The South African Blue Notes: Bebop, Mbaqanga, Apartheid and the Exiling of a Musical Imagination

Sazi Stephen Dlamini

Thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Sciences of the University of KwaZulu-Natal

August 2009

Supervisor: Professor Christopher Ballantine

DECLARATION

Submitted in fulfilment / partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of ..... , in the Graduate Programme in

..... , University of KwaZulu-Natal,
South Africa.

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. I confirm that an external editor was / was not used (delete whichever is applicable) and that my Supervisor was informed of the identity and details of my editor. It is being submitted for the degree of ..... in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Science, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

_____
Student name

_____
Date

_____
Editor

ABSTRACT

During the middle decades of the twentieth century, the exiling from South Africa of jazz musicians, including The Blue Notes, brought the discourses of local jazz, its performance culture and repertoires, to international attention. This process points to jazz's global reach and raises questions about its adoption by differently constituted cultural subjects. Arjun Appadurai's arguments about global homogenisation and heterogenisation come into play here, and have special significance today, when the study of jazz performance and history is increasingly part of the music education of young South Africans. Questions about who 'owns' jazz and what constitutes its authenticity loom large, as do questions about its global entanglement. The careers of The Blue Notes emerge from a background of South African syncretic musical performance; as such, they belong within the protracted history of African cultural engagement with European and American mediations of modernity. Among other issues, my thesis examines the use of jazz-influenced repertoires in the narration of cultural identities in postcolonial South Africa, under apartheid, and in exile.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this work has been made possible through the patience and trust of many. My sincere apologies if I have overlooked the mentioning by name of some of the people who have unselfishly gave of their energies and time over the several years I have been engaged in this project. In the diversity of their contributions to the success of my research tasks, the acquisition and processing of data, I would like to sincerely acknowledge the assistance and guidance of the following:

Professor Christopher Ballantine, my supervisor, for his continuing interest and critical perspective of my work. His astute advice has seen me cross many seemingly impassable straits and challenges which I alone could not have overcome. When my initial NRF grant ran out quickly, I was fortunate in accepting a Visiting African Overseas Scholarship which enabled me to spend the 2003 Easter Term at St John's College, Cambridge University. My host and supervisor at St John's College was Professor Roger Parker, whose motivation for my visiting fellowship effected a crucial facilitation of my field, bibliographic and archival research in the UK. Thus I was able to commute between Cambridge and London to carry out interviews with important informants and also visit the city's important archives, including making use of the invaluable resources of the British Library's Sound Archives. In France I was able to enjoy the hospitality and friendship of Chris McGregor's widow, Maxine and members of her family, Kei, Andromeda and their family friends at Lot-et-Garonne. Having access to Maxine's private archive of newspaper cuttings, notes and concert programmes from as far back as 1961 was perhaps one of the most enabling developments towards the completion of my field research activities. The disappointment at my inability to visit Johnny Dyani's family in Sweden and Denmark was more than made up for by spending some time with Thomas Akuru Dyani, Johnny's stepson in London in May 2003. Among several people who made my UK and London sojourns a success, as well being the most generous and kindly of hosts are: Barbara Pukwana, Eugene Skeef, Louis Moholo-Moholo, Hazel Miller, Mike Fowler, Biyi Adegbepa, Fiona Scorgie, Simon Stephens and family, James and Sheila Davie. In South Africa, I enjoyed the interest, support and encouragement of many. Among these are my informants in South Africa and the UK: the late John

Matshikiza, Pinise Saul, David Serame, Josh Makhene, Lucky Ranku, Julian Bahula,Ezra Ngcukana, Barney Rachabane, the late Lulu Gontsana, Keorapetse Kgositsile and Ndikho Xaba. Yet more others assisted me with accessing rare discographic and other sources of data: Rob Allingham, Dave Barkham, Singata Biyana, Ntshukumo Bonga, Darius and Cathy Brubeck, Jonathan Eato, Janet Topp-Fargion, John Fordham, Richard Haslop, Dick Hathorn, Aryan Kaganof, Tony McGregor, Phil Melloy, Lars Rasmussen, Matt Temple, and Michael Titlestad. I was ably assisted in the many technical aspects of processing the discographic sources by Toine Scholtz, Mosiua Sello and Halley Guy at SAMAP, Glynis Malcolm-Smith and Mageshen Naidoo at the Centre for Jazz (UKZN), and Elijah Madiba at the International Library of African Music. In the editing process of the manuscript I am grateful to Alan Brimer and Margaret Lenta, both emeritus professors at the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Department of English Studies. I am also indebted to the kind assistance of staff and administrators at Mayibuye Archives of the University of the Western-Cape, the Eleanor Bonnar Music Library and the EG Malherbe Library at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Cambridge University Library, St John's College Library and The British Library' Sound Archives.

Finally I would like to extend my gratitude and heartfelt thanks to my family and my partner Maria Cristina Giampietri and our daughter Zwelisha Sara Angelina, for their love and companionship in the journey of life.

PREFACE

In undertaking this study, I was motivated by dominant energies characterising most of the decade of the 1990s among South Africans who had been hoping for the eventual dismantling of apartheid. Prior to the commencement of my research into the Blue Notes, I had been a jazz student of performance specialising in guitar. Nearly ten years of formal (and informal) music studies had challenged me to rediscover my indigenous musical heritage and to explore its rehabilitative potential, particularly for black communities and subjects of a long history of cultural alienation. As an undergraduate I was introduced to the discipline of ethnomusicology, which led me to embark on a study of neo-traditional guitar styles in Durban and its surrounding areas. My immersion since the early 1980s in the evolving Afro-jazz genre as a professional musician had honed my interest in culture and power discourses of popular musical performance. My experiences in this regard involved me in articulative musical processes that sought to imbue Afro-jazz, and the broad regional African cultural sensibilities informing its innovations, with a potent symbolism as a sonic background to turbulent events that foregrounded the envisaged end of apartheid. Alongside these contentious cultural pursuits I was also steadily building up an understanding of Nguni indigenous musical performance, its material culture and relevance for processes of nation-building, as a unique cultural heritage that had largely been derailed by historically marginalising conditions. As an ideological perspective of progressive resistance, ethnicity and cultural diversity had long been submerged in the mobilisatory rhetoric that strove for a unified, oppositional, and particularly urban, culture. The ideological compromises entailed in this stance are raised in some of the discussions included in this thesis. The prioritisation in the momentous developments of the 1990s in South Africa, of domestic identities and their discursivity in power contestations, drew my attention to cultural identities and their underpinning of black musical performance hybridity. Exile appeared to be an important locus of an elaboration of essentially urban black musical sensibilities, in their particular positioning between cultural indigeneity, a protracted musical syncretism, and advanced twentieth-century modernity. As a narrative of influence and symbolic contestations of dominant cultural practices, the disruptive trajectory of exile arguably presaged global cultural processes

that are contemporaneously being visited on a rapidly evolving South African post-apartheid culture. My instincts then were to glean an insight into the evolution of South African sensibilities that informed a significant part of my own ideological couching in contemporary performance practice.

This study focuses on the Blue Notes, not only as South Africa's foremost post-bebop jazz exponents who in their exile energised a lethargic British jazz world of the 1960s, but also as bearers of significant musical continuities with historical developments in South Africa's rich and diverse musical performance culture. Their exiling from apartheid in 1964 ensured their erasure from the popular cultural consciousness of most South Africans, particularly those who had not witnessed the celebrated phenomenon of the 1950s black urban jazz culture. The rapid onset of apartheid's institutional processes of censorship and control of dissemination of information achieved the almost immediate silencing of oppositional practices that had spoken eloquently of a social and political vexation of the country's majority citizens. All state-controlled broadcasting services and ethnically differentiated radio functioned to deny the existence of discursive musical practices that had successfully negotiated recognisable modern and urban African identities. African jazz or big band *mbaqanga*, a jazz-influenced musical style documenting historical transatlantic cultural dialogues and correspondences of global African marginality, was shelved in the apartheid state's radio programming. *Mbaqanga* big-band practices had potentially and subversively sustained processes that powerfully contested apartheid's programmes of ethnic categorisation of African identities for exploitation. Fatally, a generation of cultural subjects (including myself) could not readily make connections between, say, the mid-1960s migrant, popular, dance-music styles of *mgqashiyo* or *isimanjemanje* – ethnic variants of the 1950s African jazz cultural meltdown – and a jazz-influenced musical history of a symbolic power contestation.

I was challenged by ideological disjunctures between the apparent inclusiveness of South African musical expressions as represented by the Blue Notes in exile, and domestic social stratifications in South Africa's diverse musical stylistic approaches. Furthermore, I needed to reclaim the discursive power of musical and ideological accomplishments of

the Blue Notes in exile, in their tenuous relationship to (and elucidation of) a historical musical-performance engagement of Africans since colonialism.

My discussions touch briefly on biographical narratives of members of the group, in acknowledgement of their musically socialising heritages, including a sustained influence of American jazz that they share with many South African musicians.

In exile the Blue Notes' elucidation, in avant-garde jazz practice, of a post bebop influence, was unique in its contextualisation of indigenous African musical traditions. This was a remarkable deployment for jazz, an imperially-mediated global cultural development whose adoption in both British and European practice had become ideologically rejected on account of its inarticulation of authenticities (McKay 2005:ix). In my discussions I explore ideological resonances between African American bebop and urban black South African jazz styles such as *mbaqanga*. Despite discernible differences in the two styles' aesthetic appeal and manipulation of the musical resources of a European modernity, they are comparable in their discursive situation within developing cultural practices of a subjugated global African condition. The resonances between the two transatlantic styles do not necessarily inhere in their musical materiality and finishedness; rather, both were reactions to their own specific domestic conditions, and each grew in relation to asymmetrically distributed resources of skill and material culture.

In a sense, my attraction to the subject of the Blue Notes explores my personal cultural perceptions in their relation to a seemingly remote academic world whose meanings often engage with precedent theoretical standpoints. Relatively few African apartheid subjects have had the privilege of weighing the reality of their historical colonial legacies on the unforgiving scales of academic theory and a remote, detached observation. In many ways, this study is a mediation of a 'triple-consciousness' whose non-discursivity is perpetuated in the dominant exclusivity of educated class privilege. In other words, there is no common linguistic currency to communicate adequately the dire experiential exigencies of disjunctive worlds of high modernity's exclusivity on the one hand, and a native, postcolonial subaltern proletariat in Africa on the other. It is necessarily a *performed* discourse whose communicative symbolism inheres in the democratic mediation of a 'triple-consciousness', as well as to counter its own elision in the

empowered practices of everyday social and cultural transactions. This was the jolting essence of the Blue Notes' insertion – as a result of their exiling to the UK and Europe – into a discourse that processed dominant cultural influences as these emanated from America's empowered global ideological position. From a marginal social position they focused a western and global attention on musical performance sensibilities of African heirs to American and European postcolonial cultural legacies. In exile, repertoires expressing the Blue Notes' African musical socialisation may be understood as mediating a discursive consciousness of Africa and its cultural experiences of a marginal subjectivism.

In the following chapters I have attempted to formulate coalescence between my tentative original questions, and subsequent discussions and conclusions as informed by data I encountered in the field. At the beginning of my research in 2000, few publications were available on the subject, and even fewer recordings of exile musical performances. Some key texts on the Blue Notes, including for example Lars Rasmussen's Mbizo – a Book about Johnny Dyani and Jazz People of Cape Town, were only published in 2003. Another publication that was important to my understanding of the Blue Notes' London reception, namely George Mackay's Circular Breathing – the Cultural Politics of Jazz in Britain, only appeared in 2005. The same might be said of the many crucial musical recordings, the bulk of which had never been issued in a period of nearly thirty years.

In many other respects, the undertaking of research in a field largely situated in Europe presented me – as a student from KwaZulu-Natal – with challenges of a logistical and financial nature. Perhaps in these are reflected the historical imbalances challenging African scholarly research interests in – and thus critical knowledge of – European (or U.S.), or any other global cultural bearing on Africa in particular. In this regard the appearance, among others, of publications such as I have mentioned, including previously unissued recordings by the Blue Notes and others from as far back as the late 1960s, even if in some cases more than five years into my study, was still a very positive development towards the completion of this work.

CONTENTS

	Abstract	**iii**
	Acknowledgements	**iv**
	Preface	**vii**
CHAPTER 1:	**The South African Blue Notes: Bebop jazz, *Mbaqanga*, Apartheid and the Exiling of a Musical Imagination**	
1.1	**Introduction and Rationale**	**1**
1.2	**Situating the subject Research Context**	**4**
1.3	**Theoretical framework**	**17**
1.3.1	**Historical and ideological globalisation: Africa and jazz influence**	**17**
1.3.2	**Cultural heterogenisation and cultural homogenisation**	**19**
1.3.3	**Jazz, global imagination and 'imagined worlds'**	**21**
1.3.4	**Popular Culture, the Black Atlantic & 'triple-consciousness'**	**22**
1.3.5	**Parallel modernities, 'alterities' and SA jazz**	**25**
1.3.6	**New Africanism and the Africanisation of jazz influence**	**27**
1.3.7	**African modernism, double-consciousness, the 'black Atlantic' and the bebop influence**	**31**
1.3.8	**Apartheid and the exiling of a musical imagination**	**32**
1.3.9	**The Blue Notes' repertoires as narratives of identity in exile**	**34**
1.4	**Methodology**	**35**
CHAPTER 2:	**The Blue Notes in the context of jazz practice in SA**	
2.1	**Pre-exile biographies of the Blue Notes**	**41**
2.1.1	**Chris McGregor**	**42**
2.1.2	**Dudu Pukwana - composer and alto saxophonist with the Blue Notes**	**46**
2.1.3	**Johnny Dyani**	**48**
2.1.4	**Mongezi Feza**	**53**
2.1.5	**Louis Tebogo Moholo**	**56**
2.1.6	**Nikele 'Nick' Moyake**	**59**
2.2	**The Blue Note formations and their repertoires in South Africa between 1961 and 1964**	**63**
2.3	**The Blue Notes' recordings before exile**	**67**
2.4	**The Blue Notes 1963 recording sessions for Trutone's Winner label**	**71**
2.5	**The Blue Notes performances and documented recording in 1963**	**74**
2.6	**The 1963 National Jazz Festival and the formation of the Castle Lager Big Band**	**77**

CHAPTER 3: Historical mentoring practices in popular music, *marabi* and jazz 81

3.1 The syncretism of South African popular music and precursor styles of *marabi* 83
3.2 South African black popular music: *marabi,* its musical precursor styles and regional variants 86
3.3 The European musical canon and the alienation of indigenous sensibilities in colonial mission musical practice 90
3.4 The European musical canon: South African popular musical syncretism and *marabi* 91
3.5 John Knox Bokwe: Protestant hymnody, syncretism and the symbolism of a classical musical cadence 93
3.6 A politicisation of Protestant hymnody and indigenisation of the classical European musical cadence 95
3.7 A religious indigenisation of Christianity and Ntsikana Gaba's *ULoThix' oMkhulu* 98
3.8 A sanctification of the national liberation struggle in the political secularisation of the hymn/prayer 100
3.9 Reuben Caluza's *Si lu Sapo or iLand Act*: resistance, protest and the hymn 102
3.10 The proletarian influence of the I - IV (or ii) - V harmonic progression 104
3.11 *Makwaya* practices in mission school, church and secular musical performance 105
3.12 The influence of American blackface minstrelsy in *makwaya* 106

CHAPTER 4: South African music and the domestication of American jazz styles preceding bebop 108

4.1 Influences of early jazz and ragtime in African musical practice 114
4.2 Modernity, the black Atlantic and 'triple consciousness' in the 1930s and 1940s vaudeville and jazz 116
4.3 Alternative modernities in the domestication of American popular jazz repertoires by black South African musicians 119
4.4 The mediation of influential jazz styles in global cultural flows 121
4.5 Mediascapes, finanscapes, ethnoscapes and technoscapes: the processing of jazz influences under apartheid 122
4.6 The Africanisation of close-harmony vocal jazz: the Manhattan Brothers 129
4.6.1 A reharmonisation of indigenous Xhosa song in the Manhattan Brothers's use of indigenous musical materials 134
4.7 New Africanism: African jazz and the Africanisation of big-band swing 136
4.7.1 African musical resources in the development of African jazz 138
4.7.2 The popularisation of African jazz in *pennywhistle kwela* 139

CHAPTER 5: Bebop and the Blue Notes repertoires until 1964 140

5.1 The Blue Notes and a mediation of bebop influence in South Africa 144
5.2 John Mehegan's Jazz in Africa: an imitative phase in the South African domestication of bebop 145
5.3 The Jazz Epistle: an assimilation of bebop by African jazz musicians 150
5.4 The Jazz Epistles, bebop influence and 'black Atlantic' correspondences 151
5.5 The formation of the Blue Notes and their assimilation of the bebop influence 153
5.6 The 1962 Cold Castle National Festival in Moroka-Jabavu (Soweto) 156
5.7 Musical repertoires at the 1962 Moroka-Jabavu Cold Castle National Festival 158
5.8 The Blue Notes pre-exile repertoires 160
5.9 Gideon Nxumalo's Jazz Fantasia: a classicisation of jazz and a 'jazzing' of indigeneity 163
5.10 The 'Africanism' of the Chris McGregor and the Castle Lager Big Band repertoires 165
5.11 The musical significance of the Blue Notes repertoires from 1962 to 1964 169
5.12 The influence of hard bop in the Blue Notes pre-exile repertoires 173

CHAPTER 6: Jazz, apartheid and the exiling of a musical imagination

6.1 The exiling of a musical imagination 178
6.2 African American jazz as the music of African exile 180
6.3 South African jazz exile prefigured: an assimilation of bebop and the silencing of *mbaqanga* 185
6.4 Exile 'in place': the South African demise of *mbaqanga* 187
6.5 South African music and musicians in exile in the United States 191

CHAPTER 7: The Blue Note repertoires as narratives of identity in exile

7.1 Music and identity in a South African exile imaginary 204
7.2 The Blue Notes in Europe: jazz repertoires as narratives of identity 211
7.2.1 The Blue Notes' and identity narratives of bebop influence in SA 212
7.3 Bebop-influenced repertoires as narratives of identity: the Blue Notes at Ronnie Scott's 217

7.4 Pan-African hybridity in *mbaqanga* and *highlife*: Gwigwi Mrwebi and the Chris McGregor Group in London 226
7.5 Narratives of individual and group identities in free improvisation, avant-garde and free jazz 234
7.6 The Blue Notes and Chris McGregor' big band and small ensembles 242

CHAPTER 8: Narratives of African identity in free jazz and avant-garde repertoires 251

8.1 The African village in Chris McGregor's Big Band and the Brotherhood of Breath 253
8.2 The influence of the Blue Notes in Chris McGregor's Septet and Trio ensembles 259
8.3 Dudu's Pukwana's Assegai, Spear, Jabula-Spear and Zila repertoires as narratives of identity in exile 262
8.4 The Blue Notes' [South] Africanisation of jazz, 'triple-consciousness', and an internationalization of township jazz 274

CHAPTER 9: Narratives of identity in the music of Johnny Dyani, Mongezi Feza and Louis Moholo 285

9.1 A South African political identity in Johnny Dyani's 'Witchdoctor's Son' and 'Music for Xaba' repertoires 288
9.2 'Triple consciousness' and Johnny Dyani's interpretation of a 'folk' music tradition 306

CHAPTER 10: The South African 'Blue Notes': Music and Death in exile 315

10.1 The Chris McGregor Group's Very Urgent (1968): reasserting group identity and assimilating the free-jazz influence 317
10.2 Blue Notes for Mongezi: death in exile and a memory of the present 324
10.3 Death in exile and a symbolic migration of cultural musical performance space in Blue Notes for Mongezi 326
10.4 Improvised musical performance continuities and religious syncretism in the Second Movement of Blue Notes for Mongezi 326
10.5 A ritual programming of spontaneous performance in Blue Notes for Mongezi 328
10.4 Improvised musical performance continuities and religious syncretism: the Second Movement of Blue Notes for Mongezi 337
10.5 The musical syncretism of a Xhosa divination ceremony in the Second Movement of Blue Notes for Mongezi 340
10.6 Interlude: transcendental abstraction as prayer and celebration 342

10.7 Blue Notes for Mongezi: Mackay Davashe and the shadow of exile in black South African migrant experiences 343
10.8 Johnny Dyani and a 'triple-consciousness' of indigenous spiritual practice in *Blue Notes for Mongezi* 344
10.9 Ritual performance continuity: Blue Notes for Mongezi as projection beyond exile 349
10.10 Blue Notes in Concert Volume 1 (1977): non-racialism and the practice of a musical 'triple-consciousness' 353
10.11 Free-jazz and the abstraction of a 'triple-consciousness' in Blue Notes in Concert repertoires 356
10.12 Blue Notes for Johnny (1987): an institutionalisation of identity and ritualisation of repertoires 358

CHAPTER 11: Some Conclusions - The South African 'Blue Notes': Bebop Jazz, Apartheid and the Exiling of a Musical Imagination 364

APPENDICES:

I GLOSSARY 374
II MUSICAL EXCERPTS IN THE ACCOMPANYING CD 379
III A LIST OF MUSICAL TRANSCRIPTIONS 389
Transcription 1 390
Transcription 2 393
Transcription 3 394
Transcription 4 397
Transcription 5 402
Transcription 6 407
Transcription 7 409
Transcription 8 417
Transcription 9 422
Transcription 10 436
Transcription 11 448
Transcription 12 449
Transcription 13 452
Transcription 14 454
Transcription 15 455

IV DISCOGRAPHY 456
V BIBLIOGRAPHY 459
VI VIDEOGRAPHY 474
VII JOURNALS, NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES 475
VIII A LIST OF INTERVIEWEES 477

ACCOMPANYING CD

CHAPTER 1

The South African 'Blue Notes': Bebop, Mbaqanga, Apartheid and the Exiling of a Musical Imagination

1.1 Introduction and Rationale

The following dissertation was motivated by, among other considerations, an interest in the global legacy of 'township jazz', its historical relevance as a cultural backdrop to the South African political struggle and its potential to embed discourses of resistance in a popular ideology of performance shared by a majority of apartheid subjects. As a jazz studies and performance graduate, [ethno]musicologist and a practising township musician 'at the end of apartheid', I was motivated to demonstrate the musical continuities linking disjunctive subjectivities of global experiences of marginality. I was curious to explore the global resonance of township jazz sensibilities in their elaboration as a result of exile, and in their ideological juxtapositions with other diasporic musical performance orientations. In my discovery of The Blue Notes – through township jazz legend and their scant repertoires to which I was intermittently exposed – I became convinced of their tenuous link with a range of musical sensibilities demonstrating the cultural democracies envisaged in the demise of apartheid. Despite disjunctures connoted in the cultural experiences of colonialism and beyond, their musical approaches suggested continuity in which tradition, hybridity and synthesis seemed to co-exist, or at least develop in democratic and creative dialogues. As I further discovered, the Blue Notes' musical careers in exile had touched those of a range of musicians whose approaches to a global post-jazz legacy I closely felt drawn towards. Through these collaborations, the Blue Notes could justifiably lay claim to being significant contributors towards an international movement in post-bop advancement, in their mentoring roles in conceptual improvisatory ensembles which included some of the most illustrious names in U.S., UK and European post-bebop jazz.

Among such associations are included musically fruitful exchange encounters, recording and performance collaborations with the likes of Horace Silver, Albert Ayler, Okay

Temiz, Joseph Jarman, David Murray, Khan Jamal, Joe Bonner, Bud Powell, James Baldwin, Ben Webster, Don Cherry, John Tchicai, Steve Lacy, Enrico Rava, Mike Osborne, Stan Tracey, Elton Dean, Harry Miller, Harry Beckett, Keith Tippett, Evan Parker, Barre Phillips, Misha Mengelberg, Irene Schweizer, Peter Brotzmann, Archie Shepp, Roswell Rudd, Cecil Taylor, Charles Mingus, Bob Stuckey, John Martyn, John Surman, John Stevens, Mike Rutherford, Dave Holland, Kenny Wheeler, Jim Dvorak… There also exists strong evidence – in the late 1960s daily press reportage especially in London and surrounding metropolises – of working ties in private recording sessions between individual Blue Note members and leading icons of the British pop and black music culture. In South Africa of the late 1950s to early 1960s, the Blue Notes were associated with a vibrant national, non-racial jazz culture linking together musicians from all corners of the republic, among them Dollar Brand, Kippie Moeketsi, Jonas Gwangwa and Hugh Masekela, Dave Galloway, Don Staegmann, Joe Colussi. Other musicians – black and white - who peopled the ambit of the Blue Notes' formation and earliest performing activities included: George Kussel, Brian Welsh, Merton Barrow, Banzi Bangani, and Cecil Ricca; Ephraim 'Cup & Saucer' Nkanuka, Chris "Columbus" Ngcukana (Mbra), Malindi Blyth Mbityana, the Schilder brothers, Morris Goldberg, Leonard Weinreich, Beatty Benjamin, Johnny Gertze, Sammy Maritz, Makaya Ntshoko, Daniel Sibanyoni, Early Mabuza, Phakamile Joya, Lami Zokufa, Ronnie Beer, Bob Tizzard, Selwyn Lissack, Danayi Dlova, Lenny Lee, Cecil Barnard, George Cupido, Peter Koehler, Henry Mokone, Martin Mgijima, John Bannister, Monty Weber, 'Nick' Moyake, Elijah Nkwanyana, Willie Nettie, Harold Jephta, Caiphas Semenya, Dennis Mpale, Saint Moikangoe, Mackay Davashe, Mongezi Velelo, Jimmy Adams, Victor Ntoni, Barney Rachabane, Early Mabuza, Tete Mbambisa. The preceeding lists above are by no means exhaustive in documenting the dynamism and extent of the Blue Notes' participation in European, British, American and South African jazz performance practice. On the eve of their departure from South Africa in June 1964, the Blue Notes had recently been consolidated into a youthful sextet comprising founder-member and leader, pianist Chris McGregor; saxophonists Nikele 'Nick' Moyake and Mthuthuzeli 'Dudu' Pukwana; Mongezi Feza, trumpet; Louis Moholo, drums; and Johnny Dyani, bass. Their departure marked the beginning of a long exile whose ending coincided with the release

of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners at the beginning of 1990 – an event that heralded the final demise of apartheid. By the middle of the same year only one member of the original sextet – drummer Louis Moholo – was still left alive, the rest having succumbed to various illnesses during the intervening years in exile[1].

The spreading of jazz to far flung corners of the globe and its domestication on the African soil poses many questions on existing paradigms of the genre's discursive milieu. Its contentious nationalisation in the US ahead of the political recognition of its African-American originators proceeded in an apparent ignorance of the cultural impact of America's economic and geopolitical engagement with the outside world. In an era when the study of jazz performance and history has been embraced as a democratic right in the education of young South Africans, it is imperative to examine the essential influences of American jazz in their agency towards global cultural homogenization.

This fact alone prioritises a long-overdue examination of jazz beyond domestic discourses of ownership and US racial politics, towards a conceptual basis that would incorporate considerations of the contemporary global cultural interconnectedness. The role of jazz in the lives of individuals and institutions around the world invites diverse discourses to illuminate its convoluted trajectories and the ideological underpinnings of its adoption by differently constituted global subjects, as Jerome Harris attests that 'the global stage on which jazz is created and performed … has implications for identity and aesthetic issues that have recently been contested within the jazz community' (Monson 2000:103-30).

[1] New Brighton, Port Elizabeth-born tenor saxophonist Nikele Moyake returned home after nearly two years with the Blue Notes in Europe. He died soon afterwards of a suspected brain tumor. See accounts of his passing in Maxine McGregor's *Chris McGregor and the Brotherhood of Breath, (p80)* and in an interview of East London jazz pianist Tete Mbambisa by Lars Rasmussen in *Jazz People of Cape Town (p.150-51).*

1.2 Situating the Subject in the Research Context

This dissertation is positioned alongside several studies that have been a product of scholarly research in South African musical performance culture, and specifically jazz and popular music. My discussions own seeks a resonance with these studies in their reiteration of the grounding of jazz practices in opposition to apartheid and its impinging processes on the culture of black musical performance (Coplan 1980, 1985; Erlmann 1991, 1996, 1999; Ballantine 1989, 1993; Hamm 1988; Allen 1994; Nixon 1994; Baines 1990).

Studies dealing with evolving South African black performance culture in the postcolonial era and specifically in the 20th century – including those that deal primarily with jazz – have only recently begun to consider the discursive implications of exile on both scholarship and musical performance practice (Pyper 2002; Lucia 2004; Dalamba 2008; Titlestad 2001, 2004). The extension due to exile, of the field of South African jazz beyond domestic and national boundaries of practice, has invited significant paradigmatic shifts and engagement by a range of theoretical approaches from diverse disciplines. Furthermore, an increasing awareness of the import of jazz in its discursive relationship with cultural trajectories of global history, and the traditional assumptions from which ensues our present understanding, has long warranted a critical examination. These perspectives render possible, considerations of the ideological practice of jazz in its relationship to diverse discourses implicating globally significant historical events including African slavery, cultural diaspora, apartheid, black politics of resistance and exile.

In focusing on particular subjective performative experiences and articulating an understanding of the field of contemporary South African urban musicology, I need to acknowledge the work of precedent scholarship, with which I seek to establish wherever possible, a productive engagement. While existing studies have focused on the consolidation of urban black musical performance within the dynamics of a South African cultural and political history, few ethnographies have theorised an ideological engagement of non-racial jazz formations with apartheid. In this context the Blue Notes and their repertoires present a rich subject and a performative framework through which

may be examined a complex interplay between apartheid subjectivism, history, agency, culture and ideology.

As a reference to contemporary South African historical musicology, Christopher Ballantine's *Marabi Nights - Early Black Jazz and Vaudeville in South Africa* (1993) provides an important contextual background to ramifications of the jazz influence on popular black musical performance. Ballantine's study maps South Africa's black 'jazzing' subculture on the margins of legality and institutional morality to highlight a culture's alignment with oppositional politics and its defiance of a burgeoning apartheid state. Amongst other things, Ballantine's study charts musical developments echoing the turbulences of post-colonial, post-industrial, and urbanising trajectories of black performance culture in South Africa. In resonance with the present study, is a substantiation of the ideological basis of several popular urban music styles, in whose hybridity was found the basis of instrumental improvisatory practices as exemplified by *marabi's* regional variants such as *thulandivile, famo,* and *ndunduma*. The manifestation of *marabi* as both a socio-economic (alongside the *stokvel*) and ideological performance practice further enriches the discursive terrain of black popular musical culture in its active engagement with a haphazard modernity. My dissertation follows Ballantine's assertions of the basis of South Africa's 'jazzing' practices in *marabi,* and pursues a plausible correspondence between *marabi* and the blues in the latter's seminal positioning within African American history and jazz practice (Ballantine 1993:26). Such correspondences invite a perspective on the processes which may underlie an argument for consideration of African-based ideological practices towards an extension of African modernity and 'black Atlantic' epistemologies[2].

Similarly the domestication of American big-band swing in the African jazz or *mbaqanga* repertoires of black South African dance orchestras is argued as a process of African modernity and 'black Atlantic' dialogue 'taking place on the African soil'. Of further relevance to my discussions are both direct and indirect associations of Blue Notes

[2] This perspective emanates from arguments put forward by Masilela (1996), as a critique of Paul Gilroy's seminal text, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (1993). For Masilela Ntongela's comments see his 'The 'Black Atlantic' and African Modernity in South Africa' in Research in African Literatures 27: 88-95.

members with the musical performance milieu of *marabi*-influenced South African big-band culture. The reworking of these early mentoring musical experiences and their deployment in contexts of an evolving (and contested) global jazz practice inform discussions in Chapter 4. Finally, of crucial importance for further theoretical consideration is the documentation of cultural, ideological and musical processes of the 'Concert and Dance' institution (Ballantine 1993). Of interest to later discussion in this context is the development of a hybrid jazz and vaudeville urban performance culture within the segregated parameters of apartheid subjectivism. This view is based on the developmental trajectory of the 'Concert and Dance' culture, whose longevity and relative smoothness could plausibly be accounted for by its relative unthreatening stance and an apparent inability to manifest in performance and ideology, integrative processes of a post-apartheid imagination.

Maxine McGregor's *Chris McGregor and the Brotherhood of Breath* (1994) was written as a biography of Chris McGregor, the central figure of the Blue Notes' founding and leadership. The book chronicles the Blue Notes' beginnings in bebop's wake and South Africa's first integrated, post-bebop big-band sessions in the early 1960s. As a biographical narrative the text takes off from Chris McGregor's recollections of a boyhood shared between urban white and rural African (Xhosa) socializing musical experiences, and his early attraction to black popular music and jazz from both sides of the Atlantic. The influential music of African Protestant mission culture, the hybridity of African church and school repertoires as well as the entrenchment of these sensibilities within rural African social performance practice are constantly portrayed as pivotal in Chris McGregor's lifelong cultural orientation. McGregor's ambition and decision from early on in his musical career – to play jazz with the best black, or white musicians of his day (McGregor 1994:7) – may reasonably be attributed in a large part to his openness and engagement with the diversity of African music that he had grown up exposed to. Chris McGregor's musical socialisation remarkably approximated that of Christianised, school-going Africans in the mission, shantytown and early township social culture. In this sense McGregor's upbringing is comparable with that of numerous seminal figures of musical syncretism in South African popular music – Reuben Caluza, Griffiths Motsieloa, Tom

Mabiletsa, William Mseleku, Nimrod Makhanya, John Knox Bokwe, Enoch Sontonga, 'King Force' Silgee, Todd Matshikiza, Eric Nomvete, 'Cups' Nkanuka, 'Columbus' Ngcukana, Dollar Brand, Cecil Barnard, and many others, including all the other members of the Blue Notes. In relation to the Blue Notes' ideological and stylistic uniqueness these observations draw attention to the pertinence of shared culture under overarching conditions of apartheid segregation and exile. Maxine McGregor's book provides an important background from which to construct an understanding of elements of a structural and ideological resistance in the Blue Notes under fragmentary conditions of exile. Among much contested developments in the Blue Notes' lamentable exile trajectory is the absorption and grafting of the Blue Notes to the core of Chris McGregor's Brotherhood of Breath large ensemble project. In chronicling the pressures of musical influence, individual expressive diversifications, and logistical pressures on the structural (and ideological) cohesion of the Blue Notes in exile, McGregor's text occasions an interrogation of *performance* of identity.

The importance of Maxine McGregor's book lies in its privileged narrative intimacy with the subject of the Blue Notes, encompassing the band's conceptual, re-generative and ideologically influential phases *before* and *during* exile. My consideration of this text also recognises its potential to inform and enrich the democratic polyvocality of popular cultural historicity and thereby facilitate an understanding of the representation of South African jazz in exile biographical writing[3]. The literary accounts of the Blue Notes' influence on European and British jazz musicians and audiences in the late 1960s in newspaper and magazine reviews, as well as in the writings of exiled South Africans – notably Lewis Nkosi, Ezekiel Mphahlele, Keorapetse Kgositsile, Pallo Jordan, among others – enrich the representational discourses of South African jazz ramifications in a similar way to Maxine McGregor's account.

As one of the convenors of the subculture of non-racial jazz practice in South Africa, Chris McGregor consolidated Duke Ellington/Thelonius Monk-inspired writing with post-bebop big-band sensibilities, reaching for an aesthetic of an 'African' sound from a

[3] In his collection of discursive essays *"Making the Changes – Jazz in South African Writing and Reportage"* the author, Michael Titlestad, embroils music and performance in a meta-discourse of meaning-making and subversive alterity in South African literary representations of jazz culture and practice (Titlestad 2001; 2004).

decidedly conventional American big-band orchestral palette heard in the recordings of the Castle Lager Big Band's 1962 National Jazz Festival and the Chris McGregor Sextet's 1963 Jazz: The African Sound. The issuing of the Blue Notes' core membership from these non-racial ensembles links them tenuously with jazz practices and influential mentorship representative of a range of uninterrupted legacies of South African engagement with the style. Later on in my discussions I raise the issue of assertions of 'African jazz or the African sound of jazz' as they issued from 'black Atlantic' collisions with hybrid rather than indigenous musical practices.

Maxine McGregor's text provides important insider glimpses into difficulties facing integrated jazz performance in a rapidly segregating country – and the exigencies of black township musicianship – and in the process makes a strong case for the Blue Notes' decision to leave for Europe. The musicians and the music of the Blue Notes were to become a resilient touchstone for affirmations of ideological references and subsequent 'Africanisation' trajectories of many projects and ensembles in exile. The biography's definite musical focus on the Brotherhood of Breath reiterates a perception of the virtual dissolution of the Blue Notes soon after their arrival in Europe, and their perpetual efforts at regrouping. A chapter of this dissertation is dedicated to the documented musical results of these regroupings – few and far between – as they were typically occasioned by tragic circumstances such as the loss through death of a member, or an apparent need to reaffirm the groups' ideological cohesion.

Although symptomatic of the original band's disbanding, the repertorial outcomes of the many recombinant and collaborative ensembles in exile continued to reiterate an ideological rootedness in approaches to jazz and South African popular music that had been forged through the Blue Notes' unique cultural experiences. An important contention of this dissertation is a view of this activity as an ideological performance approach mobilized around shared visions of a South African jazz culture beyond apartheid. Thus one of the challenges of this study is that of unpacking the relevance of the band's repertoires and style choices in the affirmation of their ideological vision of an apartheid-free society.

Lara Allen[4] underscores the subversive threat of *kwela*, a youth popular musical culture in a segregated South African urban society, and the role of youth in the popularisation of a marginalized adult black jazz style, *mbaqanga* (Allen 1993). My interest in the history of South African jazz excavated in this text shores up a discussion of cultural identities in exile and their deployment in the authentications of resistance based on popular cultural practices. I seek to verify the significance of this discourse by employing evidence of a number of interviews given by Blue Note members in exile, as well as recorded repertoires, particularly Dudu Pukwana's Diamond Express (1977) and Flute Music (1974) albums, featuring Mongezi Feza (and Pukwana) on pennywhistles. Furthermore, the significance of *kwela* and its emblematic sound for national cultural identities is further explored in the documented practices of exiled black and white South African jazz musicians – including Gwigwi Mrwebi, Dudu Pukwana, Mongezi Feza, Abdullah Ibrahim, Joe Malinga, Morris Goldberg, Robert Sithole, Abdullah Ibrahim, Sean Bergin, Harry Miller – who incorporated the sound of the pennywhistle in diverse repertoires, and in particular those celebrating township *mbaqanga* jazz style and its influence on *kwela*. Both *mbaqanga* and *kwela* were broadly accessible popular dance music styles, with the latter's undoubted appeal across aesthetic lines of the 1950s apartheid's racial divide. *Kwela* was simple, youthful and carnivalesque despite its black practitioners' bleak social urban status and – anchored by the puniness and expressive limitations of a mere flageolet as it was – certainly could not carry the deep social and virtuosic aspirations of African adult experiences. Its most ardent exponents, on 'growing up', dropped the pennywhistle for the saxophone, usually the alto – Spokes Mashiyane, Gwigwi Mrwebi, Lemmy 'Special' Mabaso, Barney Rachabane. The Blue Notes, like most black South African instrumentalists, were all musically touched by the *kwela* culture and its technology of self-made tin-guitars and single-string tea-box basses (Dlamini 1998; Rasmussen 2001; Kubik 1975). In exile, I argue, was necessitated a validation of besieged and imagined nationalities in popular cultural practices which paradoxically stand in tension against an individuality and solitarity connoted in the pursuits of avant-jazz virtuosity. In my analyses of the Blue Notes' repertoires in exile, which hark back

[4] See Lara Allen's unpublished MMus thesis *Pennywhistle Kwela: a Musical, Historical and Socio-political Analysis* (1993).

upon the popularity of both *kwela* and *mbaqanga*, I am interested in the negotiation of these tensions in musical expressive styles attempting to straddle the tense ideological discrepancies between high-art discretions and ideological conscientisation of the masses.

In the essay *Abdullah Ibrahim and the Uses of Memory* (2002), Christine Lucia deploys Abdullah Ibrahim's composition *Mamma* in a theory of the place of memory in music composed in contingencies of exiled "South Africanness". In this view the spatio-temporal dislocations and cultural absences imposed by exile provided a site in which a shared 'space of memory' was created (Lucia 2002:125). Lucia's consideration of the use of memory connotes a further deployment, of remembering as resistance against both apartheid and exile. In the experiences of exiled South African musicians including Abdullah Ibrahim and others, exile itself was an act of resistance, against apartheid. In later discussions I have argued for a consideration of exile of immobilised subjects, as during apartheid, as a consequence of a marginalisation of practices that affirm their identities in culture. In maintaining the 'space of memory' to facilitate imagination, Lucia's postulation resonates with my own hypothetical position which seeks to locate post bebop, non-racial jazz practices – of which Abdullah Ibrahim was a pioneer and leading light – in a post-apartheid musical imagination. While Lucia focuses on Abdullah Ibrahim's compositional approaches in the 1970s, I am arguing for a conceptualisation of the Blue Notes as a movement which sought to transcend strictures of apartheid, even before the spectre of exile. My position thus extends the temporal axes of a nostalgia for a lost *past* in the music, to include a transcendental spatial and temporal plane in which South African society could be imagined beyond apartheid. From this follows a conception of exile as an inevitable outcome of a violent occupation and policing of this space through apartheid enforcement in its criminalization of non-racial social integrative practices. Still on another level of consideration for discussion: "nostalgia and the uses of memory" conceptually promises an eloquent dialogical matrix straddling three important spatio-temporal milieus of ideological deployment of jazz practice. Firstly, memory appears to enter the discourse of jazz in the primacy of 'the blues' and their precursor elements in African experiences of slavery in America. In implicating the exile of slavery and the place of memory in jazz and its African-American predecessors, memory extends

temporaneity in the dialogues of modernity and the 'black Atlantic' while portending a protracted historical engagement of Africa with the deceptively 'recent' and contested phenomenon of globalization[5]. Secondly, memory occupies a revered position in the arsenal of survival and resistance against forms of spatial and temporal dislocations of which exile is a prime example – perhaps a central point of contention in Lucia's essay. The Blue Notes' indisputable exilic condition certainly sought to imbue memory with powerful significances and these, I argue, are to be found in their repertoires. Thirdly, the discursive significance of memory and nostalgia finds resonance in the resuscitation – in South Africa of the 1980s – of 1950s *mbaqanga* jazz, and the style's alliance with the resilience of late apartheid's most formidable oppositional forums, as represented by the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)[6].

Of primary concern to my discussions are the implications of the above theoretical positions for a discourse which locates the space of memory within the interstices of musical sounds.

The poetics of South African jazz exile in 1960s New York present an aptly comparative discourse to the fate of the Blue Notes and their music in Europe. In a paper entitled *"Home is Where the Music Is": South African Jazz in Exile in New York in the 1960s* (2002), Brett Pyper drew attention to pervasive conditions of jazz practice in South Africa coincident with its arrival in America and Europe, as well as the essential formations and repertoires which served to introduce it. The tumultuous period preceding the Sharpeville massacre had embroiled South Africa's black urban population in the tense repercussions of state violence in the wake of the Defiance Campaign and the ongoing prosecutions of black political representatives in the Rivonia Treason Trial. The enforcement of pass laws for blacks, the State of Emergency, the razing down of peri-

[5] The historicity of Africa's global encounter is the theme of essays interrogating intellectual misconceptions that construe globalization as a 'new' and postmodern development. See Zeleza, Paul T. 2003. Rethinking Africa's Globalisation, Volume 1: The Intellectual Challenges. Trenton, NJ & Asmara, Eritrea: Africa World Press, Inc. (pp 1-64).

[6] The observation of a resurgence of 1950s *mbaqanga* style within the newly developing South African *afro-jazz* idioms, in their embellishment of the reinvigorated 'oppositional culture' of the 1980s, is substantiated in Ballantine (1993).

urban black settlements and closing-down of black-friendly cultural spaces in the city had for some time put the jazz culture in retreat, as Brett Pyper states:

> Though hardly the sole object of state repression and censorship in the South African music panoply, there were times in the 1960s when jazz seemed to have been driven into exile *in toto*, becoming an aesthetic mode of unlawful association that contradicted apartheid ethnic essentialism and political acquiescence. (2004:2)

In seeking a dialogic engagement with pertinent discourses embroiling jazz practice in South Africa, the idea of the exiling of post-apartheid imagination finds concurrence in the statement above, and thereby a perception of the oppositional status of non-racial formations such the Blue Notes at the time. The prior exiling of accompanying expressive modes *in toto* is also an important consideration, presaging as it does a subsequent 'exiling' of physical, performing bodies of jazz musicians – literally following the retreat of the music. Home, as a signifier in music and in the exiled South African jazz imaginary in particular, resurfaces time and again as a symbol of alternative redress to the dislocations and alienated exigencies of exile. With a title borrowed from Hugh Masekela's (and Dudu Pukwana) 1973 recording Home is Where the Music Is, Pyper's working paper engages a symbolic deployment of 'home' as conceived in correspondences of black Atlantic dialogues between Africans under apartheid and African-Americans in the diaspora. In these transactions the conception of home as a static sanctuary is disrupted when pertinent conditions – in this case apartheid and the marginal positioning of blacks in America – become intolerable. In the post-apartheid imaginary – or a consummation of African-American post-slavery emancipation – home relocates to a milieu of ideals sought and attainable through resistance and a struggle for freedom. Hugh Masekela testifies to these perceptions (of black America as the idealized condition of a besieged black South African modernity) as do the many jazz compositions by black Americans in articulating perceptions of Africa as an alternative (Weinstein 1993, Pyper 2004, Masekela & Cheers 2004). Brett Pyper's paper interrogates in the reception of South African 'jazz' exiles in New York, the canonical vexations as a result of diversity in popular interpretations of jazz in criticism and performance practice. In contrasting the musical approaches of three important figures – Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela, and Dollar Brand (Abdullah Ibrahim) – whose careers are pivotal in the

construction of this milieu – Pyper points to the tensions attending traditional conceptions of jazz as a solely North American practice.

Charles Hamm's *Afro-American Music, South Africa, and Apartheid* (1988) presents a tableau for penetrating discourses taking off from a reading of ideological entanglements entailed in his tri-phased processual framework of cultural *importation, imitation* and *assimilation* of musical influences (Hamm 1988).

The traditional empirical approach and its underlying determinist thrust in Hamm's essays, appears to elide contestations of a staggered modernism impinging on African and black South African postcolonial culture specifically. However, the text's detailing of the structural agency of music-marketing imperatives focuses attention on the implications of global finance and media flows for vernacular stylistic and ideological processes. Hamm's study, in focusing on the transmissional discrepancies characterizing a mediation of an important 'black Atlantic' cultural discourse via the market forces, hints at a distortion in the representation of African-American ideological performance practices. The text's essential bias towards popular (non-jazz) idioms invites a speculation on their discursive racial-political engagement and the extent to which this possibly determined their exclusion from ideological strategies of global music marketing. In other words, why has it taken so long to garner a vernacular, non-racial South African popular musical style that engages apartheid to the same level of subversity as the Blue Notes' movement? A Hammsian reading would conclude that, since black South Africans were exposed to ideologically 'weak' musical products, there were no assimilable or politically-charged models to import or imitate, since these would have been sidelined in the marketing process. While my dissertation does not engage itself with the politics of international popular music, the implications of such speculation possibly illuminate penetrating discourses of a *non-racial* jazz practice ensuing from *black, African-American, and African* ideological consciousness.

In Township Tonight!: South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre (Coplan 1985) is presented a panoramic view of South Africa's urban black performance landscape in its relationship to historical, cultural and socio-political processes since colonialism.

Coplan's two studies (1980; 1985) remain useful texts in their broaching of the most contentious vexations and dilemmas attending a developing postcolonial black musical performance culture since at least the late 17th century. Although practices with which my dissertation is engaged are of a much more recent vintage - ensuing as they do from elaborations of a deep syncretism characterising the musical performance culture of urbanized, school-going and Christianised Africans - they have inherited some of the earliest discourses characterizing the African colonial encounter. The cultural performance elaborations of a black (south) African modernity, in their innately uneven progression, embed ideological resistance and echo an essential marginality of the native population in the political economic process. In all their rich diversity, adaptations of influential imported European and American culture have resonated differently with the attendant postcolonial class differentiation of African societies. Coplan's studies of urban black performance arts underline the disjunctive developmental processes of a postcolonial African popular culture, and music in particular. Essentially the fragmentation of indigenous African power polities privileged resistance strategies that were increasingly spearheaded by an elite minority and its conflicting notions on issues of acculturation. Coplan, citing Keller (1970) and Mayer (1961), states the conflictual positions wrought by conversion to Christianity among the Xhosa in the towns of Eastern Cape as an outcome of '[t]he policy of encapsulation, which made mission stations islands of acculturation in a traditional sea, led to the structured opposition of "red" (traditional) and "school" (Western-educated) categories' (Coplan 1980:8).

The contradictions perceived in the fragmentary purposes and efforts of missionisation served to promote vagrancy and disobedience to indigenous structures of political and social order, as well as instilled orderly perceptions of the dominant ideology via Christianisation, western-style education and cultural subordination of indigenous subjects (Erlmann 1981). Thus the initial progression of an acculturative ideology progressed on optimistic hopes of acceptance and approval by the colonial sanction, and led 'mission Africans to dissociate themselves socially from the remainder of the African population, and to approximate local models of European cultural expression as closely as possible' (Coplan 1980:83). Bearing in mind the minority status of Africans who

initially chose ‘Westernisation’ and the attendant alienation of this group from core practices of majority culture, it would take an evolutionary ideological leap for emancipatory political leadership to be entirely entrusted to black educated classes. It may well be that the present post-apartheid upheavals, particularly as manifested in “Mbeki versus Zuma” presidential succession debates, emanate from this perception. From such a perspective, modern cultural advancement and its leadership, if it were to unite the dispossessed majority towards effective resistance and coherent lobby for an equitable franchise, needed to transcend these basic dichotomies between rural and urban, tradition and modernity, and latterly, proletarian and elite.

Erlmann’s studies (1991, 1996, 1999) concur with Coplan’s (1980, 1985) regarding concerted cultural efforts of elite, educated Africans in their appeal, through musical performance, to the popular perception of the English community of the native’s worthiness for considerations of equality, a situation summarised by Coplan as follows:

> With political, social, and economic channels of mobility so sharply restricted, cultural attainment, including performance, became a major means of proving that a new African civilization, clearly separate from the "barbaric" and "heathen" past, could develop. Syncretic African choral music received a vital impetus as part of this African Christian struggle for cultural autonomy. (Coplan 1980:89)

The exploitation of detribalized African-hood in an industrializing surge, in the exposure of ethnic sensibilities to dislocations of migrant labour experiences, led to the development of another strain of syncretism, and further diversified African class stratifications and cultural responses to a cruel modernity.

The musical syncretisms of important figures such as Reuben Caluza and others who sought to bring alienated traditional and acculturative idioms of *imusic* and *ragtime* together, thus became celebrated as anthems of an elusive cultural and political unity following postcolonial and industrial cultural disjunctures, as Coplan attests:

> [A]udiences were amazed by (the Caluza choir's earliest performances ability) to interrelate these different forms of music, lyrics, and movement so harmoniously. Achieving the integration of expressive media so essential to traditional performing arts in a modernized (Westernized) idiom expanded Africans' awareness of the possibilities for playing indigenous music upon Western instruments. (Coplan 1980:169)

The ideological power sensed of this cultural milestone resonated with long-term political goals of an educated African leadership, and elevated the potential for musical performance to materialize and enliven elusive class coherence, as journalist R.R.R. Dlomo was later to comment regarding Caluza's works:

> These songs which have regenerated many a soul ... songs which have rekindled anew our zealous patriotic aspirations … When these songs are sold everywhere, when they are sung in high and low places ... then, not only will Caluza triumph, but every blackman, who claims to have any welfare of his race at heart. (R.R.R Dlomo, cited in Coplan 1980:169)

These sentiments echoed a formalisation of the discursive potential of musical performance in its articulation of subaltern aspirations to challenge domination. The discourse of resistance as an intellectual distillation of analyses of power asymmetries awaited this popularization, an availing of its expressive language for the majority's use in everyday struggle. The fashioning of *marabi,* I argue, was largely due to a popular frustration with the condescensions of mission church and Christian school culture in its appeal to 'worthiness' and approval by colonial morality. As a result, *marabi* instrumental artifacts like the organ, including its repertoires and organisational culture of *iitimiti* and *itswari,* were culled from the church's own supervised secular musical performance practices of tea-meetings and soirees, to the service of the *shebeen* and *stokvel* culture.

The manifestation of *marabi* in the diversity of its regional variants such as *focho, famo, thulandivile* and *indunduma,* and the relationship of these styles to Cape and Kimberley idioms of *vastrap* and Afrikaans *langarm,* underscored its ideological ubiquity, providing a national musical framework of popular cultural sensibilities. As with other popular South African music styles, it is the use of these idioms in remembering and aligning ideologically with mass sensibilities that embroils the Blue Notes and their repertoires in discourses of culture and resistance as well as constructions of individual, group and national identities in exile.

1.3 Theoretical framework

This study inserts itself into a paradigm of jazz as a global influence whose discourses transcend North American race and national boundaries, a situation perhaps best summarised in the following statement:

> Cultural globalisation, spread through electronic media and migration, challenges the territorial definition of the nation-state and creates translocal spaces based on imagined identities embedded in public culture. (Appadurai 1994:336)

In resonance with developing discourses in cultural history and literary theory I have adopted an approach which situates music and reads jazz histories within their own cultural moments (Gabbard 1995). In calling attention to the dearth of theory in the deployment of recordings in traditional jazz historicism, Rasula (1995) further elaborated on this approach in an essay exploring 'what and how recordings *testify* in that evidential scenario … called jazz history' (Gabbard 1995:134-162).

The emerging focus extends traditional parameters of jazz's conceptual history beyond the diaspora's encounter with musical Europeanism in America to include Africans' encounter with European colonial culture in Africa. This expanded scope challenges existing nationalistic conceptualizations towards jazz's resonance with people and lands far away from its place of origin. This traversal of jazz necessitates a reframing of existing cultural debates to acknowledge emerging theoretical positions around issues of culture and identity in Africa, in the diaspora, during apartheid, exile and beyond. The essence of my own theoretical ruminations throughout this dissertation is that of finding resonances between various standpoints, to critique, comment, provoke and perhaps intimate other perspectival possibilities.

1.3.1 Historical and ideological globalisation: Africa and jazz influence

As a combination of global trajectories of communication, the jazz influence in South Africa challenges conceptual deciphering processes which, as Zeleza (2003:17) suggests, 'begin with unpacking the concept of global culture itself'. In following Zeleza, I turn to Arjun Appadurai's innovative framework which views global culture as characteristically disjunctive in its involvement of 'flows of people, technology, financial capital and

information, media images, ideologies and world views (Zeleza 2003, Appadurai 1990, 1996). From considerations of diverse historical, linguistic and political stratifications of different global actors emerged conceptual frameworks of 'ethnoscapes, technoscapes, financescapes, mediascapes and ideoscapes' that were proposed towards an understanding of the functioning of these global flows (Appadurai 1990:296).

Of primary interest to discussions at hand is the influence of global flows on the culture of jazz in South Africa from which was shaped the immediate sensibilities of the formative Blue Notes. In order to apprehend the pertinence of Appadurai's framework towards social practices from which the Blue Notes (and counter-apartheid jazz culture in South Africa) emerged, I have constructed an understanding of a localised processual agency of global flows. While Appadurai considers the individual actor as the last locus in the mediation of globalising process, my own interpretation is the fractal operation of intimate relationships between 'conscientised' individuals. Conscientisation is considered a defining element in the radical conceptions of popular culture as a heterogeneous complex of subaltern subversive practices (Barber 1987). Indeed, apartheid culture's demarcated social space physically embodied the very ideological disjunctures which characterised the disparate global cultural subjectivism of its occupants. The alignment of countercultural ideologies potentiated by a non-racial socialisation in South Africa's jazz sub-culture further facilitated a localised and intimate functioning of global cultural processual flows. To illustrate this point with an example: it is documented a fact that the white participants of the Cape Town jazz scene were avid record collectors as well as owned musical instruments that were normally loaned or given to their more impoverished black fellow jazz musicians. In the late 1950s Cape Town bassist George Kussel kept up to five double basses in his flat, which he could service and repair as well as lend out to black players (Rasmussen 2001). When Dudu Pukwana decided to explore bebop with Chris McGregor in 1961, he had no saxophone of his own, and Chris had to loan one from a friend especially for Pukwana's use (McGregor 1994). From this can immediately be recognised the operation of both ethnoscapes and technoscapes, not as remote processes or as only terminally affecting individuals and their personal relations. Ethnoscapes were defined as 'the landscapes of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest-workers and other …

persons… affect[ing] the politics of and between nations to an unprecedented degree (Appadurai 1990:296). By technoscapes was meant the extent and speed of global distribution of technology, and by extension the uneven affordability of such technology. Localised disjunctures of global *financescapes* are implicated in a situation where, as a condition of economic privilege, George Kussel owned a number of bass-viols while the likes of Martin Mgijima could not afford one, and Johnny Dyani and many other black children learned to play on a single-string tea-box home-made version of the bass.

In Chapter 2 I have deployed the same framework to substantiate a theory of the improvisatory essence of *marabi* in its negotiation of the agency and disjunctures of a global cultural influence. In its domestication of a range of musical practices registering an uneven modernity, *marabi* may well be regarded as a pioneering practice in African postcolonial popular culture. Furthermore, in its discursive engagement with disparate historical and situational exigencies, *marabi* provides an important opticon for interrogating the contested phenomena of cultural homogenisation and cultural heterogenisation. The core conundrum of double-consciousness in African post-indigenous culture might well be described in cultural performance processes which, while essentially imbuing indigeneity with heterogeneous attributes, also function to homogenise the disparity of global cultural influences.

1.3.2 Cultural heterogenisation and cultural homogenisation

In following my assumptions of the pertinence of South Africa's cultural heterogeneity for the global influential trajectory of jazz, I have attempted to unpack the concept[7]. The debates around cultural homogenisation and cultural heterogenisation do not appear to have been settled following an assessment of their relative 'harmlessness', to quote: 'at least as rapidly as forces from various metropolises are brought into new societies they tend to become indigenised in one or other way' (Appadurai 1990:295). Reading global flows as either remote (institutional) or immediate (localised) may suggest a theoretical interface of conscientisation in the consumptive trajectory of cultural subjectivity.

[7] In the essay *Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy* (1990) Arjun Appadurai states that: "The central problem of today's global interactions is the tension between cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenisation". (Appadurai 1990)

This hypothetical location registers a staging of resistance and acquiescence, whereupon material commodities are symbolised, imported symbols commoditised and received narratives translated and occupied. This is where conceptual flows are at their most persuasive, depending on the impetus of their inherent disjunctive privileging, their scale, frequency, and volume. From this perspective, Arjun Appadurai's rapid indigenising processes perform a defensive homogenising function, by a constitutionally unprotected subaltern, *against* a heterogenising cultural onslaught. Corollarily, mass-producing and exporting products of a homogenous excess may appear tactically offensive and constitutive of cultural imperialism. I would tentatively consider processes of cultural heterogenisation and cultural homogenisation as fluctuating states of a corporate human subjectivity, extending away from *and* as well as a towards a theoretical and social being of individuality. Inherently 'technoscapes', the two processes differ as conceptual oppositions in the manner of their technical, and thus scientific vulnerability to hegemonic manipulative operation of financescapes. Their phenomenon as a non-ideological stable condition may only manifest in their accommodations of hybridity, of 'same and other', in the negotiations of individual and social identities. Thus, if cultural hybridity is considered a negotiation of juxtaposed indigeneities, then homogeneity and heterogeneity are asymmetric in their corporate agency. Homogeneity would place more value on the social while heterogeneity would prioritise the individual. From this then might issue the representativity of social culture, either as privilege or heritage, equitably achievable or discriminatively franchised.

1.3.3 Jazz, global imagination[8] and 'imagined worlds'[9]

Jazz as an influence on popular culture present[ed] a conflation of texts, whose agency was further potentiated in multiple readings as a result of an existing South African cultural heterogeneity. Towards highlighting subcultural ideological nuances in processes domesticating a succession of American jazz styles, I need to explicate the cultural import of inequalities expressed in the historical asymmetries of a South African postcolonial and apartheid subjectivism. In the process of accounting for the emergent patterns of popular cultural engagement by disparately situated subjects I map the relationships between the notions of 'imagined worlds' and global imagination.

In regarding *marabi* as a popular ideological template for the reception jazz influences, I explore an ideological correspondence between the 'blues' and precursor South African jazz sensibilities expressed in the regional and ethnic marabi styles of *focho, famo, thula ndivile,* and *indunduma.* Furthermore, I have connoted the experiences of African slavery in America in the exilic condition and in the process I have invoked the notion of 'global imagination' as a cultural engagement by African minorities, alienated from indigeneity, with fragmentary processes of colonization and an inequitable modernity.

In the contested discourses of relationships between the coloniser and the colonised, and thus the connotation of power contestations in a Gramscian hegemonic sense, reside important correspondences between modernity and global imagination. According to a definition put forward by Erlmann, 'the imagination of the colonizers and the colonized and the mirror images they have created of each other are intertwined and constructed through the circulation and consumption of imported and indigenous commodities, symbols, and narratives' (Erlmann 1999:28). The definition potentiates further, crucial dialogues between activities of musical performance practice in their essential production

---

[8] My understanding of 'global imagination' takes off from a definition in Marilyn Strathern (1995:4) of Max Weber's 'global imagination' as 'a means by which people are enabled to 'shift' the contexts of their knowledge and endow phenomena with significance beyond their immediate realm of personal experience' (as cited in Erlmann, Veit. 1999. Music, Modernity and the Global Imagination, p4).

[9] According to Appadurai it is the forms of 'imagined worlds' which fill out the interstices of disjunctures between the said landscapes. It is Max Weber's definition of 'global imagination' that has enabled me to hypothesize the improvised essence of these early syncretic musical forms, by which traditionally disengaged colonial subjects are 'enabled to "shift" the contexts of their knowledge and endow phenomena with significance beyond their realm of personal experience' (Erlmann 1999:4 citing Strathern 1995:4).

and consumption of culture, as well as discursive processes of articulation of meaning to texts provided by 'commodities, symbols, and narratives' of 'popular culture'.

1.3.4 Popular Culture, the Black Atlantic & 'triple-consciousness'

Existing studies of South Africa's black post-colonial musical culture have emphasized the mediating role of music between ideological divides. In these mediating practices by dislocated minority social groups are implicated diverse styles and performance genres in the consolidation of a vernacular South African post-traditional popular musical culture. Subsequent musical practices and syncretism ensuing from this historical condition invite an engagement with the pertinence of contemporary cultural theory.

In probing for a theoretical model for conceptualizing 'popular arts' in Africa, Karin Barber's (1987) highlighted the high value placed by the ruling classes on the symbolic capital of both 'elite' and indigenous popular culture, 'the former as evidence of progress and enlightenment, the latter as evidence of a rich historical cultural heritage' (Barber 1987:11). Also, the European model of popular culture gradually 'displaces traditional culture' which it then tends to view 'sentimentally as communal, participatory, non-commercial, authentic, and … more or less extinct' (Barber 1987:10). In search of a definition, 'popular culture' has long been described by what it was not, a conceptual in-between of cultural indigeneity with its conservatism, escapism, and reinforcement of 'the values that maintain the status quo' and high art of elitism (Barber 1987:11). From this, claims Barber, emerged a definition of popular art and culture which 'conscientizes' through 'further[ing] the cause of the people by opening their eyes to their objective situation in society'.

The concept of the black Atlantic (Gilroy 1993) as a defining ideological condition of hybridity in the diaspora stands out to be tested against a historical engagement of Africans with European modernity in Africa. In taking off from the gist of criticism that has been levelled at the conceptual shortcomings of the black Atlantic (Masilela 1996; Baaz and Palmberg 2001) I propose 'triple consciousness' as a notion to counter ideological disjunctures characterising diaspora and indigenous cultural experiences. A salient premise of 'triple consciousness' is an important feature of an African post-colonial condition,

namely a participatory consciousness of indigeneity, hybridity and cultural Europeanism. In contemporary experience, a triple-consciousness recognises a striking *duality* in the political economy of popular culture. One aspect of this duality is expressed in the mainstream cultural theories ensuing from evolving post-Gramscian debates. In one critical sense the assumption of this broad scholarship involves an elision of indigeneity and its discursive implications for hybridity and cultural Europeanism. In their broadest understanding, the overarching theories of popular culture maintain (popular culture) to be 'made by various formations of subordinated or disempowered people out of the resources, both discursive and material, that are provided by the social system that disempowers them' (Fiske 1989). Elsewhere in Storey (1996), John Frow and Meaghan Morris posit a conception of [popular] culture, 'not as organic expression of community, nor as an autonomous sphere of aesthetic forms, but as a *contested and conflictual set of practices of representation bound up with the processes of formation and re-formations of social groups'* (Storey 1996:2).

The statements above convey a level of ignorance regarding popular practice and its functions in indigenous culture, or at worst, presumptions of extinction of popular cultural practices among indigenous power polities. The other aspect of this duality as recognized by a 'triple consciousness' indicates to forms of popular practice that actually maintain communal homogeneity, reiterate a consensus in aesthetic values and discourage forms of secession. The age-old ceremonies of male youth circumcision among the Xhosa for example, the reed-dance and first-fruit ceremonies among the Northern Nguni are perhaps among the most spectacular contemporary representations of indigenous mass popular cultural practices. There exists, of course, a substantial critical lobby against the perpetuation of such practices, about their infringement on rights of individuals and children and, in essence, their primitivity. While such criticisms emanate from disparately heterogeneous ideological quarters exhibiting a rare consensus of opinion, it is also remarkable that such practices are performed by and address themselves to a homogeneous ideological lobby that has so far eluded exo-indigenous objections of contemporary political correctness. The belief and participation of contemporary African elite generations and an abstention by European and other post-indigenous African polities in this alternative popular culture is not a matter of speculation. My intention here is to obviate a subaltern

popular mass culture whose constituency is not defined by heterogeneity and whose discursive and material resources are *not* provided by a social system that *disempowers* them (Fiske 1989). What may be argued is a possibility of this 'alternative' popular culture deriving the discursive power of its practices from a contested independence of indigeneity from arbitrations of European modernity and a cultural pursuit of its adherent ideologies. Thus, while 'double-consciousness' and hybridity in the sense of the black Atlantic historically stand alienated, and not necessarily by choice, from lived traditions of indigeneity, 'triple consciousness' stands reconciled to popular practices which affirm a cultural homogeneity of its pre-colonial heritage.

In one way the conception of popular culture rests on conceptions of expanding heterogeneous cultural experiences as expressed in the disjunctures of contemporary global cultural economy. It may be argued that the non-revolutionary acquiescence of aspects of indigeneity is deeply subversive in its maintenance of traditions that stand originally counter-posed to acculturative practice. I maintain this is a function of an invisible indigeneity, the maintenance of cultural homogeneity that is not readily accessible to the commercializing processes of hybridization and heterogenisation. This is the 'darkness' decried by representatives early African modernity, and a yoke of pan-African intellectualism that was failing to recognize a resisting resilience in indigeneity. For reasons that will be substantiated in later chapters through sound recordings and repertoires, I have tentatively ascribed an avant-garde consciousness of a 'triple-consciousness' to the apartheid and exile subjectivism of the Blue Notes.

1.3.5 Parallel modernities, 'alterities' and SA jazz[10]

In tracing representations of jazz in South African literary media, poetry, and reportage, Michael Titlestad has revealed a need for elaborating on the discursive potential of jazz performance practice itself (Titlestad 2004). In their grounding, my own discussions share a close correspondence and a broad understanding with the rationale on which Titlestad's essays are based. Among these is the recognition of the diversity of tactical representations emanating from the literary activity issuing from an encounter between South African writing and the phenomenon of jazz, which is attributed to jazz's symbolic potential. The discursive malleability of 'jazz music and the subcultures of its embedding' enabled a symbolic 'reworking' in its South African literary representations, towards an assemblage of 'identities that diverge from the fixed subjectivities constructed in terms of apartheid's fantasies of social hierarchy' (Titlestad 2004:xii). Titlestad goes further to relate the tactical, improvisatory nature of literary practices to a fashioning of what Arjun Appadurai (1996) has termed a 'plurality of imagined worlds', a notion facilitated by jazz's position in the trajectories of global flows. Jazz, as a hybrid vernacular of cultural brokerage, conflates historical contestations and interpretations of the black, African, and white identities in their vexed juxtaposition as occasioned by modernity. The conceptual possibilities made possible through a literary and linguistic engagement with jazz in South Africa provides an important repertoire with which to imbue a sonic language of spatial sound organisation with significances of a discursive and historical symbolism. As a cultural performance practice, jazz cannot be divorced from the activity of making meaning, and it is in the parallel activity of its representation that I have turned to explore its primary discursive role in writing its own history in the very processes of performance and composition. In examining the passage of the Blue Notes as a unique formation registering the influences and outcomes of engagement with bebop in South Africa, I have engaged the discursivity of both activities – the writing emanating from the influence's domestication as well as the musical repertoires resulting from the processing of 'musical' influence. In my discussion of popular music and

[10] In *"Making the Changes – Jazz in South African Writing and Reportage"*, Michael Titlestad traces the deployment of 'global imagination' in South African literary representations of jazz.

cultural contexts of jazz-related practices, I trace closer correspondences between the seminal position of South African *marabi* and the post-emancipation African-American blues. Both South African marabi and African-American blues document similar dilemmas, dislocations, itinerancy and popular rebellion to anchoring structures of family, children and parenthood in the face of urbanizing and industrialization processes.

In a besieged black South African urbanity of the 1950s and early 1960s, how similar or different are the activities of engaging bebop influences from the pre-WW1 early syncretisms of African minorities alienated from tradition and unaccepted by the officialdom of a postcolonial white hegemony? We have to turn to a developing theory of global culture to apprehend the processes of transmission in the dynamics of their ideological impact, the accessibility and appeal power of images and statuses. Furthermore determining are the existing resources for the reception of the bebop influence, the existing technology and distribution of skill for processing, mastery and domestication. This is the area through which an alliance of black and white *as well as* in defiance of apartheid may be interrogated - in the light of an uneven modernity's deployment of musical literacy that might have seen Africans' intellectual engagement of bebop independent of white analytical musical mentorship. This consideration has an immense bearing on the interpretation of Appadurean global cultural frameworks and the manner in which they percolate further across the internal stratifications of exploitative regimes like the apartheid political economy. Similarly, I consider tensions issuing from perceptions of cultural heterogenisation and homogenization – which result from the uneven flow of globalising agency – to be mirrored in the processes and subjective dynamics of state. Class privilege – or racial privilege in the case of apartheid South Africa – determines inequitable access to the already globally rationed resources as they flow from the capital-dominant 'North'[11]. Following this observation, in my view, the phenomena of heterogenisation and homogenization are not only inseparably intertwined polar processes bearing both negative and positive attributes, but they also register at both macro and micro levels on either side of a juxtaposed global-state interface. In the model is made possible a mapping of the operation of globalising processes at the level and

[11] Zeleza argues for a contemporary conception of the world's privileging distribution of power, intellectual and material resource control from the previous East-West to a 'North-South' geopolitical power conception. See Zeleza (2003).

ideological discretion of individuals and subcultural group alliances. Jazz in South Africa, and in particular bebop, was a minority subcultural pursuit and an outcome of the interplay of ideological processes in ethnicity, race, material and technical resources of the country's diversely positioned inhabitants.

A section of the second chapter deploys a broad understanding of some of the notions that have bequeathed discussions of global cultural entanglement with the concepts of 'parallel modernities', 'global imagination', 'imagined worlds' and alterities', towards an examination of the mentoring practices which prepared for the definitive impact of bebop. South African encounters with modern jazz, big-band swing and close-harmony vocal jazz are analytically subjected to the agency of the said processes as they are theoretically conceived to operate between geopolitical cultural subjectivities. In view of the disjunctive nature of global cultural relations, it is essential to relate domesticating practices ensuing from these jazz stylistic influences to the extent of - among other pertinent factors - their privileging in the uneven flows of global cultural traffic. In the Chapter is tackled the pertinence of theory to the importative, imitative, and domesticating trajectories of the bebop influence and the resultant marginalization, and exiling, of a contingent of its milieu of practice.

1.3.6 New Africanism and the Africanisation of jazz influence

The theoretical basis of *mbaqanga* – or African jazz as it came to be called - on ideological alignments between politicising processes of post-World War 2 New Africanism and re-interpretations of the musical pan-ethnicity of Nguni indigenous dance rhythms has been broached elsewhere (Ballantine 1993:27; Matshikiza 1957 cited in Ballantine 1993:62). To negotiate an emergent South African modernity, the 1940s New Africanism had been modelled on an African American intellectual counterculture that had looked towards Africa in its own engagement with a coercive American modernity. Thus, an intellectual quest to harness the oppositional potential of indigeneity was hampered by disjunctures between modernising practices and continuities with traditional and unhybridised forms of cultural performance sensibilities.

While this observation addresses the South African situation, it may well apply to a similar lack of newly arrived slaves in America towards maintaining continuities with their African cultural heritages. The eloquences (in theoretical and discursive manipulation) demanded of musical practice towards an extension of inherited legacies – including jazz instrumentalism in its advancing manipulations of European musical models – required an ideological preparation that was essentially lagging far behind in deployment within the practice of jazz by black South Africans. Put another way, in emulating an African American model of modernity, elite New African ideologues were adopting a cultural resistance model that could only be elaborated by means reliant on access to education and equitable technologies denied by disparities of modernity and coercions of apartheid in South Africa. Following this observation I argue for a conception of *mbaqanga* as a stylistic development whose radical ideological kernel was challenged by discrepancies in the theoretical manipulations of its indigenous rhythmic and melodic potential.

It may further be argued that this situation resulted from a black intellectual resistance vanguard and African modernity characteristically embedded in minority acculturative practices, as well as distanced from the essences of indigenous cultural practices. In seeking autonomy from cultural Europeanisms and Americanisms of big-band swing, elite black commentators and cultural interlocutors of modernity were still caught up in a dilemma: how to deploy unique African cultural legacies unhampered by their prevailing conceptions of Africa's primitivism. Their conscientisation to modernity was informed by attitudes of inferiority and backwardness towards their African indigeneity, compared to European, and latterly, 'Negro' cultural achievements. As a legacy of minority modernities, jazz practices in South Africa arguably reflected the same attitudes in their evolving independence from wholly imported models in ideology and practice. In practice, in the course of adopting 'swing' as an anchoring rhythmic framework were discarded the certainties of the full-body 'stomp' of traditional music and popular conceptions of cultural rhythmic sensibilities (Ballantine 1993:61). The symbolic lyricism in the extensions of the roles of wind instruments in jazz (particularly saxophone and trumpet) has been indicative of the search for an elusive stability of alternative Africanism, or blackness, as identities of the American experience. Again this would

seem to characterise developments in both the US and South Africa whereby forms of individualism were being explored – in pursuit of soloistic virtuosity – despite the apparent tension with popular demands of expressive cultural engagement in musical performance. This observation alludes to evidence of jazz advances as expressed in the eloquence and flexibility of the 'jazz horn' as an extension of the instrument and the practitioners' skills in extending the music's (and the instruments') virtuosity potential.

Towards the late 1940s eminent jazz journalist and musician Todd Matshikiza claimed to have witnessed the 'birth' of African jazz. It is quite possible what he perceived in Gray Mba[w]u's saxophone explorations were possibilities of a lyrical extension of the 'brutish' rhythm already 'tamed' in both aesthetic discourse and practice (Ballantine 1993:61). And these possibilities, I maintain, emanated from the deployment in improvisation of the ubiquitously African pentatonic scale over a four-chord cyclic harmonic structure of marabi, as Matshikiza recalled in an August 1957 issue of *Drum* magazine:

> Gray [Mbau] put the corn bread aside and started blowing something on the five tone scale. We dropped our corn bread and got stuck into Gray's mood. And that is how some of the greatest and unsurpassed African jazz classics were born. (Todd Matshikiza, cited in Ballantine 1993:62)

I contend that the sidelining of *mbaqanga*, in deference to bebop as a vehicle for pursuing an 'eloquent' virtuosity, was partly attributable to a dearth in the existing resources of African intellectual musical processing. This view bears important ramifications for later contentions which claimed a consummation of African jazz (in contrast to an American aesthetic) in the laudable efforts which – while omitting *mbaqanga* achievements - saw the appearance of, for example, the album Jazz: the African Sound in 1962 (Chris McGregor Sextet [1963] album cover notes). In providing a discursive background of mentoring influences to the Blue Notes and their immediate milieu of practice, I have engaged contemporary theoretical notions of parallel modernities, global imagination, imagined worlds and alterities in their relationship to the influences of modern, close-harmony vocal and big-band swing styles of jazz.

The vernacularisation of *close-harmony vocal jazz*, most notably by The Manhattan Brothers, may be considered a more successful project not only in commercial terms but as a mirror of the broader aesthetic of disparate African societies unified by experiences of cultural upheaval. It is tempting to attribute this situation to the ubiquity of choral

musical practice as a defining trait of the regional cultural performance in South[ern] Africa. As a vocal genre, close-harmony vocal jazz seemingly resonated with crossover sensibilities of postcolonial and indigenous performance in choral music by bringing together subcultural performance practices of the church, mission, Christian school, migrant worker and traditional societies.

In contemporary theories of post-Gramscian cultural studies, it is generally held that popular culture is characterised by an engagement of subaltern subjects in the subversive processes of articulating meanings to texts provided in the dominant practices of an empowered ideology (Hebdige 1979; Hall 1981; Fiske 1989; Frith 1994; Storey 1996).
In the development of Africanising trajectories on a range of influential jazz styles, as manifested in *pennywhistle kwela* (Allen 1993), are possibly conflated issues elaborating the implication of popular culture in resistance by urban African youth in the 1950s. In popularising a marginalised, racialised and nocturnal adult African musical performance subculture of *mbaqanga*, *kwela* may be seen as foreshadowing the role of youth in 1976 in seizing their parents' silenced rhetoric of oppressed subjectivism and engaging for condemnation repudiation, the heavy-handedness of the hegemony's policing. These contentions are visited in detail, with the aid of historical, musical and documentary evidence in the closing section of Chapter 2.

1.3.7 African modernism, double-consciousness, the 'black Atlantic' and the bebop influence in South Africa

Paul Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic*[12] (1993) is laudable on many levels, and not the least for its potential to disentangle the essential thrust of diasporic cultural discourses from their considerations of 'too many "posts"' (Baaz and Palmberg 2001). Paradoxically, rather than be subdued by voices raised against its several shortcomings, Gilroy's formulation emerges stronger at the end of the day as many of the arguments against it may be read 'in such a way as to make the notion of the black Atlantic more credible' (Helgesson 2001). Even as an exclusive language of the diaspora, Gilroy's notion of the 'black Atlantic' still excludes South America, or what Stefan Helgesson has referred to as 'Luso-tropicalism'. Helgesson's criticism of the 'black Atlantic' rallies around Gilroy's elision of the historical experience of slavery and thereby 'one factor that allows us to conceive of the black Atlantic as a single ongoing process' (Helgesson 2001). A historical conception of 'black Atlantic' dialogues as ensuing from Africa's earliest cultural encounters with Europe and North America would not elide the native experience in Africa, since the influence of both North American and European culture in Africa did not cease with the slave trade. In dialogues of modernity, Africans have encountered and spoken to both cultural Europeanism and Americanism as traditionalists, as dislocated postcolonial subjects and as modern intellectuals (Masilela 1996). Following such a consideration is an important extension and exception to the rule of a universal hybridity of a 'black Atlantic' dialogue as connoted in a 'double-consciousness' circumscribed solely by historical experiences of the diaspora. After Titlestad, I have understood the usefulness of the black Atlantic formulation primarily in its resonance with the shifting contexts of roots in a tactical, discursive performance of countercultural subjectivism (Titlestad 2004). In the process I locate an eloquent plateau for the notion of a black Atantic, in which hybridization (and multi-consciousness) indexes responses of

[12] The shortcomings in the epistemological delimitations of the'Black Atlantic' concept, defined by Paul Gilroy (1993) as '[] a dialogical intellectual system of discourse between the United States and Europe about the nature of modernity concerning cultural and national identities, the very fact that cultural and political formations of whatever kind are historical products of hybridization and syncretism' are discussed in Ntongela Masilela's (1996) essay 'The 'Black Atlantic' and African Modernity in South Africa' in Research in African Literatures 27: 88-95.

dislocation in pursuit of an idealised independence and alternativity of a disinherited indigeneity. Alongside Masilela I have deployed the discursive exchanges in jazz influence and practice between diaspora and Africans in the motherland to extend the potential significance of the black Atlantic. Furthermore, I propose a view of the black Atlantic dialogues as essentially discursive tactical practices whose unstated project is to potentiate a conception of Africa that is unfettered by global cultural disjunctive processes of slavery and colonialism. This position would interpret the domestication of bebop in African symbolic consciousness among the pre-exile Blue Notes as an extension of a search for the significance of Africa in the post-bebop innovations of its leading African American exponents, most notably John Coltrane, McCoy Tyner, Pharaoh Sanders, Max Roach, Booker Ervin, Art Blakey, Cannonball Adderley, Archie Shepp, and others.

1.3.8 Apartheid and the exiling of a musical imagination

One important area in which the apartheid state sought to control its subjects was through a denial of access to intellectual and philosophical resources empowering the arguments of its repudiation. The stringent control on people's free internal movement and interaction with the outside world, and the ban on free expression and free flow of information was an ideoscapic strangle-hold that spilled over to cultural exchange. Resistance to escalating apartheid and a concerted will towards an apartheid-free South Africa fuelled a groundswell comprising non-racial forums of oppositional leadership that hammered out the principles of freedom as laid out in the Freedom Charter of 1955.

The conceptual beginnings of the Blue Notes are inseparable from a broader wave of defiance driving the nationwide protests against escalating apartheid throughout the latter part of the 1950s. Chris McGregor's own position in this regard was clearly stated at the very outset of his music studies at the College of Music in Cape Town and the commencement of a jazz career around 1957, when he made up his mind "to play with the best musicians I could find, be they black or white" (McGregor 1994:7).

Chris McGregor (and obviously all of the musicians, and jazz patrons with whom he was mixing) was well aware of the political nature of his choices and it would appear he had chosen the musical path to demonstrate his opposition to apartheid.

Similarly, each of the rest of the Blue Notes members demonstrated their alienation by apartheid and their profound desire to collude in its demise. The possibility of Africans performing jazz as equals of whites, as was happening within a milieu of practice from which the Blue Notes emerged, was a stark negation of apartheid. An underlying ideology sustaining the jazz performing alliances by successive musicians comprising the Blue Notes' non-racial 'movement' in South Africa and in exile was a shared aversion and commitment towards the end of apartheid. An originally integrative social performance demonstrating the unworkability of apartheid's ideals of segregation, jazz is understood to have shifted towards some form of a mobilisatory, underground subculture. Thus, post-bebop practices by black South Africans since the 1950s may be regarded as a form of subversive technology expressive of the musicians', and their compatriots' apartheid subjectivism. In the light of a cultural marginality of bebop in apartheid South Africa, I propose a consideration of such 'minority', underground sensibility in its prophetic prefiguring of exile, primarily in an artistic musical imagination and secondarily in lived experience. Finally, after Benedict Anderson and Arjun Appadurai, the deployment of imagination is implicated in contemporary social practice towards fashioning alternative conceptions in the place of untenable dispensations including those of apartheid and exile (Anderson 1983; Appadurai 1993). In its conflation of Anderson's idea of the imagined community, and the imaginary as 'a constructed landscape of collective aspiration' as well as the conceptual improvisation of 'pluralities' or (Titlestad's *alterities*), non-racial jazz practice in South Africa may claim ascendancy as a cultural discursive practice of a post-apartheid imagination (Titlestad 2004; Appadurai 1996).

1.3.9 The Blue Note repertoires as narratives of identity in exile

The place of jazz as music and ideological consciousness straddles historical cultural juxtapositions of Africa, African diaspora, Europe and the USA. Its inherent hybridity imbricates African and European musical traditions as well as expresses the historically contradictory, marginal position of its African American innovators within the larger polity that is the United States. In registering outcomes of acculturative processes following from the violence of slavery, jazz – and other genres documenting the residual sensibilities of cultural location of African American heritage – may conceivably be musical elaborations expressive of exiling of African indigeneity. My conceptual approach seeks to view jazz in its deeper prophesying, contestation and articulation of democracies otherwise invisible in North American political and social dispensation. In its reconciliation of originally opposing cultural sensibilities in musical performance symbolizing a desired nationhood and ideology, jazz reflects a transcendentalism resonating with notions of a post-apartheid imagination as articulated in non-racial, South African, jazz-influenced practices. It is perhaps in this essence of being a musical expressive repository of alienated indigeneity – European and African – that jazz has been embraced in the elaboration of a contemporary global musicality of diverse cultural orientations. In the instance of South Africans, the identification of differently positioned cultural subjects with jazz's innate symbolism of dislocatedness, served as a neutral and conducive middle ground to mobilize for an order opposed to oppression. In adopting jazz, not only were South African blacks claiming a fully discursive citizenship in a global historical context, they were proclaiming their identification with jazz as,

> [A] discourse aspiring to the status of an international vernacular of the oppressed. Moreover, it was a discourse with explicit and historic roots in the continent of Africa … cultivated by former Africans … under conditions of exploitative capitalist development. (Ballantine 1993:8)

In accounting for the double-ness of the 'black Atlantic' and its resonances for dislocating postcolonial experiences of Africans, the Blue Notes' difficult passage speaks eloquently of the unprecedented juxtapositions of these trajectories in South Africa and as a result of exile, on European soil. Marginalizing imperatives significantly pervade discursive histories of dislocated cultural identities (Israel 1999), the expression of which I have sought to explicate in the Blue Notes' repertoires in exile. In tracing and

reaffirming the disjunctive threads implicating exile in the expressive currencies of jazz, I turn to Paul Austerlitz, who has stated that 'the story of the strife attendant to the five-hundred-year legacy of the forced migration of Africans to the Americas is inextricable from jazz consciousness' (Monson 2000:1-24).

The condition of exile, in its significant eclipsing of the Blue Notes' musical careers requires consideration for its bearing on social, individual and national identities, as well as for its expressive articulation in musical performance. Towards this end I have adapted the idea of 'narratives of power' in their use of the indeterminacy of identity, and a deployment of narrative in the construction of countercultural individual, social and national identities. Denis-Constant Martin (1993) conceived identity narratives to function in the mobilization and conscientisation of disempowered, dislocated groups and individuals 'as a weapon in a struggle for power (as well as) an instrument for constructing an 'imagined community' (Martin 1993:38). I have adopted a framework suggested in identity as a 'narrative of power' to pertain to a function of repertoires in expressing ideological positions of individuals, groups and nationalities in contesting prevailing social order. This conceptual position permits an appraisal of the Blue Notes and their repertoires in the context of their besieged structural coherence as a constituted performing entity in exile, and as an ideological mobilization against apartheid.

1.4 Methodology

The dissertation is based on data sources comprised of musical recordings in the form of compact disc, vinyl recordings, tape recordings; interviews transcribed from recordings using cassette tapes and mini-disc digital recorder; video-taped musical performances and interviews; published interviews from magazine, newspaper, book; archive magnetic tape and microfilm sources; newspaper reviews, programme notes of shows, commercial musical recordings and album cover notes; private and published photographic material; musical scores; transcribed musical excerpts; scholarly bibliographies including books, theses, dissertations, conference papers, journals.

I have deployed these various media in discussions ensuing from repertoires, in their perceived potential to narrate the constitution of a subject. I have put forward several hypothetical positions in their resonance with contemporary theoretical debates around the issues of jazz influences in South Africa, and their elaboration by members of the Blue Notes in exile. In the discursivity of recorded music I have framed probing discussions of historical performance practice - and the embedment of cultural subjects in vexed processes of a global ideological entanglement. Towards this goal I have addressed the theoretical paucity in this field of potential radical historicism, a situation acknowledged in Veit Erlmann's insightful statement:

> Although recorded sound material must form the backbone of any serious study of popular music, it constitutes perhaps one of the most poorly defined categories of ethno-musicological evidence for which analytical criteria of historical interpretation still need to be elaborated. (Erlmann 1991:13)

In their constitution of primary evidence in terms of jazz historiography, recordings have traditionally served to corroborate diverse historicizing conceptions in which they are normally deployed for spurious documentary corroboration. In welcoming an emerging multidisciplinary engagement with the subject of jazz, contemporary historical and cultural theories similarly recognize an essentially meta-critical activity of 'writing' as secondary to the discursive engagement of a historically embedded and evolving performance culture (Gabbard 1995).

Methodological limitations of jazz historiography, a primary concern in jazz research at the close of the 1960s were regarded as chief among stumbling blocks on a path towards understanding 'logical connections' between elements contributing towards the music's development. Although referring to perceptions of jazz as uniquely and solely American practice, such insights would come to pertain universally to questions which interrogated jazz as a global cultural practice. As my study assumes repertoires and performance formations as its primary sources of data, Jan Slawe's paper (and other voices as shall be evident later) becomes important in its early considerations of problems emanating from limitations imbued to research by this medium, or as Slawe put it,

> [T]he field of jazz by its nature extends far beyond the handful of recorded artists or recognized professionals in the field. Recorded music more likely represents a haphazard selection, ignoring a vast body of music which constitutes a complete picture in the evolution of jazz'. (Slawe 1970:62)

Slawe was addressing the question of representation of styles, social and cultural movements by a select group of individuals *as well as* the representativity of repertoires for ideological and subcultural shifts in styles. Elsewhere in the same issue of *Jazzforchung* (Volume 1/2, 1969-1970) similar preoccupations with both structure and repertoire in historiographic accounting for jazz, were expressed,

> [A]t the beginning, there is a problem of choice and the necessary limitation of the material to be inspected…[] the jazz historian might limit his attention only to those artists who…[] reach[es] a noteworthy artistic level. [] he might limit his material only to recorded music which he himself can listen to and judge. This however will never offer a true and complete picture'. (Dr. Lubomir Doruska – Dr. Ivan Polednák. 1968. Der Tschechoslowakische Jazz, Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. Edition Supraphon: Praha, Bratislava)

Notwithstanding the totalizing ethos of the above ethnographic statements, they nevertheless voice core methodological concerns of traditional jazz historiography, namely the lack of theory regarding use of the most accessible field data, recorded performances. In approaches by Slawe and his contemporaries were betrayed a sense of anthropological angst towards understanding the general aspects of the phenomenon as a prelude to understanding the particular. However, as has been pointed out, in ethnography such a concern is only incidental to an understanding of the particular (Spradley 1988).

The dilemma of early 1970s European research into jazz becomes more apparent as a cartographic dichotomy between popular cultural 'loudness' and the discretions of emergent, subcultural modernities. The resources of the former considerations often arise from an overspilling, influential hegemonic excess while the latter are gleaned elusively from emergent insights and critical practices. The former's cultural and material economy relies on unbridled consumption by the masses while the latter is sustained by shared aspirations towards individual self-expression and ideas about freedom. Briefly put, it would appear futile to seek in the vastness of all recorded jazz repertoires, representativity for the diversely discrete contexts under which such repertoires are performed or originated. A particular repertoire will connote different significance[s] to a different audience, or when the same repertoire is performed by a different formation – even to the same audience.

In using musical recordings as primary sources, I need to review an important critical discourse on traditional usage of the recorded medium in the writing of jazz history. Jed Rasula (1994) introduces some useful notions towards a theory on writing jazz histories that take off from recordings. In extending the implications of the Slawe/ Doruska/ Polednák observations, Jed Rasula decries the traditional jazz historian's reluctance to theorize the import of jazz performance recordings 'despite [the historians'] prodigious use of recordings in formulating perspectives on jazz history' (Gabbard 1995). Rasula's insights into the issue resonate strongly with my own, which seek to make use of recordings as primary sources of data. Rasula brings to attention the threat that the recorded artifacts of performance as data sources present to the process of 'writing a history' since they are in themselves 'media of inscription'. To the consternation of traditional historiographic practice,

> [T]he act of writing history must covertly contend with a history already in the process of transcribing itself, rendering the historian's account a surrogate act masquerading as authority'. (Rasula in Gabbard ed.1994:135)

My methodological approach seeks to claim this ascendancy in the primacy of practice, of jazz performance and composition in articulating and writing its own history prior to the discursive practice of literary extemporization. This formulation would render forms of practice engaged in by elements of a South African literary culture (Titlestad 2004) as improvisation or abstraction.

Michael Titlestad has traced some of the ramifications of the processing by South African musicians of the essentially African-American idiom of jazz for diverse forms of South Africa's literary practice. In introducing an assemblage of his treatises in *Making the Changes: Jazz in South African Literature and Reportage,* Titlestad claims no less a role for jazz practice than as an energizing springboard for the South African 'imaginary' to 'mediate, manage and contest the advent of a staggered, but also cruel and unusual South African modernity' (Titlestad 2004:xi).

In my model which relegates literary practices which 'followed' the uptake of jazz in South Africa, 'the mediation, management and contestation of modernity' are functions of a popular musical syncretism that is the basis of a South African jazz performance practice. This position calls for an overview of context – musical as well as ideological –

of jazz practice in South Africa which facilitated the emergence of formations, individual musicians, and repertoires here represented by the Blue Notes, its membership and their music.

In considering the omissions of traditional historiography, and towards relinquishing the discursivity of jazz towards its repertoires and their innate ability to process history, articulate meaning and changing ideological positions, I have sought to base discussions on the sonic embedment of their topicality. Rather than documenting musical styles coeval with the emergence of the Blue Notes, I have embroiled such repertoires in overarching discourses juxtaposing a pertinence of global influential processes to local performance practices.

Thus in Chapter 2 the influences of modern jazz, big-band swing traditions and close-harmony vocal jazz are looked at in the contexts of a global cultural entanglement. In this view is connoted a heterogeneous discursivity of popular cultural practices in their resonance with notions of 'parallel modernities', 'improvisation of pluralities', 'global imagination', 'imagined worlds' and 'alterity'. The consolidation of vernacular styles of jazz such as *mbaqanga* and *kwela* is discussed in its echoing of ideological resistance strategies of cultural New Africanism.

Chapter 3 locates bebop influences on the developing engagement of South African musicians with jazz as elaborations of modernity and in their capacity to articulate extensions of the dialogues of the 'black Atlantic'. The sonic resonance of this discourse is located in a series of repertoires documenting the earliest long-playing recordings in South Africa, and involving the pioneering bebop exponents in their ideological relationship to the Blue Notes. A section of Chapter 3 hypothesizes an implication of exile in the very processes of resistance, waged through non-racial jazz practice as a cultural subversion of a totalizing order. This conception considers a cultural prefiguring of exilic dislocation in the discrete cultural heterogeneity of bebop's influence to a marginal subculture of African consciousness. The idiom's radical exclusion of broad popular sensibilities is argued in its 'improvisation of pluralities' and its approximation of spatio-temporal cultural discrepancies characterising the exile condition.

The discussions in Chapter 4 ensue directly from repertoires of the Blue Notes in exile, to illuminate the poetics of identity in expressing and countering cultural dislocation, and in resisting the silencing power and violence of a hegemonic racial supremacy.

Chapters 5 and 6 elaborate the diversity facilitated by the essential dissolution of the Blue Notes in exile, and their prolific collaborations with different musicians. The dissipatory influence and ideological outcomes of these dissolutions are viewed in their capacity to express a global cultural ‘citizenship’ as sought by subjugated apartheid subjects who, by adopting jazz, were ‘proudly and self-consciously identifying themselves as actors on the international stage of world history’ (Ballantine 1993:8).

CHAPTER 2

The Blue Notes in the context of jazz practice in SA

2.1 Pre-exile biographies of the Blue Notes

In providing a backdrop to the unfolding careers of the members of the Blue Notes, the following narratives are informed by documented individual biography, and other accounts of popular history. I have not set out to critique any of the accounts per se, in the firm belief that they are valid, diverse texts of a popular culture in which both a cultural subjectivity of the Blue Notes and their performance activities are embedded. The Blue Notes' involvement in social musical performance also embroils their subject in discursive practices which articulate meaning to texts of popular culture. In assuming the importance of musical performance in the socialization of individuals, I concur with a view which regards music as a social text whose functions mediate 'connectedness to our biographies, our cultures, our societies and our environments' (Shepherd 1991:3). This mediation further embellishes the cultural context of societies from which performing individuals emerge in their ideological groundedness. Thus, the ensuing narratives acknowledge a pertinence of the relationship between biography and music, as well as the embroilment of music in a cultural participation in which identities of social groups and individuals are constantly negotiated. In subsequent discussions I seek to substantiate the functioning of repertoires in narrating biographical reconstructions under dislocating conditions in exile. Elsewhere I reiterate a perception of the Blue Notes as a much wider ideological sensibility, rather than a handful of young individuals who represented the elucidation of this movement in exile. For the purpose of the following popular biographical narratives the 'Blue Notes' were a group of Cape-born South African musicians, who left the country on invitation to perform at the Antibes Juan-les-Pins Jazz Festival in 1964. Co-founded by pianist Chris McGregor, the band's exiled contingent included some of South Africa's most accomplished black jazz musicians – saxophonists Nikele Moyake and Dudu Pukwana; Mongezi Feza (trumpet); Johnny Dyani (bass) from the Eastern Cape and drummer Louis Moholo from Langa Township in Cape Town. The

involvement of Cape Town saxophonist and flautist Ronnie Beer in the Blue Notes' earlier recordings (Mrwebi [1967], The Chris McGregor Group [1968]), and rare public performances in late-60s London jazz scene confirms a perception of a wider non-racial jazz consciousness in the group's ideological orientation.

2.1.1 Chris McGregor

It is correct to regard all the Blue Notes as originating from the easternmost reaches of the vast territory originally known as the Cape (Colony) Province, with the exception of Louis Moholo, who was born in Cape Town. Born within a decade straddled squarely by the Second World War, the Blue Notes shared more than peerage or geographical proximity. Chris McGregor's Scottish missionary heritage had immersed his family deeply among the converting Xhosa societies of the Karoo, the eastern Cape Province and the Transkei. His father Murray McGregor, a teacher among Africans, was essentially opposed to a consolidating Afrikaner nationalist regime as a result of his liberalism and a holistic approach to the running of a black educational institution he headed (McGregor 1994:8). The fact that African members of the Blue Notes were from 'dressed', Christian school-going families, the *amagqobhoka* of the broad Xhosa ideo-religious dichotomy, meant that the ensemble was already deeply integrated in its popular cultural grounding prior to their joining forces. Chris McGregor's fluency in the mores of isiXhosa language and etiquette became a celebrated joke among his more citified black musician friends, or as he later reminisced,

> When I first tried to speak Xhosa in Cape Town later on among the Blue Notes, everyone roared with laughter. I wondered why and then it came to me that they were city slickers, the sophisticates of the town, and the language they used was continually evolving - they used a lot of slang. It wasn't so much that my Xhosa was bad Xhosa, it was tribal Xhosa. They said I reminded them of their grandmothers! (McGregor 1994:5)

Chris McGregor was born on 24 December, 1936 in a small rural town of Somerset West in the Cape, near the village of McGregor, named after a missionary ancestor who had emigrated from Scotland to South Africa in the 18th century (McGregor 1994:1). When Chris McGregor's father joined the Navy during WWII, Chris and his mother went to live with in Cape Town with a relative, Mrs Queenie Stegmann who was a music teacher

and so gave the five-year old Chris his first piano lessons (In interview with Christopher Ballantine in 1986). Clearly showing an aptitude for music and piano in particular, by the age of five, Chris McGregor was already playing and transposing popular songs to different keys. When the war ended, he went back with family to live in the Transkei, the deep rural homeland of the amaXhosa tribes in the eastern part of the Cape. Growing up in Umthatha where he attended boarding school, Chris McGregor continued to study classical music, spending his holidays in Blythswood, Pondoland where his father ran a school for rural Xhosa children, and among whom he made many friends (McGregor 1994:2). His later recollections of rural amaXhosa life during this period in his life were described in vivid pastoral and musical imagery,

> There the people wore brightly coloured orange blankets and beads… [] largely herdsmen… cultivating small patches of maize and vegetables… They had few chickens, lived in round, [and] thatched 'rondavels'… [] moved largely [on] foot, babies strapped to their mother's backs. The land is rolling, dry, mostly savannah… with marvelous sunsets and hushed twilights when the herdsmen could be heard chanting from quiet hilltop to quiet hilltop. Always there was music, melodic, repetitive. (McGregor 1994:2)

Musically, the teenage Chris McGregor was influenced by classical composers such as Ravel, Bartok, and Debussy. These experiences were further deepened by an exposure and interest in the diverse experiences of popular music that were part of a nurturing sonic and cultural environment, as recounted in his biography,

> But by this time he had started listening to the music pouring forth from the record shop in Umtata, the indigenous urban black music (*kwela* and *mbaqanga*) as well as music from Americans like the Mills Brothers, Inkspots and Nat "King" Cole, all of which he found fascinating. In his spare time from boarding school he would sit down on the pavement outside the store and, accompanied by an accordion player, would pick up on the excerpts from the records being broadcast. (McGregor 1994:3)

It should be remembered that during the late 1940s and the beginning of the 1950s, the South African big-band dance scene was booming, particularly in live performance and a burgeoning radio broadcast media. Indeed many cultural historians and jazz chroniclers consider the Eastern Cape to be on the same par with New Orleans in the US, in terms of the origins of South African jazz. Gary Baines (1996) ascribed this claim to *Drum* magazine journalist, jazz musician and "King Kong" composer, the late Todd Matshikiza:

> According to Todd Matshikiza … the Eastern Cape was the birthplace of black jazz. Centres such as Queenstown, King Williamstown, Grahamstown, East London and Port Elizabeth were the source of the most talented jazz musicians in the country". (Baines 1997)

Most of the black bands had, by the 1950s, domesticated the American big band swing era influences and forged a distinctive genre of marabi-influenced swing styles such as *majuba jazz*, *mbaqanga* or African jazz. The popularity of domesticated American big-band swing styles and impressions pervading the cultural environment of Chris McGregor's pre-teens musical socialization was described by Maxine McGregor as having included 'a mixed race dance band in Umtata who played at balls and dances [which] Chris joined … from time to time, when he was about 10 or 11 [and] Eric Leeson, the group's pianist, [who] was very influenced by "Fats" Waller (McGregor 1994:3).
In fact, Eric Leeson's family band in Umthatha had at one time included none other than 'Tem' Hawker, the 'father' of black jazz in the Western Cape and the Karoo in its line up (McGregor 1994; Rasmussen 2003). The impressions of these live encounters with a social musical practice in an urban [south] African context were acknowledged by Chris McGregor years later in interview, when he said that: 'I started arranging in that [big band] style – for Saturday night dance music … [s]o I'm very much influenced by a whole school that is still not very well known' (McGregor 1994:3).

In view of a widespread popularity of the dance orchestra tradition and its repertoires among black South Africans, the ignorance which McGregor was referring to pertained largely to the world outside and arguably, the wide cross-section of South Africa's white population. The big-band format was later to prove itself to be Chris McGregor's arranging and compositional signature of choice, and one to which he ascribed a deep symbolic significance in its ideals of African village communalism, the sharing and making of space for other members of the 'community'. One of the reasons for Chris McGregor's affinity to Duke Ellington was a conviction that [Ellington] had found a way to formulate and resolve the problems of being black in a white-controlled society (McGregor 1994). Duke Ellington had exerted a strong musical influence on McGregor, which the latter never failed to acknowledge despite having achieved a personal legendary status with the non-racial, conceptual and trans-continental big-band, The Brotherhood of Breath. McGregor's early compositions for big-band at age fourteen were already deeply influenced by Ellington, whom he later recalled in interview as 'one of my "wake-up" experiences' (McGregor 1994:14).

By the beginning of the 1950s, images of American big-band jazz orchestra life were significantly cast in their representations of post-war freedoms: leisure, music, travel, high seas … (recall the high-flying life of Glen Miller and orchestra). It is not difficult to speculate on Chris McGregor's motivations at the time to leave Pondoland and enter the General Botha Naval College. His own father was president of the World Ship Society (McGregor 1994:5) and the move would have appealed as a respectable compromise between the willful Chris – who may have stopped attending school at this time – and a well-meaning but incredulous parent. At the naval college, McGregor's musical responsibilities had included playing piano for the daily evening hymn services and the occasional sing-songs, organizing the navy dance-band as well as 'playing trumpet in the military orchestra' (1994:6). Despite a keen interest in navigation – spherical trigonometry in particular being his favourite subject – he lasted a mere two years, as a result of a realization that 'life at sea was not for me, mainly because one could not be sure of finding a piano on a boat … [t]he one thing I did learn there was the value of working in a group, the strength of team-work' (ibid).

On leaving naval college Chris finished high school in Cape Town, coming of age within a social culture charged with the dynamism of a full but very brief bloom for modern jazz, particularly towards the end of the 1950s and beginning of the 1960s. He was twenty years-old when he commenced his musical studies at the College of Music in 1956, and thus embarked on a musical career that would bestow him a significant agency in the mediation of jazz influences in South Africa, the UK and continental Europe. From the College of Music, Chris McGregor began a series of fateful forays into the late 1950s Cape Town and Langa Township jazz band world, its musicians and its social performance culture. Along this course he was to encounter musical alliances leading to his teaming up with, among many other black musicians, Dollar Brand (Abdullah Ibrahim), 'Columbus' [Mbra] Ngcukana, Jimmy Adams, Kippie Moeketsi, Hugh Masekela, Jonas Gwangwa, Ephraim 'Cup & Saucer' Nkanuka, Woodrow and Danayi Dlova, Martin Mgijima, Monty Weber, Willie van Bloemestein, Kenny Jephtah, Harold Jephtah, Phakamile Joya, Blyth Mbityana, Larry Hobongwana, Cecil Barnard (Hotep

Galeta), Makaya Ntshoko, Elijah Nkwanyana, Johnny Gertze, Tete Mbambisa, Nick Moyake and fatefully in 1961, Mthuthuzeli 'Dudu' Pukwana.

2.1.2 Dudu Pukwana - composer and alto saxophonist with the Blue Notes

Mthuthuzeli 'Dudu" Pukwana was born in Walmer, the African township outside Cape Province's second largest city, Port Elizabeth, in South Africa, on 18 July 1938. His mother, Florence, was a vocalist while father Jo was pianist, gardener and photographer who often gathered his children around the piano to sing. Taught to play piano by his father at the age of ten, Dudu became a 'serious' musician when at about age 16 he would accompany on piano, the many vocal groups from the township and beyond (Dudu Pukwana BBC interview 1965; Barbara Pukwana 2003). At school Dudu Pukwana showed an aptitude for choral music, assisting music teachers and often 'suggesting better arrangements' for the school choir repertoire (Pukwana 1990).

Although he had always held Nikele Moyake in high esteem as a saxophone player, Pukwana himself only started playing the saxophone in 1959, when he was already 21 years old (1965 BBC interview). Although he was largely self-taught, Nikele Moyake mentored Dudu Pukwana as well as lent him a saxophone to practice on (Barbara Pukwana's biographical notes and discography 2003). Of this early association between would-be Blue Notes reed-men, East London pianist, composer and band-leader Tete Mbambisa recalled in an interview nearly forty years later:

> [A]t home I was with Dudu (Pukwana) and Nick Moyake, because they were staying nearby, in P.E. (Port Elizabeth), near East London. So I used to call them to come to my place and make some shows, my mother used to provide me, give me money, and they used to come and stay at my place, my place used to be like a boarding house, many rooms. So when they came, they would stay [a] long time, maybe two months, as long as they want. (Tete Mbambisa, quoted in Rasmussen 2003:143)

As with Johnny Dyani, the influence of Tete Mbambisa was pivotal in the advancement of Dudu Pukwana's musical curiosity and his ambition to explore jazz. Born Mbulelo Mbambisa in 1942, Tete had started learning by watching a pianist who used to entertain at his mother's *shebeen* and boarding house in Duncan Village's Thulandivile Location

(Rasmussen 2003:141). Tete Mbambisa's early fascination with old man Langa's piano playing caused him to skip going to school, as he later told an interviewer:

> Then I asked him … please, how do you play the piano … I used to *love* the piano. How he teached me, he used to take a newspaper and cut it in small pieces, and when he showed me a chord he put the paper there on the white note, black note, put another paper, to make a chord. Then he said "Strike all the notes!"… So it's how I started learning. He showed me a couple of songs, two or three songs. From then on I studied … I played on my own. I didn't even know the names of the chords, but I used to hear the difference. (Tete Mbambisa, quoted in Rasmussen 2003:141)

As a schoolboy Tete listened and watched Transkei jazz pianist Shakes Mgudlwa[13], of which experiences he recalled:

> He was my friend. I used to like his playing … when he came around. [And] he liked the way I was striving to learn the piano. He said to me: "No, I like the way you work!" I used to buy him bottles and bottles of brandy so that he could play at the Duncan Village Community Centre and I could watch him play and I could learn. (Tete Mbambisa, quoted in Rasmussen 2003:142)

Later, when Tete's younger brother Fats, who also played piano, started working and earning some money, he bought a radiogram on which he played 78 rpm records. Among the groups to which Tete listened, and whose harmonies he strove to reproduce on piano and voice, were Miriam Makeba, the African Inkspots as well as jazz recordings from Nat 'King' Cole, Louis Jordan, Tympany Five and Frankie Laine. Drawn to harmonic elements of vocal parts and piano voices, Tete started imitating songs by the likes of Louis Jordan and Frank Sinatra, among others, subsequently forming his own vocal group, The Four Yanks. The group's repertoire included Tete's own compositions as well as imitations of Four Freshmen, Delta Rhythm Boys, Woody Woodpeckers, and Hi-Los:

> The stuff we used to sing … [t]hings like *Kokomo, Sugar Lamb, Summertime, I Got You Under My Skin, Gypsy in My Soul, Begin the Beguine,* nice songs … *Ol' Man River,* and the rest, African stuff, traditionals like *Mbube* and *Nolishwa* … and my songs, *Msenge*[14], that is the name of a tree, and Mntakwethu, it means 'my brother', I wrote that one for Fats. There are plenty, but they run away now, because I am Americanised! (Tete Mbambisa quoted in Rasmussen ed. 2003)

In the contingent of the Blue Notes that became exiled, Dudu Pukwana appears to have been the first to join forces with Chris McGregor (McGregor 1994). Prior to this he had been a pianist leading his own vocal and dance troupe, the Broadway Yanks. His appearance in 1961 in Cape Town, playing piano and saxophone backing Tete

[13] Masdorp 'Shakes' Mgudlwa
[14] The Gallo recording *From Marabi to Disco* includes Tete Mbambisa's composition *Msenge*, performed by The Four Yanks.

Mbambisa's Four Yanks at the Langa Womens' Cultural Group is understood to have facilitated his initial encounter, and subsequent teaming up with Chris McGregor. Tete Mbambisa provided the background to the fateful Four Yanks tour of Cape Town in a chronicle of events involving some of the well-known figures of the 1950s and early 1960s Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and East London jazz scene.

Around 1961, Tete Mbambisa and his group retained a promoter-cum-manager in the services of ex-Malawian drummer Dick Khoza[15], who had gone to Cape Town, leaving Tete and the Four Yanks in East London. Sometime in the same year Khoza, in the company of Langa bassist Lami Zokufa, drove up to Tete's mother's house and, as Mbambisa tells:

> They asked my mother [for permission] to fetch us … to do some auditions in Cape Town. When they fetched us at home to come to Cape Town with The Four Yanks, at home I was with Dudu Pukwana and Nick Moyake. When this chance came to go to Cape Town I thought, No, let me go with Dudu. (Tete Mbambisa, quoted in Rasmussen 2003:143)

This arrangement worked well for the Four Yanks since Tete would be on piano and Dudu on alto saxophone or piano, when Tete was singing. While in Cape Town, for certain occasions they would hire a rhythm section of a drummer and a bassist and together with the Four Yanks' material, be able to sustain long engagements. It is on this occasion that Tete 'learned to be flexible in playing the piano' as well as meet and exchange musical ideas with leading musicians of the Cape Town Jazz scene, among them Dollar Brand (Abdullah Ibrahim), Hotep Galeta (Cecil Barnard), Johnny Gertze, Makhaya Ntshoko, Ronnie Beer and Chris McGregor. Of Dudu Pukwana's meeting up with Chris McGregor, Tete remembered that:

> [W]e sang, until we came to a place called Club Vortex, Vortex night club. It was here in Cape Town, can't remember the street, but it used to be around here… When we returned to East London, Dudu stayed behind in Cape Town. That's when he started playing with Chris McGregor. (Tete Mbambisa, quoted in Rasmussen ed. 2003:143)

[15] Dick Khoza, according to Tete Mbambisa "was a good drummer from Malawi, but he said he was from Durban because of the problems the Boers used to give us… He had a Malawi, Swahili name. He took his name from [Durban jazz singer] Betty Khoza. Dick stayed at her place. He wanted to stay in South Africa" (Rasmussen 2003:142).

2.1.3 Johnny Dyani

In exile Johnny Dyani gave his date of birth as 30 November 1945 although there remained, until his death in Berlin in December 1986, an unresolved confusion regarding the accuracy of this date. According to the Home Office in King William's Town Johnny Dyani was born on 4 June 1947 while according to his old South African passport, Johnny was born on 31 December, 1947 (Rasmussen 2003). His parents were Ebenezer Mbizo Ngxongwana and Nonkathazo, who both came from Zeleni Location near King William's Town, and his mother had died as a result of a difficult multiple childbirth from which Johnny Dyani barely survived. While his family and school friends believed he was the eldest of twins – born in 1947 – Johnny Dyani maintained all his life that he was a triplet (Rasmussen 2003:9). Johnny was brought up by Minnah, a paternal aunt who lived with her family in Tsolo Location in Duncan Village, a cluster of black townships in East London. Minnah's husband was away most of the year working as a driver or a mine-clerk in Johannesburg and Springs and to survive Minnah, or Ma Radebe as she was known, ran a boarding house and kept cows which she milked to sell to her neighbours. In Rasmussen ed. (2003) is recounted an episode when, as a young herdboy, Johnny was fatally gored by an enraged cow, nearly missing his heart in an accident which left Johnny with a nasty-looking scar on his breast.

Members of the Dyani family worshipped at the Bantu Presbyterian Church, where Johnny sang as well as attended the nearby Methodist school where he played drum and bugle with the boy scouts. The family also kept a piano at their boarding house to entertain guests, among whom were musicians, including seminal Eastern Cape jazz figures like Eric Nomvete and David Mzimkhulu. At one time Johnny's close friend, trumpeter Mongezi Feza and subsequent fellow exile, also lived with the Dyani family (Rasmussen ed. 2003). Growing up during an era of *kwela's* popularity Johnny, like many boys his age, made his own tin-guitar and single-string tea-box bass on which he would perform on the streets together with his musical friends and cousins. Johnny's elder cousin Nuse played piano for The Boogie Brothers and The Five Slickers, two local vocal groups which the young but musically gifted Johnny soon joined as a singer.

Johnny's early encounter with jazz recordings and performance came about as a result of his friendship with pianist and composer, Tete Mbambisa, whose family home was only eight houses away from Johnny Dyani's, and which the latter frequented on his milk delivery rounds (Rasmussen ed. 2003:11). Mbambisa's mother also ran her own boarding house, butchery and a *shebeen*[16]. For the entertainment of her patrons and also to keep her musical sons Fats and Tete from the streets, Mrs Mbambisa had bought a piano, as well as a selection of other musical instruments. On his rounds to deliver milk to the Mbambisa's, Johnny Dyani would try out the different musical instruments – drums, bass, piano and violin. The bass became his favourite instrument and, with the addition of various drummers, he formed trio ensembles – with Fats on piano – which performed solely at the Mbambisa home. Johnny debuted professionally, as a vocalist, one of Tete Mbambisa's piano-backed close-harmony groups, the Junior Four Yanks. Entertainment in Duncan Village was catered for by the existence of three halls – The Peacock Hall, The ICU Hall, and the Community Centre situated directly opposite Johnny's home - in which film shows, music concerts, talent, beauty and boxing contexts were held. Johnny Dyani is said to have performed in all of these venues, as a lead singer with The Junior Four Yanks, when he was about eleven years of age. Tete Mbambisa, whose family was very close to that of Johnny's, and who also gave him his first lessons in jazz, later told an interviewer:

> Johnny grew up under that influence. So he couldn't escape from music ... he preferred to come to my place... We used to learn jazz at my place. So Johnny grew up coming [to] my place... until I formed this group. Then Johnny, he used to sing with us too, if Andrew was not there, we'd always sing with Johnny. It's how we took him. He really took it serious, he was young, he was about thirteen, twelve. But he had a nice voice. (Tete Mbambisa, quoted in Rasmussen ed. 2003:148)

Port Elizabeth saxophonists Dudu Pukwana and Nick Moyake often took time to visit Tete Mbambisa at home and it is believed on these occasions Dudu would often duet with the Johnny on bass. It is remarkable how these early musical and social alliances later came to staff a chapter of the Blue Notes that ultimately left South Africa in 1964 and became exiled, as Rasmussen discovered that '[a] third musician who would become very

[16] (From Gaelic meaning 'little shop') the name of privately-owned premises where alcohol was illegally sold; a legendary feature and a vital institution of the social and economic activity of black shantytown and township culture.

near to Johnny, trumpet player Mongezi Feza, came to East London from his birthplace, Queenstown, in 1957, at the age of twelve, and started playing in a jazz band led by [the tenor saxophonist] Eric Nomvete (2003:12).

Undoubtedly a singularly influential figure in Johnny Dyani's early musical experience was Tete Mbambisa, a self-taught pianist, singer and composer who formed the vocal group, The Four Yanks, while still a schoolboy. The existence of the Four Yanks was symptomatic of the popularity of the close-harmony vocal groups in South Africa, modeled upon American groups like The Inkspots, Manhattan Brothers, The Four Freshmen, The Hi-Los and the like. The 1950s South African vocal groups not only named themselves after the most famous of these American groups, they also performed repertoires from these groups in addition to 'traditional South African songs and compositions by (popular African jazz musicians) like Mackay Davashe and Ace Buya' (Rasmussen ed. 2003).

Another significant figure in the continuities of black, jazz-influenced musical performance between the coastal cities of Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town was drummer, music promoter and jazz-mentor activist Mwana Jono, who had adopted the name Dick Khoza[17]. While resident in East London, Dick Khoza had played drums for, among others, the seminal Duncan Village band, The Soul Jazz Men, in which Mongezi Feza Mongezi Feza had also played trumpet (Rasmussen ed. 2003:14). An ex-Malawian who had come to South Africa after the Second World War, it was Khoza who had initially invited Tete Mbambisa's senior Four Yanks (with Dudu Pukwana on piano and alto saxophone alternatively) to Cape Town in 1961. At a show convened by the African National Congress, inaugurating Langa Women's Cultural Group, Dudu Pukwana struck up a friendship with Chris McGregor with whom he joined forces, leading to the formation of the Blue Notes (McGregor 1994:21; Rasmussen 2003:14;

[17] According to Tete Mbambisa, Dick Khoza took this name from the legendary (Cato Manor) Durban jazz singer and composer, Betty Khoza, with whose family Dick stayed for a while. Dick had had no papers to reside in South Africa and continually risked arrest and deportation. "[Betty Khoza] took [Dick] to the Office for Bantu Affairs (Administration) and made it like Dick was his brother so that he got his pass. That's how he got his ID" (Tete Mbambisa as quoted in Rasmussen, L. ed. 2003. Jazz People of Cape Town. Copenhagen: The Booktrader, p142)

Rasmussen ed. 2003:143). As a result the Four Yanks returned to East London without Dudu Pukwana, who had decided to stay behind in Cape Town and thus co-found with Chris McGregor, several proto-Blue Notes ensembles. On a subsequent Four Yanks' tour of Cape Town in 1962 one of their singers, Andrew Camanga, had become mentally depressed and as replacement, Tete Mbambisa asked Johnny Dyani's grandmother in a telegraph to allow Johnny to come to Cape Town. Thus Johnny met many of the city's leading jazz musicians including among others, Christopher 'Columbus' Ngcukana (Mbra), Cups Nkanuka, Don Tshomela, Ronnie Beer, Chris McGregor, as well as Louis Moholo, who came to play drums for The Four Yanks at one of their Langa Township appearances (Rasmussen ed. 2003).

On his return to East London towards the end of 1962, Johnny Dyani joined was recruited by tenor saxophonist and band-leader Eric Nomvete for his ensemble, The African Revellers Revue. The following year found Johnny acting in Eric Nomvete's variety show called *Xapa Goes to Town*, which premiered in King William's Town in September of 1963. The show's scheduled opening in East London in October 1963 was preceded by Ben 'Satch' Masinga's *Back In Your Own Backyard.* I was enlightened on this aspect of Johnny Dyani's formative musical career through an interview I had with exiled East London singer, Pinise Saul, who remembered her South African associations with the members of the exiled Blue Notes:

> I was there, in The Four Yanks. We were also with The Soul Jazz[men]… Dudu (Pukwana) and Nick (Moyake) and Makhaya Ntshoko … we were all together. They came in 1963 with (Ben Masinga's) *Back In Your Own Backyard*, the people who had returned home from *King Kong*, with Victor Ndlazilwana. Letta Mbuli was also in *Back In Your Own Backyard*, which was on a South African tour. Me and Johnny joined the show in East London. I came in to replace Letta Mbuli when she left to join her husband Caiphus Semenya in America. The tour took us to King Wing William's Town, Queenstown, Grahamstown, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town, where the show disbanded. By then Johnny left to join the Blue Notes with Chris McGregor. (Pinise Saul 2003, Author's interview)

In Ben 'Satch' Masinga's *Back In Your Own Backyard* were included dancers and singers – members of the Woody Woodpeckers and backing musicians such as pianist Pat Matshikiza, trumpeter Elijah Nkwanyana, drummer Early Mabuza, saxophonist Columbus Ngcukana, trombonist Malindi Blyth Mbityana, bassist Martin Mgijima as well as saxophonists Nick Moyake and Dudu Pukwana. While in East London the show's female lead, Letta Mbuli and bassist Martin Mgijima left the show and were replaced by

singer Pinise Saul and Johnny Dyani (Rasmussen ed. 2003:15). When *Back In Your Own Backyard* later disbanded in Cape Town, Johnny began playing with different musicians, putting up a fierce competition against veteran bassists like Lami Zokufa, Martin Mgijima, George Kussel, Sammy Maritz, Daniel Sibanyoni and others. When the Blue Notes remobilized following their triumph at the 1963 National Jazz Festival in Johannesburg (sharing first place with Ronnie Beer's Swinging City Six), they tried several bassists before finally settling on Johnny Dyani. Among such bassists were Sammy Maritz, Mongezi Velelo and Ernest Mothle, who for various reasons could not sustain their commitment to the Blue Notes. Rasmussen maintains that Johnny could not have joined the Blue Notes before the beginning of 1964 and that it was only following a recommendation by Louis Moholo, Dudu Pukwana and Nick Moyake that 'at some point in February 1964 Chris went to Cape Town to make Johnny join The Blue Notes' (Rasmussen ed. 2003:15).

2.1.4 Mongezi Feza

Trumpet and fluegelhorn player Mongezi Feza was born in Queenstown or Komani, in 1945, and died on 14 December 1975 in a Surrey, England hospital as a result of pneumonia. Both Mongezi Feza and Johnny Dyani were in their teens when the Blue Notes left for the Antibes Jazz Festival in 1964 and the relatively scant evidence of Mongezi Feza's early musical upbringing is partly due to this fact. Much of what is known about Feza prior to his professional debut as a twelve-year old in East London in 1957 is largely anecdotal and, at best, sketchy reminiscences by a few individuals. A mention has been made of a brother, Sandi, also a trumpet player from whom Mongezi is said to have learnt. The composition *Two for Sandi* by Dudu Pukwana from the album The Blue Notes Legacy (1964) is dedicated to Mongezi Feza's older sibling brother. What is undisputed are his origins in Komani (Queenstown), well known for its nurturing of South Africa's earliest jazz exponents and for being home to, among others, the musically prodigious Matshikiza family. In playing an important role in sprouting the earliest jazz influences among black South Africans, including ragtime, vaudeville and Dixieland, Queenstown shares the contested moniker of 'The Little Jazz Town' with

several other eastern Cape frontier towns like King William's Town and Grahamstown (Matshikiza 1957; Coplan 1980, 1985; Baines 1996).

While not discarding the particularities of early childhood in mentoring musical influences, the musical socialisation of both Johnny Dyani and Mongezi Feza in particular, is well-represented in the broader processes of culture and social performance practice of the Eastern Cape, particularly in and around the frontier and port towns of Komani (Queenstown), Qonce (King Williamstown), Rhini (Grahamstown), Monti (East London) and Bhayi (Port Elizabeth). The Eastern Cape has long been regarded as 'the birthplace' of South African black jazz (Matshikiza 1957). In Gary Baines' study of the greater Eastern Cape African jazz practices of the 1950s and the 1960s, 'The Little Jazz Town": the social history and musical styles of black Grahamstown in the 1950s and 1960s' (1996) is quoted Matshikiza's claim that '[c]entres such as Queenstown, King Williamstown, Grahamstown, East London and Port Elizabeth were the source of the most talented jazz musicians in the country' (Baines 1997:47).

As far back as the 1930s Queenstown was already fielding an all-female minstrel company such as Jane Matshikiza's Gay Glamour Girls (Coplan 1985:123). Indeed, school performance culture was an established training ground for future jazz and vaudeville careers and, as Coplan found out since the 1920s, school concert groups – many of whom remained active after leaving school – 'spent much time learning to imitate recordings and American popular songs' (Coplan 1985). In small towns like Queenstown for example, it was the influence of touring big city companies like Darktown Strutters and their musical compliment – The Merry Blackbirds orchestra – that set trends for emulation by local performers and aspirant, young musicians. In a *Bantu World* review of a Darktown Strutters-Blackbirds show in Queenstown, the town's 1930s socialite, ballroom dancer, saxophonist William 'Sax-o-Wills' Mbali reiterated this position by concluding his article as follows:

> Let me add as a footnote that the local orchestra will benefit through the visit of the 'Merry Blackbirds', and will make use of whatever tips they received from these artists. (Coplan 1985:141)

The local orchestra in Queenstown may well have been none other than The Blue Rhythm Syncopators, for which Mbali played saxophone, and which also included in its line up pianist Meekly 'Fingertips' Matshikiza. The popularity of both ragtime and 'dixieland' jazz in the towns of the Eastern Cape following the First World War has been attributed to ragtime song and dance companies such as the Darktown Negroes and Matshikiza's ensemble, The Big Four. These formations, and others like them, were known to play soirees for the entertainment of Queenstown's whites and middle-class Africans in the early 1930s (Coplan 1980:96).

In 1957 Mongezi Feza, who had relatives living in Duncan Village, began playing trumpet for The African Revellers Revue, a jazz band founded by tenor saxophonist and social worker Eric Nomvete. At around this time Mongezi, who was a close friend of Johnny Dyani's and often stayed at the latter's grandmother's boarding house in Duncan Village's Tsolo Location, also played for The Soul Jazz Men. The Soul Jazz Men also fielded in their line-up veteran Eastern Cape jazz instrumentalists like bassist 'Big Tych' Ntsele, trumpeter David Mzimkhulu and drummer Dick Khoza. Mzimkhulu was a professional who frequented Johannesburg where he had been part of the Jazz Maniac's horn section in the 1940s, and is credited with the influential mentorship of Feza. Dick Khoza was instrumental in recruiting Mongezi for the more promising and vibrant Cape Town jazz scene, and specifically to play in Ronnie Beer's Swinging City Six. However, it was with Eric Nomvete's Big Five that Mongezi Feza appeared at the 1962 Cold Castle National Jazz Festival, the occasion which facilitated his recruitment into the Blue Notes' conceptual ensemble that could tour the country.

2.1.5 Louis Tebogo Moholo

Louis Moholo, the only surviving member of the exiled Blue Notes, was born in Langa Township, Cape Town, South Africa on 10 March 1940. His love for drumming was nurtured in his early boyhood as a 'cub' in the boy-scout movement, where he started playing the kettle-drum (Eyles 2002). Even at this early stage Moholo was already exhibiting a rebellious streak that has been the hallmark of his exceptional interpretation of the drum since modern jazz. His involvement with the boy-scouts and the kettle-drum did not last, as he later recalled that 'I was fired from there because I overplayed; I could hear some other things that other drummers couldn't hear and the whole orchestra couldn't hear. I didn't realize it then, but I was a rebel in the making, even then (Eyles 2002).

Growing up in Langa of the 1940s and 1950s exposed Louis to a vibrant civic culture of social dance and its orchestral traditions. Langa trumpeter Syfred Woodrow Dlova, who was born in 1937, recalled the American maritime influence – between the world wars – that had resulted in the development of big band orchestral traditions in Langa, Cape Town:

> The big American battleships, the aircraft carriers, they used to come here, and some of the black Americans would get off the boat and come and perform at The Naaz and have a good time! Some of them were great musicians. (Syfred Woodrow Dlova, quoted in Rasmussen ed. 2003)

By the time the likes of Syfred Woodrow Dlova and Louis Moholo were born the black big-band dance and jazz scene in Langa – Cape Town was well established. Their peers in bands such as The Merry Macs were playing music by Duke Ellington, Count Basie, Tommy Dorsey and Glen Miller Orchestra from recordings and sheet music imported from London (Rasmussen ed. 2003). When groups such as The Young Rhythm Chordettes which Louis Moholo co-founded in the mid-1950s appeared, their repertoires still included Basie, Glen Miller and popular Tin Pan Alley compositions such as those by Rogers and Hammerstein, George Gershwin, and others. Among members and co-founders of The Chordettes were trumpeters Danayi and Syfred Dlova, alto saxophonist Boy Myathaza, trombonist Willie Nettie and saxophonist 'Cups' Nkanuka. Syfred Dlova

later recalled in interview that some of the music they played in the Chordettes, popular songs such as *A Foggy Day* were arrangements by Dollar Brand (Rasmussen ed. 2003:60). In interview with John Eyles, Louis Moholo remembered Langa pianist [Moses] Molelekoa, in whose band he had cut his teeth playing drums as a seven-year old. Moses Molelekoa was born in Ndabeni, Cape Town in 1918, and is considered one of the pioneering architects of the Langa big-band scene of the 1930s. A self-taught pianist and mouth-organist, Moses Molelekwa started playing organ in the solo keyboard style of *nomxhimfi*[18] and later took a correspondence course in syncopation and became pianist for a vaudeville and close-harmony vocal group The Midnight Follies (Rasmussen ed. 2003). In the mid 1930s and prior to forming his own band, Molelekoa and other Langa aspirant musicians had taught themselves to play musical instruments 'from scratch':

> We practiced until we were able to play a song and organize a dance, for people to dance. I've forgotten the song now, but an old tune everybody knows. We just played that tune the whole night, only one tune. (Moses Molelekwa, quoted in Rasmussen ed. 2003:165)

Many of Langa's pioneer jazz musicians, almost all of whom went on to found their own bands, including Molelekoa, Christopher "Columbus" Ngcukana, Nkanuka, Joel "M'brooks" Mlomo, Henry Mokone, Jimmy Adams, Sam Maphila, were taught the ropes of jazz instrumentalism by Frazer "Temmy" Hawker, in whose orchestra, The Harmony Kings, most of them cut their teeth. The appearance of famous Langa, black Cape Town jazz and dance big-bands (as well as smaller ensembles) such as The Merry Macs, The Jimmy Adams Swing Band, The Hay Marketers, The Honolulu Swingsters, The Tuxedo Slickers, De Bafanas, and De City Jazz Kings, The Jazz Ambassadors, among many, is largely attributed to 'Tem' Hawker's tutelage and apprenticeship in his Harmony Kings ensemble. It was most likely Moses Molelekoa's band De City Jazz Kings, also known as The Mother City Jazz Band or their juvenile version The Young Mother City Jazz Band, in which seven-year old Louis first tried his hand on the drums before co-founding The Chordettes as a teenager. The junior jazz groups were often commended for their ability to handle the same repertoires as their older peers – tunes like *In the Mood*, *A String of*

[18] Weekend dance, music and social occasion of black residents in the early days of Cape Town shanty settlements like Ndabeni, whose inhabitants were later relocated. as a result of industrialization. Musically, *nomxhimfi* was a solo organ style of unschooled musicians.

Pearls, Chattanooga Choo-Choo and others. (Rasmussen ed. 2003:170). Of Louis Moholo's apprenticeship in The Mother City Junior Band, Molelekoa recalled:

> My daughter was the leader of this Junior Mother City Jazz Band. [S]he was the leading alto player. She was also behaving like a boy. She was even in the scout movement, which I started. Louis Moholo started there and … Kenneth was the drummist and Louis joined us and because they were so young, they couldn't reach all the various parts of the drums… So they shared the drum set, one played the cymbals, one played the mother drums, we called it the kettle drum. (Moses Molelekoa, quoted in Rasmussen 2003:170)

Louis Moholo mentions a botched recording with The Chordettes in 1958, in which the band was never paid and the promoter disappeared with the master tapes (Eyles 2002). A significant development in Moholo's career took place in 1963 when he replaced drummer Selwyn Lissack in a band called The Swinging City Six. Led by Cape Town saxophonist and flautist Ronnie Beer the band included Bob Tizzard on trombone, Tete Mbambisa on piano and Sammy Maritz on bass. In the band category at the 1963 Castle Lager National Jazz Festival at Soweto's Orlando Stadium, The Swinging City Six shared the first prize with another Cape Town band, Chris McGregor's Septet, which besides Chris McGregor on piano, also included Chris 'Columbus' Ngcukana on baritone saxophone, Danayi Dlova on alto saxophone, Ronnie Beer on tenor saxophone, Willie Nettie on trombone, Sammy Maritz on bass and Monty Weber on drums. In the drum category, Louis Moholo shared first prize with Early Mabuza, one of the greatest drummers of the modern jazz and bebop era in South Africa. On this occasion was first muted the possibility of an ensemble of the Blue Notes that would recruit the best and youngest musicians from the different bands that had appeared in the 1963 festival.

Besides his automatic occupation of Early Mabuza's drum chair at the 1963 Castle Lager Big Band and subsequently in the Blue Notes, Louis Moholo's pedigree links him in direct experience with the greatest of South African black modern jazz drummers, as veteran Port Elizabeth-born Cape Town bassist Lami Zokufa explained:

> [Makaya Ntshoko] was a little deaf. Played loud, but he was good… Makaya and Tebogo [Moholo], they stayed in Langa, it was like this… [draws on a piece of paper] … there's a street here, and …[] here, and Makaya's place was about here, and Tebogo about here. When he heard this guy practicing in the back of his home, this guy would listen to that, oh, he used to feel very sorry. Makaya used to drum! … [Makaya] learned drums from Phak[amile] 'Phaks' Joya[19]. So

[19] Together with Christopher 'Columbus' Ngcukana, Phakamile Joya was one of a pioneering generation of Cape (Town) modern jazz drummers. He was the earlier Blue Notes proto-ensembles around 1961. He also

> Dollar discovered him, he wanted to play with him. (Lami Zokufa, quoted in Rasmussen ed. 2003:275)

Perhaps it is still Moholo's competitive rebellion that has never acknowledged Chris McGregor's unquestioned concept leadership of The Blue Notes. Regarding the recruitment of the definitive Blue Notes (that became exiled), Louis Moholo remains contentious of Chris McGregor's leadership position, as he has emphatically maintained in interviews as late as 2002:

> Chris seems to be playing a very important part in our music. But we did meet some other people before we met Chris McGregor. When we met Chris McGregor, he met us as well. I always find it so difficult that [view that] King Chris McGregor came along and rescued us like Captain Marvel. He did not really… We joined forces together… When we met – me, Dudu, Mongezi, Johnny Dyani, Nick Moyake, Chris – we were on the case already. And we were kind of like rebels in a way as well … we were trying to run away from this apartheid thing. (Louis Moholo, quoted in Eyles 2002)

In outliving all his exiled Blue Note compatriots (in excess of 15 years to date) Moholo has charted a fresh trajectorial development for the Blue Note repertoires and contemporary South African jazz on the international horizon. The extended repertoires emanating from his committed involvement with the avant-garde jazz scene, free improvisation, and new music are examined in Chapter 7, as a representation of the Blue Notes' musical influence beyond exile.

2.1.6 Nikele 'Nick' Moyake

As far as I am aware there exists no definitive biographical text on which to base a linear narrative of Nick Moyake's musical career. His exclusion from Yvonne Huskisson's encyclopaediac The Bantu Composers of Southern Africa (1969) would appear to confirm Moyake's non-participation, as a composer, in the South African Broadcasting Corporation recording sessions. In Rasmussen ed. (2003) is recorded that Nick Moyake was born on January 29, 1934 in Port Elizabeth and died in 1969, following his return from Europe in 1965 where he had traveled with the Blue Notes in 1964. Following his founding of a vocal group in 1951, Moyake took up the alto saxophone in 1953. In

---

played with Dollar Brand (Abdullah Ibrahim) and bassist Johnny Gertze in Johannesburg's Dorkay House (Rasmussen 2003:106).

Johannesburg he led his own band, The Disciples, and since 1958, also became part of *Alfred Herbert's African Jazz and Variety* show (Rasmussen ed. 2003:85).

A restless, pioneering improviser on the tenor sax once referred to by Chris McGregor in a newspaper interview as 'a Coltrane without hysteria' (McGregor 1994), Moyake's career significantly straddles South African urban jazz activity of the 1950s and the early 1960s. He was equally participant in the jazz performance scene of far flung urban centres such as Port Elizabeth and East London, Johannesburg, and Cape Town. The little that is known about him seems to creep into conversations about other musicians and their involvement in diverse contexts of jazz performance. In interview, contemporary Langa saxophonist Ezra Ngcukana mentioned in passing, '[Nick] Moyake … Kippie [Moeketsi] and Dollar [Brand]' as his father Christopher 'Columbus' Ngcukana's contemporaries in the South African 'school' of jazz (Ngcukana 2001). Moyake's musical socialization may be compared to that of Dudu Pukwana, his peer and saxophone protégé from Port Elizabeth's New Brighton township. However, his mentoring position to Dudu's generation of horn players for example, points to an earlier immersion in improvisatory instrumental practice and links Moyake with the earlier generation of the likes of Columbus Ngcukana, Mackay Davashe, Victor Ndlazilwane, Kippie Moeketsi, Zacks Nkosi, 'Cups' Nkanuka and others. Such speculation is borne out in his involvement with the Johannesburg jazz scene and particularly Alfred Herbert's *African Jazz and Variety* show since the 1950s. These impressions were confirmed by David Serame, the London-based exiled singer with The Manhattan Brothers, who recounted in interview as follows:

> In the 1950s I was in [Alfred Herbert's] African Jazz and Variety, with Victor Ndlazilwana, The Wood[y Wood]peckers. I joined African Jazz and Variety in 1956 when it had already existed for a while. [Saxophonist, singer, composer and bandleader] Victor Ndlazilwane and others I found them there. Others were … trumpeters Elijah Nkonyane [and] Banzi Bangani. Nick Moyake was also in African Jazz and Variety. (David Serame 2003, Author's interview)

In March of 2002 I spoke to Gauteng saxophonist and flautist Barney Rachabane, who had participated in the 1963 Castle Lager Big Band recording which included, among other Blue Note members, Nick Moyake. Below is Rachabane's reply to my question as to how the likes of Nick Moyake had been trained to play jazz saxophone:

> Hey, those guys came from PE (Port Elizabeth). They just came to Jo'burg to come and play. Like Zim [Ngqawana] and others like him... They were living in Jo'burg, staying in Jo'burg. Nick of course was a guy who played *mbaqanga* in [Johannesburg] studio, that's where he was making his money. He even had a big hit ...'Ice Cream something[20]'. We all learnt by playing *mbaqanga* ... because that's the basis. There is no way you gonna learn to play without playing *mbaqanga*. Where does one jump off from? ... There's nowhere one can simply jump off to. All the others ... they are all *mbaqanga* people. Now from there they listened to Johnny Hodges, Coleman Hawkins, Lester Young … Johnny Hodges and others ....most of them started like that, there was no other way ... Then you start educating yourself ... all of us ... everybody. I started playing the pennywhistle. What could you play on a pennywhistle when you pick it up? You would play things from here ... what you hear everyday. (Barney Rachabane and Lulu Gontsana 2002, Author's interview)

The influential figure of Nick Moyake interweaves narrative frames portraying important styles, formations and landmark events documenting a South African modern jazz evolution since the 1950s. His participatory experience traverses the generational demarcations of a protracted South African processing of American jazz influence and a popularization of home-grown jazz sensibilities. This involvement implicates Moyake in all forms of jazz-influenced practice including commercial studio recording (Rachabane & Gontsana 2002), live performance practice, community choral practices (McGregor 1994:29), jazz musical theatre (Serame 2003, Rasmussen ed. 2003:150), mentorship of younger musicians including legendary South African saxophonists Dudu Pukwana, Winston Mankunku Ngozi, Duke Makasi and others. The depression that set upon him in Zurich in 1965 is partly attributed to a deep alienation as a result of a culture shock, as Maxine McGregor provides a background to events that culminated in Nick Moyake's return home on a one-way ticket:

> Doubtless his illness played a large part in his depression, but being older than the other musicians by at least ten years, he had also found it the most difficult to adapt. In South Africa he had a place in his cultural environment … his musical ability and his fund of storytelling had earned him a large measure of respect … In Europe he was [like] a fish out of water, a nobody. (McGregor 1994:79)

The story of his tragic passing, following his return from two years of being stranded with The Blue Notes in Europe, is told by Tete Mbambisa, with whom he played and toured with as part of The Soul Jazz Men:

---

[20] In a 1966 BBC (Jazz) Radio interview, Chris McGregor recalled Nick Moyake's nickname 'Sparletta' as a result of a popular *mbaqanga* hit of the same name, composed and recorded by Moyake with a band in the early 1950s. It is quite probable that Rachabane was referring to the tune 'Sparletta' as 'Ice-Cream Something'.

> We went to Fort Hare (University) … to do a concert in Alice. Then he took some raw alcohol … a friend that was doing medicine[21], at the lab … After the show there was no *shebeen* open. This guy went to the lab with Nick … he gave Nick two bottles of this raw alcohol … We mixed it with coke. [After having a drink] … I thought, No! My stomach is twisted, this thing, it's too strong. All of us … when we reached P.E. we didn't even finish the first [bottle]. Now … Nick, he finished the bottle, man. They say he was drinking the whole night, the whole day, the following day. The third day … when he came to us, he had a big headache, big, big headache. He said, No, he's got a headache. Then he went home. That's when we last saw him. He went home, he prayed, I understand he did a prayer, pray, pray, and pray, man, just slept forever. (Tete Mbambisa, quoted in Rasmussen ed. 2003:151)

Even as Nick Moyake's return was partly due to the trauma of culture shock and the European remoteness of the Swiss and the French social culture, as Maxine McGregor explains, Tete Mbambisa tells a tragic-comic township legend surrounding Moyake's return:

> [T]hey say somebody gave him a fright, musically. Johnny … Johnny Griffin. He listened to Johnny Griffin playing tenor sax, then he decided, No, I must go back home. [He figured] he is still not fit to play. (Tete Mbambisa quoted in Rasmussen ed. 2003:151)

Tete Mbambisa's tale may be more anecdotal than factual in the light of other assessments of Moyake's musical accomplishments in modern jazz and hardbop saxophone styles, particularly a contention that 'Nick was a world-class tenor player … [but] he never really got a chance to prove his talent to the world' (Rasmussen ed. 2003:85). Nick Moyake's overarching influence within South African modern jazz saxophone tradition was acknowledged by Maxine McGregor who recalled an incident demonstrating Moyake's own confidence in his talent:

> I remember when we came to Zurich, Mile Davis gave a concert in one of the halls. After the concert we all went to a party and Dollar Brand introduced Nick to Wayne Shorter. But somehow Nick was very annoyed, I don't know because of the attitude Wayne gave him or what. But I heard Nick telling Wayne: "I used to play what you are playing. (McGregor 1994)

[21] The friend was more likely a student of chemistry, since Fort Hare University did not have a medical school, up until 1980 when I was a chemistry student there.

2.2 The Blue Note formations and their repertoires in South Africa between 1961 and 1964

In Section 2.1.1 were traced some of the trajectories occasioning the mobilization of successive Blue Note formations. While repertoires from the earliest of these groups' were not recorded, activities of their participant membership document their cultural agency in a developing non-racial practice in South African jazz. As I have alluded in a largely theoretical first chapter, a popular engagement with modern jazz was hampered by an essential orality in the uptake of foreign musical influences by black South Africans. For one, structural changes from orchestra to small group accompanying the transition from swing to modern jazz were not matched in the globalising media of film and music publishing as before. The same situation might well be construed for the 'ideoscapic' and 'technoscapic' dynamics of the globalising trajectories at work (Appadurai 1996). Modern jazz advances in individual musical achievements and proliferating smaller ensemble work could not readily match the precedent popularity and cultural influence exerted by big-band swing orchestras, recordings and films like *Orchestra Wives*, *Stormy Weather, or Cabin in the Sky* (Masekela & Cheers 2004:10). Discrete individual accomplishments in skill and music pedagogy, demanded by modern jazz practice were not adequately prepared for in the entrenched practice of orchestral dance music. For certain, the new forms were not tailor-made for popular tastes of a public that patronized big-band music essentially for its social dance repertoires of waltzes, foxtrots, the tangos, rhumbas. Not only were there a few musicians prepared to commit to the rigours of individual and small-ensemble improvisatory practices, the new styles were yet to cultivate a broad popular patronage such as was enjoyed by social dance-oriented big-band repertoires. The uptake of bebop – particularly by black musicians in Cape Town since the early part of the 1950s – was significantly facilitated by further 'internal' globalising processes involving a musical activism by a clique of black and white jazz musicians. This was revealed by Ephraim 'Cups' Nkanuka, who cited counter-segregatory practices of Cape Town's white jazz musicians who not only regularly sat in with black Langa musicians, but also provided an essential material infrastructure and model mentoring practice in modern jazz styles:

> Yeah, you see, we owe our gratitude[s] very much to those white musicians. These white musicians used to go to us and I think it was them who got us out of this big band mbaqanga stuff, into jazz. They used to come and hire a piano somewhere where there was a piano. And then they used to play for us there, we used to listen and get inspired until, eventually, at the end of the show, we used to sit in and try and play too, until we were in the mainstream. This was so important. (Ephraim 'Cup 'n' Saucer' Nkanuka, quoted in Rasmussen ed. 2003:224)

Among musicians referred to by Nkanuka was bassist George Kussel, whose work at Bothner's also enabled him to assist unemployed black musicians in procuring musical instruments from [Bothner's] 'without a lot of questions being asked' as, according to Nkanuka:

> [George Kussel] was the main guy. He used to bring these white guys here, people like Cecil Ricca, Bob Tizzard, Don Staegemann, the pianist Brian Welsh. Welsh played so nicely, we used to listen and our hearts used to get sore because we didn't know whenever we would be able to play like that. They were the inspiration behind us. This was long time before Chris McGregor. (Cup 'n' Saucer Nkanuka, quoted in Rasmussen ed. 2003)

When Chris McGregor later became immersed in this scene during the late 1950s there already manifested strong influences of Charlie Parker and Thelonius Monk in the jam-sessions that regularly took place at the Ambassadors School of Dancing in Woodstock. A regular group began to emerge which included, besides Chris McGregor on piano, 'Cup and Saucer' Nkanuka and Christopher 'Columbus' Ngcukana on saxophones, trombonist David Galloway who was then still studying at the School of Music, drummer Donald Staegemann and bassist Martin Mgijima. Of the latter, Nkanuka recalled in interview that 'Martin Mgijima was a protégé of George Kussel … [h]e was taught by George Kussel and I think George even gave him a bass' (Rasmussen ed. 2003:224).

Maxine McGregor (1994) maintains this group, which was frequently joined by musicians such as pianist Dollar Brand and saxophonist Morris Goldberg, was 'almost the first Blue Notes, though it wasn't called that then' (McGregor 1994:15). Other musicians who participated in these yet-to-be named Blue Note formations were bassists Joe Colussi, Johnny Gertze and Sammy Maritz; drummers Roy Anticevic, Phakamile Joya and Monty Weber; saxophonists Larry Hobongwana, John Bannister, Dudu Pukwana, Ronnie Beer and Nikele Moyake; trumpeters Henry Mokone, Lennie Lee, Danayi Dlova and Elijah Nkwanyana; trombonists Bob Tizzard, Willie Nettie and Blyth Mbityana. Gatherings of different combinations of musicians mentioned above have been documented – primarily in black and white photographs (Breakey 1997; Rasmussen ed.

2001) – as they appeared in several Cape Town venues from 1959 to 1963. Ranging in size from quartet to big-band these proto-Blue Note formations were photographed in performance or rehearsing in places such as The Ambassador School of Dancing in Woodstock, Rondebosch Town Hall, The University of Cape Town's Jameson Hall, Weizman Hall, Cape Town City Hall, as well as in restaurants and coffee places such as Il Pescatore, Club Vortex, The Zambezi, The Mermaid, and The Naaz by photographers Basil Breakey and Hardy Stockman[22].

Although the Blue Notes had comprised a much wider field of membership during their South African existence, in exile they became known as having originally been a group of only six musicians. Barring the inclusion of Cape Town saxophonist and flautist Ronnie Beer on the band's arrival in the UK in 1965, the Blue Notes are popularly recognized as having been pianist Chris McGregor, saxophonists Nikele Moyake and Dudu Pukwana, trumpeter Mongezi Feza, bassist Johnny Dyani and drummer Louis Moholo. There exist several versions of the history of The Blue Notes' founding moment, and circumstances facilitating their earliest mobilizations (McGregor 1994; Rasmussen ed. 2001; Eyles 2002). The earliest ensembles bearing the name of the Blue Notes were perhaps best represented in quintet and septet combinations that had become Chris McGregor's favourite formats following his year long recuperation from jaundice in the first half of 1962 (Rasmussen ed. 2001:80). Prior to these consolidating developmental stages, his initial encounter with Dudu Pukwana at the 1961 launch of Langa Women's Cultural group - and a subsequent collaboration that was briefly derailed by Chris McGregor's illness – is arguably a presaging moment of The Blue Notes' ultimate mobilisation. It is equally reasonable to regard the various quartet, quintet, sextet and septet Chris McGregor ensembles in which Dudu Pukwana was featured for the best part of 1961 and 1962 as developments towards the consolidation of the definitive Blue Note sextet that left South Africa in 1964. However as far as is known, none of these formations appeared in public performance under the name of The Blue Notes.

[22] Most of these photographs are published in two books – (1) Basil Breakey. (1997). Beyond the Blues:Township Jazz in the '60s and '70s and (2) Lars Rasmussen (ed.) 2001. Cape Town Jazz 1959-1963: The Photographs of Hardy Stockmann.

When asked in a 1965 BBC Radio interview how The Blue Notes had come together, Chris McGregor mentioned that they had initially met as individuals at different occasions in various parts of the country, some time before they decided to form the band (BBC Radio interview with Chris McGregor, 31 December 1965). The existence of The Blue Notes is best described by discontinuity, and the few occasions of their brief coherence as a group have only survived in the scant document of repertoires emanating from these rare mobilizations. According to Louis Moholo, the Blue Notes resulted from musical encounters at the 1962 Cold Cold Castle National Jazz Festival in Moroka-Jabavu in Soweto, Johannesburg (Eyles 2002). Remarkably at the festival all members of The Blue Notes - except for Johnny Dyani who for certain did not perform on this occasion – were playing for different bands. It was largely as a result of both a mutual recognition among the more outstanding musicians at the festival, and their shared geographic origins that saw a post-festival mobilization of Cape-based musicians towards a structure that would become The Blue Notes.

As well as presenting an eagerly-sought and rare opportunity for showcasing jazz talent at a national level, the 1962 *Cold Castle National Festival* (like most such 'opportunities') also visited a disruptive effect upon existing formations. The same could be argued for shows employing jazz musicians since *Zonk, Golden City Dixies, African Jazz and Variety, King Kong, The BatFair, Back In Your Own Backyard, Sponono, Mkhumbane*, and other traveling shows and theatrical productions. Often promising musicians regular engagement and income initially, most such shows wreaked havoc on formed groups that were consolidating their practices, infrastructural resources and ideological styles for steady, localised sustainability. Much the same can be said of the 1962 festival in its repercussions for the Cape Town jazz scene in particular – whereby musicians' participation in a burgeoning non-racial practice seemed to give way to band alliances representing novel mobilisatory alliances. A month after the 1962 *Cold Castle National Jazz Festival* in Moroka Stadium, Johannesburg, where a septet led by Chris McGregor had placed second in the band category – was featured an ensemble billed as 'Chris McGregor's Blue Notes Septet' in Cape Town in November of 1962. The Cape Town *Coca Cola Jazz Festival* in the early part of 1963 included in its proceedings a septet billed as Chris McGregor's Blue Notes and which, besides McGregor himself on piano,

included in its line-up Dudu Pukwana and Nick Moyake on alto and tenor saxophones respectively, Elijah Nkwanyana on trumpet, Chris 'Columbus' Ngcukana on baritone saxophone, Martin Mgijima on bass and Monty Weber on drums (1963 *Coca-Cola Jazz Festival* flyer and programme notes; Rasmussen ed. 2001:80). Lars Rasmussen's book based on the photographs of Hardy Stockmann depicts the same line-up as above in performance at Weizmann Hall in Cape Town on November 14, in 1962.

2.3 The Blue Notes' recordings before exile

For many years since The Blue Notes became exiled, there was no knowledge of existing recordings of any of their pre-exile repertoires. When the occurrence of the recording sessions became known – through rarely published interviews of exiled Blue Notes members – the ignorance was further prolonged by the fact that the sessions had remained un-issued and thus were never heard in public for more than thirty years. Existing uncertainties about the occurrence of The Blue Notes' first recording session[s] emanate from conflicting dates as put forward by at least three discographers: namely Gallo archivist Rob Allingham; Chris McGregor's brother Tony McGregor and Mike Fowler, the Birmingham discographer and professor of music history. To further complicate the picture, and perhaps as a result the manner of its telling, The Blue Notes appeared to have recorded similar repertoires for both SABC's Transcription Matrix LT Series and Winner, Trutone's African label at around the same time.

According to Allingham[23] a line up of The Blue Notes took part in a recording of an 18 minute-long 78" rpm disc for Trutone's Winner label, in a session that took place on 13 May 1963 (Personal correspondence with Rob Allingham in late 2000). In the session were recorded six titles, details of which Allingham promised to ascertain and communicate later – something which unfortunately did not happen. In a note accompanying the tape Allingham further pointed out that the songs were recorded on

[23] In the early stages of my research I was corresponding with Gallo archivist Rob Allingham, who generously provided me with a sample cassette-tape recording of the Blue Note recording sessions for the Trutone's Winner label. For musicological comparative and analytical purposes, I have included musical excerpts from the tape, to be included in the CD accompanying this thesis.

faulty studio equipment, as a result of which most of the tracks were blemished. The plans were then to clean the tracks using advanced digital sound technology and in conjunction with some other material to make up a standard CD-length album for release at some later date (Allingham 2001). Also at the time – in late 2000 – Rob Allingham was 'aware' of the existence of an undated radio transcription of a Blue Notes' recording, somewhere in the depths of SABC sound archives. While he was not sure of the line-up for the session[s], Allingham put forward a suggestion that it was probably recorded prior to Mongezi Feza's joining The Blue Notes. This conclusion is of course true for only two of the tracks comprising the Blue Notes' recording for the SABC Transcription Matrix Catalogue Series LT 5718, LT 5719, LT 5720, LT 5721 and LT 5722. The two tracks that do not feature trumpet are the two sides of LT 5718, namely the titles *Schoolboy* (Musical Excerpt 2.2) and *Now* (Musical Excerpt 2.3), composed by Dudu Pukwana and Chris McGregor respectively. For purposes of the present narrative I will focus on some of the aspects of the discographers' accounts and, using recordings, comment on the observed concurrences and divergences of their depositions. The purpose of this brief, non-theoretical, exercise is to sound out the extent of discrepancy or agreement – where they exist - regarding some popularly understood facts of The Blue Notes' early recordings.

Discographer Mike Fowler has attributed all the Blue Notes' SABC Transcription Matrix catalogue to a period roughly spanning the end of 1962 and November of 1963. Comprising no less than eleven titles, the series remained unissued for nearly three decades and were catalogued as LT 5718, LT 5719, LT 5720, LT 5721, and LT 5722. The titles included - among original compositions in the East Coast hard-bop style – six by Dudu Pukwana, two by Chris McGregor, and the rest from Duke Ellington and popular American jazz standards (Fowler n.d.) A summary of The Blue Notes' five recording sessions for the SABC's Transcription Matrix Catalogue, with dates as suggested by discographer Mike Fowler appears below:

1. SABC Transcription record: Matrix LT 5718 (end of 1962)

Schoolboy (Pukwana) 3.49
Now (Chris McGregor) 4.04
Personnel: Chris McGregor – piano, leader; Dudu Pukwana – alto saxophone; Nick Moyake - tenor saxophone; Mongezi Velelo – bass; Early Mabuza – drums.

2. SABC Transcription record: Matrix LT 5719 (beginning 1963)

The Blessing Light (Take 1) (Pukwana) 5.36
The Blessing Light (Take 2) (Pukwana) 5.41
Take the Coltrane (credited to Duke Ellington) 2.16
Personnel: Chris McGregor – piano, leader; Dudu Pukwana – alto saxophone; Nick Moyake – tenor saxophone; Sammy Maritz – bass; Early Mabuza – drums.

3. SABC Transcription record: Matrix LT 5720 (mid 1963)

Angelica (Duke Ellington) 4.27
Kay (Take 1) (Pukwana) 3.48
Kay (Take 2) (Pukwana) 3.47
Personnel: Chris McGregor – piano, leader; Dudu Pukwana – alto saxophone; Nick Moyake – tenor saxophone; Mongezi Feza – trumpet; Sammy Maritz - bass; Early Mabuza – drums.

4. SABC Transcription record: Matrix LT 5721 (September 1963)

Vortex Special (McGregor) 5.24
Never Let Me Go (Livingstone/Evans) 4.57
Izithunywa (The Messengers) (Pukwana) 3.49
Personnel: Chris McGregor – piano, leader; Dudu Pukwana – alto saxophone; Nick Moyake – tenor saxophone; Mongezi Feza – trumpet; Sammy Maritz – bass; Louis Moholo – drums.

5. SABC Transcription record: Matrix LT 5722 (November 1963)

Blue Nick (Pukwana) 3.56
Coming Home (Take 1) (Pukwana) 3.04
Coming Home (Take 2) (Pukwana) 3.02
Dick's Pick (Chris McGregor) 3.26
Personnel: Chris McGregor – piano, leader; Dudu Pukwana – alto saxophone; Nick Moyake – tenor saxophone; Mongezi Feza – trumpet; Johnny Dyani – bass; Louis Moholo - drums

Apparently the entire SABC's Blue Notes' recording for its Transcription Matrix Catalogue forms the basis of a Blue Notes' relatively recently-released CD album, Township Bop (2002) whose sleeve production information is provided below:

PRODUCED FOR RELEASE BY JOOP VISSER PRODUCTIONS
DIGITAL REMASTERING: PETER RYNSTON AT TALL ORDER MASTERING
DESIGN: RAVEN DESIGN
INNER PHOTOGRAPHY MOIRA FORJAZ & JUNG.

A SPECIAL THANKS TO MAXINE MCGREGOR FOR HER RESEARCH
AND ENCOURAGEMENT

ORIGINAL SABC RECORDINGS ISSUED UNDER LICENCE FROM
SEPTEMBER BLASS ENTERPRISE (SBE)
THIS COMPILATION P & © 2002 – PROPER RECORDS LTD

There is a level of disagreement among discographers as to the actual dates, and personnel involved in the sessions documented in the SABC Transcription series' Matrix catalogue. Alongside Fowler's dates for the recordings – between the end of 1962 and November of 1963 – are Tony McGregor's discographic notes. The latter have been

appended to the album information accompanying a belated 2002 release of tracks from the Matrix series in Proper Records Ltd CD entitled Township Bop, produced by Joop Visser under licence from September Blass Enterprise. In the notes by Tony McGregor as well as the track list on the album booklet and CD cover, all the tracks by the Blue Notes in Township Bop were recorded by the SABC in Cape Town in early 1964. In terms of personnel involved, the whole set of recordings engaged ten musicians in total, only three of which - Chris McGregor, Nick Moyake and Dudu Pukwana - were constantly featuring in all of the series' recording sessions. The LT 5718 recording which includes two compositions – Dudu Pukwana's *Schoolboy* and Chris McGregor's *Now* – lists the Blue Notes as Chris McGregor on piano; Dudu Pukwana on alto saxophone; Nick Moyake on tenor saxophone; Mongezi Velelo on bass, and Early Mabuza on drums (The Blue Notes 2002: album notes). The Blue Notes in LT 5719 - which contains Dudu Pukwana's *The Blessing Light* (Musical Excerpt 2.4) and Duke Ellington's *Take the Coltrane* (Musical Excerpt 2.5) – had come to include Dennis Mpal[i] on trumpet, while Sammy Maritz had replaced Mongezi Velelo on bass. In his extensive discography, Mike Fowler has excluded Mpali in his list of the Blue Notes' participating personnel in the LT 5719 session, as well as placed the sessions' date at the beginning of 1963. A cassette recording of the Blue Notes' studio session sent to me by discographer Rob Allingham includes tracks as above. When I subsequently played this recording to saxophonist/flautist Barney Rachabane in March 2002, he identified Dennis Mpale as the trumpeter for the session (Rachabane and Gontsana 2002).

On LT 5720 are recorded Duke Ellington's *Angelica* (Musical Excerpt 2.6) and *Kay* (Musical Excerpt 2.7), the latter being an original composition by Dudu Pukwana and on both tracks are featured – besides Chris McGregor, Dudu Pukwana, Nick Moyake, Sammy Maritz and Early Mabuza – Mongezi Feza on trumpet. LT 5721 contains three tracks – Chris McGregor's *Vortex Special* (Musical Excerpt 2.8), a Livingstone/Evans standard *Never Let Me Go* (Musical Excerpt 2.9) and Dudu Pukwana's *Izithunywa* (Musical Excerpt 2.10) and also introduces Louis Moholo replacing Early Mabuza on drums. On LT 5722 is represented for the first time the Blue Notes as they came to be consolidated to leave for the 5th Antibes Jazz Festival in France, with personnel similar to

that of LT 5721 except Sammy Maritz had been replaced by Johnny Dyani on bass. The tracks recorded for the session were Dudu Pukwana's *Blue Nick* (Musical Excerpt 2.11) and *Coming Home* (Musical Excerpt 2.12) and Chris McGregor's *Dick's Pick* (Musical Excerpt 2.13). The LT 5722 session remains pivotal in the disputed facts of Johnny Dyani's inauguration into the Blue Notes, with Mike Fowler documenting the recording date as early as November 1963. This date contradicts those suggested by both Tony McGregor (Blue Notes: 2002; McGregor 1994) and Lars Rasmussen (2003), of which the latter has argued that,

> It has sometimes been said that Johnny Dyani joined The Blue Notes in 1963, but the first sure evidence of his presence I have been able to trace is on a series of transcription recordings the band did for SABC in the beginning of 1964 (no later than mid-April). I believe that Johnny Dyani must have joined the band in February or March 1964. (Rasmussen ed. 2001:81)

2.4 The Blue Notes 1963 recording sessions for Trutone's Winner label

A tape from a session ascertained by Gallo discographer Rob Allingham to have taken place on 13 May 1963 contains not six, but twelve titles. There appears to have been recorded two ensembles of different sizes, between which the twelve recorded titles are split evenly. The two ensembles recorded are further differentiated by their style of repertoire. The smaller ensemble is a sextet which saxophonist Barney Rachabane was certain to be The Blue Notes, comprising at the time Dudu Pukwana, Mongezi Feza, Nick Moyake, Louis Moholo and Johnny Dyani (Rachabane and Gontsana 2002). The six takes recorded of the sextet also match exactly those documented in the SABC's Transcription Matrix Catalogue Series LT 5718, LT 5719, LT 5720, LT 5721, and LT 5722 as they are attributed to the three slightly variable combinations of the Blue Notes personnel as listed above (Rasmussen ed. 2003:40). The six titles also match closely the takes that were included in the belated 2002 Blue Notes' CD-album release, Township Bop. In this sense the Rob Allingham tape is also embroiled in a discographic contestations between Tony McGregor's notes included in Township Bop sleeve information, and Mike Fowler's notes to the SABC Transcription Matrix Catalogue Series such as I have elucidated above. The rest of the takes on tape were rendered by a decidedly larger ensemble, a big-band comprising recognizable brass and reed sections which include trombone and baritone saxophone respectively. With one exception, the

six recorded studio performances are in the popular South African big-band swing style of *mbaqanga* or *African jazz* (Musical Excerpts 2.14 to 2.19). The one exception is a recording of Christopher 'Columbus' Ngcukana's composition *M[b]ra* (Musical Excerpt 2.14), whose harmonic ubiquity derives directly from Xhosa indigenous music, characterized by a movement between two tonal centres of a major second interval apart. Ngcukana's composition may not be classified as *mbaqanga* or *marabi*, as it does not deploy the European cadential musical canon of the tonic-subdominant-dominant harmonic relationship. Cape Town saxophonist (and 'Columbus Ngcukana's son) Ezra Ngcukana has remarked on the extension this sensibility has received in modern South African jazz practice:

> You are only playing between two chords. There's a tune that my father composed, *Mbra*. One student, a saxophone player, he's got a master degree in music, he said, how do you play *Mbra?* It is only two chords! Then I got a shock, because another doctor, a student from Yusef Lateef, also asked me that question, how do you play that, it's two chords – F, E flat, finito! (Ezra Ngcukana, quoted in Rasmussen ed. 2003:203)

A theoretical basis of the two chord structure in Xhosa bow music (Dargie 1988) and other indigenous Nguni musical forms explains its manifestation within particularly Afrocentric sensibilities of 'post-*mbaqanga*' township jazz musicians. Interestingly, in non-formal theorization the label of *mbaqanga* or *marabi* has been erroneously accorded this sensibility, as in the following statement:

> *Marabi* is *mbaqanga*. It is a music form, like a blues… like *marabi* could be more like (Sonny Rollins') *St Thomas* kind of thing. *Marabi* is also the blues … it's got its own form … similar to the blues, similar to *St Thomas*, but with just a little alteration. It's [more] simpler than *mbaqanga*, they call it rhythm changes. *Marabi*, it's African music, it's made of two chords. But the one that is jazzed up, it's more like a blues vibe. It's more like rhythm changes vibe. (Ezra Ngcukana, quoted in Rasmussen ed. 2003:203)

Older Cape musicians who were from the same era as Ezra's father (Columbus Ngcukana) concur on the similarities between *nomxhimfi*, *marabi* and *mbaqanga.* However, all of them have emphasized an understanding of the styles' harmonic structure as being made up of *three* chords, repeating (Bangani, Dlova, Mbambisa, Nkanuka, Ntshibilikwana, and Zokufa, in Rasmussen ed. 2003). Ezra's assertion needs to be understood in a historical and ideological context of transmission of culture, the orality of which was alluded to [with tinges of regret] by Nkanuka when asked (Rasmussen ed. 2003) about the relative

paucity in documentation, of *marabi* even as jazz musicians were known enjoy and take pride in performing it:

> Yeah, to us *marabi* was not something important, because it was our own thing, and it wasn't running away … because it was *in* us. So we didn't see any interest in recording it for the future… It's just too bad. (Cup 'n' Saucer Nkanuka, quoted in Rasmussen ed. 2003)

The attribution of a pervasive ignorance about *marabi* to this dearth in its documenting processes in sound recording and notational scoring was echoed by another older Langa township jazz musician, trumpeter Syfred Dlova:

> That music unfortunately was never recorded, and it is unfortunate that South Africa lost a world of musical history that could have been there today for people to listen to, showing the history, where black music comes from which has some alignments to jazz. (Syfred Woodrow Dlova, quoted in Rasmusssen ed. 2003)

Thus the absence of audible and visual record necessitates an improvisation such as undertaken in legitimating narratives by community musicians. In the light of a cultural subjectivism of disjunctive postcolonial legacies, these narratives - I argue in defence of Ezra's apparent theoretical misconception - seek to construct the coherence of musical continuities between indigenous and syncretic ideological performance practices. This may be largely an outcome of a long history of a postcolonial cultural engagement by Africans whereby – in contemporary oral historicizing narratives - the earliest syncretisms in ideological cultural practice are construed as indigenous tradition. More significant though is the implication of African-American jazz interpretations of Afro-Caribbean *calypso* – as in tenor-saxophonist Sonny Rollin's *St Thomas* – in the contemporary South African imagination of a coincident pan-African hybridity in jazz. In the next chapter, I discuss the discursive implications of bebop as a radical development in African-American jazz culture and its unfolding influences on South African performance practice.

2.5 The Blue Notes performances and documented recordings in 1963

As an attempt to shed some light on the contrasted repertoires contained in Rob Allingham's tape, I need to revisit some of the recombinant formations that characterize activities of the Blue Notes and their milieu of practice in the year 1963. It is perhaps in confirmation of a pervasive instability in The Blue Notes membership since their inception that between recording dates, or even in the same month, the same group could field in performance, different personnel on several occasions. The six titles in the big-band *mbaqanga* style that make up the rest of Rob Allingham's cassette compilation could have been rendered by any of the personnel permutations documented in the Blue Notes' activity following the November 1962 *Cold Castle National Jazz Festival* in Moroka-Jabavu.

In Cape Town, following the 1962 Cold Castle National Jazz Festival, Chris McGregor's Septets occasionally included Capetonians Ronnie Beer and Cups Nkanuka on tenor saxophones, Danayi Dlova on alto saxophone, Willie Nettie on trombone and Sammy Maritz on bass. However, none of these combinations went under the name of the Blue Notes except, it would appear, in cases where [at least] Dudu Pukwana was included. The combination listed above may be excluded if for any other reason, an absence of both the trumpet and baritone saxophone in its line-up. An event featuring the Blue Notes was held under the auspices of United Artists at the Wits Great Hall on 27 April 1963. Dubbed *Beyond the Blues*, the perfomance was a collaboration between poet Zakes Mokae, vocalist Mabel Magada, and a Blue Notes' line-up which included Chris McGregor on piano, Dudu Pukwana and Caiphus Semenya on alto and tenor saxophones respectively, 'Columbus' Ngcukana on baritone saxophone, Dennis Mpale on trumpet, Saint Mokaingoa on double-bass and Early Mabu[s]a on drums (1963 United Artists' flyer, notes and programme). Dubbing the Blue Notes 'a new jazz band', the show's reviews remarked on the African-American origins of the poetry and interestingly enough, identified the music as both African American *and* African:

> Their programme is one of jazz and poetry readings – something new in South Africa but a popular form of entertainment in clubs in the United States and Britain. The poetry is Negro, the jazz Negro and African. (*Pretoria News* 29 April 1963)

The candidacy of this group is more likely except it does not include a trombone which, of course, featured prominently in the recordings under discussion (Musical Excerpts 2.14 to 2.19). The following month of May 1963 saw bassist Martin Mgijima returning to replace Saint Mokaingoa for a series of United Artists' shows that were held in Dorkay House (Rasmussen ed. 2001:81). Again, if one considers the Trutone [Winner] session said by Rob Allingham to have taken place on the 13 May[24], the SABC recording sessions as considered by Mike Fowler to have happened in mid-1963[25], and Tony McGregor's suggestion of 1964 for all of the SABC recordings as included in Township Bop, the Blue Notes' personnel involved could possibly have been Chris McGregor, Nick Moyake, Dudu Pukwana, Mongezi Feza *or* Dennis Mpale, Mongezi Velelo, Sammy Maritz *or* Johnny Dyani, Early Mabuza *or* Louis Moholo. Significantly none of these combinations and their documented repertoires include either or both a baritone saxophone and a trombone. At their next documented outing, a graduation ball at the University of the North in Turfloop at the end of May 1963, the Blue Notes were Chris McGregor, Dudu Pukwana, tenor saxophonist and composer Mackay Davashe, trombonist Malindi Blyth Mbityana, Dennis Mpale on trumpet, Saint Mokaingoa on bass and Early Mabuza on drums (Rasmussen ed. 2001:81). Again the likelihood of this combination is diminished for its exclusion of the baritone saxophone. In the beginning of July 1963 the Selborne Hall in Johannesburg was a venue for another of United Artists' hosted show called *Swinging the Blues*, wherein Dudu Pukwana in the line-up mentioned above was replaced by 'Columbus' Ngcukana on baritone saxophone. It is more likely that this was the line-up featured in a musical *Vortex Special* that had taken place at Pretoria Central Boys' Club in Boom Street on the 29th of July in 1963 and was reviewed by Pretoria News' Richard McNeill as having had '[] everything that a show of this type should have – music, colour, humour (although a lot of it was lost on me), and,

[24] When I played the Rob Allingham tape to saxophonist Barney Rachabane, he was unequivocal in suggesting that the Blue Notes personnel in the recording were Chris McGregor, Nick Moyake, Dudu Pukwana, Mongezi Feza, Johnny Dyani and Louis Moholo. (Barney Rachabane & Lulu Gontsana 2002, Author's interview)

[25] Birmingham discographer Mike Fowler suggested that the SABC Transcription Matrix numbers LT 5719 and LT 5720 were recorded in early to mid-year 1963 with the Blue Notes' line-up of Chris McGregor on piano, Nick Moyake and Dudu Pukwana on saxophones, Mongezi Feza on trumpet, Sammy Maritz on bass and Early Mabuza on drums. These numbers pertain to the following titles: Takes 1 and 2 of two of Dudu Pukwana's compositions *'The Blessing Light'* and *'Kay'* , as well as Duke Ellington's *'Angelica'*.

above all; pace' (*Pretoria News,* 30 January 1963). In the show was featured Campbell Gwidza and Dolly Rathebe, backed by an unnamed 'seven-piece combo' under the leadership of Chris McGregor, of whose performance the same report went on to say afterwards that '[a] special mention must be made of the seven-piece combo, led by Chris McGregor, who was also responsible for the musical arrangements … [f]ull marks, Chris! (*Pretoria News,* 30 January 1963).

In Musical Excerpts 2.14 to 2.19, Dudu Pukwana' alto saxophone sound is identifiable, particularly in the numbers that he plays solo improvisations. Futhermore, the ensemble that was recorded in performance of these titles is larger than a septet, including at least a reed section of an alto, tenor and baritone saxophones, a brass section of a trumpet and trombone, as well as a three-man rhythm section. The involvement of jazz musicians with theatre and touring stage shows was a common practice, which had its advantages – particularly for individual musicians - as well as a downside for constituted ensembles. The Blue Notes' musicians were no exception in their engagement with various, often traveling, productions like Alfred Herbert's *African Jazz and Variety,* Ben 'Satch' Masinga's *Back in Your Own Backyard*, Eric Nomvete's *Xapa Goes to Town,* Spike Glasser's *Mr Paljas,* Zakes Mokae's *Beyond the Blues,* Chris McGregor's *Vortex Special*, Paul Meyer et al *Just Jazz Meets Ballet,* United Artists' *Swinging the Blues, Alan* Paton's *Mkhumbane and Sponono*, as well as others.

Despite the attendant discrepancies in documenting the events, personnel and logistical circumstances involved in the early recordings by the Blue Notes, it is clear that the group that recorded *mbaqanga* titles alongside the Blue Notes' hard-bop repertories also involved a large compliment of the Blue Notes. In including trombonist Malindi Blyth Mbityana and Mackay Davashe, a prolific composer in the *mbaqanga* jazz style, a contingent of the Blue Notes which performed for the graduation ball at Turfloop towards the end of May was only one man – a baritone - short of the octet that is clearly heard in the Allingham tape. In all likelihood this position was filled by none other than Cape Town doyen of African jazz, Christopher 'Columbus' Ngcukana. This contention is supported by the inclusion in the repertoire of Ngcukana's composition *M[b]ra* (Musical Excerpt 2.14) alongside straightforward *mbaqanga* big-band jazz arrangements, some of

which could well have come from the prolific composer and tenor saxophonist McKay Davashe. In order to make a distinction of the ensemble formations documented in the tape, I have labeled this latter group as The Chris McGregor 'Blue Notes' Octet. Following from this, a labeling of the titles included in the cassette tape would be:

Side One – The Blue Notes
1) *Angelica* (Duke Ellington)
2) *Kay* (Dudu Pukwana)
3) *Vortex Special* (Chris McGregor)
4) *Never Let Me Go* (Livingston, Evans)
5) *Izithunywa* (Dudu Pukwana)
6) *Coming Home* (Dudu Pukwana)

Personnel: Chris McGregor – piano, leader; Dudu Pukwana – alto saxophone; Nick Moyake – tenor saxophone; Mongezi Feza – trumpet; Sammy Maritz - bass; Early Mabuza – drums

Side Two – The Chris McGregor 'Blue Notes' Octet
1) *M[b]ra* (Chris 'Columbus' Ngcukana) [Excerpt 2.14]
2) Unknown [Excerpt 2.15]
3) Unknown [Excerpt 2.16]
4) Unknown [Excerpt 2.17]
5) Unknown [Excerpt 2.18]
6) Unknown [Excerpt 2.19]

Personnel: Chris McGregor – piano; Dudu Pukwana – alto saxophone; Mackay Davashe - tenor saxophone; Malindi Blyth Mbityana – trombone; Dennis Mpale or Mongezi Feza – trumpet; Saint Mokaingoa or Martin Mgijima or Sammy Maritz – bass; Early Mabuza – drums.

2.6 The 1963 National Jazz Festival and the formation of the Castle Lager Big Band

A development which significantly affected the Blue Notes' consolidation was the formation of The Castle Lager Big Band, featuring some of the best musicians from bands that had performed at the 1963 National Jazz Festival at Orlando Stadium in Soweto. Arguably among the most significant public appearance of the Blue Notes was their showing at the turbulent 1963 Cold Castle National Jazz Festival at Soweto's Orlando Stadium on 7 September, where the band won the prize in the 'best jazz band' category. This septet of the Blue Notes consisted of Chris McGregor, Nick Moyake, Dudu Pukwana, Dennis Mpale, Christopher 'Columbus' Ngcukana, Martin Mgijima and Early Mabuza. The occasion – marked by violence and rioting by its majority township crowd – significantly gave birth to the Castle Lager Big Band project (McGregor 1994:33). The rare opportunity of a gathering of the cream of South Africa's jazz talent inspired Chris McGregor to convene a large ensemble and 'to persuade the breweries to

back him in another venture – a big (17-piece) band with the musicians of his choice' (McGregor 1994:33). With arrangements and musical direction by Chris McGregor, the Castle Lager Big Band sought to pick up on the energies of the 1963 national jazz festival's abundant promise in prodigious jazz talent. In a frenzied week of arranging and teaching music by ear to the musicians involved, Chris put together a repertoire that was premiered in 'several concerts in the townships round Johannesburg and in Benoni and Boksburg' (McGregor 1994:33). The downside of the venture proved to be a stipulation by the sponsor that they could only put on shows in the black townships and not in the city of Johannesburg, thus limiting the possibility of coverage by the widely read white press and critical appreciation by mixed audiences. The band – billed as Chris McGregor and The Castle Lager Big Band – eventually performed in a run down old theatre in Braamfontein and amidst innumerable logistical setbacks managed to have the second performance preserved in the classic South African jazz recording Jazz – The African Sound (1963). The big band was sustained by core members of The Chris McGregor Septet, or The Blue Notes, the name by which McGregor's most recent ensembles were increasingly becoming known. The occasion of the recording also saw Louis Moholo filling in adequately for Early Mabuza, who had apparently been waylaid and made drunk in Sophiatown so he could not make it to the gig (McGregor 1994). For *The Johannesburg Star's* Richard McNeill the Castle Lager Big Band performances at The Playhouse represented a defining moment in the assertion of jazz originality to be heard outside of American soil,

> The show represented a consolidation and expression of this musical force which I am tempted to call "south-stream" as distinct from the so-called 'main-stream" and 'third-stream" movements in American jazz through the medium of the country's most talented and articulate jazzmen, both white and African, chosen at the recent Orlando Jazz Festival. (*The Star*, 23 September 1963)

Out of the seventeen musicians in the band, namely Dudu Pukwana, Nick Moyake, Christopher 'Columbus' Ngcukana, Kippie Moeketsi, Blyth Mbityana, Willie Nettie, Dennis Mpal[i], Mongezi Feza, Early Mabuza and Louis Moholo had already featured prominently as members of The Blue Notes and or other of McGregor's sextet or septet formats. Despite the powerful potential for South African jazz represented in such a scale of mobilisation, the unsustainability of a large ensemble proved a major stumbling block to any further performances and recordings, as evident in the following newspaper review:

> It must be regretted that this group of fine musicians are to break up after recording sessions today and tomorrow, for red tape permits all too few opportunities for White and non-White to play together, and fewer for White audiences to see the exciting musical blend. One hopes, for the sake of "south-stream", that Chris McGregor will be able to reassemble his Playhouse band one day. (Richard McNeill in *The Star* 23 September 1963)

The achievements of McNeill's (and Chris McGregor's) 'south-stream' were largely interpreted in their daring oppositional radicalism to both physical and conceptual strictures of petty apartheid. In the social edifice represented by apartheid, the venture was astounding in its demonstration of engagement of both blacks and whites as equals on a cultural expressive performance platform. This extension of a black Atlantic language of jazz to challenge Africans' marginalization in the motherland echoed, in one way, similar hybridizations from which issues a historical syncretism of black South African popular music. Perhaps in the same way that *marabi's* deep 'European' syncretism has been construed as indigeneity, the 'African' appendage to the repertoires of jazz as represented in The Castle Lager Big-band's performances as documented in the album Jazz: The African Sound (1963) is a discursive one, primarily as a result of their decisive 'American-ness'. These issues are raised further in Chapter 6, wherein the bebop-influence on South African (and pre-exile Blue Notes) jazz-influenced performance practice is examined in its potential as a black Atlantic dialogue and an elaboration of jazz as a 'universal vernacular of the oppressed' (Ballantine 1993).

The post-Castle Lager Big Band concert euphoria was overwhelming but brief, with the band so energised by their evening's performance that 'they jammed solidly until 9 a.m. the next morning' (McGregor 1994:36). However, the challenges of maintaining a functioning non-racial big-band in the forbidding cultural atmosphere of 1963 South Africa proved too much even for the superlative enthusiasm of an appreciative audience, visionary promoters and eager musicians. Thus, following the two big-band performances in September, the 'Blue Notes' big-band inevitably downsized to a quintet which included Chris McGregor, Dudu Pukwana, Mongezi Feza, Sammy Maritz and Louis Moholo. This is the quintet which, according to Rasmussen (2003), opened at The Downbeat in Hillbrow, Johannesburg, on 30 October. The quintet, then a resident band at The Downbeat, was joined by Nick Moyake, until the coffee bar-cum-jazz club was finally closed down by the police sometime at the beginning of 1964. It was probably

during this period, on the 24th January, that The Blue Notes appeared at Wits University's Great Hall, part of a farewell concert for cast members of the Alan Paton musical *Sponono* which was due to depart for Broadway in New York (*Post*, 26 January 1964). In a review entitled 'Kid Feza Hits the Roof" the *Post* newspaper writer began the article by asking '[w]ho let that undernourished kid on to the stage? [w]hy didn't some one take that urchin with his toy trumpet and give him an ice cream?' … and continuing elsewhere in the same article '[t]his was no kid … [t]his was Mongezi Feza, 18 years-old, but already the deepest blue of Chris McGregor's Blue Notes' (*Post*, 26 January 1964).

The youth that was to be the hallmark of the Blue Notes contingent that became exiled awaited an addition of a final remarkable member, bassist Johnny Dyani. Maxine McGregor reports that following the closure of The Downbeat in Hillbrow, Sammy Maritz became homesick and probably returned home to Cape Town (McGregor 1994:47). During this interim, the band was preparing to honour their invitation to the Juan-les-Pins Antibes Jazz Festival, in France, and Maritz' departure necessitated a replacement. As a result Chris McGregor traveled to Cape Town, where he recruited the 16-year old Johnny Dyani. If this was around February of 1964, it supports Rasmussen assertion that Johnny Dyani did not participate in the recordings documented in the SABC Transcription Matrix LT Series, and by extension, in the Township Bop album on which these sessions were eventually commercially released in 2002. What is undisputable though, is Johnny Dyani's participation in a live recording of a Blue Notes' concert at the Durban City Hall in April/May of 1964. A little more than three decades later, the performances at the Durban concert were released by Hazel Miller/ John Jack's Ogun Records in 1995 in the album Blue Notes Legacy. As a document of the Blue Notes' musical achievement at the height of their South African musical careers, the repertoires included in the album Blue Notes Legacy represent a significant culmination of an engagement with American jazz influences and specifically, African-American post bebop developments. In Chapter 4 is dealt with a historical engagement by generations of South African musicians with successive stylistic influences emanating from a global popularization of American jazz culture.

CHAPTER 3

Historical mentoring practices in popular music, *marabi* and jazz

A core assumption of my discussions is the resonance of the Blue Notes' repertoires in exile with the deep syncretism of black South African postcolonial musical culture. The following discussion focuses on a variety of South African music styles from the latter half of the nineteenth century until the 1950s, with a view to establish an understanding of the historical continuities characterizing their popular practice. The ideological bases of syncretic musical practices will be discussed from the perspective of a developing popular cultural consciousness in South Africa.

Since colonization, missionary Protestant hymnody and its secular influence contributed to a syncretism that later came to characterise African popular performance culture. Immigrant European folk music and dance styles as well as mediated white-and black American musical influences were also important ingredients towards the heterogeneity of African musical performance culture. The cultural experiences of late nineteenth century mining settlements of Kimberley and Johannesburg included musical entertainment that was available to members of all classes and racial groups and involved Africans, Europeans, Asians, Coloureds and African Americans– both as performers and as members of audiences (Coplan 1985:12).

Generically these musical influences emanated from – besides the Protestant hymnody, and especially Sankey and Moody hymns – English part songs and English and American concert-hall music. Other influential popular styles were those of American `blackface' minstrelsy and its repertoires, ragtime, vaudeville, immigrant Dutch folk culture[26] – the so-called *langarm*[27] dances – and the music of Malay, Javanese, Indian, East and West

[26] The diffuseness of the 'Coloured' classification obscures the specificities of the ethnic origins of its constituent heritages. In the seventeenth century Cape of Good Hope, the failure of the Dutch East India Company to successfully indenture the Khoi pastoralists for labour purposes forced 'the Company [to] import[] slaves from Java, Malaya, the Malabar Coast of India, Madagascar, West Africa and Mozambique. Working together on farms or as tradesmen's apprentices … Khoi-khoi and immigrant slaves interbred and soon formed a single category in the minds of the colonists. Mixing with whites as well, this diverse subject population formed the basis of the so-called Coloured community, which over the past three centuries has … made important contributions' to a South African popular musical syncretism. (Coplan 1985:7)

[27] A popular understanding of langarm was provided by Cape Town (Langa) pioneering jazz saxophonist, Cup 'n' Saucer Nkanuka in response to the question: "What is langarm?" To which he responded: "… The

African slaves. Significantly, along with their adoption of Afrikaans – a creolised language of Dutch origin – the Malay slaves simultaneously fused their *ghommaliedjies* (drum-songs) with `picnic songs' of the Cape Afrikaners. Of the syncretism achieved in these processes David Coplan has observed that: '[b]oth the picnic songs … and the *ghommaliedjies* [are] in spirit so similar and intertwined that it would be unreasonable to designate any particular one as specifically of Malay or of Afrikaans origin' (Coplan 1985:10). The popular syncretism of black South African postcolonial musical practices reflects, to different degrees, all these cultural influences (Erlmann 1991:13). Out of these influences has emanated a music performance culture which despite its diversity demonstrates a succession of encounters with European and American musical sensibilities.

These encounters have drawn my attention to their pervasive propagation of aesthetically discrete musical sensibilities that were originally foreign to black South African conceptions of musical harmony. These musical traits, as I shall argue, are entrenched in the cadential harmonic devices of a classical European musical canon, and specifically in the subdominant-dominant harmonic relationships. In outlining ideological processes fostering the musical syncretism of black South African music, I shall give special attention to *marabi's* manifestation of characteristically European subdominant-dominant harmonic relationships. Of a special relevance to the topic of my thesis are *marabi's* ideological syncretism and subsequent connotations of African indigeneity in the domestication of American jazz influences.

---

foxtrots and quicksteps and tangos [] that's all langarm!" (Cup 'n' Saucer Nkanuka, quoted in Rasmussen 2003:220)

3.1 The syncretism of South African popular music and precursor styles of *marabi*

The notion of syncretism, whose operation has perhaps been taken on face value, calls to attention, contestations of symbolic (and material) power that characterises a juxtaposition of cultures (Ranger 1975; Comaroff and Comaroff 1992). In its traditional conception and discourse, syncretism became inadequate in its 'reflect[ion of] the reality of global cultural evolution where culture contact and homogenization are all-pervasive rather than exceptions' (Erlmann 1991:16).

According to the New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians the term 'syncretism' originates from historical religious studies 'where it designates the fusion of two or more systems of beliefs and practices to form a new religion in which features of both source religions remain in evidence in the new one' (2001:850 [Volume 24]). An understanding of syncretism was initially applied to [ethno]musicological studies by Richard A. Waterman, who related its function in music to the 'blending of African and European music in America' (1948:24-37). Waterman's identification of syncretism as a process inhering in African-American musical modernity is of further relevance to later discussions probing the resonances of jazz influence for black South African popular musical practice.

The hybridity of musical syncretism has been alluded to by scholars of South Africa's black musical performance culture, among them Hugh Tracey (1954), Percival Kirby (1967, 1968), Yvonne Huskisson (1968), John Blacking (1959), and David Rycroft (1959, 1977). In their concurrence, these authors registered concerns regarding the 'negative' influences of adaptive urban cultural experiences on indigenous African musical sensibilities. Writing in 1959, David Rycroft observed of neo-traditional proletarian choral practices in Johannesburg:

> Unwilling to stoop to tribal dancing in its country form, new townsmen from tribes which traditionally sing their own dance and music have devised new forms of choral dance song with inhibited steps and gestures which they feel to be more fitting to town… Traditional artistry is lacking, however, in these hybrid dance songs. (Rycroft 1959:27)

Another of Rycroft's articles appearing in a 1958 issue of the journal Recorded Folk Music had introduced his review of *kwela* and *jive* recordings with the following statement:

> Musically, there is little to be said in praise of most South African "town music" today. The spirit which moves Bantu people to bubble over into song still remains, but it is too commonly misdirected into imitation of Western popular style. Aspiring African stage and recording artists … produce music that is closest to Western convention and farthest from tribal music, forfeiting the best of their talent of natural and uninhibited self-expression by doing so. (Rycroft 1958:54)

Characteristic of a certain entrenched attitude in post-war ethnomusicology, such views led to Bruno Nettl's criticism of 'ethnomusicologists [who] while often affecting an uncaring attitude, [have] spent much time sorrowing inwardly at the disappearance of musics, of styles, genres, instruments' (Nettl 1978:123). He went further to propose an understanding of world music syncretism which – besides being 'a large network of musical relationships' – was bound up with the dominant processes characterising such cultural juxtapositions (Nettl 1978:123). Nettl was critical of the view which gave undifferentiated emphasis to 'contact' without considering the importance of power relations between the cultures involved. His view built on earlier hypotheses whose discursive elision of power relations sought an understanding of syncretism as simply 'one possible result of culture contact' (Rice 2001) or solely dependent on the similarities of 'the two styles' (Waterman 1948, 1952). A conception of syncretic practices as deriving from relations between indigenous and foreign cultures and their association with 'rapid, intense and dislocating transformation wrought by … colonialism' was considered by, among others, Karin Barber (1987). In many parts of Africa, colonialism and modernity were characterised by accelerated cultural processes towards a heterogenisation of local cultures. The character of global cultural relations as a disjunctive interplay of asymmetrical sovereign power contestations (Zeleza 2003; Appadurai 1990; 1993; 1996) has arguably given rise to hybrid cultural forms which symbolize this order of relations.

In South Africa – notably after the Soweto Uprising of 1976 – there emerged a movement in the scholarship of musical performance which sought to frame the syncretism of urban African popular music within the complex networks of social relations, economic structures, cultural traditions, and individual creativity. The most significant of these studies were those of David Coplan (1980, 1985); Jonathan Clegg (1981); Charles Hamm (1988); Christopher Ballantine (1993, 1999) and Veit Erlmann (1991, 1996, 1999). In

these studies were emphasized the disjunctive nature of cultural relationships within which black musical syncretic styles had been forged since colonisation, industrialisation and urbanisation. The essential perspective of these studies interrogated earlier perspectives such as Rycroft's which, in accounting 'for the emergence of early popular performance', emphasised the differences between rural and urban life, and therefore the differences in the musical performance characteristics of each context (Erlmann 1991).
John Shepherd (1991:2) put forward a conception of 'music as articulating, from within the inherent characteristics of its sonic channel, socially mediated messages' and specifically the embroilment of music-performing subjects in processes of cultural production and consumption. In tracing musical continuities between dislocated social groups, individuals and the performance milieu of their historical cultural heritage, I have emulated Shepherd's understanding of music's potential to '[t]ell us about the nature of our relatedness to ourselves, other people and the environment, *and*, in the context of the societies in which most of us presently live, about the fundamental and inescapable fact of that relatedness" (Shepherd 1991:3). The socio-cultural implication of concrete musical elements has led me to seek the resonance of successive syncretic styles within a developing heterogeneity of South African popular music.

Among popular musical styles developed by urban black musicians, *marabi* arguably represents a complex distillation of the syncretic outcomes of post-colonial cultural juxtapositions in South Africa. As urban-popular proletarian practice, *marabi* precursor musical styles not only represented disparate ideological stratifications of African postcolonial subjects, but also elaborated their entrenched engagement in syncretic musical practices. The sonic embedding of such practices, in their ideological contestation of historical socio-cultural relationships, is arguably expressed in *marabi*, its precursor styles and its musical influences on subsequent repertoires. After Barber (1987:13), I argue for an understanding of *marabi's* syncretism and that of its precursor musics as a ramification of an uneven engagement, by culturally dislocated subjects, with acculturative processes of modernity. With these considerations in mind, I have alluded to some important ideological influences impinging on the development of a South African popular music sensibility. Towards an understanding of the centrality of *marabi*

in instrumental improvisatory practice, and its role in the uptake of jazz by black South African musicians, I will map its musical relatedness to documented popular syncretic styles.

3.2 South African black popular music: *marabi,* its musical precursor styles and regional variants

Texts dealing with the development of South African black popular musical performance unanimously attribute the emergence of South African jazz from a potpourri of experiences of a transient social existence and a diversification of performance among the conflated black social strata (Coplan 1980, 1985; Hamm 1988; Erlmann 1991; Ballantine 1993). Among others, Coplan (1980, 1985) emphasized the importance of African class distinctions in their indexing of diverse forms of a musical engagement by marginalised social minority groups. Among such disparate social groups were the African educated elite, the so-called 'middle-ones' as represented by the Xhosa *abaphakathi* or the Zulu *amagxagxa* (Clegg 1981). Further distinct ideological groupings were the Christian converts, comprised of Natal *amakholwa* and the Xhosa *amagqobhoka;* Coloured *oorlams,* and the urban proletarian *makgomocha*/ *amakumsha* (the translators), *abaqhafi, amalaita* and others identified with certain musical styles. Military marching bands; ethnically diverse traditional music and dance; ragtime or honky-tonk piano styles; Afrikaans *volk-spele,* guitar, banjo and violin styles known as *tikkiedraai* and *vastrap;* and pre-First World War *focho* (a Sotho precursor of *marabi*): all these were musical styles and practices that were associated with different communities of African postcolonial social stratification. A fusion of musical practices of several subcultures, *marabi* came to occupy a symbolic position of common subjective experiences, particularly among South Africa's urban black population. As a social expression of minority ideological positions, *marabi* and its precursor musical practices represent early forms of a subaltern popular cultural engagement.

Although the origins of the term *marabi* are in doubt, a reasonable understanding of its negative social connotation derives from its definition as a plural of *lerabi*[28], seSotho slang for "lawless person; gangster" (Coplan 1985). In the turbulence of urban African social existence of the 1920s, the term's suggestion of itinerancy – in its derivation from *'ho raba raba'* (Sotho verb meaning 'to fly around', and linked to the word *lerabi*) – is apt. The culture of *marabi* was closely associated with *stokvel* (rotating-credit co-operatives), the illegal *shebeen* culture and the illicit sex trade of the early black urban shantytowns. *Marabi* was never recorded in its original forms of self-taught keyboard, concertina, guitar or violin accompanied by percussion of bone *(marapo / amathambo)* or tin filled with small stones, and dancing. Its ideological significance as a popular musical consciousness lay in its transcendence of ethnic boundaries: it was popular among far-flung urban black communities as well as possessing attraction for jazz-oriented musicians of middle-class origins.

Marabi acquired regional elements in its practice but also in its juxtaposition with local cultural economies. It was an expressive music, symbolic of Africans' cultural alienation from the industrializing and urbanising processes, of which they were inextricably a part. *Marabi*, as I shall show, was regarded as possessing the social embeddedness of African indigenous musical performance. The term *marabi*, like the black South African understanding of music[29], came to describe a social occasion, a social category of people, a dance, as well as music (Coplan 1985:94). As an overarching, emergent multi-ethnic cultural experience expressed in social musical practice, *marabi* took off from the earlier musical syncretism of class, religious, economic and ethnic social stratifications.

Cape Coloured musicians, known in 1920s Johannesburg as 'crooners' or 'die oorlamse mense van Vrededorp' are known to have spread the 'coon' traditions of Cape Town and Kimberley to the Reef (Coplan 1985:95). Their material and social influences on African shanty-town culture included the music's instruments: banjos, guitars, tambourines and bones, as well as parades resembling Cape Town's New Year Coon Carnival. The most

[28] This explanation is suggested in Coplan (1985:94) and cites as its source, Mabille A and H. Diertelen. 1950. South Sotho – English Dictionary. Morija: Lesotho.

[29] The term *ngoma* among the Bantu and other south and eastern African groups refers to song, rhythm, drum, dance and social occasions involving musical performance.

influential musical elements of this culture were the Cape Coloured and Afrikaans *vastrap* and *tikkiedraai*[30] guitar music and dance styles, onto whose 'rhythms and chord progressions' were added African melodies (Coplan 1985:95).

The pedal-organ influence was essentially of Cape origins, where Xhosa *tula ndivile* music had absorbed influences from church, school and mission musical practices of *itswari* (soirées), *iitimiti* (tea-meetings) and early black urban social practices of *nomxhimfi* in the Western Cape (Coplan 1980, 1985; Ballantine 1993; Rasmussen 2003). The small ensembles which serviced middle-class African social gatherings in Kimberley and the Cape were among the first to adapt the Afrikaans folk dance music, *tikkiedraai* and *langarm,* for the violin and concertina, in the early 1920s (Coplan 1985:95). The recognition of *tula ndivile* as one of the Xhosa origins of *marabi* is provided in the following oral testimony by Dan Twala:

> *Tula ndivile*[31] became the name of a location, Western Native Township. We, who worked in town, we used to come out there for shows, which were part of the African way of life, away from the white surroundings… You saw that from house to house, where there [were] drinks or parties, you could hear the piano playing *tula ndivile*. (Coplan 1985:96)

Interviewed in 1976, former Jazz Maniac's saxophonist and bandleader, Wilson 'Kingforce' Silgee stated that '*tickey draai* plus *tula ndivile* equals *marabi*' (Coplan 1985:97). Among seSotho-speakers in the Reef and other Transvaal mining towns, weekend *famo* (the Sotho regional form of *Marabi)* gatherings catered for proletarian working-class categories of the migrant *likoata*, the blanketed paramilitary gangs known as MaRussia, and the aspirant permanent urbanites known as *sebono morao.* Musically this represented a conflation of practices involving the fife-and-drum influences of the Scottish military-influenced *McGregor bands,* traditional *sefela* oral performance, as well as the material and sonic legacies of *focho* in the use of large oil-drum percussion and the piano-accordion. In Natal, *marabi* was known as *indunduma* (isiZulu for 'mine dumps')

---

[30] Coplan (1985) cites a recorded example of 'tickey draai' as "Okay Dance" (Gallotone, GB 949), recorded in 1940 by the Vincent Steza Band.

[31] Jazz pianist, singer, composer and bandleader Tete Mbambisa, who significantly mentored and grew up with Blue Notes' members Dudu Pukwana, Nick Moyake, Johnny Dyani, Mongezi Feza, Louis Moholo, as well as captured Chris McGregor's musical imagination with his choreography and piano-derived close-harmony arrangements for vocal ensembles, was born in 1942 in a part of East London's Duncan Village known as Thulandivile Location. His own mentor and piano teacher, Langa, was a solo piano improviser, who performed for drinking patrons at Mbambisa's mother's *shebeen* and boarding house. (Rasmussen 2003:141)

and associated in social performance with *ingomabusuku* proletarian choral music practice, from which emerged modern *isicathamiya* (Erlmann 1991, 1996). Of the 1920s and 1930s *indunduma* performances, the playwright and poet Herbert Dlomo once reported:

> *Ndunduma* concerts were real refuse dump affairs, musically and morally … The people danced to the accompaniment of an organ and a most cacophonic 'orchestra' of small tins filled with pebbles… And yet what naturally talented players the ragtime and the ndunduma concerts had! Vampers (as they were called) who improvised many 'hot' original dance and singing numbers at the spurt of the moment, and who play and accompany any piece after hearing the melody once, and did so in any key. (Herbert Dlomo, cited in Ballantine 1993:28)

I have focused on the ideological and conceptual similarities between music styles, indexing the cultural diversity of black South African social stratification, particularly in the early part of the twentieth century. I intend to analyse the processes by which European musical cultures influenced African music of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the syncretic responses within that music. In the light of the deeply syncretic basis of *marabi* and its precursor hybrid styles, my argument will address itself to *mbaqanga (*African jazz*)* as an example of cultural performance which is shaped by ideologies of New Africanism. In support of my contention, I trace the emergence of *marabi* and its precursor styles to an African postcolonial engagement with European / American musical legacies.

The musical hybridity emerging from this cultural engagement potentially interrogates the indigenous status accorded to *marabi* in New African ideological constructions of the *mbaqanga* (African jazz) style (Ballantine 1993:60). As a hybrid musical outcome of a complex historical syncretism, *marabi* appears to have only potentiated – rather achieved – a musical encounter between a predominantly American jazz influence and an African musical indigeneity. By this unfinished consummation I suggest that the innovative musicians who brought about the fusion of *marabi* with American jazz were themselves alienated from indigenous African musical practices. Furthermore, my arguments link the celebrated legacies of the members of the Blue Notes with the practices and influences of such innovative musicians. This assertion is borne out, as will be evident, by the types of repertoires that were constructed – by both their originators and jazz journalists – as African in South African jazz as late as 1962 (McGregor 1994:23, McGregor 1963).

3.3 The European musical canon and the alienation of indigenous sensibilities in colonial mission musical practice

Central to the concerns of colonial discourse theory is an understanding of the "analysis of cultural forms which mediate … the relations of domination and subordination … between (and often within) nations, races or cultures, which characteristically have their roots in the history of modern European colonialism and imperialism" (Moore-Gilbert 1997:12). In following Homi Bhabha, Moore-Gilbert's explains the conceptual centrality of 'mimicry' in colonial subjective cultural practices as follows:

> The colonizer requires of the colonized subject that s/he adopt the outward forms and internalize the values and norms of the occupying power. In this sense, then, mimicry expresses the 'epic' project of the civilizing mission to transform the colonized culture by making it copy or 'repeat' the colonizer's culture. (Moore-Gilbert 1997:120)

The persuasion of the colonised subject to mimic the coloniser as a process of both the 'affective and ideological' (Moore-Gilbert 1997), stands in contrast with the overt brutality of coercive domination policies and as a result, constitutes 'one of the most elusive and effective strategies of colonial power and knowledge' (Bhabha 1984:85).

Contemporary South African musical anthropology, historical musicology and cultural performance studies have focused on the ideological conflict in the education of Africans into an appreciation of European colonial and missionary music cultures (Coplan 1980, 1985; Erlmann 1991, 1996; and Ballantine 1993). The dominance of European culture in South Africa relied on the successes of a process of missionisation and the conversion of Africans to Christianity, literacy and western education. European settlement in South Africa, other than in the Cape, arguably hinged on the adoption of its core ideological systems by mainstream African cultural practices. The relevance of mission culture in the colonizing and modernizing processes has been grappled with in the theorizations of post-colonial discourse (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992; Erlmann 1991, 1999).

Coplan (1980) outlined some of the more culturally alienating facets of Christian mission musical practice, which included a demarcation of 'African church and traditional musical idioms' and an emphasis on the discontinuities 'between African and European musical approaches' (Coplan 1980:28). The development of African elite choral classical

music, *imusic* and *makwaya* performances is probably an outcome of symbolic contestations in the non-negotiable missionary presentation of Protestant hymnody repertoires. It is this ideological rigidity of Protestant hymnody – perhaps symbolically representing a coercive paternalism of colonisation – that could only be reconciled into a cultural compromise of syncretism in the musical practices of colonial subjects. Many early African choral compositions, despite following classical acculturative notions of syncretism in their sublimation of ideological power negotiations, were not adopted for use within the formalities of European missionary liturgical practice.

3.4. The European musical canon, South African popular musical syncretism and *marabi*

The three-chord harmonic system of *marabi* is derived from the harmonic root movement of the European diatonic major scale. The underlying harmonic structure in *marabi* typically uses the major **(I)**, the subdominant major **(IV**), and the dominant **(V)** in a perpetually repeating structure suited to dance. In its advanced form in *mbaqanga* (African jazz), the simple three-chord *marabi* harmonic structure was consolidated in a lengthened cyclic form in which the **(V)** root was preceded with the tonic major in its second inversion **($I_{6/4}$)**. In comparing the *marabi* harmonic structure and its seminal position in vernacular jazz improvisatory practice in South Africa to that of the African American blues in its relationship to jazz, Ballantine explained its basis 'on a cyclic pattern' as 'stretch[ing] over four measures, with one measure for each of the following chords: **I – IV - $I_{6/4}$ - V'** (Ballantine 1993:26). This extended feature of *marabi* was arguably what distinguished its reappearance – after it had absorbed American swing influence - from its earlier popular form in the proletarian *tsaba-tsaba* urban dance-music style. Categorically referred to as *jive* in commercial recording industry labelling, *tsaba-tsaba* was noted for the condemnation it evoked among educated Africans. To them, pre-Second World War *tsaba-tsaba* or jive represented the ominous commercial success of *marabi*, the object of their moral aversion. The emergence of a group which sought the acceptance of *tsaba-tsaba* dance culture and music among the African cultural elite appeared to base its values on the dance music's status, comparable with African

American popular dance craze dances, as the following 1941 article by cultural critic Walter Nhlapho attested:

> In bioscopes we have seen Harlem dance the Big Apple, The Shag, and Africa's creation, La Conga, and we've admired these creations, and these dances have not been recipients of abuse as Tsaba-Tsaba. If Tsaba-Tsaba is condemnable so is every dance … Tsaba-Tsaba is dusky South Africa's own creation art. Whether it is a fiend or not, it is an indispensable part of our musical and dance culture. (Walter Nhlapho, cited in Ballantine 1993:60)

One of the oldest remembered *marabi* melodies *Ntebejana ufana nemfene,* while using the harmonic roots **(ii)** and **(vi)** of the European diatonic major scale in its multiple interpretations, still did not include the cadential movement of **I$_{6/4}$** to **V** (Musical Excerpts 4.3 and 4.4). Harmonic devices which included the cadential movement of **I$_{6/4}$** to **V** were largely used in *makwaya* music, and left their legacies in hymnody and the harmonic formalities of its cadences. Their overarching influence had found its way to *ingomabusuku* (and eventually to *isicathamiya*) as evidenced in the popular composition *Mbube* [Musical Excerpt 6.1], recorded by Solomon Linda and His Evening Birds in 1939. The nuanced differences between the shortened three-chord *marabi* form of proletarian *tsaba-tsaba*, and the elite musicians' claims of recalling *marabi* in the post Second World War fashioning of *mbaqanga* is evident in Todd Matshikiza's statement:

> We invented 'Majuba' jazz and gave *jive* a strong competition. We syncopated and displaced accents and gave endless variety to our *'native' rhythms*. We were longing for the days of *marabi* piano, vital and live. Blues piano, ragtime piano, jazz band piano, swing and modern piano had taken it away from us. And here we were seeding it again with new blood in its veins. It was Tebejana*'s* original material, but treated freshly with a dash of lime. (Todd Matshikiza, cited in Ballantine 1993:62)

Matshikiza's account of *mbaqanga* origins points to a paradoxical Africanisation of big-band swing and its early domestication, and one which appeared to draw its authenticating devices indirectly from the elite syncretisms of *makwaya*. Furthermore in Matshikiza's (and his contemporaries') sensibilities, the original (Tebejane's own) short *marabi* form, despite its grassroots popularity, was to be transcended by musical displays of a grasp of European musical theory – in this case syncopation, accentuation, and displacement of melodic and rhythmic elements.

A conscious manipulation of European harmonic principles was novel to indigenous musical structures, which derived their character primarily from elements of call-and-

response voice-patterning between leader and chorus. Call-and-response patterns were represented in different degrees of complexity within the ethnic and regional diversity of South Africa's indigenous musical performance culture. Indigenous Xhosa vocal polyphony, for example, achieved a high level of complexity in rhythm, harmony and texture as a result of a staggered entry of vocal parts in a cyclically repeating pattern, typically with variations in line contour and text. The accompaniment of such complex rhythmic structures by syncopated patterns of drumming and hand-clapping, as well as the intricate body and foot movements of the different dances, provided for a rich sensory experience. The discursive encounter between a European musical canonicity and African (Xhosa) indigenous performance sensibilities is documented in the musical syncretism of nineteenth century mission cultural subjects.

3.5 John Knox Bokwe: Protestant hymnody, syncretism and the symbolism of a classical musical cadence

The sonic resonances of symbolic power contestations in pioneering compositional responses of mission subjects are perhaps best illustrated in John Knox Bokwe's three works, *Plea from Africa* (Musical Excerpt 1.1 and Musical Transcription 1.1), *Chimes of Ntsikana's Bell* (Musical Excerpt 1.2 and Musical Transcription 1.2) and an arrangement of Ntsikana Gaba's *ULoThix' Omkhulu* (Musical Excerpt 1.3 and Musical Transcription 1.3), Enoch Sontonga's *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* (Musical Transcription 2) and Reuben Caluza's *Si lu Sapo or iLand Act* (Musical Transcription 3). I have selected these five compositions for a discussion of the symbolic significance in their use of cadential devices of European classical harmony.

My argument takes off from considerations of the recurrent position of the classical musical cadence in Protestant hymnody, European classical music, liturgical music and other musical forms of the West. This is the same musical cadence – comprised of a harmonic movement of the roots **I, IV** (or **ii**), and **V** of the diatonic major scale – that was inherited by black South African popular music, including *marabi* and its precursor syncretic innovations. The musical cadences in European classical music and hymns are observed in the refrain, the chorus, and occur regularly in the contours of their musical

phrases. Repetitions of the cadence in Protestant hymnody, for example, are as omnipresent as the repetitions by which contemporary advertising drives home its message. The persuasive power of repetitions of the cadence is comparable to those of a melodic fragment from a modern-day pop-song, or a musical phrase from a daily-repeated advertisement, both of which are memorable in their simplicity: the cadence, I suggest, is the hook and the snare of a Western musical sensibility. It is like a recurring 'Amen' in the midst of a prayer, and it is perhaps no coincidence that a version of the cadence, the movement from the subdominant to the tonic, is known as the plagal, or *'Amen'* cadence. Were it not for the age-old sanctity of liturgies, the repetitive occurrence of the cadence in church music would long have evoked the same response which shack-dwellers threw at the over-repetitive music of organ *marabi*: "Thula! Ndivile!"[32] a term which literally means "Silence! I have [already] heard!"

The manner in which listeners were conditioned to the ideological resonances of both sacred and secular music of European origin depended on the cadence as a symbol of an acceptable musical aesthetic. This conditioning function of the musical cadence in pioneering, Christian-mission African composition is, I argue, symbolically represented by Bokwe's *Plea from Africa* (Musical Excerpt 1.1 and Musical Transcription 1.1), Sontonga's *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* (Musical Transcription 2) and Caluza's *Si lu Sapho or iLand Act* (Musical Transcription 3). For comparison I have included Ntsikana Gaba's *ULoThix' oMkhulu* (Musical Excerpt 1.3 and Musical Transcription 1.3) and Bokwe's *Chimes of Ntsikana's Bell* (Musical Excerpt 1.2 and Musical Transcription 1.2), in view of their significant exclusion of the European musical cadence as a harmonic device. The syncretism of both these compositions was more religious than musical, and their ideological persuasiveness less reliant on familiarity with European musical canonicity. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Bokwe addressed his compositional efforts towards emphasizing 'the poetic beauty and intelligibility of the [isi]Xhosa language' which had been alienated in African performances of hymnody under the supervision of European missionaries. Bokwe represented a second generation of African Christian

[32] It is my contention that the word 'Tula Ndivile' for early keyboard marabi was not a 'saucy' injunction of the shantytown 'hip' as Dan Twala has suggested, but a normal citizen's linguistic, and retort against the violent psychological intrusion of unruly, drunken all-night sounds of the *shebeens*. See interview of Dan Twala cited in Coplan (1993:96).

theological scholarship whose leaders had begun to question the wisdom of abandoning 'the birthright of … cultural heritage for a Western pottage of unattainable goals and unkempt promises' (Coplan 1985). In an early precursor impulse to African nationalism, Bokwe had followed his influential predecessors, the Rev. Tiyo Soga and Rev. William Gqoba, in using his theological studies to understand and formulate the nationalist aspirations of Africans. While training as a Presbyterian minister in Scotland in 1892, Bokwe successfully performed his original musical compositions to raise funds for the South African mission of the Church of Scotland. His composition in the Scottish hymnody style, *Plea from Africa*, was effective in conveying the problems of African Christianity in the Cape Colony. The political tone of the composition derived from lyrics by 'a Glasgow Lady', who chose to make her contribution anonymously (Coplan 1985:32).

3.6 A politicisation of Protestant hymnody and indigenisation of the classical European musical cadence

Composed for piano, voice and a four-part chorus, *Plea from Africa* stands sharply contrasted to Bokwe's other work, *Chimes of Ntsikana's Bell*, in the former's use of the classical European musical cadence and tonic-subdominant-dominant harmonic relationships. Based on the above contrasting criteria, the five works I have selected comprise two broad orientations of elite African compositional approaches in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Bokwe's *Plea from Africa*, Sontonga's *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* and Caluza's *Si lu Sapo (iLand Act)* represent a distinct ideological genre as African nationalist, and thus political, hymnody.

In latter half of the nineteenth century a mounting grievance of the educated African elite against the colonial dispensation was articulated in the voices of the emergent Xhosa clergy. The Reverends Tiyo Soga and William Gqoba, the latter being the editor of the paper *Isigidimi sama Xhosa (Kaffir Express)* from 1884 to 1888, as opinion-makers in this paper in the later 1800s, were instrumental in articulating the pervasive condition of African colonial subjects. Educated at Lovedale and Scotland, Soga was South Africa's first ordained Presbyterian minister and a composer in the 1850s, of Xhosa hymns based

on the melodies of the Scottish hymnody (Coplan 1985:31). Compositions by Soga and subsequently by Bokwe represent a politicization of Protestant hymnody in the processes of which its ideological musical underpinnings in the cadential harmonic devices of European classical music were also indigenised. The process of politicization in a distinctly chorale-style sacred work in the classical tradition, such as Bokwe's *Plea from Africa*, becomes evident in the lyrics. The conformation of the work to canonical European compositional forms belies its highly political content in the lyrics that are woven into its text of liturgical worship, as appears in the third and fourth verses:

Verse III:

Give your love to Africa!
They are brothers all,
Who, by sin and slavery, long were held in thrall.
Let the white man love the black; and, when time is past,
In our Father's home above all shall meet at last.

Chorus.

Verse IV:

Give support to Africa!
Has not British gold
Been the gain of tears and blood, when the slaves were sold?
Let us send the Gospel back, since for all their need,
Those whom Jesus Christ makes free, shall be free indeed.

Chorus.

The lyrics for the four-part chorus arrangement for soprano, alto, tenor, and bass were:

Tell the love of Jesus
By her hills and waters;
(Repeat)
God bless Africa,
And her sons and daughters.
(Repeat)

This composition was performed by Bokwe[33] in Scotland, to great acclaim, thus enabling him to raise funds for the Church of Scotland in South Africa (Coplan 1985). This success arguably proved the mission-educated African's distance from a barbaric and heathen past. In exhibiting the embracing by mission-educated Africans of European culture and its unfamiliar musical aesthetic (Coplan 1985:29), the composition suggested

[33] Since Bokwe needed the assistance of a choir in performing his work, it is highly likely that he collaborated with Scottish singers. David Coplan (1985) does not elaborate on this aspect. It is also possible that the composition was performed by members of the African Choir that was touring Britain at about the same time Bokwe was studying in Scotland.

a successful cultural adaptation of educated Africans. This was a significant achievement as a representation that sought to prove the educated colonial Africans' deserving position as a cultural – and thus ideological – equal of his dominant imperial masters. In its politicisation, the European classical musical idiom was being used to articulate protest messages which, in their eclipsing of the immediate interests of Bokwe's minority Christian-mission social class position, represented the plight of *all* African subjects of colonial rule. In this instance the canon of European musical classicism was deployed in the service of nationalism as it was conceived by members of the African educated class. The lyrical tone of Bokwe's *Plea from Africa* echoes a statement published in a London monthly, the *Review of Reviews*, in September 1891:

> Let us be in Africa as we are in England. Here we are treated as men and women. Yonder we are but as cattle. But in Africa, as in England, we are human. Can you not make your people at the Cape as kind and just as your people here? That is the first thing and the greatest. (Charlotte Manye, cited in Erlmann 1999:13)

The above statement was attributed to Charlotte Manye, a member of the Lovedale and Kimberley-convened African Choir that toured Britain and the United States between 1890 and 1891. Evidence of the African Choir's presence in England at about the same time as Bokwe was studying and performing in Scotland gives substance to a speculation that the anonymous 'Glasgow Lady' could very likely have been Charlotte Manye.

The construction by educated African nationalist and colonial subjects of an overarching imperial morality was not altogether misplaced as an understanding of some of the responsibilities assumed by the missionary project. Missionary activity tended to be supportive towards furthering the interests of the coloniser, and the donation by Bokwe's Scottish benefactors was to the Church of Scotland in South Africa, although his appeal was unmistakably for the relief of all Africans. This gesture may plausibly be interpreted as furthering the church's interest in bringing about an emancipation of Africans from a Protestant ideological perspective and thus perhaps entrenching the church's cultural dominance over colonial subjects.

Of relevance to this dissertation is the evidence of a delving by the exiled Blue Notes, into Christian missionary church repertoires and thereby demonstrating their grounding in the historical processes of musical syncretism (Musical Excerpts 3.1 and 3.2). Prior to examining the subsequent secular deployment of the musical cadences of hymnody in the

expression of African national aspirations, I would like to focus on a different approach to composition by Bokwe.

3.7 A religious indigenisation of Christianity and Ntsikana Gaba's *ULoThix' oMkhulu*

> Bokwe gave powerful musical support to the cultural nationalism of mission intellectuals, but he was not the first Xhosa musician to compose in the service of African Christianity. (Coplan 1985:32)

In the second decade of the 1800s Ntsikana ka Gaba, the pioneer Xhosa Christian convert and prophet, had practiced a form of religious syncretism in which was maintained a selective continuity with certain Xhosa traditional beliefs. Ntsikana was a singer, composer, dancer and diviner who however, following his conversion by the Rev. J. Williams of the London Missionary Society of the Kat River mission station, gave up dancing and traditional costume (Coplan 1985:32). Ntsikana also composed hymns, most of which were orally transmitted by his followers among Xhosa Christians for most of the nineteenth century. It was only in 1876 that one of his compositions, *ULo Thix' oMkhulu* (lit. Xhosa 'it is this God who is Great[er]' was published in Lovedale's paper *Isigidimi Sama Xhosa,* using the Curwen tonic-solfa notation system (Coplan 1985).

The publishing of the *Great Hymn*, a title by which the composition later became widely known, with three of Ntsikana's surviving songs in the Curwin tonic-solfa system nearly five decades after their composition and oral transmission among Xhosa Christian converts, is somewhat misleading. It appears to suggest that the tonic-sofa system can accurately convey the original music, which predates its introduction. The Curwen system was introduced at Fort Beaufort in 1855 for the purpose of teaching and inculcating European classical principles of music harmony in missionary subjects. Ntsikana's conception of hymns suited for an emerging Christian Xhosa worship service predates the use of formal European harmonic devices as they were to be domesticated in compositions such as Bokwe's *Plea from Africa*. Thus the *Great Hymn*, though significant parts of its musical and lyrical elements had been lost in various transcriptions since at least 1820 (Hodgson 1980), retained an essential indigeneous aesthetic. Its structural elements of call-and-response and repetition served the important function of

facilitating the retention of both words and intervallic tonal construction of Xhosa musical phrasing. The congregation's response (to the 'call' element of the hymn) allowed for the deployment of traditional polyphony of a staggered entry of multiple voices and variation, in the tonal contour of interlocking vocal phrases (Musical Excerpt 1.3). The use of a complex time of three-against-two was likely to be familiar to most Xhosa as a result of its ubiquitous occurrence in Xhosa dance music. Finally, the lyrical tenor of the *Great Hymn* is very similar to traditional praise-poetry, a genre normally reserved for traditional leaders, warriors and indigenous royalty. These were crucial attributes of the Great Hymn in Ntsikana's sermons, through which he sought to swell the ranks of Christianised Xhosa and retain those already converted. Twentieth century *makwaya* composers, among them formally educated exponents such as Benjamin Tyamzashe, also deployed ideologically-based musical sensibilities that were well understood by target audiences which they sought to engage (Hansen 1968).

Despite its message of African nationalist aspirations, the distinct 'Europeanism' of *Plea from Africa* is unmistakable in its close imitation of the musical canon of the colonising power. Such an imitation represents the contradictions in the relationship of the colonized subject to colonial culture. The practice of 'mimicry' of the coloniser (Bhabha 1984), which ensures the success of the appeal, 'envisions the colonized subject's potential for reformation and gradual approximation to the elevated condition of the colonizer, through the redeeming experience of benevolent imperial guidance' (Moore-Gilbert 1997:120). The rediscovery, as exemplified in the composition *Chimes of Ntsikana's Bell*, by a generation of Xhosa Christian composers, represented by Bokwe, of Ntsikana's pioneering compositional devices is however of considerable importance.

A contradictory construction in this process lies in its invoking of an original indigenous Christian sensibility to sustain, for the approval of the coloniser, perceptions that these early Christians were converted from primitivity and heathendom. These conditions are illustrated in colonial discourse conceptions of 'the ontological difference and inferiority of the colonized subject' who adopts mimicry for the purposes of an *'ironic* compromise ... the desire for a reformed, recognizable "other", *as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite'* (Bhabha 1984 as cited in Moore-Gilbert

1997:120). Thus, Ntsikana's *Great Hymn* may be considered a form of syncretism which sought to imbue Christianity – as a religion – with an appeal to indigenous African musical performance aesthetic. In approximating this context, Bokwe's *Plea from Africa* sought to make African nationalist aspirations acceptable to colonialism's imperial power bloc. In harking back to a pre-Europeanisation period of indigenous Xhosa Christian hymns – as exemplified in the *Great Hymn* – Bokwe's *Chimes of Ntsikana's Bell* served further to indigenize Christian religion. This was crucial for an educated African minority that sought to base an emancipatory and nationalistic rhetoric on the plight of all Africans. *Makwaya* composition since Bokwe appears to serve a dual purpose of mobilising the masses towards a political consciousness as well as entrenching the values of Christianity as enshrined in European cultural, and specifically musical performance, aesthetics. The outcomes of this ideological process are perhaps best exemplified in Sontonga's *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* and Caluza's *Si lu Sapo* or *iLand Act.*

3.8 A sanctification of the national liberation struggle in the political secularisation of the hymn/prayer

Both Sontonga's *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* and Caluza's *Si lu Sapo* or *iLand Act* further extended the politicization of the Protestant hymn achieved in Bokwe's *Plea from Africa*. Translating as 'God Bless Africa'– incidentally the chorus theme of Bokwe's *Plea from Africa – Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* was composed in Johannesburg's Nancefield Location by Enoch Sontonga, a Xhosa Methodist Mission Schools teacher, in 1897. From 1899 the song became part of African schools' Native Day repertoires as well as featuring strongly at the inauguration of the South African National Native Congress in 1912. Sontonga's hymn gained wide popularity through Caluza's touring Ohlange Institute choir, and in 1925 *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* was adopted by the African National Congress as its anthem, and subsequently by black leadership of the then British Protectorates as their anthem. According to D.D.T.Jabavu (1940), the hymn was first sung publicly at the ordination of a Shangaan Methodist Minister, the Rev. M. Boweni, in 1899. In a short essay published in a UCT publication, *NADA*, in 1940, Jabavu, then a recently retired University of Fort Hare professor, was eager to play down the hymn's political content, when he 'hasten[ed]

to assert': 'for the comfort of those who may have misgivings, that it is usually sung in addition to, and not in place of, the British National Anthem' (Jabavu 1940:1).

The dependence of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika's* popularity on Africans' increased familiarity with the European classical musical practices that formed the hymn's harmonic basis was further confirmed by Jabavu when he wrote that: '[t]o have had heard this hymn sung by a large gathering of Africans, who seem instinctively to adapt naturally melodious voices to the various parts with small effort and little or no training is to have known the peculiar thrill which stirring music can arouse' (1940:1). The hymnal and Christian prayer basis of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* is evident in its original single stanza and chorus, sung to different melodic strains:

God bless Africa
May its name be renowned
Receive our prayers
God bless us
Its children
Chorus: Come Spirit,
Come Spirit,
Come Holy Spirit
To bless us,
Its children.

(Translated by DDT Jabavu)

In the process of secularization, Enoch Sontonga's hymn absorbed the nationalist goals of the African political leadership, as substantiated in the seven additional verses which were subsequently added to the hymn by the Xhosa poet S.E.K. Mqhayi:

2
Bless our chiefs;
May they remember their Creator,
Fear Him and revere Him,
That He May bless them.
3
Bless the public men
Bless also the youth
That they may carry the land with patience
And that Thou mayst bless them.
4
Bless the wives
And also all young women
Lift up all the young girls
And bless them.
5
Bless the ministers
Of all churches of this land;
Endue them with Thy Spirit
And bless them

6
Bless agriculture and stock raising;
Banish all famine and diseases;
Fill the land with good health
And bless it.
7
Bless our efforts
Of union and self-uplift
Of education and mutual understanding
And bless them.
8
Lord, bless Africa;
Blot out all its wickedness
And its transgressions and sins,
And bless it.

This articulation of socioeconomic ideals – expressed as goals of an emergent African nationalism – in a hymn, would appear to achieve a sanctification of political mobilisation of Africans' against their historical marginalization under white rule. The Musical Excerpts 3.1 and 3.2 as well as Musical Excerpt 10.34 all illustrate musical quotations from the melody of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* as they have been reiterated in documented performances by members of the Blue Notes in exile.

3.9 Reuben Caluza's *Si lu Sapo or iLand Act*: resistance, protest and the hymn

A historical problem of early African Christians in South Africa was that of landlessness as a result of their severed ties with indigeneity and thus the loss of rights to land. As a result, land rights and ownership became one of the defining goals of their material and spiritual struggle. The reliance of their struggles on unity and a reconciliation of ethnic and tribal differences put them at the forefront of the advocacy of African nationalism. It is also arguable that this conviction was substantiated by their belief in a Christian God under whom all tribes and individuals were equal. The disapproval by the colonising power, of African land-ownership, and its denial of other forms of economic and political independence, particularly in Natal, laid the foundations of apartheid by fashioning the Natal Native policy. Through taxes and other legal means, African land ownership rights were confined to specific areas, and even 'missions established colour bars in worship and church organisation' (Coplan 1985:69). The persistence of the *amakholwa* (Christian believers) communities of Natal with their westernizing efforts, well beyond the First

World War, is attributed to their attendant faith in the British imperial promise of equality before the law (Erlmann 1991).

Born among the pioneer Natal Christian *amakholwa* communities of Edendale outside Pietermaritzburg, Caluza is noted for blending – in the late 1920s and early 1930s – disparate proletarian and elite African styles of popular musical performance. In the second decade of the twentieth century, Caluza's *makwaya* composition *Si lu Sapo or iLand Act* had politicized the European hymn even further by deploying its persuasive potential not only to mobilize African aspirations to nationhood, but in protest against and resistance to a specific unjust law, the 1913 Land Act. In this further domestication of cadential harmonic devices, a European musical idiom was appropriated as a communicative language, not between the colonizer and the colonized, but between Africans themselves. The message of *Si lu Sapo*, communicated in the language of the Nguni majority that was largely inaccessible to white understanding, was potentially incendiary in calling for the Zulu, the Xhosa and the Sotho – by far the largest Bantu ethnic groups – to mobilize.

The hymn managed to articulate a discourse of protest by the African majority, as well as prescribe a tactical standpoint of resistance against an oppressive law. This was achieved through the use of a musical idiom that conveyed an internalisation by Africans, of an important aspect of European culture, even though the purpose was to protest against injustice and to demand fairness and equality. In order to reveal the appeal of *Si lu Sapo or iLand Act* and the way in which it demands the restitution of the ancestral heritages of the elite, the proletariat and ethnic Africanhood, I have translated its text below:

> We are Africa's children
> We lament [the loss of] our land
> Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, unite
> We protest [against] the Land Act
> A terrible law on account of which
> Representatives went overseas
> To protest on behalf of our race
> [The fact] that we should buy our own land
> We lament for the children of our fathers
> Who are homeless itinerants
> In the land of our forefathers

A composition attributed to Johnny Dyani, *Ithi Gqi (Appear),* was performed and recorded by different groups including the Blue Notes in exile. Among these are Louis Moholo's Spirits Rejoice (1978) [Musical Excerpt 3.3], the Blue Notes's album Blue Notes for Johnny (1987) [Musical Excerpt 3.5] and the Dedication Orchestra's Spirits Rejoice (1992) [Musical Excerpts 3.6]. In a chapter dealing specifically with the Blue Notes's repertoires in exile I will discuss the similarity of form and harmonic content between Dyani's *Ithi Gqi* and Caluza's *Si lu Sapo* or *iLand Act.*

3.10 The proletarian influence of the I - IV (or ii) - V harmonic progression

The outcome of a blending of American big-band swing and *marabi* in African jazz or *mbaqanga* was facilitated by the level of music literacy among the pioneers of this movement. While discursive issues pertaining to this development are examined in Chapter 4, it is necessary here to trace a proletarian blending of musical and cultural processes simultaneous with the popularization of the **I - IV (ii) - V** cadential harmonic progressions in *makwaya. Marabi* is usefully conceived of as a conflation – in the proletarian musical imagination – of sacred and secular elite African performance practices, together with the influence of western popular music and material culture. The diverse cultural influences appear to have been largely mediated in the industrializing and urbanising experiences of black South Africans since the early decades of the twentieth century. Within these urbanising processes are connoted those of African social class stratification and different expressive modes which became characteristic of preferences of the different social groups.

The recruitment of indigenous labour, as far back as the seventeeth-century in the Cape, into the service white settler culture, engendered forms of musical syncretism. While no musical records exist of the slave orchestras which entertained the Cape's wealthy farming communities, accounts of such performances convey a sense of accessibility of musical outcomes to enjoyment by performers and audience alike. There appear to have been no formal restrictions on the employment of a mixture of indigenous and imported instruments, or on the expression of indigenous sensibilities in interpretations of foreign

repertoires (Mostert 1992:145). The mastery of European musical instruments, repertoires and dances by the Cape's indigenous musicians was an important part of their popularity within the cultural heterogeneity of early port cities, small towns, and, much later, of Kimberley and Johannesburg during the mining era. The most popular and accessible of musical styles, dances and musical instruments were soon adopted by African people, who were increasingly drawn to towns due to 'rural economic collapse and taxes' (Coplan 1985:57).

3.11 *Makwaya* practices in mission school, church and secular musical performance

In developing an ideology of African national cultural musical performance, the relatively restrained *makwaya* performances were influenced by surrounding traditional and proletarian musical performance practices as well as by white, and subsequently black, American cultural achievements. As an emergent African performance in a changing world, *makwaya*, its music and material culture were emulated in other proletarian musical practices, particularly in the cultural responses of migrants. *Makwaya* practices became part of the adaptive repertoire that influenced the musical practices of other minority classes, including *abaphakathi*, *amagxagxa, amagqobhoka, likoata*, *malaita, makgomocha*. Most of these categories – characterized by their intermediate postion between African traditions and mission-school culture – were neither fully westernised nor tribal and were defined by their alienation from both opposed ideologies. The practices of migrant musical culture, and in particular the contemporary *a cappella* Nguni *isicathamiya* choral style and its precursor variants, *imbube, ingomabusuku, ukureka, isikhunzi, umbholoho, imashi,* and *ukutamba,* all showed strong influences of mission *makwaya* practices. A variety of musical influences – of European, white American and black American 'minstrel' origins – had been exerted on *makwaya* as a result of the broad secularity of *imusic* cultural performance practices. Both vocal and instrumental musical styles emanating from these influences involved manipulations of the European tonic-subdominant-dominant harmonic conception.

3.12 The influence of American blackface minstrelsy in *makwaya*

American blackface minstrelsy was initially mediated by white touring troupes, such as the Harvey Christy Minstrels who visited major port cities of South Africa around the middle of the nineteenth century (Hamm 1988:2). Towards the end of the century an influential black troupe, the Virginia Jubilee Singers, visited South Africa and spent considerable time performing in far-flung communities and towns around the country. Their repertoire included spirituals, cakewalks, part-songs, honky-tonk and ragtime piano, bone-clappers as well as humorous skits. Led by Orpheus M. McAdoo, the Virginia Jubilee Singers left a lasting impression on a wide cross-section of the black South African community as well as a legacy of performance that is still discernible in contemporary musical performance approaches. This influence impacted on emerging class structures of the postcolonial African populace. To different extents, black musical performing groups were able to absorb these modernizing influences and to make hybrid adaptations of their repertoires. Mission-educated subjects domesticated musical approaches from English and white American folk performance, consolidating a broad *imusic* secular performance culture. Their choral compositional styles also incorporated Protestant hymnody, Sankey and Moody hymns, and accessible classical musical repertoires. Among an increasingly proletarianised majority, adaptations proceeded apace, incorporating instrumental interpretations of influential repertoires. Hybrid genres such as *ukukhomikha* (comedy), *umbholoho* (polka), *imashi* (wedding- march), *istep* (syncopated stepping routines), *mbombing* and *ukureka* (ragtime or 'ragging') are all styles describing a secular engagement with foreign musical influences in the early twentieth century. A blending of these styles with urban migrant interpretations of Zulu *izingoma zomshado* (wedding songs), *amahubo* (ceremonial songs), and with *imusic* elements, went into forging the contemporary *isicathamiya* choral style. In the early part of the twentieth century *isicathamiya* was popularly known, among other names, as *ingomabusuku* – a musical style and performance practice which formed part of the African process of urbanization since the 1920s. *Ingomabusuku* performances were also influential in innovations of other popular urban musical performance styles such as *indunduma*, a Natal variant of the urban, pan-ethnic African instrumental style widely known as *marabi*.

Against the backdrop of a musical heterogeneity reflecting the extent of black South Africans' encounter with American and European musical culture I seek to account for the common ideological basis of regional *marabi* styles. *Marabi* music (including its commercialized 'hot' youthful version, *tsaba-tsaba*), and its regional and ethnic variants of *famo, tula ndivile,* and *indunduma* were characteristically repetitive popular dance styles. In addition to a duple-time rhythmic pattern, the harmonic structure typically employed a cyclical movement of the chords of the European diatonic major scale in the following combinations: **I – IV or (ii) -V; I - IV - $I_{6/4}$ - V;** and **I - vi – IV(ii) - V.** In discussing the harmonic structure of *marabi* I have sought to draw musical parallels with some of the earliest documented hybrid styles of black South African popular music. This approach emphasizes the *musical* basis of a South African instrumental improvisatory practice and, as I shall argue in later discussions, of the processes in which American jazz was domesticated in South Africa. My discussions will also investigate the influence of *marabi* on jazz practices that were coeval with the formation and subsequent musical development of the Blue Notes.

CHAPTER 4

South African music and the domestication of American jazz styles preceding bebop

In the previous chapter I discussed the influence of a European harmonic cadence on the burgeoning popular musical performance of black South Africans. As a musical sensibility, the harmonic cadence was seen to have been further entrenched as a result of successive white mediations of black American performance since the nineteenth century. The last decade of the nineteenth century witnessed for the first time, first-hand black South African encounters with African American minstrel performance. Thereafter began a fascination with African American musical performance, and a cultural exchange characterised by a complex discourse that has been sustained in correspondences of experiences of African marginality on both sides of the Atlantic. As an African engagement with modernity, the emulation of black American cultural advances and musical performance in particular has been part of the process of mobilising against historical disempowerment as a result of colonisation and, latterly, apartheid. The fashioning of African popular expressive culture from such cultural performance influences may be understood to articulate forms of nationalism that potentially challenged marginality in conditions wrought by colonisation, industrialisation, and urbanisation. An engagement with modernity and influences of imported culture including American jazz and its precursor musical styles, possibly compounded existing social stratifications characterising African adaptive culture since colonisation. Public opinion expressed in several print media since the late 1920s, documents exacerbating moral tensions between different social classes, resulting from a manifestation of jazz influence among both proletarian and certain elite members of African society.

A popularisation of jazz in South Africa in the early decades of the twentieth century was attributed to the globalising experiences during the First World War, as well as to an increase in British and American maritime traffic in South African ports in the inter-war period. The appearance of black and white dance bands modelled on popular American swing bands in South Africa in the late 1920s was accompanied by an increasing

availability of gramophones and phonographs, and expansion of the US film and music publishing industries. Other sources have suggested different routes for informal distribution of jazz recordings, sheet-music arrangements and infrastructural resources such as used, navy band musical instruments:

> At a time when record shops were few and only a limited selection of recordings was available, the best way to get hold of modern music was to buy it from American and British sailors. Even during the war, the American mariners were supplied with shellac discs, specially manufactured for the navy. (Rasmussen 2003:80)

In the preceeding narratives of early black popular musical styles in South Africa I have implicated European harmonic devices of the musical cadence in the development of African musical syncretism. I also located early jazz-influenced South African musical practices within a musical syncretism resulting from a historical cultural engagement with modernity. The characterisation of African modernity with marginalisation and cultural fragmentation particularises the ensuing forms of musical practice associated with African adaptive performance culture. The following discussion acknowledges the ethnographic challenges resulting from an increasing heterogeneity of culture itself – the movement from closed systems of ethnic practices and other forms of social boundedness, towards a complexity of contested, translocal relationships.

The pervasive complexity of contemporary global cultural relationships, in affecting the political situatedness and participation of different subjects, has produced a range of probing discursive frameworks (and attendant neologisms). Arjun Appadurai (1991:191) characterised such ethnographically radical terrain as a cultural condition in which shared group identities were delocalised beyond circumscribed spatial and temporal constructions, thus destabilising constructions of static cultural homologies. In an attempt to understand the present cultural de-territorialisation, emerging conceptual repertoires have proposed notions – among others – such as ‘alternative modernities’ and ‘imagined worlds’, ‘global imagination’, ‘pluralities’ or ‘alterities’ (Appadurai 1990, 1991 and 1996; Erlmann 1999; and Titlestad 2004). In adopting some of these concepts I have recognised their potential to engage jazz performance, particularly in apartheid-era South Africa, in discourses of disjunctive global flows. The following discussions follow diverse forms of the mediation of jazz influence predominating between black South Africans and African

Americans. The focus is on a mid twentieth-century South African musical engagement with a range of American jazz styles as mediated in global cultural flows.

It has always been maintained that racial oppression – and in particular the lack of economic progress – retarded class formation among black South Africans. The Africans' low position in the productive stakes of South Africa's political economy denied them the ability to express overt, intra-racial social distinctions through their material possessions. Individual and social aspirations in adaptive cultural patterns thus became important assertions of finer distinctions of social and ideological positions in relation to the dominant white culture. In cultural performance such social distinctions were generally determined by their attainment in practice, of a certain level of Westernisation and education. As a result, emerging urban civic institutions and African cosmopolitan cultural conceptions effectively derived from mission-oriented models and values, as urban middle-classes continued to be educated and culturally socialised in rural-based mission institutions. In the early part of the twentieth century, middle-class Africans responded to the debasement of a black South African subjectivism by tapping into indigenous cultural resources. In civic activities of burgeoning African urban elite, the nationalist goals of leadership were confronted with an aesthetic and moral dilemma regarding the incorporation of proletarian performances such as *marabi, ingomabusuku*, ragtime and jazz into their strategies of cultural mobilization. Institutions such as the multiracial Bantu Men's Social Centre in Johannesburg were established, in part, to counter the popularity of ragtime, *marabi* and jazz, among other marginal proletarian musical styles.

In spearheading a formal organisation of urban cultural practice, educated Africans sought to sanitise urban black performance in line with their aspirations to white culture and a selective deployment of African cultural heritage. Largely under white paternalistic cultural mentorship[34], educated African leaders attempted to create an aesthetic and

[34] Several national initiatives arose out of co-operation between white liberals and Africans, in the form of institutions such the 1890s Kimberley South Africans' Improvement Society, The Gamma Sigma clubs on the Reef (1918), Durban's Joint Council, and the Bantu Men's Social Centre in Johannesburg (early 1920s). The South African Bantu Board of Music (1931), a product of the same impulse, was created to establish

practice of ‘Bantu National Music’ among all classes of westernising Africans. The resulting national Eisteddfod festival in the early 1930s therefore featured an inclusive, diverse programme of African traditional performance genres such as classical folk songs and hymns performed by choirs; male, female, and mixed vocal quartets; solo and ensemble instrumentalists; institutional brass bands; traditional African instruments; English and vernacular recitations, poems, essays, short stories, and drama. Dance events included ethnic miners’ dance teams and performances by black dancers of the waltz, foxtrot and quickstep (Coplan 1985:116). However, this remarkable selection of styles and genres significantly failed to include proletarian urban innovations such as *ingomabusuku* and other *marabi*-associated musical performance. This marginalisation of *marabi*, (ragtime and jazz) echoed the African elites’ ambition to control the syncretic processing of European musical forms, as is perhaps evidenced in the development of the African tradition of choral classical music.

Reuben Caluza is credited with the successful experiments of blending disparate proletarian idioms with the aloofness of *makwaya,* particularly as practised by elite composers and music educators such as Hamilton Masiza, Mark Hadebe, Benjamin Tyamzashe and J.P. Mohapeloa, among others. The musical syncretism of important figures such as Reuben Caluza, and others who sought to bring the alien and traditional idioms of *imusic* and ragtime together, thus became celebrated as anthems of an elusive cultural and political unity, as Coplan attests:

> [A]udiences were amazed [by the Caluza choir's earliest performance ability] to interrelate these different forms of music, lyrics, and movement so harmoniously. Achieving the integration of expressive media so essential to traditional performing arts in a modernized (Westernized) idiom expanded Africans' awareness of the possibilities for playing indigenous music upon Western instruments. (Coplan, 1980:169)

---

choral festivals, the Eisteddfodau whose broad aims were: ‘to preserve and develop the individuality of Native music, and, concurrently, to encourage the finer refinements of European music.’ (Coplan 1985:116)

Caluza's innovations were made in the service of empowerment of the people, being designed to mobilise diverse sectors of African urban society towards the recognition of a common symbolic national culture. Upon this was sought a foundation for the mounting of an ideologically-grounded challenge to the pervasive discrimination against, and the economic exploitation of, Africans. The importance of *marabi* in its relationship to both *ingomabusuku* and *indunduma* performances, as well as to expressing a national African musical sensibility and orientating African musical practice towards the reception of jazz, was explained as follows by Dalton Khanyile[35]: '[t]he pianomen were the bridge between Caluza and *marabi*. *Marabi* is *indunduma* – Caluzafied' (Coplan 1985:105).
Wilson Silgee, the Jazz Maniacs' saxophonist and leader, confirmed this seminal role of *marabi* and its relationship to both the Eastern Cape proletarian organ or piano style, *tula ndivile*, and the originally folk Afrikaans *tikkiedraai* popular dance music style by stating that '*[T]ickey draai* plus *tula ndivile* equals *marabi'* (Coplan 1985:97).

The alliance of ragtime and jazz with the proletarian *marabi* musical performance was vexing to the elites' project of nationalising African culture. The runaway informality of a subaltern cultural engagement provoked a mixture of condemnation and tacit approval from many a self-appointed spokesperson of the African's urban cultural image. Among opinions raised in connection with proletarian musical developments in the early 1930s was the following contribution to an October 1933 issue of the *Bantu World* newspaper:

> There is no objection to war dances, provided they are staged by the enlightened Bantu. When they are staged by the uncivilised, it is a sign of retrogression, because finding his performance so patronised, he has no inducement to progress. (Cited in Coplan 1985:118)

The participation by members of the African middle classes in 'Concert and Dance' social occasions (Ballantine, 1993) and other *marabi*-related performances elicited contradictory responses from the educated African moral lobby, as attested to in the opinion of the eminent University of the Witwatersrand academic, Professor BW Vilakazi:

> There is no name in music libraries for purely Caluza music, but for lack of an apt word we call it jazz. Jazz music is somewhat inferior to the sort of music found in Caluza's compositions. (Cited in Coplan 1985:122)

[35] The late Umthwalume, KwaZulu-Natal saxophonist and South African jazz personality of the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s and the 1980s. See Huskisson, Y.1969.

In echoing black American aspirations of the Harlem Rennaissance of the 1920s, the African middle-class leadership had placed great hopes in the persuasive potential of intellectual and cultural advances, towards the achievement of acceptance by whites. The successes of black American culture as portrayed in the disjunctive processes of the transatlantic cultural traffic – in particular the recording and film media of the 1920s and the 1930s – had excited them with the hope that African adaptation, African urbanisation and acculturisation, would lead to positive changes in the situation of the African in South Africa. Deploying a 'global imagination' (Appadurai 1990, Martin 1993, Giddens 1991, Erlmann 1996), a characteristic of African modernity in South Africa since the late nineteenth century, some African educators put forward the following argument:

> The Negroes on the other side of the Atlantic have made a gigantic progress … They have shown … that this much-debated 'arrested development' is practically unknown among the Negroes. For our intelligence we have been relegated to the lowest rung of the ladder of progress. That wave of pessimism can be averted only by imitating the American Negroes. (Coplan 1985:121)

The contradictions inherent in the prescriptive emulation of American 'negro' culture, and the feeling among the African middle class in the early 1930s that jazz was morally undesirable, are evident in this statement by the composer, music educator, and culture critic Mark Hadebe:

> The old jazz of the screeching jazz maniac will not torture its victims much longer … King Jazz is dying. His syncopating, brothel-born, war-fattened, noise drunk is now in a stage of hectic decline … It is however, true that jazz is a perversion of some of the remarkable syncopating rhythms to be found in Native music of many races. The Negroes, we are told, contributed some, but it is a libel upon our brethren to lay the crime of jazz upon them. (Mark Hadebe, cited in Coplan 1985:122)

Almost two decades earlier, in 1915, the elite cultural critic R.R.R. Dhlomo had expressed a similar opinion of jazz:

> …this jazzing craze or madness has its victims in its octopus-like grasp. It emanates from the misguided teacher, who apparently thinks jazz is the most up to date music his children should be taught … These songs were sung in precisely the same way as a music comedy company renders its songs … with suggestive movements and passionate expressions which are hand in glove with jazz music (R.R.R. Dhlomo, cited in Coplan 1985).

However in the late 1920s the same writer was to celebrate the pan-African patriotism expressed in Caluza's ragtime-inspired innovations as 'songs which have regenerated

many a soul' and in whose popularity 'not only Caluza will triumph, but every blackman' (Coplan 1980:169).

African middle-class moral vexation with American jazz did little to deter their musical engagement with its successive styles as they increasingly impacted on black South African musical performance. If anything, this increasing engagement demanded an even keener exercise of a global imagination, and the improvisation of alternative musical identities approximating an improvisation of 'pluralities' (Appadurai 1996), or what has been referred to in a South African context as 'alterities' (Titlestad 2004:xii).

4.1 Influences of early jazz and ragtime in African musical practice

In the late 1920s and 1930s literate pianists such as William Mseleku, Meekly 'Fingertips' Matshikiza, Thoko Khampepe, Tom Mabiletsa, Griffiths and Emily Motsieloa, and Wilfred Sentso had imbibed ragtime piano influence and blended its syncopation with diverse South African popular musical practices. Not only did these innovators relate to ragtime and early jazz in these styles' circumscription of African post-indigenous experiences, but they further sought the music's resonance with South African traditional heritages. In the 1930s, the pianist Thoko Khampepe became legendary for performing ragtime and jazz wearing a traditional *ibheshu* loincloth, while performances by the vaudeville company Mtetwa's Lucky Stars incorporated depictions of indigenous culture, practices and costumes alongside jazz and vaudeville repertoires. In Tom Mabiletsa's *Zulu Piano Medley (No.1 Part 1)* (Musical Excerpt 4.1) and William and Wilfred Mseleku's *Qua qa* (Musical Excerpt 4.2) are illustrated a deployment in 1930s composition of ragtime and early jazz, the expression of both ethnic and heterogeneous African sensibilities. The very naming by Mabiletsa of a ragtime piano composition in recognition of a violently subdued Zulu ethnic sovereignty, and Mseleku's lyrical deployment of a Nguni dialect known for its ubiquitous use of hard consonants – the so-called 'clicks' – were factors pointing towards a proud domestication of imported cultural influence. In echoing the musical sensibilities of an entrenched postcolonial African cultural heterogeneity, these original syncopated piano compositions also manifested a repeated use of the European dominant-subdominant cadence.

Tom Mabiletsa's composition unmistakably entrenches the cyclical use of chords – **I, vi, IV, I6/4** and **V** – which were the original harmonic basis for the popular *marabi* form[36]. William Mseleku's *Qua qa* also exhibits a similar familiarity with the deployment of the European cadential form in a cyclic structure. Both a rhythmic 'danceability' and a cyclic structure in *Qua qa* are preceded by a section utilizing the tonic and dominant chords of the diatonic major scale. The chorus-like second section of each stanza was, however, a recognizable form of the cyclic *marabi* structure, which precedes the dominant with **I6/4** chord.

Despite African elite misgivings, imported jazz proceeded to influence the burgeoning popular performance practices of African urban dwellers. As Caluza's achievements in the 1930s attest, jazz influence came to be grudgingly acknowledged and began to garner in its pre-Second World War performances, a patronage that included both black and white audiences.

The Blue Notes, who are the focus of this study, emerged from popular twentieth-century American musical influences which included Dixieland, jazz, big-band swing, close harmony, and bebop styles. The disjunctures attending a black South African domestication of American, and particularly African American, popular musical styles provided a backdrop for Charles Hamm's (1988) writings entitled 'Afro-American Music, South Africa, and Apartheid'. The acquaintance by marginalised Africans with African American musical performance culture is understood to be characterised by a multiple mediation (Hamm 1988) whose processes echo significantly the disjunctures of a contemporary global cultural economy (Appadurai 1990). In preceding the consolidation of apartheid by several decades, the marginalisation of the black urban population inflected the Africans' encounter with the global influence of American musical performance. The following discussions address the appropriation and domestication of jazz influences preceding those of bebop, and their decisive ideological bearing on the careers of the members of the Blue Notes.

[36] The earliest popularly known *marabi* musician, Ntebejane (Sotho: 'little Xhosa') started playing kazoo with the 'coon' performances in Vrededorp. He was immortalized in the popular *marabi* melody *UNtebejane ufana ne mfene* (Tebetjane resembles a baboon) sung over a *marabi* harmonic cycle similar to that of Mabiletsa's *Zulu Piano Medley*.

4.2 Modernity, the black Atlantic and 'triple consciousness' in the 1930s and 1940s vaudeville and jazz

The domestication of vaudeville and jazz influences in South Africa arguably found its eloquent expressions in documented performances beginning in the 1930s. The documentation of the influence of vaudeville and jazz in the popular urban practices of 'Concert and Dance' (Ballantine, 1993) focuses on the styles' role in African modernity. Furthermore, the appropriation of African American musical performance models inherent in black South African practices of jazz and vaudeville points to the styles' deployment as a practice of 'black Atlantic' correspondences (Gilroy 1993). The evidence of protracted attempts at indigenising diasporic musical practices such as vaudeville and jazz on the African soil potentially enriches and challenges the dialogues of 'the black Atlantic.' Such a potential may derive from interpretations of the hybridity and double-consciousness of the 'black Atlantic' as they relate to a characteristic diasporic condition of alienated cultural indigeneities. In discussing the place of black South African vaudeville and jazz in the extension of black Atlantic correspondences I have put forward a notion of 'triple-consciousness,' which was introduced in the first chapter. To reiterate: 'triple consciousness' may be usefully understood as a simultaneity – in cultural consciousness and in practice – of cultural hybridity, Europeanism, and indigeneity. The engagement of musicians in practices of 'triple consciousness,' as I shall explain, potentially embellishes their role as cultural brokers, primarily in striving to establish continuities between alienated indigenous understandings on the one hand and on the other hand, disjunctively mediated cultural modernities. However, in the manipulative processes of mass-market co-option – such as engaged in by the South African recording industry in the late 1920s and the early 1930s – a 'triple consciousness' was also exploited to market the heterogeneity of marginal urban cultural influences. In South Africa the use of indigenous lyrics in combination with ragtime, boogie-woogie, swing, and swing-influenced local innovations in the 1930s jazz and vaudeville was one such important deployment of a 'triple-consciousness.'

The processes mediating the global influence of jazz and other imported styles – as I have said above – were all beyond indigenous African control and manipulation. They were, in essence, sudden and violent events, the cultural adaptation to which could only be largely improvisatory. The potential disruption of cultural heterogeneities connoted in such processes – as I have tentatively argued in the first chapter – was countered by the homogeneities of indigenous practice as expressed in the articulation of a 'triple consciousness.' In South Africa the grafting of an indigenous vernacularism within the hybridity and Europeanism of vaudeville and jazz served to popularise the cultural strangeness of a coercive modernity. In extending the dialogues of the 'black Atlantic,' 'triple consciousness' might be understood to simultaneously 'modernise' indigeneity as well as Africanise (or indigenise) 'modernity.' This is one of the ways in which the ideological essence of black South African performances of vaudeville and jazz recorded since 1930 may be understood.

Initial recordings of vaudeville repertoires by several formations associated with Griffiths Motsieloa (and his pianist wife Emily) significantly took place in London in 1930 and 1931. The commercial basis of Brunswick Gramophone House's initiative to send Motsieloa and other South African vaudeville artists to record in London has been remarked on (Ballantine, 1993:87). Motsieloa was a protégé of an African elite cultural outlook that had – since the 1920s – morally disapproved of *marabi* and the burgeoning influence of jazz among urbanising Africans. A similar sojourn to record in London had been arranged by His Master's Voice in early 1930 for Reuben Caluza, following the successes of his blending of proletarian *marabi*, ragtime and traditional song. The more than 120 selections recorded in London by Caluza and his performers were of three types: 'records specially for the "raw" Native, for the partially civilised, and for the educated Native' (Coplan 1985:136). This three-way niche targeting of the subtlest of African ideological stratifications by commercial recording entrepreneurship is remarkable in its appeal to the extremes of African Europeanism and African indigeneity, as well as to the growing number who found themselves somewhere in between. The commercially produced vaudeville and jazz of the 1930s and thereafter may be regarded to have been designed to appeal to all classes of African society by exploiting the profit potential of a 'triple consciousness'.

In building on the popular success of Reuben Caluza's hybrid performances, other vaudeville and jazz performers – among them Motsieloa, William Mseleku, J.P. Mavimbela, and the Merry Blackbirds – went further than Caluza in their innovations. Vaudeville recordings by these and other similar formations between 1930 and the late 1940s combined indigenous lyrics with the influences of ragtime (Musical Excerpt 4.3); 1920s hot-jazz styles (Musical Excerpt 4.4); and big-band swing elements (Musical Excerpt 4.5). Other vaudeville combinations involved elements of instrumental African urban proletarian styles of *marabi* (Musical Excerpt 4.6) and *tsaba-tsaba* (Musical Excerpt 4.7) as well as elite *makwaya* (Musical Excerpt 4.8). Similarly the jazz of the period from 1930 to the late 1940s deployed not only a blending of big-band swing with *marabi* and *tsaba-tsaba*, but their lyrics were also sung in the majority indigenous languages of isiZulu, seSotho, and isiXhosa.

In reflecting the fluidity of social boundaries between the urban African petty bourgeoisie and the working-class of the 1930s, 'Concert and Dance' events typically included an early evening vaudeville entertainment from 8 pm to midnight, and thereafter dancing to a live jazz band until 4 am (Ballantine 1993:12). In practice the relationship between the two styles was a symbiotic one, as Edward Sililo, trumpeter with the pioneering African jazz orchestra the Jazz Maniacs, remembered in interview:

> [The music of the troupes was] very, very close [to that of the bands] because most of the songs they played, the bands were playing. They used to come to the bands to the bands to ask for the lyrics of the numbers, and then they'd sing these things. (Edward Sililo, quoted in Ballantine 1993:13)

While the bulk of repertoires of both vaudeville troupes and jazz bands had initially emanated from American musical influence, the situation gradually changed to feature swing-influenced *marabi*-style compositions. Largely a post-Second World War development and a musical ramification of the ideology of New Africanism (Ballantine 1993:55), the blending of swing with *marabi* influences gave birth to the vibrant popular style of *mbaqanga,* which also became known as African jazz or *majuba jazz.*

In distinguishing between the hybridity of a double-consciousness and a 'triple-consciousness' I have focused on the musical processes in the 1930s domestication of

American jazz influence. The functioning of a 'triple consciousness' is best illustrated in vaudeville repertoires recorded by groups such as Griffiths Motsieloa and Company, and John Mavimbela and Company) in 1930 and 1931 in London, as well as South African recordings of jazz and vaudeville from the beginning of the 1930s to the late 1940s. The groups involved in the South African recordings included Amanzimtoti Players (possibly convened and led by Durban social worker and music activist William Mseleku), the Bantu Glee Singers, Motsieloa's Pitch Black Follies, the Merry Blackbirds, the Jazz Revellers, W.P. Zikhali, Zuluboy Cele and his Jazz Maniacs, Tom Mabiletsa, Willie Gumede's Swing Band, Snowy Radebe and Company, and the Nkandla Guitar Players (Ballantine, 1993:87-101).

4.3 Alternative modernities in the domestication of American popular jazz repertoires by black South African musicians

The admiration in South African popular jazz practice of the 1950s of performances closely reminiscent of popular American jazz performances (Serame 2003, Ballantine 1993) is ironical in the context of the play of identities within global cultural flows. Countless accolades would be dispensed in South African jazz reportage of the 1940s and earlier on the occasion of the successful comparison of a local group with an African American counterpart. The performance of a trio consisting of Jazz Maniacs' founder Solomon 'Zuluboy' Cele on saxophone and clarinet, Synco Fans' troupe leader Wilfred Sentso on piano, and drummer Kenneth McBein was favourably compared with a 1938 recording of Louis Armstrong and the Lyn Murray Choristers by music journalist and cultural critic Walter Nhlapho (Ballantine 1993:16). Further such comparisons included those between the local Gay Gaieties and the Mills Brothers; between Johannesburg Pitch Black Follies' various female ensembles and the Peters Sisters, Duncan Sisters, Andrews Sisters and the King Sisters; between a Pitch Black Follies tap-dancing duo Jubilation and Nice and the Nicholas Brothers; and between the vocalist Emily Kwenane and the great African American blues singer Bessie Smith. The most celebrated correspondence was that of the 1930s South African blues and boogie-woogie exponent – and Fats Waller look-alike – Sullivan Mphahlele, who 'played like Fats Waller, was known as "Fats

Waller," and even died on the same day as Fats Waller' (Ballantine 1993:16). The touring 1950s' commercial show, Alfred Herbert's *African Jazz and Variety*, boasted a retinue of South African imitators of American popular jazz entertainers and their signature repertoires. Exiled Manhattan Brothers singer, David Serame (2003), remembered with pride of achievement, the renditions by South African jazz performers of jazz repertoires by famous black and white overseas musicians. Of his experiences in Alf Herbert's *African Jazz and Variety* alongside important icons of South African jazz, including singers Sonny Pillay, Luisa Emmanuel, James Thompson, Jerry Tsagane, Ben 'Satch' Masinga, Joyce Confess, Barbara Thomas, Thandi Klaasen, Dolly Rathebe, Dorothy Masuka, Jeff Desemelo, Elijah Nkonyane, Banzi Bangani, Theo Bophela, Nick Moyake and others, Serame recalled:

> Joey Maxims ... he used to imitate people like Jerry Lewis, all these comedians. He used to do Billy Daniel's songs *The Old Black Magic*. Ray Makalane - he used to imitate Billy Eckstine. Sonny Pillay's role model was Frank Sinatra. Marung Madu *was* Paul Anka, Johnny Ray - Reg Price, he used to sing the song *Personality*. In 1956 I sang that song in *African Jazz and Variety*. And Frankie Laine was also my role model, Sammy Davis jnr. also. (David Serame 2003, Author's interview)

The imitative practices which familiarised South African musicians with jazz were not only the preserve of singers, as instrumentalists, including the Blue Notes and their peers, launched their early performance careers by imitating their favourite American instrumentalists and groups heard on imported phonographic recordings. Chris McGregor never ceased, when asked in interviews, to acknowledge the early influence of Duke Ellington on his arranging style. Other influences from American popular jazz were those of Nat King Cole and Fats Waller, while the later influences of Charlie Parker and Thelonius Monk around 1957 were recalled by Chris McGregor as follows:

> Our sessions became intensely bebop. I didn't see a contradiction between these two – bebop and township – as much as a complimentary relationship of linear and circular procedures. It seemed to me that the same skills were being demanded. (McGregor 1994:15)

The earliest moves towards a fixed ensemble (and the eventual Blue Notes) were registered in an intensification of the exploration of styles and approaches by prominent American and particularly African American jazz musicians. In 1961 a shared fascination with the latest developments in bebop and free-jazz which cemented the chance

encounter between Chris McGregor and Port Elizabeth pianist/saxophonist Dudu Pukwana in 1961 was described by McGregor as follows:

> We were all fascinated by what the others were doing. We started studying the compositions of Monk, and of Duke, Charlie Parker, Ornette Coleman. We started to make our own compositions and talked a lot about forming a group that could take to the road. (McGregor 1994:21)

Louis Moholo's apprenticeship in the 1950s Langa jazz-band culture was heavily influenced by popular American orchestral jazz repertoires: Glenn Miller, Duke Ellington, Count Basie, Tommy Dorsey and Tin Pan Alley composers like George Gershwin, and Rodgers and Hammerstein. Among the repertoires from such influences were pieces such as *In the Mood, A String of Pearls, Chattanooga Choo-Choo,* and *Take the A Train*. A simplistic attribution of 'Americanisation' to these and other similar phenomena in Asia (most notably the Philippines) has been refuted in several studies, especially those by Pico Iyer (1988) and Arjun Appadurai (1990, 1991, 1996). In urging a new focus on the phenomenon of cultural de-territorialisation, commentators have recognised the problem of studying 'the cosmopolitan cultural forms of the contemporary cultural world … without analysing the transnational cultural flows within which they thrive' (Appadurai 1991:192).

4.4 The mediation of influential jazz styles in global cultural flows

My approach conflates the discursive fluidity of some of Arjun Appadurai's (1996) formulations with the cultural traffic through which jazz was made accessible to South Africans in the first half of the twentieth century. These dimensions, which comprise an elementary framework for a discussion of the disjunctive nature of contemporary global cultural relations, include ethnoscapes; mediascapes; technoscapes and ideoscapes (Appadurai 1996:296). In the next section Appadurai's views which were introduced in Chapter 1 are discussed in their relationship to jazz as a currency of translocal cultural flows.

In its marginalisation of black identitites, apartheid challenged the cultural imagination to conceive of alternative possibilities for the expression of suppressed individual, social and national identities. In discourses equating such social uses of the imagination with improvisatory practices mapping the jazz influence in South African literary practice, was

implicated a deployment of jazz in the fashioning of a ‘plurality of imagined worlds’ Titlestad (2004:xii). A recognition of the imagination as an ‘organised field of social practices’ and its functioning in diverse forms of agency (Appadurai 1990:31) is central to an understanding of the particular appeal of jazz and its mediated culture to generations of black South African musicians. A critical observation in the emerging cultural condition – of ‘imagination as a social practice’ of diversely situated subjects – appears to reinforce a grasp of the transnational operation of cosmopolitan cultural forms (Rabinow 1986 and Anderson 1983 as cited in Appadurai 1990). The notion of ‘imagined worlds’ is constituted in the imagination of diversely situated global cultural subjects, enabling them to ‘contest, and subvert dominant or privileged world views’ (Appadurai 1990:296). ‘Global imagination’ as ‘the means by which people shift the contexts of their knowledge and endow phenomena with significance beyond their immediate realm of personal experience’ (Erlmann 1999:4), further implicates the imagination in the subversion of – and resistance to – dominant discourses. The role of jazz in this economy – the excision of individual and social experiences from their grounding localities and their imaginative re-contextualisation in time and space – was observed to be a distinctive characteristic of modernity (Giddens 1991:18). In appending the term ‘alterities’ to the improvisatory processes undertaken by subjects to subvert apartheid’s totalizing categorization of identities for marginalization, Titlestad (2004) harnessed the theorized conditions of a vexed global subjectivity in their pertinence to South African jazz discourses. In according, after Rasula (1996), a discursive primacy to a South African jazz practice in writing its own history in performance, I have appropriated for musical performance practice the eloquent language emanating from, among other sources, jazz-inspired South African literary writing (Titlestad 2004).

4.5 Mediascapes, finanscapes, ethnoscapes and technoscapes: the processing of jazz influences under apartheid

In the 1950s the bulk of urban black South African popular musical activity fed into and from the phenomenon of ‘The Fabulous Decade,’ emulating black American music and culture from films, magazines and recorded music. Bands, ensembles and individual

performers modelled themselves on the likes of Duke Ellington, the Count Basie Orchestra, the Inkspots, the Mills Brothers, the Andrews Sisters, Fats Waller, Johnny Hodges, Coleman Hawkins, Ella Fitzgerald, Sarah Vaughan and many other figures. As sources of influence, these performers swung African repertoires towards jazz and fashionable glamour, good times, and the violence of gangsterism as portrayed in film. The ideoscapes (Appadurai 1996) entangling black South Africans with U.S. culture reveal some of the ways in which stratified cultural subjects improvised 'pluralities' and inhabited transient 'alterities' in their performance of 'alternative identities' (Appadurai 1990, cited in Larkin 1997:407).

In keeping with an approach that explores the primacy of musical practice in a discursive engagement with historical cultural processes, I begin by following a musical engagement with global flows as mediated in the disjunctures of mediascapes. Exported (and imported) as literature, magazines, films and phonographic recordings, mediascapes are conceptualized as 'swathes of reality [which] provide – for experience and transformation – characters, plots, and textual material around which imagined lives could be scripted' (Appadurai 1996:297). In the preceding section I have shown how mediascapes functioned in facilitating the practice of alternative modernities by a generation of South African jazz musicians modelling their performances on popular American jazz personalities. In highlighting disjunctures inherent in the packaging of African American musical culture for international consumption – including its mentoring role in a black South African cultural modernity – Hamm (1988) illuminated discursive practices ensuing from a domestication of jazz influence. A commoditisation for profit of musical production in the United States since the turn of the twentieth century ensured the essential marketability of musical styles to the country's white majority, as Charles Hamm stated:

> [D]ecisions of repertory and style [were] largely in the hands of capital and entrepreneurs. What South Africans … took to be authentic Afro-American music was in fact selected and mediated for commercial presentation to American whites, who purchased the great majority of the printed music and phonograph discs produced in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. (1988:13)

The mediation of black American musical performance begun in the middle of the nineteenth century by white performers preceded the appearance of jazz as a phenomenon.

This was true of the shaping of the minstrel show, the popularisation of Sankey and Moody gospel hymns, and arrangement by whites for popular popular consumption of spirituals originally created by black slaves (Hamm 1988). Black South Africans had no opportunity to hear either authentic American black dance music for banjo and fiddle, or black Americans sing gospel music (Hamm 1988:14). South Africans could not know spirituals as they were rendered by black congregations with ubiquitously African sensibilities of call-and-response and percussive accompaniment, nor did they experience rural ragtime, from which emanated much of black American dance music (Hamm 1988). In South Africa these popular interpretations of African American cultural performance were further constructed to express alternative black African identities and divert apartheid's exclusionary labelling processes. In taking off from cultural performance influences that were indirectly mediated in the disjunctures of global flows, jazz practice in South Africa was further hampered in its idealisation of a distinct African American heritage.

The identification by South Africans of early jazz styles with the social successes of blacks in American society had no basis in that country's everyday reality. Even more contradictory was the embracing by black South African musicians of mediated jazz influences whose presumed indexing of the ethnic emancipation of black Americans was not only inaccurate, but was also deployed in an attempt to prove an 'equality' in South Africa with a white class that was privileged through a subjugation of Africanhood. Indeed the development of jazz in South Africa from the late 1930s was yet to register the ideological schisms characterizing popular cultural practice within the society it sought to service. In embracing the jazz influence, the vibrant African orchestral dance practice was drawn to align itself with either the elite or the proletarian markets for jazz consumption. A striking example can be found in the documented relationship between the country's most celebrated 1930s black dance orchestras, The Merry Blackbirds and The Jazz Maniacs.

On the one hand a musically literate band like The Merry Blackbirds Orchestra could read staff notation and were therefore able to play orchestrations from imported sheet

music. Their elevated status was comparable to and often associated with that of elite black vaudeville troupes like The Darktown Strutters and Griffiths Motsieloa's Pitch Black Follies, whose celebrated successes were based on their appeal to white (European South African) audiences (Ballantine 1993:11-86; Coplan 1985:113-182). On the other hand an orchestra that would typically learn similar orchestrations by ear from imported phonographic recordings like The Jazz Maniacs, was legendary in its rendering of such repertoires 'exactly like' or 'even *better* than the American bands used to play it' (Ballantine 1993). The complexity of the asymmetric agency of such global cultural flows is also evident in the following statement by Peter Rezant, who was the leader of the Jazz Maniac's long-time rivals, the Merry Blackbirds:

> [The Jazz Maniacs] would try and play all those difficult solos of the big professional men, like … Woody Herman's *'Woodchopper's Ball'*. They play - like one white musician said to me one day … it sounded better than on the record! (Peter Rezant, quoted in Ballantine 1993:16)

The rivalry that continually sustained these two popular orchestras emanated from their differential capabilities in mediating the agency of influential jazz repertoires. A significant part of this ability then ultimately rested on the asymmetric privileging of a minority African class which had had a good education, was musically literate, and possessed a certain level of economic fluidity. Furthermore, the repertoires chosen for performance in this context serviced the cultural needs of similarly privileged classes, educated blacks and whites who appreciated ballroom dance styles such as waltzes, foxtrots and tango. Evidence suggests that the public performance of jazz was initially supported by institutions which accommodated band practice as a live musical accompaniment to ballroom dance. The Ambassadors School of Dance (Cape Town), The Bantu Men's Social Centre[37] in Johannesburg and the YMCA in Durban were among civic institutions whose ethos accommodated diverse urban African social activities under the same roof. Describing a vibrant Cape Town jazz scene that was ultimately responsible for his disengagement from the formalities of college music tuition in 1957, Chris McGregor remembered a typical weekend at the Ambassadors school of

[37] The Bantu Men's Social Centre (BMSC) was a rare institution of its kind, servicing the cosmopolitan culture of African society of Johannesburg and its surrounding townships. It was remembered by exiled Manhattan Brothers singer Joe Mogotsi as a boisterous hive of a place where '[t]here were competitions between bands, choirs, musicians and schools. There was chess, draughts, billiards and snooker, courts for volleyball, basketball and tennis, and facilities for boxing.' (Mogotsi and Pearl Connor 2002:44)

dance as involving ‘dancers in one corner, weightlifters and boxers in another corner, and then groups of people sitting around drinking and chatting’ (McGregor, 1994:7).

Most of the originators of jazz in the U.S. were predominantly black. The fact that they were never able to visit South Africa points to the disempowering processes in the reproduction of jazz as a globally marketed commodity. These processes involved a branding and sanitization of jazz in a multilevel mediation whose ethnoscapes are connoted by an observation that:

> In America, the ‘jazz’ offered by major record companies was played by white musicians, or by blacks playing or singing in styles thought to be appropriate for white consumption; music by black musicians intended for black audiences was marketed by small companies, and on a regional basis only, on ‘race records.’ (Hamm 1988:14)

These mediating processes familiarized [black] South Africans with repertoires by the likes of Irving Berlin and Paul Whiteman instead of early New Orleans, Chicago, or New York jazz. The same processes made accessible to South Africans Al Jolson, Bing Crosby, Lena Horne, Nat King Cole, Ella Fitzgerald, Frank Sinatra, Billie Holiday, and Johnny Matthis but not the great black blues singers like Ma Rainey, Blind Lemon Jefferson, Bessie Smith, Papa Charlie Jackson, Leroy Carr, Sleepy John Estes, Big Bill Broonzy and Robert Johnson (Hamm 1988:14). Arguments which construct a black South African imitative jazz performance practice on disjunctive mediascape and, by extension, ethnoscape and financescape processes in global flows have gone so far as to assert that:

> [M]ost ‘African American’ music imported into South Africa [before the middle of the twentieth century] was mediated by and acceptable to white Americans … and in the process of being transformed into a commodity for white consumers, had lost much of the African identity … of African American music. (Hamm 1988:15)

Some of the generalisations in Hamm’s work need to be understood in a specific historical and geographical context. It is necessary to trace the global cultural influence on local practice in recognition of the Cape Town environment in which the Blue Notes, for instance, were situated, and to follow the trajectory of development of certain key individuals, in particular those responsible for the black uptake of jazz influence, particularly in Cape Town. In the non-racialism of the Blue Notes as a social performance grouping was reflected the encounter between their convener Chris

McGregor and the black-dance orchestral traditions of Cape Town, and specifically of Langa Township. The Langa jazz scene was influenced by a few individuals who serviced the social dance scene through instrumental performance traditions that subsequently provided the template for a regional engagement with jazz. The following narrative demonstrates the Blue Notes' links to this largely undocumented South African engagement of early South African jazz musicians with the dance halls and improvisatory instrumental musical practice.

As a boy growing up in the 1920s shantytown of Ndabeni (near Cape Town), Moses Molelekwa learnt to play the organ at weekend-parties called *nomxhimfi*[38] by sitting next to the lone organist and 'looking at how he play[ed]':

> [L]ooking at his fingering there, trying to remember the notes he was pressing. And when he goes for some interval or something, I would jump on the seat there and try and imitate those notes again … Didn't know anything about reading music. And so later, I was able to play one or two tunes. And I grew up from there, I think I was about twelve years old. (Moses Molelekwa, quoted in Rasmussen 2003:163)

In order to be able to engage with ragtime and early jazz piano styles, Molelekwa took an overseas correspondence course in syncopation to learn 'something about reading music' and earned a diploma in 'chord construction'. Like most other would-be jazz instrumentalists, Molelekwa was introduced to jazz performance as pianist for a vocal group, the Midnight Follies, who sang songs by Louis Armstrong and Nat King Cole.
Jazz instrumentalists were rare at that time, as Molelekwa, one of the pioneers of the black Cape Town jazz tradition, recalled of his years with the Midnight Follies:

> There were no bands then… there were just vocalists. Very popular at the time … We were really just vocalists, all along … We were not interested in bands or instruments, just singing all the time. (Moses Molelekwa, quoted in Rasmussen 2003:165)

At the end of the 1930s or the beginning of the 1940s a Swahili shop-owner by the name of Mr Mac, who had a piano in his house, sponsored the first band in Langa with a violin, a guitar, a drum set and a bass, and Molelekwa was invited to be the pianist. These grassroots beginnings of instrumental jazz practice in Cape Town's Langa township were further explained by Molelekwa as follows:

---

[38] According to Molelekwa, socially and musically *nomxhimfi* was close to *marabi*. As he told an interviewer: '[L]ater on they developed [*nomxhimfi*] into *marabi*, but in the beginning it was more dance-kind of music, which is called *nomxhimfi*, shaking the body most of the time.' (Rasmussen, 2003:164)

> And we did not know how to play these instruments, except myself, I was playing a little bit of piano. So we had to learn the instruments from the start … We practiced until we were able to play and organize a dance, for people to dance. I've forgotten the song now. But an old tune everybody knows, an old tune. We just played that tune the whole night, only one tune. (Moses Molelekwa, quoted in Rasmussen 2003:165)

The arrival of Frazer 'Temmy' Hawker in Langa in 1941 heralded the beginnings of instrumental jazz band practice in the township, and a legacy that had a direct influence on the formation of the Blue Notes nearly two decades later. According to Lars Rasmussen (2003:80), Tem Hawker was born in 1909 in Beaufort West, in the Karoo, and although classified as coloured, claimed to belong to the Xhosa Nyawuza clan. Hawker had learnt violin and staff notation basics from a white woman at an early age. As a teenager in Cape Town, Tem Hawker joined the merchant navy and undertook long sea voyages during which he was exposed to jazz by African American jazz musicians. He also made a habit of buying printed music. Working for a long time in the Cape Town docks as a driver in the 1930s enabled Tem Hawker to buy the latest modern music from British and American sailors. Later, during the war, the sailors were even supplied with shellac jazz recordings, specially made for their use by the American navy. It is also speculated that Hawker might have even obtained sheet music arrangements and used musical instruments from the navy bands (Rasmussen 2003:80). Living in District Six in the 1930s, Hawker is credited with the founding of one of the earliest black jazz bands in Cape Town, an eighteen piece orchestra called The Ballyhooligans. When he moved to a house in Langa in 1941 with his family and inherited the musical instruments from Mac the café-owner, Hawker started the first Langa jazz band, Tem Hawker and His Harmony Kings (Rasmussen 2003:80). Langa's second most famous band, The Merry Macs, was soon founded by three of Hawker's students – M'brooks Mlomo, James Bebeza and Peter Hashe. In substantiation of this narrative, Molelekwa adds,

> [Tem Hawker] is the man who came with some knowledge of the instruments. He was an alto sax player. Then he started recruiting those … like myself … [who were] interested in music. That is the founder of jazz music in the township, in Cape Town. (Moses Molelekwa, quoted in Rasmussen 2003:166)

Molelekwa recalled Christopher 'Columbus' Ngcukana taking over his trumpet chair in Tem Hawker's Harmony Kings. The pioneering coloured jazz musician, Jimmy Adams, remembered his ambitions to play saxophone harmonies after hearing an African band

perform at Sea Point Town Hall. Adams's ensuing apprenticeship in Tem Hawker's Langa jazz band alongside the likes of Cup 'n' Saucer Nkanuka and Columbus Ngcukana led to the founding of the first coloured jazz band in Cape Town, The Jimmy Adams Swing Band (Rasmussen, 2003:9). The establishment of other famous Langa jazz formations such as The Swingettes, the Honolulu Swingsters and De City Jazz Kings is attributed to the influence and leadership of the graduates of Tem Hawker's Harmony Kings. In the early part of the chapter were noted the links between the figures of Cups Nkanuka, Columbus Ngcukana and the members of the Blue Notes, particularly Chris McGregor, Dudu Pukwana and Nick Moyake. I also mentioned the relationship between drummer Louis Moholo, his boyhood cadetship as a seven-year-old in the juvenile version of one of Molelekwa's Langa youth jazz bands, the Young Mother City Jazz Band, prior to his co-founding of The Jazz Chordettes with, among others, Syfred Woodrow Dlova, Danayi Dlova and Cup 'n' Saucer Nkanuka. It was Nkanuka who acknowledged the influence on Cape Town's African big-band jazz of popular Sophiatown bands such as the Jazz Maniacs in the late 1940s and the early 1950s:

> It was all big bands, you know, that time the small band stuff was not introduced to us… We used to be very happy when we got visits from bands from Jo'burg, like the Jazz Maniacs, The Merry Blackbirds, Zonk, all that. And that's where we used to get our inspiration, yeah, from other musicians, more advanced than us. Cape Town used to attract a lot of those musicians. When the bands came to Cape Town, they disbanded. Half of them went home, half of them stayed. (Cup 'n' Saucer Nkanuka, quoted in Rasmussen 2003:217)

The claim that the Blue Notes' cultural experiences can be considered to be nationally representative derives from these links with the broader South African jazz practice and its practitioners. It will be shown that their national prestige was consolidated through exchanges with their contemporaries from many other parts of the country, in projects that included participation in big-band, ensemble and touring theatrical productions, festivals and commercial shows.

4.6 The Africanisation of close-harmony vocal jazz: the Manhattan Brothers

Close-harmony vocal jazz arguably achieved a broader resonance in its attempts to connect with the indigenous sources of musical practice. As musical organisations popular among westernising African classes in South Africa, piano-accompanied vocal

groups were an essential introduction to close-harmony vocal-and-instrumental jazz styles. Southern Africa is recognised for its pervasive choral musical heritage. Popular vocal groups – including The Modernaires, The Woody Woodpeckers and The Manhattan Brothers – and others who went on to become professional and nationally recognised, had begun in the informality of mission-school social entertainment, especially in the 1930s. Their subsequent professionalism appears to have depended on successful imitations of popular American groups – typically groups such as the Mills Brothers, the Inkspots, the Andrews Sisters, the Golden Gate Quartet, The Four Freshmen, The Hi Los – and individuals like Al Jonson, Frank Sinatra and Bing Crosby, as well as tap dancers such as Fred Astaire or the Nicholas Brothers. Performers, performances, ways of looking and being were gleaned from cinema, while recordings were transcribed by ear with the aid of tonic-solfa notation. In the relative absence of formal musical training, an ability to read sheet music arrangements and master the latest popular American repertoires became a valued skill among musicians and their musical formations. Like jazz musicians, close-harmony singers tried to Africanise the foreignness of American popular music. There appears to have been a two-fold impetus to this activity: one emanated from *makwaya's* original engagement with the practice of Africanisation since the turn of the century, and the other driven since the early 1930s by the market concerns of a white capital-controlled recording industry. The first of these impulses was evident in the activities of the earliest Cape ragtime vocal groups, most notably Ace Buya's Modernaires and Victor Ndlazilwane's Woody Woodpeckers, followed by the innovative Lo Six from the East Rand. The second is exemplified by the Manhattan Brothers, whose popularity as a result of their commercial recording success translated as a pressure to invent even more broadly accessible vocal idioms. These practices contrast starkly with the ideologically charged cultural expectations of a defiant 1950s urban community and its political leadership. The dilemma faced by a group such as the Manhattan Brothers was how to articulate the popular resistance of the subjugated African masses in an idiom that would still be attractive to both the African majority and the moneyed white ruling classes. One of the ways of popularising imported repertoires devised by the Manhattan Brothers' Gallo management was for them to translate the English lyrics of top-selling American numbers into one of the widely-spoken regional

Bantu languages like isiZulu, isiXhosa or seSotho, as the group's founding member Joe Mogotsi explained:

> The industry had the idea that if some of these things are interpreted into the black scene … all round it will catch the masses of the people, who are working-class people, into buying some of the records. (Joe Mokgotsi, quoted in Ballantine, 1999:8)

The product was well received by the public in the year 1947, when such translated songs as *Yes Sir, That's My Baby* and *The Dipsy Doodle* garnered much popularity in their vernacular versions. Paradoxically this popularity was based on a misunderstanding by the public, as the group's lead singer, Dambuza Mdledle, wrote in 1954:

> The first record, 'Yes, Sir', came out as arranged. It rocked the country. But nearly everybody who heard it thought at first it was a troupe of American singers who had been taught the language. When they looked at the label on the record they found to their surprise that it had been made by the Manhattan Brothers of Africa. (Dambuza Mdledle, cited in Ballantine 1999:8)

American popular jazz songs that were translated into the vernacular and categorised as 'Zulu swing,' included *Chattanooga Shoe-Shine Boy (Umntwana Wesizwe)*, *Take the A Train (Bawo Wethu)* and *Tuxedo Junction (Namhlanje)* (Ballantine, 1999:8). The potential for subversion inherent in this practice is illustrated in the comparison of the original lyrics of *Chattanooga Shoe-Shine Boy* with the Nguni version written by the Manhattan Brothers (Ballantine 1999:10). The Manhattan Brothers' vernacular lyrics to the song – in echoing the popular urban African political outlook – conveyed the 'poverty, rupture and loss' that was the reality of mid-twentieth century African migrant workers in South Africa's main urban centres (Ballantine 1999:8). The local successes of this project may well have prepared for a further deployment of a 'triple consciousness,' in re-branding (and subsequent re-exporting) of a jazz-influenced style that was not altogether strange to an American listenership. The practice of translating the lyrics of popular American songs into local languages provided an opportunity for the local lyricists to express issues of political and social concern to the African majority, as the remoteness of the imported lyrics was replaced with locally resonant texts. While the recording company's experiment succeeded in making a profit out of a widespread African political sentiment, it did not lead to the Africanisation of melodies, rhythms, or harmonies the imports, as is evident in a comment by a disillusioned reader in a 1955 *Zonk* magazine:

> Where are we going? Why must this group, the best of our African quartets, sing in the English idiom? … [T]he idiom is English and it sounded foreign … because this is foreign. (Cited in Ballantine 1999:11)

In response to such criticism, and perhaps answering to their own unease with the marketing strategies of their sponsors, the Manhattan Brothers adopted styles of original composition based on *ingomabusuku*, the name by which contemporary *isicathamiya* was known in the early decades of the twentieth century. Behind this choice was a perception of the potential of traditional *ingomabusuku* as an available resource as well as the thought that it was practised by the unsophisticated migrant classes. Of the musical attempts at modernising *ingomabusuku* – erroneously thought to be indigenous – Louis Peterson, the Manhattan's accompanist, recalled that '[w]e started thinking of music like traditional, which we converted over to swing. Ah, sort'a jazzed it up, and we brought more life into it' (Ballantine 1999).

Again, a contradiction inherent in this musical development was in using American swing to Africanise the close-harmony vocal jazz style. I have already referred to instances where the Manhattan Brothers looked to indigenous repertoires – those whose musical origins predated the four-part harmony basis of *makwaya* – with the intention of rendering these within the canons of tonic-subdominant-dominant European harmonic conceptions (Musical Excerpts 4.9, 4.10 and 4.11).

The international success achieved in the 1940s by Solomon Linda and his Original Evening Birds with their *ingomabusuku*-style song *Mbube* (with instrumental backing by members of the Merry Blackbirds) [Musical Excerpt 6.1] was perhaps one strong reason for Gallo's efforts in this direction. In the context of a black South African struggle against a historical marginalisation the development was significant in another way. It enhanced the discursive role of commercially popular African musical performance in framing the common experience of black lives disrupted as a consequence of conquest and domination. The socio-political eloquence of *makwaya*-related African popular music had arguably been heralded by earlier syncretisms – as already discussed in the previous chapter – from which had emanated politicised, nationally popular compositions such as Enoch Sontonga's *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* (Musical Transcription 2) and Reuben Caluza's

Silu Sapo or *iLand Act* (Musical Transcription 3). The subversion implicit in these earlier works had been condoned because of the benignity of the European aesthetic which was their musical context, a cultural practice which the colonised sought to emulate (Bhabha 1994, Moore-Gilbert 1997). In commercially-sponsored hybrid music, as exemplified by the Manhattan Brothers, the sanctioning of a subversity of popular music was facilitated through the disjunctures of global 'financescapes,' 'mediascapes' and 'ideoscapes' (Appadurai 1996). A similarly subversive potential is suggested in the relationship between HMV and Brunswick Gramophone House on the one hand, and on the other, a linguistic 'triple-consciousness' in the grafting of vernacular lyrics to 1930s South African vaudeville and jazz styles.

However, in 1954, a decidedly fresh commercial opportunity arose as a result of the unprecedented popularity in America of the piece *Skokiaan*, composed by Zimbabwean August Musururgwa and performed by 'The African Band of the Cold Storage Commission of Southern Rhodesia' (Ballantine, 1999:14). For Gallo executives, this promised an even bigger opportunity to profit from the US market, far greater than whatever could be made from a domestic South African audience. I contend that the popular-music product required for commercial success abroad had no use for lyrics communicating the desperate situation of local Africans. A successful communication of the Africans' plight in the motherland to a global black and African consciousness potentially bolstered solidarity between the African diaspora and Africans in the motherland, in the context of their mutual colonial and postcolonial legacies of subjugation. Of further interest is the marketing by Gallo of the earliest, 'black Atlantic' venture between black South African and diasporan modern jazz musicians, in the form of McKay Davashe's compositions, particularly his jazz ballad *Lakutshon' ilanga* (Musical Excerpt 6.3). The song had been recorded for Gallo by the Manhattan Brothers in 1954, and its selection by the producers for international release followed closely on the heels of the surprising popularity of *Skokiaan* (Musical Excerpt 6.2) with the American public and musicians (Ballantine, 1999:14). The vernacular lyrics of Davashe's *Lakutshon' ilanga* were replaced by English ones devised by the American lyricist Tom Glazer, and the title of the piece was changed to *Lovely Lies*, in a process summed up by Christopher Ballantine as follows:

> Thus an African group that – at the behest of the record industry – once sang American songs in African languages for African audiences, now – again at the behest of the record industry – sang African songs in English for American audiences. The ironic circuit was complete. (1999:14)

Of crucial importance to this process was the ability of African musicians who had been influenced by jazz to domesticate an essentially African-American mode of expression in order to articulate in the languages of black Africa the changed conditions of Africans in Africa. The subversion of this 'musical' achievement through commercial interests, by watering down or erasing its serious message for consumption by the American public, was plainly evident. This veiled censorship effectively silenced African jazz–influenced musicians in their vocal articulation of social and cultural responses to the historical marginality of their social condition. For apartheid subjects unable to express reasonable protest and ideological opposition to their subjugation without risking censorship, persecution and arrest, the abstract eloquence of bebop arguably appealed as a language of articulating African marginality in a global context. After African musicians had unsuccessfully engaged in and translated the symbolic representation of an exploitative global modernity by using a linguistic 'triple consciousness,' how could a pertinence of indigenous expressive forms be represented through bebop or other postmodern genres?

4.6.1 A reharmonisation of indigenous Xhosa song in The Manhattan Brothers's use of indigenous musical materials

I have dealt with the vernacularising processes in jazz-influenced practice since the 1930s and the importance to black South Africans of the use of indigenous languages in the commercially-sponsored popularisation of vaudeville and jazz. An important extension of these developments was the sponsorship of repertoires whose imitation of American popular vocal jazz involved a grafting onto popular American vocal jazz, of vernacular lyrics addressing the immediate situation of African experiences in an industrial and urban setting. The association, towards the mid-1950s, of the Manhattan Brothers with a backing band that included bandleader, saxophonist and composer Mackay Davashe appears to have bolstered the group's abiding ambition to interest Gallo producers 'in *original* stuff that [we] thought would be of interest to the nation' (Joe Mogotsi cited in

Ballantine 1999:12). The importance of this collaboration was substantiated years later by guitarist General Duze who, together with Davashe, was part of the Manhattan Brothers' backing band. In a 1987 interview Duze remembered that teaming up with the Davashe-led ensemble had resulted in a distinctive Africanisation of the Manhattan Brothers' approach, towards 'develop[ing] a style of their own':

> [They became more 'African']: they got away from that imitative style of theirs, and they became themselves, and developed a very beautiful sound, very beautiful – and which was original. *From themselves.* (General Duze, quoted in Ballantine 1999:12)

A further consequence was the selection by Gallo for international release of two of Davashe's compositions previously recorded by the Manhattan Brothers. One of the compositions was a polished ballad *Lakutshon' Ilanga* (Musical Excerpt 6.3) that was rendered in the popular jazz song form of AABA, with original lyrics in the Xhosa language. The other was *Izikalo Zegoduka,* which was based on an ostinato bass figure derived from the modal movement of traditional Xhosa harmony comprising two chords of a major second interval apart. The recording by the Manhattan Brothers of two traditional Xhosa beer-drinking songs – *Jikel' Emaweni* (Musical Excerpt 4.11) and *UQongqothwane* (Musical Excerpt 4.10) – illustrates another dimension of a 'triple consciousness.' In this process, indigenous Xhosa melodies were re-worked to conform to European dominant-subdominant harmonic cadential forms, while retaining their indigenous textual content. The first example (Musical Excerpt 4.9) is a traditional form of the song *UQongqothwane* as performed by voices to the accompaniment of the indigenous Xhosa *uhadi* bow. In traditional harmonisation the two chords are a major second apart – as sounded in the two fundamental tones of the *uhadi* bow – and alternate cyclically every two measures. The second example (Musical Excerpt 4.10) is a Manhattan Brothers rendition of *UQongqothwane,* in which the traditional modality of the song's melodic structure is extended over twelve measures of four beats each. Each successive pair of measures is harmonically based on each of the following chords of the European diatonic major scale: **I – ii – V – I.** More than any other, this progression represents the most commonly used harmonic resolution in western (European) classical and popular musical canon. It is tempting to argue for this development as a form of resistance arising from a musical 'triple consciousness,' in which the manipulation of

indigenous musical materials illustrates their inherent flexibility and compatibility with the aesthetic sophistication of a global cultural modernity.

4.7 New Africanism: African jazz and the Africanisation of big-band swing

Among the earliest jazz influences emulated were those of the American big-band swing orchestras of the 1930s, whose imported 78-rpm recordings were played on wind-up gramophones and from the 1950s, on battery-powered radiograms. Since at least the early 1930s, the popularity of jazz and its associated styles of performance had immediately resulted in the appearance of many performing groups' modelling themselves on figures and musical styles of American jazz culture. As well as imitating the musical styles of the likes of Louis Armstrong, Count Basie, Duke Ellington, Glen Miller, Tommy Dorsey, Benny Goodman and other luminaries of the American swing era, top South African big bands like the Jazz Maniacs, the Merry Blackbirds, the Harlem Swingsters and the Merry Makers also composed and played in the township swing styles of *marabi* and *mbaqanga* (Masekela and Cheers 2004:9)

In the essay *Music and Emancipation*, Christopher Ballantine points to an important shift in the protracted role of black music in expressing the African condition (Ballantine 1933:55. The shift, particularly since the 1940s, toward the fashioning not only of the popular dance music, *tsaba tsaba*, but subsequently of *mbaqanga* (*majuba jazz* or *African jazz*) from American swing and *marabi* influences, was largely of a *rhythmic* musical pertinence. An eloquent spokesperson of this revolution was Todd Matshikiza who, as a witness to the birth of *majuba jazz*, put forward an historical discursive basis for its development as follows:

> We invented *'Majuba'* jazz and gave jive strong competition. We syncopated and displaced accents and gave endless variety to our 'native' rhythms. We were longing for the days of *Marabi* piano, vital and live. Blues piano, ragtime piano, jazz band piano, swing and modern piano had taken it away from us. And here now we were seeding it again with new blood in its veins. It was Tebetjana's original material, but treated freshly with a dash of lime. (Todd Matshikiza 1957, cited in Ballantine 1993)

In being regarded as a 'turning point in the history of black South African jazz' these musical developments of the early 1940s have been alluded to in their articulation of aspects of New Africanism (Ballantine, 1993:62). The immediate interpretation of such a historical shift is that of an indigenisation or an Africanisation of a jazz-influenced urban African musical practice. In an understanding of *marabi* as an outcome of a deep and protracted musical syncretism, I have argued against a construction of this revisiting of *marabi* as the culmination of an African musical indigeneity in the 1940s South African jazz.

Nearly a hundred years before, John Knox Bokwe had been able to express in composition the particularities of the African musical tradition in their contrast to European four-part harmony, as demonstrated in his *Plea from Africa* (Musical Transcription 1.1) and *Chimes of Ntsikana's Bell* (Musical Transcription 1.2). The latter composition, although communicated within the limitations of the Curwen tonic-solfa notation, exhibited unmistakable departures from colonial missionary musical canons in its rootedness in Xhosa vocal polyphony and the staggered entry of voices. In preceeding discussions I have outlined the entrenchment of a European harmonic conceptualisation in the diversity of African musical syncretism. The essential orality of African musical traditions, together with a protracted history of colonial, missionary and latterly a global cultural influence, may have compounded the discontinuities in the Africans' postcolonial musical experiences. This view is supported in the observation of what musical elements came to be regarded as of African origin in the fashioning of *mbaqanga's* pan-African sensibilities – namely *marabi* and its harmonic cadential chord system based on the diatonic European major scale. It is possible to argue for a conception of African jazz as manifesting only since the arrival of Western instrumental practices among Africans, bearing in mind its essential characteristic as a practice in solo instrumental proficiency. As an expressive language of an instrumental musical influence, it would appear to have been particularly limiting for African cultural practices, in which the resources of indigenous linguistic communication were still largely intact. A critical assessment of *mbaqanga* would focus on its exclusive minority target audience of a Westernising urban African audience, and its limited use of the abundant available

indigenous African rhythmic and melodic resources that could have addressed a broader cultural consciousness.

4.7.1 African musical resources in the development of African jazz

Earlier, I suggested a conception of *mbaqanga* as a stylistic development whose radical ideological response was limited by discrepancies in the manipulation of the melodic and rhythmic potential of indigenous music. This view is an attempt to account for the preference for American jazz and the relegation of *mbaqanga* as a vehicle for engagement with the intricacies of instrumental musicianship, particularly since the 1950s. Indeed, jazz recordings in South Africa towards the end of the 1950s such as the Jazz Epistle's Verse 1 (1959), John Mehegan's Jazz in Africa (1959) series of recordings with the cream of black South African be-bop exponents did not include *mbaqanga*. This is despite the fact that by the end of the 1950s, *mbaqanga* had been a popular practice for nearly two decades and was considered as an authentic African expression of the jazz sensibility.

In using wind instruments to replace human voices, most *mbaqanga* repertoires of the early 1950s and before did not employ the ubiquitous African pentatonicity, but instead strove to achieve complexity in the realisation of parallel voices harmonised in essentially European intervallic consonance [Musical Excerpts 4.12, 4.13, 4.14, 4.15]. What remained essentially unmistakably African in the *mbaqanga* orchestral traditions, however, was the social symbolism of performing together – the collective, co-operative essence of making music together. This communality of performance was an indigeneous practice whose symbolic re-enactment in African jazz big-band formations perhaps served to counter the fragmentary social relationships of urban existence. The advent of bebop ushered in a proliferation of smaller ensembles and a focus on individuals rather than the functioning unity of differently textured sections within a larger orchestral formation. In South Africa this change was arguably not well-catered for in the existing distribution of instrumental skills and the level of technical individual proficiency demanded by the bebop virtuoso style of performance.

4.7.2 The popularisation of African jazz in pennywhistle *kwela*

The place of pennywhistle *kwela* in the Africanising of jazz influences is a step removed from the discourse about the practice of *mbaqanga*. In its origins in the popularity of township jazz bands such as the Jazz Maniacs, the City Jazz Nine, the Harlem Swingsters, Ntemi Piliso's Alexandra All Stars and others, the youthful *kwela* bears no evidence of its revolutionary potential. It is possible to conceive of *kwela* as emanating from youthful expressions of their rootedness in a popular urban African practice of jazz-influenced *mbaqanga*, and working towards achieving a virtuosity that was exemplified in advanced township jazz instrumentalism and possibly American post-bebop developments. But in so far as it is the musical expression of a popular, pioneering black teen culture, *kwela* invites consideration as a subaltern practice of marginal cultural subjects. My own focus seeks to position *kwela* within the milieu of jazz-influenced popular practice in South Africa, in the particularities of its Africanising trajectories in the 1950s. A large part of *kwela's* subversive potential derived from its youthful manifestation, and its popularisation of a discursively-charged musical idiom that had come to symbolise African cultural resistance to apartheid. Where segregation had smothered a vibrant urban African popular performance expressivity by confining black jazz to far-flung townships and a mono-racial patronage, *kwela* African jazz's marginal resonances were in contrast performed in the cosmopolitan daylight of the city's streets. Through *kwela* street performances were made available – to the ordinary non-African population of South Africa – the only live experiences of African jazz or *mbaqanga* as an exclusively African urban social practice and emblematic of a disappearing shanty towns culture. Musical considerations aside, this form of social performance presentation – in availing a symbolic cultural experience for participation and socialisation of *all* cultural subjects, was the single most remarkable act of Africanisation in the music of the period. This broaching of the musical rhetoric of resistance by the teenagers of the fifties could be taken as foreshadowing the role of the youth in the 1976 Soweto uprising, the eventual dismantling of apartheid and South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994.

CHAPTER 5

Bebop and the Blue Notes' repertoires until 1964

The eclectic interpretations of diverse South African musical influences in the Blue Notes' exile repertoires were preceded by the group's remarkable accomplishments as hard-bop exponents in South Africa. Their leading position in South African jazz practice of the early 1960s was attained as a result of an immersion in bebop as mediated in the styles of Dizzy Gillespie, Charlie Parker and Thelonius Monk, among others (McGregor 1999:15). As a radical influence, bebop had arrested the attention of progressive jazz musicians in South Africa, diverting them largely from a mainstream practice best represented in vocal jazz styles and an urban dance culture sustained by big-band *mbaqanga* repertoires.

As stylistic developments and performance narratives of African cultural hybridity within white-dominated modernities in the US and South Africa, bebop and *mbaqanga* represented remarkable similarities in their ideological pursuits. Bebop asserted a discursivity of historical African American cultural experiences and jazz's independence from a stagnant standardisation and commercialisation, while *mbaqanga* sought to reconcile American big-band swing influence with an affirmation of the social grounding of its practitioners within the broader cultural sensibilities of a marginalised African majority. From these specific orientations the two styles coincided in their social goals of particularising black ideological orientations, even as they were mobilising from different tactical positions of a marginal subjectivity of the global African condition. In this view bebop may be seen to have sacrificed a widespread appeal for an ideological goal of redefining a black intellectual discourse of resistance within the broader debates of the American political and economic power dispensation. In an apparent contrast, *mbaqanga's* appeal bolstered a perception of a commonly subjugated urban African condition, and was the sonic background to a national campaign of defiance against apartheid, particularly in the late 1950s. In this way bebop could be seen to have idealised a discrete appreciation and approval through its avant-garde and subcultural ideological resonance with a subversive minority. *Mbaqanga* on the other hand trumpeted a popular

defiance whose goal was a conscientisation of the African proletariat and the nurturing of solidarity towards an oppositional participation against apartheid.

The disruptive essence of bebop to the 1940s jazz world is easily obscured in the entrenched retellings of bebop's origins at Minton's (Lott 1988:1). In the narratives of bebop's social history, the style is associated with the riotous atmosphere of wartime U.S and its attendant industrial, social and racially charged politics. The militancy of bebop's nurturing environment – which included the consolidation of black civil rights groupings into the NAACP and the founding of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) – is somewhat underplayed by bebop's own intellectual vanguard. The intellectual depth and organic radicalism of this musical response to a collective black experience may be gleaned from Eric Lott's essay 'Double V, Double-Time: Bebop's Politics of Style' (1988). Lott was drawing attention to the pertinence of Amiri Baraka's statement that '[t]he song and the people is the same,' and Albert Murray's attribution of bebop's originating impulses to 'the musicians' chief desire … to make the music swing harder'. (Lott 1988:1). Lott's conclusion that '[be]bop was about making disciplined imagination alive and answerable to the social change of its time' highlights the elision inherent in discussions of jazz – and bebop in particular – which situate bebop outside of its social and cultural milieu. In the 1950s the musical radicalism of bebop drew the attention of progressive South African jazz musicians, who may have recognized in the style a potential to articulate the complexities of an African entanglement in a coercive modernity. In practice, this process demanded musical skills that had been largely irrelevant in the disjunctures of the prevailing brand of modernity. As a result, an eloquent expressive tool distilled from the global experiences of black marginality was not readily accessible to African musicians grappling with the realities of their own historical exploitation. The section dealing with the white mediation of the bebop influence recognises this complex of disjunctive processes attendant on the elaboration of the bebop influence among black musicians in South Africa.

The conceptual origins of the Blue Notes, as will be suggested in the concluding section of the chapter, are inseparable from the growing influence of bebop on South African popular jazz practice. The Blue Notes will be seen to emerge indirectly from a wave of non-racial jazz activism that had engendered musical encounters between disparate black and white jazz worlds of 1950s and early 1960s Cape Town. These musical encounters and discursive engagements with jazz performance seem to have involved two distinct processes, the first of which can be described as a set of musical responses to apartheid which – through deliberate organisational alliances – sought to bring into being a non-racial performance platform for jazz. The Cape Town jazz scene of the latter 1950s provided a rallying point for performances which defied petty apartheid restrictions and facilitated, particularly for musicians, a non-racial forum for engaging with American jazz's rapidly changing influences. In the context of the Blue Notes and specifically Chris McGregor, a social immersion in jazz practice had ensued from an increasing political activism as a student and musical encounters involving 'first real experiences of building things from riffs' (McGregor 1994:14). The politicisation of interracial cultural fraternisation of apartheid subjects had imbued non-racial jazz practice with a subversity of overt oppositional ideologies of resistance.

The second process emanated directly from an engagement, in jazz-oriented musical practice, with the increasing influence of the bebop phenomenon. The radicalism of bebop in its home environment was closely related to African American responses to their marginal subjectivism and an unwelcome commoditisation of jazz through the socio-economic dominance of white American culture (Lott 1988, Kofsky 1970, Gillespie 1979). Initiated as experimentation, bebop's freshness lay in its expansion of jazz's musical resources and in 'pointing [jazz] in the direction of a "listening" music as distinguished from a "dancing" music' (Southern 1983:251). As this new music was based on a deep knowledge of the European classical musical heritage and an advanced manipulation of its harmonic devices, it was practically inarticulable to the prevalent skills of the majority of African popular musicians. The musical non-literacy characterising popular black jazz practice in South Africa amplified the disjunctures of ideoscapes and technoscapes within the global cultural flows in which the bebop

influence was transmitted. Unlike big-band swing, the non-commercialism of bebop resulting from its disdainful regard for institutions of popular jazz consumption had marginalised the style from the powerful popularising mediascapes of film and the print media. The Jim Crow image of black Americans was exacerbated in the popular mirror of big-band swing, which reflected a white image of a black face, so that 'Benny Goodman became the "King of Swing" and Fletcher Henderson became his chief arranger'. (Kofsky 1970:58). This title was conferred on Goodman by the powerful popular media irrespective of the fact that it was Fletcher Henderson and his all-black orchestra who 'as early as 1928 had worked out the basis of the jazz style known as Swing' (Kofsky 1970:58). A discursive articulation of the ideological contestations of African American music was thus submerged in a juxtaposition of cultural export finance, media and capital-controlled marketing strategies.

In South Africa, a mediation of the bebop influence by white musicians served to further neutralize racial and ideological entanglements of bebop's U.S. origins, particularly in their resonance with apartheid. In the U.S., discussions of jazz history acknowledge the primacy of a unique black American experience and black American contributions to the development of the jazz tradition (Kofsky 1966, Williams 1970, Jones 1963, Gillespie and Fraser 1979). Discussions of the uptake of bebop by African jazz musicians in South Africa in the late 1950s and the early 1960s, however, cannot ignore the white mentorship of some of the country's leading black bebop exponents. As an improvisatory practice applying extensions of a European musical model, the language of bebop was largely inaccessible to the majority of urban black musicians, who lacked the analytical, technical, and theoretical grounding necessary to be able to master the style. In attempting to do so, black musicians in South Africa were pursuing bebop as a crucial, eloquent expression of black cultural subjectivism in Africa as well as in the world generally. An absence of direct mentorship by bebop's African-American originators may have facilitated original ideological adaptations of the bebop style that were substantiated by concrete African experiences of alienation in South Africa. Keorapetse Kgositsile, the black South African poet who spent a considerable period of his exile in Chicago, remarked on the significant contribution of a unique South African experience

to a discursive resistance in African-American cultural consciousness, as the following excerpt from an interview attests:

> **Sazi**: So you are telling me you had a very strong sense of South Africanness in exile ... and not being carbon copies of black Americanism... to an extent where African Americans could draw some strength on that kind of unity...
> **Kgositsile**: Yeah ... How could I say ... because when you meet like that culturally, it means you can be mutually enriching. But even at the level of musical idiom, Johnny Dyani for instance, could play where the most avant garde group [played] and command a lot of respect, and you listen to the meeting of the two musical idioms and they fit each other... They don't sacrifice who they are, he doesn't sacrifice who he is.... exchange. Abdullah Ibrahim could play an African American classic like 'Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen' and it is recognisable as that classical but also you hear that ... corner of Cape Town that Abdullah Ibrahim comes from is fully there... He's put steps through that classic, he's not just a carbon copy ... not mimicking. (Kgositsile 2002, Author's interview)

Black South African musicians' interest in the latest American jazz developments were sustained by activities which included collecting and listening to jazz recordings, reading magazines, and going to the cinema, as Abdullah Ibrahim told an interviewer:

> We used to go down to the docks, and we brought the (black American) sailors into the community. Some of them were musicians, and some of them were record collectors. It was another way to maintain the link with what was going on here musically. It was from hanging out with these sailors that I got the nickname of Dollar Brand. (Abdullah Ibrahim [Dollar Brand], quoted in *Down Beat*, January 1985)

5.1 The Blue Notes and a mediation of the bebop influence in South Africa

The influence of bebop in South African jazz practice is best represented in two albums, Jazz in Africa [Volumes 1 and 2], that were recorded in South Africa in 1959. Both albums document a visit to South Africa in 1959 by John Mehegan, a music professor and jazz pianist from New York's Juilliard School of Music. Mehegan's 1959 albums – the first long-playing and specifically bebop-influenced recordings to be produced in South Africa – had not directly involved members of the Blue Notes. However, the recordings did include musicians like alto saxophonist Kippie Moeketsi, trumpeter Hugh Masekela and drummer Early Mabuza, who were – at one time or another – part of several successive formations leading up to the consolidation of the Blue Notes. As members of the King Kong orchestra touring the country in 1959 Moeketsi, Masekela, and trombonist Jonas Gwangwa had performed lunch-hour concerts with the twenty-one-year-old Chris McGregor before all-white audiences at the South African College of Music (McGregor 1994:13.) The cross-pollinations occasioned by the

visits of out-of-town jazz musicians to Cape Town were regarded by improvising musicians as highly important learning occasions in which knowledge about innovations in jazz was shared. Crucial in this process of exchange was a four-month long Cape Town stopover by members of the King Kong orchestra in 1959, among whom were legendary figures of the 1950s black jazz world, including saxophonist Skip Pahlane, guitarist General Duze, pianist Sol Klaaste and saxophonist Mackay Davashe. Later, Chris McGregor remembered that time as 'a period of jazz explosion' and during which 'I found myself playing each night wherever the music was, and studying each day; I *never* slept. It passed like a dream, as if in another world. *That* was a *real* education! (McGregor 1994:13). A similar situation was described on occasions when Johannesburg big bands visited Cape Town in the late 1940s and the early 1950s, as saxophonist Cup 'n' Saucer Nkanuka recalled:

> We used to be very happy when we got visits from bands from Jo'burg, like The Jazz Maniacs, The Merry Blackbirds, Zonk … And that's where we used to get our inspiration, from other musicians, more advanced than us. Cape Town used to attract a lot of those musicians. When the bands came to Cape Town, they disbanded. Half of them went home, half of them stayed. (Cup 'n' Saucer Nkanuka, quoted in Rasmussen ed. 2003:217)

In the 1960s the event of the Cold Castle National Festival – as will be discussed below – became pivotal in its facilitation of encounters between musicians from far-flung centres of the country's vibrant jazz practicing urban enclaves.

5.2 John Mehegan's Jazz in Africa: an imitative phase in the South African domestication of bebop

It was at the end of King Kong's national tour in October of 1959 – which had ended in Cape Town – that John Mehegan assembled a handful of aspirant bebop musicians from Johannesburg and Durban to record the two Jazz in Africa albums. The project was scarcely rehearsed and took place during a tumultuous phase of Mehegan's visit, which had ultimately led to his (and his wife Terry's) deportation from South Africa on account of his close association with black musicians (Masekela and Cheers 2004:100). Besides the Johannesburg front-line horn section comprising Kippie Moeketsi (clarinet and alto saxophone), Hugh Masekela (trumpet) and Jonas Gwangwa (trombone), among the

musicians involved in the sessions were a rhythm section which included John Mehegan and Chris Joseph alternating on piano, Claude Shange on bass, and Gene Latimore on drums. One of the pieces in the first volume, entitled *Cosmic Ray*, featured Claude Shange's brother Ray playing two pennywhistles at the same time. In Chris Joseph, the brothers Shange, and Gene Latimore, the recordings featured a contingent of jazz musicians from Durban, which is arguably among the least documented urban regional jazz practice enclaves in South Africa.

The two Jazz in Africa albums reflect the essential dependence of the individual musicians' improvisational approaches on American popular jazz repertoires. Out of the sixteen tracks laid down during a marathon recording session at Johannesburg's Gallo studios on 8 September 1959, none were original compositions by South African jazz musicians. Of the two local compositions included, one was a 20-second *mbira* introduction and the other a twelve-bar blues 'head' that Mehegan categorised as 'vernacular' (Jazz in Africa I [1959]) in the album notes. The brilliant but brief *mbira* piece, simply entitled *Venda Introduction* (Musical Excerpt 5.1) – even though it is clearly in the Shona *mbira dza vadzimu* style – was credited to one Sampson Singo, who is described in the album jacket notes as 'a busker (a strolling street performer) who wandered into the studios during the session' (Jazz in Africa I [1959]).

The twelve-bar blues piece entitled *Cosmic Ray* was credited to Ray Shange, who performed it on two pennywhistles simultaneously. Shange's virtuoso jazz improvisatory approach belies the puniness of the metal flageolet, a street-children's instrument popularised in *kwela* juvenile performances of the 1950s. The rendering of the ubiquitous African American twelve-bar blues 'head' on a cheap, trade-store instrument was perhaps the only reason for Mehegan's consignment of the piece to the 'vernacular' category, as he further noted of Shange's performance on the track:

> Playing the pennywhistle is only one aspect of this deeply sensitive man who draws magnificently and also plays credible jazz drums. The penny-whistle, incidentally costs about five shillings, or about sixty cents in United States currency. (Jazz In Africa I [1959])

The second of Mehegan's two Jazz in Africa albums features the same musicians as the first, and includes a larger repertoire of standard popular American jazz material and a twelve-bar blues piece entitled *12 X 12*. The album significantly included one of Mackay

Davashe's compositions, *Mabomvana*, which the composer had previously recorded for Gallo (Musical Excerpt 5.2). The title alludes to one of the twelve great houses of Xhosa chieftainship, the Bomvana, who are characterised by their staunch traditionalism and the use of red ochre on their garments and bodies. Despite its deep allusions to indigeneity, Davashe's piece bore no resemblance to any of the melodic and rhythmic ubiquities of indigenous Xhosa music. In a reinterpretation recorded as *Johnny's Idea* (Musical Excerpt 5.3) the moderate swing shuffle melody of *Mabomvana*, originally conceived in the key of B-flat, was rendered up-tempo and harmonised for the key of F-sharp major by Mehegan. This version of the piece came about as a result of a workshop idea, explained in the album notes by Mehegan as follows:

> One night at a session, the subject of the number of possible 'solutions' to an original melody arose and I maintained there could be more than one until the composer designated his particular 'solution.' Kippie agreed, but some of the others doubted it so Kippie played this vernacular piece '*Mabomvana*' and asked me to work out a 'solution.' I had never heard the tune before and my solution was based upon a familiar chord chart in F sharp major. This broke Kippie up since he had played the tune for years on a chord chart in B-flat major and 'Johnny's Idea' is in F-sharp major. (Jazz in Africa II [1959])

With regards to bebop, the repertoires contained in the two albums were typified by a dependence on American musical material (bearing in mind bebop's own marked dependence on popular jazz and Tin Pan Alley repertoires). This South African domestication of American jazz influence represented an 'imitative' phase in the process of the domestication of bebop (Hamm 1988). Thus, between them the two albums included the following standard American jazz material:

Jazz in Africa Volume I

Delilah (Victor Young)
Round Midnight (Monk, Williams, Hanighen)
Lover Come Back To Me (Romberg – Hammerstein)
Body and Soul (Green, Sour, Heyman)
Old Devil Moon (Lane, Harburg)
Yesterdays (Kern, Harbach)
X-Ray's Friend (Freddie Gambrell)

Jazz in Africa Volume II

Like Someone in Love (Burke – Van Heusen)
Angel Eyes (Matt Denis, E. Brent)
Yardbird Suite (Charlie Parker)
These Foolish Things (Strachey)

The fact that bebop's initial repertorial resources were based on a largely white popular jazz repertory is undeniable, just as was bebop's stylistic departure in delving into the resources of European classical music and theory. While the musical knowledge and skills informing bebop in the 1940s were within the grasp and control of black American musicians, in mid-twentieth century South Africa such intellectual musical abilities – and their material infrastructure – were still largely a prerogative of white advantage.

In an appeal for material assistance to the American public on behalf of the impoverished black South African jazz musicians languishing under apartheid, John Mehegan was scathing of petty apartheid and its effects on the practice of jazz by black musicians. Singling out the jazz talents of Kippie Moeketsi and his mentorship of Jonas Gwangwa and Hugh Masekela, Mehegan further reported in *Down Beat* magazine as follows:

> There are many gifted persons in South Africa besides them who, without some help, never will be able to express the beauty that is within them. Claude Shange needs a bass; his brother Ray, who has learned to play two pennywhistles simultaneously, wants a tenor saxophone. So it goes. (Mehegan 1959:23)

In the U.S. bebop constituted an urgent social commentary on the disjunctive ethnoscapes of the American socio-political dispensation, but in South Africa it was adrift. The country's largest urban cultural centre was Johannesburg, as it is today, but the formation of South Africa's pioneering black bebop ensemble, the Jazz Epistle, took place in Cape Town where Johannesburg's bebop musicians Kippie Moeketsi, Hugh Masekela and Jonas Gwangwa had briefly relocated in 1959. The visit by John Mehegan[39] coincided with a government crackdown relating to the protracted Treason Trial and in retaliation to widespread black protests against the pass laws. Among the reasons impelling the three musicians' move to Cape Town were the diminishing opportunities around Johannesburg to perform in the radical and potentially subversive idiom of bebop, a relative non-racialism of a booming Cape Town jazz scene, and musical developments later described as follows by Hugh Masekela:

[39] In his biography (co-authored with Michael D. Cheers) Hugh Masekela remembers that the Mehegans' unpopularity with South Africa's white authorities emanated, among other issues, from newspaper interviews in which they expressed their support for the African causes, and from 'hanging out with us (black) musicians in township shebeens and walking nonchalantly with us down Johannesburg streets. John gave free lessons to me, Kippie, Jonas, and other African artists, while charging whites fifteen pounds per lesson'. (Masekela and Michael D Cheers 2004:100)

> Jonas, Kippie, and I got word that Abdullah Ibrahim had formed a trio with young Makhaya Ntshoko on drums and bassist Johnny Gertze, playing to packed houses at the Ambassadors nightclub in Woodstock, next to District Six. (Masekela and Cheers 2004:101)

The result of this move was the formation in Cape Town of a short-lived but historic sextet, Jazz Epistles, comprising Kippie Moeketsi on alto saxophone and clarinet, Hugh Masekela (trumpet), Jonas Gwangwa (trombone), and Capetonians Dollar Brand (piano), Johnny Gertze (bass) and Makaya Ntshoko on drums.

Hugh Masekela has gone on record as saying that the idea for the Jazz Epistles had been initiated much earlier, around 1958, as a result of two incidents during a national tour by the Manhattan Brothers (Masekela & Cheers 2004:94). The Manhattan Brothers and their supporting band, Mackay Davashe's Shantytown Sextet, had abruptly parted ways shortly before an important nationwide tour that was to include the major cities of Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town (Mogotsi 2002:50). As part of the replacement personnel, Jonas Gwangwa and Hugh Masekela joined the Manhattan Brothers' new backing ensemble, which included Kippie Moeketsi and 'Todd Matshikiza who had replaced Fix Qunta on the piano' (Mogotsi 2002:51). On the Cape leg of the tour Matshikiza had to return to Johannesburg to take up composition work for the musical *King Kong* and, on Kippie Moeketsi's recommendation, he was replaced by Dollar Brand (Mogotsi 2002:51, Rasmussen 2001:11). These developments are considered important in initiating the encounters between the Cape Town and Johannesburg contingents of the Jazz Epistles. These relationships were further cemented when the three Johannesburg horn men became part of the 'King Kong' orchestra, as a result of which they spent the best part of 1959 in Cape Town, jamming and participating in the city's vibrant and relatively non-racial jazz atmosphere. In a biography written by his widow, Chris McGregor claimed this as a high point in his South African musical experience and 'a period of jazz explosion' (McGregor 1994:13). Of the lasting influences emanating from these experiences, Chris McGregor was to relate to his biographer many years later:

> I took those musicians, Masekela, Moeketsi, Gwangwa, with me to the College of Music and with my rhythm section we gave lunchtime concerts which became quite an event. It was Kippie, as well as Dollar Brand, who impressed me the most at age 21. (McGregor 1994:13)

The Jazz Epistle had a successful run over the 1959 festive Christmas season and, according to Masekela, 'were the talk of Cape Town [as] tourists, the township folks from Athlone, District Six, Goodwood, Langa, and all the Cape Flats' enthusiastically attended their concerts' (Masekela and Cheers 2004:102).

5.3 The Jazz Epistle: an assimilation of bebop by African jazz musicians

The Jazz Epistle's relocation to Johannesburg at the beginning of 1960 paved the way for a recording session with Gallo the result of which was the album The Jazz Epistle Verse I (1960). All eight tracks in the album were original jazz material composed by four members of the Jazz Epistles:

Side One
Dollar's Moods (Hugh Masekela)
Blues for Hughie (Kippie Moeketsi)
Ukujonga Phambili (Dollar Brand)
I Remember Billy (Kippie Moeketsi)

Side Two
Vary – Oo – Vum (Dollar Brand)
Carol's Drive (Jonas Gwangwa)
Gafsa (Dollar Brand)
Scullery Department (Kippie Moeketsi)

The Jazz Epistle's album, which was promptly released and for which there were no contracts signed between the band and the producer, took a mere two hours to record (Masekela and Cheers 2004:104). A subsequent six-week-long booking for live performances at Johannesburg's Selborne Hall helped garner a wave of popularity and attention for both the band and what became regarded as 'the first such album by an African group' (Masekela and Cheers 2004:104). The sold-out concerts - performed on separate days for blacks and whites – served to bolster perceptions of bebop as a national consciousness, a black African performance practice and a progressive development towards a modernization of a South African jazz.

Even though the Jazz Epistles lasted for no more than six months, their existence coincided with some of the most tumultuous and violent events of a black resistance to escalating apartheid and its enforcement. Among such events were the Defiance Campaign, the Rivonia Treason Trial, the Sharpeville Massacre, and the burning of

identity documents by members of the Pan Africanist Congress. The period was marked by widespread random arrests and the persecution by the Bureau of State Security (BOSS) of individuals, protesters, trade union activists and suspected communists. As a result, many politically implicated individuals were leaving the country or going underground to evade arrest and imprisonment, bannings and house-arrests. The enthusiastic reception of bebop as performed by the Jazz Epistles and others within their progressive musical milieu may be seen as closely reflecting the urban tumult of the times, just as the protest actions of black American militants coexisted in time with the strong growth of bebop in the New York of the 1940s.

The Jazz Epistle album differed in a number of significant aspects from the projects that had been spearheaded by John Mehegan in 1959, as represented by the Jazz in Africa album series. While pursuing the goal of mastering bebop influences emanating from the United States, the Jazz Epistle's Verse One album was original in that it took this process even further. Each of the tracks comprising the album's material expressed a unique interpretation of the bebop influence in a novel synthesis of the style as a pertinent expression of local individual and social relationships. Despite a somewhat stilted approach to swing generally, all of the soloists exhibited identifiable bebop influences in the execution of their original compositions. The album's eight tracks were divided as follows: three compositions – *Blues for Hughie*, *I Remember Billy* and *Scullery Department* from Kippie Moeketsi; three compositions from Dollar Brand – *Ukujonga Phambili, Vary-Oo-Vum* and *Gafsa*; and one composition each from Hugh Masekela – *Dollar's Moods,* and Jonas Gwangwa – *Carol's Drive*.

5.4 The Jazz Epistles, bebop influence and 'black Atlantic' correspondences

The use of syncopated melodic elements based on the pentatonic character of African melodic materials in Masekela's *Dollar's Moods* (Musical Excerpt 5.4) and in Kippie Moeketsi's *Blues for Hughie* (Musical Excerpt 5.5), echoes closely a similar delving in East Coast hard-bop, into African-American cultural performance traditions.

The influences of Charlie Parker's timbre and phrasing in Kippie Moeketsi's solo improvisational approach on the alto saxophone in *Dollar's Moods* in particular may be singled out. There is a remarkable absorption of the approaches of both Duke Ellington and Thelonius Monk in the sparseness of Dollar Brand's piano – combined with dissonant attacks and flurries of glissandi. Dollar Brand's own *Ukujonga Phambili* ('looking ahead') [Musical Excerpt 5.6] is reminiscent of Thelonius Monk's angular lyricism not only in its use of dissonant intervallic relationships as pedal points, but also in employing a non-standard jazz structural form as a springboard for solo improvisation. Kippie Moeketsi's *I Remember Billy* (Musical Excerpt 5.7) uncannily resembles the Green-Sauer-Heyman-Eyton classic ballad, *Body and Soul* (Musical Excerpt 5.8), in structure, tonality and tempo, particularly in the latter's 1947 recording from Gene Norman's 'Just Jazz' featuring Red Norvo (vibraphone), Stan Getz (tenor saxophone), Willie 'The Lion' Smith (alto saxophone), Charlie Shavers (trumpet) and a rhythm section which included Nat 'King' Cole (piano), Oscar Moore (guitar), Johnnie Miller (bass) and Louis Bellson on drums.

The same might be said of the blues eclectism of the opening two tracks on the album's Side 2, Dollar Brand's *Vary-Oo-Vum* (Musical Excerpts 5.9) and Jonas Gwangwa's *Carol's Drive* (Musical Excerpts 5.10), both being syncopated melodic and rhythmic deconstructions of a blues 'head' *a la* Monk, stated by piano and horns together before breaking into a 12-bar form for solo improvisation. The final tune in the album, *Scullery Department* (Musical Excerpt 5.11), by Moeketsi sounds like a cross between Dollar Brand's Monkism and Charles Mingus' raucous blues interpretation, with a head arrangement that is voiced in unison by the horns over a piano, bass and drum in triple-meter rhythmic ostinato pattern.

The resonances found between the Jazz Epistle's individual compositional approaches and those of African-American post-bebop point to a matured assimilation of influence, and a correspondence echoing black Atlantic dialogues (Gilroy 1993; Masilela 1996). In its particular pertinence to jazz influence, a modelling of a black South African modernity on African American cultural achievements has been mapped on such correspondences as

those observed between Miriam Makeba and Sarah Vaughan or Ella Fitzgerald, Abdullah Ibrahim and Duke Ellington, Miles Davis and Hugh Masekela (Masilela 1996:94). In literature, these correspondences have been described as a demonstration of historical 'trans-Atlantic affiliative relationships' readily observable in such instances as the relationships 'between Ngugi [wa Thiong'o] and [Frantz] Fanon … between Aimé Césaire and Leopold Sedar Senghor, or between Ezekiel Mphahlele and Langston Hughes, or between Wole Soyinka and Henry Louis Gates, or between C.L.R. James and Kwame Nkrumah, or between Solomon Plaatje and W.E.B. Du Bois, or between Peter Abrahams and Richard Wright …' (Masilela 1996:89).

Finally it is the absence – in repertoires documenting assimilation by members of the Jazz Epistle, of the bebop influence – of compositions in the *mbaqanga* or other indigenous musical idioms, that is glaring. In Chapter 6 I have put forward a contention that music such as documented in the album Jazz Epistle Verse I – in eliding the resilient symbolic repertoires of African musical culture and practice – might be interpreted as prefiguring exile. The extension of this argument to the Blue Notes will be substantiated in the later sections of the present chapter, in which I pay special attention to the group's documented repertoires prior to their exile in the UK and Europe.

5.5 The formation of the Blue Notes and their assimilation of the bebop influence

Since the late 1950s Cape Town had been regarded as the mecca of jazz in South Africa, a fact which can reasonably be attributed to the region's relatively slow pace in implementing apartheid. As a major African port city, Cape Town – like other coastal cities such as Port Elizabeth, East London, Durban and Lourenco Marques – had become a historically significant entry point for western cultural influences (Coplan 1980; 1985). In Cape Town in particular regular contact between the city's musicians and American sailors had since the early 1930s sustained an abiding interest in a developing American jazz culture (Rasmussen ed. 2003). Beginning with white-mediated American blackface minstrelsy early in the nineteenth century, a popularity of successive styles of American popular music had fuelled their parallel practices in the Cape, involving black and white

musicians alike (Erlmann 1991). An engagement with these diversely mediated musical influences by the region's diversely situated racial and economic classes reflected the disjunctures in the agency of global cultural flows (Appadurai 1990, 1993 and 1996). The musical performance ramifications of such influences on the differently situated cultural subjects were discussed in preceeding chapters, which also dealt with the entrenchment of social-dance oriented and jazz-influenced musical practices among the Eastern Cape's and Cape Town's black musicians since the early 1930s.

After the Second World War the development of African-American bebop and a worldwide attention it received had a radical influence on existing approaches to jazz in South Africa. By the mid-1950s, the style was drawing the attention of progressive jazz musicians like Chris McGregor, whose own maturing relationship with Cape Town's black jazz culture – and thereby affecting his concentration on his studies at the College of Music – was being influenced by Charlie Parker, among other bebop pioneers. Chris recalled in interview how the workshop-like jamming sessions with scores of township *mbaqanga* musicians suddenly became engrossed with bebop repertoires as early as 1957 (Ballantine 1986). This remarkable sensitisation to bebop marked the beginnings of an ideological mobilisation, one outcome of which was the founding of a non-racial ensemble, the Blue Notes. Chris McGregor later said of his developing musical socialisation during 1960, immediately following Sharpeville and his joining of forces with Port Elizabeth saxophonist Dudu Pukwana:

> We were all fascinated by what others were doing. We started studying the compositions of [Thelonius] Monk, and of Duke [Ellington], Charlie Parker, Ornette Coleman. We started to make our own compositions and talked a lot about forming a group that could take to the road. (McGregor 1994:21)

The repertoire of the Jazz Epistles' original compositions in bebop-influenced style, as recorded in their only published album, Verse I (1960), demonstrates clearly the earliest achievements of the process described above by Chris McGregor. Within an overarching practice of popular dance-oriented jazz forms, the pursuit and extension of the bebop influence was a marginal pursuit which, while musically challenging to practitioners of mainstream and township jazz idioms, was lacking in substantial patronage and sponsorship. The dissolution of a ground-breaking ensemble such as the Jazz Epistle

illustrates the typical fate of accomplished South African beboppers of the late 1950s and the early 1960s:

> As a group they lasted for less than six months. There were too few outlets for them to live as professionals; even when there were jobs they turned sour. A stint in Hillbrow coffee-bar lasted a few nights, another in downtown Johannesburg hotel a little longer. Here the musicians were allowed in the lounge only when playing; they spent their breaks in the kitchen … or on the fire-escape staircase, drinking illegally … So they left individually, Masekela and Gwangwa to study at the Manhattan School of Music, Moeketsi to play for a while with the King Kong band in London; Brand, Gertse and Ntshoko to play as a trio at the Club Afrika in Zurich. (McGregor 1994:24)

In echoing the greater fragmentation of South African society following the Sharpeville massacre, and the difficulty of maintaining enduring non-racial alliances, the history of the Blue Notes during this period is marked by constant changes in personnel. Permanent alliances between musicians were regularly undermined by intermittent individual engagements, as well as by the low fees paid to musicians by most of the venues in which they performed. Furthermore, the fact that this was a non-racial fraternity soon attracted the unwelcome attention of apartheid police, necessitating constant movement for both individual musicians and their musical formations. Such was the case when Blue Notes' were engaged to play at The Naaz in Salt River 'for about five pounds a week and a meal each a day' (McGregor 1994:22). The group had now come to include – in addition to Chris McGregor and Dudu Pukwana – bassist Johnny Gertze, who had replaced Martin Mgijima and Phakamile Joya on drums, who had come in the place of Donald Staegemann. This was around the time when Dollar Brand had recently left for Switzerland and Chris McGregor was contemplating moving the group to Johannesburg because 'the [apartheid] Government began to interest themselves in these non-classified areas, so the atmosphere became less healthy' (McGregor 1994:22). Since 1961 the Blue Notes appear to have been conceptualized as a large ensemble, with several of its earliest non-racial formations mobilising around the central figure of Chris McGregor. McGregor's plans to move up to Johannesburg were delayed as a result of his being given the opportunity to arrange the music for Spike Glasser's 'Mister Paljas,' a musical show conceived as a Cape Town version of 'King Kong' (McGregor 1994:22). The repertoire of numbers for 'Mister Paljas' – mostly conceived by Spike Glasser – was described by Chris McGregor as 'extremely un-together material … which … had to [be] put into usable form' (Ballantine 1986). The music was later recorded, probably in late

1961, at Cape Town's Manley van Niekerk Studios, by a group which included Chris McGregor on piano, Dudu Pukwana and Nick Peterson (alto saxophones), Cornelius Khumalo (clarinet and baritone saxophone), Dennis Mpale and Hugh Masekela (trumpets), Blyth Mbityana (trombone), Joe Mal (bass) and Phakamile Joya on drums (Fowler n.d.). Maxine McGregor claims that this group may have included Nikele Moyake and Johnny Gertse, before the latter's departure to join Dollar Brand in Zurich, and their replacement on bass by 'Saint' Mokaingoa (McGregor 1994:22). In the midst of his engagement with the musical 'Mister Paljas,' Chris McGregor was laid off with a severe illness for the best part of 1962, resulting in a hiatus for the group, during which time members of the proto-Blue Notes ensemble drifted off to other formations and engagements elsewhere. Following his long recuperation in the (then) Transkei, Chris McGregor went back to Cape Town to assemble a group for the upcoming National Jazz Festival in October 1962.

5.6 The 1962 Cold Castle National Festival in Moroka-Jabavu (Soweto)

In Chapter 3 I mentioned in passing the disruptive influence of big jazz concerts and festivals on existing ensembles, particularly in the 1950s and the early 1960s. In hosting a range of disbanded jazz formations that had previously serviced a thriving Cape Town jazz scene and were now struggling to remobilise themselves for this particular event, the Moroka-Jabavu Cold Castle National Festival of 1962 was no exception. A steady flux in personnel had always been the hallmark of Cape Town's jazz scene, but the festival may be seen to have been a special opportunity for the musicians to come together in a mutual rediscovery that was to lead to the final South African chapter of the Blue Notes. Among the bands appearing at the 1962 Cold Castle National Festival were the following:

Chris McGregor Septet
Chris McGregor - piano
'Columbus' Ngcukana – baritone saxophone
Ronnie Beer - tenor saxophone
Danayi Dlova - alto saxophone
Willie Nettie - trombone
Monty Weber - drums
Sammy Maritz - bass

The Jazz Ambassadors:
'Cup 'n Saucer' Nkanuka - tenor saxophone
Temba Matole - piano

Lango Davis - trombone
Lami Zokufa – bass
Louis Moholo - drums

The Jazz Giants

Tete Mbambisa - piano
Nikele Moyake - tenor saxophone
Mankunku Ngozi - trumpet
Dudu Pukwana - alto saxophone
Makaya Ntshoko – drums
Martin Mgijima - bass

Eric Nomvete's Big Five

Eric Nomvete - tenor saxophone
Mongezi Feza - trumpet
Unknown - alto saxophone
Daniel Sibanyoni - bass
Dick Khoza - drums
Shakes Mgudlwa - piano

The Jazz Dazzlers

Mackay Davashe – tenor saxophone
Kippie Moeketsi - clarinet, 1st alto saxophone
Unknown – 2nd alto saxophone
Mackay Davashe – tenor saxophone
Kleintjie Rubushe – trumpet
Dugmore 'Darkie' Silinga - trombone
Sol Klaaste – piano
General Duze – guitar
Jacob Lepere – bass
Willie Malan or Ben Mawela – drums

The Woody Woodpeckers

Victor Ndlazilwane
Johnny Tsagane
Ben 'Satch' Masinga
Bennet Masango

With the exception of the bassist Johnny Dyani, distributed among the various ensembles at the 1962 Cold Castle National Jazz Festival were five of the six members of the contingent of the Blue Notes that was soon to be exiled. Drawing from several accounts, as well as from details of the Blue Notes' recording sessions from 1962 to 1964, there is enough evidence to prove that Johnny Dyani did not join the ensemble until early 1964 (Rasmussen 2003, McGregor 1994, McGregor 2003, Ellingham 2001, and Fowler n.d.).

According to Louis Moholo, the Blue Notes' membership was mobilised from encounters between the musicians at the 1962 Cold Castle National Jazz Festival in Moroka-Jabavu in Soweto, Johannesburg (Eyles 2002). Remarkably, all of the members of the Blue Notes - except for Johnny Dyani, who for certain did not perform on this occasion – were playing for different bands at the festival. It was perhaps largely as a result of both a mutual recognition among the more outstanding musicians at the festival and perhaps

their shared geographic origins that these Cape-based musicians came together after the festival to form a structure that would become the Blue Notes.

5.7 Musical Repertoires at the 1962 Moroka-Jabavu Cold Castle National Festival

A version of the Blue Notes formed immediately after the 1962 Moroka–Jabavu Cold Castle National Festival consisted of Chris McGregor (piano), Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone), Nick Moyake (tenor saxophone), Mongezi Feza (trumpet), Early Mabuza (drums) and Sammy Maritz on bass, and was thus only two men and a few months short of its final personnel composition. Some twenty-five years later, Louis Moholo was to confusingly attribute events of the 1962 festival – which took place in Moroka Stadium in Jabavu – with those of the 1963 festival which took place in Orlando Stadium:

> There was a concert, festival happening in Johannesburg [Soweto] in Orlando Stadium. I was there with some other guys and Chris McGregor had some other people, and Mongezi Feza was playing with some other people. And ... we won the prize, there was a prize-winning thing, some gold, some drums you know. Chris McGregor won something too ... Dudu and Monks ... and after that we decided to form a band, a 'jazz giants' kind of thing you know. We named it the Blue Notes, and that's how it started. (Louis Moholo in Blue Notes and Exiled Voices 1990)

As I have stated above, it was in the 1962 Cold Castle National Festival in Moroka-Jabavu that the members of the yet-to-be consolidated Blue Notes were distributed among four separate ensembles originating from the Cape. The Gallo-produced album entitled The Cold Castle National Festival Moroka-Jabavu (1962) documents some of the styles evident in the competitive context of the event. The numbers to be heard in this album give us an idea of the state of jazz in its South African practice in the early 1960s. Festival organisers' and sponsors' stipulation that the music played should be strictly 'American' jazz was somewhat controversial in the light of the fact that the event was staged in a segregated, Africans-only venue, where other racial groups had to apply to government for special permission to attend. Thus, the exclusion of the popular *mbaqanga* from the bands' repertoires may be understood as a coercive, prescription which can be partly attributed to the ideological biases of the festival's principal sponsors, the South African Breweries. In their own *mbaqanga* backyard, on this occasion even an immensely popular, long-standing ensemble such as the Jazz Dazzlers Orchestra had to work its way through standard mainstream jazz items such as *Kentucky Oysters* (Musical

Excerpt 5.12) instead of its more familiar repertoire, which included alto saxophonist Benny 'Gwigwi' Mrwebi *Diepkloof Ekhaya* (Musical Excerpt 5.13) or MacKay Davashe's tunes such as *De Makeba* (Musical Excerpt 5.14)**,** *Lakutshon' ilanga,* (Musical Excerpt 5.15) or *Izikalo Zegoduka* (also known as) *Kilimanjaro* (Musical Excerpt 5.16). The WoodyWoodpeckers – one of the pioneers in the Africanisation of close-harmony vocal jazz, or more precisely the jazzing of indigenous vocal song, came on to perform – among other popular Tin Pan Alley material such as Gershwin's *I Got Rhythm* – an American popular song like *A String of Pearls* or Rodgers and Hart's *This Can't Be Love.* There were reasons for this: the main one being a statement by the organisers that a prize would be awarded for the best treatment of the blues and standard American jazz material such as *When the Saints Go Marching In*. A bebop arrangement of the piece was rendered successfully by the Chris McGregor Septet, harking back to the big-band sounds in the genre popularised by American bands such as Stan Kenton's or Woody Herman's in the late 1940s (Musical Excerpt 5.17). The second piece by McGregor's Septet, an original blues composition by the leader entitled *Blues Story* (Musical Excerpt 5.18), was realised in a style of arrangement influenced by that of Charles Mingus, while the third piece, *I Like That* – also an original by Chris McGregor - was in the style of Duke Ellington. Both influences played an important role in the shaping of Chris McGregor's approach to writing for a big band – balancing composed and improvised materials with an awareness of the capabilities of individuals in the band. Other discernible influences in the other bands' programmes could easily be associated with the influences of saxophonists like Coleman Hawkins and Ben Webster as well as Duke Ellington, particularly in the Jazz Ambassador's rendition of the piece *What Is There to Say?* (Musical Excerpt 5.19). The Jazz Giant's choice in saxophonist Hank Mobley's *A Baptism Beat* (Musical Excerpt 5.20) illustrates an abiding South African interest in hard bop innovations that were revisiting the blues and gospel egalitarianism as a post-bebop politicisation of African-American jazz.

A significant exception to the festival's repertoires of reworkings of standard American popular jazz and blues material was Eric Nomvete's Big Five rendition of *Pondo Blues* (Musical Excerpt 5.21). An arrangement of a traditional Xhosa drinking-song by

Transkei-born saxophonist, band leader and erstwhile East London social worker Nomvete, *Pondo Blues* was remarkable in its exploration, through jazz sensibilities, of elements of African indigenous musical particularity, in this case traditional Xhosa (Pondo) vocal polyphony and harmony. These were musical issues that were contemporaneously associated with African-American post-bebop departures, particularly with John Coltrane's transcendentalism period as perhaps best documented in his seminal works such as Africa/Brass (1961) and later with A Love Supreme (1964) and Ascension (1965). The rekindling, within the narrowly-defined ideological parameters of the 1962 Cold Castle Festival's programming, of deep-seated African frustrations and simmering anger, as a result of Nomvete's arrangement, resulted in part of the crowd rioting and throwing beer bottles (Xaba 2003). In a later section of the chapter I discuss the ideological importance of Eric Nomvete's *Pondo Blues* as a development of a 'triple consciousness' in musical practices elaborating the influence of African-American jazz.

Finally, in its exclusion of *mbaqanga* as an original ideological ramification of jazz influence in South Africa, the 1962 Cold Castle Festival may be seen to have contributed to the marginalisation – and a virtual exiling – of locally determined musical hybridity.

5.8 The Blue Notes pre-exile repertoires

The fact that the Blue Notes' members were mobilised from a variety of formations appearing at the 1962 Cold Castle National Jazz Festival in Moroka-Jabavu, suggests the diversity of the band's nurturing musical experiences. Together they were distinguished in their accomplished grasp of the radical developments in the jazz idiom as it was practiced by their distant mentors and American role models at the time. The group's subsequent engagement with the East Coast hard bop style in composition and performance may be seen to echo their determination to keep up to date with the latest American jazz advances. In this section I examine the Blue Notes' earliest repertoires, in which is documented their involvement with other momentous, American jazz-influenced, South African groups. In this light the Blue Notes' typical jazz style may be understood as straddling disparate ideological positions, in a way connecting their cultural

indigeneity, in its marginalized apartheid subjectivity, to their involvement with African-American jazz performance culture. This unsettled quality – jazz performance as both a product and a process – resonates with a symbolic unfinished-ness alluded to by Deleuze and Guattari's 'rhizomic' conceptualisation of jazz (Rasula 1995). A diverse processing of the jazz influence as documented in the 1962 Moroka-Jabavu festival performances facilitates an examination of the ideological contestations in style. In apartheid South Africa, such a tactical engagement of performing subjects and their repertoires with foreign cultural influences involved diverse interpretations of black and African identities and their relation to modernity (Titlestad 2004:xii). In its ideological interpretations jazz appears to occupy a special position in the dialogues between disparate strata of South African society, as well as being an important signifier of the 'black Atlantic' exchange of the time (Gilroy 1993, Masilela 1996).

In the context of their African cultural situatedness, the Blue Notes are usefully regarded as the advance guard of a consciously South African engagement with jazz influence. In comparison with a more broadly popular South African engagement with foreign musical products, the Blue Notes' bebop practice was essentially a minority cultural pursuit, a situation paralleling the style's developmental trajectory in the U.S. In shunning mass patronage and an uncritical consumption of jazz as an African-American expressive performance product, bebop and its subsequent offshoots arguably occupied a marginal ideological position within the U.S. musical performance culture. As symbolic ideals, both the individuality and the discrete subcultural aesthetics of post-bebop practice were musical signifiers of an ambiguous but deep-seated affinity with popular resistance to African subjugation on both continents.

In matters of style it is *mbaqanga*, rather than post-bebop repertoires, that would appear to have been well positioned to speak to the popular defiance of apartheid in the early 1960s. The converse is also true: that the imposition of apartheid fostered an eloquent intellectual debate among those who resisted it, and was also partly responsible for the development of sophisticated art forms for a more eloquent expression of resistance. The association of white and black intellectuals, poets and artists with the brief non-racialism of South Africa's jazz practice in the late 1950s and early 1960s is well-documented. It is

along these lines that the expressive practice of the Blue Notes and their contemporaries may be understood – as an expression of alienation arising from marginalisation in one's own country of birth – as well as an expression of desire elucidated in music, of liberties sought and imagined.

In partly following Rasula (1995) and Erlmann (1999), I will briefly discuss documented jazz performances involving members of the Blue Notes, and the significance of such performances in mapping the evolution of their distinctive pre-exile jazz style, particularly after the 1962 Moroka-Jabavu festival. In my approach to musical recordings I have identified closely with the notion that 'jazz history [as] a practice of writing, [i]s the revenge of words on a wordless but nonetheless highly articulate history, a history that threatens to pre-empt the written documents that adhere to it' (Rasula 1995 in Gabbard 1995:136). In South African jazz-influenced practice it is the juxtaposition of indigenous and imported sonic sensibilities that hints at the process of ontological change in performance practice. The post-bebop influence on the style of jazz associated with the pre-exile Blue Notes appears to have been mediated *via* a combination of two privileging processes. One was music literacy as a property of a relatively privileged social class, and the other was an intuitive spontaneity associated with indigenous African musical approaches. In the 1940s, an advanced level of music literacy fuelled original departures in bebop – propounded by the likes of Dizzy Gillespie, Charlie Christian, Thelonius Monk, Bud Powell, Kenny Clarke, Don Byas and their collaborators – from mainstream jazz practices of the period. In South Africa a mediation of bebop's continuities with local practices initially rested on recognition, by a few crucially located people, of the alignment of African hopes and aspirations with jazz. John Mehegan was one such figure. His brief visit in 1959 facilitated a black South African engagement with post-bebop American jazz influences. The ensemble which he assembled to record the two albums comprising the Jazz in Africa series became an immediate model for the Jazz Epistle, a wholly black South African interpretation and domestication of late bebop influences. While the Jazz in Africa sessions had been built around bebop piano interpretations of popular American repertoires, the Jazz Epistle's Verse I repertoires were built around Dollar Brand's discipleship of both Duke Ellington's and Thelonius Monk's piano styles.

Furthermore, the Jazz Epistle ensemble had at its disposal local, jazz-influenced dance idioms such as the *langarm*, (which included other popular ballroom dance styles) and post-*marabi* dance music idioms. Were it not for the deep syncretic relationships of such idioms with European- and American-style musical performance, they could plausibly represent indigenous experiences of a 'triple-consciousness' in their deployment alongside a radical modernity – and foreignness – of bebop.

5.9 Gideon Nxumalo's Jazz Fantasia: a classicisation of jazz and a 'jazzing' of indigeneity

In a discussion of South African post-bebop practice, two other local piano figures must be closely associated with post-Mehegan developments and a consolidation of the Blue Notes: Gideon Nxumalo and Chris McGregor. A record of their immediate influence in the consolidation of the Blue Notes' pre-exile jazz style is contained in two albums, recorded in 1962 and 1963 respectively: Gideon Nxumalo's Jazz Fantasia and Jazz: the African Sound by The Castle Lager Big Band under the direction of Chris McGregor.

Gideon Nxumalo was a university-trained church organist and brass player who turned his hand to composing and subsequently became an accomplished pianist and arranger. As a librarian and presenter with the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), between 1954 and 1964 Nxumalo was responsible for the popularisation on radio of African jazz (*majuba* jazz or *mbaqanga*) through his regular programme entitled 'This is Bantu Jazz' (Coplan 1985:161). According to Yvonne Huskisson (1969:230), Nxumalo was also involved in the orchestrations of Union Artists' productions such as 'King Kong' and 'Sponono.' Regarded as an 'extremely talented' individual, he also 'composed for solo instruments [including] piano, clarinet, and violin; for solo instruments(s), voice(s) and orchestra; for solo voice; for orchestra; and for [J]azz combinations'. For his 1962 commissioned jazz work, 'Jazz Fantasia for Quintet,' Nxumalo picked leading jazz instrumentalists and soloists of the period: Kippie Moeketsi (first alto), Dudu Pukwana (second alto), Martin Mgijima (bass), Makaya Ntshoko (drums), and Nxumalo himself on piano and on the Chopi *timbila* (the xylophone). Besides exemplifying the treatment of

bebop influences by a literate, African classically-trained musician, Jazz Fantasia may be thought of as significant in a number of ways. The project occasioned an exploration of the use of indigenous African instruments such as the Chopi *timbila* and their music, as a springboard for post-bebop jazz instrumental elaboration, as illustrated in Gideon Nxumalo's composition *Chopi Chopsticks* (Musical Excerpt 5.22). It is interesting to compare this with an earlier use of an indigenous instrument in pioneering South African post-bebop recordings in 1959 such as John Mehegan's *Venda Introduction* (Musical Excerpt 5.1). Nxumalo's *Chopi Chopsticks,* which does not rely on a harmonic chordal structure for its solo improvisational material, is readily comparable to the work of Ornette Coleman, in the latter's non-essentialising of chord changes as a basis for improvisation. The immediacy of this dialogue, between a post-bebop avant-gardism and the indigeneity of African musical performance culture, was groundbreaking in its deployment of a 'triple consciousness.' This correspondence was arguably achieved through a transposition of the 'swing' rhythmic basis of Ornette Coleman's free-jazz inventions to an interlocking structural combination between *timbila* and typically Shona *hosho* shaker rhythmic patterns. The permeability of advanced jazz in its dialogic relationship to African cultural performance was crucial in making possible a marginal engagement of South African musicians with the runaway avant-gardism of imported jazz, making it possible to retain elements of indigenous musical performance amidst a rampant modernity. In the context of the present discussion, Nxumalo's Jazz Fantasia provided a crucial template for the reconciliation of jazz influence with the urban heterogeneity of *mbaqanga* and indigenous African musical experiences. Of further significance was the formalisation in a classical musical structure in Nxumalo's Jazz Fantasia, of social experiences of the African urban working class. This is clearly illustrated in the social texts informing the basis of the three movements of the album's *Jazz Fantasia for Quintet* – a title given to the album's fourth, fifth and sixth tracks as follows:

First Movement – 'The Rat Race'
Second Movement – 'Home at Night'
Third Movement – 'Having a Ball'

In the notes accompanying the album the composer explained that his intention with the piece was 'to show the everyday life of a typical urbanized African' (Nxumalo 1962). In this conception the first movement portrays the tumult of commuting to the city in overcrowded trains and busses, a hard day's labour, and the same rush back home to the far-flung black townships. The second movement depicts the worker 'relaxed and contented amid his loved ones at home, all anxiety and frustrations of the day forgotten' (Nxumalo 1962: album notes). The third movement portrays the worker's social leisure as being characterized by disruptive anticipations of the following day's *'Rat Race.'*

In my discussions of the exiling of a musical imagination in the Blue Notes I have argued for a 'triple consciousness' in jazz-influenced practice as being reliant on both advanced music literacy and a level of familiarity with indigenous performance practices. Despite a relative paucity of both these attributes among the African members of the Blue Notes, their belief in the importance of a 'triple consciousness' for the advancement of a South African jazz orientation is undoubted.

5.10 The 'Africanism' of the Chris McGregor and Castle Lager Big Band repertoires

A fulfilment of Chris McGregor's dream of a big band playing original South African compositions followed closely in the wake of the Cold Castle Jazz Festival that had taken place in Soweto's Stadium in September of 1963. Financially backed by the South African Breweries and partly organised by Union Artists, the venture was motivated by a post-Festival proximity (in Johannesburg) of the country's best jazz musicians and a series of concert performances that were arranged to take place 'in the townships round Johannesburg and in Benoni and Boksburg' (McGregor 1994:33). A seventeen-piece band involving black and white musicians was assembled, written-for and rehearsed in the space of only one week. The musicians involved in the Castle Lager Big Band were:

Saxophones:	Dudu Pukwana (1st alto)
	Barney Rachabane (2nd alto)
	Kippie Moeketsi (alto and clarinet)
	Nick Moyake (1st tenor)

	Ronnie Beer (2nd tenor)
	Christopher 'Columbus' Ngcukana (baritone)
Trumpets:	Dennis Mpale (1st trumpet)
	Ebbie Creswell
	Noel Jones
	Mongezi Feza
Trombones:	Bob Tizzard (1st trombone)
	Blyth Mbityana
	Willie Nettie
Bass:	Sammy Maritz
Drums:	Early Mabuza (subsequently replaced by Louis Moholo)
Piano/Arranger:	Chris McGregor

Just as the festivals, due to their siting in peri-urban Africans-only Soweto townships, were catering to petty apartheid stipulations, so were the big band concerts, as Maxine recalled the situation during the band's hectic rehearsals at Dorkay House:

> Ian Bernhardt, a Director of Union Artists, rang me up with the information that the breweries were prepared to put on concerts in the black townships but not in the city of Johannesburg. (McGregor 1994:33)

In practical terms this meant that a performance documenting a democratic negotiation of modernity's disjunctive mediation of culture in a successful non-racial co-operation between musicians was undesirable as an experience to be shared by all South Africans. In the language of public relations on which successful modern cultural livelihoods depend, this situation could not have been more succinctly described than in the following statement:

> This meant that no whites would see it, no white newspaper critics, no one who could help with getting the band known 'overseas' – for that was their ambition: to be able to communicate with other jazz musicians in the world outside South Africa from whom they were completely cut off, and to make known the music of which they were so proud. (McGregor 1997:33)

In many ways the big band was a crystallisation of a cross-pollination of ideas shared in the musical and cultural experiences of a South African non-racial jazz practice. Within such experiences were deposited in skill and sensibility, practically all of the achievements of an engagement with jazz influences in South Africa since the early decades of the twentieth century. Of further significance was the involvement in the Castle Lager Big Band of not only all of the musicians (except trumpeters Noel Jones and Ebbie Creswell) with whom Chris McGregor had previously worked in various formations, but also of the members of the Blue Notes – except Johnny Dyani – who were subsequently to encounter the experiences of exile. It may be argued that the

Brotherhood of Breath, the large ensemble established around the exiled members of the Blue Notes, was a reincarnation and a realisation of musical possibilities suggested during the brief existence of the Castle Lager Big Band.

The repertoire performed in the 1963 album Jazz: the African Sound by Chris McGregor and the Castle Lager Big Band stands out in its illustration of the level of immersion in jazz practice in South Africa coinciding with the U.S. post-bebop era. By this time South African jazz could claim originality based not only on the style but also on the manipulation of source materials of an African 'triple consciousness' to which African American jazz could attain through a pedagogical inquiry or experiential privilege. As was mentioned in the first chapter, 'triple consciousness' is distinguished from the double-consciousness of a diasporic hybridity by a participatory consciousness (and practices) of indigeneity, hybridity and cultural Europeanism. The pieces *Switch* (Musical Excerpt 5.23) by Kippie Moeketsi and Dollar Brand's *Eclipse at Dawn* (Musical Excerpt 5.24) both illustrate a deployment of Xhosa indigenous music which was to find its full expression only in subsequent Afro-jazz styles of the likes of Winston Mankunku Ngozi, Victor Ndlazilwane's Jazz Ministers, Pat Matshikiza, and The Soul Jazzmen. The harmonic shift between two chordal roots a major second interval apart is entrenched in the music and tunings of traditional Xhosa bows, as well as in the Xhosa rhythmic polyphony of staggered vocal entries (Hansen 1968, Dargie 1988). The jazz potential of these elements was of course intimated much earlier than at the time of their popularisation, in the works of the individuals and ensembles referred to above. The early use of indigenous elements in South African jazz can be heard in compositions by vocal groups such as the Modernaires and WoodyWoodpeckers (in their close harmony vocal style), or Tete Mbambisa's *Msenge* (Musical Excerpt 2.1), as well as in pioneering instrumental compositions such as Columbus Ngcukana's *Mbra* (Musical Excerpt 2.14).

Such was the distinctiveness of a South African uptake of the jazz influence as manifested in the 'sound' of the Castle Lager Big Band that some music critics were at pains to claim and name it as a distinct genre within American post-bebop jazz, as Richard McNeill's review reveals:

> While admitting the obvious influence of American jazz on its South African counterpart… South African jazz has a character of its own… The show represented a consolidation and expression of this musical force (which I am tempted to call south-stream, as distinct from so-called main-stream and third-stream movements in American jazz). (Richard McNeill in *The Star*, 23 September 1963)

Musically, however, there still existed curious disjunctures between the Africanness of 'south-stream' and a diversity of indigenous musical practices still largely in use within the culture of both traditional and urban musical performance. In 1959, even though John Mehegan did not perceive direct musical connections between jazz and the *mbira dza vadzimu* of Sampson Singo's *Venda Introduction* (Musical Excerpt 5.1), he was obviously convinced of a certain distant resonance between the two idioms. Likewise Gideon Nxumalo had successfully demonstrated the possible relationships between a technical musical indigeneity of the Chopi *timbila* and elements of Ornette Coleman's 'harmolodic' conceptions of free-jazz as a relegation of the primacy of chord-based harmonic changes. Within a few months of the recording of Nxumalo's Jazz Fantasia, the majority African revellers at the 1962 Cold Castle Jazz festival had erupted when Eric Nomvete's Big Five had launched into the Pondo tribal song, *Ndinovalo Ndinomingi* – the piece documented in the recording as *Pondo Blues* (Musical Excerpt 5.21). Douglas Ndikho Xaba, who was exiled to the U.S. following a tour of the country by the Union Artists' musical based on Alan Paton's play *Sponono* – remembered the moment at the Moroka-Jabavu festival:

> When Eric Nomvete, who was from East London, came on with his group, it was such an electrifying moment when he played 'Ndinovalo, ndinomingi'... Beer bottles started flying all over the place... because he invoked the spirit of the black man.... this is what we want to do! There is no need for us to go anywhere else but look into ourselves. (Ndikho Xaba, quoted in *ABC Ulwazi*: 2001)

According to Xaba, the melody of *Pondo Blues* or *Ndinovalo Ndinomingi* rekindled a simmering outrage following the brutal massacre of the Pondo by the South African Army. The rhythm of *Pondo Blues* is unmistakably that of northern Nguni *indlamu* or Xhosa *ukuxhentsa* dance patterns, while the pentatonic melody splits in call-and-response patterning characteristic of most traditional Nguni music. This expression of a 'triple consciousness' was not abstract, nor was it subject to any harmonic manipulation realised through a mediation of advanced music literacy. The horns, like human voices, intoned wordlessly a well-known melody of symbolic performance significance, to the

accompaniment of traditional drum rhythms and a piano reconstruction of the voices of the absent choir. The achievements – in 'triple consciousness' terms – of the Castle Lager Big Band repertoire may be understood in their essential abstraction from forms of indigeneity as commonly practised by the majority of black South Africans. As it were, these momentous ideological milestones of a progressive jazz performance practice in South Africa were reported on through various media for largely white, intellectual and black urban middle-class discernment. This observation is borne out in the bulk of the 1960s jazz reportage in newspapers such as *The Sunday Times, The Pretoria News, The Star, Die Burger, Post, Peace News, Sunday Chronicle, The Argus,* and *The Cape Times* (Appendix 7). This seeming popularity however, represented a privileging, by an empowered and white-controlled media, of African minority practice at the expense of an invisible indigenous majority culture. Essentially, this ideologically empowered reportage bypassed a discursive input by the majority to whom the developing cultural practice of non-racial jazz was ostensibly democratically addressing itself. In practice, urban non-racial jazz could not satisfactorily articulate the aspirations of the oppressed masses as its symbolic economy was substantially alienated from that of traditional cultural performance. The refined cultural heterogeneities expressed in post-bebop jazz practices in South Africa – in their distancing from mainstream African indigenous performance and its popular cultural imagination – represented a symbolic prefiguring of exile.

5.11 The musical significance of the Blue Notes repertoires from 1962 to 1964

In Chapter 2 I described the frenetic activity accompanying the formation of the Blue Notes, and the several ensembles that began to perform under their banner following the 1962 Cold Castle National Festival at Moroka-Jabavu, starting with the 'Chris McGregor's Blue Notes Septet' in Cape Town in November of 1962. Depending on one's interpretation of the available discographic sources, the Blue Notes' earliest recordings either commenced in late 1962 (Fowler n.d.) or in the early part of 1963 (Allingham 2002). The 1963 Cold Castle National Festival and the Castle Lager Big Band recording, appear to have interrupted several recording sessions by the band, spanning roughly the end of 1962 and the end of 1963. The eleven titles recorded for the SABC were

documented in Transcription Matrix Series numbers LT 5719 to LT 5722 (Fowler n.d.), while uncannily similar selections were documented in recording sessions for Trutone's Winner label (Allingham 2002). According to discographer Mike Fowler's notes, the following Blue Notes members participated in several sessions of the SABC's Transcription Matrix Series recordings: Chris McGregor (piano), Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone), Nick Moyake (tenor saxophone), Mongezi Velelo (bass), Early Mabuza (drums), Sammy Maritz (bass), Mongezi Feza (trumpet), Louis Moholo (drums) and Johnny Dyani (bass). Among several popular American standard jazz compositions recorded for these sessions were original compositions by Dudu Pukwana and Chris McGregor.

Since their earliest recordings, the Blue Notes – as a band and as individual musicians – had exhibited an advanced grasp of styles characterising the essential diversity of American post-Second World War jazz. As the South African practice had not necessarily been sensitive to the deeper ideological subtleties fuelling the American stylistic innovations, it had indiscriminately imbibed the potentialities of its diverse expressive possibilities. I have already alluded to a de-politicisation of the jazz influence in the course of its mediation in the disjunctures of global cultural flows (page 5) – a perspective that finds support in the following statement by Ndikho Xaba:

> Our expressions develop according to our socialization ... and the areas that we come from. Basically we come from urban experiences and all urban areas in South Africa have been influenced by what now we would call global culture. Basically 50 or 60 years back the most influential sounds were sounds from Afro-America... even Euro-America also. Now when I say Euro-America I'm talking big-bands of the [19]40s, the Glen Millers, the Stan Kentons, you name them. In those days we were not discriminative that this expression is coming from a white, or is it from a black experience. We accepted the artform then as it was, that it was jazz. (Ndikho Xaba 2002, Author's interview)

Despite the apparent ideological ambivalence of a particularly black South African reception of jazz influences, there was always an ideological identification with its essential emanation from African-American experiences in the New World. This view is substantiated in the protracted processes of Africanisation undergone by practically all styles of jazz that had significantly caught the attention of South African musicians since ragtime and Dixieland. The visibility accorded African-American culture as a result of the global popularity of jazz appealed to the aspirations of young South African

musicians whose own expressive potential was stifled by structural poverty and the inaccessibility of avenues of free expression and cultural advancement. The tenuousness of perceptions linking an urban-African cultural imagination with black-American success – particularly in jazz – as portrayed in the popular media of the 1940s and the 1950s was explained as follows by trumpeter Hugh Masekela:

> [I]n South Africa, the only thing you could relate to in the urban way and the only thing where there was success for a person of colour like us… black people, Africans, was in music… in the States, you read about everybody that made it, that we knew about, Duke Ellington, Louis Armstrong, was all through music. (Hugh Masekela, quoted in Ballantine 1999:3)

The unrepresentative reality of these achievements notwithstanding, young South African pioneering beboppers like Hugh Masekela were monitoring African-American innovations in jazz very closely, largely by listening to the latest recordings available in South Africa and sharing their scant resources of musical knowledge with fellow disadvantaged musicians. The extraordinary achievements of a generation of black South African jazz instrumentalists within a short period of time occurred arguably as a result of their distancing themselves, consciously or unconsciously, from the ideological content of black American jazz practice. Driven to learning and mastering their chosen instruments, they had no longstanding stylistic traditions in jazz to maintain, preserve and be loyal to. This was the strength of the Blue Notes in their final pre-exile period. They were young musicians who had no nostalgia for existing practices, were not averse to experimenting, and had not yet acquired deep familial roots requiring committed responsibility. As there were limited opportunities for South African jazzmen in South Africa itself, ‘taking to the road’ was an option worth considering. It had been one of the underlying motivations for the recruitment of players to the Blue Notes following the 1962 Cold Castle National Festival in Moroka-Jabavu. (McGregor 1994:21):

> [W]e decided to form a band, a 'jazz giants' kind of thing you know. We named it the Blue Notes, and that's how it started. We decided to split from South Africa because it wasn't allowed for black people and white people to play together. Chris McGregor had to play behind the curtains at some point when we were playing with the Blue Notes at some place in Cape Town. Lots of bands disbanded because of this situation. So we couldn't disband because we liked the Blue Notes... we stuck together and decided to go away from South Africa. (Louis Moholo in Blue Notes and Exiled Voices, 1990)

Again, a significant impetus for this mobility was the need to avoid falling foul of the many regulations governing African urban movement, and socialization between the races.

The mature, pre-exile style of the Blue Notes, as heard in the recordings spanning the period between 1962 and 1964, resonated with all of the significant developments in American jazz up to that time. Except for the titles of the pieces, the music bore no allusions to their African cultural setting. There are, however, some pointers towards the strongest influences on individuals within the Blue Notes, as is evident in their compositional approaches and solo instrumental approaches. All original material in the Blue Notes' repertory in this period was primarily composed by Dudu Pukwana, and to a lesser extent, by Chris McGregor. The two composers could readily be associated with the two rival schools of East Coast hard bop and West Coast jazz (or cool jazz). While the former was associated with the passionate and essentially black East Coast traditions and the latter with the relaxed white practices of the California coast, the rivalry between the two schools was neutralised in their shared relationship to bebop and swing. It is important to recognize an intellectual basis of bebop's departures from mainstream jazz practices of its time, namely its musical literacy and an astute manipulation of well-understood 'classical' musical principles. From this perspective it is easy to recognise the distinct advantages – in the U.S. as well as in South Africa – accorded white jazz musicianship for the *further* elaboration of bebop due to a better preparedness through formal musical training. The elite grounding of bebop in minority black musical intellectualism was, however, still imbued with powerful expressions of a wholesale black marginality which could not be carried over in white elaborations of the genre. As a result, the 'cool' that was born of Miles Davis' collaboration with a school of white bebop enthusiasts in 1950, while it may have revealed yet another possibility for further interpretations – and accessibility – of jazz, possibly excluded much of the black experience that bebop itself was struggling to articulate. It was essentially the achievement of Miles Davis/Gil Evans' West Coast (or cool jazz) style that attracted the interest and participation of classical musicians such as Gunther Schuller and resulted in a style of music called 'third stream' (Tirro 1993:343). The lineage of jazz musicians

associated with the elaboration of West Coast cool jazz includes the influential figures of Gil Evans, Miles Davis, Gerry Mulligan, Stan Getz, Lee Konitz, Shelley Manne, Lennie Tristano, Chet Baker and ensembles such as the Dave Brubeck Quartet (with Paul Desmond), Gerry Mulligan's piano-less Quartet, the Modern Jazz Quartet, and the Dave Pell Octet. The interpretations of this elaboration of bebop through its uptake by a clique of white (and black musically literate and elite) musicians as a form of neutralization provided the impetus for the sprouting of the East Coast 'funky' or hard bop approaches. In their continued pursuit of bebop, black musicians in the U.S. looked for and found inspiration in the musical practices of their African American heritage – inflected with the blues, spirituals and gospel, rhythm-and-blues and the 'funky' sounds of 'soul music' (Tirro 1993:369). The black proponents of the East Coast style – most remarkably Art Blakey, Max Roach, Horace Silver, Bobby Timmons, Clifford Brown, Sonny Rollins, Donald Byrd, Kenny Dorham, and the Adderley Brothers – came from all over the United States.

5.12 The influence of hard bop in the Blue Notes pre-exile repertoires

The hard bop style in the 1950s and thereafter is said to have been virtually defined in the approaches of Horace Silver's quintet ensembles and Art Blakey's Jazz Messengers (Williams 1987:82). Hard bop's big band manifestation was perhaps epitomized by Charles Mingus's employment of popular music, gospel and the blues in his compositions for his influential ensembles. The style was rooted in the styles of black music – rhythm-and-blues, gospel – that were popular in the 1950s and later was also influenced by 1960s soul. Musically, hardbop was characterised – and thereby also contrasted to West Coast or cool jazz – by its hard, swinging syncopation and a discernible basis in the blues (Tirro 1993:345).

The Blue Notes' sound, as documented on record since the last quarter of 1962, is adequately captured in terms of jazz stylistic categorisations that are closer to hardbop. This is particularly accurate in describing Dudu Pukwana's signature compositions of the period, which project the essential spirit of the group. By this stage the Blue Notes' line-

up had stabilized to consist of a trumpet, alto and tenor saxophones, and a rhythm section of piano, bass and drums. The horn frontline had stabilized much earlier in the persons of Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone), Nick Moyake (tenor saxophone) and Mongezi Feza (trumpet) before the bass and drum chairs could devolve to Johnny Dyani and Louis Moholo respectively. Moholo had initially come in to replace Early Mabuza in between the Castle Lager Big Band shows in September of 1963. Johnny Dyani was the youngest and the last member to join the contingent of the Blue Notes that left for the Antibes Jazz Festival in June of 1964. Prior to Dyani's recruitment by Chris McGregor (as a result of his recommendation by the black members of the band), the bass had been ably handled by Capetonian Sammy Maritz. These rhythm section reshuffles do not appear to have exerted any radical effects on the overall cohesion and sound the Blue Notes' had achieved since the commencement of their recording sessions towards the end of 1962. This observation is supported by the band's consistently recorded repertoires, and a musical style by which they were recognized in the few years of their performing, recording and touring in South Africa. Recordings, reviews and programme notes emanating from this period document a steady oeuvre comprised largely of Dudu Pukwana's original compositions, followed by Chris McGregor's, and a smaller selection of American pieces – mostly by Duke Ellington – or other standard Tin Pan Alley jazz material. Commercially available recordings have included the following compositions by Dudu Pukwana:

Schoolboy
The Blessing Light
Kay
Izithunywa (The Messengers)
Blue Nick
Coming Home
Dorkay House
Two for Sandi
B My Dear

Although representative of a far larger undocumented repertoire, Chris McGregor's compositions from this period as recorded by the Blue Notes include:

Now
Vortex Special
Dick's Pick

Excerpt perhaps for Chris McGregor's *Vortex Special* (Musical Excerpt 5.28), the mainstream-to-bop essence of the above repertoires had barely begun to register the significance of developments in American jazz associated with the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s (Brubeck 2002:23). In this respect *Vortex Special* approximates closely the structural (and harmonic) innovations of a modal approach to jazz solo improvisation ushered in by the release of Miles Davis' recording Kind Of Blue (1959), particularly in the composition *So What* (Musical Excerpt 5.26). In his thesis Jazz 1959: The Beginning of Beyond Darius Brubeck identifies 1959 as a watershed year in the development of jazz, with particular reference to the appearance of four seminal albums, and significantly states as follows:

> It is now obvious to equate [Miles Davis'] Kind Of Blue with modal jazz, [John Coltrane's] Giant Steps with pattern playing, [Dave Brubeck's] Time Out with odd-time signatures and [Ornette Coleman's] The Shape of Jazz to Come with free jazz. (Brubeck 2002:71)

The following brief description of the Blue Notes' characteristic hard bop approaches to composition serves to highlight the relationship of the band's repertoire to developments in American jazz such as those referred to in Brubeck's observations:

The head arrangement of the 12-bar form of Pukwana's *Schoolboy* (Musical Transcription 6 and Musical Excerpt 2.2) is based on a rhythm-and-blues bass ostinato figure that is accentuated in the drum 'kicks.' The kick drum's first beat of the measure is an anticipation carried over from the up-beat of the fourth beat of the preceding measure. The head melody stated in the horns is based on the notes of a blues scale as a riff whose reiteration with slight variation over the form approximates typical blues phrasing.

In its predominant use of a characteristic bebop structural framework of rhythm-changes, Charlie Parker-form blues, and hard-blowing blues revisionism, Pukwana's compositional activity at this time was significantly based on the hard bop school. It will be remembered that at the 1962 Cold Castle Festival Dudu Pukwana, Nick Moyake and Mankunku Ngozi (on trumpet) had fronted a sextet – the Jazz Giants – whose repertoire had included Hank Mobley's *A BaptismBeat* (Musical Excerpt 5.20), a tune recalling the call-and-response spirituals of black church music of the American South. According to Frank Tirro, saxophonist Mobley was one of the hard bop practitioners who in the 1950s

'took the lead in establishing a hard-blowing, blues-centred, duple-meter style that merged the innovations of Charlie Parker and the beboppers with the expressive traditions of the gospel singers' (Tirro 1993:345). From this period, other Blue Notes' compositions – besides Pukwana's *Schoolboy* (Musical Excerpt 2.2) – based on the blues were: *Blue Nick* (Musical Excerpt 2.11), a minor blues by Dudu Pukwana, which is reminiscent of drummer Art Blakey's seminal hard bop ensemble, the Jazz Messengers and Dudu Pukwana's composition entitled *Izithunywa* (Nguni for 'messengers') (Musical Excerpt 2.10), which invokes Gershwinian 'rhythm changes' and a structure which appears to celebrate the influence of Art Blakey's Messengers. The naming of a bebop-inspired piece like *Izithunywa* might also be a form of vernacularisation, expressive of a 'global imagination' in an understanding of the term as 'the means by which people shift the contexts of their knowledge and endow phenomena with significance beyond their immediate realm of personal experience' (Max Weber, cited in Strathern 1995:4). *Now* (Musical Excerpt 2.3) and *Dick's Pick* (Musical Excerpt 2.13) were two of Chris McGregor's blues compositions, a sensibility first displayed in his *Blues Story* (Musical Excerpt 5.18), which he had performed with his Cape Town septet at the 1962 Cold Castle National Festival at Moroka-Jabavu (Chris McGregor 1962).

In its radical departures from essential jazz practice, bebop characteristically deployed popular repertoires and forms, such as was the adoption of the structure of George Gershwin's *I Got Rhythm*, which became generically recognized within the style as 'rhythm changes'. Typically, the rhythm-changes structure was deployed as an AABA form, played normally at high tempos in duple-time. The repeating A-section would comprise four measures over which harmonies – changing every two beats – would move cyclically in the following intervals: **I – III – IV – II (or #IV) – $I_{6/4}$ – VI – II – V.** The B-section, referred to as 'the bridge,' would progress as: **III – VI – II – V,** before returning to the A-section, once, to complete the form, while solos were played on the form in its entirety. Both bebop and hard-bop melodies composed over the rhythm changes' AABA form were challengingly complex in their syncopation and, as they were ubiquitously rendered at breakneck speeds, demanded a high level of technical facility from the instrumentalists, especially in the solo sections. By far the majority of Pukwana's

documented compositions – *Izithunywa* (Musical Excerpt 2.10), *Kay* (also known as 'Dorkay House') [Musical Excerpt 2.7], *Coming Home* (Musical Excerpt 2.12), *Two for Sandi* (Musical Excerpt 5.27) – characteristically used the formal structure of rhythm changes. A pertinent influence of hard bop is clearly discernible in other recordings by the Blue Notes, such as the tune *Dorkay House (Kay)* (Musical Excerpt 2.7) that was performed with a coda similar to that of Horace Silver's '*Moon Rays'* (Musical Excerpt 5.28) as recorded in 1958 by the Horace Silver Quintet.

CHAPTER 6

Jazz, apartheid and the exiling of a musical imagination

6.1 The exiling of a musical imagination

In the first chapter I constructed an understanding of the Blue Notes' non-racial affiliation as oppositional to apartheid and thereby manifesting a post-apartheid imagination. The marginalisation of such practices as a result of the brutal enforcement of apartheid was argued as having contributed to the exiling of apartheid's political opponents, who included intellectuals, artists and musicians. From this perspective, the coerciveness of the regime included the persecution of those who dared to imagine a South Africa without apartheid.

In this section I focus on bebop and *mbaqanga* as practices arising from both a musical imagination and a political consciousness of cultural marginality in the broader social condition of black musicians' experiences. The two styles are ideologically comparable in their engagement of African (and dislocated African-American) subjects of a western cultural modernity. African-American history and culture are considered, in their essentially exilic condition and in the phenomenon of jazz in particular, to be expressive of the African-American situation in the contested field of US ideological power relations. It is arguable that the relative orality of African-American approaches to jazz biased the development of bebop towards musicians who possessed the privileged skills of musical literacy. The fact that access to such skills was largely a white privilege served to further distance bebop practice, as an intellectual pursuit, from a popular African-American musical imagination. The ideological backlash that gave birth to hard bop may thus be understood as an attempt to re-orient and reclaim original creative impulses that had spawned bebop. The revisiting, in hard bop, of elements of a shared memory of an African-American cultural history, served in part to establish ideological references on which to assert the particularity of African diasporic experiences and performance culture. In the following discussions I examine a similar alienation of disempowered heterogenic

practices such as *mbaqanga* and their sublimation in apartheid jazz practice as an exiling of a musical imagination.

The main concern of this chapter is the construction, in the Blue Notes' repertoires, of narratives of identity as a result of the exile experience. From this perspective exile is seen as engendering both abstract and concrete experiences of rupture. In this construction exile is seen not only as a matter of geographical alienation but also in some cases as the alienation of the cultural practices of those who never left home. The disappearance of certain performance practices is attributed to the control of popular cultural and social platforms emanating from an ideological dominance of political sanction (and economically privilege). The marginalisation of jazz in non-racial social performance practice, as a result of apartheid state repression in South Africa in the early 1960s, has been equated to a condition of 'exile *in toto*' (Pyper 2004:2). The exiling of some of the country's leading jazz exponents in reaction to increasingly repressive social and political conditions remains one of the main preoccupations of this study. In the traditional view, suppression of progressive oppositional expressive culture by the dominance of powerful ideologies of coercion may provoke choices of exile in an outbound, spatial translocation of individuals or groups. In the present discussion, however, I seek to emphasise exile's condition of a spatial translocation as prefigured in the exiling of a cultural – and thereby a musical – imagination of repressed and alienated subjects. In accordance with this perception I have extended the concept of exile to include the demise and discontinuation of specific cultural practices by territorially circumscribed and ideologically dominated cultural subjects. In terms of this metaphor, one sense of the notion of exile, which could be called exile 'in place,' would entail a sublimation or abandonment of disempowered indigeneous cultural practices without the translocation of the hosts of that culture. Subjective experiences of cultural exile at home and abroad appear to be characterised by their marginality compared to the privileging of dominant ideologies in popular culture. The expression of exiled cultures in foreign lands, although it may be sanctioned by the adopted host state, is inevitably limited by the reality of its minority practice. On the other hand, cultural practices of an indigenous

majority on home soil may be sublimated (in an approximation of exile) as a result of an ideological and cultural domination by an empowered minority.

6.2 African American jazz as the music of African exile

The centrality of narratives of exile connecting the Blue Notes to global jazz practice and the historically marginal condition of its African-American originators requires a brief examination. The following discussion therefore focuses on the music's potential to assert besieged cultural identities both in its African-American origins and in its practice by South African jazz musicians under apartheid and in exile.

In its characterisation by identities of estrangement, and in its condition of dealing with alienation, and improvising negotiations of acceptance – exile is described in a shared essence of a politicised African-American cultural experience. African-American expressive performance communicates a duality of familiarity and estrangement: the former to negotiate a share in America's economic achievement, and the latter to delineate and justify black Americans' struggle against their structural marginalization. In their exilic condition, African-American expressions of identity are necessarily internally contradictory, in that they claim their concordance with a largely unaccommodating ideological mainstream and simultaneously justify their difference from this stultifying norm. The violence of slavery as a severing of meaningful cultural links with the African motherland necessitated a construction of imagined, communal identities and symbolic meanings, to empower disrupted ideological historical continuities in the lives of African-Americans. It is my contention that black American jazz, particularly in the circumstances of its later exiling to Europe, essentially embeds discourses of identity. A mid-twentieth century exiling of post-bebop black American musicians to Europe, although largely a voluntary movement, cannot be adequately discussed outside of the ideological stratification, marginalisation and neutralisation of radical black cultural innovations in the U.S. Similarly, the musical repertoires of the Blue Notes in South Africa and in exile – in ensuing from African-American jazz – may be regarded as

biographical narratives of resistance involving processes of construction and dissolution of identities.

The experience and cultural imaginary of western modernity in the New World arguably straddles its historical continuities with the essential cultural practices of a broader European origin. For African Americans, tenuous memories of the motherland, including languages were effectively truncated and silenced as a result of their enslavement. In terms of language being a repository of cultural memory, it required of a deep transcendentalism for African Americans to harness an intuitive connection with the potential subversiveness of their ancestral heritage and straddle imaginatively, the void of erased memories. It is possible in this context, to conceive of jazz as expressing an ideological engagement – in a cultural memory – of exiled Africans with a coercive modernity in the US. This contention finds support in the experience of a previously exiled South African poet, as revealed in the following insights:

> If you look at developments in the US, in the first exile - which means the enslavement of Africans - that was the first major exile that Africans experienced. After they got there, there were serious attempts and they succeeded at destroying African languages so that since language is the repository of cultural values and that 'debriefs' you in terms of your identity, if they did that they remove you from history, they remove you from your cultural roots and bearings. They make it impossible for you to communicate. Because when you talk, when you make some expression, whether or not you realise it, all the time you are identifying yourself. You are saying this is who I am. That kind of communication remained - with mutations - in music. So music became also a serious political... or an expression of resistance at a political level. (Kgositsile 2002, Author's interview)

In his introduction to The Music: Reflections on Jazz and Blues (1987), a collection of poetry, essays and jazz dramaturgy, Amiri Baraka echoes the exilic essence of the African-American cultural experience by quoting the following passage from W.E.B. Du Bois' vignette 'Of the Sorrow Songs':

> The child sang it to his children and they to their children's children, and so two hundred years it traveled down to us and we sing it to our children, knowing as little as our fathers what its words may mean, but knowing well the meaning of its music. (Baraka and Baraka 1987:13)

Du Bois was locating repertoires of well-known Negro spirituals in the experiential realities of thwarted African-American expectations as freed slaves, songs such as *Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen, Swing Low Sweet Chariot, Roll Jordan Roll, My Lord What a Mourning* and the exilic strain of *The Coming of John*:

> You may bury me in the East
> You may bury me in the West
> But I'll hear the trumpet sound in that morning.
> (Baraka and Baraka 1987:14)

Kgositsile, whose own considerable period of exile was spent around Chicago living among the city's black avant-garde jazz and artist community, described a manifestation of this heritage in the ideological orientation of seminal African-American jazz musicians since the 1950s:

> The more articulate African-American musicians like Archie Shepp, Randy Weston, Jackie McLean, Ornette Coleman, Max Roach and so on, Douglas Ewart among the younger ones... they are conscious of this and they will say it.... In Blues People [1963] Baraka for instance is talking about the development of African-American music, [and] argues and I think very correctly, that it represents mutations of African music after the Africans were taken across the Atlantic as slaves. (Kgositsile 2002, Author's interview)

The instrumental bias of Dixieland jazz, early jazz and swing appears to have sidelined the vocal essence of the blues and the slave-music legacies of field-hollers, gospel and spirituals. Thus, a post-bebop integration into jazz of the musical performance legacies of the African-American slavery experience may be seen as an ideological development consciously initiated by a handful of African-American musicians in the late 1930s and the early 1940s. Traditional American jazz historiography has previously downplayed the ideological significance of hard bop in its significance of recapturing the political discursivity of African-American cultural history. This elision was typically achieved by focusing on the empirical diversity of jazz practice, its popularisation among America's white middle-classes, and an essentialising of its extension by means of a Eurocentric musical pedagogy (Brubeck 2002). This neutralisation enhanced the consumption of jazz, particularly by the affluent, liberal sectors of American society, and fuelled its appropriation by the film media. It is remarkable however, how the constructed benignity of jazz as marketed alongside 1950s American films became implicated in mediating the violence prevalent in the black South African townships of the time, as the following passage attests:

> Here in SA, let's say in the 1950s when I grew up - in some townships, like in Sophiatown and Western [Native Township] and so on [jazz] actually became in an immediate sense on the street ... one of the instruments of survival … a group of thugs would stop you and ask you to scat or ad lib

> a new bebop thing you know ... what has Ben Webster just come out with ... you know... and your life could depend on that. Yes! ... and you could lose your life that easy. The music also helped musicians against the brutality of the police. You come from a gig and you are stopped by the police and they say *'Jy's 'n musikant, speel iets vir ons'* and you are humiliated to unpack your instrument and play but you end up at home instead of a police cell. (Kgositsile 2002, Author's interview)

In South Africa, jazz resonated with the sensibilities of generations of Africans who were alienated from indigeneous cultural practice, largely as a ramification of colonialism and other processes of a haphazard modernity. In this view, a symbolic distancing – from an ideological homogeneity of indigenous performance – of jazz-influenced urban black practices such as *mbaqanga* may be understood as an exiling of a form of cultural practice. A preoccupation, in the social practices of alienated subaltern social groups, with often violent contestations of individual and group identities as illustrated in Kgositsile's narrative above, imbues this form of exile with the translocating essence of its classical forms. The physical manifestation of translocation as an untraversable spatial distance is however, in this instance, manifested as a temporal and aesthetic disjuncture that is deployed as a criterion for eligibility to inhabit contested and indigenously disaffiliated urban social and cultural spaces.

While South African musicology locates the practice of *mbaqanga* within the violence of the apartheid state, the culture itself was grappling with the disjunctive entanglement of its participants' imagination in the asymmetries of privileged global flows. The demise of *mbaqanga* may plausibly be attributed in part to its expressions of a disintegrating homogeneity of indigenous culture, under the pressure of modernity and apartheid. A post-bebop articulation in African-American jazz of its continuity with the unbearable experience of permanent exile was neutralised by its white appropriation, which may be considered as a kind of a silencing approximating the style's own exiling. Bebop, and its subsequent elaboration in a musical manipulation privileged through an advanced white-American musical education, may be used to illustrate this contention. The advent of cool, West Coast, and third-stream jazz styles ran the risk of eliding the articulation of a tenuous African-American heritage that was part of the ideological grounding of bebop. While originally bebop itself did not immediately call upon the historical resources of African-American cultural performance, it registered a strategic ideological position for

challenging a complacent acceptance of the black-American position in US history. As an intellectual engagement with the hybrid nature of modern American culture, bebop relied on an advanced manipulation of western classical musical resources. The fact that it was predominantly whites who possessed a privileged access to such skills and resources emphasised the marginal social positions of African-Americans within the broader American society. The accessibility of bebop to privileged means of its musical manipulation may be understood as resulting from the style's potential as an eloquent, and abstract language of an advanced hybridity. As a cultural expression of an exiled, marginalised African minority discursively aspiring to inclusion, bebop paradoxically invited processes of a cultural redefinition which – if successful – would profile the excluded, even if for further marginalization.

Traces of contested ideologies to be found in contemporary jazz consciousness in the United States have already been discussed in their diversity (Austerlitz 2005). An evolving practice since its inception, jazz music, its predecessors and its heirs have always been imbued with a tension arising from its exponents' subjugated situation in the contested ideological power relationships played out in North American political-economic history. Within exploitative racial stratifications of its nurturing environment jazz also became embroiled in a tussle for authenticity, 'truth', and the demands for social justice that have long preoccupied an African historical consciousness in America. The eloquence of jazz in articulating an historical marginality of black American existence has also been a contested discursive terrain. As well as emphasising its non-linearity and the co-existence of several jazz styles, contemporary historiography – including Baraka (1963/1987), Lott (1988), Kofsky (1970), and Austerlitz (2005) – has sought to describe jazz as a product of asymmetric encounters between African/African-American and Euro-American/European cultures. Austerlitz (2005) in particular has viewed jazz as improvising a development from diverse material and experiential cultural resources towards the definition of a kind of a universal humanity. In an African-American ideological consciousness in which the fulfilment of humanistic aims is pursued, the notion of jazz is that it has the potential to be a popular medium through which to highlight unjust inequalities in a capital-driven society.

6.3 South African jazz exile prefigured: an assimilation of bebop and the silencing of *mbaqanga*

In my earlier discussions I constructed a view of the Africanist ideological achievement of *mbaqanga* as that of a compromised indigeneity. In its rehabilitation of *marabi* – itself a highly syncretic development – towards a domestication of big-band swing influences, the emerging popular *mbaqanga* practice left out a swathe of African indigenous experience. In essence, the very heterogeneity of a burgeoning urban black musical culture may be understood in the context of its social and ideological alienation from indigenous cultural practice. In engaging modernity and the postcolonial legacies of cultural fragmentation, musical performance developed a hybrid aesthetic as part of Africans' social adaptive responses. Since the nineteenth century, African elite (under the influence of a white, missionary, Christian mentorship) attempts at winning the approval of white ruling classes had emphasised the discarding of traditional ways of doing, thinking and being. Such a shaping of African post-colonial hybridity may be understood as a desire to distance itself from a collective indigenous imaginary. It is in this disjunctive ideological distance, arguably a yardstick of African postcolonial adaptive success that I seek to locate the exiling of a musical imagination. All of the syncretic musical innovations I have addressed, since Ntsikana kaGaba's compositions in the service of a Christian religious syncretism, have essentially functioned to define a (desired) widening of the crack in the coherence of an African musical imagination.

In South Africa since at least the 1930s, the heterogeneity of a putatively popular postcolonial African musical imagination may have eluded many attempts at its exploitation by the country's recording industry. Several reasons may be put forward to account for this relative difficulty in the mass-marketing of cultural products of an African heterogeneity. Firstly, in relation to a relative homogeneity of pre-colonial African culture, only a minority was aspiring to such hybridity, and its market was therefore limited. The massive indoctrinating processes required for a profitable expansion of its social base could perhaps have been achieved via the use of powerful

media. Secondly, for the African majority the broad educational base needed if they were to achieve this cultural heterogeneity was, in most practical terms, inaccessible. In other words, there were not enough Africans either earning enough money to buy popular music records or who had abandoned their traditional practices of making music for their own special occasions. The essence of my argument here is that in engaging a cruel modernity, Africans and their musicians were embarking on an exile of the imagination, even as they were still standing on the soil of their forefathers. From the mid 1950s to the early 1960s this migration of the imagination produced a pre-exilic mindset in the African youth that resulted in their being engaged with jazz influences, as explained by one of South Africa's pioneer beboppers and famous exiled musician, Hugh Masekela:

> So our lifestyle – if you are in a *European* [my italics] situation and you are an African, what lifestyle can you follow? What example is there? The only example of how to exist as an African in a European lifestyle is to... emulate the people that already mastered it, and those were the Americans. So we used to call America 'home', in relationship to ... African-American musicians there. (Hugh Masekela, quoted in Ballantine 1999:3)

In a situation where African slavery in America could be compared with apartheid oppression in South Africa, jazz music was seen as an eloquent articulator of a 'black Atlantic' hybridity and a double-consciousness wrought by colonialism (Titlestad 2004:61). In Chapter 5 I have speculated on the appeal – to aspirant, urban black South African jazz musicians – of the accomplishments of bebop as a sophisticated language with which to engage a complex modernity. To a generation of jazz musicians – including the Blue Notes – a consummation with bebop meant their further estrangement from cultural practices of an indigenous musical imagination. This prefiguring of exile, as an engagement in minority practices elaborating the fragmentation of native ideological homogeneity, accords with the definition of an exile as 'someone who inhabits one place and remembers or projects the reality of another' (Seidel 1986:ix). Some years later, in interview, Louis Moholo echoed this sentiment in describing his own condition: 'Your mind is in the country you belong in, and your body is in the country that you are in, so there's these two things happening and it's very hard to cope' (Blue Notes and Exiled Voices 1990). Hugh Masekela's statement above illustrates how the musical imagination of subjugated cultural subjects may be cut off from a sense of its immediate historical past. In order to understand the exile condition through Masekela's (and his

contemporaries') construction of a spatially displaced transcendental reality, one needs to grasp the simultaneous imprisonment of both mind and body that is alluded to in Moholo's statement about exile. The migration of the imagination as a practice of marginalised homeland citizens focuses attention on relationships between exile, territory and cultural practice. In order to further understand the marginality of exiled subjects in their host territories, it is worth reiterating the observation that:

> [S]econd-classness and third-classness are conditions of citizenship that are inevitable entailments of migration, however plural the ethnic ideology of the host state and however flexible its accommodation of refugees and other weakly documented visitors. (Appadurai 1994:346)

I attribute the marginality of African cultural practices under apartheid to the second-class and third-class citizenship accorded Africans and other non-white ethnicities. Furthermore, issues of identity are fore grounded in both of these conceptions of exile, in the context of the exclusion of the alienated subjects by a dominant ideology. The discussion in the present chapter of the Blue Notes' repertoires in exile as narratives of identity emanates from this assumption of exile's essential preoccupation with both the fluidity and resilience of individual, group and national identities.

6.4 Exile 'in place': the South African demise of *mbaqanga*

The revival in South Africa in the 1980s of the long-forgotten traditions of 1950s big-band *mbaqanga* – most notably in the form and repertoires of Ntemi Piliso's African Jazz Pioneers – filled the vacuum created by the effective disappearance of the practice during the long years of apartheid. Since at least the 1930s, a marginality of African jazz practice had been condoned in the reluctance of elite African leadership to include proletarian musical genres in its nationalist cultural mobilization. As cultural performances of a global African proletarian condition, both jazz and ragtime in particular were imbued with discourses of shared histories of marginality, between Africans in the diaspora and colonised Africans in Africa. However, the linking of promises of emancipation with the achievement of 'civilisation' and Christianisation ensured that the elite discarded any notion of popular indigenous engagements with modernity from their conceptions of African nationalism and resistance. The seeming

non-progressiveness – in South African elite conceptions of jazz – of *marabi*-based jazz and swing-influenced musical hybridities was symptomatic of modernity's marginalisation of indigeneity, as Vincent Kolbe said of the late 1940s Cape Town scene:

> There wasn't even a Dollar Brand yet. He hadn't come on the scene yet. Because he was playing with Willie Max en Sy Orkes, and so he was playing *marabi* music, you know. *And marabi music and bebop don't go together* [my italics]. So eventually, he started playing Monk. It's like, you guys wanna hear flattened fifths? I'm gonna play you flattened fifths! So I'm talking about those days, that early. (Vincent Kolbe, quoted in Rasmussen 2003:109)

As the above statement suggests, a relegation of *mbaqanga* or *marabi*-influenced practices could be attributed to the inability to recognise mediation – in both bebop and African jazz – of common discourses of resistance to a marginal positioning of African cultural experiences in the context of a global European modernity. The uptake of bebop by jazz-influenced musicians among South Africa's privileged classes was as immediate as its uptake by white musicians in the United States. Among white South African musicians were those who made forays into the township of Langa to mentor African musicians in jazz performance, as Lars Rasmussen elicited from an interview with the pioneering Cape Town jazz saxophonist 'Cups' Nkanuka:

> **Rasmussen:** Tell me about the white musicians who came to Langa.
> **Nkanuka:** Yeah, you see, we owe our gratitudes very much to those white musicians. These white musicians used to go to us and I think it was them who got us out of this big band *mbaqanga* stuff, into jazz. They used to come and hire a piano somewhere … [a]nd then they used to play for us there, we used to listen and get inspired until, eventually, at the end of the show, we used to sit in and try and play too … Especially the bassist George Kussel, he was the main guy. He used to bring these white guys here, people like Cecil Ricca, Bob Tizzard, Don Staegemann, the pianist Brian Welsh. Welsh played so nicely, we used to listen and our hearts used to get sore because we didn't know whenever we would be able to play like that. They were the inspiration behind us. This was a long time before Chris McGregor. They used to come regularly and they didn't worry about the police force, somehow they just used to slip in, unnoticed. (Rasmussen 2003:224)

From Nkanuka's response may be construed a possibility that a burgeoning interest in jazz was pursued at the expense of homegrown, discursively syncretic African musical engagements, including *mbaqanga*. The sublimation of *mbaqanga* also emanated in part from the musicians' own ambitions to engage with jazz and bebop in particular. Replying to a question regarding the relative paucity of *marabi*-based big-band recordings, the saxophonist and band-leader 'Cup 'n' Saucer' Nkanuka shed light on the pervasive attitude of African musicians towards *marabi*:

> [T]o us, *marabi* was not something important, because it was our own thing, and it wasn't running away… It wasn't going to run away, because it was *in* us. So we didn't see any interest in

> recording for the future… It's just too bad. (Cup 'n' Saucer Nkanuka, quoted in Rasmussen 2003:223)

This attitude speaks of an entrenched social performance practice which, however, had not appealed to entrepreneurial interests that would have ensured its documentation in recordings. Furthermore, a reasonable assumption would be that the marginality of big-band *marabi* – in terms of patronage by the economically privileged sectors of South African society – was largely responsible for much of its practitioners' disregard for the style's market potential. With ever increasing apartheid repression constantly denying the centrality of African urban social performance, and a lack of marketing of this style among the country's affluent classes, *mbaqanga* was on retreat almost from the time of its inception. It may be argued that the elitism of Sophiatown's jazz culture, particularly as portrayed in magazine and film media, may have biased musicians away from the proletarianism of *mbaqanga* and towards an engagement with jazz. Even major jazz events like the annual Cold Castle National festival – held in Johannesburg from 1961 to 1964 – did not recognize *marabi*-jazz repertoires as on a par with imported American repertoires. In practice the phenomenon of jazz and especially bebop led to the shrinking of big bands as progressive players gravitated towards smaller formations, demanding advanced individual rather than collective participatory skills, as Nkanuka further recalled:

> I remember my first LP I bought of small bands, was by Charlie Parker. It was a ten-inch record. There were Charlie Parker, Dizzy Gillespie, featured on the record, Miles Davis, and pianists like Wynton Kelly… I [have] forgotten … these guys that used to play with Charlie Parker. I just threw it away now, because it was full of scratches. (Cup 'n' Saucer Nkanuka, quoted in Rasmussen 2003:224)

These insights provide some of the reasons for the languishing of big-band *mbaqanga*, as energies of the most able musicians were diverted towards the challenges posed by the individual virtuosity of bebop and subsequent jazz approaches.

There is reason to believe that the exploitation of *kwela*, a juvenile practice – rather than the adult idiom of big-band *mbaqanga* – was achieved largely as a result of the inexperience and lack of bargaining power of its youthful practitioners. The recording-studio process offshoot of the big-band *mbaqanga* tradition, the *sax-jive* genre, was produced by employing in-house musicians and keeping out those who showed an

understanding of their rights in respect of the engagements they were obliged to enter into with producers. In an exhaustive interview with Christopher Ballantine in 1986, Chris McGregor emphasized the manipulated processes of *mbaqanga* production by the captains of Johannesburg studios such as Gallo:

> Trutone – I think it was the first one I saw there and watched the industrial production of *mbaqanga* … I was quite amazed actually, I never thought anything like that existed. I must say this also that I felt that what was going down for industrial consumption was nothing good as what I've been involved in, in Cape Town … [I]t didn't seem as fresh to me. It seemed hard-bitten, a little bit conventional. That was the stuff that was being called *mbaqanga* … What happens is the A&R man has a roster of names, and he's sharing out the work. When that team in there is finished, he comes in here and calls the next five on his roster, or whatever he's into – the next ten on his roster, whatever he's looking for, whatever kind of thing he's trying to cook up … It would very often be what you call, the producer or the A&R man, who were black … *who would put his name down as the composer … and then some invented name for the group.…* Now we've got this little stack of repertoire that we've recorded with these six guys, right … what shall we call ourselves … I don't know … Let's call ourselves The Railway Seven, you know … The Benoni Railway Track Buffers. (Chris McGregor 1986, interviewed by Christopher Ballantine)

The disillusionment permeating the tightly controlled SABC studio production process of African jazz in the early 1960s was explained by Ndikho Xaba:

> I will never forget my experience with one SABC recording studio that was run by a certain Mr Kittermeister. That day Kippie Moeketsi was in that session, Wonder Makhubu was on piano. Kittermeister goes over to the piano player, he says to him 'look, I don't want you going anywhere, you know, just stay on that thing - just a ki-ting ki-ting ki-ting ki-ting... that's all I want you to do.' That's when I said to myself 'enough is enough ... I'm not going to be involved in this degenerative artistry'... (Ndikho Xaba 2000, quoted in *ABC Ulwazi*).

From this may be understood some of the sources of the alienation of *mbaqanga* musicians, who were thwarted in their efforts to advance the style on their own creative terms, due to unsympathetic and ignorant stipulations of a market-oriented studio production process.

6.5 South African music and musicians in exile in the United States

A significant U.S. commercial consumption of black South African popular music followed the recording of the song *Wimoweh*[40] by Pete Seeger and his band, The Weavers. The song (its original title was *Mbube* – Zulu for 'lion') was composed by the South African Solomon Linda in the early *isicathamiya* style of *ingomabusuku*, and recorded for Gallo Records by Linda and His Evening Birds in 1939 (Musical Excerpt 6.1). In the recording the characteristically *a cappella* ingomabusuku style was given a light instrumental accompaniment by members of the Merry Blackbirds, one South Africa's most popular vaudeville and jazz orchestras from the early 1930s. The second wave of acquaintance followed the overwhelming American popularity in 1954 of *Skokiaan* (Musical Excerpt 6.2), a composition by Zimbabwean August Musururgwa in the South African popular *tsaba-tsaba* dance style, and performed by 'The African Band of the Cold Storage Commission of Southern Rhodesia' (Ballantine 1999:14). The international success of Musururgwa's tune *Skokiaan* followed its recording by Louis Armstrong as *Happy Africa*, which topped the American Hit Parade in 1954 and resulted in its publication as sheet music in 17 countries (Coplan 1985:154). Around 1955 Gallo Records – sensing a possible American and international market breakthrough for South African black popular music – released two further compositions by one of South Africa's leading jazz musicians and bandleaders in the 1950s, saxophonist and composer Mackay Davashe. Two of Davashe's compositions, *Lakutshon' Ilanga* ('When the sun sets') [Musical excerpt 6.3] and *Izikalo Zegoduka* ('A migrant worker's laments'), were chosen by Gallo Records for re-recording and international release, with a stipulation that 'the Nguni lyrics would have to be replaced by English ones' (Ballantine 1999:14). Collaboration between Gallo Records, the (South African) Manhattan Brothers and the

[40] *Wimoweh's* subsequent popularity resulted in its rearrangement, recording and performance all over the world, as well as its in its melody and lyrics being widely recognized as part of American folk and popular culture (Muller 2004:122). In this form, the song and melody of *Wimoweh* found its way into the repertoires of countless productions and recordings worldwide without the acknowledgment of Solomon Linda as the song's originator, as Carol Muller states: 'Early cover versions of Solomon Linda's *Mbube* include those done by the Kingston Trio (1959), Jimmy Dorsey (1952), and the Tokens (1961); it appears on recordings for children including "Barnyard Beat" and "Kid's Fun" (the latter cited on allmusic.com); on a Burger King commercial; and of course, in "The Lion King" soundtrack for the Broadway musical and Hollywood film'. (Muller 2004:122)

American lyricist Tom Glazer resulted in the re-release of the two songs as under the titles *Lovely Lies* and *Kilimanjaro* respectively.

The gross ideological misrepresentation of African social messages in music resulting from this white-capital controlled production process is discussed in a section of Chapter 4. Of importance in the present context is the process by which musical products of a marginal African social subjectivism in South Africa were made available to the American public. The significance of this exploitative cultural mediation was in its excision of discursive experiences of marginalised subjects and – via a tight-fisted control in studio production procedures – their politics from their exported musical products. This excision and a virtual exiling of African voices silenced, and thus censored, ideological articulations which testified to a global condition of African marginality. These absences of socially embedded African identities from American experiences of black South African music arguably facilitated its commercial exploitation by a white-controlled music recording industry on both sides of the Atlantic. While the sound of black South African music resonated with the American record-buying public and musicians, its important ideological underpinnings in strife was discarded with the songs' original lyrics. A similar condition may be seen to have existed within the U.S itself in the mediation of black American musical culture *en route* to its broader and significantly white consumer public. An entrenched dissociation in the attitudes of white middle-class America between real-life African American social experiences and jazz expressive performance was one of the reasons behind Cecil Taylor's call in the early 1960s for a boycott by 'Negro musicians' of all jazz clubs in the U.S. Taylor's appeal emanated from widely-experienced perceptions of the entrenchment by a white-controlled jazz-club industry of the view of a black jazz musician 'as some kind of disembodied entity who has no existence except at the moment of creation… [who] cease[s] to exist the moment you lay down your horn' (Kofsky 1970:145).

The coincidence and alignment of bebop with the 1940s radical militancy of the black American nationalist cause was in part attributed to a perceived separation – in the course of a privileged consumption of jazz – of African expressive performance experience from

the politically and socially disenfranchised condition of its practitioners. Frank Kofsky (1970) cites at length the negative association of jazz with white capitalist control and its resultant alienation of many African American musicians. Among the most eloquent musicians in articulating this discomfort were pianist Cecil Taylor, saxophonists Archie Shepp and Ornette Coleman, drummer Max Roach, and trumpeter-composer Bill Dixon. Dixon, who also wrote prose and poetry, was responsible for The October Revolution, a performance organisation that, among other issues, sought to 'protect the musicians and composers from existing forces of exploitation'. (Kofsky 1970:141). It was Cecil Taylor who had put forward an assertion that jazz is 'one of the most meaningful social, aesthetic contributions to America… antiwar; it is opposed to Vietnam; it is for Cuba; it is for the liberation of all people… Why is that so? Because jazz is a music itself born out of oppression, born out of enslavement of my people' (Kofsky 1970:141). The post-bebop conception of jazz as an important symbol of social change had resulted not only in the revisiting – particularly in hard bop – of the traditional musical genres of African-American cultural performance, but also in looking at the particularities of African musical cultures. The repertoires ensuing from the trend in jazz practice to reference an imagined Africa as a springboard for composition have been extensively documented. (Weinstein 1992). This process of drawing new inspiration for the extension of jazz's expressive potential from Africa (and elsewhere in the non-western world) arguably began with the titling of albums and compositions, such as John Coltrane's *Africa/ Brass*, *Dahomey Dance*, and *India*; Dizzy Gillespie's *A Night in Tunisia*, or Sonny Rollins' *Airegin* for example. In the context of an idealised correspondence between African-American jazz and Africa, the appearance of Max Roach and Oscar Brown Jr.'s recording We Insist - Freedom Now Suite (1960), and the issues with which it was concerned, was immediate. This immediacy was best illustrated in the recording's final movement, entitled *Tears for Johannesburg* (Musical Excerpt 6.4), which was responding directly to the killing by police of 69 unarmed African pass-law protesters in Sharpeville on March 21, 1960. The piano-less and largely blues framework of the Suite's five movements appears to explore the organic nature of African indigenous musical performance, in its reliance on voices and rhythm. The articulation in *Tears for Johannesburg,* of a unified ideological grounding for the freedom aspirations of Africans

in America and in South Africa was explained by Nat Hentoff as ‘sum[ming] up, in a large sense what the players and singers on this album are trying to do ... [t]here is still incredible and bloody cruelty against Africans, as in the Sharpeville massacre of South Africa ... [t]here is still much to be won in America’ (Roach and Oscar Brown Jnr. 1960). As is noted on the album’s jacket, the recording of We Insist - Freedom Now Suite rode on the crest of a wave begun by black student demonstrations in Greensboro, North Carolina in February 1960.

The arrival in the US of South African jazz exiles in the middle of momentous black assertions of the distinctiveness of African cultural origins resonated with jazz’s renewed alignment with its social and cultural roots in African America, and therefore with African musical performance. It is in this light that the responses of incredulity to suggestions of Miriam Makeba’s jazz status in the U.S. may be understood, as Brett Pyper explained:

> If mention in a jazz context of ... Miriam Makeba, strikes many people with whom I speak as incongruous, this serves as a salutary reminder of contestations and shifts in the content of jazz as a category over the last forty years. (2004:3)

It may be argued that the United States contingent of South African jazz exiles achieved remarkable international success and recognition compared to those who had settled in Europe and the UK. In this context one could name pianist Abdullah Ibrahim, Hugh Masekela, Miriam Makeba, Caiphus Semenya and Letta Mbuli, all of whom, despite their exile, maintained a popular following in the Unites States, South Africa, and many other countries in Africa and the world. There were other South African cultural exiles in the U.S. who were, however, unable to make similarly lasting impressions on either the American or the global popular imagination. Among these could be named pianists Hotep Galeta (Cecil Barnard) and Ndikho Xaba, and trombonists Jonas Gwangwa and Blyth Mbityana (Bernstein 1994). However, the most significant achievement of the initial wave of South African jazz exile in the U.S. was its confirmation of the untenable African condition in its subjectivism of a western global modernity. Hugh Masekela explained the important role played by Miriam Makeba in introducing both the American and international public to the appalling conditions of black existence under apartheid:

> She [Miriam Makeba] was the first African musician overseas to like grab world attention, and also to bring to the attention of the world community, unwittingly at first, just by singing her songs and describing the lifestyle of South Africa, she brought to the world attention what South Africa was about. She was the first really to open the window. (Hugh Masekela in Blue Notes and Exiled Voices 1990)

In a radical African-American context of jazz development in the U.S., Miriam Makeba's arrival – in its mediation of coeval African cultural experiences – arguably realised a post-bebop social re-commitment to reconnect with the historical grounding of black American performance practice. This view finds support in pianist Cecil Taylor's statement – in an interview with Nat Hentoff– that 'the greatness in jazz occurs because it includes all the mores and folkways of Negroes during the last fifty years' (Kofsky 1970:140). If such 'mores and folkways' are to be understood in their attempt to assert the Africanness of the diaspora's hybridity in musical performance, then Makeba's lived, spoken and performed black South African ethnicities resonated powerfully with a symbolic construction of African-American culture as a means of achieving social and political change. And the forward publicity of Makeba's South African achievements as a jazz singer gave a special, contemporary significance and 'up-to-date-ness' to an ideological cultural correspondence between African-American and African histories of marginalisation.

In the early 1960s Miriam Makeba's influence on Hugh Masekela – then a student at the Manhattan School of Music – was both musical and political. Firstly, Makeba's political influence resulted from her own convictions and her decision to use her status and career to publicise the situation of black South Africans as well as to contribute financially to the setting up of anti-apartheid structures worldwide. This political orientation of Makeba's was clearly conveyed when she told Hugh Masekela soon after his arrival in New York that they needed to 'look out for each other … [w]ork hard and let's keep trying our best to find ways to improve the plight of our people who are suffering back home in South Africa' (Masekela and Cheers 2004:130). Through Makeba's contacts Masekela was able to meet, learn from and share ideas with important political role-players in the South African struggle against apartheid and black Africa's postcolonial independence. Among such people were Mburumba Kerina (SWAPO representative at

the United Nations in 1960); Vusi Make (ex-Drum magazine journalist, Pan-Africanist Congress leader, volunteer cadre and the organisation's ambassador to the American Civil Rights movement, and husband to actress Maya Angelou); Malcom X; Langston Hughes; Harry Belafonte; Sydney Poitier; Stokely Carmichael; Willie Kgositsile; and A.B. Ngcobo (PAC chief representative and Sobukwe confidante). To the detriment of her career prospects in the U.S. and other parts of Europe, Miriam Makeba's own powerful circle of friends in 1963 had come to include leaders (or would-be leaders) from newly independent African states such as Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana), Sekou Toure (Guinea), Jomo Kenyatta (Kenya), Muammar Gaddafi (Libya), Julius Nyerere (Tanzania), Kenneth Kaunda (Zambia), Eduardo Mondlane (Mozambique), Amilcar Cabral (Algeria), Sam Nujoma and Ben Gurirab (Namibia), as well as Cuba's Fidel Castro (Masekela and Cheers 2004:159).

Musically, although Makeba was personally responsible for introducing Masekela to many influential musicians in all fields of American musical performance such as Dizzy Gillespie, Harry Belafonte, Sam Cooke, Phyllis Diller, Tony Bennett, Barbara Streisand, Louis Armstrong, Count Basie, Ella Fitzgerald, Mahalia Jackson, Dick Gregory, and Steve Lawrence, it was the success she had achieved as a result of her folk repertoire that steered Hugh Masekela to an originality in style based on his urban and indigenous South African roots:

> I had come to New York as a bebop musician, hoping to one day become a member of Art Blakey's Jazz Messengers or Horace Silver's Quintet, or to play in Les McAnn's group, but when I broached the subject with any one of them, the answer was always… Why don't you play music from your home? Look what it's done for Miriam. (Masekela and Cheers 2004:165)

In conjunction with Masekela's own absorption with popular African-American musics such as gospel, blues, rhythm and blues, and rock 'n' roll, as well as personal acquaintances with his former idols and leading jazz musicians of the day, Masekela was guided towards a favourable reception by the American record-buying public. It should be remembered that for the first time ever Masekela had witnessed performances by - and was personally introduced by Dizzy Gillespie to - Thelonius Monk, Charles Mingus, Max Roach, John Coltrane, Reggie Workman, McCoy Tyner and Elvin Jones on his very first evening in the U.S. (Masekela and Cheers 2004:126). His contemporaries at the

Manhattan School of Music included 'leading members of the symphony orchestra, opera soloists, top composers, and leading jazz musicians like bassists Ron Carter and Richard Davis, pianists Herbie Hancock, Mike Abene, Dave Grusin and Larry Willis, drummer Phil Rosen, trumpeters Donald Byrd and Booker Little, and many other young musicians who would later become icons of American music' (Masekela and Cheers 2004:131). At the time, the Apollo Theatre in Harlem where Hugh frequently attended shows was a mecca of influential black American performers. On these occasions Hugh was impressed by performers such as Jackie Wilson, Ruth Brown, Etta James, Solomon Burke, Billy Wright, Ray Charles, Rufus Thomas, Sam and Dave, Otis Redding, Booker T and the MGs, the Horace Silver Quintet, Art Blakey's Jazz Messengers, the Slide Hampton Orchestra, Les McAnn's Trio, Gloria Lynne, Stanley Turrentine, and the Canonball Quintet featuring Nancy Wilson.

Miriam Makeba's commitment to the ideals of the black struggle for freedom both in its South African and U.S contexts, and her close association with the militant leadership of the American Civil Rights movement (largely as a result of her marriage to Black Panther founder Stokely Carmichael) pitted her against the powerful influence of American recording industry captains. It was through their (and governmental State Department) influence that her work opportunities dwindled, as she faced surveillance from both the CIA and the FBI, and she finally opted for a further exile in Guinea. The confirmation of Miriam Makeba's exile status was achieved as a result of the successful communication of her oppositional stance against both apartheid and the marginal position of black Americans in the U.S. system, as she testified at a UN Security Council gathering in 1964:

> I ask you, and all the leaders of the world, would you act differently, would you keep silent and do nothing, if you were in our place, would you not resist if you were allowed no rights in your own country because the colour of your skin is different to that of the rulers, and if you were punished for even asking for equality? (Miriam Makeba in Blue Notes and Exiled Voices 1990)

The onset of an indefinite exile for South African jazz musicians in the early 1960s, as a result of their assumed ideological stances in support of the attainment of equality for black citizens in both the U.S and in Africa, was explained by Masekela as follows:

> It was not meant to be exile, but as she was here and we all started coming over, the situation in South Africa deteriorated so much that what we stood for and what we were able to say here about our country didn't put [us] in good stead and life with South African government. And at that time it became difficult for people to return home... and virtually impossible. (Hugh Masekela in Blue Notes and Exiled Voices 1990)

In the wake of Miriam Makeba, South African exiles to the U.S appear to have had a relatively well-prepared reception and infrastructural support enabling them to embark on certain courses of action towards the achievement of their intentions. Among South Africa's most well-known bebop exiles – Caiphus Semenya, Hugh Masekela, Jonas Gwangwa, Cecil Barnard (Hotep Galeta), Maurice Goldberg, Dollar Brand (Abdullah Ibrahim) and, later, Blyth Mbityana – it is perhaps Gwangwa who can be singled out as having had a relatively tougher time in launching a successful musical career. After an initial engagement arranging, composing and performing on various successful projects around the careers of Miriam Makeba and Harry Belafonte, Jonas Gwangwa had to survive on piecemeal engagements. His own independent musical career, for various reasons, did not take off despite his involvement with Harry Belafonte's and Miriam Makeba's Grammy Award-winning album as well as Makeba's big hit *Phatha Phatha,* as he later related in interview:

> [But] it wasn't very easy as a student I went through some hardships there… Also because my passport had expired… I had a group of my own. I wrote some music for a play… apart from that I just kept on, finding out different [engagements in the] music field. It kept me [going] but it was not like … there … all the time. It was sparse and far between. (Jonas Gwangwa, quoted in Bernstein 1989:82)

Gwangwa had left South Africa for London in 1961, as a part of the orchestra in the Spike Glasser musical, *King Kong*. Disruptive events in the background to the jazz scene at the time included the outlawing of major black resistance organisations, the banning of opponents of apartheid, which resulted in leading South African jazz musicians opting for exile. Among such musicians were Miriam Makeba, Abdullah Ibrahim (Dollar Brand), and members of the cast of *King Kong,* who included an orchestra made up of the best black South African jazz musicians. Many such musicians and actors chose voluntary exile rather than to return to repressive apartheid conditions, as singer Peggy Phango, who replaced Miriam Makeba in the female leading role in *King Kong*, said in an interview:

> I wanted to leave SA. I was prepared to come to England in *King Kong* as a chorus girl... The only thing I was after was getting my passport and getting out of that country. Then I got a surprise... I got the lead. (Peggy Phango in Blue Notes and Exiled Voices 1990)

Many similar accounts of the reasons for leaving South Africa have been given. There seem to have been certain expectations and assumptions regarding musical performance and its social embedding in the envisaged host societies of Europe, Britain and North America. One assumption was based on the vision of an idealised non-racialism in musical and specifically jazz performance, as may be understood from statements such as Peggy Phango's, above. One explanation for this expectation lay in the mediation of the influence of US jazz in South Africa, in which the pervasive ideological power contestations and racial stratifications of Western society were downplayed. Despite being essentially black-American innovations, both swing and jazz had been popularised by white musicians such as Paul Whiteman, Benny Goodman, The Dorsey Brothers, Glenn Miller, Woody Herman, Stan Kenton, among others, as Ndikho Xaba explained:

> Basically 50 or 60 years back the most influential sounds were sounds from Afro-America... even Euro-America also. Now when I say Euro-America I'm talking big-bands of the 1940s, Glen Miller's, Stan Kenton's, you name them. In those days we were not discriminative that this expression is coming from a white, or is it from a black experience. We accepted the artform then as it was, that it was jazz. (Ndikho Xaba 2002, Author's interview)

The fact that these influences were largely gleaned from the non-visual media of radio and recordings may also have obscured the fact that a significant amount of popular jazz and swing was recorded by white musicians. To this cultural mediation should be added an influential role of white musicians in South Africa in mentoring disadvantaged African musicians, particularly since the advent of the intellectualism of bebop. Pianists Chris McGregor and John Mehegan were such mentors, and before them a generation of white Cape Town jazz musicians – among them George Kussel, Cecil Ricca, Donald Staegemann, Brian Welsh, Bob Tizzard. All of them influenced the reception of modern jazz and bebop among Langa township's musicians (Rasmussen 2003:242). Hugh Masekela's (and trombonist Jonas Gwangwa's) early experiences of performing jazz, in the mid-1950s, were in the Huddlestone Jazz Band while they were students at St Peter's Secondary in Rosettenville, Johannesburg. The band was named after its convenor and sponsor Father Trevor Huddlestone, the white Anglican urban missionary and principal at the school. It was Huddlestone who had lobbied Louis Armstrong to donate a trumpet for use by the young Masekela, and who subsequently arranged for him to leave South Africa to study at the Guildhall School of Music in London (Masekela and Cheers 2004).

Pyper (2004) perhaps makes the point obliquely that although both Jonas Gwangwa and Hugh Masekela had come to the U.S. to the Juilliard and Manhattan School of Music to study, it was through their socialisation in *mbaqanga* culture and their collaboration with Miriam Makeba that they earned early recognition as popular musicians. The ethnic particularities of both Hugh Masekela's and Miriam Makeba's repertoires coincided with the pertinent African-American desire to forge meaningful connections with their African cultural heritage. It is remarkable that this ideological affirmation of ethnic identities in the U.S. situation of South African exile was simultaneously being promoted in South Africa as a legislated racial categorisation of the majority of South Africans, for exploitation in the context of apartheid ideology. An African-American idealisation of African ethnic diversity at the turn of the 1960s is best illustrated in the post-bebop blues revisionism of Max Roach's *All Africa* (Musical Excerpt 6.5), the title of the final movement from the album We Insist – Freedom Now Suite.

Made up of three distinct but continuous parts, the first section of *All Africa* begins with a conga drum roll played by Nigerian Yoruba percussionist Michael Olatunji, who continues in a free improvisational vein to accompany an equally *rubato*, story-telling blues style melody sung by Abbey Lincoln, relating mythologised origins of 'the beat.' The middle section is a blues form in a minor key featuring vocals by Abbey Lincoln and Nigerian percussionist Michael Olatunji singing in a call-and-response pattern. The basing of this work in the blues, voice and horn lyricism illustrates a reworking, in post-bebop and particularly hardbop approaches, of musical elements documenting the style's continuities with the broader African-American cultural history and performance. In the second section of the piece *All Africa*, names of different African tribes are sung, among them Bantu, Zulu, Watusi, Ashanti, Herero, Igbo, Basuto, Congo, Kikuyu, Bahutu, Bangi, Dahomey, Xhosa, Yoruba, Mandingo, Ngoni, Baombe, (Daule), Mende, Masai. The third, and final section of the movement is a polyrhythmic West African dance rhythm performed on an assortment of percussion instruments, similar to *kpanlogo* ensemble drumming. An orchestrated rhythmic framework which includes bells and shakers is layered with master-drum solos played on various drums, including the different pieces of a conventional drum-kit. The final downbeat, played fortissimo, is embellished with a

loud crash on the cymbals. The idealizing of African ethnic diversity as demonstrated in the avant-garde revisionism of Roach and Oscar Brown Jnr's We Insist – Freedom Now Suite provided an affirmative template for exiled black South African musicians to express their discrete ethnic cultural particularities.

The ideological positions mirrored in black jazz practices on both sides of the Atlantic, with each side emulating the imagined position of the other, represented an irony that was aptly commented upon in the following observation:

> [I]n the very year that *Tears for Johannesburg* was recorded in New York City, the first South African jazz musicians to visit the United States were surprisingly close to home, re-forging their musically constituted images of America (in several respects a mirror image of what Roach and Brown were articulating as they looked towards Africa) into real personal, and political relationships. (Pyper 2004:2)

A further apt and discursive closing of the circle in this trans-Atlantic dialogue would have been achieved in a successful mediation, to an American listenership, of the highly evolved practices of bebop-influenced South African jazz musicians in the early part of the 1960s. However, none of the South African musicians had entered the U.S. as professional members of South African bands that accomplished a high standard in bebop performance. Hugh Masekela, Jonas Gwangwa, Maurice Goldberg, Hotep Galeta (Cecil Barnard), and much later, Blyth Mbityana and Victor Ntoni, all came to the U.S. as music students of jazz. A remarkable, early exception to this trend was Dollar Brand (Abdullah Ibrahim), whose introduction to the US public in 1965 was achieved through his appearance at the Newport Jazz Festival in a trio comprising drummer Gene Taylor and bassist Joe Chambers (*Downbeat*, January 1985). The Newport Jazz Festival debut included an opportunity for Abdullah Ibrahim to occupy Duke Ellington's piano chair in a performance with orchestra. The event also significantly dovetailed with the release of the album Duke Ellington Presents (1965), produced by Ellington earlier that year in Paris, which also included recordings by Ibrahim's wife, Sathima Bea Benjamin, singing some of Ellington's compositions.

The ease with which Ibrahim was accepted into the higher echelons of African-American jazz aristocracy is an indication of the extent to which leading bebop exponents in South Africa had immersed themselves in the study of American jazz culture. While Ibrahim

significantly maintained a close affinity with South African *marabi* keyboard traditions, it is clear that as an urban cultural subject, *marabi* represented the extent of his practical relationship with his African musical indigeneity, as he told a *Downbeat* interviewer:

> *[Marabi]* was a traditional music that was becoming urbanised, and these guys would play these two-pedalled organs. They would stick matchstick in the keys, which would keep them depressed. Then they would solo over top of this. (Abdullah Ibrahim [Dollar Brand], quoted in *Downbeat*, January 1985)

In the earlier chapters I narrated a deep, protracted musical syncretism of *marabi*, and its aesthetic distance, in culture and practice, from indigenous African musical performance. The apparent sublimation of a 'triple consciousness' in pre-exile jazz – including the style practised by the Blue Notes' – raises speculation about the extent of the cultural alienation of pioneering South African bebop exponents from indigeneous musical practice. In Section 4 of the present chapter I observed the limited deployment of a 'triple consciousness' at the time, suggesting that it was limited to such matters as the vernacular titles of some of the Blue Notes' post-bebop compositions, such as *Izithunywa*, *Hey Jongapha* (Pukwana), and *Ukuphuma Kwelanga* (Chris McGregor). However, the existence of unreleased *mbaqanga* recordings by the Blue Notes, probably recorded in the early part of 1963 (Allingham 2002) would suggest a form of corporate censorship of the music's production for marketing purposes. In speculating about the exclusion of *mbaqanga* from the contest-driven, township-confined successive Cold Castle National Jazz Festivals – which took place in 1961, 1962, 1963 and 1964 – one is hard put to find a credible motive on the part of the festivals' organisers. This attitude echoed a similar bias in the 1930s, of an elite, African, urban cultural patriarchy, against the inclusion of proletarian styles such as *marabi*, ragtime and jazz in their *makwaya*-dominated national mobilisation of African musical performance. The exclusion in the early 1960s of *mbaqanga* from sponsored progressive jazz events such as the Cold Castle National Jazz Festival arguably prevented the style from benefiting from pedagogical exchanges that had become a hallmark of contemporary jazz practice since bebop. It is tempting to equate this censorship to an exiling of a heterogeneous musical practice that sought to reconcile its alienated indigeneity with a contemporary jazz practice.

The Blue Notes' subsequent stylistic evolution in continental Europe and the UK is usefully considered against this trajectory of the exiling of a South African musical

imagination. As the 1960s and apartheid wore on in South Africa, the immediacy of the ideological connections between the newer *mgqashiyo* or *isimanjemanje* style, and the older *marabi* and swing-influenced *mbaqanga* (African jazz) became obscure. Such ideological disjunctures in popular perceptions of black South African musical history arguably served to reinforce the fragmentary conceptions of apartheid. In exile, however, as we shall discover, members of the Blue Notes were spearheading a re-contextualisation of *mbaqanga* with a triple-consciousness of its indigeneous links and a double-consciousness of its domesticated American swing influences.

CHAPTER 7

The Blue Notes' repertoires as narratives of identity in exile

7.1 Music and identity in a South African exile imaginary

> [Exile is] strangely compelling to think about but terrible to experience. It is the unhealable rift forced between a human being and a native place, between the self and its true home: its essential sadness can never be surmounted. And while it is true that literature and history contain heroic, romantic, glorious, even triumphant episodes in an exile's life, these are no more than efforts meant to overcome the crippling sorrow of estrangement. The achievements of exile are permanently undermined by the loss of something left behind forever (Said 2001:173).

Prior to considering a deployment of musical repertoires as narratives of identity by exiled members of the Blue Notes, I need to briefly examine the narrative register of music, and particularly jazz, in the exiled South African imaginary. As a characteristic state of projection and desire, exile is preoccupied with metaphoric traversals of time and space 'whether one is in one's own country dreaming of another or in another dreaming of one's own' (Seidel 1986:198). In its temporal axis, the exilic narrative imagination projects across senses of altered conditions where a physical dislocation has not occurred. It is in its dominant condition as a traversal between a 'here and now' and a 'there and then' that exile is constituted as a narrative of the imagination, or as Seidel (1986:199) states that '[t]he narrative imagination inhabits exilic domain where absence is presence, or to put it the other way round, where presence is absence'. Exile, then, whether preoccupied with exigencies of its crises or challenged with artistic pursuits, deploys a narrative imagination to transfigure separation into a meaningful connection. The following discussions are concerned with a creative and aesthetic deployment of imagination in the narratives of individual, social group and national identities in the Blue Notes' diverse musical repertoires in exile.

A problematic use of a common understanding of identity inheres in the contradictions in the meanings attached to it, as a term, and in its application in a variety of political contexts (Martin 1991). The fluidity in the interpretation of the notion of identity arguably makes it conveniently available to the creative processes of an exilic narrative imagination. This ambiguity in the notion of identity rests, among other considerations,

on its use to denote both difference and similarity, or both 'uniqueness and sameness,' since an individual's identity can be described only in its relatedness to or in contrast with other identities (Martin 1991:37). The instability in the concept of identity and that arising from the crises describing experiential exile come together in their relation to the notion of 'otherness'. According to Denis-Constant Martin (1991), the meaning of identity is ambiguously located where uniqueness is equated with 'a sameness which needs *else-ness*' for its own existential definition. In the condition of exile where individual, social group and national identities are contingently affirmed or deconstructed to maintain contingent ideological discourses, the narrative power of identity becomes constituted in expressive musical practice. A similar recognition of a biographical connectedness between performing subjects and their musical repertoires led to conceptions of music 'as articulating, from within the inherent characteristics of its sonic channel, socially mediated messages' (Shepherd 1996:7).

As a counter to a dislocating essence and alienation of a sense of cultural belonging, literary accounts of South African experiences in exile have commonly alluded to practices of a manipulation of personal and collective memory in imaginings of idealized time and space (Bernstein 1994, Israel 1999, Mphahlele 1995, Nkosi 1964, Nkosi 1965). The eloquence of the jazz in articulating the alienation of an exile's experiences was expressed by Lewis Nkosi in the early 1960s, then suffering depression on his return to Manhattan after a gruelling assignment in the American South:

> I was insupportably weary; I needed alcohol; I needed flesh in abundance and I needed wry, astringent jazz. At that moment music seemed to me not to exist purely as entertainment but as a way of dealing with the world, and a way of dealing with my own madness. (1965:63)

In exile and arguing for a rationale of acquiring European education and culture by South African blacks as the only peaceful means to power, Es'kia Mphahlele wrote as follows:

> We had jazz, we had European music. European music … took one to faraway lands where we imagined ourselves elevated above the tyranny around us. Jazz also spoke to us of an imaginary land where Blacks were achieving things we couldn't dream of. Except that jazz also grounded us deeper in our Black experience because we did sense its other dimension: a state of mind rooted in a life that knew slave ships, whips, back-breaking labor, break-up of family life, alienation, and so on. (1962: 27)

The claiming by two of South Africa's foremost exiled writers and intellectuals, of jazz and European music as a resilient element of ideological resistance and a cornerstone of their cultural socialising experiences, points to a crucial positioning of hybridity in articulating the situational complexities of cultural domination.

The condition of exile which impinged on the musical development of the Blue Notes needs to be considered in its bearing on their social, individual and national identities, as well as its ramifications for musical performance. The contradictory constructions of the Blue Notes' expressive performance style – in the articulation of meaning by diversely situated exiled South African subjects – also highlight the contestations in exile interpretations of shared cultural heritages. The exiled South African literary critic and novelist, Lewis Nkosi, recalled a typical live performance by the Blue Notes in London soon after their arrival in 1965:

> In the small hours of the morning, playing mostly in beer-sodden nightclubs under corralling clouds of cigarette smoke, Dudu P[h]ukwana, the talented bouncy alto-man of the Blue Notes, is likely to reach out for a brutal frenetic sound which combines the virtuosity of a Roland Kirk and the frenzied vehemence of an Eric Dolphy with the emotional violence and intensity gravely suggestive of the midnight violence of South African streets. It is a kind of music which often sounds as though knives were perpetually drawn. (1965: 88)

The violence evoked in Nkosi's literary imaginary stands starkly juxtaposed to the musicians' own views of the role of their musical performances among their fellow South African exiles, as indicated in the following statement:

> We stood for the happiness, just to make the people of London happy ... the people in exile rather, outside South Africa, happy ... because we used to play in every kind of like, engagement that was rendered by the South Africans and so we were maybe - to say it in Xhosa, *besingabathuthuzeli inhliziyo zabantu – besithuthuzela*[41] ... this is in Xhosa, I don't know how to put it in English... something like 'comfort'... to comfort the people ... to soften the shock of being in exile. (Louis Moholo in Blue Notes and Exiled Voices 1990)

A seemingly contrasted interpretation of meaning arguably echoes similar juxtapositions and divergent constructions of exile identity, particularly in the sizable multi-ethnic community of South Africans that had begun to settle in the UK since at least the 1950s. The diffuseness of South African exiles' experiences in the UK is the theme of Mark Israel's study of the social and political networks that were established to maintain an ideological cohesiveness among disparate individual, filial, social and organisational

[41] A literal Xhosa translation of the phrase would be: 'We were consolers of people's hearts – We consoled (others).' Dudu Pukwana's full name 'Mthuthuzeli' means 'a person who consoles [others].'

political orientations (Israel 1999). In accounting for the relative social invisibility and wide variations in the experience of South African migrants to Britain, Israel suggests that such 'divergent experiences' emanated not only from the prolonged period of the migration process but also mirrored 'differing positions in hierarchies of race, class and gender in Britain and South Africa' (Israel 1999:3). In emphasising the operation of a fluid conception of identity, Israel argues for a view of the South African community of exiles in the UK as defined by loose communal ties, partially interactive series of networks, and a struggle to create 'a new identity *in* exile as well as an identity *of* exile' (Israel 1999:136). This conception of South African identities in their exilic condition recognises an inherent contradiction in the construction of identity as a response to alienating conditions. Furthermore, the Janus-like ideological face of South African's British exiles approximates the binary construction of identity as described in its essentialising of both difference and sameness (Martin 1993). Similarly the two conditions of a South African exilic identity may further be seen to symbolise tensions existing between individuality and its collective social constitution. As Israel explains, a South African collective identity of exile was constructed as anti-apartheid, and a resisting one:

> In calling themselves exiles, South Africans were affirming a conviction that they did not necessarily want to leave their country, that their absence was only temporary, that their political loyalties lay with the opposition to the home regime and that they did not intend integrating totally into British life. (Israel 1999:136)

However, another dimension of identity was expressed in the need to adapt and manage the inevitable integration into the host societies, arguably an arduous individual challenge, perhaps symbolized in the essential loneliness and solitude of exile. The unavoidable clash in the shifting meaning of identity in everyday exilic experience translates as a priceless regard for individual independence, as expressed in the following passage:

> We may be together in exile but we know that each one of us must be the master of his own dark alley. You learn the ways of the alley cat before you know it, and colonise the backyards. And yet you also know you've got to clear that fence to re-enter broad daylight away from the garbage cans. It's got to be done. (Mphahlele 1962:57)

Mphahlele throws light on the spectre of identity, whereby the minority condition of exile charges estranged individuals with representativity – and even responsibility – for a collective and invisible nationhood. In this condition elements of culture, including

language, become resilient symbols of identity that have to be negotiated against the essential instability of identities of exiled individuals and groups. Among the advance guard of mid-1950s South African intellectual exile, Es'kia Mphahlele valued the sustaining power of the musical heritage of itinerant South African identities highly, as he suggests in the introduction to his anthology Afrika My Music (1995):

> We carried the song across countries,
> over oceans,
> over snow-topped mountains.
> Afrika my music.
>
> You carried us across countries,
> over oceans,
> over desert and savannah.
> Song of Afrika
>
> How could we not return.
> When this is where
> the afterbirth was buried for rebirth? –
> Afrika my music.
>
> (Mphahlele 1995)

The trajectory of dislocation itself would appear to be about the negotiations of relationships and the tensions between individual and group identities in the context of social power relations. The three elements of exile – the exit, the articulation of dissent, and the struggle to return – similarly involve negotiations of the relational tensions between power narratives reliant on the conceptual identities of the individual, the ideological formation, and the nation. The exit is narrated as a subjective relationship, of individuals and groups to - and thereby their identification with - a legitimate rhetoric of victimology and resistance:

> In South Africa, it was impossible to survive making music, music was considered as less than nothing … If you were a musician, there was no money for you. The money was to be found in places like the Waldorf Hotel or the municipal centres in front of white audiences. Us, we only played for black audiences, we were obliged to. And these people were so oppressed that one couldn't ask them for much money, that's why we couldn't survive there. Not to mention all the humiliations, the indignity of the identity papers that you always had to have on you, the curfew that prevented you from going into the white quarters at night. We only had the right to be in town until 6pm. (Louis Moholo in a 1975 interview, cited in McGregor 1994:30)

The collective victimization – as result of apartheid – expressed in the above narrative later came to convey the tensions exerted on non-racial group solidarity as a result of apartheid's racial privileging of white identities, as a 2002 interview with Moholo reveals:

> Chris seems to be playing an important part in our music. But we did meet some other people before we met Chris McGregor. When we met Chris McGregor, he met us as well. I always find it so difficult that [view that] King Chris McGregor came along and rescued us like Captain Marvel. He did not really. We did him a favour. There were no white musicians that could do it like we did. I am not the only drummer that played with him. Some other black drummers played with him. But those black drummers were better than the white drummers, I'm sorry to say… (Louis Moholo, quoted in Eyles 2002)

In the very same breath, the power narrative of individual identity veers to the potential of non-racial group alliances in resisting the ravages of apartheid, as Moholo told an interviewer:

> When we met up – me, Dudu, Mongezi, Johnny Dyani, Nick Moyake, Chris – we were on the case already, and we were kind of like rebels in a way as well. So, like birds of a feather flock together, we were rebels and we were trying to run away from this apartheid thing. We rebelled against the apartheid regime that whites and blacks couldn't play together. We stood up. (Louis Moholo, quoted in Eyles 2002)

Saxophonist, composer and band leader Dudu Pukwana, when asked in 1965 how apartheid segregation hindered his artistic creation (and led to his departure from South Africa), replied:

> The thing is, I believe with anything you want to do you've got to have a right place to do it, or otherwise it means … it puts you off! Like there are places where we can't play, places where we can't go. This sort of thing disturbs the mind, you just can't think straight. (Excerpt from a BBC radio interview of Dudu Pukwana, London, 1965)

Dudu Pukwana was clearly articulating a coalescence of individual and group experiences in musical performance and probably musical composition and production – all of which processes are socially embedded in their consummation in popular cultural practice. Chris McGregor explained his own motives for exiting South Africa in a narrative which conveys that he felt he was posing a danger not only to himself, but to others, as a result of his association (and the Blue Notes') in the black township popular imagination with apartheid defiance. This realization dawned on McGregor on the day the band was mobbed in a celebration context by scores of children in Soweto, thereby attracting the attention of trigger-happy apartheid police:

> Our concert in Johannesburg was going to be in like 2, 3 weeks time, nobody was really expecting us you know and we drove into Soweto in our bus and lo and behold, I mean this is towards the height of our notoriety and suddenly kids started pouring from everywhere you know. Came this

> absolutely magical moment really when we were surrounded. We couldn't move in the kombi, we were driving forward at about half a mile an hour you know. Surrounded by children, I mean really just packed really, packed, packed, packed … and they were singing a song about the Blue Notes you know and … dancing. We were really being celebrated you know and I remember looking up the street and the kids were right up to, up there really and I remember noticing uniformed cops moving around up there and then I looked down that way and it's the same thing and then I looked ahead and it's the same thing. I realised that the cops had become attracted by all this movement, song, dance and excitement and … immediately the whole question had to pose itself in a different way you know. Like now you've been, I had been taking as a criterion for all actions up until then, are you ready to die for that, you know? (Chris McGregor 1986, interviewed by Christopher Ballantine)

The March 1960 police brutality in Sharpeville was still strongly etched in the memory of a nation that was presently witnessing a marathon Treason Trial following the arrest of more than 4000 people, the declaration of a state of emergency and the enactment, among other apartheid repressive legislative measures, of the 90-day Detention Law. The episode described in the Soweto event impelled Chris McGregor towards choosing to leave, as he later explained:

> Me ready to die. Now all of a sudden it's like wow are you ready to let other people die for that you know and if you really directly implicated and directly concerned, can you stand for that because you know very well that if those "coppers" gradually forming a ring around this whole thing. To them it's just a lot of excited "niggers" you know and they're "shit" scared of a bunch of excited "niggers", as they're proving only too well right now. (Chris McGregor 1986, interviewed by Christopher Ballantine)

Again, the decision to leave South Africa arises from a perception of the relationship between an individual and society, and the responsibilities that individuals bear as a result of ascribing certain values and meanings to their being socially embedded. Asked (in an interview by Jurg Solothurnmann in 1984) how and when he decided to leave South Africa and never come back, the Blue Notes' bassist Johnny Dyani gave the following response:

> Well, we had this offer to go to the festival of Juan-les-Pins with the Blue Notes in 1964. Just six months after we had left South Africa they changed a law that made it now impossible to play in a racially mixed band with blacks, whites, Indians, etc. like ours. We decided that this went too far and stayed in Europe … I just couldn't take that because music comes from all human beings. It's too deep to make any exclusions. It's the same like stopping children playing together on the playground. So ever I've been here. I ever since had interracial bands because I believe in the unity of the universe. (Cited in Rasmussen ed. 2003:220)

Johnny Dyani, who was in his mid teens when the Blue Notes left South Africa in 1964, appears not to articulate strong imperatives for leaving. However, the decision to stay

away is justified as an act of resistance against the categorical exclusions of apartheid's race laws. Dyani's apparently early attribution of the ideology of musical performance to the universality of human experience was, as we shall discover, to receive a critically discursive treatment and elaboration in his own subsequent approaches to musical composition and performances in exile.

From statements such as the above may be understood the Blue Notes' representativity – on the eve of their departure – of oppositional alliances and resistance against apartheid. The realisation of these desires and motives in expressive repertoires which issued from the musicians' ideological engagement with American, and largely African-American, jazz styles is in part the focus of the following discussions.

7.2 The Blue Notes in Europe: jazz repertoires as narratives of identity

In the course of its origins in the United States nearly a century ago and its phenomenal global transmission and domestication, jazz has invited various discourses of identity and aesthetics among diverse scholars and its own practitioners (Monson 2000:103). The same period saw an increase in global cultural influences flowing into the United States itself, bringing about discernible developments in the subcontinent's musical performance practices and in jazz in particular. Consideration of these two cultural flows has precipitated a contentious debate concerning the music's ideological relationships to the historical, social and racial identities of both its cultural producers and consumers alike. In this context much debate has ensued from a historical association of jazz with the African identity of its black originators and its popularization and elaboration in white American musical practice. These processes have deepened the domestic contestations over the ownership of jazz, and thereby embroiled the music even further in ideological expressions of vexed American national and global identities. Similarly a global uptake of jazz by differently constituted and geopolitically situated cultural subjects has entailed a complex juxtaposition of diverse ideological musical practices and their discrete symbolic articulations of meaning. In the example of the Blue Notes, the potential of jazz to articulate individual, social, ethnic and national identities presents a complex matrix

with which to interrogate the interplay of local, subcultural and global ideological correspondences. It is largely on this premise that I begin by exploring the role of jazz-influenced repertoires in narrating African identities prior to the exiling of their foremost practitioners.

7.2.1 The Blue Notes and identity narratives of bebop influence in SA

A musical and discursive elaboration of the Blue Notes' individual, group and national identities in exile is framed by their immersion in a contested North American jazz idiom. In the preceding chapters I have alluded to an association of bebop's development with American black nationalism and its attendant radical positioning relative to the mainstream white American ideological orientation. As a symbolic cultural practice, bebop was necessarily embroiled in black nationalist debates, increased African American militancy, and demands for the franchise and equitable representation in the U.S. socio-political terrain, particularly around the period of the Second World War. Two decades later, the evolution of post-bebop jazz styles and the racial tensions characterising everyday American social and cultural practice were being addressed in the forums of the popular jazz press as 'the growth of ill-feeling – based on racial differences – between negro and white jazzmen [that had] become distasteful to most, alarming to some' and 'would lead to strict separateness and eventually kill jazz' *(Down Beat, March 1962)*. Embroiling musicians from both sides of the racial spectrum and, significantly, white jazz critics, the deep acrimonies were fuelled, among other factors, by critical assessments of black jazz that went as far as saying that [African American jazz singer] Abbey Lincoln:

> [was] involved in African nationalism without realizing that the African Negro doesn't give a fig for the American Negro, especially if they are not blackly authentic … Pride in one's heritage is one thing, but we don't need the Elijah Muhammad type of thinking in jazz. (Jazz historian and record reviewer Ira Gitler, quoted in *Down Beat*, March 1962).

Published in *Down Beat* under the heading 'Racial Prejudice in Jazz,' a two-part article documenting conflicting cultural positions among jazz practitioners and stakeholders in the innovative New York scene had confronted the essential ideological ethnicisation of jazz by the early 1960s. As a conflictual black/white, post-bebop aesthetic contention,

this position arguably expressed publicly a discourse that had been historically played out privately in the racial demographics of American jazz band formations since Dixieland recordings in the early twentieth century. It might be said that while jazz may have successfully integrated a broad swathe of American popular musical consciousness, it had persistently exemplified in detail the keenest contestations of that country's ethno-social stratifications. It is worth citing in this context George E. Lewis' view of bebop as an improvisational practice that is ideologically framed in the historical, social and political experiences of African Americans, particularly where he says that:

> Improvisative musical utterance, like any music, may be interpreted with reference to historical and cultural contexts. The history of sanctions, segregation, and slavery, imposed upon African Americans by the dominant American white culture, has undoubt[ed]ly influenced the evolution of a sociomusical belief system that differs in critical respects from that which has emerged from the dominant culture itself. (Lewis 1996:93)

As a black American aesthetic development, bebop was successful in closely aligning the musical and ideological stratifications of disparate American economic, racial and social class positions. While the Blue Notes' style reflected their identification with African-American cultural alienation within the white-dominated American society, their mobilisation against white minority dominance in South Africa was non-racial. Thus in South Africa may be understood an ideological inversion, in the process of adoption, of influential repertoires that were increasingly particularizing of African American identities and cultural experiences in America. Among the most significant imperatives to the Blue Notes' departure from South Africa was the need to encounter, in person, idolised figures – predominantly black Americans – alongside whose approaches to jazz they sought to appraise their own development.

The African-American jazz musicians with whom the Blue Notes initially came into contact in Europe were preoccupied with their own development and careers, which were framed in particular cultural experiences and encounters within a mediated European modernity over many years. Thus, in their early European period the Blue Notes were challenged to communicate a discrete cultural socialisation and ideological orientation as subjects of a unique African postcolonial condition, through an expressive domestication of bebop, itself a contested African American practice. From these circumstances may be

understood possible contestations of power narratives of identity, in their mediation of two forms of a discrete African engagement with a globalising European modernity. A significant mid-century development, the popularisation of bebop notably coincided with a period of intense African-American struggle for equitable American citizenship. In the process, African-American jazz developed the capacity to express nuanced and African distinctions from the white American (or new European) approach (Lewis 1996). In apparent contrast, at this historical juncture of their exile careers the Blue Notes sought to establish a common aesthetic identification with western global values that would at least establish their eligibility to compete as jazz equals with black Americans and with whites alike. It is plausible to posit a problematic reception, in a radical interpretation of the African-American jazz orientation, of the structural non-racialism of the Blue Notes, more than the tension already elicited on account of the band's African origins, as Louis Moholo later recalled:

> When we arrived in Europe I went to a club where some American musicians were playing and asked if I could play. Someone asked me where I came from and as soon as I said I came from South Africa they refused to let me play. At that time no one knew there were musicians in South Africa … I insisted, and finally they let me play, and after having played the American asked me again, 'But where do you come from?'… He wouldn't believe me. He was convinced that I was an unknown American musician who had come to Europe and was passing off as a South African. (McGregor 1994:73)

Such scepticism on the part of the American jazz musicians whom the Blue Notes met on their arrival in Europe points to the entrenched identification of certain approaches and accomplishments in jazz with African American cultural experiences alone. As a shared cultural heterogeneity and a tradition constructed from opposition, African-American jazz had, to an extent, achieved in practice a theorised relationship between collective identity narratives and power (Martin 1993). In a mobilization of groups involved in a power struggle, the identity narrative is regarded as a tool which imbues such groups with a consciousness 'of themselves and of the situation [they] endure' and is simultaneously 'an instrument for constructing an "imagined community"' (Martin 1993:38).

As a confirmation of jazz's deep influence on a generation of black South African musicians, the identification of certain levels of accomplishment in jazz performance with American identities was not new, nor was it solely American musicians whose

critical assessments of the Blue Notes' proficiency in post bebop jazz was positive. As a group, and perhaps more clearly as individuals, the Blue Notes' soloists had already elicited praise from a predominantly white South African jazz journalism, which compared them favourably with some of the leading African American jazz figures. The following statements from a newspaper review of a Blue Notes' concert held at the University of Witwatersrand's Great Hall in early 1964 confirm this view. Commenting on individual performances by members of the Blue Notes, journalist Richard McNeill had said the following:

> [Chris McGregor] never overpowered anybody, but just laid down the foundation and underscored it for the soloists. Here is a Duke Ellington of South African jazzmen. But for alliteration let's call him Count Chris … (*Post*, 26 January 1964)

The allusion to 'Count' Basie further exposes the common impulse to measure accomplishment in South African jazz practice against black American benchmarks. In the same article it was also noted that:

> Nick 'Charlie Parker' Moyake is a tenor man of sound capabilities. While he lacks Dudu's talent for high spots, his tenor is full and throaty and sometimes very sweet – a real Ben Webster sound … (*Post*, 26 January 1964)

Regarding other jazz acts on the same bill, the journalist had concluded that:

> Letta Mbul[u] was the girl of the night. Her songs got a big ovation but to my taste she is wasting her big voice on Cole Porter and similar syrup. She should listen to the Bessie Smith recordings (all of them) and Ella Fitzgerald (some of them) and then realize what can be done. (Richard McNeill in *Post*, 26 January 1964)

Despite the unmistakable hard bop leanings of the Blue Notes' sound already evident by the end of 1963, the reviewer of one of the band's sessions at the Downbeat[42] attributed the music specifically to white post-bebop exponents of American 'cool' or the West Coast cool school of jazz by observing of the performance that:

> Clever switches of tempo and stage-managed duels between trumpeter Mongezi Feza and saxophonist Dudu Pukwan[a] sound something like what might happen if Shorty Rogers and Paul Desmond met at a beer-hall stomp. (Ian Millar in *The Star*, 7 November, 1963)

On their arrival in Europe the Blue Notes' musical identities depended on their stylistic continuities with American – and identifiably African-American – jazz tradition, as a

[42] A short-lived coffee bar–cum-jazz club in Hillbrow, Johannesburg in 1963 – one of the first such live jazz venues in Johannesburg.

Downbeat magazine review of their one-off appearance at the 1964 Antibes Juan-les-Pins Jazz Festival confirmed:

> Chris McGregor's Blue Notes from South Africa played just once, but their taut, angular, unself-conscious music elicited a solid reaction from the opening-night crowd. Pianist McGregor was the only white in the sextet, and he did all the arrangements for the group, the overall sound of which was not unlike that of Ornette Coleman's early combos on the West Coast. Dudu Pukwana was impressive with his hot, fragmented alto solos, and trumpet player Mongezi Feza projected well on his battered Dizzy Gillespie style of horn. (Alan Bates, quoted in *Downbeat*, October 8, 1964)

As an aspect of a South African musical identity presented to the French audiences in the first half of the 1960s, the Blue Notes's brief appearances at the Antibes Festival 'caused amazement and enthusiasm' since no one could imagine the existence of a thriving jazz performance practice in South Africa at the time (McGregor 1994:i). Denis-Constant Martin later recalled the indelible impression the Blue Notes made on the audience, very few of whom knew about apartheid. They might have 'probably heard some *kwela,* a few songs by M[i]riam Makeba' but 'had no idea who [the Blue Notes] were, or where they came from, musically speaking' (McGregor 1994:i).

As narratives of identity, the repertoires presented by the Blue Notes on the eve of their European debut could not be readily associated with the band's South African origins. It might be argued that the band's initial break-up, which culminated in (or even resulted from) Nick Moyake's return home to South Africa, was largely attributed to the tenuous discursivity of a wholly South African engagement with a contested American practice of jazz. As a mature and older member of the Blue Notes, Moyake could conceivably not answer to all the ideological disjunctures implicit in a non-American engrossment with a historically and wholly American musical practice. Remarking on the depression that beset Moyake in Europe, Maxine McGregor significantly pointed out that '[b]eing older than the other musicians by at least ten years, [Moyake] had also found it most difficult to adapt' because:

> In South Africa he had had a place in his cultural environment, such as it was. His musical ability and his fund of story-telling had earned him a large measure of respect. He knew who he was and where he was and how things functioned. In Europe he was a fish out of water, a nobody, and he found it very hard to understand the mores of strange French and Swiss who seemed totally devoid of strong family bonds and tolerance, a characteristic of many African peoples that seemed completely lacking among the competitive, materialism-oriented Europeans. (McGregor 1994:79)

It may further be argued that the vulnerability demonstrated by Moyake's return may have kindled certain ways of thinking among those who stayed, and led towards a more resilient assertion of the binding essence of the band's cultural origins. In the same way the Blue Notes' move to London, where there was a large contingent of South African exiles, could be seen as another form of returning and re-establishment of connections with home – away from home. As it happened, Maxine McGregor, the band's tireless impresario, translator and Chris' long-suffering companion, fell severely ill, no doubt due to the group's precarious living conditions and the inclement European weather. As a result she took an opportunity to travel to London, mainly to recuperate and, as she later explained:

> It seemed like a good idea because I thought I might be able to find work for the band there, and as there was quite a big exile community and the language was one they could understand we could envisage settling down on a more permanent footing. (McGregor 1994:83)

In the course of these developments, as we shall see, the band's re-connection with South African popular jazz-influenced repertoires of *kwela* and *mbaqanga* was facilitated.

7.3 Bebop-influenced repertoires as narratives of identity: the Blue Notes at Ronnie Scott's

The Blue Notes' debut at Ronnie Scott's in early 1965 proved to be a showcase of the band's departure from British approaches to jazz at the time. This perception of the Blue Notes' distinctiveness did not, however, initially stem from their performances of specifically South African popular jazz-influenced repertoires such as *kwela* and *mbaqanga*, but from their particular interpretation of African-American post-bebop developments. The Blue Note's debut at London's Ronnie Scott's Jazz Club was largely a culmination of lobbying the Musicians' Union, who 'granted the band membership as exiles, as had been done for Jewish musical refugees from Hitler's Germany during World War Two' (McKay 2005:177). This concession followed Maxine McGregor's securing for the band of a two-week residency at London's foremost jazz club in the spring of 1965. As a rule the British Musician's Union issued work permits for foreign musicians only if there was a reciprocal number of British musicians engaged in

performance work in the visitors' home country (McGregor 1994:84). The concession for the Blue Notes then recognized the impossibility of this arrangement and, as Maxine says when elaborating on the constraints imposed by this situation, the arrangement 'would work for the initial weeks at Ronnie Scott's, but after that [the Blue Notes] were not allowed to join the Musicians' Union until they had been resident in England for a year' (McGregor 1994:84).

A sizeable South African exile community in London had come to include persons who had moved in the same milieu as the Blue Notes. South African musicians included Dollar Brand and Bea Benjamin as well as personnel from the musical *King Kong* who had opted not to return home when the show folded. Politically, the social climate was sympathetic to apartheid victims as a result of efforts of Father Trevor Huddleston and the anti-apartheid movement he had been instrumental in setting up in 1959. Support for the anti-apartheid movement – and its energizing of the campaign for the cultural boycott of South Africa – had been elicited from several important lobbies, including Britain's leading multiracial jazz couple – John Dankworth and Cleo Laine (McKay 2005:175). Furthermore, Maxine McGregor's position as secretary to the director of the Transcription Centre for African Culture potentially strengthened the solidarity among the many writers, poets, artists and musicians who comprised a significant section of the African exile community in London at the time. Both Africa's late poet laureate Mazisi Kunene and the novelist Lewis Nkosi informed me in the early 2000s that on their arrival in London the members of the Blue Notes often crashed on their apartment floor for the night. McKay (2005) claims it was the 'anti-apartheid sympathies' reigning in Britain in the early 1960s that 'unlocked doors for the Blue Notes.'

It may be argued that jazz's global influence was prefigured in the multi-ethnicity of the music's own beginnings, as 'Jelly Roll' Morton later recalled of New Orleans: '[w]e had Spanish, we had colored, we had white, we had Frenchmens, we had Americans, we had them from all parts of the world' (McKay 2005:5). Jazz elucidation in practice at home and abroad had always borne these cultural identity markers as involving symbolic contestations of ownership as well as the claiming of historical narratives of power and identity. New Orleans native Sydney Bechet, saxophonist and Parisian exile, captured

this positioning of jazz in the early constructions of black American post-emancipation social and cultural experience when he said:

> After emancipation … all those people … needed music more than ever … trying to find out from the music what they were supposed to do. … They learned it wasn't just white people the music had to reach to, nor even their own people, but straight out to life. (Williams 1987:4)

It may be that in the fabric of its deep cultural heterogeneity, jazz was primarily a global language of articulating the ideological and power positions of diverse subjectivities. It is in this sense that jazz may justifiably be regarded as the world's first popular music and as such, a practice concerned with the processing of dominant texts and the articulation of meaning. In the same way jazz was seized upon by the burgeoning global entrepreneurs, who recognised its power to articulate the diversity of culture, ideas, and ethnicity. Its internal contestations in stylistic development reflected the negotiated identities of individuals and the common interests of organised groups. At the height of its celebration of individual virtuosity in the abstraction of bebop, jazz had to re-establish – for the ideological continuity of its cultural symbolism – its historical relationships with elements of its origins in African-American cultural experiences.

As a result of America's dominant cultural position in the western world after World War Two, jazz – as represented in the African-American innovations and their mediation in economic global flows – was being embraced by an anti-imperialist audience, particularly in Britain and Europe. In Britain in particular, progressive jazz was increasingly sounding out its own countercultural potential. There appears to have been a level of ideological ambiguity in jazz practice in Britain (and Europe), at a time when America's imperialist impulses were symbolically represented in an African-American jazz influence. Its expression of Afrocentrism has always been problematically juxtaposed with its use of elements of European cultural knowledge. These were just some of debates attending the ideological identification with jazz at the time when the Blue Notes arrived in Europe and the UK. The band's embroilment in the elucidation of jazz's socially and ideologically vexed position proceeded from their own seemingly problematic sense of identity, which itself required certain forms of introduction. The Blue Notes' introduction thus involved certain perfunctory conformity, as they established familiarity with the terms and basic

language of global jazz performance practice. It is in this light that their introduction to the British jazz world by way of the Ronnie Scott's engagement may be seen as an attempt at projecting a global cultural identity, and as an engagement – in practice – with musical influences mediated in American cultural dominance. It is difficult to speculate on the essential ideological basis of a British and European resistance to jazz as an influence. A historical British resistance to American popular music 'in general often took the form of specifically racialised discourses' (McKay 2005:9). Established perceptions maintained that 'black music was dangerous; that it would infect the white "race" with its open eroticism and its association with illegal narcotic drugs … the common fear of "miscegenation" around which many forms of racism have been organised' (McKay 2005:9, citing Blake 1997).

The engagement which Maxine secured for the Blue Notes with Ronnie Scott, however, immediately launched the band deeply into London's (and thereby the UK's) struggling jazz scene, which was described as 'bleak' in the early part of the 1960s (*The New Statesman*, September 1966). This dearth of jazz in the face of a burgeoning pop industry had apparently not so much obliterated the practice as driven innovation underground, as the article entitled 'British Jazz' in *The New Statesman* further pointed out:

> Luckily the British jazz scene is healthier than [baritone saxophonist Ronnie] Ross suspects. The trouble is that the new musicians take some searching out. But the task of finding them has suddenly been made easier by Ronnie Scott's opening up his old premises in Gerrard Street. (*The New Statesman*, September 1966)

The year before the article was written had seen the jolting arrival of sizzling South African hard bop exponents in the form of the Blue Notes, described by Charles Fox as 'playing a mixture of bebop and high life' (*The New Statesman*, September 1966). The rapid progression of the band towards jazz avant-gardism had, by early 1966, become the hallmark of their appearances at Ronnie Scott's Old Place and the Little Theatre Club. With the Blue Notes now augmented to their original sextet line-up by the arrival of Cape Town saxophonist Ronnie Beer, replacing Nick Moyake, the edgy contentiousness of their style was drawing commentators to make critical assessments such as 'the most ferociously avant-garde jazz to be heard in London is played by Chris McGregor's musicians' (*The New Statesman*, 30 September 1966).

The Blue Notes were measuring up to the cutting-edge fringe of British jazz that was pushing the envelope succinctly enough to have ushered in a new experimental phase. Musically speaking the change essentially involved discarding a traditional use of chord progressions as a basis for improvisation towards what one commentator recognized as 'in reality an attempt to liberate the all-important melodic element of jazz' (*The Times*, September 1966). The epicentre of this movement in 1966 in London was located at the Little Theatre Club and essentially involved, among a few other groups, John Stevens' Spontaneous Music Ensemble, the Mike Westbrook Band and – even if they appeared less regularly than others – Chris McGregor's Blue Notes. Describing the collective essence of the musical outcomes of this movement, a commentator wrote:

> It is no good asking the musicians themselves what they are trying to do, because they are finding it awkward to describe their music in technical terms, preferring to talk in what seems a hopelessly vague way about group involvement, spontaneous choice of directions. It is no good fixing one's attention on such elements as a steady pulse or a strong tonal centre, because they are apt to dissolve unexpectedly and inexplicably. (*The Times*, September 1966)

There seems to be no publicly available musical document of the Blue Notes' involvement in this experimental phase of British jazz avant-gardism, excerpt a few encouraging assessments about performances and the scene as a whole, and much more frequent terse disapproval from traditional critical points of view. For the Blue Notes' essential orientations in hardbop interpretations in their original compositions, the development initially manifested in brisk tempos of their usual material as well as a deconstructive melodic and structural treatment of standard American jazz repertoires. Evidence of the former process may be heard in the band's late 1965 renditions of their hallmark repertoires, in particular Dudu Pukwana's *Dorkay House* (Musical Excerpts 7.1 and 7.2) for a series of BBC programmes focusing on the band's South African period. In Musical Excerpt 7.2 the tune is played at a much faster tempo than originally, and furthermore, the melodic sections are syncopated and split between different horns, as well as being interspersed with short, improvisatory phrases even as the melody is still in the process of being stated.

Although the Blue Notes' Ronnie Scott's debut garnered a remarkable interest from the press, the brief attention did not register in the commercial sense of increased engagements or popular audiences. Much of the lasting impact that the members of the band exerted on the British jazz scene was to be felt directly by the community of progressive jazz musicians and attentive forums of a developing discourse in jazz's British and European practice. At the time of the Ronnie Scott appearances, several London media reports from 1965 and part of 1966 portray the Blue Notes' arrival on the London jazz scene as a momentous occasion. Following the Blue Notes' opening performance at Ronnie Scott's a short article entitled 'Earthiness of South African Jazz Quintet' referred to the band's presence as 'giv[ing] Londoner's a unique chance to hear the strength of South African modern jazz', adding poignantly that:

> The tortured social patterns of South Africa provide a fertile soil for the growth of a basically folk music like jazz … [t]he music, penetrating and determined is powered by the bitterness of oppression … [t]he tours [the Blue Notes] have been forced to take promise to enrich the European playing with an earthiness which goes hauntingly to the roots of jazz. (*Daily Telegraph,* 28 April 1965)

Remarking on the comparable juxtapositions of European and African cultures characterising both the South African black and African-American experiences which gave birth to jazz, historian Valerie Wilmer introduced her article, 'McGregor's Mission,' as follows:

> In spite of the much-touted African origins of jazz, South Africa is the only country in the continent to make any noteworthy contributions to the music to date. (*Jazz Beat,* October 1965)

Singling out the South African-born pianists Dollar Brand and Dave Lee, the same article further attributed the advanced practice of jazz in South Africa to the combination in jazz of 'African-derived rhythms with melodies and harmonies that originated in Europe.'

While the most refreshing element of the Blue Notes' take on bebop-oriented styles was their original compositions, the most penetrating assessments of their early performances in London compared them favourably to leading African-American post-bebop figures such as Eric Dolphy, John Coltrane, Albert Ayler, Ornette Coleman, and Charles Mingus. Reviewer Dave Kennard likened the phenomenon of the Blue Notes to some of the most radical developments in American jazz, such as those by Dolphy and Coleman, asking:

> Today, how many musicians are creating such a stir? Are pushing jazz forward, not leaning comfortably on the past … [but] McGregor's Blue Notes could be the breakthrough in this country where jazz falls into three main groups: traditional-revivalist-dixieland; mainstream (which we seem to have a certain talent for); and modern, of the sort that was current in America ten to fifteen years ago. (*Peace News*, January 1966)

The Blue Notes' style, on their London debut, did not warrant outright categorisations outside of significant but identifiably jazz departures, even as it registered a deeper potential for the interpretation of African-American influenced innovations, as one commentator well noted:

> In this country many musicians are influenced by such players [as Eric Dolphy and Ornette Coleman among others], notably Ray Warleigh and Art Themen, but there have been no focal points, no original contributors. I hesitate to call the Blue Notes new wave. They play musically within the boundaries set by [Charlie] Parker and his associates, but emotionally beyond them, which could be said of Mingus, Coltrane and their more stimulating contemporaries. (Dave Kennard in *Peace News*, January 1966)

In mediating a South African orientation to post-bebop jazz elaboration, the Blue Notes could be understood as situating their apartheid subjectivity (and that of their countrymen) in the contexts of global cultural power contestations. The Blue Notes' early disintegration by 1966, due to their lack of commercial success, was later attributed by Chris McGregor in part to the discursive avant-gardism (in contrast to a musical one) of the band's ideological orientations with regard to a post-bebop exponency:

> Somehow we got tagged 'far-out', although we looked upon ourselves as fairly conventional; certainly we weren't considered avant-garde or anything like that at home. I suppose we tended to overestimate the jazz scene here. From South Africa it looked pretty good and, of course the liberal attitudes were an attraction so that we could go on playing together. We just naturally assumed that there would be the same sort of open mindedness to music here that there is to colour. (Chris McGregor interviewed in *Melody Maker*, July 1967)

The initial flush following the Blue Notes' Ronnie Scott's appearance did not last long, and the few jobs in its wake could not sustain the bands' livelihood, as Maxine recalled:

> We all lived together in the Transcription Centre's house in Heath Drive for some months … The only way of earning money for the band, partly because of the ban by the Musicians' Union … were once-a-week gigs at pubs like the Green Man and the Duke of York. These paid very little, not nearly enough money to support them … (McGregor 1994:91)

A momentous development, and one which was to have far-reaching repercussions for the bands' repertoires and structural coherence, followed their contract to a residency at the Jazzhuis-Montmatre in Copenhagen, Denmark, in July 1965. The club's affirmative

environment for jazz was matched by its regular engagement of leading American (and predominantly African-American) jazz musicians. It was such an environment that kindled the Blue Notes' further pursuit of radical post-bebop jazz approaches, following their acquaintance and friendship with, among others, American musicians such as pianist Kenny Drew, Dexter Gordon, alto [saxophon]ist Sahib Shihab (Edmond Gregory), drummer Idrees Suleiman, and saxophonist Albert Ayler, as well as supportive Scandinavian musicians and promoters (McGregor 1994:92). The period of Copenhagen activity had a stimulating effect on the Blue Notes, in a way which made their South African multi-ethnic musical background open them up to experimentation and change much more readily than many regulars in the London jazz scene. The band's break-up is partly attributed to their uncomfortably precarious existence in the UK, and the strong musical influences emanating from their acquaintances among avant-garde jazz and experimental musicians in London and on the continent, many of these being American free improvisers. Among those were drummer John Stevens and his Spontaneous Music Ensemble, pianist Mike Westbrook, and saxophonists Trevor Watts and John Surman, as well as trumpeters Ian Carr, Henry Lowther, Harold Beckett and Kenny Wheeler. This roster of practitioners was to swell significantly as the 1960s drew to a close, and by the mid 1970s had come to include, among others, the likes of saxophonists Mike Osborne, Elton Dean, Evan Parker, Gary Windo, brassmen Mark Charig, Nick Evans, Radu Malfatti and Malcom Griffiths, bassists Barre Phillips, Barry Guy, South African expatriate bassist Harry Miller, and pianist Keith Tippett.

But back in 1965, Copenhagen and particularly Club Montmatre was the mecca of jazz in Europe, as percussionist Thomas Dyani suggests when explaining how his mother and his stepfather met:

> I mean Copenhagen at the time was like the jazz capital, or one of the jazz capitals of Europe. There was Paris, there was Copenhagen... far more important than London has ever been ... I mean hundreds of times. The appreciation and understanding of jazz music was ... you know. Unfortunately that is no more the case, I know. I mean there is still a jazz festival, but Montmatre is not in it there any longer. There was a club - Montmatre - in Copenhagen and all of jazz greats including Coltrane...Miles Davis, has recorded there. Everybody has a 'live at the Montmatre', volume one, volume two, volume three they did, everybody recorded there. (Thomas Dyani 2003, Author's interview)

As a result of the Blue Notes' members regularly crossing over between London and Copenhagen, bonds in music and of friendship developed that overcame the band's own cohesiveness. Sometime in late 1965 or early 1966 Mongezi Feza married and later followed his wife Kijo to live in Copenhagen, and so did Johnny Dyani when he married Janne Dirch Petersen. Along the same route 'Louis [Moholo] went away to play with John Tchicai and Roswell Rudd and was replaced by drummer John Stevens, whose group Spontaneous Music Ensemble and the Blue Notes had started appearing regularly at London's Little Theatre Club, a platform for the more experimental, avant-garde music they had come into contact with in Denmark ' (McGregor 1994:97). It was through these sessions that both Johnny Dyani and Louis Moholo were 'poached' by saxophonist Steve Lacy, who subsequently appeared with them and trumpeter Enrico Rava at the San Remo Festival in 1966, prior to his abandonment of the two South Africans in Buenos Aires, South America (McGregor 1994:97).

The narrative of the smooth transitions in the performances of the unit that left South Africa as the Blue Notes is misleading in its apparent suggestion of a certain structural and ideological cohesion. In reality, the experience of exile essentially split the group, resulting in several regroupings that sought to portray a common identity in the individuals' nurturing by their South African experiences. This might be said most confidently of the group's adoption of free improvisational and experimental elements as extensions of their original jazz orientations (and also of their South African popular musical orientations). In practice, the pioneering avant-gardism that was achieved by the Blue Notes was never fully paralleled by a coherent mobilisation of the group. As a trajectory of evolving musical experiences, avant-gardism involved not cohesion but a fragmentation, more or less permanent, for the group as it had existed on its departure from South Africa. The departure of Johnny Dyani and Mongezi Feza for Copenhagen, as I have said above, only exacerbated the gravitation towards individual stylistic practices. An important marker in this phase of the band's exile is perhaps best documented in their individual projects and involvements following their introduction to the British jazz scene in the early part of 1965. Firstly the association of Louis Moholo and Johnny Dyani – and a subsequent ill-fated sojourn in the Argentine - with saxophonist Steve Lacy meant that

the Blue Notes lacked a rhythm section. The two members had also taken with them with near irreplaceable continuities between black South African takes on jazz, on the one hand, and on the other the defining essence of the Blue Notes' style in its tenuous African-American and increasingly European and British relationship to post-bebop jazz and avant-garde practices. The dynamics of this period – roughly from the end of 1965 until well into 1967 – and the recording of the definitive first album of the reconstituted Blue Notes (as The Chris McGregor Group) are documented in the diametrically opposed ideological stylistic pursuits of the individual members of the Blue Notes. In a construction which views London as the geo-ideological locus of these developments, it may be argued that among the Blue Notes individuals, the narrative of identity in their repertoires proceeded as a simultaneous pursuit of – and their alienation from – their roots. Musically, this duality – even as a continuity in the reality of their practice – involved an immersion in free-jazz and improvisation as well as a revisiting of the popular jazz-influenced idioms of the black South African townships.

7.4 Pan-African hybridity in *mbaqanga* and *highlife*: Gwigwi Mrwebi and the Chris McGregor Group in London

For a while the only Blue Notes' members left behind in London were Dudu Pukwana and Chris McGregor, as well as Ronnie Beer, who had joined the group immediately following their debut at Ronnie Scott's in the early part of 1965. It was during this period that the three musicians teamed up with exiled South African *mbaqanga* musicians, most significantly band-leader, *mbaqanga* composer and alto-saxophonist Gwigwi Mrwebi, and cabaret singer Patience Gcwabe ('the Princess') – with both of whom they recorded repertoires in popular South African *mbaqanga* and *kwela* styles of jazz. In the period between December 1965 and January 1966, BBC Radio's Africa Service aired a series of interviews featuring Dudu Pukwana, Chris McGregor and Maxine McGregor, focusing on South African *mbaqanga* (BBC Africa Service Archives in London's British Library Sound Archives). Both Gwigwi Mrwebi and Patience Gcwabe had come to London as members of the orchestra and cast respectively of the musical *King Kong* in 1960, and had chosen not to return to South Africa when the show folded.

As a pianist in Gwigwi Mrwebi's Band in late 1965, Chris McGregor explained their revisiting of South African *mbaqanga* roots during the early years of exile in a programme he had produced for the BBC Radio's Africa Service:

> I don't think any of us South African jazz musicians living abroad ever realized when we left how much we would miss this *mbaqanga* music. But we do, even though at home we were more often preoccupied with jazz music rather than what you might call hard-core *mbaqanga.* (Chris McGregor in a 1965 BBC Radio programme series called '*Mbaqanga'*)

In the early part of 1965, less than a year after the Blue Notes had departed from South Africa, Chris McGregor was already envisaging a London collaboration showcasing *mbaqanga*, as revealed in his letters to Maxine shortly before the band left Switzerland for London and a residency at Ronnie Scott's:

> Do you ever see Alan Bates? If he has an 'in' to London's rhythm and blues clubs couldn't you perhaps study with him the possibility of us doing something there with *mbaqanga?* Perhaps they'll want a singer- how's this Dorothy you're buddy with, I don't think I know her? (McGregor 1994:86)

Evident in Chris McGregor's idea were the portrayal of a specifically black South African hybridity, and the popular musical ramifications – as found in *mbaqanga* - of a regional African domestication of American jazz and big-band swing. This envisaged performance, once in London, of a popular musical consciousness of black South Africans through *mbaqanga* repertoires was no doubt partly inspired by the nature of Maxine's cultural contacts in the early part of 1965. While recuperating in London, Maxine was introduced (by Dollar Brand and Bea Benjamin) to Dennis Duerden, 'a notable Africanist who was to be [her] mentor for many years … [He] ran a company called The Transcription Centre that made recordings of African plays, music, art criticisms and so on for broadcasting inside Africa' (McGregor 1994:83). The ideological function of being involved with the Transcription Centre, particularly in potentially shaping the Blue Notes' introduction to the African movement within the London cultural scene, is alluded to in Maxine's ensuing engagement at the Centre as the secretary, the editor of a monthly newsletter, and the curator of diverse art events. Not only did this position acquaint Maxine with the substantial African expatriate cultural community in London itself at the time, but it also involved her travelling to African countries such as

Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, as well as interviewing African artists and writers in other parts of the western world (McGregor 1994:83).

Following their nearly year-long marginality in mainland Europe (Switzerland), all of the members of the Blue Notes were, as Maxine remembered, 'glad to have eventually arrived in London; it felt like home, they could be understood and there was already a South African exile community comprising, among others, musicians from the musical King Kong, writers like Lewis Nkosi, Mazisi Kunene, Cosmo Pieterse, actors such as Zakes Mokae, Lionel Ngakane and sculptor Dumile [Feni]' (McGregor 1994:87). The relatively welcoming atmosphere for black South Africans in London at the time was enhanced by the presence of representatives of diverse nationalities (and cultures) from newly independent African countries such as Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, and others. The cultural milieu of the Transcription Centre's main line of business was necessarily sustained by the presence and contributions of many artists and writers from East and West Africa including among others, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, Robert Serumaga, Christopher Okigbo, Kofi Awonoor, Chinua Achebe and Wole Soyinka. This mingling of African cultural energies of pride in art, literature, music, dance and theatre made it possible to engage in diverse explorations of a pan-African response to the continent's shared legacies of slavery, colonialism and engagement with European modernity.

This dialogue of pan-African modernity on foreign soil, this product of the melting pot of African cultural consciousness, awaits analysis. One still needs to unpack its juxtaposition of a black Atlantic hybridity with the postcolonial elite mediations of indigeneity. What resonates particularly well with the primary concerns of this study is the hybrid ideological alignment of the West and South African popular musical styles of *mbaqanga* and *highlife*, as mediated in the 1965/1966 recordings of Gwigwi Mrwebi's Band in London. Members of Gwigwi Mrwebi's band included the leader on alto saxophone; Dudu Pukwana, second alto saxophone; Ronnie Beer, tenor saxophone; Chris McGregor, piano; Coleridge Goode, bass, and Laurie Allen on drums. Coleridge Goode was Jamaican, and was well-known in London for his work with a quintet led by Joe

Harriott (Chris McGregor in a 1966 BBC Radio programme on *mbaqanga*, National Sound Archives of the British Library). Joe Harriott was a West Indian alto saxophonist, an important element of 'the post-war Caribbean immigration' who by 1960 was playing his own interpretations of free jazz in London (Fox 1972:102, McKay 2005:135-6). In the 1950's popular recordings of calypso and calypso-jazz fusions in London, undertaken by jazz producer Denis Preston, Harriott featured 'on various now almost forgotten recordings of highlife music … which were recorded for the African market, the band being made up of West Indians and West Africans (Cotterrell 1997 as cited in McKay 2005:144). Bassist Coleridge Goode himself had been part of the pre-war London swing scene as a member of Leslie 'Jiver' Hutchinson's All-Coloured Orchestra before he left to form the Caribbean Trio with Trinidadian Lauderic Caton (guitar) and pianist Dick Katz (an exile from Nazi Germany) during the Second World War (McKay 2005:142). As a longstanding bassist with the Joe Harriott Quintet, Goode was directly involved in the earliest innovations of collective improvisation in free-form jazz in Britain. The progression of this equally radical departure in late 1950s jazz practice, which is said to have developed distinctively independently of Ornette Coleman's innovations and also to have drafted a blueprint for ensuing free improvisatory pursuits in the UK (and Europe), was later noted in the following observation:

> Within a few years the collective improvisatory practice of a group such as John Steven's Spontaneous Music Ensemble would be identified as a pivotal social and musical development, yet in some ways it was here already in Harriott's quintet. (Blackford 1997, cited in McKay 2005:155)

In the following citation from Goode and Cotterrell (2002), the bassist contrasted the Joe Harriott Quintet's approach to free-jazz improvisation with that of Ornette Coleman and his groups in the U.S.:

> [Ornette's] music was … a soloist playing free, not a group playing free … Coleman avoided using a piano after his first recording session but we were making a group music where harmony was spontaneously produced with piano as an integral part … In Ornette's quartet the bassist … would usually be playing against a soloist … but in our group … [i]t was always a relation of the whole group, something the five of us tried to construct at every moment together, not a relationship between a solo voice and an accompanist. (Coleridge Goode, cited in McKay 2005:155)

For Harriott, his associates and subsequent collaborators, the implication of social and individual identities in their engagement of free-jazz improvisatory performance further

entailed a discourse of ideological tensions submerged in the American mediations of the genre. Some of the revolutionary ideas informing the ensuing practice of free-jazz improvisation among Europe's daring generation of musicians were grounded in the racism of white GIs who were an essential part of jazz's popularisation in wartime Europe. For British-based musicians such as Coleridge Goode, a wholesale emulation of American-mediated jazz included thinking 'about these attitudes, all that vileness, which the Americans brought over here and about what it would be like to live in America [and to have to endure] all that vicious, racist behaviour … [which] no self-respecting person could' (Goode and Cotterrell 2002, in McKay 2005:160).

The album Kwela (1967) by Gwigwi's Band in London, as well as being produced under the auspices of Denis Duerden's Transcription Centre, was an important touchstone in its expression of a pan-African rootedness by leading practitioners of the free-jazz originating outside of the domestic sphere of American cultural practice. Perhaps symbolic of its innate instability as a practice or the result of an entrepreneurial ambivalence towards avant-gardism in jazz, a mixture of restlessness and stagnation surfaced in the Blue Notes' left behind in London a hankering which Chris McGregor explained as follows:

> For me this conscious kind of South Africanism came in exile. It was caused by homesickness and a certain disenchantment with what from South Africa had seemed a magic and distant world – we realized we had our own movement and began insisting on our roots. (McGregor 1994:104)

The South African bias of the band, however, appears to have been tempered through repertoires which fused aesthetic affinities of the black Atlanticism of *calypso*, the Caribbean influences of West African *highlife*, and the *marabi*-swing basis of *mbaqanga* (here referenced by its internationally-popularised off-shoot, *kwela*). Among selections recorded by the band in January 1967, several stand as exemplifying the preceding observation. I have selected one title, Gwigwi Mrwebi's composition *Zangomva*, from among the selection for illustrative purposes (Musical Excerpt 8.15 and Musical Transcription 8).

The popularity of Trinidadian *calypso* in Britain is associated with the recording and release from 1948 on of music performed by popular *calypso* practitioners, among them Lord Kitchener, Lord Beginner and Trinidadian vocalist Mona Baptiste, whose British presence 'together with the pool of [Caribbean] musicians already available … led to the recording of indigeneous British Caribbean music for export and local consumption' (Cowley 1990, in McKay 2005:143). The British Melodisc recording label which undertook this project was also responsible for the release of American bebop under licence in the late 1940s and the 1950s, as well as for producing 'some British jazz too' (McKay 2005:142). As a result of his 'interests and contacts in the jazz world' the label's producer, Briton Denis Preston, 'extended the musical repertoire of the *calypso* recordings, through the introduction of such devices as jazz breaks and African percussion.' Coleridge Goode later said that: '[w]ithout Denis [Preston] all that music would have been lost' (McKay 2005:144). Recognised as the style of music, dance and song of the southern and eastern Caribbean, *calypso* developed mainly in Trinidadian Carnival culture, part of the West African *gayup* work songs brought to the West Indies by plantation slaves (Sadie 2001:849, vol 4). West African (Ghanaian) *highlife*, the highly popular musical style of the towns and cities bordering the Gulf of Guinea since the early nineteenth century, was further developed in the mid-twentieth century by E.T. Mensa's band the Tempos and by Ghanaian drummer Guy Warren. While some sources attribute *highlife's* origins to the nineteenth-century introduction of European military band instruments to the coastal forts of Ghana, others have linked *highlife's* beginnings directly with the West Indian musical influence resulting from the deployment of Caribbean troops in West African forts from the early decades of the nineteenth century. The ensuing cultural process, described as a 'musical feed-back to Africa,' was substantiated by Ghanaian musicologist A. A. Mensah, who said that '[s]ome of the local youths joined the bands that resident West Indians formed, and the music of these bands included English and West Indian popular songs' (Collins 1987).

As a musical coalescence of diverse African postcolonial geo-cultural experiences, Gwigwi Mrwebi's composition *Zangomva* (Musical Excerpt 8.15) represents remarkable relationships between disparate African musical syncretisms of Caribbean *calypso*, West

African *highlife* and black South African *marabi* or *mbaqanga*, as well as reflecting the American jazz and swing influence on these styles. The latter influence is both structural and musical as a result of the band's orchestrational homophony that resulted – in Gwigwi Mrwebi's Band recording – in melodic timbres dominated by the saxophone sound. The riffing diatonicity of the lines in their syncopated phrasing (see bars 12 to 16 and bars 28 to 31 of Musical Transcription 8) hark back to homophonic sonorities whose straight-ahead quality closely approximates the Count Basie style of arranging for a big band. Harmonically, both *highlife* (Musical Excerpt 7.3) and *mbaqanga* (Musical Excerpt 7.4) use a cyclic structure based on I – IV – ($I_{6/4}$ or I) – V roots of the European diatonic major scale.

Throughout his musical career, Chris McGregor's own references to *mbaqanga* influence particularly emphasised the spontaneity of collective orchestrational processes, and the ultimate polyphony achieved as a result of a rhythmic syncopation of sectional homophony. Chris McGregor's 'first real experiences of building things from riffs' were gleaned from jam sessions with black South African musicians whose improvisational musical practices, relying on a stable harmonic cyclicity of *mbaqanga* chords (provided by piano or guitar), would proceed as follows:

> [T]he lead trumpeter or sax player would improvise a melody, and then in the next eight-bar section out it would come, voiced and all - that was magic to me. Out of this would emerge the most amazing complexity of texture, instrumental colour, melodic interactions, the melodic interactions of three or four riffs going together, and a soloist in front, improvising. (McGregor 1994:14)

An important aspect of the close musical relationships between South African *mbaqanga*, Caribbean *calypso* and West African *highlife* as a coalescence of postcolonial African and diasporic cultural experiences is the rhythmic element of all three dance-music styles. I have transcribed a duple-meter rhythm strain of the three genres (Musical Transcription 9) in order to illustrate this musical relationship. In West Africa, particularly in 1950s Ghana and Nigeria, the popularity of *highlife* resulted in hybrid musical experiments which gave birth to highly influential styles such as Yoruba *highlife*, with its use of indigenous performance and instruments, and also influenced the development of West African popular musical genres like *palmwine, ashiko*, *maringa*, *jújù*, *makossa*, and *afro-beat*, among others (Sadie 2001:490, vol. 11). Similarly the popularization of South

African *marabi*-influenced styles through recordings and southern African tours, particularly by the Manhattan Brothers, contributed to genres whose common hybrid sensibilities are easily identifiable as those of a West, Central and Southern African subcontinent including Malawi, Congo-DRC, Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

The recording of *mbaqanga* by the Gwigwi Mrwebi Band in London may correctly be seen as a brief glance backwards by members of the Blue Notes who were consciously aware of being drawn further and further away from structured approaches to jazz, and thereby from the anchor of their shared South African cultural identities in popular jazz-inspired idioms such as *kwela* and *mbaqanga*. The symbolic nationalism of this venture was further confirmed in the collaborations that involved other exiled South African musicians, including Ronnie Beer, Gwigwi Mrwebi and Patience Gcwabe.

Prior to their break-up, even as they were being pulled apart in different directions by the tumult of avant-gardism, the Blue Notes were known to perform in the popular South African *mbaqanga* jazz style, as a BBC interviewer elicited from Maxine McGregor in a 1966 BBC documentary programme on the Blue Notes:

> **Interviewer:** Now, it must be quite difficult to promote serious jazz in a world which is swamped with a lot of popular music, you agree. Is it only, the very avant-garde jazz which the Blue Notes play or do they play anything else?
> **Maxine:** Yes indeed they play quite often the sort of *mbaqanga-kwela* music and there's a singer called 'Princess Patience' who they accompany quite often who is an African singer. She came to London with the African musical *King Kong* and with her they play the typical South African suburban music, if you like …
> **Interviewer:** I think we have a recording of 'Princess Patience' … let's listen to this … *Vula Ndingene…*[music plays]

Patience Gcwabe's song *Vula Ndingene* (Musical Excerpt 7.5) is in a typically 1950s vocal-jazz swing style that was closely associated with the glamourised careers of South African female singers such as Dolly Rathebe, Dorothy Masuka, Miriam Makeba, Nancy Jacobs, Mabel Mafuya and others.

Considering the circumstance of the Blue Notes' early break-up on their arrival in the UK, the historical and ideological context of Dudu Pukwana and Gwigwi Mrwebi's musical compositions as recorded by the Gwigwi Mrwebi Band in London is substantially accounted for in Chris McGregor's stating at the time that:

> This isn't a deliberate, clannish thing, but we never fully realised before how important our African folk background is to us. It is something that we have absorbed, maybe without realizing it, since

> childhood. Back home there is music all around – and such a variety of music. It's an unconscious thing, but somehow it gives you a sense of direction, something firm to hold on to. (McGregor 1994:104)

If, then, through performance and recording *mbaqanga,* the three Blue Notes in Gwigwi Mrwebi's Band were situating themselves musically within the discourse of fragmentation connoted by their exilic circumstance, what was the significance of their even deeper immersion in free-jazz and avant-garde?

7.5 Narratives of individual and group identities in free improvisation, avant-garde and free jazz

The musical abilities of Gwigwi Mrwebi's Band not only embraced African continental and diasporic musical hybridity, but also included a pioneering involvement in free-jazz and free improvisation outside of the U.S. and mainland Europe. Indeed, while the album Kwela by Gwigwi Mrwebi's Band in London exclusively documents the band's approach to *mbaqanga*, their live performances – often billed as the Chris McGregor Group in the early part of 1967 – were remarkable for their juxtaposition of these repertoires with free-jazz, as one newspaper reviewer put it:

> Avant-garde jazz and *kwela* music may seem strange bedfellows, but Chris McGregor somehow combines the two. A South African pianist, McGregor has always been identified with *kwela*; his groups are packed with as far as possible with compatriots so that the indigenous music, at least, is played with conviction. Last night at the Old Place, Gerrard Street, WC2, *kwela* provided the merest spicing to what is, these days, a pretty uncompromising free-form unit. (Ronald Atkins in *The Guardian*, January 1967)

These live performance sessions, to which were added the trumpet of Mongezi Feza, had come to include two Londoners in bassist Chris Cambridge and drummer Laurie Allen, both of whom 'showed themselves an excellent rhythm section,' and Allen's playing in particular 'had an exciting complexity and precision that too few modern jazz drummers possess' (Simon Puxley in *The Guardian*, February 1967). The Blue Notes' break-up, which was blamed on the lack of working opportunities in London, had resulted in bassist Johnny Dyani and drummer Louis Moholo 'leaving with Steve Lacy, an American musician who was on a short visit to this country' (*Morning Star* jazz critic Brian Blain, January 1967). Lacy had met Louis Moholo and was highly impressed by his drumming

in Amsterdam sometime in 1965, at a time when he was looking for a new rhythm section, as he later told an interviewer:

> So I went to London later that year and went to Ronnie Scott's where [Louis Moholo and Johnny Dyani] were playing with Chris McGregor, a quartet, I think. I loved them right away, they were great, and Johnny and Louis worked so well together. So, actually, I stole them from Chris McGregor! I had a little more work, or at least it seemed like I did. They weren't working that often with Chris McGregor, so the idea of trying something different with me was interesting to them. That's how I met Johnny Dyani, at Ronnie Scott's, and we started playing together. (Steve Lacy, quoted in Rasmussen 2003:88)

The quartet that resulted from this encounter, which also included trumpeter Enrico Rava, then toured Rome and Torino and played the San Remo Festival, an experience recalled by Steve Lacy as scandalous, not least because 'we were booed off the stage … [t]he music was so radical that the people protested, and the organizers stopped us playing!' (Rasmussen 2003:89). The radically spontaneous nature of the quartet was epitomised in the total freedom of execution of their performances, a situation described by Steve Lacy wherein 'nothing was [pre]determined, nothing directed, there were no notes, no themes' (Rasmussen 2003:88). Such a loose and historically disconnected improvisatory performance was, for Louis Moholo in particular, an achievement of ideals of freedom that he had consciously sought by leaving behind all forms of musical dogmatism that he associated with South Africa, its colonial legacy, and apartheid. Although fraught with difficulty, the two South Africans' stint in Steve Lacy's quartet cemented their acquaintance with free-jazz. The Blue Notes' ideological affinities with avant-garde jazz had been ignited by significant encounters, mainly around Copenhagen's Club Montmartre, with the likes of Albert Ayler, Eric Dolphy, Cecil Taylor, Andrew Cyrille, John Tchicai and Roswell Rudd. It was probably such experiences of which Moholo was to explain to *The Wire Magazine's* Richard Scott in 1991:

> When we came here I started hearing some other vibes. I was away from South Africa and away from the chains. I just wanted to be free, totally free, even in music. Free to shake away all the slavery, being boxed into places – one, two, three, four – and being told you must come in after four […] From then on I just played free […]. (Cited in Titlestad 2004:140)

In the context of identity, such radical musical orientation of playing outside the bar also portended a relegation of conventions binding individuality to a group, and eventually binding groups to their social and cultural origins. It might tentatively be argued that identity narratives of individuals are contrasted with those of groups in the former's

connotation of difference and the latter's emphases on homogeneity. As a group, the Blue Notes were significantly bound together by their relationships to – and their common experiencing of – apartheid. Moreover, the ambivalence of apartheid's vigilance also meant that black subjectivities were institutionally constructed in the amorphousness of group and racial identities. Furthermore, the group's immersion in non-racial musical practices in exile may have further weakened the imperative of maintaining individual loyalties to the group at all costs. The structural cohesion thus undermined, members of the Blue Notes were afforded the ideological space to pursue their individual instincts in their musical development.

The revolutionary potential of the free-jazz movement arguably appealed to them at both the individual and the national levels of ideological conviction, as Moholo concluded in an interview by asserting that '[f]ree music is *it* man, it's so beautiful … [t]he word 'free' makes sense to me … I know that's what I want; freedom, let my people go … *Let my people go!'* (*The Wire Magazine*, March 1991; Titlestad 2004:140). The phrase 'Let My People Go' is the title of the autobiography of Chief Albert Luthuli, who was president of the African National Congress from 1952 until his death in 1967. The representation of national identity, as an individual narrative 'descriptive of political clashes,' appears to reaffirm the ultimate derivation of identity from 'the re-interpretation of collective schemes' (Martin 1993:37). In this consideration then, the illumination of individual identity in a symbolic practice of freedom might be understood to be central to the individual and to take precedence over identity as a member of a group. Martyrdom and sacrifice have also been alluded to by musicians in their choices of certain ideological approaches to style and performance, as saxophonist Moyake once told an interviewer in 1964:

> There's something I wanna say … You are forgetting this is South Africa. You know how I is, what colour I is, okay. Lots of musicians in Johannesburg, lots and lots of them, man, just want boodle. You sacrifice like hell, man, when you want to speak the truth. Like me, I sacrificed like hell. But I felt what I am doing was not right, just playing that *mbaqanga*. I was down and out. I even cried. My conscience was telling me I was wasting my time. That's when I made up my mind, you see. (Nick Moyake, quoted in *Drum*, June 1964)

Or there is Louis Moholo's statement in exile, explaining the imperatives for his leaving South Africa to Gérard Rouy:

> In South Africa it was impossible to survive making music; music was considered less than nothing. If you hadn't a job as a manual worker or servant and you said you played drums, they would put you in prison and send you to work in the potato fields … I really want to tell the truth, but the truth costs so much …(*Jazz Magazine*, December 1975)

The London-bound members of the Blue Notes who had briefly got together to record a selection of *mbaqanga*-inspired repertoires as members of Gwigwi Mrwebi's Band were themselves increasingly becoming immersed in avant-garde and free-jazz explorations. As part of a burgeoning avant-garde movement in British jazz, the South Africans' contributions had been reported in newspaper and magazine jazz columns since the early part of 1966. Besides the contingent of musicians that were invariably referred to as the Chris McGregor 'group' or the Chris McGregor 'band,' other luminaries of this decidedly fringe jazz movement were groups led by bassist Graham Collier, pianist Mike Westbrook, and John Steven's Spontaneous Music Ensemble. Having been weaned of their eclectic bebop-ism in the latter part of 1966, the group (then still referred to as Chris McGregor's Blue Notes) was considered 'freer' than the most avant garde of the British groups. A review of their appearance at the Old Place in September of 1966 described 'Ronnie Beer's rounding off [of] a long solo with what seemed like a geyser of sound,' and a peeved patron who asked of the band afterwards: '[w]ouldn't you rather play *Come Rain or Come Shine?*' The same report also ventured an analysis of a performance wherein '[t]hemes are played, but the relation between theme and variations (and "variations" is a word many of the new musicians would quarrel with, anyway) is much, much wider' (Charles Fox in *The New Statesman*, 30 September 1966).

Even as reviewers (and musicians) were initially at a loss for words to describe what was happening musically, the pioneering essence of the jazz movement then spearheaded by Chris McGregor's Blue Notes was perhaps more clearly described as follows:

> What one can say is that, as yet only a few musicians and listeners are concerned with these new developments, this is undoubtedly the way that jazz is evolving, so it should be a matter of some interest to us that British musicians have already managed to take advantage of the new ideas and turn them into something which owes little in detail to any American groups. This is not experiment merely for the sake of experiment … [o]ne's first reaction will be that it has nothing to do with jazz: after a while one will realize that it is more relevant than one could have thought possible and that one's hard and fast ideas about earlier kinds of jazz are being given new and unsuspected perspectives. (A special correspondent for *The Times*, 2 September 1966)

In the absence from London of Louis Moholo, Johnny Dyani, and intermittently trumpeter Mongezi Feza, the remaining Blue Notes in the figures of Chris McGregor, Dudu Pukwana and Ronnie Beer were working with a non-South African rhythm section which included drummer Laurie Allen, and bassists Chris Cambridge or Dave Holland (*Melody Maker*, 14 January 1967; *Morning Star*, 31 January 1967). Doug Rouse, who was responsible for musical performance programming at the Old Place in London's Gerrard Street – perhaps reflecting the uncertainty of growth and departure characterizing the Chris McGregor group's positioning at the cutting-edge of avant-garde jazz developments – told a London newspaper reporter at the time that:

> McGregor's [is] the only really avant-garde group we present. He seems very sincere about what he is doing and I don't exactly like to ask him for an explanation as to what it's all about. Anyway I must be getting used to it, I don't get those terrible headaches anymore. (Journalist Bob Dawbarn in an 1967 article about the Old Place entitled "Looking to the Future")

For both musicians and critics, it was initially difficult to categorise the style of the music that was being hammered out in the course of elaborating the free-jazz influence. Chris once responded to a critic's pointed enquiry as to 'what was going on amid the seemingly random elements of the music' as follows:

> Well, in the first place I think jazz is going through a crisis and we have not got the complete answers. We are still trying to sort ourselves out. But we don't want to accept other people's solution to the problem of making music. I don't want to accept that our music is more difficult than any other kind of jazz. (*Morning Star*, 31 January 1967)

For Chris McGregor the previous twelve months had been consumed by study, rebuilding and mobilization following the virtual dissolution of the Blue Notes, which was attributable – among other pressures – to the stress of being subjected to a diversity of musical influences, which McGregor unfavourably compared to '[the] good thing about growing up in South Africa [where] one wasn't stifled by too many influences' (*Morning Star*, 31 January 1967). Such had been the trajectory of growth in the new direction that Brian Blain of the *Morning Star* was led to declare that McGregor, at the beginning of 1967, was heading 'the only "free" group that I know of, (now that the Spontaneous Music Ensemble has broken up, with the departure of John Stevens and Trevor Watts for the more liberal atmosphere of Copenhagen).'

The most lamentable aspect of this most dynamic era in the musical development of the separated Blue Notes members is an absence of any musical document or, as one reviewer put it:

> It is a pity that the only recorded example of McGregor's work, the recently issued *Kwela* by Gwigwi's Band (77 Afro/101) which includes Pukwana, Beer and [Laurie] Allan, does not give anything like an account of what these musicians are really up to … I can only recommend that people go and hear the Chris McGregor band for themselves. They won't be treated to a set of cosy, harmonic platitudes, nor will they be expected to listen with their feet. But I guarantee that their emotions will be involved, even if the initial reaction is one of hostility. (Brian Blain in the *Morning Star,* January 1967)

An idea of their advanced grasp of the genre may, however, be convincingly deduced from a recording of Steve Lacy's quartet, done some time in 1966 in Buenos Aires, Argentine, entitled The Forest and the Zoo. The turbulent passage of the quartet's experiences – in landing in the Argentine in the middle of a *coup d'etat* – was later recalled by Steve Lacy:

> [T]here were tanks in the streets, the pressure was terrible, there was a curfew, there was prohibition on certain kinds of music, women couldn't wear slacks, it was a really terrible time … there were posters all over the town, saying *Revolution in Jazz – The Steve Lacy Quartet.* (Steve Lacy, quoted in Rasmussen 2003:89)

The prevailing tensions meant that people could not go out to attend the shows and the show was eventually curtailed when nobody showed up, as Lacy explains:

> And there we were without return tickets! At that moment started the great adventure, the tango, our 'quartet tango'! Irene Aebi was with us already at the time, the singer, my wife... [a]nd then started that tango, the dance of love, and hate, revenge and passion. That's what we went through for eight or nine months! We played for rich people in their villas, and we survived. (Steve Lacy, quoted in Rasmussen 2003:89)

In the album The Forest and the Zoo (1966) is documented a live performance of the quartet, engaged in a no-holds-barred free improvisation and showcasing the extended inventiveness of the energetic rapport that had developed between Louis Moholo and Johnny Dyani in the course of their exploration of the avant-garde genre (Musical Excerpt 7.6 and Musical Excerpt 7.7). The abstraction that runs through the performances' perpetual syntheses, particularly in the case of both Moholo and Dyani, betrays no reference to any of the recognisable stylistic forms in jazz or African popular music from which South African jazz sensibilities traditionally emerge. As a document of the limits of the stylist shifts that had occurred in the post-bebop orientations of the Blue

Notes in the two years since their departure from South Africa, the albums The Forest and the Zoo and Kwela by Gwigwi's Band in London stand in confirmation of the contrast. Where the former album nudges the furthest limits of a free approach to form(al), rhythmic and melodic improvisation, the latter album is rooted in the very well-understood *mbaqanga* conventions of a shared South African homeland popular musical consciousness. Indeed, if the exilic theme of nostalgia, as Chris McGregor explained in a BBC interview, was the locus of the latter project, both Louis Moholo and Johnny Dyani were yet to register (at least on record) their own responses to this shared and alienated subjectivity. A discussion of their individual projects, particularly the ensembles such as Louis Moholo's Spirits Rejoice and Johnny Dyani's (and Mongezi Feza's) Music for Xaba, or Dyani's Witchdoctor's Son recognises, in part, a nostalgic revisiting by the individual members of the Blue Notes of the musical sensibilities of their South African cultural rootedness.

By May of 1967 in London, Chris McGregor had expanded the format of his blistering free-jazz and avant-garde ensemble into a big band comprising two alto saxophones (Dudu Pukwana and Mike Osborne), two tenor saxophones (Ronnie Beer and Jimmy Philip), John Surman on baritone saxophone, four trumpets (Mongezi Feza, Mick Collins, Dave Holdsworth, Pat Higgs), and a rhythm section including Chris McGregor (piano), Dave Holland (bass) and Alan Jackson (drums). This band, which was to become the Brotherhood of Breath, is understood to have resulted from a shift by Ronnie Scott's establishment to larger premises in Frith Street, thereby making the former club (The Old Place) available for the use of experimental and lesser-known groups. This scene is remembered by Chris McGregor as having 'provided an ideal opening for us at the time':

> We quickly became regulars which gave us a base and also provided me, incidentally, with the only piano that I could get my hands on at the time …[t]here were quite a lot of jam sessions … we all wanted to research what the others were into, and this created lines of connection between musicians of different groups … [t]hat was how Mike Osborne joined us, for example, and John Surman also. (McGregor 1994:107)

It was also the fact that the musicians who hung around the place on Thursday nights when Chris' band was performing 'liked our music and they always wanted to play anyway … [t]here were some nights when it started out our gig but at the end of the evening there would be fifteen musicians on the stage!' (McGregor 1994:107).

For Chris McGregor – as well as for the three South African horn men in Dudu Pukwana, Ronnie Beer and Mongezi Feza – the emerging possibility of a big band rekindled memories of South African experiences such as had resulted in the recording of the album Jazz: the African Sound. The same proximity to gifted, progressive musicians that had given Chris McGregor the idea of a big band comprised of the best South African jazz musicians in 1963 again fired up his imagination in the late London spring of 1967:

> So again the idea came up of doing something else, again this wanting to regroup a bit, very similar to the spirit after the National Jazz festival in Johannesburg in 1963, which enabled me to form the first big band, I saw the same kind of spirit manifesting itself here … We started with some of the arrangements I had made for the old Castle band, and built from there. This band formed around the Blue Notes had an immediate success [as] people found it genial and asked me to continue. (McGregor 1994:107)

The immediately enthusiastic reception garnered by the Chris McGregor big band's debut at the Old Place around the middle of May 1967 reverberated strongly in London's progressive jazz community, and in newspapers and periodicals, as the following reports attest:

> This must be it. The most urgent, and explosive, and powerfully swinging new big band to have appeared in years … If this band gets the breaks it deserves it must make a considerable mark on the local scene but what the 'politicians' will think is, of course, another story. (Christopher Bird in *Melody Maker*, 20 May 1967)

Dubbing it as 'ha[ving] been a bull week for big bands,' - a reference to the coincidence of Chris McGregor big band's appearance at The Old Place and a 'reborn John Dankworth Orchestra' at Ronnie Scott's, with Count Basie's tour of the UK – the jazz writer Derek Jewell began his column headed 'Big Bandwagon' by saying that '[n]othing quite so pleasing, or in its way so moving, has occurred in British jazz for a long time' (The [London] *Sunday Times*, 21 May 1967). In an article entitled 'Musical Verbs' Charles Fox singled out baritone saxophonist John Surman's appearance at The Old Place with an 'orchestra directed by the South African, Chris McGregor' and concluded that 'it was probably the most explosive and exciting big band jazz to be heard here for many

years' (*New Statesman*, 26 May 1967). A writer in another article entitled 'New British jazz groups on the way up' – a comparison of big band approaches by the Graham Collier Septet, the Mike Westbrook Band and the Chris McGregor Group – noted that:

> Westbrook and McGregor have already shown that by applying the methods learnt from the freedom of a small group to twelve or more musicians, it is possible to create a big band sound which owes little to convention and sounds a hundred times fresher than all the tired recreations of the post-Basie tradition we are so often faced with … The music played by the Mike Westbrook Concert Band at Ronnie Scott's Club on June 18 and by the Chris McGregor Big Band at the Old Place on June 26 was exciting and challenging enough to capture the imagination of any music-lover, jazz follower or not, and more rewarding than much of the American jazz that reaches Britain. It may provide morbid satisfaction to the lovers of proverbs to learn that in jazz at least prophets can still be without honour. (Miles Kington in *The Times*, 28 June 1967)

Despite the superlatives that greeted its emergence, the band clearly had no long-term prospects in the face of a widespread entrepreneurial (and British popular audience) apathy towards the genre of progressive jazz, as critic Peter Clayton's July 1967 article 'Afro-African' bemoaned:

> [The Chris McGregor Big Band] has performed in public – at Ronnie Scott's increasingly adventurous Old Place – only three times, the last occasion being last Monday; it has no definite future work lined up whatsoever. Yet I can't believe that this tumultuous musical enterprise can simply vanish. (*The Sunday Telegraph*, 2 July 1967)

By the middle of the year 1967, however, a clear appreciation of the Chris McGregor Group's groundbreaking achievements had already emerged in British avant- garde jazz circles. As *The Times* newspaper's Miles Kington remarked:

> Some of the most genuinely creative jazz outside of America has come from musicians who have drawn on their own musical traditions as well as jazz … Chris McGregor is a name to add to near the top of this list, because although he left South Africa two years ago when the political climate became too oppressive, he has continued to draw from the rich and varied musical culture of the country (something for which England has no equivalent) as well as involve himself in the furthest developments of jazz .(Miles Kington in *The Times*, 28 June 1967)

7.6 The Blue Notes and Chris McGregor' big band and small ensembles

During its early days of existence, the Chris McGregor Big Band's unofficial residency at Ronnie Scott's Old Place belied the rarity of the band's engagements elsewhere. This meant that it played to the patrons who were typically drawn to the Spartan unpretentiousness of the club, and to unconventional, avant-garde performance. As its first manager, Doug Rouse, later remembered:

> The Old Place was 24-hour days and seven-day weeks; it just went on and on. I couldn't take it after nine months. However people really used to listen, but it never made any money, the overheads were ernomous … [i]t's amazing how much influence that band had on everybody in the late '60s and early '70s. It was widespread, everybody got a taste of it – even those who didn't like it – and there were some people who really didn't like it. This was when the band was either loved or hated; quite a few people disliked them intensely. (McGregor 1994:111)

After the arrival of the Blue Notes, the scene at the Old Place had seemingly swung away from the mainstream in becoming the home for a type of jazz that soon afterwards became emblematic of the venue, its regular musicians and patrons. The individual musicians coalesced into identifiable collectives and their tenuous jazz aesthetics blended in extended ensembles such as Graham Collier's, Mike Westbrook's and both the sextet and big band settings of Chris McGregor's groups. A favourite jazz club among London's discerning avant-garde cognoscenti, the Old Place (and the music taking place inside it) was aptly described by the following statement:

> Stuck under Gerrard Street, it has shed any pretensions that it ever had to class and has reverted to being just an ordinary basement. Cramped and bleak and airless, it hangs heavy with all kinds of squalid jazz traditions and is naturally irresistible to all people in dark glasses, baggy sweaters and open sandals. It also provides the first real workshop in Britain that musicians have had and it is responsible for a great deal of aggressive, enterprising music. In every way, it's a thoroughly righteous place. (Nik Cohn in *The Queen*, 14 August 1967)

Aa an entrepreneur and aficionado of mainstream jazz, Ronnie Scott may well have moved to the new premises in Frith Street largely to preserve the class associations of elite jazz entertainment, more so as Doug Rouse later explained with regards to the phenomenon of Chris McGregor's Big Band's appearance in 1967:

> Ronnie Scott didn't like the music, even a band as mild as Westbrook's. He was always quite honest. He thought free improvisation wasn't going anywhere and it was a waste of time. ... He was okay for the Blue Notes … when the Old Place opened he fixed the first week's gigs for me, and Chris was there with his band. He didn't stipulate for the Old Place; he never once said, "You can't have this music." He just didn't want them in his club. He didn't want improvising groups (McGregor 1994:111)

My discussions do not focus on The Brotherhood of Breath's repertoires in their version of Chris McGregor's Afro-centric approach to post-bebop big band jazz. However, they do acknowledge an important discursivity of the band's emergence out of a dynamic negotiation of free-jazz influences with a [South] African rootedness of the Blue Notes' (and specifically McGregor's) explorations of jazz's developmental possibilities. In this sense the fragmented Blue Notes as an ideological formation, the big-band format as an

expressive vehicle of jazz-oriented musical approaches, and Chris McGregor's own interpretation of a particularly African musical idiom were potentially reconcilable in the talents mobilized under the banner of The Brotherhood of Breath. The fact that the band was initially and overtly anchored on the abilities of the Blue Notes' front-line of Dudu Pukwana, Mongezi Feza (and Ronnie Beer) – besides Chris McGregor himself – was evident from the Brotherhood of Breath's earliest outings around May of 1967, as one of their early reviews, headed 'Afro-African,' reveals:

> Afro-this and Afro-that are common enough compounds in the jazz lexicon … they are usually a compact way of alluding to the African element which most authorities – though not all – agree lies somewhere in the music's prehistory. But in London recently the prefix has been demanding re-examination and redefinition, for here in our midst are real, contemporary Africans helping to make a kind of jazz which is almost certainly unlike anything being played elsewhere … Chris McGregor … Dudu Pukwana and Mongezi Feza … are the nucleus of the two most remarkable big bands (the other is the Mike Westbrook Concert Band) to have appeared here in a long time. (Peter Clayton in *The Sunday Telegraph,* 2 July 1967)

Reviewers were eagerly trying to identify African elements in the Brotherhood of Breath repertoires based both on the choice of the numbers and the manner in which they were performed, as Peter Clayton's article ventured further to say:

> On top of this there are the purely South African ingredients. They are not easy to sort out, because all kinds of musical traditions we know nothing about are probably at work just below the surface, but the *kwela* jauntiness is instantly recognizable, plus a sort of ceremonial abandon which seems to inform some of Dudu Pukwana's more inspired flights. And since most of the book has been written by McGregor and Pukwana, their personal, largely indescribable "Afro-ism" flavours the whole operation. (*The Sunday Telegraph,* 2 July 1967)

Christopher Bird was probably reviewing the same concert – the second outing for the band – when, remarking on the juxtaposition of both an essential Africanness and 'free-ness' in the performance, he dwelt on the social essence of the music as a stimulus to dancing:

> Dancing broke out during the *kwela* and highlife passages of the 'Freedom Day Suite' - premiered at the Old Place by the Chris McGregor Big Band - even though it was packed to the doors. Little wonder: there are passages in McGregor's richly melodic music where he makes full use of African raw materials and deceptively naïve-sounding brass and reed voicings which have the simple direct appeal of folk music. These make the other passages which are freer in form and give more scope to the interplay of the band's major soloists, a more compelling and so-sterling [an] impact. (*Melody Maker,* 3 July 1967)

In mid-August 1967 *The Queen* magazine published a review of the Chris McGregor Band's regular Tuesday night engagement at Ronnie Scott's Old Place – a scene more likely to have greeted Louis Moholo and Johnny Dyani's return from Argentine around late July or early August 1967 – and described the band as 'a South African sextet' and '[p]robably the strongest of all [the club's] featured groups' (Nik Cohn in *The Queen*, 14 August 1967). In venturing an analysis of the group's style at the time, the same article continued:

> A lot of the group's quality stems from the varied influences behind McGregor's writing (apart from the inevitable debt to the American avant-garde, he is also very aware of African folk forms and of earlier jazz styles). The resulting crossbreed is sometimes puritanically stiff, sometimes free-wheeling and it is the clash between these two moods that gives the music its force. In the ensembles, the horns lurch along like so many argumentative drunks, the trumpet jabbering, the tenor tough and outraged, [and] the alto wailing like mad. As a result there is a continual tension, a repeated jarring and the moments at which this is resolved come as a fantastic release. (Nik Cohn in *The Queen*, 14 August 1967)

The Chris McGregor Big Band's third (or fourth) appearance since its debut at the Old Place in the previous month of March, was at the Jazz and Blues Festival in Birmingham on 28 August 1967 (Ronald Atkins in *The Guardian*, 24 July 1967; McGregor 1994:111). It is almost certain that by this time both Louis Moholo and Johnny Dyani were already back in the UK as, according to the saxophonist Evan Parker's recollection of the Big Band at the Birmingham festival: 'the first guy I met was Louis. He was spikey with me – "You're think you're ready to play with *me?*" I wouldn't have missed the company of those men who were all larger than life, for anything' (McGregor 1994:112).

There is, however, another possibility - that even although Moholo and Dyani were appearing with McGregor's sextet at the Old Place soon after their return from Buenos Aires, they did not immediately join the Chris McGregor Big Band. This assumption is sufficiently supported by an announcement of an upcoming appearance by the Chris McGregor Big Band at the Old Place on 8th October 1967, which listed the band's personnel as 'Mongezi Feza, Mick Collins, Dave Holdsworth, Pat Higgs (tpt); Mike Gibbs, Malcolm Griffiths, John Mumford, Dave Peritat (tbn); Dudu Pukwana, Mike Osborne (alt); Ronnie Beer, Jimmy Philip (ten); John Surman (bari); Chris McGregor (p); Dave Holland (bs); Alan Jackson (d)' (Dave Illingworth in *Jazz Journal*, October 1967). The same article also went on to state that:

> McGregor's small group has been exciting London club-goers for some time, and now with the return of his old rhythm section, Johnny Dyani (bass) and Louis Moholo (drums), this combo is playing some of the most unrelenting and fierce jazz in Britain. The two men have recently left South America, where they were part of a quartet led by Steve Lacey *(sic)* and the Italian trumpeter Enrico Rava. (Dave Illingworth in *Jazz Journal*, October 1967)

It was arguably the relative success and attention garnered by the big band's potential crossover appeal that made possible the only commercially available document of the Blue Notes sextet, almost five years after they had left South Africa. With Joe Boyd's management, the remobilized Blue Notes were able to go into studio and record – as the Chris McGregor Group – an album that was to be known as Very Urgent (1968). Chris McGregor was later to recall the circumstances facilitating the recording of this album as follows:

> Joe Boyd of Witchseason Productions had worked quite a lot as an independent record producer and when the big band began to show its possibilities and I decided to go on with this as well as the Blue Notes, I talked to him and he came to the concert and loved the band. He got us a contract with RCA to make a record. (McGregor 1994:113)

It was perhaps a measure of the radical edginess of the South Africans' take on free improvisation and avant-garde jazz that the rather belated initiative of their recording came from a producer such as Joe Boyd, whose company stable included bands and personalities such as Fairport Convention, Nick Drake, John Martyn and the Incredible String Band. Joe Boyd also ran a psychedelic club called the UFO in London's Tottenham Court Road and was responsible for producing Pink Floyd's first single, entitled *Arnold Layne* (McGregor 1994:114; Richard Williams in the album notes of a 2008 reissue of Very Urgent).

Recorded in December of 1967 and released on the Polydor label in 1968, Very Urgent documents a crucial turnaround in a trajectory of dissolution and remobilization undergone by the Blue Notes in both stylistic and structural terms. The fragmentation of the group as it had been constituted in Europe (following Nick Moyake's return to South Africa) happened soon after their Ronnie Scott's debut in the early part of 1965, as Moholo later confirmed in a 2002 interview by saying '[t]hen I met Steve Lacy and broke away from the Blue Notes … [w]e went to Argentina' (Eyles 2000). In a tribute entitled 'Johnny Dyani: A Portrait', Pallo Jordan recounted a brief history of the formation and passage of the Blue Notes in Europe, stating that: '[t]he first three years after Antibes

were the hardest … [f]lushed with a perhaps naïve enthusiasm for the relative freedom of Europe, the musicians fell victim to one flim-flam artist after another … [t]o all intents and purposes the Blue Notes ceased to exist in 1965' (*Rixaka* 1987 issue: p. 6). Thus the album may be seen as reconciling, in style and ideology, certain rifts that had undermined the band's coherence and resulted in divergent pursuits in the Blue Notes' musical development. These divergent musical experiences of the alienated Blue Notes' members may, however, be seen to be linked in their singular goal of exploring and attaining remarkable levels of freedom in musical approach. This observation, as has been noted earlier, is borne out in London newspaper reports of Chris McGregor-led ensembles, which invariably included the Blue Notes' three-man horn frontline comprised of Dudu Pukwana (alto sax), Mongezi Feza (pocket trumpet) and Ronnie Beer (tenor sax). By the time Louis Moholo and Johnny Dyani were able to return to London, the Chris McGregor Band was 'probably the strongest of all Ronnie Scott's Old Place's featured groups' (Nik Cohn in *The Queen*, 14 August 1967). Since at least the beginning of 1967, Chris McGregor's small ensembles had been noted for their uncompromising involvement in free-form approaches to jazz-influenced performance, for which they were already regarded as 'Britain's answer to Archie Shepp and Albert Ayler' (*The Guardian*, 18 January and February 1967). In January Chris McGregor's Group had been regarded by some critics as the only 'free' group left in London following the breaking up of John Steven's Spontaneous Music Ensemble and its leader's (and Trevor Watts's) departure for Copenhagen (*Morning Star*, 31 January 1967). Some months before this observation was made, the British jazz historian Charles Fox had already asserted that Chris McGregor's ensemble was performing '[t]he most ferociously avant-garde jazz to be heard in London' and that the experience of listening to the group in performance was, for unprepared listeners, akin 'to being skinned alive' (*New Statesman*, 30 September 1966).

The remarkable affinities of both Louis Moholo and Johnny Dyani to free-jazz were arguably the major reason for their candidacy for Steve Lacy's ill-fated South American adventure. Their accomplishment in the genre during this phase of their development was adequately (and timeously) documented in the 1966 album The Forest and the Zoo, as has been discussed above. More than a year later, in December 1967, the jazz critic

Danny Halperin was still writing about the Chris McGregor Band he had heard nearly six months before in Gerrard Street – with Laurie Allan on drums and Dave Holland on bass – and urging that '[i]t *must* make an LP, preferably outside a studio during live performance,' and further speculating:

> What an LP it would be! Jagged yet intensely lyrical statements thrusting forward suddenly, solos so personal they sound like a screamed confession, unexpected ensembles that burst out like a blaze of fireworks effects and fizzle away sarcastically or burn out almost tragically. And throughout it all the leaping joy of excellent musicians allowed to play their own way before a sympathetic audience. I don't know which record company will be wise enough to record the McGregor Band … and soon. (*The King*, December 1967)

Released in May 1968, the recording Very Urgent reasserted the chemistry that had, since their days in a forbidding South African climate, distinguished the Blue Notes as an incendiary combination of remarkable individual musical abilities. Through a programming process linking the first and the second as well as the fourth and the fifth of six titles recorded in total, the album was labelled on the cover as being comprised of four titles as follows:

1. *Marie My Dear* (Pukwana)/*Traveling Somewhere* (McGregor)
2. *Heart's Vibrations* (McGregor)
3. *The Sounds Begin Again* (McGregor)/*White Lies* (McGregor)
4. *Don't Stir the Beehive* (Traditional)

Going under the name 'The Chris McGregor Group' the personnel involved were Chris McGregor (piano), Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone), Mongezi Feza (pocket trumpet), Ronnie Beer (tenor saxophone), Johnny Dyani (bass), and Louis Moholo (drums). Unlike much of the original Blue Notes' recorded repertoires where compositional output had largely emanated from Dudu Pukwana, it was Chris McGregor's compositions that featured prominently in the Very Urgent recording.

Several discrepancies are noticeable in the labelling of the album's titles, a 'normal' enough oversight in the light of the fact that copywriters are often distanced from the significant ideological and intimate processes of musical origination. This oversight, however, is worrying if such innocent but obvious labelling mistakes are not picked up by the influential critics who introduce the general public to seminal works such as the Very Urgent album.

In June 1968 the reviewer, Jack Cooke, certainly did not convey his awareness that the recordings opening track was *not* the paired Pukwana-McGregor compositions *Marie My Dear/Traveling Somewhere*, as stated in the album notes, when he wrote:

> There are four tracks on the album, two of them having doubled-up titles. The *first* [my italics]one, *Marie my dear/Travelling*, is unfortunately a little out of character for the group, with an overlong theme and a fairly steady beat. The rhythm section is not at its best within this kind of style, as the lines required of them are too sparse and clearly defined for them to get the right responses going, but despite this there is some good alto from Pukwana. (Jack Cooke in *Jazz Monthly*, June 1968)

On listening to the album however, an attentive listener (who is also aware of the two titles referred to) would immediately notice that the paired title *Marie My Dear/Travelling Somewhere* is actually the *second* track in the recording. In order to highlight the resulting confusion, I have included three musical examples (Musical Excerpt 7.8 and Musical Excerpt 7.9, as well as Musical Excerpt 7.10). Musical Excerpt 7.8 is a theme of Dudu Pukwana's instrumental ballad *B My Dear* (alternatively titled as *Marie My Dear*) from the live recording Blue Notes Legacy – Live in South Afrika 1964, while Musical Excerpt 7.9 is a theme of Chris McGregor's *Travelling Somewhere*, from a live radio performance by Chris McGregor's Brotherhood of Breath recorded on 19 January, 1973 in Bremen, Germany.

The first track in the Very Urgent album, erroneously reviewed as I have explained above and incorrectly labelled as the second track, could be plausibly considered to be *Heart's Vibrations*, one of Chris McGregor's scarcely-documented compositions, in a free-rhythm avant-garde style (Musical Excerpt 7.10). Beginning with such discrepancies, Jack Cooke's review does not make much sense of the rest of the album's repertoires, as it goes on to say:

> *"Vibrations*" and *"Sound/White lies"* both get the group well off the ground, however, and get them really functioning as a group over the now fully organised rhythm section. The final track, *"Don't stir the beehive"*, is perhaps the most interesting of all. Described as 'traditional,' it is a long, wandering line recalling – but now obviously predating – Albert Ayler's slow tunes, and it's very likely I think that McGregor chose it because of this similarity. (*Jazz Monthly*, June 1968)

If one considers that the *Vibrations* Cooke is referring to is actually the paired and clearly identifiable titles *Marie My Dear/Travelling Somewhere*, the muddling nature of his assessment is thrown into sharp relief by a confusing statement like *'get [the group] functioning as a group over the now fully organized rhythm section'* (my italics).

On listening, the 'long, wandering line' – which the reviewer attributes to the jabbering, trumpet-led intensity of the melodic basis of the tune *Don't Stir the Beehive* – is not evident (Musical Excerpt 7.11). What is evident, if the album's programming is read in its correct programming sequence, is a document of a stylistic departure from the mainstream jazz-ness of the Blue Notes' post-bebop compositional approaches, towards an unbridled free-jazz approach.

Of immense significance here is the use of the disjunctive, non-canonical essence of free-jazz to assert the ideological remobilization and shared history of an African cultural indigeneity (between black Africans and whites). Furthermore, in the experience of exile and organisational rupture such as undergone by members of the Blue Notes prior to the making of Very Urgent, such a convergence of individual musical experiences was arguably achieved via an uncompromising pursuit of the free-jazz expression. Indeed, the impetus of this achievement engendered further individual and expressive freedoms that saw each member asserting leadership in discrete interpretations of both tradition and avant-garde, as well as the relationship of these two extreme stylistic approaches to jazz-influenced musical development. From this perspective, the divergent evolutionary paths of the Blue Notes – considered fragmentary from certain vantage points – lose their tragic connotation and can be seen instead as leading to a richly satisfying cross-pollination.
It is in these terms that I will briefly discuss some of the important initiatives taken by each of the members of the Blue Notes in their different groups and stylistic guises.

CHAPTER 8

Narratives of African identity in free jazz and avant-garde repertoires

In the previous chapter were traced the developmental trajectories of the Blue Notes' immersion – and their pioneering status – in UK avant-garde jazz of the late 1960s. In the process of a virtual dissolution of the group, members were drawn strongly towards varying styles, ideological alliances and musical developments. Other issues challenging the group's coherence included those arising from the instability of the exilic condition, the lack of work opportunities, and other everyday mortal exigencies such as falling in love or seeking security of family, as Johnny Dyani's stepson, percussionist Thomas Dyani, pointed out to me. During our interview in early 2003, I posed Thomas Dyani a question that had been intriguing me since I began my research into the Blue Notes:

> **Me**: W]hy [did] the Blue Notes find so limited occasions to regroup as Blue Notes, except when somebody had passed away?
>
> **TD**: I wouldn't be able to answer that question at all until maybe two weeks ago. Now I got a slight idea of what happened. Who was it who told me that? I met somebody who was around back in those days and he told me something very interesting. I can't remember who it was but I can remember what he told me, that what split the band a lot was the fact that they would tour - it was Uncle Lucky [Ranku]. Uncle Lucky said they would be touring - on the first gig the drummer would meet some girl in Norway, or something like that, and stay! And not show up at the airport. In the next town they would lose the sax player, and in the next town they would lose a drummer... until there was just two people left ... and then someone meets another European lady in the next town ... I mean it just dawned on me that's exactly what happened. That's how my daddy met my mum when they stayed in Copenhagen. I mean Copenhagen at the time was like the jazz capital, or one of the jazz capitals of Europe. There was Paris, there was Copenhagen... far more important than London has ever been ... I mean, hundreds of times. The appreciation and understanding of jazz music was ... you know. Unfortunately that is no more the case, I know. I mean there is still a jazz festival, but Montmatre is not in it there any longer. There was a club - Montmatre - in Copenhagen and all of jazz greats including Coltrane ... Miles Davis, have recorded there. Everybody has a 'live at the Montmatre', volume one, volume two, volume three they did, everybody recorded there.
>
> **Me**: It was because of the [jazz] environment...
>
> **TD**: Yeah ... I think he might even have stayed there because of my mum. He had love and also... a life. You know in Europe at that time there was a lot of independent women ... they were way ahead of England at the time. My mum was an independent woman. She had her own job, she had her own flat, own everything ... she had a life. As a musician he was travelling around the world, he got a home like that... and a purpose.
>
> **Me**: So it's probably in the condition of being exiles and homeless that they had to find homes in all these different places... wherever they found a home it really meant something...

> **TD**: And then ...Dudu and them over in London ... it was a big project getting everybody together because they have to get together from all parts of Europe. It was hard-going in those days, now it's easier to travel with budget airlines - but in those days it was a big thing you know... So you didn't just come over to London from Copenhagen unless you had a lot of money and a lot of reason to be there... Johnny never liked London anyway. It was really funny 'cos he told me 'Thomas whatever you do don't ever stay in London'. And I did. And I asked him why? He said because 'people are crazy'. And he was right!
> (Thomas Dyani 2003, Author's interview)

It was perhaps a measure of the individuals' immersion in post-modern non-fixities of an avant-garde practice that a collective 'Blue Notes' identity – as a ramification of specific South African political and cultural dynamics – could not adequately accommodate the adaptations and contexts that continually shaped their musical performance. In other words, the continued preservation of the Blue Notes as a rigid, unchanging structure may well have called for too costly a sacrifice of individual independence, in both material and creative terms, from each of the members. However, as a shared experience of a unique African cultural identity and an elaboration of both European and African post-bebop jazz, the Blue Notes' own influence permeated many of their collaborations. Some of these formations were short-lived and their repertoires undocumented, while others endured and succeeded in leaving behind a record of remarkable compositional and performance activity. Among the more significant of these projects were Chris McGregor's Brotherhood of Breath, as the big band project that had debuted at Ronnie Scott's Old Place in March 1967 came to be known; the Chris McGregor Group as discussed in the previous chapter; Dudu Pukwana's successive Afro-jazz groups including Assegai, Spear, Jabula-Spear and Zila; Johnny Dyani's various Quartets and his ensembles named Witchdoctor's Son; Mongezi Feza, Johnny Dyani and Okay Temiz's group 'Music for Xaba' and Louis Moholo's 1970s ensembles such as the Louis Moholo Octet. In addition to these identifiable groups, the Blue Notes were involved in diverse collaborations with a vast array of musicians, in projects which unequivocally acknowledged the uniqueness of their African musical socialisation.

8.1 The African village in Chris McGregor's Big Band and the Brotherhood of Breath

It was arguably the enthusiasm garnered by Chris McGregor's Big Band in 1967 that led to an appreciation and documentation of the Blue Notes' revolutionary impact on British approaches to American jazz influence and thereby contributing to the development of UK (and European) avant-garde jazz. In the big band's earliest appearances were clearly communicated, Chris McGregor's vision for the centrality of South African approaches to jazz-influenced performance, as is evident in concert reviews at the time:

> Amongst the individual soloists, by far the most impressive is Dudu Pukwana on alto … [H]e plays with tremendous attack, great pent-up energy and his tone cuts fast and clean like a razor. There is a lot of the fat man's bounce in his phrasing, the shapes jumping up and down like trampolinists, strong and daring and full of confidence. Unlike the other soloists, he really bosses his instrument, driving all the time and getting across some real sense of enjoyment … Mongezi Feza, trumpet, looks marvelous. A very small man, he has a squashed-up face, a jerky spindle body and, when he blows his pocket-sized trumpet, he develops a pouch the size of a balloon in his cheek … In Louis Moholo McGregor has a drummer who contributes density, complexity as well as swing. But ironically enough the African identity of the band comes from its use of saxophones. (Nik Cohn in *The Queen*, 14 August 1967)

While it is not possible to substantiate the reviewer's impression from any known existing recording, particularly the assertion of an African musical identity through the use of saxophones, other comments on the band's performances at the time throw some light on the issue. In an enthusiastic review of a 1970 re-incarnation of the big band, by then known as the Brotherhood of Breath, Mal Dean of *The International Times* ventured further to pinpoint the African elements to be, among others, the dance element of the repertoires and that '[the band] ha[d] the potential to become the best jazz music band since Gillespie vintage '48 and the greatest dance band since Goodman' (McGregor 1994:120). According to this particular reviewer, the African identity of the Brotherhood's music rested not only on a rhythmic attribute of inducing dance, but also on '[l]yrical African melodies arranged in a spare and functional way, the brasses boppish, the saxes smoother' (Mal Dean cited in McGregor 1994:120).

Writing his review column for the *International Times* well into 1970, Dean was witness to a big band whose topicality had matched its own sporadic public appearances since its acclaimed debut in early 1967. During the relative big-band lull of 1968 and most of 1969, a frenetic small ensemble activity – including performance and a spate of unissued

recording sessions – appears to have occupied the remobilized Blue Notes or, as they had become known, the Chris McGregor Group. The tenuous support by a small clique of enthusiastic production personnel, particularly Joe Boyd and the RCA label, was arguably an outcome of the reverberating live appearances of the Chris McGregor Big Band and the incisive register of the Very Urgent album's debut. The paucity in big band activity was noted in an article entitled 'Jazz in Britain,' focusing on the historical – and South African – background to the Chris McGregor Group, as its author stated:

> So we may not hear the Chris McGregor Big Band again. Luckily the small group is thriving, although the always uncertain work opportunities in Britain may well force it to strike out for the continent once more. The group is certainly playing beautifully, carrying on the tradition of collective improvisation with complete conviction – each man knowing and appreciating what the other is doing. The echoes of Ayler and Shepp are there today, but South Africa never seems far away. (Dave Illingworth in *Jazz Journal*, May 1968)

The group which had recorded Very Urgent in late 1967 did not endure, except for a few live engagements on the eve of the album's release. The album's release however, had rekindled hope for success, as Chris McGregor commented of the group's appearances at 'The Jazz Scene '68 Concert' at London's Royal Festival: 'I think we can build something here in London ... I think we are getting the people's ear and that's what counts ... I think we are going to break through and we are even getting the ear of the jazz establishment' (*Melody Maker*, May 1968). One such appearance in an Essex University lecture theatre, involving the briefly reconstituted ensemble of Chris McGregor (piano), Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone), Ronnie Beer (tenor saxophone), Mongezi Feza (pocket trumpet), Johnny Dyani (bass) and Louis Moholo (drums), led an unnamed reviewer to comment that '[f]ree form as practiced by Chris McGregor and his men is essentially a matter of asserting and realizing both group and individual form and freedom out of chaos … [f]ew jazz groups in the past have tried to strive for both' (From an article dated May [19]68 in Maxine McGregor's archive of newspaper cuttings). Writing a review of Very Urgent in late 1968, Charles Fox remarked on the diversity of musical projects which – in the absence of a popular UK public appreciation of the South Africans' avant-garde style of jazz – seemed to be the mainstay of individual Chris McGregor Group members:

> From time to time the musicians go their own ways: Dudu Pukwana works with a trio; Ronnie Beer has just got together his own band of fellow Africans, once again white as well as black. McGregor himself has plans for using just bass and drums, a move which may help to convince

> more people of how formidable a pianist and essentially rhythmic, like Monk or Cecil Taylor – he really is. (Charles Fox in *New Statesman*, 11 October 1968)

The nearly two-years' spell of virtual inactivity by the Chris McGregor Big Band was broken by a commission from the Nigerian author Wole Soyinka, for Chris McGregor to compose the music for the film version of his play, *Kongi's Harvest*, which was recorded by the big band at the end of 1969 (McGregor 1994:118). In the process of preparation, Chris McGregor spent time on location in Nigeria 'to absorb some of the West African sounds, study the music' and perhaps follow on the musical convictions that had led him to comment once that '*[h]ighlife* and *kwela* are related socially … [b]ut I don't know enough to define their exact musical relationship' (McGregor 1994:118).

Involved in the project were Louis Moholo, Ghanaian percussionists Loughty Amoa and Teddy Osei from the band Osibisa, and the Nigerian percussionist, singer and guitarist Tunji Oyelana. In addition to facilitating the reconstitution of the big band that was to be known as the Brotherhood of Breath, these developments were important as culturally Africanising experiences and an ideological reaffirmation, of which Chris McGregor later said:

> I had the sensation of beginning something. I was searching for lines of connection, trying to find out how – with this group of musicians who weren't necessarily of the same culture – to enable things to work out and to unite the whole band. You *could* say there was a sort of evolution in the music. To some extent we became very African. (McGregor 1994:119)

The Wole Soyinka film-music commission provided the regrouped Brotherhood of Breath with much-needed work and resulted in an extended continental tour which included Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Austria and France. Chris's own strong sense of a communality that defines much of Africa's culture and musical practices was indelibly built into this consolidation. His convictions on this theme had been bolstered following a trip to South Africa in 1970, with Maxine and their daughter Andromeda. Reintroduced to the colourful celebratory scenes of rural Transkei in the mid-summer, Chris McGregor later remarked about the cultural experience of his African roots at the time that:

> The old Bantu culture is very strong … in religious rituals and events that bring people together there is always music. Even in the rural, pastoral, agricultural kind of life there is music all the time. People sing aloud. A man walks about singing; you hear him from the next hill, he wants his friends to know he is around. People communicate a lot with music; their feelings become songs or poems, some of them simple, some of them amazingly clever. There was never any shortage of

> music in the atmosphere. It's very unlike the cities of the West. I guess the only special thing about me is that I was born with a good ear and soaked things up. (McGregor 1994:127)

It is indeed the celebratory aspect of the Brotherhood of Breath's performances that moved audiences and left critics at a loss for words to describe what was being experienced. Several published responses following the newly-renamed band's debut at Leicester Square's Notre Dame Hall on Saturday 27 June, 1970 illustrate this observation:

> [And] this is the first thing to note about the band, for unlike McGregor's small group work … there is a marvellously joyous folk-like simplicity about his South African repertoire … the band's sound and rhythms are like nothing else that is going in jazz or pop today and yet they are elemental enough to project a powerful appeal if given half the chance … [t]he rhythms, carried through intercrossing call and response patterns between brass and reeds … are quite intoxicating … [if] you are for humanity, then you just have to be for this band. (Brian Blain in *Morning Star*, 29 June 1970)

Or the South Africans' unencumbered expressions of freedom from the canonicity of jazz's African American heritage, as in the following report:

> Dudu Pukwana's strident, shrieking alto playing would fill [Louis Armstrong] with horror … [b]ut what Louis would like are McGregor's swinging arrangements for a big band with their huge blasts of rhythmically complex sound. Particularly exciting is his version of a *kwela* tune, *Andromeda.* (James Greenwood in *Daily Mail*, 4 July 1970)

The piece *Andromeda* referred to in the article was an original composition of Chris McGregor's, named after his (and Maxine's) eldest daughter. While the composition's relationship to *kwela* is a tenuous one, stylistically it referred immediately and directly to *mbaqanga*, rendered at a breakneck tempo, particularly in its big band setting and its use of the ubiquitous *marabi*-based harmonic cycle based on the chords I – IV – V (Musical Excerpt 8.1). While referring to the music as naïve and saying that '[it] does not go deep' another critic reported on the same Brotherhood of Breath debut concert as follows:

> [T]he Chris McGregor Big Band ['s] enthusiastic bombast exploded in the Notre Dame Hall on Saturday. The *Kwela* Jazz, swinging South African rhythms, blend with riveting saxophone playing by Evan Parker and John [Surman and Ken] Terroade in a lyrically loud sax-section. It is very exciting and highly organized … (Jean Delaney in *Evening Standard*, 30 June 1970)

Reminded of the big band's memorable half-a-dozen or so performances two years earlier wherein 'the band did so much to revitalize the local scene that its demise was little short of tragic', jazz critic Ronald Atkins re-avowed his original devotion by saying:

> Some numbers were recognized, some were new; all showed that different cultures have blended in McGregor's music to produce a completely personal approach. The way McGregor deployed the trumpet, trombone and saxophone sections came straight out of the textbook, yet the results

> sounded amazingly fresh. With the African-styled themes and rhythms adding a much-needed spin to the old mixture, the blistering counterpoint of pieces like '*Mra'* and *'Nog 'n gogga'* built to a level of intensity that recalled the great days of Dizzy Gillespie. (Ronald Atkins in The Guardian, 29 June 1970)

Among other enthusiastic reviews of the Brotherhood of Breath's mid-year performance activity in 1970 was the following:

> The section work was at times a bit loose, but the huge enthusiasm and glee and joy of everyone … Ah cripes it's good to be overwhelmed every now and then. The [Brotherhood of Breath] make Buddy Rich's so-called modern big band sound like the sleepwalking goldfish-swallowers they are, any band that makes me giggle and stamp my feet while my back hair is standing on end must have something going for it … the night belonged to the Brotherhood of Breath, amazing, let them be heard and seen and recorded and even danced to. Smashing, too much, etc, etc, etc. (Mal Dean in *International Times*, July 1970)

Musical Excerpts 8.2 *(Mra)* may illustrate some of the essences of an intense musical dynamism such as was spoken of by 1970s music critics like Ronald Atkins and Mal Dean. Excerpts from this performance were recorded at Lila Eule in Bremen (Germany) on 19 January 1973, capturing one of the remarkable permutations of the Brotherhood of Breath, comprising Mongezi Feza, Harry Beckett and Mark Charig on trumpets; Mike Osborne, Dudu Pukwana, Evan Parker and Gary Windo on saxophones; Malcolm Griffiths on trombone and a rhythm section including Chris McGregor (piano), Harry Miller (double bass) and Louis Moholo (drums). The Brotherhood of Breath of 1970 was a smaller version of the 1970 big band, comprised as it was of only twelve personnel instead of the original seventeen-strong orchestra. This leaner chapter of the Brotherhood was normally made up of Mongezi Feza (pocket trumpet), Harold Beckett (trumpet/flugelhorn), Marc Charig (cornet), Malcolm Griffiths and Nick Evans (trombones), Dudu Pukwana and Mike Osborne (alto saxophones), Evan Parker and Ken Terroade (tenor saxophones), Harry Miller (bass), Louis Moholo (drums) and Chris McGregor (piano). Remarkable for its conflation of orality and written parts in communicating compositional ideas, the band arguably came to enshrine impressions of African culture and its musical performance organisation both in its rehearsal routines and in performance.

Chris McGregor's most enduring personal philosophy on musical performance was 'a need to communicate with people' and a belief in 'community music' as practised in a simple African rural setting 'where the only music is what the people can put together, aided by those who can dance' (McGregor 1994:127). In many of his interviews, Chris would digress at length to expatiate on his convictions on the importance of shared musical socialisation among musicians, and to draw on the analogy of communal African village life. McGregor's original understanding of 'the popular' – as contrasted to the idea of 'pop' in the western cultural conception – surfaced in an interview with Michael Walters in 1971, when he stated that:

> To me there is a lot about 'pop' which should mean in a way 'attached to the people' – which in a way your 'pop' isn't …there should be a joining together of people in a social kind of way … [i]n the back of my mind there is the scene where a whole village is the band, and each contributes what he can – there is never an objective audience – it is a matter much more of inspiration and quite heavy common heritages. So that's what there is behind it all. In a way what I'm doing with the Brotherhood of Breath is forming my own village. (*Sounds Special Survey*, 13 March 1971)

Nearly a decade later, McGregor elaborated on these views in another in-depth interview with Chris Ballantine, in response to a question relating to his early musical experiences with improvising *mbaqanga* musicians in Cape Town:

> **Chris B**: [W]ere you ever bothered by the musicians' lack of mastery over their instruments? Did it seem to you that they were making the best of a limited technical expertise or did that seem to be the wrong thing to be looking at or do you think that they had mastered their instruments as much as what's necessary for what they wanted to do?
> **Chris McG**: No but … there's another way of looking at that. I mean that's another fascinating aspect of the whole thing … which relates directly to a whole tradition of African-village life … which is that people contribute what they can, you know. I don't know how to put that more exactly but I mean there is definitely, all over Africa you will find there's village music, that there's communal music in no matter what community. You'll find communal music in which absolutely everybody has a part to play and the part to play is what they can give, you know and that ranges from … you see when you talk about this also, you shouldn't actually restrict it to music or what westerners understand as music because … you get the whole range from … an old guy who really can do nothing much more than bump a drum every now and again, right. His place is sure and absolutely undeniable as long as when he bumps that drum every now and again, it's in the right place … or it's in an understandable right place. (McGregor 1986)

The underlying Africanist social conception of the Brotherhood of Breath's musical style was borne out not only in the overt accessibility to popular appreciation – and the symbolic egalitarianism – of its repertoires. These communal impressions of African culture and its musical performance organisation came to be enshrined in the band's first album entitled Chris McGregor's Brotherhood of Breath, released by RCA in 1971.

Of a singular importance to my discussions concerning the repertoires of the Brotherhood of Breath is a representation of indigenous African cultural identities using elements of African-American jazz influences – particularly those of Ellington, Thelonius Monk, Charles Mingus, Charlie Parker, Ornette Coleman, John Coltrane, Eric Dolphy, Albert Ayler, Cecil Taylor and Archie Shepp – and those of UK and continental jazz avant-gardism.

8.2 The influence of the Blue Notes in Chris McGregor's Septet and Trio ensembles

Intermittent musical engagements in Britain, due to a lack of demand for avant-garde jazz and the Brotherhood's style of music, necessitated a pursuit of diverse opportunities – most particularly recording session – by the Blue Notes members. The brilliance of the Chris McGregor Group towards the end of the 1960s had translated into several powerful cross-pollinations and alliances between the South Africans and members of the UK jazz avant-garde. An interest shown by producer Joe Boyd of the Witchseason stable in Chris McGregor's big band and the Blue Notes brought about further opportunities for documenting some of the dynamic permutations of the many organisational alliances that were occasioned by the vibrancy of the London jazz scene during this period. It has been documented that the remarkable resurgence of McGregor's 1967 big band in the guise of the Brotherhood of Breath was largely a product of the energies generated in these smaller groups, the recordings of whose repertoires were produced by Joe Boyd. The release of some of these titles by Flegd'ling Records in mid-2008 has made available, for the first time in public, recordings from 1969 such as Up To Earth, by a septet led by Chris McGregor and comprised of Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone), Mongezi Feza (trumpet), Louis Moholo (drums), John Surman (baritone saxophone and bass clarinet), Evan Parker (tenor saxophone) and Barre Phillips or Danny Thompson on bass (http://www.thebeesknees.com/). The four titles included in the Fledg'ling release are:

1. *Moonlight Aloe*
2. *Yickytickee / Union Special*
3. *Up To Earth*
4. *Years Ago Now*

Also recently released from the same 1969 sessions is Our Prayer, an album whose four titles were recorded by a trio comprised of Chris McGregor (piano), Barre Phillips (bass) and Louis Moholo (drums). The four tracks in the album's compilation are:

1. *Church Mouse*
2. *Moonlit Aloe*
3. *Spike Nard*
4. *Our Prayer*

A virtuoso on the string bass, the American Barre Phillips straddled an evolving trans-continental jazz scene and classical music through his work as soloist with Leonard Bernstein and the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, as well as being a sideman with George Russell, Jimmy Giuffre and Archie Shepp (Fox 1972:87). John Surman on the other hand was a woodwind prodigy who had followed his college-days band mate Mike Westbrook from Plymouth Art School to London in the mid-1960s. Among the leaders of the UK avant-garde renaissance, John Surman was a phenomenon who by 1967 was already considered to have 'expanded the vocabulary of [the baritone saxophone] more dramatically than anyone since Gerry Mulligan, chiefly through his use of harmonics' (Charles Fox in *New Statesman*, 26 May 1967). Surman was significantly involved in earlier cross-pollinations among a clique of innovative British jazz musicians working around Ronnie Scott's Old Place at the time Chris McGregor convened his first memorable big band in 1967. He had regularly featured in the formidable line-up of the Chris McGregor Big Band concerts that were widely reported in London newspapers and jazz journals for the best part of that year. Evan Parker on the other hand had graduated from being a keen understudy of the London avant-garde scene to becoming a second-generation icon on the tenor sax, and a regular soloist in the Brotherhood of Breath.

Chris McGregor's septet format harks back to his favourite formations back in South Africa, with the inclusion of John Surman easily comparable to that of the Langa-Cape Town doyen of township jazz, the baritone saxophonist and composer Columbus Ngcukana. The trio ensemble performance captured in Our Prayer (1969) is reminiscent of Abdullah Ibrahim's mid-1960s trio in Switzerland, with Makaya Ntshoko and Johnny Gertse on drums and bass respectively (Musical Excerpt 8.19), while the track *Church Mouse* (Musical Excerpt 8.3) recalls Baptist charismatic influences that have been

absorbed into the African-American gospel popular repertoires. These musical influences resonate with both Abdullah's apprenticeship as a church organist in 1950s Cape Town as well Chris McGregor's own as accompanist at his father's mission (the Scottish Missionary Society) school, of which experiences he later reminisced that '[t]here was also religious music, because it was, after all, a church school [and] I was sought after to play the organ for the cult sometimes, Moody and Sankey, four-voice harmonies' (McGregor 1994:3). In the example of *Church Mouse* a Protestant-hymnal melodic diatonicism of the 'head' arrangement is juxtaposed with the call-and-response of its statement by piano and string-bass. The 'head' is played only once before the piece breaks into an unbridled piano solo, whose avant-gardism is supported by syncopated bass phrases (with acoustic fingerboard 'slap' effects), all subtly anchored by free, yet pulsating drumming from Louis Moholo. In this treatment, colonial African musical legacies catch up with liberal narratives connoted in free-jazz and avant-garde deconstructions of entrenched musical canons. In certain constructions of a particularly western avant-gardism, an abstracted perception of indigeneity may be a starting point for ensuing experimentation with elements of African performance culture. My own intuitive perception on the issue is that closer correspondences were made available to the random expressive choices of improvisation by the performers' ignorance of experiences common to others but not to them, and world views that they would have found remote. From such a perspective, encounters with novel experience, while satisfying one's curiosity for the moment, may well prove tenuous in the bridging of ideological disjunctures inherited (and perpetuated) from asymmetric global cultural flows.

Some of the repertoires documented above, such as Chris McGregor's composition entitled *Moonlit (or Moonlight) Aloe*, were recorded by both septet and trio formations (Musical Excerpt 8.4) while the track *Union Special* – which had been recorded in the septet's Up To Earth session – was recorded twice, in 1971 and 1973, by the Brotherhood of Breath (Musical Excerpt 8.5). At 1min 50 sec and 0:57 sec in the two recordings respectively, *Union Special* is a short parody of martial marching music, whose victorious anarchism and drill were starkly contrasted with the rest of the big band's rambling repertoires and their free-flight individual instrumental virtuosity.

In summary it may be observed that differently-sized musical formations involving members of the Blue Notes in exile facilitated the articulation of the collective, shared sensibilities of African cultural experiences. The following discussion further explores the elaboration of the individual particularities of African musical identity in several formations that were spearheaded by the black members of the Blue Notes.

8.3 Dudu's Pukwana's Assegai, Spear, Jabula-Spear and Zila repertoires as narratives of identity in exile

In making a home with his Swiss-born wife Barbara in London, Dudu Pukwana also became involved with the popular music culture of Britain to a comparably greater extent than all of the other Blue Notes' members. As much for his irrepressible alto saxophone as for his physical presence, Dudu Pukwana came to be regarded as a permanent fixture in the European and British music scene, 'rang[ing] freely through London's music world, breaking down barriers by working with groups as diverse as Keith Tippett's Centipede, John Martyn and the Incredible String Band' (Pukwana 1990: obituary notes). In musical style Pukwana's interests straddled the extremes of the popular, such as his noted love for reggae, and the farthest 'out' of the fringe in European free-improvisation. This wide sweep in contrasted stylistic sensibilities is best illustrated in his involvement in two ideologically disparate recording dates such as Toots and the Maytals' album Reggae Got Soul (1976) and Yi Yo Le (1978), the latter accomplished with a free improvising trio that included Han Bennink and Misha Mengleberg. Musical Excerpt 8.6 and Musical Excerpt 8.7 have been included to illustrate the disparate stylistic worlds that Dudu occupied in these two albums.

In his birthplace of Walmer township, near Port Elizabeth, Dudu Pukwana had grown up as a community pianist who backed several close-harmony vocal groups, among them Tete Mbambisa's Four Yanks, before making his mark as a leading South African bebop saxophonist under the tutelage of his friend and mentor, Nikele 'Nick' Moyake. His early 1960s compositions for the Blue Notes in the hardbop style took off from distinct influences of Charlie Parker, Ben Webster and Johnny Hodges, Art Blakey's Jazz Messengers and South African saxophonists like Cup 'n' Saucer Nkanuka, Chris

'Columbus' Ngcukana, McKay Davashe, Nick Moyake and others. Following the Blue Notes' edgy hard-bop debut in London in 1965 Dudu Pukwana, like the rest of the members of the band, became heavily influenced by the free jazz of Albert Ayler, Eric Dolphy, Ornette Coleman and European free improvisers. According to his wife Barbara, despite a deep immersion in avant-garde jazz and European free-improvisation, Dudu Pukwana had an equally great urge to get back to his roots in South African popular music (Pukwana 2003). When, at the onset of exile, the Blue Notes split up for lack of work opportunities and under the pressure of diverse free jazz influences, Dudu began composing and recording in the popular South African swing-influenced styles of *mbaqanga* with Chris McGregor, ex-Cape Town saxophonist Ronnie Beer, *mbaqanga* composer and alto-saxophonist Gwigwi Mrwebi, South African cabaret singer Patience Gcwabe ('the Princess'), Jamaican bassist Coleridge Goode, and Londoner Laurie Allen on drums. His compositions in the *mbaqanga* style, as documented in the 1967 recording Kwela by Gwigwi Mrwebi's Band, also significantly included interpretations of choral vocal polyphony and bow melodies of indigenous Xhosa music, such as in the track *Mini Mtembo* (Musical Excerpt 8.8). While most of Dudu's compositions included in this session were in the 1950s South African *mbaqanga* jazz style, the example cited above is unique in deriving directly from the harmonic implications of indigenous Xhosa melodic and rhythmic elements. In this manner it resembles the composition *M[b]ra (Hey Mbra)* or *Mra* by the Langa (Cape Town) saxophonist Chris 'Columbus' Ngcukana (Musical Excerpt 2.14), which however, in its 1967 London rendition by Gwigwi Mrwebi's Band, was erroneously credited to Dudu Pukwana (Musical Excerpt 8.9). The tune, originally composed by Ngcukana and since then a regular feature of South African jazz-influenced repertoires, was introduced by Chris McGregor in a late 1965 BBC programme on *mbaqanga* as follows:

> Our next number features a tenor sax solo by Ronnie Beer. The song is dedicated to the great mbaqanga composer Christopher 'Columbus' Ngcukana and written in his style by Dudu Pukwana. Dudu, Ronnie Beer and I often played with Columbus in South Africa and a truer friend is hard to imagine. So it's with great pleasure that we call this number by what we always called him, his nickname 'Mbra'. (December 1965 BBC programme entitled *'Mbaqanga'*)

The fact that this piece is founded on specifically Xhosa traditional musical sensibilities ensured its diverse interpretations in performance and recording by successive contingents of exiled South African musical formations, and in particular, those led by Dudu Pukwana until his death in 1990. Dudu's first South African popular music-oriented band, Spear, was formed in London in 1969, and in the same year recorded an album entitled Dudu Pukwana and Spear, which listed the following titles:

Pezulu (Way Up)
Thulula (Fill it Up)
Kuthwasi Hlobo (Spring)
Half Moon
Yima Njalo (Stick Around)
Kwa Thula (Thula's Place)
Joe's Jika (Joe's Groove)
Nobomvu (Red Head)
Qonqoza (Knock)

Dudu Pukwana's brief visit to South Africa in mid-1969, in part a promotional exercise for Spear's newly-released album, was immediately followed by the band's tour of the U.S. A collaboration which also took place in 1969, called 'The African Explosion,' with America-based fellow South Africans including Hugh Masekela (trumpet) and the trombonist Jonas Gwangwa, resulted in the recording of an album entitled Who [Ngubani] (1969). The album, produced and released by Ahmed Jamal Production and credited to 'Jonas Gwangwa and African Explosion' (Fowler, ca 2003; Pukwana 2003), included only one of Pukwana's compositions, the title *Kwa Thula*, and also listed in its personnel Mamsie[43] on vocals and as 'lead-singer of African Explosion.' Under the album title In the Townships, a reincarnated Spear recorded the title *Nobomvu* [Red Head] (Musical Excerpt 8.10), Dudu's 1969 composition dedicated to his wife Barbara, in a late August 1973 session which listed the following personnel line-up:

Dudu Pukwana – alto sax, piano, percussion, vocals
Mongezi Feza – trumpet, percussion, vocals
Bizo Mngqikana – tenor sax, percussion, vocals
Nick Mason – drums
Dave Stewart – keyboards
Robert Wyatt - drums

[43] Mamsie was then, or was soon-to-be, trombonist Jonas Gwangwa's wife.

In compiling the above information, the Birmingham (UK) discographer Mike Fowler (n.d.) also listed titles which match exactly those listed in a 1983 Virgin Records' release of a CD-album by Dudu Pukwana bearing the title In the Townships. The Virgin Records' album, however, lists the personnel involved as having been:

> Dudu Pukwana – Alto Sax, Congas, Percussion, Vocals
> Mongezi Feza - Trumpet, Congas, Percussion, Vocals
> Louis Moholo – Drums, Percussion
> Harry Miller – Bass, Bass Guitar
> Biso Mngqikana – Tenor Sax, Percussion, Vocals

The album contains seven tracks in total which, except for Mongezi Feza's *Sonia*, were all Dudu Pukwana's compositions:

> *1. Baloyi* (5.18)
> *2. Ezilalini* (6.43)
> *3. Zukude* (5.43)
> *4. Sonia* (3.28)
> *5. Angel Nemali* (6.04)
> *6. Nobomvu (4.00)*
> *7. Sekela Khuluma* (4.14)

The album's repertoires document Dudu Pukwana's re-orientation in exile towards an expression of a rootedness in black South African popular musical culture. In the context of exile as a dislocation, the reiteration of re-awakened national South African cultural sensibilities through the selection of a repertoire resonates with several theoretical notions that were broached in the first chapter of this work. One argument would attribute the selection of certain repertoires – particularly within a spatial and popular ideological terrain – to the exile's need for forms of symbolic resistance to counter a sense of rootlessness, of being a minority of one, or of being culturally neutralised. The importance of a shared memory and cultural subjectivity of South Africa, expressed through the use of certain symbolic sonorities, is evident in Abdullah Ibrahim's conflation of the hymn and the blues (Lucia 2002). In a rejection of the marginalisation of their individual and group identities experienced by the Blue Notes and other musical exiles, a document such as In the Townships becomes an important reference point for the discussion of the deployment of power narratives as resistance, and the construction of imagined communities by dislocated groups (Martin 1993).

Dudu Pukwana's compositions in the album may be understood in their discursive negotiation of a double-consciousness of *mbaqanga* – in its issuing from a deep African cultural syncretism and modern European music – and a triple-consciousness of indigenous musical elements and their deployment in jazz-influenced composition. The titles included in In the Townships fall neatly into the two categories of *mbaqanga* and its *marabi*-derived basis on chords I – IV – V (sometimes chord I in its second inversion), and a harmonic manipulation of indigenous Xhosa musical elements. This latter process deploys alternating fundamental pitches a major second apart, as uniquely demonstrated in the ubiquitous Xhosa repertoires of bow music and overlapping vocal polyphony (Musical Excerpt 8.11). Three out of Dudu Pukwana's total of six compositions – the titles *Baloyi* (Musical Transcription 8 and Musical Excerpt 8.12), *Ezilalini* (Musical Transcription 11 and Musical Excerpt 8.13) and *Zukude* (Musical transcription 12 and Musical Excerpt 8.14) – clearly demonstrate an extension of indigenous musical elements for jazz-oriented instrumental improvisation. Generally, the extension involves a rhythmic syncopation of melodic phrase materials based on the Xhosa hexatonic, or the African major and minor pentatonic scales. This manipulation expands indigenous musical form by delaying the frequency of alternating fundamental pitches (of a major second interval). In the composition *Baloyi,* for example, both the pick-up phrase preceding the first full measure and the syncopated rhythmic 'kicks' in bar 3 fulfil the function of delaying the occurrence of the fundamental pitches B-flat and A-flat in bars 1 and 2 respectively. The repeating isiXhosa lyrics of the song, beginning at the end of bar 8, allude triumphantly to the Blue Notes' 1964 feat of 'skipping' apartheid South Africa by boarding an aeroplane:

Ngeqa ngebhanoyi	(I escaped by aeroplane)
Ngeqa ngeqa	(I escaped, I escaped)

The composition *Ezilalini* ('in the reserves') echoes the album's title as a commentary on a coercive imposition on blacks by the apartheid government of spatially circumscribed dwellings in squalid urban townships and impoverished homeland 'reserves.' The composition formally embodies this duality in its symbolic juxtaposition of indigenous elements (bars 1 to 72) and the urban popular sensibilities of *mbaqanga* (bar 73 and for

the duration of Mongezi Feza's trumpet solo). *Zukude,* another indigenously-influenced title, includes Xhosa lyrics about the itinerancy of exile:

Amazwe	(Countries)
Amazwe ngamazwe	(Countries and more countries)
Yen' uRadebe akazazi neentaka[44]	(Where Radebe doesn't even know 'the birds'

At bar 78 *Zukude* significantly segues, for a searing trumpet solo by Feza, into Eric Nomvete's jazz arrangement of the Pondo traditional ceremonial song *Ndinovalo Ndinomingi,* included in the 1962 Cold Castle Moroka Jabavu National Festival album under the title *Pondo Blues* (Musical Excerpt 5.21). *Pondo Blues* is the piece to which the rioting that broke out at the 1962 Moroka-Jabavu festival was attributed by eye-witnesses, as has been described in Chapter 5 (page 38). The rest of the titles in In the Townships are in the *mbaqanga* tradition, and could even be regarded as in the newer style of *mgqashiyo* or *isimanje-manje* with their up-tempo driving urgency, and a sax-jive quality imbued by saxophones, and in particular Dudu Pukwana's strident tones as typified in the track *Nobomvu* (Musical Excerpt 8.10).

In deploying the socialising musical experiences of his South African, and particularly his Xhosa cultural roots, Dudu Pukwana's approach to composition for his own groups in exile – Spear, Assegai and Zila – bears profound implications for the notion of music's own historicising and socially discursive processes (Rasula 1996). The narrative power of the repertoires recorded by various reincarnations of these formations since the early 1970s potentially illuminates several theoretical assumptions stated in the earlier chapters. The notion of the exiling of a South African musical imagination in the UK, as Pukwana's repertoires reveal, appears to manifest polarities of silence and utterance, as well as absence and presence. Where this imagination comprised a South African cultural hybridity, as represented in *mbaqanga*, or a marginal indigenous ethnicity, its sounds were rendered silent under the coercive impositions of apartheid. In this sense *mbaqanga* sensibilities were centrally domesticated and overproduced to appeal to the musicians' own black South African identities. Alongside Dudu Pukwana's (and the rest of the Blue

[44] *Iintaka (lit.* 'the birds'*)* An isiXhosa urban musical slang for 'staff notation'. An equivalent term in isiZulu is *izimpukane* ('the flies') in reference to notes when written on the musical stave.

Notes') superlative achievements as leading innovators in avant-garde and free-jazz, the revisiting and assertion of rooted African social identities through musical composition and performance in exile was sounding out the power narrative of identity (Martin 1993). Thus in a document such as the album In the Townships may be found some of the re-interpretive elements of the exile narrative of alienated authenticities, exit, exile identity, oppositional symbolic constructions and renegotiations of entrenched ideological positions. The title of the album itself inserted the marginal urbanity of black South African 'township' existence into a global discourse contesting the justification of apartheid. It is perhaps no coincidence that 'township' music by exiles such as Pukwana brought critical scholarly attention and intellectual discursivity to black South African performance culture and thereby reinforced international repudiation of apartheid. Dudu Pukwana's groups in exile approximated, in their activity and existence, some of the most incisive developments impinging on the ideological orientation of South African exile culture and performance. These developments are documented in encounters and collaborations with black Caribbean, West African and other exiled African musicians, among these James Herriot, Harold Beckett, Coleridge Goode, Kenneth Terroade, Gary Windo, Nana Tsiboe, Tunji Oyelana, Charles Ononogbo, Anwar Richard, Sammy Kagenda, Eddie Tagoe, Patrice Oluma, Tommy Kombo, John Otieno, Andrew Yonah, Isaac Kisombe, Eddie Quansah, George Lee, Gwigwi Mrwebi, Patience Gcwabe, Peggy Phango, Martha Mdenge, Harry Miller, Ronnie Beer, Hugh Masekela, Jonas Gwangwa, Makhaya Ntshoko, Selwyn Lissack, Churchill Jolobe, Julian Bahula, Lucky Ranku, Ernest Mogotsi Mothle, Victor Ntoni, Maureen Koto Lambede, Vicky Busisiwe Mhlongo, Thebe Lipere, Fats Magoboye, Biso Mngqikana, Josh Makhene, Gilbert Matthews, Peter Segona, and Pinise Saul. The albums that involved Dudu Pukwana are listed below with some of the musicians named above:

1. Kwela by Gwigwi's Band in London (1967)
Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone/composer)
Gwigwi Mrwebi (alto saxophone/composer)
Ronnie Beer (tenor saxophone)
Coleridge Goode (bass)

2. Up to Earth by Chris McGregor Septet (1968)
Chris McGregor (piano)
Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone)
Mongezi Feza (trumpet)
Louis Moholo (drums)

3. Spear by Dudu Pukwana and Spear (1969)
Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone/composer)
(incl. Richard Thompson – guitar)

4. Facets of the Universe by Friendship Next to Kin (1969)
Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone/composer)
Kenneth Terroade (tenor saxophone, flute)
Mongezi Feza (pocket trumpet)
Harry Miller (bass)
Selwyn Lissack (drums)

5. Who? (Ngubani?) by African Explosion (1969)
Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone/composer)
Jonas Gwangwa (trombone)
Mamsie (vocals)

6. Too Late Now by Mike Cooper (1971)
Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone)
Mongezi Feza (trumpet)
Harry Miller (bass)

7. Assagai by 'Assagai' (1971)
Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone/composer)
Mongezi Feza (trumpet)
Louis Moholo (drums)
Bizo Mngqikana (tenor saxophone)
Charles Ononogbo (bass)

8. Home Is Where the Music Is by Hugh Masekela (1972)
Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone)
Hugh Masekela (fluegel horn)
Makhaya Ntshoko (drums)

9. Shapes by Mike Osborne (1972)
Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone)
Harry Miller (bass)
Louis Moholo (drums)

10. Brotherhood by Chris McGregor's Brotherhood of Breath (1972)
Chris McGregor (piano/composer/arranger)
Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone/composer)
Harry Miller (bass)
Louis Moholo (drums)
Gary Windo (tenor saxophone/composer)
Harry Beckett (trumpet)
Mongezi Feza (trumpet)

11. Zimbabwe by 'Assagai' (1972)
Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone/composer)
Louis Moholo (drums)
Mongezi Feza (trumpet)
Bizo Mngqikana (tenor saxophone)
Martha Mdenge (vocals)

12. Feeling Funky by Matata (1972)
Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone)
Anwar Richard (organ, vocals)
Sammy Kagenda (bass guitar)
Eddie Tagoe (tumba, conga, shakes, bongos)
Patrice Oluma (bongos)
Mongezi Feza (trumpet)
Tommy Kombo (rhythm guitar)
John Otieno (rhythm guitar)
Andrew Yonah (lead guitar)
Isaac Kisombe (lead guitar)

13. Live at Willisau by Chris McGregor's Brotherhood of Breath (1973)
Chris McGregor (piano/composer/arranger)
Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone/composer)
Harry Miller (bass)
Louis Moholo (drums)
Gary Windo (tenor saxophone/composer)
Harry Beckett (trumpet)
Mongezi Feza (trumpet)
14. In the Townships by Dudu Pukwana's 'Spear' (1973)
Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone, piano, percussion, vocals)
Mongezi Feza (trumpet, percussion, vocals)
Bizo Mngqikana (tenor saxophone, percussion, vocals)
Harry Miller (bass, bass guitar)
Luois Moholo (drums)

15. Jabula by 'Jabula' (1974)
Julian Sebothane Bahula (percussion, drums)
Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone)
Vicky Busisiwe Mhlongo (vocals)
Lucky Madumetja Ranku (guitar)
Ernest Mogotsi Mothle (bass, bass guitar)
Eddie Quansah (trumpet)
Maureen Koto Lambede (backing vocals)

16. Flute Music by 'Spear' (1974)
Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone, piano, percussion, vocals)
Mongezi Feza (trumpet, flute, percussion, vocals)

17. Mammoth Special by Decameron (1974)
Dudu Pukwana (percussion)
Mongezi Feza (percussion)

20. Diamond Express by Dudu Pukwana (1975)
Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone/composer)
Mongezi Feza (trumpet)
Lucky Ranku (guitar)
Victor Ntoni (bass)
Louis Moholo (drums)
Ernest Mothle (bass, bass guitar)

18. Thunder in Our Hearts by ‘Jabula’ (1975)
Julian Sebothane Bahula (Malombo drums, percussion, vocals)
Ernest Mogotsi Mothle (bass)
Dudu Pukwana (alto sax)
Lucky Madumetja Ranku (guitar, vocals, percussion)
19. Reggae Got Soul by Toots and the Maytals (1976)
Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone)
Toots Hibbert (arranger, vocals)
Eddie Quansah (trumpet)

20. Sondela by Atte-Zila (1977)
Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone, keyboards)
Churchill Jolobe (drums)
Ernest Mothle (bass)
Sello Josh Makhene (congas)
Sonia Bonolo Lekhela (vocals)
Lindiwe Thoko Chonco (vocals)
Tiny Nelisawa Chonco (vocals)
Mphiwa Yengwa (vocals)

21. Song for Biko by Johnny Dyani (1978)
Johnny Dyani (bass)
Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone)
Mak[h]aya Ntshoko (drums)

22. *Sounds Zila* by ‘Zila’ (1981)
Dudu Pukwana (alto and soprano saxophones)
Harry Beckett (trumpet, flugel horn)
Churchill Jolobe (drums)
Peggy Phango (vocals)
George Lee (tenor saxophone, flute)
Pinise Saul (vocals)
Linda Chonco, Tiny Chonco, Sonia Matabane (backing vocals)
Peter Segona (trumpet) and Ernest Mothle (bass)

23. Mbizo by Johnny Dyani (1981)
Johnny Dyani (bass, electric bass)
Dudu Pukwana (alto and soprano saxophones)
Churchill Jolobe (drums)

24. Live in Bracknell and Willisau by ‘Zila’ (1983)
Dudu Pukwana (alto and soprano saxes, whistles)
Pinise Saul (vocals, cabassa)
Harry Beckett (trumpet, flugel horn)
Churchill Jolobe (drums)
Thebe Lipere (congas, percussion, African chanting)

25. Zila ’86 by ‘Zila’ (1986)
Dudu Pukwana (alto and soprano saxophones, composer/arranger)
Pinise Saul (vocals, cabassa)
Lucky Ranku (electric guitar)
Churchill Jolobe (drums)
Fats Ramoba Magoboye (congas)

26. Thunderbolt by The South African Exiles (1986)
Chris McGregor (piano, electric piano)
Johnny Dyani (bass, piano, vocals)
Harry Beckett (trumpet)
Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone)
Lucky Ranku (guitar)
Ernest Mothle (bass guitar)
Gilbert Matthews (drums)
Pinise Saul (vocals)

26. Cosmics Chapter '90 by 'Zila' (1989)
Dudu Pukwana (alto and soprano saxes)
Pinise Saul (vocals, cabassa)
Lucky Ranku (guitar)
Fats Ramoba Magoboya (congas)

27. Harambe Africa by 'Zila' (1989)
Dudu Pukwana (alto and soprano saxes)
Pinise Saul (vocals, cabassa)
Lucky Ranku (guitar)
Fats Ramoba Magoboya (congas)

Dudu Pukwana's earliest sojourns into the South African popular musical terrain are captured in the 1967 recording Kwela by Gwigwi's Band in London, of which Maxine McGregor later said: '[t]his record seemed somewhat unremarkable and might have been different had all the original Blue Notes have been available … it lacked, perhaps, an authentic spark' (McGregor 1994:103). In the absence of the Blue Notes' black township contingent as represented by Louis Moholo, Mongezi Feza and Johnny Dyani, the session significantly excluded a strong ideological orientation. In this musical context, the rhythmic essence of South African township *kwela* and *mbaqanga* was compromised, a fact that could have easily resulted in the pronounced *highlife* and *calypso* framework behind the homophonic horn-line compositional approach of *Zangomva* (Musical Excerpt 8.15 and Musical Transcription 9). Further musical shortcomings in the album, as an attempt to recapture particularly *kwela* sensibilities as espoused in its titling, were the exclusion of pennywhistles and the swing-rhythm element as well as the absence of the hallmark *kwela* element of *tsotsi*-style rap. The album was produced by Dennis Duerden, the Transcription Centre's director and Maxine's boss at the time. As a decidedly corporate projection of the regionalism of Africa's cultural diversity, the album's production accentuated the commonality between the discrete and geopolitically distinct ramifications of European modernity and the African colonial influence. Furthermore, an

encounter with the Caribbean 'black-Atlantic' hybridity of *calypso*-influenced traditions in the UK may well have biased regionally rooted musical approaches like *kwela*, *mbaqanga* and West African *highlife* towards a common sensibility of their dislocated double-consciousness. In any case the repertoires themselves were tapping into sensibilities that were deeply subliminal to musical orientations that had brought the Blue Notes out of South Africa and bestowed on them a pioneering position in the UK avant-garde jazz scene. The timing of the album's recording in the midst of the disintegration of the Blue Notes and their charting, largely as individuals or in micro-collaborative formations, of new levels of jazz avant-gardism, was confounding critical media attention, as the following report reveals:

> It is a pity that the only recorded example of *McGregor's* [my italics] work, the recently issued *Kwela* by Gwigwi's Band, which includes [Dudu] Pukwana, [Ronnie] Beer and [Laurie] Allan, does not give anything like an account of what these musicians are really up to. As a party record, and as an example of South African urban dance music, it has its moments of interest. But even on this level it is, I am afraid, rather humdrum and it will require a very sympathetic A and R man indeed to record the band. (Brian Blain in *Morning Star*, 31 January 1967)

The attribution of the work to Chris McGregor even though he was only a sideman in the project is certainly a matter for other, deeper analyses of the construction of exiled South African identities in British popular culture. It is worth remarking, though, that the compositions included in the Kwela by Gwigwi's Band album were largely by Gwigwi Mrwebi and Dudu Pukwana, and none were by McGregor.

A consciousness of being South African, and its cultural gesture of musically glancing backwards, was explained by Chris McGregor as resulting from an increasing self-perception of being exiles, as well as a nostalgic impulse caused by a 'disenchantment with what from South Africa had seemed a magic and distant world' (McGregor 1994:104). It is this impulse to find one's own place, a home away from home, which indicates the ideological framework for what became Dudu Pukwana's – and in no lesser extent the other members of the Blue Notes' – lifelong musical pursuits. In parallel with their free-jazz and avant-garde explorations, the available repertoires of the Blue Notes' various formations and collaborative structures also document a pervasive stylistic engagement with, and an ideological contextualisation of, their originally sublimated *mbaqanga*, *kwela* and particularly *Xhosa*-Nguni (Bantu) indigenous cultural sensibilities.

8.4 The Blue Notes' [South] Africanisation of jazz, 'triple-consciousness' and an internationalization of township jazz

As a symbolic expression of an essentially black South African cultural identity, Pukwana's successive ensembles benefited from an increasing expatriate traffic as more political refugees, including musicians, students, artists and other cultural exiles entered the UK. The immigration that incrementally swelled the ranks of a particularly black South African exile community from the early 1970s ensured a continuous infusion of black South African ideological performance sensibilities into Pukwana's musical formations. The arrival in the UK of the likes of bassist Ernest Mothle, drummer Churchill Jolobe, saxophonist Joe Malinga, *meropa* drummer Julian Bahula, conga player Ramoba 'Fats' Magoboye, and guitarist Lucky Ranku in 1973, and that of Bertha Egnos' *Ipi-Tombi* cast members (especially the singer/dancer Pinise Saul and percussionist Thebe Lipere) was particularly significant in this context. Within the polyglot heterogeneity of immigrant performance culture in 1970s Britain, collaborative musical activities involving the above personnel ensured a certain ideological cohesion of black South African (and particularly township-oriented) approaches to popular musical performance.

In the late 1960s UK, the widely reported ascendancy of the Blue Notes' post-bop elucidation of jazz avant-gardism conveyed a growing awareness of a valid South African legacy of jazz influence. In describing the Blue Notes' approaches to free-jazz in particular as being unique, analysts tended to allude to the musicians' background in the black South African popular idioms of *mbaqanga* and *kwela.*

A keen interest in the Blue Notes' music by important British musicians who were working around the Old Place and The Little Theatre Club culminated in momentous collaborations from as early as 1966. These encounters with a South African jazz influence resulted not only in the celebrated (but short-lived) Chris McGregor Big Band of 1967, but several permutations of small ensembles, some of whose musical achievements were captured on record. Recently released sessions from this frenetic era of a South African-led stylistic cross-pollination include albums such as the Chris

McGregor Septet's Up to Earth (1968), the Chris McGregor Trio's Our Prayer (1968), and the Blue Notes' (the Chris McGregor Group's) Very Urgent (1968). Other significant repertoires documented of this era involved further collaborations demonstrating the diversity of the Blue Notes' musical engagement in free-jazz, European free improvisation, British pop, West African, soul and reggae music. Besides works already cited for their inclusion of Dudu Pukwana and/or other members of the Blue Notes as well as other exiled South African musicians, the following albums may be highlighted in this context:

1. Roswell Rudd's Roswell Rudd (1965), which included Louis Moholo (drums).
2. Steve Lacy's The Forest and The Zoo (1966) with Johnny Dyani (bass) and Louis Moholo (dr.).
3. Tunji Oyelana's two Tunji (1968) albums with Chris McGregor (piano), Ronnie Beer (tenor saxophone), Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone), Mongezi Feza (trumpet), Harry Miller (bass).
4. John and Beverley Martyn's Road to Ruin (1970) with Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone).
5. Kees Hazevoet's Pleasure One (1970) with Louis Moholo (drums).
6. Robert Wyatt's Flotsam Jetsam (1970) with Mongezi Feza (trumpet).
7. Don Cherry Trio's Blue Lake (Orient) [1971) with Johnny Dyani (bass).
8. Keith Tippett's Centipede's Septober Energy (1971) with Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone), Mongezi Feza (trumpet), Harry Miller (bass).
9. Mick Greenwood's Living Game (1971) featuring Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone).
10. Alexis Korner's (1970) album with Chris McGregor (piano).
11. Mike Osborne's Outback (1970) with Chris McGregor (piano), Harry Miller (bass), Louis Moholo (drums).
12. Nick Drake's Bryter Later (1970) with Chris McGregor (piano).
13. Mike Osborne's Shapes (1972) with Harry Miller (bass), Louis Moholo (drums).
14. Elton Dean's Just Us (1972) with Louis Moholo (drums).
15. Globe Unity Orchestra Der Alte Mann Bricht Sein Schweigen (1974) with Mongezi Feza (tpt).
16. Robert Wyatt's Vegas Fandango (1974) and Rock Bottom (1974) with Mongezi Feza (tpt).
17. Mike Osborne's Bordercrossing (1974) with Harry Miller (bass), Louis Moholo (drums).
18. Slapp Happy – Henry Cow's In Praise of Learning (1975) and Desperate Straits (1975) with Mongezi Feza (trumpet).
19. Mike Cooper's Life and Death in Paradise (1974) with Harry Miller (bass), Louis Moholo (dr).
20. Mike Osborne Trio's All Night Long (1974) with Harry Miller (bass), Louis Moholo (drums).
22. Schweizer, Carl, Moholo Trio's Messer (1975) with Louis Moholo (drums).
23. Robert Wyatt's Ruth is Stranger than Richard (1975) with Mongezi Feza (trumpet).

It would not be unreasonable to understand the projects mentioned above in their fragmentary essence to the Blue Notes' organisational coherence, especially as they involved band members largely in their individual capacity. Indeed the memory of a formed group was preserved only in the late 1967 recording (Very Urgent), followed by a long estrangement between the group's members. The ensuing long hiatus in the Blue Notes performance and recording activity as a united group was only to be jolted again with a brief cohesion occasioned by the death of Mongezi Feza in December 1975.

A sense of a South African cultural grounding among the country's musicians in exile was arguably kept aflame through individual and small collaborative initiatives by the Blue Notes' estranged personnel. In the UK context it is worth remarking that Dudu Pukwana mentored several of those South African musicians who were continually being impelled to leave the country with hopes of being able to advance their musical careers abroad. Furthermore, seen through Pukwana's documented projects, this process involved a negotiation of common cultural identities for a diverse South African popular musical performance that was distinguished by its closely contested ideological stratifications. While such diversity may have been an everyday consciousness in South African popular culture, a coherent global representation of subjugated masses called for a unified ideological conception in cultural performance by the country's exiles.

In the 1960s encounters between the post-bop exponents (the Blue Notes) and the *mbaqanga* exiles (the ex-*King Kong* personnel), a common ground was found on a nostalgic longing for a home and imagined communities left behind, rather than on the basis of common performance ideologies in the context of a contemporary jazz-oriented practice. For example, while Dudu Pukwana, Ronnie Beer, Chris McGregor, Coleridge Goode and Laurie Allan were probably equals in their pursuit of post-bop avant-garde jazz, Gwigwi Mrwebi's accomplishments did not include bebop, although he had been a leading African jazz saxophonist on the eve of his departure with the *King Kong* orchestra. In this sense the album Kwela by Gwigwi's Band (1967) may be regarded as a negotiation of black South African ideological performance styles and musical identities in exile. Firstly, excerpt for the album's major composer and bandleader, alto saxophonist Gwigwi Mrwebi, the rest of the musicians had to play within parameters circumscribed by a perceived stylistic closure of a regional, urban African musical idiom. In musical sensibility these conditions dictated a strict diatonicism in homophonal horn arrangements that were a glaring stylistic departure from the searing avant-gardism that the rest of the musicians in the album were already being identified with. Secondly, an ideological compromise was sought in order to reconcile a distinct South African urban style with far-flung hybridities of disparate African encounters with modernity, arising from perceived rhythmic and harmonic relationships between Caribbean *calypso*, West

African *highlife* and *mbaqanga*, as is illustrated in Musical Transcription 9. Furthermore, the categorisation of the album as *kwela* could not be an accurate one, since *kwela* was a youth musical performance practice whose orchestration of pennywhistle ensembles and acoustic guitars was both novel and distinct. As *kwela* had arguably eclipsed *mbaqanga* in focusing the world's attention on a South African urban black popular culture, the labelling could be seen as scripting a new role for South African music in exile, namely that of a symbolic representation and identification with the urban popular culture of the country's oppressed majority. The project's articulation of a collective cultural identity was facilitated through individual musicians who had already registered a remarkable expression of their uniqueness within the avant-garde jazz terrain. It may further be argued that this musical collaboration was an attempt at constructing an imagined community of a common South African cultural identity in exile, and thus demonstrated the potential for repertoires and identity to symbolically reify contestations of power.

Collaborations with successive waves of musical exiles may be seen to have ensued in part from this ideological stance, involving an incorporation of disparate popular expressions of a black South African musical diversity. The styles themselves were to articulate conscious levels of their opposition to apartheid and its aggressions against the country's subjugated majority. Thus the 'third wave' of South African musical exiles, perhaps significantly including the percussionist and ex-Malombo drummer Julian Bahula, bassist Ernest Mothle and guitarist Lucky Ranku, came to join forces with Dudu Pukwana's Spear to form the large ensemble Jabula-Spear as an act of solidarity around the time of Mongezi's death in early 1976. Before this merger, Julian Bahula had led his own ensemble, Jabula, while registering overt support for the ANC in exile by playing fundraisers and manning the organisation's cultural desk. While in South Africa, both Lucky Ranku and Julian Bahula had been members of Malombo Jazz Makers, a radical ensemble which was an offshoot of Philip Tabane's Malombo concept. It is undoubtedly as a result of the ensemble's association with the beginnings and conscientising activities of the Black Consciousness Movement in the early 1970s that members to bear the brunt of police harrassment that impelled many trade unionists and political activists to skip the

country. In a recorded interview Bahula explained the circumstances – including his own participation in underground political activism – of his exit from South Africa:

> We were doing political work in universities, and schools...and then I had a lot of problems with the South African police and so.... well I thought 'my brother is serving 15 years... for Poqo, and do I have to go to jail too?' ... I thought this is not the right place for me. So I decided to leave ... I didn't pull punches when I got here ... I just said the truth. If I go back I am in trouble ... So I said ah, I'll see what happens. (Julian Bahula in Musicians in Exile 1990)

This direct association of musical performance and expression with dire political exigencies gave rise to a groundswell of activism that came to associate culture and musical performance closely with the black struggle for liberation. Julian Bahula's position in this highly politicised orientation of urban black South African musicians was made clear in our 2003 interview, in relation to his largely unremunerated work for the ANC's cultural desk in London:

> Through the movement we were in the struggle. For me it was fun, I had fun working for the struggle because as a musician that was the only way I could contribute. And then I felt proud to do it. It was fun for one reason, knowing for what I'm doing this … [t]hough there was no money... I wish that all these musicians when they came over here, they did that for the cause... because some used to complain about the money, but not thinking about people who were struggling anyway... (Julian Bahula 2003, Author's interview)

It would appear that the arrival of Bahula and other musicians from South Africa had the effect of lessening Dudu Pukwana's reliance on non-South African musicians in his Assegai and Spear ensembles. Prior to the arrival of Bahula, Ernest Mothle and Lucky Ranku in particular, Pukwana had relied on members of the Blue Notes – Mongezi Feza and Louis Moholo – and Harry Miller, often with the addition of British, West Indian, and West African musicians in the interpretation of his South African, and essentially Xhosa musical roots. By 1975, however, Dudu Pukwana had become a constituent member of an all-South African Jabula ensemble, comprising himself (on alto saxophone), Julian Bahula (*Malombo* drums, percussion and vocals), Ernest Mothle (bass) and Lucky Ranku (guitar, percussion and vocals). In its inclusion of seSotho, seTswana and sePedi – speaking township musicians, this alliance reflected the multi-ethnicity of a national conception of black South African culture. Furthermore, on the album sleeve of the group's Thunder in Our Hearts (1975) recording, the musicians had also included their indigenous African names: Julian *Sebothane* Bahula, Ernest *Mogotsi* Mothle, Lucky *Madumetja* Ranku. This form of acknowledgement of indigeneity by Christianised

generations of black South Africans – as a reaffirmation of their reconciliation with their previously marginalised African heritage – was a symbolic process of 'decolonising the mind,' a founding tenet of the black-consciousness philosophy. The album's original titles, likewise, emphasized this discursive political relationship of exiled subjects with the culture and contemporary issues of their homeland:

Thunder in Our Hearts (Ranku)
Soweto My Love (Bahula)
Ithumeleng Ba Mamelodi (Bahula)
Tears of Africa (Bahula)
Baleka – Run Away (Ranku)
Journey to Afrika (Bahula)
Harvest Part II (R. Bedeau)

Jabula's Thunder in Our Hearts (1975) was a follow-up on a 1974 recording entitled *Jabula* which – in addition to British, Dutch and French musicians – had significantly included a contingent of African musicians in Ken Eley (tenor and soprano saxophones), Eddie Quansah (trumpet), George Larnyoh (tenor sax and flute), and Maureen Koto Lambede (backing vocals). The South African element in the session was made up of Ranku, Bahula, Mothle, Pukwana and the Inanda (Durban)-born singer Vicky Busisiwe Mhlongo (Fowler n.d.). Again the compositions were all from Bahula and Ranku, with almost all of the titles named in South African black languages including SeSotho, isiXhosa and isiZulu – some with English translations:

Jabula [Happiness] (Bahula)
Baile [They Are Gone] (Ranku with lyrics by Bahula)
Listen To Me Crying (Mothle/Ranku/Apps – lyrics)
Naledi (Bahula)
Badishi [Herdboys] (Ranku/Bahula lyrics)
Thandi (Ranku)
Siakala [We Are Sad] (Bahula)
Our Fathers (Bahula)
Let Us Be Free (Bahula/Ranku)

Dudu Pukwana's close alliance with the highly conscientised and politically-involved Jabula leadership and their repertoires clearly demonstrates his own conviction regarding the role sought for musical performance in exile, within the liberation struggle. The fact that he did not personally contribute by way of musical composition to Jabula's early hard-hitting anti-apartheid repertoires, however, focuses attention on the subtlety in the

articulation of his own political conscientisation through musical performance, as his wife Barbara explained in interview following his death in exile:

> This kind of like… was Dudu's sanctuary... where he went to think... compose.... where he spent most of his time. He was of course very interested in what was going on in South Africa, he followed very closely what was going on. But he didn't as much make political statements. When people talked to him who tried to interview him, he always said 'you got to listen to my music.' I think it comes thru in the music the sort of mixture of anger ... sadness that he felt. (Barbara Pukwana in Blue Notes and Exiled Voices 1990)

Despite his continued working with different non-South African musicians, Dudu Pukwana's bands, most notably Zila, came to retain a stable contingent of South Africans. Formed in 1978 and active until Pukwana's death in London on 29 June 1990, Zila's under-employment belied a formidable ensemble, described by the eminent British jazz critic John Fordham in Pukwana's obituary as 'a sometimes ragged but unfailingly exhilarating band' (*The Guardian*, 3 July 1990). In an unissued album entitled Cosmics Chapter 90 (1989), and what was probably among the band's last recorded live performances with its founder at the helm, Zila's personnel were listed as:

Dudu Pukwana – alto and soprano saxophones
Pinise Saul – vocals and cabassa
Lucky Ranku – guitar
Eric Richards – bass
Roland Perrin – keyboards
Steve Arguelles – drums
Fats Ramoba Mogoboya – congas

Recorded at London's Battersea Art Centre in November 1989, the six titles documented on the album Cosmics Chapter 90 (1989) were:

1. *Mra – Khali* (D. Pukwana/K.Ngcukana)
2. *Hamba [Go Away]* (V. Ndlazilwana)
3. *[The] Big Apple* (C. Semenya)
4. *Cosmics* (D. Pukwana)
5. *A Blues for Nick* (D. Pukwana)
6. *Zwelitsha* (D. Pukwana/A. Glasser)

In both personnel and repertoires the album showed a remarkable consistency with Dudu Pukwana's previous recording with the band, namely the album Zila '86 (1986). Zila personnel on all tracks were listed as follows:

Dudu Pukwana – Alto & Soprano Saxophones, Arranger
Pinise Saul – Vocals and Cabassa
Lucky Ranku – Electric Guitar
Churchill Jolobe – Drums

Fats Ramoba Mogoboya – Congas
\+ + + **plus** + + +
Django Bates – Synthesizer, Piano, Tenor Horn
Mervyn Africa – Piano, Vocal
Adam Glasser – Synthesizer
Eric Richards – Electric Bass
Ernest Mothle – Electric Bass
Roberto Pla – Timbales
Josh Makhene – Backing Vocals

Both albums' compositions were by South Africans: Dudu Pukwana, Victor Ndlazilwana, Columbus Ngcukana, Caiphus Semenya, Allen Kwela, Mervyn Africa, and Adam Glasser. Furthermore the repertoires included were stylistically unified in asserting Pukwana's ideological decision, taken as early as 1965, to explore the music of his rootedness in South African black cultural experiences. While Pukwana's openness to influence – documented in the many recordings he participated in, which I have listed above – is undoubted, his personal oeuvre in leadership and individual ideological conviction is clearly demonstrated in the few albums he made, particularly with his Spear, Assegai and Zila bands. Among these albums are included the following:

Spear (1969;
Assagai (1971);
Zimbabwe (1972);
In the Townships (1973);
Flute Music (1974);
Diamond Express (1975);
Thunder in Our Hearts (1975);
Sondela (1977);
Sounds Zila (1981);
Live in Bracknell and Willisau (1983);
Zila'86 (1986);
Cosmics Chapter 90 (1989);

All of the above albums are linked in style as a result of a consistent approach to orchestration, and by a reinterpretation of certain recurring repertoires, as demonstrated in the following titles from several of Dudu Pukwana's groups' recordings:

Nobomvu (Spear [1969]; In the Townships [1973]);

*Zukude / Cosmics / 'Amazwe' (*In the Townships [1973]; Cosmics Chapter 90 [1989]);

Sondela (Flute Music [1974]; Sondela [1977]);

*Shekele / Malaika (*Diamond Express [1975]; Sondela [1977])

Madodana (Zila'86 [1986]; Diamond Express [1975]);

Mra-Khali (Zila'86 [1986]; Cosmics Chapter 90 [1989]);

Hamba [Go Away] (Zila'86 [1986]; Cosmics Chapter 90 [1989]);

Besides this recurrence of titles – some of which were rearranged or renamed even when they were re-recorded by the same formation – the repertoires documented in these albums narrate a process of re-iteration, or some kind of branding. Not only were the said repertoires constantly revisited in recording and performance by Pukwana-led formations, they also straddled a vivid ideological continuity between increasingly globally identifiable jazz-influenced black South African approaches and further collaborative musical alliances. Among such alliances were those involving projects spearheaded by both individual and collaborating Blue Note members, as well as others that did not directly involve any of the exiled Blue Notes. Some of the repertoires that have been commonly shared between Dudu Pukwana's groups and other musical combinations involving, but not necessarily in all cases, a participation of one or more members of the exiled Blue Notes, are briefly discussed below.

Mra (Musical Excerpt 2.14) is a composition originally attributed to Cape Town (Langa) saxophonist / band-leader Christopher 'Columbus' Ngcukana (Rasmussen 2003:203) and perhaps heard for the first time in a studio recording in the unreleased recordings of the 1963 Blue Notes' sessions for Trutone's Winner label. The tune's earliest appearance in exile was in the form of a reinterpretation by Dudu Pukwana, for which he (perhaps controversially) claimed authorship. The piece *Mra* (Pukwana), as it is included in the London recording Kwela by Gwigwi's Band 1967 (Musical Excerpt 8.9), was introduced by Chris McGregor in a BBC documentary focusing on the South African *mbaqanga* style, as 'dedicated to the *mbaqanga* composer Christopher 'Columbus' Ngcukana, and *written in his style by Dudu Pukwana* [my italics] (BBC programme on *mbaqanga*, 20 September 1966). Subsequent recordings of the piece were included in the albums Zila '86 (1986) and Cosmics Chapter 90 (1989) under the title *Mra-Khali*, with lyrics by the exiled ex-East London singer Pinise Saul:

Ubhut' akazaz' iintaka	(The brother does not understand 'the birds')
Khali, zivulelen' iinto zeelali-bo	(Khali, make way for the village people)

A near similar treatment is observed regarding the title *Zukude* (Musical Excerpt 8.14 and Musical Transcription 12), Dudu Pukwana's composition first heard in the 1973 recording In the Townships. In what is perhaps among Pukwana's last documented Zila

performances at the end of 1989, from which was compiled material for the album Cosmics Chapter 90 (1989), is included an up-tempo version of *Zukude* under the title *Cosmics* with the original lyrics now sung by Pinise Saul (Musical Excerpt 8.16).

Structurally and harmonically, the original *Zukude* was seen to be comprised of two sections that differed only in terms of their rhythmic patterning and melodic strain (Musical Transcription 12). The first section begins with a piano introduction, followed at bar 14 by a melodic phrase, stated in homophony by three horn lines of two saxophones and a trumpet. The voices join in almost immediately with a lyrical phrase similar to that of the horns. The unharmonised, thickened melodic line is paraphrased by Dudu Pukwana's alto saxophone in a call-and-response pattern in which he employs varying dynamics of pitch, timbre, trills, rhythmic displacement of notes, and squawks. This first section, which lasts up until bar 77, is based on a harmonic structure that is essentially an extension of the system of alternating fundamental pitches as found in Xhosa indigenous music. Between the two fundamental notes of G and F, the harmonic pattern cyclically includes an E-flat while the melody – stated by horns and voices – suggests intervallic pitch relationships of the Xhosa hexatonic scale, particularly in the subtle melodic variations that occur from bar 34 to 46 and later, from bar 66 to bar 78. Thus, over a fundamental pitch pattern of G and F (and an E-flat on a single up-beat at the end of each cycle), is superimposed a melody using the notes: F ; G ; [B-flat] ; C ; D and E-flat in the second section beginning at bar 78, as has been pointed out above. In *Cosmics* (Musical Excerpt 8.16), however, is inserted a cyclic *mbaqanga* pattern (I; IV; $I_{6/4}$, V) in between the two sections that in the original recording of *Zukude* (Musical Excerpt 8.14), were harmonically based on the indigenous Xhosa music. In addition to other pervasive cross-references between South African popular music-inspired repertoires in exile, it is these conflations of contested sensibilities of an entrenched musical heterogeneity with indigenous musical elements that demonstrate a negotiation in the practice of a 'triple consciousness' among members of the Blue Notes in exile. This observation is further supported by a superimposition, in the Zila repertoires, of South African (Xhosa) vernacular lyrics, particularly by Pinise Saul, onto compositions that were originally wordless, such as the tune *M(b)ra* or *Hey Mbra* (Musical Excerpt 2.14 and 8.17).

The structural and repertorial consistencies in Dudu Pukwana's exile recordings spanning several years provide an invaluable yardstick for assessing the penetrating influence of African musics, and particularly township jazz, on a generation of younger British musicians. Among such musicians and groups that directly or indirectly imbibed such influences could be mentioned Jim Dvorak and Dave Chambers, whose group called Afro Blue was heavily influenced by Dudu Pukwana's music (Miller 2003). Another group was Loose Tubes, which had – at one time in its membership – noted disciples of the Blue Note-inspired British jazz revolution such as Steve and Julian Arguelles, Eddie Parker and Django Bates. Dudu Pukwana's influence in particular is acknowledged in a generation of South African musicians who grew up or reached their musical maturity in exile, among them Claude Deppa, Ntshukumo Bonga, Gibo and Pule Phetho as well as British Caribbean musicians like Courtney Pine, Jean Toussaint and others who were part of groups such as Loose Tubes and Jazzafrika. The music producer Hazel Miller, widow of the late, exiled Cape Town bassist Harry Miller, emphasized the seminal and shared nature of this influence, particularly on musicians such as Claude Deppa, the Phetho brothers and Ntshukumo Bonga, when she stated in our interview that:

> [P]eople like Claude (Deppa) and Pule (Phetho), obviously it's their heritage. A musician like Django Bates who's had quite a high profile these last few years was heavily influenced by Dudu's music. You know you listen to his stuff and you can hear, he is a strong musician in his own right. You listen to any musician you can hear bits of Coltrane or Dudu Pukwana, you know, you can't sort of be involved in the music and not be influenced by the different directions it's gone in. (Hazel Miller 2003, Author's interview)

Finally, the immediacy of Dudu Pukwana's influence is unmistakable in the work of one of the younger contemporary London saxophonists, Ntshukumo 'Ntshuks' Bonga. Bonga's approach on the alto saxophone (Musical Example 8.18), like that of his mentor, spans the extremes of the avant garde and free improvisation, as well as the Xhosa-influenced approach to township jazz that was indelibly stamped on a global jazz imagination by Dudu Pukwana.

CHAPTER 9

Narratives of identity in the music of Johnny Dyani and Mongezi Feza

In discussing musical collaborations between members of the disbanded Blue Notes - Chris McGregor's and Dudu Pukwana's various ensembles as well as the first big band and Brotherhood of Breath formations - I have dwelled on London (and therefore the UK) as a locus of the ensuing (South) African popular musical consciousness in exile. A kind of meeting place and transit point of African and other exiles, London undoubtedly hosted the largest contingent of South African expatriates, which made it a cultural dwelling of choice for the Blue Notes. However, their first impressions of the city's cultural liberalism and its welcoming façade were not to be totally confirmed, as Chris McGregor's comments revealed very early on (McGregor 1994:90-6). Enthusiastic portrayals of the Blue Notes' energising of a lethargic British post-bebop scene tend to mask the traumas the band endured as subjects of a foreign culture and its society, as jazz journalist Val Wilmer recalled:

> Writing regularly for the weekly *Melody Maker* from the mid-1960s … [t]hose were exciting times, but it should not be overlooked that while it is widely accepted that the Blue Notes acted as a catalyst in forcing an awareness of musical modernity in British jazz circles, their presence there was not always welcome … such freewheeling Africans created resentment when they entered the grey London picture. It was something with which they would live for the rest of their lives. (Cited in Rasmussen ed. 2003:85)

Joe Boyd, former manager of the remobilized Blue Notes – in its reincarnation as the Chris McGregor Group – also remarked on this marginalisation, following an initial celebratory reception of the Blue Notes' arrival in London in 1965:

> [W]hen they first arrived … and after they played at Ronnie Scott's … they were welcome because they were exotic and interesting and they were going to go home. And when they didn't go home they became a threat. I felt there was a certain amount of racism involved. Visiting black musicians are O.K. because they are going to go home, but when they stay and they nick your girlfriends, that's a different thing (McGregor 1994:96).

Recalling the onset of the band's disillusionment in the latter half of 1965, Maxine wrote that:

> Life at this time seemed to be filled with these little complications engendered by the lack of capital resulting from the meagre amount of work in spite of the enthusiastic reviews from the press. The musicians found real apathy and conservatism they had to put up with from the London jazz scene very hard to take, all the more so because they had expected so much, and in fact it became self-defeating to continue working as a group with so little return for effort (McGregor 1994:95).

Furthermore, around this time the Blue Notes were commuting regularly to Copenhagen's Jazzhuis-Montmatre, in the process absorbing influences and aligning their own musical approaches ideologically with those of the African-American avant garde jazz movement as represented by the Ayler brothers, Archie Shepp, Don Cherry, J.C. Moses and Cecil Taylor, among others. Back in London the Blue Notes were regularly experimenting with more avant-garde sounds at the Little Theatre Club and using Spontaneous Music Ensemble drummer John Stevens in the place of Louis Moholo, who was touring Holland with a quartet which included trombonist Roswell Rudd, John Tchicai (alto saxophone) and the bassist Finn von Eyben. The recruitment at around this time by the American saxophonist Steve Lacy, of Louis Moholo and Johnny Dyani for his quartet which included Enrico Rava on trumpet, was remembered as follows by Maxine McGregor:

> [Louis Moholo and Johnny Dyani] took to making long absences without explanation several times a week, taking their instruments with them. We found out the reason for this when they suddenly disappeared totally one day, and we heard they played in the San Remo Festival in March 1966, and subsequently to South America. Some months later we received an SOS: they had been left stranded there with no money, and it was Dennis [Duerden] who had to pay their fares back to London! (McGregor 1994:97)

The two albums resulting from this alliance were The Forest and The Zoo (1966), recorded in Buenos Aires in October 1966, and Zyatsha (1966), an unissued studio session of the quartet that had been recorded in London in the weeks preceding their 1966 San Remo festival appearance. All of the pieces included in the two albums were credited to Lacy, although he later declared that the revolutionary nature of the quartet's music was such that '[i]t was completely free! There was nothing determined, nothing directed, there were no notes, no themes' (Rasmussen ed. 2003:88). During Louis Moholo's and Johnny Dyani's year-long absence the remaining Blue Notes had undergone radically

evolutionary changes towards musical directions that had catapulted them to the forefront of the London free-jazz scene. As the Chris McGregor Group, the formation – in addition to Dudu, Chris and Mongezi – then included Chris Cambridge (bass), Laurie Allan (drums) and Capetonian Ronnie Beer on tenor saxophone. The radical dimensions that the music of the Blue Notes had suddenly taken in the hands of this sextet elicited much enthusiasm, as some of the critical comments cited in Chapter 7 have shown. Both Maxine McGregor and Barbara Pukwana have attributed the African American free-jazz influence to the Jazzhuis-Montmartre (Copenhagen) experiences (McGregor 1994:92-8). Citing these encounters as 'something of a breakthrough, in all kinds of directions,' Chris McGregor articulated their musical developmental ramifications when he said that:

> I was becoming conscious of a lot of things in myself … my own piano-playing was taking directions that weren't going to suit that old repertoire. Physically and technically I was reaching in all kinds of directions; especially Albert Ayler and his approach to tenor-playing opened up that whole thing to me. The muscular relationships would obviously appeal to somebody orientated to African music which is so much a dance … a body with muscles and sinews. It is so much a music of reaction and rhythm – the response of the body to rhythm. I saw how much of Albert's music was very much *that* in this setting of Western civilization … a way of keeping that flame alive. (McGregor 1994:98)

That, and 'that flame', would appear to be a certain articulation in music of elements of identity which Chris McGregor identified as African. In exploring the place of avant-garde jazz approaches within African musical performance, the members of the Blue Notes arguably sought to contextualise their cultural subjectivity as exiles from apartheid. The band's ideological commitment surfaced in the course of this engagement largely as a result of the expressive language of their individual repertoires. To the extent that the Blue Notes attributed their musical socialization to their South African cultural roots, the symbolic freedom connoted in free-jazz and free improvisational practice increasingly came to be a musical discourse with black South African popular cultural experiences. In essence, then, a discussion of the Blue Notes' repertoires at this juncture should focus on a juxtaposition of the ideals of individual freedom – symbolised in the core aspects of free-jazz – with the collective, communal cultural grounding of indigenous African musical practice. In accentuating tensions inherent in the apparently logical progression in the musical development of the exiled Blue Notes, it is essential to recall the influence of the African-American avant garde of the likes of Ornette Coleman, John Coltrane, Charlie Mingus, Eric Dolphy, Cecil Taylor, Albert Ayler, Archie Shepp, Don Cherry, and

others engaged in this milieu of practice. The influential appeal of these musicians' approaches on the Blue Notes' musical interpretations of their cultural musical roots, particularly in exile, was described by Pallo Jordan as follows:

> The accent among these innovators was on freedom. Freedom, they said, could be attained by breaking out of the conventions of be-bop and seeking out new modes of expression by total improvisation. They forcefully reasserted the African musical idiom, borrowed freely from Indian, South American and modern European traditions. For good measure they threw in elements from the Shamanism of Asia and North America for further experimentation. It was called 'New Wave' or 'Avant Garde'. (Pallo Jordan in a tribute to Johnny Dyani published in 1987 issue of *Rixaka*)

9.1 A South African political identity in Johnny Dyani's 'Witchdoctor's Son' and 'Music for Xaba' repertoires

As I have stated in preceding discussions, it is likely that it was the sense of the symbolic freedom suggested by the practice of free-jazz that led the Blue Notes' to identify afresh with South African popular musical repertoires. Thus, Dudu Pukwana's rather subtle ideological statement in working with both urban *mbaqanga* and indigeneous musical elements stands in contrast with Johnny Dyani's overt politicisation in terms of both musical and spoken statements. Pukwana's revisiting of South African *kwela* and *mbaqanga* musical styles took place as early as the mid to late 1960s, and from 1969 his own ensembles became vehicles for explorations which juxtaposed heterogeneous and indigenous Xhosa musical elements. In the light of the consolidation of the military wing of the then outlawed African National Congress, Dudu Pukwana's naming of his successive formations as 'Spear' or 'Assegai' may well have been veiled references to Umkhonto WeSizwe, ('the Spear of the Nation') or MK, as it became widely known. Johnny Dyani's compositions, on the other hand, appear to have been deliberately titled to establish a confrontational oppositional stance to the apartheid regime. Most of his compositions in this vein, as listed below, were unpublished:

Let My People Have Some Freedom
Born Under the Heat
Blame It on the Boers
The Boys from Somafco[45]
Ciskei Shame
Death Wish in the Robben Island
House Arrest

[45] SOMAFCO - the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania (Mororogo), so-named after the 23-year old ANC cadre Mahlangu, who was sentenced to death by hanging in Pretoria in 1975.

Song for Biko
The Robben Irland Struff (Grannie's Teaching)
Lament for Crossroads
Lilian Ngoyi
Some Jive-Ass Boer
Mandela
MK Spear of the Nation
Oliver T[a]mbo
Open Ballad to Mandela
Pretoria Three
Song for the Workers
Transkei-Booo
U.D.F.
Winnie Mandela
Zimbabwe is Free

Other compositions were dedications to diverse experiences, places and people – mostly musicians but also friends, family and relatives – from abroad as well as from South Africa. It is worth noting that even as Johnny Dyani's natural inclinations toward free-jazz assured him an early recognition – particularly in the style's UK circles – as a superlative performer on bass, his own compositions were documented for the first time only in late 1972. As a member of 'Music for Xaba,' with Mongezi Feza and Okay Temiz, Johnny Dyani contributed most of the trio's repertoires, particularly those that were recorded in Stockholm in a series of three live performances in October, 1972. The recording of a concert at the Filial of the Museum of Modern Art on October 21 was produced by recording engineer Göran Freese and initially issued by Cadillac Records under the title Rejoice, an album which included four tracks as follows:

Side A:
Mad High (Mongezi Feza)
Makaya Makaya (Johnny Dyani)

Side B:
Pukwana (Johnny Dyani)
Imbongolo (trad., arr. Johnny Dyani)

Another performance by the 'Music for Xaba' trio took place in Stockholm's Theatre 9 on 2 November 1972. Two albums entitled Music for Xaba (Volume 1 and 2) were produced by Keith Knox from a recording of that performance (Rasmussen ed. 2003:285). The first volume was comprised of four titles while two of the second volume's total of five tracks, namely Dyani's *Makaya Makaya* and Feza's *Mad High*, had already been

included in the Rejoice album. The second volume was issued with programming as follows:

Side A
Mad High (Mongezi Feza)
Mighty Blues (Johnny Dyani)

Side B
Dear Africa (Johnny Dyani)
Makaya Makaya (Johnny Dyani)
Witchdoctor's Son (Johnny Dyani)

The 'Music for Xaba' project represents an important development in the musical trajectory of the two youngest members of the Blue Notes. The term 'Xaba' in the trio's name was a radical interpretation of the 'God' figurehead, as it might pertain to Nguni (Bantu) genealogical origins. In equating the ancestral name 'Xaba' with that of 'God' (Rasmussen ed. 2003:346), attention was being drawn to what was perhaps the oldest known shared ancestor between Johnny Dyani and Mongezi Feza, both of them being descended from the Hlubi clans of the Mbo-Nguni lineage of the Bantu (Khumalo 1995:49; Mostert 1992:xiv). Briefly explained, such an understanding of Nguni-Bantu ancestral relationships locates a generally vague allusion of Xhosa origins closer to their shared ancestry with other Nguni lineages such as the Ntungwa (Zulu), Lala, Mbo (Swazi), Thonga, and Debe or Zansi (Khumalo 1995:12). This genealogical system locates 'Xaba' as the progeny of Ludonga and also as the ancestor of the Ndwandwe, probably the largest Nguni chiefdom to be conquered by Shaka. Furthermore, 'Xaba' was also the founder of the Mthethwa, one of several powerful pre-Shakan Nguni chiefdoms. Another of Ludonga's progeny was Hlubi, an ancestor to several Xhosa and Northern-Nguni (Zulu) clans, in addition to being a direct descendant of the ancient Swazi monarchy as represented today by the present King Makhosetive. In juxtaposition with its 'uMvelinqangi'[46] equivalent among the Northern Nguni, the idea of an unseen biblical 'God' arguably becomes a contestable one against lived experiences in which only man and woman beget mankind. The appending of mortal elements to a 'god' responsible for man's origins – as Xaba is related by blood to vast clans of Nguni descendants – was a radical critique of the most entrenched ideology of the Christian colonial legacy. In a

[46] Doke-Vilakazi (1990:517) gives a literal meaning of the term as 'he who appeared first'; name of the Deity; the Creator; the first being.

1972 recorded discussion between Johnny Dyani and Mongezi Feza in Stockholm, this reinterpretation of the Nguni-Bantu indigenous heritage to connote a divine 'spirituality' for ancestral relationships was asserted in Dyani's stating that 'Xaba is a name for God and 'Music for Xaba' is a group that plays for love' (Rasmussen ed. 2003:207).

The context of Johnny Dyani's statement was the apparent contrast between European and in general, African cultural approaches to musical performance. In an atmosphere where, for black African exiles adrift in the Scandinavian culture, there was a growing disillusionment with a once-attractive liberal reception, the discourse of identity had become central to expressive performance. A pertinent inquiry here is how, if at all, the repertoires documented in the 'Music for Xaba' sessions mediate cultural disjunctures such as were bequeathed to marginalised Africans by the legacy of colonialism, apartheid and subsequently exile. In this sense, recorded performances by 'Music for Xaba' referred to above appear to ensue directly from an underlying desire for freedom, which by 1972 was already a hallmark of the Blue Notes' take on free-jazz. Up until that moment Johnny Dyani's musical developmental experiences outside of the Blue Notes' ambit of influence had included sitting in with drummer John Steven's Spontaneous Music Ensemble at the Little Theatre Club. Since the early 1960s John Stevens had been one of the leading lights of the London free-improvisation music scene, whose grounding philosophy on the genre was perhaps best stated as follows: '[w]hat improvised music really offers us is a potential community of people who create together in spontaneous fashion' (McGregor 1994:99). It was perhaps a measure of Dyani's remarkable approach towards this goal that this musical exchange coincided with collaboration with saxophonist Steve Lacy, which resulted in the recording Zyatsha (1966), an Italian festival appearance, and the fateful South American tour. In terms of leadership alone, Dyani's role in the six or so albums from this period of his career could easily be regarded as sidemanship, especially as none of his compositions were included in their programming. Thus, prior to embarking on his own extensive compositional and leadership role, Johnny Dyani was instrumental in the realisation of several important projects. It is undoubted that these were important stepping stones towards a consolidation of his own position as a bandleader and session organiser of note. Besides

the two recordings Zyatsha and The Forest and the Zoo, in which he and Louis Moholo participated as members of Steve Lacy's quartet in 1966, there were perhaps five other significant albums preceding the formation of 'Music for Xaba'. The most significant of these recordings were:

> The Chris McGregor Group's Very Urgent (1968)
> John Stevens Spontaneous Music Ensemble's John Stevens Spontaneous Music Ensemble (1968)
> Orient (1971) and Blue Lake (1971) by Don Cherry
> Al Shorter's Tes Esat (1971)

A dramatic Blue Notes' reunion in 1967 at Ronnie Scott's Old Place, when Johnny Dyani and Louis Moholo returned from their ill-fated Argentine tour with Steve Lacy's Quartet, was described by Pallo Jordan as follows:

> On their first weekend in London, Dyani and Moholo demanded to be allowed onto the bandstand after the first set … [i]n a sensational second and third sets, the reunited Blue Notes set the club on fire … [t]here was an evident empathy amongst the musicians despite the years of separation. (*Rixaka* 1987:6)

It was, more than anything else, as a result of this reunion that the Blue Notes recorded the album Very Urgent towards the end of 1967. Compositions by Dudu Pukwana and Chris McGregor, as well as avant-garde interpretations of Xhosa traditional songs included in the album, proved that the individual members of the group still had a high level of concord, despite the different directions they had pursued in their largely individual explorations of free-jazz. Except for the addition of tenor saxophonist Ronnie Beer in place of Nikele Moyake, Very Urgent represented the first occasion on which the Blue Notes, now billed as the Chris McGregor Group, had recorded an album together since leaving South Africa in 1964. An organic element of this formation in all respects, Johnny Dyani still did not feature as a composer in his own right. The same might be said of other albums mentioned above, wherein Dyani was the only South African musician (or Blue Notes member) taking part, even though his performance, particularly in Al Shorter's 1971 album Tes Esat, elicited remarks such as:

> [Johnny Dyani] is one of the most talented and versatile bassists to be heard in Europe today. He is a powerhouse in the literal sense and his great virtue is his unpredictability, for everything he plays is new each time. (Val Wilmer, cited in Rasmussen ed. 2003:284)

The two album projects cited above with multi-instrumentalist composer and trumpeter Don Cherry are remarkable in their structural similarity to 'Music for Xaba', wherein

Cherry was replaced by his understudy and muse, Mongezi Feza. It is as a culmination of all these musical experiences and exchanges – significantly involving African-American and European avant-garde musicians – that Johnny Dyani's leadership and compositional career may have come to fruition. A pertinent musical consideration at this point must be of Dyani's dynamism, here considered as a movement towards a postponed attainment involving perpetual invention and deploying all of the musical resources at hand. There is scant musical resolution in the music itself, just as the lives of exiles seem unfinished, and congruence is maintained only in the coherence and immediacy of a musical present. In Johnny Dyani's music the contingency of performance seems to be an overriding ideological determinant. It was remarked of Dyani's mostly unpublished compositions that 'Johnny would frequently rename his compositions … [a] number of entries … are only known from Johnny's own listings and may just be alternative titles for well-known compositions' (Rasmussen ed. 2003:319). After the recording of Very Urgent (1968), the Blue Notes' recorded repertoires began to include pieces from traditional and largely Xhosa repertoires such as *Don't Stir the Beehive* (Very Urgent); *Imbongolo* (Rejoice); and others like *Idyongwana* (Music for Xaba) and *Nomsenge* (Blue Notes In Concert) by South African composers such as Victor Ndlazilwane and Tete Mbambisa respectively; *Abelusi, Mhegebe, Sabonkolo, Abalimanga* and *We Nduna* (Blue Notes In Concert). While this development indicates to a radical deployment of indigenous musical resources, an avant-garde interpretation of well-known melodies rendered them unrecognizable as repertoires of a popular, and participant, indigenous practice. As a deployment of a triple-consciousness, the translocation of popular indigenous practice renders it novel in the strangeness of the context of its performance. Examples of this use of a displaced (and therefore contextually novel) consciousness may be found in several instances of the Blue Notes' performances in avant-garde settings, particularly in the 1978 album Yi Yole by Dudu Pukwana (alto sax, whistle), Misha Mangelberg (piano) and Han Bennink (drums, clarinet, viola, trombone). In some passages during the performance of the title track *Yi Yole*, Dudu Pukwana repetitively plays identifiable *mbaqanga* progressions as part of the abstract structure of a spontaneously improvised performance (Musical Excerpt 9.1). Similarly in the middle of a free-improvised performance of *Silopobock* (Musical Excerpt 9.2) from the same album, Pukwana quotes

freely from the opening melodic phrases of two recognisable African-American repertoires, namely *When the Saints Go Marching In* and Charlie Parker's *Now's the Time*. The use of popular idiomatic elements, in both of these instances a double-conscious hybridity of *mbaqanga* and African-American bebop, may be compared to the use – particularly in Very Urgent, Blue Notes in Concert, Rejoice and Music for Xaba albums – of melodic and rhythmic musical elements derived from an indigenous African 'triple consciousness'. By referring to historical African-American jazz repertoires in the context of *Silopobock*, Dudu Pukwana appears to be re-orienting a bricolage of European free-improvisation towards its relationships with its jazz improvisational origins in the diversity of African-American cultural performance experiences.

The Blue Notes' interpretations of traditional Xhosa repertoires as exemplified in the albums referred to above may be regarded as essentially deconstructive in their treatment of musical elements of a 'triple-consciousness'. As an abstraction of melodic, rhythmic and textual musical elements from their popular understanding within an indigenous musical context, this process acknowledges a level of cultural alienation among its practitioners. There is neither a leading voice nor a chorus – which under more normal circumstances would comprise all of the social participants – to enliven the call-response patterns of a well-recognised Nguni hunting song such as *We Nduna* in the recording Blue Notes in Concert (1977). In its traditional arrangement, *We Nduna* was performed as a rhythmic vocal call-and-response pattern between a leader and a male chorus, and was the rhythmic (or danced) part of this Nguni *ihubo* ceremonial song. Characteristically *amahubo* songs comprise a repeated, ametrical introductory section performed by the leading voice and a brief chorus response as in Musical Excerpt 9.3. In the example provided of a male choral rendition, the text used is as follows:

Introduction:
Leader: *EMaBomvini eMaBomvini kwakhal' inkomo kwakhal' imbuzi*
(At the place of the Red Ones oxen bellowed and goats bleated)
Chorus: *Yash' imizi*
(Homesteads burned down)
Rhythmic [Clapped and Danced] Section:
Leader: *We Nduna*[47]
(Hail Commander!)

[47] In a traditional division of social roles, age and gender, an *induna* is a male leader (chosen by the chief) in a council, battle, hunt, or to 'command a regiment of warriors' as in *induna yezinsizwa*.

Chorus: *Kwaqhum' isibhamu*
(A rifle went off!)
Leader: *Wey'nsizwa*
(Warriors!)
Chorus: *Esavuthayo*
(And burst into a flame!)
Leader: *We Nduna*
(Hail Commander!)
Chorus: *Uyawabon' amabuth'*
(Look at the warriors)
Ehlome kanjena
(Armed as they are)
Kumnyama kunzima
(It is dark and heavy)

The Blue Notes' use of repertoires such as above, outside of their indigenous performance context, involved a relegation of these repertoires' cultural communicative devices of language, rhythm, discrete melodic and orchestrational sensibilities (Musical Excerpt 9.4). In these respects it is similarly illuminating to revisit the 1961 recording of Tete Mbambisa's *Umsenge* by his East-London vocal group, The Four Yanks. While Mbambisa's modernising of a musical tradition was exploring the swinging (and waltzing) potential of indigenous Xhosa rhythms, it still identifiably retained the language and characteristic vocal and harmonic (intervallic) relationships of indigenous cultural performance (Musical Excerpt 2.1). In this sense Tete Mbambisa arguably addressed his jazz-influenced compositional innovation towards the popular sensibilities shared by his majority African audience. Alongside his own exceptional, piano-derived harmonic conception, Mbambisa was tapping into an innovative movement that was ideologically mapped in the practices of home-grown vocal groups such Ace Buya's 'Modernaires,' Victor Ndlazilwane's 'Woodywoodpeckers,' 'The Lo Six' and the 'Manhattan Brothers,' among others. It is significant that, as modernizing musical practices, such innovations mediated – essentially by Africanising – the cultural influences of global flows. Inversely, as indigenous Africans mediating musical practices of a double-conscious hybridity, such practitioners were engaging with African performance culture in the global context of its discursivity. Thus, in embracing an avant-garde that did not tap into coeval African cultural experiences, the Blue Notes in exile had further alienated themselves from ideological continuity with their own cultural performance roots. Repertoires documenting their involvement with free-jazz, represented in particular in albums such

as Very Urgent (1968), Blue Notes in Concert (1977), Rejoice (1972) and Music for Xaba (1972) arguably confirm this view. When compared with the strident, increasing demands for freedom being made by South Africa's majority, the expressive language of these repertoires did not directly address the ideological sensibilities of a popular indigenous practice. The communicative thrust of such models would seem to be the prescription, for the African majority, of a similarly torturous passage towards alienation.

Following from these ideological entanglements, a compositional orientation couched in the immediate experiences of the South African liberation struggle was to be realised in Johnny Dyani's leadership of his own ensembles, particularly following the 'Music for Xaba' period. Having left the country practically in his boyhood, Dyani's 1970s collaborations with Abdullah Ibrahim (Dollar Brand) may reasonably be regarded as serving to mentor him in the popular musical resources of a black South African cultural modernity. Through Ibrahim's own perspectives this experience covered a lot of historical cultural ground: it involved an awareness of many of the Cape's documented musical practices, including domesticated black American minstrelsy, Xhosa heterogeneous syncretisms, liturgical Protestant hymnology, surviving indigenous Khoi and San musical practices, *nomxhimfi* and *marabi* practices. Following his acquaintance with, and a recording produced by Duke Ellington in Paris in 1965, Dollar Brand soon assumed a pioneering position in mediating African influences of successive African-American jazz stylistic innovations. Brand's profound influence on Johnny Dyani could be gauged in the latter's adoption of the Islamic faith in the early 1970s, as a result of which he acquired the name Akhir (Rasmussen ed. 2003:20). The recording of the duet album Good News From Africa, in Ludwigsburg in 1973, was a culmination of a reunion at the end of 1972 that had seen both Johnny Dyani and Mongezi Feza playing in a trio with Dollar Brand (Abdullah Ibrahim) in Copenhagen. For Dyani this association, coinciding more or less as it did with the 'Music for Xaba' project at the end of 1972, also included a tour of Germany with Abdullah Ibrahim, Sathima Bea Benjamin, Don Cherry, saxophonist Carlos Ward and the Brazilian Percussionist Nana Vasconcelos as a member of Universal Silence, an ensemble which performed mainly Ibrahim's repertoire (Rasmussen ed. 2003:20).

As already stated, Dyani's career was markedly eclectic in the kind of formations – duos, trios, quartets, sextets and more – that variously were vehicles for his compositional output. However, being resident in Scandinavia (Denmark and Sweden) for most of his life – as well as being stylistically outside of a marketable musical mainstream – may have logistically dictated certain strictures to his otherwise unbridled musical conception. During the period spanned by the recordings listed above Dyani was also involved in other diverse performance and recording projects. As well as not being undertaken under his own name or that of his quartet or Witchdoctor's Son brandings, most of these projects saw Dyani's role as being of a more complementary or collaborative nature. Among documented ventures of that period were the following:

Good News From Africa (1973) with Dollar Brand
Blue Notes for Mongezi (1975) with Chris McGregor, Dudu Pukwana and Louis Moholo
Songs for Mbizo (1976) by Chris Joris
Unlawful Noise (1976) by Haazz (Kees Hazevoet) & Company
For Example (1977) Workshop Freie Musik 1969-1978 [solo performances]
Blue Notes In Concert Vol.1 with Chris McGregor, Dudu Pukwana and Louis Moholo
Procession (1977) with Chris McGregor's Brotherhood of Breath
The Journey (1977) by Abdullah Ibrahim
Spirits Rejoice (1978) by Louis Moholo's Octet
Last of the Hipmen (1978) and Let the Music Take You (1978) with David Murray Quartet
Interboogieology (1978) with David Murray Quartet
Fruits (1978) with The Phillip Wilson Trio
3D Family (1978) and 3D Family Vol. 1 (1978) with David Murray
Parade (1979) by Joe Bonner Trio
Echoes from Africa (1979) with Abdullah Ibrahim
Patterns/Message to South Africa (1979) by Noel Howard
Blues Walk (1979) with Walter Davis Company
Black Paladins (1979) with Joseph Jarman and Don Moye
Some Jive-Ass Boer (1981)with Mal Waldron Duo
Mouvement Naturels (1981) by Doudou Gouirand
Insensitive (1981) by Brett Hornby
Book/Virtual Cowws (1981) by Rudiger Carl
Detail (1982) by Detail
Backwards and Forwards / Forwards and Backwards (1982) by Detail
Okhela (1982); Trio (1982); 1,2,3,4 (1982) and Let's Go (1982) by Detail
Suburban Fantasies (1983) with Joe Bonner
A Concert (1983) by Detail
Flowers for Johnny (1983) with Anders Gahnold Trio
Chanting and Dancing (1983) by Doudou Guirand World Music Company
Brikama (1984) by Pierre Dørge & New Jungle Orchestra
Dark Warrior (1984) by Khan Jamal Quartet
Percussion Summit (1984)
Three (1984) with Khan Jamal and Pierre Dørge
Even the Moon Is Dancing by Pierre (1985) Dørge & New Jungle Orchestra
The Traveller (1985) with Khan Jamal Trio
Ness (1986), Way It Goes/Dance of the Soul (1986) by Detail/Detail Plus
In Time Was (1986) by Detail
Thunderbolt (1986) by The South African Exiles

While Johnny Dyani's collaborative projects since 1969 had included leading British African-American and European post-bop and avant-garde musicians, it is arguably his own quartets and the variable ensemble, Witchdoctor's Son, which unambiguously assert his South African cultural heritage and a deepening commitment to the struggle against apartheid. Among the most significant albums by these formations and suggesting Dyanis' commitment to the struggle are the following:

Witchdoctor's Son (1978) with Dudu Pukwana and John Tchicai
Song for Biko (1978) by the Johnny Dyani Quartet
Together (1979) by Johnny Mbizo Dyani's Witchdoctor's Son
African Bass (1979) by Johnny M. Dyani
Mbizo (1981) by Johnny Dyani Quartet
Grandmother's Teaching (1982) by Johnny Mbizo Dyani
Afrika (1983) by Johnny Dyani
Born Under the Heat (1984) by Johnny Mbizo Dyani
Angolian Cry (1985) by Johnny Dyani Quartet

While the 1978 album Witchdoctor's Son overtly dealt with South African themes and cultural experiences, most of the musicians in the group were not South African in involving besides Johnny Dyani (on piano, bass and vocals), also John Tchicai (alto and soprano saxophone), Dudu Pukwana (alto and tenor saxophone), Alfredo do Nascimento (guitar), Luiz 'Chuim' Carlos de Siqueira (drums) and Mohammed al-Jabry (congas, percussion). The titles included in the initial (1978) issue of the album were:

Side 1
Heart with Minnah's Face (Johnny Dyani)
Ntyilo, Ntyilo (trad., arr. Johnny Dyani)
Radebe (Dudu Pukwana)
Mbizo (Johnny Dyani)

Side 2
Eyomzi (Johnny Dyani)
Magwaza (trad., arr. Johnny Dyani)

In the album's 1987 Steeplechase release on CD, four titles – which were alternate takes of the tracks *Radebe, Heart with Minnah's Face, Ntyilo Ntyilo* and *Magwaza* – were added. The album demonstrates the composer's preoccupation with immediate family relations, birthright and rites of passage as symbolised in the title of one of the tracks, *Eyomzi*, which translates from isiXhosa as 'of family' or 'a family issue'.

Minnah (or MaRadebe) Dyani was the aunt whom, according to Fikile 'Fix' Hughes Dyani, Johnny may have died thinking was his mother, since his own genetic mother had

died in the process of giving birth to male twins of whom Johnny was the eldest, and the only survivor (Rasmussen ed. 2003:30). Among the Nguni, the heart is associated with the most passionate qualities of character and is also regarded as a seat of the deepest of feelings. Compassion, love and sincerity, for example, are the distinguishing traits of a 'good heart,' while hatred, jealousy and violence are qualities of a 'bad or ugly heart.' The imagery of a loving mother, who had not been seen for many years, is that of a tortured imagination longing for a sight … of a face … and the heart to which it belongs. It is an exercise of memory and of a piecing together of blurred images into an image with a soul. This looking back in time across imagined blood ties separated by years, seas and a painful longing, is the essence of the blues, African-American blues. This may well be the symbolic significance of the twelve-bar blues form used in the composition *Heart with Minnah's Face* (Musical Excerpt 9.5). The main melodic phrase with its chromaticism and canonic pick-up of the double alto saxophones (Dudu Pukwana and John Tchicai) hints at the syncopated emphaticism of Thelonius Monk's *Straight No Chaser* or maybe *Criss-Cross* (Musical Example 9.6). Allen Silinga's *Ntyilo Ntyilo*, on the other hand, played here as a duet with guitarist Alfred do Nascimento (with Johnny Dyani on bass and vocals), was by the late 1970s already identifiable as one of the most resilient compositions to have survived the demise of a barely remembered vibrant jazz culture. Its inclusion here is made more poignant by the fact that Johnny Dyani appears to have 'forgotten' some of the song's standard lyrics. For comparative purposes I have included the words to the song *Ntyilo Ntyilo* as they are normally sung in its many renditions:

Ndav' ilizwi kwelotyholo	(I heard a voice in the forest)
Ndakhangela ndasondela	(I looked and came closer)
Lalisitsho lisithi	(It was speaking and saying)
Tyili tyili tyili	(Tyili! Tyili! Tyili!)
Ntyilo ntyilo	(Ntyilo! Ntyilo [As a bird sings])
Immandi loontsholo	(How beautiful that melody)
Bridge:	
Yayembethe iingubo ezimhlophe	(It was covered in white [garments])
Yayembethe iingubo ezibomvu	(It was covered in red [garments])
Lalisitsho lisithi	(It was speaking and saying)
Tyili tyili tyili	(Tyili! Tyili! Tyili!)
Ntyilo ntyilo	(Ntyilo! Ntyilo [As a bird sings])
Immandi loontsholo	(How beautiful that melody)

Below is Dyani's version of the words to *Ntyilo Ntyilo:*

Ndav' ilizwi kweelotyholo	(I heard a voice in the forest)
Ndakhangela ndaqondisa	(I looked straight)
Lalisitsho lisithi	(It was speaking and saying)
Tyili tyili tyili	(Tyili! Tyili! Tyili!)
Ntyilo ntyilo	(Ntyilo! Ntyilo [As a bird sings])
Immandi loontsholo	(How beautiful that melody)
Ndav' ilizwi kwelotyholo	(I heard a voice in the forest)
Ndakhangela ndaqondisa	(I looked straight)
Lalisithi lisitsho	(It was speaking and saying)
Ntyilo ntyilo ntyilo	(Ntyilo! Ntyilo [As a bird sings])
Ntyilo ntyilo	(As a bird sings)
Immandi loontsholo	(How beautiful that melody)

Bridge:

Ndakhangela ndaqondisa	(I looked straight*)*
Ndakhangela ndaqondisa	(I looked straight)
Wayembeth' ingubo	(He (or she) was covered with a blanket)
Esitsho kamnandi	(Saying beautifully)
Ntyilo ntyilo	(As a bird sings)
Immandi loontsholo	(How beautiful that melody)

Dudu Pukwana's composition, *Radebe* (Musical Excerpt 9.7), embellishes the theme of birthright by invoking the name of Johnny Dyani's maternal ancestor, as it is represented by Minnah, or MaRadebe, who was Johnny's genetic paternal aunt (Rasmussen ed. 2003:30). Pukwana, who had been experimenting with traditional Xhosa harmonic devices since the late 1960s, could by 1978 juxtapose melodies derived from the ubiquitous Xhosa hexatonic scales with bass-line *ostinati* that were not necessarily derived from bow fundamental notes of a major second interval apart. His two-note bass ostinato in the composition *Radebe* alternates between the upper fundamental note and a note that is a minor third below what should be the lower fundamental of a major second interval. In pitch terms the fundamentals used by Pukwana are G and D, instead of G and F had he been strictly adhering to traditional intervallic relationships of indigenous Xhosa harmony. The melody is derived from hexatonic scale notes made up of two triads built on the fundamental notes F and G (Musical Transcription 13). As has already been observed in Chapter 8, Dudu Pukwana's mature interpretation of black South African popular music often involved a juxtaposition of materials of an indigenous 'triple-consciousness' with those of *mbaqanga* or *marabi*.

Johnny Dyani's composition *Mbizo* (Musical Excerpt 9.8) was named after his genetic father, Ebenezer Mbizo, whose surname of Ngxongwana indicated the fact that he was descended from Radebe, the Hlubi (Swazi) ancestral head of the Xhosa clans, as they are genealogically related to the Nguni-Bantu diaspora. The song, which has no bass played in it, starts with a brief mournful horn introduction intoned in a descending chromatic line of only three notes, played more or less alternately in parallel octaves and in unison. The rhythm section 'hit' comes at the end of each of these short phrases as if it were a fourth note of this descending line, the mood of which might connote images of regret or disappointment. The rest of the song is made up of three identifiable rhythmic and melodic fragments, the first of which is a piano-ostinato based on a rhythmic version of the mournful introduction. The horns, harmonized and ascending, play the first three notes of a D minor pentatonic scale twice over this, before answering themselves with a rapidly descending three-note arpeggio that begins from the note F (the third of the scale) and includes the notes C and A. This answering phrase is played four times for each of the two ascending phrases. The melodic contour of the third rhythmic/melodic fragment ascends in a three-note arpeggio by beginning on the fourth note of the D minor pentatonic scale, then descends on the scale from the same fourth note to the fifth note below, a major second below the root of the scale, before resolving up to the root, D. Two short modal vamps follow: first alternating the notes F and G on the bass, then D and A. Then there follows three syncopated hits on the root D, played twice, before closing with the same opening mournful phrase that began the form.

Eyomzi is an AABA form rhythmically based on *ghoema*, a Cape hybrid music style that shares with *marabi* (and thereby *marabi* derivatives), a cyclic structural basis on chords I, IV and V of the European diatonic major scale. The bridge material in *Eyomzi* is achieved by a four-measure pedal on the IV, before closing the form with four bars of the cyclic chord structure (Musical Excerpt 9.9). A discernible *rhumba* and Carribean *calypso* influence in the rhythmic accents and anticipations in this Cape-style popular music plausibly suggests an immediate link between South African black township *mbaqanga* and West African *highlife*. This impression symbolically expands the conception of 'family' beyond immediate blood-relatives, towards tenuous relationships, shared through historical cultural performance sensibilities between Africans in Africa and their

descendants in the diaspora. Finally *Magwaza*, a ritual song of the male Xhosa circumcision ceremony and rites of passage into manhood, locates perhaps not only its arranger Johnny Dyani, but also all of the black members of the Blue Notes, within a deeply felt legacy that has continued, as a practice, to ethnically define and delineate Xhosa-hood even from its historical Nguni kinship.

Few people outside of the tradition grasp fully the ritual processes and ceremonial significance of Xhosa male circumcision rites, and thereby the historical (and contemporary) bearing of their secretly-guarded repertoires. The song *Somagwaza*, however, is known for its centrality in all of the circumcision ritual's performances, as it comprises aspects the ceremony that spill over into public celebrations where everyone in the community joins in. Then again, the fact that the ritual it addresses is deep and affects participants and role players in different ways also certainly multiplies the interpretations by the diverse participants. As a piece of music that is deployed in maintaining permanent aspects and ideals of community and nationhood it has not changed much, and in these respects may be understood to retain the core sensibilities of indigenous musical performance. Its cyclic nature, the underlying alternating-fundamental-note structure, vocal polyphony and a straightforward duple meter, may be gleaned from such recordings as were made by the Rev. David Dargie near Lumko Institute in Lady Frere, Eastern Cape during the early 1980s (Musical Excerpt 9.10). Among the documented egalitarian repertoires of indigenous contemporary Xhosa communities, *USomagwaza* stands out in its exclusion of the ubiquitous practice of textual improvisation in vocal musical performance, perhaps pointing towards certain fixity in the understanding of its ritual symbolism among cultural subjects. Dyani's performance of the song as *Magwaza* (Witchdoctor's Son 1978) in exile remarkably remains true to this conception, evoking an overall effect of a mixed traditional choir by overdubbing the staggered entry of polyphonic parts (Musical Excerpt 9.11). In its symbolic narration of birth, family, rites of passage, and the place of music in linking nature to mankind, and mankind to itself, the album Witchdoctor's Son may be seen to explore the social embedment of individual identity. The album's achievement of a stylistic groundedness and ideological seamlessness within a specific African tradition, despite the diverse geographical origins

of its participating personnel, was explained by Johnny Dyani in interview with the journalist Ib Skovgaard in Copenhagen, in August of 1978, as follows:

> [O]n this album I always wanted to have Makaya [Ntshoko] and myself and Dudu [Pukwana] and John Tchicai, but things never worked out exactly … Makaya was not there … but having the Brazilian musicians with me, especially the guitarist, he's also a very traditional mannered person, very, you know, traditional. His mind is built into tradition, this thing, tradition, I like that. What I value from musicians a lot, whoever doesn't have that machine of tradition, that bag … to me, it's very hard to work with, [it's almost] unnatural if you don't have that, but the guitarist has more of that from his Brazilian bag, and the drummer is also … you know, impress me by listening, and that plays a role too. (Translated from Danish and cited in Rasmussen ed. 2003: 235)

While the political underpinnings of the black South African struggle against apartheid at the time involved a strategic elision of indigenous traditions – in their fragmentary connotations of ethnic diversity – Johnny Dyani's musical orientation at the same time would seem to point subversively in the opposite direction. His emphatic praise for a traditional orientation was not born spurious or shallow, or an attempt to make money. It derived from his high regard for the orality of traditional culture, and was perhaps a gut reaction to the intellectualization that had overtaken the jazz impulse, particularly in its post-bop development in both the U.S. and Europe.

A mere season away in the same year, the intimacy suggested in Witchdoctor's Son was logically extended in Dyani's other 1978 quartet project, this time involving Don Cherry (cornet), Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone) and Makaya Ntshoko (drums). In association with Mongezi Feza, Johnny Dyani, Dudu Pukwana, Louis Moholo and also Abdullah Ibrahim, the figure of Don Cherry had provided a crucial and immediate link between the remoteness of their lived African cultural heritages, and jazz's African-American origins and legacy. In this context, Mongezi Feza's spirituality and facility with the trumpet was seen to be interchangeable, echoed in as well as echoing Don Cherry's in the acknowledgement of these historically disjunctive African cultural experiences. In the same way that the formation of 'Music for Xaba' with Mongezi Feza had echoed Johnny Dyani's 1969 collaboration with Don Cherry in the trio 'Eternal Ethnic Sound' with the Turkish drummer/percussionist Okay Temiz, Don Cherry was considered perfect for the session which produced the album Song for Biko in 1978, as Dyani explained:

> [N]ow this one with Don Cherry and Dudu, that was also something I wanted to do, but with Mongezi. However, since Mongezi left us, so Don was exceptional to my mind and with Dudu together, so I thought [of] mixing them. And Dudu was very happy, because to Dudu it meant very,

> very deep oh, it meant so good to him. I could see him in the studio, and at the rehearsals, you know, just keep on top of Mongezi, how Don sounded like Mongezi … and I guess when you saw Don and the sound and everything started switching him up to Mongezi's … I guess he could see the shadow … I could see the shadow of Mongezi before Don and Dudu. So that was it and the album is supposed to be the most beautiful thing in my life, as well. I'm looking forward to another one. (Ib Skovgaard's interview with Johnny Dyani as cited in Rasmussen ed. 2003:235)

The circumstances of the death of the black-consciousness leader Steve Biko and of Mongezi Feza, both alone in a cold room, are similar, not least in their unsatisfactory medical explanation and their symptomatic indication of a gross negligence by those who are charged with and trained in the preservation of lives. The album's opening title, Johnny Dyani's *Wish You Sunshine*, resonates profoundly with this imagery of the passing – less than two years apart – of both Steve Biko of Ginsburg, not far from Johnny Dyani's birthplace of Zeleni in King Williamstown, and Mongezi Feza of Komani (Queenstown), even as Dyani said of the title's inspiration that it is 'about my people … I'm trying to keep up my people's spirits at a time when there's been so much unrest' (Chris Sheridan in *Jazz Journal International*, October 1979 cited in Song for Biko (1978) album notes). The conflation of issues of dire political contestation in *Wish You Sunshine* (Musical Excerpt 9.12) highlights Dyani's own preoccupation with events in the turbulent South African history, as epitomised in the violent June 1976 clashes between police and students in Soweto, and the equally shocking death of Steve Biko in police custody in September 1977. The repertoires that document Dyani's leadership suggest his simultaneous involvement with the social and political issues bearing on individual and group identities. The theoretical sections of my earlier discussions alluded to the narrative power of identity, particularly in its deployment by marginalised subjects in the construction of imagined communities. The isolation of individuals as an essence of exile (an accurate term to describe Johnny Dyani's Scandinavian exile), as opposed to the exile of groups or even families, presents a challenge to the concept of culture as a shared practice. Such a situation would appear to thwart culture's function as a social practice of articulating meaning, of harnessing in discourse recognised and shared symbols which could lead towards the rallying of a popular ideological consensus.

South African musicians in exile have often drawn parallels between their impressions of Johannesburg and New York. Hugh Masekela once said in an interview that 'I enjoy

Harlem 'cos it makes me feel like I'm going home ... I'm going back to the township' (Excerpt from the video Musicians In Exile, September 1990). Trombonist Jonas Gwangwa only gradually took to New York, following his shock at finding such disheartening parallels between a Harlem that he had thought was the height of sophistication and the slums he thought he had left behind in Johannesburg (Bernstein 1994:80). While Johnny Dyani was convinced that he could make a decent living and a success of his musical career in New York, he also thought that 'it would not be healthy to live there … New York is just like Johannesburg – you can't trust what is going to happen to you' (Kenneth Ansell's interview of Johnny Dyani, in Rasmussen ed. 2003:214). Johnny Dyani had a very special relationship with New York-based African-American post-bebop and avant-garde jazz musicians, in particular those who had performed at the Jazzhuis Montmatre in the mid-1960s. Among such musicians could be included Charlie Mingus, between whom and Johnny had developed a competitive but mutual admiration from about the time of Dyani's (and Louis Moholo's) return from Argentina. The guitarist Wes Montgomery had asked Johnny Dyani into his band in 1965, an invitation Dyani had refused, as he later explained 'in respect of the fact that I was doing something else in a different direction' (Kenneth Ansell's interview in Rasmussen ed. 2003:210). The happenstance of the Blue Notes in Copenhagen, Zurich and Paris in the early 1960s had facilitated their transcendence of hard bop and thereby aligned them with the most avant-garde of African-American post-bebop practitioners. As such, even though they had not spent significant time in New York, they were known there by repute and through the talk of eminent persons like John Coltrane, Milford Graves, Mingus, Max Roach, McCoy Tyner, Cecil McBee, Horace Silver, Wes Montgomery, Booker Ervin, Archie Shepp, Abdullah Ibrahim, Albert Ayler, Rosewell Rudd, Jimmy Garrison, Henry Grimes, and others who had run into them in London and Europe since the mid-1960s (Kenneth Ansell's interview for *Impetus* magazine in Rasmussen ed. 2003:210). In this lore, the symbolic musical references of a piece like Johnny Dyani's *Johannesburg-New York* (Musical Excerpt 9.13) bear individual, social and historical relevance to both imagined and lived experiences. The blues form of the piece is unusual, not only in its syncopated 6/8 rhythmic basis, but also in its closing V7 harmonic strophe within a 5/4 meter. The underlying harmony in the bass is in the form of an ostinato figure, a favourite

device of Dyani's. It has been noted that '… prominent in Dyani's playing [is] repetition … Johnny Dyani might well be dubbed an ostinato magician for his ingenuity in inventing melodically striking and rhythmically driving repetitive figures' (Wilson 2003:168).

9.2 'Triple consciousness' and Johnny Dyani's interpretation of a 'folk' music tradition

Johnny Dyani's musical career in exile was particularly remarkable for his rapid ascent, as a bass player and composer, in the highly competitive stakes of post-bebop avant-garde jazz practice. Such an achievement points not only to Dyani's singularly assertive and unique approach to the instrument, but also illustrates an increasing global participation in the elaboration of jazz-influenced musical practices. In a jazz tradition whose global popularity had increasingly hinged on formal pedagogical processes, Johnny Dyani's approach was radical in its conscious grounding in practice on the oral traditions of African musical performance. In an essay discussing Johnny Dyani's music, Peter Niklas Wilson identified the distinguishing elements of the South African bassist's approach to musical performance and composition as being a vocal conception of bass playing, a musical relationship to oral tradition, and multiculturalism in African-oriented musical performance (Rasmussen ed. 2003:163). These identifying traits of Johnny Dyani's mature compositional and performance organisational style – and his experiential growth and assimilation of influences in exile – are more illuminating when accounted for (by the bassist himself) as being embedded in his earliest musical experiences in South Africa. As already mentioned in the preceding chapters, Dyani's bass playing issued from a juvenile professional debut as a singer within the Eastern Cape's urban musical performance tradition of piano-backed vocal groups. In such a prevalence of choral practices, the ability to play a musical instrument was relatively rare and invaluable in a context where formal instrumental tuition barely existed. In a revealing interview in the early 1980s Dyani conveyed this process, when asked if the bass had been his first instrument, by saying that:

> No, I started with the piano. I finally began playing the bass because the choir singing interested me. I don't mean the European choir but the tribal singing, these choirs with deep voices. The bass

> player who gave me the first lessons was very aware of that. He advised me to listen to the deep voices. (Solothurnmann 1984:44)

The recurring themes and musical vocabulary of *mbaqanga* harmonic progressions (which Dyani and other Blue Notes members in exile often referred to as *kwela*) that are readily recognisable in Dyani's repertoires may be attributed to a musical grounding in a popular syncretism of most South African choral music. In Chapter 4 I have discussed some of the processes whereby a protracted musical hybridity was constructed as indigeneity, particularly among successive generations of educated, Christianised and urban African cultural subjects. Dyani's own understanding of the African 'folk' basis for his conception of the bass appears to emanate from a popular understanding of an entrenched syncretism that ultimately was shaped by a European classical tradition, as he explained, for example, his relationship with *isicathamiya*:

> For instance, there is a choir called [Ladysmith] Black Mambazo. They fascinate me because they sing everything with Zulu lyrics. On the first hearing you will say that it's Western. But it's much more. They use more than western chords. This is pure African singing and cannot be written down in notes. Those people don't sing from notes and I wish sometimes I could go there and see how they rehearse. (Solothurnmann 1984:45)

Dyani was conveying entrenched popular conceptions of an indigenous choral tradition which in South Africa, however, had been historically moulded by a dominance of Western musical and cultural influence since the early part of the nineteenth century. The derivation of Dyani's harmonic conception for the bass, from an indigenised musical heterogeneity, may be understood from his stated conclusions regarding the oral and 'folk' essence of *isicathamiya*, when he said:

> Oh yes, it has been for a long time! Actually the vocal music is the main influence for everything. They love singing alone and in choirs and with drums. You cannot play music without knowing how to sing. The voice comes first. For instance, when I was playing with singers they told me not to play the bass notes but a deep vocal part. This was very strange at the beginning (Solothurnmann 1984:45).

Dyani's earliest documented foray into the resource of a South African popular musicality may be heard in one of his compositions included in 'Music for Xaba's' Rejoice (1972) album, namely *Pukwana* (Musical Excerpt 9.14). The composition was later renamed *Ithi Gqi!* or *Appear,* and included in several subsequent recordings by Johnny Dyani's ensembles and others involving members of the Blue

Notes. Among such albums are the Blue Notes' Blue Notes In Concert (1977) [Musical Excerpt 3.5], Johnny M. Dyani's African Bass (1979) with Clifford Jarvis, Louis Moholo Octet's Spirits Rejoice (1977) [Musical Excerpt 3.3], Johnny Dyani's Afrika (1983) [Musical Excerpt 3.7], Blue Notes for Johnny (1987) and the Dedication Orchestra's Spirits Rejoice (1992) [Musical Excerpt 3.6]. In addition to recording two albums with his own ensembles in 1978 – Witchdoctor's Son and Song for Biko – Johnny Dyani appeared at the Willisau Jazz Festival in saxophonist David Murray's trio (which also included Andrew Cyrille on percussion). Recorded live, the 1978 Willisau Festival appearance was released in two volumes entitled 3D Family produced by Pia and Werner X. Uehlinger.

The year 1979, however, may be considered among the most fruitful in Dyani's career, with the recording of no less than eight albums in which he collaborated with an assortment of musicians. Rasmussen (2003) has provided a discography documenting these projects, whose outcomes include the following albums:

1. Joe Bonner Trio's Parade (1979) with Joe Bonner (piano), Johnny Dyani (bass) and Billy Higgins (drums).
2. An untitled album, recorded in Brussels, with Johnny Dyani (electric piano, piano and bass), Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone and electric piano) and Chris McGregor (piano and flute).
3. Echoes of Africa (1979) with Abdullah Ibrahim (piano, vocals) and Johnny Dyani (bass and vocals).
4. A collaboration with Noah Howard's ensemble on one track – Message to South Africa – of a two title album Patterns/Message to South Africa (1979). Besides Noah Howard (alto saxophone, bells and vocals) and Johnny Dyani (bass and vocals), other musicians involved in this recording were Kali Fasteau (sheng and vocals), Chris McGregor (piano) and Noel McGee (drums).
5. A duo album African Bass (1979) with Johnny Dyani (bass, piano and vocal) and Clifford Jarvis (drums and vocal).
6. Walter Davis Company's Blues Walk (1979) with Walter Davis, Jr. (piano), Roy Burrowes (trumpet), Johnny Dyani (bass) and Clifford Jarvis (drums).

7. Joseph Jarman and Don Moye's album Black Paladins (1979) featuring Johnny Dyani (bass, piano, tambourine, vocals), Famodou Don Moye (drums, donno, chèkèrè, conch shell, tumba conga, rattle, bender, whistles, trap drums, bird calls) and Joseph Jarman (sopranino, tenor and baritone saxophones, conch shell horn, flute, bass bamboo flute, frog flute, bass clarinet, voice).
8. Witchdoctor's Son second album Together (1987), recorded in Stockholm's Sound City Studios over the period of December 1979 and January 1980, included Johnny Dyani (keyboards, vocal), Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone and whistles), Virimuje Willie Mbuende (electric bass), Peter 'Shimmy' Radise (tenor saxophone), Kenny Håkkansson (electric guitars), Felix Perrera (South American harp), Hassan Bah (congas) and Bosse Skoglund (drums).

Significant South African repertoires documented in these albums include original compositions such as Abdullah Ibrahim's *Kippie,* Johnny Dyani's *Song for Moyake*, *Family Song Children of the Spring, Song for Dick Khoza, Kalahari*; Chris McGregor's *Between Knysna and Langa,* Mackay Davashe's *Lakutshon'ilanga* and Dudu Pukwana's *P.E. Special* (Unissued 'Untitled' album). *Lakutshon'ilanga* was also included in Echoes of Africa (1979) among titles such as *Namhlanje* (listed in the album as a traditional Xhosa song), Zikr (an Islamic prayer) and Ibrahim's *Saud*. Both albums celebrate the exiled musicians' relationship with the South African homeland, its places, indigenous people (the Xhosa and the Kgalakgadi), mentoring figures of a black South African jazz-influenced tradition such as Nick Moyake, Kippie Moeketsi, Dick Khoza and Mackay Davashe, as well affirmations of faith – in the case of Abdullah Ibrahim – in Islamic religion. These group expressions of shared elements of identity were to be elaborated on a personal level by Johnny Dyani in African Bass, a 1979 duo recording with Clifford Jarvis. The album's African thematic basis was emphasised in the titling of both the traditional and original compositions included in it. Johnny Dyani's most significant programming in this orientation is evident in compositions such as *Afrikan Anthem*, *Afrikan Blues* and *South Afrikan.*

Afrikan Anthem was comprised of three movements, namely Enoch Sontonga's *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrica,* the Manhattan Brothers' *Jabula,* and *Abalimanga*, a popular traditional South African song. *South Afrikan* was further comprised of four movements named *Makhulu Siphi Isidudu, Bayeza Kusasa, Nazo Iinto Zeelali* and *Ingoma Enkulu kaNtsikana* (Ntsikana's Great Hymn). Both *Bayeza Kusasa* and *Makhulu Siphi Isidudu* were traditional Xhosa songs while *Nazo Iinto Zeelali* was attributed to The Bright Five, one of the pioneering Eastern Cape vocal jazz groups. The song *Nazo Iinto Zeelali* had also been included in the 1973 duo album, Dollar Brand/Johnny Dyani's Good News from Africa. In the album were significantly juxtaposed the earliest repertoires of a black South African religious syncretism such as John Knox Bokwe's *Intsimbi kaNtsikana (Ntsikana's Bell)* with Brand's musical interpretations of Islamic ritual prayer texts such as *Adhan* and *Allah-O-Akbar*. Dollar Brand's adoption of the Islamic faith was further reflected in the album's original repertoires such as *The Pilgrim* and *Moniebah* (Musical Excerpt 9.15 and Musical Excerpt 9.16), whose musical inspiration arguably took off from the *a cappella* recitals of the *muezzin*'s call to Muslim prayer.

In its explorations of African indigeneity, Good News from Africa also included original compositions of Ibrahim's such as *Swazi* and *Khoisan*, the ancestral names of a large swathe of a contemporary black South Africans. Finally, the same album contains *Msunduza*, also by Abdullah Ibrahim, the title of which refers to an area of Edendale bordering the river Msunduzi (the 'Dusi), the epicentre of nineteenth century Nguni-Zulu Christianity and the origins of the pioneering Zulu Choir as well as the birthplace of Reuben Caluza (Erlmann 1991; 1996). Interviewed in the new millennium, Abdullah Ibrahim explained the ideological orientation of his early 1970s collaboration with Johnny Dyani in exile:

> That really opened up a whole lot of stuff because we could delve into the traditional sounds … [a]nd then of course the idea of vocalizing the songs like *Ntsikana's Bell.* In a sense it was not only playing the music, but reaffirming history. We were actually sort of consolidating our background experience, our history … [a]nd we found out that it was valid. (Abdullah Ibrahim, quoted in Rasmussen ed. 2003:79)

The development in exile from an orientation wherein 'South African [jazz-influenced] musicians didn't want to play traditional music' was, however, a culmination of Abdullah Ibrahim's own radical approach, which he contextualised as follows:

> Way back in the early fifties I had performed with the Tuxedo Slickers and with Don Tshomela and Irene Batchelor in this vocal group The Streamline Brothers … and later The Woodchoppers with Frank Sithole. There we were into the tradition. And later I played with dance bands that played traditional Cape Town stuff, like tunes from the carnival … but the jazz musicians didn't want to play it. Maybe they thought it was under their dignity, I don't know. It was a class thing. But we understood the validity of it. We understood the other genres, like jazz music, but we found out that our own material was valid. So it was not just playing the music but the confirmation of our own experience, not our individual experience but our national, African experience. Johnny was one of the first to endorse this music and say 'Let's do it,' without being ashamed over this non-sophisticated folkloristic material that dealt with a part of our society that was supposed to be dead! (Abdullah Ibrahim, quoted in Rasmussen ed. 2003:79)

An extension of this understanding is confirmed in Dyani's own ensembles, and in the 1979 recording African Bass, where a national identity, as connoted by historical repertoires of an African heterogeneous experience, was juxtaposed with that of the individual. *Lonely Flowers* is another name for the composition *Kalahari*, otherwise Kgalakgadi, the name by which the San people call themselves. Even though the tune's original title of *Lonely Flower in the Village* was later used for a different composition (Rasmussen ed. 2003:301), it was included in the 1978 Johnny Dyani Quartet's recording, Song for Biko. Other individually referenced compositions by Johnny Dyani in African Bass are *The Robben Irland Struff* and *Ithi Gqi*, with the former's title also known in other recordings as *Grannie's Teachings* or *Grandmother's Teachings* (Musical Excerpt 9.17). A 1982 recording under the name Johnny M. Mbizo which bore the title of Grandmother's Teachings also included original compositions such as *Blues for Bra Dick, Open Ballad to Mandela, I Will Let the Spring Explain, Majika [Si] Bhekane* and a hymn *[Li] Zalis' Idinga* composed by the Rev. Tiyo Soga[48]. In the 1850s Tiyo Soga, the first African to be ordained as a Presbyterian minister in South Africa and a graduate of Lovedale who had also been educated in Scotland, had composed Xhosa Christian hymns employing Scottish church melodies (Coplan 1985:30). As has been discussed in the opening chapters, Soga was part of an influential mission leadership that had, towards the end of the nineteenth century, 'beg[un] to question the wisdom of abandoning the heritage they shared with all Africans in favour of a poorly integrated Westernism whose benefits were doubtful in the context of South African racialism' (Coplan 1985:30).

[48] The hymn appears as Hymn No. 116 on page 95 of the Xhosa Wesleyan Methodist hymn and prayer book – *Incwadi Yombedesho Kunye nama Culo Emiselwe Ibandla LamaWesile ase* South Africa, published in 1926 by The Methodist Book Depot and Publishing House, in Cape Town.

In the early 1980s, Johnny Dyani's personal projects appear to have been grounded in this traversal of historical, shared and individual realms of social performance experience. These impressions are substantiated in the programming of 'Witchdoctor's Son's' Together, an album recorded by Dyani 1979/1980 with multi-ethnic personnel including Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone and whistles), Virimuje Willie Mbuende (electric bass), Peter 'Shimmy' Radise (tenor saxophone), Kenny Håkkansson (electric guitars), Felix Perrera (South American harp), Hassan Bah (congas) and Bosse Skoglund (drums). Of the album's seven titles, three refer directly to issues of a South African popular musical experience (*Tula Tula, Johnny's Kwela,* and *Marabi Soweto*), two *(Crossroads* and *Marabi Soweto)* concern localities of a contested historical siting of African urban existence, while *Kalahari* (Kgalakgadi) evoked the discursive marginality of the San, an indigenous Southern African ethnic minority. While most of the tracks from the Johnny Dyani Quartet's 1981 album, Mbizo, remain unissued, a similar regard persists in its programming. In the album's original issue of only four tracks by producer Nils Winther's Steeplechase label in 1982 was included Dudu Pukwana's *Dorkay House* (Musical Excerpt 2.7) and Dyani's own *House Arrest, Musician's Musician* and *Dedicated to Mingus*. While the titles included bear significant references to group social relationships *(Dorkay House),* apartheid coercion *(House Arrest),* and celebrations of individual musical relationships *Musician's Musician (Dedicated to Mingus),* it was, however, in the titles omitted from Mbizo (1982) that Dyani's assertive ideological approach was stamped. From the album were left out *Witchdoctor's Son* – a composition originally recorded by 'Music for Xaba' (Music for Xaba Vol. 2 [1972]) and after which Dyani subsequently named one his ensembles; *Eyomzi*, *A Ballad for Nuse,* dedicated to Johnny's older cousin, and *Heart With Minnah's Face* – compositions whose deep symbolism straddles both diasporic, social and birthright discourses describing Dyani's ideological musical orientation in exile. Also left out were *Appear (Ithi Gqi* or *Pukwana)* and *Blues for Bra Dick,* the former being a virtual anthem to the Blue Notes' musical brotherhood in exile and the latter celebrating drummer Dick Khoza's mentorship[49] in

[49] In an interview published in the British music magazine *Impetus*, vol. 7-8, 1978 and included in Rasmussen ed. 2003:209, Johnny Dyani told Keith Ansell the following:

> Then I got involved in playing with the big bands. They were playing Tuxedo Junction and all the Ellington things, all the standards. Then along came Mongezi [Feza], he was in a band with

jazz performance back in East London, South Africa. Among diverse repertoires recorded by the Blue Notes in exile – whether original or taken from among the vast resources of indigenous or popular South African music – *Pukwana (Ithi Gqi* or *Appear)* became a recurring item in a celebration of the band's rootedness in a deep and protracted popular musical syncretism.

In Chapter 3 was observed a melodic similarity between Johnny Dyani's *Ithi Gqi* and Reuben Caluza's influential composition *Si lu Sapo or iLand Act* (Musical Transcription 3). Musical Transcription 14 illustrates this relationship by showing the opening phrase of Reuben Caluza's *Si lu Sapo or iLand Act* in its original four-part SATB arrangement for choir, juxtaposed with the bass-line of Johnny Dyani's *Ithi Gqi! (Appear* or *Pukwana)* as transcribed from the album Afrika 1983. With the exception of bars 4 to 7 in Musical Transcription 9.14 – which I have included solely to match the head arrangement structure in Johnny Dyani's *Ithi Gqi (Appear* or *Pukwana)* – the harmonic and rhythmic consonances between the two compositions are worth remarking on. The influence on the exiled Blue Notes of compositions such as Caluza's *Si lu Sapo,* and particularly Johnny Dyani's recordings of nationally recognizable repertoires such as John Knox Bokwe's *Insimbi ka Ntsikana (Ntsikana's Bell)* (with Dollar Brand in Good News From Africa (1973) or Enoch Sontonga's *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrica* and *Insimbi ka Ntsikana (Ntsikana's Bell)* in African Bass (1979) affirms their historical position in black South African musical performance culture. Furthermore, in their orality in transmission and a contemporary indigenous construction, these repertoires (even as they were products of a heterogeneous cultural history) represented a layered mediation of a triple-consciousness. Amidst a spate of collaborative projects with various groups and individual musicians, the years between 1983 and 1985 saw Johnny Dyani record three albums, Afrika (1983), Born Under the Heat (1984) and Angolian Cry (1985). Comprised solely of Dyani's compositions, the albums demonstrate a programmatic consistency in including pieces almost exclusively referenced in both historical and contemporary South African social and political experiences. A noticeable development in these albums was Dyani's

---

drummer Dick Khoza. It was the drummer's band and he was a Max Roach kind of a drummer. They already had a bass player so they didn't need me for that, and everybody knew me as a singer. One day the bass player happened to be out somewhere and Dick Khoza said, "Play!"

direct response in his compositions to topical issues documenting the escalating violence of the South African political landscape in the 1980s, in the titles such as *Blame It on the Boers* and *Pretoria Three* (Afrika); *Winnie Mandela, Lament for Crossroads, The Boys From Somafco, Namibia, Song for the Workers* and *Let My People Have Some Freedom* (Born Under the Heat); *Angolian Cry* and *U.D.F.* (Angolian Cry). As in other previous recordings the repertoires in the last three albums included dedications to significant figures in Dyani's nurturing musical experiences – Dudu Pukwana (*Appear* and *Funk Dem Dudu* in Afrika); Kippie Moeketsi and Abdullah Ibrahim (*Kippieology* and *Dedicated Abdullah Ibrahim* in Afrika); Tete Mbambisa and Charlie Mingus (*Portrait of Tete Mbambisa* and *Musician's Musician* in Born Under the Heat)*;* and Nick Moyake and Jonas Gwangwa (*Blues for Moyake* and *Portrait of Mosa Gwangwa* in Angolian Cry).

Within the purview of a post-bebop African-American consciousness that sought to empower jazz with concrete African experiences, Dyani's orientation potentially advanced this cause by infusing into jazz, elements of broader African-American, and thereby African, historical cultural experiences. In asserting the orality of African musical performance socialisation within the cutting-edge post-modernity of avant-garde jazz and free-improvisation, the members of the Blue Notes contested a disjunctive abstraction of African musical performance. Despite their level of alienation as urban, school-going and Christianised African cultural subjects, the Blue Notes demonstrated a heightened regard for historical cultural continuities with their African indigenous heritage.

CHAPTER 10

The South African 'Blue Notes': Music and Death in exile

As indicated in previous discussions, the Blue Notes were never consistently constituted as a cohesive formation after their departure from South Africa in 1964. However, their separation – evident in their individual musical pursuits – also facilitated a seminal influence through collaborations spanning their long exile from apartheid. Among many recordings in which they participated during this period, only a handful bear their name – and only three of these have up to now been commercially available – namely Blue Notes for Mongezi (1976), Blue Notes in Concert Volume 1 (1977) and Blue Notes for Johnny (1987). The end of apartheid in the early 1990s saw several albums being issued under the name 'Blue Notes,' which, however, were recordings from the band's pre-exile period that had been done in South Africa prior to their departure for the Antibes Juan-les-Pins Jazz Festival in 1964. Three recordings have appeared in this context: The Blue Notes Legacy – Live In South Afrika 1964 (1995), Township Bop (2002) and Shook Up, an unissued test pressing from a live performance recorded in Cape Town's Rondebosch Hall in June 1964 (Rasmussen ed. 2003:279). This list represents a meagre output for a group whose members were involved in countless recordings during a period of nearly thirty years. In view of the Blue Notes' protracted exile and involvement in diverse musical projects, the three albums documenting their occasional regrouping occupy a special place among all of their repertoires.

In contrast to discussions focusing on the individual trajectories of musical development in exile, these Blue Notes' albums arguably draw attention to a collective representation, through musical repertoires, of the group's identity. Although largely downplayed in celebratory media reportage, tensions that were to characterise the Blue Notes' existence appeared at an early stage of their exile. In their impingement on the group's tenuous personnel structure and musical performance identity, such tensions may be understood in part to have begun with the disillusionment and subsequent return home to South Africa in 1965 of the mentoring figure of saxophonist Nick Moyake. The Blue Notes'

London debut at Ronnie Scott's Old Place in the same year was to remain an unforgettable event to all who had witnessed it, especially the British musicians who were profoundly influenced as a result of the band's arrival. The tremendous impact of their arrival was soon dampened by a lethargic London jazz scene, in which only a handful of musicians appeared prepared to explore the jazz influence beyond the dominance of its mainstream approaches. The virtual dissolution of the Blue Notes – in the form that they were consolidated in on their departure from South Africa – resulted from UK immigration red-tape and their difficulty in finding engagements as performing musicians, among other factors. The Blue Notes' pioneering position in the avant-garde jazz idiom that was widely reported in the British music press of the late 1960s was achieved largely through smaller alliances made by individual members, and individual energies that were secondary to the collective force of the original formation. Irregular work opportunities and individual adaptive capacities opened the Blue Notes up for assimilation into alliances and projects that were ultimately undermining of the group's structural coherence. The beginnings of the process of fragmentation, prior to any formal documentation of the Blue Notes' repertoires by way of recording, also denied the group the opportunity to adapt to the London scene as a unit. It is also possible that rapid stylistic changes, resulting from encounters with influential elements of a British, American and European avant-garde jazz and the free-improvisation movement, exerted considerable pressure on the Blue Notes' ideological unity. Another view of the process of their fragmentation would see their tragic, individual adaptation as echoing the essential bricolage of avant-garde performance practice. Furthermore, the relatively liberal social environment of the UK and Europe may have weakened their resilient oppositional stance against apartheid, which was one source of the multiracial group's cohesion. Having virtually ceased to exist from the end of 1965 (Jordan 1987:6 and Rasmussen ed. 2003:160), the Blue Notes' break-up saw Johnny Dyani and Louis Moholo being poached away by Steve Lacy for all of 1966 and the best part of 1967. On their return from their distressing experiences in Buenos Aires, Dyani and Moholo rejoined the other members of the group, who had themselves made big strides to being among the top free-jazz practitioners in the London jazz world of the late 1960s. The resurgent synergies of this early reunion – to which had been added the abilities of the

Cape Town saxophonist Ronnie Beer, who virtually replaced Nick Moyake – were documented in the recording Very Urgent by the Chris McGregor Group in late 1967, an event of which the music critic Danny Halperin wrote as follows in 1968:

> From their coming together in South Africa and through subsequent travels, tribulations and separations the Chris McGregor Group has tried, not always successfully, to begin to arrive at the point where six musicians can hope to start to translate what they have absorbed and are absorbing into a part of what they play. These are a few of their moments together. (Danny Halperin's original album review, cited in the sleeve notes of Very Urgent [2008])

10.1 The Chris McGregor Group's Very Urgent (1968): reasserting group identity and assimilating the free-jazz influence

In Chapter 7 I broached some of the ways in which musical repertoires included in the album Very Urgent were re-establishing ideological convergences among the estranged members of the Blue Notes in exile. The attribution of the album to the Chris McGregor Group – rather than the Blue Notes – highlighted Chris McGregor's position of conceptual leadership in both organisational and repertorial contexts. Out of the six titles recorded, four were by McGregor, one from Dudu Pukwana's pre-exile Blue Notes' book, while one – *Don't Stir the Beehive* – was listed as an adaptation of a traditional song, even though no original title was supplied in any of the indigenous South African languages. McGregor's position was further emphasised in the proprietary name of the formation (The Chris McGregor Group), largely as a result of his role in negotiations that had prepared for the recording session. The album had grown out of an understanding that had developed between Chris McGregor and Joe Boyd, the owner of Witchseason Productions and the erstwhile manager of the several small-group permutations of McGregor's big band (McGregor 1994:113). Despite the fact that the sextet, in their distinctive command of a new language of avant-garde jazz, had already garnered considerable respect from critics and fellow musicians, none of them at that stage – with the exception of Chris – were putting out individually written pieces for group performance. Dudu Pukwana, the most prolific composer of the Blue Notes' hardbop repertoires, had since 1967 been concentrating on fusing the *marabi*-based traditions of *kwela* with indigenous Xhosa sensibilities in his bands Spear and Assegai. As musical documents from this period have shown, the inclusion of the accomplished fellow Blue

Notes' avant-garde jazz exponents (as well as the Cape Town bassist Harry Miller) in Pukwana's *kwela* bands, however, had not swung his compositional approaches to free-jazz.

The breakthrough that seems to be represented by the recording of Very Urgent, the first recording of the Blue Notes – more than three years since their departure from South Africa – was short-lived. The band's inability to record may have been partly as a result of their engaging in the musical idiom of a small, subcultural avant-garde which had no pretensions to popularity and was scarcely marketable. The abstract nature of the free-jazz movement as assimilated in the Blue Notes' interpretations appealed, however, to speculative entrepreneurial interests as perhaps represented in Joe Boyd's directorship of a thriving psychedelic club, the U.F.O. Boyd later explained the context of his role in initiating the production of Very Urgent – after being 'overwhelmed' by a Blue Notes' performance at Ronnie Scott's Old Place – as follows:

> [A]nd then of course I got involved in the psychedelic scene, and so suddenly to walk down those stairs and hear jazz that was completely original and fresh, full of this kind of energy, was like, it brought me back to a point I'd drifted away from. So suddenly I started going down there semi-regularly. I invited them to play at U.F.O. (my psychedelic club), and then I started asking Chris about his professional life and was horrified to hear that nothing was happening and there were no records out or much work. I took it upon myself to get them a deal with Polygram and did so, and the budget for one record. (McGregor 1994:114)

From another point of view, the Blue Notes' dissolution could have taken place precisely because of the creative energies unleashed as a result of their involvement with free-jazz, and the self-definition in the context of resistance demanded by their South African subjective experiences. Each member appears to have been attracted individually to alliances and collaborations in which they sensed close resonances in terms of individual musical inclinations. Also, in their uptake of the free-jazz influence each member of the Blue Notes had a rather different orientation with regard to the genre's performance practice. Events following the recording of Very Urgent appear to have exacerbated the Blue Notes' divergent career paths, particularly from 1969. In that year Dudu Pukwana formed Spear, the first of his bands abroad to be conceptually oriented to the South African popular *kwela* music style and Pukwana's interpretation of indigenous Xhosa musical elements. In the same year Spear recorded an album, Dudu Pukwana and Spear,

comprising Pukwana's original compositions that bore titles in the Nguni dialects of isiXhosa and isiZulu (Chapter 8:19). Also in 1969 Pukwana briefly toured South Africa with Spear, and headed for the U.S. to pursue collaboration with Hugh Masekela and Jonas Gwangwa, the outcome of which was Gwangwa's scarcely-known 1969 album Who Ngubani? (Fowler n.d.). Dudu Pukwana's involvement with rehearsals, performance and subsequent recording sessions – as a part of the personnel for a musical production of Chris McGregor's film score of Wole Soyinka's play *Kongi's Harvest* – all point to a frenetic year of diverse musical engagements. The same could be said of Johnny Dyani, who had, since his return from Buenos Aires – besides being part of Chris McGregor's sextet – been performing alongside prominent figures such as his idol, mentor and nemesis Charlie Mingus as well as the multi-instrumentalist Rahsaan Roland Kirk, among others. Other musicians and formations which Dyani was actively associated with in London during this period were Leo Smith, Evan Parker, Derek Bailey, John Stevens, Mike Westbrook, Dudu Pukwana's Spear and the first version of Chris McGregor's Brotherhood of Breath, which also included Harry Miller (Rasmussen ed. 2003:18). From 1969 Dyani's activities included performing with Don Cherry, moving to Sweden and establishing a trio called Eternal Ethnic Sound with the Turkish percussionist Okay Temiz, an artist-residency at Dartmouth College together with Cherry and Temiz, and jamming with the saxophonists Archie Shepp and Gato Barbieri, among others (Rasmussen ed. 2003:18). Between the years 1969 and 1972, while engaged in a musical career that involved commuting between Scandinavia and London, and recording and performing in Paris and Baden-Baden, Dyani also led a quartet which included Mongezi Feza, pianist Peter Lemer and the South African drummer Churchill Jolobe, while also maintaining a competitive relationship with other leading bassists such as Harry Miller, Dave Holland, Barre Phillips and Charles Mingus. The Scandinavian biographer Lars Rasmussen records this period as also involving Dyani's membership of the Musician's Co-Op(erative), Earthquake and Power Call ensembles, and as having composed and performed a suite.

From the late 1960s into the 1970s Chris McGregor's creative energies were split between several projects, including the leadership of a septet comprised of Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone), Mongezi Feza (trumpet), Louis Moholo (drums), John Surman (baritone saxophone and bass clarinet), Evan Parker (tenor saxophone) and Barre Phillips or Danny Thompson on bass; and a trio with Louis Moholo and Barre Phillips. Besides the challenge of keeping the Blue Notes together during this period, Chris McGregor became engaged in re-launching his big band, which was to be known as the Brotherhood of Breath. The insertion of the Blue Notes into a big band involving non-South African musicians may have diluted the special bonds of a shared musical socialisation that had kept the band together. Despite their celebrated presence in the UK, the Blue Notes had always been acutely aware of their marginal position within the established social relations of their British hosts. Such awareness had brought out in them remarkable levels of resistance and a reluctant tolerance towards certain ostracism beneath a veneer of their acceptance. In the context of Nick Moyake's rather mutinous behaviour in Zurich and what might have fuelled his alienation as early as 1965, Maxine McGregor pointed out that:

> On top of [many difficulties] there was a great cultural pressure on the musicians; Zurich being a town of outward glitter but repressed emotions, to the South Africans the seeming coldness and self-centredness of most people they came across made them feel isolated and homesick. I got a feeling that one could have been bleeding to death on the pavement and people would have just carefully walked around you to avoid dirtying their boots. (McGregor 1994:80)

Of the Blue Notes' turbulent relationship with the British social situation, their one-time manager and Very Urgent producer, Joe Boyd, later wrote that '[t]he desperate sorrow of being such a long way from home manifested itself in behaviour that made things harder: they drank, they were late, they shouted at promoters ... [i]n the polite British scene, impatience and intemperance were not rewarded (Richard Williams 2008, writing in the Very Urgent sleeve notes). Elsewhere Boyd reiterated his experiences of working with the Blue Notes in the late 1960s as follows:

> We were trying to book the group and keep them together … To a certain degree it was the studio life I remember more vividly and warmly. The live, gigging side is something I've almost blocked out because it was such a disappointment and a frustration – I failed in a way. I mean it's true that the group did make life difficult for those of us who wanted to work with them. But it was a vicious circle. (McGregor 1994:114)

It was Maxine McGregor, however, who summed up the ideological musical entanglements at the root of the Blue Notes' drifting apart at the beginning of the 1970s. According to Maxine, Johnny's departure for Scandinavia ensued from his conviction that 'émigré South African musicians were led astray by the American avant-garde, and were in danger of losing their own musical language' (1994:116). The view was perhaps best conveyed by Johnny Dyani in a retrospective assessment of his membership of the Steve Lacy Quartet, when he stated that: 'I thought this thing was interesting but in the end I found myself wondering … I realised I'd heard it all before in South Africa and played it, too. There was nothing new in what Lacy was doing' (Peter Niklas Wilson's essay 'Call and Response – Johnny Dyani: an African Musician in Europe' in Rasmussen ed. 2003:164). The fact that their divergent musical pursuits – particularly the other Blue Notes members' sustained involvement with free-jazz – was a major cause of the Blue Notes' dissolution is confirmed in Dyani's oft-quoted statement from 1970, that: 'Chris McGregor's musicians are not doing what they were talking about in South Africa; they are losing their way and letting themselves be influenced by Americans and that's why I find it difficult to play with them' (*The Wire* 1985; McGregor 1994:184; Rasmussen ed. 2003:164).

While personal relationships between members of the Blue Notes in exile were characteristically tumultuous (there are many incidents reported of on-stage shouting and fighting), it would appear that such disagreements were expressive of strong individual convictions regarding style and the possible trajectories musical development could – or should – have taken. There is sufficient evidence to suggest that disagreements emanated from individual interpretations of a shared socialisation in African musical performance culture and an ideological identification with the politics of a broader South African liberation struggle at home and in exile. This observation is supported by the Blue Notes' individual musical pursuits in their nuanced, symbolic construction of ideological continuity with African – and specifically South African – cultural performance. Louis Moholo's sustained involvement and accomplishment as a free-jazz and avant-garde free-improviser ensued from an irrepressible will to be free, not only from apartheid and its categorisation of blacks for marginalisation, but also because, as he put it to Richard

Scott in 1991: 'I was away from South Africa and away from the chains … I just wanted to be free, even in music … [f]ree to shake away all the slavery, anything to do with slavery, being boxed into places – one, two, three, four – and being told you must come in at four' (Richard Scott's in *The Wire*, March 1991 [85]:36, McGregor 1994:116 and Titlestad 2004:140). Moholo was conscious of the choice he had made, in its ideological and political resonance with the freedom he desired for himself, and for the oppressed black people of South Africa, as he told Richard Scott:

> Free music is *it* man, it's so beautiful. The word 'free' makes sense to me. I know that's what I want; freedom, let my people go. *Let my people go!* And that's interlinking with politics, they embrace each other. It's a cry from the inside, no inhibitions … And the colours are so beautiful, there's a cry, there's joy, a joyful noise, there's sadness, there's rain, there's winter, there's love … that's why it's beautiful. (*The Wire*, March 1991:36)

Dudu Pukwana drew a certain distinction between involvement in free-jazz and his own pursuits, fusing *mbaqanga* and indigenous Xhosa music elements in his ensembles Spear, Assegai, Jabula-Spear and Zila. In his musical pursuits, Pukwana appears to have been challenged to maintain a contemporary context and discursivity for his South African popular and indigenous musical roots. In Chapter 8 considerable attention was devoted to the musical implications of Pukwana's theoretical manipulations of elements of Xhosa vocal polyphony and indigenous bow music.

Chris McGregor's interpretations of the pertinence of African musical performance culture – the participatory egalitarianism and shared responsibility of which became his rallying musical philosophy – inspired his leadership of the legendary big band, the Brotherhood of Breath, which he modelled on the idea of an African village. As an Africanisation of both Duke Ellington's and Charles Mingus' big band approaches as well as a globalisation of the collective essence of African cultural performance, the African village concept was unpacked by McGregor on several occasions. In a 1984 interview with Charles de Ledesma he explained the African elements in the Brotherhood of Breath as follows:

> In the West people talk about jazz as if improvisation is the cardinal thing, as if jazz equals improvisation. But for me that begs too many questions. I have this strong imaginative reference to African village music and the thing I know about that music is that it has a strong centre. It builds up, a lot of people do things together that they *know*. What is that? It's not a composition but it's in the culture of the people – they know the moves. Yet it's not all pre-arranged, you have

> people interpreting the moves in their own way, though those individual flights will always come clearly from the feeling of the moves that have been established. (De Ledesma 1985:26)

The revival of Chris McGregor's earlier big band attempts, now renamed the Brotherhood of Breath, flourished following his brief visit to rural former-Transkei, an inspirational experience that affirmed for him the correctness of his interpretation of African musical roots. Chris McGregor later related the impressions left by this sojourn on his musical orientation to Roger Cotterel, saying that: '[t]he old Bantu culture is very strong ... [e]verybody likes music, it's that kind of scene ... [i]n religious rituals and events that bring people together there is always music' (Cotterrell 1977:46). It could be that in building on these ideals while conceiving the musical essence of the Blue Notes, Chris McGregor might have overestimated the extent to which his vision was shared by the undoubtedly highly urbanised black members of the band. In sum, there was no shared negotiation by the individual Blue Notes members of the bearing of their Africanness on an evolving global conception of jazz-influenced musical practice.

While the responses of Dudu Pukwana, Chris McGregor, Johnny Dyani and Louis Moholo had spurred them on towards leadership of diverse formations asserting their individual stylistic orientations, Mongezi Feza appeared relatively comfortable in his diverse roles of sidemanship. Moholo co-led an ensemble called Culture Shock in the early 1970s and, as documented in his 1978 octet album Spirits Rejoice!, he had evolved a distinctive conceptual approach in his interpretations of singularly South African repertoires. In the album were recorded – besides Moholo's original composition *Khanya Apho Ukhona* (Shine Wherever You Are) – titles by fellow Blue Notes and black South African composers like Todd Matshikiza (Wedding Hymn) and Majola (*Amaxesha Osizi* [Times of Sorrow]). In its inclusion of Evan Parker (tenor saxophone), Kenny Wheeler (trumpet), Nick Evans and Radu Malfatti (trombone), Keith Tippett (piano), Johnny Dyani and Harry Miller (bass), the multi-ethnicity of the octet that recorded these repertoires was explained as follows by Moholo:

> Musically, man, it's very nice because all the cultures overlap. Yeah! It's fantastic, I like to work that way. Nobody gets on top of each other. Everybody is from a different background, everybody has a different upbringing, a different story … but it all fits! (Moholo 1978: album notes)

Commenting on the nature of Moholo's musical performance undertakings in the notes on the album jacket, the critic Steve Lake wrote that:

> *All* of Moholo's activities have been about cultural/musical synthesis and juxtaposition, from the Blue Notes of 1962 (jazz-inspired Xhosa tribesmen jamming with a conservatory-trained pianist) via a year in Argentina with Steve Lacy (U.S.A.) and Enrico Rava (Italy) to more recent escapades with Kees Hazevoet and the Misha Mengelberg Band (Holland); Irene Schweizer and Rudiger Carl (Switzerland/Germany); Ninesense, Ark, Isipingo, the Brotherhood (of Breath), Centipede, the Tippett/Moholo duo and many more (Britain). Bands of all sizes, all races. (Steve Lake in Moholo 1978: album notes)

The maintenance of such distinctive profiles by members of the Blue Notes depended paradoxically on their increasingly fragmentary relationships, both as individuals, as well as in their membership of a constituted formation. The one member of the Blue Notes, who, despite being central in his participation in all of all the formations initiated by the others, did not himself assume a leadership position, was the trumpeter Mongezi Feza.

10.2 Blue Notes for Mongezi: death in exile and the improvisation of continuities between avant-garde and indigenous performance practices

'Kid Feza lifts the roof!' was how a jazz critic in January 1964 had reported on a performance at the University of Witwatersrand's Great Hall by a Blue Notes' line-up that included Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone), Nick Moyake (tenor saxophone), Chris McGregor (piano), Mongezi Velelo (bass) and Louis Moholo (drums). The reviewer had begun his article by asking the question 'Who let that undernourished kid on to the stage? Why didn't someone take that urchin with his toy trumpet and give him an ice-cream?' which he went on to answer by saying that: 'But the kid lined up between those jazz giants, Dudu Pukwana and Nick Moyake, and nobody chased him away … [t]his was no kid … this was Mongezi Feza, 18 years old, but already the deepest blue of Chris McGregor's Blue Notes' (Article in *Post,* 26 January 1964). In a little more than ten years, the township jazz trumpet prodigy was to die of double pneumonia in a Surrey, England hospital to which he had been admitted for depression. The shock of his sudden passing away on 14 December 1975 galvanised the estranged Blue Notes who, gathering from far-flung locations to mourn his passing, rendered a performance whose startling ritual character could not be adequately documented in a sound recording.

The performance involving Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone, whistle, percussion and vocals), Chris McGregor (piano, percussion), Louis Moholo (drums, percussion, vocals) and Johnny Dyani (bass, bell, vocals and most of the words) was originally released (with editing and cuts) by Ogun Records as a double-album, Blue Notes for Mongezi (1976).

While the reunion of the Blue Notes as a result of Mongezi Feza's death did not alter their established patterns of work, it appeared to have broken the ice and perhaps rekindled their interest in collaboration. The Blue Notes' dissolution may have expressed a level of intolerance of and disaffection with binding musical co-operation, but Mongezi Feza's death facilitated a transcendence of ideological differences that had come to typify the band's alienated group identity in exile. Narratives of relationships between diverse stylistic orientations and disparate discourses of migratory cultural experiences appear conflated in a seamless musical performance in Blue Notes for Mongezi. In narrating layered texts of conflictual historical and lived identities, the eloquence of musical performances documented in Blue Notes for Mongezi confounds writing in a manner that has been alluded to in some of the theoretical texts informing this dissertation (Rasula 1995; Erlmann 1991, 1996 and 1999). A textual construction of these documents makes it possible to 'read' them as articulated meaning, but this is in itself a process of meaning-making that is both cultural in its practice, as well as something that ensues from a discursive engagement with cultural texts. In its engagement with the production and consumption of culture, the practice of articulating meaning to cultural texts appears to be mimicked in a simultaneous constitution of musical performance as both a process and a product. The analytical framework I have adopted towards the recordings similarly juxtaposes continuities and disjunctures between processes of performance and those of production.

10.3 Death in exile and a symbolic migration of cultural musical performance space in *Blue Notes for Mongezi*

The overarching context of the recorded performance has already been mentioned: an unforeseen death instead of a premeditated pre-production of selected repertoires. In the culture of the record-making industry, this was uncharacteristic 'of the capitalistic mode[s] of production' which, according to Nicholas Garnham 'shape in determinate ways the terrain upon which cultural practices take place – the physical environment, the available material, and the symbolic resources, the time rhythms and spatial relations [and] pose the questions to which people's cultural practices are a response [and thus] set the cultural agenda' (Storey 1999:151). Ritual responses to death are diverse and most discrete in their religious and cultural specificity. Among black South Africans, ritual performances around the event of death normally involve whole communities. Family members, neighbours and the larger community mourn and celebrate the death of loved ones overtly with tears, wailing, oratory and confessionals, song and dance, as well as food and drink. Relatives far and near are told of the death and invited to visit the bereaved family and bid farewell to the beloved departed – and except perhaps for wedding celebrations and big ritual feasts, this is how far-flung kin always get to be together. In the marginal solitarity of exile it is impossible to fulfil all of the roles that native practice assigns – as part of the death ritual – according to the age-old understanding and responsibilities of age, gender and family, and social categories of cultural subjectivity. This is a cultural opportunity occasioned by the death of a single person, even a child, for the larger family and community to reconcile, to celebrate the life and bemoan the passing of the deceased.

10.4 Structural discontinuities in the performance and production contexts of Blue Notes for Mongezi

On the album jacket of the 2008 double-CD re-release of Blue Notes for Mongezi is stated that: 'this … restores previously released sections of music to their original context and contains virtually everything recorded that day.' In the album notes accompanying

both the 1976 and 2008 issues of the recording Blue Notes for Mongezi, producer and sound engineer Keith Beal provides a first hand account of the production studio conditions at the time:

> No discussions took place beforehand and nothing was said during the session, save through the music. As the musicians arrived and set up their instruments they joined in and played without a break for three and a half hours, not even stopping whilst the rolls of tape were changed. It is regrettable that we could not issue discs of the whole session, as the music had a cohesion and spectrum of emotion that was complete. (The Blue Notes 1976/2008: album notes)

As a ritual, the performance by the Blue Notes documented in Blue Notes for Mongezi was independent of the limitations imposed by technology and protocols of a capitalistic mode of music production. Most significant in this respect is the fact that the recording occurred when there simply were not long enough tapes to capture the continuity and seamlessness of the performance. If the performance had been halted to change the tapes, it would have disrupted the transcendence and emotional continuity of the ritual, rendering it thus a mere performance or a pre-meditated production. In a ritual which, as it was, was not a product-oriented process, the participants were not interested in an authentic reproduction of their performances. The 2008 reissue of the complete, unedited session as a double CD album obviates structural discontinuities that were introduced as a result of both the production and the post-production editing processes. Both the 1976 and 2008 issues of the session were labelled as being comprised of four 'Movements' in accordance with the length of the tape used in the recording. The discrepancies brought to light as a result of the re-release on CD of previously excised material are illustrated below with the programming information from the two releases:

> **1. Blue Notes for Mongezi (1976) – Ogun vinyl double-LP release:**
>
> **Side One (22 min. 35 sec.)**
> *Blue Notes for Mongezi: First Movement*
>
> **Side Two (19 mins. 50 sec.)**
> *Blue Notes for Mongezi: Second Movement*
>
> **Side Three (19 mins. 20 secs.)**
> *Blue Notes for Mongezi: Third Movement*
>
> **Side Four (23 mins. 30 secs.)**
> *Blue Notes for Mongezi: Fourth Movement*

2. <u>Blue Notes for Mongezi</u> (2008) – Ogun double-CD release:

Disc 1
1. Blue Notes for Mongezi: First Movement **(42:14)**
2. Blue Notes for Mongezi: Second Movement **(36:31)**

Disc 2
1. Blue Notes for Mongezi: Third Movement **(41:07)**
2. Blue Notes for Mongezi: Fourth Movement **(37:11)**

Right away the observer realizes that with the CD release each 'movement' has been restored to nearly twice its length on the 1976 vinyl release! In other words, a drastic post-production editing process had done away with half of the material recorded during the session, enough to make up another entire double-album. In a characteristically conventional programming where an album is comprised of several tracks, this would not have been unusual, as whichever tracks were ultimately selected for release would have (hopefully) retained a certain level of thematic coherence. The ritual performance rendered by the Blue Notes at the session, however, was neither conceptually separated into tracks nor into 'movements,' which were only arbitrarily determined by the length of each tape.

10.5 A ritual programming of spontaneous performance in <u>Blue Notes for Mongezi</u>

The album's First Movement has no musical or spoken preamble and does not appear to have any beginning moment. The first sound heard is already a dense, fierce rhythm ensemble comprising drum, bass, piano and a steady tap on the cowbell (Musical Excerpt 10.1). The free-form juxtaposition of the instrumental sounds played at independently breakneck tempos results in a dense texture of a collective improvisation that is all underpinned by a dense, polyrhythmic drumming framework. The Moholo-Dyani drum and bass combination by itself is reminiscent of the Steve Lacy days as quintessentially captured in the album <u>The Forest and The Zoo</u> (1966) [Musical Excerpt 7.6 and 7.7]. The addition of Chris McGregor's rhythmically syncopated dissonant piano clusters – recalling the energetic displays of Cecil Taylor – charges up this already potent mixture into a maelstrom of passionate feeling, even rage, to which performance may be the only catharsis. The spacing of Dudu Pukwana's measured attacks on the *agogo* cow-bell recall

those of a church bell announcing the beginning of prayers on a Sunday morning. More than four minutes into the first movement, his entry into the fray with blistering saxophone lines is preceded by a single blast from his whistle, as if announcing the beginning of a bruising session of some kind of duelling or competitive sport. When the alto drops out abruptly the energy and pace of rest of the ensemble dramatically decays in tempo, intensity and density of texture, all effects contributing towards a brief ametric interlude before the bass immediately begins a new *ostinato* figure based on the intervallic relationships suggested by roots V, b7, and I. To this, the alto saxophone introduces a short but distinct melodic phrase.

The bass figure is soon developed by the drum, which joins with a complementary pattern on the high-hat cymbal, while a meandering piano phrase finally resolves in the harmonic intervallic consonance of a flattened seventh relative to the bass tonality, as well as being rhythmically syncopated with both the drum pattern and bass *ostinato* figure. The whole ensemble stabilises, with the alto saxophone building improvisationally on the melodic phrase it had just introduced (Musical Excerpt 10.2). Without breaking the rhythmic patterning of the section, the bass modifies its *ostinato* figure into a cyclic progression by introducing roots IV, II, V after every few cycles. Almost nine minutes into the movement, and nearly five minutes into the section, the bass pattern dissolves into jagged *rubato* figures behind ensemble's rhythmic flow. The brief interlude thus created is quickly broken as the bass re-establishes the rhythm while the saxophone solo continues. By the eleventh minute, individual spontaneous rhythmic shifts with reference to the cyclicity of the original duple-meter have subtly modified the apparent second section towards a perceptible triple-meter time signature. It is over this rhythmic ensemble flow that Dudu Pukwana, in his relentless solo, quotes a phrase from John Coltrane's Ascension album, precisely from the tenor saxophonist's solo in one of the album's movements entitled 'A Love Supreme' (Musical Excerpt 10.3 and Musical Excerpt 10.4). Immediately thereafter, Pukwana quotes a melodic theme from *Freeze* (Musical Excerpt 10.5), a composition of his that was included in the 1974 album, Flute Music, which he had recorded with Spear. His improvisation from this point onwards – until he drops out just over two minutes later – is based on re-iteration and paraphrasing

of the *Freeze* melodic theme, culminating in short blasts from his whistle, which he alternates with squawking, screeching effects and rapid improvisatory *glissandi* from his saxophone. There is an immediate symbolic significance in Dudu Pukwana's reference to the Flute Music recording, probably among the last he had done with a Spear line up that included Mongezi Feza in November 1974. Furthermore, even though Flute Music was attributed to Dudu Pukwana, out of a total of six original titles comprising the album, three were by Mongezi Feza, compared with two of Pukwana's. In the album and in particular in his compositions such as *Flute Music* (Musical Excerpt 10.6), *Sondela* (Musical Excerpt 10.7) and *You Cheated Me* (Musical Excerpt 10.8) Mongezi Feza not only performed on the trumpet but also as sang, played the pennywhistle, the conga and other percussion instruments. From these and other documented compositions by Mongezi Feza such as the anthem *You Think You Know Me* (Musical Excerpt 10.9) and the manner in which they depart from the trademark abstraction of his fiery free-jazz approach, the depth and scope of the trumpeter's musical sensibility becomes clearly apparent.

The fact that Mongezi Feza never had an album released under his own name, and that Flute Music was released in the year of his passing away, imbues the album with a monumental significance to Feza's memory. With regards to the ritual performance essence of Blue Notes for Mongezi, however, this was the first direct musical reference made to Mongezi Feza. In the album's 2008 release, the First Movement may be considered to be comprised of an instrumental introduction of slightly less than fifteen minutes' duration, the end of which is signalled by the invocation of Feza's memory in Pukwana's quotation from Flute Music. Instrumentally, this point is marked by Dyani's *arco* bass solo while Pukwana drops out and returns to tapping out the solemn, church-bell-like rhythm on the *agogo*, similar to the way he began. Likewise Moholo's drum drops out, Chris McGregor plays short legato cycles using low the bass register of the piano, and Johnny Dyani ends his bass solo.

The rest of the First Movement is about twice as long as the introductory instrumental section and is distinguished by its vocal performances of singing, talking, exclamations, calling out of Mongezi Feza's name repeatedly, and wailing, in addition to instrumental sounds. It is contrasted with the abstractness of the introduction by its use of the voice and its expression of a personal, one-to-one and group relationship in musical performance to the figure of Mongezi Feza. The improvised essence of the Blue Notes' musical performance is formalised as a result of its focus on the ritual element of mourning and the cultural embedding of such mourning in black South African social performance practice. Similarly, just as such ideological practices are negotiated within the conflictual power relations of family and social group, the performance[s] in Blue Notes for Mongezi reiterate and echo these relationships. The essential function of mourning is arguably a re-affirmation of human relationships – of kinship, friendship and mentorship – by the living towards both the deceased and the fellow living. For the members of the Blue Notes, the ritual occasioned a performance of 'a triple-consciousness' whose tenuous musical performance continuities with their heterogeneous and latterly avant-garde sensibilities could be mediated and sustained only in improvisation and transcendence.

Following the introductory section of the First Movement, the musical performance continuity of this musical version of a ritual is indicated by Johnny Dyani, who picks up after his *arco* solo by sounding, *pizzicato*, a G note below middle C on the bass at a deliberate, church bell-like tempo, echoing Pukwana's *agogo* pattern. Pukwana needs not search out a tentative concordance with this. He has been stating it all along and thus comes in almost immediately, briefly soloing, hotly and fiercely emotional, while Louis Moholo plays soft flourishes of cymbal and snare-drum effects with occasional crashes, as an anticipated new theme is in the process of being introduced. At this brief point the piano continues freely and the alto is lyrical in a moderate tempo, even languid and melodic. Soon, the basis of the theme is established on the bass by Dyani, who begins by picking a three-note ostinato figure (Ab, G, and C) *rubato* at first, which soon becomes rhythmically cyclical. Pukwana drops out on the alto saxophone as Louis Moholo sets up a drum rhythm to Dyani's bass ostinato in 4/4 time, and piano ruminations subtly evolve

from being deliberate and free into lyrical dissonance and finally into a fully-fledged solo by Chris McGregor (Musical Excerpt 10.10). What has been musically established is a rhythmic and orchestrational framework that will functionally maintain the ensuing vocal performances of characteristically disjunctive relationships among exiles, and between them and the traditional rituals of their African cultural socialisation.

It is perhaps as a result of his musical socialisation as a singer that Johnny Dyani leads all of the session's vocal performances. He begins singing by calling out the deceased's name in a ritualised Nguni manner of address of calling forth to peers and to those younger than oneself: '*Wé* Mongezi Feza!' Among the living who hear and speak, the ritual calls for attention and a spoken response of acknowledgement such as: *Yebo!* (isiZulu) or *Ewe!* (isiXhosa), with the loudness and musicality of the response dependent on distance: the greater the distance between caller and respondent, the more musical the spoken exchange. Joined in his repeated calling by Dudu Pukwana and Louis Moholo, Johnny Dyani begins to portray a personal and shared relationship to the deceased by saying:

> We love you!

It appears that above the music, it may have been difficult for the accompanying voices to catch the verb of the phrase, and so Dyani says, just once but clearly: "The word is LOVE!" before continuing with his call:

> *Wé* Mongezi Feza!
> We love you!

Dyani's repeated phrase is occasionally punctuated with an anguished, vocalised *glissando* of:

> "Ooooooooooooooooh"

In the next development in Johnny Dyani's vocalised evocation of relationship – as he continues providing a solid bass ostinato alongside the drum and piano, while Dudu Pukwana plays a turbulent solo – he sings as follows:

> "*Wé* Mongezi Feza!" (Hail, Mongezi Feza)
> *Wésibali wami!* (Hail, my brother-in-law)[50]

[50] Urban black youth, in relations of friendship, often refer to one another fondly as *sibali,* which term, however, correctly applies to peer siblings of one's partner in marriage, and even then as a formal term *'umlamu'*- literally referring to pre- or post-natal sibling relations from the same womb.

"W*é* Mongezi Feza!"
Wé sibali [1] *wami!*
"*Wé*Mongezi Feza!"
We all love you!'
Dudu loves you!
"We [a]'ll love you"
Tebogo loves you (Tebogo is Louis Moholo's name)
And Chris McGregor loves you!
Wé Mongezi Feza!
Louis Moholo loves you!
Ooooooooooohhhh
Mongezi Feza!
Wé Mongezi Feza!
Chris McGregor loves you!
Louis Moholo loves you!
Dudu Pukwana loves you!
Oh Mongezi Feza!
Johnny Dyani loves you!
Sibali wami!

In another textual improvisation, Johnny Dyani praises and conveys a testimony to the moral worthiness of the deceased's character. Within the ritual performance of mourning and bidding farewell to the deceased, these statements establish and evaluate the nature of the deceased's social relations. In Dyani's performance, the words are spoken directly to Mongezi Feza as if he could hear:

Uziphathe kakuhle (You lived life with dignity and respect)
Hamba kakuhle! (Farewell)
Mongezi Feza!
Hamba kakuhle!

In the isolation of exile and the unavailability of the support of family members, it is Dyani who assumes the responsibility of reassuring the departed that their loved ones will be looked after:

Abantwana bakho (Your children)
Bazoba [kakuhle] (They will be fine)
In good hands my man!
Abantwana bakho (Your children)
Sizobagcina (We will take care of them)
Wé Mongezi Feza!
Abantwana bakho (Your children)
Sizobagcina (We will take care of them)
Wé Mongezi Feza!
Yeah we understand!

In a final vocalised improvisation of mourning, Johnny Dyani confronts the strained nature of personal relationships that exile had engendered between himself and the estranged Blue Notes, in statements that approximate the ritual traditional Nguni practice of *ukuthethelela*[51]. Such formally spoken texts are rendered publicly during ceremonies of bethrothals, wakes, burials, or the cessation of hostilities between feuding individuals, families, communities, clans and tribes. Such speeches are characterized by their honesty, forthrightness and acknowledgment of wrong-doing, as well as the offering and acceptance of forgiveness:

Oh Mongezi Feza!
Now be my friend!
W*é* Mongezi Feza!
Please understand!
You're no enemy
You ain't no enemy
Please understand!
It's not easy!
It's not easy here!
Please understand!
It's not easy here!
Oh Mongezi
Ulale ngoxolo (Sleep in peace)
Oh Mongezi *sibali*
Siyakushiya! (We abandon you)
Awundishiyanga (You did not abandon me)
Awusishiyanga (You did not abandon us)
Sikushiyile (We abandoned you)
*Wé*Mongezi Feza!
You're already there!
Oh Mongezi we lo[ve you]

In this section of the first movement the end of vocalization is signalled by a dismantling of the instrumental rhythm structure into dissonance: the alto saxophone lines become strident with the bass sustaining a low pedal note while Johnny Dyani vocalises a series of long and high-pitched wails, to which Dudu responds with a soothing four-note descending phrase (Musical Excerpt 10.11). The emotional events of the performance are again being spontaneously ordered as the whole complex sonic texture decrescendos to a retarding cymbal rhythm and single-chord piano figures: the bass begins a waltz *ostinato* figure from lower notes, which the drum then rhythmically complements with a ride-

[51] The infinitive of the Nguni verb *'thethelela'* (forgive) meaning 'to forgive'; let off (from debts or punishment) [Doke-Vilakazi 1990:792]

cymbal pattern. Dudu Pukwana lays off on the alto saxophone and Chris McGregor comes forward in a piano solo that is reminiscent of Thelonius Monk in its dissonant angularity. The stability of the emerging sound structure is anchored by a combination of a steady drum rhythm and a walking bass in an ensemble sound characterized by crashing off-beat accents and cascading cymbal effects. Over this, Dudu Pukwana's alto saxophone returns lyrically, blending into a rhythmic ensemble that is swinging in triple-meter, and continues to weave a potent, exploratory solo, during which Dudu quotes from, and then improvises on, the melody of his *Blues for Nick* (Musical Excerpt 10.12).

When the alto saxophone finally trails off, the established continuity is maintained by individual rhythm section dynamics that alternately share and fill up the creative space thus vacated. First the piano comes forward, and then the bass changes between brief accelerations of tempo, contrasting rapid abstract phrases with walking-bass lines. A similarly juxtaposed use of dynamics is also employed by Louis Moholo on the drum, who punctuates an essential cymbal swing pattern with exploding rolls on the snare and double-time strokes on the ride cymbal. Suddenly the bass launches – at a brisk tempo – into a cyclic *mbaqanga* progression which is immediately driven supportively by the drum while the piano figures are syncopatedly evolving towards a dissonant complement of the rhythmic and harmonic progressions at hand. From this point onwards until the end of the movement nearly ten minutes later Louis Moholo, Dudu Pukwana and Johnny Dyani sing and speak alternately and, on occasion, together. It is Dyani who commences a repetitive syncopated melodic phrase "*Wé Ma ho ho*" over a repeating *mbaqanga* harmonic progression, and is soon joined by Pukwana and Moholo vocalizing enharmonically but in rhythm. In Rasmussen (2003:344) the term *mahoho* is explained as referring to a burnt, crusty layer at the bottom of a pot of *umphothulo* porridge. In this context of its use however, *Mahoho* was a playful nickname of Nick Moyake's that was known only to his closest friends. The voices improvise with text, first Pukwana in the manner of the groaning *mgqashiyo* neo-*mbaqanga* style of the later 1960s, and then Moholo joins in exhorting, compêre style as follows:

[Speaks] Hallowed be thy name …
Mongezi Feza!
[Sings] *Wé Ma - ho-ho* …

Dudu Pukwana vocally improvises on the melodic phrase with a repeating text in *isiXhosa* that says:

> *Gugukani niye phambili bo!* (Turn around and go forward!)

before taking up a solo on the groove on his alto saxophone, which begins by paraphrasing the vocal figure repeated by Dyani. Dyani's sung improvisation with text, all of which is instrumentally accompanied by the rest of the ensemble, goes as follows:

Abazali bethu	(Our parents)
Nabantwana bethu	(And our offspring)
Omama bethu	(Our mothers)
Otata bethu	(Our fathers)
Ingane zethu	(Our children)
Abazali bethu	(Our parents)
Osista bethu	(Our sisters)
Obhuti bethu	(Our brothers)
Omkhulu bethu	(Our grandfathers)
Nabakhuluwa bethu	(And our sibling brothers)
Xolani bo!	(Please accept)
Akuhlanga lingenzekanga	(What has happened has happened)
Yoo yenzekil' indaba	(Oh much has happened)
Yo xolani bo!	(Oh please accept indeed)
Xolani mawethu!	(Accept my brethren)
Xolani bo	(Please accept)
Xolani bo	(Accept indeed)
Xolani mawethu	(Accept my brethren)
Hawu xolani bo!	(Please accept indeed)
Indaba yenzekile bo	(A story has unfolded)
Xolani bo	(Please accept)
Xolani bo	(Accept indeed)
Akuhlanga lingehlanga bo!	(What's happened cannot be undone)
Xolani bo	(Accept indeed)
Heeeeeee xolani bo	(Ohhhhh accept indeed)
Xolani bo	(Accept indeed)
Hoooooo	(Hooooo)
Asambe! Asambe!	(Let's go! Let's go!)

The bass carries the ensemble groove on a pedal note with Dyani occasionally adding wordless, anguished cries as he simultaneously sings, plays and calls out:

Enkosi bo!	(Thank you indeed)
Enkosi!	(Thank you)
Ubathathe abantwana bakho bo	(Please take your children)
Abangane bethu	(Our friends)
Sinqonqoz' emazulwini	(We knock on the heavens)
Enkosi bo!	(Thank you indeed)

Thus ends the First Movement – as determined by the length of the recording tape – and commences the Second Movement – with Johnny Dyani calling and answering:

Bulisa!	(Greet!)
Siyavuma!	(We agree!)
Phosa ngasemva!	(Put it all behind you!)
Camagu![52]	
Phosa ngasemva!	(Put it all behind you!)

10.4 Improvised musical performance continuities and religious syncretism: the Second Movement of Blue Notes for Mongezi

The labelling on the CD (2008) issue of Blue Notes for Mongezi indicates the length of the First Movement as 42 minutes and 14 seconds. On listening, however, none of the dynamic elements of ongoing performance have changed to signal the end of an already established idea or the beginning of a new one. Thus there is no musical ending to the First Movement or beginning to the Second Movement of the documented performance. Dyani continues with his vocal performance, now remarkable for the spoken rhythms of the ritualized *igqirha*[53] calls and the choric exchange of the indigenous Xhosa diviner's ceremony, to a rhythmic accompaniment by piano and drum and an alto saxophone solo whose tempo is as high as its tones are jagged (Musical Excerpt 10.13). Less than a minute into the movement, the rhythm section halts and only Johnny Dyani's and the saxophone's voices continue:

Bulisa!	(Greet!)
Siyavuma!	(We agree!)
Phosa ngasemva!	(Put it all behind you!)
Camagu!	
Bulisa!	(Greet!)
Siyavuma!	(We agree!)
Phosa ngasemva!	(Put it all behind you!)
Camagu!	
Bulisa!	(Greet!)
Siyavuma!	(We agree!)
Phosa ngasemva!	(Put it all behind you!)
Camagu!	
Kha nivume!	(Please respond!)
Bulisa!	(Greet!)

[52] A ritual response to the diviner's pronounciations, literally meaning that 'the divination is correct'
[53] A Xhosa diviner

Siyavuma![54]	(We agree!)
Phosa ngasemva!	(Put it all behind you!)
Camagu!	
Bulisa!	(Greet!)
Siyavuma!	(We agree!)
Bulisa!	(Greet!)
Siyavuma!	(We agree!)
Phosa ngasemva!	(Put it all behind you!)
(Louder) *Camagu!*	

In a traditional context, a performance of the above ritual text takes the form of a spoken exchange between the diviner *(igqirha)* and a chorus made up of initiates and whoever is taking part in the ceremony, particularly the party who have come to consult the *igqirha* for a divination. In this form, then, the text becomes a call and response between a leader and chorus, as follows:

Dyani:	*Bulisa!*	(Greet!)
Chorus:	*Siyavuma!*	(We agree!)
Dyani:	*Phosa ngasemva!*	(Put it all behind you!)
Chorus:	*Camagu!*	
Dyani:	*Akuhlanga lungehlanga!*	(What's happened cannot be undone)
	Bulisa!	
Chorus:	*Siyavuma!*	
Dyani:	*Bulisa!*	(Greet!)
Chorus:	*Siyavuma!*	(We agree!)
Dyani:	*Phosa ngasemva!*	(Put it all behind you!)
Chorus:	*Siyavuma!*	(We agree!)
Dyani:	*Camagu!*	
	Igqirha livumile!	(The diviner accepts)
	Bulisa!	(Greet!)
Chorus:	*Siyavuma!*	(We agree!)
Dyani:	*Bulisa!*	(Greet!)
Chorus:	*Siyavuma!*	(We agree!)
Dyani:	*Bulisa!*	(Greet!)
	Phosa ngasemva!	(Put it all behind you!)

When Johnny Dyani starts to sing the melodic phrase *Wé Mahoho* again, he accompanies himself with a high-pitched hand-bell and is joined by Louis Moholo, who plays a continuous rhythmic pattern resembling that played by *abakhwetha* (diviner's initiates) to accompany the singing and clapping of the chorus at a séance or divination ceremony:

(Johnny sings):

Wé Ma-ho-ho!
Wé Ma-ho-ho!
Wé Ma-ho-ho!
WéMa-ho-ho!

[54] When Dyani demands a ritual response – as of a chorus to an *igqirha*'s exhortations during a séance or a divination - it is Louis Moholo who responds in the place of an absent chorus.

WéMa-ho-ho!	
Umlandel' uMongezi	(Mongezi has followed him)
Mahoho	
Mahoh' umlandel' uMongezi	(Mongezi has followed Mahoho)
Mahoho uMongez' umlandele	(Mongezi has followed Mahoho)
Mahoho	(Mahoho)
Umlindel' estishini	(Wait for him at the station)
Mahoho	(Mahoho)
Umlindel' egeyithini	(Wait for him at the gate)
Mahoho	(Mahoho)
Umlindel' uMongezi	(Wait for Mongezi)
Mahoho	(Mahoho)
Mongez' usibulisele Mongezi	(Mongezi please pass our greetings)
KuMahoho	(To Mahoho)
We Mongez' usibulisele Mongezi	(Mongezi please pass our greetings)
KuMahoho	To Mahoho
Mahoh' umlindel' uMongezi	(Mahoho please wait for Mongezi)
Mahoho	
Mahoho	(Mahoho)
Mahoho	(Mahoho)
Umgcin' uMongezi	(Please protect Mongezi)
Umgcin' uMongezi	(Please protect Mongezi)
Umgcin' uMongezi	(Please protect Mongezi
Yeeeeeeeeeeebo	(Yeeeeeeeeeeaaaah)
Bulisa!	(Greet!)

There follows a brief pause in the vocalisation as the saxophone solo continues with drum and bell percussion for accompaniment, before Dyani resumes his singing:

Wé Sathana!	(Hey! Satan!)
Ujikelez' umuzi wamadoda	(You stalk around men's homesteads)
Owakho owakho	(But yours, but yours)
Uw'shiye nabani?	(In whose care did you leave it?)
Wé Sathana!	(Hey! Satan!)
Ujikelez' umuzi weny' indoda	(You stalk around another man's homestead)
Owakho uw'shiye nabani?	(In whose care did you leave yours?)

The melody is that of a well-known traditional beer-drinking song whose text alludes to jealousy as a cause of ill-wishing among neighbours and thereby leads to practices of sorcery and the casting of harmful spells. However, in reflecting a Christian upbringing shared between the members of the Blue Notes, such harmful behaviour as causes the sudden deaths of loved ones is attributed to the devil, Satan. The rendering of the accusation, in a performance paralleling the 'smelling-out' ritual of a traditional Xhosa divination or séance ceremony, points to a deep religious syncretism framing the context of the Blue Notes performances as documented in Blue Notes for Mongezi. In a symbolic concurrence with Dyani's 'divination' Dudu Pukwana paraphrases the melody of the

song *Wajikelez' umuzi* on the saxophone before he joins in the singing (Musical Excerpt 10.14). In a ritual performance of vocalized exchanges between the diviner's call and a chorus response, this agreement is expressed in the symbolic spoken response *"Camagu!"*, an expression of thanksgiving and affirmation for the 'correctness of the divination.' The initial cycle of Pukwana's vocal harmonisation uses scalar consonance deriving from pitches of the Xhosa hexatonic scale. His second entry, however, is staggered, and proceeds in a syncopated relationship to the leading voice, resembling traditional Xhosa vocal polyphony. In this manner he improvises on the text as well, re-ordering the words but not the meaning. In discussions involving the recording of *Somagwaza* – a ritual song of the Xhosa male circumcision ceremony – by Johnny Dyani's Witchdoctor's Son ensemble (Musical Excerpt 9.10), the avoidance of textual improvisation was argued as a conformation to rigidity in the interpretation of repertoires of Xhosa indigenous religion.

10.5 The musical syncretism of a Xhosa divination ceremony in the Second Movement of Blue Notes for Mongezi

The piano enters the orchestrational framework of *Wajikelez' umuzi* by intoning a descending phrase comprised of hexatonic scale pitches implied in the beer-song's melody and, as Dudu joins in on the *agogo*, Chris McGregor begins to rhythmically explore the melody's scale pitches in the manner of *maskandi izihlabo*[55] (Musical Example 10.15). As Dudu and Johnny are singing in the dance rhythm of the melody, in a homophony, with Dudu harmonizing with consonant pitches in fifths, the piano comps behind the voices in the rhythm of a drum accompaniment, while Louis Moholo plays the same rhythm double-time on the alto tom (or what sounds like a log drum). On the piano Chris McGregor, setting up a cyclic *mbaqanga* chord harmonization to the melody and its harmonization by the two voices, then goes to solo in a jazz-influenced interpretation. The singing stops as Dyani joins in with the bass and employs the traditional harmonic structure of alternating fundamental pitches a whole tone apart, resembling the harmonic

[55] *Izihlabo* – an isiZulu indigenous musical term referring to virtuoso instrumental introductions and explorations of specific guitar tunings manifest as formal, structural, compositional and performance elements of *maskandi* instrumental accompaniment.

structure of Xhosa (and particularly *uhadi*) bow music. Moholo fills out the ensemble with a high-tom (or log-drum-sounding) pattern added to the percussion orchestration, as the piano solos and cites, in both contour and rhythm, passages from Columbus Ngcukana's *Mra* (Musical Excerpt 2.14) or Dudu Pukwana's *Khali* (Musical Excerpt 8.17). In this rhythmic and harmonic juxtaposition of elements of a musical 'triple-consciousness' with the hybridity of *mbaqanga* syncretism is echoed a discourse that harks back to ideological contestations between a colonial musical mentorship and indigenous musical performance sensibilities of the early Xhosa Christian mission converts.

In this apparent conflictual interpretation of a Xhosa beer-song, the indigenous basis of the melody is reiterated in two ways. Firstly the voices of Dudu Pukwana and Johnny Dyani emphatically restate the melody and its improvised lyric of a religious syncretism. The two voices harmonize and rhythmically improvise on the words *'Sathana'* and *'Siyeke-bo'* ('leave us alone'), as crotchet triplet figures, syncopating and weaving their voices around each other. Secondly, the alto saxophone paraphrases both the melody and sung vocal lines and then improvises using pitches derived from the indigenous Xhosa hexatonic scale. In a symbolic reconciliation of the ideologically opposed musical sensibilities the piano returns, comping, paraphrasing and creating short countermelodies using the indigenous hexatonic scale. Finally, the common experiences of a socialization in contemporary interpretations of indigenous Xhosa music are cemented in the bass, which recalls the rhythmic figure from *Mra* and the saxophone, which immediately quotes the popularly recognizable melody of 'Columbus' Ngcukana's composition (Musical Example 10.16).

It is only once this common ideological ground has been established that Pukwana assuredly drops out on the saxophone, picks up on the *agogo* bells, and leaves the piano to develop a solo as the bass figure, now being played *arco* by Dyani, a reconciliatory process symbolising the climactic achievement of a classic Blue Notes' discursive improvisatory form. Meanwhile, Louis Moholo's drumming has developed beyond providing a mere driving rhythmic support and towards becoming a solo that is

remarkable for its polyrhythmic accents on the bass drum and ride-cymbal. At this moment Dyani sings praises to his colleagues and shouts “Moholo!” and then sings “*Wé McGwegwas*” in the ritual Nguni manner of summoning peers in praise. This playful exhortation of the name ‘McGregor’ by Johnny Dyani represents a fond camaraderie, and one that is normally reserved for intimate understanding between acquaintances. In this particular context of a deeply intuitive sensitivity between musicians improvising an unspoken musical performance ritual, it represents a confirmation of McGregor’s position as a (Xhosa) cultural ‘insider’.

10.6 Interlude: transcendental abstraction as prayer and celebration

The groove is immediately terminated as follows: the bass sounds a low note and Dudu beats a short, syncopating *agogo* pattern as Dyani commences a new idea by creating mid-register solo bass lines supported by the low E open string. The rest of the ensemble is silent except for the *agogo*, playing a figure that is patterned by pauses and repetitions. Supported by sustained assorted bell trills, the solo bass continues in what sounds like the beginnings of a *raga* (Musical Excerpt 10.17). The piano joins in, playing high-note right hand trills, and the alto comes in, in a ballad phrasing of a simple diatonicism (and an ascending three-note [G#, F# and B] melodic fragment) over the bass’s open low E-string pedal. Over a cascading free-form, high-register piano and meandering mallet-work on the toms, the alto continues its deliberately arcing, long-note attacks, inventing shapes and contoured legato phrases interspersed with rapid angular passages, and jagged *altissimi crescendi*. A highly developed free-from structure has evolved, with independently progressing instrumental phrasing contributing towards a meditative state that borders on the transcendental. Following a climax in the mood established by juxtaposing individual sonic elements – including high-note piano dissonance, cascading cymbals, and alto tom-drum and dry snare rolls played with mallets – the drums lay off, creating the perception of timelessness and expanded space.

10.7 Blue Notes for Mongezi: Mackay Davashe and the shadow of exile in black South African migrant experiences

Without stopping, the bass initiates a stabilizing short pattern that is harmonically based on a two-note fundamental cyclic structure and is joined almost immediately by Louis Moholo, who plays an *indlamu* dance rhythm on the snare drum using mallets. Over this the alto saxophone quotes a melodic phrase from Mackay Davashe's *Izikhalo Zegoduka (Kilimanjaro)* [Musical Excerpt 5.16], and continues to paraphrase and exploratively build a solo using melodic elements based on Davashe's theme. To this the bass adds a single-note drone that complements the drum's *indlamu* dance rhythm pattern in its attack and mono-pitch essence (Musical Excerpt 10.18).

McKay Davashe's pioneering position in a black South African modern jazz uptake was a direct outcome of his own socialisation in the deep syncretism of black South African popular music. Dudu Pukwana's overt references to Davashe and his particular composition *Izikhalo Zegoduka* ('the laments of a migrant worker') draw attention to the alienating parallels between exile and the marginality of African migrant labour experiences in South Africa. It is remarkable how an abstraction of a native cultural grounding in the negotiated experiences of exile is articulated as free-improvisation in the ensuing musical development of the theme. Dudu Pukwana's mapping of MacKay Davashe's jazz-influenced urbanism onto a 'triple-conscious' egalitarianism of the indigenous Nguni-Zulu dance rhythm of *indlamu* symbolically negotiates disjunctive constructions of black South African post-colonial cultural experiences. While these are spatial and cultural trajectories, they are still bounded somewhat by their location in the overarching continuities of practice and experiential reality. The abstraction of this experience, perhaps symbolic of the compounded strangeness of exile, is suggested in the role of the piano in taking up a theme that the members of the Blue Notes were possibly equally familiar with. Around the familiarity of the composition's ideological terrain, the piano further colours this complex by weaving dense structures of dissonant musical clusters, triggering a similar response from the alto, whose quotation and paraphrasing of the original melody is now freely peppered with a jagged angularity of squealing, screeching and growling sound dynamism (Musical Excerpt 10.19). Dudu Pukwana,

however, reiterating a certain dimensionality and an experiential groundedness amidst a confusion suggested in the abstraction of avant-garde free-improvisational practice, ends his solo with a direct quote of the melody's closing phrase as the piano continues, its dissonance now incorporating – in its rhythmic and intervallic relationships – a syncopated deep structure of Davashe's melody, and Pukwana 'sings' the rhythm on the *agogo* pitches.

10.8 Johnny Dyani and a 'triple-consciousness' of indigenous spiritual practice in *Blue Notes for Mongezi*

In an imaginative processing of intuitively grasped indigenous musical elements the bass has begun not only to add a second fundamental to its drone, but also to develop the two fundamental pitches into *ostinati* figures. The bass soon morphs into a rapid two-attack, single *ostinato* figure based on the harmonics (of the lower three-strings) at thumb position and an open E-string as the drum plays mallet cascades on the drum heads with occasional kick-drum and cymbal washes.

In another collective process of a creative transcendentalism the alto saxophone returns with a sustained trill on the G# above middle C, carries on with a blistering abstract solo of rapid ascending lines and *glissandi*, before tapering off with mid-register trills, blasts, and jagged, lightening-speed phrases. Without a pause, the bass latches onto a figure that harks on the music of a boy-scout marching band, which the saxophone, drum cymbal, kettle-drum, and piano take up almost immediately, as if obeying a drill command. When this march is established, Dudu Pukwana quotes the melody of '*Happy Birthday To You'* and paraphrases it a few times before the whole ensemble ends the march in a perfect cadence. In the ensuing silence a voice is heard exhaling deeply, in the dissipative manner of a diviner/ faith-healer coming out of a trance:

Heshshshshshshshshshshsh ….
Hashshshshshshshshshshsh ….
Heshshshshshshshshshshsh ….
Wawawawawawawawawawuuu …
Q! Hashshshshshshshshshshsh ….
Q! Wawawawawawawawawawuuu …

As the tape runs out – thereby imposing a technical 'ending' to the Second Movement – Louis Moholo is playing a lone tom-drum phrase, which he repeats once again as if asking an as-yet-unanswered question. A response comes in the form of a hypnotic bell-roll by Johnny Dyani, who then asks sonorously of the palpable silence:

	Uhambilena bo?	(Are you really gone then?)
[Pause]	*Ndiwufumen' umyalezo*	(I got the message)
	Bayabuliiiiiisa!	(They send their greetings!)
	Uhambilena?	(Are you really gone?)
	Usibulisele-ke!	(Pass on our greetings then!)
[Then in a sorrowful, almost tearful tone,]:		
	Usibuliseleeeeeeeee-ke!	(Pass on our greetings!)

At the beginning of the Third Movement, then, over the background of a tinkling bell sound, an intermittent *agogo* and whistle pattern, Dyani is heard asking, in an earnest, halting tone of voice:

Ndiqonqozile!	[I knocked on the door]
Awushiyanga nomyalezo!	[You did not even leave a message]

And after a pause, he continues in a gentle, conciliatory voice, as if something he had missed before had suddenly revealed itself to him:

Ooooh, ndiyabona-ke	[Oooooooh, now I see]
Oooohhh … ndiyabona-ke	[Oooooooh, now I see]
Ndiwufumene umyalezo	[I did receive the message]
Enkosi kakhulu Mongezi	[Thank you so much Mongezi]
UDudu uyabulisa, uPukwana	[Dudu is greeting you, Pukwana]
UTebogo uMoholo, uyabulisa	[Tebogo Moholo is greeting you]

At this point a silence that almost dominates the sound-scape is broken by Dudu Pukwana, who starts playing the first melody line of the Protestant church hymn *'Guide Me Oh Thy Great Jehovah'* on the saxophone (Musical Excerpt 10.20) as Johnny continues:

No Christopher, uMcGregor uyabulisa	[And Christopher McGregor is greeting you]
Neziihlobo ziyabulisa	[And the relatives are also greeting you]
Neenzalwane nabantwana bakho	[And your siblings and offspring too]
Siyabuliiiiiisa!	[We all greet you]
Nawe usibulisele!	[Will you pass on greetings on our behalf?]
Ndiwufumene umyalezo!	[I have received the message]
Ingoma yakho isenhlizweni!	[Your song is at heart]
Sifumen' umyalezo!	[We have received the message]

Dudu Pukwana plays a descending diatonic scale phrase from a C# above to an F# below middle C, and continues to improvise *legato*, but soon warming up to rapid *glissandi* and mid-range *ostinati*, in accompaniment to Dyani's delivery:

Ulikhalisile ixilongo Mongezi!	[You sounded the trumpet Mongezi]
Lithi ilizwe livile camagu!	[The living give thanks]
Ithi iAfrika ivile camagu!	[Africa says it has heard, thank you]
Ithi iAfrika camagu ivile!	[Africa says thank you, it has heard]
Athi amaAfrika awufumene umyalezo!	[The Africans say they have received the message]
Ingoma ibimnandi!	[The song (dance) was beautiful]
Ihlel' enhliziyweni zethu!	[It dwells in our hearts]
Nezinyanya zisixelele!	[The ancestors also told us]
Ukuba masingakhathazeki!	[Not to be troubled]
[And more gently]:	
Usibulisele naku Nikele uMoyake!	[Pass on our greetings to Nikele Moyake]

Thus begins the Third Movement, as a sonic space continuous with the ongoing ritual performance of the Second and therefore also the First Movement, despite the breaks imposed through the [re]production processes of recording technology. In mimicking the role of a spiritual medium, Johnny Dyani's performance was not only part of a musical improvisatory process of the ritual at hand, but an aspect of Dyani's character that was always discernible in the totality of his uniquely complex self-construction. When asked by Jurg Solothurnmann in a 1984 interview why he had chosen to call his band Witchdoctor's Son,' Dyani had responded as follows:

> I know this name may sound curious. There were people coming to my concerts … [who] expected me to do *voodoo* and similar things! It's just a name like Osibisa, Mombasa, etc … [b]ut at the same time this name gives me the opportunity to express that playing to me is like a medicine … I'm like a psychiatrist. I've seen people in the clubs and at concerts who get … so excited and drunk … with the music … that I sometimes get angry. But sometimes they also keep very quiet or they can even get scared! I have to understand that this all is in the music when people come after the playing and tell me what they've experienced. Yes, musicians are like psychiatrists. So 'Witchdoctor's Son' is a very meaningful name, it's very deep. (Solothurnmann 1984:47)

Of remarkable interest here is Dudu Pukwana's intoning of Christian mission repertoires at the height of what might be considered a high moment of pagan ritualism or a séance. Dudu Pukwana's entrenched urbanity was echoed in a circular Christianity that occasionally appeared in juxtaposition to Johnny Dyani's instinctive spiritualism of a musical 'triple-consciousness'. Pukwana's intoning of the theme *Happy Birthday To You* towards the end of the Second Movement might be understood in this context. In a moment when an indigenous spiritual mediation – through Johnny Dyani – manifests in a

palpable ‘ancestral’ communicative channel, Pukwana responds by invoking a musical theme of mainstream European socialising practice. Alongside the church-wedding ritual of Christian secularity, the celebration of rites of passage such as birthdays by indigenous Africans expresses a high level of westernisation. In what is clearly a conclusion to the transcendentalism of preceding moments, the drum plays a sustained cymbal effect and, together with the piano, accompanies Dudu Pukwana, who has been inventing on the alto saxophone alongside Dyani’s text. Together in meditative, drone-like textures, the ensemble proceeds to outline a sustained major pentatonicism that is framed by cymbal effects and occasional patterned accents on the drum-heads (Musical Excerpt 10.21).

Following this brief hint of an interlude, the whole ensemble tails off, leaving bass and piano to play a brief duet, before resuming at the previous pace, but with the cymbals now reiterating Dyani’s hand-bell pattern. The bass begins a cyclic, three-note *ostinato* pattern on the notes F, F# and G, which is caught up rhythmically by the drum and is worked by the whole ensemble into a repeating syncopated pattern whose pentatonic basis is continuously outlined on the piano. This section of the movement is discernibly light-hearted and much more musical-performance oriented than the ritual orality of preceding performances. The celebratory slant of the present moment is evidenced in a constant exploration which is not tentative but is conducted in the mood of dance rhythms. In line with the candid tone of the music, the bass pattern is modified into a subdominant-dominant-to-tonic cadential progression in the key of G major, over a tempo that has accelerated imperceptibly towards being lively and brisk. The bass rhythm is anticipatory, suggesting harmonic changes over the bar, as the alto saxophone begins to extend the cadential movement by including a root position chord (I) in its second inversion as characteristically found in the *marabi (mbaqanga)* cyclic harmonic pattern of I – IV – $I_{6/4}$ and V. The bass responds at first by suggesting a hybrid cyclic movement of I – IV – I – II and V, before settling on an anticipatory (syncopated) stop-time phrasing of the I – IV – I and V harmonic cycle. At this point the drum has stopped playing while a rhythmic concordance is being negotiated, essentially between the bass and the alto saxophone. The alto saxophone also stops playing as Dudu picks up a tambourine to suggest a rhythm by following the bass attack, which Moholo picks up and stabilises the rhythm on

the high-hat cymbal and Dudu returns to playing the alto saxophone. When the ensemble sound stabilises, Pukwana recaps his original melodic movement over a now clearly discernible I – IV – $I_{6/4}$ – V progression (Musical Excerpt 10.22). It is over a rhythmically stable cyclicity of a characteristic *marabi* harmonic progression that the alto saxophone finally settles on a jazz-influenced *mbaqanga* improvisation. The solo is extended by the repetition and quotation of popular *marabi* stock phrases as well as recognisable popular melodic fragments. In his supporting harmonic structural framework on the piano Chris McGregor uses chords to outline Dudu's original melodic phrase. The climax of this episode is signalled by Louis Moholo, who extends the rhythm and plays the whole drum-kit in a polyrhythmic interpretation of the *marabi* cycle, upon which Dudu stops improvising on the alto saxophone and continues on the whistle before stopping altogether. Louis Moholo stops suddenly, leaving the bass to play stop-time rhythm resembling that of the instrumental accompaniment to the Cape *langarm* dance styles, in a duet with piano. The section clearly traverses experiences of South African popular musical performance culture and thereby the historical practices of a musical and cultural hybridity.

The whole episode concludes with only the bass playing in an explorative *rubato* style over which Chris McGregor introduces a theme from *Tete and Barbs in My Mind* (Musical Excerpt 10.23). When this composition was included in Dudu Pukwana's Diamond Express (1977) album, it was credited to Dudu Pukwana and Tete Mbambisa. It had been recorded in London in the autumn of 1975 shortly before Mongezi Feza's death by a line-up that included – besides Mongezi on trumpet – Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone), Elton Dean (saxello), Nick Evans (trombone), Keith Tippett (piano), Lucky Ranku (guitar), Victor Ntoni (bass) and Louis Moholo (drums) [Musical Excerpt 10.24]. Its originally horn-stated theme is now handled by the piano to the accompaniment of drum and bass, and is restated several times before Chris McGregor's reinterpretation in an improvisational approach that harks back to the piano styles of Thelonius Monk or Abdullah Ibrahim. Dudu Pukwana comes in to re-state the melancholic melody of this sombre ballad before McGregor continues soloing on the

form with dissonant melodic interpretations, and the bass embarks on a double-time tempo that was intimated on the drum a few moments earlier.

A brief transition before the final theme of the Third Movement occurs as a result of a change in the underlying tempo in the bass, to a sustained pedal point based on a compound interval of a twelfth, sounded between the open E bass string and A-flat above middle C. The metric freedom of this short passage is emphasized in a drum part that is not swinging but playing a series of dry rolls, interspersed with accented crashes on the snare. The alto saxophone soon improvises a march-like theme that is embellished with a kettle-drum, a pedalling figure on the bass and free-falling piano phrasing, all resulting in an overall ensemble texture whose inventive progress is based on a juxtaposition of pentatonic and diatonic tonalities in the key of A major. Above this marching beat, Dudu Pukwana is heard on the alto saxophone, quoting from the melody of a Cape *ghoema*-style song, *Daar Kom Die Alibama*, in the key of E major (Musical Excerpt 10.25). Towards the end of the tape the drum relinquishes a steady march feel and plays a sustained snare roll as the alto saxophone reaches its *altissimo* range in what appears to be a preparation for the abandonment of a theme, or an interlude before the beginning of a new one. The tape finally rolls to the end with a high *arco* bass, tambourine and piano cascade in a high treble register, with the drums playing crashing cymbal accents before becoming silent for a cowbell pattern and shaken tambourine to punctuate the now drone-like, ensemble sound.

10.9 Ritual performance continuity: Blue Notes for Mongezi as projection beyond exile

In asserting the improvised continuity of musical performances documented in Blue Notes for Mongezi, the sound textures heard at the end of the Second Movement continue in the cascading atonalism of a high piano register, paired *agogo* bell sounds, tambourine and *arco* bass. The looseness suggested in the rhythmic and harmonic structure of this passage has been noted earlier, in its intermissive deployment towards launching new ideas for improvisatory expansion, or a ritual contextualization of the ongoing musical

performance. It is the bass that now introduces, *pizzicato*, a rhythmic *ostinato* pattern based on the first three notes of the E minor pentatonic scale, anchored by a resonating low E bass string. The pattern is initially picked up by a paired set of *agogo* bells, followed by a cymbal and bass-drum-accented pattern as the piano continues inventing in its mid-to-high register range. Soon the drum drops out from a high point it had reached in its syncopated rhythmic pattern, leaving only the *agogo* bell-pattern, the piano and a *pizzicato* bass ostinato (Musical Excerpt 10.26). As the piano retreats, the bass *ostinato* changes to what sounds like the beginnings of Johnny Dyani's later composition entitled *Dedicated to Mingus* (Mbizo [1982]), followed by a reiterative Mingus-like blues phrase, over a now dissonant *legato* piano phrasing. This retrograde compositional relationship points to a symbolic significance that was to be occupied by the document of Blue Notes for Mongezi in the unfolding careers of the Blue Notes following Mongezi's death. Over the established musical texture and with the bass extemporizing free, *legato* lines, Dudu Pukwana recites the following lines as of a poem in English:

> Like the sun is for the moon
> I am your shadow
> Without me you are nothing
> But an unsmiling wind
> Hallowed be thy night
> As Fez, as Feza
> As Fez as Feza
> As Fez as Feza

In its consolidation, the new improvisational idea develops with the bass intoning Mingus-like blues-influenced lines while the piano continues, and the two instruments are in a duet. The bass develops its lines into an *ostinato*, riffing on the first four notes of the blues scale against the piano's cascading polytonal phrasing, or even suggesting an influence of Schoenberg's method of tonal organisation. The drum joins the duet by playing a supporting rhythm to the bass *ostinato* (using mallets on snare drum) and sock cymbal played on the second and fourth beat of each 4/4 measure. The alto saxophone comes in to complete a quartet sound that is now firmly framed by a blues-based bass *ostinato* and a mallet snare rhythm resembling a galloping horse (Musical Excerpt 10.27). The relentless mallet-snare drum pattern reduces to a sock cymbal down beat on the 2 and 4 of the measure, upon which the bass immediately switches to a pedal figure on a B-flat below middle-C. The drum is now playing freely. So is the piano, in a dissonant

atonalism. The alto saxophone, which has been improvising modally all along, now embarks on a jagged attack of rapid, free-form phrasing as the ensemble's total sonic structure recaps the emotional tones first encountered at the very beginning of the session. As the alto saxophone solo ends on a sustained E-flat above middle-C, the piano takes a solo position against the driving drum and bass. When the alto saxophone returns, the drum indicates a 'break,' which the whole ensemble observes, momentarily leaving the hard-swinging bass to take the gap, before resuming the rhythmic and textural relationship as before.

In signalling the anticipated change Dudu Pukwana plays a consonantly descending melodic phrase using the notes: D, C, B-flat, A, G and F on the saxophone, on a repeat of which the bass changes to suggest a cyclic diatonic structure of I – IV and V in the key of F major. The drum is playing a ride-cymbal double-time pattern which, although interspersed with a backbeat on the snare drum, sounds like an up-tempo interpretation of *mgqashiyo*[56] brush-snare triplet-figure. When Louis Moholo lays off, Chris McGregor follows him out on the piano, leaving Johnny Dyani's bass to outline a cyclic harmonic pattern in duet with the alto saxophone. When the piano comes in again, Pukwana switches to the whistle, on which he improvises by simultaneously blowing and singing into it. Upon this, Dyani begins to sing the following lyrics (Musical Excerpt 10.28):

UMongez' unebhulukwe elinzima	(Mongezi has got heavy pants)
UMongez' unebhulukwe elinzima	
UMongez' unxiba ibhulukhwe elinzima	(Mongezi wears heavy pants)
UMongez' unebhulukhwe elinzima	
Andiyazi ub'ulithathephi	(I do not know where got them from)
UMongez' unebhatj' enzima	(Mongezi has got a heavy jacket)
Andiyaz' ubulithathaphi	
UMongez' unebhulukhw' elinzima	
Andiyaz' ubulithathephi	

The candid tone of the lyrics clearly indicates a relaxation in comparison with the preceding musical performances, whose improvised programming bore the grave formality of a 'ritual within a ritual.' There is no transcendence of the overt context of remembrance, save for the musical performances' extended form, which parallels that of a vigil. The lyrics carry with them an anecdotal ambiguity in their reminiscences about

[56] One of the names given to the *mbaqanga* style after 1960, characterized by the proletarian and migrant urban culture of its setting – an urban black popular music performed on electric guitars, saxophones and drums and incorporating 'groaning' male lead singers backed by an all-female chorus.

intriguing, curious aspects of friendship. The reference to 'heavy' pants here alludes to 'hip-ness,' and being fashionable in the sense of pointing the way 'style' is yet to take. It is a well-known fact that considering his disadvantaged black township background, Mongezi's uncanny facility on the trumpet was unbelievable, even by those musicians who had shared a large part of his musical development. The amazement of all who heard Mongezi formidable style, and the competitive edge of his achievement on the instrument in a relatively short time, is celebrated by Johnny Dyani in the following lyrics:

UMongz' udlal' itrumpet enzima	(Mongezi plays a heavy trumpet)
Andiyaz' ubuyifundephi	(I do not know where he learned it)
UMongez' udlal' ixilong' elinzima	(Mongezi plays a heavy brass horn)
Andiyaz' uyifumenephi	(I do not know where he got it from)

As an achievement, this was something to be witnessed and also celebrated by people at home in South Africa. This was the final message of Dyani's textual improvisation, the imagining of a celebration that awaited the Blue Notes' homecoming as a result of their musical accomplishments in the world. Despite the light-hearted tone of this final movement, sorrow creeps back in the reality of circumstances that had taken Mongezi away before he could return home, as the words below reveal:

Uma sifik'ekhaya	(When we arrive back home)
Bojabula bonke	(Everybody will rejoice)
Uma sifik' ekhaya	(When we arrive home)
Bazojabula bonke	(They will all be happy)
Qho masibuyel' ekhaya	(When we finally return home)
Bojabula bonke ekhaya	(All will rejoice at home)

The use of *mbaqanga* orchestration in a performance registering the unbearable loss of an invaluable comrade also articulates a projection of fulfilment beyond exile as Dyani ends with a refrain that is directed to the Blue Notes themselves, and perhaps other South Africans exiles:

Wooooooo	(Alas ……)
Silindel' ingomso	(We are waiting for the future)
Wo ooooo	
Silindel' ingomso	(We are waiting for the future)
Wo ooooo	
Masilindel' ingomso	(Let us wait for the future)
Wo ooooo	
Masilindel' ingomso	(Let us wait for the future)

Towards the end of the album, Johnny Dyani stops playing the bass even as he is still singing, and Dudu Pukwana Dudu stops improvising on the sax and beats out a rhythm on the *agogo*, and over a drum and piano duet, Dyani continues to sing:

Wo ooooo	(Alas …..)
Masithembele ku ngomso	(Let us have faith in the future)
Sonke	(All of us)
Masithembele ngengomso	(Let us have faith in the future)
Wo ooooo	
Masithembele ngengomso	(Let us have faith in the future)
Wo ooooo	
Masithembele ngengomso	(Let us have faith in the future)

The album's final performance finishes with Dyani's refrain and finally just a drum and piano duet, ending with the chord I of a *mbaqanga* harmonic cycle in the key of F, with the piano sounding two notes of a tri-tone interval F and B at the range of an octave higher than F above middle-C.

10.10 Blue Notes in Concert Volume 1 (1977): non-racialism and the practice of a musical 'triple-consciousness'

In the preceding section I have alluded to the galvanising effect of Mongezi's death, in bringing about a reunion of members of the Blue Notes, who were already carving out musical careers independently of the former band structure. Chris McGregor's departure for the south of France in 1973 and Johnny's for Scandinavia at about the same time had left only Dudu Pukwana, Mongezi Feza and Louis Moholo in London. In the interim before Mongezi's death on 14 December 1975, the three Blue Notes' members constituted the core of Dudu Pukwana's band, Spear. The involvement of Mongezi Feza and Louis Moholo in Pukwana's Spear and Assegai ensembles was documented in several albums from 1969. Among such albums are Spear (1969), Assagai (1971), Zimbabwe (1972), In the Townships (1973), Flute Music (1974) and Diamond Express (1974). The deeply ideological musical orientation of Spear's recorded repertoires in a black South African cultural performance experience was discussed in Chapter 8. In an oppositional construction (specifically to apartheid) of the Blue Notes' non-racial composition, the racial stratification suggested by these structures in exile, particularly in their exclusion of both Chris McGregor and Ronnie Beer, may not be

easily dismissed. A growing critique of historical representations of black oppositional discourses by white liberal political spokespersons may have been the root cause of tensions expressed in the ideological fragmentation of the Blue Notes. Maxine McGregor was later to put on record some of the issues contributing to a breakdown in trust and further eroding co-operative collaboration between exiled members of the Blue Notes. Echoing a much-lamented paucity of such a context for performing together, the release by Ogun Records of Blue Notes in Concert from a live performance by the Blue Notes at London's 100 Club in April 1977 was cited as a rare occurrence (McGregor 1994:172). On the occasion of travelling to attend Mongezi's memorial, Chris McGregor is said to have been both 'devastated by the death of Mongezi' as well as being 'very depressed by the atmosphere he found in London' immediately thereafter, as Maxine later explained:

> There had always been a few trouble-makers in the South African exile community … [and … s]omeone amongst these, looking for a scapegoat, spread a rumour to the effect that Chris had exploited Mongezi. It was not believed by many, especially those who knew Chris and the Blue Notes, but it left a bad taste and Chris came back very depressed; although it was not his habit to talk about unpleasant things much he was obviously extremely hurt. (McGregor 1994:164)

Chris McGregor's rural roots and his pioneering participation in non-racial, urban popular musical performance had arguably immunised him against a blanket accusation of harbouring the 'white racism' characterising the country's historical social and political relationships at the height of apartheid. Indeed, McGregor had occasionally been called upon to act out roles which mimicked the exploitative and marginalising aspects of South African racial relationships. At the height of the first state of emergency, the only way he could get black musicians beyond military and police cordons around townships such as Langa in Cape Town was to act like a typical *baas* transporting 'his' labourers, or 'boys', to work and seemingly breaking a workers' strike action (McGregor 1994:18).

In exile, perhaps more than within South Africa itself, the anti-apartheid argument and canvassing for a worldwide condemnation of apartheid, had honed incisive debates towards a repudiation of country's white dominant position. The discursive appeal of this lobby towards a singularly broad base of a global popular understanding obviously did not prioritise rhetorical emphases on phenomenally rare cultural exceptions such as Chris McGregor. Furthermore, a conscious decision by the black members of the Blue Notes, especially Dudu Pukwana, to orient their musical styles towards the finer details of

African musical experience and the particularities of indigenous cultural performance practice, was a challenge to Chris McGregor's privileged experience of being African. As a socio-musical intervention, McGregor's convening of a non-racial big band the Brotherhood of Breath – because of its conceptual reliance on experiences and abilities of African victims of apartheid as represented by the Blue Notes – could not escape radical accusatory arguments of exploitation. An incident, in which Louis Moholo asked for a raise, on account of his involvement in the Brotherhood of Breath's first continental tour, was recalled by Maxine as follows:

> On the morning that the first group of musicians were to leave by train, Louis … approached Chris with a complaint about the amount he was to be paid … when Chris professed himself to be unable to offer more Louis walked out of the door and disappeared into London! If we'd been missing a horn player it might have not mattered so very much, but one of the most important things about the Brotherhood, and that which made it stand out from other bands, was its rhythm section which gave it that strong beat and particularly African flavour. There was no one who could replace Louis … (McGregor 1994:131)

While the episode may not have been unusual in normal worker-employer relationships, it was highly suggestive in this context. Moholo's bargaining for more pay might have stemmed from his expectation of better returns for South African members of the Brotherhood of Breath than for non-South Africans. The panic-inducing situation described above had a positive ending, however, as a result of Maxine's last ditch attempts at locating the drummer, on whose presence hung the success of the band's continental debut, and perhaps its future as well:

> I rang up everyone I could think of that he might have gone to see and without success until I stumbled upon Maria McLachlan … who was a good friend of his and who [] managed to get him on the phone and as he had by this time cooled down somewhat and was regretting his impulsive behaviour he agreed to come on the tour after all! (McGregor 1994:131)

Taking place in 1971, this episode was still some way away from the time of Chris McGregor's and Johnny Dyani's departure from England to settle on the continent, which marked the widening of the chasms that exile contingencies were wreaking on the band's tenuous interpersonal and musical performance relationships. The Brotherhood of Breath did, however, provide a forum for a limited contact between the estranged members of the Blue Notes and thus perhaps significantly countered racial ideological stratifications suggested in the 'triple-consciousness' of musical alliances in Dudu Pukwana's ensembles.

10.11 Free-jazz and the abstraction of a 'triple-consciousness' in Blue Notes in Concert repertoires

In focusing attention on a structural and ideological coherence of the Blue Notes – in its distinctiveness from other formations they were involved in – the repertoires recorded in Blue Notes in Concert may be understood as a non-racial exploration in practice of black South African musical 'triple-consciousness'. In earlier discussions at the beginning of this dissertation I broached a discussion of a disjunctive relationship between the hybridity characterising the double-consciousness of a diasporic cultural orientation, and indigenous cultural experiences and practice in Africa. The notion of 'triple consciousness' was tentatively defined as a 'participatory consciousness of indigeneity, hybridity and cultural Europeanism' (Chapter 1: 29). This notion was conceived of as a traversal in practice of disjunctive experiences connoted in the historical, political, social and economic stratifications of cultural subjects, and thereby theorises the inadequacy of hybridity to constitute an undisrupted experiential continuum between African indigeneity on the one hand and the overarching legacy of European modernity on the other. An example might be the hybridity expressed in the heterogeneity of jazz as the symbolic musical language of Africans who no longer retained indigenous musical forms in dance, ritual or language, compared with Africans like the Blue Notes who, even while they might not have been fully engaged in its practices, still retained concrete experiences of their cultural indigeneity. In the album Blue Notes in Concert one observes a relative paucity in composition by the African musicians involved, even though Chris McGregor contributed two original titles in *Nqamakwe* and *Manje*. Nqamakwe is the Xhosa name for the area of Blythswood, where Chris McGregor's father was teaching for the Scottish Missionary Society among the detribalised Fingo clans (McGregor 1994:1), while *Manje* is Nguni translation for the title of one of Chris McGregor's earlier compositions, *Now* (Musical Excerpt 2.3). Also in the album, Dudu Pukwana's *Ilizwi* is the only other original (besides *Nqamakwe*) while Gary Windo's and Nick Evans's *Funky Boots*, at less than 40 seconds' duration, is the only non-African title included (twice). Thus out of the album's eight titles, five are listed as traditional repertoires while one, *Msenge Mabelelo*, is an interpretation of East London

pianist Tete Mbambisa's *Umsenge,* which he recorded in 1961 with his vocal group The Four Yanks (Musical Excerpt 2.1). Mbambisa's position in the Blue Notes' musical imagination in exile was that of a pioneering mentor who worked with indigenous elements in a modern jazz musical setting. It may be argued that the success of such musical manipulation relied on a heterogeneous aesthetic elitism of urban musical sensibilities rather than the egalitarianism of indigenous musical practice. It is on the basis of similar arguments that the role of hybridity – even where it remains in touch with its own indigenous dimension – may be seen to be uni-directional in its biases towards elitism in its translative function. In Blue Notes in Concert the musical language deployed to affirm the Blue Notes' precarious non-racialism was necessarily determined as the highest achievement of the double-consciousness of hybridity. In a contingent political and ideological identification with the marginalised culture of a black South African oppressed majority, the musical discourses engaged in through these repertoires blatantly eluded the popular consciousness. Indigenous lyrics, recognisable dance movements or popularly understood rhythms could not readily be appended to most of these titles, even though they claimed to emanate from popular experiences shared with other marginalised Africans. *Nqamakwe* (Musical Excerpt 10.29), in spite of being an abstract idea attributed to Chris McGregor, has in its middle section a bass solo in which Johnny Dyani reiterates the theme of his 1972 composition *Pukwana*, otherwise recognised as *Ithi Gqi* or *Appear,* in its later recordings. In the translation of its title *Now* to Nguni *Manje*, the twelve-bar blues form of Chris McGregor's originally hardbop composition gets even more deconstructed and abstracted in a way that obscures the triple-consciousness connotations of the album's programmatic context. A deconstructive treatment by the Blue Notes in exile of indigenous repertoires such as *We Nduna* has already been discussed (Chapter 9:15).

The delving into cultural resources demonstrated in the programming of Blue Notes in Concert appears to achieve the affirmation and empowerment of indigeneity rather than to invent repertoires based on the theoretical manipulation of musical elements of traditional performance. However, it might be argued that the elitism of an abstract musical construction of this empowerment fails to make available – to an indigeneous

popular consciousness – graspable discursive resources it requires for an eloquent critique of its marginality.

An attribution in Blue Notes in Concert of the title *Kudala* [Long Ago] to the public domain of traditional music is contentious on at least two counts: firstly, in addition to being a waltz, the tune's rhythmic, melodic and harmonic framework betrays a deep heterogeneity, being based on chords I, IV, $I_{6/4}$ and V of the European diatonic major scale (Musical Excerpt 10.30). Secondly, in its recorded performance included in the 1986 live album Thunderbolt by The South African Exiles, the same theme, under the title *Magwazakazo,* is credited in its composition to exiled ex-Malombo Jazz Makers guitarist, Lucky Ranku, (Musical Excerpt 10.31). As a construction of a black South African musical indigeneity out of elements of *marabi* and 19th century *makwaya* traditions, the rendition of *Kudala* (Blue Notes in Concert) is straightforward and does not veer into abstraction in its musical treatment. As was noted of exile performances of ritual musical repertoires such as *[So]Magwaza* (Witchdoctor's Son [1978]), their revered position within a protracted indigenous ceremonial practice appeared to preclude an abstract improvisational manipulation. It might be argued that the attribution in exile, of a 'triple-consciousness' to a discernibly hybrid title such as *Kudala* was echoing a similar construction of *marabi* in the latter's deployment towards the domestication of American big-band swing influence to fashion *mbaqanga*. Finally, the last two titles, *Mama Ndoluse* and *Abalimanga,* are both traditional Xhosa songs whose rendition as a medley with only voices and drum further affirms the conceptual underpinnings of the Blue Notes in Concert album (Musical Excerpt 10.32). Such ideological underpinnings, as I have sought to illustrate, involved the affirmation of meaningful continuities between exile musical performance and African indigenous performance culture.

10.12 Blue Notes for Johnny (1987): an institutionalisation of identity and ritualisation of repertoires

On 25 October 1986 Johnny Dyani died in Berlin after collapsing on stage and going into a coma. Nearly a year later, in his memory, the three remaining members of the Blue

Notes – Chris McGregor, Dudu Pukwana and Louis Moholo – went into a London studio and recorded the album Blue Notes for Johnny. While Johnny Dyani had died young at the age of 39[57], the shock of the event was already in the background of the context of the musical response documented in the album. The last time Dudu Pukwana, Chris McGregor and Johnny Dyani were documented on the same stage had been in May of 1986 at the Open Ohr Festival in Mainz, Germany. However, in the resulting album, Thunderbolt, there were no repertoires in which all three Blue Note musicians performed simultaneously. Nearly a decade had passed since their last performances together as a group in 1977 had been recorded and released in the album Blue Notes In Concert. While the intervening period had been marked by a number of musical collaborations between individual Blue Note members and diverse European and American musicians, none of this activity could be regarded as a reunion. The period of closest co-operation had been in 1977 when all four remaining members of the Blue Notes had toured together and recorded the album Procession as members of the Brotherhood of Breath. The rest of that year, however, had seen Chris McGregor working to establish a solo piano career, releasing the two-volume Piano Song and In His Good Time albums. Louis Moholo had recorded Happy Daze with Elton Dean's Ninesense ensemble, They All Be On This Road with his own Louis Moholo Quartet, and the trio album Tuned Boots with Irene Schweizer (piano) and Rudiger Carl (alto and tenor saxophones, clarinet). Johnny Dyani went to record The Journey album with Abdullah Ibrahim in New York and also appeared in France (with Chris McGregor) in a recording session with an ensemble led by saxophonist Noah Howard. In his octet recording Spirits Rejoice in 1978, Louis Moholo only involved Johnny Dyani, who played bass opposite the exiled South African bassist Harry Miller. In that year, alongside his several recording and performing collaborations with American musicians, Johnny Dyani also invited Dudu Pukwana to record with his Witchdoctor's Son (Witchdoctor's Son) and Quartet (Song For Biko). Dudu himself recorded a collaborative free-improvisation album *Yi Yole* with pianist Misha Mengelberg and Han Bennink (drums, clarinet, viola,

[57] According to the biographical editor Lars Rasmussen, the Home Office in King William's Town bears records showing that Johnny Dyani was born on 4 June, 1947. This is the date that also appeared on Dyani's passport, even though in interviews he himself quoted the date of 30 November 1945, and had celebrated his 40th birthday on 30 November 1985. (Rasmussen 2003:9)

and trombone). The year 1979 saw Moholo recording the album Prag Jamboree in Prague with a large ensemble combining UK and Czechoslovakian free improvising musicians, and touring and recording with the Harry Miller Trio. Among several independent projects, Johnny Dyani recorded two duo albums: Echoes from Africa with Abdullah Ibrahim and African Bass with drummer Clifford Jarvis. He teamed up with Dudu Pukwana for the recording of Witchdoctor's Son's Together album. In the early 1980s Moholo was recording with the Elton Dean Quintet, Keith Tippett, the Harry Miller Trio and others, while Dudu Pukwana established and recorded with his Zila ensemble the albums Sounds Zila (1981), Live in Bracknell and Willisau (1983) and Zila '86 (1986). A definite breakdown in the Blue Notes' tenuous interpersonal relationships occured in 1981when, for the first time, the Brotherhood of Breath toured France and recorded without Dudu Pukwana and Louis Moholo. In France, Chris McGregor tried to involve Johnny Dyani in his collaborations with saxophonist/flautist Doudou Guirand, while Dyani's Scandinavian recording projects – including Grandmother's Teaching (1981), Afrika (1983), Born Under the Heat (1984) and Angolian Cry (1985) – did not involve any of the members of the Blue Notes.

The trend was broken somewhat by The South African Exiles' Thunderbolt project in the first half of 1986. At the instigation of the organisers of the Open Ohr Festival in Mainz, Germany, Chris McGregor had conceived of a dream orchestra comprising the cream of exiled South African jazz-influenced talent. The occasion could have facilitated a kind of reunion, except that Louis Moholo was not able to participate and, besides, the project itself did not reflect the band's own desire to re-mobilise. Less than six months after the event, Johnny Dyani died in the course of a tour of Berlin with Pierre Dørge's New Jungle Orchestra (Dyani 2003). By the time Chris McGregor was able to join Louis Moholo and Dudu Pukwana in London the following year for the recording of Blue Notes for Johnny, Pukwana's health was also deteriorating (McGregor 1994:205). Louis Moholo was later to ascribe to Pukwana's poor health the fact that they (Pukwana and Louis Moholo) were never able to do a commemorative performance following Chris McGregor's death from cancer in 1990:

> So in the end it was just me and Dudu. So I phone Dudu to make this benefit concert and we were just arranging this with Dudu ... we were supposed to do a duet. Dudu said he didn't have energy for a duet and that I should please be kind and maybe put in a bass player and we wanted Rogers, or maybe Dave Holland to do the gig ... and two days after that, I heard Dudu died, and I really

> freaked out. (Louis Moholo in a British Arts Council /Channel 4 video *Blue Notes & Exiled Voices* [1990])

The recording Blue Notes For Johnny thus remains the last document of the Blue Notes' performing together as such. Like their previous recordings in exile – Blue Notes For Mongezi (1975) and Blue Notes In Concert (1977) – the album's repertoires narrate a unique construction of the band's musical identity. However, the last recording also stands remarkably contrasted with the former two recordings in its direct symbolic referencing of the band's identity to its own historical performance trajectories. In this process certain repertoires – of individual and shared discursive engagement with a particularly South African, exilic performance culture – are ritualised.

In the past decade, black South African musical performance scholarship has begun to reconsider the role of music in contemporary global cultural relationships (Erlmann 1999). This view has not emanated solely from considerations of music's mediating function in 'an interactive social context,' but also from the observation of the processes whereby music has ceased to 'signi[fy] something outside of itself' but is evolving into 'a medium that mediates, as it were, mediation' (Erlmann 1999:6). In this context, it is argued, the mediating function of syncretism in the musical performances by the African Choir in the UK and Scotland in the late nineteenth century transcended 'locally situated practice and collectively maintained memory' (Erlmann 1999:6).

Erlmann believes that the intactness of idiomatic references (where they are detectable) in the chosen repertoires is of secondary importance to the constructions of alternative contexts for social interaction and ways of being in the world. The repertoires included in Blue Notes for Johnny may be understood in their archival function as preserving memories, and memory occupies a pivotal position in the exilic imaginary. The inevitable demise of the Blue Notes was not only the result of death in exile of its individual members, but was also expressive of the de-contextualisation of rituals and practices that had sustained the members' social cohesion. The silence threatening the memories that kept the Blue Notes together could be countered only through the rehabilitation of the sounds expressing the group's intimacy. This mutual construction conceptually supersedes the grounding of their previous musical reunions in their identification with

the South African historical, political and cultural condition. In echoing the context of the recording – a memorial service for Johnny Dyani – six out of the seven titles recorded were original compositions by the Blue Notes, and one, *Ntyilo Ntyilo,* was a popular South African ballad, recognisable by its melody. Of the six original compositions, two (*Funk Dem Dudu* and *Ithi Gqi*) out of three by Dyani were celebrated the tenuous bonds between the individual members of the Blue Notes, while one, *Eyomzi*, alluded to the intimacy of family issues. A previous discussion described the musical and social underpinnings of both *Ithi Gqi* and *Eyomzi,* and in particular the latter's allusion to Dyani's difficult circumstances of birth, as well as the music's evocation of diasporic cultural relationships (Chapter 9:24). A symbolic musical monument to the memory of the Blue Notes may be recognised in the inclusion in Blue Notes for Johnny of *Blues For Nick* and *Mon[g]s and Mbizo* (Musical Example 10.33), both titles dedicated to three departed members of the group. This function of the album is further emphasised in Chris McGregor's poem 'To Mbizo.' A short but similar epitaph was included on the album cover of Blue Notes for Mongezi (Musical Transcription 15). In the poem 'To Mbizo' Chris McGregor wrote the following lines:

> We always knew there was a place for us, my brother;
> We had a friend, and *Tixo*[58] is his name
> Too soon you've gone to join his band, my brother;
> And left us here to carry on your flame.
> The place you left cannot be filled by any other
> Our music will no longer be the same
> But this we know:
> That in the works of all our future art
> Will beat the graceful echo
> Of your generous, loving heart.

Finally, a short theme of the South African national anthem, *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika,* is played by Dudu Pukwana on alto saxophone in the final minute of the rendition of Johnny Dyani's *Ithi Gqi!* (Musical Excerpt 10.34). The performance of the national anthem at the end of functions of a civic or national significance was itself a ritual, whose symbolic significance was the legitimating of the black struggle for liberation. Johnny Dyani had intoned the anthem in a similar ritual performance following the death of Mongezi Feza (Musical Excerpt 3.1). In quoting *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika,* Dudu Pukwana

[58] Xhosa name for God (Fischer 1985:251).

was affirming the Blue Notes exiles' representativity of a postponed and envisaged, post-apartheid South African national identity. This sentiment was later put into perspective by the only surviving member of the original sextet, when he ended one of his interviews in 1990 by saying that:

> It is very sad ... because some of us have worked for a free South Africa and now, it is becoming ... it's not yet free ... but something is becoming ... and then we're going to get a South Africa without these people ... I somehow get disturbed by this thought ... Of course it's sad like that, that these people have worked so hard for South Africa as well ... I mean like: we've been in and out of the motorway working for Mandela! Really, even today somebody said to me because in every concert I make I say "Free Mandela Free Mandela" ... every concert I make ... it comes from the heart as well ... and we've suffered a lot as well as people from South Africa in exile. And we have been shouting up and down the motorway, working for the movements. Not maybe particularly for the ANC or the PAC, but to liberate South Africa! So I don't know what kind of a South Africa we gonna have without Dudu ... for a start! Johnny, Mongs, Nick ... can you imagine! (Louis Moholo in Blue Notes & Exiled Voices, September 1990)

CHAPTER 11

Some Conclusions – The South African 'Blue Notes': Bebop Jazz, Apartheid and the Exiling of a Musical Imagination

In undertaking this study I was drawn by a curiosity ensuing from a vague awareness of the Blue Notes' South African jazz legends and global cultural agency in an elaboration of South African musical performance in exile. Disparate narratives of the Blue Notes' tragic circumstances – their flight from apartheid, a protracted exile, the profundity of their influence on musicians and audiences alike – often conveyed a persistent image of the band's resistance against immense odds. For me as a young South African student of jazz in the 1980s, such snippets of the group's unfinished story resonated with creative energies of ideological cultural resistance. As one among students who sought to register with the newly-available opportunity of formal jazz studies in the mid-1980s – and specifically at the then University of Natal's Music Department – the Blue Notes' legend provided a model of achievement and a global recognition for marginal township cultural experiences. In these possibilities were etched an immediate relevance for township jazz-oriented musical culture to engage in resistance practices that were prioritising an escalating, international anti-apartheid discourse. Cultural developments that had facilitated the re-emergence of South African township jazz practices long silenced by apartheid, including the resurfacing in the 1980s of re-energised 1950s *mbaqanga* musicians and ensembles – among them the Elite Swingsters and various members of the African Jazz Pioneers – further buttressed ideological alliances between creative jazz pursuits and popular resistance against apartheid. It might also be argued that an understanding of continuities between cultural resistance at home and in exile was further necessitated by the implication – in internecine black-on-black political violence since the early 1980s – of ideological disjunctures between domestic and exile strategies of resistance.

In the diffuseness of a popular understanding of South African exile culture the Blue Notes were assumed to be a resilient musical formation that featured regularly in public

performances and recordings abroad. A closer acquaintance with the subject, however, soon revealed paucity in documentary accounts or musical recordings that would support this image one had of the Blue Notes. A tragic reading of the Blue Notes' passage in exile is conveyed by none other than the eminent producer Joe Boyd, once the manager of one of the Blue Notes' several remobilising attempts in the late 1960s:

> Mongezi came down with tuberculosis [which] modern medicine is supposed to be able to treat but couldn't cure the scrawny Monks and he died; Chris and his wife Maxine moved to a mill in Gascony where … Chris found a more welcoming atmosphere in the French Jazz world … Dudu persevered in London with a *kwela*-jazz fusion group, achieving small triumphs, growing fatter and drinking more; Johnny overdosed [on heroin] in 1986 in Denmark; In 1988 I helped Chris make Country Cooking … [h]e fell sick soon after and the doctors found cancer throughout his body. He flew home to the Valley of Lot [et Garonne] and lay in his bed, surrounded by family, friends and candlelight, and died within days. Two years later[59] Dudu succumbed to a heart attack. (Boyd 2006:214-8)

The lack of sustained performance or recording engagements had proven fatal for the continued existence of the Blue Notes, as it did for many of the band members' other musical projects in exile. A lack of substantial musical documentation that was equally applicable to the Blue Notes' exile and pre-exile periods challenged attempts at a historical construction of the group's musical identity based on repertoires. Furthermore the group's social identity in the document of popular culture was also a sketchy one, as a result of the fringe status of a South African bebop practice and the social marginality of the style's practitioners who were living under the shadow of apartheid. All these challenges appeared to point to the centrality of identity, its elusive and shifting nature in the musical performance discourses which embroil marginalised cultural subjects such as represented by the Blue Notes' under apartheid and in exile. The Blue Notes' cultural representativity of diverse South African musical performance practices far surpassed their own physically disparate locatedness as a cultural minority in exile. Outnumbered as an immigrant minority social group and further alienated by individual dislocation, the Blue Notes could not conceivably represent satisfactorily the depth and diversity of musical culture such as South Africa's.

Several ethnographies of southern African performance history, historical performance sociology and cultural studies have all remarked on the deep syncretism characterising

[59] Chris McGregor and Dudu Pukwana died virtually within a month of each other in 1990, on 26 May and 28 June respectively.

South Africa's post-colonial musical performance. Discourses emanating from these texts have also documented a constant engagement of marginalised African subjects in musical performances which mediate their shifting identities in the contestations of power determining their historical, subordinate position (Ranger 1975; Coplan 1980, 1985; Cockrell 1987; Erlmann 1991, 1996, 1999; Ballantine 1989, 1993; Hamm 1988; Clegg 1981; Muller 2004; Comaroff & Comaroff 1992; Titlestad 2004; Lucia 2005; Ansell 2004; and others). All of these texts have remarked on the mediating processes within which was increasingly necessitated the role of syncretic musical performance in a discursive negotiation of African identities in relation to their local and global marginality. Some of the early documented ideological processes pertaining to a syncretic musical engagement were noted of the African Native Choir in the 1890s, leading to an observation regarding their repertoires:

> Although, then, the musics originated in South Africa, the examples - and the various transformations, versions, and interpretations they engendered - are also inextricably tied up with places and events far beyond South Africa. In fact, it is in the light of these far-reaching linkages that a future South African musical history might conceivably have to be written as a chronicle of much larger spatial dimensions. (Erlmann 1999:9)

The trajectories of the African Native Choir in the 1890s and the Blue Notes in the last decades of the twentieth century arguably illustrate a historicity of popular musical performance in mediating the marginal position of black South Africans through their adaptive cultural practices since colonisation. In ensuing from a deep musical heterogeneity of (post)colonial African cultural experiences, both projects appear to have been couched in a defiance of racially determined cultural categorizations underpinning the historically subjugated position of black people in South Africa. The African Native Choir was convened in Kimberley by two white professional performers in January 1891 and, following a whirlwind tour of the Cape Colony, was expanded significantly with the addition of Lovedale College students (Erlmann 1999:13). Nearly six decades later in Cape Town, the Blue Notes were consolidated under the leadership of Chris McGregor, a white jazz musician, to embark on a European visit that culminated in a long period of exile. The African Native Choir's 1891 tour of England was modelled on a visit to South Africa in 1890, by Orpheus McAdoo's Virginia Jubilee Singers from Hampton, Virginia (Erlmann 1999:13). It is also along historical ideological trajectories of a particularly

black South African engagement with African American culture that on the eve of their exile, the Blue Notes were deeply immersed in the practice of African American-influenced post-bebop jazz. In their comparable positioning within a stratified heterogeneity of mission and urban musical performance practices, both the African Native Choir and the Blue Notes represented an advance guard mediating hybridity and adaptive changes that had, since the colonial encounter, become the hallmark of African cultural experiences. The ideological marginality of both formations in their respective eras – with regards to cultural performance practices of the indigenous majority – particularises their mediation in musical performance, of disjunctive cultural experiences of African subjects of a global Western modernity.

Contemporary realities of 'changing social, territorial, and cultural reproduction of group identity', and challenges of ethnographic representation 'as groups migrate, regroup in new locations, reconfigure their histories, and reconfigure' their original ideological projects, were broached in Arjun Appadurai's essay 'Global Ethnoscapes: Notes and Queries for a Transnational Anthropology' (Fox 1991:191). A negotiation of the contestations of social, individual, group and national identities in musical performance appears to be echoed in the fragmentary processes in which the Blue Notes' identity narratives are embedded. In the disjunctive context of postcolonial and apartheid social stratifications of South African popular performance, narratives of the group's identity are suffused with the ideological power contestations of a heterogeneous, domestic culture.

The ideological contestations and fluctuating contexts of social identity are illustrated in the Blue Notes' simultaneous engagement – in the early 1960s – with both a subcultural non-racialism of a South African bebop practice and the popular, black urban dance idioms of *mbaqanga*. The identification of the Blue Notes with the minority intellectualism of bebop before exile, stood in a discursive, dialectical relationship the African majority's popular musical culture of *mbaqanga*, as is heard in their unissued musical recordings from 1963 (Musical Excerpts 2.14 to 2.19). It was, however, the alienating commercialism of the *mbaqanga* studio-production process that was cited by Blue Notes' members as among the main reasons for their reluctance in cementing

several potential opportunities to participate in the mass-production of the genre in the 1950s and the early 1960s. Chris McGregor later described vividly the conveyor-belt process of *mbaqanga* production at Gallo studios in Johannesburg around 1962, and his repulsion as a result of 'a certain cut-throat competitiveness about it that I couldn't handle at all' (Ballantine 1986). In a 1964 interview with *Drum* magazine photographer and journalist, G. R. Naidoo, Nick Moyake conveyed a similar alienation with the commercial production processes of *mbaqanga*:

> [I]f I was playing *mbaqanga* instead of jazz I will have made myself thousands. You see, in the commercial world you are paid for what you are asked to play. That's no good musically. It worried me ... I had a job to do in Cape Town and that's where I met you cats there – I was lucky you know. Otherwise I would have gone back to my *mbaqanga*; back to my commercial junk … [t]o me the whole thing is wrong … playing commercial music. (Nick Moyake, quoted in *Drum* magazine, June 1964)

These statements point to ideological tensions inherent in the contradictory position assumed by the Blue Notes, in choosing the minority sensibility of bebop to communicate marginal experiences of the majority of apartheid's subjects. The exiling of Blue Notes appears to have foreclosed a consummation of the ideological contestations inherent in their radical ideological positioning in relation to the broad appeal of *mbaqanga*. Such a consummation would have reconciled the symbolic potential of *mbaqanga* as a subversive practice of subaltern popular culture on the one hand, and on the other hand, the styles' exploitation in the rampant profiteering practices of the record producing industry. This reconciliation, as I have sought to argue in my discussions, was achieved and vigorously pursued in exile, with the Blue Notes musically articulating a triple consciousness simultaneously with their advancing of the free jazz idiom. As an engagement with popular culture in exile, this process draws attention to contemporary discourses of marginal subjectivism and ideological power contestations beyond the territorial circumscriptions of homeland cultural practice.

In a South African consumption of influential texts, including musical styles, of U.S. popular culture was entailed a construction of individual and social cultural identities. Musical performance responses of marginalised colonial and apartheid subjects resulting from participation in a global cultural consumption likewise demanded a negotiation of individual and social cultural identities of a simultaneous local and global resonance. The Blue Notes' engagement with the American bebop influence as a text of global popular culture could be regarded as a form of extraterritorial cultural subjectivism. Individual and social identities in musical performance which responded to such extraneous cultural influences, thus straddled ideological conjunctures and disjunctures permeating historical experiences in which bebop and South African popular musical practices were discretely embedded. The embedding of the Blue Notes' identities and repertoires in discourses of translocation may be seen as commencing not only with the group's exiling, but also in their stylistic engagement with cultural products of global flows. As an articulation, in musical performance practice, of the ramifications of global ideological power on African cultural experiences, this engagement process sounded out a global solidarity for a South African resisting imagination.

In my discussions of the Blue Notes' repertoires in exile I have alluded to the potential of their musical practice to empower the discursive resistance of a popular cultural engagement by black South Africans marginalised by apartheid. In an inaccessibility[60] of such musical products and texts to a subaltern popular consciousness is implicated financial and ideoscapic flows in a disjunctive transmission of particularly empowering texts of a global popular culture. In other words, eloquent social and political discourses suffusing musical performance practices of the Blue Notes in exile were rendered inaccessible to the majority of black South Africans for the articulation of their position within the complexities of their historically subjugated condition.

[60] In addition to the few initial print orders of most of the albums involving the Blue Notes in exile, their repertoires were never broadcast on South African radio, nor were they promoted by the recorded music retail industry.

The subversiveness of the Blue Notes' ideological positioning in South African performance practice was neutralized as a result of their exiling and excision from a radical subcultural mobilisatory movement. However, in their musical development in exile, which culturally straddled global modernity, African heterogeneity and triple-consciousness, was arguably modelled an ideological reconciliation of South Africa's social and intellectual class stratifications hindering a cohesive domestic anti-apartheid discourse. This role however, may be seen to have been achieved as a result of a contradictory ideological position entailed in the group's imaginary inhabitation of two geographically and socially distinct cultural territories. Part of this contradiction lay in the Blue Notes' pioneering in exile, of a subcultural avant-garde idiom remarkable for its ambivalence to popular patronage, while their own unifying ideology was an expressive appeal to the cultural consciousness of South Africa's majority population. In this regard the Blue Notes musical development in exile maybe understood to be framed by an ideological marginality that is contrasted to their socialisation in a resisting popular consciousness of black South African musical performance culture. As global migrants, the Blue Notes were challenged to contextualize radical cultural experiences of their exiling with those of their African socialization. Their cultural performance responses entailed delicate translative processes negotiating historical asymmetries between practices of western modernity and their mediated influences in historical, global subjective experiences.

South African musical performance history documents the popular musical symbolism of a deep syncretism expressed in the performance practices of diverse and socially stratified cultural groups. In the fragmentary experiences of uprooted native South African subjects and their quest to articulate cultural continuity and meaning, performance functioned as a 'signifying practice [which] mediates between heterogeneous worlds by constructing social spaces in which the coherence of lived experience is re-established' (Erlmann 1991:5). I have sought to map a historical embedding of the Blue Notes' repertoires in South African and global musical performance discourses in which syncretism, as an embedded characteristic of popular culture, mediates a contestation of cultural symbols and negotiations of individual, social

and national cultural identities. As an essentially adaptive practice, syncretism manifests as a form of improvisation which is constantly elaborated in a juxtaposition of musical styles and new cultural experiences in contemporary musical culture. In this process, domestication may be understood as a form of resistance practiced as a limitation of the dominant foreignness of privileged cultural influences, by blending them with native elements. This resisting potential of hybridity emanates from the suitability of improvised syncretic forms to escape canonicity and its determination and fixing of cultural identities. My view however, is tempered by an awareness of an apparent contradiction in a postcolonial subaltern condition, whereby ideologically mobilising processes of resistance oppositionally affirm authentic identities of a marginalised indigeneity. In this sense black ideological resistance in South Africa was particularly contradictory in necessitating a sublimation of indigenous ethnic particularities as a counter to apartheid's categorisations for marginalisation. It may well be such contradictions that challenge a mobilisatory popular cultural activism to translate eloquent vocabularies for use by a marginalised majority towards a critique of ideologies of its domination.

In my focus on the discursivity of South African cultural experiences in musical performance, I have argued for the appeal of a complex language of jazz, and in particular bebop, in articulating a global condition of African marginality. The Blue Notes represent a unique grasp of the idiom's appeal to a generation of South African jazz-influenced musicians. In their elucidation of bebop's continuities with free-jazz, the Blue Notes articulated interpretations of their African indigenous heritage – and thereby its musical pertinence in a contemporary global cultural consciousness.

In South African jazz-performance practice, the marginality of bebop would possibly invite a critical discourse in its apparent eliding of a large swathe of indigenous musical performance sensibility. Bebop faced similar challenges in its representativity of African American popular musical performance culture. Hard bop – as an articulation of the broader consciousness of African American performance history – was a response to these challenges. This deployment of hard bop in African American post bebop jazz was arguably paralleled in individual and collective musical developments among the Blue

Notes in exile, in musical practices that sought resonance with their socialisation in African cultural performance. It may further be contested that the semblance of structural coherence of an otherwise long-disintegrated ensemble, depended on a level of ideological resonances between the individual Blue Notes' musical approaches in exile. The Blue Notes' consistent delving into similar repertorial resources in their diverse projects, as well as the self-reference in the titling of their rare remobilisations, attest to a desired institutionalisation and rehabilitation of group identity and its ideological resonance with African culture. Despite their early dissolution in exile, the Blue Notes' discernible musical influence in the works of individual members that I have discussed conveys an impression of a sustained organisational coherence. In all of the Blue Notes' diverse musical collaborations, the symbolic continuities characterising their repertoires vividly document an ideological resistance against the neutralisation of their individual, social and national cultural identities. The rare occasions facilitating their reunion were invariably an opportunity to reinforce a shared cultural memory, through repertoires and symbolic musical language, as has been demonstrated in foregoing musical analyses.

In mapping the musical subjects' lifelong reiteration of a cultural identity, my analytical discussions have hoped to bring attention to other, deeper, ongoing contestations between the ascendancy of capital-driven popular culture and persistent ideological assertions of indigeneity and its negotiation of cultural change. This is also true of the post-1994 mainstream ideological rhetoric, which favours the expression of diverse 'indigenous' knowledge[s] as a remedy for the persistent marginality of a vast majority of people, and especially Africans, despite the country's new dispensation. In their staging outside the politeness of the official institutional political process, the social and political events driving the recent (2009) presidential turnover in South Africa arguably point to a swathe of subaltern popular sentiment that had become largely invisible. The window onto popular political expressive sentiment that has been accorded this ideological culture is arguably a small and desperate one, behind which thrives a massive culture of diverse practices, beliefs, rituals and languages whose processing of dominant cultural texts is largely irrelevant to the immutable march of empowered privilege. The notion of a 'triple-consciousness' which I have alluded to is an attempt to convey an awareness of

the reality of parallel cultural worlds (and those in between) which have been perpetuated in the interstices and disjunctures in access to and control of ideas, resources, and useful knowledges. South African history presently documents very few individuals who have dedicated themselves to mediating the processes in which these deeply disparate worlds meaningfully speak to one another (or even speak the same language of humanity).

In their besieged physical and ideological persistence in exile, the Blue Notes arguably demonstrated an awareness of a policed, ideologically controlled, subjugated majority culture in South Africa. Furthermore, in their musical interpretations of the extent to which they were part of this culture, they sought to enliven and globalise its dialogues with dominant contemporaneous cultural experiences. It is to this that my own efforts – albeit admittedly from a weak position of academic privilege – have ultimately been directed.

As an ideological and living heritage, the Blue Notes are not finished. Louis Moholo[61] survives and – as in the days of the group's coercive exile – looks forward to initiating more younger South African musicians into the practice of what may aptly be called a global 'musical humanism'. In celebrating and acknowledging an inspiration based on my own interpretation of the relevance of the Blue Notes' legend, I quote Louis Moholo's testimony to his own inseparable consciousness from, and spiritual awareness of his departed Blue Notes[62] colleagues, when he concluded a 1990 interview as follows:

> Phew! ... Luckily, somehow or the other, they visit me in my sleep. And sometimes I wish I could sleep longer ... I wish I was always asleep, 'cos like they come in my dreams and really like they do ... that's the only time I'm with them, physically, when I'm sleeping. As I say sometimes I wish I could sleep longer ... for days and days ... and have this friendship happening, somewhere out there ... (Louis Moholo in Blue Notes and Exiled Voices, 1990)

---

[61] Since the early 1990s, Louis Moholo began to refer to himself as Louis Moholo-Moholo.

[62] In 2007 President Thabo Mbeki awarded the National Order of Ikhamanga in Silver to the Blue Notes. According to the webpage http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Blue_Notes, 'The citation for the award stated, in part: "Blue Notes goes back to a golden age in South Africa's musical history. The multiracial band's eclectic and uniquely South African rendition of jazz made them a noteworthy jazz band in the international halls of fame. They were once one of the most popular jazz bands in the country, often defying the tyrannical race laws of the country in order to perform." The Order of Ikhamanga in Silver was awarded to the Blue Notes in recognition of their '*EXCELLENT ACHIEVEMENT IN THE GENRE OF JAZZ MUSIC, CONTRIBUTING TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF MUSIC IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS AND DEFYING APARTHEID LAWS BY FORMING A MULTI RACIAL GROUP'*.

APPENDIX I: GLOSSARY

abaphakathi **(**'the middle ones') Xhosa equivalent of *amagxagxa.*

abaqhafi A pre-Second World War urban social class of mainly Zulu domestic, mine and municipal workers who frequented slumyard *shebeens* and whose musical performances reflected the collisions between secular Western culture and proletarianised Zulu society.

amagqobhoka Xhosa name for those who have converted to Christianity.

amagxagxa ('vagrants') Marginal Zulu people who were neither traditional nor Christian in their beliefs and cultural practices.

amahubo A genre of Nguni-Zulu ceremonial songs, the group performances of which are normally accompanied by synchronized body movement and performers carrying shields and sticks.

amakholwa ('believers') The name given to African Christians in Natal.

amalaita Organised Pedi gangs of competitive streetfighters and street criminals in pre-Second World War Johannesburg.

baas Afrikaans for 'boss'.

camagu! A ritual exhortation during a performance of indigenous Xhosa divining ceremony, usually called out by those attending to signal their agreement with the *igqirha's* divination.

famo (from Sotho *ho re famo*: to open nostrils; to raise garments, displaying genitals') Urban Sotho social dancing by individual women for male audiences, to the accompaniment of *focho* (see below) music**.**

focho (lit. 'disorder') A neo-traditional music played by Sotho migrants using guitar, concertina, drum and voice employing a polyphonic movement of parallel fourths and fifths over a three-chord (tonic, subdominant, dominant) harmonic framework.

ghommaliedjies (Malay-Dutch for 'drum-song') Colonial Cape picnic songs in Afrikaans to the accompaniment of a Malay hand-drum called the *ghomma*.

ghoema A style of popular music originating in the Cape under the predominant influences of the region's Malay-Dutch-Khoi heritage as well as the songs and rhythms of the Malay *ghomma* drum.

hosho Calabash hand-rattles, normally played in pairs to accompany *mbira* music of the Shona-speaking people of Zimbabwe.

ibheshu Part of indigenous attire - a garment made of ox-hide, worn by Nguni males tied to the waist and hanging over the buttocks.

igqirha The term for a practitioner of divination in indigenous Xhosa culture.

iitimiti ('tea-meeting') Originally church-organised social occasions of British settlers in the Eastern Capes. In the latter third of the nineteenth century, tea-meetings involving performances of hymns and popular songs were held for fundraising purposes by both rural and urban African church womens' unions. All-night tea-meetings involving consumption of beer, later became popular among Africans in the Cape.

imashi An *a cappella* secular choral music style performed by a group with synchronised stepping movements.

imusic A category of popular music symbolizing the identification of African mission subjects with English cultural values.

indlamu A style of indigenous dance practiced by the Bantu-Nguni of South Africa's eastern coast of Natal and Zululand.

induna 'Headman' or councillor in Zulu tribal culture; originally appointed by the chief; a captain or overseer of unskilled labourers.

ingomabusuku See *isicathamiya.*

intonga Staff, stick normally carried by males, walking stick, the Xhosa term for the traditional fighting stick.

etc.

isicathamiya Also known as ingomabusuku, a neotraditional, Zulu male *a cappella* proletarian musical performance genre, also previously known as *mbube* after a popular 1939 recording of the same title by Solomon Linda and His Evening Birds. Since the late 20th century, the style has been widely popularized by choirs such as the Ladysmith Black Mambazo.

isikhunzi 'Like the coons' the 'coon' minstrel influences on early ingomabusuku.

isimanjemanje See *mgqashiyo.*

istep Synchronised body movements preforemd to secular a cappella choral musica styles such as *umbholoho, imashi*, wedding songs *(izingoma zomshado), isicathamiya,*

itswari (‘soiree’) Musical performance occasions rendered by early ragtime and dixieland jazz-influenced African musicians, particularly in the Eastern Cape towns, for white and middle-class African audiences.

izihlabo Short, introductory instrumental performances, played in a virtuoso style at the beginning of a *maskandi* song as a formal, compositional and structural performance element.

izingoma zomshado A syncretic a cappella choral style of neotraditional weding songs resulting from a secular influence of Wesleyan Methodist hymns and performed at both urban and rural Zulu weddings.

jive A later development in the style of *mbaqanga* (African jazz) that became characterized by its instrumental ensemble orchestration with a saxophone soloist upfront.

kwela An instrumental urban popular music style from the 1950s fashioned by youth imitating their favourite big-band *mbaqanga* heroes and performed outdoors on city street corners to entertain passersby.

lerabi (Sotho: ‘lawless person; gangster’) Singular noun for the term *marabi*.

likoata **(‘**squatter’, ‘rude’ and ‘uncivilized’) Lesotho migrants who returned from the mines on the Reef having been desocialised and thus alienated from rural life and their tribal roots.

majuba jazz Another name for African jazz in the 1940s (see *mbaqanga*).

makgomocha(Tswana)***/Amakumsha***(Xhosa)/***Amahumusha*** (Zulu) Terms referring to the English or Afrikaans-speaking urban African proletariat, and expressive of a general mistrust of this social class by traditionalists.

makwaya Choir music, as particularly practiced by mission-educated Africans since the nineteenth century.

marabi A pan-ethnic urban black proletarian music style developed during the early part of the twentieth century; also a term for the dance and drinking occasion where *marabi* was performed; a blanket term describing the crystallization of urban and

indigenous African musical performance styles, particularly those that gave birth to the black jazz vernacular in South Africa.

marapo (Tswana) or ***amathambo*** (Zulu) Rattling bones used as a percussive rhythm instrument, probably emanating from influences of American minstrel traditions since the middle of the 19th century.

maskandi Neo-traditional instrumental music style of performing indigenous songs on Western style musical instruments such as guitar, concertina, and violin; contemporary, recording studio-influenced performances in this genre often include the drum-kit, electric bass-guitar, and a chorus of singers /dancers performing synchronized and stylized *ingoma/indlamu* dance movements.

mbaqanga (Zulu: 'traditional maize-bread') Popular commercial African jazz in the 1950s; after 1960 the term came to denote a neotraditional, proletarian urban music performed on electric guitars, saxophones and drums, and incorporating 'groaner'-type male leading voice backed by a female chorus. The newer versions of *mbaqanga* were known variously as *mgqashiyo* or *isimanjemanje*.

mbira dza vadzimu An ancient lamellaphone of the *kalimba* ('hand-piano') type played by the Shona-speaking people of Zimbabwe in their religious ceremonies for ancestors.

mbube See *isicathamiya*.

mgqashiyo A frenetic, fast, small ensemble version of *mbaqanga* played after 1960 (see also *isimanjemanje*).

ndunduma (Zulu: 'mine dumps') A Natal regional variant of *marabi* in the 1920s; Zulu proletarian concert-and-dance occasions where *ingomabusuku* and *ndunduma marabi* music were performed as an accompaniment to all-night dancing.

oorlams Originally a term for a marginal social category of early Dutch settlerhood in the Cape, subsequently applied to the provinces' early Coloured, Khoi and Xhosa proletariat, and later to Cape Coloured musicians who were part of the *marabi* culture of the early urban black settlements in Johannesburg.

sebono morao (Sotho: 'buttocks behind') One who intends never to return home and thus 'shows only his ass to Lesotho' and a particular category of *likoata* that was closely associated with *focho* music and *famo* dances.

sefela Manifestation in Sotho migrant performance, of traditional recitative musical poetry in expressive performances of social identity.

shebeen (Gaelic: 'little shop') Privately-owned premises from which liquor was sold illegally; provided an important staging of *marabi* economic and musical performance culture.

stokvel A rotating credit association of working-class, urban-African dwellers, whose activities include entertainment, group social upliftment and economic mobilization.

timbila A calabash-resonated xylophone of the Chopi of Mozambique.

tikkiedraai (Afr. 'turn on a tickey') A guitar, banjo, violin or accordion dance music perfected in the late 19th century by Coloured musicians in the Cape.

tsaba tsaba An urban African dance style that became popular in 1940s Johannesburg; a syncretic urban music style blending elements of marabi, African indigenous music, American swing, Latin American *conga* and *rhumba* – used to accompany the *tsaba-tsaba* dance craze.

tula ndivile An urban proletarian music style of the 1920s; a Xhosa variant of *marabi* which shares its name with Johannesburg's Western Native Township.

ukureka 'Ragging' ***an a cappela*** choral music style resulting from early ragtime influences.

umbholoho An *a cappella* musical style resulting from 'polka' influence on early secular makwaya practices.

ukutamba File dancing with uniform movements controlled by a conductor usually using a concertina.

ukukhomikha 'Comic' influence of nineteenth American minstrel repertoires on isicathamiya precursor musica styles.

APPENDIX II: MUSICAL EXERPTS INCLUDED IN THE CD


1.1 *Plea from Africa* by Rev. John Knox Bokwe and words by 'A Glasgow Lady'.


1.2 *Chimes of Ntsikana's Bell*, a Sibelius Notation Software transcription of John Knox Bokwe's Curwen tonic-solfa version.


1.3 *UloThix' oMkhulu (Ntsikana's Great Hymn)* An eighteenth century composition by Ntsikana Gaba as sung in the 1980s by the late Nofinishi Dwyili and women from Ngqoko village, Lady Frere in the Eastern Cape.


2.1. Tete Mbambisa's *Umsenge* as recorded by the Four Yanks in 1961.

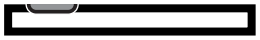

2.2. *Schoolboy* by Dudu Pukwana as first recorded by the Blue Notes in 1962 or 1963.


2.3. *Now* by Chris McGregor as recorded by the Blue Notes in 1964 in the album Blue Notes Legacy – Live in South Afrika.


2.4 *The Blessing Light* by Dudu Pukwana as recorded by the Blue Notes in 1962 or 1963.


2.5 *Take the Coltrane* by Duke Ellington as recorded by the Blue Notes in 1962 or 1963.


2.6 *Angelica* by Duke Ellington as recorded by the Blue Notes in 1962 or 1963.

2.7 *Kay* (Dudu Pukwana) as recorded by the Blue Notes in 1962 or 1963. 


2.8 *Vortex Special* by Chris McGregor as recorded by the Blue Notes in 1962 or 1963.


2.9 *Never Let Me Go* (Livingstone/Evans) as recorded by the Blue Notes in 1962 or 1963.

2.10 *Izithunywa* by Dudu Pukwana as recorded by the Blue Notes in 1963. 


2.11 *Blue Nick* by Dudu Pukwana as recorded by the Blue Notes in 1962 or 1963.


2.12 *Coming Home* by Dudu Pukwana as recorded by the Blue Notes in 1962 or 1963.


2.13 *Dick's Pick* by Chris McGregor as recorded by the Blue Notes in 1962 or 1963.


2.14 *M(b)ra* by Chris 'Columbus' Ngcukana as performed by an ensemble which included trombone and baritone saxophone.


2.15 *Unknown* performance in the township swing style recorded by an ensemble including trombone and & baritone saxophone in 1963.

2.16 *Unknown* (As above). 

2.17 *Unknown* (As above). 

2.18 *Unknown* (As above). 

2.19 *Unknown* (As above). 



3.1 Johnny Dyani's quotation from Enoch Sontonga's *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*, in the Fourth Movement of the Blue Notes' 1976 album Blue Notes for Mongezi.



3.2 Johnny Dyani's and Dollar Brand's interpretation of John Knox Bokwe's Ntsikana ka Gaba's *Chimes of Ntsikana's Bell*, excerpted from the album Good News from Africa (1981).



3.3 Johnny Dyani's *Ithi Gqi (Appear),* as recorded in Louis Moholo's 1978 album entitled Spirits Rejoice.



3.5 Johnny Dyani's *Ithi Gqi (Appear)* from the album Blue Notes for Johnny (1987).



3.6 Johnny Dyani's *Ithi Gqi (Appear)* as performed by the Dedication Orchestra in the Spirits Rejoice (1992) album.



3.7 Johnny Dyani's *Ithi Gqi (Appear)* as recorded in his album Afrika (1983).

4.1 Tom Mabiletsa's *Zulu Piano Medley No.1 Part 1*. 



4.2 *Qua qa* by William and Wilfred Mseleku [HMV GU 107].



4.3 *Sponono naMarabi (Sponono and Marabi)* by Griffiths Motsieloa and Company [Singer GE 67].

4.4 *Ntebejana* by W.P. Zikhali [Columbia AE 45]. 



4.5 *Mabuza* by Willie Gumede's Swing Band [Singer unissued].



4.6 *Marabi No.2 Jive* performed by Hot Lips Dance Band [Rayma RB 5].



4.7 *Tsaba Tsaba ke No.1 (Tsaba Tsaba is No.1)* by Motsieloa's Pitch Black Follies [Singer GE 853].



4.8 *EBhayi* [In Port Elizabeth] by Snowy Hadebe and Company (Singer unissued).



4.9 *UQongqothwane,* a traditional Xhosa beer-song sung by a group of from Ngqoko village, Lady Frere in the Eastern Cape in the 1980s.



4.10 *UQongqothwane,* a jazz interpretation performed by Miriam Makeba with a band during a tour of Scandinavia (Denmark) in the late 1960s.



4.11 *Jikel' Emaweni* as recorded by the Manhattan Brothers.

4.12 *Malayisha* by Havana Swingsters. 

4.13 *Daddy Wami* by Ntemi Piliso's Alexandra All Stars. 

4.14 *Mfishane* recorded as played by Father Trevor Huddlestone Band. 

4.15 *De Makeba* by McKay Davashe as recorded by Jazz Dazzlers or Shantytown Sextet. (See also 5.14) 

5.1 *Venda Introduction* by Sampson Singo in John Mehegan's Jazz in Africa Vol. 1 (1959). 

5.2 Mackay Davashe's *Mabomvana* in B-flat major as recorded in John Mehegan's Jazz in Africa Vol. 2 (1959). 

5.3 *Johnny's Idea* – John Mehegan's re-harmonisation of *Mabomvana* in the key of F-sharp major as recorded in Africa Vol. 2 (1959). 

5.4 Hugh Masekela's *Dollar's Moods* as recorded in the album Jazz Epistle Verse One (1960). 

5.5 Kippie Moeketsi's *Blues for Hughie* from the album Jazz Epistle Verse One (1960). 



5.6 Dollar Brand's *Ukujonga Phambili* from the album Jazz Epistle Verse One (1960).

5.7 Kippie Moeketsi's *I Remember Billy* from the album Jazz Epistle Verse One (1960). 

5.8 Green-Sauer-Heyman-Eyton 1947 of the classic ballad, *Body and Soul* from The Smithsonian Collection of Classic Jazz, Volume 5. 



5.9 Dollar Brand's *Vary-Oo-Vum* from the album Jazz Epistle Verse One (1960).



5.10 Jonas Gwangwa's *Carol's Drive* from the album Jazz Epistle Verse One (1960).

5.11 *Scullery Department* by Kippie Moeketsi from the album Jazz Epistle Verse One (1960). 

5.12 *Kentucky Oysters* as performed by The Jazz Dazzlers Orchestra at the 1962 Cold Castle Festival in Moroka-Jabavu. 

5.13 Benny 'Gwigwi' Mrwebi's *Diepkloof Ekhaya* as recorded by the Jazz Dazzlers or Shantytown Sextet. 

5.14 *De Makeba* by McKay Davashe as recorded by Jazz Dazzlers or Shantytown Sextet. (See also 4.15)

5.15 Mackay Davashe's *Lakutshon' Ilanga* recorded by The Manhattan Brothers. (See 6.3)

5.16 MacKay Davashe's *Izikalo Zegoduka* (also known as *Kilimanjaro*) as preformed by Miriam Makeba in a tour of Scandinavia (Denmark) in the late 1960s. (See also 10.18) 



5.17 Woody Herman's *Apple Honey* recorded by Woody Herman and his Orchestra in February 1945, from The Smithsonian Collection of Classic Jazz Volume III.

5.18. Chris McGregor's *Blues Story* performed by the Chris McGregor Septet at the 1962 Cold Castle Festival in Moroka-Jabavu. 

5.19 Duke/Harburg's *What Is There To Say* performed by The Jazz Ambassadors at the 1962 Cold Castle Festival in Moroka-Jabavu. 

5.20 Hank Mobley's *A Baptism Beat* performed by the Jazz Giants at the 1962 Cold Castle Festival in Moroka-Jabavu. 

5.21 *Pondo Blues* performed by Eric Nomvete's Big Five at the 1962 Cold Castle Festival in Moroka-Jabavu. 

5.22 Gideon Nxumalo's composition *Chopi Chopsticks* from the album Jazz Fantasia (1962). 

5.23 Kippie Moeketsi's *Switch* from the album Jazz: the African Sound (1963). 



5.24 Dollar Brand's *Eclipse at Dawn* from the album Jazz: the African Sound (1963).



5.25 John Coltrane's *A Love Supreme* from the album Ascension (1964). (See also 10.3)

5.26 Miles Davis' *So What* from the album Kind Of Blue (1959). 



5.27 Dudu Pukwana's *Two For Sandi* from the Blue Notes album Legacy (1964/1995).

5.28 Chris McGregor's *Vortex Special* from the Blue Notes album Legacy (1964/1995). (See also 2.8)



6.1 *Mbube* as recorded in 1939 by Solomon Linda and His evening Birds.

6.2 August Musururgwa's *Skokiaan* as recorded in 1954 by 'The African Band of the Cold Storage Commission of Southern Rhodesia'. 

6.3 Mackay Davashe's *Lakutshon' Ilanga* as recorded by The Manhattan Brothers (See also 5.15). 

6.4 *Tears for Johannesburg* from Max Roach-Oscar Brown jnr's album We Insist – reedom Now Suite (1960). 



6.5 Max Roach's *All Africa* from the album We Insist – Freedom Now Suite (1960).

7.1 A pre-exile version of Dudu Pukwana's *Dorkay House* or *Kay* as played by the Blue Notes (See also 2.7)

7.2 A version of Dudu Pukwana's *Dorkay House* as performed by the Blue Notes in a 1966 BBC programme on South African jazz. 



7.3 *Yei Ngebewoh* by E.T. Mensa and the Tempos in Giants of Dance Band Highlife from Ramblers International's 'African Music: the Glory Years' collection.



7.4 *Hamba Gwi* by The Jazz Dazzlers from the album Township Swing Jazz (Vol 2).



7.5 *Vula Ndingene* by Patience Gcwabe and the Blue Notes in 1965 in London.

7.6 *The Forest* as recorded by The Steve Lacy Quartet in Buenos Aires, Argentine, October 1966. 

7.7 *The Zoo* as recorded by The Steve Lacy Quartet in Buenos Aires, Argentine, October 1966. 

7.8 *B My Dear (Marie My Dear)* by Dudu Pukwana as recorded by the Blue Notes in the album The Blue Notes Legacy – Live in South Afrika (1964). 

7.9 *Travelling Somewhere* by Chris McGregor as recorded in Bremen, Germany by Chris McGregor's Brotherhood of Breath in January 1973. 

7.10 *Heart's Vibrations* by Chris McGregor as recorded by The Chris McGregor Group in December 1967 in the album Very Urgent (1968). 

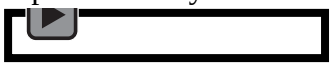
7.11 *Don't Stir the Beehive* as recorded by The Chris McGregor Group in December 1967 in the album Very Urgent (1968). 

8.1 *Andromeda* by Chris McGregor as performed by The Brotherhood of Breath in the 1973 recording Live at Willisau. 



8.2 Christopher 'Columbus' Ngcukana composition *Mra* as performed by the Brotherhood of Breath in 1973 from the album Travelling Somewhere (2001).

8.3 *Church Mouse* as performed by the Chris McGregor Trio in the album Our Prayer (1969). 

8.4 Chris McGregor's *Moonlit (or Moonlight) Aloe* as performed by the Chris McGregor Trio in the album Our Prayer (1969). 

8.5 *Union Special* by Chris McGregor, as recorded by the Brotherhood of Breath in the album Live At Willisau (1973). 

8.6 Toots Hibberts's composition *Rasta Man* from Toots and the Maytals' recording Reggae Got Soul (1976). 

8.7 The track *Yi Yole* from the 1978 album Yi Yole with Misha Mengelberg and Han Bennink (See 9.1)

8.8 *Mini Mtembo* by Dudu Pukwana as recorded in 1967 by Gwigwi Mrwebi's Band in London. 

8.9 *Mra* as "written in ['Columbus' Ngcukana's] style by Dudu Pukwana" and played by Gwigwi's Band in London for a BBC documentary in September 1966. 

8.10 *Nobomvu* by Dudu Pukwana as recorded by Spear in the 1973 album In the Townships. 

8.11 *Umagungqel'indawo* played by Nofinishi Dywili on the Xhosa *uhadi* bow music with a chorus demonstrating a vocal polyphony of overlapping parts. 

8.12 *Baloyi* by Dudu Pukwana as performed by the band Spear in the album In the Townships (1973). 

8.13 *Ezilalini*, Dudu Pukwana's composition from the album In the Townships (1973) as performed by the band Spear. 

8.14 *Zukude*, Dudu Pukwana's composition from the album In the Townships (1973) as performed by the band Spear. 



8.15 *Zangomva* by Gwigwi Mrwebi recorded in 1967 by Gwigwi's Band in London.

8.16 *Cosmics* by Dudu Pukwana recorded by his group Zila in the album Cosmics Chapter 90 (1989). 

8.17 *Mra-Khali* by Dudu Pukwana recorded by his group Zila in the album Cosmics Chapter 90 (1989). 

8.18 An excerpt from Ntshuks Bonga's composition *Nocawe* from the album Abo Bhayi (1998), recorded with his group Tokolosho. 

8.19 A track from a 1965 live recording of the Dollar Brand Trio for Danish Radio in Copenhagen (from Dave Barkham's collection of recordings, UKZN Music School). 

9.1 *Yi Yole* from the album Yi Yole (1978) by Dudu Pukwana, Misha Mengelberg and Han Bennink. (See also 8.7) 

9.2 *Silopobock* from the album Yi Yole (1978) by Dudu Pukwana, Misha Mengelberg and Han Bennink. 

9.3 *We Nduna* theme from the song *eMabomvini* as sung by members of The NU Jazz Connection in the recording African Tributes (1992). 

9.4 *We Nduna* as recorded by the Chris McGregor Group in the album Blue Notes In Concert (1977). 

9.5 Johnny Dyani's *Heart with Minnah's Face* from the album Witchdoctor's Son (1978). 

9.6 Thelonius Monk's *Criss-Cross* as recorded by the Thelonius Monk Quintet in July 1948. 

9.7 Dudu Pukwana's *Radebe* from the album Witchdoctor's Son (1978). 

9.8 Johnny Dyani's *Mbizo* from the album Witchdoctor's Son (1978). 

9.9 *USomagwaza* sung by Ngqoko village women as recorded by the Rev. Dave Dargie of the Lumko Institute, Lady Frere. 

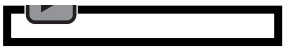
9.10 *[So]Magwaza* as arranged and sung by Johnny Dyani as recorded by a band in the album Witchdoctor's Son (1978). 

9.11 Johnny Dyani's *Wish You Sunshine* from the album Song for Biko (1978) by the Johnny Dyani Quartet. 

9.12 *Johannesburg-New York* by Johnny Dyani from Johnny Dyani Quartet's album Song for Biko (1978). 


9.13 Johnny Dyani's *Pukwana* by Music for Xaba from their album Rejoice (1972).

9.14 Abdullah Ibrahim's *The Pilgrim* from the Dollar Brand/ Johnny Dyani duo album Good News from Africa (1973). 

9.15 Abdullah Ibrahim's *Moniebah* from the Dollar Brand/ Johnny Dyani duo album Good News from Africa (1973). 


9.16 Johnny Dyani's *Grandmother's Teachings* from the album Afrika (1983).

10.1 The beginning of the First Movement of Blue Notes for Mongezi (1976) and (2008). 

10.2 The drum joins bass ostinato with rhythmic high-hat figure; the piano's harmonically consonant (b7) relative to the bass tonality and rhythmically 

syncopated with both drum pattern and bass ostinato figure; ensemble stabilizes, with the alto saxophone improvising.

10.3 John Coltrane's solo phrase from a 'Love Supreme'. (See also 5.25)

10.4 Dudu Pukwana quotes John Coltrane's phrase from 'A Love Supreme'.

10.5 Dudu Pukwana quotes the bass ostinato/horn phrase from his composition *Freeze* as recorded in the album Flute Music (1974).

10.6 Mongezi Feza's composition *Flute Music* from the album Flute Music (1974).

10.7 Mongezi Feza's composition *Sondela* from the album Flute Music (1974).

10.8 Mongezi Feza's composition *You Cheated Me* from the album Flute Music (1974).

10.9 Mongezi Feza's composition *You Think You Know Me* from the album Flute Music (1974).

10.10 The alto saxophone drops out as the drum sets up a duple-meter rhythm against the bass ostinato and free piano ruminations which are evolving into a dissonantly lyrical, fully-fledged solo.

10.11 The instrumental rhythmic groove disintegrates into dissonance; the alto saxophone is wailing and the bass plays a sustained low note pedal; Johnny Dyani utters a series of high-pitched, sustained wails; Dudu Pukwana responds with a soothing, descending 4-note phrase on the alto saxophone.

10.12 On the alto saxophone Dudu Pukwana quotes a phrase from the melody of his composition *Blues for Nick.*

10.13 The beginning of the Second Movement of the documented performance, as Dyani continues with his vocal performance, now remarkable for its spoken rhythmicity of the ritualized *igqirha* and chorus exchange of the indigenous Xhosa diviner's ceremony.

10.14 On the alto saxophone Pukwana paraphrases the melody of the traditional Nguni song *Wajikelez' umuzi* as Dyani vocally repeats the melodic stanza.

10.15 Chris McGregor comes in on the piano by intoning a descending phrase comprised of pitches of the indigenous Xhosa hexatonic scale that is implied in the sung melody. Dudu Pukwana joins with *agogo* as piano rhythmically explores the scale pitches in the manner of *maskandi izihlabo*.

10.16 The bass recalls the rhythmic pattern of Christopher ‘Columbus’ Ngcukana’s *M[b]ra*, and Dudu Pukwana quotes the tune’s melodic phrase on the alto saxophone.



10.17 The groove is terminated, the bass sounds a low note and Dudu beats a short, syncopating *agogo* pattern as Dyani commences a new idea – creating mid-register solo bass lines supported by the low E open string; the rest of the ensemble is silent except for the *agogo*, which plays a rhythmic figure that is patterned by pauses and repetitions; supported by sustained assorted bell trills, the solo bass continues in what sounds like the beginnings of an Indian *raga*.



10.18 Without a pause the bass (immediately joined by mallet-played snare *indlamu* drum rhythm pattern) initiates a stable short pattern that is harmonically based on a cyclic structure of two fundamental notes; the alto saxophone quotes a melodic phrase from Mackay Davashe’s *Izikhalo Zegoduka (Kilimanjaro)* [see 5.16 above], continues to paraphrase and exploratively build a solo based on elements of rhythmic and harmonic elements of the song’s melodic theme; onto this musical structure the bass adds a single-note drone that complements the drum’s *indlamu* dance rhythm pattern.



10.19 The piano is weaving dense note-clusters of abstract dissonance around this rhythmic musical complex, triggering a similar response from the alto saxophone, whose quotation and paraphrasing of the original melody is now freely peppered with a jagged angularism of squealing, screeching and growling sound effects; Dudu Pukwana ends his abstraction with a direct quote of the melody’s closing phrase.



10.20 Dudu Pukwana plays the first melody line of the Protestant hymn *Guide Me Oh Thy Great Jehovah* on the saxophone in the Third Movement of Blue Notes for Mongezi.



10.21 On the bass Johnny Dyani plays a three-note cyclic ostinato pattern on the notes F, F# and G, which the drum complements rhythmically; the rhythm section as a whole works up to a groove whose pentatonic basis is outlined by the piano (Third Movement of Blue Notes for Mongezi).

10.22 Dudu Pukwana plays melodically over a clearly discernible I – IV – $I_{6/4}$ – V progression (Third Movement of Blue Notes for Mongezi).



10.23 Theme from *Tete and Barbs In My Mind* as played by Chris McGregor in the Third Movement of Blue Notes for Mongezi.



10.24 *Tete and Barbs in My Mind,* a composition credited to Dudu Pukwana and Tete Mbambisa, as recorded in Dudu Pukwana's album Diamond Express (1974).



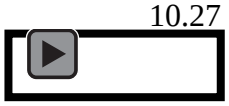
10.25 Dudu Pukwana quotes the melody of the Cape *ghoema* style song, *Daar kom die Alibama,* in the key of E major (Musical Excerpt 10.25).



10.26 The drum, having reached a high point in syncopated rhythmic pattern playing, drops out, leaving only the *agogo* bell-pattern, piano and a *pizzicato* bass *ostinato* in the Fourth Movement of Blue Notes for Mongezi.



10.27 The alto saxophone comes in to complete a quartet sound framed by the bass' Mingus like ostinato pattern and a mallet-played snare rhythm pattern resembling a galloping horse (Fourth Movement of Blue Notes for Mongezi).



10.28 Johnny Dyani sings *UMongezi unebhulukw' elinzima* in the Fourth Movement of Blue Notes for Mongezi.



10.29 *Nqamakwe,* a composition by Chris McGregor whose middle section resembles the bass line of Johnny Dyani's *Ithi Gqi, (Appear or Pukwana),* from the album Blue Notes in Concert.



10.30 *Kudala* (Long Ago) a 'traditional' repertoire as recorded by the Blue Notes in Blue Notes in Concert.



10.31 Guitarist Lucky Ranku's *Magwazakazo* as peformed in the 1986 recording, *Thunderbolt* by The South African Exiles.



10.32 *Mama Ndoluse* and *Abalimanga,* a medley of two Xhosa traditional songs, as sung by Johnny Dyani and included in the recording Blue Notes in Concert.



10.33 *Mon[g]s and Mbizo,* a freely-improvised composition by Chris McGregor and Louis Moholo as recorded in Blue Notes for Johnny.



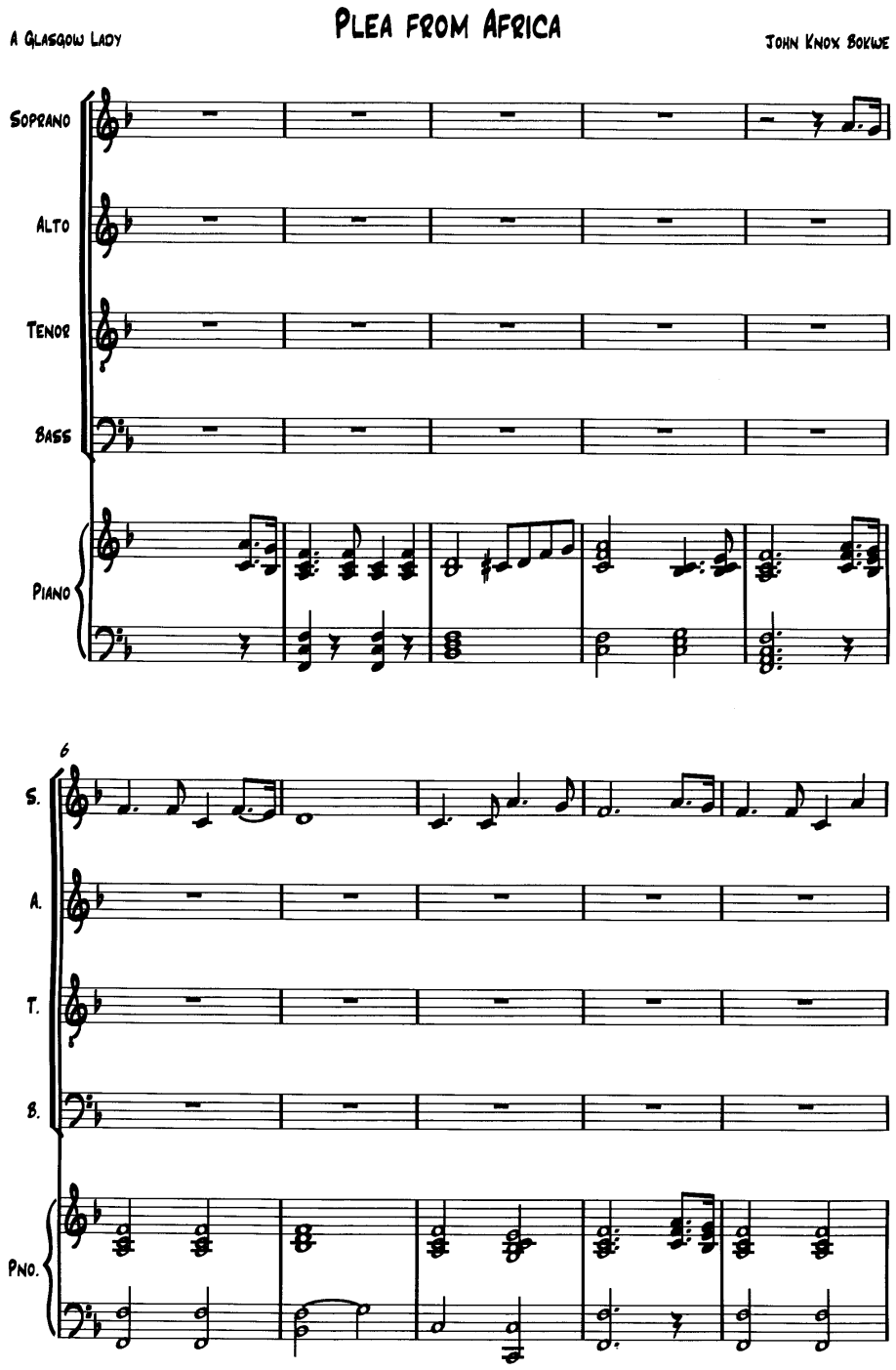
10.34 A short theme of the South African national anthem *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika,* initiated by Dudu Pukwana on alto saxophone in the final minute of the rendition of Johnny Dyani's *Ithi Gqi!* in Blue Notes for Johnny.

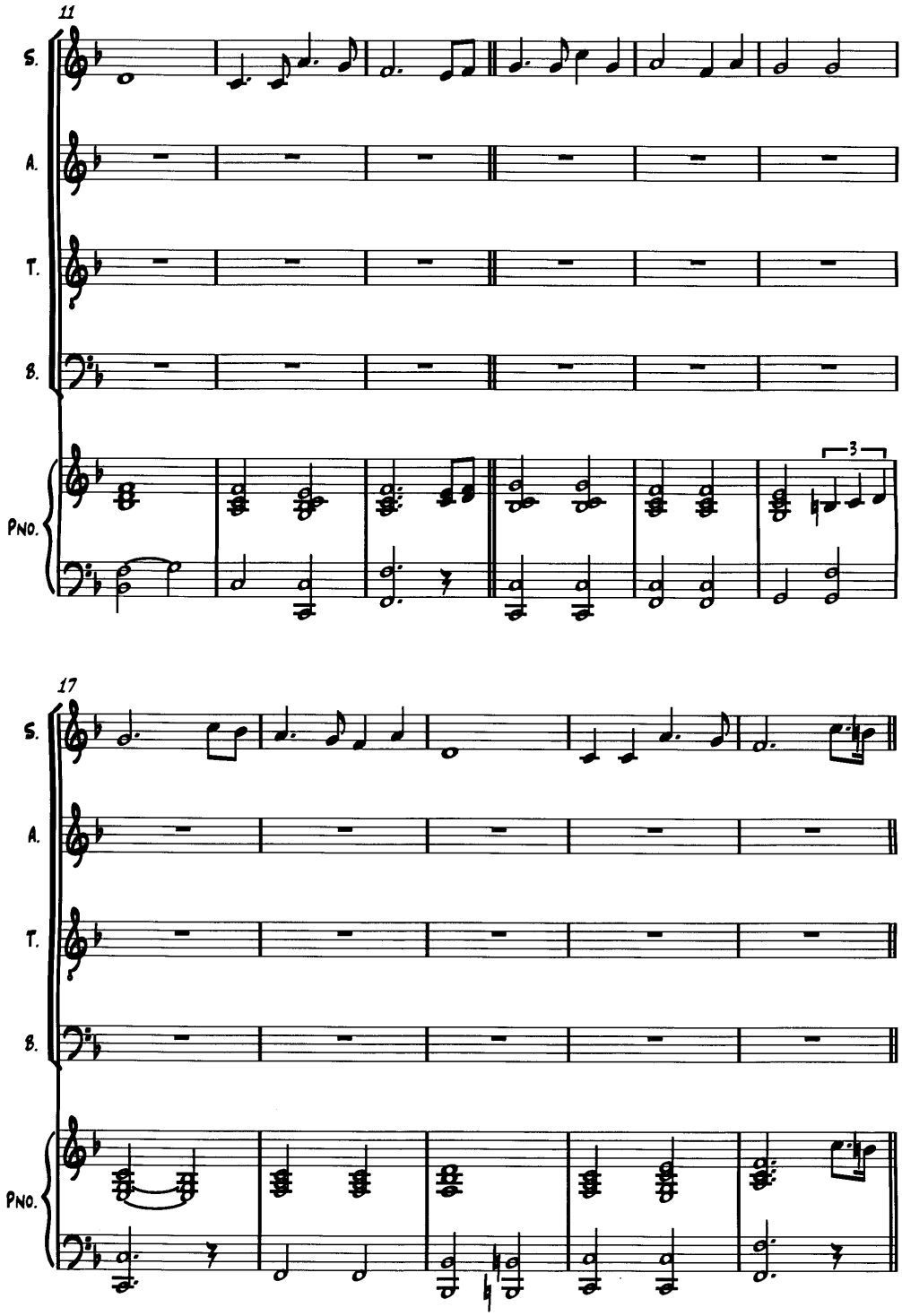


APPENDIX III: MUSICAL TRANSCRIPTIONS

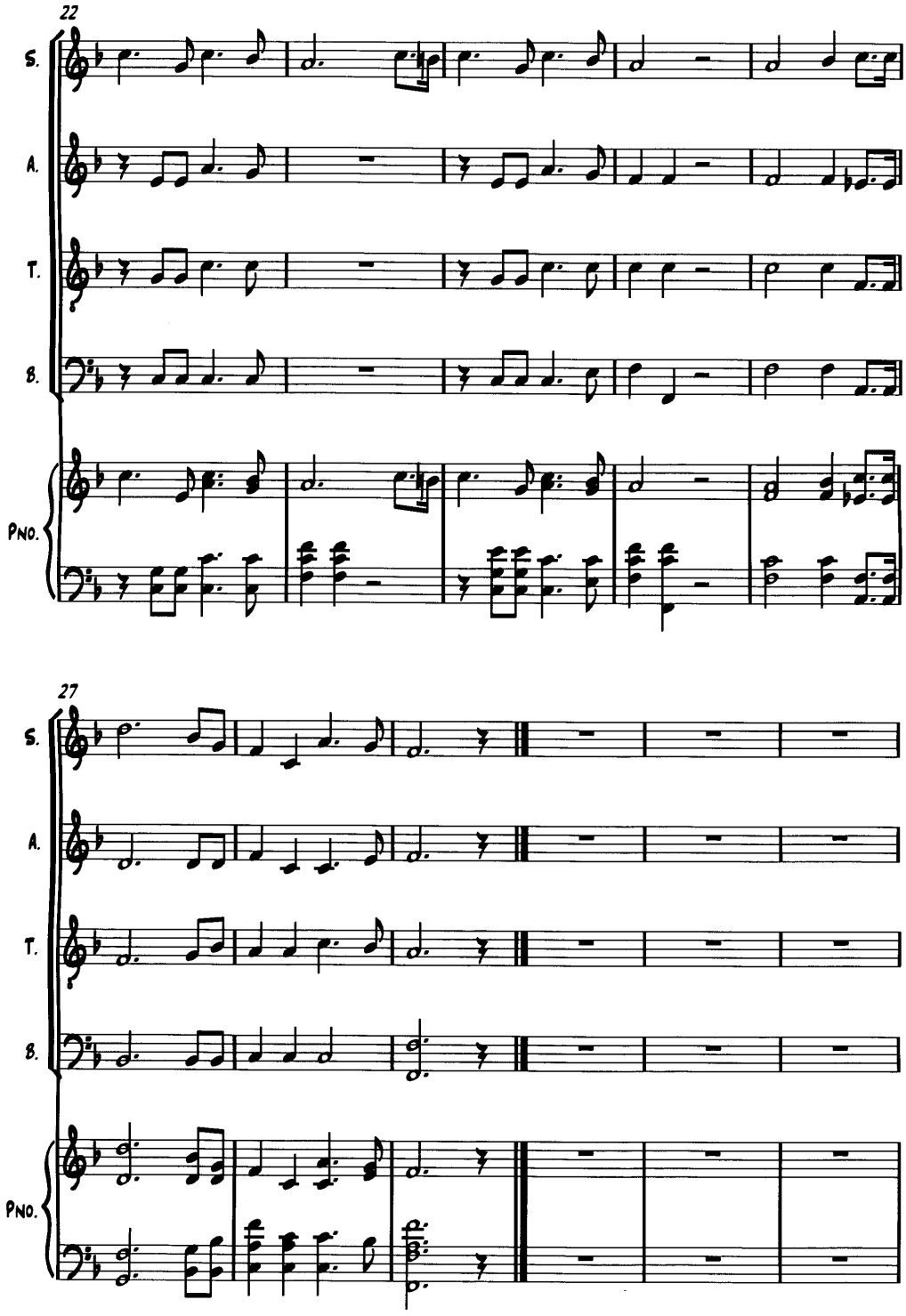
1. *Plea from Africa* by Rev. John Knox Bokwe (Lyrics by 'A Glasgow Lady').
2. *Chimes of Ntsikana's Bell* by Rev. John Knox Bokwe.
3. *UloThix' oMkhulu* by Ntsikana Gaba as arranged by Rev. John Knox Bokwe.
4. *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* by Enoch Sontonga (additional verses by S.E.K. Mqhayi).
5. *Si lu Sap[h]o or iLand Act* by Reuben Caluza.
4. *Blues for Hughie* by Kippie Moeketsi.
5. *Now* by Chris McGregor.
6. *Schoolboy* by Dudu Pukwana.
7. *Zangomva* by Gwigwi Mrwebi.
8. Highlife, *Calypso* and *Mbaqanga* rhythm patterns.
9. *Baloyi [Bhanoyi]* by Dudu Pukwana.
10. *Ezilalini* by Dudu Pukwana.
11. *Zukude [Zikude]* by Dudu Pukwana.
12. A harmonic framework of Dudu Pukwana's *Radebe.*
13. An example of the original four-part SATB arrangement of Reuben Caluza's *Si lu Sapo or iLand Act* for choir, juxtaposed with the bass-line of Johnny Dyani's *Ithi Gqi! (Appear* or *Pukwana).*
14. A poem by Chris McGregor upon the death of Mongezi Feza.
15. Pallo Z. Jordan's Xhosa 'translation' of Chris McGregor's poem.

Transcription 1



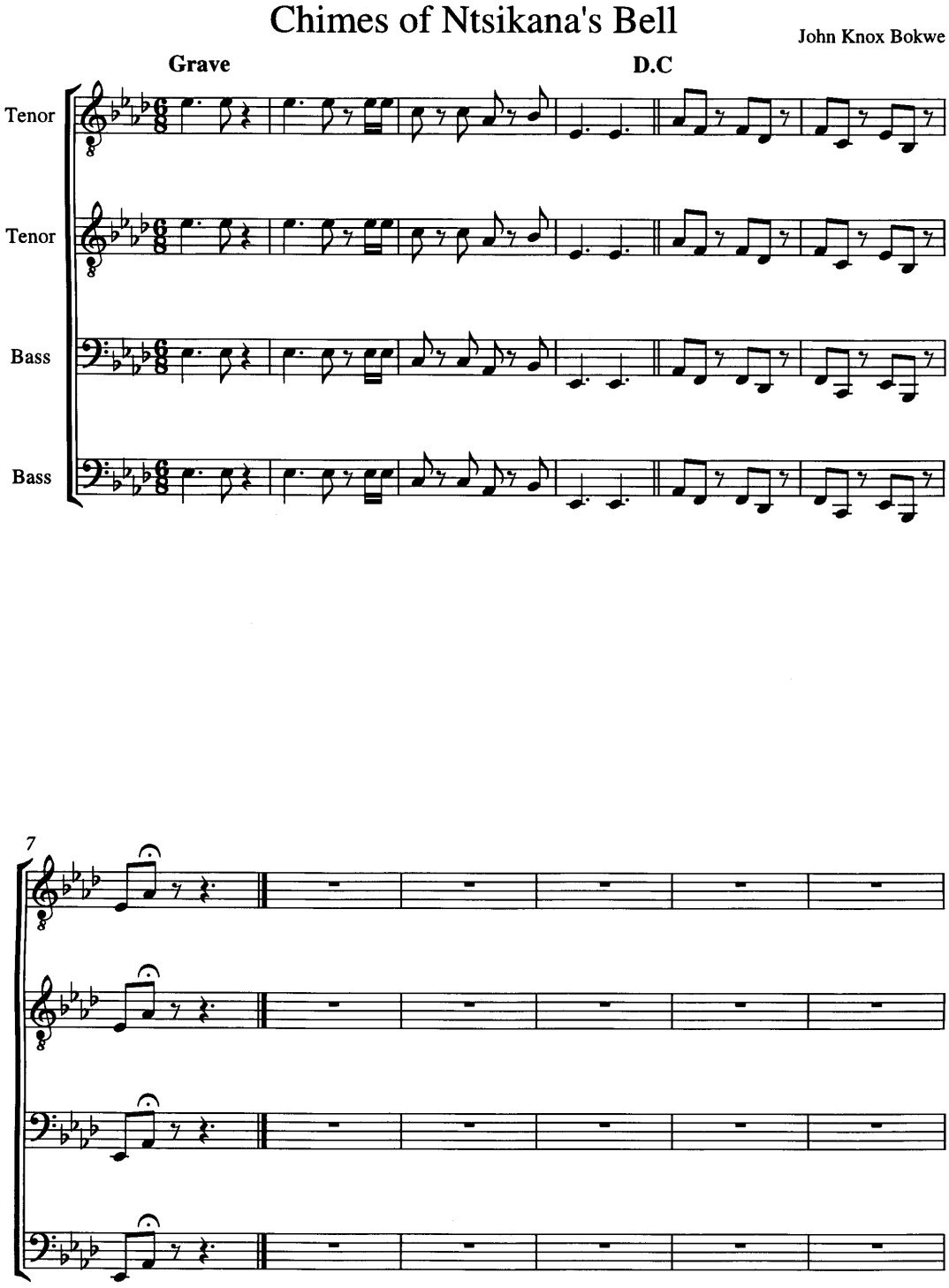


Transcription 1



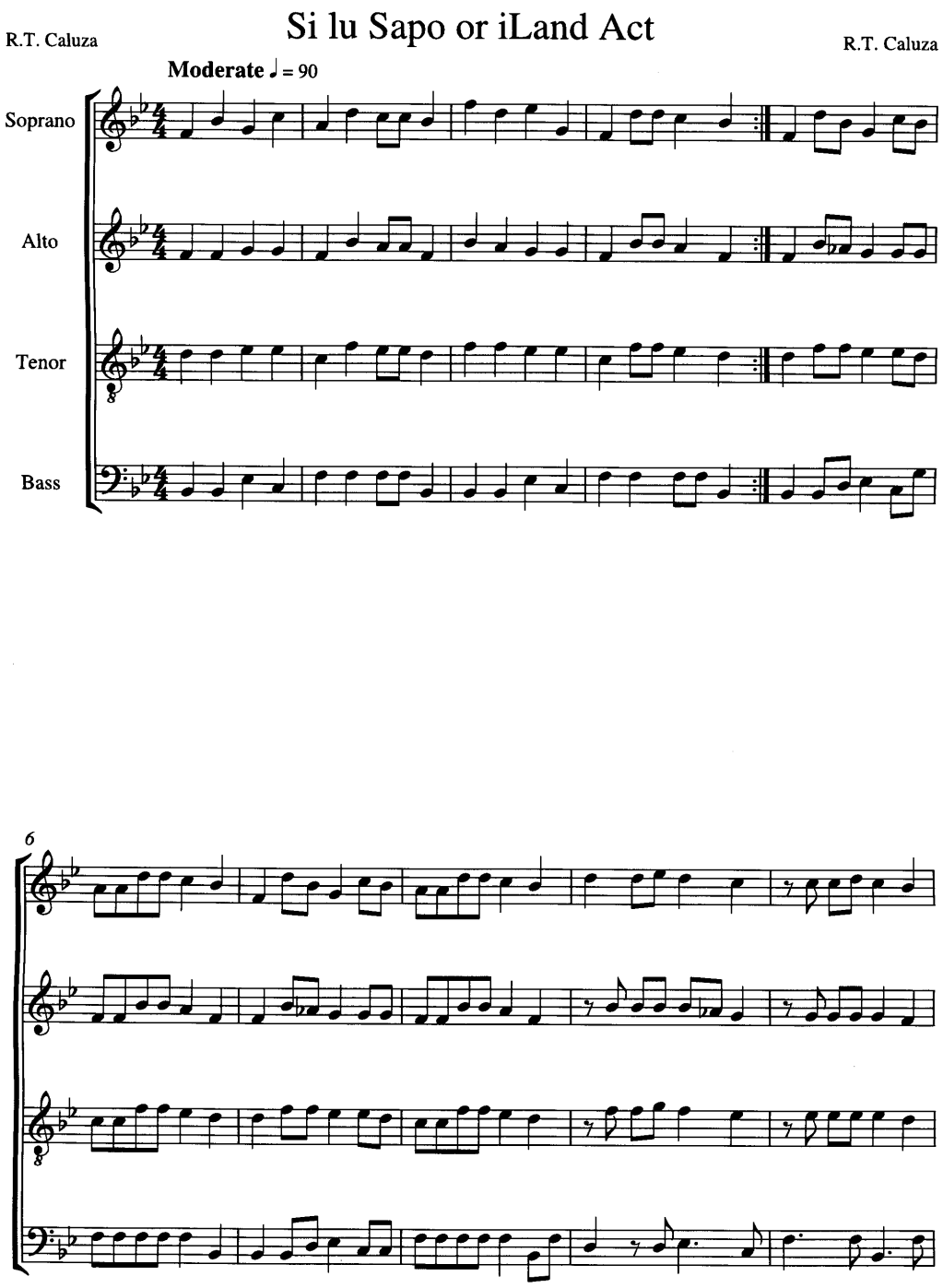
Transcription 1

Transcription 2

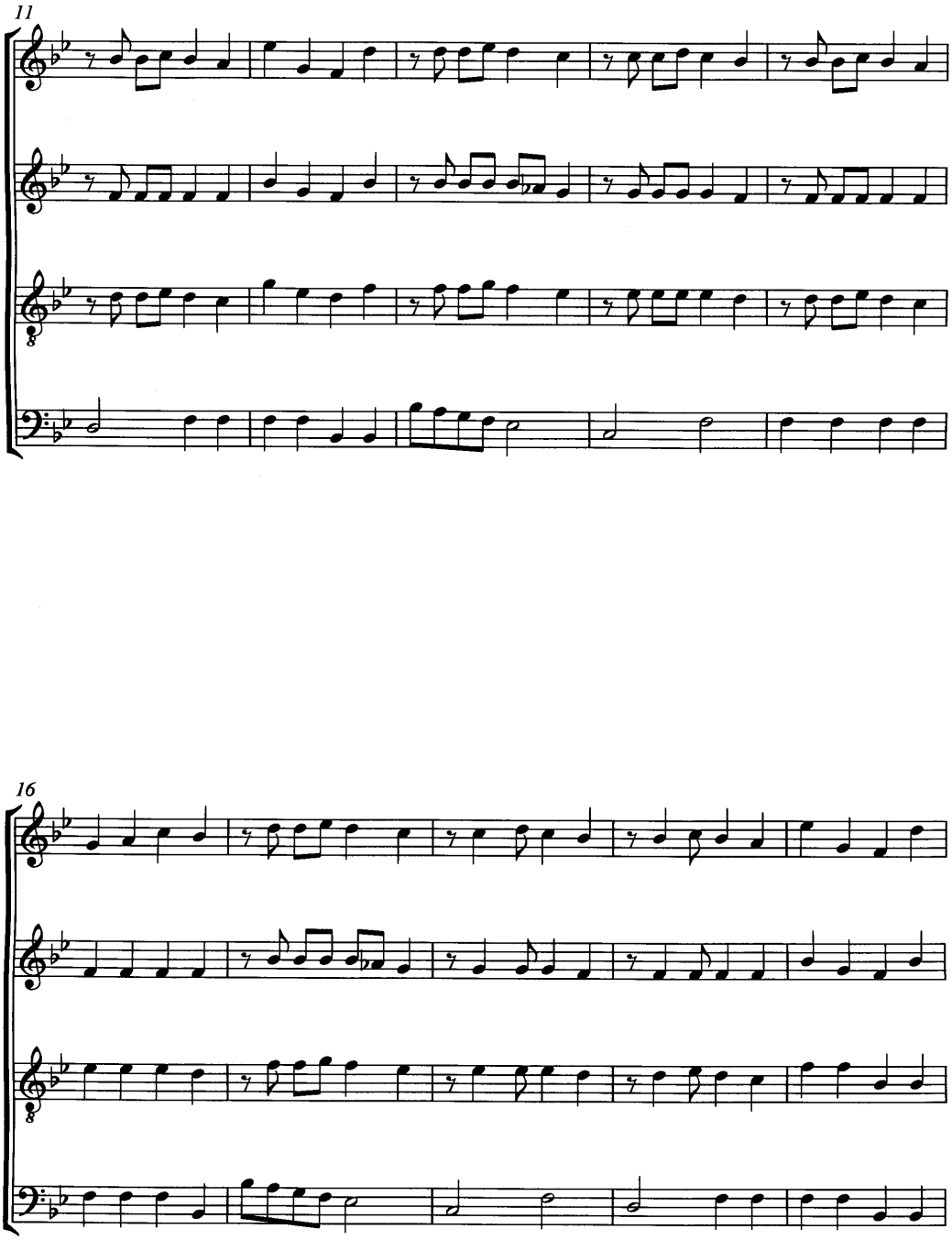


Transcription 2

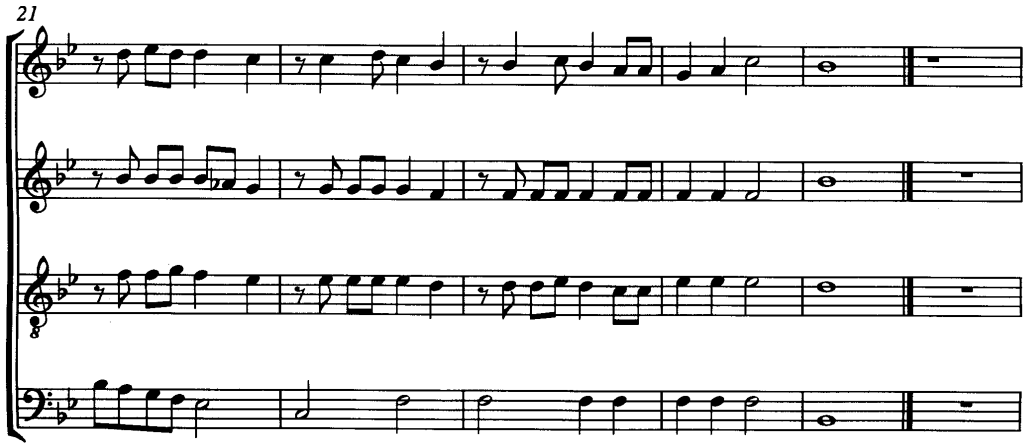
Transcription 3



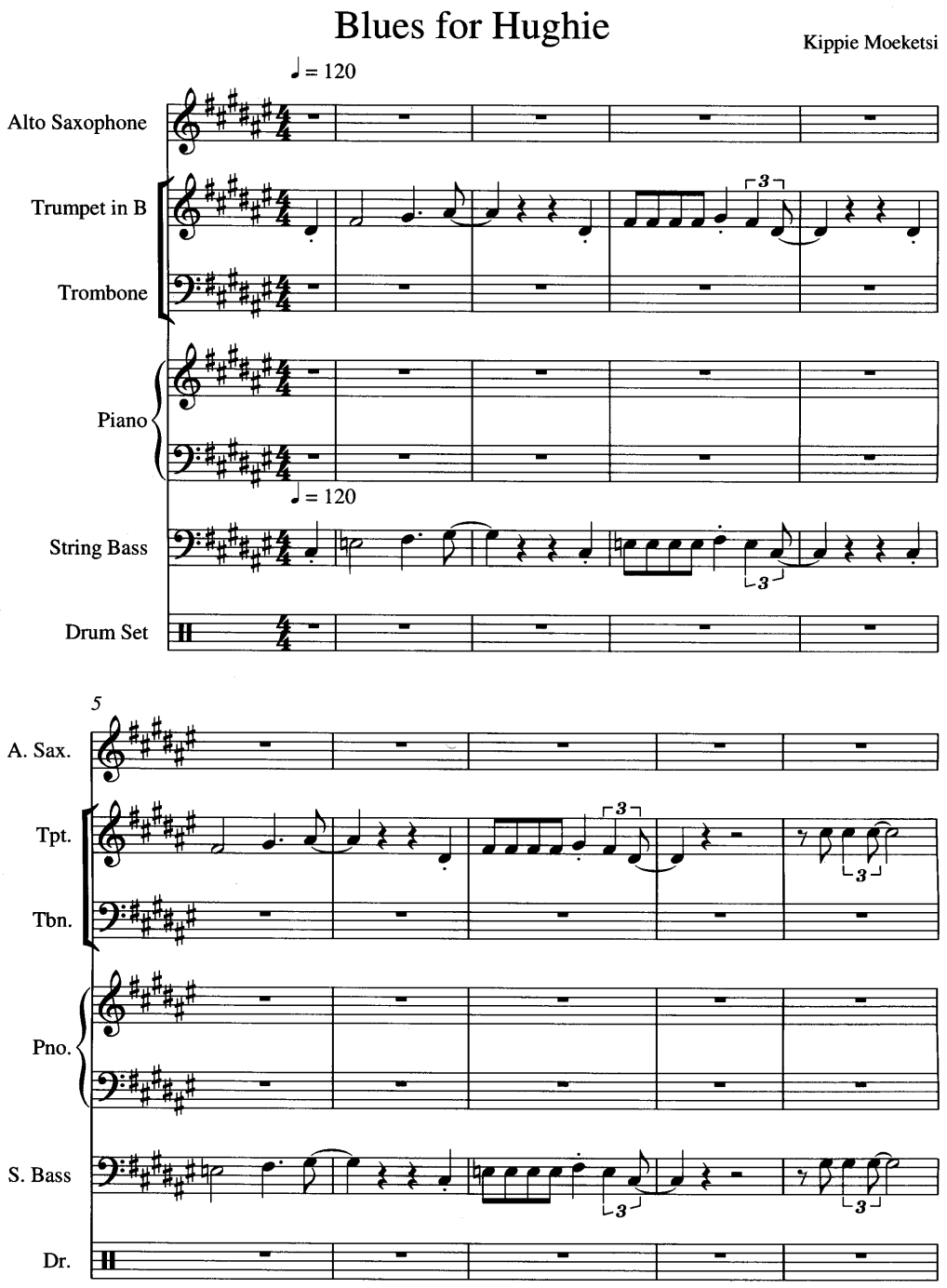
Transcription 3

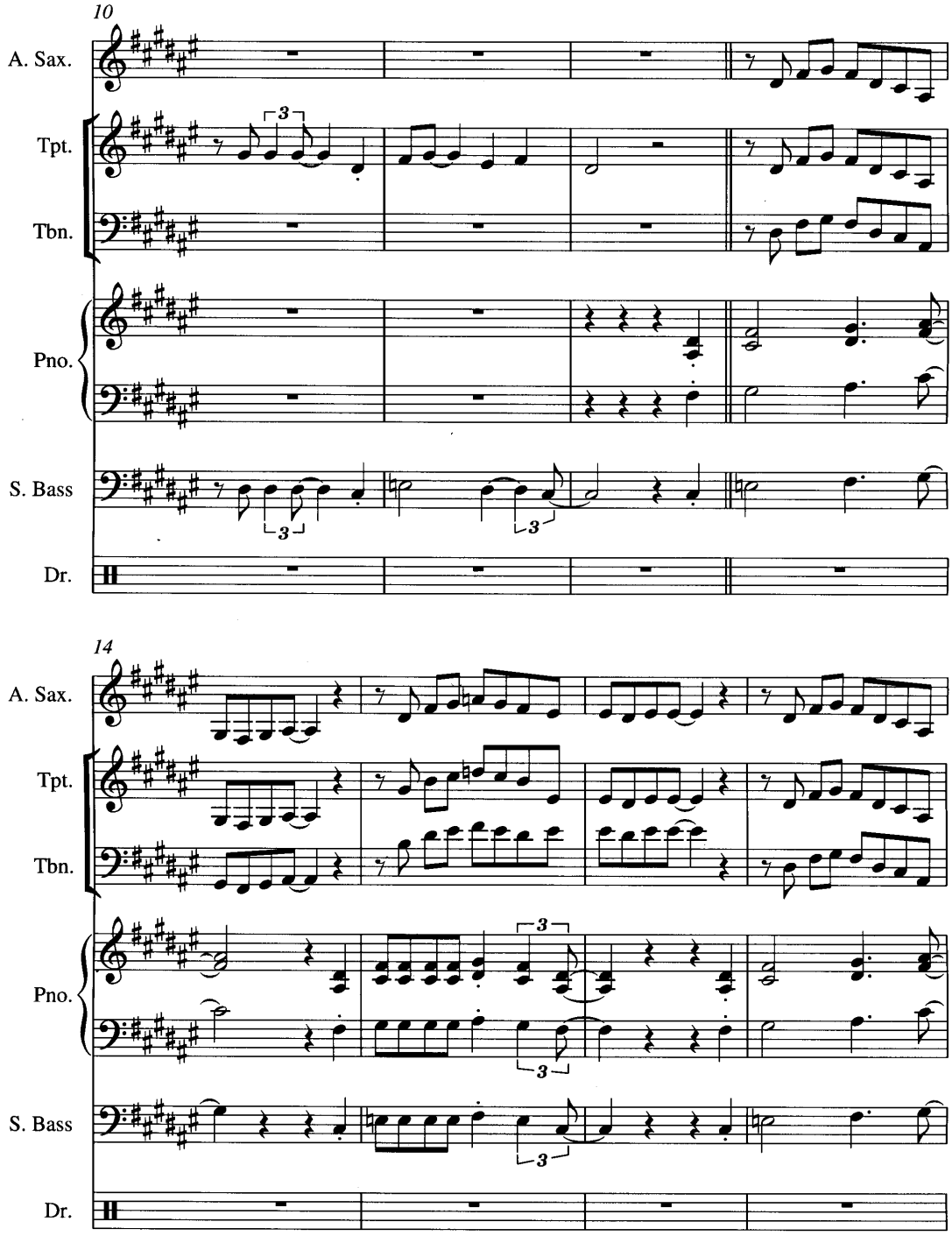


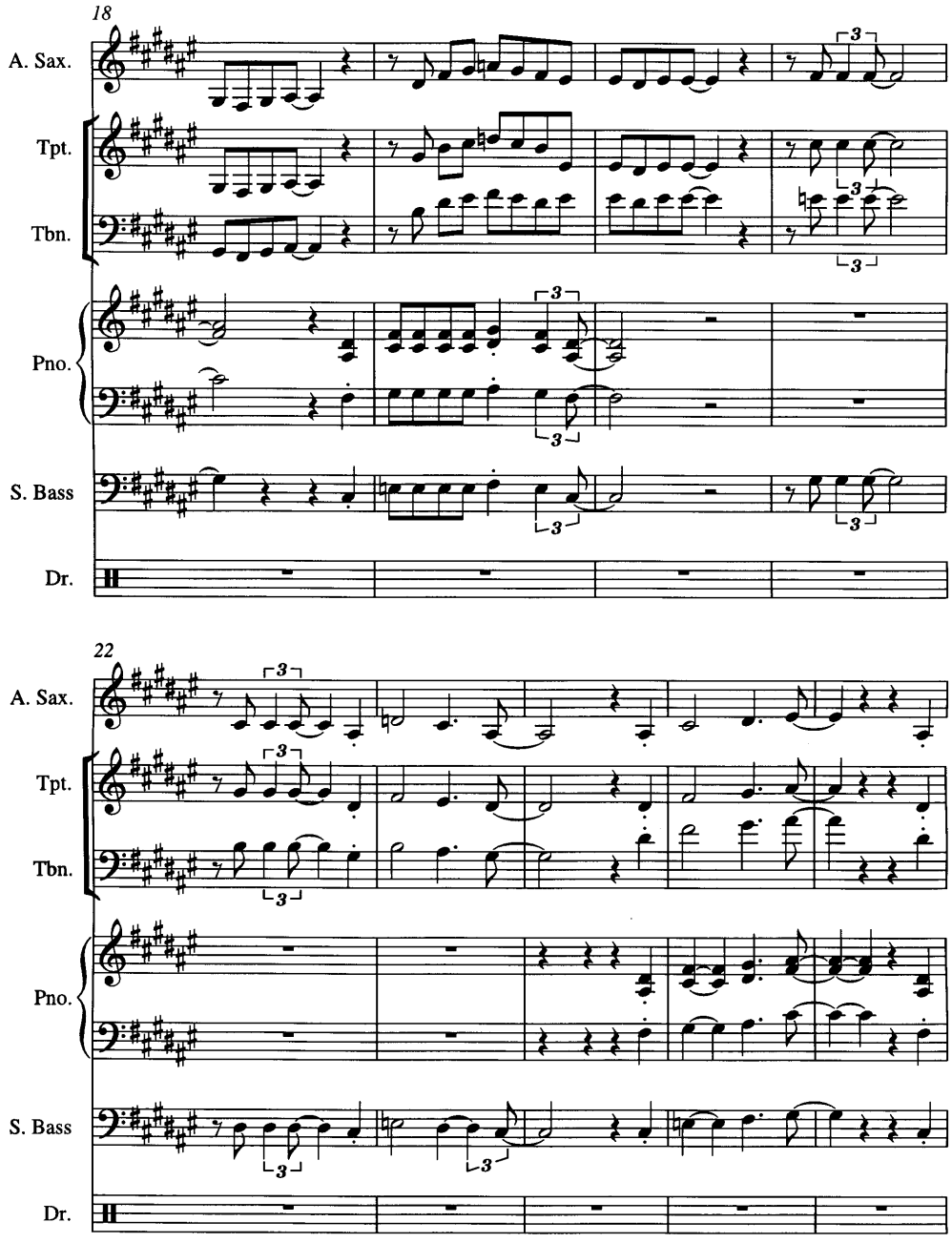
Transcription 3

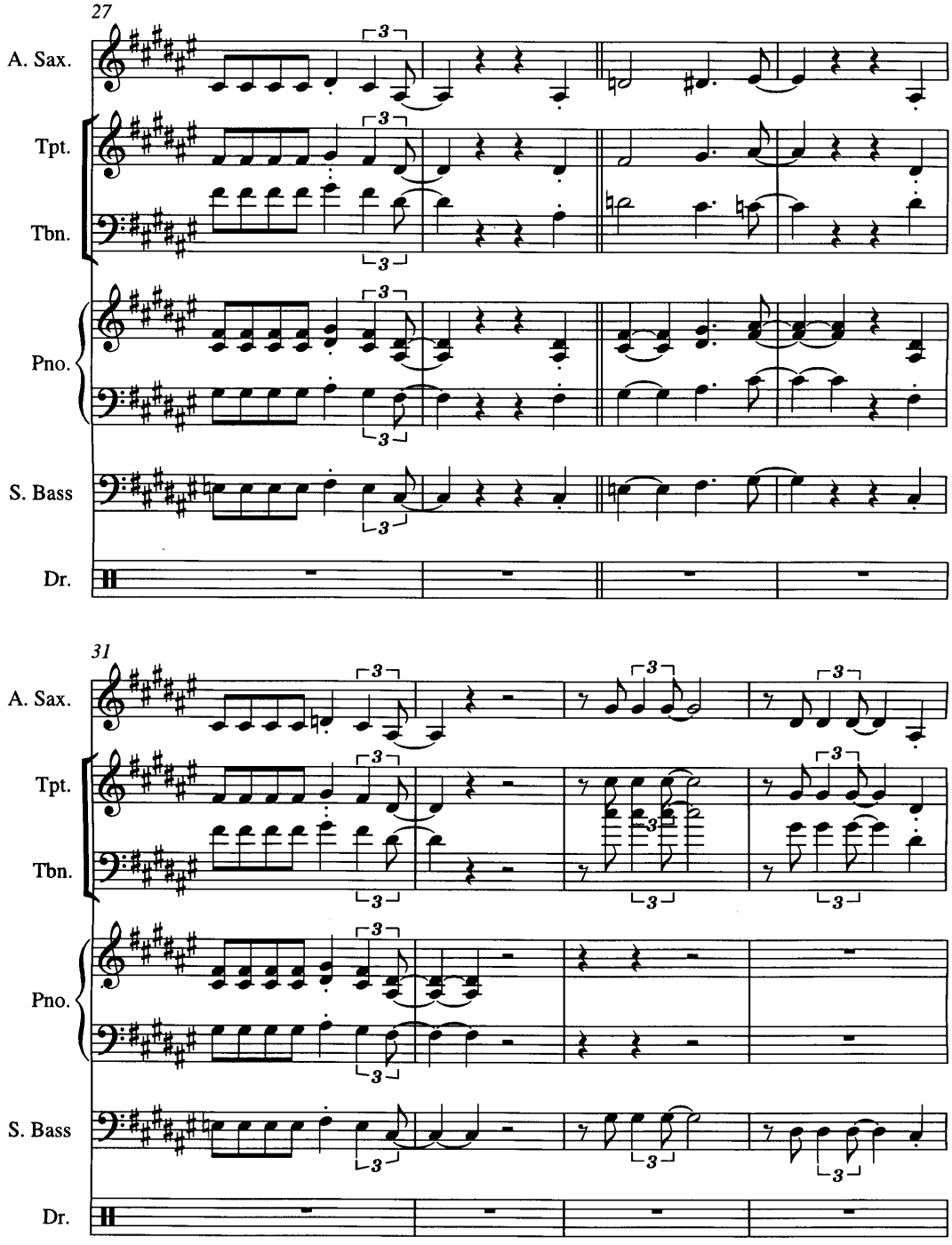

21

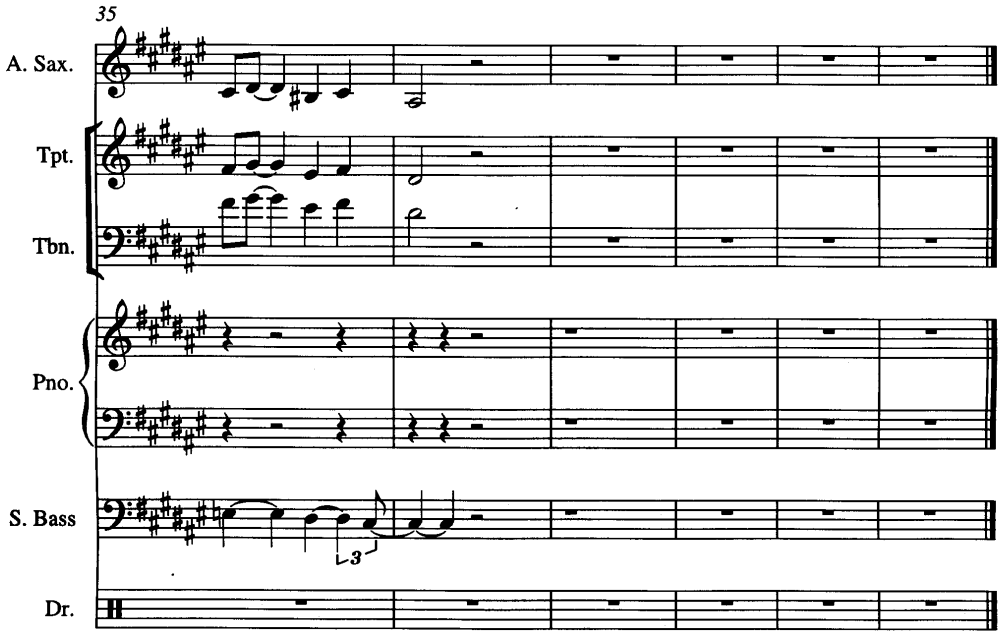
Transcription 4



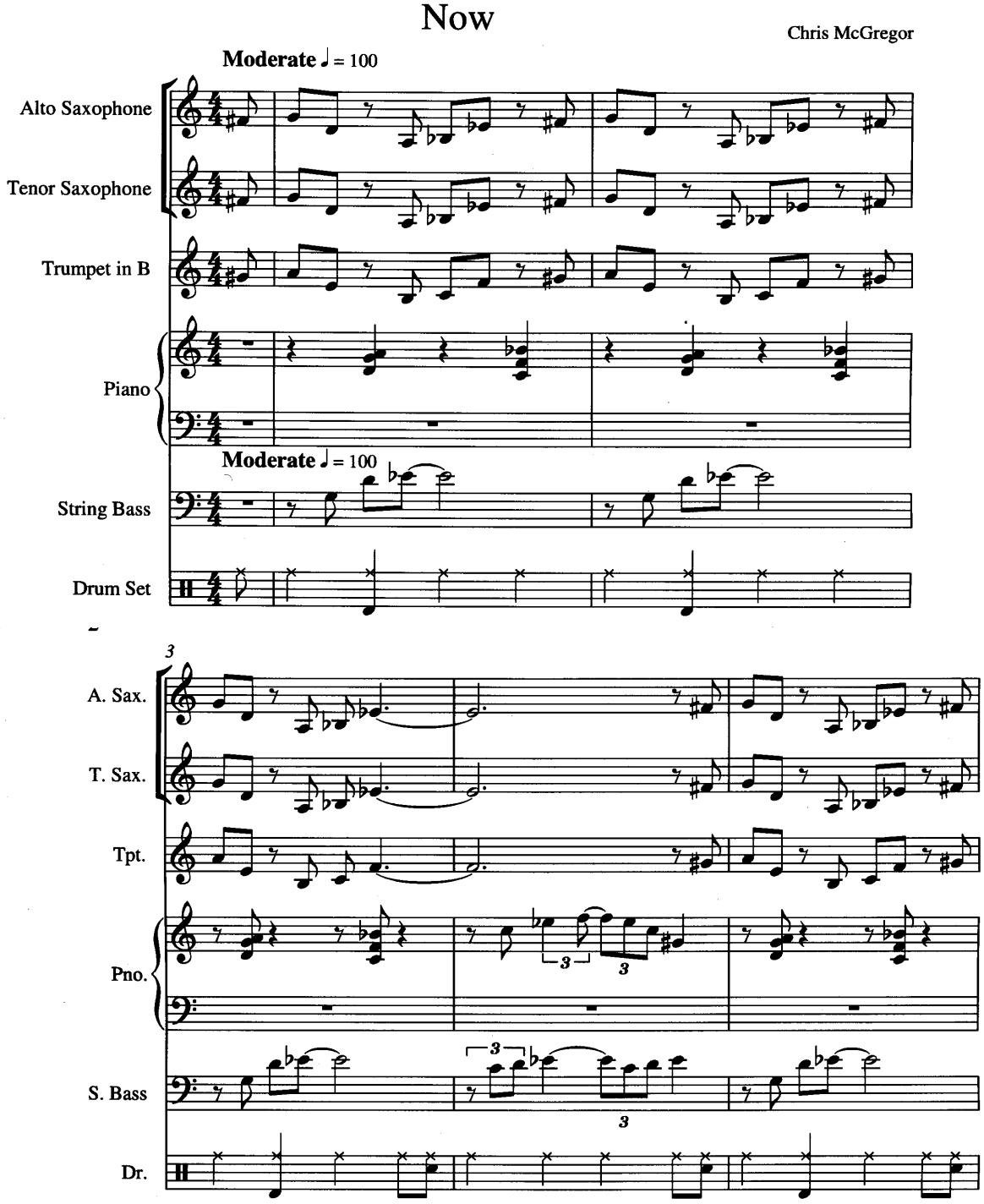

10
A. Sax.
Tpt.
Tbn.
Pno.
S. Bass
Dr.
14
A. Sax.
Tpt.
Tbn.
Pno.
S. Bass
Dr.

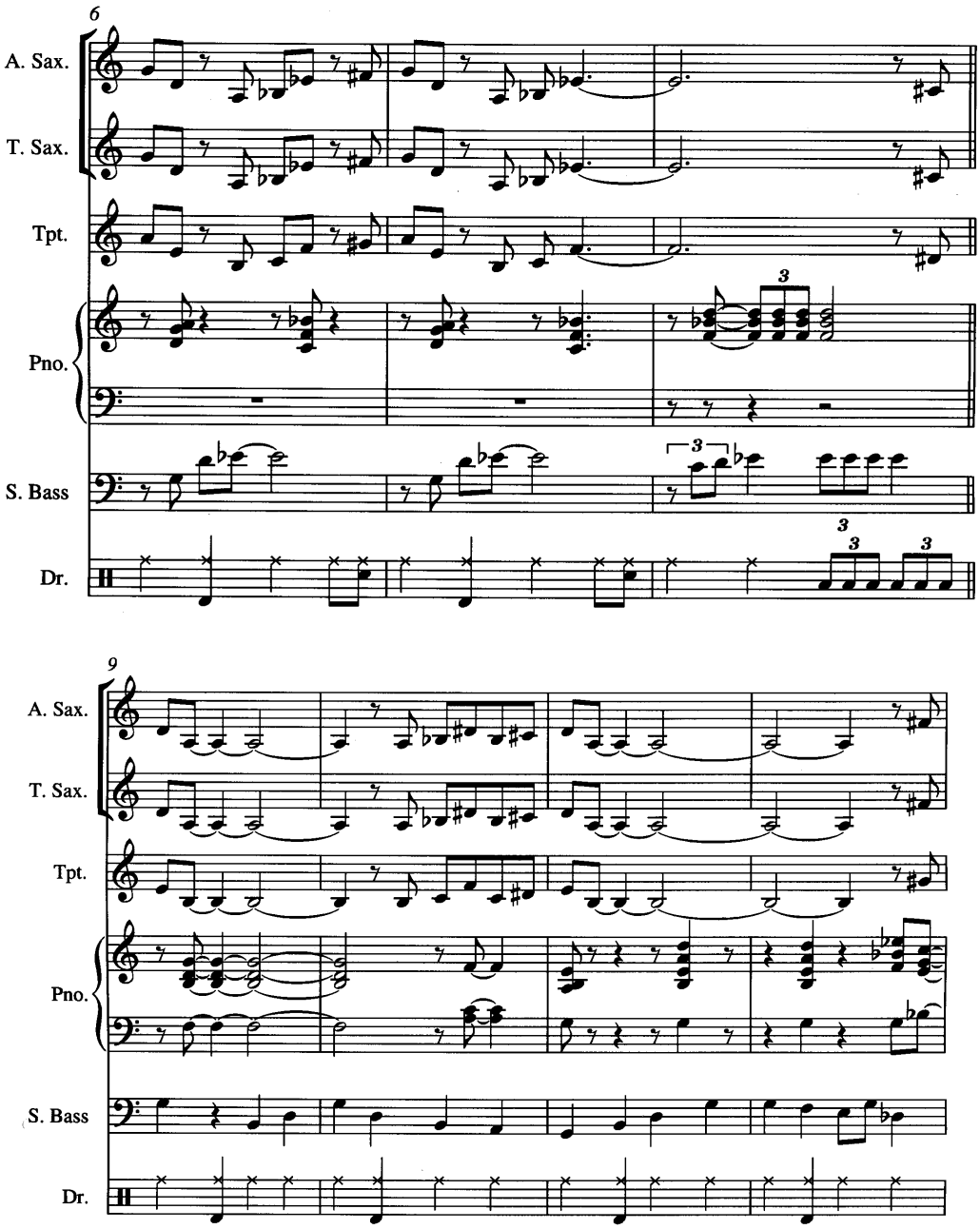

18
A. Sax.
Tpt.
Tbn.
Pno.
S. Bass
Dr.
22
A. Sax.
Tpt.
Tbn.
Pno.
S. Bass
Dr.

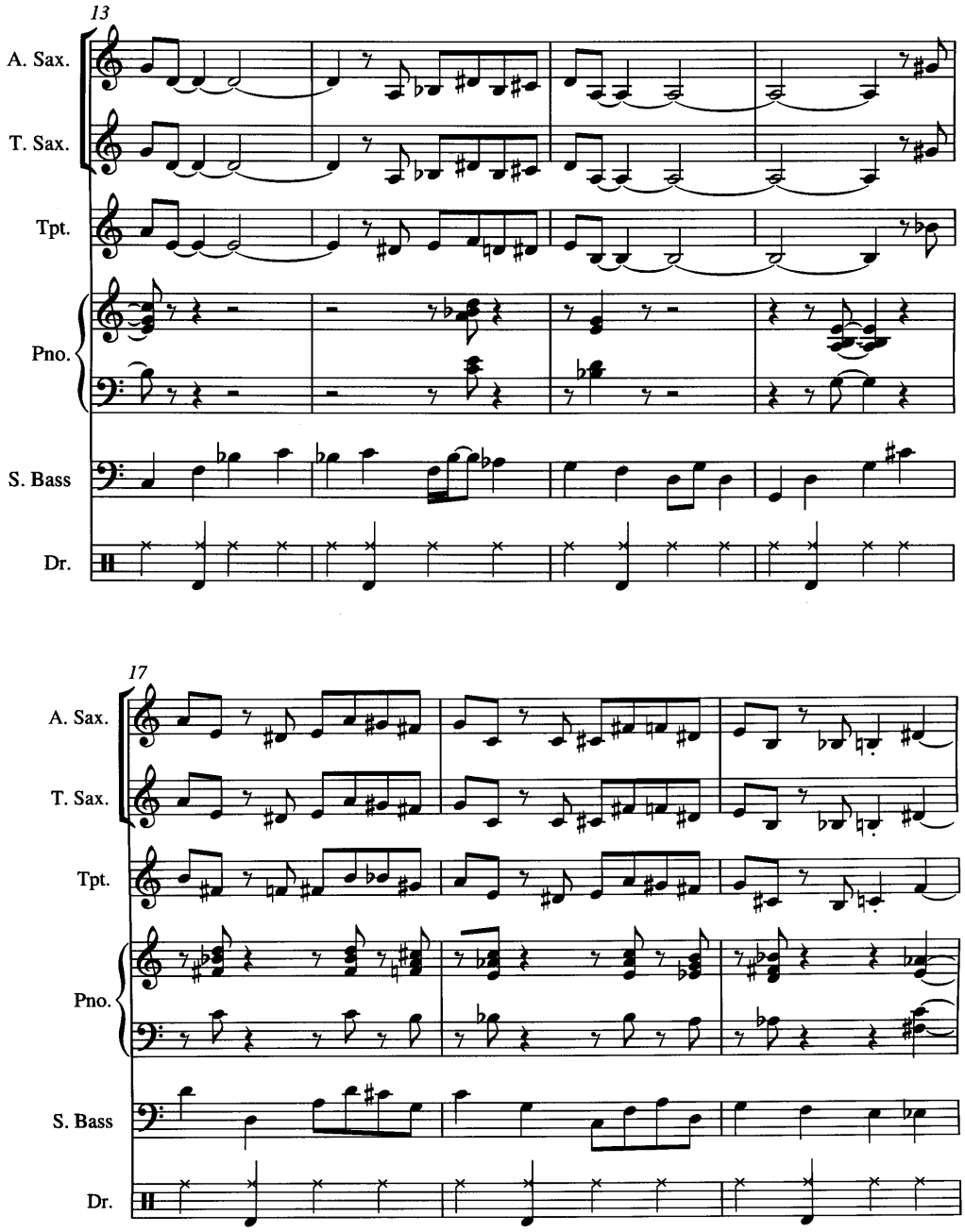

27
A. Sax.
Tpt.
Tbn.
Pno.
S. Bass
Dr.
31
A. Sax.
Tpt.
Tbn.
Pno.
S. Bass
Dr.

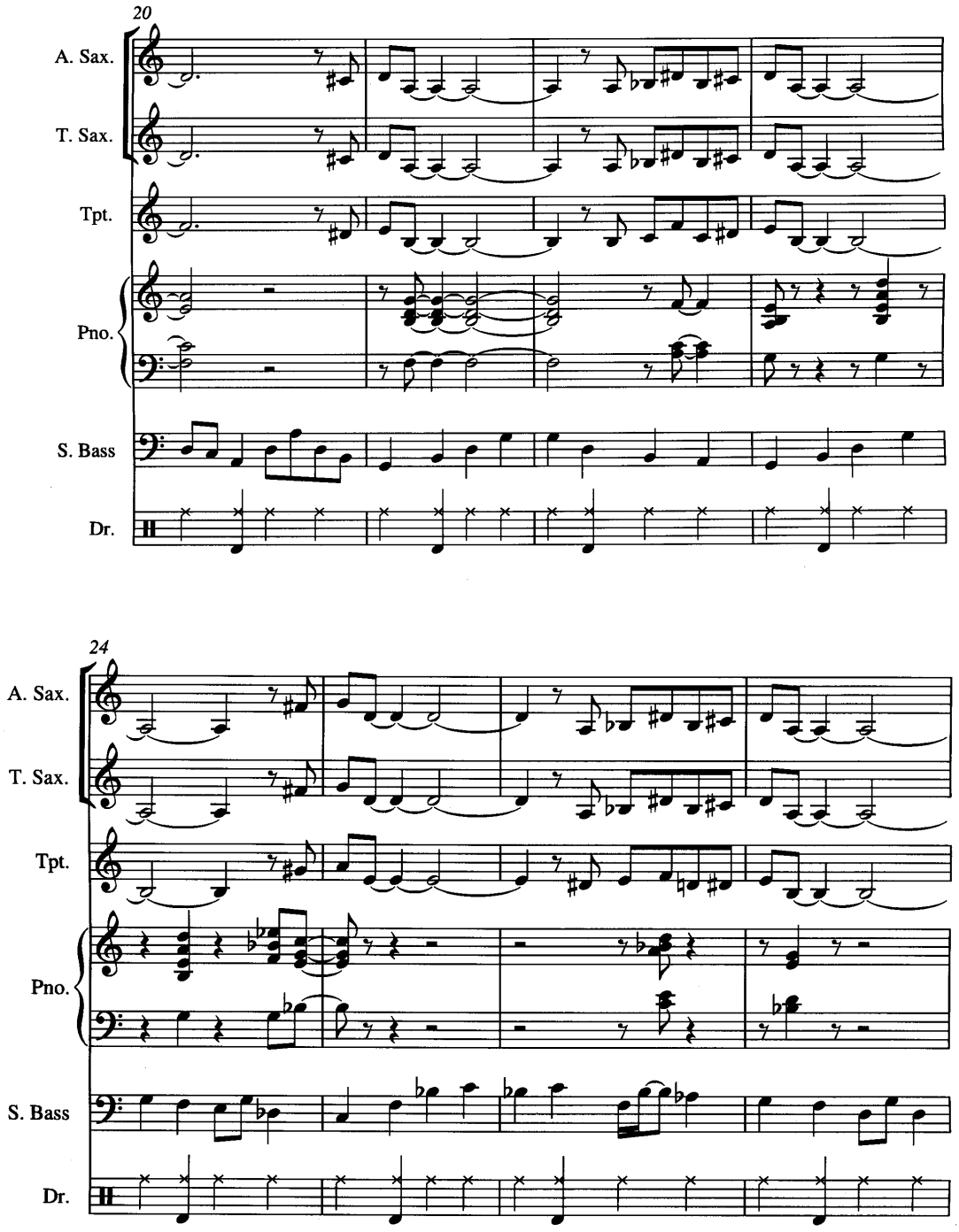

35
A. Sax.
Tpt.
Tbn.
Pno.
S. Bass
3
Dr.

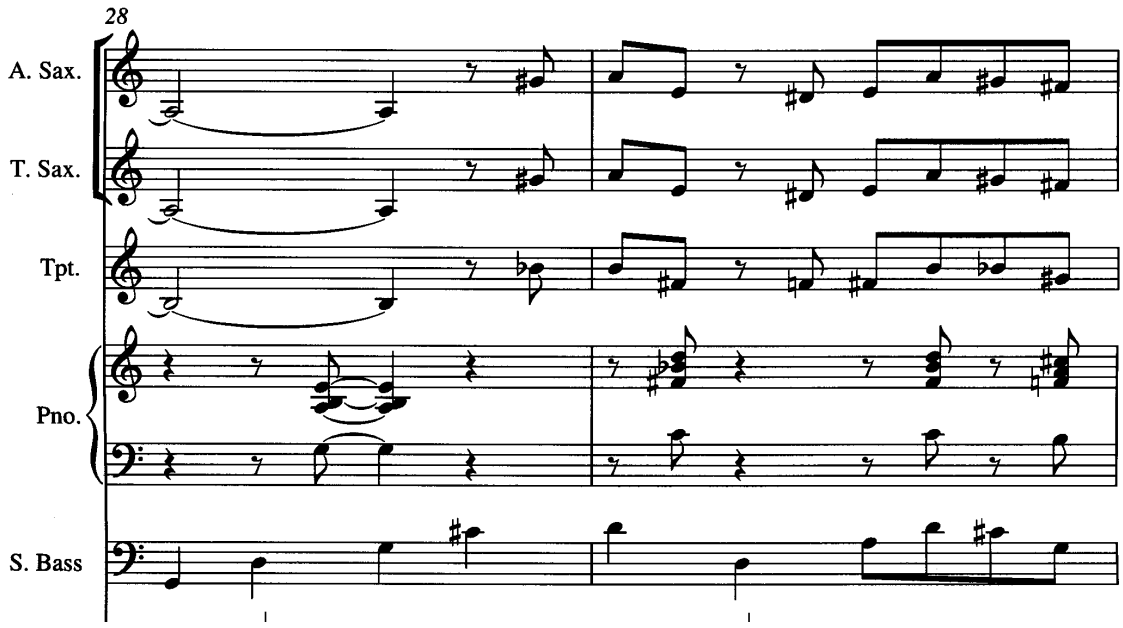
Transcription 5

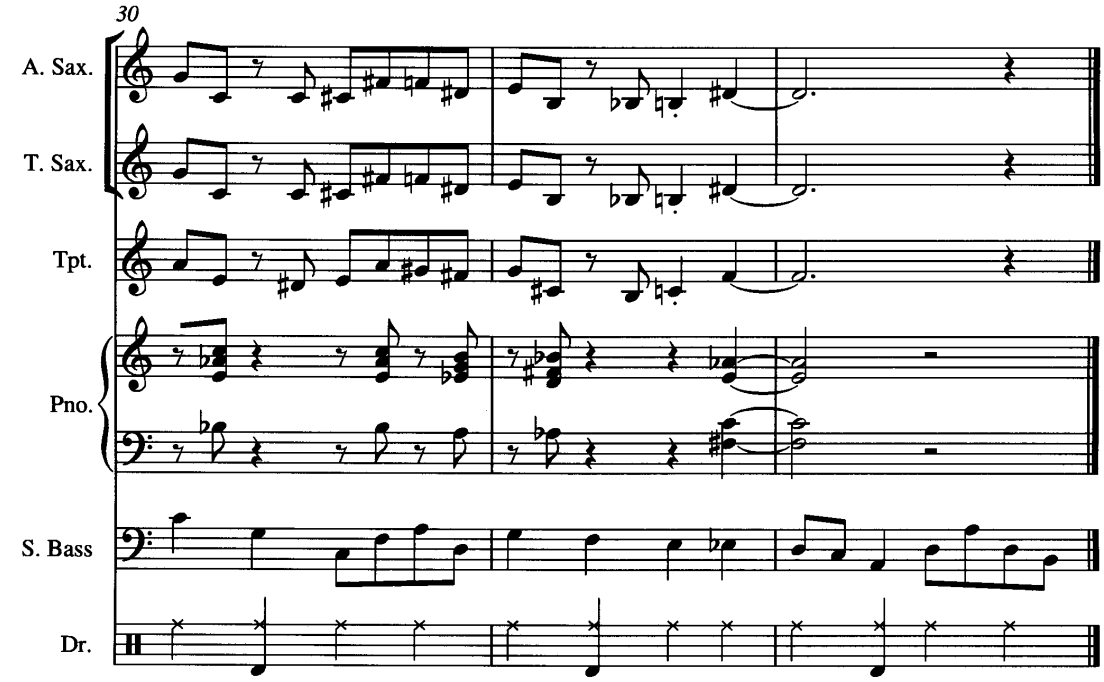



6
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
S. Bass
Dr.
3
9
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
S. Bass
Dr.

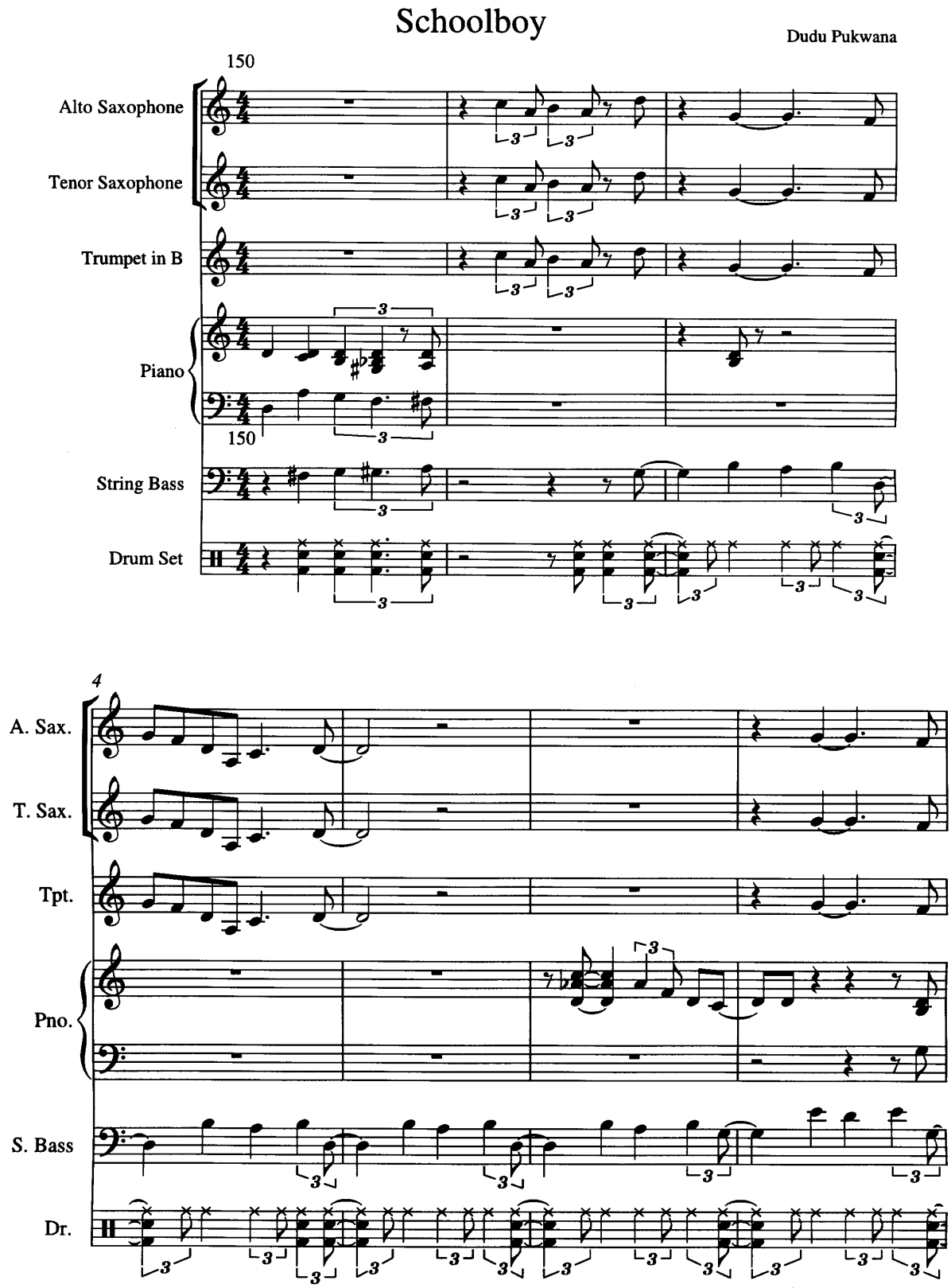

13
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
S. Bass
Dr.
17
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
S. Bass
Dr.

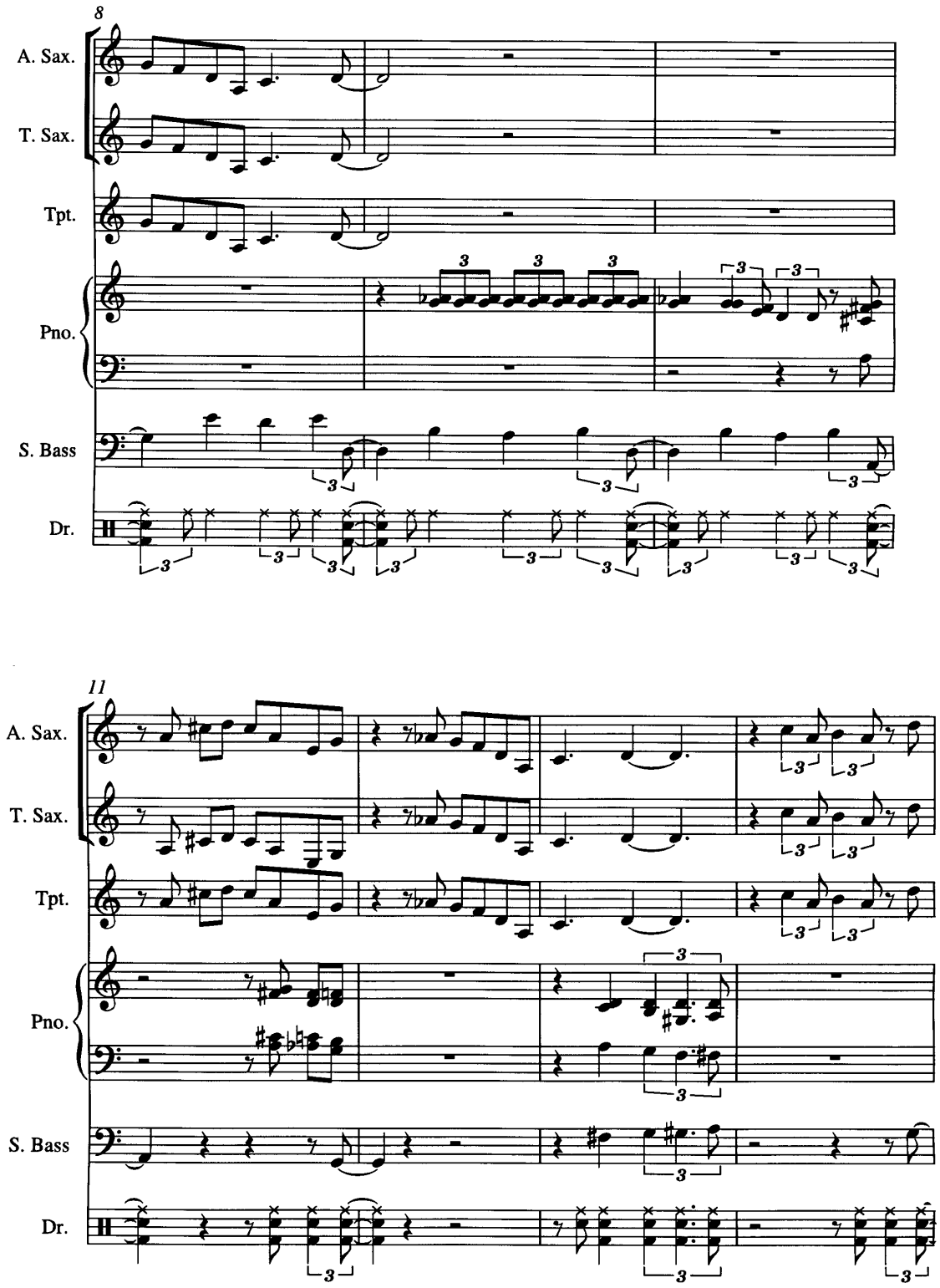

20
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
S. Bass
Dr.
24
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
S. Bass
Dr.


28
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
S. Bass

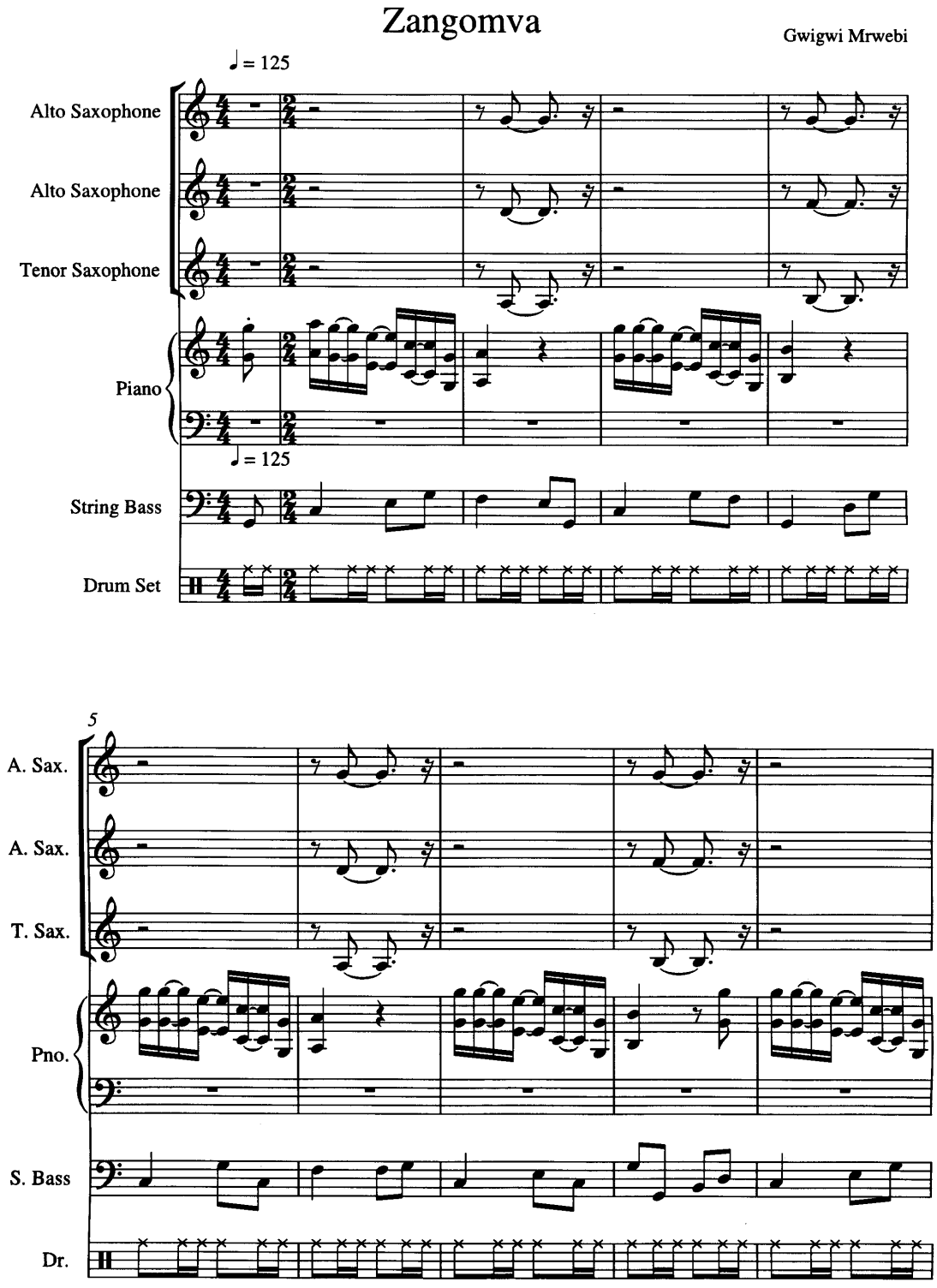

30
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
S. Bass
Dr.

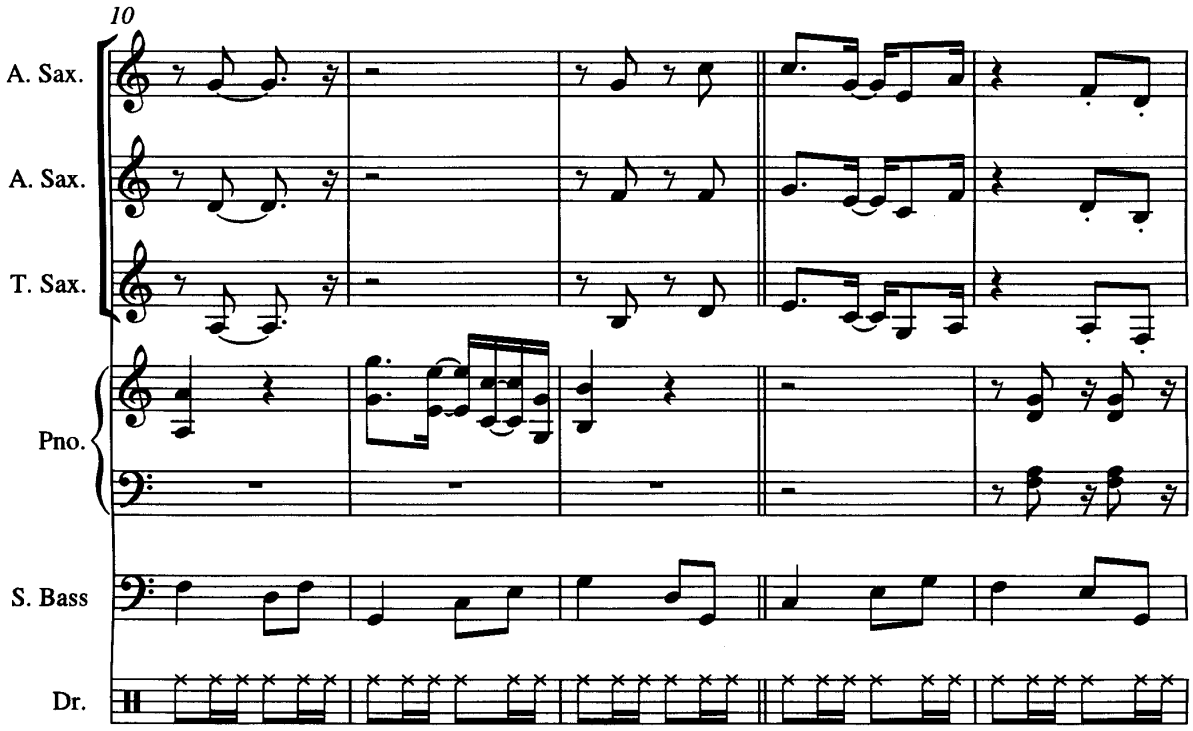
Transcription 6

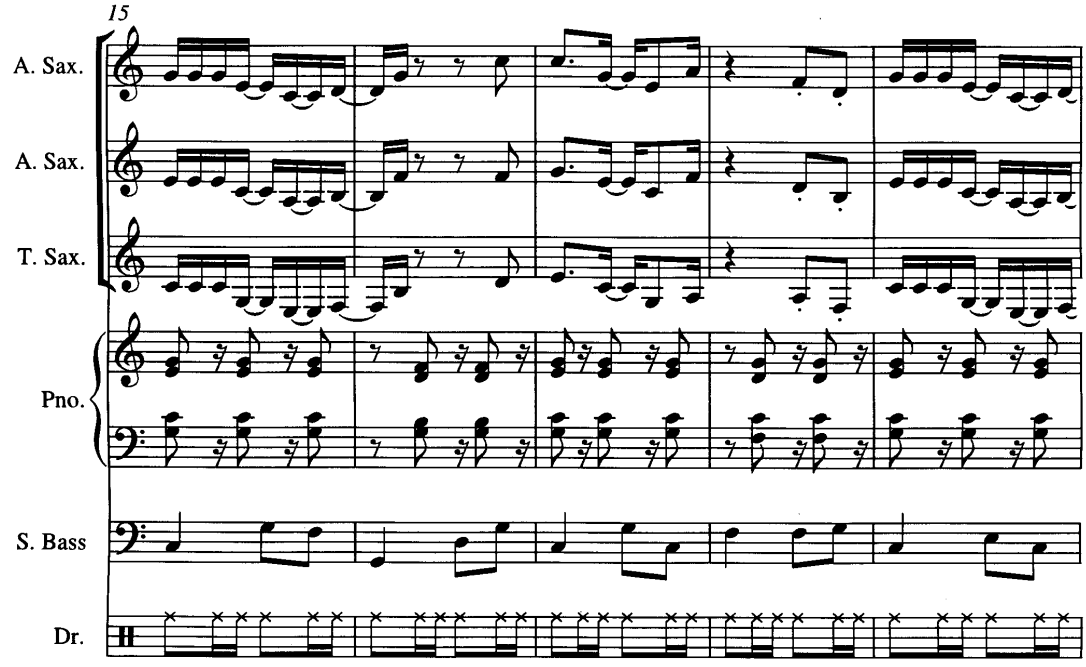


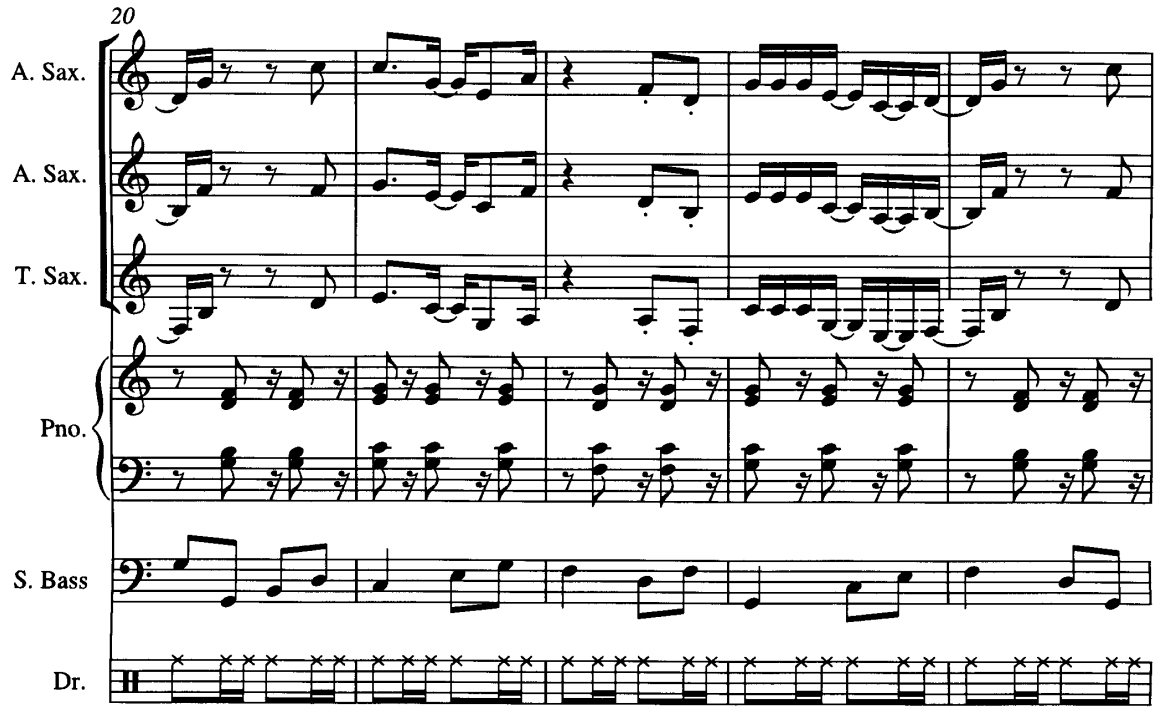

8
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
S. Bass
Dr.
11
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
S. Bass
Dr.

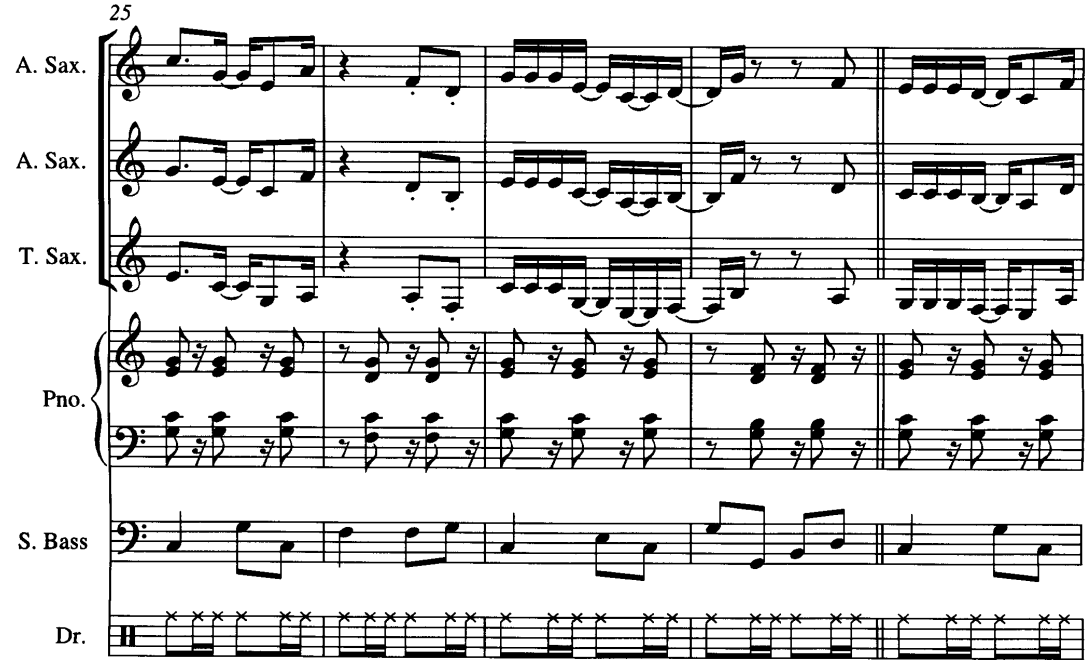
Transcription 7

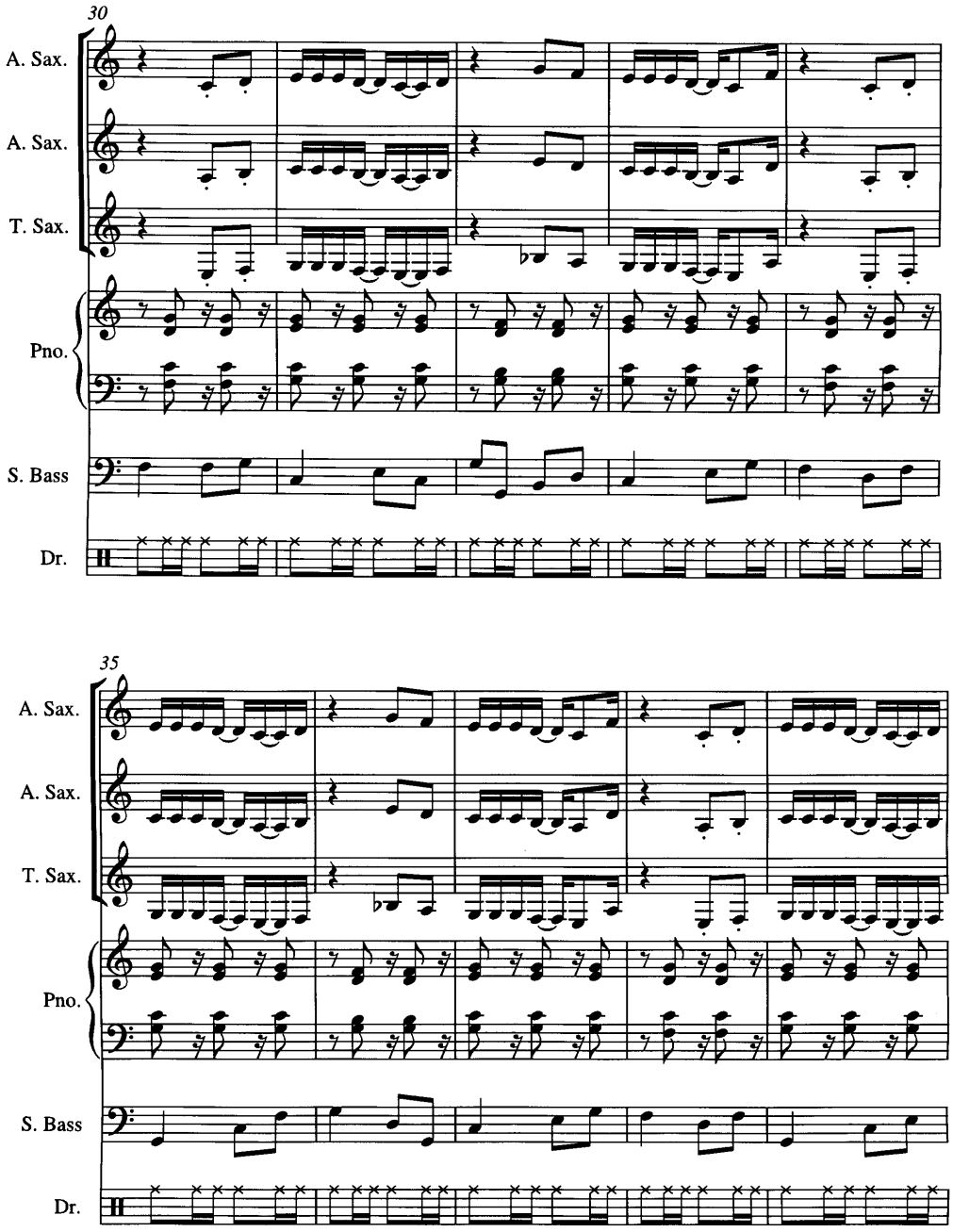


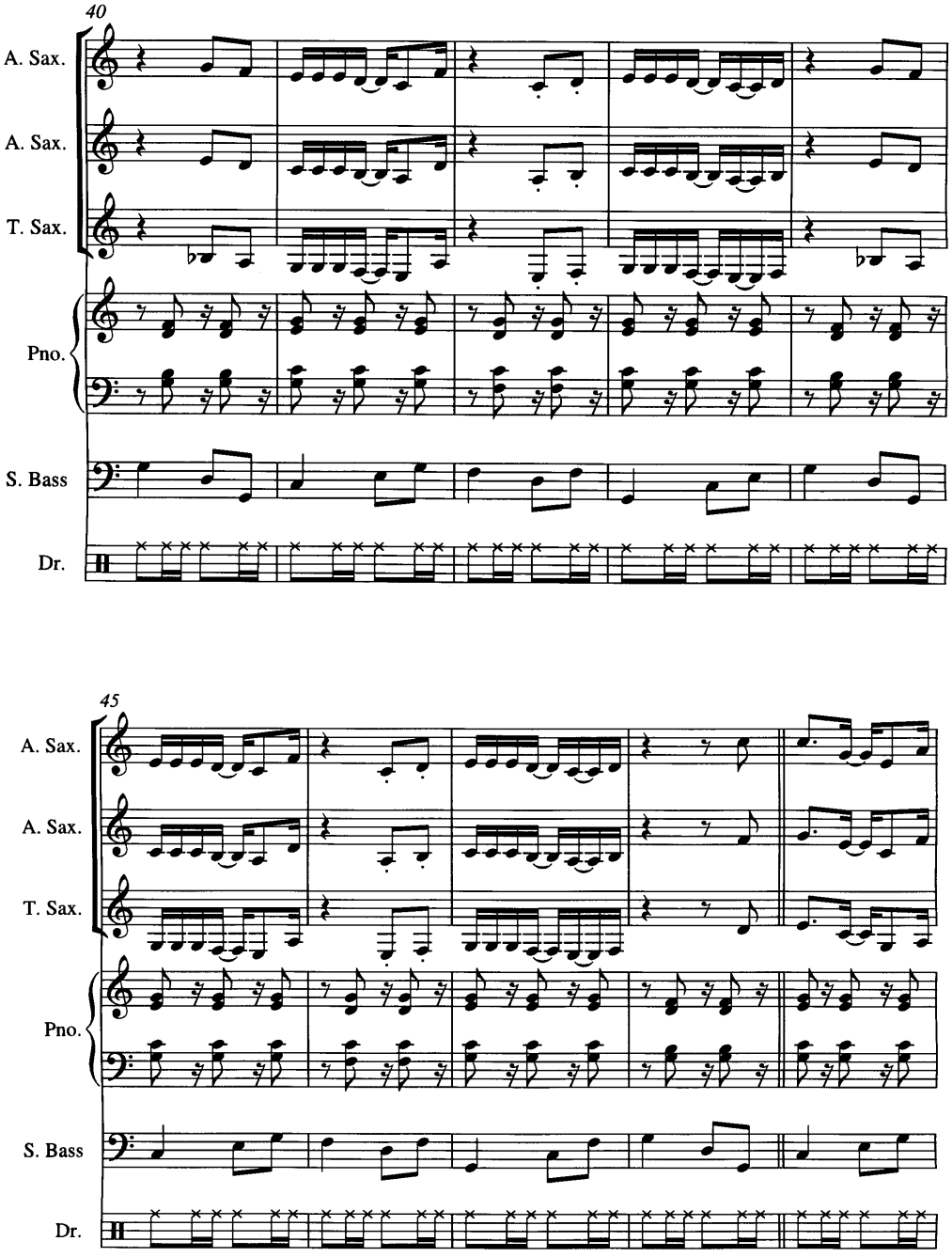

10
A. Sax.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Pno.
S. Bass
Dr.

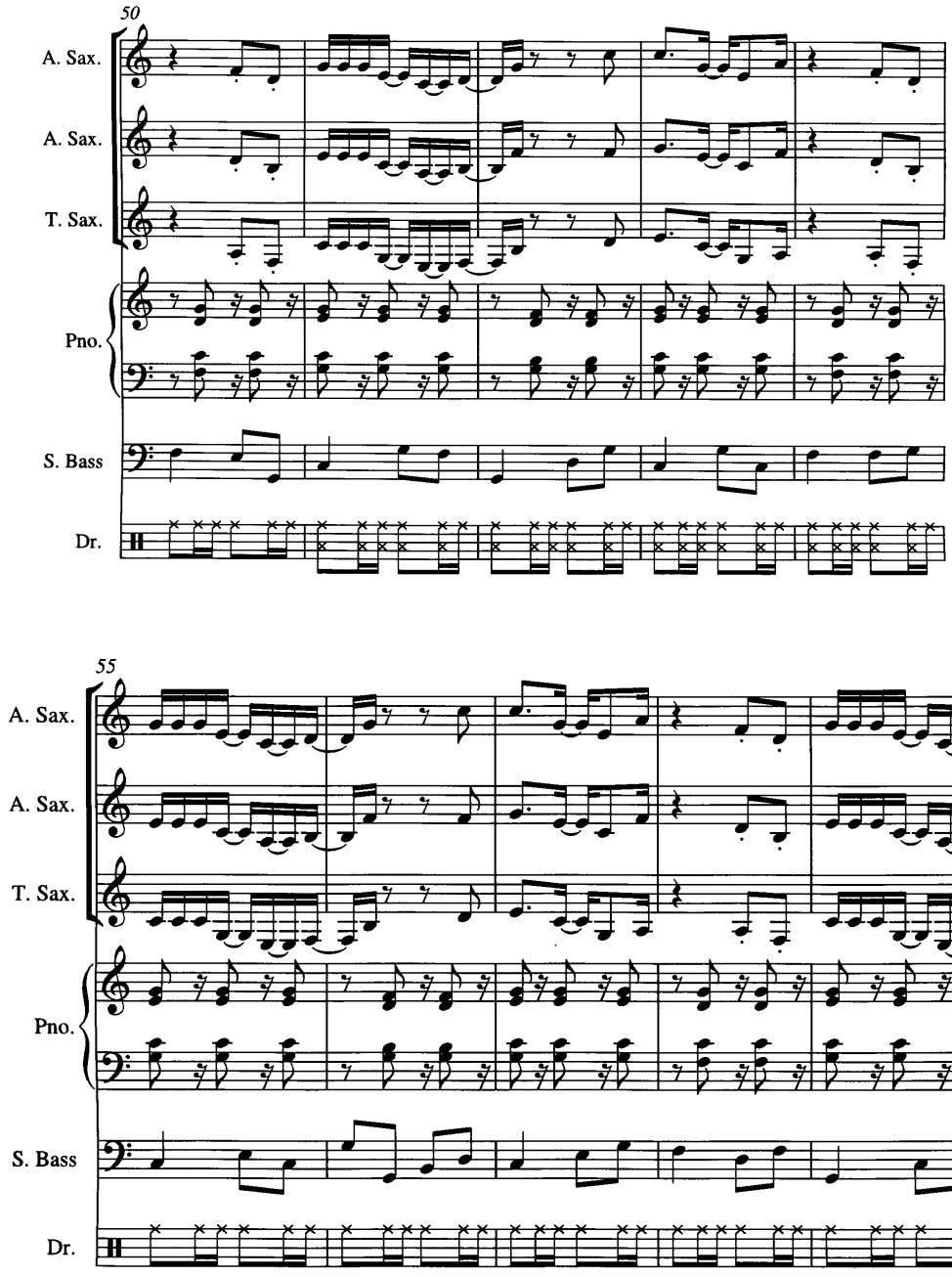

15
A. Sax.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Pno.
S. Bass
Dr.

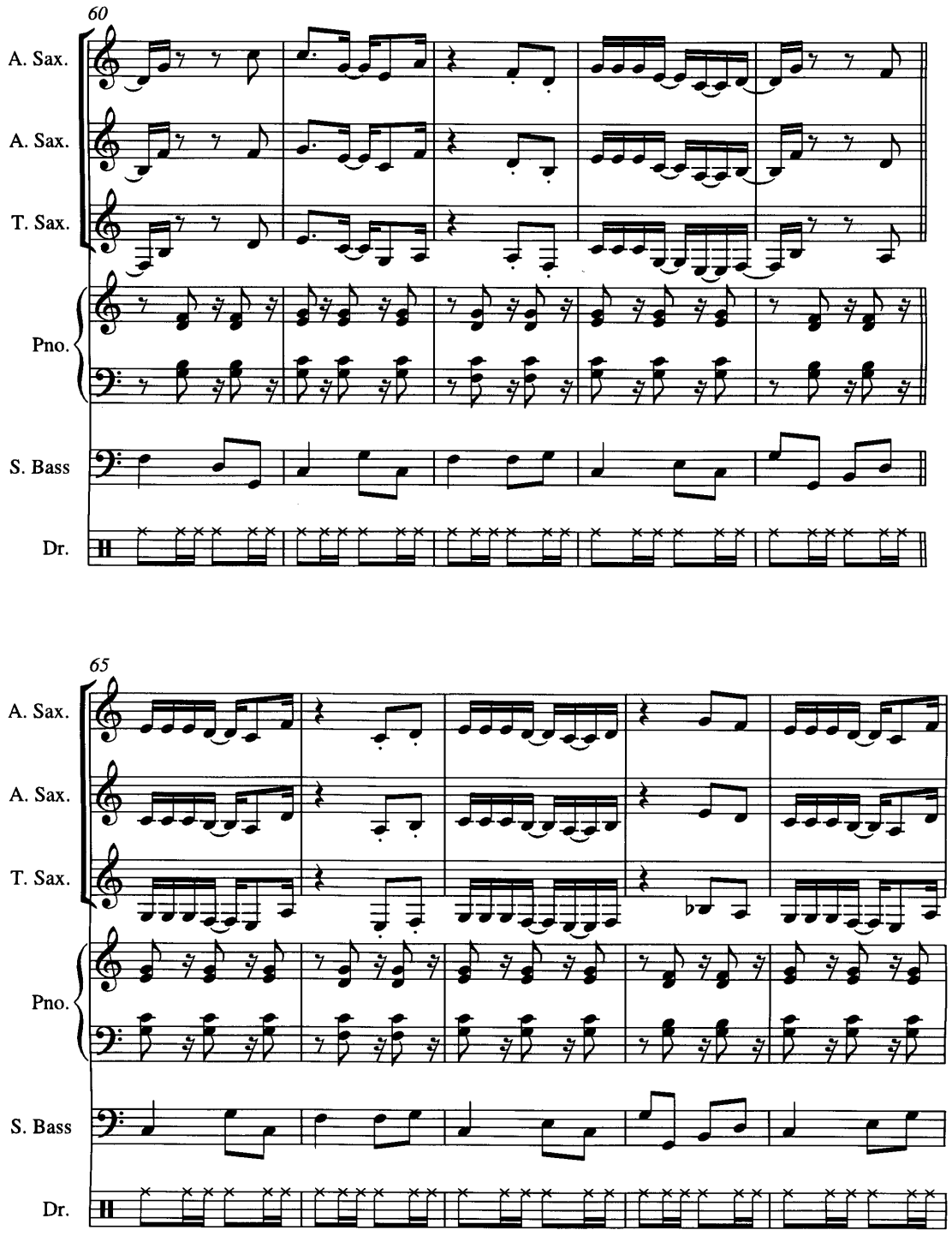

20
A. Sax.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Pno.
S. Bass
Dr.

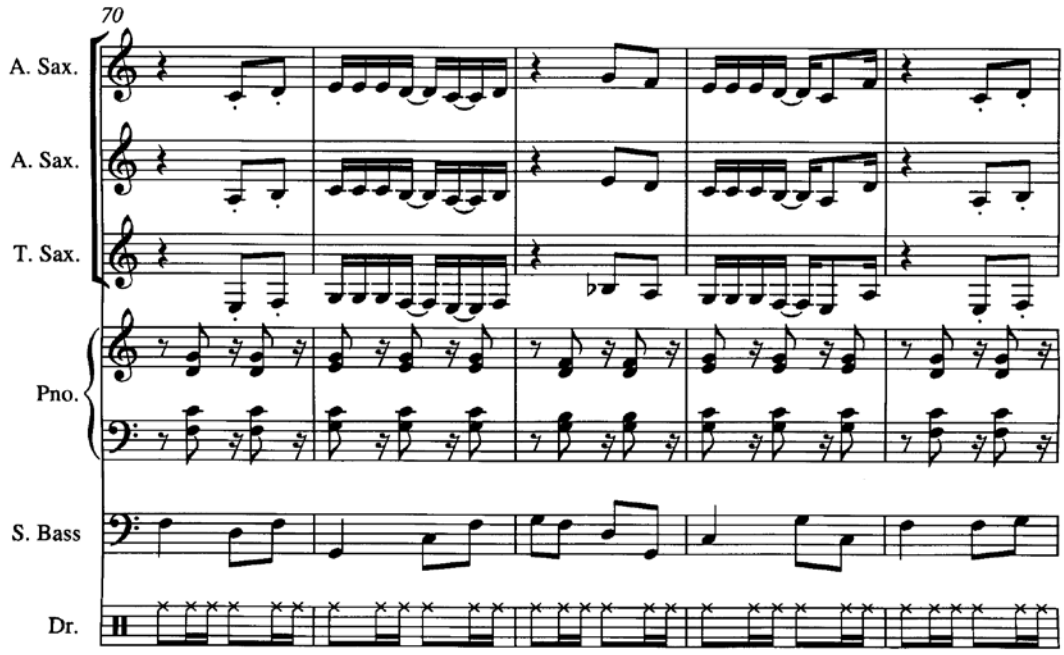

25
A. Sax.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Pno.
S. Bass
Dr.

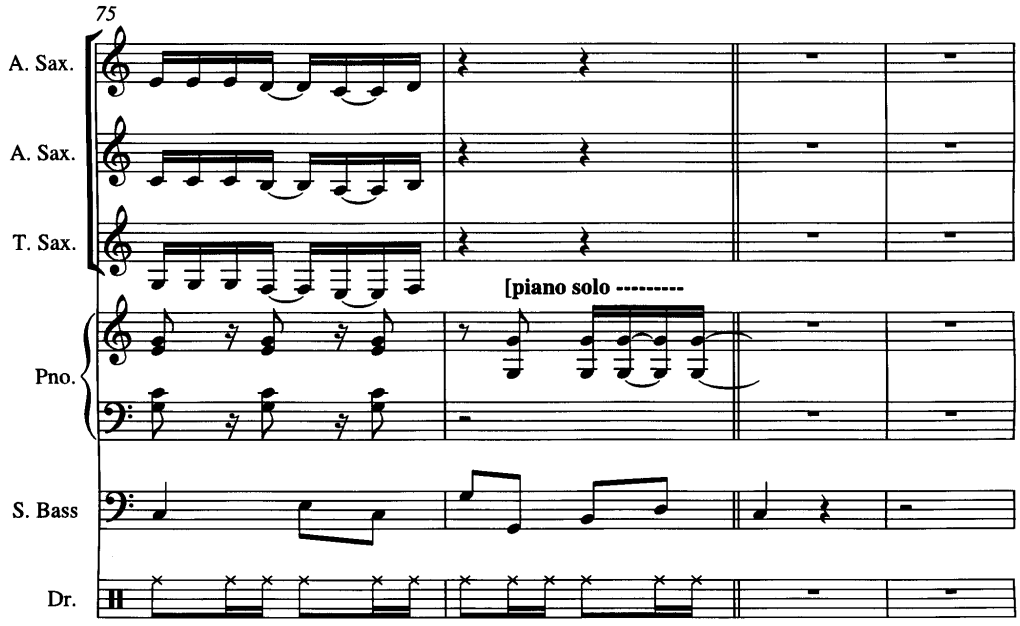

30
A. Sax.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Pno.
S. Bass
Dr.
35
A. Sax.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Pno.
S. Bass
Dr.


40
A. Sax.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Pno.
S. Bass
Dr.
45
A. Sax.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Pno.
S. Bass
Dr.

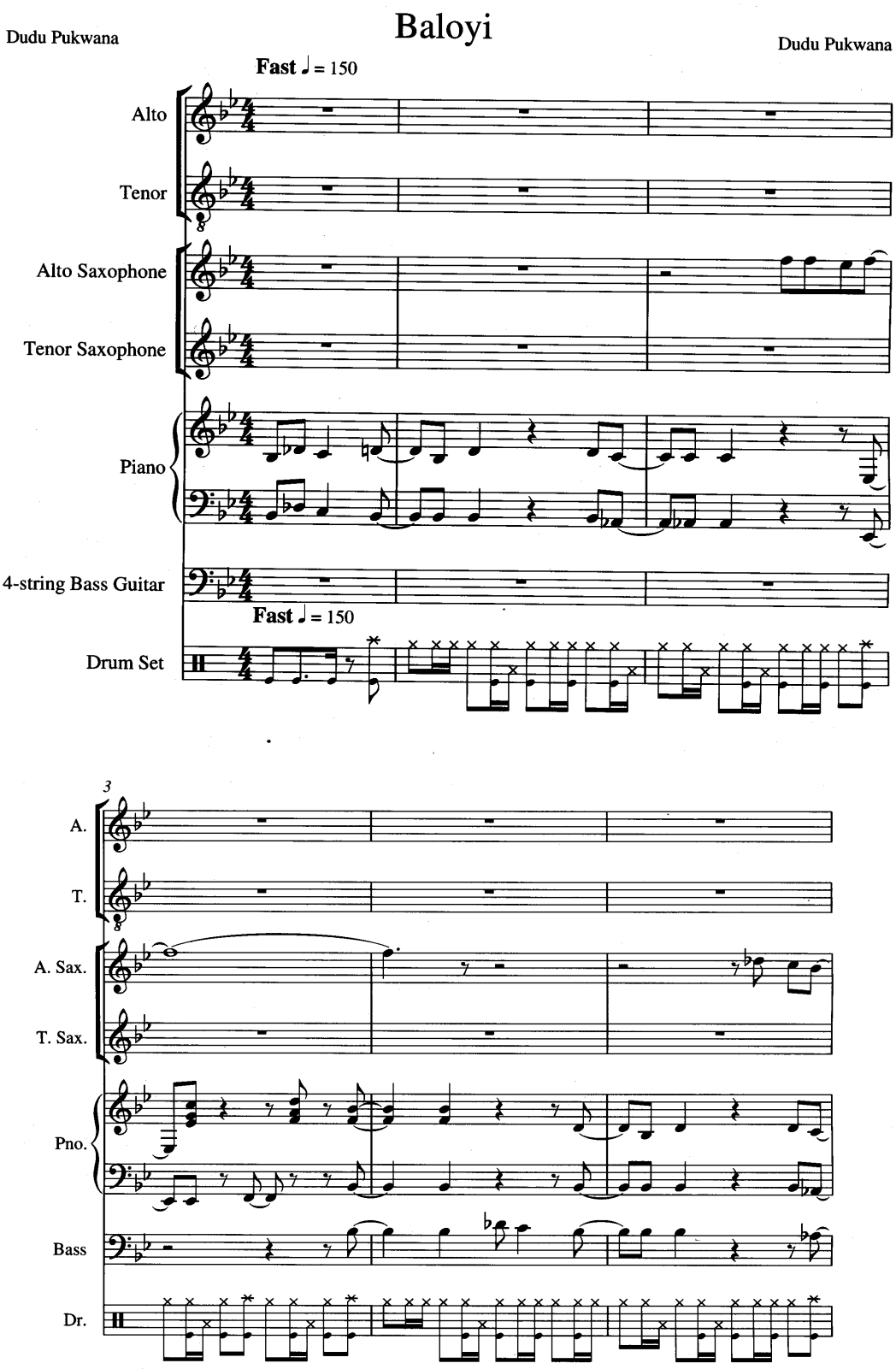

50
A. Sax.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Pno.
S. Bass
Dr.
55
A. Sax.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Pno.
S. Bass
Dr.

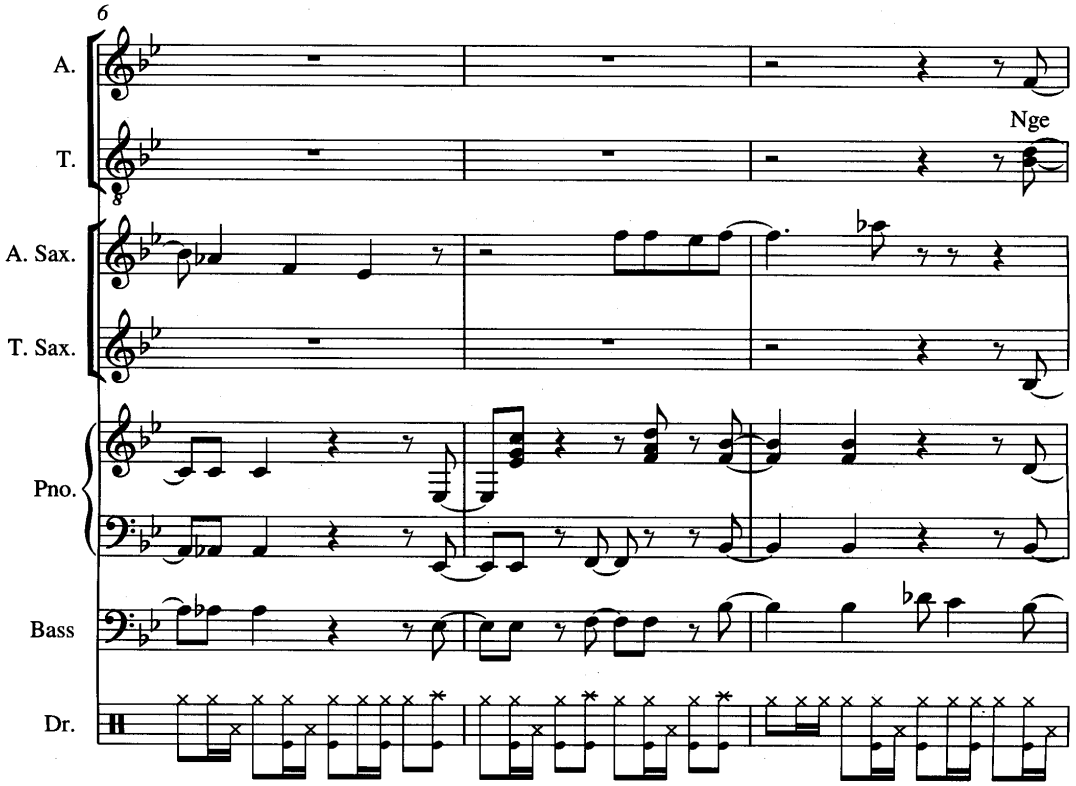

60
A. Sax.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Pno.
S. Bass
Dr.
65
A. Sax.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Pno.
S. Bass
Dr.

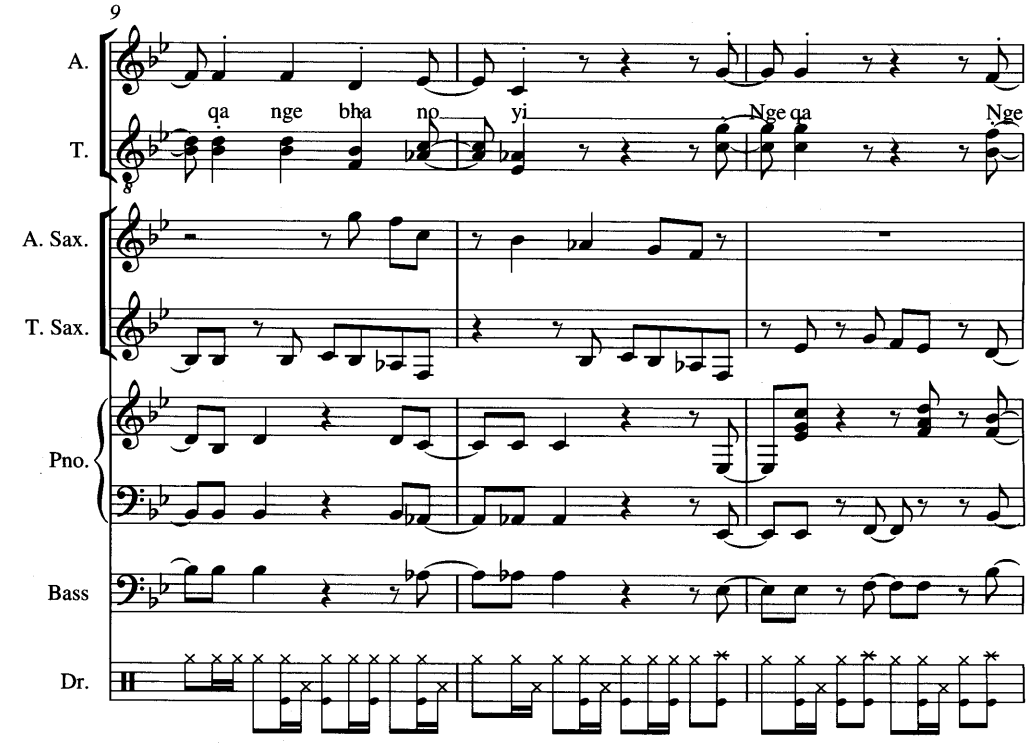

70
A. Sax.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Pno.
S. Bass
Dr.

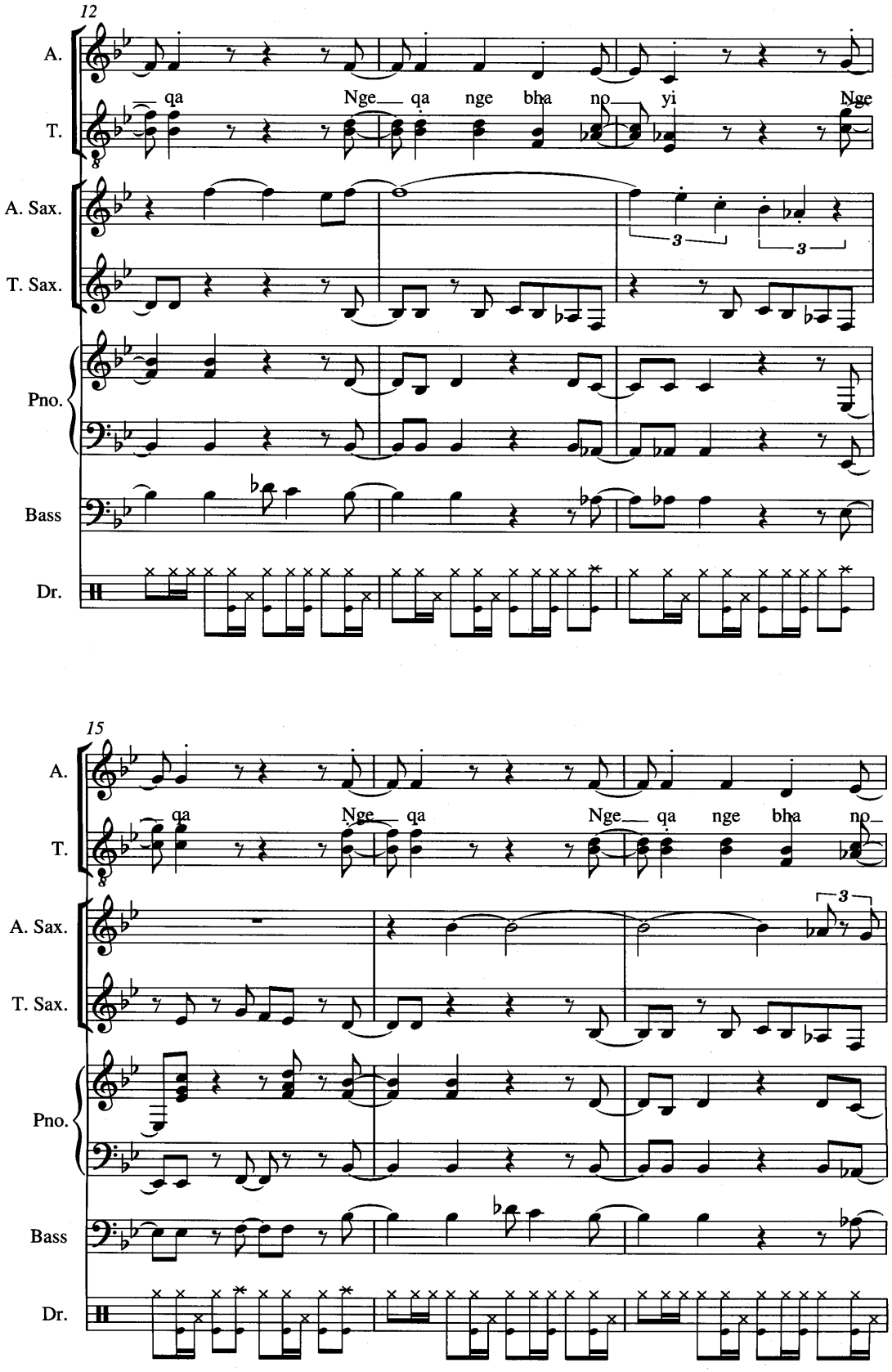

75
A. Sax.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
[piano solo ---------
Pno.
S. Bass
Dr.

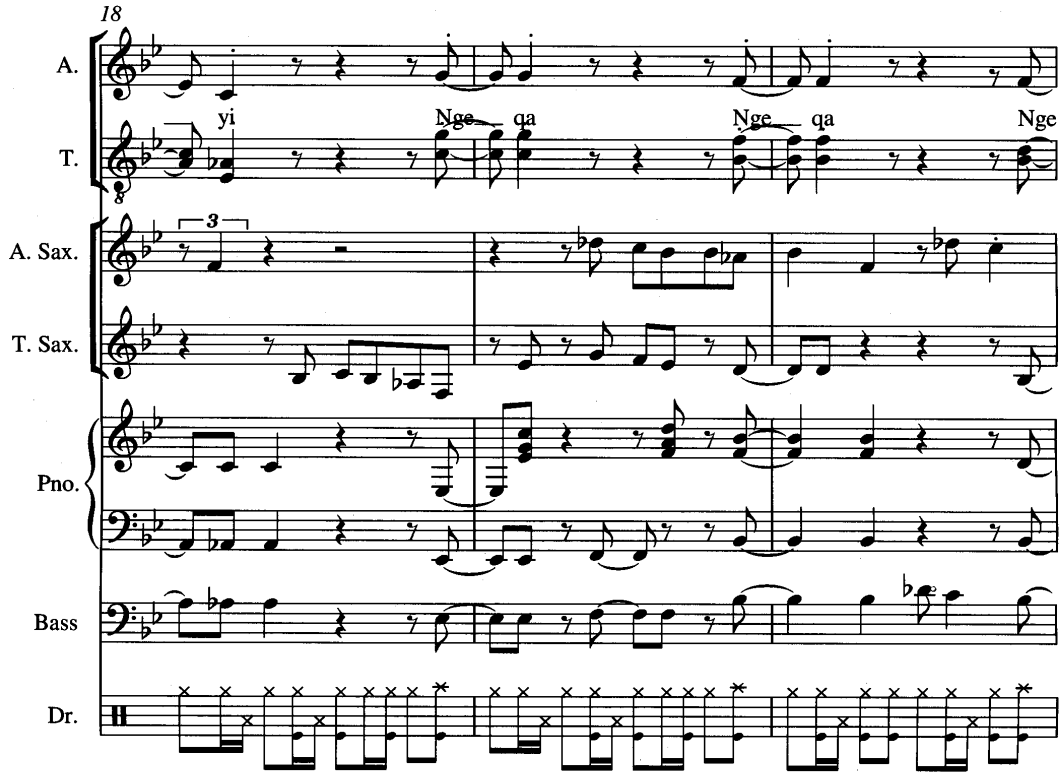
Transcription 8

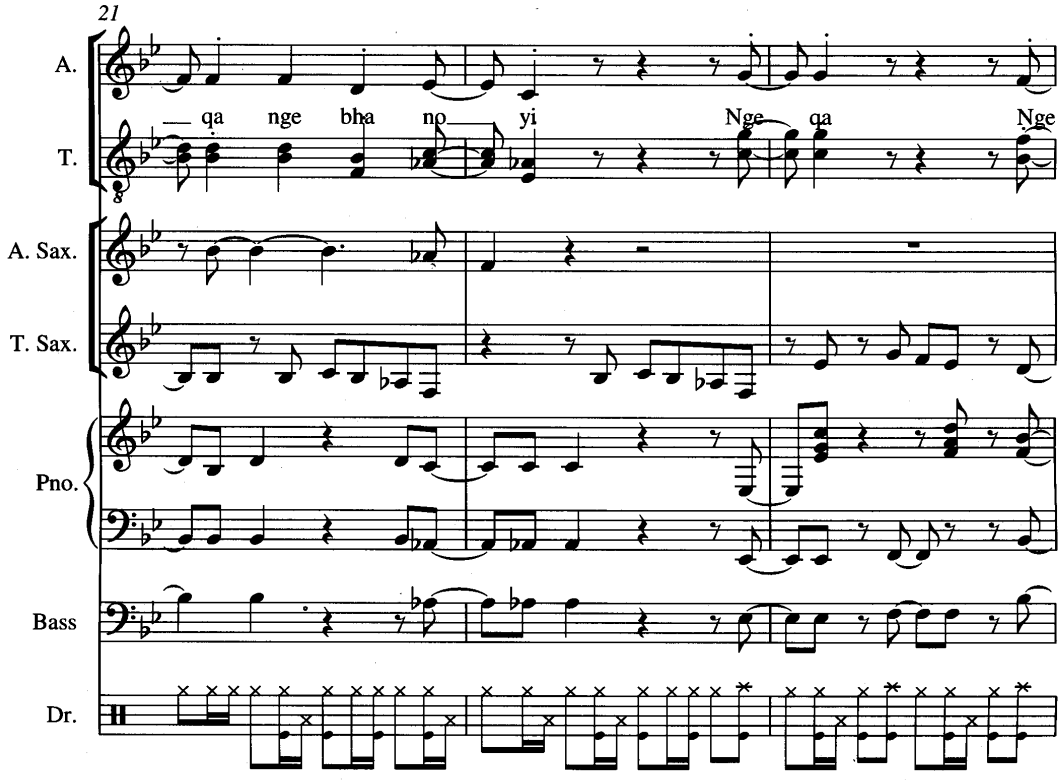


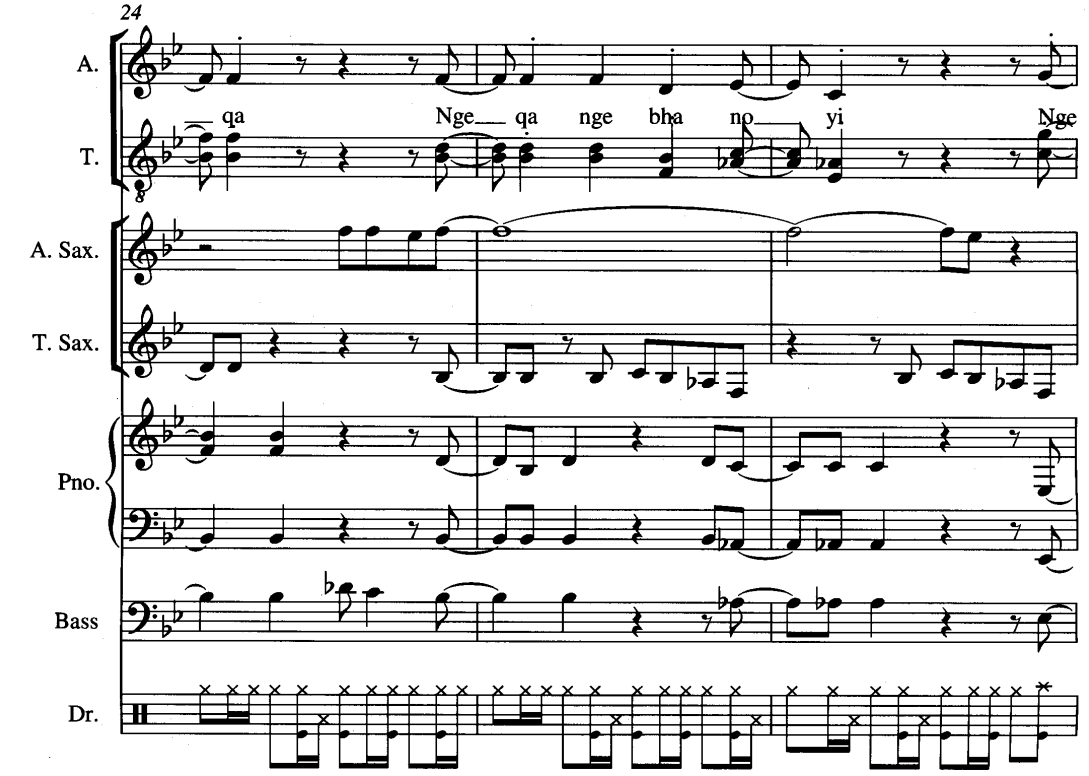

6
A.
T.
Nge
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

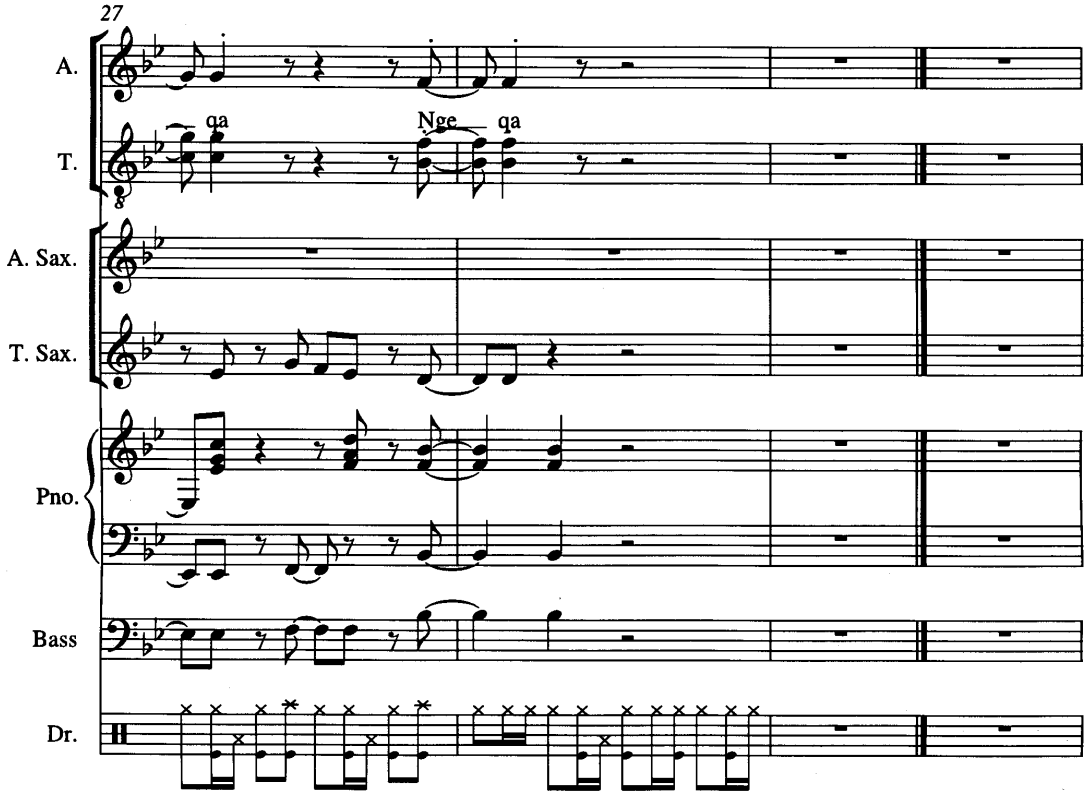

9
A.
T.
qa nge bha no yi
Nge qa
Nge
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.


12
A.
T.
qa Nge qa nge bha no yi Nge
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.
15
A.
T.
qa Nge qa Nge qa nge bha no
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

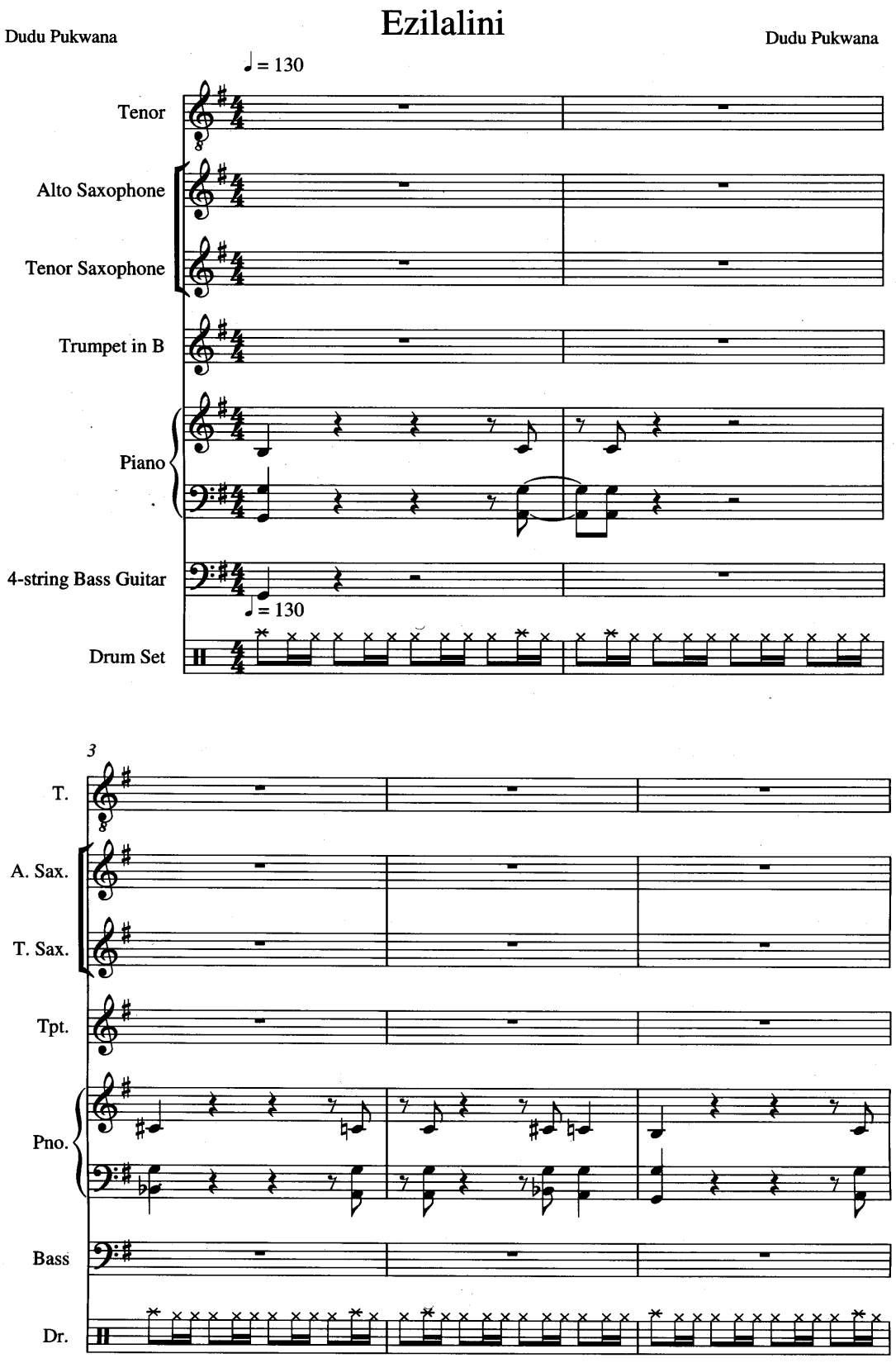

18
A.
T.
yi
Nge
qa
Nge
qa
Nge
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

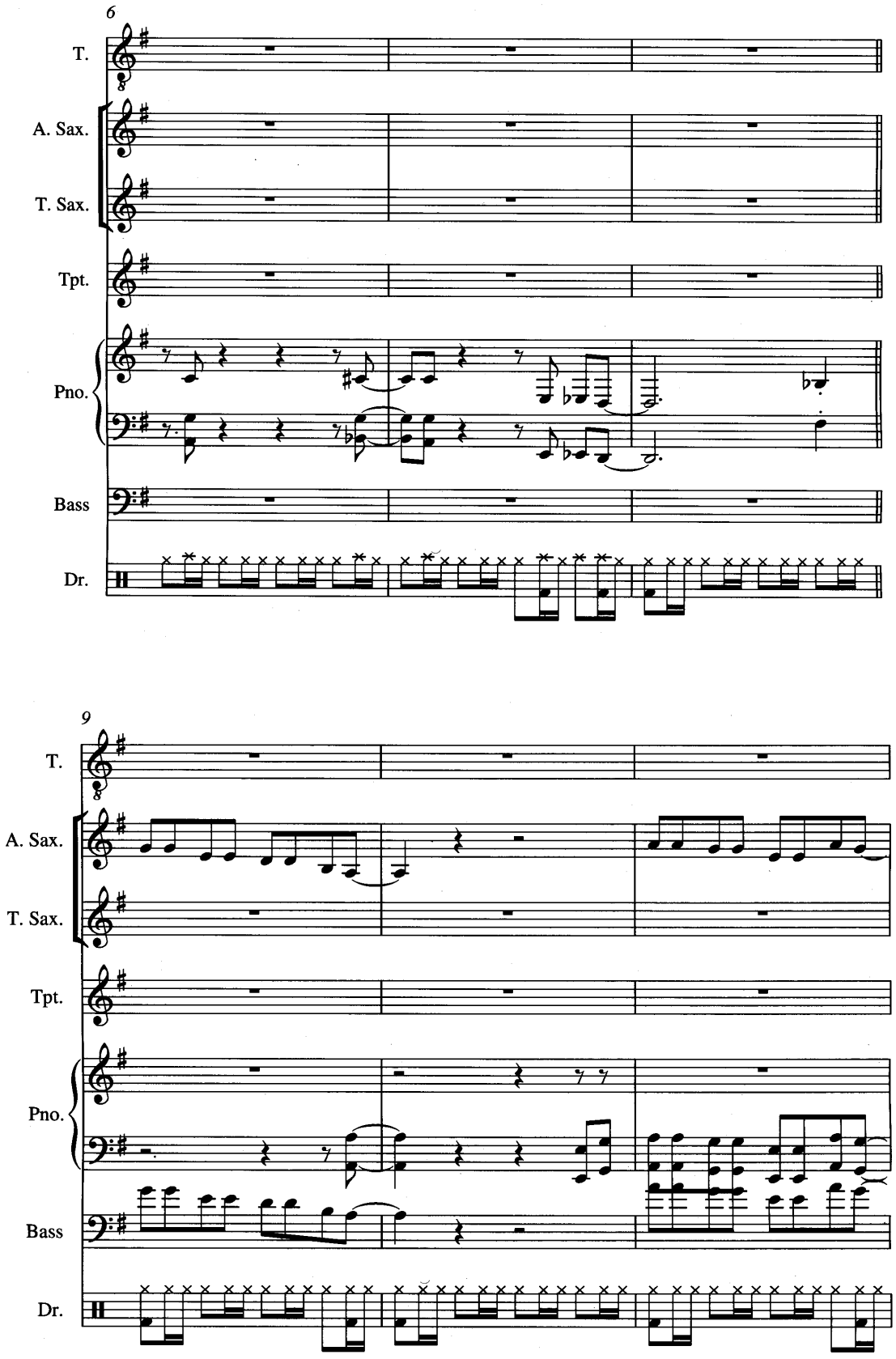

21
A.
T.
qa
nge
bha
no
yi
Nge
qa
Nge
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

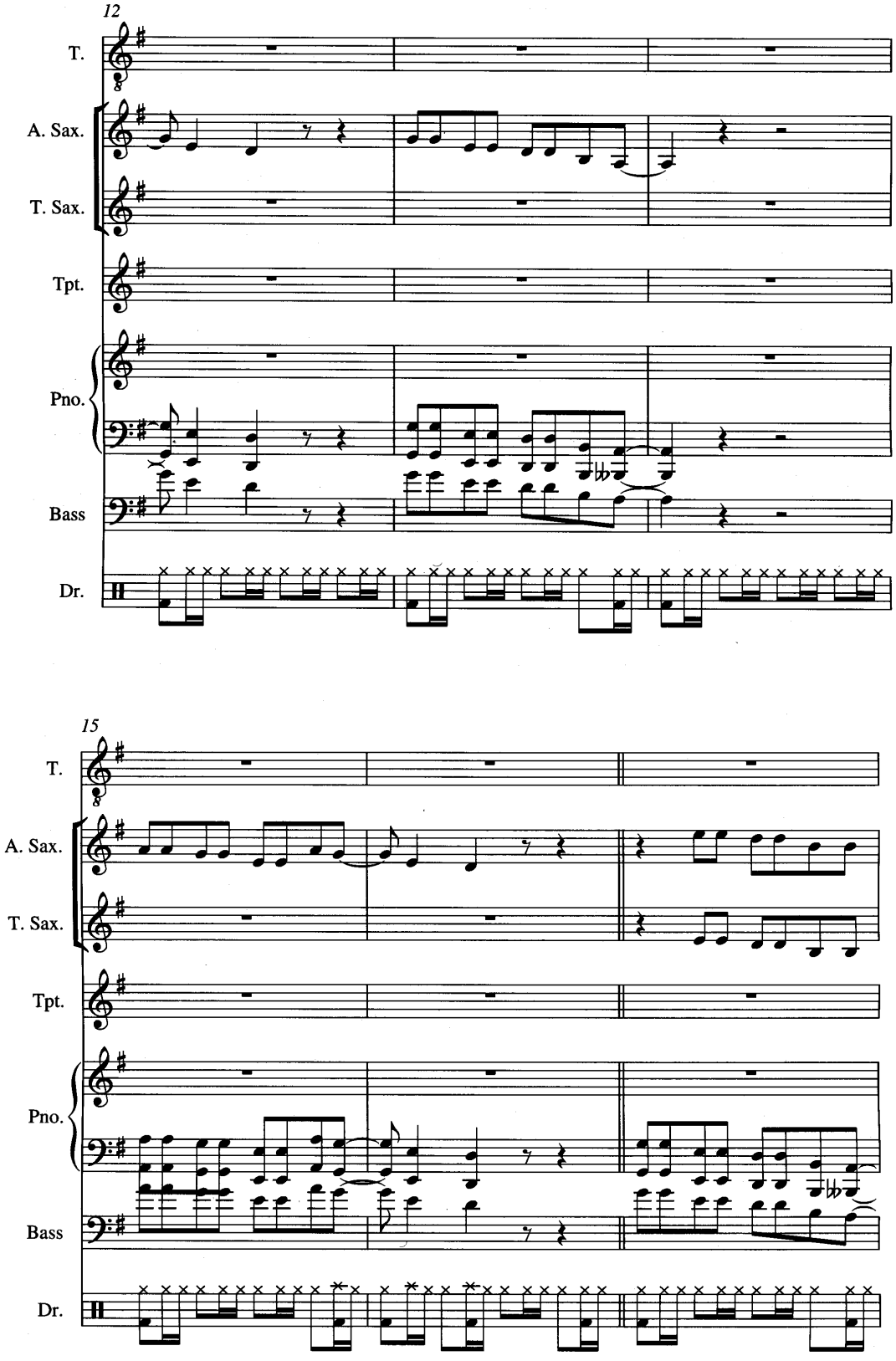

24
A.
T.
qa
Nge
qa
nge
bha
no
yi
Nge
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

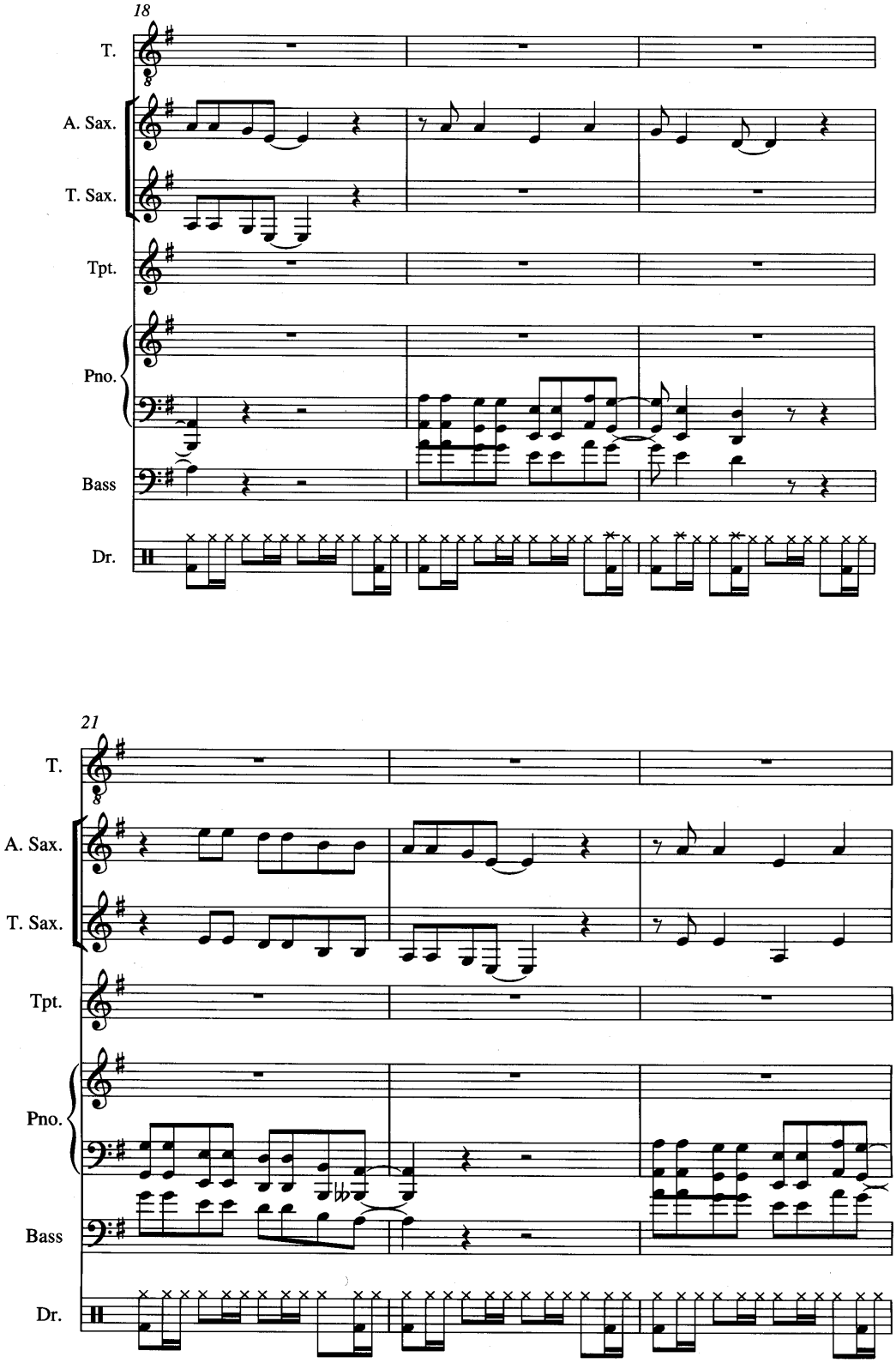

27
A.
T.
qa
Nge
qa
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

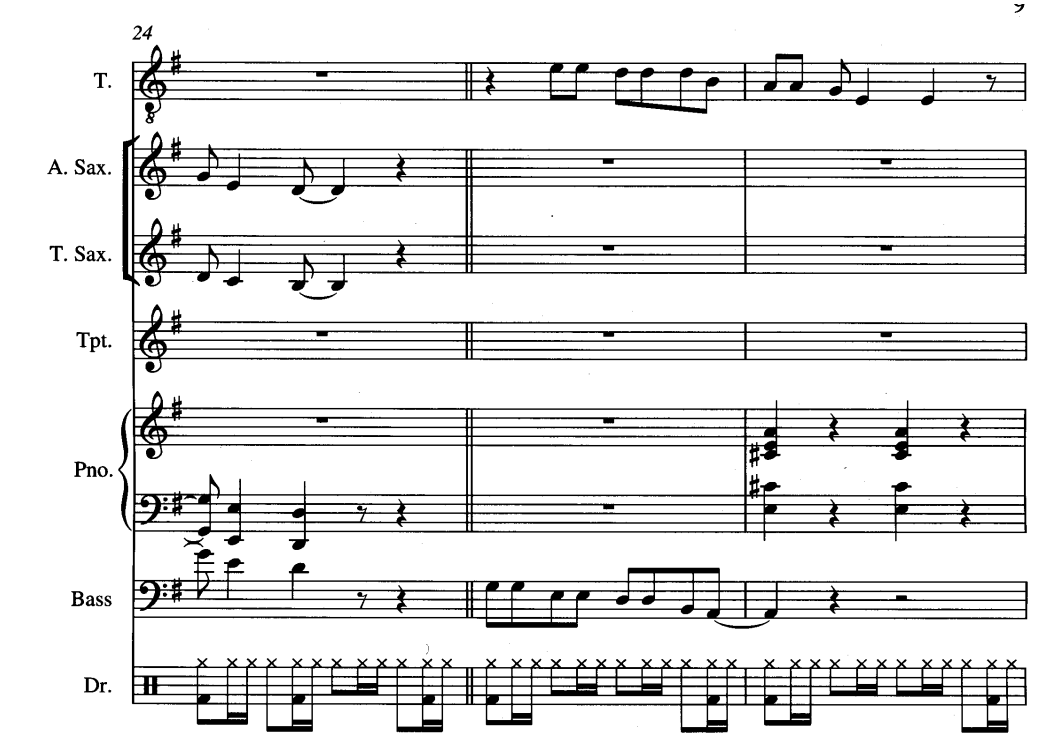
Transcription 9

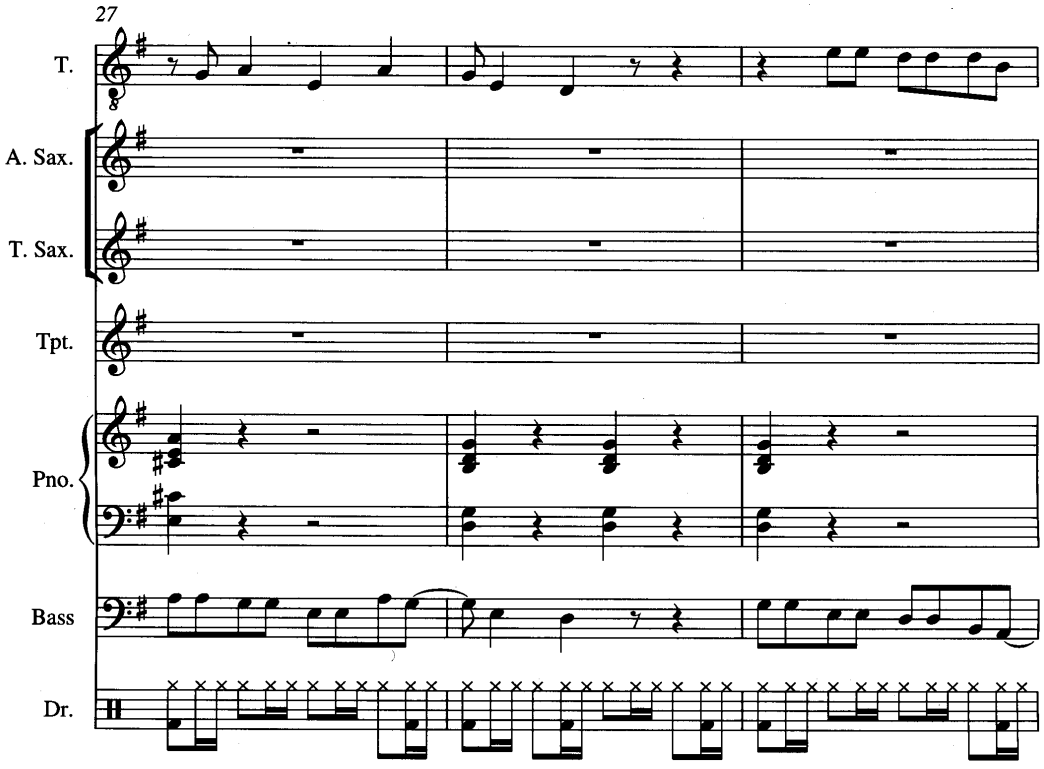


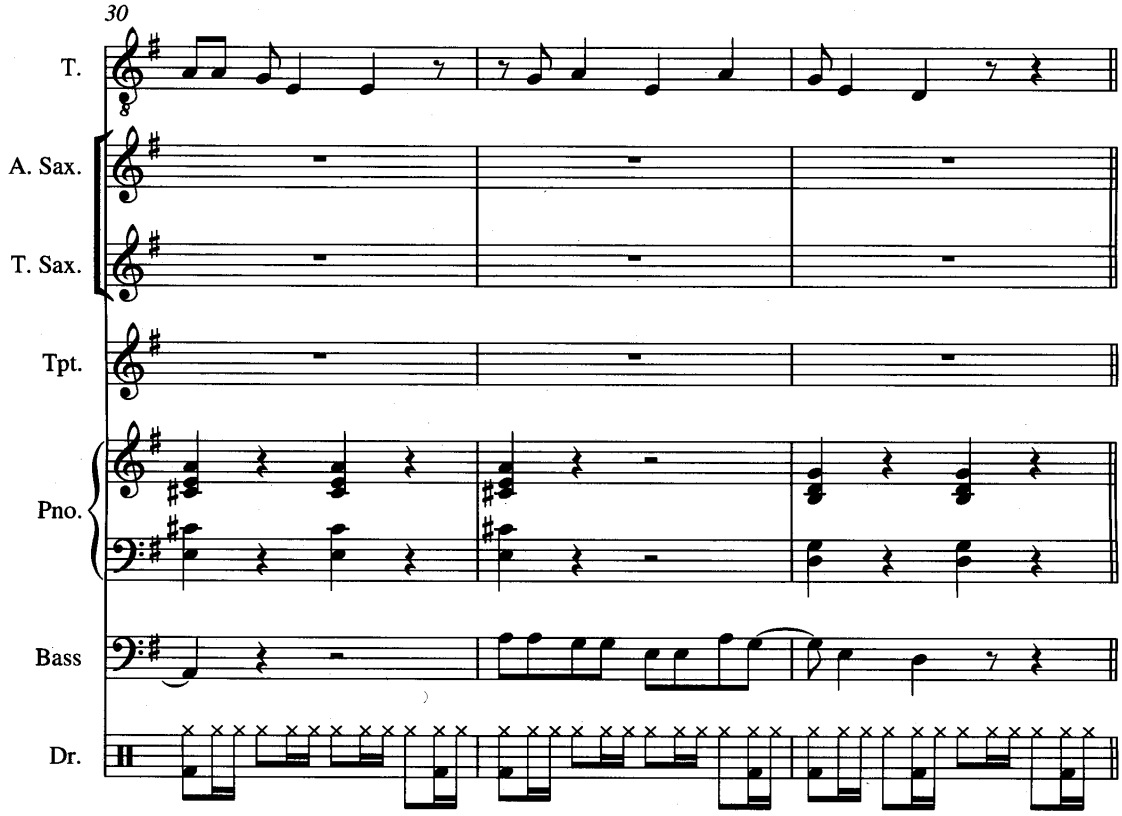

6
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.
9
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

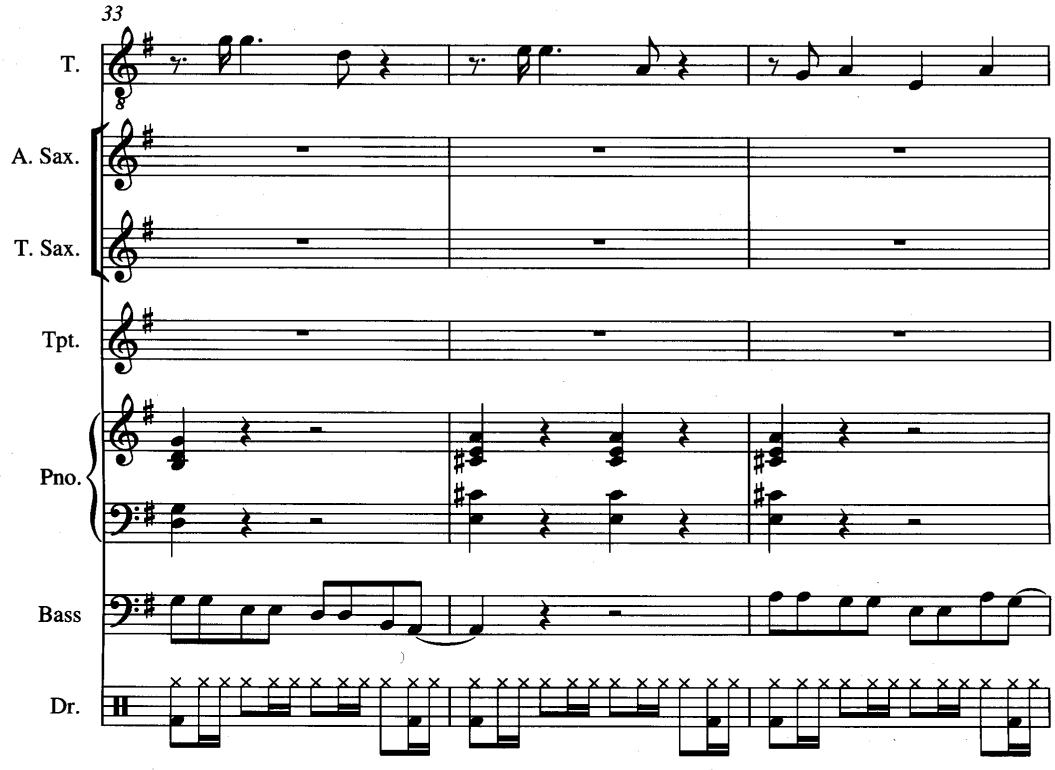

12
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.
15
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

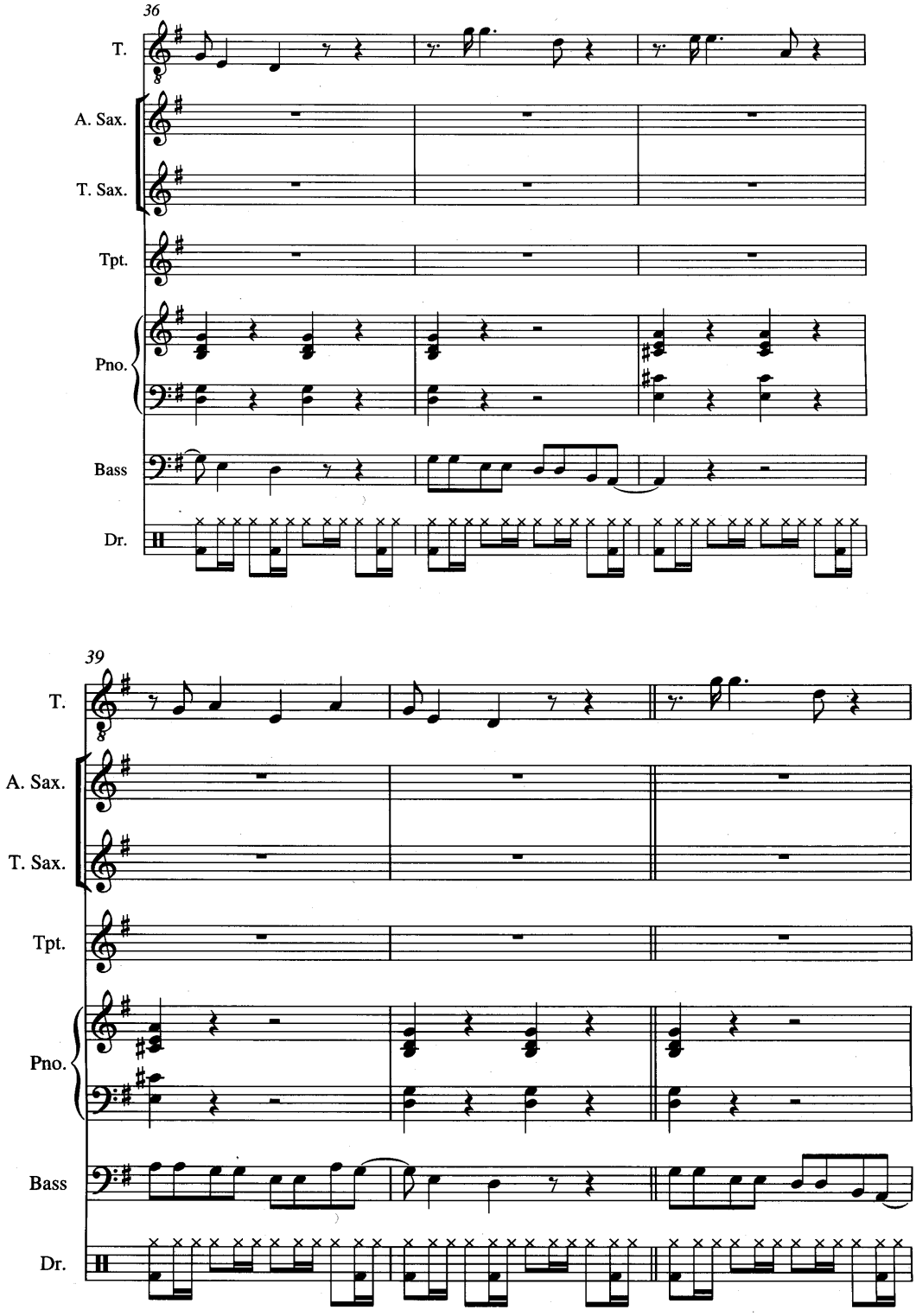

18
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.
21
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

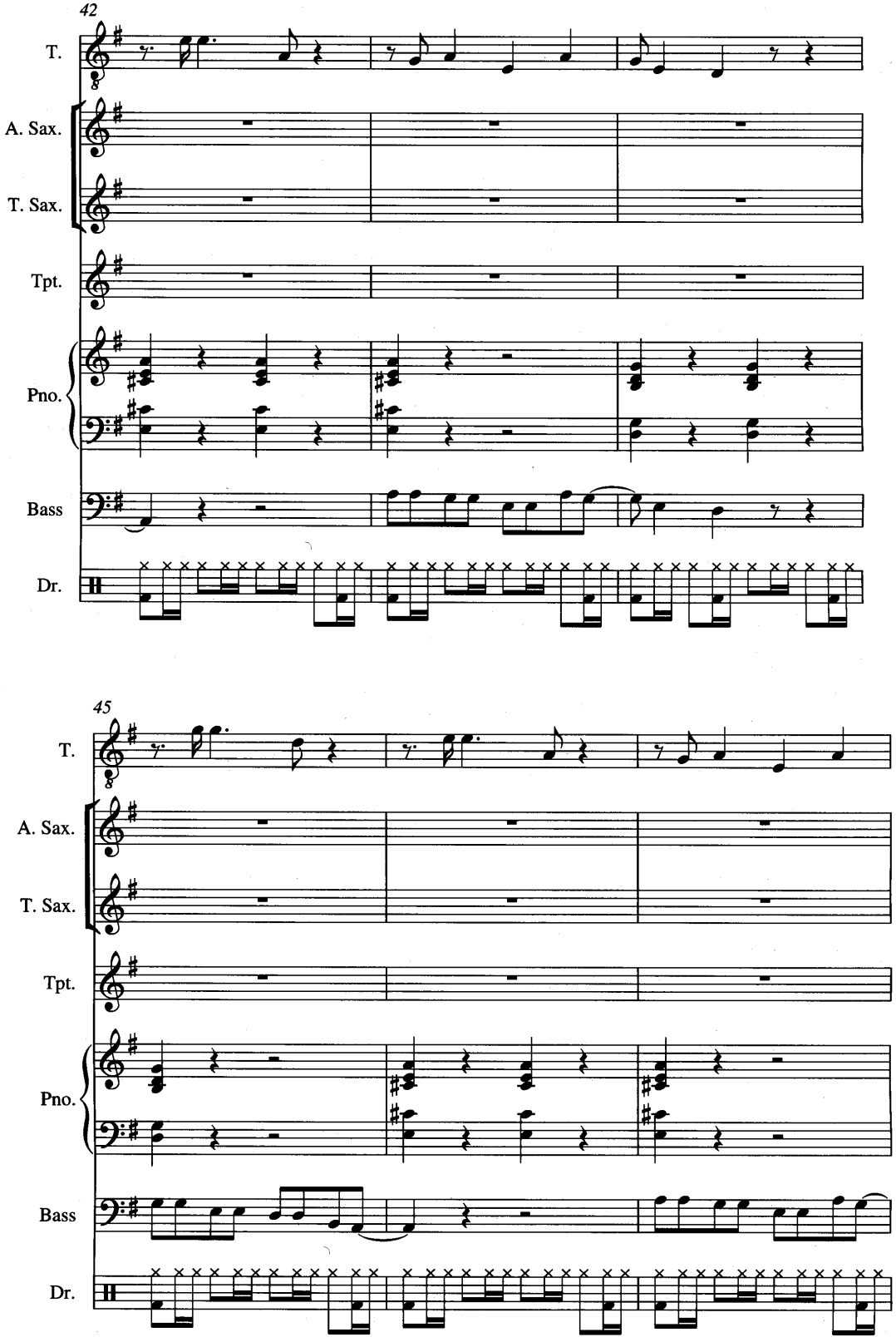

24
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

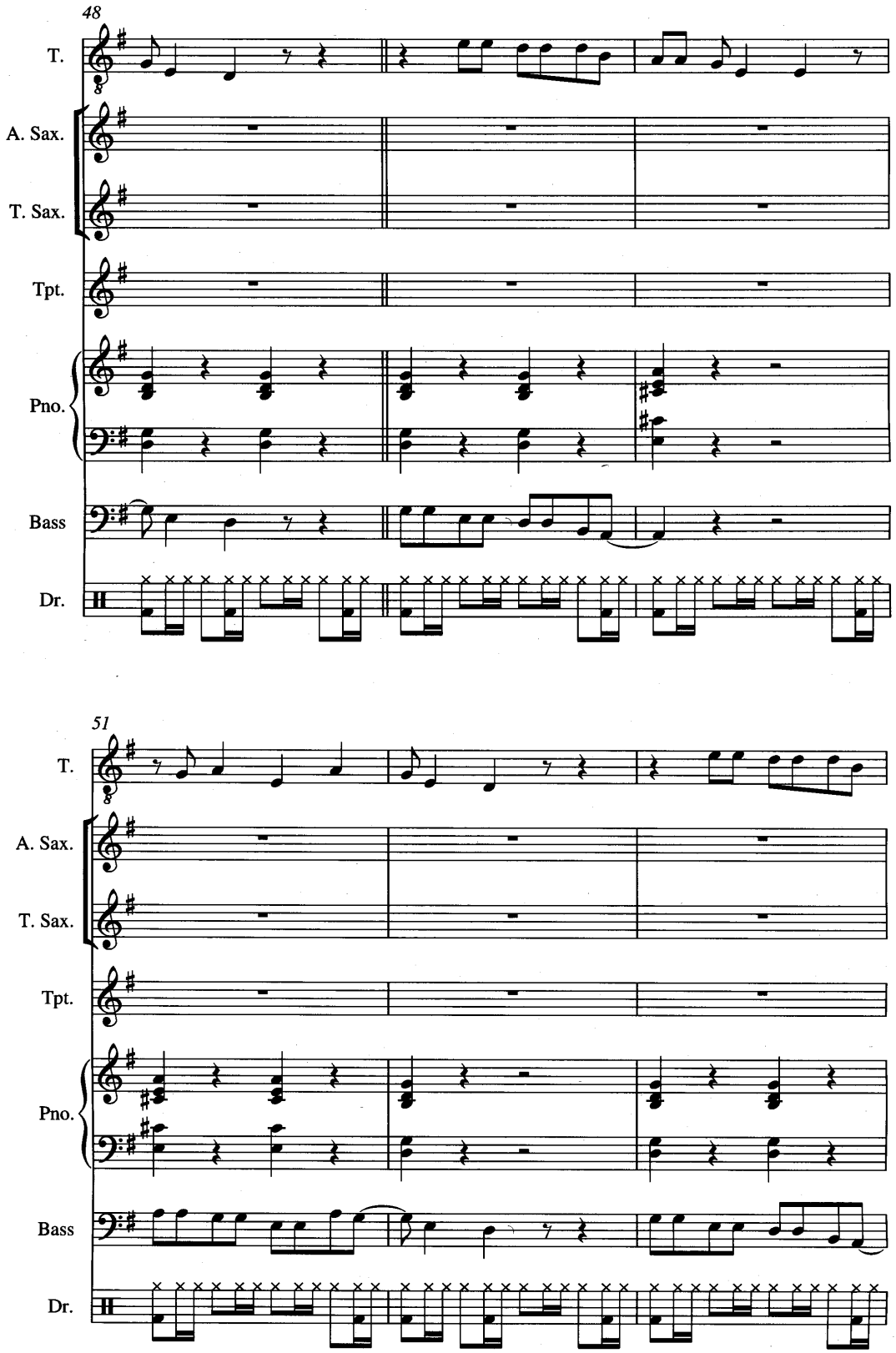

27
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

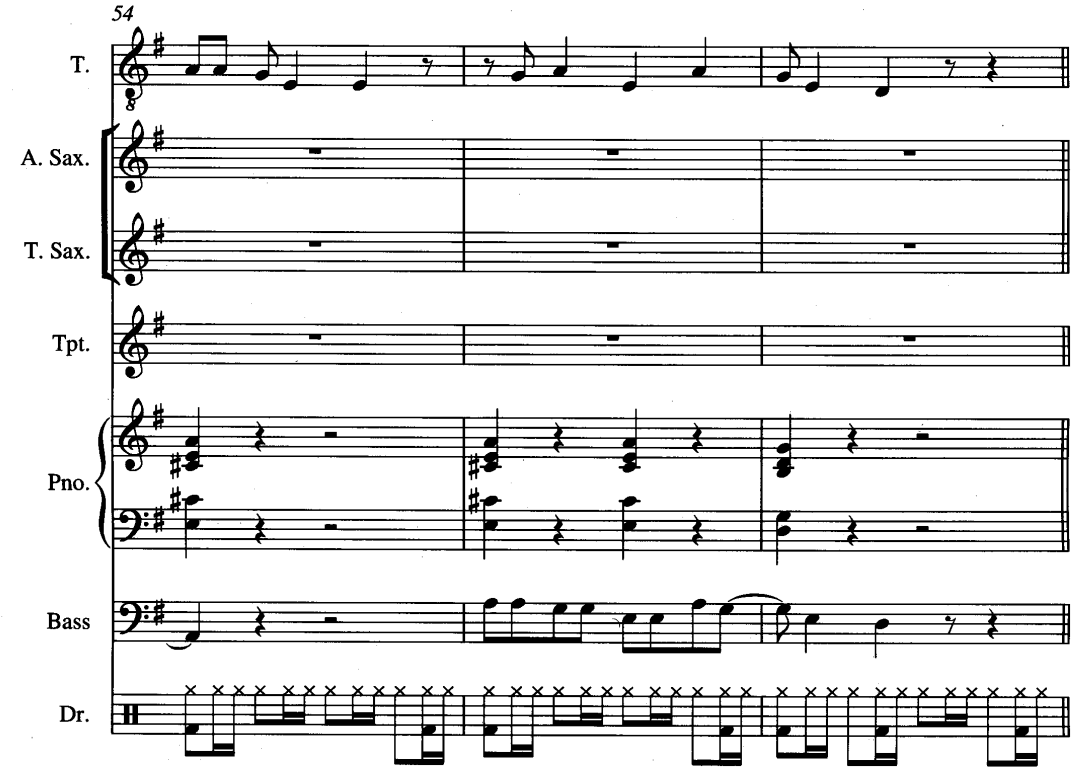

30
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

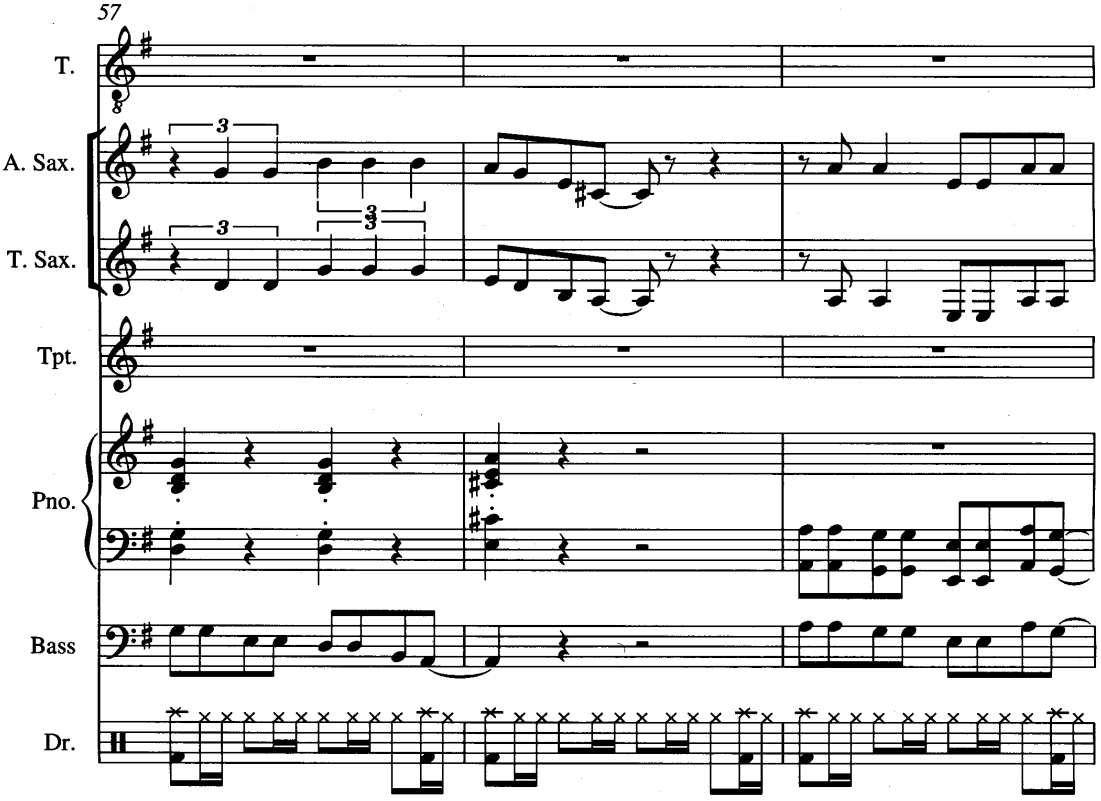

33
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

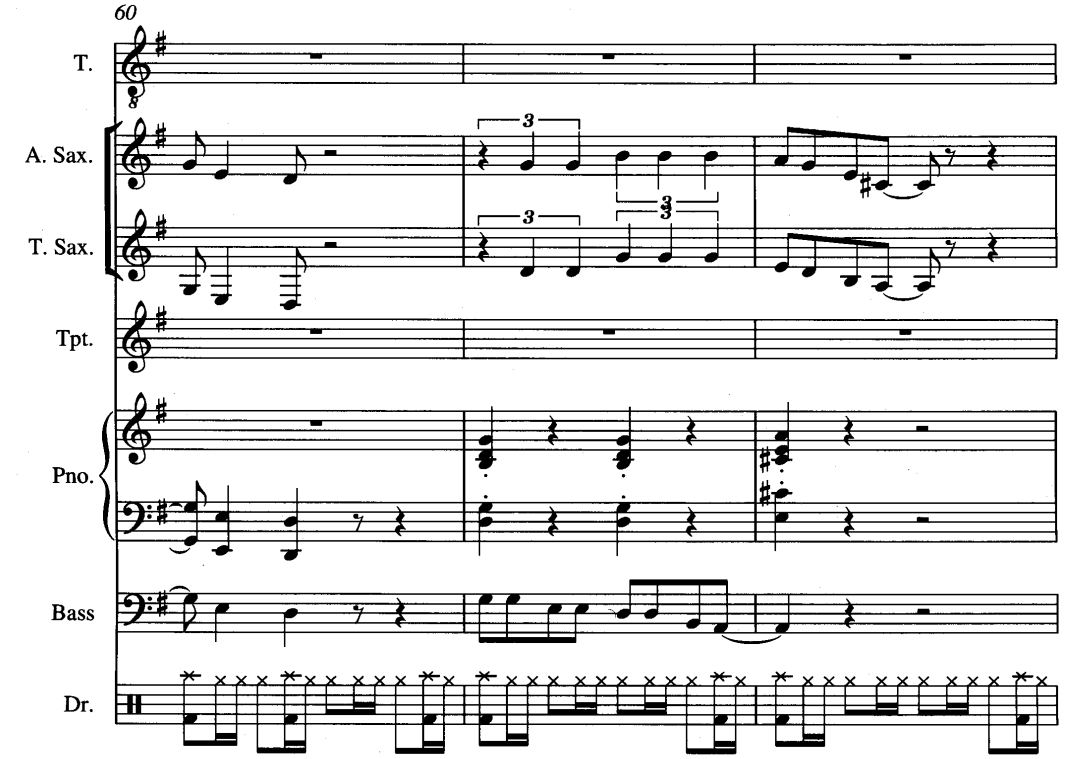

36
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.
39
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

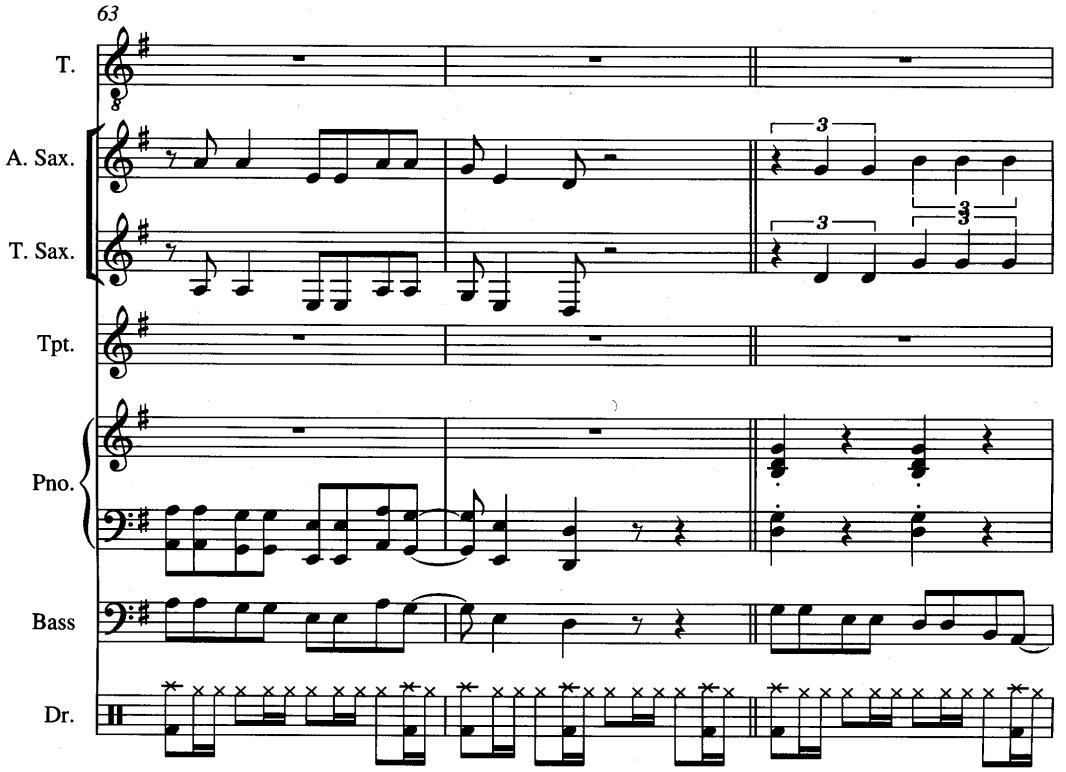

42
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.
45
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

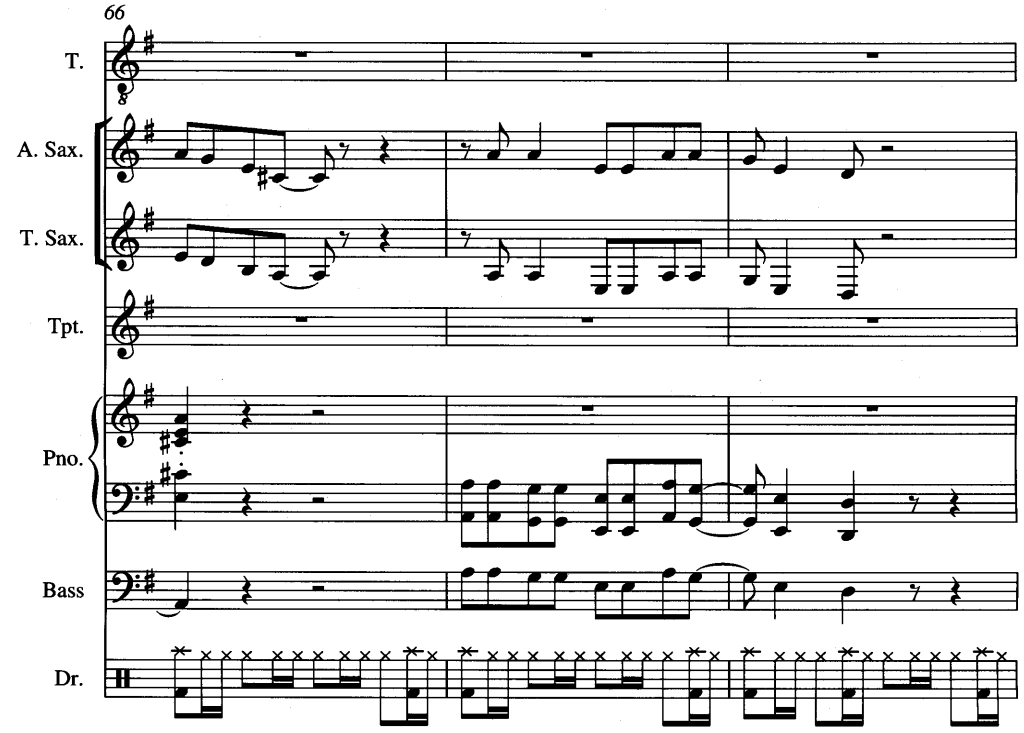

48
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.
51
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

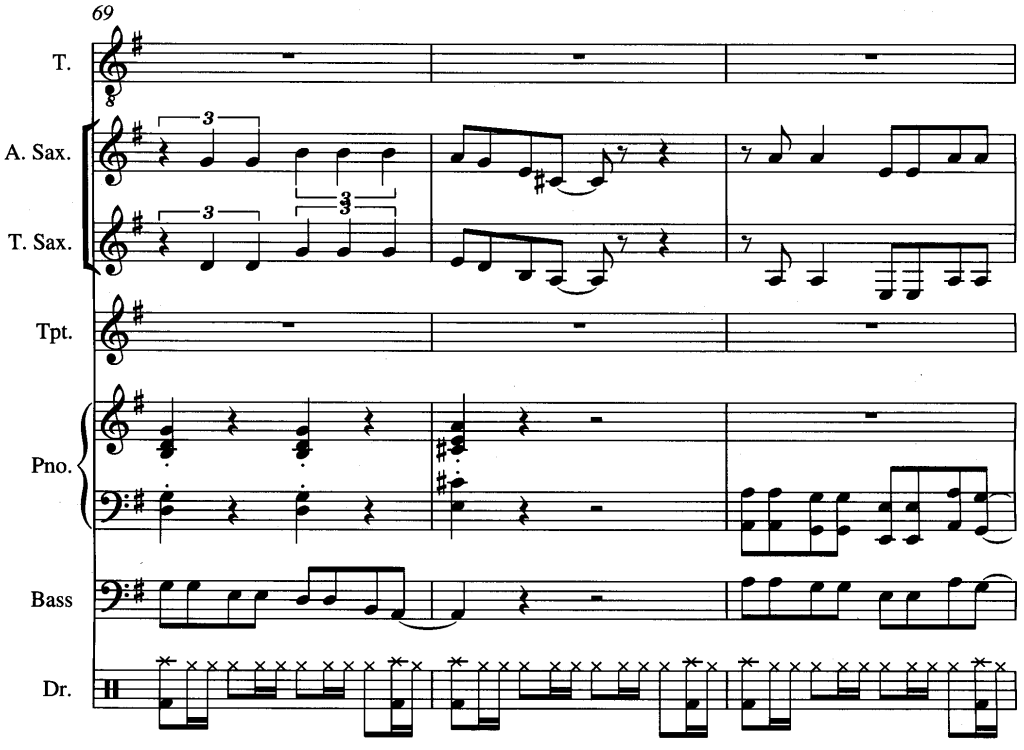

54
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

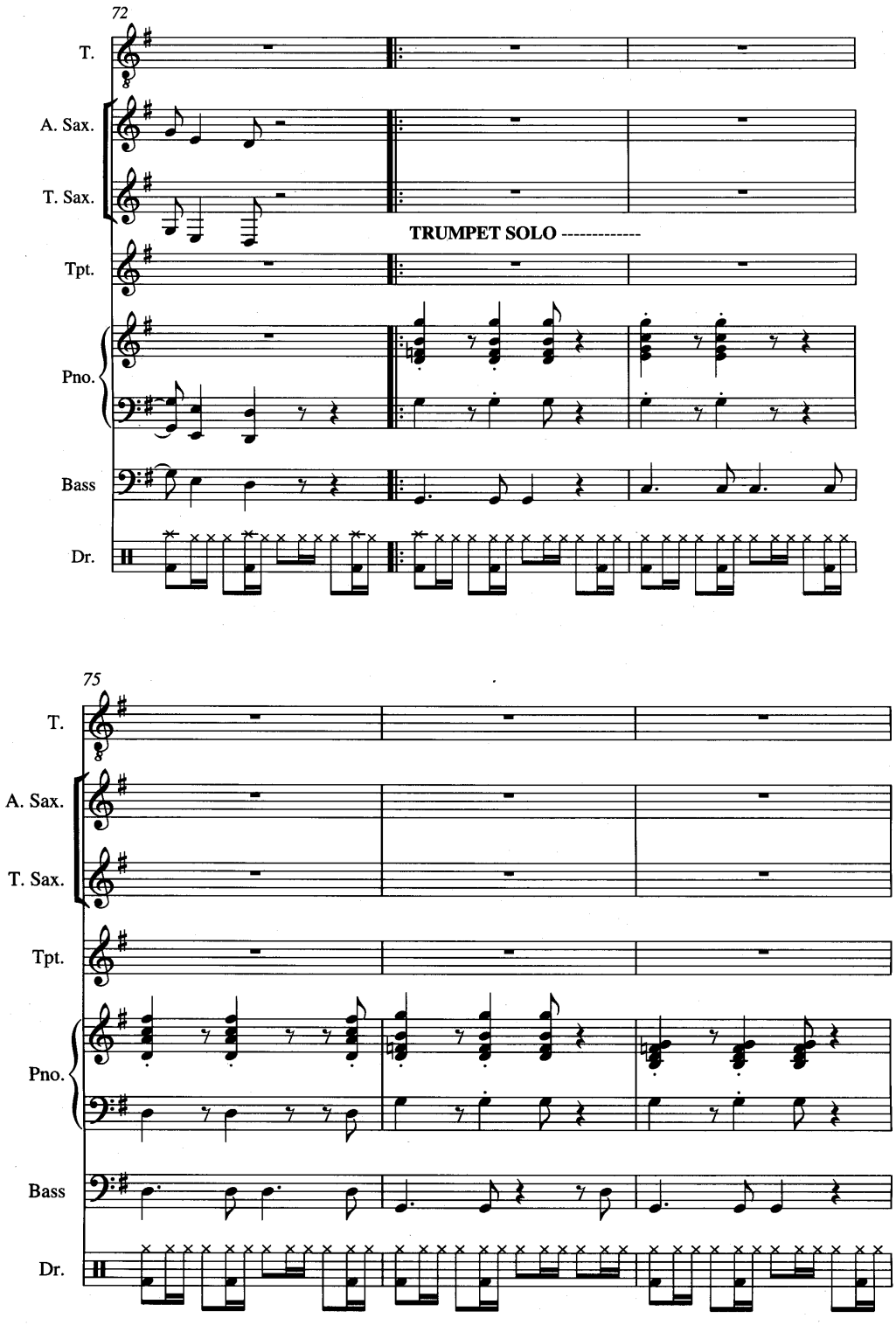

57
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

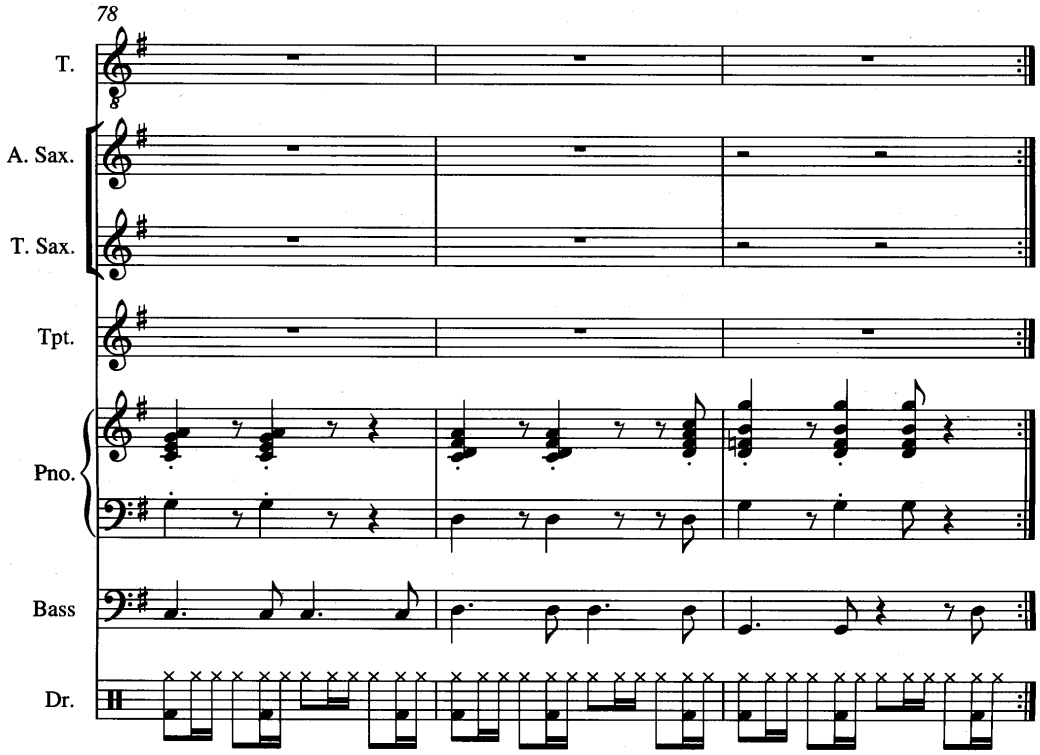

60
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.


63
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

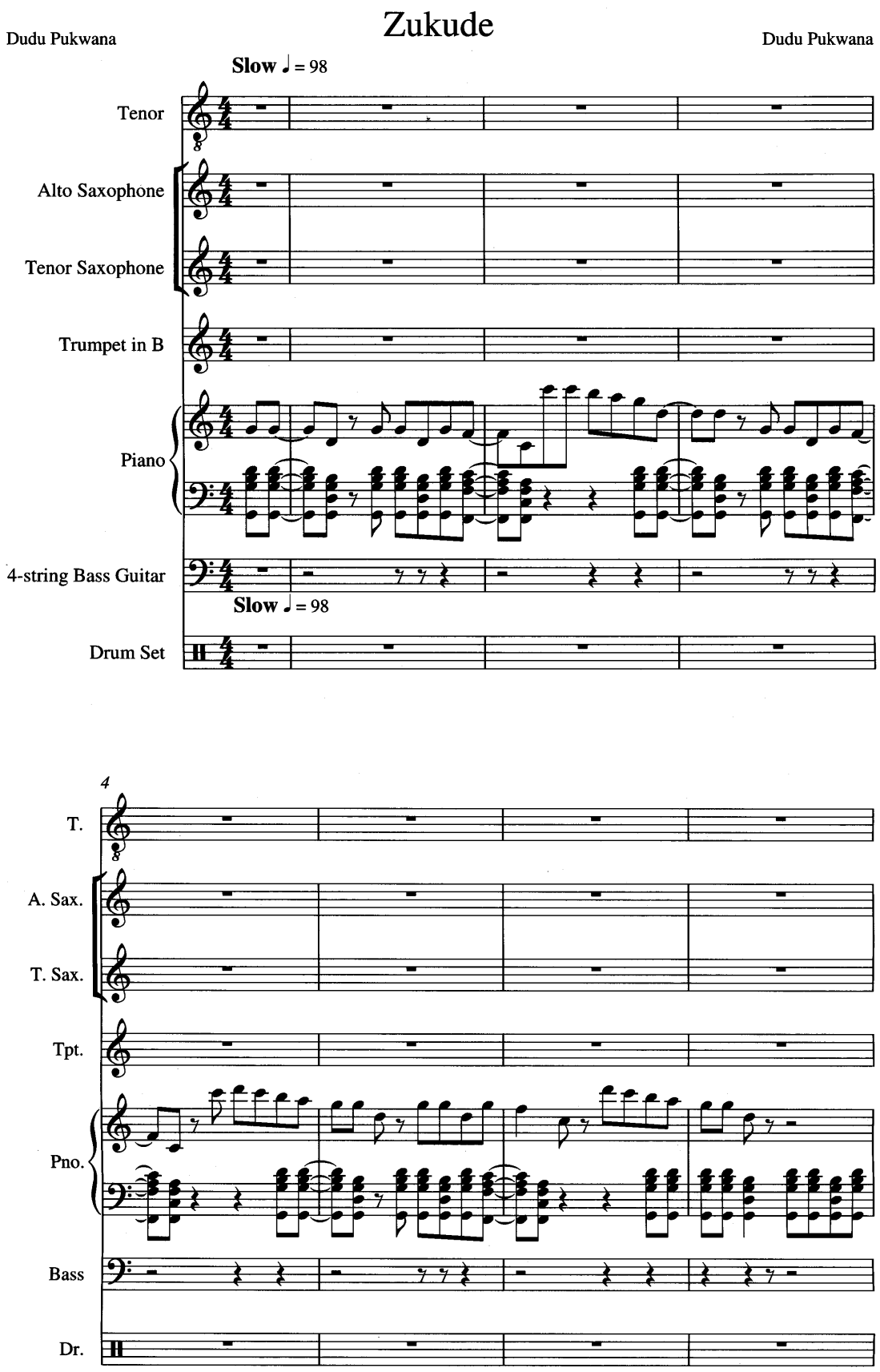

66
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

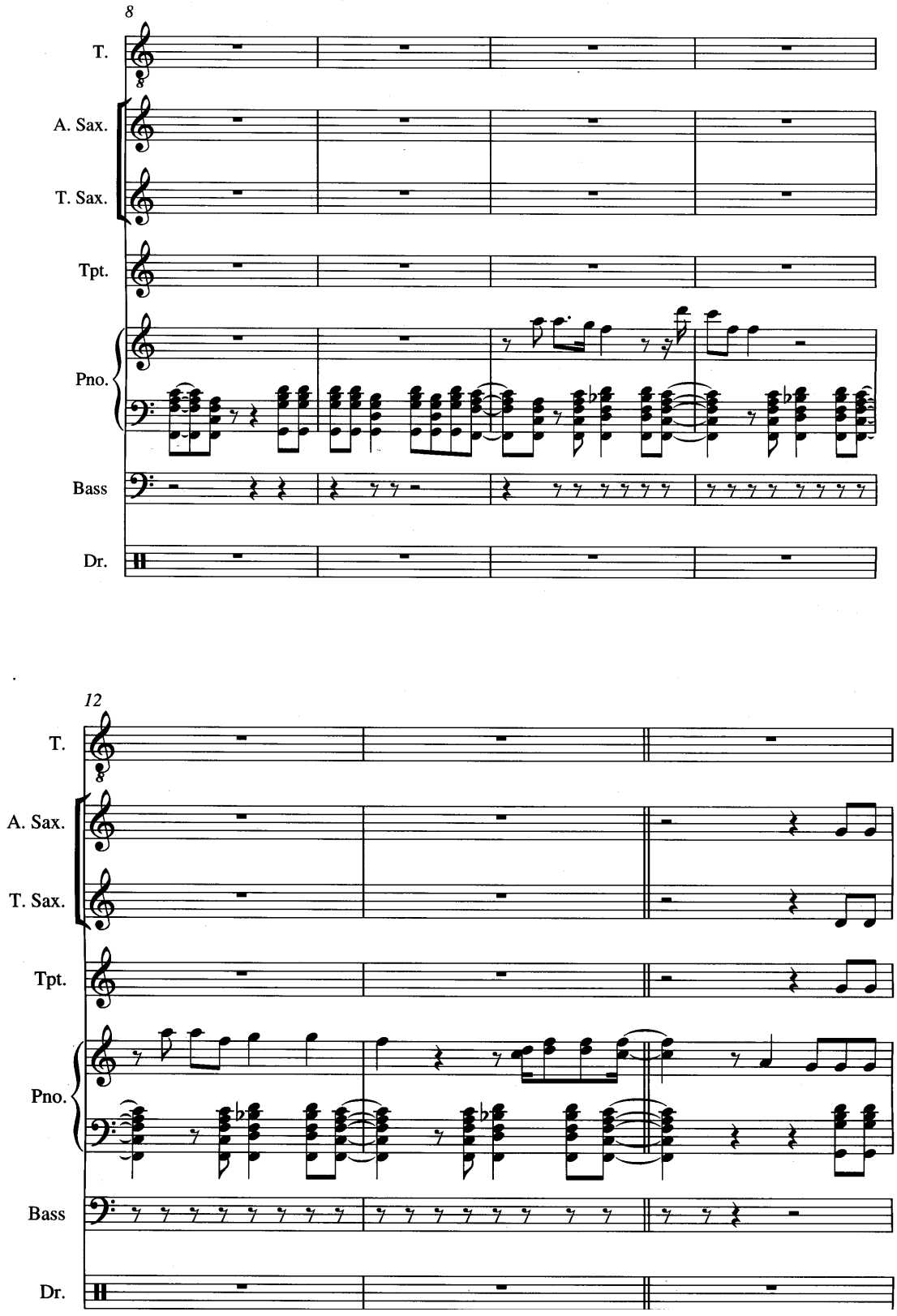

69
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

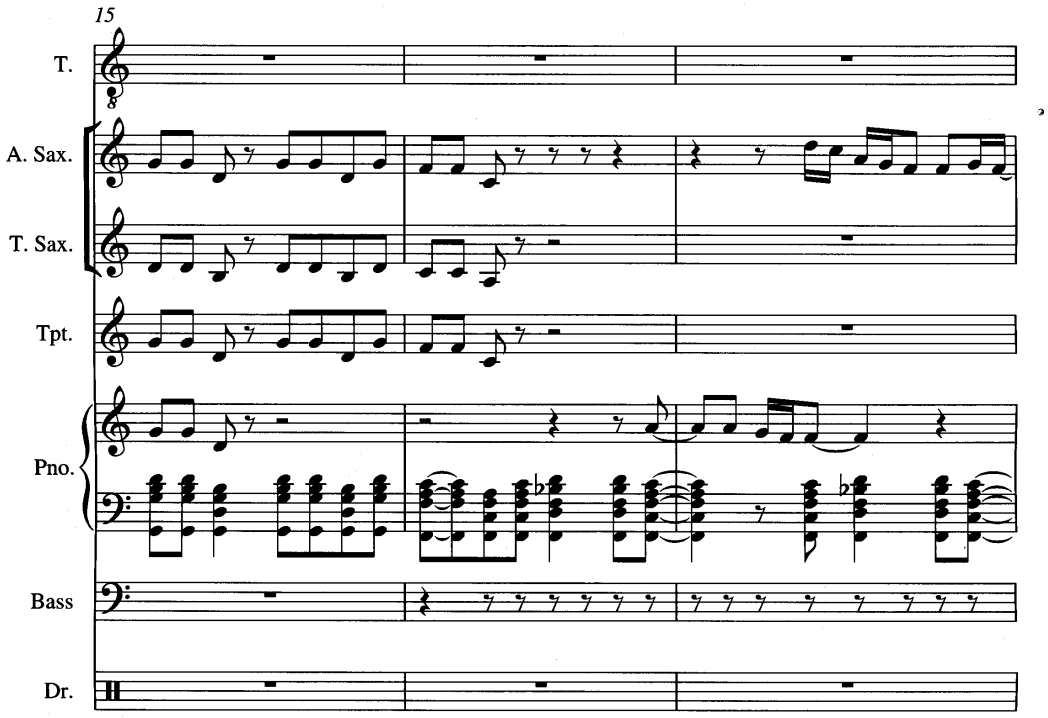

72
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
TRUMPET SOLO ----------
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.
75
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

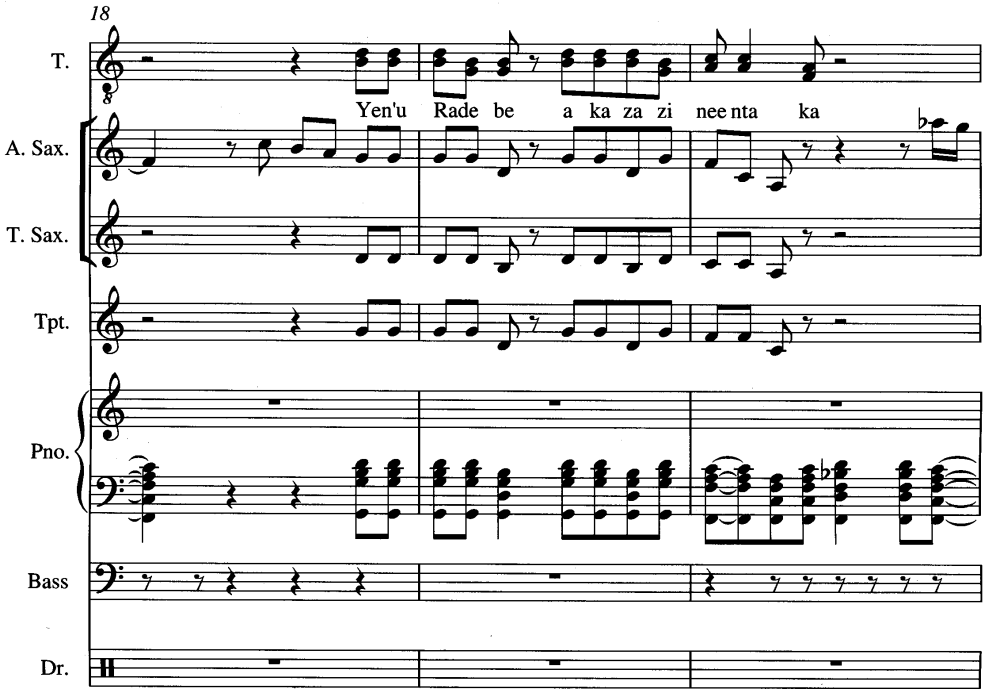

78
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

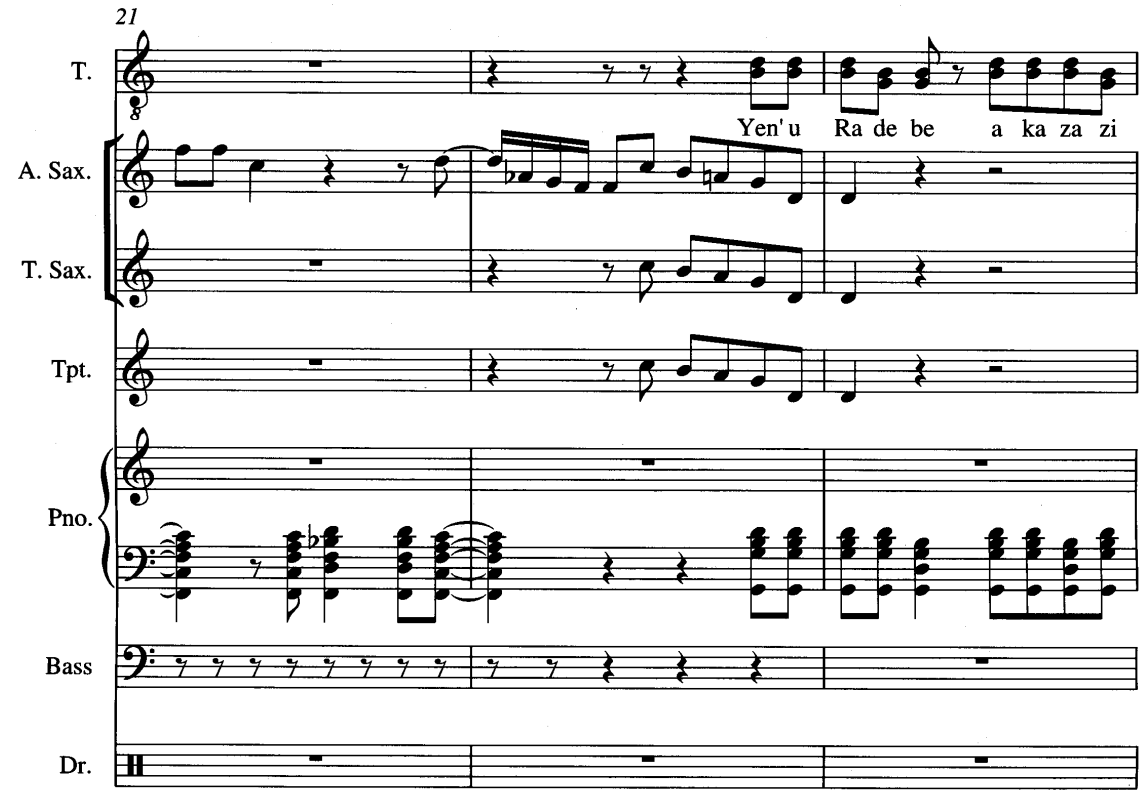
Transcription 10

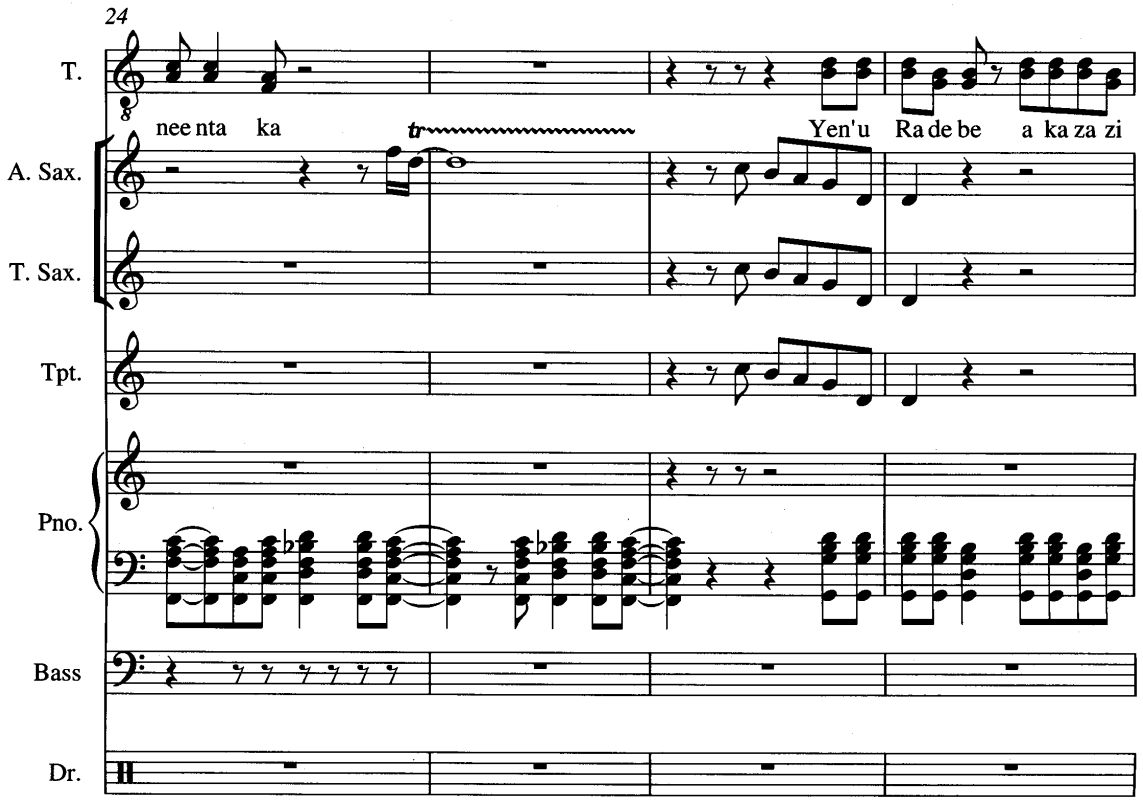


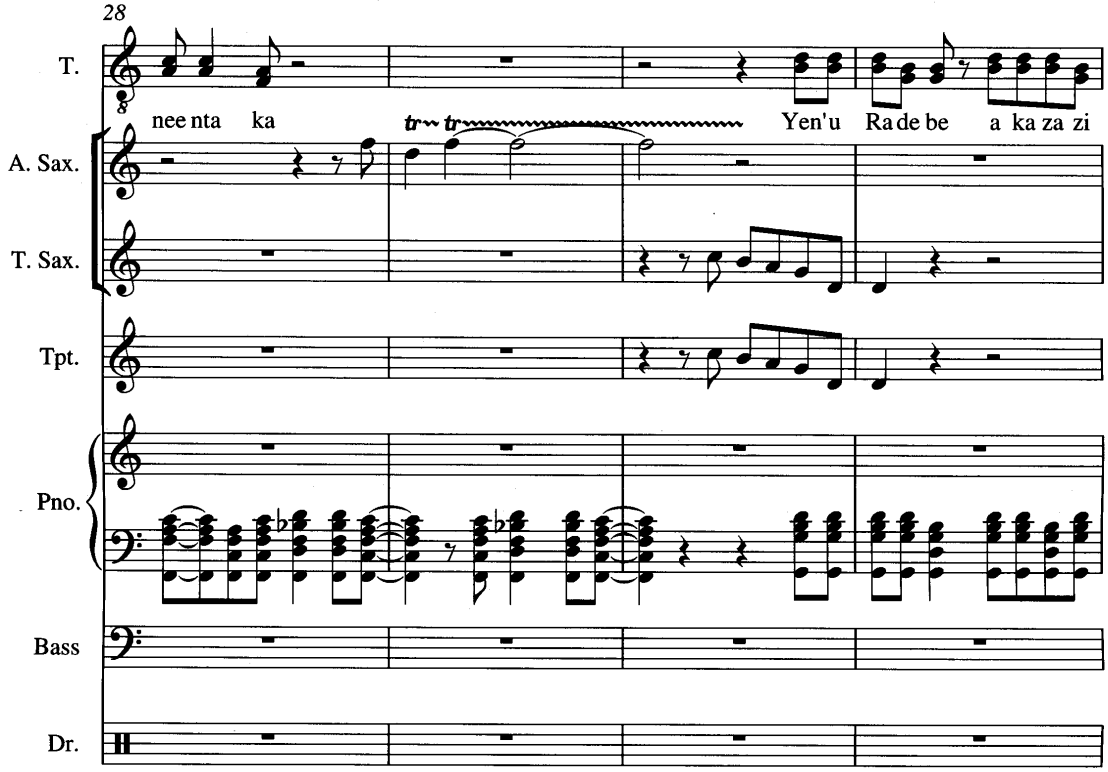

8
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.
12
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

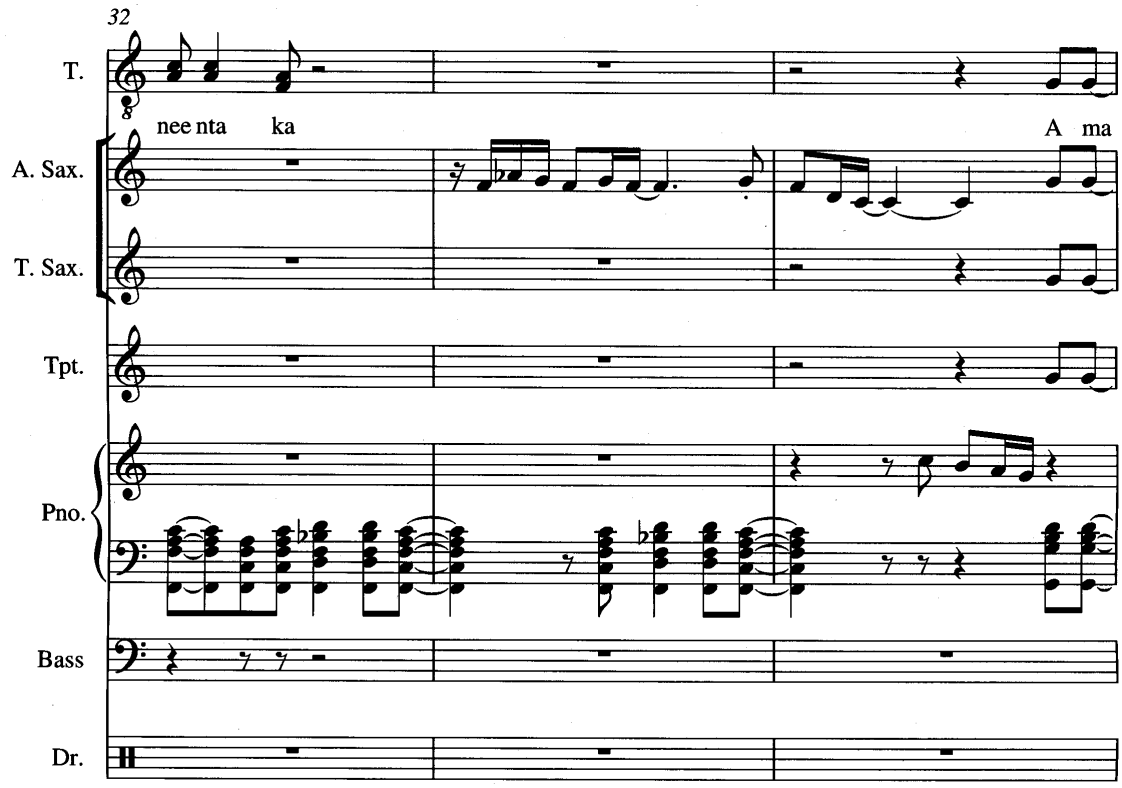

15
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

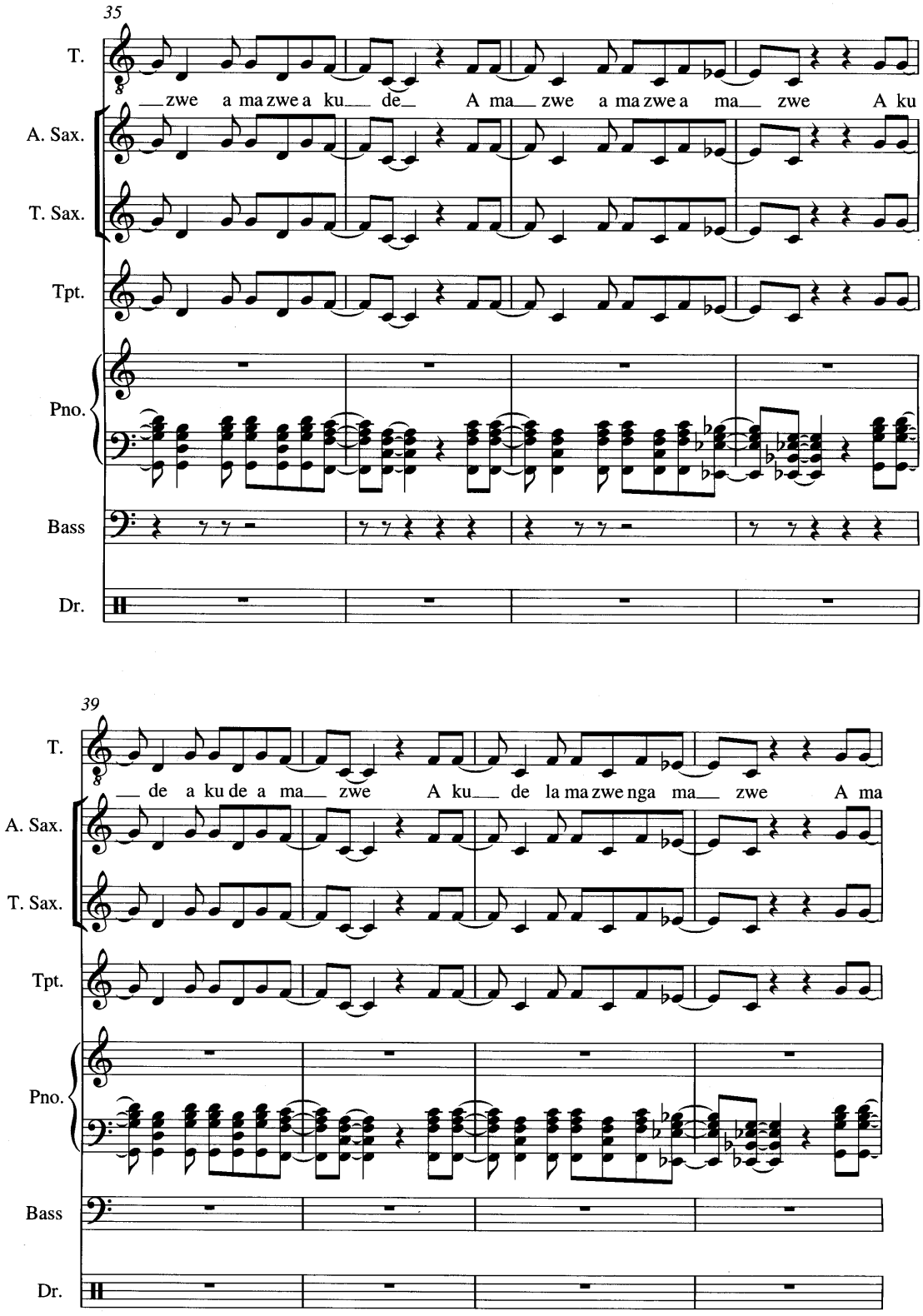

18
T.
Yen'u Rade be a ka za zi nee nta ka
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

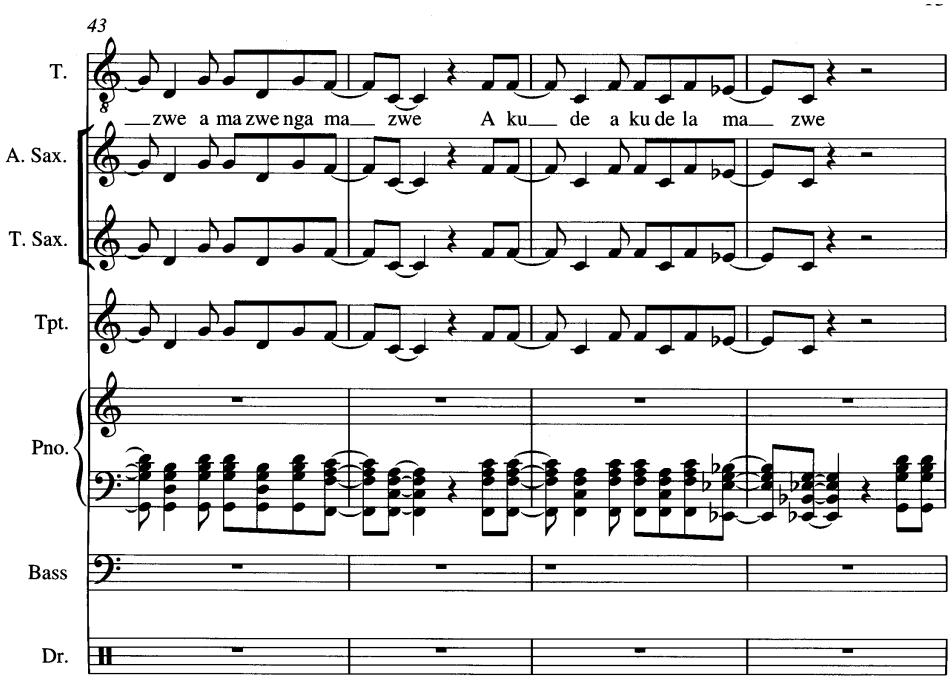

21
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.
Yen' u Ra de be a ka za zi

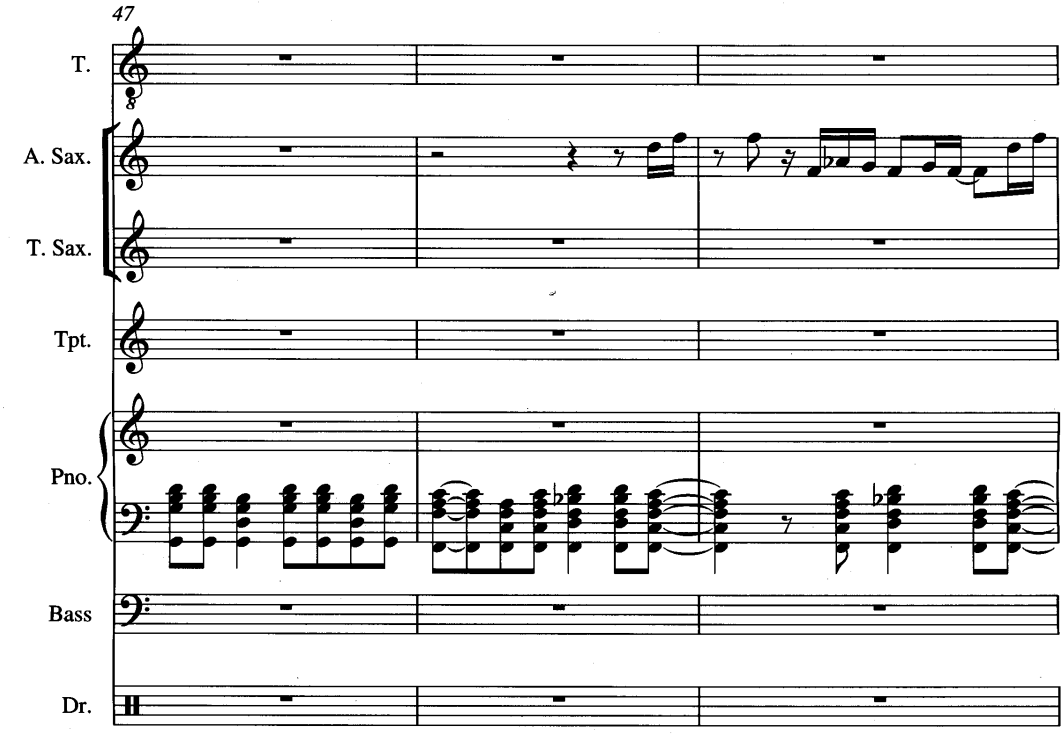

24
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.
nee nta ka
tr
Yen'u Ra de be a ka za zi

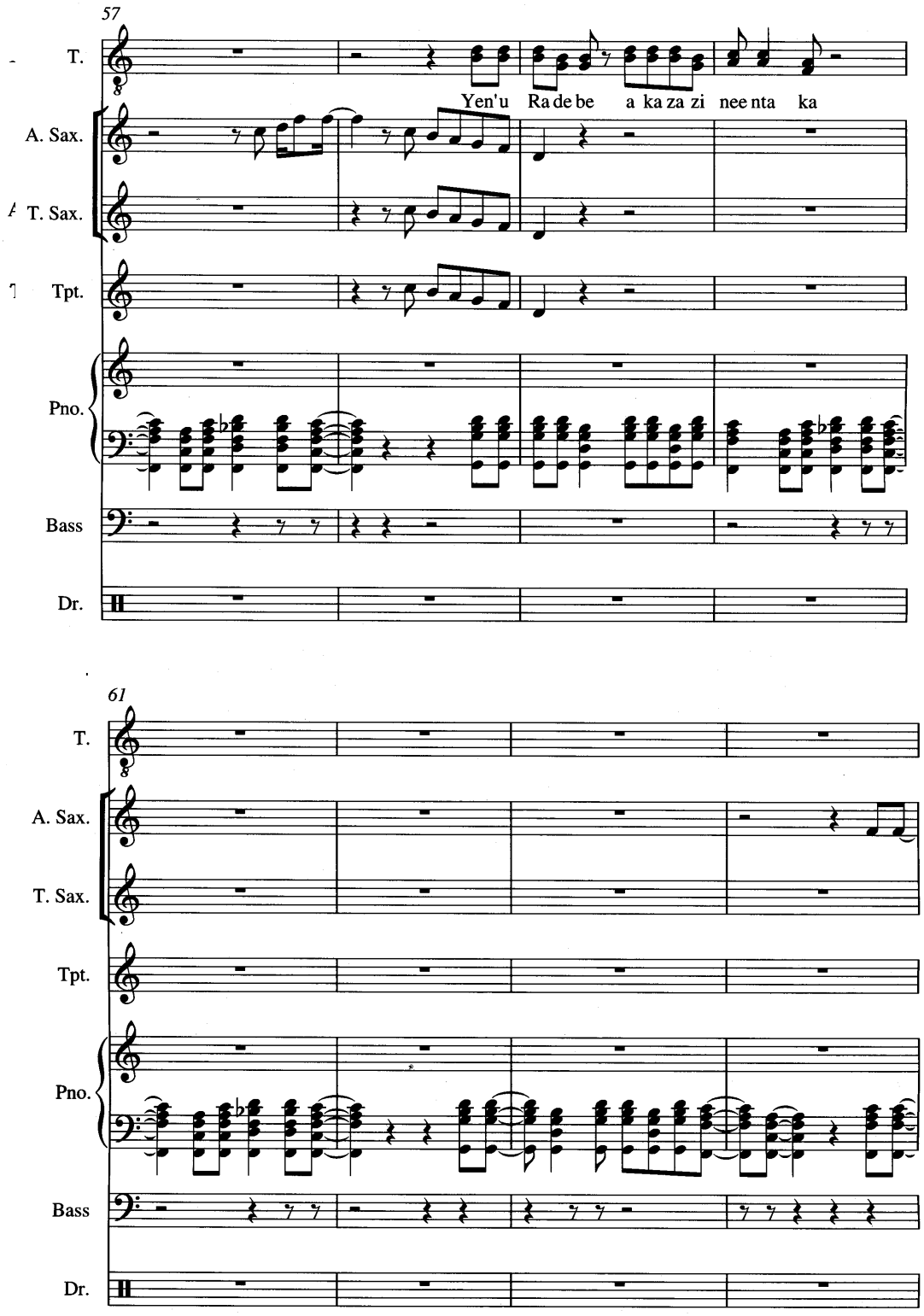

28
T.
nee nta ka
Yen'u Ra de be a ka za zi
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

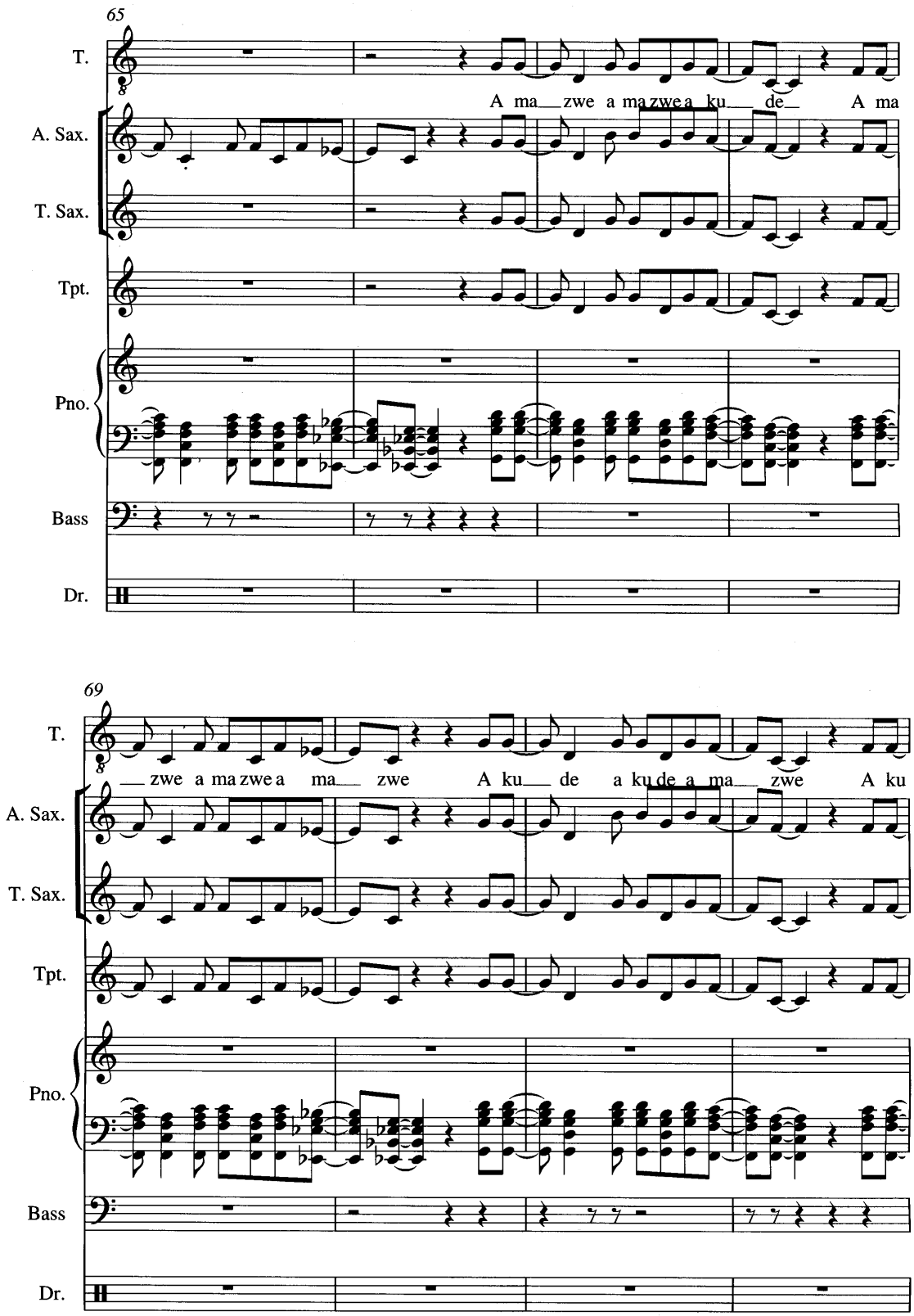

32
T.
nee nta ka
A ma
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

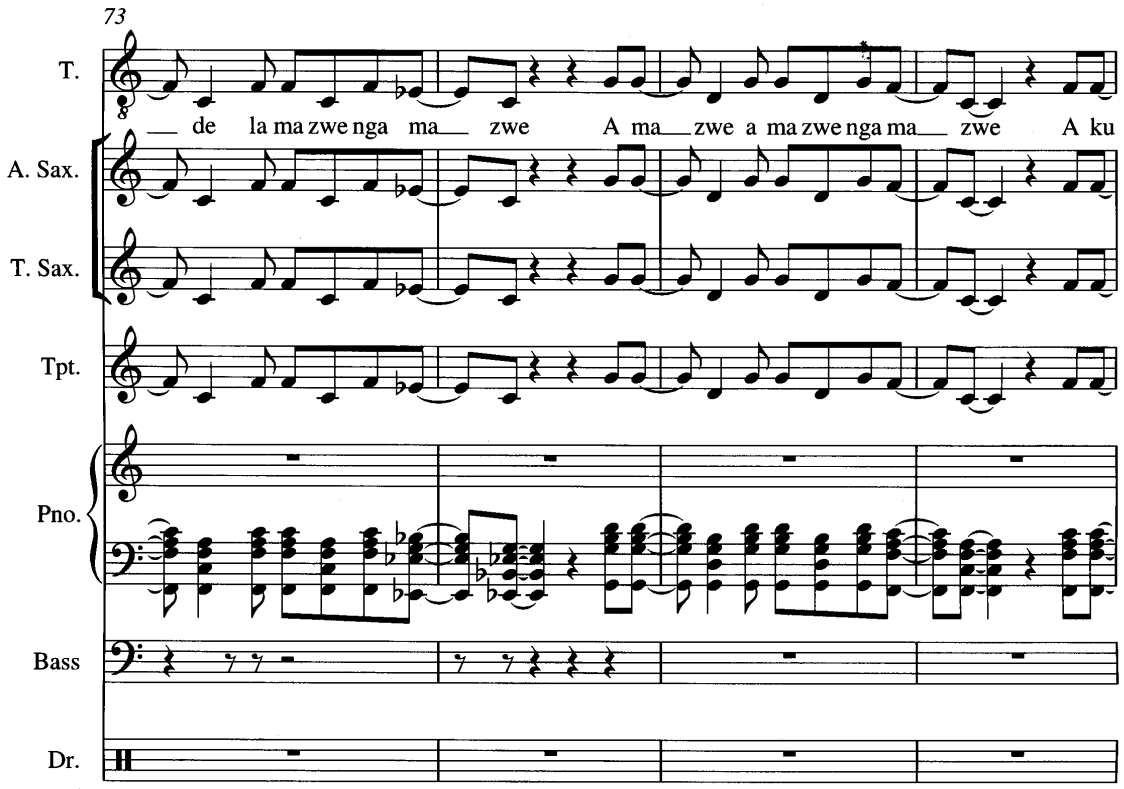

35
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.
zwe a ma zwe a ku de A ma zwe a ma zwe a ma zwe A ku
39
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.
de a ku de a ma zwe A ku de la ma zwe nga ma zwe A ma

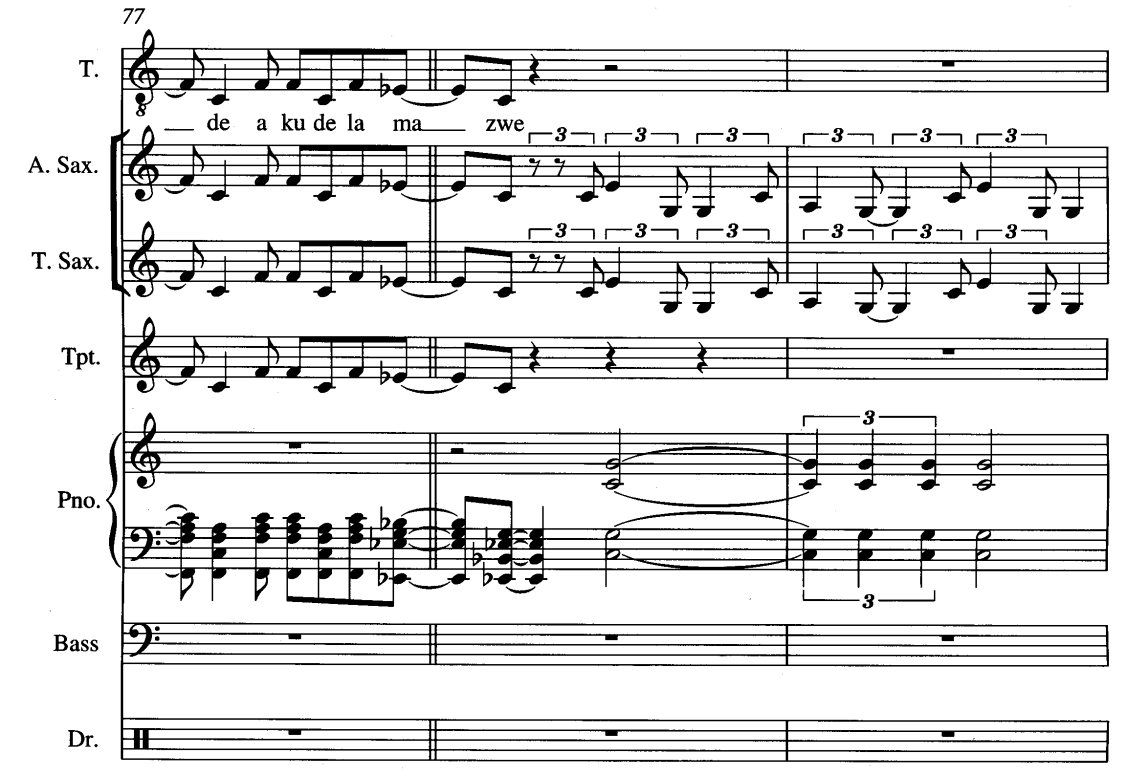

43
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.
zwe a ma zwe nga ma zwe A ku de a ku de la ma zwe

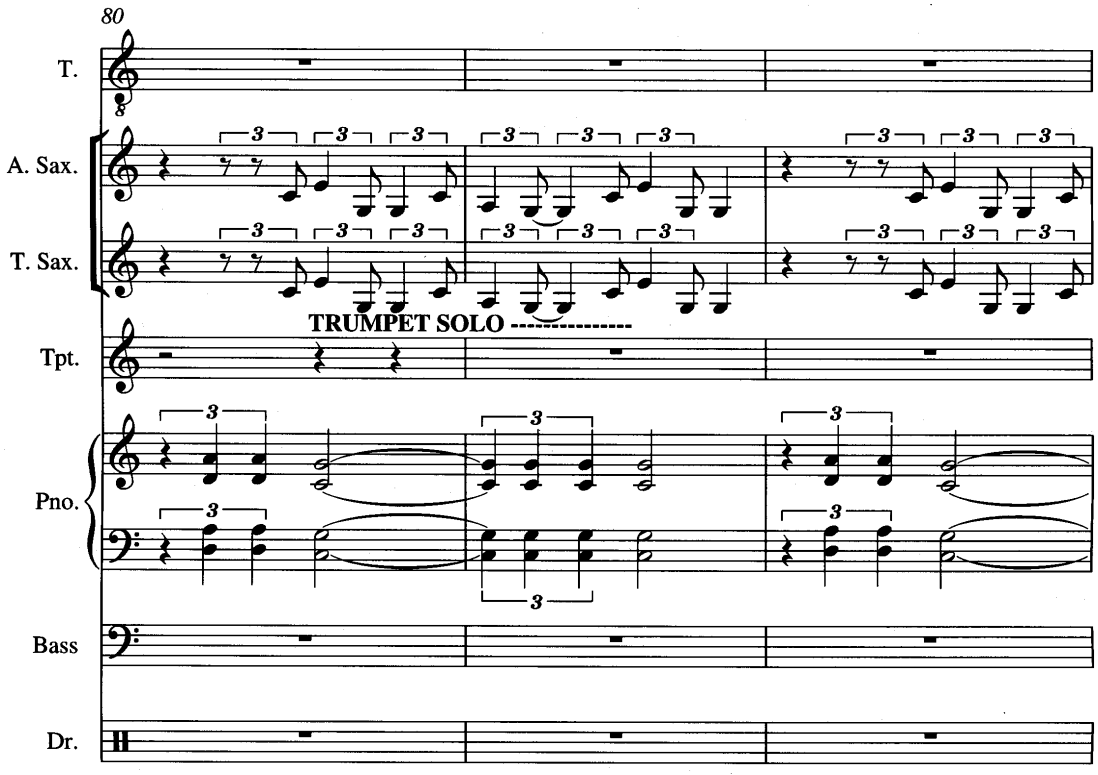

47
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

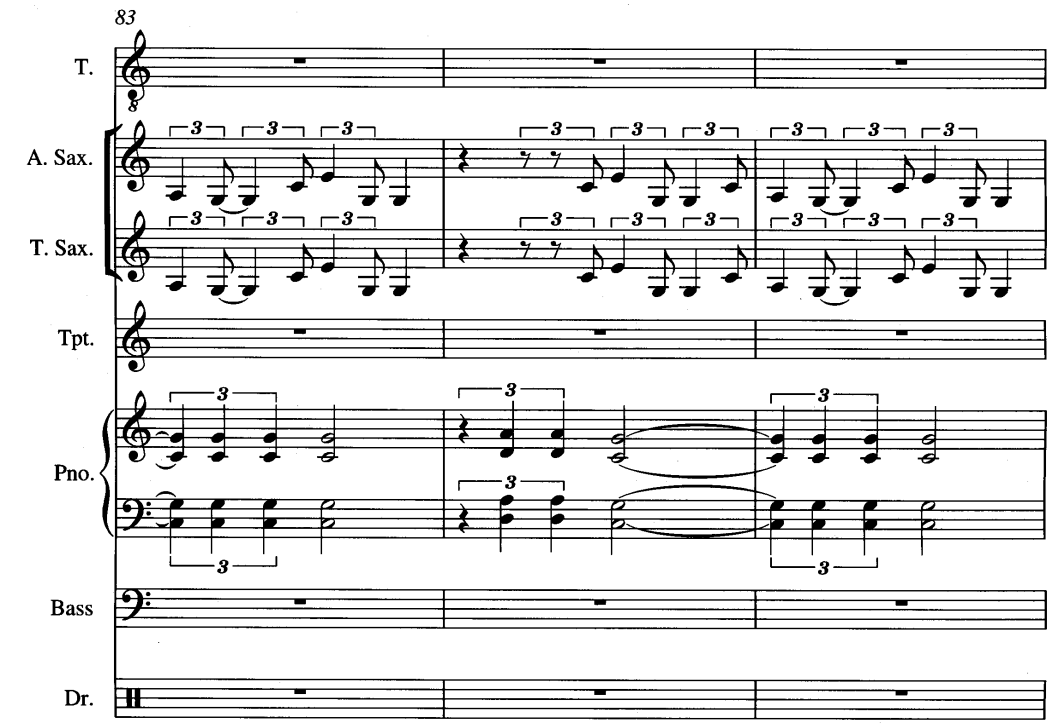

57
T.
Yen'u Ra de be a ka za zi nee nta ka
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.
61
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

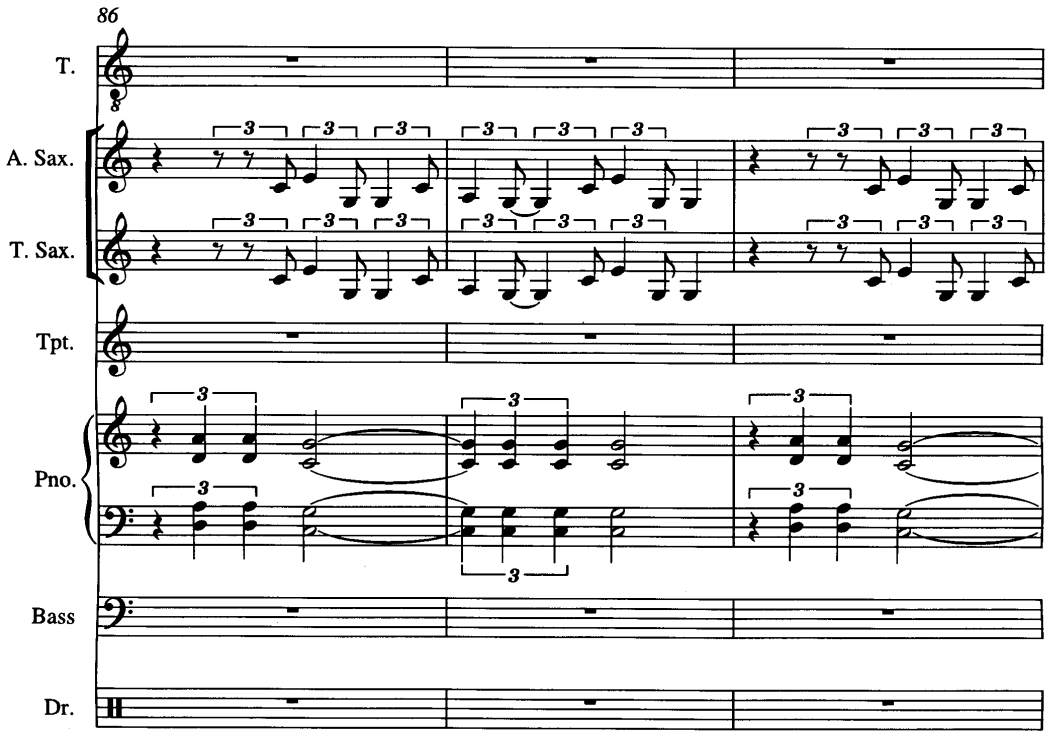

65
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.
A ma zwe a ma zwe a ku de A ma
69
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.
zwe a ma zwe a ma zwe A ku de a ku de a ma zwe A ku

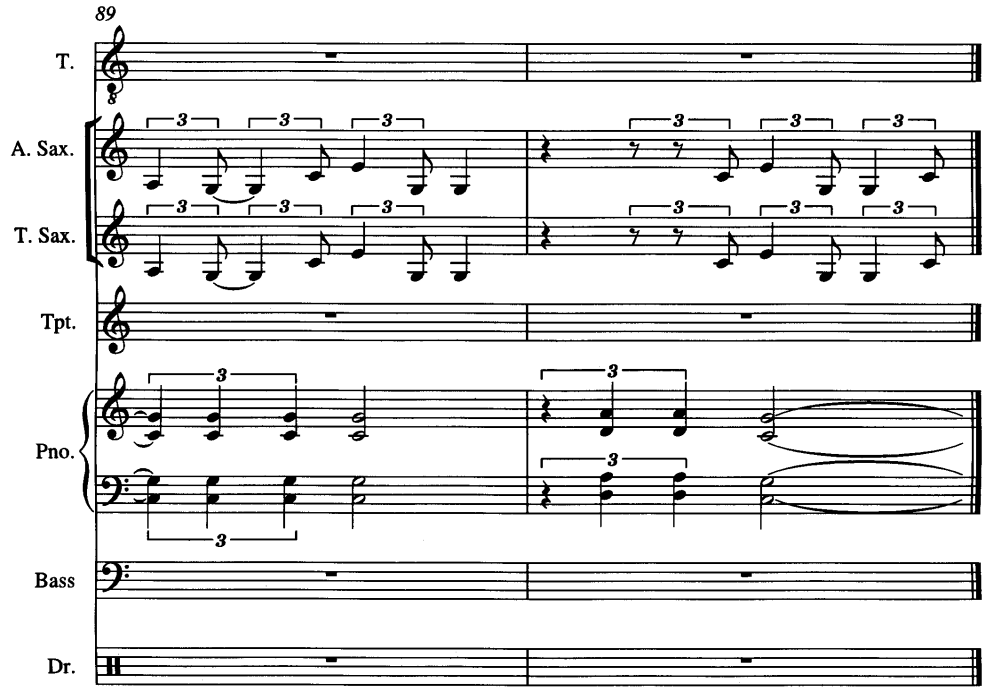

73
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.
— de la ma zwe nga ma— zwe A ma— zwe a ma zwe nga ma— zwe A ku


77
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.
— de a ku de la ma— zwe


80
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
TRUMPET SOLO ----------
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

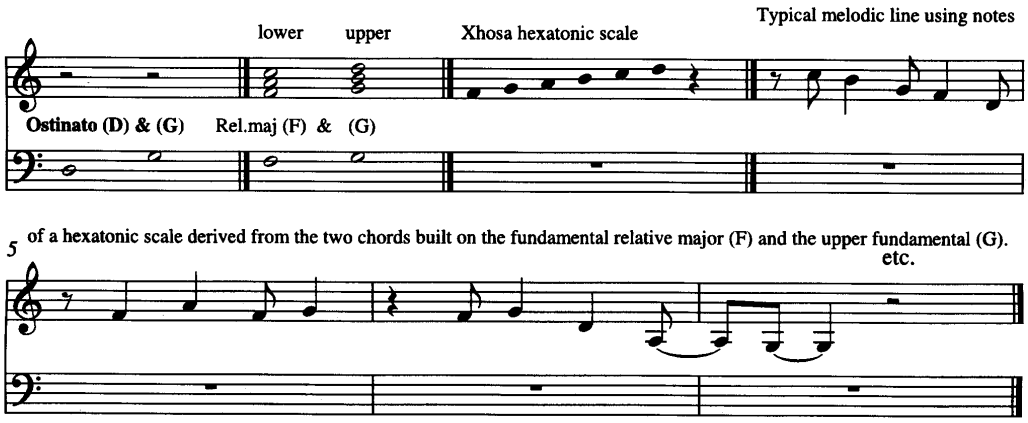

83
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.


86
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

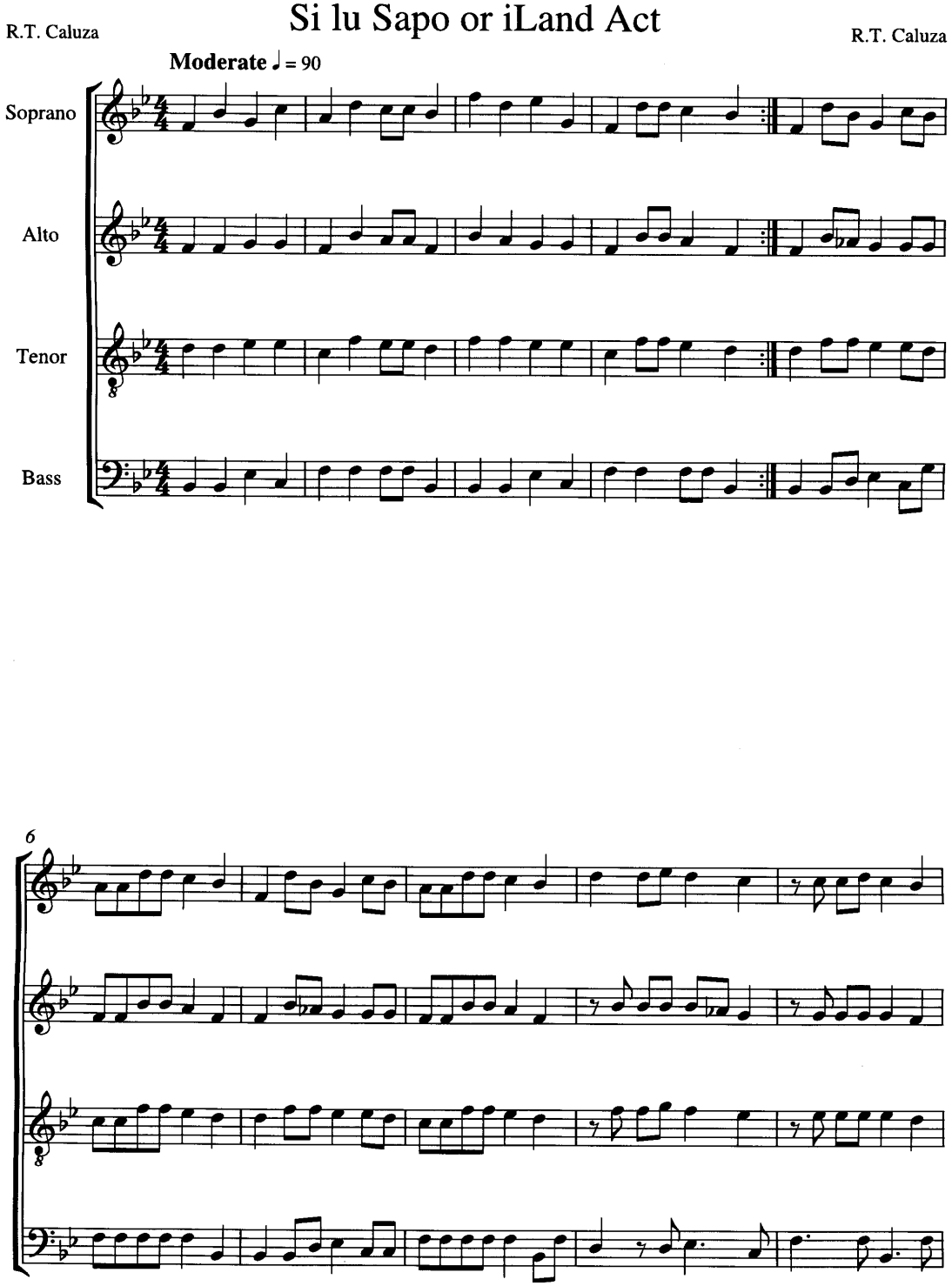

89
T.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Tpt.
Pno.
Bass
Dr.

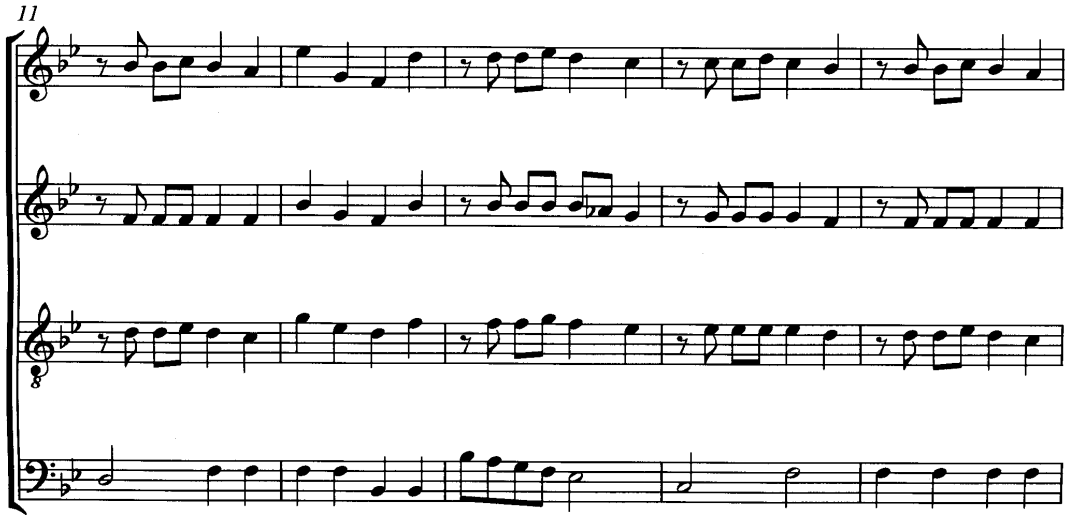
Transcription 11

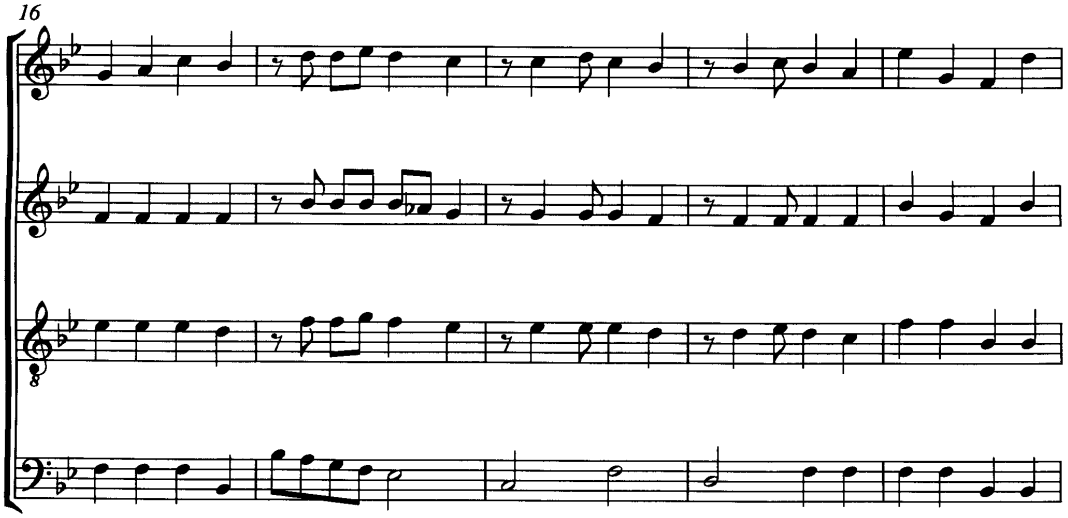
Dudu Pukwana's *Radebe* (harmonic skeleton)

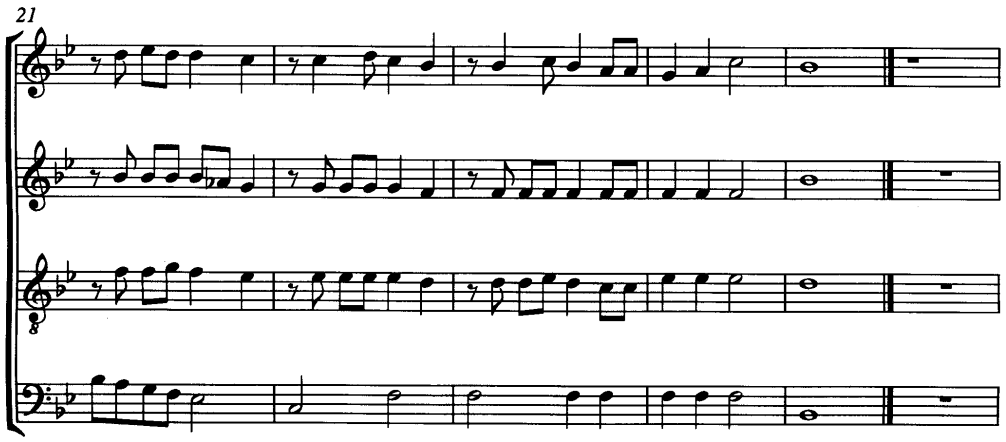


Transcription 12

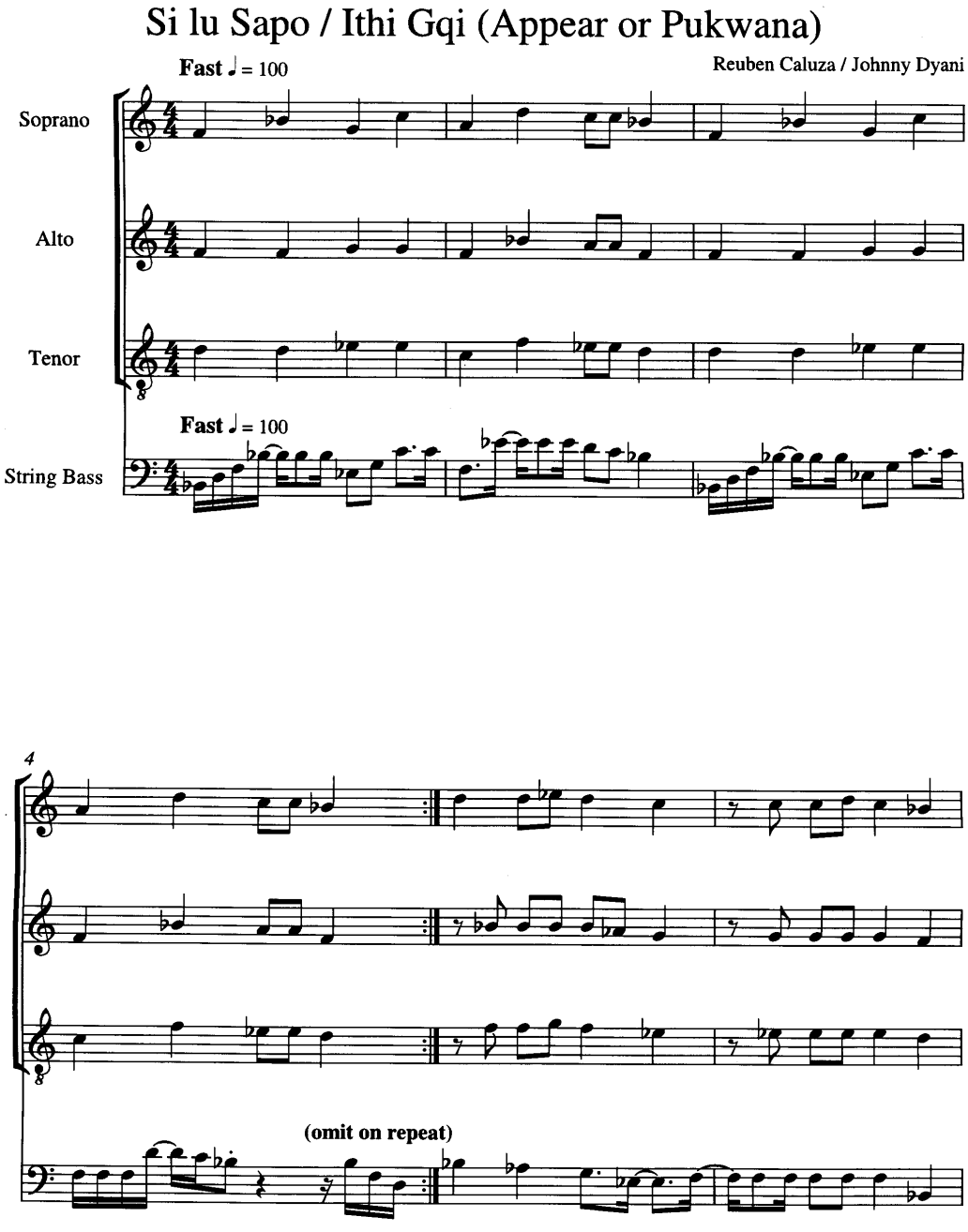


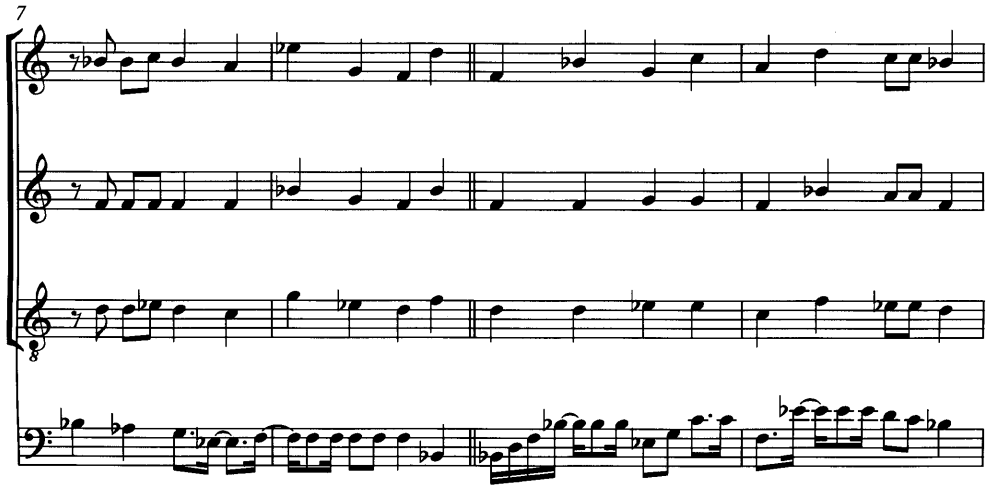

11

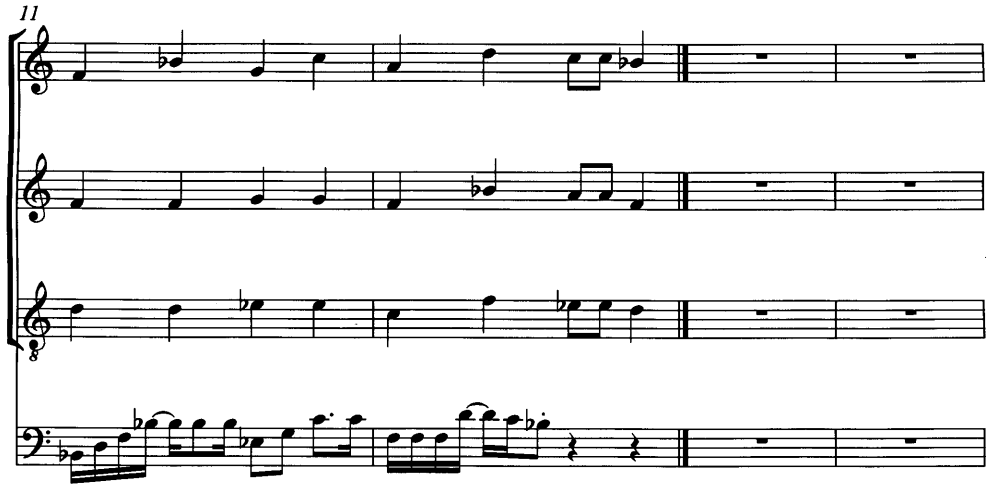

16


21

Transcription 13




7
8


11
8

Transcription 14

A poem by Chris McGregor upon the death of Mongezi Feza

He sounded as a flame dances
The beauty of the forms in joyful movement
Expressing clearly the light within.
When we met him we each of us knew we had found a brother
So together we went to the home of his parents
As he came with us to our parents'es
To make our farewells
So that together we might go into the world
And do the things we knew we must do.
We were his companions on many long journeys
With joy we watched his graceful flame unfurl –
A light to guide us.
In the full flowering of his genius he suddenly left us
On the fourteenth of December nineteen seventy five
His joyful dance stilled
His light returned to its source.
So we gathered to meditate in music
The passing of this our brother in music
Mongezi Feza
As alone he took that longer journey
Home among the great ones.
These extracts from his rites of passage
We dedicate to his memory
May the light which through him shone so clearly
Make all hearts glad

Chris McGregor

Transcription 15

Pallo Z. Jordan's Xhosa 'translation' of Chris McGregor's poem

UMongs!
Into yayikhalisa ixilongo litshise indlebe ngathi ngumlilo.
Hayi ke elo xilongo lakhe!
Into enelizwi elityityibayo njengedangatya libhebhethwa ngumoya.
Eso sikhalo sakhe sixela ngenkanyiso yakhe.
Inkanyiso eyabengezela ilizwe lonke.
Savana, saqondana, sazana sonke zisuka noMongs.
Ukuhamba kwethu ekhaya, samkhapha saya kwaFeza.
Naye wasikhapha saya kokwethu.
Sa hamba-ke, sawela siza kushumayela eli vangeli
Sahamba sityhudisa, sityhoboza, kodwa sizazi apho sibheka khona.
Sahamba sincedisana, sigcinene kwezondlela zohambo lwethu.
Sinyuka, sisihla sihambisa eli vangeli lomculo waseAfrika.
Inkanyiso kaMongs isikhonza, isikhokhela.
Hayi amashwa!
Kwathi sisathi nanku!
Nanku! Simbukele ejonge phambili.
Kwa kuyizolo, ngoDisemba, wasishiya uMongs.
Cimi!
Eso sikhanyiso sakhe sacima.
Sashiyeka apho sihlwelwe sijongile.
Sithe masikhe sikuncedise kolo hambo lwakho nto kaFeza.
Le ya namhlanje siyenzela wena-ke Mongs.
Ndlela-ntle Mongezi, nto kaFeza.
Usibulisele kwabadala.
Phumla Mongezi, ufezile, sivile.
Lomculo sisikhumbuzo sakho.

Nantso-ke zinto zakowethu.

UMongezi sisigidimi sethu sonke.

Siyi nikezela kuye yonke imiyalezo yomzi.

Ma sivuyisane nga lomculo, kuba uya kusikhonza.

APPENDIX IV: DISCOGRAPHY

1. The Blue Notes. 1962-63. SABC Transcription Matrix Series LT5718-LT5722
2. The Blue Notes (The Chris McGregor Group). 1968. Very Urgent. Polydor 184137
3. The Blue Notes. 1976. Blue Notes for Mongezi. Ogun OGD 001/002
4. The Blue Notes. 1977. Blue Notes in Concert. Ogun OG 220
5. The Blue Notes. 1987. Blue Notes for Johnny. Ogun OG 532
6. The Blue Notes. 1995. The Blue Notes Legacy – Live in South Afrika. Ogun OGCD 007
7. The Blue Notes. 2001. Township Bop. PRP CD 013
8. McGregor, Chris. 1977. In His Good Time. Ogun OG 521
9. McGregor, Chris. 1977. Piano Song vol. 1 Musica MUS 3019
10. McGregor, Chris. 1977. Piano Song vol. 2 Musica MUS 3023
11. Chris McGregor Septet. 1962. National Jazz Festival Moroka-Jabavu. GalloNSL1010
12. _____ . 1969. Up To Earth. FLED 3069
13. Castle Lager Big Band. 1991. 1962 National Jazz Festival. Teal TELCD 2302
14. Chris McGregor Sextet. 1963. Jazz: The African Sound. NSL 1011/
15. Chris McGregor Trio. 1969. Our Prayer. FLED 3070
16. McGregor, Chris. 1971. Chris McGregor's Brotherhood of Breath. RCA/Neon NE2
17. _____. 1994. Chris McGregor's Brotherhood of Breath [reissue]. Repertoire
18. _____. 1972. Brotherhood. RCA SF 8260
19. Brotherhood of Breath. 1974. Live at Willisau. Ogun OG 100
20. _____. 1994. Live at Willisau. [reissue] Ogun OGCD 001
21. _____. 1977. Procession. Ogun OG 524
22. _____. 1981. Yes Please! In and Out IaO 1001

23. _____. 1988. Country Cooking. Virgin CDVE17

24. _____. 1989. En Concert a Banlieues Bleues. 52 Rue Est RECD 017

25. _____. 2001. Travelling Somewhere. Cuneiform Rune 152

26. Mrwebi, Gwigwi. 1967. Kwela by Gwigwi's Band.

27. The Dedication Orchestra. 1993. Spirits Rejoice. Ogun OG 101

28. _____. 1994. Ixesha (Time). Ogun OGCD 102 & 103

29. The Brotherhood of Breath. 1994. In Memoriam. Vital Music VF 002

30. Pukwana, Dudu. 1977. Diamond Express. Arista Freedom AF 104

31. _____. 1981. Sounds Zila. Jika Records ZL1

32. _____. 1983. In the Townships. Earthworks CDEWV 5

[1973. In the Townships. Caroline 1504]

33. _____. 1983. Live in Bracknell and Willisau. Jika Records ZL2

34. _____. n.d. Radebe - They Shoot to Kill. Affinity AFF 179

[Mbizo Radebe. Affinity AFF 775 CD]

35. Pukwana, Dudu. 1986. Zila '86. Jika Records ZL3

36. _____. 1989. Cosmics Chapter 90. Jika Records AH-UM 005

37. Dyani, Johnny Mbizo. 1972. Rejoice. Cadillac SGC1017

38. _____ 1978. Song for Biko. SteepleChase SCCD-31109

39. _____ 1978. Witchdoctor's Son. SteepleChase SCCD-31098

40. _____ 1980. Together. Cadillac SGC 1016

41. _____ 1982. Grandma's Teachings. JAM 0582 JD 030

42. _____ 1985. Angolian Cry. SteepleChase SCCD-31209

43. _____1973. Good News From Africa. Cameo LP 102

44. _____ 1992. Afrika. SteepleChase SCCD-31186

45. Johnny Dyani Quartet. 1982. Mbizo. SteepleChase SCS 1163

46. _____. 1984. Born Under the Heat. DRLP 68

47. _____. 1977. (with C. Jarvis) African Bass. RR 149

48. _____. 1972. Music for Xaba. Sonet SNTF 642

49. _____. n. d. Music for Xaba vol. 2. Sonet SNTF 824

50. Louis Moholo Octet. 1978. Spirits Rejoice. Ogun OG 520

51. Moholo, Louis, T.1988. Louis Moholo's Viva-la-Black. Ogun OG 533

52. _____. 1990. Exile. Ogun OGCD 003

53. Masekela, Hugh and Dudu Pukwana. 1972. Home is Where the Music Is. Chisa

54. Lacy, Steve. 1966. Forest and the Zoo. ESP 1060

55. Pukwana, Dudu. 1974. Flute Music. Caroline 1512

56. _____ 1977. Thunder in our Hearts.

57. Pukwana, D.& Zila. 1983. Live in Bracknell and Willisau. Jika Records ZL2

58. Brand, Dollar. 1981. Echo of Africa. Innercity IC 3019

59. Gwangwa, Jonas & Fenton, G. 1987. Cry Freedom. MCA 6224 255 245 -1

60. Galeta, Hotep Idris. 1990. Heading Home. African Echoes AE 7862

61. Gumede, Sipho. 1988. Village Dance [side 2 track #2]. HUL 40151

62. Gwangwa, Jonas. 1990. Flowers of the Nation. African Echoes AE 7864

63. Jazz Epistles. 1991. Verse One. GMP AL 56

64. McGregor, Chris and The Castle Lager Big Band. 1991. Jazz: the African Sound. Teal Records TELCD 2300

65. Miller, Harry. 1974. Children at Play. Ogun OG 200

66. _____. 1977. Family Affair. Ogun 310

67. Pukwana, Dudu. 1978. Yi Yo le. ICP 021

68. District Six. 1985. Akuzwakale (Let it be heard). D6 001

69. Mike Osborne Trio. 1974. Border Crossing. Ogun OG 300

70. Matshikiza, Todd. 1990. King Kong (All African Jazz Opera). Gallo Music Productions AC51

71. Various Artists. 1994. From Marabi to Disco – 42 years of Township Music. Gallo Music Productions CDZAC61

72. Various Artists. 1990. Township Swing Jazz! Vol 2. Gallo Music Productions AC54

73. Mashiyane, Spokes. 1990. King Kwela. Gallo Music Productions AC50

74. Various Artistes. 1990. Township Swing Jazz! Vol 1. Gallo Music Productions AC53

75. Jazz Epistle. 1990. Verse 1. Gallo Music Productions AC56

76. Nxumalo, Gideon. 1962. Jazz Fantasia. TEAL LP 2301

APPENDIX V: BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abrahams, Peter. 1970. Tell Freedom. New York: Collier.

Allen, Lara. 1993. Pennywhistle Kwela: a Musical, Historical and Socio-political Analysis. Unpublished MMus thesis, University of [KwaZulu] Natal.

_____. 2003. 'Commerce, Politics, and Musical Hybridity: Vocalizing Urban Black South African Identity during the 1950s'. In Ethnomusicology 47 (2): 228-249.

Anderson, Benedict. 1983. Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. London: Verso.

Andersson, M. 1981. Music in the Mix: The Story of South African Popular Music. Johannesburg: Ravan.

Ansell, Gwen. 2004. Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa. New York/London: Continuum Books.

Appadurai, Arjun. 1990. "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy". In Mike Featherstone (ed.), Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity. London: Sage, pp295-310.

_____. 1993. 'Patriotism and Its Futures'. In Public Culture 5 (3): 411-29.

_____. 1991. 'Global ethnoscapes: notes and queries for a transnational anthropology'. In Richard Fox (ed.), Recapturing Anthropology: working in the present, pp. 191-210. Santa Fe, Cal.: SAR Press.

Armstrong, Louis. 1954. Satchmo: My Life in New Orleans. New York: Prentice Hall.

Attali, J. 1985. Noise: The Political Economy of Music. Translated by Brian Massumi. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Austerlitz, Paul. 2000. 'Jazz Consciousness in the United States'. In Monson ed. The African Diaspora: a Musical Perspective, pp1-24.

_____. 2005. Jazz consciousness : music, race and humanity. Connecticutt: Wesleyan University Press.

Ballantine, Christopher. 1989. 'A Brief History of South African Popular Music'. In Popular Music 8 (3):305-310.

_____. 1993. Marabi Nights - Early Black Jazz and Vaudeville in South Africa. Johannesburg: Ravan.

_____. 1991. "Music and Emancipation: The Social Role of Black Jazz and Vaudeville in South Africa Between the 1920s and the Early 1940s". In Journal of Southern African Studies 17(1):129–152.

_____. 1999. "Looking to the USA: the politics of male close-harmony song style in South Africa during the 1940s and 1950s". In Popular Music 18(1):1–17. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Baines, Gary. (1997) “The Little Jazz Town: The Social History and Musical Styles of Black Grahamstown in the 1950s and 1960s”. In Ethnomusicology Symposium Proceedings. Grahamstown: Rhodes University.

Baraka, Amiri and Amina Baraka. 1987. The Music: Reflections on Jazz and Blues. New York: William Morrow and Company.

Baron, Barnett F. 1970. Southern African student exiles: the functions of politics. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press.

Bartlett, Andrew W. 1995. ‘Cecil Taylor, Identity Energy, and the Avant-Garde African American Body’. In Perspectives of New Music 33(1&2): 274-293.

Bechet, Sydney. 1960. Treat it Gentle: An Autobiography. New York: Hill and Wang.

Bedouin, Hornbook. 1986. From a Broken Bottle Traces of Perfume Still Emanate. Lexington: University of Kentucky.

Behrens, L. Ted. 1979. I am South Africa. New York: Vantage Press.

Benjamin, W. 1968. Illuminations. Edited by Hannah Arendt. London: Fontana.

_____. 1985. Illuminations, ed. Hannah Arendt. New York: Shocken Books.

Berliner, P. F. 1994. Thinking in Jazz: The Infinite Art of Improvisation. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Bernstein, Hilda. 1994. The Rift - the exile experience of South Africans. Jonathan Cape: London.

_____ . 1989. Interviews with South African Musicians in Exile. Unpublished Papers, Mayibuye Archives, University of the Western Cape, Bellville - Cape Town.

Blacking, J. 1980. "Trends in Black Music of South Africa, 1959-1969". In Elizabeth May (ed.), Musics of Many Cultures: An Introduction, pp195-214. London and Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bloom, H. 1961. King Kong: An African Jazz Opera. London: Collins Fontana.

Boulton, David. 1958. Jazz in Britain. London: W. H. Allen.

Boyd, Joe. 2006. White Bicycles: making music in the 1960s. London: Serpent's Tail.

Brand, Dollar. 1970. "Africa, Music and Show Business: An Analytical Survey in Twelve Tones Plus Finale". In Joseph Okpaku (ed.), New African Literature and the Arts 1: 296–302.

_____ & Wilfrid Mellers. 1966. 'Anatomy of a South African Village and Other Items'. In The Musical Times 107 (1479): 419.

Breakey, B. 1997. Beyond the Blues: township jazz in the '60s and '70s. Cape Town/ Johannesburg: David Philip.

Brubeck, D. 2002. 'Jazz 1959: The Beginning of Beyond'. Unpublished M.Phil thesis. University of Nottingam.

Breytenbach, Breyten. 1972. Random Remarks on Freedom and Exile. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff.

Byerly, I. B. 1996. The Music Indaba: Music as Mirror, Mediator and Prophet in the South African Transition from Apartheid to Democracy. PhD. Duke University, Durham.

_____. 1998. 'Mirror, Mediator, and Prophet: The Music Indaba of Late-Apartheid South Africa'. In Ethnomusicology 42 (1): 1-44. Durham: Duke University Press.

Carr, I. 1987. 'Dyani, Johnny'. In I.Carr, D.Fairweather and B.Priestley, Jazz: the Essential Companion. London: Grafton.

_____. 1973. Music Outside. London: Latimer New Dimensions.

Chatwin, Bruce. The Songlines. London: Cape.

Cibane, Wilfred. 1999. Man of two worlds: an autobiography. London: Global and Cape Town: Kwela.

Cockrell, D. 1987. 'Of Gospel Hymns, Minstrel Shows, and Jubilee Singers: Towards Some Black South African Musics'. In American Music 5 (4): 417-32.

Collins, John. 1987. 'Jazz Feedback to Africa'. In American Music 5 (2): 176-193.

_____. 1996. 'Musical Feedback: African America's Music in Africa'. In Issue: A Journal of Opinion 24 (2): 26-27.

Collins, R. et al (eds.). 1986. Media, Culture and Society. London: Sage Publications.

Comaroff, John and Jean Comaroff. 1992. Ethnography and the Historical Imagination.

Boulder: Westview.

Coombes, A. E. 1994. "The recalcitrant object: culture contact and the question of hybridity". In F. Barker et al (eds.), Colonial Discourse/ Postcolonial Theory. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp89-114.

Coplan, D. 1985. In Township Tonight!: South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre. Johannesburg: Ravan.

_____. 1980. The urbanization of African Performing Arts in South Africa. PhD thesis, Indiana University.

Corbett, J. 1994. Extended Play: Sounding Off from John Cage to Dr. Funkenstein. Durham: Duke University Press.

Cotterrell, R. (ed.). 1976. Jazz Now: the Jazz Centre Society Guide. London: Jazz Centre Society.

_____. 1977. 'Chris McGregor: African Roots'. In Jazz Forum (46): 41.

_____. 1997. 'A Joe Harriott Memorial'. In Chris Blackford (ed.), Joe Harriott: Forgotten Father of European Free Jazz. Rubberneck 25:4-12.

Cowley, John. 1990. 'London Is the Place: Caribbean Music in the Context of Empire, 1900-60'. In Paul Oliver (ed.), Black Music in Britain: Essays on the Afro-Asian Contribution in Popular Music. Milton Keynes: Open University Press, pp58-76.

Dalamba, Lindelwa. 2006. Writing Against Exile: A chronotopical reading of the autobiographies of Miriam Makeba, Joe Mogotsi and Hugh Masekela. Unpublished MMus dissertation. University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.

Dean, Roger T. 1992. New Structures in Jazz and Improvised Music Since 1960. Philadelphia: Open University Press.

De Certeau, M. 1984. The Practice of Everyday Life. Translated by Steven F. Randall. Berkeley: University of California Press.

De Ledesma, C. 1985. 'Afro Jazz: Evolution and Revolution'. In The Wire (12): 26.

DeNora, T. 1999. 'Music as a technology of the self'. In Poetics (27): 31-56.

_____. 1995. 'The musical composition of social reality: music, action and reflexivity'. In Sociological Review 43(2): 295-315.

Detterbeck, Markus. 2002. South African Choral Music (Amakwaya): song, context and

the formation of identity. Unpublished MMus dissertation. University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.

DeVeaux, Scott. 1989. 'Introduction'. In American Music Special Jazz Issue 7 (1): 1-5.

_____. 1991. 'Constructing the Jazz Tradition: Jazz Historiography'. In Black American Literature Forum, Literature of Jazz Issue 25 (3): 525-560.

_____. 1997. The birth of bebop : a social and musical history. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Dikobe, M. 1973. The Marabi Dance. London: Heinemann.

Dlamini, Sazi. 1998. Township Music: the performance and compositional approaches of three neotraditional musicians in Durban. Unpublished MMus dissertation. University of Natal, Durban.

Donsa, Luvuyo. 1987. 'Performing Art and Politics in South Africa'. In A. Tracey (ed.), Papers Presented at the 6th Symposium on Ethnomusicology. Grahamstown: International Library of African Music, pp9-15.

Doruska, L. and Ivan Polednák. 1968. Der Tschechoslowakische Jazz, Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. Edition Supraphon: Praha, Bratislava.

Drobis-Meisel, Jacqueline. 1989. Exiles. Unpublished MA thesis (Southern Connecticut State University).

Ellison, Ralph. 1964. Shadow and Act. New York: Random House.

_____. 1986. Going to the Territory. New York: Random House.

Engh, B. 1993. 'Loving It: Music and Criticism in Roland Barthes'. In Ruth A. Solie (ed.). Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Erlmann, V. 1987. 'A Feeling of Prejudice: Orpheus McAdoo and the Virginia Jubilee Singers in South Africa, 1890-1898'. In Journal of Southern African Studies 14 (3): 1-35.

_____. 1991. African Stars - Studies in Black South African Performance. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

_____. 1996. Nightsong: Performance, Power and Practice in South Africa. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

_____. 1999. Music, Modernity and the Global Imagination. New York/Oxford:

Oxford University Press.

Fischer, Arnold. 1985. English-Xhosa Dictionary. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Fiske, J. 1989. 'Understanding Popular Culture'. In J. Fiske (ed.), Reading the popular. Boston: Unwin Hyman, pp1-12.

Floyd, Samuel, A. 1995. The Power of Black Music: Interpreting Its History from Africa to the United States. New York: Oxford University Press.

Frith, S. 1996. Performing Rites: On the Value of Popular Music. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

_____. 1994. 'Music for Pleasure'. In Polity. Cambridge: Polity Press. pp237-242.

_____. 1996. 'Music and Identity'. In S. Hall & P. du Gay (eds.), Questions of Cultural Identity. London: Sage Publishers, pp108-127.

Fox, Charles. 1972. The Jazz Scene. London: Hamlyn Publishing Group.

Richard Fox (ed.). 1991. Recapturing Anthropology: working in the present, pp191-210. Santa Fe, Cal.: SAR Press.

Gabbard, K. (ed.). 1995. Representing Jazz. Durham: Duke University Press.

_____. 1995. Jazz Among the Discourses. Durham: Duke University Press.

Gerhart, G. 1974. Black Power in South Africa. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Giddens, Anthony. 1991. Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Gillespie, J. and W. Fraser. 1979. To Be or Not to Bop. New York: Doubleday & Co. Inc.

Gilroy, P. 1993. The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness. London: Verso.

Gioia, T. 1988. The Imperfect Art: Reflections on Jazz and Modern Culture. New York: Oxford University Press.

Goehr, L. 1995-6. 'The perfect performance of music and the perfect musical Performance'. In New Formations: Performance Matters 27 (Winter): 1-22.

Goode, Coleridge and Roger Cotterrell. 2002. Bass Lines: A Life in Jazz. London: Northway.

Grime, Kitty. 1979. Jazz at Ronnie Scott's. London: Robert Hale.

Gushee, Lawrence. 1994. 'The Nineteenth-Century Origins of Jazz'. In Black Music Research Journal 14 (1) 1-24.

Hall, S. 1996. ‘Who needs identity?’. In Questions of Cultural Identity. London: Sage Publications, pp87-107.

_____. 1997. ‘Random thoughts Provoked by the Conference on Identities, Democracy, Culture and Communication in Southern Africa’. In Critical Arts 11 (2): 1-16.

Hall, S. (ed.) 1997. Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices. Buckignham: Open University Press.

Hamm, C. 1988. Afro-American Music, South Africa, and Apartheid. New York: Institute for Studies in American Music.

Hansen, Deidre. 1968. The Life and Works of Benjamin Tyamzashe: A Contemporary Xhosa Composer. Grahamstown: Institute for Social and Economic Research (ISER).

Hentoff, Nat and Nat Shapiro. 1966. Hear Me Talkin' to Ya: An Oral History of Jazz. New York: Dover Publications.

Hebdige, D. 1979. Subculture: The Meaning of Style. London: Methuen.

Herwitz, Daniel. 1999. ‘Afro-Medici: The Language of Thabo Mbeki's African Renaissance’. In Current Writing 11 (2): 34-51.

Hodgson, Janet. 1980. Ntsikana’s Great Hymn: A Xhosa Expression of Christianity in the Early Ninenteeth Century Eastern Cape.

Horn, Andrew. 1983. ‘Festival of South African Arts’. In African Arts 16 (2): 78-79.

Huskisson, Y. 1969. The Bantu Composers of Southern Africa. Johannesburg: South African Broadcasting Corporation.

Hutchinson, B. 1957. ‘Some consequences of 19th century missionary activity among the South African Bantu’. In Africa 27 (2).

Israel, Mark. 1999. South African Political Exile in the United Kingdom. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.

Iyer, Pico. 1988. Video Night in Kathmandu and Other Reports from the Not-So-Far East. London: Bloomsbury.

Jabavu, D.D.T. 1949. The origin of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika. In Nada 26.

Jarrett, J. M. 1988. Drifting on a Read: Jazz as a Model for Literary and Theoretical Writing. PhD. University of Florida, Florida.

Jones, Carolyn M. 1997. ‘Traces and Cracks: Identity and Narrative in Toni Morrison's

Jazz'. In African American Review 31 (3): 481-495.

Jones, LeRoi. 1963. Blues People: Negro Music in White America. Westport: Greenwood Press.

Johnson, B. 1993. 'Hear Me Talkin' to Ya: The Problems of Jazz Discourse'. In Popular Music 12(1): 1–12.

Kester, Norman G. 1999. From here to District Six: a South African memoir with new poetry, prose and other writings. Toronto: District Six Press.

Kgotsitsile, Keorapetse. 1974. The Present is a Dangerous Place to Live. Chicago: Third World Press.

_____. 1970. 'Whistle for Pennies'. In Joseph Okpaku (ed.), New African Literature and the Arts Volume 1: 303–311. New York: Thomas Crowell.

Kirby, Percival, R. 1959. 'The use of European musical techniques by the non-European peoples of South Africa'. In Journal of the International Folk Music Council.

Kivy, P. 1984. Sound and Semblance: Reflections on Musical Representation. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Kofsky, Frank. 1970. Black Nationalism and the Revolution in Music. New York: Pathfinder Press.

Kubik, G. 1975. The Kachamba Brothers' Band: a Study of Traditional Music in Malawi. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Kunene, Mazisi. 1981. The Anthem of the Decades. London: Heinemann Educational.

Kuper, Leo. 1967. 'Structural discontinuities in African towns: some aspects of racial pluralism'. In H. Miner (ed.), The City in Modern Africa. London: Pall Mall Press.

Larkin, Brian. 1997. 'Indian Films and Nigerian Lovers: Media and the Creation of Parallel Modernities' in Africa 67(3): 406-440.

Latxaque, R. 1983. 'Dudu: change de cap'. In Jazz Magazine 319 (30).

Lewis, George E. 1996. 'Improvised Music After 1950: Afrological and Eurological Perspectives' In Black Music Research 16 (1): 91-122.

Lindfors, B. (ed.) 1999. Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Lott, Eric. 1988. 'Double V, Double-Time: Bebop's Politics of Style' in Callaloo 36: 597-605.

Mabuza, L. (ed.). 1989. One never knows: an anthology of black South African women writers in exile. Braamfontein: Skotaville.

MacGregor, Maxine. 1994. Chris McGregor and the Brotherhood of Breath. Michigan: Bamberger.

MacKay, George. 2005. Circular Breathing: The Cultural Politics of Jazz in Britain. Durham & London: Duke University Press.

Mackey, N. 1995. 'From Noun to Verb'. In Krin Gabbard (ed.), Jazz Among the Discourses. Durham: Duke University Press.

McCartney, Barney C. 1974. 'Dramaturgical Movement in Lewis Nkosi's The Rhythm of Violence'. In Negro American Literature Forum 8 (4): 268-270.

Maine, Abbey. 1970. 'An African Theater in South Africa'. In African Arts 3 (4): 42-44.

Majodina, Zonke. 1995. Exiles and homecoming: the untold stories. Johannesburg: Heinemann.

Makeba, Miriam. 1988. My Story: Makeba. Johannesburg: Skotaville Publishers.

Maloka, Tshidiso. 1996. The Nuremberg Witness. Belville: Mayibuye Books.

Manganyi, N.C. 1983. Exiles and homecomings: a biography of Eskia Mphahlele. Johannesburg: Ravan.

Manuel, P. 1995. 'Music as symbol, music as simulacrum: post modern, pre-modern, and modern aesthetics in subcultural popular musics'. In Popular Music 14(2): 227-39.

Martin, Denis-Constant. 1993. 'Narratives of Power: the choices of identity'. In Indicator SA 10 (3): 37-40.

Martin, P. J. 1995. Sounds and Society: Themes in the Sociology of Music. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Masekela, H. & D. Michael Cheers. 2004. Still Grazing: The Musical Journey of Hugh Masekela. New York: Crown Publishers.

Masilela, N. 1996. 'The "Black Atlantic" and African Modernity in South Africa'. In Research in African Literature 27(4): 89–96.

Matshikiza, T. 1981. 'Jazz Comes to Joburg!'. In Reconstruction: 90 Years of Black Historical Literature, pp151–163. Johannesburg: Ravan.

Matshikiza, Todd. 1961 and 1982. Chocolates for My Wife. London: Hodder and Stoughton and Cape Town: David Philip.

Mattera, Don. 1987. Memory Is the Weapon. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

_____. 1987. Gone With the Twilight: A Story of Sophiatown. London & New Jersey: Zed Books Ltd.

Matthews, James. 1983. The Park and Other Stories. Johannesburg: Ravan.

Matthews, Z.K. 1935. 'The tribal spirit among educated South Africans'. In Man 35 (26).

Mayibuye Centre. 1994. Oral History Collections. Bellville, South Africa: University of the Western Cape.

Mda, Zakes. 1986. Bits of Debris: The Poetry of Zakes Mda. Maseru: Thapama Books.

Mehegan, John. 1959. 'Report from Africa'. In Down Beat, November 1959, p22-24.

Meintjes, L. 1990. 'Paul Simon's Graceland, South Africa and the mediation of musical meaning'. In Ethnomusicology 34 (Winter): 37-73.

Mellers, Wilfrid. 1982. Music in a New Found Land. New York: A.A Knopf.

Meltzer, David (ed.).1993. Reading Jazz. San Francisco: Mercury House.

Mingus, Charles. 1971. Beneath the Underdog. New York: A.A. Knopf.

Modisane, B. 1986. Blame Me On History. Johannesburg: Ad Donker.

Mogotsi, J. (with Pearl Connor) 2002. Mantindane 'He Who Survives': My Life with The Mahattan Brothers. Copenhagen: The Booktrader.

Moloi, Godfrey. 1987. My Life: Volume One. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Molteno, Marion. 1998. If You Can Walk You Can Dance. London: Shola Books.

Monson, Ingrid. 1994. 'Doubleness and Jazz Improvisation: Irony, Parody, and Ethnomusicology'. In Critical Inquiry 20 (2): 283-313.

Moody, Bill. 1993. The jazz exiles: American musicians abroad. Nevada: University of Nevada Press.

Moore-Gilbert, Bart. 1997. Postcolonial Theory: Contexts, Practices, Politics. London: Verso.

Mostert, Noel. 1992. Frontiers: The Epic of South Africa's Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People. London: Pimlico.

Mphahlele, Ezekiel. 1962. 'Chocolates for the Police'. In Transition 5 (Jul. 30 - Aug. 29): 24.

Mphahlele, E. 1959. Down Second Avenue. London: Faber.

_____. 1995. Afrika My Music: An Autobiography 1953–1983. Johannesburg: Ravan.

_____. 1946. Man Must Live and Other Stories. Cape Town: African Bookman.

_____. 1961. The Living and the Dead and Other Stories. Ibadan: Ministry of Education.

_____. 1967. In Corner B. Nairobi: East African Publishing House.

_____. 1971. The Wanderers. New York: Macmillan.

_____. 1981. The Unbroken Song: Selected Writings of Es'kia Mphahlele. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Muller, Carol A. 2001. "Capturing the 'Spirit of Africa' in the Jazz Singing of South African-Born Sathima Bea Benjamin". In Research in African Literatures 32 (2): 133-152.

_____. 2004. South African Music: A Century of Traditions in Transformation. Santa Barbara/Denver/Oxford: ABC-CLIO, Inc.

Murray, Albert. 1986. Good Morning Blues: The Autobiography of Count Basie. New York: Random House.

_____. 1970. The Omni-Americans. New York: Outerbridge and Dienstfrey.

_____. 1976. Stomping the Blues. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Mutloatse, M. (ed.). 1987. Umhlaba Wethu: A Historical Indictment. Johannesburg: Skotaville.

Mzamane, Mbulelo. 1999. The children of the diaspora and other stories of exile. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Naficy, Hamid (ed.). 1999. Home, exile, homeland: film, media and the politics of place. New York: Routledge.

Nakasa, Nat. 1975. The World of Nat Nakasa, ed. Essop Patel. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

_____. 1985. The World of Can Themba. Edited by Essop Patel. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Ndebele, N. 1997. Fools and Other Stories. Cape Town: Francolin.

Newell, Stephanie. 2002. Literary Culture in Colonial Ghana: 'How to Play the Game of Life'. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Nixon, R. 1994. Homelands, Harlem and Hollywood: South African Culture and the World Beyond. New York: Routledge.

Ngakane, Maurice. 1986. South Africa: an exile's perspective - sound cassette recording. Philadelphia: Lutheran Theological Seminary.

Ngcobo, Lauretta. And They Didn't Die. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.

Nkosi, L. 1964. The Rhythm of Violence. London: Oxford University Press.

_____. 1965. Home and Exile. London: Longman.

_____. 1986. Mating Birds. London: Constable.

Olwage, Grant. 2008. Composing apartheid: music for and against apartheid. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Parry, B. 1994. 'Resistance theory: theorising resistance'. In F. Barker et al (eds.), Colonial Discourse/ Postcolonial Theory, pp172-196. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Pauw, B.A. 1965. 'Patterns of christianization among the Tswana and Xhosa-speaking peoples'. In G. Dieterlen and Meyer Fortes (eds.), African Systems of Thought. London: Oxford University Press.

_____. 1974. 'The influence of christianity'. In W.D. Hammond-Tooke (ed.), The Bantu- speaking Peoples of Southern Africa. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Paz, O. 1985. The labyrinth of solitude. New York: Grove Weidenfeld.

Pechey, G. 1994. 'Post-apartheid narratives'. In F. Barker et al (eds.), Colonial Discourse/ Postcolonial Theory, pp151-171. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Perlman, A. M. & Greenblatt, D. 1981. 'Miles Davis Meets Noam Chomsky: Some Observations on Jazz Improvisation and Language Structure'. In Wendy Steiner (ed.), The Sign in Music and Literature, pp169–183. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Pretoria Returnees Project. 1994. Together let's move forward: Pretoria returnee's needs' assessment. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.

Pyper, Brett. 2004. Home is Where the Music is: South African Jazz in Exile in New York in the 1960s. Unpublished Working Paper presented at the Composing Apartheid Conference at Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

Radano, Ronald M. 1996. 'Ingrid Monson New Musical Figurations: Anthony Braxton's

Cultural Critique'. In Journal of the American Musicological Society 49 (2): 326-331.

Rice, Timothy. 2001. 'Syncretism'. In Sadie, S (ed.). The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians Vol. 24: 850-851.

Ranger, Terence. 1975. Dance and Society in Eastern Africa 1890-1970: The Beni Ngoma. London: Heinemann.

Rasmussen, L. (ed.). 2003. Mbizo: A Book About Johnny Dyani. Copenhagen: The Booktrader.

_____. 2003. Jazz People of Cape Town. Copenhagen: The Booktrader.

_____. 2001. Cape Town Jazz: 1959-1963: The Photographs of Hardy Stockmann. Copenhagen: The Booktrader.

_____. 2000. Sathima Bea Benjamin: Embracing Jazz. Copenhagen: The Booktrader.

Rasula, Jed. 1995. 'The Media of Memory: The Seductive Menace of Records in Jazz History'. In Krin Gabbard (ed.), Jazz Among the Discourses, 134-162. Durham: Duke University Press:.

Rauhe, Herman. 1970. 'Jazz as the object of interdisciplinary research'. In Jazzforschung 1: 23-61. Graz: Universal Edition.

Rorty, R. 1999. Philosophy and Social Hope. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Rose, N. 1996. 'Identity, Genealogy, History'. In Questions of Cultural Identity, pp128-150. London: Sage Publications.

Rosenthal, Eric. 1938. The stars and stripes in Africa. London: G. Routledge and Sons.

Rouy, G. 1975. 'Louis Moholo, le rythme souffle'. In Jazz Magazine 239 (20).

_____. 1981. 'Chris McGregor: le second souffle'. In Jazz Magazine 297 (22).

Rushdie, S. 1991. 'Imaginary Homelands'. In Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism 1981–1991, pp9-21. London: Granta.

Rycroft, David. 1956. 'Melodic imports and exports: a byproduct of recording in South Africa'. In Bulletin of the British Institute of Recorded Sound.

_____. 1958. "The new 'town music' of Southern Africa". In Recorded Folk Music 1.

_____. 1959. 'African music in Johannesburg: African and non-African features'. In Journal of the International Folk Music Council, pp25-30.

_____. 1977. ‘Evidence of stylistic continuity in Zulu 'town' music’. In Essays for a Humanist. New York: Town House Press.

Sadie, S. (ed.). 2001. The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians 24: 850-1. London/New York: Macmillan Publishing Ltd.

Said, E. 1991. Musical Elaborations. London: Vintage.

Schlessinger, M. 1993. Nightingales and Nice-Time Girls: The Story of Township Women and Music (1900-1960). Johannesburg: Viva Books.

Scott, James, C. 1990. Domination and the Arts of Resistance. London: Yale University Press.

Sergeant, Winthrop. 1975. Jazz, Hot And Hybrid. New York/Cambridge: Da Capo Press.

Serote, M. 1981. To Every Birth Its Blood. Johannesburg: Ravan.

Shepherd, J. 1991. Music as a Social Text. Cambridge: Polity Press.

_____. 1994. ‘The analysis of popular music’. In Polity, pp231-236. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Shoup, John. 1997. ‘Pop Music and Resistance in Apartheid South Africa’. In Journal of Comparative Poetics (17), Literature and Anthropology in Africa, pp73-92.

Sikakane, Joyce. 1977. A window on Soweto. London: International defence and Aid Fund.

Slawe, J. 1969-1970. Jazzforchung 1 (2).

Solothurnmann, J. 1984. ‘Johnny Dyani: 'Music is like Medicine''. In Jazz Forum 87: 43.

Southern, Eileen (ed.). 1983. Readings in Black American Music. New York/London: W.W. Norton & Co.

Spargo, Tessa C. 1990. ‘Perceptions on Exile: The Exile as Extraterritorial’. In SACCC Newsletter (7).

Spradley, J. 1988. Participant Observation. New York: Holt Rinehart & Winston.

Stokes, M. 1994. (ed). ‘Introduction’. In Ethnicity, Identity and Music: the Musical Construction of Place, pp1-28. Oxford: Berg.

Storey, J. 1996. What is Cultural Studies: A Reader. London. Arnold.

Strathern, Marilyn ed., 1995. Shifting contexts: Transformations in Anthropological Knowledge. London: Routledge.

Tabori, Paul. 1972. The Anatomy of Exile. New York: Penguin.

Tanner, Paul. 1971. 'Jazz Goes to College: Part I'. In Music Educators Journal 57 (7): pp 57;105-109;111-113.

Tanner, Paul. 1972. 'Jazz Goes to College, Part II'. In Music Educators Journal 57 (8): 49; 85-93.

Themba, Can. 1972. The Will to Die. London: Heinemann African Writers Series/ 1983 Cape Town: David Philip.

_____. 1985. The World of Can Themba: The Selected Writings of the Late Can Themba. Johannesburg: Ravan.

Titlestad, Michael. 2004. Making the Changes: Jazz in South African Literature and Reportage. Pretoria: University of South Africa Press.

Tirro, Frank. 1993. Jazz: A History. New York/London: W.W. Norton & Company.

Tomlinson, G. 1992. 'Cultural Dialogics and Jazz: A White Historian Signifies'. In Katherine Bergeron and Philip V. Bohlman (eds.), Disciplining Music: Musicology and its Canons, 64-94. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Vilakazi, Absolom. 1965. Zulu transformations. Pietermaritzburg: Shuterand Shooter.

Wall, Cheryl A. 1974. 'Paris and Harlem: Two Culture Capitals'. In Phylon (1960-) 35 (1): 64-73.

Waterman, R.A. 1948. 'Hot' Rhythm in Negro Music'. In Journal of American Musicological Society 1: 24-37.

Weinstein, N. C. 1992. A Night in Tunisia: Imaginings of Africa in Jazz. Methuen, NJ: Scarecrow.

Weman, Henry. 1960. African music and the church in Africa. Uppsala: Studia Missionalia Uppsalensia.

Williams, Martin. 1970. Jazz Masters in Transition 1957-1969. New York: Macmillan.

_____. 1979. Jazz Masters of New Orleans. New York: Macmillan.

_____. 1983. The Jazz Tradition, New and Revised Edition. New York: Oxford University Press.

_____. 1969. Where's The Melody? New York: Pantheon Books.

_____. 1985. Jazz Heritage. New York: Oxford University Press.

Wilmer, Val. 1977. As Serious As Your Life. 1) London: Quartet Books 2) London: Serpent's Tail.

_____. 1965. "McGregor's Mission", JB, ii/10 (1965), 20

_____. 1984. Mama Said Ther'd be Days Like This. London: The Woman's Press.

Wilson, Monica and Archie Mafeje. 1963. Langa. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Wilson, Olly. 1996. 'Composition From the Perspective of the African-American Tradition'. In Black Music Research 16 (1): 43-51.

Wilson, Peter Niklas. 2003. 'Call and Response: Johnny Dyani – an African Musician in Europe'. In Lars Rasmussen (ed.), Mbizo – A Book about Johnny Dyani, pp163-172. Copenhagen: The Booktrader.

Zeleza, Paul T. 2003. Rethinking Africa's Globalisation Volume 1: The Intellectual Challenges. Trenton, NJ and Asmara, Eritrea: Africa World Press.

Zwi, Rose. 1984. Exiles: a novel. Craighall: Ad.Donker.

APPENDIX VI: VIDEOGRAPHY

1. CEDDO Productions' (British Arts Council in connection with Channel 4) Blue Notes & Exiled Voices (40 mins) Part 1.
2. Blowing Home produced by Arekopaneng/IDAF 1990.
3. Moving Picture Company's Musicians In Exile (75mins) Nemesis Productions.
4. Bacchanal Productions Documentaries (1990):

4.1 Uthingo Dance and Drumming: South African exiles.

4.2 Pitika Ntuli: Sculptor/ South African exile.

4.3 Glen Ujebe Mosokoane: Poet/ South African exile.

4.4 Dudu Pukwana and Zila: Afro-jazz /South African Exiles.

4.5 Pinise Saul: Vocalist /South African exile.

4.6 Gavin Jantjies: Painter/ South African exile.

APPENDIX VII: JOURNALS, NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

South Africa:

Drum, August 1957

Drum, June 1963

Zonk, January 1964

The Classic, Vol 1.

Johannesburg Star, 23 September 1963

Johannesburg Star, 11 December 1963

The Pretoria News, 23 December 1963

The New African, 18 January 1964

The Post, 26 January 1964

Cape Argus, 11 June 1964

Weekly Mail, 20 February 1987

Two Tone Magazine, June 1990

Pace, June 1980

United Kingdom:

Sound Special Survey, 13 March 1971

Time Out, 9-17 July 1972

Time Out, 2 April 1971

Time Out, 25 October 1974

Peace News, 21 June 1966

Morning Star, 31 June 1967

The New Statesman, 30 September 1966

The Guardian, 18 January 1967

The Sunday Telegraph, 2 July 1967

The Queen, 14 August 1967

International Times, 17 July 1970

The Guardian, 3 July 1990

The Independent, 3 July 1990

The Wire, February 1985
The Wire, December 1985
The Wire, December 1989
The Wire, June 1990
The Wire, March 1991
The Wire, May 1993
Melody Maker, 20 May 1967
Melody Maker, 1 June 1968
Melody Maker, 30 May 1970
Melody Maker, 4 July 1970
Melody Maker, 6 February 1971
Melody Maker, 13 March 1971
Melody Maker, 3 April 1971
Melody Maker, 10 April 1971
Melody Maker, 3 June 1972
Melody Maker, 10 June 1972
Melody Maker, 20 April 1973
Melody Maker, 27 December 1975
Melody Maker, 13 October 1979
Jazz Reviews, February 1967
Jazz Forum
Jazz Journal, November 1975
New Musical Express, 26 October 1974
The King, December 1967
The Times, March 1976

United States:

Down Beat, December 1962
Down Beat, March 1962
Down Beat, November 1963
Down Beat, November 1959

APPENDIX VIII: INTERVIEWEES

Barbara Pukwana, London, April 2003

Chris McGregor, London May 1986 (Interviewed by Christopher Ballantine)

Julian Bahula, London, May 2003

Eugene Skeef, Durban, February 2002

Ezra Ngcukana, Durban, July 2001

Hazel Miller, London, May 2003

John Matshikiza, Durban, March 2002

John Matshikiza, Durban, March 2003

Josh Makhene in London on 19/5/03

Keorapetse Kgositsile in Durban 30/04/02

Lucky Ranku in London, 26 May 2003

Barney Rachabane Durban, March 2002

Lulu Gontsana, Durban, March 2002

Douglas Ndikho Xaba, Durban, October 2002

Pinise Saul, London, May 2003

David Serame, London, May 2003

Thomas Dyani, London, May 2003

Accompanying CD