

the opposite idea of close affinity, when Schutz (1976: 176 f.) analyzes the relationship between musicians in coperformance:

The coperformers ... have to execute activities gearing into the outer world and thus occurring in spatialized outer time. Consequently, each coperformer's action is oriented ... reciprocally by the experiences in inner and outer time of his fellow performer ... Each of them has to take into account what the other has, therefore, to execute in simultaneity. He has not only to interpret his own part which as such remains necessarily fragmentary, but he has also to anticipate the other player's interpretation of his – the Other's – part and, even more, the Other's anticipations of his own execution.

Coperformance in direct interaction in Schutz's conception is marked by sharing different dimensions of time, both inner and outer time, simultaneously experienced by the participants (1976: 177). This is just as true for performing together at celebrations in Mali as it is for making music together in Europe.

My point here is to show that it is possible to understand differences and similarities between classical European music and participatory African drum/dance performance by conceiving of situated activity systems in terms of performance and audience roles and their structural relationship. This allows us to both make comparisons and draw distinctions between types of social action such as, for example, celebrations and concerts, in different cultural, social, and historical contexts.

In a pioneering study on the origins of art (in the modern sense) in northern Côte d'Ivoire, Till Förster (1997: 488 f., 502 ff., 547–564) analyzes as a key factor the emergence of a socially differentiated audience which is no longer personally bound to performance by social relationships, and which is no longer participating in, but rather is confronted by performance. The process of ritual mask performances becoming public in the context of small towns, led to the development of different modes of experience, i.e., ritual experience by the insiders of the initiation society where the mask came from, and an aesthetic mode of experience (again in the modern sense) by outsiders, the noninitiated urban public.¹⁷ One can distinguish between two primary aspects of this process of differentiation: first, the differentiation

of audience/performance roles, and second, the more general and permanent development of separate inventories of knowledge in different social groups as a context of understanding the same public presentations of artistic forms of expression. A comparative and historical study of audience/performance roles in expressive practices in and of African cities would appear a promising way to further investigate the issue Förster's study has brought to light.

Even the first, preliminary findings on urban celebrations in Bamako are interesting: On the one hand, the obvious and possibly most relevant hypothesis concerning the social history of performance, media, and audience contexts in urban West Africa, namely the progressive social differentiation of roles and increasing complexity of the networks their interactions form, seems to be substantiated by the processes of professionalization and commercialization of singing and drumming at celebrations in Bamako.¹⁸ On the other hand, the primary performance role of dancing, which has been equally affected by attempts at commercially motivated professionalization since the 1970s, has, to date, shown surprisingly few signs of losing its accessible, immediate, and communal character, which I have attempted to present in this article. On the contrary: A considerable part of the creative change in celebration music has been oriented towards not only preserving but even cultivating and elaborating the participatory character of dance. The urbanization of celebration culture in the Malian metropolis has managed to combine the integration of a new, more heterogenous, diffuse, anonymous, and extended public as audience with its old, participatory, and community-creating character.

This article is empirically based on regular observations and participation in celebrations in Bamako, the capital of the Republic of Mali, and rural areas (Manden, Beledugu) to the south and north of the metropolis, during 18 months of field research carried out in several stages throughout the 1990s. As part of a research project on professional music practice (Polak 2004, 2005a, 2005b), I performed at approximately 120 celebrations in southern Mali. I greatly appreciate the support of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Council), which financed 3 years of this research (1996–99), in the context of the research training group "Cross-Cultural Relationships in Africa" at Bayreuth University.

¹⁷ The German term for audience or spectatorship in this modern sense, *Publikum*, is etymologically derived from the Latin *publicum*, and historically borrowed via the French and English *public*.

¹⁸ See Modic (1996: chapt. 5) and Polak (2004, 2005a) for studies of these processes.