

**EASTERN CAPE JAZZ HERITAGE: THE JAZZ TRADITION
AND VETERAN MUSICIANS OF EAST LONDON AND
ZWELITSHA**

By

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own original work and that it has not previously been used or submitted for degree purposes at any other University. References have been listed and acknowledged appropriately.

Signature: T.Q.G

Date: 18 July 2023

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the memories of musicians and music collectors as evident in the performance of traditional jazz songs in East London and Zwelitsha. I ask, how may research on musicians and their songs develop new knowledge about the aesthetics of jazz in the Eastern Cape and contribute to transforming notions of memories and archives? I argue that these songs are repositories of collective memory about the musical pasts of Eastern Cape modernity. We commemorate cities such as Johannesburg and Cape Town for nurturing South African jazz but what is known of the jazz musicians who remained in the country, and those musicians whose musicality was nurtured in the Eastern Cape? Where are the stories of their musical journeys and compositions located? How did these musicians contribute to the development of a form of South African jazz, which now represents and forms a large part of our heritage and our various identities as musicians, fans and performers in South Africa? In-depth and semi-structured interviews were conducted with veteran jazz musicians, jazz music collectors and members of the younger generation of jazz musicians who are originally from or reside in East London and Zwelitsha, Eastern Cape. The research follows a qualitative methodology, using an exploratory case study with a focused ethnographic approach, to understand how these musicians' songs have retained memories of their lived experiences. The research is derived from oral histories of musicians to understand how the songs survive in the collective memory of musicians and their fans, contributing to the preservation of Eastern Cape's jazz heritage.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1. Background and Rationale

The bulk of South African jazz studies is made up of literature concerning the development of jazz in the large cities of Johannesburg (Ballantine, 2012; Dalamba, 2006; Eato, 2013) and Cape Town (Dalamba, 2019; Muller, 2006) since they are often focused on global jazz icons such as Miriam Makeba, Johnny Dyani, Hugh Masekela, Bheki Mseleku and Abdullah Ibrahim, whose music helped put South African jazz on the world stage (Dalamba, 2006). While these musicians undoubtedly helped shape the distinctly South African jazz sound we know today, the emphasis on these musicians and the jazz scenes of their respective cities means that information about jazz musicians who reside in the less cosmopolitan parts of South Africa is lacking. This undermines the influence of other musicians whose playing also helped shape the sound of South African jazz. This is especially true of cities in the Eastern Cape province, which were once famous for their vibrant jazz cultures and home to many influential players, including Zim Ngqawana, Stompie Mavi, and Tete Mbambisa, to name a few. Having identified this absence/lacuna in the literature I felt the need to address this shortcoming. If, as esteemed Queenstown-born pianist, composer, and journalist, Todd Matshikiza, claimed, “the Eastern Cape was the birthplace of Black jazz and centers such as Queenstown (Komani), King Williams Town (Qonce), Grahamstown (Makhanda/Rhini), East London (eMonti) and Port Elizabeth (Gqeberha), were the source of the most talented jazz musicians in the country” (Baines, 1996), then it is vital to tell the stories of the musical journeys of Eastern Cape musicians, their history from their perspective, and their part in the development of a distinct form of South African jazz, which now forms a significant part of our musical heritage.

Of great influence on the popularity of jazz music in the Eastern Cape was the exposure to Black American music, beginning in the late nineteenth century, through both live performances and vinyl records in the twentieth century. In the 1890s, South Africans had their first encounter with Black Americans and their music when the minstrel troupe, Orpheus Myron McAdoo’s “Virginia Jubilee Singer”, from Hampton, Virginia arrived in

South Africa. Following a series of concerts in Cape Town, McAdoo's minstrels toured the Eastern Cape, visiting places such as Grahamstown, King Williams Town, and the famous Lovedale College in Alice. After the first world war (1914-1918), the first recordings of a New Orleans band called "The Original New Orleans Dixieland Band", arrived in South Africa (Galeta, 2012). Having arrived first in Cape Town, the records were soon distributed to other parts of the country. Swing band ensembles that came about in the 1940s-50s such as the Soul Jazzmen in Port Elizabeth (Gqeberha) had a substantial role in inspiring and teaching musicians of the next generation who would become widely recognised composers, instrumentalists and arrangers (Thram, 2018). Access to American jazz music through the introduction of popular music technologies such as radios and gramophones served as the biggest catalyst for the developing styles of township jazz music and Black professional musicianship in the 1920s throughout the country, but it was in Queenstown where jazz began developing its truly South African form. Galeta (2012) observes that:

Of all Black people in South Africa at the time, the Xhosa [people of the Eastern Cape] were the most educated as a result of the early establishment of the British Missionary school system. Formal Education and exposure to European hymnody and Western classical music gave rise to a Black upper class of very sophisticated people, musicians, and composers who embraced the new American art form called Jazz.

American popular music styles became a huge influence in the development of South African jazz music as the 'Spirituals' that were sung resonated with and articulated the experiences of Black people in South Africa who faced segregation and laws that compelled them to leave their homes. This was due to the Native Land Act of 1913 which restricted Black people from buying or occupying land except as employees of a White master (Centenary, 2013). This law would allow the apartheid government to begin the mass relocation of Black people to poor homelands and poorly serviced townships. Dispossessed of the land which was their only means of earning a living, many were forced to look for work far away from their homes (Davie, 2021). During the period when gold and diamond mining began intensifying, new policies enforcing racial segregation

were implemented (1902-1929). Urban areas began to form due to an influx of migrant workers. In the Eastern Cape, urbanization began to intensify as cities such as Port Elizabeth (now Gqeberha), East London (eMonti), and Grahamstown (now Makhanda) attracted many people who left their homes in the rural areas to then deal with an "unfamiliar social and economic fabric" (Stewart, 2000).

By the 1940s, a unique musical language was being developed which combined American big-band swing styles and traditional music. South African jazz styles such as *marabi* (Ballantine 1991, 2012), *mbaqanga* and *kwela* (Allen, 1996), started gaining popularity as the recording and broadcast industries developed in the first half of the twentieth century. One of the first record labels to afford South African musicians' opportunities to record and helped to build South Africa's music industry was Gallo Records. It was originally established by Eric Gallo in 1926 who had the intention of importing and distributing music from the American label, Brunswick Records. In 1933 Eric Gallo set up the first permanent recording facility in South Africa to record Afrikaans and African musicians. Talent scout Griffith Motsieloa was recruited to find and nurture talent. Some of the most iconic recordings came out of Gallo Records and one such recording was Solomon Linda's *Mbube* which became a global hit and was sung by numerous artists over the years. Its most famous rendition was featured in Disney's *The Lion King* and retitled *The Lion Sleeps Tonight*. "A definitive period for Gallo unfolded in the 1940s in the shebeens and pubs of Sophiatown as jazz music started to take off. It was there that an early hybrid of marabi and pennywhistle jazz, called tsaba-tsaba, began to take shape. This new sound combined traditional African melody with African-American swing and jazz. Many of Gallo's most popular acts came onto the scene during this cultural renaissance and were pioneers in the evolution of what we know today as Kwela. Led by the likes of Miriam Makeba, Dolly Rathebe, The Manhattan Brothers and The Merry Blackbirds, this sound spread across the globe in the late 1940s and into the 1950s" (Darangwa, 2022). The list of artists represented by Gallo is endless and includes Letta Mbulu, Caiphus Semenya, Hugh Masekela, Thandi Klaasen, Mahlathini and The Mahotella Queens, Lucky Dube, Ray Phiri, Ladysmith Black Mambazo and many more (Darangwa, 2022).

The first commercial recordings created and distributed in the country (1912) marked the beginning of South African Popular music. The beginning of broadcast radio for black listeners, however, would only come in the late 1930s. "This would result in the growth of an indigenous recording industry and help to popularise Black South African music" (Anon., 2011). Initially, broadcast radio was not intended to propel a music industry which included Black people of South Africa but rather it was used as a medium for propaganda to encourage their enlistment into the second world war. So, after the Union of South Africa declared war on Germany, the Department of Native Affairs (DNA), the South African Broadcast Corporation (SABC) and the Department for Post and Telegraphs, launched the first broadcasting service for Black people in Johannesburg (1940). These broadcasts were notably different from those that were delivered to the White (Afrikaans and English) population of the country as they "clearly reflected the White producers' stereotypical conception of Blacks and asserted the hegemonic position of the White minority to legitimize and maintain the colonial order" (Wiederroth, 2012).

The broadcast was delivered via telephone lines in either Zulu, Xhosa or Sotho depending on the area. Every evening, news concerning the war would be the main topics discussed and during the mornings, broadcasts would include more entertaining content such as music, talks, military marches and comedies. "The anthem *Nkosi Sikelel'IAfrika* was commonly used at the end of programming... As for the music used in the broadcasts, the SABC staff tried to choose popular songs and choruses in local languages" (ibid.). News on the Native Brass Band Competitions, agriculture, the Mine Wages Commission, how to keep fit or improve one's health and meetings of the African Bunga was also broadcast as this is the information which the DNA asserted would be of interest.

Despite this effort to keep things interesting, the content and material covered did not appeal to the target group of listeners (Black people) and fuelled their scepticism and questions around the real reasons for the broadcasts in the first place. People were more concerned with what was happening in the country politically and could not relate or sympathise with a war taking place in a distant place. An official mandate by the DNA refusing any discussions on controversial or political topics did not help the situation

either. The DNA had assumed their audience's interests based on the stereotype that all Black people were uneducated and therefore could only understand topics if spoken and presented in straightforward sentence structures and using simple argumentation (Wiederroth, 2012). This is evident in the way the commissioner in Pietermaritzburg (1940), H.C. Lugg, spoke to Zulu listeners in an address given over the landline radio. First praising the government and its great achievement in finally successfully introducing the landline broadcasts in Zulu, he then went on to reprimand the masses for their alleged weakness and gullibility as he said:

You natives are handicapped because you are uneducated... You are troubled by wild rumours and lies which are broadcast by people who work underground like a mole. [These fears have paved the way to a certain irrationality as there are] some who have fled from their homes and who have left their clothing behind. Fleeing as if they were unclothed shouting 'It is upon us' and yet it is merely the snort of a rhino (a false alarm). Such behaviour would help the enemy to sabotage the South African industry and would negatively influence the achievements of the South African troops.

The commissioner then suggests the solution to this fear and irrational behaviour would be for the people to put their trust in the government and this new medium (radio) that would be the instrument used to deliver the truth and the "real" news directly from the head office to their ears. Similarly, on the landline intended for the Xhosa listeners, Dr Oscar D. Wollheim presented a talk series titled "Education for the Bantu" for the Grahamstown-based studio. The topics focused on explaining the importance of education, the current education system for children and adults, and the professional opportunities that would be available upon completion. Steered by the understanding that all members of the Black population were excluded from political participation because of their lack of education, Wollheim further justified in his "teaching" that:

It is correct that such [uneducated] people should not be given the right to elect representatives directly onto the bodies which govern them because ignorant

people cannot be expected to choose the right representatives in a civilized community (Wiederroth, 2012).

He further elaborates that Black people could only overcome this backwardness caused by their tribal practices and become members of a civilized community through the education provided by the government. Wollheim's "Vision of the future" meant that Black people should accept the South African government's racist segregation policies to usher in a future that would see "an entirely literate population with Blacks as lawyers, doctors and so on, who would work solely in the reserves." It would be discussed by researchers such as Nicole Wiederroth (2012) and Thokozani N Mhlambi (2015) within the disciplines of history and philosophy that what further motivated the DNA in its explicit propaganda-filled content to its Black target market, was the need to conceal news of important political events such as the signing of the Atlantic Charter. The Atlantic Charter, signed by Franklin D. Roosevelt (US President) and Winston Churchill (Britain's prime minister) in 1941, declared the democratic right for citizens of any state in the former colonies to choose their form of government. Radio broadcasting as a means to distribute relevant political ideas was privileged to the White minority government and its administrative organizations.

While it is important to note that with the government's censorship, there was limited creative freedom for producers, the fact remains that "the introduction of the broadcasting services created new job opportunities for Black men to improve their media skills although this was only in lowly jobs" (Wiederroth, 2012). Further, the content they produced would be remembered within communities, especially those in the Eastern Cape, whose daily lives and routines came to include the daily programs featured on Eastern Cape's radio Xhosa (currently Umhlobo Wenene). It might also be noted that the majority of musicians interviewed within this research would owe their first interactions with the music and artists which they grew to love through such radio shows and content. Fortunately, the opportunities that would arise for Black men to work within broadcasting came after a realisation that the DNA was not the experts that they thought they were when it came to reaching the masses and; the government at large would not succeed in its attempt to exclude the Black population from political

participation (Wiederroth, 2012). Mhlambi (2015) reflects on the strong links between technology and modern progress in stating that:

The opening up of radio to African listeners in the 1940s was paired with a foreclosure that ensured that conditions for Africans using technology were contained. Often when it came to issues of technology, White authorities feared that Africans would take over if they were exposed to technology.

Nonetheless, the broadcast industry opened up, first with the entry and investments of American companies like Western Electric and Paramount Electric & Manufacturing Company in the 1920s. Then with the more notable involvement of entrepreneur and businessman, I. W Schlesinger, who presented a counterculture in an entertainment and broadcast industry that was distinctly modelled to embody British, Christian missionary and Afrikaner culture and values¹. Having immigrated from America at the age of 23, Schlesinger brought 'the American way of life' with him to South Africa as it is said that "it was Schlesinger's involvement in the entertainment field that stirred South Africans to regard all things American with more enthusiasm than that of the British" (Mhlambi, 2015). This rang true for the thousands of Black migrant workers and families populating the "Rand" in the areas near Johannesburg/ Witwatersrand. Suddenly a new culture evolved within Black society modelled on American styles of clothing, slang words marking the jazz and swing culture, music groups with Americanized names such as the *Jazz Maniacs*, *Merry Blackbirds*, the *Rhythm Kings*, *Jazz Revellers*, and *The Harlem Swingsters*.

Of course, it is well documented that jazz music styles in South Africa began developing from the earlier days of encounters with Orpheus McAdoo and the Virginia Jubilee singers in the 1800s, but what is not so popularly known is that "it was the boldness of the Rand and its sense of a growing metropolis in the twentieth century that truly instilled Americanism in South Africa" (Mhlambi, 2015). Schlesinger establishes the African

¹ Americanization and modernization of Johannesburg became the opposite of the social norm which at the time mirrored the British rule of law, commitment to spreading the Christian faith and Afrikaans nationalism.

Theatres Trust, (later becoming the African Consolidated Theatres Ltd) which provided the first chain of cinemas in the country, showing American movies not only in the big cities but also touring the smaller towns as well, including government institutions built for Black people such as the Bantu Social Centers and mine compounds (Mhlambi, 2015). These movies were responsible for influencing new fashion and make-up as young people started mimicking the American ideas and movie stars they saw on the big screens.

Up until the 1940s, the only isiXhosa that was heard on the radio would have been the traditional or choral songs scattered within the programming meant for Whites (Cros, 1996). In 1948 the National Party (NP) came into power, and nine different stations for each ethnic group were established as the SABC followed suit to apply the NP's strict separate development policies onto the radio. Radio Xhosa was launched in 1962 for listeners residing in the Bantustans² of Ciskei and Transkei. The goal behind the NP's separate development (on radio) was for "each individual to be allowed to listen to programmes in his language about his customs, his music, his history, his literature, his culture as a whole" (Cros, 1996). The SABC worked closely with the Ministry of Native Affairs to ensure that apartheid policies and ideology were accurately implemented. Another objective was political awareness, to promote a sense of pride in one's "fatherland" which according to Hendrick Verwoerd (Prime Minister of the NP), meant that each Bantustan would develop independently from South Africa. In a report written by the SABC in 1971 they would imply that "with the compilation and presentation of programme material from the rich cultural treasury of the various Bantu people, Radio Bantu performs not only an important function of conservation but also promotes love and pride in that heritage, with stimulating effect on political development.

When speaking to people who grew up in the Eastern Cape between the 1960s – 1980s, I was told that Radio Xhosa (now known as Mhlobo Wenene) was their biggest source of entertainment, as they eagerly awaited the 8 pm Radio Drama series which would play every night. As the community sang along to their favourite songs which were often sung

² Separate Black homelands in the Eastern Cape which were established to segregate them from White ethnic groups.

at gatherings such as weddings, funerals and prayer sessions; listeners would become familiarised with not only popular jazz groups but popular gospel groups and choirs too such as *Amadodana Ase Wesile*, *The Holy Cross Choir*, *Youth with Mission* and *Ivangeli Loxolo*. These groups, among others, featured on a gospel show called *Amasi Abekw'elangen*i which played once a week. Umhlobo Wenene's shows and dramas were always educational and reflected the social moral code embodied by people within the Xhosa culture.

The messages were presented in different ways [but ultimately revolved] around humility, preparation on how men and women should carry themselves in adulthood, perseverance in marriage and respect for elders [often using biblical references] (Zondi, 2014).

One of the most popular shows was "*Khumbul'ekhaya*", meaning, "remember home or go back home." This show offered an opportunity for people to try and reach out to their loved ones who had left home to seek job opportunities in other provinces such as Gauteng and Free State where most of the mining industry was located. Without the communication technology, we have today, it was difficult for people in the Eastern Cape, especially in the rural areas, to locate family members who had relocated to other cities. *Khumbul'ikhaya* was an emotional show, and the topics discussed were often wistful and heartbreaking. Callers would relay news concerning family members who had since passed on, how the children miss their parents, and plead with their loved ones to come home while always giving assurance that they would be accepted even if they came back with nothing. Radio in this way played its role in bringing people together as somehow, the word from *Khumbul'ekhaya* callers would spread. Soon those being called on the show would receive the message and travel home. Here, for the first time, radio was to achieve a new significance. No longer a Navy instrument for transmitting scientific data to ships at sea, but a cultural instrument for entertainment and communication within a community.

Mhlobo Wenene did justice to its name which means, "a true friend", as each presenter had a way of making everyone feel at home and gave listeners a sense of belonging which

strengthened and confirmed the idea of a Xhosa identity. The Umhlobo Wenene (Radio Xhosa) studio is also the place that allowed local bands such as *Retsi Pule and The Roulettes* to record their music. At the time this was the only studio in the area as record labels were mostly located in the bigger cities with talent scouts only focusing on musicians within those surrounding townships such as Soweto and Alexandra.

Following this musical transition from live to mediated performance, South African jazz music began to reveal “influences of traditional South African music such as the whole step chord progression of the Xhosa uHadi bow, found in Abdullah Ibrahim’s composition ‘Mannenberg’ and Tete Mbambisa’s ‘uMsenge’” (Thram, 2018). In a time of increasing oppression, jazz became a vehicle of expression, opportunity, social mobility and protest against the apartheid regime. Bands all over the Eastern Cape province staged their own concerts and shows in concert halls and shebeens in major cities and townships. Jazz brought a new energy of hope and independence among Black communities, with genres such as pennywhistle jazz/*kwela* gaining international acclaim. Jazz music provided a new opportunity for musicians to attain social and musical equality with their White counterparts, to practice Western classical music and instruments and American jazz while expressing and practicing aspects of their own culture. Unfortunately, this use of music as a claim to a right to equality with the White population fuelled the apartheid regime’s enactment of legislation intended to inhibit its development as a form of resistance and enable its censorship across the country. Specific rules which came from the Publication Board of South Africa were implemented by the SABC. These rules prohibited lyrics that promoted any political party or movement. In addition, the rules stated:

Unacceptable sexual references were to be avoided, bad taste, any occult elements in the lyrics were unacceptable, lyrics propagating the usage of drugs, blasphemy, glorification of the devil, and anything that was perceived as damaging to the state, the SABC, or the National party was regarded as unacceptable and therefore banned (Reitov, 1998).

Specific songs by South African musicians that were banned for openly criticizing apartheid included (but are not limited to) *Beware Verwoerd* by Miriam Makeba and Harry Belafonte, *Nongonqo* by Letta Mbulu and Harry Belafonte, *Johnny Voster on the couch* by Barry Gilder, *Ngeke, Ngeke, Ngeke* by Abdullah Ibrahim, *Thabane* by Rojer Lucey and *Now is the Time* by Mzwakhe Mbuli. Songs by international artists such as *Zimbabwe* by Bob Marley, were also banned as they were in support of liberation struggles in neighbouring countries (MixTapesZA, 2021). This censorship was not limited to black musicians alone. Johnny Clegg's *Asim'bonanga*, which commented on Nelson Mandela's arrest and fallen struggle heroes Steve Biko, Victoria and Neil Aggett, was banned (Mkhabela, 2011).

By the 1970s, much of South Africa was in turmoil as repression, resistance, censorship, and the arrests of musicians grew, resulting in the migration and exile of musicians (Dalamba 2006). For those musicians who were unable to leave the country, jazz music persisted as entertainment and as a form of resistance. The performances of musicians often delivered messages of resistance while lamenting their harsh realities (Devroop and Walton 2007). The songs retained by jazz veterans in Eastern Cape not only served to preserve traditional musical aesthetic principles such as the improvisational and poetic nature within oral traditions of *imbongi* performances; and parallel harmonies emanating from the musical bow and traditional Nguni songs (Shumann, 2008, p. 18). Moreover, they became a means to express social concerns and to mobilise South Africans who encountered severe forms of oppression. It is my perception that for the history that was not archived in tangible terms, the music is proof that these histories could be preserved in and as sound. That, beneath the oppression and the struggle against apartheid, were individual experiences of triumph and hope, ways of being, new memories, cultural beliefs and lessons to be passed on to the next generation. All of these combined to inform the musician's agency.

This research is positioned as a continuation of the work initiated by the International Library of African Music (ILAM) in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth (Butete 2012, Thram 2018) which had the mission of archiving the music cultures of the Eastern Cape, in particular, its version of jazz music which draws on multiple influences such as traditional music

and urban dance music; and to develop accessibility and the preservation of this music as part of transforming the archive (Watkins, 2021).

1.2. Personal Context/Motivation

I grew up in a home of avid jazz collectors and musicians who had forsworn their musical ambitions in favour of financial stability for their children and families. I first learned about jazz, and its ability to evoke distant memories and emotional catharsis, at home through the stories that accompanied the songs we heard. My father taught me that *Qula Kwedini* by Zim Ngqawana was a song that was traditionally sung by boys during initiation. My mother used to say that the songs of Abdullah Ibrahim reminded her of the church hymns they sang in their choirs during her childhood. Stories like these often painted a larger picture of lessons my parents had learned throughout their lives. Their stories and memories of the different places they once called home were attached to these songs as each song had the ability to take them back to a previous time [nostalgia]. Their stories of the origins of these jazz songs, the translations and meanings behind them helped me understand what was going on in the Eastern Cape, apart from the history of apartheid which we were taught in school. It became evident to me that while this history is not well documented in the existing literature on South African jazz, it still lives on in the memories of the older generation who lived through this vibrant musical era in the Eastern Cape. A musical era which was unfortunately followed by forced evictions, migration of local musicians, performance bans, coercion and acculturation of musical culture and heritage.

I believe that coming to terms with our past has been our primary national project as South Africans. This has consistently been reflected through our songs which are inspired by our memories of home, traditional practices and indigenous knowledge systems that inform our identity as we navigate the many impacts of colonisation, especially as spread through Christian missionaries, in both musical and spiritual terms. The constant tug and pull between Christian and pre-Christian traditional views in the Eastern Cape, painted on a backdrop of gruelling and ever-changing social and political realities, is the landscape that has birthed and nurtured me as a musician who now explores and expresses these concepts in my own music. When I first studied jazz in

university, I learned of musicians such as Johnny Dyani and Pinise Saul from the Eastern Cape. They travelled the world playing music that was rooted in their identity as South Africans. I believe my generation, which was born in the 1990s, is one that has undergone intense indoctrination and whitewashing through education and language. We relate more to a Western identity rather than an African identity. A lot of information which should inform our understanding of history in the Eastern Cape seems to be lost, and as a result, there is a new drive among the younger generation to uncover such information.

1.3. Aims of Research

This research is an exploration of the memories of musicians in their performance of traditional jazz songs in Buffalo City, Eastern Cape and focuses largely on the lived experiences of musicians during the period of the 1940s up to the present day. This is a rather long period but I will focus on particular songs to emphasise important developments in the music. I argue that these songs may be viewed as repositories of memory about the musical pasts of East London and Zwelitsha's modernity. I understand this modernity to have followed because of the changes which had taken place of their own volition and as a result of changes that were forced upon the people living in this part of South Africa during the first half of apartheid. As people adapted to the changes enforced by the apartheid government, their agencies and subjectivities were also transformed. The aims of this study were to provide new knowledge about the jazz history of East London and Zwelitsha; to examine how memory may be mobilised to revive and sustain an interest in jazz history and repertoire; to understand how songs may serve as sonic repositories of memory; to investigate the musical contributions of the jazz veteran musicians in this area to South African jazz.

1.4 Research Goals

- Providing new knowledge about the jazz history of East London and Zwelitsha.
- Examining how memory may be mobilised to revive and sustain an interest in jazz history and repertoire.
- Understanding how songs may serve as sonic repositories of memory.
- Investigating the musical contributions of Buffalo City Municipality's jazz veteran musicians to South African jazz.

1.5. Research Question

How may research on musicians, songs and their lived experiences develop new knowledge about the aesthetics of jazz in East London and Zwelitsha, and contribute to transforming notions of memories and archives?

1.6. Theoretical framework

The main theoretical impulse of this research was based upon what is referred to as “collective memory.” Collective memory connotes the continual presence of the past in the present and is defined as the memory of a group of people, passed on from one generation to the next (Halbwachs, 1992). The theory of collective memory was first established by French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs through his published work titled *Social Frameworks of Memory* in 1925. Halbwachs (1992) argued that memory is more than an individual phenomenon. Rather, it is relational, to families, friends and social groups, whether a small community, a nation, an institution or a religious group. Halbwachs (1992) articulates that memory frequently depends on history. He distinguishes between *autobiographical memory* – memories of events experienced by the individual; *historical memory* - memories that reach us through historical records; *history* - as the remembered past which is no longer dominant in our lives; and *collective memory* – as the active past that forms our identities. The concept of collective memory rests upon the assumption that every social group develops a memory of its past which allows it to preserve and pass along its self-image (Bosch, 2016).

According to Kuzmich (2014), memory is particularly important when considering an alternative mode of contemplation which is necessary for the construction of identity, the formation of community and mental constructs. Studying memory through music offers a unique perspective to understanding its role in shaping our societies because it “reveals qualities of musical experience that recall the conditions of traditional societies and orally transmitted histories” (Kuzmich, 2014). The theory of collective memory is also particularly advantageous in this research as the research seeks out the stories and memories of musicians who were not specifically famous in the broader landscape and documentation of South African jazz. In this research the “collective memory” emerged

from the experiences of musicians who shared a common interest in music and who were engaged in a common understanding of their roles as musical agents. Halbwachs (ibid.) states that “the mind reconstructs its memories under the pressures of society”. This attests to the understanding that our memory has the power to drive our actions. Collective memory contributes to binding people together to cope with extreme changes in social life (Kuzmich 2014, 36). Therefore, memory is an active cultural process of remembering and forgetting that is fundamental to our ability to conceive the world.

The memories of musicians were also pursued from the perspective of historical consciousness. Historical consciousness, as defined by Amos Funkenstein, attempts to transmit memory and identity as corporeal entities and creates the “desire for experiences to be understood historically” (Crane 1997). Historical consciousness allows us to think of history as a commemoration or, as written by Mark Strand (from the poem *Orpheus Alone*, 1990), “a gift sent into the world so that the future might mourn.” Using historical consciousness allowed me to address South Africa’s political history, the exile of musicians that facilitated the merging of traditional practices and modern sounds that developed as a result of the new urban spaces that musicians were occupying and the music that people were exposed to on Bantu radio. All these events are specific to the time period from the 1940s – 1980s and have affected the current trajectory of the jazz heritage of East London and Zwelitsha. How then should we look at the music of the past as an archive and the musicians as oral historians that are contributing to this conversation of collective memory or collective consciousness? Memories are part of a larger process of cultural negotiation, which defines memories as narratives and as fluid and mediated cultural and personal traces of the past (Sturken, 2008).

The term cultural memory, which is used by Sturken (2008) and the term social memory, used by Fentress and Wickham (1992) describes memory which is produced and reproduced through cultural forms, shared outside of formal historical discourse and saturated with cultural meaning. Olick and Robbins (2008, p.112) refer to social memory studies as a general rubric for inquiry into the various ways we are shaped by the past, referring to a distinct set of mnemonic practices in various social sites. The theory on

social and cultural memory aids in formulating discourse on the aesthetics of jazz in Buffalo City, Eastern Cape, how lived experiences of musicians came to affect the tonality of the music itself and the artistic imagery used to convey cultural symbolism. When engaging with traditional Xhosa music, one might find that the music was saturated with uHadi and the voice. The stylistic approach to music which exists among the Xhosa people may have otherwise been forgotten if musicians had not used innovative and instinctive ways to recreate and recollect these approaches. Not only is there a link between the traditional and the modern but there is an apparent continuity that can be described and accounted for using theory about social and cultural memory. Social and cultural memory leads us to understand that we are taking the traditional forward into the modern expression of ourselves through music because the past is ever present in the future. The music becomes an archive as well as an aural history book showing how we have moved from traditional into modern times and retained our cultural and social memory out of necessity.

1.7 Research Method and Design

This study followed a qualitative methodology with an exploratory case study approach. Exploratory research is conducted when enough is not known about a phenomenon and investigates a problem that has not been clearly defined (Saunders et al., 2012). It does not aim to provide final and conclusive answers to the research questions but merely explores the research topic with varying depth. Therefore, it aims to tackle new problems upon which little (or no) research has been done (Creswell, 2014). A focused ethnographic approach was also used to explore the feelings, beliefs, and meanings of relationships between people as they interact within their culture or how they react to others in response to a changing phenomenon” The research method and design will be discussed further in detail in Chapter 3.

1.8 Chapter Outline

Chapter one is an introduction to the music, region and background of the study. It offers a brief outline of the theoretical approach used to complete this research as well as details of the personal context which informed and inspired the pursuit of the specified

topic. The aims of the study, the research question, along with a brief description of the methodology used to complete the research are all stated.

Chapter two contains the reviewed literature which was relevant to this study. The literature which was studied focuses on subjects such as collective memory and memory studies, archival practice, and discourse surrounding continental musicology and the ways in which “traditional” African music is defined.

Chapter three presents a detailed description of the methodology used to complete this research. The research design, sampling methods and techniques, target population, inclusion and exclusion criteria, data collection and analysis methods, information on the chosen research participants, trustworthiness of the research and ethical considerations are all meticulously discussed.

Chapter four provides an analysis of the research findings which were extracted from primary source materials such as interviews. The main themes and sub-themes identified within the study are presented.

Chapter five concludes with final thoughts, a summary, the limitations of the study and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents information on the relevant and related literature on this research and focuses on subjects such as collective memory and memory studies, archival practice and heritage, the discourse surrounding continental musicology and how "traditional" African music is defined. I venture into these topics as I perceived them to have direct bearing on the development of jazz and the interpretation of the context in which jazz musical performance unfolds. Also included within this chapter is existing literature around indigenous knowledge systems and spiritual practices as expressed and preserved through jazz music. This is to understand how music can facilitate the preservation and transmission of collective cultural memory and indigenous knowledge systems which assist us in constructing our identities, sense of home and spiritual practises.

2.2 Defining “traditional” African music

What is traditional African music? Is it traditional African music because it is made by Africans? Does it become traditional African music because of the way it sounds, how it is used in society and the location of the music's development? Is it traditional African music because of the instruments that are used? Can traditional African music be considered traditionally African if it is influenced by European and American music and instruments? Further, what qualifies an individual to be considered a musician? Are you a musician because you have studied music, composed music and can read and write music or can you become a musician merely by participating in the act of making music? These are some of the questions that arose for me when considering how exactly to define traditional songs. I feel that my thoughts and questions echo the words of Agawu (2003) who stated, "the simple statement that African music is music made by Africans, is not so simple after all".

Literature on this subject matter has shown that European musicologists of the late nineteenth century, studying pre-colonial African music, created the myth of continental musicology in which they used Western music theory to argue that the history, theory and culture of Africa are homogenous (Pooley 2018). "Traditional" African music was defined as having a set of distinctive features that are essential to its identity. The three common features of "true" African music were recognised as antiphony, part-singing and complex rhythms while European music was characterised by the idiosyncratic use of harmony. African scholars such as Eunice Ibekwe (2013) and D.C.C Agu (1999) observed that African music has distinct features which distinguish it from the music of other cultures. They describe the melodies within African music as being short and easily committed to memory, and generated through oral tradition, with Agu (1999) further stating that the main characteristics of African songs are found in "their scale and tonal organisation, pitch and melodic range, vocal techniques, shifting tonality, the correlation between speech and melodic contour, harmonic principles and styles with a structural form that includes solo's, call and response, call and refrain, solo, chorus refrain and mixed structural forms" (1999,126).

Other than vocal form, the nature of African music can be evident even within the instruments that are used as they are so often controlled by how they function within a performance; meaning that the role that the instrument plays in each performance is vital as certain instruments are believed to have specific psychological effects on the audience. In the same breath, Nigerian musician and ethnomusicologist, Samuel E. Akpabot (1986) suggested that "any definition of African instrumental music must take into consideration two chief points, (1) factors which influence the instrumentation and, (2) the general characteristics of the various ensembles." Akpabot (1986) also says that the African performer, who is also a composer, has an extraordinary feeling for colour which he brings to bear upon his instrumentation, in the sense that the worship of an ancestral entity is for him a very serious affair. Therefore, the music for such ceremonies rarely uses any musical instruments that would give the impression of carefreeness. Drums are used to invoke the spirit of God hence the dominance of percussion in African music (Akpabot, 1986).

I recognize that the theory Akpabot presented on traditional African music ensembles and instrumentation is in a sense correct. However, it becomes tricky in cases where we experience African instrumentation from a Western perspective. The cases I am referring to are instances where African musicians make use of standard tuning, melodic, rhythmic and harmonic principles of Western music and instruments, for prayer or connecting to God or an ancestral figure. This myth of 'Continental Musicology' created by musicologists studying pre-colonial African music practices suggested that in studying one culture in a specific region, one may structure the ideas observed and claim that the musical structure and function in one region, can apply to the continent. In my view, this misunderstanding may have occurred because as Ibekwe observes, "African music in its broadest sense is all-embracing and collaborative" (2013, 127). So, any individual attempting to study this music that is integrated with complex cultural practices, may fail to understand or identify the nuances present within the pronounced collaborative and performative aspects which most African cultures have in common.

In direct opposition to the concept of continental musicology, African scholars Nketia (1974), Ibekwe (2013) and Agu (1999) declared that the African continent is not culturally homogenous, acknowledging the influence of the Arab world of the Middle East in Northern Africa; and the influence of European Settlers in Southern Africa. These influences each present issues when trying to thread together a common identity on a continent that hosts "over seven hundred distinct languages spoken by different societies" (Ibekwe, 2013). Their concern with this notion of a 'Continental Musicology' is that it excludes African music that does not conform to this generalised and uniform vision presented, such as cultures that have Islamic influences in their music or any other features that are not distinctively rhythmic. If we took into consideration the diverse musical cultures of the nomadic 'Aka' Pygmy people of Congo for instance, or the Ewe people in Ghana, or perhaps examine the Shona who are primarily found in Zimbabwe, the Yoruba people found mainly in Nigeria and the Zulu in South Africa, we will find that they are all diminished as a result of these ideas that were constructed by a generation of European scholars in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. Scholars perpetuated the Global North's sense of authority and dominance over the African

continent by "subsuming others within its cultural and intellectual ambit" (Pooley, 2018). If we were to detach Africa from the external colonial influences absorbed in its societies, an Africa with related traditions is evident as Nketia (ibid.) argues that "When we turn to the rest of Africa, we find African societies whose musical cultures not only have their roots on the African soil, but which also form a network of distinct yet related traditions which overlap in certain aspects of style, practice, or usage, and share common features of internal patterns, basic procedures, and contextual similarities which are distinct from those of the West or the East" (Nketia, 1974). Nketia (ibid.) further reflects on the performative aspects, stating that African music is frequently integrated with dance and the importance attached to dance is not limited to the scope it provides for the release of emotion stimulated by music. It can also be used as a social and artistic medium of communication to convey thoughts or matters of personal or social importance through the choice of movements, postures and facial expressions.

In many African cultures, "the word, music, presents a complexity of meaning as there may be no single word to describe music since it is a seamless fusion of singing, dance and instrumentation" (Lawal, 2015). In the Xhosa culture, for instance, music is described as "Ingoma" (song), or "umculo", which relates to the act of singing "ukucula" (to sing). Davie Dargie observed (1988) that the fundamental law of Xhosa music lies within the fact that the Xhosa people like to add 'salt' to their songs. Dargie (ibid.) observed the music-making process in the Xhosa culture by highlighting a combination of cyclic singing contrasted by the triple time of clapping and foot tapping. In my observation, these rhythmic characteristics exist within jazz. Complex rhythmic patterns and syncopation feature in both genres. Jazz is renowned for its intricate rhythms, swing feel, and syncopated melodies, while Xhosa music incorporates polyrhythms and syncopation in its percussion and vocal arrangements. Vocally, both genres feature powerful and expressive vocal performances. In traditional Xhosa music, vocal techniques such as ululation (high-pitched vocal trilling) and call-and-response patterns are commonly used. Similarly, South African jazz vocalists often employ melismatic singing styles, vocal ornamentation, and expressive vocal improvisation. While within American jazz vocal styles, techniques such as scat singing and melodic interpretation are used to convey emotional depth.

In traditional Xhosa music, the main melody of a song is usually sung by a leader within the ensemble to which others will respond and overlap in contrasting melodies. Once again, call and response is a prominent feature in both jazz and Xhosa music. In jazz, it is often observed between instrumentalists or between a soloist and the rest of the ensemble. In Xhosa music, call and response is a traditional form of interaction where a lead singer or musician initiates a phrase or melody, and others respond with their musical phrases, as Dargie (ibid.) outlined. “Many times, the leader of the ensemble is not especially noticed as there may be another member in the ensemble who harmonises the lead part with melodic variations too, resulting in a polyphonic sound with vocal parts combined with clapping and feet tapping patterns which are constantly along duple, quadruple and triple timelines” (Lawal, 2015). The reason why I emphasise these similarities is that I now understand that both genres have experienced cross-pollination with other musical styles. South African jazz has been influenced by various Western genres like swing, bebop, and fusion, resulting in a unique blend of African and Western musical elements. Similarly, traditional Xhosa music has been influenced by contemporary African music styles and global musical trends, leading to innovative fusions and collaborations.

Both South African jazz and traditional Xhosa music reflect the cultural heritage and traditions of Black people within the urban and rural communities of East London and Zwelitsha. They incorporate elements of storytelling, folklore, and social commentary, providing a platform for cultural preservation, identity, and societal critique. Both jazz and traditional Xhosa music hold deep cultural significance within their respective communities. Jazz has been a vital part of African-American culture, serving as a form of artistic expression, resistance, and celebration. Similarly, traditional Xhosa music reflects the cultural identity, heritage, and rituals of the Xhosa people in South Africa. With all these similarities mentioned, these genres also have their distinct characteristics and regional variations, musical nuances and differing cultural contexts which showcase the diversity of their musical landscape. Nonetheless, the similarities mentioned above provide points of connection and shared musical elements, without removing their individuality or distinctiveness.

Pooley states that continental musicology, as argued for by Kofi Agawu (2016), is not driven by the desire to understand cross-cultural commonality but by the desire to contain and control discourse and knowledge that could allow claims to identity using the economy and technologies of the empire. Achille Mbembe (2016), further observes that the hegemony of the West in our conceptual language seeks to repress, and attributes truth only to the Western ways of knowledge production. Similar to continental musicology is "radical alterity", a term coined by American Anthropologist, Roger Keessing (1994), which describes the invention of the lesser "other" justifying the need for Europeans and Americans to travel to Africa to extend a helping hand. "The idea that Africa is poor, backward, underdeveloped and therefore needs help, education and empowerment from a so-called 'civilised' West, is a corrosive residue of colonisation."

In my view, "tradition" in today's context, is a culmination of all we have encountered and adapted to fit into our current lives. The black population in East London and Zwelitsha which identify themselves as being Xhosa, grew to embrace both Christian and isiXhosa customs. It is quite difficult to separate the two as each has influenced how music is interpreted and how one understands the core foundations of the purpose of music in ceremony and in our lives. Our history and lived experiences are so complex, for this reason, using pre-colonial circumstances to define 'true' African music or traditional songs does not limit or disclaim the creativity of our elders in trying to hold onto the essence, or the 'flavour' of African sound.

African music does not rely on theory to exist or to manifest into new genres. Scholars have tried to construct a uniform vision for African expression, yet something new is born before the world has had a chance to grasp the past. I agree that continental musicology was based on the desire to contain and control discourse and knowledge however, the long-term mission to control and diminish the "Other" culture, in my view, never fully came to fruition. From what I have observed, the "African flavour" always seems to dominate the palate of any gastronome choosing to indulge in a dish prepared by African hands whether the ingredients originate in the West or not.

According to Ibekwe (2013), performance or music-making in an African context fosters socialisation in dual capacities. Firstly, the performers enjoy a common bond of oneness and communality within the group. Secondly, the audience who share the same communal fraternity through direct or indirect participation. I believe this is what ultimately creates that "African Flavour" no matter the setting, the instrumentation or the language used.

In "The African Imagination in Music" Agawu (2016) makes the case that the aspect of African music that can be regarded as its most universal and defining characteristic is its communal nature, which is generous and inviting of participation. He also attempts to offer a more detailed description of different musical features, including cycles, circles, grooves, and ostinatos as these qualities mark different qualities of sameness showing that African music can be understood and appreciated using the language of Western art music which includes melody, harmony, rhythm, form and notation which is widely used in Africa. He is also aware of the disadvantages of using Western music theory, noting that some Western terminologies fail to describe African tonal systems. It is evident to me that appropriating the tools of the West was necessary because they became part of everyday life. Nevertheless, the Eurocentric epistemic canon which sees Western knowledge as the only truth is dangerous because it disregards other traditions, normalises the conditions brought about by colonialism, and exploits universalism to achieve dominance and repress dissenting views that challenge Western hegemony (Mbembe, 2016, Comaroff, and Pooley, 2018).

2.3 Choral music legacy

Many of the musicians in East London and Zwelitsha who later became jazz performers and composers, began their musical education through learning choral music, especially as we see the introduction of mission schools in the Eastern Cape.

It was around 1872 when the British government began establishing mission stations in one of its regions within the Cape Colony (Mpola, 2007). To spread the English language, and traditions and to gain social control, the missionaries encouraged the Xhosa people who converted to Christianity to leave their cultural practices which the church deemed

to belong to the heathens. Xhosa society was thus divided into the *Amaqaba* (“red ochre” people) who still chose to live by their cultural practices and rituals; and the *Ama Gqoboka* (civilised people) who assimilated into British culture and practised Christian beliefs (Mpola 2007). The Eastern Cape is rich with a choral music heritage owing to several Xhosa composers such as Benjamin Tyamzashe, John Knox Bokwe and Enoch Sontonga among others, who emerged in the early twentieth century as a result of mission schools that introduced music as a core part of its education. Music theory was taught in tonic solfa. This music system introduced by early missionaries would remain a feature in Black educational institutions, in South Africa, for years to come. Early compositions of "choral music written by composers who used the isiXhosa language were from the Xhosa culture or had a deep understanding of it". Composers were greatly influenced by the social structures and culture that were practised at the time. Mpola (2007) observed that "choral songs held an important place in Xhosa society... every song [was] written to celebrate an activity, an experience, or a culture value like love, respect, patriotism, etc." Many compositions were undocumented or transcribed to original scores. Yet, those scores that do still exist were often handwritten and preserved by close family members and associates.

One of the first composers who made a strong impact on the religious and musical life of the amaXhosa during the time of the arrival of the first missions in South Africa was Ntsikana. Ntsikana is known as the first Xhosa convert, a composer, writer and poet who created the first Xhosa hymn in honour of God. Ntsikana’s hymn drew on the traditional isiXhosa style of *Izibongo* (praise poems). The hymn was written in the same fashion to which the *Imbongi* (Xhosa poet) would recite praises to a chief in ceremony. Ntsikana’s spiritual awakening was like no other as it seemed that out of nowhere his behaviour became eccentric. He was heard chanting and praying in an unfamiliar manner (recorded in John Knox Bokwe’s 1982 account as being Hallelujah and Amen). Soon after this occurrence, it is written in Bokwe (1982), that Ntsikana expressed a calling to remove the red ochre used by *Amaqaba* from his body and to encourage those around him to pray to God (Mpola, 2007). Ntsikana became the first Xhosa disciple of Christianity. Through his

awareness and practice, he birthed an indigenous theology³. Ntsikana's song, the *Great Hymn*, was first published by Rev John Knox Bokwe and as a result, the missions began to encourage converts to compose more Christian music that would appeal to Xhosa people. John Knox Bokwe (1855 – 1922) whose first compositions date back to 1875 (Mpola, 2007) was a musician, choir master, book-keeper and interpreter born on the 18 March 1855 at the Lovedale Mission in Alice. One of his first teachers and greatest musical influences was Ntsikana whom he met at Lovedale College (1869-1872). Bokwe became a member of the Lovedale Brass Band and while the band was on tour in Scotland in 1892, he wrote one of his famous songs, *Plea for Africa*. Bokwe later became instrumental in the development of the Xhosa hymn book published in 1884, *Amaculo Ase Lovedale*, which contained over a dozen original Xhosa songs written in solfa notation.

Other influential composers within this generation include Enoch Sontonga (1873-1905) who in 1897 composed *Nkosi Sikel' iAfrika*, a song which today we recognize as a segment of our national anthem. Enoch Mankayi Sontonga was a choirmaster and photographer from Uitenhage. He started his training at the Lovedale Institution and later was sent to a Methodist Mission school in Nancefield near Johannesburg to complete his schooling. The song, *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*, is a prayer for God's blessing on the land and all its people. It was first sung publicly in 1899 at the ordination of a Shangaan Methodist Minister in KwaZulu Natal named Rev Bowen. Like *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*, Sontonga's music became popular as he recounted the suffering he witnessed by African people, especially in Johannesburg. After his death, his songs continued to be sung by choirs all over South Africa. He was later honoured many years after his passing with his grave site in Braamfontein, Johannesburg being declared a national heritage site (1996).

Benjamin Tyamzashe (1890-1978) is another one of the remarkable choral composers of this time whose first song was written in 1917. It was titled *Isithandwa Sam* (Mpola,

³ Ntsikana played a crucial role in the development of an indigenous theology that merged Christian beliefs with traditional Xhosa spirituality. His teachings centred around the concept of uThixo (God) as the creator of all things. He emphasised the importance of faith, prayer, and worship as means of connecting with uThixo and seeking guidance. Ntsikana encouraged the Xhosa people to follow a righteous path and live according to moral values. Ntsikana's approach aimed to reconcile Christianity with the indigenous spirituality and cultural heritage of the Xhosa.

2007). Tyamzashe, popularly known as B ka T, was born on 5 September 1890 to a musical family in Kimberley. After his father's passing (1896) his family moved to the rural area of Mngqesha near King Williams Town. There he attended a school founded by his uncle, Peter Tyamzashe, where he learned the rudiments of music. In 1906 he enrolled at Lovedale College where he obtained his qualifications as a teacher. Soon after his graduation, he moved to Mafikeng where he first began staging concerts and musical evenings. His first composition, *Isithandwa Sam* (My Beloved) is described as “a song of great sorrow that marked the unexpected death of a close family friend” (Mpola, 2007). He finally settled down in Cala, Transkei (1924) where he became principal of the Cala Higher Mission School for the next 25 years and led the school's choir to win many competitions using most of his original compositions. His songs all marked significant moments in his life. His most well-known songs are *I-Bisho Likhaya Lam* (Bisho is my home), a song he wrote about his experiences at the Temperance Hotel in Market Square, King Williams Town, which belonged to his first wife's parents; *Amagqabi Emithi* (leaves of the tree), is a song in which he describes the leaves as though they are playing hide and seek in the wind; *Zweliyaduduma* (The heavens are filled with thunder), one of his longest pieces was composed following an invitation he received to conduct a mass choir of 3000 school children, at a welcoming ceremony held in Umtata for King George VI and Queen Elizabeth of England. The songs *Ivoti* (The Vote) and *Hay' Abantu' Abamnyama* (Lo! The Black People) are his more controversial compositions which were commenting on several political events and protesting the apartheid government's proposed removal of the Cape African franchise. These political songs were eventually banned from being performed in schools and only resurfaced once the laws encouraging censorship were lifted (Mpola, 2007).

This censorship did not deter him from pursuing his music as his career spanned over many years well into his retirement from the Cala Higher Mission School. He was later commissioned to rewrite the Catholic Mass using Xhosa idioms and to compose music for the St Augustine Mission in Indwe, Eastern Cape in 1964. His work as a composer in the Catholic church was revered and reviewed by notable scholars such as Dave Dargie who stated in an article (Daily Dispatch of 30 May 1997) that “his greatest composition for the Catholic church was the hymn, *Gloria*. This hymn was written in isiXhosa and drew

inspiration from Ntsikana's *Great Hymn* and Nofinishi Dywili and the Ngqoko Women's Ensemble's *Magungqelindawo*, a song which commemorates an ancestral figure using uHadi bow melodies (Mpola, 2007). Two years before he died, Tyamzashe was awarded an honorary Master's degree from the University of Fort Hare (1975) for his contribution to Choral music. These composers are but a few out of many known composers, writers, poets and professionals who were a product of missionary contact and education and who were among the first generation of students to graduate from mission schools such as Lovedale College, Healdtown and St. Matthew's College.

Lovedale College was established by John Bennie on the east bank of the Tyume River near the small town of Alice, Eastern Cape (1838). It was named after Dr Love, minister of the Glasgow Missionary Society, and followed the Presbyterian system. Lovedale College as an institution had a large role in the spread of Western education. It produced composers of note such as John Knox Bokwe and Tyamzashe.

Healdtown was established by Sir George Grey who was the then governor of the Cape Colony (1854 – 1861). The school was situated near Fort Beaufort (ibid.). At first, this school was geared toward industrial training in practical skills such as metalwork, carpentry and leather work but after a few years, it became a teaching and theology training centre. The school followed a Methodist system which included a strong musical education for its students. The daily routine of worship encompassed students learning to sing Methodist church hymns. According to letters written by John Coko to a family friend (Moyer, 1972), students at Healdtown had a prolific headmaster, Mr WR Caley, who brought a strong musical influence to the education and training those students received at the school. "The institution's choir became so developed that by 1936 it had recorded twice in the Grahamstown SABC studio. This rigorous musical grounding and encouragement by European teachers at Healdtown inspired many students who were to later become composers (Mpola, 2007).

Lastly, St Mathew's College in Keiskammahoek was the third major missionary institution built by the Anglican church for the education of Africans in Ciskei. It was established by Bishop John Armstrong of Grahamstown and John Dacre and emerged as a major

educational institution which offered a special one-year course for teachers to specialise as music teachers. "The syllabus included a thorough mastery of the Tonic Solfa, the art of training and conducting others in singing, and an introduction to staff notation and instrumental performance" (ibid.). Unfortunately, the school burnt down in 1941 and most of its historical records and libraries were lost.

This discussion is relevant to the jazz heritage of the Eastern Cape because these institutions introduced the foundations of music education for a majority of musicians who would later implement this education within their music practice and educate those generations that followed. Though most Xhosa composers were educated, trained and qualified as teachers through these various institutions, some took up composition because it was a talent and a skill which they were able to develop through their perseverance. A good example given by Mpola (2007) is Jabez Foley (1919 – 1959) who was a choir conductor of the Show Memorial Methodist Church in Grahamstown, where he was born on 25 August 1919. He learned music in tonic solfa at school, learned to play the piano and later learned staff notation through a correspondence course as he had to leave school due to his poor physical health and problems with his eyesight. Though he did not finish the missionary schooling he went on to become a composer and spent most of his life writing choral songs and Christmas carols. His song titled *Ntshangase* (Tobacco) is recognized and sung by choirs across many generations in South Africa. Mpola (2007) writes "The song was popular because it recalls the dance band music of the 1930s in Grahamstown. It is a satirical song about a thrifty man and warns how Xhosa society despises a person who is 'igqolo' (stingy)".

Other composers who did not receive formal training, like those mentioned above, were acknowledged to have received their song compositions through visions and dreams. Dreams are also known within the Xhosa tradition as a medium through which one's ancestors communicate messages for the betterment of an individual, family or community. Though mission schools seemingly came about based on the desire to contain a culture that Europeans did not understand, using religion, the education did its part to empower many talented musicians who otherwise would have gone unnoticed, never being celebrated on national and international platforms

2.4 Transforming the archive.

Every community has a duty to record, protect and preserve its history. Music carries information about the life and events of a community. It traces the past, consolidates the present and forecasts the future (Ibekwe,2013). Author and African music professor Meki Nzwei (2003) said that in traditional African cultures, songs, poetry and archaic musical arts theatre could be repositories of historical records. Costumes, instruments and other production properties could carry historical texts. Some musical genres may be conceived specifically to relate and update historical accounts, such as the griots (Bebey 1969) – vocal artists that specialise as repositories of historical records in the Sene-Gambia region of Western Africa – and the praise singers in many South African cultures. We all have our stories, our narratives, our ways of remembering, and our reasons for giving a particular shape, colour and perspective to the way we tell our stories of who we are (Eato, 2013). Thus, when our ways of remembering and engaging our history are disrupted, the effects are incalculable. How do we access the significance of that which has been lost, forgotten or suppressed? Are there still opportunities to substantiate memories and prevent further erosion (Eato, 2013)?

Much of the history of Buffalo City, Eastern Cape remains displaced despite the rich aural traditions that were refined. This is mainly because technology which allows us to capture audio and visual material was inaccessible in rural communities, especially in East London and Zwelitsha's surrounding rural areas. Such technologies were inaccessible even within the developing urban jazz communities of the 1960s, as many musicians I engaged with expressed that to this day, though they recorded some of their music, they were never able to engage with that material and had no way of accessing it. This surely affected the development of musicians themselves, for as the saying goes "If a tree falls in the forest and no one was there to hear it, did it make a sound"? If the music created during that time was never recorded or is inaccessible, can it make an impact on the lives of the composers and the musicians of today?

Eato explores the importance of capturing audio and visual material, the techniques used by the documentarian Ian Bruce Huntley for capturing sound and images and how that creative process enriched the way stories of the developing jazz scene of the 1960s – 1970s were told. Huntley's photographs and audio recordings of South African jazz musicians in the decade from 1964 enrich, challenge and further develop the story of jazz in South Africa (Eato, 2013). Eato (ibid.) notes that Huntley's archive is the only known archive in South Africa that is dedicated to jazz. Huntley's archive is also the only known collection which is accessible to the public. A collection such as the Gallo Africa Archive, which holds several South African jazz sound recordings and photographs, is not publicly accessible. Other existing collections with cross-media holdings archived are the Ballantine Collection housed at Digital Innovation South Africa (DISA), The International Library of African Music (ILAM), the Eoan Opera Group archive at the Documentation Centre for Music (DOMUS) and Stellenbosch University's Hidden Years Music Archive Project (HYMAP).

The Ian Bruce Huntley archive consists of 1 500 photographs of South African Jazz musicians and 56 hours of recorded music that accompanies the images. This collection is one of the most detailed accounts of South African jazz musicians' practices in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Durban, and Port Elizabeth between 1964 -1974. Huntley's work of recording live performances provided a platform for the artistic and intellectual growth of musicians as the recordings were created for the musicians to listen, analyze and reflect on their performances. Huntley had a unique position to complete his fieldwork in Cape Town, the growing center of jazz at the time, as he knew the musicians personally and had inside information on when and where live performances were taking place. Unfortunately, Huntley was unable to capture audio recordings in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, Johannesburg and Durban due to no access to electricity. Huntley often used a 12-volt car battery to power loudspeakers for microphones while the instruments were recorded acoustically with no amplification by setting up four microphones within proximity to the instruments to create a balanced mix. Huntley would place one microphone behind the upright pianos to pick up sound directly from the soundboard, the second microphone was placed near the drums, the third microphone, at times, was held up by a piece of foam with a hole in the middle and lodged in the bridge of the bass.

The fourth would be creatively fitted into a lampshade which would act as an improvised parabolic reflector to gather the overall sound of the horns. Huntley would then keep the tape running while he attended to his camera work (Eato, 2013, pp. 23-24). He went through this process to ensure that the audio captured all the musical elements of each live performance with clarity, to allow the musicians to listen back to their music and analyze the pitches and rhythms.

Following each performance, Huntley would invite musicians to his home for listening sessions which, Huntley recalls, served an educational purpose. Drummer Selwyn Lissack echoes parallel observations when he says:

Every time we played, I'd be there that next Sunday and we'd be listening to the music and that's the way I learnt, from my mistakes. That was my teacher (Eato, 2013).

During this period, many Black musicians were not afforded the opportunity to record professionally and unfortunately, the musicians that Huntley worked with have now passed on, never having had an opportunity to fully benefit from the collections of their work.

In observing Huntley's archive, it may be argued that transforming archival practices means that the musicians who contribute to its content should benefit, rather than only the institutions that host them. This approach brings a much-needed dynamic to the purpose of archives and creates much-needed source material to reference the ever-changing landscapes of South African jazz.

2.5 Recollecting memories through music

When I began this research, I was interested in the message within the songs that were performed by veteran musicians in the Buffalo City region, and what memories they preserved about their lives. How does collective memory play a role in commemorating certain aspects and key figures which inform their shared identity. What is more, I was interested in how their songs could account for the history that is not documented in this part of the Eastern Cape.

Every fibre of our bodies and every cell of our brains holds memories. As does everything physical outside our bodies and brains, even inanimate objects bear the marks of their past histories upon them in mute profusion (Casey, 2000 in Kuzmich, 2014).

It is argued that globalisation and the media have caused a homogenization of traditional identities. A scholar within memory studies, Pierre Nora, observed that "modernity does not allow communities to intimately know memory. Instead, memory is archived and atomized" (Kuzmich, 2014). Additionally, sociologist Barbara Misztal suggests that memory is in crisis as 'traditional societies' conceptualizations of the past and present differ from modern society in that the regular repetition of orally transmitted histories means that most knowledge of the past is shared. This is unlike contemporary or modern societies where knowledge is fragmented and largely determined by the media. Our societies are being repositioned into new forms of modernity with the introduction of virtual realities, technology, and instant communication, and new ways of being which revolve around instant communication. It is becoming difficult to pursue authenticity in a world that encourages the rapid reproduction of artificial standards of beauty and the imitation of the shallow ideals of popular culture. There then becomes a need for collective memory if "traditional" sensibilities are to be preserved within our social and communal structures. Studying within the discipline of ethnomusicology put me in a unique position to address the collective memory of jazz veteran musicians in the Eastern Cape, whose traditional sensibilities exist within the Xhosa culture.

The term, "collective memory", was introduced by French Sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (1950). Halbwachs brought insights into the nature of individual memory to the sociological study of group dynamics and emphasised the social contextualization of all individual memories" (Crane, 1997). Halbwachs established collective memory as a term that encompasses collective, social and cultural memory. Scholarship on collective memory involves the study of the variety of forms through which we are shaped by the past, conscious and unconscious, public and private, material and communicative, consensual and challenged. The study of collective memory also offers an alternative mode of contemplation which is deemed necessary for the construction

of identity and the foundation of community. Assmann and Czaplicka (1995) recognize cultural memory as living memory which has been institutionalised in rituals, memorials, museums, archives, and other expressive cultural forms. Halbwachs (1992) framed collective memory as a “representation or expression of a past that is commonly shared by a group, is collectively commemorated or culturally embodied, and substantiates past, present and future group identity”.

Many musicians began performing and composing songs simply by memory or adapting traditional songs that were locally sung, into skilfully improvised arrangements. The original songs and arrangements performed by musicians were inspired by their surroundings and experiences and often learned without any assistance from music scores and manuscripts. Through Halbwachs’ theory, collective memory can be seen as a conceptualization that expresses the continual presence of the past and it is defined (ibid.) as the memory of a group of people, passed from one generation to the next, which contributes to binding those people together to cope with extreme changes in social conditions. Scholars such as Jason Berry (1988) and Samuel A. Floyd (1995) explore this theory by reflecting on “how collective memory functioned for Africans who were displaced from their homelands, stripped of all their dignity and familiar associations, and forced into the unimaginable conditions of slavery in the New World” (Kuzmich, 2014). Floyd further elaborates on the cultural memories present in African-American music, which can be traced back to Africa, by exploring the belief that “African culture survived in the music not just through retention of African musical characteristics, but through musical tendencies, mythological beliefs and assumptions, and interpretive strategies that are the same in the African homeland as in the African Diaspora, and exist as African cultural memory” (Floyd, 1995: 37).

Floyd explains a concept called “signifying”, which originates from an article by Henry Louis Gates Jr. (1983, in Floyd, 1995). Signifying explains the process of re-articulation and circulation of African mythology, folklore and unique cultural values. For instance, the story of the trickster is a common lesson present in folktales across Africa, the most common being the trickster monkey who is always able to outwit agents of oppression, such as the lion. It is then important to recognize signifying as a means of survival. Once

signifying is carried over into a musical context, it becomes “a form of empowerment that applies Black musical discourse to White European and American musical forms. Incorporating African musical characteristics – such as call and response devices, polyrhythms, blue and bent notes, repetition and improvisation” (Kuzmich, 2014).

Signifying can also explain the re-articulation of African musical retentions that are heard within African American musical genres such as spirituals, blues, gospel, ragtime, jazz and R&B. Analysing songs and performances across these various Black American genres as signifying texts, Floyd introduces the term “ring tropes” or “ring traits” to describe the characteristics which appear to be universally present within the spiritual practices that African slaves in the Americas would engage in. Such practices included dances in a ritual context, which allowed them a chance to unite and reaffirm their sense of community, identity and African cultural memory. When looking at collective memory through the ‘signifying’ lens, it starts to define itself as a way of unifying and preserving cultural knowledge. As stated by Floyd (1995):

Collective memory is nonfactual and non-referential motivations, actions, and beliefs that members of a culture seem to instinctively know, without any direct knowledge or deliberate training.

This instinctual act embodied within collective memory manifests through acts that produce cultural expression such as music, poetry and art. The ring trope was the instinctual manifestation of African cultural memory that stemmed from African spirituality. Floyd (1995) highlights elements of African religious systems and rituals which included drumming, dance and song, and brings forward a definition of cultural memory that acknowledges the existence of a collective past. For example, Floyd references Sidney Bechet, a musician and descendant of slaves from New Orleans, who believed that the troubled memories of his people are evident in music such as the blues.

Regarding cultural memory, Floyd articulates that cultural memory, as a reference to vaguely ‘known’ musical and cultural processes and procedures, is a valid and meaningful way of accounting for the subjective, spiritual quality of the music and aesthetic behaviours of a culture. This instinctual manifestation of traditions, in terms of

Eastern Cape's jazz heritage, appears within the compositions of contemporary jazz musicians. The musicians from the 1940s and onwards became increasingly aware of the expectations for their musical compositions and lyrics to employ historical facts and events as their "main ingredient" because, every aspect of the Black South African's life was being dominated and controlled by the undertakings of the apartheid government. Musicians are among those who capture information on every eventful period to make sense of the subject for all those concerned. This is so that whenever the music is played, it refreshes the memories of the old and informs or equips the minds of the young.

The main ingredient in preserving the 'African Flavour' does not conclude with historical function, it extends to cultural, social, religious and educational dimensions as well (Ibekwe, 2013). Our music's capacity to preserve, conserve, propagate and consolidate culture is indispensable because as Ibekwe confirms, "one of the surest ways to portray the culture of a society in African tradition is through music. The use of song text, costumes, body movements and designs of adornments are all indicators of how to identify a particular culture. For example, a song such as *Qula Kwedini* re-imagined by one of the most renowned musicians of the province, Zim Ngqawana, was typically sung during the process of initiating boys into manhood (*Ukwaluko*). Other influences came from Christian hymnody and the harmonic language of the *uHadi* and *uMrhubhe* bows. Directly translated, "Qula Kwedini " means, prepare for a stick fight, young boy. In this song, Zim Ngqawana recollects the unique ceremonial practices and rituals related to *ukwaluko* using this traditional song while preserving the Xhosa language, as his lyrical content is directly quoted from the song.

To my knowledge, stick fighting is no longer widely practised by initiates yet, through this song, the practice is preserved, and aural instruction is possible through a conscious exchange between those who remember the practice and those who only have an opportunity to learn about the relevance and the history around the practice. Another example within Zim Ngqawana's repertoire is from the album titled, *Zimphonic Suites*. The songs are titled *Intlombe Variations: Diviners Ceremony'* and *'Intlombe Variations: Ebhofolo (This Madness)*. According to the Xhosa tradition, *Intlombe* is a musical gathering where traditional healers and members of a particular home, village or

community gather to create a spiritual moment by singing songs accompanied by various traditional instruments, namely voices, ankle rattles, clapping rhythms and the drum (Koela, 2017). When traditional practitioners are in this ceremony they beat drums, sing, dance and move around in a circle stomping their feet to the beat of the drum for healing and rejuvenation. In these musical offerings, we hear and experience Zim Ngqawana's persistence in preserving a particular memory of traditional music aesthetics related to *intlombe*, such as multiple people clapping; call and response of improvised vocal and spoken parts; bells; rattles; foot shakers; the sounds of whistles which are commonly used by diviners, recreated by instruments such as the harmonica; and the rhythm of drums all synchronising in one musical moment and creating continuity between *intlombe* and jazz.

These songs also recall a memory of the place known as eBhofolo (Fort Beaufort), a small town in the Eastern Cape. The lyrics of *Intlombe Variations: Diviners ceremony and eBhofolo (This Madness)* are sung in isiXhosa as follows:

Kukude eBhofolo, indawo yamageza
kumnandi kulomama, indawo yamageza
Ndinga eBhofolo, Indawo yamageza
Kukude eNxukwebe, Indawo yamageza

Translation: It is a long distance to travel to Fort Beaufort, the place where mentally ill persons reside. It is so pleasant at my mother's home. I am thinking of and remembering this place where the people are suffering from madness.

According to the story portrayed in the lyrical content of these songs, iBhofolo is the place that was locally known as "indawo yamageza" or "the place where people are suffering from madness." Through conversations with elders who grew up in and around this area, I discovered that iBhofolo was called "indawo yamageza" because this is where some of the first psychiatric hospitals and institutions in the Eastern Cape were built. These institutions were also believed to be at fault for the absorption and misdiagnosis of many people who exhibited symptoms related to "Intwaso", meaning a spiritual illness. By drawing a connection between healers, *intlombe*, creativity, jazz music and

madness, *eBhofolo* (This Madness) highlights a much bigger idea of intlombe. It motivates the idea that this musical gathering and ceremony which is held for healing and rejuvenation may also be experienced, relived, recollected and preserved through song. Therefore, these songs become an archive holding keywords to direct those wishing to access such information.

Collective memory is not always consciously learned or known but, through music, it functions as a transference of cultural knowledge. This proposition that music can function in a way that allows for cultural knowledge and memories to be transferred is also highlighted in Nduduzo Makhathini's exploration of the life and music of Bheki Mseleku, a South African pianist who was part of the second wave of musicians who went into exile in the 1980s.

Mseleku was mainly concerned with music as a mode of attaining freedom, whether it be political or spiritual freedom and creating or channelling a vibration that would harmonise the world (Makhathini, 2018: 44).

As I have seen and experienced within African modes of healing such as ubungoma, music validates and supports one's healing process, regardless of where this music, or healing is taking place. Ubungoma is typically practised by traditional healers in Southern Africa. Ubungoma is believed to be the link between the seen and the unseen realm of the ancestors" (Ogana and Ojong, 2015). The influence of Western musical values in southern Africa is practically as old as European colonisation of southern Africa however, music for the purpose of healing is the cornerstone of our cultural memory that stems from African spirituality.

Mseleku viewed himself as a medium through which healing might be channelled, thereby drawing attention to the importance of capturing one's spirituality and lived experience beyond the confines of the purely mundane, through music. Makhathini (2018) explores the role of musical memory in the construction of Bheki Mseleku's sound, observing that "the emotional violence of exile is undeniably articulated through his music" and introduces the encounter between exiles and inxiles (the musicians who

stayed in the country). After the end of apartheid, Mseleku collaborated with musicians who remained in South Africa under apartheid in his record *Home at Last*. Their ideas of South African jazz as a tool for protest and expressing social concerns thus unified them as South African musicians who all encountered ostracization and displacement whether they were forcefully removed from the country or the homelands.

Music as a repository of cultural memory and a mode of performing a connection with home, as well as a mode through which a present subjectivity is expressed, functioned similarly in slave culture as in South African exile in the latter twentieth century (Makhathini, 2018). Makhathini argues that at the core of Mseleku's practices, and those of the musicians who were connected to him, was not only resistance to the apartheid regime but a much more important reminder of the role of music as a mode of spirituality promoting universal consciousness and peace in the world. He also complicates the notion of "exile", since both the musicians who stayed in the country and those who left, carry the memory of disconnection from their cultures and homes. Makhathini likens this disconnection to the "cutting of one's umbilical cord"; the umbilical cord being a potent symbol of home as spiritual belonging, rather than merely a geographical location.

Exile has always presented a conflict between two worlds; the everyday world experienced by exiles versus the world of their home in their memory and imaginations (ibid.). Therefore, through these musicians' expressions, one begins to understand exile as not only disconnection from one's homeland in the geographical sense but as displacement and disconnect from the people and their culture. Makhathini suggests then that, for them to recreate home, these exiled musicians used African modes of composition, language and performance within their music to reconnect to what they were missing. As Gwen Ansell observed, in Mseleku's view, the notion of home in geographical terms becomes incomplete and one-dimensional. Through his memory of home, his language and his understanding of ancient Nguni chants, he would collect these fragments of home from his memory and plant them in his music. The music then became a location that was limitless, resilient and unaffected by time and space or the use of political instruments for extermination. The music, as a home, could stand strong as the only source of safety, security and shelter.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter presents a description of the research process. It provides information relating to the methodology, procedures and techniques that were used in undertaking this research as well as a justification for the use of these methods. The Chapter also describes the various stages of the research which includes the process which guided the selection of participants, a brief biographical background on all the selected participants, the data collection process and the process of data analysis.

In addition, this chapter discusses the role of the researcher in qualitative research in relation to reflexivity. The chapter ends with a discussion of validity and reliability within qualitative research and discusses the ways in which these two requirements were met in the current study. The ethical considerations followed in the study are also discussed in this chapter.

3.2 Research method and design

This research followed a qualitative methodology using an exploratory case study design coupled with a focused ethnographic approach (mini-ethnographic case study). Qualitative research strengthens and encourages an understanding and interpretation of meaning as well as intentions underlying human interaction. Yin (2010) described qualitative research as collecting data from a variety of resources, evaluating the data, analyzing evaluations to produce findings, and presenting the findings. An exploratory design allowed me to pursue and achieve new insights about a phenomenon that previously had little to no references or information available (Acktar, 2016). Inherently a case study attempts to examine a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context. This may involve an intensive analysis of a particular event, situation, organization, or social unit (Schoch, 2020). A 'case' could be an individual, an organization, a community, or even a nation (Miles et al., 2014, p.28). The benefits of using a case study design were that it gave me an opportunity to collect different kinds of data through interviews, document analysis, archival records, audio visual material and observations. Using a focused ethnographic approach was essential in that the aim of focused ethnography is for a researcher to understand the cultural norms, values, and roles as pertaining to what

is remembered by participants (White, 2009). “Further, novice researchers might consider focused ethnography to explore the feelings, beliefs, and meanings of relationships between people as they interact within their culture or how they react to others in response to a changing phenomenon” (Fields & Kafai, 2009). The difference between focused ethnography and traditional ethnography is that typically, a traditional ethnographic study can take years to complete because a researcher must become enmeshed in the culture to obtain data. A focused ethnographic study (Mini ethnography) can be conducted within a week, month or up to a year because the research is bounded in time and space by a case study design (Fusch,2013)

Most of the data was derived from the oral histories of musicians to understand how their songs contributed to preserving their lived experiences and the aesthetics of jazz in East London and Zwelitsha. In-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with participants who were identified as veteran jazz musicians, jazz music collectors, and members of the younger generation of jazz musicians who were originally from or reside in East London and Zwelitsha. The research is concerned with the views of the research participants regarding their musical style, context and their approach to music making and performance. The research was aimed at exploring the memories of musicians in their performance of traditional jazz songs. The research also focuses on the experiences of individuals and discusses the influence of those experiences on music style and music history. I included the lyrical content of songs composed by the veteran musicians as well, to understand how these songs contributed to preserving a musical and cultural identity.

3.3 Selection of Participants

3.3.1 Sampling

Sampling is "a method of deducing information about a whole population instead of going to measure every unit of the population" (Khan, 2014). Sampling is also a technique that is commonly used in qualitative and descriptive research as it aims at "portraying the characteristics of a particular group or situation accurately (Akhtar, 2016). A form of non-probability sampling was used to guide my selection of participants. Non-probability sampling is associated with qualitative research and allows for the

researcher to focus on small samples (selected target population) to examine a real-life phenomenon (Taherdoost, 2016). The non-probability sampling technique used in this research is known as purposive or judgmental sampling. This is a sampling "strategy in which particular settings, persons or events are selected deliberately to provide important information that cannot be obtained from other choices" or sources (Taherdoost, 2016).

The selected participants included veteran jazz musicians originally from East London and Zwelitsha/King Williams town, who were born between 1940 – 1980s. These individuals had first-hand knowledge and experience of the jazz history of this area in the Eastern Cape. Selected participants also included members of the younger generation of jazz musicians who are excelling professionally and who portray a unique aesthetic of jazz music that is inspired by their upbringing and exposure to East London's jazz culture, jazz veterans and social influences.

3.3.2 inclusion criteria

The inclusion criteria are the key features or characteristics of the target population that the researcher would like to use to answer the research question. These typically include demographic or geographical characteristics (Patino, Ferreira 2018).

I was assisted by a research facilitator and gatekeeper to obtain access to the required participants. This gatekeeper was able to locate and recommend specific participants who were knowledgeable about the jazz musicians, performers and composers who were active in the Eastern Cape, during the 1950s and onwards. Participants also had to have knowledge of the repertoire of jazz songs that were sung and performed during this time, venues, history, and heritage of the area. Additionally, I was interested in the lyrical content of songs composed and performed by these musician and what memories their songs preserved and evoked within them as well as the listener which could allow me to understand how songs served as sonic repositories of memory. By selecting the participants chosen, I also intended to explore what their musical contribution might have been to the development of South African jazz music. The specified participants

allowed me to further conceptualize and visualize a time within East London and Zwelitsha's history that was otherwise undocumented or written in tangible forms.

The Participants all met the inclusion criteria as they displayed the key features and characteristics of the target population that I would like to use to answer the research question (Patino, Ferreira 2018). The exclusion criteria on the other hand related to research participants who met the inclusion criteria but "presented additional characteristics that could interfere with the success of the study or increase the risk for an unfavourable outcome (Patino, Ferreira 2018). In this research, the participants which were excluded were those who were not available for interviews during the allocated time of data collection as well as participants who passed away before data collection was completed.

3.3.3 Population

A population within a study refers to a group about whom the researcher wants to develop knowledge. "We cannot study everyone, everywhere, doing everything" (Punch, 1998) because usually a population group is large, and it is often not possible to study all of its members. It is for this reason that the researcher must draw a sample from it to study. The population of this research had to be jazz musicians, performers and jazz music collectors who reside in or were originally from Zwelitsha, Bhisho, Mdantsane, Duncan Village, East London and surrounding rural areas.

3.3.4 Target Population

A target population is the specific group of people that the researcher has identified as persons of interest. In this research, the target population were seven instrumentalists and vocalist residing in and around King Williams town and Zwelitsha who were members of ensembles, vocal groups and bands that were active during the period of the 1960s – present day and performed at different venues and events in the area. This would allow me to get the relevant data on the musical activity in the area that would provide new knowledge about how jazz emerged and became popular in that area of the Eastern Cape. The target population also included three younger jazz musicians who are originally from East London and began their musical journey during the peak of jazz

performances and veteran musician's careers. I found that East London had a greater legacy of mentorship which may have directly contributed to the aesthetics of jazz that we hear from the musicians of today. The participants from East London were exposed to this music of the past, they were mentored by some of the identified jazz music veterans and are currently active jazz musicians. Lastly, two jazz music collectors who reside in King Williams Town were selected to get an understanding from the listeners point of view.

3.3.5 Brief Biographical information

Corrie Pule (1937-Present) is a singer and saxophonist born in Zwelitsha and is the older brother of Retsi Pule. He began his career in the 1950s as a vocalist engaged in choral music and joined his first musical group called the *African Melodies* which was based in Ginsberg location, near Zwelitsha and King Williams Town.

Retsi Pule is a jazz singer who is famously known for his smooth vocal style, energetic and lively performances and American influence in his music. Retsi Pule was born in 1940 in Zwelitsha, King Williams Town and now resides in East London. He began performing from an early age singing as a chorister at his school and as a member of the Anglican Church Choir. As a young boy, he participated in various talent competitions and fell in love with jazz through listening to local artists such as Dolly Rathebe, Dorothy Masuka and the Manhattan Brothers (Lottering, 2022). Pule started performing in close harmony groups and composing his songs in the 1950s, performing in and around East London.

Lona Loxton Nkwentsha was born in Cathcart in 1940 on a farm in Waqu. The farm belonged to his father's family but was later seized by the apartheid government. He attended Cowell Secondary School, where he first started singing choral music. It was only when he was slightly older than he encountered jazz music through a man named Sydney Sili. Sili was from East London and a member of the popular music group *The Four Yanks*, led by Tete Mbambisa.

Nombuyiselo Ginise was a jazz singer originally from Queenstown, residing in Zwelitsha at the time of our interview. Her first memory of singing and writing music is from when she was twelve years old.

Babs Mqalo (1949) was a vocalist for *The Cosmos Band*, which consisted of vocalists Jackie Kobese, Rhotho Gompsa, and Judas Kwedana; Nelson Khulu (trumpet); George Kama (saxophone); Skokie Ntlathe (trombone); Popay Kom the Sailor (guitar); and Mkole (drums). He also frequently performed with *The Serenades*, whose members were Joza Malithi, Ben Qekele, and Zolungile Dabase.

Mr Templeton Kholekile Sonjica (1950) is a jazz music collector from Eastern Cape. He was first introduced to jazz music as a young boy when he arrived in Healdtown in the 1950s. He was exposed to musical groups performing traditional music which was influenced by jazz styles of the time.

Ndumiso Sidzathane is a jazz music collector and fan who grew up in Zwelitsha. His father was involved in the jazz music scene of the 1960s in Zwelitsha and boasted a large collection of jazz music.

Mr Vukile Ntlebi (1952-2023) was a drummer and a teacher by profession originally from Rhini (Makhanda). His family moved to Qonce due to his father, Given Ntlebi, changing employment. That is where he was introduced to the drums. Ntlebi grew up listening to jazz and loved songs like the famous *Take Five* by Dave Brubeck. He was mainly inspired by big bands such as *The New Serenaders* and *The Cosmos Band*. He found his passion for music while playing with Pina Hina in a group called *The Flames*, led by Victor Hotshela, whom he met through teaching.

Andile Henge (1963) is a multi-Instrumentalist from Zwelitsha. He began his music education in 1975 while studying his higher primary education and learned music theory from Victor Majiza.

Siya Makuzeni is an Eastern Cape-born trombonist, singer and composer known for her contributions to promoting and advancing modern jazz improvisation and experimental music in South Africa. Makuzeni is one of the musicians in South Africa who has broken boundaries by changing mindsets through her willingness to express her identity through her musical ability. She was born in East London in 1982.

Ayanda Sikade is a highly acclaimed jazz drummer who was born in Mdantsane Township. From the tender age of eight years old, he began his musical journey watching the Vuka Jazz band rehearsals not too far from the house he grew up in.

Sakhile Simani is a talented trumpeter, composer and music director who was born and raised in Mdantsane Township in East London.

3.4 Methods towards the integrity of the research

The widely accepted criteria established by Lincoln and Guba (1985), to evaluate the validity or trustworthiness of a study, include credibility, dependability, confirmability, and transferability. Trustworthiness within a study also refers to the level of confidence that a researcher has in the data, interpretation and methods used to ensure that high standards of quality are maintained in that particular study (Connelly, 2016).

3.4.1 Credibility

According to Merriam (1998), credibility within a study deals with the congruency of the findings with reality (Shenton, 2004). The approaches I used to demonstrate the credibility of the research began with developing an early familiarity with the culture of participants or organisations with which I intended to engage. Before the process of data collection began, I felt it was appropriate to consult my family members as they are the ones who inspired my love of jazz and gave me the confidence to pursue such research. The conversation between my father, mother and sister was very informative. They began recalling their experiences of watching performances by Pat Matshikiza at the Amatola Sun Hotel, Correi Pule with the Slo Foot King Brothers, Andile Yenana who was known as the best pianist in Zwelitsha and Johnny Dyani. My sister then suggested finding more information on the Slo Foot King Brothers as she felt they were musicians who are not documented but were very popular among people in the Eastern Cape. She recalled her first encounter with the band at my father's graduation party in 1995. Her second experience of watching the Slo Foot King Brothers perform was at my grandmother's seventy-fifth birthday party. It was very common for the band to receive bookings for private events. My father then suggested speaking to my uncle, Mxolisi Giyose, who is an avid jazz collector. Mxolisi resides in Zwelitsha and regularly attended jazz events held at the Zwelitsha Hall (known as the O.R. Tambo Hall). My father immediately contacted his

brother on the telephone to explain that I was researching jazz history and wanted to get in touch with people who could assist me with information. My uncle was excited about the news and immediately offered to put me in touch with Mlungisi Gegana, as he was a huge fan of the Queenstown-born bassist and believed he would be able to help me with the information I needed. Fortunately, my uncle was able to provide me with Mlungisi Gegana's contact details through a fan group on WhatsApp which followed the musician's music and performances.

3.4.2 Persistent observation

Since this research is a component of the broader project with ILAM titled, "*Research on the neo-traditional jazz heritage of the Eastern Cape from a developmental perspective*", a strategic meeting was held where the project was introduced to musicians and potential research participants. The international library of African music (ILAM) is one of the world's greatest repositories of African music. It was founded in 1954 by Hugh Tracy as a research institution devoted to the study of music and oral arts in Africa. Currently it preserves thousands of historical recordings dating back to 1929 and supports contemporary fieldwork. In 2020 ILAM launched a research project with the title 'Research on the neo-traditional jazz heritage of the Eastern Cape from a developmental perspective.' The project was funded by the National Arts Council and included a Ph D bursary and a Masters degree bursary of which I was the recipient.

The project was a combination of research, development of performers' awareness of their rights and musical heritage, and the harnessing of musical resources of the rural Eastern Cape for social cohesion and economic development. ILAM previously initiated and produced a reasonable number of outputs on the jazz heritage of Port Elizabeth (Gqeberha) in 2008 which resulted in performances, the production of a video, workshops for younger musicians, income for musician, and at least two Master's degree theses, one at Rhodes University and the other at Nelson Mandela University. The research proposed in the project 'Research on the neo-traditional jazz heritage of the Eastern Cape' was to produce many more tangible outputs, which would be expanded to include interviews, concerts, theses, attempts at sustainability, and workshops conducted by veteran musicians and cultural activists in Queenstown, King Williamstown and East London.

By expanding the research parameters of the research area, it was possible to provide comprehensive purview of the history and legacy of the jazz heritage of the province, while also giving local musicians the means to exposure and economic independence (Watkins, 2020).

The jazz heritage research project was managed by ILAM which was also involved in archiving and documenting the results of the research for conservation, development and educational purposes. ILAM aims to preserve, record, analyse, archive, teach, publish and promote the music of sub-Saharan African, with the object of establishing a theory of music making in Africa and assessing the social, cultural, and artistic values of African Music. ILAM also collaborates with the music department at Rhodes University and coordinates its Ethnomusicology programme which offers undergraduate and post-graduate degrees in Ethnomusicology.

The results of the jazz heritage project will be added to the Arts and Culture curriculum of the Department of Education in the Eastern Cape, and form part of the curriculum at tertiary institutions in South Africa. Education transpired through publications, workshops as well as concerts with veterans at the end of each year of the project cycle. Performance students from various music departments and institutions in the Eastern Cape, as well as novice musicians from various communities were invited to participate. The rationale behind the research stems from the fact that a great deal of music recorded on vinyl records and CD's is fast deteriorating, while much of this music is also in the memory of veteran activists and musicians who are fast disappearing from the scene as a result of age, ill-health or death. This project sought out these musicians, their narratives and music were recorded and treated as essential to the historical documentation of the music history of the Eastern Cape which is by and large populated by rural communities. Musicians and activists with memories of the 1940s through 1960s are presently in their late 60s to 80s. Given their advancing age, there was an urgent need for this project to commence. (ILAM, 2020)

The strategic meeting took place on 10 October 2020 at the Mdantsane Arts Centre in East London. I engaged with an established network of veteran musicians in East London, King William's Town and Queenstown. On that rainy day, I was able to have conversations with Retsi Pule, Mlungisi Gegana, Zola Mthiya, the current manager of the Slo Foot King

Brothers and the late Lulama Gaulana. These potential participants all knew the jazz music heritage of the Eastern Cape. Hearing them share their own stories of ongoing struggles as musicians based in the Eastern Cape was emotional and eye-opening at the same time, further justifying the need for their stories to be told. I presented my research proposal to them, and they eagerly encouraged me to pursue this research given that they were confident that I would find plenty of information and willing participants.

Mlugisi Gegana gave his full support as a gatekeeper and encouraged me to undertake research on the jazz heritage of the Eastern Cape, identified and assisted in finding musicians for me to interview and encourages me to join forces with Retsi Pule as a research facilitator and gatekeeper, who would be able to assist me better with connecting with relevant participants where my research is located. Gegana further stated:

You know Abdullah's music... those are church hymns. I mean even the other hit song by Zim [Ngqawana] 'eBhofolo', those are songs that were sung by elder women (mothers). So that music, I mean look... you guys are doing a great job man. Archiving this music, you are doing a great job. I mean look at that song by Zim, Qula Kwedini as a typical example and even eBhofolo, those are traditional songs that used to be sung and those are the biggest songs by Zim. Of course, you can write and compose your music but going back, that's where it is! That's where it is at!

There is value in these old songs and learning how people have taken these old traditional songs and made them their own, helps to tell a better story because there is a source. Affirming this, Retsi Pule stated that even the song, *Ndihamba Nawe*, by Mafikizolo was inspired by a song written by Sophie Mgcina (1960s recording of 'Mmangwane'). A debate was sparked in which Gegana relayed his view of this generation (the youth of today):

When they love a song, they take it and do whatever they want with it, but they don't take the time to understand the song and get to know the artist behind the song. You will find that there are so many songs with stories like the story you are telling but people forget because this generation does not consider that, that musician is talking about their life, experiences and things that they have done in their life. A song is not just a song, these songs have meanings.

In this meeting, additional information regarding the conditions of participation [in the project] was ratified and musicians were consulted on the matter of developing sustainable means of income and income protection generated through performances and recordings (Watkins, 2021). Later in the year, I then had the opportunity to attend rehearsals and workshops conducted in Queenstown and King Williams Town and was involved in the implementation and planning of the events. This was done to become more familiar with the culture of the chosen participants. This process described above also allowed me to secure "prolonged engagement with the participants to establish a relationship of trust" (Shenton, 2004, p. 65).

3.4.3 Triangulation

Triangulation involves the use of methods such as observation focus groups and individual interviews for the purpose of data collection. Triangulation also involves obtaining data from secondary source materials or documents "to explain and provide background to the attitudes and behaviours of the research participants being studied." (Shenton, 2004: 65-66). This is also done to verify details provided by the participants. A wide range of informants may be used so that information can be verified against others in order to gain a bigger picture of the attitudes, needs or behaviour of the specified group which is under analysis.

I obtained secondary source materials from publications, desktop research, newspaper articles provided by the participants and the concerts hosted by ILAM. During each interview, probing questions were used according to the participant's responses. These are processes associated with iterative questioning and triangulation. These methods were used to provoke detailed information which identified where contradictions and falsehoods emerged to discard such data; and "to explain and provide background to the attitudes and behaviours of the research participants being studied" (Shenton, 2004). Retsi Pule's presence in each interview also assisted with identifying any discrepancies in the information given by the participants. A large number of the participants had worked with Retsi at some point in their careers and shared many experiences in common. This was beneficial in that it allowed for the verification of the stories shared during interviews.

3.4.4 Peer debriefing

For me to widen my view of this research I had to engage with my superiors within the project. These discussions encouraged me towards alternative approaches in the case where flaws within my methodology had been detected. I was in constant communication with my supervisor (Dr Lee Watkins) as well as the project coordinator (Elijah Madiba) involved in the Eastern Cape jazz heritage project. I also consulted with my research facilitator (Retsi Pule) by discussing and reflecting on the results of each interview once completed. This process was useful for analysing the data as it assisted me in creating themes and subthemes that emerged in the data collected. This type of interaction and supervision provided a sounding board for me to test all of the developing ideas and interpretations while acknowledging any biases and preferences that existed (Shenton, 2004). In addition, I was fortunate to have the opportunity to present my proposal and research findings at the conferences held by the South African Society for Research in Music (SASRIM) in 2021 and 2022. Over and above that, I had weekly online sessions with fellow postgraduate students to discuss the methodology within my research and any challenges I experienced in articulating the arguments presented. This platform empowered me to explore various literary resources outside of this particular field of study to enhance the research design within the study.

3.4.5 Confirmability

This is an evaluation of the degree to which the research findings are directly derived from the inquiry that was conducted by the researcher and not from the researcher's subjectivity (Shenton, 2004). Confirmability also refers to the neutrality or objectivity of the research findings (Connelly, 2016). Strategies that were used by the researcher are mutual to those used to validate credibility. Triangulation, much like in credibility, can be used to reduce the effect of an investigator's bias. Motivations behind the approach used as well as the limitations of the specified approach and techniques used should also be observed.

Miles and Huberman (1994) believe that a researcher must admit his or her predispositions. In this research, a reflection on my context was included in the introduction, as well as all the connections that led me to meet the participants that I interviewed. I also recorded and accounted for each decision and activity completed during the fieldwork and data collection period of the research to create an audit trail that

would offer visible evidence of how research objectives were achieved. This process was completed during multiple consultations with my supervisor who encouraged me to complete a fieldwork report for the jazz heritage project.

3.4.6 Dependability

In order to address dependability researchers can use certain techniques that are able to show “that if the work was repeated in the same context, with the same methods and participants, the results obtained would be similar” (Shenton, 2004). This means that each process undertaken to complete the study must be reported in detail so that future researchers may have an opportunity to repeat the work. A detailed report should include the research design and its implementation; the operational detail of data gathering; and reflective appraisal of the project. (Shenton, 2004) Lincoln and Guba observed the closeness of credibility and dependability in that a researcher can use overlapping methods such as focus groups and interviews.

The strategies implemented towards a qualitative research design were included in the methodology of this research. The question and equipment used in completing interviews were detailed. Reflective appraisal was achieved through the use of fieldnotes which included daily reflections of key moments and specific incidents that gave me clues as to how I was perceived by the participants. These were also shared with and reviewed by my supervisor.

3.5 Data collection, procedure, and techniques

Before selecting the data collection methods, the type of data required from the participants was considered. Data collection refers to the process of collecting information aiming to gain insights regarding the research question (Taherdoost, 2021). The type of data I required was qualitative because this would allow me to obtain information related to the feelings, perceptions and emotions of the participants, using unstructured, semi-structured and in-depth interviews. Once approval of the proposal was obtained from the Department of Music and Musicology Ethics Committee (MMEC), I began the process of fieldwork, from October 2021 - December 2021. Veteran musicians were given consent forms, and the research objectives were explained to the participants. The participants were given the option to decline participation at any time.

The younger generation of musicians located in East London were contacted telephonically. The participants selected for this research were used as primary sources as the first-hand information that they provided is crucial information regarding jazz music and its history in the Eastern Cape that is not yet published. Participants were recruited using telephonic contact, personal contact and networking with a known veteran musician in East London who became the research facilitator. The research facilitator, Retsi Pule, was instrumental in arranging meetings with the participants residing in Zwelitsha. All the participants were briefed about the research topic as well as the dates of arrival. Interviews were conducted at the participant's place of residence and Covid 19 protocols were followed during the interaction.

3.5.1 Interviews

The types of interviews used in this research were semi-structured and in-depth interviews. Semi-structured interviews were conducted using open-ended questions which were established based on the research questions. This style of interview is useful when you do not have the chance of interviewing an individual more than once and when aiming to "develop [knowledge on] a subject such as culture, setting, or experience which is not completely understood" (Taherdoost, 2021). In-depth interviews are an intensive, open-ended and discovery-oriented method to obtain detailed information from an individual. The goal of this type of interview is to explore with greater depth the point of view, experiences, feelings and perspectives of the research participant (Minhat, 2015). These interviews were conducted face-to-face and telephonically. The benefits of conducting face-to-face interviews were that I could ask detailed questions, obtain rich data, clarify questions, receive a high response rate and explore complex and sensitive issues. Telephonic interviews were also beneficial as a quick, inexpensive way to contact participants who no longer reside in the area being studied in this research (Minhat, 2015). Telephonic interviews also used fewer resources than face to face and were also recorded to clarify information given by the participant. One-on-one interviews were organised by Retsi Pule, who knew the participants personally. This was done to develop trust and to create an intimate relationship between myself and the participants. These interviews were useful in that they offered unique data from each participant as the

questions allowed the interviews to develop into conversations where valuable information was sourced.

Interviews are a “fundamental way of social interaction” (Taherdoost, 2021). According to scholar, Halimatus Sakdiah Minhat (2015), interviews can also be very useful when it comes to exploring experiences, perceptions, beliefs, insights and any sensitive issues that may not be revealed and portrayed by answering a list of questions in a questionnaire. This is why I chose to use interviews as the primary tool for data collection for this research as they allowed me to obtain personal stories and to understand the world of the participants as they described their lived experiences. With the assistance of Retsi Pule as the research facilitator, I made contact with several elders from Zwelitsha near Qonce who were active musicians during the 1960s – present day. In-depth and semi-structured interviews were conducted with Retsi Pule, Corrie Pule, Mr T.k Sonjica, Nombuyiselo Ginise, Ndumiso Sidzathane, Loxton Nkwentsha, Babs Mqalo, Vukile Ntlebi and Andile Henge. The interviews were conducted in isiXhosa and partly in English to accommodate the language preferences of each participant. These elders shared stories of their lived experiences and memories of songs sung and composed during their time as musicians. Participant observation methods were utilised to complete fieldwork and engage with the musical repertoire of the musicians which has either been performed or not yet been recorded. In addition, I attended rehearsals and participated in concerts held by musicians within their communities.

In East London, however, I engaged with the younger generation of jazz musicians to find out how they were inspired by this music of the past as well as the landscapes, aesthetics and culture of isiXhosa and an upbringing that is unique to someone growing up in East London. Interviews were conducted with Sakhile Simani, Siya Makuzeni and Ayanda Sikade. The interviews were completed using email communication and telephonically via Whatsapp and Zoom as this was the preferred method of communication due to the participants' residential locations. Open-ended questions were used to stimulate a dialogue around the research question and all the interviews, both telephonic and in-person, were documented using an audio recorder and video recorder for me to transcribe and analyse the data efficiently. It was important for me to gain each participant's trust for them to feel comfortable sharing their personal life experiences and

stories. Participants were informed that the information they provided towards this thesis would be kept confidential and would only be used for this research.

3.5.2 Interview questions and format

I began each interview with an introduction to serve as an icebreaker. Introducing myself through my family background (surname and clan names) and ending with the topic of discussion. Through introducing my background, I found that most of the participants knew members of my family who also lived and worked in Zwelitsha at a point in time. My mother grew up in Zwelitsha and some members of my maternal side still reside in their family home at 1063, Zone 5. Her Mother (my grandmother) was known as Sister Ndema at the Mount Coke hospital and worked there from the 1950s up until she retired in the late 1980s. My father's aunts (also considered my grandmothers), Mrs Noceba Giyose and Ntombise Giyose, were teachers at Nobantu Primary School in Zwelitsha. Mrs Noceba Giyose was the first principal of Nobantu Primary School and lived in Zone 5. She was so loved by her students that, as my father recalls, at her funeral her former students participated in the proceedings, assisted in serving food for the family and washing dishes. Ntombise began teaching during the 1950s and she was my mother's primary school teacher as well. She was known as Miss Giyose as she never married or had children. She lived in Zone 5 and taught at Nobantu Primary School until the late 1970s. I acquired permission from the participants to record the interviews. Once the recording began, I asked the participants to introduce themselves and their musical background using the leading questions – *Please introduce yourself, where are you from and when did you start your music career?* The following questions were used to guide the conversation during each interview session:

Questions:

- What bands did you play in?
- What venues and events did you play at in and around Eastern Cape?
- What were the popular songs that you performed?
- Are these original compositions, if not who is the composer ?
- What is the meaning and the message in the songs ?

- Do you remember any traditional songs that were adapted for jazz performance?
- Do you think it is important to preserve this music and why?
- Who was your first teacher?
- How do you identify with jazz as culture, and how do you think it forms a part of our cultural and musical identity in the Eastern Cape?
- How does collective memory unfold in your music and music composed by musicians from the Eastern Cape?

During each interview, probing questions were asked according to the participant's responses. Three types of probing questions are commonly used by an interviewer which are the detail-oriented probe which uses questions like "When did this happen to you?" or "Who was with you?"; an elaboration probe where the interviewer might say "Tell me more about the incident"; and a clarification probe which would be a request such as "Can you elaborate or explain further?" (Minhat, 2015). This was done to encourage more elaborate answers in the case where participants gave shallow or limited responses. As I was collecting data, my research facilitator, Retsi Pule, was also permitted to respond and ask questions during the interview. This was a great tool to support the participants in recalling certain events in their musical journeys which they shared with him. Retsi Pule also assisted the participants in recalling songs that they had not sung in many years as he knew their compositions. The duration of each interview was between forty-five and ninety minutes. The songs recalled documented by participants were sung acapella and from memory as there were no recorded samples or scores/sheet music in their possession. Once I had discerned that the participants had shared knowledge to their full capacity, the interviews were concluded, and participants were thanked for their participation. Participants were informed that they would have access to the research once completed.

3.5.3 Fieldnotes

In this research, field notes were used to document personal notes on what was observed during the interview. Field notes are written accounts of what is experienced,

thought, observed, and heard by the researcher during an interview. I used the field notes to describe the participants' behaviour and mannerisms which could not be fully captured by audio and video recording devices such as gestures and facial expressions that depict unspoken thought processes. I also included personal notes on feelings experienced during the interview that could not be directly expressed to the participants. The information addressed in the field notes was later added to transcriptions of the data before the analysis of the data was completed.

3.5.4 Data Analysis

Thematic analysis is a method used for "identifying, analysing and interpreting patterns of meaning or themes within qualitative data and can be applied across a range of theoretical frameworks and research paradigms" (Clarke & Braun, 2017). The thematic six-phase process for data analysis that exists within thematic analysis developed by Clarke and Braun (2017), highlights an organic approach to coding and theme development as well as the role of the researcher in this process. Coding and theme development allowed me to capture the interesting features of the data collected which was most relevant to my research question. The aim was not only to summarise all the content of the data collected but to identify and interpret these features. Thematic analysis was useful because of its flexibility to accommodate my research question, sample size and approach to meaning generation as it relates to the participant's lived experience, views, perceptions, memories and practices. The six phases of thematic analysis are:

- Familiarization: reading and re-reading the data and noting down initial ideas.
- Coding: labelling the data segments that are relevant to the research question.
- Generating themes: grouping the codes into broader patterns of meaning.
- Reviewing themes: checking the themes against the data and the research question.
- Defining and naming themes: refining the scope and focus of each theme and giving them descriptive names.

All interviews conducted in person and telephonically were transcribed directly from the audio recordings. Interviews were conducted in both isiXhosa and English, and the transcriptions were written in English. The participants' real names were used in the research. However, personal information such as contact details and physical address were recorded on a separate document to the transcription.

3.6 Ethical considerations

The applicable ethical procedures required by the Rhodes University Department of Music and Musicology Ethical Committee were adhered to and ethical clearance was obtained before conducting the fieldwork. A permission letter and full support from the relevant gatekeeper was attained. The subjects who were recruited were first contacted telephonically to introduce the research and the conditions of participation, as stipulated in the 'invitation to participate in a research study' which was provided by Rhodes University. Once consent was granted, the participants were notified of the consent form which indicated that they understood that their songs, recordings of rehearsals, concerts and interviews would be used as data in this research. The participants were also made aware that the data collected in this research would be archived and contained within the project led by the International Library of African Music. Participants were aware that their contribution to the research was voluntary, and they could withdraw their participation at any time. To respect the privacy of participants, personal details such as contact details and physical addresses were recorded separately. Participants had the opportunity to remove any information from the transcripts which they felt would be a misrepresentation. Interviews with musicians were conducted at their homes and in venues where it was safe to do so, to comply with the Covid-19 restrictions and safety precautions that were in place at the time.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS OF STUDY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results collected with selected research participants. Thematic and ethnographic data analysis methods were used to employ the six-phase process for data analysis proposed by Clarke & Braun (2013). The main themes and their related subthemes are presented to show how research on participants songs and lived experiences may develop new knowledge about the history and aesthetics of jazz in East London and Zwelitsha; and contribute to transforming notions of memories and archives.

4.2 Themes

Following a thorough transcription and coding of the interviews, five main themes, eight sub-themes and related underlying themes emerged from the data collected. The five main themes include: Venues that existed in East London and Zwelitsha; The need to mobilise memory; Meaning held within songs; Musical contributions made by jazz Veterans; and Collective memory.

The overview of the five themes, eight sub- themes and related underlying themes is provided in table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1: Themes, subthemes and underlying themes

Themes	Sub-themes	Underlying themes
1. Venues that existed in East London and Zwelitsha	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- The variety of vocal groups and ensembles- Influential people in the community- Record bars and Radio Xhosa	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Collaborations- Choir/band leaders- Teachers- Radio Broadcasters- Recording opportunities- Popular recording artists

2. The need to mobilise memory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Through archiving - Through education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Artists not having access to their recorded music. - SABC Transcriptions - Developing new programmes & educational content
3. Meaning held within songs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Songs made popular and composed by South African musicians. - Songs composed and performed by some of the participants in this study 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lyrical context of songs from a social, cultural and historical perspective
4. Musical contributions made by jazz veterans in East London and Zwelitsha	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mentorship of younger musicians 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Intergenerational exchange
5. Collective memory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Projections of nostalgia - Preservation of Xhosa culture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Aesthetics of Xhosa culture represented in jazz songs

4.3 Theme 1: Venues that existed in East London and Zwelitsha

The local venues where musicians performed in Zwelitsha and East London in the 1950s, as well as key figures and events running parallel to South Africa's documented history of jazz music, were identified by the participants.

Zwelitsha

Zwelitsha is an isiXhosa word which means "a new place or a new country". The township was established in 1947, as an experiment to a blueprint designed by the Native Affairs Department and the Industrial Development Corporation to bring workers to factories. It soon became a place of residence for labour at the Good Hope Textile Factory, which was later named Da Gama Textiles, one of the oldest, leading textile producers in the country (Cindi, 2021). It holds a significant place in the history of the Eastern Cape as it

was the township that "had middle-class pretensions with neat schools, shopping centres, clinics, a dairy, in-house plumbing, and toilets"; was "declared the capital of Ciskei (an area in the Eastern Cape which was a "self-governing" territory) from 1972 to 1981 and served as the seat of the Ciskei government (Cindi, 2021).

Between the 1940s to the late 1980s, venues were limited for musicians due to apartheid restrictions that prevented Black people from entering certain spaces. No history of venues hosting musical or recreational events in the area of Zwelitsha has been formally documented. However, participants residing in Zwelitsha recounted the venues that musicians utilized. These were the O.R Tambo Hall and Ginsberg Community Hall, stated by Babs Mqalo:

We performed here in the O. R Tambo Hall. We also played in Ginsberg, but we never performed in town because then it was only permitted to white people.

The Amatola Sun Hotel was mentioned by Nombuyiselo Ginise:

I met the late Pat Matshikiza¹ in King Williams Town. He was playing at the Amathole Sun Hotel as a full-time pianist. He used to invite me to sing with him until he left King Williams Town.

For the youth who enjoyed the nightlife, there was the Cobweb nightclub as Vukile Ntlebi expressed:

Lefifi Tladi ²the poet once came, and we played with him. We performed at the Cobweb venue. We shared a stage with people like him who needed musicians to [accompany] them.

Musicians also performed in several churches where weddings and graduations were held. Ntlebi and Corrie Pule stated:

We played at different events like weddings and graduation parties (Ntebi).

We used to get hired privately to play at weddings or family events and that way, the bands got popular amongst people (Pule).

¹ South African pianist, singer and composer.

² South African painter, poet, sculptor and musician.

East London

East London in the 1930s was a place where young people would gather in private homes on a Friday or Saturday evening for parties where ragtime was heard, and European fox-trots were performed more than the old traditional dances (umxhentso)³. In the early twentieth century, Xhosa musicians began to incorporate Western musical instruments and styles into their traditional music, creating a unique fusion of African and European sounds. By the 1950s, sports, music (especially jazz), fashion, entertainment (foreign films and magazines) and politics defined the new identities and urban style of the young population of Duncan Village in East London (Mtshemla, 2021). The venues that were available for Black musicians to use were the Duncan Village community hall The Peacock Hall, Rubusana Sports grounds, hotels and even verandas of people's homes (Mtshemla, 2021). This is corroborated by Pule and Mqalo statements:

[We performed] at the community hall in Duncan Village. That is where we met the African quavers⁴ (Mqalo).

Mostly we performed in East London at the Monglo hotel and restaurant in Duncan Village (Pule).

These venues attracted people from locations within East London such as the East Bank, West Bank and North End. Musicians would book halls as a venue and sell tickets to their own shows. Retsi Pule recalled an event called "Afternoon Spend" that would take place every Sunday in East London:

Sundays we would dress well and go with our friends to the Afternoon Spend where we would find a band there playing popular music, African jazz, marabi, mbaqanga and a bit of American jazz. There would also be occasions such as Miss King Williams Town, Miss Queenstown, and Miss East London where the organizers of those events would book the popular band in that area to play. There

³ Traditional dance of the Xhosa people in South Africa.

⁴ African Quavers Swing Orchestra, a popular South African band established in the 1950s by Eric Nomvete in East London.

was always a combination of dance, jive, popular music, American and African jazz.

Unfortunately, just as this local music scene developed, the administration of forced removals (1960s) took place. People residing in Duncan village and West Bank were removed to villages outside of the city and Mdantsane, a homeland township 25km outside of the city of East London. Mdantsane grew to encompass a rich history of jazz music that is deeply intertwined with the social and political struggles of the people who now had to call this new place home. Ayanda Sikade spoke about the Mdantsane Sun Hotel which regularly hosted jazz musicians:

The drummer from Soul jazzmen⁵, Peter Jackson would come to East London for maybe two months to play with VUKA⁶. They would [also] host Winston Mankunku⁷ at the hotel called Mdantsane Sun.

Though East London locations were often described as cramped and claustrophobic, this era (1950s-1980s) is one in which music became a pillar. Outdoor events, festivals, fairs and contests brought the community together, creating a cultural vibrancy.

4.3.1 Subtheme 1: Vocal groups, ensembles and collaborations

All the participants described the bands, vocal groups and ensembles they were involved in between the 1950s – 1980s. In addition, participants identified the popular ensembles in the Eastern Cape during this time and recounted their collaborations, interactions and relationships with established musicians.

Ensembles and collaborations in Zwelitsha

The ensembles based in Zwelitsha were *The Roulettes*, *African Melodies*, *The Glowing Stars*, *Slo Foot Jazz Brothers*, *The New Serenaders*, *The Cosmos Band*, *The Flames*, *The Jazz-o-tones*, *The Clan* and *Voices Unlimited* choir. In Komani and Gqeberha, the most

⁵ Popular South African jazz band formed in Port Elizabeth, Eastern Cape in 1968

⁶ South African jazz band established in Mdantsane, East London.

⁷ Winston Mankunku Ngozi is a South African saxophone player.

popular groups that all the musicians admired were *The Soul Jazzmen* and *The Queenstown Allstars*.

Corrie Pule was a vocalist for the *African Melodies* which was based in Ginsberg location, near Zwelitsha. During his time with the *African Melodies*, he began learning the saxophone. He credits his close friend, Vusumzi Casey, who was a trombonist for *The Glowing Stars*, for introducing him to instruments such as the trombone, saxophone, and guitar; and encouraging him to grow his practice as an instrumentalist by becoming a member of the *Glowing Stars*. They played a repertoire of ballroom dancing songs, mbaqanga and marabi songs:

The first group I joined was the African Melodies, based in Ginsburg location. I also ended up playing for the Glowing Stars and I was travelling in-between Ginsburg and Zwelitsha.

Corrie Pule then played with *The Magnets*, a band based in Schornville, which was a township situated opposite Zwelitsha. He later joined *The Slo Foot King Brothers* which became his longest affiliation with a band. *The Slo Foot King Brothers* were first established in August 1953 by Samuel Tshiyembe (Tshiyembe, 2017). Samuel Tshiyembe was also a member of the *African Melodies* and played the guitar alongside Corrie Pule, prior to forming his own band. The Slo Foots' grew from the humble beginnings of a young boy's desire to emulate the famous musicians he heard playing on the radio. They became one of the longest-lasting jazz bands in South Africa, recording their final album in 2016, according to one of their vocalists, Loxton Nkwentsha:

It wasn't until Tshiyembe asked me to join the Slo Foots, that I started performing again. I joined in 2014, and we recorded a CD in 2016 which is their last Album.

Babs Mqalo was a vocalist for *The Cosmos Band*, which consisted of vocalists Jackie Kobese, Rhotho Gompsa, and Judas Kwedana; Nelson Khulu (trumpet); George Kama (saxophone); Skokie Ntlabathe (trombone); Popay Kom the Sailor (guitar); and Mkole (drums). He also frequently performed with *The Serenades*, whose members were Joza Maliti, Ben Qekele, and Zolungile Dabase. Mqalo recalled:

In 1968 there were groups that played jazz and African beat like the Glowing Stars, The New Serenaders, and Slo Foot. We would just absorb that music because we loved it so much. We came after that generation, and we learned music from them.

Vukile Ntlebi was a drummer and a teacher by profession. He originated from Rhini (Makhanda). His family moved to Zwelitsha due to his father, Given Ntlebi's new employment at Radio Xhosa. That is where he was introduced to the drums. He was mainly inspired by big bands such as *The New Serenaders* and *The Cosmos Band* in Zwelitsha. He found his passion for music while playing with Pina Hina in a group called *The Flames*, led by Victor Majiza, whom he met through teaching. Victor and his wife Nomonde often hosted improvised music sessions, in their home, with musicians such as Tete Mbambisa:

Vic and I played for the group *The Jazzotones*. Victor Majiza played the piano though he was a bassist at first. He had to switch over to play the keys and I played the drums, Mxolisi Msatyo was our vocalist, and that was the core group. Dinini who played guitar and alto saxophone would also play with us when we called on other instrumentalists.

Victor Majiza led the *Voices Unlimited choir* as well. This was mentioned by Andile Henge and Loxton Nkwentsha in their interviews:

In 1984 I discovered that Mr Majiza had formed a choral group called *Voices Unlimited* with the students he taught at Nompandolo High School. Fezile Wotshela was playing piano (he was also a radio presenter at Radio Xhosa). Victor Majiza played the double bass, Duke Ngcukana played the saxophone, and Mike Ngxokolo played the trombone... I was very inspired (Henge).

Victor Majiza, who was a choir master when I was in school, invited me to join his choir and we formed the first members of *Voices Unlimited* (Nkwentsha).

Other musicians that Ntlebi shared a stage with were Duke and Ezra Ngcukana, and Tex Nduluka. The musicians that they interacted with came from all over the Eastern Cape

province. They established a growing community of musicians who would support each other's shows:

It was more than just entertainment, we felt like a family. We would sit together and from those jam sessions we hosted, songs would be composed just from improvising. It was a fun time, and we used music to keep us together and keep our spirits alive during hard times. We were a family because we went through many things together. We would even have sessions with guys from *The Soul Jazzmen* in PE and we would all support each other in that way.

Ensembles and collaborations in East London

In East London, there was *Symphony Five*, *The Millionaires*, *The Four Yanks*, *The African Quavers*, *Satellite*, *Artistry* and *Rhythm/VUKA* and *Ikwezi Jazz Band*.

Retsi Pule started performing in close harmony groups and composing songs in the 1950s. He performed with the close harmony group known as *Symphony Five*:

Symphony Five had a leading performer, who was named Nontsikelelo Ntsiki Mnano. Originating from Ginsberg, Ntsiki was a nurse by profession yet, she became a very popular jazz singer. She later mentored Pinise Saul⁸, who later found success in the UK singing alongside other Eastern Cape-born musicians, Dudu Pukwana⁹ and Johnny Dyani¹⁰.

Retsi then collaborated with Herbert Ndungu to form the vocal group, *The Millionaires*. As Retsi's skills became increasingly focused on jazz and popular African music, his opportunities for collaboration grew as well. He met and befriended Tete Mbambisa who by that time had formed the vocal group, *The Four Yanks*. This vocal group was immensely popular, and their music was often played on radio Xhosa.

By the 1960s, Retsi had travelled to Johannesburg to further his career. It was there that he was approached by the producer of the stage play *Ipi Ntombi*, a very popular musical theatre production written and directed by Bertha Egnos. While in Johannesburg he reconnected with his childhood friend and saxophonist, Aubrey Simane. Simane then

⁸ East London – born jazz vocalist.

⁹ South African saxophonist and composer.

¹⁰ South African bassist, vocalist and pianist.

introduced him to Pat Matshikiza, a pianist who was in the process of forming a quintet and needed a vocalist for the band.

By 1974 Retsi had moved his family to the township of Mdantsane. On his arrival he reunited with Aubrey Simane and Tete Mbambisa to join their newly formed group, *Artistry and Rhythm*. Retsi recalls that the name of the group was given to them by a jazz enthusiast from East London, Dr Msauli. During one of their regular evening rehearsals, Mbambisa arrived with a very young musician who was making his mark in Mdantsane's thriving music scene:

Tete noticed that Bandile Fats, his younger brother, and the group's bass player, was more interested in playing the piano. This meant that the group had no bass player so he asked this young fellow Lulama Gaulana ¹¹if he would be interested in playing bass as well.

Artistry and Rhythm later became the *VUKA Jazz Band* and according to Henge, Lulama Gaulana became one of the most versatile instrumentalists, playing for the band *Sattelite* as well:

I met Lulama Gaulana who was a guitarist for *Satellite* in Mdantsane. Gaulana was very brilliant, and he would play by ear. He was the best musician I had met in Mdantsane.

According to Ayanda Sikade and Sakhile Simani, the *Vuka jazz band*, *Ikwezi jazz band* and its members made a significantly impact on musicians in Mdantsane, fostering a legacy of jazz and collaboration for younger musicians:

The *Vuka jazz band* is where I started playing the drums. All the great musicians in terms of jazz were there...Lulama Gaulana, Tally Goduka ¹²and Tax Nduluka¹³, who later formed Ikwezi Jazz Band (Sikade).

I met Tax Nduluka, a great trumpeter who played for the *Vuka Jazz Band*, where Ayanda Sikade and Lulama Gaulana started playing. I also met Tally Goduka who

¹¹ Lulama Gawulana was a well-known Mdantsane guitarist and bassist.

¹² Tally Goduka was a well-known saxophonist and penny whistle player from Mdantsane.

¹³ Tax Nduluka was a well-known trumpeter from Mdantsane.

taught me jazz standards, and that's how I started playing for *Ikwezi Jazz band* (Simani).

4.3.2 Sub-theme 2: Influential people in the community

The participants noted, the influential people who worked to develop and sustain a vibrant jazz community were the newly appointed producers and music compilers at Radio Xhosa, and band leaders. These individuals were responsible for nurturing and training musicians and provided platforms for their music to play on the radio.

Radio Broadcasters in Zwelitsha

Four of the jazz veteran musicians from Zwelitsha spoke about the following radio broadcasters who worked at Radio Xhosa. Given "Oom Givie" Ntlebi, Pinkie Ginise, Siganeke Njokweni, Fezile Wotshela and Dambile Thuswa. The participants regarded them as the most influential people who were instrumental in opening the door for musicians to record and broadcast their music on the radio.

As members of the *The Roulettes*, Loxton Nkwentsha and Retsi Pule recorded at Radio Xhosa. The music of The Roulettes was regularly featured on SABC radio while Given Ntlebi was active as a radio producer. The well-known radio personality Dambile Thuswa also featured the band's songs in stories that he wrote for his radio show:

They used to play all our songs on the radio and there were many of them. People like Ginise and Njokweni helped us because they were compilers, and they would get our music played on the radio (Nkwentsha).

Ginise helped us a lot because he was a compiler. There was also Njokweni who lived in Zwelitsha and was our friend. They would get our music played on the radio (Retsi).

Mr T. K Sonjica, one of the jazz music collectors I interviewed, praised the selection of music that these broadcasters introduced to their listeners on Radio Xhosa:

These guys like Siganeke Njokweni and Fezile Wotshela came up with a program called 'Amaqela ethu'. In that program they played African Jazz. Vocalists and instrumentalists were always featured, it was so rich.

Nombuyiselo Ginise was a jazz singer originally from Queenstown, residing in Zwelitsha at the time of our interview. She was a member of *The Queenstown Allstars* led by Dave Mpahlane in 1970 when she met her husband, Pinkie Ginise. He was the librarian at the SABC (Radio Xhosa). Pinkie Ginise fully utilized his position in the SABC, organising recording opportunities for bands and introducing new music to musicians like Vukile Ntlebi because he had access to the latest recordings:

He [Pinkie Ginise] used to come to our shows. He liked our music, and he was a jazz-loving person. He organised for us to record some transcriptions with the SABC (Mrs Ginise).

People like Pinkie Ginise used to collect sound, and we listened to songs that they collected. We would listen to all the songs so that we wouldn't play one type of music. They were collectors and we would follow them. We would all get together to listen to the new sounds (Ntlebi).

Influential musicians and band leaders in Zwelitsha

Three participants mentioned Victor Majiza, a music teacher, choir conductor and instrumentalist from Zwelitsha. He led bands such as *The Clan*, *Voices unlimited choir* and inspired a generation of musicians to establish bands and compose their own music. Sidzathane, Nkwentsha and Ntlebi stated:

In the 1970s we loved *The Clan*, led by Victor Majiza. They had original music and my favourite was a song that they sang in isiXhosa called *Imbhalela*. This song was addressing the state of drought and how it affects people. It was popular on Mhlobo Wenene (Radio Xhosa) because it was a beautiful song (Sidzathane).

I loved to sing in close harmony groups but guys like Victor Majiza and Vukile Ntlebi who formed a jazz group, encouraged me to sing my compositions as their soloist (Nkwentsha).

Victor Majiza taught me drum rhythms. He could play many instruments like double bass and piano (Ntlebi).

Additionally, Vukile Ntlebi emphasized the following musicians as influential band leaders in Zwelitsha. Sjoza Maliti and Mac Mazizi who established *The Flames*; Fezile

Wotshela and Pina Yiba who led *The Jazz-o-tones*; Sjoza Maliti and Jerry Kobese who trained vocalists in the four-part harmony style as members of the popular *New Serenaders* and *The Cosmos Band*:

In terms of music, I remember we listened to Sjoza Maliti. He led big bands like *The New Serenaders* and *The Cosmos* with Jerry Kobese. There was also a smaller group called *The Flames*, Mac Mazizi was the leader of that band. During our time we had a group led by Fezile Wotshela and Pina Hiba.

Influential musicians and band leaders in East London

Five of the participants praised Tete Mbambisa as one of the most influential band leaders in East London. He began his early career as the leader of the *Four Yanks* vocal group (1950s) and later established *Artistry and Rhythm/Vuka Jazz Band* (1970s). Mbambisa first gained prominence as a member of *The Jazz Giants* (1961). He went on to record the breakthrough album, *Intlupheko Distress* with *The Soul Jazzmen* (1969). During this golden age for local South African jazz recordings, Tete Mbambisa recorded his first album *Tete's Big Sound* (1975), which pronounced him as a solo artist. He followed with the album *Did You Tell Your Mother* (1979) which is considered a soulful masterpiece that fuses African rhythms with hard bop and modal jazz. In 2023 he was awarded an honorary doctorate from the University of Cape Town. The most significant archival project from Tete Mbambisa is the album *Africa Day* (2024), which is a compilation of unreleased recordings from 1976, released by As Sham. Retsi, Nkwentsha, Sitzathane, Ntlebi and Sikade stated:

My greatest moment was befriending Tete Mbambisa who led *The Four Yanks*. I used to listen to recordings from him and my alliance with him really molded me as a vocalist (Retsi).

I first encountered jazz music through a man named Sydney Sili who was a member of *The Four Yanks* led by Tete Mbambisa (Nkwentsha).

Artistry and Rhythm (Vuka Jazz Band) from East London, led by Tete Mbambisa... you see that was the group that we loved (Sitzathane).

We grew up loving jazz songs by Tete like *Dembese* (Ntlebi).

Mdantsane had proper township jazz and there were artists like Tete Mbambisa who paved the way for this music to exist through this interpretation (Sikade).

4.3.3 Subtheme 3: Record bars and popular recording artists

Victor Ndlazulwana, The Woody Woodpeckers, The Manhattan Brothers with Miriam Makeba, the African Inkspots and the Queen of the Blues, Dolly Rathebe. Along with several American jazz musicians, these are some of the popular recording artists in South African (1950s – 1980s) noted by the participants. Their music was regularly played on Radio Xhosa and found in record bars in the Eastern Cape.

Record bars

Three participants described the record bars that were accessible for purchasing music in King Williams Town, Port Elizabeth, Alice and Queenstown. Record bars were stores that exclusively stocked LPs which were available for purchase, listening and order.

Retsi and Sidzathane revealed that the record bar in King Williams Town (KWT) was called Innes. In Alice, about 60 kilometres from KWT, there was another record bar called Hendersons. In Port Elizabeth (Gqeberha), the popular record bar was Michael's. Here they stocked more records than in the smaller towns of Alice and KWT. People often travelled the long journey of roughly two hundred and fifty kilometres to purchase music:

When I went to Alice, I noticed that many students from Fort Hare had a large number of jazz albums, and they were ordering music from Hendersons. There you could page through the Drum magazine and find the entertainment page to see what the latest music was. The owner would then check if it was in stock and if it was not, they ordered it from Johannesburg. We would drive there and keep checking on our order because we were eager to get the records. That's how we accumulated music (Retsi).

The record bars people had access to near Zwelitsha were Innes in King Williams Town, run by a Greek immigrant, and one called Michaels, which was in Port Elizabeth (Sidzathane).

In Queenstown (Komani), there was a department store on Cathcart Road called Moran Brothers. This store was mentioned by Templeton Kholekile Sonjica, a jazz music collector residing in Bhisho, Eastern Cape. He was first introduced to jazz music as a young boy when he arrived in Healdtown¹⁴ in the late 1950s. By the 1970s, his understanding of jazz had grown. In Healdtown he was surrounded by jazz music lovers and listeners who inspired him to start his collection. He purchased his first LP player, which was also combined with radio, at the sales house in Komani on hire purchase account. This form of payment was made by individuals who could pay only a small amount of cash over a period for consumer goods such as record players and radios:

It was the biggest store at that time which sold furniture, clothing and several general items. Upstairs they had a big record bar where LPs, LP players, radios and (sometimes) tapes were sold. They were also the only shop that allowed Black customers to open a twelve-to-eighteen-month sales account for more expensive items like radio/LP players. A deposit of R10 was required and thereafter a monthly instalment of R5 was paid. The price of an LP ranged up to R5 so once purchased, it was treated as a delicate treasure.

Popular recording artists

Ella Fitzgerald, Nat King Cole and Sarah Vaughn are a few of the American voices that inspired Retsi Pule to model their performance styles. Ndumiso Sidzathane remembered being exposed to jazz through his father who had a large collection of jazz music. His father was originally from Port Elizabeth (Gqeberha), where there was more access to record bars to keep expanding his collection. One of his father's favourite musicians was Duke Ellington, one of the most popular American musicians of the time. Growing up, Ndumiso spent a lot of time listening to Mhlobo Wenene FM, the local Bantu radio station, which played a lot of popular music by local musicians too:

At home, we listened to jazz and stocked jazz because it was regarded as a progressive type of music. So, the 'in' thing amongst us youngsters who were musically inclined was to group ourselves into quartets or trios and make our

¹⁴ Healdtown is a small town approximately 124km away from Queenstown, Komani in Eastern Cape.

compositions and emulate those people. Then I realised that I could also be a soloist, I must not depend on other voices (Retsi).

Other than American jazz, popular genres of the time were mbaqanga and soul music from groups like *The Movers*, *The Jazz Ministers*, led by Madoda Ndlazulwana, *The Soul Jazzmen* from Port Elizabeth; and popular vocalist Olga Mvicane (Sudzathane).

Other than the record bars, musicians in East London found a way to visit the harbour to meet and befriend sailors who had access to American jazz records. Retsi Pule stated:

I befriended Tete Mbambisa. At that time in the late 50s he also had a very popular group which was emulating *Woody Woodpeckers*, *The Manhattan Brothers* and they also loved to listen to *The Four Freshmen*. They used to get these albums by going to the harbour to befriend the sailors that had access to the music, and they would also invite them to the township to play this music.

This behaviour allowed musicians to access some of the American music that was not readily available to them in the record bars. Moreover, they would use these records as teaching tools, learning the songs by heart to expand their repertoire to bring new songs and performances to the stage.

4.4 Theme 2: The need to mobilise memory.

The second theme that emerged from the data brought attention to the participant's sentiments on how memory can be mobilized. The veterans jazz musicians in Zwelitsha, who lacked access to their recorded performances/music, expressed that mobilizing memory is crucial for preserving and reclaiming cultural heritage, and empowering musicians and communities. All the participants acknowledged that mobilizing memory is not just about preserving the past; it's also about using the past to inform and inspire the future. This approach can be particularly powerful in developing new education and development programs.

4.4.1 Subtheme 1: Transforming the Archive

Many of the veteran jazz musicians in Zwelitsha performed on Radio Xhosa, but without access to these recordings, their contributions to the cultural fabric remain hidden or forgotten. When musicians lack access to their own recordings they are disconnected from their legacy. Participants communicated this point of view when recalling their recordings made and archived as SABC 'transcriptions'. Traditional archives often focus on more dominant narratives, neglecting marginalized voices and local histories. The participants implied that by mobilizing memory, we can transform the archive to include these forgotten musicians, ensuring that their work is recognized and preserved for future generations. Instead of relying solely on formal archives, which might be incomplete or inaccessible, mobilizing memory also encourages the creation of a living archive – one that is dynamic, community-driven, and constantly evolving with new contributions.

Access to music recordings and SABC transcriptions

Four participants mentioned that their first recording experience came through recording transcriptions for SABC radio, particularly at radio Xhosa in King Williams Town. This internally recorded audio (transcriptions) was exclusively used for broadcasting music during radio shows, transitions between segments and to introduce the beginning of a new show. Retsi Pule and loxton Nkwentsha recalled recording as *The Roulettes*; Nombuyiselo Ginise (Mrs Ginise) mentioned recording transcriptions for SABC while she was involved with The Dave Mpahlane Quintet; and Babs Mqalo spoke about his music with The Cosmos Band being used as a signature tune for a radio programme on radio Xhosa:

We used to do some recordings with the SABC while it was still in King Williams Town and those recordings were known as transcriptions (Retsi).

We recorded at Radio Xhosa with Retsi Pule as *The Roulettes*, and it became a hit on the radio (Nkwentsha).

I met my husband in 1970, who was a librarian at SABC. He organised for us to record some transcriptions with the SABC. I recorded twelve songs with *The Dave Mpahlane Quintet*, *Mpahlane Brothers* and *The Queenstown Allstars* (Mrs Ginise).

We recorded at Radio Xhosa and our songs were played on a morning show called 'Laphuma ikwezi' ... but they don't have those amazing jingles anymore (Mqalo).

The musicians in Zwelitsha poured their heart and soul into their songs and performances that were broadcasted on radio, sharing their artistry with listeners across the region. Participants expressed, the inability to access their own recordings has left them feeling deeply disheartened. For these musicians, their music was more than just a collection of sounds; it represents their life's work, their cultural identity, and their contribution to the rich tapestry of South African music. Mrs Ginise voiced, the knowledge that their recordings exist but remain out of reach was a source of profound frustration and sadness. It is as if a part of their legacy has been taken from them, locked away where they can neither cherish it themselves nor share it with their community:

They never gave us our music because it was for transcriptions. They would give them out at first but then the policy changed, and they kept them in the library. Even my husband who oversaw the record Library never had access to that music. They just played it for you to listen to, but you could not leave with it because it was their material... It was not fair.

Jazz music collector, T.K Sonjica and veteran jazz musician, Corrie Pule; drove home the fact that these invaluable recordings are locked away in archives, inaccessible to the very artists who created them, as well as the public, represents a significant loss. Archives are meant to preserve and share history, but when they are inaccessible, they fail in their purpose. Music, particularly jazz, thrives on the exchange of ideas and the ability to build upon past traditions. When these recordings are kept out of reach, not only are the musicians denied the chance to revisit and reflect on their work, but the wider public is also deprived of the opportunity to engage with an important part of their cultural heritage. This creates a gap in our collective memory, where the sounds and stories of a vibrant musical tradition are silenced, rather than celebrated:

I don't understand why this music should be locked away in an archive. It's not being used or listened to; it's just sitting in those archives. We want to hear that music, we love it. People should be given access to this music (Sonjica).

We couldn't document our music back then and this caused a huge chunk of history to be lost. All that is left of my early career is a few photos that I have kept from my time in some bands and one album from *The Magnets*. If we can make sure everything we do as musicians, in our performances and compositions, is being documented then we can create new archives that we can have access to and continue to collect new archival material (Corrie).

When music is locked away, it not only diminishes the legacy of the musicians but also robs the community of a valuable resource for education, inspiration, and cultural continuity. Corrie and Sonjica's comments highlight an urgent need to transform the archive, to ensure that the music of these musicians is not lost to time, but rather, reclaimed and reintroduced into the public sphere where it belongs.

4.4.2 Subtheme 2: Education and development of music programs

The younger generation of musicians from East London acknowledged that their early music education began through formal music training. Participants noted that schools and educational institutions that incorporated jazz and western music made learning more relevant and engaging for them as students. They were involved in programs that invited seasoned musicians to share their experiences and techniques, providing practical skills and inspiration for them as emerging musicians.

Music education

Two participants, Makuzeni and Simani, reflected on their musical instruction. Siya Makuzeni is an Eastern Cape-born trombonist, singer and composer known for her contributions to promoting and advancing modern jazz improvisation and experimental music in South Africa. Growing up, Makuzeni listened to an array of genres from jazz to pop and classical music which came from her father's collection. Her parents then decided to move her to a multi-racial school which is where she says her mind really

opened to another world of music and theory that focused on tonic solfa and included both Western classical music and pop music genres within the repertoire. She praises Stirling Primary School in East London as a major catalyst. With Allan Webster as her music teacher, she began her journey to unlocking her potential. She started singing in the choir and playing the recorder before learning to play the trombone:

I didn't see the need to continue seeking out ceremonies, events and social gatherings that could allow me to [learn local music practices]. I started focusing way more on jazz from a very young age.

Stirling Primary School's music curriculum seemed to offer Siya a world of new opportunities. She found herself in an environment that encompassed choirs, bands, wind ensembles, strings and an orchestra, which all collaborated for certain events. The music students regularly collaborated with students from other schools within the Eastern and Western Cape, participating in Eisteddfods and a Mass Choir which further exposed her to not only Western music but at times Xhosa songs as well:

Sometimes they had songs that would really help us connect. It would be a Xhosa song and the whole choir would have to learn to sing that song, and the band would come up with an arrangement. So, all the schools would be together, and I remember it was one of the few moments where we could really collaborate and play together.

Her next major opportunity came when she was selected to perform in the *Eastern Cape Big Band* project led by Allan Webster. This project facilitated her interactions with established musicians such as Marcus Wyatt, Buddy Wells, Andile Yenana, Rick Van Heerden, Graeme Beyer, the Ngcukana brothers, Pat Matshikiza and Winston Mankunku. In her final year of high school, their jazz band travelled to the North Sea Jazz Festival to watch Moses Molelekwa and Bheki Mseleku. This is where she met Roy Hargrove and Zim Ngqawana, who would later become a mentor to her. This big band project was the first professional experience that demonstrated to her that music could be a great career path.

Sakhile Simani is a talented trumpeter, composer and music director who was born and raised in Mdantsane Township in East London. It was around 1997 when he first started

learning music through The Salvation Army, a church project (based in Zone 8 at the time) that specialised in brass instruments. The first instrument he learned to play was the French horn and after three years he moved on to play the cornet. He then joined the Field Band Foundation in the early 2000s, which is where he learned to play the trumpet. The Field Foundation Band was a project that arranged opportunities for young children to play in marching bands and staged concerts at the main stadium in East London:

I joined the Field band, which was more for younger children, starting from the age of nine years up to twenty-one. You learned brass, marimba, steel drum and dance. It was that project where you got to play in a marching band and their concerts were played in the stadium. We would do drills, marching band and dance movements which were entertaining.

Simani recalled that the work of the Field Bands Foundation (FBF) improved the quality of life of disadvantaged young people and their communities through music. This experience laid the foundation for his musicianship.

Development Programs

Three participants raised the subject of preservation and how community-led development programs could encourage their communities to actively participate in documenting their history, leading to the creation of local archives, digital repositories, exhibitions and educational material. They specified that, establishing programs that connect young musicians with recorded content and mentors who have deep ties to the local jazz tradition, can help preserve these musical styles while also providing career development opportunities. Mr Sonjica believes, to fully capture the rich history of jazz in the Eastern cape, it is essential that more is written from a variety of perspectives to create more comprehensive and engaging educational material. Corrie Pule expressed an interest in collaborating with younger musicians; to revive an interest in South African jazz repertoire and intergenerational exchange, allowing musicians of the older and new generations to maintain a traceable connection. Moreover, Retsi Pule believes that these kinds of collaborations would help one to think in terms of various new arrangements:

My own thinking is that we need to write about the history. Secondly, to those that have this information, they should give access to those who don't. We need to research and write as much as we can, and people should be given access to this music. The deeper I go into listening to jazz music, I find that the current musicians who are younger, their foundation is based on people like Duke Ellington and Louis Armstrong. If that music was not accessible, how were they going to retain and preserve that great music that exists. They would not be able to do that just because they are blocked from getting those recourses (Sonjica).

Music is part of the culture so up and coming guys must learn this music. I would also say that in working together we could revisit, refresh and discuss these compositions (Corrie).

We can revisit many rhythms to refresh [jazz standards] and discuss them.... if you take a song like *Ntyilo Ntyilo*, it was first introduced as a ballad but now I can approach it differently and make it more upbeat and danceable maybe in a jazz Wallace (Retsi).

By advocating for the transformation of the archive and encouraging the mobilization of memory, we can address the gaps left by traditional forms of documentation and create new avenues for education, cultural preservation and community development. This approach ensures that that the contributions of veteran jazz musicians in the Eastern Cape are not only remembered but also serve as a foundation for future generations to build upon.

4.5 Theme 3: Meaning held within songs.

Participants were asked about the meaning held within the songs they composed, as well as songs made popular by South African musicians. They were further probed about how these songs may serve as repositories of memory. Music is a powerful tool of communication. It provides a means by which people can share emotions, intentions and meaning even if their spoken language may be mutually incomprehensible (Miell et, al, 2015; cited by Bramantya, 2021).

The two subthemes pin-pointed, focus on the popular songs that participants performed and songs composed by key figures in East London's jazz scene which captured and preserved the cultural, social and political experiences of their communities. The underlying theme investigates the meaning held within the songs by discussing the lyrical content from a social, cultural and historical perspective.

4.5.1 Sub-theme 1: Songs made popular by South African Musicians

Participants noted three songs from the 1950s – 1980s, composed by musicians from East London, that carried traditional Xhosa melodies and themes. The lyrics reflected the struggles, hopes, and everyday lives of the people, serving as a way to maintain cultural identity amidst the pressures of apartheid. Participants explained that during this era; performers began to cover the compositions of great figures from East London's jazz scene. Composers combined musical influences from the Eastern Cape, with jazz to create a sound that was distinctly South African, and compositions that were imbued with a sense of place and memory. Furthermore, participants expressed that many musicians drew from oral traditions and memory to capture stories and events that were significant to the communities from which they emerged.

Lakutshon' iLanga

When asked about the most memorable song they performed within their repertoire, Corrie Pule recited *Lakutshon' iLanga* originally composed by Mackay Davashe¹⁵ and first recorded in 1954 by Miriam Makeba with The Manhattan Brothers (https://youtu.be/V2zPNt8ErRw?si=7V4FwK8zy_6ncHrv). Corrie stated that *The Slo Foot King Brothers* often performed a cover version of this song at various events:

We would arrange the song as a group because it was often requested at weddings.

The lyrics of this ballad depict a yearning for a loved one who has disappeared or is missing. The sun setting as the cattle return from grazing, while the moon rises over the

¹⁵ East London born musician who achieved success as a saxophonist and composer with the Manhattan Brothers and the Jazz Epistles.

ocean's horizon as the birds return to their nests; marks an end to another day of searching different homes, streets, hospitals and prisons. This is a love song which describes the devotion of one who continues searching each day with faith that they will return home with their loved one beside them. This song is so influential and loved that it has been performed by countless musicians to date. Sung by Miriam Makeba it was "a tribute to the people who remain disappeared, whose families to this day don't know what happened to them" (Hoek, 2021), following the agonising experiences Black South Africans survived during apartheid.

Pondo Blues

In the 1960s and 1970s, a new urban existence had emerged in East London where historical events framed songs. Siya Makuzeni reflected on the significance of *Pondo Blues* by Eric Nomvete's Big 5 (<https://youtu.be/z6jetAovKbQ?si=t8CYJkwNC0ugLtgV>) as a song that drew on both traditional Xhosa and Western influences, and reflected the political and social struggles of the time. "There is not much that has been written about the song apart from a few lines in some books and articles about the Cold Castle National Jazz Festival. Yet, it has been considered to have been a groundbreaking musical performance, situated as one of the classics in South African jazz" (Mtshemla, 2021):

This [Pondo Blues] is one of the songs that I could imagine was used as a point of reflection amongst the community and was used as a point of strength for people when they listened to that song, as protest music [speaking] to what they were actually experiencing.

What made Eric Nomvete's Big Five so unique is that, in recollecting a traditional drinking song and lamenting the Pondo revolt (Mtshemla, 2021), they forged a new path and did what other bands on the festival's line-up had not done before. It is said that the organisers of the festival had a mission to popularise an "Americanized" feel of jazz. All the participating bands had to cover American jazz standards like *When the Saints Go Marching In*. According to Gwen Ansell¹⁶, *Pondo Blues* made the audience hold their breath. By disrupting this requirement, *Pondo Blues* became a significant disruption and refusal of the American standard format and an expression of a locally determined

¹⁶ Ansell, G., 2004. Soweto blues: Jazz, popular music, and politics in South Africa. A&C Black; 128

musical hybrid. *Pondo Blues* brought with it a tangible expression of triple consciousness by reconstructing the indigenous elements which were absent using horns, drums and piano, translating the global jazz idiom into the local, and ushering in a South African sound that was not just a copy of a standard (Dlamini, 2010).

Traditional Xhosa songs

Corrie Pule addressed the use of traditional Xhosa songs within their repertoire. He detailed how musicians often adapted songs, commonly sung in traditional ceremonies, into skilfully improvised arrangements. Traditional Xhosa songs contain stories, proverbs, and teachings passed down through generations. When integrated into jazz performances, these elements continued to evoke those memories, allowing listeners to recall and connect with their heritage.

Corrie referred to the song “ndinomqokozo” as one that was passed down through generations and became a repository of memory. Though it was not formally recorded, the lyrics and melodies live on in the memories of those who heard it and musicians who performed it, preserving collective history. The song “ndinomqokozo” carries the collective memory of Xhosa people, captures social customs, community values and preserves them within a modern musical framework. The lyrics as recited by Corrie are:

Ndino Mqokozo obomvu ndawuphiwa nguMAMA (I have a beaded red necklace that was given to me by my mother)

Ndino mqokozo obomvu ndawuphiwa nguBABA (I have a red trek chain that was given to me by my father)



Ndinomqokozo.mp3

This song was often arranged by *The Slo' Foot King Brothers* to suit the style, setting and atmosphere of a particular event. As Xhosa speakers, participants expressed that the isiXhosa language is very difficult to directly translate to English as one word or phrase can be used to describe multiple things. The word “Umqokozo” in this song is used as a homonym as it is a word with multiple meanings. *Umqokozo* is a traditional beaded necklace that is usually crafted and worn by Xhosa women. *Umqokozo* also describes a

trek chain that is used to brace and connect cattle (or any animals) to tools used specifically when ploughing the soil. Furthermore, *Mqokozo* is a metaphor for a backbone, which refers to specific qualities within a person. A backbone is seen as a symbol of strength in character, an unwillingness to be used or taken for granted, and a firm commitment to uphold one's decisions and feelings (Avery, 2014). Thus, to fully grasp the "direct translation" and meaning of these poetic lyrics, we must consider all the above definitions and descriptions contributing to the deep lesson being shared. The line "I have a beaded red necklace that was given to me by my mother" boasts of the effortless beauty, gentleness and selflessness of a mother as they impart wisdom, knowledge and skills to their child which enables them to become a backbone that nurtures and supports a family of their own once they have reached maturity. Likewise, the line "I have a red trek chain that was given to me by my father" acknowledges the grace, strength, sturdiness, efficiency and endurance of a father who has provided sustenance and ploughed so much goodness into the full growth of their child so that they too become the backbone, the strongest and most important part of their family and community.

In view of the participants' selected songs in this subtheme, it can be observed that when jazz musicians incorporated traditional songs into their performances, they ensured that those cultural narratives continued to be shared, even as the music evolved. This allowed the preservation of cultural identity in a rapidly changing society. Furthermore, jazz songs became community anthems, embodying collective memories and shared experiences.

4.5.2 Sub-theme 2: Songs composed by research participants

Participants were questioned about how their voices and melodies emerged not only as musical expressions but as documents of personal and collective experiences. The meaning held within Retsi Pule's music and two of the unsung jazz musicians in Zwelitsha were discussed, to shed light on how their songs documented their lived experiences and why their contributions to South African jazz deserve recognition and remembrance.

Retsi Pule

Retsi Pule noted the first compositions that catapulted him into stardom and marked him as a household name in the Eastern Cape. In addition, Retsi discussed his most recent album titled *In High Spirits*, in which he reflects on his life and engraves his memories into the music.

Emdizeni (<https://open.spotify.com/track/3T4SbQDXPlpDpRogRbcOWk?si=b0fe6ebc7f7949a9>) is the song that Retsi Pule stated: “Put [him] on the map”. It was featured on the Take Note album titled *And the Journey Begins* and shows off his uniquely South African jazz style and a dynamic township jazz sound while preserving the oral tradition of *Imbongi* (Xhosa praise poet). In the introduction of the song *Emdizeni*, Retsi recites his lyrics in the style of *imbongi*. Typically, *imbongi* is a male individual who recites emotive and spontaneous poetry at a ceremony or social function such as weddings, beer-drinking gatherings or dances. “The poet feels inspired and moved by the specific occasion. His poetry would tend to be crude and unpolished and is normally uttered in a loud, high-toned voice and at a fast rate as words are rushed into one breath” (Opland, 1975). In this song, Pule humorously and boldly sings of his many love interests residing in Emdizeni:

That is the song that made me who I am on stage. It was a comical song. I decided to compose something comical and say I am wealthy, I have many women on my arm even if you take one away from me, I have my spare wheels here and there. I am secured.

Another one of Retsi’s compositions that became a mainstream song is titled *Isidudla* (<https://youtu.be/tu4BdFETZso?si=Y-sAmIChdtPZ0RYq>).

In 1977, while recording an album of traditional Xhosa songs which were adapted to his signature jazz sound, he began humming a tune during a break between takes. At first not intending to record the song, he playfully started improvising a melody with the lyrics “Hey you *Sdudla*, where were you yesterday, I missed you”. Impressed with the melody, the producers decided he should record the improvisation as a song that would be included in the album. The song was well received by his fans and so it became one of the popular tracks on his album, *Sithandwa*, released in 1977. Retsi stated:

[The album] was just meant to be light-hearted and comical because my fans had been hankering me to please do this kind of stuff.

His most recent album is a collection of songs he composed as well as songs reliving memories of his life and personal interactions. In 2016 he was granted a free recording session at the Eastern Cape Audio Visual Centre (ECAVC), located at the Miriam Makeba Performing Arts Centre in East London. The Department of Arts and Culture in the Eastern Cape played a role in providing funding for him to record his project at the ECAVC studios. The title track of the album, *In High Spirits* (https://youtu.be/_BO338uQbPU?si=YsNHpBttgl-SdpgX), was written based on his gratitude for being afforded the opportunity to record. Retsi remarked that it was far-fetched for him to have those resources because, nowadays, the prices for booking recording studios, mixing and mastering music are skyrocketing. He felt that he was in high spirits and the lyrics of the song were written to reflect his feelings at the time:

I am very grateful for them (ECAVC), they really helped me. Sy Ntuli was the director at the time. We recorded the album and it was released on the market in 2017.

Retsi described his song *Biko* (<https://youtu.be/SMO2lokAD7g?si=AAOuCN1zhWxP7g-d>), as one that is close to his heart. He uses his theatrical skill to narrate the story of Steve Bantu Biko, a South African anti-apartheid activist and a key figure in the Black Consciousness Movement during the 1960s, who died in police custody in 1977. The song begins with a choral ensemble of voices as Retsi introduces “iziduko” (the clan names and lineage) of the two loving parents that gave birth to Steve Biko. “Iziduko” (clan names) or “ukuzithutha” (to recite clan names in praise) is a significant practise in the Xhosa culture which holds socio-cultural value. Reciting one’s clan names is a way to introduce themselves and their lineage. Clan names play an important role in forging a sense of common cultural identity, togetherness and to understand one’s genealogy. Retsi continues to recite, “*Biko was killed because he believed... it is better to die for an idea that lives, than to live for an idea that dies*”. In this song, Retsi describes his own relationship with the anti-apartheid activist; reminiscing about being raised in the same

Anglican church in King Williams Town, attending the same school in Ginsberg location, and acknowledging Biko as someone who was raised as an intelligent and honest young man. His words and melodies unveil the brutal killing of Biko, declaring that he will always be remembered, and his legacy will live on:

I attended the same school as Bantu Biko, although he was younger than me. I was doing Form 3 in Ginsberg location, King Williams Town. I remember we also lived on the same street, and [our families] were both members of the Anglican church.

Nombuyiselo Ginise

Mrs Ginise recited one of her compositions which she performed and recorded with the Mpahlane Brothers in Queenstown. She described her song, “*Itshomi*” as a moving ballad sung in isiXhosa, which delicately captured the emotional complexities of the youth during the apartheid era in South Africa. The song was accompanied by a simple yet evocative piano, bass, and drum trio, creating an ambient arrangement that allowed the innocence of the lyrics and vocal delivery to take centre stage. The narrative revolves around the heartbreak of a young girl who feels betrayed by a close friend, as they both vie for the attention of the same boy. This exploration of adolescent emotions of jealousy, betrayal, and heartache; transcends the historical context, illustrating that despite the overwhelming socio-political struggles of the time, young people still experienced the universal trials of growing up.

In describing her composition, Mrs Ginise emphasized its relatability and honesty, highlighting how the dynamics of friendship and romantic interest are portrayed in a way that resonates with the listener. The song paints a vivid picture of a young girl entering a social gathering, only to find her best friend being flirtatious with the boy she herself admires. This scene captured through Mrs Ginise’s soulful interpretation, is her testament to the enduring nature of human emotions, even in the face of societal hardship.

Babs Mqalo

As a vocalist for *The Cosmo band*, Babs Mqalo sang music which was popularly known as mezzo and jazz¹⁷⁵. Their repertoire consisted of the popular songs *Salani Kahle*, *Nomathemba* and *Zimasa*, written by Jerry Kobese and Sjoza Malithi.

The direct translation of “Salani Kahle” is farewell. In this song, the singer says so long after a joyous occasion of entertaining a crowd filled with vibrant and energetic people. This was usually sung as their last song of the performance.



Salani Kahle.mp3

Nomathemba, as Mqalo explained, is a song about a beautiful girl who lived in Zone 5, Zwelitsha. All the young men in Zwelitsha were infatuated with her looks and her beautiful voice. Mqalo exclaimed in excitement: “*all the young men constantly went knocking at her door to get her attention*”.



Thembu.mp3

The third song Mqalo shared speaks of “ukuzimasa” which means to honour. This song expressed solidarity during a time when the youth were engaged in political activism. He sings: “*We are here with you, to honour you all and to say that the time has come for things to change*”.



Ukuzimasa.mp3

Mqalo explained, the lyrics and themes of the songs he sang drew inspirations from traditional Xhosa songs, commented on the social and political conditions of the time and documented the lived experiences of the community in Zwelitsha. This allowed them to maintain a connection with their audiences, ensuring that the stories of Zwelitsha remained accessible to their community. While reciting the aforementioned songs, Mqalo was flooded with emotions owing to the memories evoked:

¹⁷ In music, mezzo refers to the middle range for singers, the colour and tone of the voice and helps to identify what repertoire is best suited to a certain type of singer. In Zwelitsha mezzo and jazz referred to jazz music that was vocally driven and typically featured four-part harmony.

I get heartbroken because of my love for this place (Zwelitsha). This place was so vibrant. When I sing these songs, I remember all my friends who were part of this group. It's almost as if I can still see them. In Zwelitsha you would find more than just music shows. There were boxing matches, dramas, bands staging competitions, and ballroom dancing. These activities in the community encouraged the youth to take pride in their appearance and gave people something to look forward to. Once the music changed, the community changed.

Several participants expressed that Retsi Pule's music resonated with audiences in Zwelitsha, building a career that would leave a mark on the local jazz scene. He used his songs to narrate the trials and triumphs of his personal journey. However, while Retsi's contributions are celebrated, two of the veteran jazz musicians in Zwelitsha who were locally revered between the 1950s - 1980s remain largely unrecognized in the broader documented histories of South African jazz. The songs of these jazz veterans, though lesser known, serve as repositories of the struggles, joys and resilience of their time, capturing the spirit of a generation in a way that formal histories have overlooked.

4.6 Main Theme 4: Musical contributions made by Eastern Cape jazz veterans.

Interviews with the participants revealed that the musical contributions made by veteran jazz musicians in East London and Zwelitsha, was better represented through their dedication to the mentorship of younger musicians. The participants explained that mentorship played a big role in the development of musicians. Younger musicians were given opportunities to play in ensembles with established musicians. Mentorship also involved sharing information on professional opportunities, educational content, networks of musicians and music.

4.6.1 Subtheme 1: Mentorship of younger musicians and intergenerational exchange

Participants acknowledged that mentorship played a pivotal role in their development as musicians and significantly shaped their careers. Jazz musicians, who had honed their craft over years of practice and performance, took on the responsibility of guiding the next generation.

Mentorship of younger musicians in East London

Ayanda Sikade and Sakhile Simani detailed the mentors who were responsible for teaching them musical techniques, introducing them to jazz theory, integrating them into the broader jazz community in East London, and providing them with crucial opportunities for growth. Moreover, Siya Makuzeni explained that mentorship was not limited to musical instruction. As one of her mentors shared professional opportunities such as gigs and collaborations, helping her navigate the often-challenging path of building a career in jazz.

Ayanda Sikade began his musical journey watching the Vuka Jazz band rehearsals not too far from the house he grew up in. This is where he learned how different instruments were played and experienced the township jazz sound first-hand. It was in 1987 when he started learning the drums. By the age of ten, Sikade was drumming for the *Vuka Jazz Band* where he was mentored by master musicians Tete Mbambisa, Tally Goduka, Tex Nduluka, and notably Lulama Gaulana:

I started to learn the drums or to see them in 1987. I would go every day for about a year without touching them, just to see them. Then, Lulama Gaulana gained an interest in me because of my enthusiasm [at] rehearsals. Lulama taught me and ever since, I had him as a mentor until I left for university.

Lulama Gaulana was born in the old location of Duncan Village, in East London where he grew up before his family was forcibly removed to Mdantsane Township in 1966. Gaulana played such a big role as a mentor that Sikade dedicated a song to him titled 'Gaba' (https://youtu.be/_76VBsJzDeU?si=zJOTGsJ1UggMUODc) on his latest album 'uMakhulu'. The song was a way for Sikade to honour the man who was his first teacher and a teacher to many:

He taught me everything I know so I thought I should dedicate this song to him. He was also friends with my grandmother. So, he featured in my concept of Makhulu. The kind of melodies I used are guitar melodies that Ta Laga (Gaulana) would use. I could see him playing this song with his smile there.

The late Lulama Gaulana or Bra Laga (as he was affectionately known) was also my research facilitator and an integral part of the jazz heritage project led by ILAM. My journey with Bra Laga began on a road trip to Queenstown. We were travelling to engage with other veteran musicians. I was surprised by Bra Laga's youthful spirit and the conversations that sparked. While engaged in a conversation about jazz education and the importance of mentorship, I learned that Retsi Pule and Gaulana had intentions of starting a school in the community of Mdantsane to enrich young musicians who wished to learn music. Retsi and Gaulana had taught students on an individual basis and within schools in Mdantsane however, they wanted to combine their efforts to start an institution that would continue their legacy. Unfortunately, Gaulana passed away in 2021 before their dream could materialise:

[Lulama Gaulana] mentored our drummer Sikade... our trumpeter Sakhile, even our trumpeter Gogwana. They used to frequent his place. We [worked] together for the love of mentoring aspiring musicians, especially the marginalized people of our community (Retsi Pule).

Sakhile Simani credits popularly known Mdantsane musicians such as Tex Ndluluka, Lulama Gaulana and Tally Goduka as his mentors as well. These musicians introduced him to jazz through an archive of Real Books which allowed him to learn skills such as composition, transposition and improvisation:

Tex Nduluka was a great trumpeter and played for the *Vuka Jazz Band* where Ayanda Sikade and Lulama Gaulana started playing too. When I met Bra Tex, he taught me jazz songs like *Lakhutshona Ilanga* and *Ntyilo Ntyilo*. Unfortunately, he passed away in 2003. Before his passing he connected me with his friend Tally Goduka who then taught me Western jazz standards when I started playing with the *Ikwezi Jazz Band*.

Tally Goduka was one of the founders of *Ikwezi Jazz Band* which is one of the only bands in East London that still focuses on playing music that honours the legacy of South African jazz. Their repertoire consists of songs by musicians such as Jonas Gwangwa and

Letta Mbuli. Tally Goduka started playing music while growing up in the West Bank location in 1958. His first instrument was the pennywhistle. In the early 1960s, he then moved to the alto saxophone while attending Telluric Music School where he was tutored by Eric Nomvete (Plaatjie, 2016).

Siya Makuzeni shared that while she was in high school, she received an opportunity to travel to the North Sea Jazz Festival with the Big Band in East London, to watch Moses Molelekwa and Bheki Mseleku perform. This is where she met Zim Ngqawana, who would later become a mentor to her:

Bra Zim literally took me under his wing and in no time, over the years that I was now establishing myself in Joburg, he saw me and said... “*No Man! Where have you been? Come here!*” And then I started gigging more... He was genuinely interested in mentoring. He was an open book and really made you stretch your mind about this jazz thing... he was quirky but, now I understand a lot of the concepts that he was trying to get us to work out.

Mentorship of younger musicians in Zwelitsha

Three of the participants in Zwelitsha reflected on their connections as mentors and mentees. Corrie Pule spoke about the members of the *Slo’ foot King Brothers* and their mentorship of younger musicians. Under the mentorship of the *Slo’ Foot King Brothers*; two youth vocal groups, *The Four Tones* and *The Bright Girls*, were established. The vocalists in these youth groups went on to pursue solo careers. Other vocalists later joined the veteran’s band, which was renamed *The Slo’ Foot Jazz Band* to accommodate the young female vocalists. The music they composed and performed traversed different popular genres of the 1950s.

Andile Henge, a multi-instrumentalist from Zwelitsha, mentioned Corrie Pule as his mentor. One of the key aspects of his mentorship was the inclusion of a younger musician in an ensemble of established musicians:

After some time, Corrie Pule asked me to join the church to become a member of their band. I was so happy because I knew that he would be a great mentor. When I joined the band, I was playing violin (Henge).

Henge affirmed that playing alongside seasoned musicians allowed him to gain valuable experience and exposure to a higher-level of performance standards.

Mrs Ginise grew up in an environment where she was surrounded by creatives. Her father was a tap dancer and would interact with many jazz bands in Queenstown where he would rehearse his choreography. As she grew up, she met Margaret Mcingana who was famously known for her recording of the legendary theme of the 1986 television series, *Shaka Zulu, we are growing* (Singana, 2000):

We didn't really have a teacher other than Margaret Mcingana. She would teach our groups songs when she was back from Johannesburg. We would rehearse on our own every day until she came back with new material.

The tradition of mentorship became a defining feature of the local jazz scene, creating a support system for younger musicians that extended beyond the lessons and performances. In addition to musical and professional guidance, participants observed that mentorship fostered a sense of community among musicians.

4.7 Main Theme 5: Collective Memory

When asked about the role of collective memory in their music, all the participants revealed how their compositions, and songs composed by prominent jazz musicians, serve as channels of recollecting and expressing shared cultural experiences. Through their music, the participants engage in a form of cultural preservation, where elements of nostalgia play a crucial role in recalling and sustaining the memories of their communities. The memories embedded in these songs are more than personal reflections; they are shared remembrances that resonate with a broader audience, carrying the surviving fragments of history, tradition, and identity into the present day. The participants revealed that their collective memory is deeply intertwined with the preservation of Xhosa culture, as their music embodies and transmits the values, stories,

and practices that define their heritage. This section explores how their songs function as vessels of collective memory, preserving the essence of Xhosa culture while fostering a connection between past and present generations.

4.7.1 Subtheme 1: Projections of Nostalgia

Each musician demonstrated a deep connection between their music and the collective memories of their community. However, one participant's reflections stood out, offering insight into how his memories are woven into his compositions.

Collective memories of home

The memories expressed by Ayanda Sikade draw heavily on feelings of nostalgia. Jill Bradbury (2012) in her research stated that "perhaps nostalgia is the desire to not be who we once were, but to be once again our potential future selves." Bradbury (2012) also suggests that perhaps nostalgia is not so much a longing for the way things were, but also a longing for futures that never came, or horizons of possibilities that have been foreclosed by the unfolding of events. Nostalgia is conventionally defined as "a yearning to return to a lost home".

This "yearning to return" seems to be a subject expressed in the music of popular South African jazz musicians who were in exile as well as those defined as inxiles, "musicians who remained behind" (Ramanna, 2016). Songs such as *Lonely Flower in the Village: Flower of Peace/ Duncan Village* by Johnny Dyani (https://youtu.be/O9UPJE-aro0?si=Y5-7IvixVOqNHop_), *Zwelitsha* by Andile Yenana & the Azanian Dreaming Big Band (<https://andileyenana.bandcamp.com/track/zwelitsha>), and *East London Samba* by Lulama Gaulana are just a few examples of song titles which invoke nostalgia, a yearning for a home. These titles reflect the homes and towns where the musicians are from and paint a sonic picture of how they perceive where they are from. This is especially nostalgic as the artists were either not residing in the place of their origin or longing to return to a time, they previously embraced.

Home for Ayanda Sikade is reflected through his time in the township as well as the rural areas of Nxarhuni. Nxarhuni is locally known as the original name of the river in East London which is now called the Nahoon River. In discussing his song titled *Nxarhuni River* (https://youtu.be/BGCrOoSRG5U?si=NwTOOQSZ_wGBt80z), Sikade revealed memories from his childhood which inspired this composition:

The Nxarhuni is the river that we crossed after the Easter holidays when it was time to go back to the township. Sometimes, you'll find there's only two buses per day at two different bus stops. If you miss the bus at the stop that is closest to you, then you would have to walk maybe five to seven kilometres and cross the river to the next one. So, on some days, the Nxarhuni River was full. My big brother would put me on his shoulders or some of the older and taller guys would help us cross. It's a significant story in our upbringing.

Spaceships (https://youtu.be/QAmZRFOt_0U?si=P3lSngtqSvtvDprT) is another one of Sikade's songs which he used to reflect on his experiences with his grandmother and his childhood dreams of travelling the world. He thought about how travelling allows one to see how life is lived in other spaces. Sometimes, as a result, one may wish that their life at home could be different. These are things that prompted Sikade's composition as he expressed:

Spaceships was about my time with Makhulu. In December when it was hot and the sunset late around 10:30 PM, we would sit outside, and she would tell me stories. I would look up at the stars and imagine all the things Makhulu was talking about. I would see and imagine those worlds up in the stars. How do I put that experience into sound? I had to go into my musical toolbox and recollect what else I have experienced in life that could give me that experience of being in the stars. Spaceship for instance, what is the sound of a spaceship? That's how it all connected.

4.7.2 Subtheme 2: Preservation of Xhosa culture

Collective memory is not always consciously learned or known but, through music, it functions as a transference of cultural knowledge. Discussions with participants revealed how music can facilitate the preservation and transmission of the collective cultural memory and indigenous knowledge systems which assist us in constructing our identities, sense of home and spiritual practices.

The aesthetics of Xhosa music in jazz

Corrie Pule stated that his style of writing as a musician was often inspired by the way Xhosa songs are sung. To him, this was an important task to contribute to the preservation of his culture and language, so that the next generation can learn what existed before:

We had to keep evolving and growing the way we express our unique perspective on morality, values, and ways of living, through music.

Retsi Pule observed an instinctual manifestation of Xhosa traditions appearing within the compositions of contemporary jazz musicians in South Africa:

At the beginning of this millennium or the late 90s when that generation was being admitted into the new schools in UKZN and UCT, I observed that the students who were studying jazz were not focused on the jazz of the 1960s, like swing. The jazz they were composing, was more Africanized, it was more afro and that was the in thing.

Retsi agreed that contemporary musicians are tapping into the African flavour and presenting a more Africanized sound by drawing influences from musicians like Nofinishi Dywili, who is one of the pioneers of isiXhosa bow music. Nofinishi's Dywili's songs have now been brought back to life, from the archive at the International Library of African Music (ILAM) by many bow players and jazz musicians who have engaged with traditional music as a compositional resource. Retsi highlighted one such musician, Lwanda Gogwana, an East London-born trumpeter and composer. The title of his album *uHadi Synth* juxtaposes the modern synthesiser with an uhadi and reflects his interest as a jazz

musician in exploring, studying, and uniting the traditional and the modern¹⁸⁴. His rendition of *Ingxembula* (<https://youtu.be/0rzuQtgD9fg?si=Avg8AO5n-9CCRCp>) is based on the traditional composition by Nofinishi Dywili and informs a continued cultural dialogue on tradition and innovation.

The song *Ingxembula* by Nofinishi Dywili with The Ngqoko Women's Ensemble (https://youtu.be/DySMtr6PW5Q?si=9XjsLlsF_lq1V85k), was originally played on the uhadi. *Ingxembula* means 'the ugly one' and this song is about uNomadambe, a female ancestral figure with a very masculine appearance. The song warns that 'amankazana ngamahule' which means, there are unmarried promiscuous women who are sexually liberated. Nomadambe is also regarded as one of those women. In an interview with Seton Hawkins (2017), Lwanda Gogwana stated that he learned from Dave Dargie's theoretical analysis of Xhosa music and tried to elaborate on the scales he had used in his analysis to then interpret it in more of a jazz context. Gogwana based the bass part on the fundamental tone of the uhadi playing, extended the harmony based on the notes that came out of the calabash, and drew the melodies from Nofinishi's singing. He used all these compositional tools for each song on his album, *Uhadi Synth*, and tried to learn from the traditions and pay homage to those who came before him by going back as far as possible in understanding music from South Africa and his being. The cover of his album also embraces the unification of the modern and traditional. The image showcases Gogwana dressed in a suit with a garment placed over his shoulder. The garment is part of the regalia of Xhosa men, with the suit representing a modern gentleman. Retsi acknowledged Lwanda Gogwana as a perfect example of how the current generation of jazz musicians are coming full circle, cultivating cultural memory and advancing South African jazz that is not heavily influenced by American songs.

Sakhile Simani praised Zim Ngqawana¹⁹ and Andile Yenana²⁰ for popularizing isiXhosa music in his compositions and inspiring him as a musician. Simani's music and live

¹⁸Uniting the traditional and the modern refers to incorporating rhythmic patterns and melodic structures of uHadi as a traditional instrument and using modern instruments like the piano, drums, trumpet and bass to shape a unique sound. All of these traditional elements bring a distinct African flavour to the music and provide a rhythmic drive, thus unifying the modern and traditional to create a rich and vibrant tapestry, allowing South African jazz to remain a dynamic and ever-evolving genre

¹⁹ Zim Ngqawana was a South African flautist and saxophonist.

²⁰ South African pianist.

performances delve into what defines his community. He often immerses himself in the music experienced in traditional ceremonies in Mdantsane. Though he is not composing renditions of traditional songs, Simani asserted that his music carries traditional Xhosa music influences:

Sometimes I break into umxhentso (traditional dance) when I play but I don't know where or how that thing comes to me. When I trace it, it is from the people of my community because I go to these ceremonies like inkomo (cow slaughtering) and initiations where people sing. I have not gotten to the point where I take or record a traditional song and play it with my band. Andile Yenana recorded three albums and when I listen to his music, he goes back to Xhosa music and he is tapping into Xhosa music. So, I can't say that the music that I play is directly from there, but the influence is. Maybe later I will be more specific about that. That's why I feel that bra Zim did that and now it's Bhut Andile.

Sakhile, was further questioned on whether jazz can be considered as part of the culture in the Eastern Cape. His answer was direct, explaining how people from the Eastern Cape love music however, that music cannot be limited to jazz. People came to love jazz in the township because that was the recorded music that people had access to. Whereas people living in the rural areas did not have the same resources found in the urban areas. As a result, jazz may have not been as impactful in the rural areas as it was in the township in East London:

Ukuxhentsa and traditional music is beautiful, but it was not as accessible as jazz was. A lot of people in the Eastern Cape who were in the rural areas were older and didn't know anything other than traditional music, but jazz was the music of the youth. If people in the rural areas had access to performance venues and recording opportunities, I think traditional music would have taken over because this music is healing. I think once TV came, people were influenced by American culture and the life they saw being represented on screen.

Collective memory of a cultural identity

Ayanda Sikade reflected on his recent album, *uMakhulu* (Grandmother). He stated that this work communicates how he perceives his grandmother. He chose to represent her through this music to make sure people embrace her memory, feel ubuntu²¹, her humility and how open she was to all people.

The Album cover was taken from a picture, captured by Gqeberha-based photographer, Vuyo Giba. It exhibits a rondavel²² home in Qobo Qobo²³, Eastern Cape and resembles Sikade's grandmother's house. This picture became the ideal image to represent umakhulu wesiXhosa (a Xhosa grandmother), her home and her heart where music was the centre of the home and songs formed a bigger part of a lifestyle and societal movement through ceremonies and gatherings such as ulwaluko²⁴, weddings, funerals, church and remembering ancestral roots. According to Sikade, 'Inkumba' is a respectful way of referring to a rondavel home. This is represented in his song titled *Enkumbeni* (<https://youtu.be/WUF1taSLPBg?si=kBccqk4fwj1gkjZ>):

The reason I used this image is because it resembles my grandmother's house. The house with one window is a special design. It's not for everyone but, it captured what I wanted to portray as Umakhulu which is her house and her spirit, hence that picture. This is my root, 'umnombo, yinkaba yam' (it is my ambilateral cord), I cannot be detached from it. So, even the music from there was a lifestyle, it was not just songs it was a societal movement through ceremonies and gatherings like ulwaluko, weddings, funerals, and church. It was all there...
Enkumbeni (Sikade).

In the title track of the album *uMakhulu* (<https://youtu.be/Jo9lniFx-zk?si=bPeZ-YO19WWGrMgp>), Sikade reimagines a traditional song that speaks of 'ukusila' which is the process of brewing 'umqombothi' (traditional beer). The lyrics state "*usila kamnandi umakhulu*" meaning,

²¹ Ubuntu is an ancient African word meaning "humanity to others". It reminds us that 'I am what I am because of who we all are'.

²² A traditional circular or cylindrical, single-cell home in South Africa that is made of mud and has a conical thatched roof of grass.

²³ The indigenous name for the area is Qobo Qobo which, loosely translated means "a fragile thing" but, since 1847, it has been known as Keiskammahoek. This name, derived from Dutch and Khoikoi roots means "corner of shining waters".

²⁴ The traditional practice of circumcision and initiation from childhood to adulthood.

“our grandmother brews the best traditional beer”. In this song Sikade uses the main melody that is recited in the traditional Xhosa song as the opening melody played by the saxophone, creating a call and response with the horn section and vocals affirming that ‘usila kamnandi umakhulu’. Some of the voices heard are using ‘umngqokolo’ - a low and rhythmic overtone singing technique (also known as throat singing), traditionally performed by Xhosa women. Sikade recalled one of his early memories of his grandmother included those of her brewing ‘umqombothi’:

She really had a big heart for sharing and giving. She was the champion brewer so when I heard the song it became so relevant to my grandmother because [I was taught] one of the most important skills of a Xhosa mother or woman, is to be able to brew traditional beer when hosting any kind of ceremony.

Sikade also marked his song *Mdantsane* (<https://youtu.be/sjdpi0YW5OQ?si=u2v-gje9Bjnu6xyy>) as one that stands out as a memorialisation to the township that he grew up in. He was inspired by memories of the streets in Mdantsane, the taxis, the highway and the Mdantsane Sun Hotel where this music was usually performed:

This was the township jazz of Mdantsane. This song takes us to Mdantsane, the streets, the taxis, the highway, Mdantsane Sun, uMqambulo and all the elders who paved the way for this music to exist. This sound is Mdantsane, its spirit and it is closer to what uMakhulu would enjoy because it’s closer to the Xhosa music that was sung at home.

Siya Makuzeni highlighted her song *Ungazilibali* ([Ungazilibali by Siya Makuzeni \(soundcloud.com\)](https://soundcloud.com/siya-makuzeni/ungazilibali)), as a song that challenges the often-limiting stereotypical Western gaze that African artists face. The song begins with a striking uHadi sound and her electronically altered vocals. The song then breaks into a thunder of electric guitar and drums that would typically be heard in a heavy metal or rock song. At the beginning of her first verse, the song softens into a more contemporary jazz sound however, the instrumentation still resembles a soulful rock sound. The sound effects and distorted guitar gives the song a grunge edge, while capitalizing on elements of punk rock. Makuzeni proclaimed, “Ungazilibali”, meaning: “do not forget who you are”, is an intentional war cry for preservation. It is not specifically jazz or traditional, it is not designed to be a hit but a song to say I am African,

a cross-over Xhosa individual that is changing, moulding and shaping their own reality and future:

As an artist, so many doubts arise around one's musical abilities, the relevance of the message one carries, imposter syndrome and the plight of being misunderstood. All of this is to say that when one is in tune with who they are, they can assert themselves and move through these challenges with confidence, an open heart and an open mind.

The participants demonstrated how collective memory unfolds in their music and performances. They instinctively and consciously use the aesthetics of Xhosa music such as call and response, rhythmic complexity, instruments such as uHadi bow, the use of the isiXhosa language in their lyrics, traditional dance such as umxhentso, social commentary, and blending traditional elements with contemporary styles and genres. The aesthetics of jazz in Buffalo City in Eastern Cape reflect the musicians' deep connection to community, the Xhosa culture, spirituality, and history.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

Jazz is often perceived as a genre of the past. For some, the mention of jazz conjures images of "a badly lit bar in the 50s where some musicians smoking in tuxes are playing to an attentive audience" (Andres, 2017). However, in South Africa, jazz has been much more than a nostalgic relic; it has served as the soundtrack to political and cultural struggles, embodying the voice of the common man. This study sought to delve deeper into this rich history by exploring the memories of musicians who performed traditional jazz songs in Buffalo City, Eastern Cape. The study spanned the time period from the 1960s to the present day, focusing on the lived experiences of jazz veteran musicians in Zwelitsha and jazz musicians in East London. The findings revealed new insights into the jazz history of these regions, highlighting how memory can be mobilized to revive and sustain interest in jazz history and repertoire. The study also shed light on the role of songs as sonic repositories of memory and underscored the key contributions made by veteran jazz musicians.

This final chapter concludes the study by providing a summary of the previous chapters, revisiting the research questions, and discussing the research findings. It will also consider the contributions and limitations of the study, and offer recommendations for future research, aiming to further enrich the understanding and preservation of South Africa's jazz heritage.

5.2 Summary

Chapter One introduced the research, setting the stage with a background on South African jazz music history. It traced the origins and emergence of prominent and influential South African jazz musicians, with particular focus on the Eastern Cape region. This chapter also outlined the social and political events that influenced the evolution of performance styles among musicians in the beginning of the 19th century. The decision to explore the memories of veteran jazz musicians from a historically conscious perspective was explained, including a reflection on my personal experiences that motivated this research. The chapter concluded with an overview of the research

aims, research questions, theoretical framework, and a brief description of the methodology employed.

Chapter Two focused on the literature review, addressing key areas relevant to the research. It began with a discussion on continental musicology and the frameworks used to describe the characteristics of African music. The chapter explored the parallels between traditional isiXhosa music and South African jazz, highlighting the cultural and musical connections. It also examined the choral music traditions and notable composers from the Eastern Cape, shedding light on the development of formal music education in the region. Archival practices were discussed, particularly the significance of the Ian Bruce Huntley Archive, the only publicly accessible collection dedicated to South African jazz music from 1964-1974. The chapter also explored the multidisciplinary field of memory studies, differentiating between the concepts of collective, social, and cultural memory.

Chapter Three provided a detailed description of the chosen research methodology. The preference for a qualitative research method, specifically an exploratory case study with a focused ethnographic approach, was explained. The chapter described the selection of participants, the criteria for their inclusion, and the methods used to ensure the integrity of the study. The data collection procedures and techniques, along with the data analysis methods employed were outlined. The chapter concluded with a discussion on the ethical considerations relevant to this research.

Chapter four provided an analysis of data that was obtained using in-depth and semi-structured interviews conducted with the selected research participants. The thematic and ethnographic data analysis methods used to employ the thematic six-phase process for data analysis generated five main themes, related sub-themes and underlying themes.

Theme one focused on new knowledge about the venues that existed in East London and Zwelitsha. Sub-themes included various vocal groups and ensembles, influential community members, record bars and Radio Xhosa. The underlying themes explored collaborations, choir/band leaders, teachers, radio broadcasters and information on popular recording artists and recording opportunities.

Theme two addressed the need to mobilise memory, with sub-themes discussing the transformation of the archive and education. The underlying themes highlighted issues related to inaccessible recordings, SABC transcriptions and the development of new educational programs.

Theme three explored the meaning held within songs, with subthemes focusing on songs made popular by South African musicians and those composed by participants in the study. The underlying theme examined the lyrical content of the songs from social, cultural and historical perspectives.

Theme four highlighted the musical contributions made by veteran jazz musicians. The sub-theme emphasized the importance of mentoring younger musicians, with the underlying theme pointing to the significance of intergenerational exchange.

Theme five discussed collective memory, with sub-themes identifying projections of nostalgia and the preservation of Xhosa culture through music. The underlying theme revealed the aesthetics of Xhosa culture as represented in jazz songs.

5.3 Research question and findings

The primary objective of this study was to explore the following research question:

How may research on musicians, songs and their lived experiences develop new knowledge about the aesthetics of jazz in East London and Zwelitsha, and contribute to transforming notions of memories and archives?

In exploring the collective memory of musicians in the Eastern Cape, it was revealed that traditional jazz songs in this region have been continually morphing and adapting to reflect the lived realities of the musicians who perform them. Participants expressed that their “tradition” - the transmission of customs and beliefs from generation to generation - is a combination of the diverse influences that have shaped the cultural landscape of East London and Zwelitsha. These influences, deeply rooted in Xhosa customs, Christian faith, choral music, and popular culture, emerged at different times but collectively became central to the musicians’ upbringing.

All the participants began their musical journeys by singing choral music in school choirs, vocal groups, or church settings. These experiences developed a foundation of discipline,

whether through learning to read music or playing multiple instruments by ear. This drive to master musical techniques paved the way for exploration into the realms of popular music, jazz, improvisation, and composition.

The common thread among the lives of these musicians in this part of the Eastern Cape is the progression from communal, ceremonial music-making at home to practising choral or western classical music and eventually, to embodying jazz performance. Developing new knowledge about the aesthetics of jazz in East London and Zwelitsha required an exploration of the emotions evoked by the music, an understanding of its symbolic representations, and an appreciation for its unique sound.

The boundaries between choral music, traditional Xhosa music, and jazz often became blurred. Based on the participants' accounts, many ceremonies encompass both traditional Xhosa songs and church hymns. At times, traditional rituals are accompanied by songs originally sung in church, while jazz performances often embody ceremonial characteristics linked to significant symbols, ritual action (gestures or dance), communal gatherings, and a connection to heritage. Rather than adhering to a purist mentality towards music or jazz, participants prioritized the role that jazz music played in their lives, embracing its fluid and integrative nature.

Jazz music represents an essential aspect of cultural expression in the Eastern Cape. It has been a significant part of the local music scene for decades, with roots deeply embedded in the township experience across Zwelitsha, Mdantsane, and Duncan Village, East London. The songs composed during this period played a vital role in unifying people and providing an outlet for self-expression. Participants in this research expressed that, with respect to transforming notions of memories and archives, jazz music serves as a powerful tool for recalling the past. This area of the Eastern Cape possesses a rich cultural heritage that is deeply rooted in music. Preserving this heritage is essential to maintaining the social fabric of the region. Although jazz music originated in the United States, its diasporic ties with South Africa are undeniable and it has since been embraced and made significant inroads in East London and Zwelitsha, Eastern Cape.

Through engaging with the memories and biographies of musicians, new insights were gained into the venues that existed in East London and Zwelitsha, vocal groups and ensembles that were created and active between the 1960s-1980s, the influential figures who helped to create a vibrant jazz community, and the impact of Radio Xhosa in supporting musicians' ambitions.

Delving into the lyrical content of their songs provided a deeper understanding of how these compositions function as sonic repositories of memory. The themes they chose to write about revealed that their musical influences are deeply ingrained in a shared cultural identity. The findings of the research suggest that the jazz heritage, musical style, and meaning within traditional jazz songs in the Eastern Cape are a result of the strong connection between collective memory and music. The aesthetics of jazz in these urban areas reflect the preservation and expression of culture through new forms, where culture is an interaction between traditional, religious, and socio-political factors, and the form is the individual's expression of jazz and popular music.

5.4 Contributions of the study

This research contributes significantly to the study of jazz in South Africa, particularly by shedding light on the less documented stories of jazz musicians in the Eastern Cape. By focusing on this often-overlooked region, the research offers valuable interventions in the existing discourse. It introduces alternative ways of engaging with Eastern Cape jazz biographies, an important step in addressing the silences and gaps present in South African jazz literature. Additionally, this study enriches the understanding of the archive and the complex notions of memory, offering new perspectives on how these elements can be explored and preserved within the broader context of South African jazz history.

5.5 Limitations of the Study

The decision to use a blended design, combining an exploratory case study with a focused ethnographic approach, was made to mitigate the limitations of each method and capitalize on their strengths. This approach allowed for the integration of data collection methods from both designs while anchoring the research within a specific time and space (Fusch, 2017). However, several limitations were identified once the research was completed.

One significant challenge in ethnographic research is the need for the researcher to become deeply embedded in the culture being studied, effectively becoming a member of the community to collect data (Fusch, 2013). Due to time constraints, this level of immersion was difficult to achieve, as fieldwork was conducted between October 2021 and December 2021. Ideally, a longer period of observation would have allowed for a deeper integration into the community. However, the use of focused ethnography, combined with an exploratory case study design, enabled the use of semi-structured interviews to focus specifically on cultural norms related to jazz musicians, their values, and their roles within their community based on their recollections.

Transferability also posed a concern, as the study was highly specific to the Buffalo City region in the Eastern Cape. The sample comprised participants who possessed the knowledge, skills, and expertise necessary to address the research question. As a result, the findings of this study may not be easily transferable to other contexts or regions. The specificity of the site and sample limits the generalizability of the results, making them most relevant to the particular community and cultural context studied.

5.6 Recommendations for Future Research

The following recommendations are made in light of the research findings. The study highlighted the importance of mobilizing memory through archiving and music education, as well as the broader need for communities to protect and preserve their histories. Music, as a cultural artifact, encapsulates the life and events of a community. This means that songs, costumes, instruments, and their production techniques can serve as historical records.

The literature also emphasized the significance of capturing audio and visual material, drawing attention to the techniques used by Ian Bruce Huntley to document the evolving jazz scene of the 1960s and 1970s. Huntley's archive stands out as the only known public collection of its kind. In contrast, the Gallo Africa Archive, which holds a wealth of South African jazz sound recordings and photographs, has historically been inaccessible to the public. However, in 2021, the launch of the podcast series *Gallo Vault Sessions* marked a shift towards making this archive more accessible.

In collaboration with the Pan-African creative research and cultural consultancy KONJO, Gallo Record Company produced a six-part podcast series that explores South Africa's music history and its impact on both local and global culture. *Gallo Vault Sessions* draws from the Gallo Africa Archive to narrate various aspects of the music industry, examining key moments in South Africa's recording history, the role of the apartheid regime in revitalizing the music industry through the South African Broadcasting Corporation, and the people behind much of the music that has shaped the nation. This approach to recognizing media as a resource for archiving offers a promising method for "transforming the archive." Future research should extensively analyse the development of such projects to identify how they can contribute to shaping new content for music education centred around South African music history.

In recent years, there has been a growing effort to revive and preserve South African jazz compositions. The release of *The South African Jazz Real Book: Jika* (Volume One) in 2021 is a notable example, featuring 116 lead sheets of vocal and instrumental tunes by 86 composers. This collection spans a range of jazz styles, including indigenous South African genres like Kwela, Goema, Mbaqanga, Sompvlei, and Tsaba Tsaba. The book is intended to encourage musicians to actively engage with the music, whether on the bandstand, in the studio, at jam sessions, or in the classroom (Werner, 2021).

The composers featured in *The South African Jazz Real Book* include prominent figures such as Bheki Mseleku, Johnny Dyani, Winston Mankunku, Marcus Wyatt, Duke Makasi, Todd Matshikiza, Zim Ngqawana, Afrika Mkhize, and McCoy Mrubata, among others. Greg Chako (2014) argued that compared to the study of Western European classical music, the study of jazz is relatively new, with much of the music existing only in unwritten or recorded form.

Given these significant advancements in conserving jazz compositions in South Africa, future research should focus on transcribing the music of the Eastern Cape's jazz veterans, from memory to manuscript. This would not only preserve these invaluable compositions but also lay the groundwork for further research and educational initiatives, ensuring that the rich legacy of South African jazz continues to inspire future generations.

5.6 Conclusion

The Eastern Cape is often viewed as a region on the periphery of modernity, where the rapid deterioration of infrastructure and socio-economic conditions paints a bleak picture. However, the transition from traditional Xhosa music to choral music and eventually to jazz appears to have been a seamless evolution, standing in stark contrast to the socio-political challenges that have left the Eastern Cape in its current state.

Phyllis Ntantala (2006) poignantly reflects on this paradox:

"Yes, indeed, this is where everything started; where great events took place – the Eastern Cape, an area with a great history and heritage; a place with a legacy we should all be proud of. But how sad! How tragic that in the New South Africa of the 21st Century, a place with such a history is now notorious for being the most deprived, the most inefficient, corrupt, and a drain on the economy of the country. What a shame!"

The findings of this study suggest that the interaction between Xhosa tradition, religion, and socio-political influences, alongside the participants' lived experiences and musical identities, has significantly shaped the aesthetics of jazz in East London and Zwelitsha, Eastern Cape. Central to this aesthetic is the concept of *isingqi*, an isiXhosa term meaning rhythm, which encompasses dimensions of sound as modalities of knowing, communicating, and expressing the relationship between sound and the human experience.

Isingqi in Xhosa tradition, as described by Papu (2019), "explores realms of knowing and knowledge production as occurring through intuition, divining, listening, dreams, and inspiration." This concept is reflected in the songs composed by musicians in the Eastern Cape, where jazz, choral, and traditional music converge into a rich cultural tapestry. Through *isingqi*, these compositions become powerful tools for recollecting Eastern Cape's traditional songs and understanding the unique aesthetics of jazz in East London and Zwelitsha.

Jazz, in this context, serves not only as a musical expression but also as a facilitator of collective memory, preserving and transmitting cultural heritage. This preservation of memory, in turn, plays a crucial role in constructing identities and fostering a sense of

belonging within the community. Despite the socio-political challenges faced by the Eastern Cape, the region's musical heritage continues to thrive, offering a means to connect with the past, celebrate cultural identity, and envision a future where this legacy is honoured and sustained.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Interview questions

Musical Background:

1. Please introduce yourself.
2. When did you start being involved in music?
3. How did you learn music?
4. What instrument do you play?
5. How did you learn to play your instrument?
6. How did you get your first instrument?
7. Who was your teacher?

Musical Activity:

1. What bands did you play in?
2. How long did you play together as a band?
3. Who was in the band?
4. What venues and events did you mostly play at in and around the Eastern Cape?
5. Where did you rehearse?
6. What were the popular songs that you performed?
7. Are these songs original compositions?
8. If the songs are original, where were you and what was happening in your life when you wrote this song?
9. If the songs are not original, what is this song about and who is the composer?
10. Are there any traditional songs that were adapted for jazz performances?
11. What is your favourite song that you remember?
12. Do you think it is important to preserve this music and why?

13. What needs to be done to preserve this jazz heritage.
14. How do you identify with jazz as culture, and how do you think it forms a part of our cultural and musical identity in the Eastern Cape?
15. What are some of the challenges you faced as a musician?

Jazz collectors:

1. Please introduce yourself.
2. How were you introduced to music?
3. What were the bands and ensembles you remember?
4. What information can you share of the history of jazz in Eastern Cape?
5. Where did you buy your first LP/ How did you start your music collection?
6. What popular songs do you remember?
7. What was the most memorable performances you witnessed?

APPENDIX B: Participant Invitation Letter

INVITATION TO PARTICIPANTS

Participant's Name
Rhodes University
Grahamstown.
6139

Dear (XXX participant's name)

Re: Invitation to participate in a research study

You are invited to participate in my research study titled, Eastern Cape Jazz Heritage: Traditional Songs Recollected research study. The aim of this research is to explore the memories of musicians in the performance of traditional jazz songs of the Eastern Cape and focus largely on the lived experiences and the songs composed and performed by musicians during the period of the 1940s up to the present day.

Your participation is important to provide new knowledge about the jazz history of the Eastern Cape; to examine the means by which memory may be mobilised to revive and sustain an interest in jazz history and repertoire; to understand how songs may serve as sonic repositories of memory; to investigate the musical contributions of the Eastern Cape's jazz veteran musicians to South African jazz; to understand through transcription, transmission and performance, how collective memory unfolds in the jazz songs written and performed by Eastern Cape jazz veterans; and to investigate how a collective memory is produced in inter-generational exchange between musicians, jazz music collectors and listeners.

The research will be undertaken through semi-structured and in-depth interviews. Your participation in the research is voluntary and your personal details will not be revealed. The collection of this data will require between September and December 2021. If you agree to participate, I will explain in more detail what would be expected of you, and provide you with the information you need to understand the research, through telephone communication. These guidelines would include potential risks, benefits, and your rights as a participant. Once this study has been approved by the Music and Musicology Ethics Committee you will be sent the letter of ethical approval. To participate, you will be asked to sign a consent form to confirm that you understand and agree to the conditions, prior to any interview commencing. Please note that you have the right to withdraw at any given time during the study.

Thank you for your time and I hope that you will respond favourably to our request.

Yours sincerely,

Student name and signature

Supervisor name and signature

APPENDIX C: Gate Keeper Permission Letter

GATE KEEPER PERMISSION LETTER
I, Mr Mlungisi Gegana, am a jazz musician based in Queenstown (Komani), Eastern Cape.
I hereby give my permission for Ms Qhawekazi Giyose to conduct/undertake research on the jazz heritage of the Eastern Cape. I will identify and assist her in finding musicians for her to interview. If required, I may accompany her to these interviews or grant permission for her to use the available facilities at the Mlungisi Gegana Music Academy.
This project initiated by ILAM, and the research conducted by Ms Giyose, have my full support.
Regards, Mlungisi Gegana
Signature:
Contact number: 0725149480 E mail address: mlugeg@yahoo.com

APPENDIX D: Interview schedule

Ginise, N., 2021. *Nombuyiselo Ginise Interwiw* [Interview] (21 September 2021).

Henge, A., 2021. *Andile Henge Interview* [Interview] (6 October 2021).

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Pule, C., 2021. *Corrie Pule Interview* [Interview] (19 September 2021).

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Sidzathane, N., 2021. *Ndumiso Sidzathane interwiw* [Interview] (21 September 2021).

Sikade, A., 2022. *Ayanda Sikade Interview* [Interview] (20 July 2022)

APPENDIX E: Images taken during interviews.



Figure 1: Retsi Pule (right)



Figure 2: Corrie Pule and Loxton Nkwentsha with the Slo Foot Jazz Band

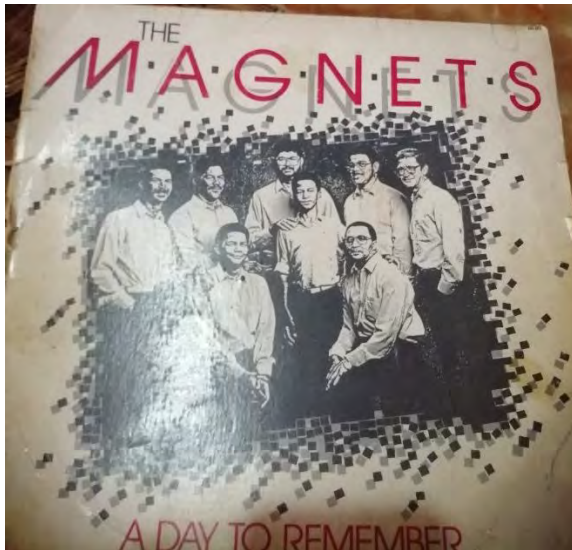


Figure 3: The Magnets LP album cover



Figure 4: The Magnets LP album cover(Back)



Figure 5: The Magnets LP track list.



Figure 6: Corrie Pule with The Magnets



Figure 7: Musicians in Zwelitsha



Figure 8: Framed article on Retsi Pule's album release, in high spirits, 2017.



Figure 9: Article on the Xiniwe family and the Temperance Hotel, relatives of the Pule's.



Figure 10: Mr T.K Sonjica and Retsi Pule



Figure 11: Ndimiso Sidzathane, Retsi Pule



Figure 12: Nombuyiselo Ginise, Retsi Pule



Figure 13: Members of the Slo' Foot Jazz Band



Figure 14: Vukile Ntlebi on Drums with the Jazz-o-tones.