Repatriating Xhosa music recordings archived at the International Library of African Music (ILAM) and reviving interest in traditional Xhosa music among the youth in Grahamstown.

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ABSTRACT

This research looks at the feasibility of using repatriation as a tool for the revitalisation of indigenous music within a contemporary South African musical context. Using tracks from the International Library of African Music (ILAM), this investigation presents isiXhosa traditional and indigenous music to a group of musicians from a hip-hop background that would never have had access to this type of music before. The thesis then traces their creative use of the music within their own genres. Speaking to the legacy of the Hugh Tracey collection at ILAM and criticisms that have surfaced, this research also attempts to validate the efforts made by Hugh Tracey in collecting and documenting African music.

Themes ranging from understanding the term "tradition" are addressed, as well as other technical terms in the vernacular while also exploring and analysing the results of the repatriation project. Practical issues regarding the sampling of indigenous music were interrogated carefully due to the fact that the complexity of African music was foreign to most of the participants. Their familiarity with the music, or lack thereof, either motivated or ended the musicians' participation in the research project. An in-depth analysis of the results of the musicians' interaction with the music is presented where this study finds, at the heart of this research, that the musicians performed as agents who easily took to revitalising the music.

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I love you LORD, You have carried me through. In You I live, move and have my being.

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I declare that this thesis is my own work, written in my own words. Where I have drawn on the words or ideas of others, these have been acknowledged using complete references according to Departmental Guidelines.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

My interest in ethnomusicology emerged as a result of being employed at the International Library of African Music (ILAM) since 2002. ILAM is an archive based at Rhodes University in Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape, with valuable instruments and recordings of African musics. The institute is a national point of interest in South Africa which draws interest from near and far. I first worked as the sound engineer responsible for the digitisation of recordings housed at ILAM. During the time that I spent under the directorship of Professor Emeritus Andrew Tracey, I developed a love for traditional and indigenous African musics. As the sound technologist I had various duties and as I became more involved in the outreach activities at ILAM I realised that many learners from local and provincial schools who visited ILAM had little to no knowledge of the music in the archives. It became apparent that the archived music was not accessible to people in Grahamstown nor elsewhere and it is from this realisation that this research project grew.

Hugh Tracey, who established the International Library of African Music (ILAM) in Roodepoort in 1954, recorded sub-Saharan African music to ensure that it was preserved for future generations and to create textbooks using the music from his field recordings to teach children the music of their progenitors (Tracey 1965). Hugh Tracey was a man ahead of his time in that he had realised the importance of recording the music that he encountered in order to preserve it for future reference. He said,

> It is essential, I believe, among other things, to try to record as soon as possible, the songs and music of older people before they die and slip into the region of no-memory. Such songs, even if they are no longer sung by the younger generation, help to reveal not only certain continuity of styles, but also past events which were important at that time Tracey (1965, p. 8).

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In addition, he wrote, "We know that African music has worked well in the past, and we must decide now that it must be made to go on working in the future for a better and increased meaning in life for Africans everywhere" (1965, p. 13). The most important aim, in my view, was for acquiring the knowledge of an African self and to develop, through musical experience, confidence in being an African. The phrase uttered by Andrew Tracey, "you don't know who you are until you know where you come from" (email correspondence 21 January 2018), bears testimony to this belief. By publishing his LP record series, *Sound of Africa* (210 LPs) in 1963 and then followed by a detailed 2 volume catalogue in 1973, which was followed by *Music of Africa* (25 LPs) in the same year, Tracey managed to widely disseminate his field recordings of traditional music and bring African music to the rest of the world. Tracey also used every platform he could find to talk about African music and to share the music with the world. McConnachie (2008) writes of his visit to the United States of America in 1960 where he received funding for the Sound of Africa record series,

> As a result of this visit the Ford Foundation awarded ILAM a grant that enabled Tracey to publish a further one hundred LPs for the Series from materials that had already been collected. Later, the Ford Foundation granted ILAM a second sum which allowed Tracey to give the full set of two hundred and ten LPs to sixty selected universities throughout the world (2008, p. 59).

Due to a range of challenges which included the apartheid government's lack of interest in African music, the general level of ignorance in all parts of society about South Africa's own indigenous cultures and music and the largely negative attitudes towards indigenous cultures on the part of the educated class of Africans until after World War 2, Tracey was unable to secure funding to realise all of his goals. Among these was the desire to repatriate the music in a way which would be meaningful to the people of each area concerned. One of the objectives of his Codification and Textbook Project was to "discover the practical basis of the music of this continent, and expound it in terms of its usefulness and comprehensibility in Africa rather than in any other continent" (Tracey,

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1969, p. 6). These words meant that it should be explained in terms of an understanding of the root principles of sub-Saharan African music and its associated cultural contexts. Up to the 1950s, this understanding had hardly been established in the academic world or in common understanding. Andrew Tracey (email correspondence 2018) added by saying: "This was a great motivation for people like Kubik and myself to research and start to find out what the principles of African musics were, to discover what the 'rules' of the music were". Tracey felt that "the Codification Project will have the effect of raising the level of recognition, both by Africans themselves and by the outside world, for the genuineness of an art which represents a highly original contribution to the total field of man's music" (Tracey, 1969, p. 8). One of Hugh Tracey's expected results for his codification and textbook project was that "it will provide deep satisfaction to African musicians of the future in having their own poetry and musics culturally recognized for their intrinsic merit as never before" (*ibid*.). Another aim of the Codification Project was to advise on methods of research. This goal of Tracey's resonates with me as it has always been my vision that these recordings should be accessed by young musicians and that they should use the music in a way that is valuable to them.

In trying to realise some of Hugh Tracey's goals, ILAM, under the directorship of Professor Diane Thram[1], initiated the mission in 2014 of repatriating some of Hugh Tracey's recordings to their places of origin in Tanzania, Malawi and KwaZulu Natal in South Africa. These repatriation efforts included collaborative projects such as the Singing Wells project, under the leadership of James Allen and Tabu Osusa from Ketebul Music, to return ILAM recordings to Kenya and Uganda. The idea was to locate musicians that Tracey recorded or to find families of those musicians and return those specific tracks to national archives, libraries, schools and any other places where the recordings may be accessed. ILAM has further managed to repatriate more recordings to other places through working with researchers and students. In 2016, recordings of Chopi *timbila* music of Mozambique was returned by Robbie Campbell, a doctoral

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[1] Professor Diane Thram was Director of ILAM from 2006 until 2016.

student at SOAS, who managed to locate a few master Chopi musicians to whom he gave the recordings. He gave the musicians the audio Mp3s and three of the films of Chopi music on flash drives. This music is now being played in cars, on computers and on home stereo systems in Zavala, Mozambique, by many musicians and composers who want to be inspired by the music of former generations. The purpose of his research was to understand how the tuning systems of the *timbilas* could be used in music therapy. Earlier, Andrew Tracey repatriated a complete set of ILAM's Chopi recordings on cassettes to leading musician, Venancio Mbande. After being used by many eager Chopi musicians, what remained after a major loss of the music was donated to a prominent Chopi member of the Mozambique government.

Another researcher involved in repatriation is Jocelyn Moon, a doctoral student at the University of Washington in Seattle, who has returned recordings of *matepe*[2] music to Zimbabwe. She and her husband Zack have given the ILAM recordings of *matepe* music and photographs related to the music to five culture bearers in Zimbabwe. They are all musicians. Four or five of these musicians are either on the recordings or are descendants of the musicians in the recordings. In addition, they have given the recordings to a university student, Manager Chokuwamba in Harare who comes from a family of *matepe* players. Chokuwamba is actively trying to record and "preserve" his family's traditions through his YouTube channel (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z9pp2Gl1vG8). Jocelyn has also created a blog and uses it as a platform for repatriation and sharing information with other people (see https://yelloweaver.com.) I will review their repatriation efforts in Chapter 2.

In addition, Luis Gimenez Amoros, a former lecturer at the University of Fort Hare, South Africa, took part in returning *mbira* recordings to universities and musicians performing *mbira* music in Zimbabwe. Pinkie Gomolemo Mojaki, who at the time was a Master's degree student at Rhodes University, managed to repatriate recordings to Botswana from 2014 to 2015 and has been working with teachers and educators in finding ways of

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[2] The *matepe* is one of the many versions of a Zimbabwean mbira.

incorporating traditional music into the syllabus. Recordings of Ugandan music have been returned to Makerere University through Dr Sylvia Nannyonga-Tamsusa for the people of Uganda to have access to those recordings. To date, the only publications that exist on the repatriation of ILAM's music are Gomolemo's thesis (2015), Thram's article (2014), her films and several conference presentations and Noel Lobley's (2010) thesis in which he used repatriation for a different reason. Lobley's thesis will be discussed later in Chapter 2. Since there is as yet very little knowledge on how repatriation is unfolding, this thesis is rather exploratory, but also an attempt at building new knowledge in the field.

Closely linked to the ideals of repatriation are the textbooks by McConnachie (2013) and Carver (2012) published by ILAM. These books use the ILAM recordings and photographs to illustrate both African and Western musical fundamentals and present African music teaching materials. They are aimed at teachers in schools in this country and abroad. In addition, ILAM's "For Future Generations" travelling exhibition presents images and musical examples from the archive and includes lesson plans which are available to teachers as well. The aim of all of these products is to bridge the gap between the archive and society and to make the music that Hugh Tracey collected more accessible.

1.1 Goals of this research project

Although the various approaches by researchers have been highly successful for certain goals, and I will be elaborating on these in Chapter 2, I took a different approach for my research. I decided to give recordings to musicians and poets in the Grahamstown area of the Eastern Cape (where ILAM is based) in order to create opportunities for them to engage with the archived music. The goal was that these individuals would use the music in their compositions rather than merely listening to it. For this research, I focused on the tracks featured in the *Sound of Africa Series,* which was first released on LP (in 1973) and then later re-released on CD (in 2002).

The main goal of this research was to determine how, and if, the repatriation of archived recordings could revitalise, among the youth, an interest in their music heritage. Through this exercise one would not only realise Hugh Tracey's original goal but also test its currency in contemporary South Africa. In my research, the means of achieving this aim was by introducing young musicians to the ILAM recordings and asking them to use elements of these recordings in their music.

1.2 Location of research

The location of my research was the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa with the emphasis on both music and musicians from King William's Town, Peddie, Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth (see figure 1).
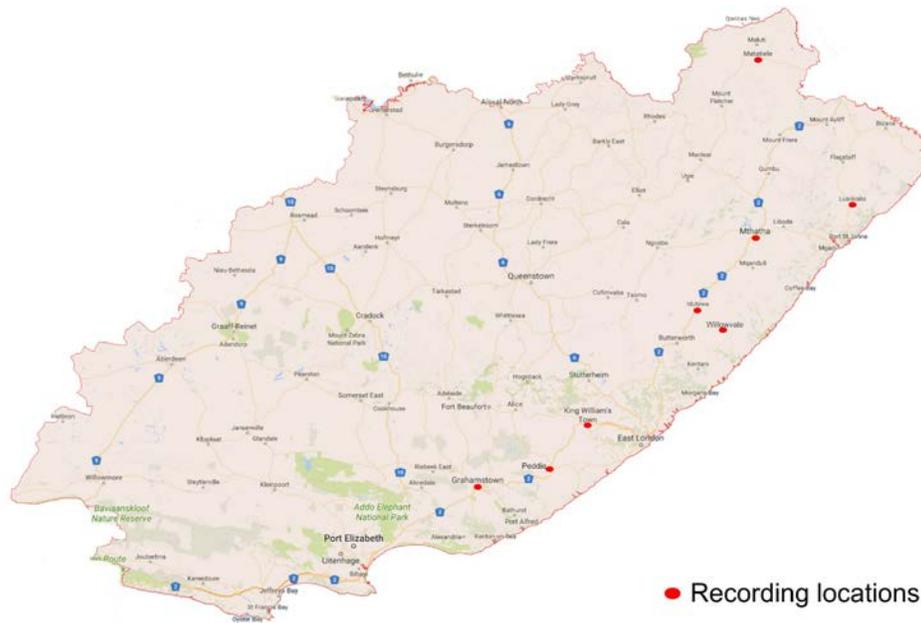

Figure 1. Map of the Eastern Cape highlighting areas where research was conducted. (Source: Google maps)

I chose to focus my research in these areas because of their proximity to ILAM. Even though ILAM is in the Eastern Cape many people (musicians and students from Rhodes University included) do not know of its existence or the recordings it holds. I gave the

same recordings to all the musicians in the province who were interested in them instead of choosing the places where the music was recorded and returning the music to only those places. My reason for taking this approach was that, due to urbanisation over the past seventy years, many people had moved away from the villages where the music was recorded, to urban townships. In addition, the difficulty of finding specific people was exacerbated by the fact that, in ILAM's metadata of the music, one usually found that the only information recorded was of the leader of the group while the rest of the musicians were not listed (McConnachie 2008, p.105). It therefore seemed more appropriate, in my case, to give the music to musicians from the same region.

1.3 The tracks

The main language spoken and the dominant culture in the Eastern Cape is that of the amaXhosa.[3] The *Sound of Africa* compilation series mentioned earlier has 16 albums, consisting of 201 traditional songs of the Xhosa Gcaleka, Mpondo, Ngqika and Thembu social groups recorded in the Eastern Cape region. In this research, I planned to repatriate all of the 201 tracks. These tracks represent many aspects of amaXhosa life. Hugh Tracey categorised his recordings in general according to the different occasions that they represented. These categories include: children and young people, initiation, puberty and circumcision songs, school songs, love songs, wedding songs, burials, wakes and laments for the dead, religious and superstitious pagan, native Christian churches, Christian churches, Muslim (Islamic) divination and spiritualism, spell binding and breaking, social and political, morality songs, fighting and military, regimental, indigenous armies, work or occupational songs, ballads and all songs for general entertainment including concerts, laments, self-delectative i.e. purely for one's own pleasure, dance songs, miscellaneous types, rhythms and instrumental tunes without

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[3] amaXhosa are a socio-cultural group of the people from the Eastern Cape Province in South Africa and isiXhosa is the language spoken by the amaXhosa. When I refer to 'isiXhosa music' in the thesis, the understanding is that this is music in isiXhosa performed by a member of the amaXhosa people. Since all isiXhosa music utilises isiXhosa words it is easier to refer to the music as 'isiXhosa music'.

words.[4] Not all these categories are used in the case of the recordings and, as it may be observed, the categories were also decided upon by the general language used at the time to describe the other (H. Tracey, 1973, pp. 18-23). (See addendum A from the Sound of Africa catalogue which classifies these genres.) The table below lists the areas where the recordings that were given to the participants of the research, were made.

LOCATION	RECORDING NO.
Grahamstown	TR027
Peddie	TR026
King Williamstown	TR013, TR059, TR061
Umtata, Engcobo, Tabankulu	TR022, TR033, TR060
Willowvale	TR028
Matatiele	TR049, TR050
Idutywa	TR062, TR063
Lusikisiki	TR030, TR031, TR032

Figure 2. Locations in the Eastern Cape where Hugh Tracey made recordings.

After some research, I found that there is little evidence of contemporary, traditional music in the compositions of most local amaXhosa musicians. Local Grahamstown musicians like Monwabisi "Sarha" Sabani, Thembinkosi Butana and Phumelelo "Player" Frans have used traditional music in their compositions, however, their music is not performed much anymore. One of my goals has been to determine the levels of

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[4] Note that these are categories codified in the language of Hugh Tracey. He published these categories in the Sound of Africa Catalogue in 1973.

awareness and understanding that contemporary amaXhosa musicians have of their local music heritage; whether this heritage is indeed accessible to them; the impact of modernity on traditional amaXhosa music and whether such music appeals to modern tastes; the seemingly wide gulf between traditional forms of music making in amaXhosa culture, such as the *uhadi* (musical bow), singing, *ighubu* (drums), and modern electro-technology (samplers, computers). My question is, through observing the interaction the youth have with this music, and through analysis and interpretation of the processes and what they say about it, is it possible to establish what is meant by revitalisation and to see if and how traditional forms can be revitalised in new music styles?

1.4 Methodology

I employed an ethnomusicological approach in which I used different tools to explore and investigate the social practices related to music making or the performances in relation to music. Ethnomusicological fieldwork methods that were followed consisted of individual and group interviews, participant-observation of performance events and skills building workshops, video/audio documentation of all interviews and events and writing field notes of my observations and impressions. A database of my field recordings of interviews and events was created and archived at ILAM. A review of secondary resources was undertaken as these helped to direct my interpretation and analyses, although it must be stressed that there were not many such resources due to the novel direction of this kind of research.

My research is moreover influenced by social constructionism which according to Gasper, in Young and Collin (2004, p. 376), is the notion that ''knowledge in some areas is the product of our social practices and institutions, or of the interactions and negotiations between relevant social groups''. Young and Collin further state that "social constructionism contends that knowledge is sustained by social processes and that knowledge and social action go together." Social constructionism resonates well with my research because I spent my time interacting with artists in the Grahamstown

communities with the intention to see how people interacted with the repatriated music and what part the music played in their approach to music making. Young and Collin are of the view that,

> As an epistemology, social constructionism asserts that knowledge is historically and culturally specific; that language constitutes rather than reflects reality, and is both a pre-condition for thought and a form of social action; that the focus of enquiry should be on interaction, processes, and social practices (2004, p. 377).

Social constructionism points to the specific historical and cultural location of knowledge. Social constructionism covers a range of views from acknowledging how social factors shape interpretations to how the social world (and in this case a musical world) is constructed by social processes and relational practices *(ibid)*.

Others such as Gergen, in Young and Collin *(ibid)*, state that social constructionism ''asks a new set of questions often evaluative, political, and pragmatic—regarding the choices one makes''. My intention was to view the way artists interacted with the music with the aim of asking questions of how the music worked for them and its relevance in this new political dispensation since 1994. The constructionist approach is appropriate as the reality and meaning of the music is socially constructed (Burr, 1995; Mertens, 1998). This approach resonates with my research in that the music I gave to the consultants deals with social issues such as love, relationships, crime, drug abuse, politics, and religion, among others, and is used by the musicians in the communities to address issues that affect them.

It is important to note that Hugh Tracey himself, without labelling his methodology, was practicing this form of research. He not only recorded artists, but he also looked for opportunities of employment and exposure for them. This may be seen in the case of the legendary guitarist from the Congo, Mwenda Jean Bosco. Hugh Tracey came across Bosco on 2 February, a Saturday in 1952, and recorded the famous "Masanga" track. Thereafter, he played Bosco's songs to recording companies which helped kick start

Bosco's musical career. Bosco's guitar picking style made him even more famous among guitarists worldwide as they began studying his style.[5] Another artist whom Hugh Tracey helped and who stands out for me is the legendary Venancio Mbande, a timbila player, composer and a timbila orchestral leader from Mozambique. Hugh Tracey met Venancio at the Johannesburg mines in 1949, and they became friends from that time onwards. Through the exposure he got through meeting Hugh Tracey, Venancio went on and released many recordings under different labels, and many people went and studied timbila music under him. Another example of a leading ethnomusicologist who practices hands-on active ethnomusicology is Dave Dargie, who worked for many years with a group of amaXhosa musicians from Lady Frere. He created CDs from the recordings he made of them and started selling them everywhere he could, thereby creating opportunities for them to perform on different platforms locally and overseas while also selling their CDs, thus making them self-employed. My research aims to not only provide ILAM recordings as a means to revitalisation but also to empower the artists with recording skills and opportunities for performance and to link them with other artists and producers that can help grow their skills. My research addresses the question asked by Diane Thram (2009), which I quote in Chapter 1, with regard to taking and not giving back to the people who help us build our careers.

I conducted individual and group interviews with the following hip hop artists, producers and poets. These include the hip-hop producers, Azlan Makhalima, Adon Geel, Yakheem, and the poets Siphelo Dyongman "Nqontsonqa", Akhona, Ayabulela Hodael Ncelwane "Ithala lenyaniso", Imini esisdenge. I also conducted interviews with beat makers and producers, Siyanda Yam and Mthibazi Tatana "Ongidaro".

I was drawn to these artists because they advocate the use of isiXhosa in their music and would therefore find the tracks I supplied of value. I gave them a period of time to create a product using the ILAM recordings and then did follow-up interviews to

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[5] In one of the radio shows Hugh Tracey presented for the SABC, he described how he came across Bosco. ILAM holds a manuscript of that show titled "How I discovered Mwenda Jean Bosco". See addendum B.

determine how the use of traditional music in their compositions had affected or influenced their music. One of my questions was whether or not their use of traditional music in this contemporary setting constituted a new traditional genre. This question will be unpacked in more detail in Chapter 2. In addition, the interviews sought to determine how ILAM could be made more accessible and how local musicians viewed the process of repatriation. Some of the musicians I approached were wary of becoming involved in the project, fearing how their participation might reflect negatively upon them. For the reason that ILAM was founded during the colonial times and questions surrounding how the instruments and recordings were acquired by Hugh Tracey, the artists feared that they might be looked upon as people who supported or promoted colonialism. I interviewed Andrew Tracey, the former Director of the International Library of African Music (ILAM) and son of Hugh Tracey, to hear his views of colonialism and also his reactions to his father's critics. This topic is discussed in Chapter 3. I interviewed Albert Bisaso Ssempeke, the renowned Ugandan musician, to hear from him of his experiences of repatriating Hugh Tracey recordings with the aid of Singing Wells, a British funded organisation dedicated to the revival of traditional music in central Africa. The subject of repatriation will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

1.5 Interface of research and revitalisation

As a "culture broker" engaged in ethnomusicology I have undertaken to work with musicians to bridge the gap between the community and the institution, and test the musicians' willingness to compose new music with the ILAM recordings. Lobley (2012) suggests that a researcher who bridges the gap between an institution such as ILAM and the people who the music came from can be viewed as a "cultural broker". This stems from the idea in most deprived communities in South Africa that tertiary institutions are inaccessible. This shortcoming may be addressed through repatriation and revitalising an interest in this music. In current ethnomusicological practice, the notion of including the researched in the academic, cultural or educational profit of a project, is accepted as the norm and is called applied ethnomusicology. Richard Kurin (in McConnachie, 2008)

says, "Culture brokers study, understand and represent someone's culture to non-specialised others through various means and media" (p. 5). McConnachie also states that "applied ethnomusicology[6] aims to empower the community from which the music research originated" and calls this type of research "interface research" (2008, p. 5). This applied outlook has been achieved through my research in many ways, one being by allowing musicians to utilise the ILAM studio weekly to create their music, which allowed me a chance to document the processes. The drive to initiate this research found resonances in Titon, for whom research of this nature "involves and empowers music-makers and music-cultures in collaborative projects that present, represent, and affect the cultural flow of music throughout the world" (1992, p. 315). The experiences witnessed and enjoyed in the studio seem to have brought together in one space the opinions expressed by McConnachie and Titon.

I would also like to acknowledge the amaXhosa music specialist and ethnomusicologist, Professor Dave Dargie, who used applied ethnomusicological methods before he became an ethnomusicologist. While he was a priest Dargie used his knowledge of African traditional music to influence church music composition in the Catholic Church. Through composition workshops re-introducing people in South Africa to traditional African composition practice, Dargie was given answers to two questions he had. The first was, "Would the people I would be working with actually compose new church songs?" And, "Would any of their songs make use of the African techniques of melody, scale, harmony, form and rhythm?" (Dargie, 2017). Both answers were affirmative and, as Dargie organised ongoing workshops, participants composed an array of traditional songs, some of which are now sung worldwide in Catholic communities (for example, *Masithi Amen Siyakudumisa* [Amen we praise your name]). Dargie writes,

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[6]Applied ethnomusicology is the approach guided by principles of social responsibility, which extends the usual academic goal of broadening and deepening knowledge and understanding toward solving concrete problems and toward working both inside and beyond typical academic contexts. (Pettan & Titon, 2015, p. 30, quoting Harrison & Pettan 2010, p. 1)

> I frequently began composition workshops with a group composition going from speech to singing. Drummers were asked to accompany the spoken texts, beating on the accents of speech, so that a new song could develop that correctly reflected the tones and accents of the text. Such a group composition was not only useful for creating a new song, it also taught new composers a way of putting a song together (2017, p. 170).

His involvement with the music points to not only repatriation but also to revitalisation and a revaluation of traditional composition techniques which have had a major impact on contemporary Xhosa church music composition.

In line with the repatriation and revitalisation of isiXhosa music, my research involves challenges to, and opportunities for, the repatriation of ILAM's Hugh Tracey field recordings of isiXhosa music, and the apparent chasm between ILAM as an archive and the community where its archived recordings originated. For repatriation and revitalisation to transpire, I became a catalyst as I sought ways of making traditional music accessible in ways relevant to the needs and contexts of contemporary musicians. One major challenge of this research and my role as a "culture broker" was finding locations such as libraries or youth centres in the community where the public will have access to the music. Influenced by the experiences of colonialism and even more so by apartheid, an issue that needs to be addressed is that communities still have perceptions that individuals and institutions (such as myself as a researcher representing ILAM and Rhodes University) visit to pillage, leaving them at a loss, while those individuals or institutions enrich themselves. This issue will be addressed by finding ways of "giving back" to the researched community.

My argument is that the repatriation of music artefacts, such as Hugh Tracey's field recordings of Xhosa music, offers a strong possibility for revitalising a declining heritage and for connecting younger generations of musicians to their musical past. The question is in how perceptions of heritage are produced during the process of repatriation. Furthermore, how is repatriation presented in a localised context and is it a viable

means to stimulating an interest in a declining music heritage? If this is the case, how does the process unfold and how is it negotiated? In contemporary South Africa these concerns are critical because the traditional music of South Africa is ignored and neglected by a host of institutions such as universities, radio and television stations (Coplan, 2002; McConnachie, 2016). In South Africa, radio and television are the main means of disseminating music in urban centres, even as internet usage has increased. Since traditional African music is rarely broadcast, young people are generally not familiar with the traditional music or the instruments from their region. The lack of traditional music content on radio and television means that many young people know very little about their music heritage. The situation is compounded by the fact that most young people are attracted to new, mass produced, and mass mediated popular music.

1.6 Literature review

Scholars Landau and Fargion, provide two statements that resonate with this research: "Who accesses the materials and how they do so are now central issues for archivists around the world" (2012, p. 128). Landau and Fargion speak to the importance of the archive in disseminating the holdings and to whom these holdings are distributed. Interestingly Lambrechts (2012, p. 2) is of a view that "The renewed interest in archives in academic discourse during the past three decades reveals that archives are not solely keepers of information but active participants in the construction and subsequent interpretation of that information". She thus supports the idea that archives are alive and that it is vital that these archives and archivists undertake research such as the one in which I am engaged. Although the outcomes were not assured of success it is in the act of trying that the archive becomes alive and an environment of sharing where new knowledge is shaped. Landau and Fargion continue, "Archives are no longer for the '-ologists' but for all learners, including the people whose cultures are represented in them wherever they are in the world" (*ibid.*). They argue, further, "if one of the aims of (applied) ethnomusicology is to sustain musical practice, then creating ways to encourage performance and transmission must be a central activity" (*ibid*.). Lambrechts

(2012, p. 222) states that "It has been shown that music archives in South Africa are limited in their application of archival theory and yet, they could have the potential to challenge the perceived stability of the archive and open up new avenues for thinking about the archive in general in contemporary South Africa". These academics write about the very type of activity with which ILAM is currently engaged. Projects where the community is involved with the archived materials not only brings these historical and important resources out of the cold-room but also bring the community into the archive.

Encouraging academic interaction with the archive is not enough, and the central point of this research becomes apparent. In my opinion, performance is essential to encourage revitalisation as well as part of an applied ethnomusicological outlook. The archive as well as the research participants gain from the research through use of ILAM's studio facilities, the exposure to ILAM recordings and to other musicians and other generations and points of view.

Repatriation is emerging as a central interest in heritage studies and attempts at repatriation are described in: Gray, 2008; Kahunde, 2012; Lobley, 2012; Nannyonga & Weintraub, 2012; Thram, 2014 and Treloyn & Emberly, 2013. These scholars claim that people would like to gain access to music recordings from their places of origin. They also argue that if used conscientiously the recordings can help rebuild a lost cultural heritage or identity. Treloyn & Emberly (2013) write about repatriation as a way of helping creative expression and as a means of contributing to community development. Thram (2014, p. 295) suggests "engaged" ethnomusicology as a methodology that requires researchers who gain a degree and a career from their research, to embrace an ethic of reciprocity and give back in ways that benefit the communities where the research was conducted. She raises the question: "Why should researchers give back..?"; a question, that, if not addressed, means that only the researcher gains and in the worst case the researched community remains in the same state or worse than before they were subjected to research.

My study extends Lobley's (2010) approach in which he took a sampling of Hugh Tracey's isiXhosa recordings into Joza Township in Grahamstown to study how people responded when listening to the recordings. Predictably, listening to the recordings brought back memories for the older people, while younger people either knew nothing or had heard the songs occasionally at traditional events. By using historical recordings in various ways to stimulate the creation of new songs, for example, this research will go beyond Lobley's approach in as far as it will encourage young musicians to interrogate notions of heritage, repatriation, and revitalisation. My aim is to not only create an awareness of the existence of these recordings but also to stimulate use of the recordings in ways that appeal to the youth. Nannyonga-Tamsusa and Weintraub's question, "What are the most effective ways to bring recordings to people who do not have direct access to archives due to distance or unfamiliarity with institutional protocol? " (2012, p. 208), is a question that, in my view, may never have an answer that is satisfying to different people. Instead, it may delay the process of giving back. My view of this question is that, instead of being focused too much on the questions, we should also simply give back the recordings and observe and document what unfolds. Nannyonga-Tamsusa and Weintraub further raise issues that might arise when returning sound recordings:

> Bringing sound recordings back to their communities of origin raises many ethical and practical questions. What is the community of origin, especially in cases where a tradition has died out? What are the criteria for selecting (and excluding) particular individuals to receive recordings? What are the criteria for selecting (and excluding) musical items to be taken back to the communities? What about those musical items that were restricted from being made accessible to the general public? How will people in these communities respond to efforts by fieldworkers to "bring the music to the[ir] community"? How might the introduction of cultural knowledge from the past conflict with present-day cultural and social practices? (2012, p. 216)

In South Africa, most people move from rural areas to more urban places in search of a better life, and as people relocate some of these ethical questions become redundant or meaningless. If we focused too much on them we deprive the people of the music. When Hugh Tracey recorded the music, his plan was to return it to the place of origin and have the people from those places decide how they would like to use it as it belongs to them. It is my view that the issues raised will always be talked about in archives and by researchers and academics, while the owners of the music are deprived of it.

When one records a musical performance it means capturing what is happening at that point in time. This does not mean that those particular songs that were recorded would not again be performed by that community. Therefore, the recordings of a performance are a snapshot of time. Nannyonga-Tamsusa and Weintraub's (2012: p 207) view is that,

> The recording represents a moment in time rather than an object in space. Sound repatriation involves very different sets of issues from object repatriation, but they share important similarities. A set of physical objects may change hands (and usually does), but fundamentally what is presented to people in these communities of origin is something of value (potentially) that they never had or that they had but then lost in some way.

I agree with their opinion in that, despite concerns relating to the issues discussed above, I believe that the longer one waits to repatriate, share and disseminate the music, the less chance there is of revitalising it. In Chapter 3, I will outline the difficulties that Hugh Tracey faced throughout his career and how this affected his ability to complete this important task.

1.7 Thesis content

The thesis has five chapters, a conclusion, three addenda and a digital versatile disc which includes all the musical examples referred to within the body of the work. Chapter 1 serves as the introduction and outlines the project and the literature review.

In Chapter 2, I discuss the need to repatriate and revitalise interest in the music and the importance thereof in the communities where the music is still practiced. I also discuss the notions of tradition, how my research participants view tradition compared to my view of it and how influential platforms like radio and TV portray their perceptions of traditional music. A look at existing attempts at repatriation and revitalisation, and their influence on this research is included. This chapter is vital in understanding the role that repatriation can play in revitalisation.

Chapter 3 raises the issue of colonialism, which has played a large role in the development of archival spaces in Africa and elsewhere. Looking specifically at Coetzee and Edwards, comment is made about ILAM and the Tracey legacy. Andrew Tracey's responses to criticisms regarding his father's approach to collecting and researching African music forms the core of this chapter. The chapter also looks at what constitutes a living archive and what struggles archives face to stay relevant.

In Chapter 4, I describe how the research started, how I met my informants, the involvement of the Fingo Festival and the terminologies that need to be clarified. The chapter outlines the basis of the research and prepares the reader for the analysis chapter.

In Chapter 5 I look at the research consultants, how they have taken up the research, their reactions to the repatriated music and how they have managed to create new songs using the repatriated music from ILAM. It is in this chapter that I determine whether revitalisation has taken place.

In Chapter 6, I look at conclusions which reflect on the main question and research question. I make a few recommendations and describe possible future projects that might arise through repatriation.

Chapter 2

Repatriation versus Revitalisation

In my research, I wrestled with this question: Why is there a need to repatriate Hugh Tracey's recordings of traditional isiXhosa music to the Grahamstown community when the situation might reveal that there is no need to repatriate the music because the music is not in decline? My research findings reveal that the need to repatriate this music is urgent in that there are fewer and fewer occasions where this music is performed and as time goes by those opportunities, such as the *umgidi*[7], *umtshato*[8] and *abakhwetha*[9] ceremonies, where this music is still found, may evolve and then, too, disappear. Indeed, Hugh Tracey envisioned this evolution and saw a need to capture the music creating a point of reference for future generations. He says,

> It is essential, I believe, among other things, to try to record as soon as possible, the songs and music of the older people before they die and slip into the region of no-memory. Such songs, even if they are no longer sung by the younger generation, help to reveal not only a certain continuity of styles, but also past events which were important at that time. (Tracey, 1965, p. 9)

As people move from their rural home towns into cities they experience different styles of music, and these encounters lead to enculturation[10] when hybrid forms of music such as *isicathamiya* and *mbaqanga*[11] develop. It is the same in the area of dance: traditional forms such as the shaking step known as *ukutyityimba* (a dance by men holding sticks while stamping their feet on the ground and shaking their bodies) are no longer seen in Grahamstown and are replaced among the youth by modern styles such as *pantsula*

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[7] *Umgidi* is the Xhosa word that encompasses any traditional Xhosa ceremony.

[8] *Umtshato* is a traditional wedding ceremony.

[9] The *abakhwetha* ceremony is a homecoming celebration for the boys coming from initiation schools.

[10] The conscious and unconscious acquisition of culturally fixed understandings has been labeled *enculturation* (Herskovits, 1948). Musical enculturation is the natural development of music schemata—rule-based frameworks within which an individual interprets what he or she perceives—through the shaping influences of the environment. (Morrison, Steven J., Steven M. Demorest, and Laura A. Stambaugh, 2008; p119)

[11] *isicathamiya, maskandi* and *mbaqanga* are South African hybrid styles that fuse elements of indigenous music with the use of western instruments.

(and others) which are often amaZulu in origin and learned from television. Tracey saw the need to record and capture the music at the time so that people from those places would have a point of reference in the future. At the moment, in my experience, I find that young people are unable to recognise music and instruments from their presumed cultures.

2.1 Musicians' notions of tradition in context

As I started with my research, I was immediately faced with this notion of tradition. Previously I had assumed its meanings, I had understood "tradition" as meaning indigenous African music devoid of any Western influence, but when interviewing informants I found that the label, "traditional music", needed to be clarified. I had an understanding of it that was slightly different to that held by musicians with whom I was working. I think of traditional music as indigenous music, whereas the musicians talk about hybrid styles which include indigenous elements as being traditional music and rarely, if ever, think of purely indigenous music.

Richard Handler and Jocelyn Linnekin view tradition as "an inherited body of customs and beliefs" (1984, p273). They are of the view that "there is no essential, bounded tradition; tradition is a model of the past and is inseparable from the interpretation of tradition in the present" (*ibid*.). They also mention that "the ongoing reconstruction of tradition is a facet of all social life, which is not natural but symbolically constituted."

Coplan (2002, p. 104) acknowledges that if one were to go deep into rural Africa one will find indigenous music, or what ethnomusicologists might call traditional music. But in the same breath he proposes that we should,

> Give up the ghost of alien organological and tonal categories and simply use "traditional" to mean what Black African people in my corner of the world, Johannesburg, mean by it. Their conception, à la Chris Waterman's Yoruba slogan, "Our tradition is a very modern tradition", is that musical tradition is quite adequately maintained and signified through continuities of

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genre, verbal idioms of experience, poly vocalities of tone, tune, and texture, of hue and cry.

Coplan *(ibid)* further states that,

> The gourd or mouth-resonated monochords, hand-beaten wooden drums, and reed and animal horn aerophones of pre-industrial Africa are almost never heard on the broadcast media, although they are still played in rural communities. Significantly for our discussion, when such instruments do appear on an urban stage it is as syncretic elements in the eclectic ensemble music of serious African jazz composer/performers. These include Johannesburg's Sipho Mabuse, who employs a lesiba (mouth-resonated monochord) player from Lesotho, and Cape Town's Pops Mohammad, who himself plays Khoi (pre-Bantu herders) stringed instruments in an explicit attempt to musically reconstitute his self-avowed Khoi ("Hottentot") aboriginal origins. "Traditional" hence means the popular music of African urban labour migrants and dispossessed peasants.

The popular music of African labour migrants as Coplan terms it is now known as traditional music to most people in South Africa. Because it carries elements of indigenous music, cultural practices and sometimes even use those instruments of pre-industrial Africa have now become the "traditional music" with which people identify. Coplan (1994: 47) states that,

> The concept of tradition, at that time simply identified with culture, has since been reified, manipulated, and stretched entirely out of analytical shape. Yet ethnomusicologists persist, for lack of an alternative, in opposing the notion "traditional music," like some ever-receding ethnographic horizon, to whatever it is that the folk are (alas!) actually performing, hearing, and dancing to now.

Smith, in Handler and Linnekin (1984, p. 273), points out that, "'traditional' and 'new' are interpretative rather than descriptive terms: since cultures change ceaselessly, there can only be what is new, although what is new can take on symbolic value as 'traditional'." Shils, in Handler and Linnekin (1984 p. 276), recognises that "tradition is usually ideological content, and that views of the past may be changed through self-

conscious interpretation". He also notes that "'the perceived' past is 'plastic' and capable of being retrospectively reformed by human beings living in the present". Shils insists that tradition continually changes. These interpretations of 'tradition' relate to what I have been experiencing as I was conducting interviews with the musicians whose experiences of traditional music were different to what I was presenting to them. These experiences also relate to Panumas Kudngaongarm's (2009) views. He writes,

> Not all traditional knowledge is part of Indigenous knowledge, but all Indigenous knowledge is a subset within traditional knowledge. This is because traditional knowledge may have been created by any individual or group of humankind whether Indigenous peoples or not. Similarly, Indigenous knowledge is therefore part of the traditional knowledge category. That is to say, Indigenous knowledge is traditional knowledge, but not all traditional knowledge is Indigenous knowledge. (n. p.)

The informants needed to be made aware of the fact that I was speaking about a "deeper" traditional music, one devoid of any Western influence. The first question that I asked informants at every interview that I held was with regard to their interaction with traditional music in the past. This was where I became aware of the difference in understanding the terminology where they would refer to *maskandi* and other hybrid styles of music (music in the vernacular accompanied by modern instruments) as traditional music. I, on the other hand, was talking about indigenous music.

The media plays a large role in the misconception of music that is traditional. The South African Music Awards (SAMA), established in 1995, is an annual event that awards and showcases South African talent on a national stage. Due to their popularity, the SAMAs have become a voice to be listened to in the South African music industry and therefore the music categories they create cause the music in those categories to be known as such by the people at large. They categorise the popular South African hybrid styles, such as *isicathamiya, maskandi* and *mbaqanga*, as traditional music. SATMA goes as far as considering rap and reggae in local languages as "traditional". This perception of

"tradition" is entrenched in younger musicians and listeners who carefully follow such events. Radio and television programmes are also to blame for this misunderstanding as they too use the label in this generic fashion. For these reasons many musicians and listeners are not too familiar with the traditional music in question and only hear this kind of music when they attend *imigidi* (traditional rituals performed for different traditional occasions) and, after that, they never have a chance to hear it again. Others hear it sung by their grandparents. Coplan (1994, p. 47) explains, "a closer examination of contemporary forms, however, reveals the survival and even the progressive development of the distinctive principles, values, and structures of cultural tradition." Coplan *(ibid)* further states, "Ultimately, the concept of tradition may be indispensable as a focus for exchange among anthropologists, ethnomusicologists, and historians of third world societies." My research echoes what is said in this statement in that I am witnessing young musicians taking concepts and ideas from the repatriated music, and creating new forms of music with it. In the process they keep the principles and values of their respective "cultures", although this may not be their conscious goal and may rather be a passing result of the interaction with repatriated music.

The Hugh Tracey recordings mark a point in time in the communities of people he recorded. Since that time has passed and things have changed in those communities, these recordings have become an important part of the growing need among youth to know who they are and where they come from. Throughout my interviews and interactions with participants and other musicians the issue of identity kept coming up. Identity through music becomes a problem due to a lack of reference to a cultural heritage. Hugh Tracey's recordings can be used, to some extent, to provide the answer to these questions about the past. Linton, in Handler and Linnekin (1984, p.276), suggests that "it is by now a truism that cultural revivals change the traditions they attempt to revive". With that said, could it be that my attempts at revitalising the Hugh Tracey recordings are bringing about a change in the tradition I am trying to revive? This is one of the questions I seek to answer in the course of my research.

2.2 Repatriation and revitalization

> Repatriation generally refers to the return of people to their country of citizenship (e.g., refugees and prisoners of war) as well as the return of cultural property (e.g., art works), culturally affiliated human remains, sacred objects, and artefacts to their communities of origin. Often, these artefacts have been taken through colonialism and conquest (e.g., looting and foreign-led excavations). In anthropology, repatriation refers to the return of ethnographic materials including published and unpublished ethnographic writings, field notes, recordings, and material items collected in the field (Jaarsma 2002, pp. 5-6).

The "revitalisation" as referred to in the thesis is a revival of a dying culture or a culture in decline using a reference from the past like the Hugh Tracey recordings and recreating the music or creating new music based on the elements from the past. Wallace (1956, p. 265) says that,

> The persons involved in the process of revitalization must perceive their culture, or some major areas of it, as a system (whether accurately or not); they must feel that this cultural system is unsatisfactory; and they must innovate not merely discrete items, but a new cultural system, specifying new relationships as well as, in some cases; new traits.

Lancefield, in Nannyonga (2012), says, unlike physical human remains or sacred objects, musical recordings are mechanical encodings of sound—traces of a communal past (Lancefield 1998, pp. 49-50). In this chapter, I describe various examples of the repatriation of sound recordings. Hugh Tracey and other researchers of his time recorded on aluminium and shellac disks, reel-to-reel tapes of different sizes and tape speeds and, in Tracey's case, transferred some of the recordings onto 78rpm records and LPs. Since the earlier technology is no longer easy to access, ILAM and other archives have managed to digitise those recordings into modern formats thus making it easy for them to be returned to their places of origin.

2.3 Existing attempts at repatriation and revitalisation, and their influence on this research

As described in Chapter 1, there have already been numerous attempts at repatriating and revitalising an interest in recorded music. Through the directorship of Diane Thram, ILAM started to return music to various places (Kenya, Uganda, Malawi, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Tanzania). This was achieved by working with various organisations and individuals that have an interest in ILAM's work. The projects mainly focused on returning the music to the places of origin and to locate the musicians and the decendents of the musicians who Hugh Tracey recorded. In places where the musicians have passed on they located the families of those musicians and gave the music back to them. Their main aim was to return the recordings and then see and document the reactions of the people when they heard the music of their relatives for the first time. For some it was hearing the voices of their grandparents for the first time. Through her project, she managed to elicit reactions from the recipients. While the research I conducted is rather similar to hers, the outcomes of the research reveal that there are distinct differences informed by the location, interpretations of the music and the relationships which unfold among participants and with outsiders who deem it a noble effort to return the music. In this section, I will be describing several of these attempts while reflecting on their value to their circumstances and to my research.

The first attempt at repatriation that I discuss in this section is that conducted by Samuel Kahunde. It is my observation that revitalisation is effective only when the people who receive the music realise its value and use in society. This experience can be seen in the example of Samuel Kahunde (2012), who repatriated recordings of the Banyoro Kitara people of Uganda. The music was recorded by Klaus Wachsmann in Uganda in 1949, 1950 and 1954 as a means to revive a tradition that had faded away. Royal court music of the Banyoro Kirata people was abolished due to political developments in Uganda in the 1960s. Decades later, the people have been trying to

revive that tradition because the musicians who used to play the music are old and few. It has been very difficult to recover and develop these repertoires. Klaus Wachsmann's recordings became instrumental in reviving the music and the artistic skill needed to play the instruments.

In 2008, Kahunde, a Munyoro himself, made the recordings available to local groups in Bunyoro Kitara who showed an interest in the recordings. One of those groups was the Alleluya group under the leadership of Christopher Magezi. Alleluya is a contemporary group of Royal Court musicians who are interested in reviving the Ugandan style of court music. Magezi, the group leader, acknowledged that they needed to improve on their performance skills and to aim to play like the players in the recordings. He also said that they had a limited repertoire, and he suggested that the recordings would help them develop it. In 2009, during a king's coronation anniversary, Kahunde witnessed that the Alleluya group was performing unfamiliar songs that they had retrieved from the recordings he had given them. In addition, in 2011 he noticed that the Alleluya group were using more instruments. They were performing in a hocketing manner with great skill and were balancing the polyphonic textures better than before. He writes,

> Thus, the Alleluya Group succeeded in playing songs that were not performed by other groups. When Magezi noticed that the *amakondere* songs recorded by Wachsmann included more instruments that played deeper tones, he asked the king for some money to travel to Nebbi (North Western Uganda) to buy long gourds for making longer instruments. The king provided the money and Magezi bought the materials, made more *amakondere* and trained his group using the Wachsmann recordings (Kahunde, 2012, p. 204).

Along with giving the recordings to musicians, Kahunde teamed up with two local radio stations of Bunyoro-Kitara with the aim of using a radio phone-in programme to collect data for his research. The listeners phoned in and commented on the Wachsmann recordings saying that they liked them better than the music that was played by the new bands. Other listeners phoned in to answer Kahunde's questions and gave their

comments on the recordings of which they wanted to have copies. Others asked if the recordings could be deposited at the radio stations. Kahunde managed to donate several of the recordings and found that they were, indeed, used by the radio stations (Kahunde 2012, p. 205).

Later, in 2009, Kahunde had a chance to meet with about 200 teachers from the Masindi district in Uganda. There he was given an opportunity to talk about the Wachsmann recordings and about the Hugh Tracey recordings of Ugandan music. The teachers were given a chance to listen and compare the music to the contemporary music that they experienced in their daily lives. Their responses were that the recordings had qualities such as yodelling that are not well performed at present. Teachers asked for copies stating that they would like to use them as a reference point in their classes when they teach traditional music and dance. This outcome is exciting as this is one of ILAM's educational outreach missions and an important step towards revitalisation.

In this case, repatriation had a big role in the revitalisation of the music in that it provided a point of reference for the musicians to learn more songs, to improve on their musical skills and to improve the sound quality of their instruments. Kahunde's efforts to take the music to be played on radio stations were, to a schoolteachers' conference and to older people who heard it, the turning point of the project. The recordings were the turning point of the project. The recordings were distributed widely and thus the value of the music was realised by not only the musicians, but by an audience and by teachers who would disseminate the music further. With the technology available it becomes easy to disseminate the music to many people, and, in doing so, people will start seeing its value.

Kahunde's intention to return the recordings was to use them to revive a music culture that was dying. In this case, one can say that repatriated music was used to revive a

culture that had faced extinction. Not only are their individuals but also organisations are engaged in attempts at repatriation and revitalising interest in the music.

One such organisation is the "Singing Wells Project" (SWP) in Uganda (singingwells.org) which is closely linked to ILAM's research on repatriation. The SWP, under the leadership of James Allen, is a collaboration between the Abubila record label based in London and Ketebul Music in Kenya. Their mission is identifying, preserving and promoting the diverse music traditions of East Africa. One of the recent projects SWP was engaged in was that of helping to revive one of the lost traditions in Uganda, the Bugandan Royal Court music (singingwells.org), which is a style of drumming on the Entenga royal drums ensemble that was severely marginalised for over 50 years. According to James Isabirye, a researcher at the Kyamboko University, this drumming style was considered extinct until 2015 when SWP got involved in a project of reviving it (Ssempeke interview 17 October 2017). Initially, they located the surviving royal court musicians who were able to teach young musicians how to play the instruments. SWP also sponsored the remaking of Entenga Royal Drums to ensure that there were instruments for people to play. In an interview conducted by SWP, one of the Bugandan court musicians explains: "If no one does anything to save it, the music is extinct. The children don't even like the music. No, if the children were just played the music I'm sure they would like it" (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gpG0HLNxVQA). SWP committed to return the music to Buganda, and one of the ways to do that was to locate recordings of this music. They approached me in 2015, and I found several recordings of the Royal Court music made by Hugh Tracey in 1952.

In my quest to find out about the effectiveness of repatriation and revitalisation, I was fortunate to meet and interview Albert Bisaso Ssempeke, the renowned Ugandan musician who took part in the SWP project in Uganda (interview 17 October 2017). I asked Ssempeke how he got involved with the SWP, and he mentioned that the SWP heard of him because he has recorded a lot of music and it was on YouTube. Through

James Isabirye they approached him, and his first task was to teach the flute to various musicians. When I asked Ssempeke about the drum project and whether he thought the Entenga drumming was indeed dead, his response was, "I do not believe that because what is really lacking is the exposure. The music has been there and the musicians they are there." (*ibid*.). He explained that Entenga music did not die in the 1960s as mentioned in the YouTube video by SWP (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gpG0HLNxVQA&t=11s) because his father, brothers and others were playing the music. Ssempeke showed me a video recorded in 1995 and posted on YouTube of his father and his group playing the Entenga drums, among other instruments (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=96pO4x1OGsA). Ssempeke's father, whose name is also Albert Ssempeke, was a royal court musician from the 1940s and after the abolition of the court in 1966 he continued working as a musician, performing in Uganda and abroad with his group. He was also one of the curators of the Uganda Museum in Kampala, and together with his brothers and sons taught royal music instruments to a lot of people. On the YouTube video one can see them playing the Entenga drums, among other instruments, which make the claims that the drums were not played at all not true. They were well researched by Lois Anderson in the 1960s and 1970s which she published in her book in 1977. I asked Ssempeke what would be the reason that made the SWP think that the drums were not played anymore. His response was that they did not do enough research to find out more about the drums. Ssempeke said that when you do research you have to talk to musicians because that is where you will find the right kind of information. Ssempeke mentioned that the SWP people spent little time with the musicians. The only time SWP was with the musicians was when they were recording them playing instruments. They did not make time to interview them (*ibid.*).

In interviewing Ssempeke I realised that issues relating to repatriation, such as the history of the music, the current status of said music and the informants representing the music are very important. His unease concerning the SWP project was based on the

fact that some of the information disseminated by SWP was, in fact, not correct. In addition, Ssempeke mentions that the Entenga drums are royal drums of the Buganda people played only for the *Kabaka* (king) and are played at specific times for the king's indulgence. What disturbed him was that, instead of teaching the people of Buganda, the drums were taught to people who were not from Buganda. They would not understand the value of the drums. However, Ssempeke did affirm the SWP's involvement in creating an awareness in the international community of the existence of the Entenga drums *(ibid.)*.

I asked Ssempeke what his thoughts were regarding what should have happened with the SWP to revive this style of music. He said that they should have initiated teaching in schools and also brought that teaching into the communities. They should not have taught people who are practicing musicians as they know how to play instruments already and have musical biases. Most importantly, if an instrument is from a specific region it must be taught there because the people there will place much more value on it than people who are not connected with the history of the place and instrument (*ibid*.).

Even though the SWP project was a success with regard to creating opportunities for exposure to the Entenga drums, there were other aspects of it that were not conducted in a satisfactory manner. Their research, according to Ssempeke, could have been more effective if they had involved the musicians who came from those places where the Entenga drums came from. Not doing research meant that the information they had was incorrect. They have, however, managed to create awareness about the Entenga drums to a larger audience. Therefore one can say that they have managed to revitalise an interest in the playing of the Entenga drums. Their claims that it was completely extinct were incorrect. This omission is an important fact as I explore revitalisation through the eyes of the musicians involved in the various projects. The lack of rigorous research before this repatriation project started led to some musicians having a

negative reaction to returning musical items to the area. As Ssempeke explained, had the musicians in the area been consulted before the project, the results may have been very different. He explained that the effort to preserve music of specific cultures within their own space was much more important than introducing music from another space to an accomplished group of musicians, albeit their neighbours. This experience highlights the significance of the musicians' opinion with the planning of repatriation projects.

Lastly, in this section, the work of Julie To'Liman-Turalir among the Tolai people of Papua New Guinea provides another example of why it is imperative to return recordings to locations and peoples where the music was first recorded. Julie To'Liman-Turalir uses the recordings of the Tolai people from Papua New Guinea, recorded between 1904 and 1914, as a point of reference to show to what extent their culture has changed or remained the same. These were recordings of songs, announcements and music played on traditional instruments from that area. The songs recorded were mostly sacred songs sung by men and some secular songs by women. The music was restricted to initiated men only and performed in special venues and in sacred places. To' Liman-Turalir explains that the music was of great importance to the Tolai people and it is surprising that they allowed themselves to be recorded. She states that these reasons are not known but she suspects that they could have been paid or "perhaps Catholic Missionaries thought that if the people performed sacred songs for a priest, the songs would lose their sacredness, making the people more receptive to the Catholic religion" (2002, p. 57).

To'Liman-Turalir conducted a comparative study on some of the songs to see how they had changed and if their meaning had changed over the years. She compared the recordings of the same song, by different people, to see what the similarities were in the song from the early 1900s compared to the same song sung today. In her research she found that,

> Even though there are some breaches of the customary laws in the performance of sacred music for recording, the transmission of this music from the past is far more important to the Tolai people today and would outweigh any earlier breaches of law. (2002, p. 58)

But interestingly, of relevance to my research, is her point that,

> Such recordings confirm what knowledge has been orally transmitted, re-enforcing the practices of customs and traditional music. Most importantly, these historic recordings confirm the identity of the Tolai people, and their living traditions that will never die! (*ibid*.)

She realised that the language used in the recordings is the same language used by the Tolai people today, and that the melodies of the old songs are the same as the ones that are sung today. The only difference was in the lyrics, and she states that the new lyrics are not as poetic as the old songs. In this case repatriation can play a role in that it affirms that a culture has been maintained for a long time and that through oral traditions it can be kept alive for even longer as long as the Tolai people keep teaching their young. Another point is that oral traditions can be another effective way of archiving traditions. Oral tradition is, to most cultures, an obvious way of transmitting knowledge. An imported culture of teaching and documenting through writing has caused oral tradition to decline and has made people more dependent on what is written rather than relying on what the elders in the communities said and taught. Since a lot of important values in cultures have not been written down, they lose their place in the communities because they are not validated by being written on paper.

The Tolai people have managed to keep their customs and traditional music orally, and the repatriated recordings served as a point of reference for the extent or absence of change. This point of reference is important because one can use those recordings to study how they had managed to keep their customs unchanged for this long.

As stated in Chapter 1, my attempt at repatriation and revitalisation is not the first one of its kind emanating from ILAM. In Chapter 1, I mention a number of other attempts, such as those by Thram, the Moons, Campbell and Mojaki. One person in whose steps I follow is Noel Lobley.

Hugh Tracey's collection was primarily intended to be of use to indigenous communities and anybody else who is interested in the music. In his study, Lobley aims to "analyse the aims, methods and potential of ongoing use and relevance of the collection in order to address a significant gap in ethnomusicological literature" (2010, p. 2). Lobley made a selection of music from Hugh Tracey's *Sound of Africa Series*, took it to the Grahamstown township and played it to people at their homes to see what their reaction to the music would be and what the music reminded them of. Lobley also took the music and played it in the taxis and to hip-hop artists in their studios for the same reason, which was to see what the reaction of the people would be. His interest was in the non-academic and non-analytical responses of the people in the township.

Lobley conducted a comparative study on some of the songs to see if they are still performed and if their meaning has changed over the years. He selected six songs from the ILAM archive and took them to people to obtain some general responses to the meaning and the use of the song. He found out that, "In many cases the information that accumulated from different people's responses was complementary and gradually contributed to a more composite understanding of the recordings and associated ceremonies" (2010, p. 298). For some songs like *Somagwaza*, he found out how people gave different responses towards that one song and how their interpretation of the song differs to that of Hugh Tracey. Now the question is, which interpretation of the song is correct? Lobley states that, according to Tracey's notes, the song *Somagwaza* was recorded in 1957 at the Lusikisiki District of the Cape Province. The song was performed by Khotso and a group of Mpondo men and women and their interpretation of the song was, "'Father of the stabbing'. They claimed that the song was 'sung in

thanks to the Chief when he had killed a beast for them'" (*ibid*.). On the other hand, people Lobley interviewed are not Mpondo people. They live in Grahamstown and know the same song as an initiation song for boys. Could it be that the meaning of the song changed over time or was it lost in translation by Hugh Tracey's informants?

Lobley's research was not about one repatriation project but rather about the possibilities or research methods that one should take when conducting these projects. His work shows that repatriation is varied in its goals and outcomes. His results may be skewed because of the fact that his research was not done in the Lusikisiki district in the former Transkei. However, as my research will show, my goals are different and, therefore, the use of music from different areas can be appropriate.

2.4 Lessons learnt from other attempts

I would like to conclude this chapter by summarising the lessons that I have learnt through these repatriation projects with which ILAM has been affiliated. Challenges to, and the opportunities for, repatriation that archives such as ILAM have include funding. In order to engage in repatriation one will need to have funds that will allow one to do the necessary research to find out more about those places where the music was recorded. Since most of the music was recorded during the colonial times, one may find that those areas where the music was recorded have been renamed or are no more in existence. Therefore one will need to do research in order to find out where the people have been relocated to and as what the place has been renamed. After that has been done there has to be someone on the ground who will trace the musicians or families of the musicians that were recorded so that the music can be returned to them. Also, one will have to identify other places such as community centres, libraries and schools where the recordings can be housed for the public to access. If there are no funds, it becomes very difficult or even impossible to return the music.

Even though the music is being returned one will find that there are still a lot of places that are poor where the people cannot afford to have a CD player or any kind of media

player. If one is to return music to such communities, one will have to seek a way for them to listen to the music one has given to them, even after one has left. It means that one may have to buy CD players or media players that will be suitable for their environment otherwise there would be no point in returning the music to people who cannot play that music which you have returned.

Many researchers have been visiting these places conducting research and many have made promises that they do not keep, while others visit to harvest data and leave the people in the state that they were before the researchers came. So when one visits those places the reception is very hostile towards one and, as such, makes it very difficult for one to do what one is meant to do. Thram talks to this matter, and she finds it unethical for researchers to benefit from the research when the people researched are left in the state they were in before or, sometimes, in a worse place than before. She writes,

> Why should researchers give back in this way? It is simple—data received from researched individuals and communities give the researcher what he/she need to write a thesis, get the necessary degrees and have a career as an ethnomusicologist or anthropologist. Surely this warrants a tangible return; ethnographic research among marginalized people requires an ethic of reciprocity. (Thram 2009, p. 295).

Thram further expresses her views on this matter as an engaged ethnomusicologist. She speaks to the concept of engaged ethnomusicology as an issue of professional ethics. She says, "For ethnomusicologists, this often requires seeking ways to sustain and/or revitalize the music culture of the musicians being researched that also generate income for musicians cooperating with the research underway" (Thram, 2009, p. 296). I am pleased that in my research project, the participants recorded, performed and released albums of the music they created through my research and they obtained some income from the sales of their CDs.

2.5 Opportunities for repatriation of ILAM recordings

Since ILAM started with a repatriation programme, funding has always been an issue. ILAM therefore had to find other ways to repatriate the music and have teamed up with researchers who have an interest in Hugh Tracey and the recordings that ILAM holds. We gave them the music and let them do the repatriations on our behalf. In that way we did not have to be there to return the music. That also benefited the researchers with their own studies, having something to give back to the people that may be of help to them even after the researchers have left. In the case of Jocelyn and Zack Moon, mentioned in Chapter 1, they witnessed people using the Hugh Tracey recordings in weddings, rituals and also learning how to play songs to the style in the recordings. They tell a story of a man who used the ILAM recordings of his late father at a memorial service of his mother. His father used to play a Karimba and, since there was no one in that area who could play it, he used the ILAM recordings instead. They also mentioned that some musicians used them when taking breaks at traditional ceremonies where the spirit mediums were present, and the medium would hear the change in the music and ask who is playing. However it was well received (interview 18 November 2017).

Thus, taking from these experiences there may be future opportunities for other repatriation projects and new ways of using the repatriated materials may be forged. When repatriating recordings, one cannot envision what the reactions of the recipients will be and what they will do with what they receive, which makes the research exciting because one would like to experience what happens as the people engage with the recordings, as evident in the case of Zack and Jocelyn. One of their experiences was that of musicians retuning their *mbiras* to the key on the ILAM recordings so that they could learn the style of playing, and to learn the style of playing by listening to the recordings made in other villages.

Chapter 3

Hugh Tracey, archives and their colonial legacy

This chapter is a discussion about ILAM as a living archive and library, Hugh Tracey and his colonial background and the apartheid legacies attached to both. The idea of the 'archive' is critical to the goals of this research as it has bearing on the role of the archive in fulfilling the desire of Hugh Tracey and to investigate the nature of archives in the context of a transforming South Africa. Susan Kozel (medea.mah.se 2012), of the Medea Project writes, "Our archives are the traces of our culture. They are repositories of our hopes and fears, our accomplishments and our failures as a society". This chapter departs from the conventional definitions of what archives are supposed to be, as seen in the context below:

> Most sound archives state that their principal aims or responsibilities are to collect, manage (i.e., organise, document), preserve and promote (i.e., provide access to or disseminate) their holdings. Some archivists have suggested that a kind of hierarchy within these various goals exists whereby the dissemination of its holdings is considered to be the most fundamental role of an archive (Landau & Topp Fargion 2012, p.133)

This chapter then focuses on a discussion in which pre-existing notions of the roles of archives are interrogated. For instance, in the past few years, several critics of Hugh Tracey and his legacy have appeared in book chapters (Brent Hayes Edwards, 2016), and two theses (Coetzee, 2014; Lobley, 2010) in the context of post-colonialist thinking. These critiques question the legitimacy and usefulness of ILAM because they are of the opinion that Hugh Tracey was an agent of colonialism and that he had benefited from this legacy. These presumptions are all based on his writings, field notes and other recorded texts. These questions and hypotheses paint one picture, which I have found problematic during my research and which, I believe, should not be the focus of Hugh Tracey's work. As the above-mentioned scholars' claims are based on only texts, I would like to visit their materials and through interviews with Hugh Tracey's son, Andrew

Tracey, who I asked to respond to some of the claims. These are not simply attempts to try and clear Hugh Tracey's name or make him appear a better person but to try and obtain a different and balanced perspective based on the era and recollections of Andrew Tracey and, on closer examination, of what Hugh Tracey actually said and did. In order to fully understand the history of ILAM one must have a clear understanding of it as an institution. The following section will elaborate on some of the labels placed on ILAM and the reality of its workings.

3.1 Archives and libraries

ILAM is known as an archive[12] but is called a library. After discussions with Andrew Tracey it is obvious that ILAM offers the services of both (Interview 22 November 2017). An archive is a place where historical records of an individual or an organisation that have been accumulated over a period of time are kept for purposes of research, preservation and posterity. Edmonson says,

> An audio-visual archive is an organization or department of an organization which has a statutory or other mandate for providing access to a collection of audio-visual documents and the audio-visual heritage by collecting, managing, preserving and promoting. (Edmonson 2004, p. 24)

He adds that "preservation is not an end in itself but a means to an end, which is permanent accessibility" (*ibid*.). Since archives have to accommodate different materials which deteriorate over time, they have to be purpose-built to preserve their holdings. Temperature and humidity control systems have to be put in place to delay the deterioration of the collections. The difference between an archive and a library is that an archive stores published and unpublished books, letters, audio and video recordings, photographs, and other documentation that may, or may not, be seen as useful, while a library stores published documents and other media. An online source describes

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[12] In *The Ambiguity of the Archive*, As Derrida pointed out, "Nothing is less clear today than the word 'archive.'" [Manoff 2002, p. 9]

libraries as follows,

> Libraries helped common people in their pursuit of knowledge by keeping thousands of important books on numerous subjects and literary works of great writers of the past and present. A library, though it has lost a bit of sheen today because of the internet, has always been useful as people went there to get the material they were looking for and satiated their thirst for knowledge. Students borrowed books from these libraries and even got important sections photocopied for their exams (www.differencebetween.com accessed 27 November 2017).

Libraries hold works that are published and available for communal scrutiny through public access whereas most archives are unable to function as places where people can gain access to information because their holdings are preserved in old formats which make it difficult to use. Many audio recordings in archives are on magnetic tape and other old formats, and to play them the archive must have the appropriate technology, which in most circumstances they do not. ILAM, however, does have the technology and stores materials dating from the early 20th century to relatively recently which the public can access due to the digitisation projects that have been implemented since 2002.

3.2 The living archive

Archives that strive to find ways of bridging the gap between them, as an institution, and serving the public by offering projects that will involve or benefit the public in one way or the other, can be viewed as living archives (Lin 2014). Lin, a linguist, writes of her project on language rejuvenation as an example of a 'living archive'. She says that in this living archive, "the notion of accessibility is expanded and achieved through engaging community members as primary shapers and users of the archives with the goal of sustaining and renewing their languages" (2014, p. 61). The archives of the Smithsonian Institute are a good example of a living archive. Through their publications, presentations, curations and digitisation, among other things, they manage to keep close contact with professionals and the general public (see https://siarchives.si.edu/). The Smithsonian serves the public in the USA and in other parts of the globe, and the

public has easy access to the holdings in the Smithsonian Institute. The two entities had established a partnership through which many forms of exchange are possible.

ILAM not only has documents, audio and video collections, but, together with the Kirby collection in Cape Town at the University of Cape Town, it also covers a good selection of largely southern African musical instruments, particularly the mbira. ILAM has used some of the instruments alongside the audio, video and photograph collections to create a travelling exhibition which is aimed at highlighting the ILAM collections and promoting African music and education, thus the creation of accompanying teaching materials for schools. This mobile exhibition is based on Hugh Tracey's motto, "For future generations", and is currently based at the Museum Africa in Johannesburg.

Lambrechts in her research sees ILAM as a "living archive" over a period of years through the efforts taken on by its directors. She highlights projects initiated by all the ILAM directors that keep the archive active thus making it a living archive. She writes about, and recognises the value, of various projects including Hugh Tracey's Codification and Textbook Project (1969), Thram's exhibition project called *For Future Generations* (2011) that has travelled around South Africa and Andrew Tracey's teaching, performance, research and workshop initiatives. Included in this research is a review of the Symposium on Ethnomusicology that provided an important platform for ethnomusicological scholars during the apartheid years (2012, p. 72).

Other efforts at making the archive a living space include courses offered through ILAM to different Departments at Rhodes University, such as the B.Ed. Foundation Phase teaching practice, instrumental music studies for undergraduate students and ethnomusicology classes offered for the music department. Doctoral students are supervised, and visitors come from far and wide. ILAM also engaged with the Red Location Museum curators to have on display the local legends of jazz in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, and outreach projects to record local artists, schools and community

projects. All the projects mentioned above are efforts at keeping the archive connected to the people around it and with the wider world of music in Africa thus making it a living archive. But why is the word 'archive' not used in the name, ILAM?

3.3 Origins of the name, ILAM

Hugh Tracey grew from being a self-taught researcher to becoming an academic and thus, at the establishment of ILAM in 1954, "he was convinced of the importance and value of the music to which he was exposed" (McConnachie 2008, p. 52). ILAM was established as a library of African music, not an archive and it was due to different circumstances that ILAM became an archive. His son, Andrew Tracey, says,

> I don't really know why he found that name but he had to find some sort of name and I am sure he didn't know himself exactly what ILAM would become. But it was a collection of recordings, to a certain extent of books, but mainly of his own recordings. He could have called it a discography, there could be other names, an institute or something but he chose to use the word library. I don't find anything unusual about that (Interview Andrew Tracey 22 November 2017).

Andrew continues,

> But whether you called it an archive would have meant that it was only one thing. It was a place to keep things safe but it was a library which people can come and learn from and you can collect into a library (*ibid*.)

As pointed out at the beginning of this section, ILAM is a multi-faceted institution and uses the holdings for many purposes. Indeed, as it continues to grow, greater changes may take place in future. As with most small institutions, their activities reflect their director's interests; this has been the case with ILAM's directors to date, which could perhaps be summarised in these one-word descriptions: collection, research, teaching, digitising, and outreach. The difference these days, and in keeping with the idea of a "living archive", is that decisions and future plans are decided upon on a collective basis

through which various stakeholders are consulted and included in ILAM's plans. One example is of ILAM working in collaboration with the Beating Heart project based in London. Founded by Christopher Peddley and Oliver Moira, their vision is to bring the ILAM field recordings into the present day by working with producers to build new compositions using the original field recordings. ILAM provides recordings made by Hugh Tracey from various African countries for their beat-making project and proceeds made from that are used to support community projects in those various places. One such project is the Access Music Project (AMP), a township-based Non-Profit Organisation (NPO) that is dedicated to teaching music to Grahamstown township school children.

3.4 For future generations

ILAM holds collections not only by Hugh Tracey but by other researchers as well. Many of them felt that their collections would be kept safely in an established archive and felt that their collections could be used for further research. The other researchers, including Dave Dargie, Jaco Kruger, Michael Drewett, John Blacking, Andrew Tracey and numerous others, continue to add to the value of ILAM and should dispel the idea that the library stores only music collected by Hugh Tracey. In addition, the small library has a valuable collection of books on mainly Africana. Since 2002, ILAM has managed to digitise most of its holdings, making them accessible to the public for research and other purposes such as the creation of commercial compilations on compact discs. One primary factor that causes archives not to digitise their holdings is a lack of funding. It costs a lot of money to hire professional staff and to purchase the necessary equipment and financial support is always required. Despite this challenge, in the process of improving accessibility it may be claimed that ILAM is being transformed into a living archive. Below, this development is explained in detail.

When ILAM started, Hugh Tracey planned to keep the collections safe for future generations, but his primary aim was to shine a spotlight on African music, making ILAM accessible to everyone who had an interest in African music (Interview Andrew Tracey

22 November 2017). He did not propose that the archive should remain a form of storage but rather that the holdings could form part of the core goals of education, music preservation and transmission. This is one reason for the establishment of the mobile exhibition entitled, "For Future Generations". Up to now, this exhibition has travelled to all the major centres, including Johannesburg and Durban, and even very small towns such as Mafikeng and Klerksdorp. The responses to this exhibition, which varied from enthusiasm to wonder, are an acknowledgement of Hugh Tracey's accomplishment and goals for African music.

3.5 ILAM in relation to other archives

In South Africa, there are a number of archives which store audio-visual collections. Among others, there are the National Archives and Records Service of South Africa which provide a service as public archives; the NAHECS Archives at the University of Fort Hare has audio-visual collections by a number of political parties in South Africa with the African National Congress (ANC) collection being the largest. ILAM was involved in digitising the ANC collection. The South African Broadcast Corporation (SABC)[13] houses more than one archive of recordings from television and radio broadcast material for preservation, rebroadcasting and research purposes. The Documentation Centre for Music in Stellenbosch, where the Africa Open Institute for Music, Research and Innovation is located, has several collections, one of which is the Hidden Years Music Archive Project (HYMAP) by David Marks, a collection of mainly unpublished recordings of music performances by various artists in South Africa. Many of the archives mentioned above are in the process of making their holdings accessible. Their efforts have many similarities with that of ILAM in that they too are working towards making their entire collections accessible in one way or the other.

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[13] In 2014 the SABC controversially sold popular television shows from the SABC's archive to Multichoice for R533 million.

3.6 Legitimacy of archives

In recent times, many of the museums and archives mentioned above and those around the globe have had to question their legitimacy in the context of a changing world and in the context of severe criticism of having enjoyed the spoils of colonialism. In South Africa, this criticism seems more severe due to the ideology of apartheid, which tarnished the image not only of archives established during that era, but also of much else achieved at that time. ILAM has suffered greatly from this legacy. Richards, an Associate Professor at Harvard University and author of "Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire", writes in Stoler (2002, p. 97), that "the archive is material and figurative, a metaphor of an unfulfilled but shared British imperial imagination". Stoler continues,

> Colonial archives were both sites of the imaginary *and* institutions that fashioned histories as they concealed, revealed, and reproduced the power of the state. Power and control, as many scholars have pointed out, is fundamental to the etymology of the term … "Factual storytelling," moralizing stories, and … make[ing] sense of which specific plots "worked" in the colonial archives as well (*ibid*.).

Like many other archives of music which obtained their recordings during colonial times, ILAM has been subject to critiques from various academic and commercial quarters. ILAM has to find ways to redefine and distance itself from this heritage as a place of research and interaction with scholars and the public at large. ILAM has to seek ways of decolonising the archive in the mind of the world. To achieve this goal, ILAM has to accept and acknowledge its past and has to actively engage in inviting the community to use its holdings. It must also participate in community projects and invite scholars from around South Africa and beyond to work in partnerships. But how does "decolonisation" work? Who decides on its character and how may it address the ills of the past? Apart from repatriation and revitalisation, one other possible answer lies in Manoff's observation. He writes,

> Whereas the colonial archive places the [British] administrator at the centre, surveying and

documenting foreign subjects, postcolonial literature places the former subjects at the centre and makes possible the exposure of the distortions and manipulations of the historical record (Manoff, 2004, p. 16).

Currently, as expanded upon earlier, ILAM is engaged in a large number of activities that are transforming the archive into a space that is participatory and centred towards serving the public. Hugh Tracey did amazing work under great pressure in recording African music throughout sub-Saharan Africa to create what is now considered the largest archive of African music in Africa. Notwithstanding his pioneering work, his methods of collection and fundraising may be viewed as that of a colonialist or as one who has gained through colonialism. Coetzee's view is that,

> Tracey was part of a mid-twentieth century movement which sought to marshal positive representations of traditional African culture in the interest of maintaining and strengthening colonial rule. While his recording project may have fostered inclusion through creating spaces for indigenous musicians to be heard, it also functioned to promote racist exclusion in the manner of its production, distribution and claims to expertise. Moreover, his initial strategy for ILAM's sustainability targeted colonial government and industry as primary clients, with the promise that promoting traditional music as a means of entertainment and self-expression for black subjects and workers would ease administration and reduce conflict (2014, np).

Andrew Tracey, reacts to this statement by saying,

> Colonial rule is something that my father as far as possible tried to disassociate himself from. He would never associate himself with the government or with politics. Interviews he did with politicians in northern countries were about African personality and culture and how that could be used and taught and developed. That was his interest (Interview Andrew Tracey 22 November 2017).

It appears that Hugh Tracey was caught in the web of apartheid rules regarding access and travel. Tracey had to choose between following the draconian rules or

being denied access to the music that he wanted to preserve and record. My view is that he chose to follow those rules and, indeed, rather than strengthening the colonial legacy, Tracey, subverted it by surrounding himself with African musicians and presenting their music as something of value. At the time, colonial administrators and missionaries had denounced traditional African music. Hugh Tracey's role was therefore in opposition to that which was expected of a white man in Africa. Unfortunately, the language that he used is currently viewed as part and parcel of the colonial approach to looking down upon black people. Again, I think that this is due to issues relating to the era that he was born into and the language use that he was taught. Words such as "natives" are often used in his radio shows when he presented for the SABC. His actions, however, say the opposite and those actions are often ignored by the critics. In addition, what Coetzee claims is denied by his son. With regard to Coetzee's claim that Tracey called himself an expert, I think one has to realise that Tracey was speaking on behalf of the musicians and did not claim that he was the master musician, but may have sounded like the expert. There was no one else speaking publicly about this music at the time because, in many instances in sub-Sahara Africa, music was an activity that was performed rather than theorised. There would also not have been anyone speaking especially in the English language, and thus his lone voice may be misinterpreted as claiming its own importance. With reference to Coetzee's claims of the apartheid and colonial governments and industry being the primary clients, Andrew responds,

> Yes he had to get money. Who has money? The government has money, businesses have money, foundations have money and so those are the people he asked for money. Now is that necessarily a wrong thing (*ibid.*)?

Tracey operated in social contexts which were structured primarily in terms of the privileges of class and race. Many of his opinions may be attributed to the times in which he lived. His project was positioned within, and oriented towards, a political

system based on racial inequality and it took advantage of his class and of those he recorded, among whom there were many migrant workers trapped in the growing urban slums. Coetzee uses the term "whiteness" which she describes as what "frequently stereotypes black people as primitive and wild, thus depicting 'them' as violent and sexually promiscuous, as well as immature" (2014, pp. 1-3). She says that although Tracey,

> ... focused on music – which is generally figured as promoting peace rather than war – Tracey's project had clear connections with whiteness as violence. Besides the symbolic violence apparent in many of his constraining (and often demeaning) representations of blackness, Tracey was an agent of mining companies and colonial governments, and was directly associated with systems which relied upon routine coercion and force for their daily maintenance (2014, p. 4).

Andrew refutes this. He says,

> I think if you'd been there at the time you would've found out how Dad (Hugh Tracey) was always promoting African personality, African culture, African talent, African music, pointing out the high degree of musicianship that existed in Africa, the huge variety of interesting instruments there are and how important music was for African life (Interview 22 November 2017.).

Coetzee's observation is echoed by B.H Edwards (2016, pp. 270-271), who describes how "Tracey's orientation is based on a claim that ethnomusicology can somehow remain unsullied by politics" while he gained material support and access through colonial administrations. Thus he has been "complicit with the colonial enterprise". This involvement, they say, is legible in Tracey's notes, with his various acknowledgements of "the kindness of Portuguese friends" in Lourenco Marques (Maputo) and elsewhere, or his gratitude for the lodging and support provided by a network of district commissioners and colonial administrators (*ibid*.). Andrew Tracey reacts,

It could possibly have something to do with the fact that when dad was recording in certain African areas he would usually go to the local administration first. That was only common sense because if you didn't do that you could easily be arrested and people wouldn't know what is he doing there? Is he trying to stir up politics but that was exactly what he was trying not to do. He just wanted to get the permission to be there and then keep fully away from politicians who always interfere (Interview 22 November 2017).

Andrew continues,

You have to have passes like you need passports to cross borders. You have to follow what everyone is doing at that time otherwise you do not achieve anything. I mean I think my dad achieved a fantastic amount in a difficult condition that he had to work with (*ibid*.).

These conditions stretched from dealing with difficult authorities to coping with extreme recording circumstances. The circumstances included sometimes having to deal with terrible weather conditions and terrain, disease and having to hire different sound engineers because they could not handle the pressure of working in the field. Lobley acknowledges Tracey's recording techniques and the relationship between recorder and musician. He says,

Tracey also recognized the value of collaboration when creating the best recordings, attempting where possible to work with local experts in order to endorse the quality of the recording. He claimed that his own experience with African musicians, and Chopi people in particular 'shows that we can achieve a high degree of co-operation between recorder and musician once they are allowed to hear the finished products and realize for themselves the effect which is desired'. The sheer complexity of Chopi *timbila* music meant that Tracey's microphone placement was crucial and a successful field recording could even grant the listener a perspective close to that of the composer himself. (Lobley, 2010, p. 185).

He furthers says, "Tracey employed a system of selective microphone focusing in order to follow what he decided was the most important musical aspect of a given performance" (p. 187). As a sound engineer, it is my view that if you have some level of

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understanding of the music you are recording you will be able to get the best out of it. Using one microphone, the technology of the time, while recording a big group requires a level of planning so that you capture it in a way that will give the best representation of the music that you are recording, and that practice is the same as that of engineers up to now. I have had a chance to listen to almost all the recordings Hugh Tracey made and, in my view, their quality and balance are outstanding, and that is due to his relationship with the musicians and his microphone technique. Hugh Tracey's relationship with the musicians extended to his relationship with the music. He stated in his talk, *The Evolution of African music and its function in the present day*, that

> We should collect and treasure as large and representative a selection of authentic African folk music as possible to act as a point of reference for future generations as valid in music as the bronzes of Ife are to the modern sculptures of Nigeria (1961, n.p.).

Edwards states that "it is unclear what Tracey envisioned by the phrase 'act as a point of reference,' especially with regard to future generations of African musicians" (2016: p. 274). Andrew said in his response,

> It is not 'unclear' what Hugh Tracey meant by "a point of reference", but absolutely clear – something that all Africans, from around Africa and from the future, can refer to. To create a firm base of knowledge to start from. To separate the known from guesswork about the unknown. To give Africans a base from which to say 'This is who we are', the self-knowledge necessary for proper psychological growth that colonialism obliterated.

Edwards continues, "Did he really expect that a contemporary singer from Katanga in the central Congo would have the resources to make the trip to Grahamstown in South to consult recordings Tracey had made in Kananga in the late 1950s?" As the sound engineer at ILAM currently, I would like to respond to that. It should be noted that ILAM was not based in Grahamstown in the 1950s and, at the time that Edwards wrote this article, the entire Hugh Tracey collection had been digitised. In fact, after they had been digitised, ILAM began looking for ways to make them even more accessible so that

people do not need to travel to Grahamstown to gain access to them. We are now able to provide access to the recordings through the ILAM website, links for downloads and various other platforms. In addition, through ILAM repatriation projects ILAM is able to repatriate recordings to places where people do not have access to the internet and other means of playing back the recordings. Since many people own cell phones, tracks have and can be copied onto their devices and, in other places, ILAM has supplied media players for the people to hear the music. Therefore, comments made by these various researchers are not always factually correct.

Hugh Tracey's intention to use and share the music that he recorded was often thwarted by circumstances out of his control, largely the lack of funding. However, the objective of his music collecting was mainly geared towards the music being recognised as being equal in value and creativity to the mainstream Western styles popular during his lifetime. He intended for the music recordings to be played for people to listen to and appreciate. I believe that my research project is a continuation of Hugh Tracey's intentions and that using the recordings I have chosen, can in some way, fulfil his musical ambitions.

As I mentioned, I work at ILAM and many people have asked me how I felt about the fact that ILAM was established by a man who is viewed by many, in retrospect, as a colonialist. My response has always been that if Hugh Tracey had not taken his time and made it his life mission to record this music we would not have this archive and we would have lost a great part of our history and heritage. I do not care what he was because I cannot change it. I can merely be grateful for the music he preserved. McConnachie shares her view of Hugh Tracey saying that,

> There is no documentation to suggest that Tracey had any involvement with the apartheid government of the time or that he coerced mineworkers into performing for these purposes. His son Andrew notes (interview 3 August 2007) that Hugh clearly explained his reasons for recording the music and dance to the performers (2008, p. 58).

During one of the interviews that I conducted with Andrew Tracey (5 December 2017) he again reiterated this view, saying,

> HT was in fact one of the earliest *anti*-colonialists, deploring the effects of Western attitudes in religion, education, music, governance and ignoring the existence of African values. Supposedly 'enlightened' modern thinkers only see that he lived during colonial times and wrote in the style of his times. Therefore it is politically correct to tar his work and find reasons to doubt it.

But, as mentioned earlier, ILAM, and thus Hugh Tracey, was not the only archive that was tarred with the colonial brush. Manoff states that archives were established as political tools to gain power over territories. She gives an example of the use of the

> British colonial archive for the window it provides on the workings of the British Empire. In addition, the investigation of this archive provides a way to explore the relationship between information gathering and political power (2004, p. 15).

She further states that "recording and documenting the empire was a way to bolster feelings of colonial power, even in the absence of full control of vast geographic territories" (p. 15). ILAM has now inherited this legacy but, like many other legacies, it is also rather privileged as it is provided an opportunity to harness this legacy for a future common good. To quote Stoler, a renewed mission at ILAM, with repatriation as a key activity, enables one to critically reflect on the making of new knowledge and how archives are used, not as sites of knowledge retrieval, but of knowledge production, as monuments of states as well as sites of state ethnography. Further, in this context repatriation could signal a "more sustained engagement with those archives as cultural artefacts of fact production, of taxonomies in the making, and of disparate notions of what made up colonial authority." (2002, pp. 90-91). Jacques Derrida, in Manoff argues, "[T]here is no political power without control of the archive, if not memory. Effective democratization can always be measured by this essential criterion: the participation in and access to the archive, its constitution, and its interpretation." (2004, p. 9) In this

regard ILAM is integrally involved in Rhodes University's goals of transforming the curriculum, in its own teaching and research, and decolonising through community outreach. The archive plays a large role in the development of new educational materials.

Archives can certainly be used for many negative things; to support different agendas, however, one cannot avoid the fact that despite any negative, doubtful political agendas, archives hold materials that are invaluable. ILAM can be viewed as one such archive. Although many archives have connections to the colonial era, they have collections that are of value to the times that we live in. There is no question that the music stored at ILAM can benefit the descendants and future generations of recorded musicians. In this chapter I discussed various examples of how music has been repatriated and in some cases, how repatriation has benefitted people who revitalised the music that was shared. In the following chapter I describe how I add to this growing collection of knowledge through my own project.

Chapter 4

The beginnings of the research

This chapter describes the development and history of this project, which was based on efforts towards revitalising Hugh Tracey recordings of isiXhosa indigenous music with the focus being on working with Grahamstown poets and musicians. In 2014, during meetings of a social nature in Grahamstown, I met with several of my musician friends and discussed the ideas I had regarding what was a proposed project at the time. As the Eastern Cape is predominantly an amaXhosa region, most of these contacts are of amaXhosa origin. I told them about the Hugh Tracey recordings of isiXhosa music at ILAM and that I would like to involve them in a repatriation project starting with traditional Eastern Cape content, because of the fact that ILAM is based in this province. Everyone that I spoke to was very interested in the idea and was enthusiastic to the point of being insistent about it. They wanted to start the project immediately. This positive reaction led to me organising meetings at both ILAM and Fingo Location, Grahamstown, in January 2015, to formalise the project, give participants the actual recordings and plot the way forward.

During the development of the project several issues surfaced which changed some aspects of the research as well as the manner in which I approached the orientation of the revitalisation. In this chapter, I will carefully outline these issues and discuss their outcomes. What was apparent through my interactions with Fingo Festival and the participants was that the results of this project would be affected by key roles or factors which include:

1. The relationship between producer/beatmaker and artists
2. Sampling
3. Rhythmic complexity
4. The use of technology

Before I proceed, I would like to clarify the following terminologies. I believe that since they sit in the middle of our discussion in the following chapter it is important to clarify them.

4.1 Producer and beatmaker

These days there is a debate as to what a producer and a beatmaker is and what the difference between the two is. King (2010) reacts to this issue and does that by writing what he considers three rules that define a producer and says if you have not done them then you are not a producer,

> RULE NUMBER ONE: If you have never spent at least three days locked up in a studio, with no sleep and shit load of Cuban coffee, you are probably not a producer. RULE NUMBER TWO: If you haven't worked on a snare for about two hours just to get it to sounding tight, you are definitely not a producer, RULE NUMBER THREE: If you've never argued with a stubborn artist half the night over how they should sing the hook you wrote, well, dawg, you are by no means a producer. (n.p.)

I will explain what a producer is and what a beatmaker is and why these terms have caused a debate.

4.1.1 Producer

A producer has always been known as someone who is acquainted with, and understands, the music industry well (King, 2010). They are in tune with what the public wants to hear and what kind of music is popular at a certain point in time. An artist will present a song to the producer, and the producer then oversees the financing, creative direction, target market and final packaging of this song or album. This means that the producer assumes the role of a director and makes most decisions about the song. For example, if a producer does not like the arrangement of the song or does not like the way the drums are played in the song, he or she will change it; if the producer does not like the way the vocals are done in the song, they will be changed. Apollo Brown, a

North-American producer in an interview for the "Fresh" show hosted by DJ Sanchez on the radio station 92.7, Adelaide, South Australia says,

> I'm a producer, I see a project through from start to finish. Whether it's just a song or whether it's an album, I have my hand in every piece of the puzzle, every facet of what is going on. I see it through until the end all the way until it's turned in -after mastering and the art work, on to manufacturing, I see it through. I produce the material (YouTube 31 January 2017).

To be the producer does not mean that one has to sing or play any instrument but one needs to be responsible for finding and paying the performers who will do so. One is responsible for taking the song from creation to release, making important decisions along the way, thus others call them 'record producers'.

4.1.2 The beat and the beatmaker

The term "beat" is used continually in this thesis and its meaning needs to be clarified. "Beat" is another term for the backing track of the piece or the non-vocal part of a song. Singers, poets and rappers will perform over the beat, which is composed by the "beatmaker". The beatmaker is the person who is responsible for making the beat or the song, often being commissioned by a producer or an artist. The beatmaker may be called a programmer or even a composer. The beatmaker has the final say in the creation of the beat and creates a beat in his studio or bedroom; the artist will hear it as a completed product. The beatmaker is not involved with the production, with writing the lyrics of the song or with the artist in person – all he does is create what is called a "beat". Beat creation nowadays is done by beatmakers who use a computer and music-making software. Most beatmakers do not know how to play any musical instruments and often use sampling, sequencing and turntables to create their beat. On some occasions they will find musicians who can play live instruments for them. Some beatmakers take up the role of sound engineer, which means they do not make decisions for the producer, they simply record the artist singing or rapping and create

the final product. Söderman and Folkestad (2004) say, "In professional hip-hop recordings, the one who makes the beats is called *producer*. In this amateur context, we call the composer, creator and arranger of the music the *beatmaker*" (p. 325).

At times there is a debate as to whether or not beatmakers are involved in the final production of a piece, thus in some ways taking on the role of the producer. They often say that they have created the beat and that makes them producers as well. These kinds of arguments have caused confusion in the hip-hop industry, in my experience, to a level where some take offense when they are called beatmakers and not producers. Ongidaro, who has created almost all the beats for my informants considers himself a producer and refuses to be called a beatmaker. For some hip-hop artists, the words "beatmaker" and "producer" are the same thing. They both create beats and so they should be labelled the same. It must be noted that in my personal experience, beatmakers do not get involved in the business side of music creation, which the producer should be integrally involved in.

4.2 The recordings

The recordings that I chose to work with were made by Hugh Tracey between 1947 and 1957 in the Eastern Cape. As mentioned above, I specifically chose these tracks because I knew that I wanted to work with people close to ILAM for both logistical and community reasons. These tracks consist of indigenous isiXhosa recordings which use vocals, including *umngqokolo*[14], and instruments such as the *uhadi*[15], *umrhube*[16], *igubu*.[17] Most recordings include rhythmic accompaniment in the form of clapping. Thus the music represents a traditional and indigenous isiXhosa music form, in most circumstances free from much Western musical influence and representative of amaXhosa music ideals such as complex rhythmic structures, various vocal techniques,

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[14] *umngqokolo is a Xhosa throat singing*
[15] *Uhadi* is a Xhosa musical bow.
[16] *Umrhube* is a Xhosa musical mouth bow.
[17] *Igubu* is a Xhosa traditional drum.

call and response and the heptatonic harmonic structure. Each participant received the same content and was issued with 201 tracks from 16 albums which are all from the *Sound of Africa Series* compiled by Hugh Tracey and published in 1963. Although 201 tracks may sound excessive, it is my belief that repatriation is not selective and that when repatriation takes place it must be of the entire collection, rather than only a few selected recordings. In addition, I did not want to limit the participants' creativity by my bias towards certain tracks.[18]

4.3 The instructions

I was deliberately ambiguous regarding my instructions to the participating artists even though the instructions were simple. I had wanted to see how these instructions would be interpreted. I stated that the recordings belong to the amaXhosa people, their people, and as such, they had every right to use the music in any way they pleased. I also said that because they were working artists, making music and poetry in different genres, I hoped that they would use the tracks in any way to produce something that would be beneficial, both financially and musically, to themselves. Finally, I asked that I could be part of their creative endeavour. I had wanted to record both the process and the music. The musicians welcomed this freedom and my request.

Although I never, as stated before, forced the musicians participating in my research to think of this project as a way to revitalise the music, it was my hope that the music would be an instrument to create new material, no matter what style it was in. It is my understanding, as clearly outlined in Chapter 2, that revitalisation is not expressly for the purposes of recreating the traditional style of music that was recorded in the distant past, but rather, to reinvigorate the music-making in the community in which the project is taking place. I believe that the tracks are more of a reference point. Hugh Tracey was thinking ahead of his time when making recordings of the indigenous music of Africa when he wrote,

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[18] Please refer to www.ru.ac.za/ilam/searches in order to listen to 30 second sound bite examples.

It is … of the greatest consequence to our work that intelligent African men and women shall have access to these recordings and, having absorbed with keen attention the complexities which they represent from the social, linguistic, poetic, physical and musical points of view, that they express their opinions of the value of distributing such a collection as a contribution towards their intellectual maturity (1959b, pp. 1-2).

His comment regarding the continuity of styles rings true. The artists are drawn to the music because it is part of their heritage, not because they want to recreate it. In light of this, in my research I could have given them any style of music from the ILAM archive, but I decided to give the musicians their music, the music of the amaXhosa, because this style of music is important to their development as individuals, their ownership of their heritage, and it is an important part of the repatriation project spear-headed by ILAM. Due to the racially divided history of South Africa and despite current efforts to open the archive, these musicians did not even know that these recordings existed nor the idea that they could have access to them. Adon Geel, a hip-hop producer, said to me in an interview, "There was no place I could go to find traditional music to sample for my music so I depended on the American sounds even though they were not African" (Interview 6 July 2016). Yakim, a friend of his and a rapper, says, "Exposure to the music has always been a problem to us because we did not have access to the music and so we could not engage with it the way we would have liked" (Interview 6 July 2016). In addition, the material is either stored in places which the musicians deem as inaccessible or they did not even know that it was available to them. Thus repatriating this music was a very exciting move even though it was not necessarily to the recording artists themselves, but rather to a receptive audience.

4.4 Finding the participants

As a musician in Grahamstown and the sound engineer at ILAM, I was well placed to find participants for my research project. At the beginning of my research, I decided to give the music to anyone I could find who was a local musician or performance artist and

who was interested in being a part of the project. The hope was that that they would find the music interesting and that it would spark their creativity.

I decided to team up with the Fingo Festival. Fingo Festival is a local organisation that is devoted to the arts in Grahamstown and is a platform that promotes social cohesion and social transformation within Fingo Township.[19] Fingo Festival works with local musicians and other artists to create spaces for the artists to perform their music, drama or other genres. They organise spaces for dialogue and interaction where artists come together and discuss issues and problems that they come across. Within these spaces the organisers try to devise a way of engaging and promoting their arts. The Fingo Festival is also very active during the National Arts Festival (NAF), which is held in Grahamstown at the end of June every year. At the NAF they organise free shows for local people who cannot afford to pay for them. Through Fingo Festival I managed to meet groups like "Wordsuntame", a local band that plays Afropop music, *"Imini esisdenge"*[20] a local group of artists who perform to music original poetry in isiXhosa. I also met poets like Akhona, Adon Geel, Yakim, Ithala lenyaniso and Nqontsonqa, who I will refer to in the next chapter. In addition, I met Hip-hop artists such as Azlan Makhalima, and many other musicians who I thought would be a good fit with my research.

On several occasions, I conducted interviews with these musicians where I explained to them what the research project was about and to find out if they knew much about ILAM and the traditional music stored there. As mentioned before, they knew little about ILAM but had knowledge about Andrew Tracey and that he was involved with the library. I then invited them to visit ILAM. They agreed to come and none of them

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[19]Fingo Village is a township of Grahamstown which is home to thousands of amaXhosa people. The majority of people staying at Fingo Village are unemployed and the standard of living is very poor thus the need for transformation.

[20] *Imini esisdenge* is a Xhosa phrase which means that, that special day will arrive for us. It is a group of poets who come together every week to share their poetry and they support each other as individuals during concerts and also perform together as a group to uplift Xhosa poetry.

showed any sign of negativity towards the invitation. I did not expect all of them to welcome the invitation based on how others perceived ILAM as a symbol of colonialism. Afterwards, I gave them the chosen recordings and challenged them to create their own music using these tracks.

4.5 Feasibility of the research

After having given the music to a variety of artists and having challenged them to use the music, I then realised that for me to obtain feasible results for my research project I needed to focus my research on one or two genres of music rather than divide my attention over many music styles. I decided to concentrate my research on performance poets and hip-hop artists because they were the ones who embraced the project and showed more interest than all the other artists combined. It is important to note that the poets consider themselves to be musicians as music is an integral part of the performance.

Since ILAM is situated in Grahamstown, I started inviting the poets and hip-hoppers to come and discover what is available for artists and also to use it as a resource centre. After that we had an influx of local musicians who were participants in my research, also visiting and using ILAM facilities. I gave the music to over 20 musicians who were excited to receive it. I gave the music to musicians from Grahamstown, King William's Town, Queenstown, East London and Port Elizabeth, and I asked them to let me know when they were working with the music so that I could visit them to see what they were doing. I also said that if they were not comfortable with me being there when they were working, they could contact me after they had started creating something so that I could be part of that process. That is when a number of artists I was working with dropped out. It is not surprising to have musicians drop out of projects because, as one explains the project, they seem to be understanding what is expected of them until they start working on it, and that is where they realise that they did not understand or they simply cannot do what is asked of them. Thus the artists that I ended up with, and who were an

integral part of the project such as Nqontsonqa, Akhona Mafani, Ithala Ienyaniso, Ongidaro, Adon Geel and Yakim, showed interest in the music, and I found it manageable to work with them as I did not have to follow them around to obtain results. An important occurrence that guided my final choice of participant was a workshop that was held for me by the Fingo Festival manager and this is described below.

4.6 Fingo Festival music-making workshop and outcomes

Xolile Madinda, who is the founder and one of the organisers of the Fingo Festival was very instrumental in this project. Every time there was a Fingo Festival workshop or a dialogue of any nature he would play the ILAM recordings that we had earmarked for my research as ambient music to see how the people would react to it. He would then ask them what they thought about the music he was playing and through that exercise we gathered many interesting reactions. The first reaction by the people was to ask the question: where did you get this music from? Other people started telling their stories about their experiences relating to the music. Others recalled memories of their childhood with grandparents singing the same songs or songs that sounded similar to the ones being played. Most would talk about hearing the music at traditional ceremonies. This lead me to think that there are currently not many places where this kind of music is played anymore and if this music were to be played in more places where young people gather, that would give it more exposure. And it is my opinion, that if young people hear traditional music more often, they will not find it foreign to their ears and will be able to relate to it more intimately. When I discussed this point with the musicians, they agreed with me. The first musician who found this music difficult to work with was Dezz. He said that he found it difficult to engage with the music because he did not understand it. Other musicians, Ongidaru and Nqontsonqa, also found it difficult but they continued with their efforts until they had a product. It was in this process that they reported that had they taken part in events and places where this style of traditional music was performed, they would have obtained a better

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understanding and it would make their interactions with the music easier. I will expand upon this statement in the next chapter.

Through Fingo Festival we organized a dialogue and workshop at the National Arts Festival in 2016 with an emphasis on traditional music. Only one workshop at that time had been conducted during the National Arts Festival at Fingo Village. People who attended the workshop were mostly hip-hop artists from Grahamstown and other neighbouring towns such us Port Elizabeth, Queenstown, Peddie and King William's Town. The focus was on how to incorporate traditional music into their contemporary styles, how to sample traditional music and to give access to the music. Through this workshop we managed to have more musicians involved in the research project and were able to establish contact with them so that we could follow up to see what they had done with the music that was given to them.

Yakim took charge as the facilitator of the workshop, and he explained to the artists that the music housed at ILAM was being given to them to use as they wanted as part of the research project and beyond. He also mentioned to the musicians that he did not know before that a place such as ILAM existed. Had he known, he would have been using the recordings that were housed there. He and many other hip-hop musicians sample their music from American and other Western music, and because of that their music fails to reach the people that they would like to reach, namely amaXhosa people or people who relate to the traditional music styles.

4.7 Copyright issues for amaXhosa hip-hoppers

At this workshop issues relating to copyright emerged. Copyright has always been a problem for artists who are situated far from creative centres such as Johannesburg and Cape Town, because permission must be sought to use the Western tracks that they sample and on many occasions artists do not know where to obtain permission, or do not have the administrative support to follow through the entire process. Copyright

permission must be obtained from the owner of the material in order to use it for any profitable endeavour. Copyright must be obtained through bodies such as the South African Music Rights Organisation (SAMRO), the Recording Industry of South Africa (RISA) and other copyright authorities. The process is difficult and intricate. It was mentioned at the workshop that much of the music that the artists were producing was not receiving air play due to the fact that the copyright permissions were not properly administered. Yakim wisely pointed out that now that they have been given access to traditional music that they could use without having to worry about issues such as copyright, it would make their music-making easier. This is due to the fact that most traditional music is copyright free due to archaic laws relating to indigenous knowledge and, in some cases, because the copyright has expired and the music has fallen into the public domain. All the artists present were in agreement to what Yakim was saying, especially about copyright. They all wanted to know what we were aiming to gain from them by giving them this music, so I explained that this is the music of their forefathers that now belongs to them to use as they want. I explained that all I wanted was to follow them as they used the music and that I wanted to see what they managed to create using these tracks.

4.8 Workshop outcomes

As mentioned above, the workshop was aimed at creating a space for musicians to share their experiences and the problems they encountered when working with traditional music. Before the workshop started musicians were asked to state what their expectations for the workshop were. It was there where they raised their concerns about the music. Musicians found it hard to work with the traditional music because they have not been exposed to it before. They argued that the structure of African music is different to what they are used to. Time signatures in African music do not work in structures like the music they normally sample, so it was difficult to pick a snippet of the music that they liked and then use it in their new music. Software they are using is based on Western ways of music-making and the musicians felt that they were

compromising the African music when they cut the music to make it fit in with the Western styles. This interaction with the music highlighted the fact that although the musicians felt they knew African music, it was not until they worked with it that they realised how much they had to learn, and how much they did not know.

It seemed that the approach of all the musicians at the workshop was to make African music adapt to their style of composition rather than trying to explore a different way of making music. African traditional music does not necessarily follow the rules of Western music. In a Western composition, the time signature plays a very important role as it helps to give a solid, balanced foundation/structure. However, in African traditional music the time signature does not have a significant role. In African music there is usually a feel of more than one beat (that is, a time signature) at the same time; in Western music one beat usually dominates (Dargie 2018, unpublished)

> The notion of time in music is conspicuously different in western and in African music. In western music musical time is conceived as something divisible: 1 breve = 2 semibreves = 4 minims = 8 crotchets = 16 quavers = 32 semiquavers, and so on. Thus in western music time is treated as something passive, something which can be carved up into segments. In African music time operates in a different way. Musical time is built up, not divided. For example, when the renowned Xhosa *uhadi* bow player and music leader, Nofinishi Dywili, began an unaccompanied song, she would first set the time by clapping. Then her voice part would be built onto that active time set up by her body movement. Body movement – clapping, dance or whatever, provides the underlying active time which inspirits Xhosa music *(Ibid.)*.

It becomes difficult for the hip-hop musicians who have always used Western ways of music-making to engage with indigenous music, and sample it in to the kind of music they make. An essentialised "African way" therefore would be of making music based more on how a musician felt than that of following set rules. So if the African music does not fit in with the music they are making, they do not know how else to make it work. Instead they see it as something that does not work. In other words, if the rhythmic

structure of the indigenous music varies within the piece, it will not fit into the rigid Western rhythmic structure of the hip-hop music that the Grahamstown musicians deal with on a daily basis.

Adon Geel, who was one of the workshop facilitators, shared with the musicians how he managed to make indigenous African music work with his compositions despite the points they raised. He demonstrated his technique to them by using one of the tracks supplied: (TR063-09) *Mama ndaswelindawo ngendaba*, "Mama I lack accommodation on account of the news", a *Mtshotsho* dance song for boys and girls recorded in 1957, sung by a Gcaleka girl playing a *Mrhube* mouth bow and whistling. Adon Geel then explained the process, from when he selected the track to when he finalised his composition. First, he had to listen to it extensively to familiarise himself with the music. He then identified the snippet that would drive the music, laid it into the tracks, built the music around it, cut it into smaller pieces and moved it around until he obtained the kind of sound he wanted. The use of that extract of music in the creation of a song is known as 'sampling'. He explained to the musicians present at the workshop that, like them, he agreed that his way of song creation compromised some elements of the indigenous African music but it highlights this point: when you create a song you have an idea in mind which does not necessarily coincide with that of the original track. So you decide which route to follow, fitting music to spaces available, cutting, extending, and changing ideas. I understood his message to mean that as one makes a song, the sample one uses may not fit in the space allocated for it and, as a result, it needs to be cut, or the sample space extended, to fit. Thus the result thereof is that the initial idea has been altered. The musicians found this advice inspirational and, because many of them are not trained musically, the advice was very helpful to the lay musician. Adon completed his presentation by playing the track that he created in front of the group (see Video 1).

The workshop was valuable because there we managed to give the music back to artists and also met others like Akhona Mafani and Ithala lenyaniso who became very instrumental in my research. In addition, the discussion about copyright made the artists aware of the benefits of using the ILAM tracks provided for them. It also managed to create awareness about the existence of ILAM and what it represents. A number of artists had mentioned that they struggled finding people that could create beats for them, and through this workshop we managed to link artists with one other.

Figure 3. Tru FM radio interview. From left Elijah, Adon Geel, Yakim and Tru Sence.

(Photo by E.M. Madiba, 9/07/2016)

4.9 Tru FM, a radio station experience

One of the other connections that was made through the Fingo Festival was with Tru FM, a radio station based in King William's Town which broadcasts to listeners in the Eastern Cape. Prior to the workshop we spoke with "True Sence", a DJ at Tru FM and made

arrangements with him to host us on his hip-hop programme, bearing the same name. The programme was aired on the day of the workshop. We had a 30 minute slot where we were able to announce to the listeners about the ILAM repatriation project and also invited artists to take part in a competition that was to be managed by the radio station. We were given a chance to play some of the tracks we brought and True Sense, a Hip-hop artist himself, announced how the competition would run. He announced we were planning a beat-making competition hosted by the station where beatmakers would be given about 5 tracks (TR013-06 *Inkulu into ezakwenzeka*, "Something very bad is going to happen", TR013-12 *Salime ugamadoda*, "Malicious desertion", TR028-10 *Mtshawzo*, "To dance", TR030-02 *Iintombi zipelile*, "The girls are finished", and TR031-04 *Somagwaza*, "Father of the stabbing". All these songs were recorded in the Eastern Cape Province, South Africa in 1957. Musicians were to take these songs from the ILAM archive, select suitable samples and make their beats out of them. The second round would be that the winning tracks would be given to rappers, from the Eastern Cape, to record over them and then the tracks would be played for the public to choose the winner. All this was done to let people know that the traditional music is available and can be used in the creation of new material. The winner would have had an opportunity to record their material at the ILAM studio.

I created a link that was made available to the artists interested in participating in the competition to download the tracks (https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/10s7EntLcJ2KgOIiPJk1i3Dbm4AMoaemA?usp=sharing). I found it very exciting to collaborate with the radio station because we suddenly felt that the research project was going to reach people from all over the Eastern Cape. Although we tried on several occasions to have this transpire, Tru FM did not follow through. The links, however, were already made through ILAM, thus this part of the project had to be abandoned. I still believe that as the repatriation project is ongoing that radio could have a very important role in reaching out to many people in the Eastern Cape. In future I will visit local radio stations to discuss this project with them to see if we can run a similar competition through them and to see if there are

other ways of reaching out to people in order to repatriate ILAM tracks. In the next section, I would like to provide the following definitions as the ensuing discussion about the processes inside the studio and the results of the project requires knowledge of these terms.

4.10 Rhythmic complexity of African traditional music and its effect on revitalization

As mentioned earlier, African traditional music is not bound to Western Art music conventions and is driven by how the performers feel at a given point in time, which contributes, in turn, to the freedom of arrangement. The performers feed from the audience and if the audience responds in a lively manner this will make the musicians perform in a corresponding way. The interactions between performer and the audience affect the shape and structure of the song. This has been a challenge for the musicians engaging with the isiXhosa music that I presented to them. While many were having trouble with keeping the feel or the integrity of the song when sampling or just using the music, others struggled with it because they were not secure with the polyrthymic nature of the music. Rycroft explained the structure of amaXhosa music and says,

> Among the Nguni it seems to be particularly a Xhosa refinement for the words of dance-songs to pursue a largely independent phrasing of their own. On first hearing, it is easy to attend fully either to the words or to the claps, but it is difficult to grasp a connection between the two. One's first impression is that stressed syllables are placed on off-beats, between the hand-claps, and unstressed syllables on the beat. But it soon becomes apparent that word syllables seldom coincide exactly with any clap, or with any convenient subdivisions of the hand-clap meter – that is, if, as a Westerner, one expects the onset of the vowel to be the coincident feature. This seemingly 'near miss' placement is not haphazard, however, but is likely to be repeated with exactitude by the singer with each repetition. (Rycroft, 1971, p. 239-40)

In nearly similar vein, Dargie (2018 unpublished) mentions one of the structural issues with amaXhosa music. He says "Xhosa uses of rhythm disguise created problems for musicologists for a long time. One problem was the non-coincidence of voice and body

rhythm beats. The simplest Thembu Xhosa form of clap delay technique, which leads to this non-coincidence of beats". Similarly, in an interview Ongidaro said,

> I never knew where the song was going, it seemed all over the place for me. Like I said before I am from a place where we sample from the American tracks like the O'Jays you know, we grew up in the nineties even though it was not the O'Jays era we still heard that a lot and had access to it. We sample music that has strings, keyboards, synths, all that, so you know automatically when you sample that you know what to do. You do not work much, half the time the beat just makes itself and you just add a few things like drums and you make the bass a bit harder but with these tracks it is almost like you are working with acapella and are expected to bring them to life (Interview 31 March 2017).

Beatmakers in Grahamstown have been content with using one style of doing things, which is sampling from Western style music, and therefore when they have to work with other styles of music, it becomes difficult for them. It was also clear to me that a lack of exposure to indigenous African music affected the beatmakers involved in this project.

4.11 Technology and revitalisation

These musicians understood the music but struggled with maintaining the integrity of the music because of the software. As I visited the beatmakers I found that all of them use "Fruity Loops" software, which they say was easy to use especially when working with samples. Music making software like Fruity Loops is designed for Western music and so structure is key in using that software. For one to create a song, one must put in the time signature that would be used in the track and that controls the structure of the song. If one uses a sample in a song which has a different time signature as the one in the software then the timing of the track would be off. For the musicians to sample or use a segment of a song in the isiXhosa music they would have to force it to fit in with the time signature dictated by the software, which then causes the sampled song to lose its integrity or form. The song could have had an improvised extra beat that made it sound special but now it has to be removed to fit in with the software. That changes the

feel of the song and therefore the song follows western ways of song-making. The performer was the one in control of how the flow of the song must be that is now dependent on the software and its limitations. The time signature in Western music is a very important feature, a song must be kept fixed within the boundaries of time while in African music, according to Andrew Tracey (email correspondence 2018) "time signature Is not thought of in terms of Western rules but in terms of felt but unstated, still unformulated rules according to the styles or the musical regions where the music is at home. One of these, for instance, is that there are always at least two beats pulsing through a piece of music, linked but in rhythmic opposition". Musicians are free to feel the time in different ways at the same time. Ruth Stone(1985: 139-148) explained that the key is understanding the nature of African rhythm combinations: additive rhythm; the concept of 'off- beat'; hemiola, both horizontal and vertical; cross and inherent rhythms; the 'standard pattern', a standard pattern in the form of timbral pattern; motor pattern; and transaction (interlocking or hocketing parts). These rules exist in various types of African music. The software does exist to cope with it and the operators are not experienced in handling it. In addition, one song never sounds the same in different performances because it is not bound by many rules and the use of a Western-based software makes it impossible to achieve this.

What the experience above relates to is nearly similar to the one described by Meintjes (2003, p. 8), who views the studio as a place that "represents a microcosm of the society within which it exists". She sees the creation of music in the studio being that of unifying people despite their race with its focus on the production of a product. What the experience in this project shows is that the hours spent sampling in the studio, playing keyboards, agreeing and disagreeing for the creation of one complete product is nonetheless a rewarding experience fraught with stylistic challenges. This has been the same kind of experience with my participants. There were times when there were a lot of disagreements between the beatmakers and the artists, which I thought would lead to the collapse of the project, and there have been times where it all worked and the

spirit in the studio was positive. It is my opinion that the process of creating something new is an unpredictable one that can lead to bad or good outcomes as it has been with my research.

4.12 Conclusion

I had learned a lot about the musicians and was very excited to see how the repatriated music would be used. My hope was that there would be a creative burst and that the participants would all use the ILAM recordings to create various new forms of Xhosa music, thus answering my main research question regarding the legitimacy of revitalisation through repatriation. It was also interesting to see how the musicians themselves interacted with their new musical space, learning about their own heritage in an intimate, yet at times, in a challenging way. The reactions from the musicians spoke volumes about the importance of repatriation, regardless of the results. On reflection, I saw musicians grow in confidence and was told by one that the doors of opportunity had been opened.

 In the next chapter I will discuss the research participants individually and their creativity with the influence of the repatriated ILAM recordings. I also discuss whether their new compositions that include the ILAM recording can be considered as revitalisation.

Chapter 5

Participants and their attitude towards the repatriated music

In this chapter, I will be documenting the processes undertaken by the musicians as well as the results of their efforts. In order to analyse these factors I will be asking the following questions throughout the narrative provided below.

1. What piece of music was used and was it of value to the artist?
2. How did he use it?
3. Was it performed?
4. What was the reaction to the final result by the musician and by the audience?

5.1 Research participants/musicians

Of all the musicians I met, including poets, hip-hop producers, beatmakers, bands and singers, it was the poets and hip-hop producers that were most engaged with the early recordings and who worked diligently with them. I therefore decided to focus my research on the following musicians: Siphelo Dyongman 'Nqontsonqa' (age 27); Akhona Mafani 'Bhodl' ingqaka' (age 20); Ayabulela Hodael Ncelwane 'Ithala lenyaniso' (age 25); Mthibazi Tatana 'Ongidaro' (age 25) and finally, Adon Geel (age 30). The first three are poets who compose using the isiXhosa language and who call themselves language activists, as they attempt to create interest in the younger community to use isiXhosa in their art form. The last two are hip-hop artists, producers and beatmakers. It must be noted, however, that I will include observations made by other participants who are not the main informants.

I initially provided all the artists I gave the music a time frame of six months to produce tracks of their own from the ILAM material. I wanted to provide them with enough time to familiarise themselves with the recordings and to give them space to be creative. In addition, I opened the ILAM studio for them to use as both an educational opportunity

and an opportunity for me to watch them work because there is a lack of recording studios in Grahamstown. Artists furthermore lack money to pay for studio time and therefore have no experience in this line of music-making. This worked very well and most of the musicians made use of the facilities and learned a lot about recording and producing and I, in turn, was able to watch their creative process. I spent time in the studio teaching Ongidaro (the main beatmaker in this research) about some studio gear and how it works. I taught him about different types of microphones, how they work and how they should be handled. Most beatmakers use only a computer and maybe an outboard sound card in their bedroom studios. I therefore taught Ongidaro how to operate a digital mixing console, how different it is to a sound card and how patch bays work in relation to the mixing desk. This gave him a better understanding of how studios operate in general. We listened to some of his previous recordings, and I gave him advice on how to improve them. We listened for issues that needed to be attended to and then dealt with them. Issues such as what distortion is and how one eliminates it when recording were addressed. For the poets it was mainly the experience of working in the studio, learning to be professional by coming prepared, knowing and understanding their voices, and how to project and use their voices to portray certain messages. All these were things that they never thought of before they started working in a more professional environment thus making their experience a beneficial one that they can use anywhere else, both now and in the future. In the following section I introduce and discuss the main participants in my research. Although many musicians received the music, it was these artists who truly interacted with it.

5.1.1 Lonwabo 'Dezz' Gwente

Lonwabo 'Dezz' Gwente is a local poet and beatmaker who was initially one of my informants. Every time I met with my informants for an update on the work, I would find that nothing was done and when I asked what the problem was I would get no reasonable response. It was Dezz who was very honest with me. He told me that he liked the songs that I had given them but he was struggling to engage with them and

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could not make anything musical with them. I asked Dezz what was challenging him. He said to me that even if he found a song that he liked and would like to use, he did not know how to start working with it to create a track. As mentioned earlier, the lack of studio expertise greatly affects the confidence of many musicians that I worked with, Dezz being one of them. When I asked him why it was difficult for him to create something with the music, his response was that even though he was exposed to indigenous music he had never been involved with it at a level where he could understand how it worked. He took his experience from hip-hop where, as mentioned in Chapter 4, they sample from Western music which follows rigid rules such as time signatures and predictable rhythms. Since he was used to this kind of music-making, that format had always been easy for him to create beats. However, now that he saw that indigenous African music did not follow these Western rules he found it a challenge to create a beat with it.

Although this was Dezz's experience at the beginning of the project in 2015, he has now released an album and in it he has one track that uses the ILAM song I gave him entitled, *Lalange ngudokwa*, "The diviner's children sleep on a goat's skin" (TR028-09). This is a divination song with clapping, performed by a group of amaXhosa women at Willowvale district in the Eastern Cape Province in 1957. The song is about caring for one another enough to share the little that you have. A goatskin is small, only fit for one child to sleep on, but this song says that the two children must share. Dezz composed a poem entitled, *Khawube ngumama*, "Be a good mother", to go with the ILAM track. His poem talks to a mother to act like one, take care of her family and stop running around with young girls who are unmarried. To achieve this fusion of genres, he worked with Ongidaro, a local producer, who helped him to create beats using the ILAM song. Dezz is still not sure if he can create beats on his own using the ILAM tracks, but the experience has made him open to experiment with this form of creating music (Listen to track 01). Although Dezz created this music which would have been used in this research, he was unfortunately never available for interviews and all of our interactions subsequent to

me giving him the ILAM tracks have been incidental. I was not able to record his progress in enough detail to analyse the processes he engaged.

Figure 4. Ithala lenyaniso. (Photo by E.M. Madiba, 11/09/2015)

5.1.2 Ithala lenyaniso

Ayabulela Hodael Ncelwane "Ithala lenyaniso" is a local poet who writes his poems in isiXhosa and has done so since he started doing poetry in 2009. Most of the time he performs his poetry without the use of any backing tracks. When I asked him why he did not use backing tracks, he told me that he struggled to find anyone who could make him beats and if he found one, he did not like the way the beat would sound and so he chose to do his poetry without the beat. He has never had the experience of working with a

producer or beatmaker, and I asked him if he would be willing to work with one if I put them in touch and gave them a space to work. He agreed, and I introduced him to Siyanda, a producer whom I met in February 2015 while working on this project. The two of them started working together in the studio. Siyanda had already started making beats using the ILAM recordings. He normally creates most of his beats from scratch and uses little sampling. Like most beatmakers, Siyanda does not have any musical background and cannot play any musical instruments. He uses the computer keyboard to play chords and notes. I watched him create beats in the studio, and I was impressed to find that he played a computer keyboard better than some musicians who play a real keyboard. The creative process is a slow one, mainly because of his lack of musical experience. When I asked him why he liked the ILAM tracks, he said that he appreciated how challenging they are compared with the Western-oriented approach that he knows. But he likes working out how to incorporate the samples and making music that works.

The first beat they worked on together was one that Siyanda had already created. He listened to the ILAM tracks, and one song that caught his attention was "*Inkulu into ezakwenzeka*" (Something very bad is going to happen), TR013-06. This is one of five songs which form part of an impromptu sketch with singing and responses called "*Sanusi*" (The diviner), performed in King William's Town in 1957 by Nkenkese Mgwejo. Since ILAM does not have the transcript of the sketch, it is not known what is meant in the song when they say something bad is going to happen. For the fact that no one knows what the song is about, Siyanda felt that he should create a beat that would give the impression that something bad was going to happen, but he wanted to leave the actual event up to the imagination of the listener. Unlike the other producers Siyanda did not sample anything from the ILAM song. Instead, he created his own melody line and instrumentation and then on top of it he brought in a vocalist to sing the words from the ILAM track using his own, original melodic line. Ithala Lenyaniso heard Siyanda's song and was inspired to write a poem to be used as a verse in the song. I was pleased as this was a good match between beatmaker and poet. Note that in this case

Siyanda was acting as both producer and beatmaker. Below are the lyrics of the original song:

Inkul' inkulu hay' amaTshawe xa sehambayo	Something bad is going to happen when the Tshawe's leave, said the magistrate in Port Elizabeth
Watheth' umanty' eBhayi	
hay' amaTshawe xa sehambayo	When the Tshawe's leave, something bad is going to happen
Ikhon' ikhona na	
Ndithi amaTshawe xa sehambayo	Something big is going to happen Tshawe's, something big is going to happen, said the magistrate in Port Elizabeth.
Inkul' int' ezakwenzeka maTshawe	
Inkul' int' ezakwenzeka	
Inkul' int' ezakwenzeka maTshawe	The magistrate was shaking, something bad is going to happen when the Tshawe's leave. Something big is going to happen when the Tshawe's go.
Inkul' int 'ezakwenzeka	
Watheth' umanty' ebhayi	
Ndithi amaTshawe xa sehambayo	
Watshakaz' umantyi	
Ndithi amaTshawe xa sehambayo	
Inkul' int' ezakwenzeka maTshawe	
Inkul' int' ezakwenzeka	
Inkul' int' ezakwenzeka maTshawe	
Inkul' int' ezakwenzeka	

Figure 5. *Inkulu intoezakwenzeka* (something very bad is going to happen). Listen to track 02.

The poem that Ithala Lenyaniso wrote spoke on the same matter of "something bad will happen". The words to this poem are:

Inkulu into eza kwenzeka xa sihamba, uMdali kaSirayeli Simfulathela.	Something big is going to happen, when we turn our backs on the God of Israel.
Imithetho yakhe engcwele singayityesheli, siyinyhasha, Siyidelela.	When we undermine his divine commandment, and not obey Him.
Bawo sonile, xolela. Siphila kwilizwe eli nobundlobongela.	Father, we've wronged you, forgive us, we are living in a world with hooliganism.
Akukho xolo emhlabeni. Intliziyo ziphuphumala, umona, inzondo, Nenqala ezweni.	There's no peace in this world, their hearts are full of jealousy, hatred and grudges.
Akuka biphi inkulu into ezokwehla. Nabo bebulalana, Bedlwengulana bezalana.	There's a lot that will take place. They kill each other, rape each other but they are related.
Bethengisa ngabantwana. Alitshoni lingenandaba.	They sell their children. The sun does not set without news.
Siphila kwilizwe elinamanyala. Khanyisa Ndalo kanti uyaphi na lo mhlaba?	We live in a disgusting world, enlighten us Nature, where this world is going?
Xa ootata bevangeli befumaneka esinxilweni. Bezikhupha ngentsangu ezinzingweni.	When the evangelists are found in nightclubs, relieving their stress with marijuana.

Figure 6. *Inkulu intoezakwenzeka* (something very bad is going to happen). Listen to track 03.

He says in his poem that if we remove the Creator from everything that we do, something bad will happen. If we turn our backs on the Creator and turn away from His commandments, darkness will follow us. This is what came to his mind when he heard the song.

Siyanda and Ithala lenyaniso have managed to link the song and the poem to devise an original composition that has a message that is relevant to the times we are living in,

which, as Ithala lenyaniso says, "shows that indigenous music is timeless and if people could listen to it more they can learn a lot" (Interview 11 September 2015). He says that most modern songs that we listen to on the radios and TVs teach people to be selfish, to think that money is everything and teach people to be disrespectful towards one another.

I asked Ithala lenyaniso to explain his writing process, how he selected the songs he would like to sample from and how he arrived at the topics on which he wrote. He answered that with regard to the songs that he wrote before he received the ILAM tracks, he developed his topics from events in the community. With the ILAM songs, he explained how he listened to them, and as he was listening, he could hear a song that he recognised or a song that reminded him of something. As an example, he told the story of listening to a girl's initiation song (TR062-10), *Yoyoyo ndatsho ndadana*, which somehow reminded him of his father. He then decided to write a song about his father's horse called "Diamond". The song that reminded him of his father was not used at all in this recording. Instead, he used a sample of another song (TR061-06), *Iduma lya gebuza*, "The gash – the cut", meaning when you are struck by lightning there is much bleeding from the gash. This is a dance song for young men and boys with a concertina. When Ithala heard the sound of the concertina he grew attached to the song. The first song he heard was simply the trigger; it triggered a memory of something, and he chose to write about that song that he had remembered, which in this case was his father's horse. When I asked him why he wrote about his father's horse and not his father, he said that many people never talk about their animals and what the animals do. His father's horse did a lot for his father and for their family, and so he felt that he should write a song to celebrate the animal. The horse was his father's best friend. It knew where home was, so when his father was too drunk to walk, the horse knew how to take him home, among many other things. With regard to the other songs that he had written, he wrote either with inspiration from hearing a message from the ILAM song that he felt was

relevant to the times we are living in, or retold a message that he wanted to elaborate upon.

As already stated, Ithala Ienyaniso had never had the experience of working with a producer before and that became evident when he was working with Siyanda. As they started working together, Siyanda's approach was to do what Ithala instructed him to do in making the beat. He was supposed to tell him what sample from the ILAM song to select, what kind of drums he would like him to use on the track and how, what kind of bass line he wanted and everything else that he would have liked to hear in the song. That was not fruitful because Ithala did not know how to say what he wanted. Even if he knew what he wanted he just did not know how to convey that message to Siyanda. After trying many times without success, they agreed that Ithala would choose the track that he wanted for creating a new composition and then leave it to Siyanda to sample and produce. Ithala was able to sing a bass-line riff to Siyanda, but when asked to sing a melody Ithala would sing the same bass-line again. Consequently, much of the creative process was given to Siyanda to take over. This method worked, and the project was able to advance.

The second issue was that since Ithala wrote his poems without thinking about the music that would accompany them, he never had to follow any structure. Normally he could just recite his poem however he wanted without it being a problem. He now needed to think about what the verse would be, what the chorus would be and what the bridge should be and that caused him to rethink his style of writing. The third issue was that Ithala Ienyaniso had never done a studio recording before and had never heard his voice played back. He did not like what he heard regarding delivery, and he felt that he needed to return home, practice and study his voice further to make sure that when he did the final recording it is what he wanted.

Even though Ithala Ienyaniso had written more poems and songs than the other poets he decided to delay the project, to return home and work more on the poems with what he learned during the beatmaking sessions regarding structure and delivery. Even if at most times the sessions seemed fruitless there is a lot that Ithala learned, and he is now working to improve his music. At the time of writing, Ithala has contacted me and as soon as time allows we will return to the studio to record his new creations.

Thus in analysing Ithala Lenyaniso's experience one can conclude that the isiXhosa pieces used were of great value to the artist in that they inspired him to write new poems relating to his family and his own experiences of being Xhosa. Although Ithala did not allow his product to be performed to an audience during the research period, it was clear that he grew as an artist and that the experience was a positive and educational one. I conclude that this process is a successful example of not only repatriation, but also revitalisation because Ithala has managed to find ways to reuse the ILAM tracks to create new material.

Figure 7. Akhona "Bhodl'ingqaka Mafani. (Photo supplied by A. Mafani, 2017)

5.1.3 Akhona Mafani

Akhona *"Bhodl'ingqaka"* Mafani is a 20 year old poet who also performs his poetry in isiXhosa. Akhona became the first person to use the ILAM tracks with his poetry in 2014. After I had discussed the project with Xolile Madinda, the CEO of Fingo Festival, as related in Chapter 4, he took the tracks and played them to several young poets. Among them was Akhona who just "fell in love with the music". Around the same time Akhona was given the music, the PUKU Story Festival[21] was being held, and he was part of the festival and was commissioned by the Recycling and Economic Development Initiative of South Africa (REDISA), through Fingo Festival, to write a poem about nature conservation. He wrote a poem entitled, *Londoloza Indalo*, "Protect the creation", in which he used the track TR013-02, *Ndoyika u-Ntusangili*. This is a love song which translates as, "I am afraid of Ntusangili, the young man, I am in love with him". It was

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[21] PUKU is an organisation which encourages young people to read books, recite poems and tell stories in their mother tongue. They run workshops and competitions countrywide for young people to partake in.

recorded at King William's Town, performed by five young girls with clapping in 1957 and used as background music. This ILAM song is about a woman who fell in love with a man while betrothed to the other, and in the song the woman then decided to write all her problems in a letter in fear of verbalising them. From there Akhona became "hooked" and created more poems using other tracks from ILAM.

Akhona used the tracks from ILAM differently from the other poets in that he felt that the authentic ILAM tracks have a good message and they did not need to be changed. For him, they work perfectly as backing tracks for his poetry. Akhona listened to the ILAM tracks and found songs that carried a message that he felt he would be able to talk about or add on to, and then write his poems along those lines. He, like Ithala Lenyaniso, felt that the messages in the music are rich and that society can learn a lot from them. Thus, he amplifies the message in a way that both the youth and the adults will listen to it.

In *Londoloza indalo*, Akhona decided to use this music as a background for his poem, but instead of writing a poem about love he wrote about littering: what is bad about it; why we keep ourselves clean and then about ruining the environment by littering. I asked what the connection was between this poem and the ILAM song, and he said that the woman in the song was afraid of talking about how she felt. She then decided to write her feelings in the book (Interview 28 March 2017). Akhona decided that, since he was working in the PUKU story festival, he felt that his poem and the song would talk about writing down feelings. Like the woman who uses her art form, song, to express her thoughts, he too uses his art form, poetry, to address issues to confront people. Even though the feelings in the two tracks are different and are not about the same matter, they are both about telling someone what troubles them using an art form.

Below are the lyrics of the ILAM track:

Ndoyika u-Ntusangili

Kanti ndoyik' ukuthetha ngoKhumbane (hauyo hohama)	I am afraid to talk with Khumbane,
Ngoba ndilapha nje sisimanga (he ho uyohohoma)	It is amazing that I am here, I took a bus to get here my child
Hohayo ndiyikhwele le bhas' abantu hohayo sanalam	
Hohayo ndoyikile kodwa mna	I am still afraid, look at those young men – go my child go. If I had a book I would write it down, go my child.
Hohayo bonela abafana nam hamba mntana	
O-o-ha bepheth' ibhukhu ndiya bhala, hamba mntana	
Hoha ndoyik' ukulala noKhumbane	I am afraid to sleep with Khumbane, I said I am afraid……………? Because the young men are afraid. Why did the person I am singing about deny me? I was afraid.
Ndithi ndoyik' udedel' edingeni, ngoba boyik' abafana	
Oho o undalele nto ni mntw' ale ngoma	
Ndoyikile madoda	
	What am I afraid of? I come on a truck my child, please take a collection for me. This is amazing my child, I am afraid to go there holding nothing in my hands.
Oho ndoyika ntoni na madoda	
Ndiza ngeloli mntan'am mayivuke nd'oyika mntan'am…..	
Babetheleni ikoleka simanga mntanam	
He uyondoyika lona sandla	

Figure 8. TR013-02 Ndoyika u-Ntusangili (I am afraid of Ntusangili).

Here are the lyrics of Akhona's poem:

Londoloza Indalo

Mandithath' ithuba lokutyikitya ngokusingqungileyo	Let me take a moment and write, in referral to our environment
Sihamba kwiingingqi ezigcwelis' inyhunyhu ezinyelis' indalo	Here we are walking in the sewage streets
Akukho nabani othath' uxanduva	No one is taking any responsibility
Sithini ngezifo eziza ngeqbulo?	

Koodade nabantakwethu ndithi masiphum' iphulo *Sicoce iingingqi zethu* *Ucoceko ngundoqo kwintlalo* *Masiphan' izandla bodade nabantakwethu* *Khumbulani asingomaqaqa siyaziva xa sinuka* *Masenze okunganceda isimo sentlalo kweli lizwe lethu!*	Aren't we concerned about opportunistic diseases? Brothers and sisters united let us out-campaign in cleaning our communities. As said cleanliness is next to Godliness. Therefore let us help each other in bringing change We're human beings not skunks; we should be reacting on an unpleasant odour. Let us do what we can to help preserve the environment in our country!

Figure 9. Londoloza indalo. (See video 02).

The two songs show elements of intentional and unintentional connections. The first song is a love song which is about the fear of talking to a loved one, while the other is about taking care of the environment. Even though it is clear that the two songs are about two different matters that are not related to each other, Akhona found a way to make them work together. He uses words like "book" and "writing" that appear in the first song to link his poem with the song, making it sound like they are talking about the same matter. He also uses the first song as background music, thereby making the listener focus more on what he says than on what the background song says.

Akhona also wrote other poems using the ILAM tracks as backing. *Mazibuye*, translated as "Let the cows of our forefathers come back", is another one of his poems that he wrote using TR13-01, "*Mhlahlo*" (recorded at Area 32, King William's Town in 1957.) This is the name of a dance. Akhona uses this song as background to his poem, because the sounds in the song evoke a scene of days long past, although it has no connection whatsoever with the theme of the poem. The poem addresses the wrongs that occurred in the past where black people were robbed of their land, cows and other belongings. He is saying that what was taken from them must be returned. Akhona said that, since the poem is about what had happened a long time ago, the ILAM song he has selected sets the tone that this has happened in the past.

Nank' umnt' esiza suduka uzakumphazamisa!	Here is a person approaching Look out for an approaching poet,

Nantsi' imbong' isiza, suduka uzakuyiphazamisa!	do not disrupt
Mazibuy' iinkomo!	The cows must return
Mazibuy' iinkomo madoda, Mabubuy' Ubuntu	The cows must return, men
Tshini kwakungenje kweli khaya,	Bring back Ubuntu, it was not like this in our home before
Sasingezontlangazohlukane	We were the feathers of the same bird we flocked together
Sasitsala ngaxhatha linye kumasiko nezithethe,	We were aligned with our traditions; traditions we inherited from our forefathers.
Esawancanca koobaw' omkhulu	This freedom has brainswashed us
Yile nkululeko eyadal' amagqobhoka,	It created self-centred individuals who weaken the bonds of unity. We are divided
Oonompucuko abenza kwaqhawuk' imbeleko	
Imihlambi yalana	
Mazibuy' iinkomo! mazibuy' iinkomo zoobawo	The cows must come back
Apho sikhoyo sikwavula zibhuqe	The cows of our forefathers must come back.
sidad' ebugxwayibeni sirhubuluza ngamapeqe	We are in a state of no laws, rules and regulations.
Mazibuy' iinkomo ngale nyanga yenkcubeko,	We are swimming in the deep-end of dirt with our brains. They must come back in this cultural month, a month of knowing self, a month of our traditions, a month of sticking to our roots.
Ngale nyanga yokuzazi, ngale nyanga yamasiko	
Ngale nyanga yokugxila nzulu kwiminombo	In this cultural celebrations month, I wish we have our spirits reinverted, I wish the cows could return so that we can milk like in the olden days, I wish our modern way of life won't affect us negatively and propel us to detach ourselves from our cultures
Bekunga zingavuseleleka izazela	
'nga zingabuy' iinkomo sisenge njengakudala madoda	
'nga ubugqobhoka bethu bungangabi nafuthe ekusaduleleni amasiko ethu	
Mazibuy' iinkomo, mazibuy' iinkomo zoobawo	Let the cows return
Masigoduke kukud' ekhay' ebhakubha	Let us go home now as Bhakuma is afar
Ayilokhay' eli linxuwa ledlakadlaka	This is not home is a dilapidated homestead, fleas are sucking our blood
Kuloko sidliwa zintakumba	
Masibuyel' embo ekhaya, ikhaya lezizwe ngezizwe	Let's return to embo in our own home
Ndibiz' iinkomo zikabawo kwiinkalo-ngeenkalo	I call, calling for our father's cows from place to place, Let the cows return before the Sun disappears
Mazibuy' iinkomo lingekatshon' ilanga	
Evuka mva ikholwa zizagweba	The one that wakes up late gets caught and eaten by the ruled, Lets carry our sticks
Masiqubul' iintonga	
Kwangenj' ixukuxa masiyitshay' isaqhuma	In the dawn lets us start working
Masiyeni kwaXhosa siqabele la matyathanga	Let's walk across these tribulations and return to the IsiXhosa homestead
Amade ngawetyala!	Let me keep it short
Uneendlebe nj' unetyala	If you have an ear you have guilt
Kha nimvumeleni kalok' uBhodl' ingqaka	Let Bhodl' ingqaka
UCirha ka Nojaholo	The son of Cirha and Nojaholo
Umzukulwana kaNtsikana kaGabha	The grandson of Ntsikana of Gabha
Athi ndee-Gram, gram,	Let him say Gram, Gram

Ngcingcilili! Mazibuy' iinkomo!.	Full stop Let the cows return

Figure 10. Mazibuye (let the cows come back). Listen to track 04.

Akhona said of his poem,

> I am rising up a calling saying let the cows that belong to our forefathers must come back
> and behind the poem I use this ILAM tracks that which has sounds of women humming and
> singing and that sets a tone which supports what I am reciting. So what is said in the poem
> and the ILAM track has a good relationship because I am talking about what happened in
> the past. It causes people to pay attention to my poem and see that this poet means
> business through the message it carries and the use of traditional sounds rather than using
> a modern beat (Interview 28 March 2017).

Akhona did not work with any producer or beatmaker when working with the ILAM
tracks. He simply took the tracks that he liked and used them as backings for his poems.
During the period we worked together, he released an album entitled *Iintonga
zetyendyana*, "Fighting sticks of a young boy". He told me that for every person he sold
the CD to, he would ask them to give him their favourite top five tracks and he was
surprised that all the people mentioned *Mazibuye*. They also told him that it was the
kind of song they would like to hear him perform. That inspired him to want to use
more ILAM tracks.

In analysing Akhona's experience, one can conclude that he found new uses for the
isiXhosa pieces in a way that was of great value to him as an artist. Although Akhona did
not work with beatmakers in the songs that were discussed, he subsequently did so.
This means that he is continuously finding new ways of engaging with the ILAM
recordings and that too, in my opinion, constitutes revitalisation.

Figure 11. Siphelo 'Nqontsonqa' Dyongman. (Photo supplied by Siphelo, 2017)

5.1.4 Siphelo 'Nqontsonqa' Dyongman

Nqontsonqa is a 27-year-old poet who also performs his poetry in isiXhosa. He has been a poet for a longer time than Akhona and Ithala lenyaniso, and he is more experienced in writing and performing poetry. I met Nqontsonqa when he came to ILAM for the CD replication of his album. We had a talk about what he does and about the project I was doing. I introduced him to the ILAM recordings. He was excited to know that the recordings existed and that they are housed at ILAM.

Nqontsonqa then made ILAM his second home. He visited ILAM on a regular basis (and still does at the time of writing). He sits at ILAM to write his poetry, does research on the ILAM recordings and has since released an album featuring some of the ILAM

recordings given to him called, KULE (*khawuve, uthando lwalaph'engingqini*),[22] which he produced together with Ongidaro. Nqontsonqa has been working with Ongidaro as his beatmaker since 2009, and they have developed a good working relationship. Since Ongidaro is from the hip-hop world, he always created hip-hop beats for Nqontsonqa and that was their way of working until now when they were given the ILAM tracks. Ongidaro (interview 14 July 2015) expressed that he had no interest in the ILAM tracks, and he was creating those beats because Nqontsonqa and the other poets had asked him to do so. Even though that was the case, he created a lot of beats that the poets use as backings for their poetry.

Unotshe, Asoze ndixolise,[23] "Never, I won't apologise", is a poem that Nqontsonqa wrote that was inspired by the ILAM track (TR026-02), *Ingeji yam*, "My engagement ring", by Iliqela Labavumi bakwa Zwelitsha/Zwelitsha Choral Society at King William's Town in 1957. The song, in a voice of a girl says, "I heard a young man say: 'give me back my engagement ring'. I don't know why he's jilted me". Nqontsonqa considers himself a language activist, and so he looks out for words that are used in the ILAM tracks that may not be used much or not used anymore. When he heard this song, he heard them use the word *ingeji*, meaning engagement ring, which he says is a word that he has not heard in a very long time, so he felt that he should write a poem about it. He based his poem, *Unotshe, Asoze ndixolise*, on modern-day marriages and relationships where women propose to men. According to him, in the olden days men would be the ones who would start and end relationships, not the other way around. Nqontsonqa said that women can turn a good man into a heartless person.

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[22] Roughly translated to mean "hear the love here in our space".
[23] Nqontsonqa calls himself a community journalist and so he writes about what takes place within his community. At times he puts himself in the shoes of the people he writes about, for example, a man that abuses his wife and refuses to apologise. He tells a story from their point of view and then through his poetry highlights the wrongs. Because it is in isiXhosa it may get lost in translation. It is important to note that it in no way intends to look down upon women, but rather to create awareness about the evils of society.

Below are the lyrics of the song:

Ndiv' umfana sel' esthi ntombazana saph' ingeji yam. Andisazi nokusazi isizathu sokwaliwa kwam	I heard a young man say: 'give me back my engagement ring'. I don't know why he's jilted me

Below are the lyrics of the poem:

Ndandizidla ngaye phambi kokuba arhaqaze, ndandimnakekele kanobom phambi kokuba adabaze, phambi kokuba andiphoxe athi ndimncinci andiyontanga yakhe, ndandinambongo ngaye.	I was proud of her before messed-up, I use to take good care she threw it all away, before she said I am young and I am not her age I used to have dreams about her.
Waye nendlela yakhe jwi engena siphambuki nje ngololiwe, phambi kokuba asebenze nzima atshone emgodini agrumb' igolide, andikhathaze. Nguban' owamnika isizathu sokuthi ndiyitakalane, athi mandize nomkhuluwa okanye utata ubuqu, ngoba mna naye loxa sizalwa nyakenye kuye ndingumancane?	She had her own way like a train, before she worked hard and started gold digging, it hurt me, who gave her the right to call me a little boy, telling me to bring my big brother or my father because even though we were born in the same year but to her I am a youngster,
Nam ndaabethwa esandleni, ndandise sikolweni xeshikweni kusithiwa intombi ikhula k'qala.	I also got corporal punishment, at school I learnt in biology that a female matures first,
Nam ndatswikilwa endlebeni ukuze ulwazi luzokuhlala. Nguye owaqala wandidlala, ngolwazi oluncinci wazinikezela kulamarhamncwa.	I also got pinched in my ear and from then my listening skills improved, She is the one that first played me, Through little knowledge she gave herself to these heartless elder-men.
Entliziyweni kum uthando lwatshaba, ngenxa yenqala nesingqala,	So much that in my heart love died-out, I got really aggravated and developed hatred
isigqukru esandithatha iminyaka ukuqonda ukuba akhonto iyintombazana.	That took me years to realize that women are nothing,
Andinandaba, ukuba amadoda zizinja, amantombi ngabafunzi ndifung' umama.	I do not care, if men are trash then women are trash-cans I earth my mother,
Ukuba nd'oze ndithembe ngoba ndiyimfama	Miss me with the trust business in relationships or I

kungafa inj' iyolwahlwa.	would be a blind men,
Ndazama konk' okusemandlen' ukuba ndizis' ulonwabo kuy' empilweni,	I tried all that I could to bring happiness to her life,
suka wandibulela ngokundixhwala emphefumlweni.	All she thanked me with was though hurting my feeling,
Ngoku kunzima ukunyamezela xa ndimbetha ngoswazi lwakhe?	And now she can't stand it when I bully her with her own tricks?
Nam ndiphilela unamhlanje	I also am only living for today,
apho kuthandanwa khona ngengqondo ezontliziyo mazibhekele pha bezimuncu kakade.	Where people love each other with brains because those brains have been sour in the first place
Phambi kokuba athi fak' imal' uzobona, indoda yindoda ngodek' itafile uthando lwalukhona	Before she said I must put some money in it before we keep the love going, feelings where real,
kodwa emva kokuba eye wabonabona wathi indoda yindoda ngento eyibeka phezu kwetafile uthando walugxotha. Mandoyiswe.	But after she said a man is a man by buying expensive alcohol she drove away my love I must be forgiven.
Nam ndahlutshwa amabakala phandl' apha, andisoze ndixolise andinaw'be ndizinikele nofele, umnqwazi awuqini.	I also got hurt a million times I will never apologise, I will never give my all because my trust game is on the lowest it could ever be
Nam ndandilungile phambi kokuba ndibe ngundab' ezimbi,	I was a good guy before I was bad news,
phambi kokuba ndibenje ndandinemibono namaphupha amaninzi.	before I was like this I had ambitious and visions about relationships
Suka ndawa emathandweni, abachelezi balithath' igama lam balisind' edakeni.	then I fell in love, and these heartless woman through my name in the dirt,
Eneneni, ezibuhlungu azipheli.	in all honesty, the bad ones are endless,
Yilo nto into enomncamathelo ndingayingeni, andimoshi mntu nditshov' elam ikhasi ndithul' andithethi.	hence anything with attachment is not my style no more, I am not at anyone's business am on my own lane doing my own things quietly
Kodw' ukub' ubusakhangel' uthando kule ndlalo gob' uphondo phola,	but if you still searching for love in these crooked hearts just give-up already,
val umlomo xola chith' utyiwe.	keep calm and quiet and throw the towel
Liyinene elithi themb' ilitye,	it's true when they say trust a stone
kungenjalo uyakuzinikela waziwe nanguthathatha,	otherwise you will give your all and anyone will
ze xa ezamathando zikujikela likuhlek' ilizwe.	know as much as they will when you get dumped

Yayingathi ndifike kumhla womgwebo, yangathi nendalo ihlekisa ngam xeshikweni iintaka zisitsho uNtyilo-ntyilo.	you'll be a laughing stock of the world, it was like nature has risen against me laughing at me through bird-sound,
Mhla kuqhawuk' uthando ndandiliphuphel' umtshato, ndaabayintlekisa ngathi ndimiswe esindlangalaleni ndihamba ngondyilo,	The day a relationship I dreamt marriage for broke, it was like I am standing naked in front of the crowd
koko akukho mntu unokundikhalela kuba ndaathath' ezo zithonga ezo ncwina nezililo ndaziguqula ndazenzel' igwijo.	Hence no-one can blame me for my actions because I took those lemons and made lemonade,
Andinandlela 'mbi mna sis'khalo sentombi esindinik' impilo.	I have no other way it's a woman's scream(hurting, cry) that give me life,
Xa ndifun' ubhabhel' emaphupheni yinkxwaleko yegqiyazana endinik' iimpiko.	When I want to stroke my ego I need to hurt a woman,
Koko ubufun' uxhwaleka qhub' inqwelo yothando mna ndaabetheka kulamajiko-jiko.	Therefore if you want to get hurt continue in the path of perfect love I got hurt in those narrow curvy-turns.
Andiyi ngentliziyo, ndiya ngengqondo ndafuman' umnqeno ndijik' indlela ndingabheki ngoba kakade ezezolo azindenzeli nto.	I don't get into a relationship with my heart, I use my brains after I got what I want I turn back and never look back.

Figure 12. *Unotshe, Asoze ndixolise*, (Never, I won't apologise).

The background music during the performance of this poem fits very well as the track contains humming in certain sections. Nqontsonqa speaks over the humming and he has spliced and sampled the song so that the humming section has been extended and the original singing becomes like a chorus (listen to track 05).

Nqontsonqa also collaborates with other poets and musicians from neighbouring towns such as Peddie, Port Elizabeth and East London, which has led to them knowing more about ILAM and the work we do. He took it upon himself to be an ambassador for ILAM by telling all artists he comes across about the work done at ILAM. This led to the recording of a song on the 15th July, 2015, called, *Ndim'indoda II*, which was a

collaborative effort by various poets that work with Nqontsonqa. He approached six poets from different towns (Dezz, Njilo – Grahamstown, Wara - Mdantsane, Safobe – Cumakala Stutterheim, Gqobhoz' imbawula - Umtata and Bongwez Ndokose- Peddie) to have each write a verse about what it means for them to be a man. They then had to come and recite it in the studio as a verse for the song. This is how he described his relationship with other poets,

> We are working with *imbongi zempuma*[24] which means poets from the Eastern Cape. What works for us is that before we got the recordings we were already language activists and the people we work with are also language activists. So, giving us the music just added on to what we are doing already and it was easy to sell the idea to the people we work with. We attend book fest together and we attend other things about isiXhosa together so it becomes easy to work together with people that are passionate about what they do. Now it would be even better if we can find producers who are also passionate about making African beats sampling from this (Interview 28 March 2017).

It is my opinion that the gap between institutions such as ILAM and the community is being closed through these kinds of efforts. How artists view ILAM has changed, they are able to come to ILAM to listen to music, do their own research. If it were not for the engagement I had with artists such as Nqontsonqa, he would have only come to ILAM to print his CDs and not even think that ILAM housed recordings that might be of interest to him. Artists from Port Elizabeth and other towns now know about ILAM and what we do through this research project.

Ndim'indoda II, "I am the man", is a poem that Nqontsonqa wrote inspired by a song *Somagwaza* (TR031-04), a praise song with clapping and five drums performed by Khotso and a group of men and women at Qaukeni, "Great Place", Lusikisiki district in the Eastern Cape, in 1957. The song became largely known in the Eastern Cape as a

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[24] This refers to poets of the Eastern regions.

male initiation song, despite other research showing differently. Lobley (2010, p. 298) says,

> Tracey or his informant translated *Somagwaza* as 'father of the stabbing' and claimed that the song was 'sung in thanks to the Chief when he has killed a beast for them' … Whilst everybody recognised this song and claimed it as their own, hardly anybody accepted Tracey's interpretation of the song. However, most of the people we spoke to were not Mpondo but self-identified as coming from different Xhosa sub-groups. This suggested that most of the people we spoke to still used the same song that Tracey recorded, but for different reasons than Mpondo people.

Nqontsonqa describes the poem as one that addresses what makes a man understand "how to conduct yourselves as men in the society" (Interview 28 March 2017). Being a man, he describes, should not be defined based on gender, age and traditional circumcision, but by the impact that one has in shaping the community. Nqontsonqa had already written and performed a poem called *Ndim'indoda*, but after receiving the ILAM tracks he started listening to them. While listening he came across the song, *Somagwaza*, and it made him feel that if he had heard the song before he wrote the poem, he would have used it as the basis for it. There and then he decided to write a continuation to the poem and that is how *Ndim'indoda II* came about. *Somagwaza* is a song that is currently sung in *imigidi* by young boys who are going through a transition into manhood through circumcision. The song is also about the bravery of the boys undergoing circumcision. Nqontsonqa felt that this would be the right song to use as a background for his poem since it is about manhood, and so he selected a snippet from it that would be used throughout the poem as a backing to his composition. The poem puts a twist on the song in that it talks differently about what makes a man, as mentioned earlier, saying that it is not circumcision that makes one a man but one's actions. Below are the lyrics of the poem:

Dezz	*Dezz*
Ngunyana kaMngxongo, nguBhomoyi nguNtsundu uZondwa ziintshaba, ngenxaxheba ekumthathi	He is the son of Mngxongo, Ntsundu, Bhomoyi and is hated by enemies, through the works traditional

nomquma kubaThembu ndathwal' isithsaba, kwinkundla yakomkhulu ndim indoda livumil' ikhwahla. Ndiqubul' imiqoqo loo ntanga ndihlab' ingoma ndibuyis' impahla, ndikhuph' iinduma kwiitalase imipitso iqhawuk' imithungo, ndihluth' igunya kooSingawo nathi abasila ngeentungo. Ndim indoda imisebenzi iyandichaza ndenza kwenzeke, zingekakhal' iintsana ndivela ndikubone ukumila kwenjeke. Ndikwisizikithi ndithethel' ezi ntloko imiba mayishokoxeke, gama nagama eliphumayo indod' iyangqinwa kuvokotheke, imbeko yintw' aph' endinayo ndiyayihlwayela kub' ininzi. Ndim indoda ngendakufundayo ndimfuzil' umnini-mzi.

Wara

Ndim indoda; kalok' umkhuseli, umonwabisi, umakhi, umlondolozi wekhaya. Lowo yindoda, yon' ithath' uxanduva yenz' okufanelekileyo, ibe ngumzekelo emphakathini. Umsebenzi wayo kukuqinisekis' ukub' usaph' alusweli nto, iintsana zonk' esikolweni, ikhabathi zizele, abantwana bayazi ukuba amanzi ngawokuselwa hay' ukusaphara. Eyokwenene indoda ixway' ibhaty' iyongxungxa, ibuy' ibek' intw' etafileni kube luchulumanc' ekhayeni. Ibiy' umzi wayo ngocingo lothando, ingcib' isakhiwo ngengqeqesho nembeko. Eso ke sis'doda. Ohamb' ecaleni kwaso ngulo uhl' enyuk' ekuhlaleni, ufun' iNay-nay int' angayaziyo amatapil' esikhwenene. Lo uyam' amadonga ngath' ayawa, acel' ii2bhobho kwabagqithayo, isichef'chef sikakhawenze akanamnt' utheni, uhleli nj' uyakhongozela. Ngempela veki urhuq' iskhoji samankazana, itafil' imnyama akho bungekhoyo kuthwa s'khulu xa ebizwa. Ndim indoda! uWara yindoda!

Safobe

Indoda ayichazwa ziindevu ezithe rhwelele kwisilevu, ilizwi elingqokolayo isisu esithe thuhlu, ubuxhaphothi nobungqindilili bomzimba. Indoda ngulowo uthi athobele imithetho yamadoda agqibeleleyo, ahloniphe isimo ze enze ngokomyalelo. Yintonga yokusimelela kwababhinqileyo, umaphuli weentliziyo ayinguyanga, inempatho kwabasetyhini. Isidima kuyo sithe thaa nakwiintsana, kuba kaloku iyayidlala indima. Ayixoli xa kukho ivumba eligwenxa kuyo emzimbeni amanzi iwaxabisile. Indoda ayiloxelegu. Noba sis'tya tywala, inentsebenzo, ubukho bayo endlini yinzuzo. Xa ikhe yathi tshalala isiya kuzingela iyigqitha sele iyibona imbande yesikhova, indoda ayilobhenqa. Ndim

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trees from the Bathembu's I was honoured with a cup, in the kraal of the chief I am the man the elder agrees, I carry stick with my fellow brothers and sing my song to collect the sheep, I injure the sexually uncertain with skinny jeans falling off, I harshly take the ruling from the 'fake men' who don't respect traditions, I am a men as the works elaborate I make things happen, before kids start crying I foresee hunger strike, I am in the middle speaking on top of heads as issues must be resolved, each word out of my mouth I get nod of approval, respect is what I have therefore I share it because is excessive, I am a man through what I have learnt I have behavioural traits of my father.

Wara

I am a man, I am protector, an entertainer, a builder, a keeper of home that is a man, He takes responsibility and do as required to be an example in the community, he role is to make sure that family doesn't fall short in any need, children are all at school, cupboard are full so that kids know that water is for quenching thirst and not supper, a true man puts on his blazer, go search for works and come back to put something on the table, so that its happiness at home, he binds his house with fences of love, as he fixes it with respect and dignity, now that is manhood, the one who is not a man, walks beside it, standing by the wall and asking for 20 cents, walking up. And down in the locations looking for nothing, during the weekend he unites with a bunch of girls and drinking in the taverns. I am a man, Wara is a man

Safobe

A man is not explained by beard that spread-through across his check, A hoarse voice and a big stomach, the toughness of his body, A man is the one that respects the orders of fully-equipped men, respect the situation and does as morally supposed to, he is a shoulder to cry on from the female species and a heart-breaker he is not, he has hospitality, dignity to him is an obvious trait and has feeding-off to his children, he is not happy when there's stinky smell in his body, A man is a not untidy, even when he is an alcoholic, he presence is a profit, when he disappear through the forest to hunt, he comes back with something because a man is not a failure, I am a man

Indoda!

Nqontsonqa
Ndim indoda, ndingcib' iz'londa umabil' esoma, ubukho bam benz' amakamva akhazimle usapho luzive lukhuselekile phantsi kwephiko le ntloko, nje ngoko ikukurhoxa ekundlokoveni umise ingqondo, wakhe, ungachithi, uzame, ungalindi, uzincame, ungalili kuba usebenzela ukuba ekhayeni batye bangadingi, siphuhl' isizwe ngokuthath' amanyathelo nganye ngambini. Kwantlandlolo, kwiintlanti zakwaZotsho, ndathweswa ngesidanga sokulungis' iingxaki ndiqhaqh' amabholo, kuba ndim indoda. Kunamhla ndingumzekelo wempumelelo kwabanamabhongo, amathaf' akwaHatsi ibali lam ayalazi. Ndasokwa ngamaqhosh' ebhatyi kwathwa mandilumele ngokubila kwebunzi, sendilapha. Kungenxa yeso sidlo nesiya kundithwala kude kube lilixa lokufika kwethunzi elimnyama!

Gqobhoz' imbawula
Ndim indod' imbawul' imbong' enkundl' inkunz' emanxebanxeba. Iindonga ziwelene, amadod' ahlangene, phambi kokuba kuhlinzwe inyamazana kukhutshwe intsonyama kutyiswe usingaye mandiqale ngogabul' izigcawu, ndikhuph' amalulwane nezikhova zikhonkothwe zizinja ngaphaya kothango qelele. Ndandul' ukuphos' esivivaneni, ndibhekis' ambalwa kusingaye ndimabel' amav' obudoda. Mfo wam ubudod' ababungwa, abubikwa, zizenzo, ayibobungwenkala imile umsila ehamb' ithung' aph' elalini, ikhupha amaphuca yakh' ubuntombi ityeshel' amahasa. Indoda ngumfo othile odume ngentsebenzo ethezel' emxebeni, abe lulutho kusapho nomphakathi. Indoda ixolel' ujing' iliso kumajingi qhiwu nakwizingxaki ephondweni zosapho, ibhinq' omfutshane, ingqishe sekumnyam' entla kuf' ayayo, indoda likroti ngoko ke inxeba lekroti lingaphambili!

Njilo
Indod' ayikhali makhwedin' iyabhomboloza. Awuyiyo nkunzindini kaMinosi ungudlalane awuthand' uyabhotorosha. NdinguNjilo, intsindw' ekwiphahlothi zinyosi, ndizojong' inteng' ezondivingcela. Ndixhathisa ngekretse ngawam amantshontsho. Ndiyinkunz' enamajengxeba. Andithengisi ntlanzi nabu, bek' indlebe ndikuqhekezele. Ndisenga ndibhekabheka ndawubona kukho ban' onomphokoq' owomileyo ndimphokozele. Ubuthong' abunalifa makulalwe kutyiw' ekhaya. Ndivuka ndikhab' ingubo nje,

Nqontsonqa
I am a man, I heal wounds, I get wet and dry, My presence makes future be bright and finally to feel secured under the arm of the head, as it is to stop from being forceful and be use brains, built and not take down the building, try and not stop, give your all and not cry because you working for the family to eat and not be needy, we building the nation by taking step by step, from the past, in the Kraal of the Zotsho's, I was crowned with responsibility to solve problems and tackle burning issues, because I am today I am an example of success to those with dreams, the Hatsi forest knows my story, I was awarded with the nobs of a jacket and told to quench my thirst with the sweat of my skin hence I am like this, it's through such a meal that I am who I am and that meal with take me until the end of my days.

Gqobhoz' imbawula
I am a man, a heater, a poet and a male with stitches, walls are opposite, men are collectively united, before we slaughter the animal and take out the important pierces to feed the boy whose the reason for the collectiveness, I must start by taking out 'fake man' to be bucked by dog far away from us, then start throwing words of wisdom sharing with him experiences of being a man, My boy, being a man is not self-proclaim or enforced but is defined by your actions, it's not going all over the place nagging people, a man is someone who is famous through his works, he becomes important to his community, a man would rather lose his eye in the midst of it all and the family disagreements, he steps firmly and sticks to his story fighting for his own, a man is a hero therefore the wounds of the hero are in front

Njilo
A man doesn't cry boys, he hymns, you are not one, you are not loving you are playing, I am Njilo, a man who is on the bees whole waiting for someone who is here to lock for me, I am stand tall in front of my own, I am man who'd give it for my family, I am not selling fish, trust me, put your ears on and let me explain, I milk looking all over so anyone with dry maize gets poured some milk, sleeping has no will, we must sleeping having eaten at home, I wake up and kick blankets because my enemy is sleep, I cross rivers and asking for love because I

utshaba lwam ziintongo. Ndigil' isicithi ndiphimisa ndingxathu ndinjenje makwedini kuyazi, ubuhle bam ziinkomo. Uzibiz' indoda kodwa wabelana nentsana kumandlalo ngempahla. Ndingumhlontlo ndingakrakra zidenge ndilichiza kumaphahla. Ayibubo zitabane nizasiguqulel' isizukulwana ezikaluthi dabawo kooTanci. Le nt' ingebhoma ayi'ngasibhedlele, ndim indoda ingqina lam nguKhanki.	know my beauty is cows, you call yourself a man yet you share a bed in kids, I am a sour pill, a remedy to stupidity, it's not it gay people, you going to raise us kids who will say aunt to uncles, this is about a mountain-hut not hospital and my witness is my traditional healer.
Bongwez Ndokose *Bendithe kuqala ndibiz' injoli ngoku ndithungel' amadod' eniwachasiley' aph' ekuhlaleni. La madoda ngoogqogqa, ngondodandini int' ezibizw' ooMahlalela kodwa zibamb' ucwangco kwalaph' esixekweni. Xa niwabona nihlunguzelis' iintloko anisothuli meninqwazi. Nditsho iinyathi ezi zivum' ukubuzwa. Ndithetha la madod' aninik' amazwi niwagalel' amanzi, ngok' ubudod' umqol' uphandle. Nibabuz' izidanga, la kanti ngamadoda hayi ngob' engaxelengi. Njeng'ba ngok' ukhaphukhaphu ubuxilongw' uqoqa ngaw' isimilo. Amadod' angalindele simemo ngembambano, iint' eziphum' iphulo, zizityumbe zisenzel' ubumbano. Bakhona yonk' indawo, nitsho kunye nam NDIM INDODA!*	**Bongwez Ndokose** I first said let me call to the *Injoli* (the beer-pourer) and now I am pouring for men whom we've distanced ourselves from in the location, these men are self-proclaimed, three men who live on their own and still keeping the peace in community, when you see them you just nod your heads without even taking your hats off, I mean the knowledgeable ones are not able to be asked for directions, I mean these men give you words and throw them water and now manhood is now general knowledge and you ask them for diplomas, Yet these are men and not because they are not working, as you are a men right now you've been though by men about the importance of dignity, men who don't wait for an invite when something is not in order, they collectively choose themselves to unite for the good of the community, they are everywhere, say it with me, I am a man!

Figure 13. Ndim'indoda II (I am a man).

The Song *Somagwaza* is a song sung when boys come back from the initiation schools. It is a song sung as a sign that they have transformed into manhood, but after the celebrations have come and gone, their actions do not always resemble those of men. *Ndim'indoda II* is written as a lesson, explaining that, when you say that you are a man you have to behave in a certain manner. One must earn the title of a man by the way one behaves in society. One does not become a man simply because one goes to initiation schools. *Somagwaza* was sampled as an introduction to the song and then infused with the music created by Ongidaro to play as background to the poetry throughout the track while the poets recite their poems one after the other (listen to track 06).

After *Ndim'indoda II* was recorded, the women poets from the *imbongi zempuma* group heard it, and they also wanted to write a song that relates to the beauty. This collaboration gave rise to the creation of *Nal'igqiyazana*, "Here is a lady". The beat for this poem was created by sampling a chorus from an ILAM track with women's voices. Nqontsonqa explained that this decision was to "reflect the beauty of a Xhosa woman and so we used their voices as a background to the poem" (interview 28 March 2017). The ILAM track used was TR033-02, *Abafazi bemka*, "The women are leaving – they have already gone", a party song with clapping performed by a group of Mpondo married women at Caba location, Tabankulu district, in 1957. The chorus of the ILAM track was sampled in the introduction of the song as a chorus and then used every other time there was a break in the poetry. The background music during the performance of this poem was created by Ongidaro. In this track they included more poets from the *imbongi zempuma* (Wara, Safobe, Isiswenye sesihobe, Madiya, Dezz, Bhodl' ingqaka, Chosi, Njilo, Bongwez Ndokose, Nqontsonqa & Gqobhoz' imbawula) who all took turns in reciting what a lady meant to them. They included one of the lady poets (Pumza "Madiya" Sibindi) whose verse says, "I am a lady", which brings more strength to the track. For the lyrics of the track see addendum C. (Listen to track 07).

In the case of this research project, the poets Nqontsonqa, Akhona and Ithala lenyaniso had taken up the role of being producers. They obtained the beats from the beatmakers Siyanda and Ongidaro, and then made all the other decisions regarding their song and their album until completion. In some cases they co-produced the song with the beatmakers (Siyanda and Ongidaro). One sees how the artists took charge of the project, giving other artists the ILAM recordings and involving them in compositions. When an artist takes it upon themselves to make a project succeed, it is a good example of effective repatriation and revitalisation and therefore one can say that it was a successful attempt to return the music to the people.

Figure 14. Mthibazi 'Ongidaro' Tatana. (Photo by E.M. Madiba, 23/06/2015)

5.1. 5 Ongidaro

Mthibazi 'Ongidaro' Tatana is a local hip-hop producer and artist. He has been a hip-hop artist since 2009 producing his own beats. When people heard his music and the kind of beats he created, they started asking him to make beats for them, which is how he became a local beatmaker for many artists in Grahamstown. I asked him how he makes beats for different people, and he said that most of the time he creates beats on his own and artists come to his studio to listen and pick the ones that they like. He likes working alone when he creates his beats because most artists he creates beats for do not know what they want or do not know how to tell him what they want. So he prefers making the beats and then plays them to the artist when he is done. In a case where the artist does not like the beat, he keeps it in his pool of beats because the next artist might like it. I asked Ongidaro how he enjoyed working with the ILAM tracks and his

response was,

> It started out kind of rough, you see, like I said before it was unexpected because I am used to sampling from the OJays etc. So when you brought ILAM tracks they had nothing but drums or sometimes just people singing and it was hard to get them in the arrangement of the song, you know. I am getting the hang of it now, it is something I am looking forward to doing probably full-time who knows. As far as the reaction, people love it and like we have done songs with Nqontsonqa, Akhona, Dezz (interview 31 March 2017).

Ongidaro is now working on his own album, which he said will be released in 2018 with songs sampled from the ILAM tracks. This project has also inspired him to write his songs in isiXhosa for the first time. It is my view that the more artists engage with traditional music, the better they will understand it and be able to find ways of using it and incorporating it in their compositions. Even though Ongidaro had said that he did not like indigenous Xhosa music, he has warmed to it and has made a decision by himself to use the tracks in his album. This proves that, even though repatriation may sound like a good thing to everybody, some might not welcome it with open arms, but as time goes by they too might find a use for the repatriated music, as in the case of Ongidaro. The work that Ongidaro does proves the importance of repatriation, and that revitalisation of the ILAM recordings can be successful.

Figure 15. Adon Geel at the Fingo Festival workshop. (Photo by E.M. Madiba 9/07/2016)

5.1.6 Adon Geel

Lonwabo "Adon Geel" Phillip is a hip-hop producer and rapper whose home town is in King William's Town. He lives in Port Elizabeth and works on a part-time basis in Grahamstown for the Fingo Festival. I met Adon through Fingo Festival in 2012, and we have been friends since then. He is known in Port Elizabeth as a producer as he managed a studio there where he produced albums for many PE musicians. When he heard about my research, he was excited about it, like most artists I met, because now there is traditional music that he can sample from.

He created a few beats which Yakim was to rap on for his album. Unfortunately his computer crashed and all those tracks where lost. The only track we have that he created was the one he used at the Fingo festival workshop (See video 01 again). Adon abandoned the beat making for some time because he was commissioned by the Fingo Festival to manage a story telling project. The project was to create isiXhosa stories, create background music to accompany them and then record them to make a CD. He chose to use ILAM tracks as background music for some of the stories and then for the

others he brought in a musician who played Xhosa traditional instruments and sang. The final product from this project was a CD titled, *uJakalashe usomaqhinga*, "The Trixie Jackal": three stories of a Jackal that tricked all the other animals. The first story titled *Udyakalashe neMfene* "Jackal and the baboon", uses TR013-06, *Inkulu into ezakwenzeka*, "Something very bad is going to happen". This is one of five songs which form part of an impromptu sketch with singing and responses called "Sanusi" (The diviner) performed in King Williamstown in 1957 by Nkenkese Mgwejo. The song is sung by a woman also playing the *Uhadi* bow. The song is used as background music to the story and on places where they wanted no singing, Adon hired Pura, a narrator and musician who plays traditional instruments, to play the *Uhadi* bow and that was how the track was constructed. The same format was used on the second story, *uJakalashe neNgwe* "jackal and leopard". The ILAM track used was *Nyakumtyela egageni*, "You will eat it out of doors" TR063-15. This is a *Mhala* (-hala means to raise a war cry, to invite, call or summon. The dance is merely an interpretation of those words) dance for young men with *Uhadi* performed by Nodinile, a Gcaleka woman at Cizele location, Idutywa district 1957.

In the final story, *uJakalashe neNyamakazi* "Jackal and the animals", the idea of the song was taken from the ILAM track (TR063-09), *Mama ndaswelindawo ngendaba*, "Mama I lack accommodation on account of the news", a *Mtshotsho* dance song for boys and girls recorded in 1957 and sung by a Gcaleka girl playing a *Mrhube* mouth bow and whistling. However this ILAM track was never used in the story; instead, Geel and Pura created a new song using the ideas from it. The new song was performed by Pura and that was used as the background to the story. Listen to tracks 8-10.

Adon Geel has been instrumental in this project and has, as mentioned before, taken on an ambassadorial role with regard to this repatriation and revitalisation project. He wrote to me regarding his thoughts of the project,

> The plan was to capture children's attention with commanding sounds of traditional music and a solid voice. I feel that this was achieved and I have seen the evidence through listening tests I did with a few kids and to my surprise adults were captured too. The combination of the story telling and traditional songs brought a greater value in how others and I see culture and tradition (e-mail correspondence 1 February, 2018).

It once again shows that once the participants took the project to themselves more varying results came out creating outcomes better than what I had expected.

5.2 Conclusion

I approached Nqontsonqa after the research had been finalised and asked him to reflect upon the efficacy of the repatriation project. He answered,

> We got exposed to traditional songs we did not know, to which we had to align our conceptualisation and ideas of writing poems. I found this as a great challenge and an opportunity to explore. We got exposed to old ways of some songs which are sung today and an opportunity to add our own musical taste to them to regenerate new sounds which was an opportunity and a challenge on the other hand. Repatriation challenged us to think about fusing our modern way of writing songs with the old and that connected us to our roots. We also managed to sell a lot of tracks and also increased our visibility online. Two of my songs (*Ndim'indoda II and Nal'igqiyazana*) has received around 5000 downloads each. [25]

The other artists, when asked, viewed the act of repatriation in the same way. They saw it as a method to access recordings they never knew existed and as an opportunity to engage and create music. However, their approach differed when they started working

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[25] Click on the following link to hear the tracks:

http://www.datafilehost.com/d/5d17dd97?fbclid=IwAR3FfRnP_TBX2kOBDOCMZoK1Mleq0GgZ8Wd75zgu
QCYvfnxiwdgNQYdeP6g and

https://www.datafilehost.com/d/8jWwPl5dsC?fbclid=IwAR3oDeNetTJxAWZa-
BAC0fwWMO51C9Qxsd2gGpxsG5-zn_bW1bGq_Mwv97w

with the recordings. For some the content was full of a variety of capital and as such they learned a lot about, for example, the isiXhosa language. For the others, it was as if they had found new inspiration for their music composition and their music then took a different direction. For some, even though they appreciated being given the recordings, and as much as they wanted to do something with those, they found it difficult and even impossible to create or work with it.

The artistic output of the artists were not at all what I expected when I started this project. At first I had an idea of what the artists where going to do, but because I was going to repatriate the music to any type of musician, I had the idea that there would be a varied alteration of results. When I realised that this approach would be too broad, I decided to work only with hip-hop artists and poets. I then expected the results to be less varied but, as described in all the examples above, in fact they were diverse. The way that artists used the music was very different. One of the most varied was that of Adon Geel because of his storytelling project. In my opinion, each of the ways in which the music was used in that one genre speak of revitalisation through repatriation and how successful it can be in a controlled space. Other projects in less controlled spaces could speak to different results, however in my research, looking specifically at repatriation to amaXhosa people, it worked very well. There is no doubt in my mind that this was a successful project.

In Chapter 2 I ask the question: Could it be that my attempts at revitalising the Hugh Tracey recordings are bringing about a change in the tradition I am trying to revive? My answer is this: Tradition changes over time, it is influenced by what is going on in a community. The ILAM recordings are a mere snapshot of what happened in a specific point in time. By repatriating the music to its people, I have given them a point of reference to create new music, with some knowledge of the old enriching the new tradition. But most importantly, the poets took on this project with both hands and used the ILAM tracks in their music and that has proven to be very effective for them, as the

music inspired them to create and write new poems that carry important messages. In the final chapter, I will review all of my findings and make suggestions for further areas of research.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

6.1 Findings and reflections

In Chapter 1, I raised my main question in this research: Is it possible to establish what is meant by revitalisation and to see if and how traditional forms can be revitalised in new music styles? Through the results in my research, I am able to answer that question with an affirmation. This research looked at the validity of using repatriation as a tool for the revitalisation of indigenous music within a contemporary South Africa musical context. Using tracks from the ILAM archive, this research has presented isiXhosa traditional and indigenous music to a group of musicians from a hip-hop background who would never have had access to this type of music before. The research has traced their use of the music. Acknowledging repatriation projects such as those by Jocelyn Moon and Pinkie Mojaki as well as those conducted by other academics and music lobbyists, this research successfully used archived materials to revitalise the use of music from the past in different ways. Speaking to the legacy of the Hugh Tracey collection at ILAM and criticisms that have surfaced, this research has also attempted to validate the efforts made by Hugh Tracey in collecting and documenting African music.

This research has addressed themes ranging from understanding the term "tradition", as well as other technical terms in the vernacular, while also exploring and analysing the results of the repatriation project. Practical issues regarding the sampling of indigenous music were interrogated carefully due to the fact that the complexity of African music was foreign to most of the participants. Their familiarity with the music, or lack thereof, either motivated or ended the musicians' participation in the research project.

Here follows a synopsis of the findings in each chapter: In Chapter 2, I concentrated on other scholars who repatriated music, which ended up as projects revitalising interest in the music. This chapter focussed on both how my contemporaries completed the repatriation and revitalisation aspects of their various projects. Importantly, a definition was given of both, and the following discussions centred on the success thereof. The Singing Wells project taught us that even though repatriation is important, as Ssempeke reported, it is vital to complete thorough research before attempting to offer an opportunity for repatriation. This is in order to establish if the content is appropriate for the area and the people who are engaging in the efforts. Ssempeke, who was present for some of the Singing Wells repatriation efforts, said that the music was offered to people who were not directly linked to the specific tracks. He maintained that the musicians involved in the project were not always fully aware of the intricacies of the music because it was not of their heritage. From this one learns that repatriated music, in ideal circumstances, should be linked as closely as possible to the recipients and their heritage. They will understand the subtle nuances of performance, space and use.

In contrast, Kahunde's experience with Banyoro Kitara people showed exactly how successful revitalisation could be with precisely what was missing from the Singing Wells project. Kahunde, a Munyoro with insider knowledge, approached local groups that were playing *amakondere* songs from Uganda and presented them with recordings of these styles that he took from Wachmann's recordings. Thus, he was sure that the music was being presented to the correct recipients and, indeed, this became apparent in the manner in which they used the music and tried to reproduce sounds which had been lost to them. In addition, he went to schools and radio stations in order to spread the music with the intention that revitalisation could take place.

The final project referred to was that of Julie To'Liman-Turalir, who used the recordings of the Tolai people from Papua New Guinea, recorded between 1904 and 1914, as a point of reference to show to what extent their culture had changed or remained the same. This fascinating repatriation project showed how oral traditions can maintain

over long periods of time. It was clear that one did not need recordings to revitalise music, but that oral memories could play the same role. These memories can reinforce the idea that practises of a group of people can confirm the authenticity of their living traditions. Noel Lobley's Grahamstown project was also discussed, in which he tried to elicit a reaction to isiXhosa music from the area. This project was of interest because it is closely related to my project in some ways, although the research that I completed was a step further than Lobley's interactions with the music and its recipients.

Through an analysis of all of these repatriation projects, it was clear to me that my project had an important role to play and was filling a gap in research on repatriation: that is, looking specifically at repatriation and revitalisation in contemporary music.

Chapter 3 was written with the intention to discuss archives and ILAM in general, but after speaking to other academics and musicians regarding this issue it became clear that I needed to address the colonial legacy and associated negativity that is related to it. Many musicians felt that the negative aspect was so powerful that they did not want to be involved in anything related to ILAM. Thus the chapter transformed to an analysis of writings, both negative and positive, regarding this legacy. Andrew Tracey was consulted, and I used my own experiences at ILAM to voice my views. I wanted to clear the air in order to facilitate the repatriation and revitalisation efforts devoid of the negativity surrounding certain comments from critics. It is my opinion that Hugh Tracey was a man of his times, that his language and approach to musical research was in line with practice in that era, but that his intentions were always honourable and that the outcome has left a legacy that is of greater worth than the negativity that is attributed to it.

In Chapter 4 I looked at how my research project started and how I met the participants who became very instrumental to the project. The involvement of Fingo Festival in my research and their community projects was also included. I found that this connection was important because, through working with them, I managed to meet more artists than I would ever have on my own. They did not just help me find the artists but they

also took the project on themselves, thereby creating opportunities for the ILAM tracks to be used, as seen in Akhona's video about littering and the storytelling recording project with Adon Geel.

Even though most artists I gave the recordings to were excited to receive them, not all of them remained in the project. When entering such research, one must anticipate that people might drop out and some might need some kind of guidance along the way. As an engaged ethnomusicologist one must be prepared to create opportunities for the artists to learn and improve their art form. I have learned in my research that it is important to focus on one or two genres of music rather than divide my attention across too many genres. It may not be easy to do so at the beginning of the research, but one must make that decision about who will take part soon so as to improve the focus of the research. Through the workshop we organised with the Fingo Fest, we managed to iron out issues relating to the project which may have hampered the progress. These issues included a discussion around copyright (who is allowed to use the recordings and will they have to pay for it) and access to the recordings (where can they access the recordings, and can they share the recordings with other artists that may be interested in the music). In addition, the workshop addressed technical issues that the artists had relating to sampling traditional music. Most artists raised the matter that they found it difficult to sample from traditional music, and Adon Geel did a demonstration of how he sampled the recordings which answered many of the questions the artists had. This became an important finding in my research as mentioned above, because learning to manipulate rhythms from indigenous music to fit into contemporary, modern rhythmic structures proved to be difficult for most participants.

Through the Fingo Fest I established contact with the Tru FM radio. Unfortunately the competition that was supposed to be held by them did not materialise. I believe that if this competition had happened it would have helped the research project to reach more people and the outcome would have been even better than what was achieved. Working with radio is very important and for future projects one needs to make strong

arrangements with radio stations or other platforms that can reach more people, because doing so can make the research project even more effective. In the hip-hop world there are always arguments about what a beatmaker is and what a producer is. As I started my research, I realised that this issue needed to be addressed. This clarification was important to understand the roles that each participant took with regard to their intentions for the music.

In Chapter 5 I look at how my research participants engaged with the ILAM recordings. I answered questions relating to what piece of music was used and if it was of value to the artist, how they used the recordings, were the new creations performed and what was the reaction to the final result by the musician and by the audience? This chapter was at the heart of this research as this was how I measured the success of repatriation as a tool for revitalisation. I made available the ILAM studio for the artists to use when creating their music which made it easy for me to monitor their progress in a controlled environment. I have introduced poets to beatmakers for them to work together in the studio to create new music. I have also provided training for both the poets and beatmakers on the use of studio equipment and recording.

For Dezz, the first participant in the research, the results of his work were negative at first in that he could not engage with the ILAM recordings presented to him. This was because merely sampling African music was foreign to him, making it difficult to create music with it. Even though it was not easy for Dezz, he eventually recorded a track which he included in his album through the help of Ongidaro who created the beat for him.

My second participant, Ithala Lenyaniso's approach, was different to all the participants because once he received the ILAM recordings, he immediately started selecting tracks he liked and from there he wrote poems that accompanied the recordings. Problems experienced by Ithala Lenyaniso surfaced when he started working with the beatmaker,

Siyanda. He could not explain to Siyanda what kind of beat he would like to be created, what piece of music must be sampled and that caused the beatmaking process to stop. This was due to the lack of studio experience on Ithala's side. Even though Ithala learned a lot in the studio, none of his songs was finalised. He felt that for his music to advance, he had to go home and practice what he had learned from the studio sessions and then he would return and complete his recordings. This outcome, even though it did not yield tangible results, was positive because the participant gained experience.

 Akhona's experience with the music was also different from the other artists. He had a strong feeling that the ILAM tracks carried an important message and they did not need any instrumentation to enhance them, thus he used them simply as backing tracks. Akhona found ways of linking the ILAM tracks with his poetry, even when the message in his poem was different to that of the ILAM track. He looked for specific words which are in the recording and used those words in his poem to make it tie in with the recording. He would also find songs that do not have clear vocals and used them as his backing tracks. By the end of the research Akhona had begun working with Ongidaro to create beats from the ILAM tracks. His songs were all recorded in his album, which he sells everywhere he performs.

My third participant, Nqontonqa, has been instrumental in this research. He became the self-proclaimed ambassador for ILAM, and through his efforts we met and worked with *imbongi zempuma* (Eastern Cape poets) to create valuable recordings. He also collaborated with local poets *imini esesdenge* (that special day) and they have recorded songs as individuals. This has led to many people knowing more about ILAM and what we do, which led to visits from Eastern Cape artists that would never have known and visited ILAM. Nqontsonqa is now considering doing a Master's degree in the African Languages division of the School of Languages, using ILAM tracks.

The participants each found a unique way of using the supplied ILAM tracks. They each managed to produce songs that are unique and different from the others and which have created interest in their various communities. This is a clear indication that revitalisation is taking place. They have sampled, taken ideas and used the music for different things. They have learned something about themselves during the sessions we had and improved their musical skills in different ways. It is my view that if they continue to engage with the ILAM recordings they will learn more about their language, music and aspects of their heritage and create even better music.

6.2 Recommendations

If I had to compare my project to those of other researchers such as Pinkie Mojaki and Jocelyn Moon, I would argue that Mojaki focuses on curriculum inclusion, and she therefore worked with teachers and departmental officials rather than with musicians. Her major focus for revitalisation was in schools. Moon, on the other hand, actually went to find families of the musicians and repatriated the recordings to them. What these people then did with the music was secondary to her research. My focus was on the use of the repatriated tracks by the musicians, and therefore the focus is rather on the contemporary musical results than the process or the pedagogy.

I started this project with the aim to see whether using repatriation as a tool for revitalisation can be effective. The results have shown that it is indeed effective and as ILAM has recordings not only from South Africa, I would like to interrogate the possibility of repatriating the music and find ways of working with artists from all the places I can reach to revitalise the music. I believe that more projects such as mine can create chances for more research and positive revitalisation because there are many places in the Eastern Cape that I can travel to, thereby creating more research opportunities.

Through this experience I have learnt that going to current musicians, rather than non-musician family members of the people involved in the repatriated recording, is key to

revitalisation in contemporary, urban societies. I also found that the expectation that people had some knowledge of their musical heritage was optimistic. Indeed, I found this in areas in Grahamstown where traditional music is still actively performed. Nevertheless, the fundamental connection to music from one's heritage made these musicians commit to this project and, I believe, that these emotional connections made them proud to be using the tracks. Access to music has made all the difference.

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Email correspondence

21/01/2018 – Andrew Tracey
23/01/2018 – Andrew Tracey
27/01/2018 – Andrew Tracey
01/02/2018 – Adon Geel

Discography

01. Dezz - *Khawube ngmama*

02. TR013-06 *inkulu intoezakwenzeka*

03. Ithala lenyaniso - *inkulu intoezakwenzeka*

04. Akhona - *Mazibuye*

05. Nqontsonqa – Unotshe, Asoze ndixolise (Never, I won't apologise)

06. Imbongi zempuma - *Ndim indoda II*

07. Imbongi zempuma - *Nal' igqiyazana*

08. Adon Geel - *Udyakalashe neMfene* (Jackal and Baboon)

09. Adon Geel - *uJakalashe neNgwe* (Jackal and Leopard)

10. Adon Geel - *uJakalashe neNyamakazi* (Jackal and Animals)

Videography

01. Workshop demonstration by Adon Geel

02. *Londoloza indalo* by Akhona Bhodl'ingqaka Mafani

Addendum A

CLASSIFICATION OF TYPES OF PERFORMANCE

For library purposes it is advisable to classify African songs and tunes into groups for quick reference. When the recording and selection of items for this series was started in 1948, no such system for African conditions existed. It thus became necessary for me to devise my own, however arbitrary. No system is likely to prove faultless as so many interpretations can be given to a single complex item. However, the theme upon which the system was evolved was that of 'purpose'.

Where the purpose of a song was self-evident, it offered no difficulty. However, it will be noted, a song originally composed for one purpose can sometimes be used for another. For example, the theme of the lyric may be 'love' but the music may be used for dancing. Such complications apart, the classification used for the 'Sound of Africa' series has proved reasonably adequate for the present, though it may well have to give way to some more scientific method in future.

The system reflects something of the realities of social life from birth to death, covering a number of well defined domestic activitites common to most African peoples of the period in Central and Southern Africa. It is also intended to indicate the authenticity of the composition which follows musical and linguistic rules undistorted by foreign influences which, in the circumstances prevailing in Africa today, must inevitably be reflected in a proportion of their popular musics, and in particular those originating in towns and institutions.

Winds from foreign regions may bend the bough, but the object of this survey is to illustrate the nature of the tree of African music standing with its roots in its own African soil.

The grafting of foreign styles of music onto African stock is prevalent in many quarters, but this, however skilled, is not the present concern of the International Library of African Music which was founded to discover, study and present in recorded form the original unaided genius of African musicians.

Classification of types of performance (cont'd)

CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE

20.11 Birth of infants.
20.12 Traditional poems, verse, country jingles, etc.
20.13 Original lullabies and poems.
20.21 Rounds.
20.22 Children's songs.
20.23 Children's dance songs.
20.3   Singing games and action songs.

INITIATION, PUBERTY AND CIRCUMCISION SONGS

20.41 Male.
20.42 Female.
20.43 For both male and female.

SCHOOL SONGS

20.61 Institutional. Loyalty to school or group.
20.62 Praise songs or greetings to individuals or teachers.
20.63 Praise songs for teams or groups.
20.64 School songs and ballads.
20.65 School songs sung by adults (after school age).
20.66 Drilling or physical training or music.
20.67 School singing games.
20.70 Group songs by young people.
20.71 Indigenous groups.
20.72 Pathfinder scouts, etc., boys (under European auspices).
20.73   ditto, Guides, girls.

LOVE SONGS

21.11 Sung by male lover.
21.12 Sung by female lover.
21.13 Sung by either or both.

WEDDING SONGS

21.21 Engagement songs.
21.22 Bride's songs.
21.23 Bridegroom's songs.
21.24 Wedding songs for both.

BURIALS. WAKES AND LAMENTS FOR DEAD

22.11 Mourning or wake.
22.12 Burial ceremony.
22.13 Feast or party after burial.
22.14 Obsequies some time after burial.

Classification of types of performance (cont'd)

22.15 Special songs for dead infants.
22.21 Special songs for dead chiefs.
22.22 Royal obsequies.

RELIGIOUS AND SUPERSTITIOUS
PAGAN

23.11 Spirits ritual.
23.12 Ancestral rites.
23.13 Souls ritual.
23.14 First Fruits ceremonies.
23.15 Other rituals. Secret societies, etc.

NATIVE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

23.21 Original Separatist hymns.
23.22 Traditional songs, adapted for Christian hymns.
23.23 Broad adaptations of other hymns of foreign origin.
23.24 Other chants and religious songs for dancing, etc.
23.25 Negro spirituals.
23.26 Songs with religious intent.

CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
(Under European Supervision)

23.31 Hymns.
23.32 Other chants, anthems, psalms, etc.
23.33 Mass, and parts of Mass, Gloria, Kyrie, etc.

MOHAMMEDAN

23.41 Recitations of Khoran, etc.
23.42 Chants.
23.43 Cries and calls.

DIVINATION AND SPIRITUALISM

23.51 Solo songs by professional diviners and herbalist songs,
       for divining with dice at seances, etc.
23.52 Songs for diviners and herbalists sung by or with the
       people.
23.53 Semi-professional (isangoma), guessing, fortune-telling,
       etc.
23.54 Songs believed to have curative virtue.

SPELL BINDING AND BREAKING

23.55 Spell binding and spell breaking. Protective spells, etc.
23.56 Breaking the story, or drama spell.
23.57 After parties. Going home.

Classification of types of performance (cont'd)

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL

24.11 Affairs of State, nation or tribe.
24.12 Chieftainships. Succession.
24.13 Installation of Chiefs.
24.14 Indigenous governments and rulers. Chiefs. Greeting songs, ceremonial, etc.
24.15 Legal proceedings, Law Courts.

24.21 National Anthems.

24.22 Patriotic songs, exhortations to social solidarity. Propaganda songs.
24.31 Traditional or ritual songs concerning the tribe and its continuity. Singing for rain, etc.
24.32 Social ceremonies, seasonal cermonies, etc.

24.41 Foreign overlordship.
24.42 Clashes with law, police, tax and pass laws, etc.
·24.43 Industrial relations, labour unions, etc.
24.44 Political party songs.

MORALITY SONGS

24.51 Exhortations to sexual morality.
24.52 Exhortations to general good behaviour.

FIGHTING AND MILITARY

25.1 War on national scale, Great War, etc., involving Europeans.
25.2 Faction or clan fighting, on tribal scale. Sung before fighting.
25.3 Individual feuds and fighting.
25.35 Cattle raiding.
25.4 Victory, sung after fighting, before the chief, etc.

REGIMENTAL

25.51 Soldiers marching songs.
25.52 Other soldiers songs.

INDIGENOUS ARMIES

25.61 Regimental or group songs.
25.62 Tribal or group cries.

WORK OR OCCUPATIONAL SONGS

26.1 DOMESTIC. Grinding, cooking, sweeping, pounding, etc.

26.2 AGRICULTURAL and PASTORAL. Ploughing, reaping, threshing, herding, etc.

Classification of types of performance (cont'd)

26.3   HOME INDUSTRIES. Crafts, smelting, weaving, boat-building, launching, etc.

26.4   LABOUR. (Working for others, especially Europeans.) Lifting loads, pick and shovel songs, rock-drilling, miners' songs, industrial, etc.

26.5   Boats, barges and canoes, paddling, poling, etc.
26.61   Hunting.
26.62   Songs after hunting.
26.71   Fishing.
26.72   Songs after fishing.
26.8   Drinking songs.
26.9   Smoking.

BALLADS AND ALL SONGS FOR GENERAL ENTERTAINMENT, INCLUDING CONCERTS

27.1   Topical, relating to local events, scandals, etc., with or without continuous theme.

27.11   Greeting songs and farewell songs, etc., as used by concert party troupes and choirs.

27.2   Historic, recalling famous occasions, or notable incidents.

27.31   Heroic, relating the deeds of hero or heroine.

27.32   Praise songs of a personal nature, for chiefs or individuals.

27.33   Praise chants, or verse.

27.34   Praise songs for objects, places and people, of a patriotic or partisan nature.

27.4   Sentimental, emotional, wistful, nostalgic.

27.41   Adaptations of foreign songs (non-African).

27.5   Humorous.

27.53   Pornographic, bawdy songs.

27.55   Party songs, songs of good cheer.

27.56   Mendicants' songs, begging, street selling.

LAMENTS

27.61   Personal laments.

27.62   Community laments, famines, scourges, etc.

27.63   About marital troubles.

SELF DELECTATIVE sung for one's own delight

27.91   Sung unaccompanied.

27.92   Sung to instrumental accompaniment such as mbira or bow.

27.93   Walking and riding songs, on a journey, etc.

27.94   Music without words.

DANCE SONGS

28.11 Indigenous country dances.
28.12 Adaptations of country dances.
28.13 Ritual dances.
28.14 Exhibition dances. Solo.
28.15 Exhibition dances, by two or more dancers.
28.16 Danse du ventre.
28.2   Town dances, originated in urban circumstances.
28.3   Mine or industrial compound dances, originated as
       such.
28.4   European style dances.
28.5   Adaptations of European style dances.
28.6   Step dances (indigenous).
28.7   Step dances of European origin.
28.8   Dances of other origin; Indian, Arab, etc.

MISCELLANEOUS TYPES

29.1   Stories (without songs).
29.11 Stories with songs. (Song stories).
29.12 Story songs (without the story matrix).
29.13 Sketches.
29.14 Speeches, commentaries and talks.

29.21 Verse, sung or chanted. Recitative to music, legends,
       blank verse, etc.
29.22 Verse recited. Recitations of historic events, etc.

29.31 Riddles.
29.32 Proverbs and sayings.

29.41 Songs without words — vowel sounds only.
29.42 Songs with meaningless words. (Generally tradition
       songs whose meaning has vanished with the years.)
29.43 Yodelling songs.

RHYTHMS

29.51 Drum rhythms.
29.52 Percussion rhythms (other than drums).

INSTRUMENTAL TUNES WITHOUT WORDS

29.71 Instrumental tunes and pieces without sung lyric.
29.72 Drum tunes, on tuned drums (as opposed to drum
       rhythms).
29.73 Sounds on instruments, neither tunes nor imitations
       of other sounds (such as loud noises interpolated
       into dance music).
29.74 Onomatopoeic sounds, imitating bird calls, etc.

Addendum B

HOW I 'DISCOVERED' MWENDA, JEAN BOSCO

by

<u>Hugh Tracey</u>

How I 'discovered' Mwenda – Jean Bosco?   Let me see...   1952 was the year, and Saturday 2nd February the date to be exact.   I had arrived at the small copper mining town of Jadotville in the Katanga Province of the Southern Congo.   It was on one of my annual recording tours which were destined to help change the whole attitude of the general public towards African music, as the recordings we made around these years were to be published and sent to universities all over the world.

I was walking through the town, *I remember* trying to make arrangements for a recording session that evening when I caught sight of a young Congolese squatting with a friend on the edge of the pavement, with a guitar beside him.   Nothing unusual in that – in Africa.   But as I am always on the look-out for musicians I went up to him as he sat there and asked him if he was the one who played the guitar he was holding.   His answer to me, in French, was just this...   "Monsieur," he said "I am the best guitarist in Jadotville".   "All right," I said "come tonight to the square outside the police station as we will be recording there".   His name, he told me, was Mwenda, Jean Bosco.   (There, in the Congo they always put their African name first – Mwenda, Jean Bosco.)   He came.   But over a thousand people came too, and the noise and gaiety made it quite impossible to do any serious recordings.   The local authorities had very kindly allowed me to use their offices where I could at least hear something of the quality of the few musicians wanting to record, in spite of the crowd noises outside.   So we did our best.   I could not find Mwenda at first among the invited musicians who had been able to struggle through the surging mass of bodies to get into the office.   So I went outside in search of him and eventually found him sitting with a few friends on a bench against a wall some yards away.   In spite of the din going on, chatter, shouting, laughter and general chaos which you find in any happy mass of African men and women on such an occasion, I asked him to sing something.   With his two friends sitting as close to him as possible and with my head almost touching the body of his guitar, I could hear that he had a new style of music to offer and tried a test recording.   But the crowd and the pressure of the bodies all around us made it very difficult so I said "come to my camp at a certain place (called La Maisonnette outside the town, tomorrow morning, and I will record you there".

Well – Mwenda Jean Bosco was so excited, as he had never recorded before, that he sang all night.   No-one outside the local circle of his immediate friends had specially appreciated any of his songs – so this was something new for him.

Next morning, the Sunday, he arrived by himself at my camp about three miles away from the mine, with absolutely no voice at all.   He could hardly speak he was so hoarse from his all-night session.   So we got out a bottle of that black

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treacly peppermint stuff you take for sore throats – you know the stuff – gave him a double dose; and/the tears came rolling out of his eyes and after a few minutes he said he was feeling much better.   And indeed he was!

I usually record out in the open air, but that day there was a slight breeze blowing which would disturb the microphone so I had to find shelter out of the wind.   Nearby there was an old abandoned brick hut; the door and window frames had been pulled out and the floor was covered with a pile of loose bricks.   So I cleared a space, made one heap of bricks for Mwenda to sit on and another for me; and sitting opposite each other we recorded his first eight songs.   The first was *Masanga*, the tune that has gone round the world.   Here it is, my original recording made in that dusty, broken down old brick hut on a hot Congo Sunday morning, February 3rd 1952.

MASANGA   (FIT-1 – Field research number)

Mwenda, Jean Bosco recorded/eight songs that morning; I think it was the whole of his repertoire at that time.   The next one was called *Namlia-e*.   He had two songs, he said, which he composed shortly after his father died.   The one was this *Namlia-e* and the other *Mama Kilio*.

In *Namlia-e* he sings "I weep for my father who is dead".   He was obviously much affected by his death, and, as so many African musicians before him, he sang about his private bereavement and personal sorrow in a public lament in which all the people around could then, in some degree, share with his family and in so doing ease the burden of distress.

NAMLIA-E   (FIT-2)

The second song *Mama Kilio-e* is really a variation of the other, but in this one he brings in his mother, saying "I grieve with my Mother for my Father who is dead".   I am not sure about this, but I rather fancy that *Mama Kilio* was the name of his mother.   I never thought of asking him at the time.

MAMA KILIO-E   (FIT-3)

Now a song with a rather different theme...   It is called *Sokuohomale jikita*. The words are in a form of Swahili.   I say a form of Swahili because, you know, there are no less than seven varieties of Swahili, that is Swahili dialects.   The main dialect is the one spoken in Zanzibar and is called *Unguja*.   But there are others generally called after their place of origin such as *Amu* from Lamu, *Mvita* from the old name of Mombasa (just as we might say a certain man has a Manchester accent);   and then there is one called the *Hadimu* dialect, the fishermen's Swahili, and I am told that it is this one which has gone up into the interior of Africa from the East coast along the old Arab trade routes.   I am not an expert in these things and so I cannot say for certain which Swahili it is that Bosco Mwenda speaks but it is certainly the one still spoken on the southern Congo Arab trade route. His song refers to the married woman's belt called her Jikita which is considered to be not unlike a kind of chastity belt, for no-one other than the husband may

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dare to touch the *jikita* of a wife. "If my wife is unfaithful to me," he sings, "I shall throw her out and take another" ...a fairly common sentiment in an Africa industrial town such as Jadotville.

SOKUCHOMALE JIKITA (FIT-4)

In so many of the songs I have recorded in the Congo the subject of women is undoubtedly the most prevalent. 'Dublin's fair city where the girls are so pretty' has no monopoly of local beauties.

You have heard, no doubt, of the famous Congo print dresses which are so gay. So gay in fact that when you see a crowd of Luba or southern Congo girls en masse they look like a collection of gaily coloured moths or butterflies. Fashion in dress is a constant topic of conversation, so it is not surprising to find Bosco Mwenda mentioning this in song too. "There are women who tie their kerchiefs around their head in many different ways" - and he might have added, in very becoming, very fetching ways too. They are really very adept at it.

TAMBALA MOJA (FIT-5)

The next song he sang me that Sunday morning is, I still think, a very attractive song and one that is quite easy to pick up. It is called *Mama na mwana*, Mother and Child. Incidentally, as a general rule African composers do not bother to give their songs names. So when I record I generally have to put names to them myself, usually by taking the first few words of the song which is what I did in this case.

In one of the verses he sings, in the Ngala language incidentally, "Give me five francs, my wife, so that I may go". Go where exactly is not revealed... perhaps to the local dancing place, for there were always many of those around in Jadotville. I saw one where they had hung full length mirrors along many of the walls, and you would see single dancers, young men or women, happily dancing by themselves and fascinated by watching themselves in the mirror, quite oblivious of what was going on around them.

MAMA NA MWANA (FIT-8)

I hope you like that one as I think it is one of his best melodies.

The next song Mwenda Jean Bosco sang me that bright Sunday morning in that broken down old brick hut was one about a bachelor *Bombalaka*... the word means 'bachelor'. He sings this one in Swahili too, though he told me he was a Sanga himself, that is one of the Luba people. I rather think/from their music I have heard/that they are/one of the more musical/of the Congo peoples. The guitar I fancy has added something to their natural musical talent, whereas in many places it has tended to oust/the local sense of music. Bosco said this song was meant to be an example of the style of town dance called *Bikinya*. Whether this was a free translation of the word 'Beguine' or not I must leave to you.

BOMBALAKA (FIT-12)

The cough cure medicine was beginning to wear off by the time we wanted to record the next song, so another dose, (as before), did the trick and we launched into one about the girls of Jadotville. Paulina Mubaya, the Bad Paulina, is the heroine this time, or should I say the siren of the song. Paulina, Katerina and the rest, he sings, are all bad girls. "After eight or nine or possibly ten o'clock I shall go home." I wonder if he did.

PAULINA MUBAYA   (FIT-13)

Now lastly I did not want Mwenda to go without doing just one more recording for me. I felt that his song *Masanga* was so unusual that I really ought to have a special version of it as an instrumental solo without the voice. So, although he had never thought of playing Masanga just like that before, he said he would try for me, and this he did. Masanga as a guitar solo, and I don't think it has been heard in this form before, at least not on one of my 'Music of Africa' Series. For many people this version without the words may seem the better of the two. I must ask Mwenda Jean Bosco what he thinks one of these days, though I haven't seen him again since that day at my camp outside Jadotville.

MASANGA   (FIT-14)
Instrumental Solo

It is extraordinary how such casual events lead on to fortune in the musical world. My noticing that young Sanga African squatting on the edge of the pavement opened up an entirely new life for him. He was, at the time, a messenger working for the passport office in Jadotville. But as soon as I had published his songs, everything began to happen to him. He was taken up by a local gramophone company, sent up to East Africa for a while, and altogether recorded over a hundred more songs. I have seen the figures of the sales of his records and, as it was pointed out to me, none of his subsequent recordings ever sold so many discs as those first nine songs of his which we recorded that day at La Maisonnette, in that tumbledown old brick hut. His songs have even taken him to America and the Newport Folk Festival. "Masanga" in particular has been heard, analysed and published in notation in several song books in Africa and elsewhere. But for me, I think I shall always think of him as that young man with a wire-stringed guitar, sitting there on the edge of the pavement and, unknowingly, waiting for me and my recording machine to turn up.

Good luck to you Mwenda Jean Bosco, wherever you may be.

Addendum C

IIMBONGI ZEMPUMA - NAL'IGQIYAZANA (" SHE IS A LADY ")

Wara
Nal' igqiyizana, icikiziw' intombi ubuhle bayo
Bukhweba nesishumane esiz'gqithela ngendlela
Ulusu lwayo lumpuluswa okwesikhumba sosana

Uncumo lwayo luqhokr' amadolo kuvuze nezincw'
emaxhegweni

Amabel' athe nkqo enz' incilikith' emfaneni
Xa ihamb' ichul' ukunyathel' unyaw' emva kolunye
ngesantya sothando
Wakhekil' usisi umzimba ungafung' uthi wabunj'
emyezweni

Imbeko nentlonipho ziyaphuphuma wazincanc'
ebeleni
Ububele nothando olufudumeleyo zonke zisegazini
Osecaleni kwakh' uyachaphazelek' uyosuleleka
Kwinzala yindlezana kaMama

Ngumkhuseli nje ngesikhukukazi kukhetshe
Ekhaya ngungcib' iintanda, kwabandolekelay'
ligxalaba lokulila, akadinwa

Safobe
KwelaseTyhini ityholo ndithe ndithez' iinkuni kanti
zingcondo

Yen'akamhlanga kubheka phi kodwa ungula
mdlungu udlekayo

Wophulw' ibele waphikwa
Wophulw' intliziyo izihlandlo washiywa

Kodwa ukuzikhupha umphefumlo kuye akuzange
kubesezingcingeni

Phantsi kwezo nzingo iintlungu nenkxwaleko
athubeleze phantsi kwazo wafunda nto

Kaloku imvomvo ihluma ekhaleni

Ndithi nal'iGqiyazana, intomb'ezimamelayo
iingcebiso kodwa isigqibo isithathe ngokwayo
Eyaphandlwa yabona

Engazithelekisi namntu eyenza into ineenjongo
Inina elingaxhomekekanga elizithembileyo
Inomtsalane icocekile intombi

Ayisosdima ngumdliva

WARA
Here is a daughter of the nation blessed with
beauty that attracts young men as they pass by
Her skin is as soft as that of a new born baby

Her smile makes them go weak at the knees and
make old men salivate
Her breasts so firm, making a young man dizzy
Step by step, she walks in a harmonious pace of
love
She is well built, you'd swear she was moulded in
the Eden Garden

She overflows with respect and humility Inherited
from her mother's breast
Generousity and love flow in her veins influencing
those around her
She is a mother to the young ones

She is a protector like a mother hen from the hawk
At home she is a peacemaker, to the younger ones,
she is a shoulder to cry on without getting weary

SAFOBE
Here she shows up when I least expected
She is not all that beautiful but she is a force to be
reckoned with

She's been there; impregnated and left alone
Her heart knows pains and rejection
But she's never contimplated committing suicide
Through the trials and tribulations she went
through, she learnt valuable life lessons
Remember aloe raceme is found within an aloe

Verily I say here is a daughter of the nation
She who is a great listner to advice, and makes
informed decisions
Once beaten now twice shy

She's in competition with no one but focus is on
her goals
An independent being emanating self-esteem
Very attractive, she's neat and clean
With a great sense of dignity

Bhekelani pha makwedini ayingondonci lo sisandlwane.   Ndith nal'igqiyazana

Isiswenye Sesihobe
Ngenxa yemeko zale mihla ezithand' ukuba mandundu
Apho amantombazana ezibhaqa ephethuphuthulwa oko phuthu
Entyumpantyumpeka kananjalo kumsinga wokuzeya
Ebethelwa ixilongo ngamajelo osazazo noomabokude
Ebakhabela kude qelele kwisibaya sokuzazi
Ndilibonile nal' igqiyazana, yendizingomb' isfuba ngayo le inkosazana
Neengcambu zeBuyambo ezixelele ukunamathelana, nobunewunewu baseNtshona ezixelele ukusadulelana
Isiswenye sesihobe silibonile nal' igqiyazana, ngenene eli ligqiyazana.

MaDiya
Ndim igqiyazana ndaziwa zizizwe
Kalok' andilawuli ngagqudu kwesam isizwe
Ndigraya nj' isihob' elityeni
Ndibashiye besel' amakhatshw' emoyeni

Ndisusa nj' inkung' emehlweni wabo
Babon' ukuphambuka kwabo
Andibakhuphi ngondlov' ayingeni ezikroxweni
Ndithungela nj' amagam' ephepheni ibenguwashiyw' ubhek' emnyango besingisel' esikolweni

Ndigabhel' ephepheni ukukhusel' amanye amagqiyazana kookrebe
Kaloku ndiligqiyazana nje ngesini kodwa izithong' endibetha ngazo zezendoda
Neentanga zam imbala ziyandikhanyela

Ndim igqiyazana, kwiinqwel' ezisingisa kwantshabalala andikhweli
Kwibhekile yotywala ndijoja nje ndidlule
Baqeqesha ngam aph' ekuhlaleni, kaloku ndingumzekelo
Nank' umququmbelo wentyatho yam makubanjelelwe
Mandilandelwe kunyathelwe apho ndinyathele khona
Khon' ukuz' isizwe samagqiyazana singoyeli. Ndim igqiyazana

Move away chance takers, she's not of your league
Verily I say here's a 'daughter of the soil'

ISISWENYE SESIHOBE
Due to the devastating issues of today
Where girls find themselves being used only for bedroom purposes
Drowning away with low self-esteem

Here they are brainwashed by media
I see them losing their origins and identities

Yes I've seen this 'daughter of the soil'
In whom I take pride
For she's sees value in her indigenous roots
And she's set free from colonial waywardness

Isiswenye Sesihobe has seen 'the daughter of the soil' and salutes

MADIYA
I am a 'daughter of the soil' known to nations
For I rule not in my nation with an iron fist
Instead I craft my art on a rock and leave them thirsty for more

I remove the mist from their eyes
So they see their waywardness
I use not force to remove them from liquor stores
I place words on paper and they stampede out headed for school

I put ink to paper and make daughters aware of the predators
I might be a girl but my blows are those a man
So much that my peers do not doubt me

I am a 'daughter of the soil' I shall not be manipulated to a destructive path
Liquor is not a thing of mine
Parents point to me as an example when they discipline their children in my village

Here is the hem of my garment for ones to hold on to
Follow me and keep to my footsteps
So that the nation of the daughters drowns not
Verily I say I am the daughter of the soil

Dezz

Uziintyatyambo emva kobusika khawusondele
ndiphuz' ebunzi
Umkhitha wakho utsal' amehlo uyilamazi ilwisa
iinkunzi
Undivuselela amatshamba undincomisa
ngabakhuluwa
Abanyelisa intomb' omXhosa bangakubelekis'
irhuluwa
Ndiphatha ndiyeka, ndincuma ndihleka, ndiliqaba
ngothando
Nal' igqiyazana intokazi engasoze ikushiye
nomkhango
Awunamini itheni, wavula umlomo ndiyathatheka
Awunayo nalanto ithi "iintombi ngebhiya
ziyaqhatheka
Ukuba bakubonile begqith' ezizweni bangakukhi
bakuyeke
Ukuba bazakuxuba nalamagada bakunyathele
bakuhleke
Awudingi nohonjiswa, umhle ngendalo Nonzaliseko
Ndingakubekela iimini ezinkulu ndikuphuze
ngeziganeko
Amakroti angcangcazela ingwatyu uvus'intaka
kulamagwala
Kuthi mandincome intlahla zembola
akuqhathwanga krwala
Ukophuka kwebele ziinkomo awuhlawulwa
ngatywala
Baphi oomalume ukuze nibone ba akuphandlwanga
mntwana

Bhodl' ingqaka

Bath' ingwe idla ngamabala, ndithe ukusebenzisa
ilis' elibanzi ukuzokufikelela kwisigqibo esithi inene
nal' igqiyazana
Ngumpondo zihlanjiwe bav' ukubetha kolwimi
bambiz' IsiXhosana
Nal' igqiyazana, inkangeleko ithi "soka ndithathe"
Ngudondolo wokuwela iKanana
Ayilokhuba eli alithengwa ngokubonwa
OoJipsy badlalela qelele kuye
Le ntombi ichubekile, iziva nje ngevumb' iibhokhwe
ezingumhlola ukungapheli
de zibone le misenge igobile
Mawethu nal' igqiyazan ngumzekel' omhle kwilizwe
jikelele. Igqiyazana

DEZZ

You flowers that grow after winter
Come close so I kiss your forehead
The way you're so attractive
Men fight of you

You awaken pride in me I'm even saluted by bigger
brothers
I know not what to do with myself for I am filled
with joy and love
Here is a daughter of the nation, she who is
trustworthy
At any given time, whenever you speak I engage
You're not the type they easily manipulate with
liquor
If they see you in nations, they dare not touch you
If they have no good intentions but to just use and
refuse

You need no make up no accessories, for you have
natural beauty Nonzaliseko
You are the one to be preserved, reserved for
special occasions
Even the brave go weak at your presence let alone
the cowardly
That organic ochre on your face makes your skin
beam and glow
Should a young man make you pregnant, then he
should be sure to pay lobola and marry you
Where are the elders to come behold your
greatness

BHODL'INGQAKA

They say a tiger takes pride of it's spots
With careful observation I came to a conclusion
that this is a real 'daughter of the soil'
She's the best, but when they hear traditional tone
they think she's backwards
Here is a dauhter of the nation, her beauty is
inviting
With no reluctance this is a lady I'd put trust on
Be aware this lady is not a gold digger, she'd never
compromise
Her humanity and her body for money
Big men who're good at playing the cards of
manipulation
Had tried numerous times but it's always a lose no
win

See she is a lady for she loves herself and an
intellectual
Here is a lady, a beautiful example to the nations!

Chosi
Igqiyazan' intombi ekubekel' isitena iminyak'
ikulibazise ngokuthi impendulo uyakuyifumana
kunina

Le nt' ihonjisiwe ngokumila nobuhle hayi
ukuthozama nengqiqo
Ukuthandabuza no'thingaza nali igqiyazana eso
sisgqibo

Hayi ubucwinana bokufukam' amaqanda abolileyo
lo x' ewunduzela udlal' indim'endod'aph' ekhaya
Nd'ocel' utata ayondixhamlela ndakhe ubuhlobo
phesheya phaya

Ndixolel' ukuyitya nelaphu ndibil' imbovu
Igqiyazana int' ekhulis' usapho ngaphandle koyise
Ayisindwa ngumboko wayo yindlovu Intyatyambo
engabuniyo nasebusika zifik' inqwithela zigqithe
Thyini bafondini yimbokodo
Ukub abazifun' inkomo ezimanqina amane
nd'akuza nangepokotho

CHOSI
She is a lady with dignity and anxiety
Propose her she'd say the response
You'll get it from your mother

Designed with naturally beauty and figure
She is a lady for her humbleness
And an intellectual she is !

There's no reluctance in my mind this is my
decision
She is a lady!
See her moving upside down looking for greener
pastures
Trust me she has a father figure role on her home

I'll ask my father to request marriage to her home
I'd rather suffer from hunger, and have sweat in my
forehead just to get close to this lady
She is a lady, an Elephant for she raised
Children's alone on the father's absence

The flower of my heart
The plant that never died, secreted in between
rocks
If her home rejects my cows, then I'll come with my
pocket !

Njilo
Mbone xa enqanda ndiphum' izthuba yiva xa
ephos' elokuncama ndityhala ngesifuba athi "Bhuti
ikusala kutyela sibona ngolophu"
Ngumsimelelo wala mfana uta'mkhulu kula
matyathanga ale dolophu

Wazi ukungqusha nokusinda, ukugudula nokurhida
Sibhodl' iilwimi ngeelwimi esi s'fundiswa

NguAlizwa kaTata liZotshokazi mhle sesinekile

Eli qobokazana alilali ndleleni sele kunyembelekile
Ndidla ngobona abafana behlinz' igusha balixhom'
ifele swiii bangalisuki

Kunga ungahlal' ekhaya dadethu kudud' ujambase
fi bangakunuki mzekel' omhle wentombi xa
uyiyizela kule migidi kubil' izishumane zoonyana
kunqwen' amazibazana
Ndokose kaNala xa indim indoda makube kanti

Nal' igqiyazana

NJILO
You could see her sense of humor
When I fight as she tries to stop me
Oh here her last words when I'm stubborn
"Brother consequences of your actions will be bad"

She is a stick of my blind Grandfather
In his trials and tribulations
She is a lady!

She could do Traditional home chores
She is an academic, speaking many languages
She's Alizwa , a daughter to my father
she's beautiful while angry

You'll never see her lying on the streets
I'd seen men taking chances on abusing women
through cheating and fooling them
I wish you'd stay at home my sister untill you kick
the bucket !

A good example of a lady
Ululating on ceremonies until bachelors lose their

minds for they're attracted
Ndokose if I am a man then no doubt here is a lady !

BONGWEZ
Nal' igqiyazana, uwunyathel 'umhlaba ngocoselelo kub' ezazi ungumbon' omhl' ebafaneni
Nabo bambone kuqala bacinga ngumlingo int' apha abayibona ukungakholwa

Nal' igqiyazana elenz' ifuthe lomtshato zifane nomfutho weRhamba ukuhambela phezulu

Lo ngumzekelo nomahluko kwesisxeko saba mpahla zimfutshane zikhozel' imali

Ukundivuma kwakhe nam bendakufana nentlaka ndibe lixolo ukuncamathela

Ndim igqiyazana, ndizimisa ngxii!! Iingqaqambo zokundenz' ulala ndenze ixabiso lam lithi ndenz' inkosazana

Kuwe mandifane noyesu iintsuku zakho zoba ngudlalani mazibethelelwe buphele ubusoka Kunganxakam' amaxhego Njil' ubokuyaz' ikhon'into uyakuyibuz' esibabeni

Nal' igqiyazana kakade ndilithunyelo kwiingqondo zokuyijik' imini nabanondindwa mabachasele kude

Nqontsonqa
UMamCirha wahlala emzini wakhe nabantwana ukulahleka komyeni nezomhlaba

Isikhukukazi sekhaya, esazijul' ujacu sathul' iqhiya nemibhinqo saqhin' emnyango

Ukuze kungabikho monzakalo nanxunguphalo Isandla sakhe nemimiselo yokuqoqosh' ikhaya yaba yimfudumalo

Babecinga ukumnka kwexhego liyakulandelwa ziindong' ezidilikayo kant' abalazang' elidlalayo Wathath' isihlalo wabhinqela phezulu wabek' imiqathango neziyalo
Ndinombono wale ntombi inwele zingwevu Ishixiza ingen' isixeko ikhangel' engenayo idibanise kwenayo ukuze abantwana nesizulwana balale ziibomvu

X' ezakubek' inqqawa waashiy' amazwi wathi

BONGWEZ
Here is a lady!
Walks with confidence
She is a beautiful vision to many men

Those who have seen her cannot resist her beauty
A lady that comforts a marriage In to a high note of progression

She is a lady an example, she is not exposing her body for money or prostitution

If She gives me her heart, I'd attach myself and not move an inch
I am a lady, I reject chance takers
who'd propose myself for bedroom purposes
My value says " Marry me"

To you let me like Jesus
Your days of cheating shall be hanged on the cross , and we kill your character

Njilo you should know if old men take actions , there's something is about to happen
You'd ask that to other men she is a lady!
Messenger on changing our days to be beautiful
Wreck less women are far away from myself !

NQONTSONQA
Mam'Cirha stayed at home with children as widow after the loss of her husband
She comforted everyone, and they felt at home

She made sure there was no trauma, no hunger, nor trials or tribulations
Her hands brought love and comfort

Many assumed the absence of the widow's husband would determine the fall of the house walls
But it was all a lie, she took authority and ruled with confidence

I'd seen her looking for greener pastures in the community
For Grandchildren to sleep fulfilled
A grey hair lady with commitment and determination

"Bantwana bam ikhaya likhaya ndiboniswa ukuba indawo yam kwelokuphu mla ifuniwe   Koko ndinithembile ukuba umzi kayise nakuwugcina nibambene ukuze ndibe ndiyaxoliswa kwelokuphumla"

Lala ngoxolo Toliwe, ukuba izenzo zakho bezingabonisi mbokodo kumagqiyaza kulengoma bendingenakuphefumla.

Gqobhoz'imbawula
NguCome guerrilla inyamazan' igqiyazan' elazabalaza namany'amakhosazana. Bengodolo phezulu bekhalimela ukunyhashelw' amalungulo, impatho gadalala ngabo bazizingqanda mathe zabo Ukuba ngamaxhoba okuxhatshazwa ngokwezesondo kunye nokuhamaba ngokungcungcutheka kwizitalato zesixeko Benamaxhala walamaxhalanga azithathela ngolunya

Le yinkokheli eyathwal' amagunya okukhokhela umzabalazo wamanina

Bedikwe yiyokosa emva kwethub' elide of being victims of triple oppression

Eli ligorhakazi elathwala uxanduva, livuselel' izazela ngengqindi lika amandla phezulu

Suka ndabona umfanekiso ngqondweni ongumfuziselo ka Queen Nzinga noYaa Asantewaa
Le yintokazi, mhlonipheni
Mayinqumame loo ngxokozelo namakhwelo abonis' indelelo

Esi sisikhukhukazi esafukama inzala yase Azania Wasiqokelela sonke, ukusuka eCape ukuya eCairo, wayeMorroco wayoqhina ngeMadagasca.

Before she kicked the bucket
She said " My children there's nothing important than home. My days are numbered , I trust you that you'll bond and unite so I'd rest in peace"
Rest in Peace Toliwe
If your actions never showed characteristics of a rock woman, I wouldn't be praising you !

GQOBHOZ'IMBAWULA
She is a "Come Guerrilla" of a woman
A lady that strived and fought for women's rights
Fought sexual abuse and women safety for they are victims on our daily basis

She is leader that strived and stamped the authority
Leading a women protest
After been victims of triple oppression
She's a heroine which held responsibility
By leading woman in various marches raising the power feast

An imagination of Queen Nzinga and YA ASANTEWAA
This is a lady
Show respect
Stop the flirts and whistles

This lady carried children of Azania
From Cape, Morocco to Madagascar