰ Kitabukya Fiimbo, *Gesangbuch in der Sprache von Madschame*, ed. Madschame Congregation, Machame 1927 and *Kitabukyasiriyandumiyasiayaokio...* (Nördlingen 1931). This hymn book was used in Moshi. See also W. Kornder, *Die Entwicklung der Kirchenmusik in den ehemals deutschen Missionsgebieten Tansanias*, Erlangen 1990, pp. 199–202.

³¹ "Wo sind die Hirten- und Krippenlieder des deutschen Mittelalters?" B. Gutmann, *Gemeinde...*, p. 92.

³² "Der Choral ist auch die stärkste Missionsmacht in der lutherischen Kirche," B. Gutmann, *Gemeinde...*, p. 93.

Gutmann gives numerous examples of how he adapted Lutheran chorales to Chagga rituals. For example, he used the melody of “Werdemunter, mein Gemüte,” for the ritual associated with preparing the water canal to run again after the rainy season. After a short devotion, they all sing:

Again the water is flowing in the canal. Accompany it!
Our songs are supposed to say: Accept it, get ready!
The source of our fathers which they dug with patience
Watch out that it doesn't get dirty! Everyone fill your cans und use it.³³

Gutmann himself comments on the fact that his contrafacta are right in line with Luther's, who turned Latin sequences and hymns into German chorales. He regularly comments on the enthusiasm with which the Wachagga are singing his chorales. And indeed, to this day, there are annual choral competitions in Tanzania for which the choirs prepare for years.³⁴ These competitions are a big affair, choirs will hire at great expense a choral conductor and practice two or three times a week for two years. Everyone participates, it is the biggest event in their life. They all have to sing three pieces, among them a Lutheran chorale selected by the church authorities. There can be no doubt that these chorales have become part of Chagga culture.

Gutmann's story is worth telling for a number of reasons. Most broadly, his letters and articles give a snapshot of Chagga culture at a previous time. Then, Gutmann's accounts of the Wachagga are important because of the ways in which his ideas were intertwined with his involvement in another contemporary movement, the *Jugendmusik*- and *Singbewegung*, dedicated to the revival of participatory music making of folk music and early music. Untangling these strands in Gutmann's missionary activities sheds fascinating new light on German cultural history during the 1920s and 1930s. In particular, it shows how the spirit of *Gemeinschaftskultur* was closely associated with music and dance in “primitive cultures.” Ideas of the *Jugendmusik*- and *Singbewegung* provide a context for understanding Gutmann's work in Tanganyika.

³³ “Wiederfließt das Wasser niederim Kanal. Gehtihms Geleit!

SagensollenunsreLieder: Nehmt es auf, macht euch bereit.

Ist der Väter Speisemuld, die siegrubenmit Geduld.

Hütet sie vor allem Schmutze! Jederschöpfe sich zu Nutze,” B. Gutmann, *Das Dschaggaland und seine Christen*, Leipzig 1925, p. 144.

³⁴ There is a recent film on these choir competitions by Julia Irene Peters called *Sing It Out Loud*. The first piece is Luther's chorale “A mighty fortress.” The second piece is a traditional African piece, and the third one can be chosen by the choir. The choirs take at least two years to prepare for this competition. See G.F. Barz, *Performing Religion: Negotiating Past and Present in Kwaya Music of Tanzania*, Amsterdam 2003, p. 23, see also the entire chapter, pp. 29–51 and G. Barz, “Politics of remembering: Performing history(ies) in Youth Kyaya competitions in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania,” [in:] *Mashindano! Competitive Music Performance in East Africa*, eds. F. Gunderson, G. Barz, Dar es Salaam 2000, pp. 379–405.

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