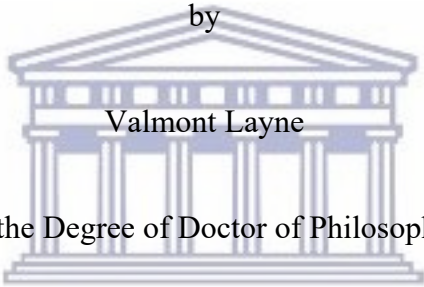


Goema's Refrain:
Sonic Anticipation
and the
Musicking Cape

by

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Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History,



UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE
University of the Western Cape

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Professor Premesh Lalu



UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

Declaration

I, Valmont Layne, declare that Goema's Refrain: Sonic Anticipation and the Musicking Cape is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Valmont Layne

August 2019



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In memory

To those who have passed, who once journeyed with, and inspired me:

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Abstract

This thesis traces the making of a social world of the musicking Cape through sound, which it calls sonic anticipation. Sonic anticipation is threaded through a Cape-based musicking milieu called *goema* in the Nineteenth century, and through the regional jazzing culture that emerged in Cape Town in the latter part of the Twentieth century. A key concern is to read the sonic archive of Cape music without folding into a representational discourse of (apartheid) group identity or of a Cape exceptionalism.

First, the thesis explores *goema's* emergence as folk music. In a central example, sonic anticipation is discernible in the intensities of a song called Daar Kom die Alibama [translated as 'There Comes the Alibama']. This song enabled *goema* to secure a status as racialised folk memory. Later in the Twentieth century, the song set the scene for a re-articulation that laid claim to the city as a response to the 'anxious urbanity' of race formation. This shift from the Nineteenth to Twentieth century musicking tradition is at the heart of what we have come to know as Cape jazz.

In its genealogical construction of Cape jazz, the thesis traces a prefigurative aesthetics and politics that proposes new ways of thinking about the political significance of jazz. It traces the pedagogic strategies that musicians – Tem Hawker, Winston Mankunku, Robbie Jansen and Alex van Heerden - used in pursuing 'ethical individuation' with this racialised folk memory. By the early 1960s, jazz had become a method 'archive' or formative canon for these musicians. The thesis outlines how musicians used 'nomadic' pedagogies; following the energies that moved through the city, inside the technological, and discursive formations by which the social world was made. This thesis on *goema's* refrain and the musicking Cape offers a way to consider a 'difference that is not apartheid's difference'.

Keywords:

goema, phonograph, sound, anticipation, post-apartheid, sensory, refrain, desire, writing



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Glossary

- Abdullah Ibrahim South Africa's most respected and well-known musician in the jazz idiom
- Alex van Heerden A singer, trumpet and accordion player who worked to reclaim the creole roots of South African Afrikaans music.
- atja* A marginal performance practice inside Cape Towns carnival tradition in which primitivism – exemplified in the so-called American Indian, the Zulu and the red devil featured prominently.
- Bokaap The cosmopolitan old 'Malay Quarter' of Cape Town, also known as Bokaap (Upper Cape) and as Scotsche Kloof – the latter recalling its links with colonial Scottish mission and military settlement. It has, in recent years, been exoticised in public discourse as a 'Cape Malay' enclave and is a major tourist attraction in the city.
- Cape Malay An apartheid designation for people with cultural connections to the Indian Ocean world. Often reduced to a synonym for muslims.
- Coloured An apartheid racial designation associated with the Cape, and which has a complex genealogy which incorporates the violent conquest of the Cape's precolonial polities, the import of slaves

and the settlement by colonists from Europe as well as others from terrestrial Africa, the Carribean and the Indian Ocean world.

District Six The historic working class neighborhood established in the early nineteenth century as Kanaladorp and destroyed between 1966 and the late 1980s and renamed Zonnebloem. Along with Sophiatown in Johannesburg, it is the most infamous example of urban forced removals under apartheid.

gammie A vernacular term for the goema drum

Genuines A popular 1980s band which pioneered a a new goema sound fused with rock, jazz punk

goema A body of Cape musics embracing carnival, social dance and comic song and named for the goema drum

Hanover Street The main street of the inner city neighborhood known as District Six

NEUM Non-European Unity Movement

noon gun A gun which fires at 12 noon on a daily basis.

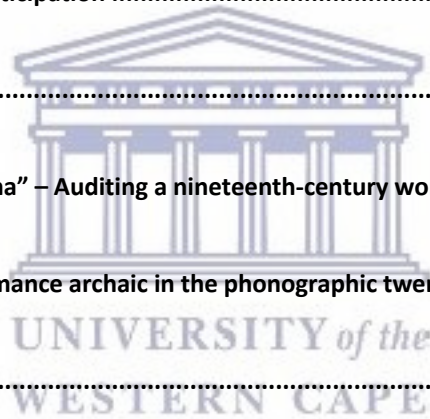
Robbie Jansen A vocalist, alto saxophonist and flautist who has earned a reputation as an exponent of a certain Cape folk sensibility.

Seapoint	A cosmopolitan suburb of Cape Town with a north-facing onto the Atlantic ocean.
Table Bay	The bay housing the main harbour for the City of Cape Town
Table Mountain	The main landmark of the City of Cape Town
Winston Mankunku	One of South Africa's premier jazz tenor saxophonists and a respected composer and performer.
Winston Mankunku	Prominent tenor saxophone player from Cape Town



Table of Contents

Declaration	3
Acknowledgements	4
Abstract	6
Glossary	8
Table of Contents.....	11
Chapter one: Sound, history and anticipation	12
Part One: Becoming folklore	35
Chapter two: “Daar kom die Alibama” – Auditing a nineteenth-century world picture	36
Chapter three: Making atja performance archaic in the phonographic twentieth century	67
Part Two: Becoming phonographic.....	96
Chapter four: Behind the sonic veil: nomadism in Cape jazz	97
Chapter five: Sound, individuation and the voice	127
Conclusion	158
List of Works Cited	168
Appendices	181



Chapter one: Sound, history and anticipation

What does the study of sound do for history as conceptual terrain? This thesis traces the making of a social world in sound and calls this process anticipation. Anticipation threads through a reading of Cape-based musicking milieu called *goema*. It forms a critique of apartheid in historical writing about performance, and recruits sound studies and the sensory turn to make this critique. People, conquest, and commerce created the world that produced - and was which in turn was produced by - a vernacular musicking world called *goema* and the barrel drum after which it was named. Its lines crossed oceans in the concrete form of sailors, settlers and slaves, as printed commodities. They carried the accumulated hopes and anxieties of people in Cape Town - among others slaves, sailors, orphans, free blacks and slave labourers entering the port of Cape Town or engaging with the terrestrial world inland. Inspired by movements among intellectuals and artists such as Abdullah Ibrahim and Vincent Kolbe, this study seeks to think along with the teachers, carpenters, tailors, hairdressers, dockworkers, street linguists, dance and jazz musicians, DJs, and fruit seller artists who produced *goema* as a form of folk idiom as an artefact of memory production as we will see in Part One. I offer a reading of this milieu that could open the discussion to a greater range of possibilities. I hope to enlist the sonic, trace its mediations, its contradictions and a poetics of its sonic and visual dimensions in relation to each other.

This subaltern milieu by most accounts expressed the aspirations of slaves in a time of emancipation since its declaration at the Cape in the 1830s, and it saw the mediating role of printed sheet music - mainly quadrilles - on one hand, and slave campfires and *pieknieks* on the other in producing the voice. In other words, this milieu may account for the making of race at the Cape in terms of performance and mediation. It may account for the resulting marginalisation of carnival, and for sonic intensity as social production, and in the twentieth

century, for the reclaiming of *goema* (among other folk forms) as part of a postapartheid project in which a global jazz aesthetic was the driver of creativity.

The sonic in this scheme is both sensory force as well as technical mediation.¹ In this dual sense it can enhance a critique of apartheid, and we may encounter not just the past, but also the anticipation of futures in such a reading. We may read the making of the social through auditioning it as the senses. In a genealogy of its performance, people have anticipated the future as *goema*. For most South Africans this perspective might inspire a feeling of dissonance. The pervasive sense from the scholarly writings about it connects with its archaic traditions, 'deep in the mists of time' as Denis-Constant Martin helpfully put it. This is the condition of a critical beginning, as a subsequent chapter will argue. Such a critical reading offers a sounding of the Cape, of its racial genesis in performance and its relation to the world.

This thesis connects elements of the encounter between the subaltern, on the one hand, and the available means of representation on the other. In the nineteenth century, as indigenous languages and forms of expression were under pressure, European print and new techniques of representation were visited upon colonising peoples as the process of colonisation, and imperial development proceeded. The thesis seeks to contribute to the debate on the formation of the socius, arguing that sound offers ways to trace the making of the social world through performance in the nineteenth century and of its fortunes in the Twentieth century. New media technologies in the Nineteenth century - notably photography,

¹ In his landmark book, Jonathan Sterne holds that to think sonically is to think conjuncturally about sound and culture. The challenge of sound studies is to think across sounds, to consider sonic phenomena in relationship to one another. *The Sound Studies Reader*, ed. by Jonathan Sterne, 1. publ (London: Routledge, 2012), p. 3.

phonography and cinema - came into their own in the twentieth century and in a sense changed the game.

Sonic archival traces make audible how jazz emerged as part of a phonographic world whose making accelerated in the 1920s. Jazz came into its own as part of that cinematic and phonographic world-historical revolution. It is this dynamic that threads through this thesis. In the account that follows in the next chapter, the relation between *goema* and sensory anticipation comes to us firstly in the form of this *liedjie* (song) and holds through much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Cape jazz. Carnival is more likely to be associated with low popular culture, with sentimental song, relegated to blackface and particular kinds of grotesque imagery. Despite a project of recovery at work, there is much about the carnivalesque that reflects the stubborn resilience of race as part of the 'malaise' of the Cape as reflected in historical writing. Moreover, the relationship between Cape carnival on one hand and jazz on the other has been awkward, tenuous - and this is a characteristic worth considering anew. Two sets of artists have sought to wrest *goema* back from its marginal position by affirming something of its subaltern folk origins against the racial trap into which it has congealed.

A brief *goema* primer

Goema is named for a type of drum made from a small barrel. The folklore of the *goema* drum associates it with slave leisure activities *pieknicks* and later with carnival. For Denis-Constant Martin, the appellation *gom-gom* which appears in colonial record as a Khoi dance - and is one of its possible etymologies - hints at the blending of several families of drum originating in various parts of the world under a name which phonetically mixes English and Khoi. For the slaves and the poor in the colonial town, music was mostly an open-air activity:

it was performed in the streets, on the outskirts of town, on the beaches during picnics.²

While carnival has always been its dominant spectacle, it is by no means the only space it produced. and as an echo of the push and pull of the colonial socius in the making is audible.

The drum resembles a barrel because it is a form that expresses something of the economic life of a colony in which many slaves were engaged in winemaking.



Figure 2. Barrel making at Cape winelands. [source unknown]

We might think of *goema* as a set of musical and social practices generated by indigenous and slave descendant communities in the city of Cape Town, with antecedents from the Atlantic and Indian ocean worlds, as well as from terrestrial Africa. The term represents a collection of rhythmic motifs, lyrical idioms such as *nederlandslied* (seafaring and other ‘shanties’) and quadrille-derived social dance musics; mainly a set of musics defined by a *goema* drum with a folklore whose primal setting is the slave *piekniek* and more recently the *klopse* carnival.

² Denis-Constant Martin, *Sounding the Cape: Music, Identity and Politics in South Africa* (Somerset West: African Minds Publ., 2013), pp. 74–79.

Goema became associated with the racial category coloured to such a degree it frustrates attempts to build nuanced understandings of its milieu without reverting to racialising discourse. In this vein, the integration of its musicking practices in the social world was one means by which race -notably 'whiteness', 'Bantuness', Indianness, and 'Colouredness' - was made. It does not exclusively account for the fact of Colouredness, as orthodox writings on Cape folk musics would have it. With the old global language of Dixie discredited for its associations with racism and at best liberal paternalism, the project against apartheid sought to find and sound the struggle for land, for citizenship within a new globalising language. For the artists in this reading, the challenge seemed to find ways to mark the human as citizen of a postapartheid future.

Who are the protagonists in this account? The thesis is divided into two parts. In the first, we think along with the process of making folk memory. The first 'character' in the story helps to account for the world in which this racial ferment occurred in the mid-nineteenth century. It is the most prominent song in the *goema* canon and recounts the day a ship arrived in the port of Cape Town in 1863. The Alabama song, introduced in Chapter Two, came to the Cape as part of a wave of military music, print culture, and became remade as black vastrap.

The second protagonist emerged at a time when the newly formed Union of South Africa was pressed to conclude what is called the native question - the challenges of governing South Africa's political, social and labour requirements in the context and service of empire. This figure is the *atja* - usually performing as part of a motley collection of masked devils, apaches and other 'tribal' or deathly figures – and it has a peculiar 'American' genealogy discussed in Chapter Three. The *atja* was relegated as a symbol of the primitive is marked as subaltern identity's slippage. Carnival became increasingly marginal to radical politics after the Second World War, less viable as a vehicle for an intellectual project against apartheid.

This demise was apparent in the events surrounding the 1952 Van Riebeeck Festival.³ The *atja* was by then a truly marginal figure.

Part Two of the thesis considers a postwar search for individuation through jazzing, and its relation to *goema* as folklore. With the potential for individuation inside carnival all but destroyed, the phonograph media revolution of the early twentieth century enabled new contenders for articulating urban black aspirations. The third character set is the jazzing avant-garde in the period after the Second World War. I consider a particular lineage of jazz musicians schooled within the Cape - namely Tem Hawker, Winston Mankunku, Robbie Jansen and Alex van Heerden. Jazzing became articulated to phonographic as well as non-phonographic forms such as *goema's* ensemble of quadrilles, moppies, nederlandsliedere and so on. Finally, we consider the fruition of musical phonography in the final days of political apartheid. A politics of the voice comes into play.

Sound and anticipation

Beyond the merits of social and economic history, both sound studies and the more recent sensory turn in scholarly writing offer something new in which the concept of anticipation is key containing the refrain, race and critical reading. The account I will give rests on the idea that sound offers a way to critique representation in historical writing.⁴ Representation traps

³ See Leslie Witz, *Apartheid's Festival: Contesting South Africa's National Pasts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), pp. 84–135. In the wake of a white nationalist electoral victory in 1948, the South African state used its might to deploy carnival as part of the staged celebrations of a racialised narrative history, celebrating the civilisation of the African peoples by European influence, and marked by the arrival of the 'founding' colonist, Jan van Riebeeck purportedly in 1652. In the political wrangle around the Van Riebeeck Festival preparations, the state effectively drove a wedge between two tendencies in the community – on one hand, collaboration with the official proceedings, and a general rejection and boycott of the festival on the other.

⁴ For example, for William Pietz, the very mode of historical writing is pertinent. Pietz argues that Deleuze and Guattari's 'schizoanalytic' model is useful for studying the history of consciousness and its transformation within specific historical-social contexts. William Pietz, 'The Phonograph in Africa: International Phonocentrism from Stanley to Sarnoff.', in *Post-Structuralism and the Question of History*, ed. by Derek Attridge, Geoff Bennington, and Robert Young (Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 263–85 (p. 83).

concepts in racial discourse. The argument I present works from the premise that earlier categories of analysis can be transcended in search of new ways to make sense. Sound comes into play in this thesis in the context of a critique of representation - both as technogenesis and as social mediations and ontologies. Hence the sensory is a vital aspect of this notion of sound.

In contemporary sound studies, anticipation has an ally in the concept of “eduction”, which denotes sensory potentials accumulating at the intersection of historical conjunctures. That is, eduction carries a general sense of bringing out or developing (something latent or potential). The media scholar Patrick Feaster applies it in a genealogy of sound reproduction.⁵ More generally, sound studies holds a productive tension between the social world and its technical mediation, holding out the possibility of integrating the poetics of mediation into a broader poetics of the social.⁶

'Anticipation' itself has precedents in scholarship on music in society. In his forward to Jacques Attali's landmark book, Fredric Jameson introduces Attali's notion that music brings the possibility of a superstructure to anticipate historical developments, to foreshadow new social formations prophetically.⁷ For Attali, music is prophetic. It has heralded times to come. A consensus seems to form around the phonographic twentieth century since Paul Gilroy

⁵ Patrick Feaster, 'What Is Eduction?', *Griffonage-Dot-Com*, 2015 <<https://griffonagedotcom.wordpress.com/2015/01/17/what-is-eduction/>> [accessed 9 December 2018]. See also its usage in Aidan Erasmus, 'The Sound of War: Apartheid, Audibility, and Resonance' (unpublished PhD, University of the Western Cape, 2018), p. 30ff. For Erasmus, a concept of eduction is the activity of “bring[ing] out, elicit[ing], develop[ing], from a condition of latent, rudimentary or merely potential existence.”

⁶ In which we may encounter the media archaeology of Ernst and Kittler, and also John Mowitt's concern with sonic fossils buried in the canon of Western philosophical thought. See Friedrich A. Kittler, *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter, Writing Science* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1999).

⁷ Jacques Attali, *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*, *Theory and History of Literature*, v. 16 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), p. xi.

evoked it in his work in the 1990s.⁸ More recently, Michael Denning discusses a ‘noise uprising’ in the early twentieth century that was prophetic since it not only preceded but also prepared the way for the decolonisation of legislatures and literatures. Denning’s argument rests on a period between 1925 and 1930.⁹ During this period, commodification intensified as companies competed to capture audiences for the world’s vernacular music through the new electrical microphones and to play them back through the new electrical loudspeakers. This process could only occur in the aftermath of a period of colonial expansion and capitalist industrialisation and trade.

An anticipation with The Genuines

As a first example, sonic anticipation is at play in the musical intervention The Genuines made in the 1980s. Artists had, since the 1960s, used local folk musics - an assemblage I will call *goema* - to look to the future. Even after its discrediting encounter with Apartheid’s triumph in the 1948 elections and the controversial Van Riebeeck Festival, *goema* has been a contested field. The much-lauded artist Abdullah Ibrahim invoked it as part of his reach for a South African idiom inside global jazz. Also, in the 1980s, the jazz/ punk group The Genuines harnessed the affective force of *goema* - the slave carnival rhythm of the Cape - within a revitalised cultural politics, in which intensities fulminated. I draw the following lyrics from a fast punk rock song called ‘*Goema*’. It is the title track of the debut record by The Genuines, a group driven by Mack Mckenzie and Hilton Schilder’s earlier creativity. The song – a drum, guitar and bass-driven riff on a single chord – proceeds at over 300 beats per minute, with McKenzie exploiting his rich vocal grain:

⁸ Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Verso, 1993) <<https://books.google.co.za/books?id=49dE4qerQzIC>>.

⁹ Michael Denning, ‘Decolonising the Ear: The Transcolonial Reverberations of Vernacular Phonograph Music’, in *Audible Empire: Music, Global Politics, Critique*, ed. by Ronald Olaniyan Radano Tejumola and Olaniyan Tejumola, *Refiguring American Music* (Duke University Press, 2016), pp. 25–44.

Late at night,
 someone takes a drum,
 and we go goema, goema, goema, goema, goema, goema, goema, goema, goema.
 Goema goema!
 You take the right decision
 In the right direction.¹⁰

This title song of the album "Goema" recalls an archetypal performance situation such as a slave campfire or *piekniek*. It seems to reclaim goema for a contemporary project; in a moment we might describe as 'anticipation.' A mysterious rhythmic force supports this self-referentiality, amplifying the claim made in the song. Through repetition, the bi-syllabic exclamation – 'goema' – sets up a rhythmic motif. The drums reinforce this against an interlocking bass line, melodic riff and the drone of Gerhard O' Brien's heavy-metal-effected Gibson Les Paul guitar. For the group's pianist Hilton Schilder, the band's mission was to blaze a trail, blowing the competition away with masculine virtuosity. They positioned themselves in a nomadic relation to youthful white Afrikaner rebellion and a racialised music market. This decision encompassed both a claim to folk authenticity and a shot at commercial success in the punk/ rock idiom: the band offered a notion of goema not in the effete comic mode of orthodox blackface, but as threatening black masculinity. The band enjoyed a loyal following among progressive intellectuals and activists in the 1980s and early 1990s, aligning goema with an original project located in a postapartheid imaginary. We might say it anticipated a postapartheid in affective terms, disrupting some of apartheid's cherished orthodoxies from within the milieu.

The Genuines, like the respected musician and artist Abdullah Ibrahim before them, were working off the intensity of historical moments. For Ibrahim, intensities had flowed in the wake of his generation driven into exile in the 1960s as political apartheid emerged

¹⁰ Genuines, *Goema* (South Africa: Shifty, 1986) <<https://www.discogs.com/The-Genuines-Goema/master/1312677>> [accessed 30 April 2018].

triumphant, and from its libidinal investments at the end of the 1960s (as we will encounter in Chapter Four). The Genuines, in turn, rode the resurgent intensities of the 1980s, as political apartheid played its final gambit against a tide of global and internal mobilisation. However, a twist occurred. By the early 1990s – in the era of the Rwandan genocide, the Cold War thaw, glasnost and increasing alarm about global warming – The Genuines performed a concert on the city’s Grand Parade, the site from which Nelson Mandela first addressed the world following his release from prison on 11 February 1990. In ‘Ozone Layer’, The Genuines declared at that concert that ‘it’s too late for Amandla!’ (the celebrated slogan of the struggle in South Africa meaning ‘power to the people!’) because the environment was the new frontier of struggle: “There’s a hole in the ozone layer.” The crowd booed. The band had placed an aesthetic of hyper-masculinity, youthful bravado and virtuosity at the core of its work, and – in its assertion of a self-conscious black masculinity through displays of musical virtuosity - it seemed an implicit comment on the role that blackface had played in its formative age as a vernacularisation of modernity, to embrace what Bakhtin called the ‘grotesque.’ Such images of grotesque realism are offensive to the tradition of aesthetics, where the body is complete, finished, cleansed of its origins and demise. Even when audiences and musicians had to respect their virtuosity, the band was often either embraced or booed depending on the setting.

We may conclude, from the above account that musicking and the sonic do not follow the impetus of a political or intellectual class or movement. A sense of a historical conjuncture is evoked but remains unruly and troublesome in the example above. It suggests that, concerning the domain of signification, the sensory follows a different logic. Underclass musicking movements may move with affect as much as they refer to an instrument, a drum, a rhythmic signature. As the next chapter will consider, I am arguing for considering the discursive with the affective. The word may be spelt as ‘*ghoema*’ or without the ‘h’ as *goema*.

Two celebrated local theatre producers Taliep Petersen and David Kramer have made a considerable impact in popularising this nuance to ghoema by producing a string of hugely popular shows between the mid-1980s, including the titled musical *Ghoema*. In this body of work, its rendition as '*ghoema*' evokes its 'archaic' form.

On the contrary, The Genuines dropped the letter h in their rendition of the term. By definition, given its immersion with punk, in this case, this rendition of *goema* – spelt without the 'h' of 'ghoema' – is 'phonographic'. No trace of carnival's performance beginnings in nineteenth-century minstrelsy or vaudeville theatre is evident in the Genuines. Instead, as The Genuines espoused it, *goema* was contemporary, a statement of youthful modernity, purposeful, but likely to prove hard to harness for party political purposes.

The magnitude of this shift is evident when one considers the 'archaic' space into which the Cape carnivalesque has landed in contemporary times. Whereas people had mixed moppies, quadrilles and other piekniek musics with minstrelsy at the cusp of modernity in the mid-nineteenth-century, *goema* elicited revulsion among the black political class by the mid-twentieth century. I propose that, in harnessing the 'sonic' turn, one may get closer to understanding how these forces work.

Writing the musicking Cape

This thesis emerges partly as a critique of the preoccupations with identity politics and economism which have bedevilled writing about cultural histories in the region. It argues that identity politics is not sufficient to explain what The Genuines were reaching for in their creative work. There has been an unhelpful dependence on identity in discussions of *goema* and moreover an inability to engage a sense of futures articulated with its creative production, reverting instead to representations of the past as fixed. The cultural turn has affected debates within South African humanities. Social identity has received coverage in the wake of

political democracy in South Africa and scholars have worked with the musicking Cape and *goema* as a platform of identity politics. A lineage of such works exists, of which books by the anthropologist Denis-Constant Martin are the most notable.¹¹ Within this body of literature on African music, scholars treat the Cape as a niche and regional interest. So, for example, as part of a commitment to a particular notion of Africa's primitivism, neither collectors Hugh Tracey nor Percival Kirby pays much attention to the Cape.¹² The small body of literature on Cape Town stands on ethnographic and economic legs. This dissertation aims to trouble this set, opening to scrutiny the persistent habits that have formed around them. Concerning carnival, for example, Denis-Constant Martin's version of 'creolisation' stops short of addressing an ethnographic habit formed around apartheid. Martin's book adopts the 'coon' nomenclature, implicitly claiming the insider perspective which licences this usage in the face of an available set of concerns around the ethics of blackface minstrelsy in the history of the production of racism. *Goema* echoes in the desires of its notable interlocutors such as the state anthropologists ID Du Plessis and Van Warmelo. Martin's writing limits *goema* at its political boundaries by eschewing what he calls "a certain political correctness" that has bedevilled discourse around Cape carnival in the twentieth century.¹³ The few published works on Cape music have stayed close to the ethnographic. In this, they reach the limits of representational discourse that retains a moral ambiguity.

¹¹ In particular, the following three publications: Armelle Gaulier and Denis-Constant Martin, *Cape Town Harmonies: Memory, Humour & Resilience* (African Minds, 2017); Denis-Constant Martin, *Coon Carnival: New Year in Cape Town: Past to Present* (David Philip Publishers, 1999); Martin, *Sounding the Cape*.

¹² For accounts of the legacies of these two figures see Paulette Coetzee, 'Dancing with Difference: Hugh Tracey on and in (African) Music', *Safundi*, 16.4 (2015), 396–418 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/17533171.2015.1106169>>; Lisa Diamond, 'Biography of a Colonial Music Archive: The Percival Kirby Collection – Opinions – Archival Platform', 2010 <http://www.archivalplatform.org/blog/entry/recording_traditional/> [accessed 4 November 2018]; Niklas Zimmer, 'Percival Kirby's Wax Cylinders: Elegy on Archiving a Deaf Spot', *Social Dynamics*, 41.1 (2015), 101–23 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/02533952.2014.988931>>.

¹³ Martin, *Sounding the Cape*, p. xi.

Martin's conceptual matrix draws on creolisation as conceived in Eduardo Glissant's *Poetics of Relation*. Here, creolisation is an unlimited 'metissage' and an introduction to 'relation.'¹⁴ It renders what we cannot break down into primordial components. A 'poetics of relation', Martin concurs, answers the obligation to think in terms of 'worldness' and not of globalisation. In his turn, Glissant's thought intersects with Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's notion of 'nomadism' and of the 'rhizome,' declaring: "The root is not important. Movement is."¹⁵ Processes exemplify creolisation, not the 'contents' on which these operate. While this study aligns with Martin's nomadic leaning in his two key books covering what he calls the 'coon' carnival, it also works with a conception of historical writing that does not treat "the ideological operation of mediation as a separable agency."¹⁶ Instead, the present work eschews 'representation', seeking insight beyond where Martin seems willing to go. Martin's work does not follow through on Glissant's concern with the rhizome and the nomad. Instead, Martin works inside a representational framework of historical writing which limits its conceptual power. Martin himself has remarked upon what he called 'the dead end' of postmodernity (and presumably of 'postmodernity', and so has owned the 'stopping short' I am emphasising).¹⁷

Economism describes another grid in writing about the Cape. In the ambition to displace economism, we see what remains as a problem: the foreclosing around the sensory. This

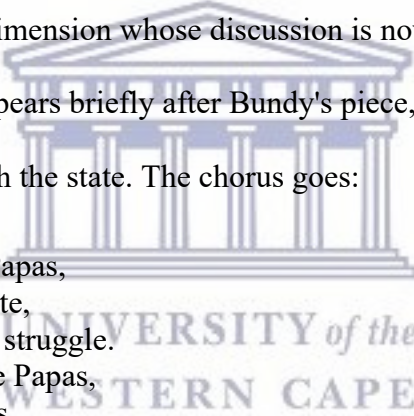
¹⁴ Édouard Glissant and Betsy Wing, *Poetics of Relation* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997).

¹⁵ Deleuze and Guattari define nomadism as the capacity to evade the inscriptions and striations of the state. What concerns us here is the trope of the nomad. Can movement deterritorialise space itself, to produce a space of a different order? They invent the conceptual persona of the 'nomad' as the embodiment of this transformation in which the nomad invented itself as a people by inventing a 'smooth space' of movement. See Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), pp. 354–94.

¹⁶ Premesh Lalu, 'Sara's Suicide: History and the Representational Limit.', *Kronos*, 26, 2000, 89–101 (p. 90)..

¹⁷ Martin, *Sounding the Cape*, p. 58.

‘econo-centric’ approach may miss what Adam Sitze calls “the silent maintenance of the epistemological regime that enabled colonial domination.”¹⁸ Its impact has been to write out the sensory and the mythological, the latter forming a basis of cultural memory – a case made in another context by Lawrence Grossberg, who undertook to “rescue economics from the economists.”¹⁹ Lalu argued that "Apartheid rested on a division of the senses as much as it did on a reductive politics of racial subjection and its accompanying violence."²⁰ For example, *The Angry Divide*, a 1980s collection of essays, discusses the Western Cape in economic terms. Don Pinnock's piece discusses Cape Town's development as a garrison city and its genealogy in the colonial past.²¹ Pinnock's article also encodes the garrison in the sensory, for example in the square dance which was then a moribund form.²² The garrison town has a cultural and sonic dimension whose discussion is now possible with the affective turn. The sensory, however, appears briefly after Bundy's piece, quoting a ditty that depicts social engagement in a war with the state. The chorus goes:



Die Mamas en die Papas,
die honde en die katte,
almal is saam in die struggle.
[The Mamas and the Papas,
the dogs and the cats,

¹⁸ Adam Sitze, ‘History and Desire’, *Safundi*, 13.1–2 (2012), 171–80 (p. 174) <<https://doi.org/10.1080/17533171.2011.644452>>.

¹⁹ Lawrence Grossberg, *Cultural Studies in the Future Tense* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), p. 101ff.

²⁰ Premesh Lalu, ‘Between History and Apocalypse: Stumbling’, *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education*, 15.1 (2016), 46–66 <<https://doi.org/10.1177/1474022215613607>>.

²¹ Don Pinnock, ‘Ideology and Urban Planning: Blueprints of a Garrison City’, in *The Angry Divide: Social and Economic History of the Western Cape*, ed. by W.G. James and M. Simons (Cape Town: David Philip, 1989), pp. 150–68 <https://books.google.co.za/books?id=Hs2sOBtRM_AC>.

²² Beyond its economic function, the garrison, for example, can be understood in sensory terms. As we will see in a subsequent chapter, the Scottish military influence is evident in the square dance nomenclature – the Lancers, the Caledonians. The Scottish also impacted on the genealogy of the pennywhistle on the Rand. See Lara Allen, ‘Circuits of Recognition and Desire in the Evolution of Black South African Popular Music: The Career of the Penny Whistle’, *SAMUS: South African Journal of Musicology*, 25.1 (2005), 31–51.

everyone is together in the struggle.]²³

Under its colloquial Afrikaans usage, the chant evokes the comic sociality and affective currency of the carnivalesque Cape.²⁴ Meanwhile, this moment marks a return which anticipates a mobilisation of a new more assertive radical indigeneity. Here is a ‘return’ to Afrikaans as a language of militancy after its rejection by the Soweto generation of 1976. Artists such as The Genuines and Robbie Jansen, militant groups such as Raakwys,²⁵ and hip-hop innovators Prophets of da City all turned to colloquial Afrikaans expression as a mark of new confidence infused with the vernacular. In the 1980s, a new nihilism emerged, whose confidence was expressive, sensory, yet unremarked. The ditty above would have been performed in a variant of the *toyi-toyi* – a military dance ANC cadres learned in the camps in the frontline states in Southern and East Africa, an archetype of militancy in South Africa, and the very conflation of music and warfare. *Toyi-toyi* is filled with dread, mimicking the firing of a weapon or other act of combat for revolutionary ends.

The port city is a sensory space, its commodity relations governed not just by the economics of goods, but the economics of sensation. Economism may underplay the epistemologies contained in the sensory world. Cape Town's port contains sounds and languages, including English, Afrikaans, Melayu, Yiddish, isiXhosa. There is the din of human and animal voices in a city street, and the gun batteries, the muezzin. Alongside these, the slave bell and the church bell are among the prominent sonic routines of the colonial port. Each regulates

²³ Colin Bundy, ‘Street Sociology and Pavement Politics: Aspects of Youth and Student Resistance in Cape Town, 1985’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 13.3 (1987), 303–30 (p. 320).

²⁴ The phrase ‘the Mamas and the Papas’ also plays with the name of a counterculture folk group that was popular in the late 1960s. This appeal to comic sociality is true of the song ‘Daar Kom die Alabama’ in its formative moments, as I will argue in Chapter Two of this dissertation

²⁵ Raakwys translates literally as ‘get wise’; i.e. to know ‘what time it is’, as in the popular colloquial phrase in the USA.

acoustic space. In trade, the general din of fish horns and voices calling sales reverberate. Processions such as military parades, Salvation Army bands, and church brigades heighten sonic experiences and interpolates subjects. The (Islamic) muezzin's call to prayer is marked as an everyday occurrence, giving impetus to the *karienkel* vocal style characteristic of 'Malay' choristers.²⁶ European Christian communities used bells to ward off evil – an expression of 'affective warfare and contagion.'²⁷

Given the engagement with coloniality, and with the postapartheid, it is also worth considering the category of noise. I mentioned earlier that the distinction from noise does not define the realm of music, but the work of 'territorialisation.' Since music is a working of the territorial – in the Deleuzian cosmos – it intersects with movement and with the discursive. We may think of 'noise' as a special case of sound as a discursive phenomenon. Steve Goodman recognises noise "not as sound but as a metadiscourse of sound and its social interpretation."²⁸ The presence of noise indexes a larger field of differences, even as its particularities stay undefined. Steve Goodman defines sonic warfare as 'affective mobilisation and contagion, as force, both seductive and violent, abstract and physical.' *These proceed* via a range of acoustic machines (biotechnical, social, cultural, conceptual). They modulate the physical, affective and libidinal dynamics of populations, of bodies, of

²⁶ Karienkel is based on Qur' ānic chanting - the model for other forms of musical art in Islamic culture. See Armelle Gaulier and Denis-Constant Martin, pp. 89–90.

²⁷ As Gilbert Simondon suggests in his studies of machines and humans, the connections between technology and the sacred are ancient and indissoluble. Humans lost these connections in the modern era, in favour of a closer association between technology and science. See Pascal Chabot, Aliza Krefetz, and Graeme Kirkpatrick, *The Philosophy of Simondon: Between Technology and Individuation* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), p. 136.

²⁸ 'Noise', in *Keywords in Sound*, ed. by David Novak and Matt Sakakeeny (Durham: London: Duke University Press, 2015), p. 126.

crowds.²⁹ Such a discursive idea of noise enables a discussion of the city's 'sonic signature.' In the colonial city, noise is a vector of regulation. It makes the city's regulatory impulse audible. The formation of a port proceeds with transferring commodities, including people, animals and intangible forms of exchange. Something adheres in the urban assemblages that form and that we can then read in sensory terms. One dominant sonic artefact of a colonial port city is its gun assemblage.

Goema as assemblage

Anticipation enables us to amplify change in motion and to look under the hood of race in the making and unmaking, peering under the proverbial hood in conjunctural moments. The sensory refrain offers a concept with which to work this as an audition in which we make take as given a certain intertwinedness of race and the Cape.³⁰ Moreover, I argue that working with *goema's* milieu, we may amplify sensory aspects of conjunctural moments. In the 1980s, *goema* became aligned with a radical project with the Geniunes even as its bulk remained part of a broader orthodoxy represented in carnival and popular theatre productions such as *District Six the Musical* and others.

This dissertation mobilises the Deleuzian concept of the 'refrain' as a way to amplify the dynamics at play in the interaction between the discursive and the sensory. I will establish the refrain as a concept here, and then mobilise it in a discussion of the concept *goema*. Deleuze

²⁹ Steve Goodman, *Sonic Warfare: Sound, Affect, and the Ecology of Fear*, Technologies of Lived Abstraction (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2010), p. xiv. *Sonic Warfare* outlines the acoustic violence of vibration and the trembling of temperaments. It sketches a map of forces with each step, constructing concepts by which to investigate the deployment of sound systems in the modulation of affect.

³⁰ I use the audit in the sense described by John Mowitt in his engagement with sound, considering sounds as 'sonic fossils embedded in the medium of thought.' Mowitt asked how sound studies might refresh the way we think about what it means to articulate cultural practices and their sociohistorical contexts – not how we recognise sounds, but how sounds 'situate' 'situating.' How do sounds stir us to recognise 'situating' as a problem? John Mowitt, *Sounds: The Ambient Humanities* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2015), pp. 13–15.

and Guattari proposed the refrain as part of a broader expedition into music and the sensory, of which we may see the former as an instance. For Deleuze, the difference between noise and sound is *not* a basis for defining music. Instead, it is the labour of the *refrain*, which is to say, a territorial – or rhythmic – assemblage where the emphasis falls on the process rather than a fixed object. The refrain is social vibration, human and non-human. People come to feel these vibrations as intensity, and to turn it into ‘sense’. The refrain occurs in the relations between the elements in an unfolding activity.³¹ It lives within, but also *beyond*, human sensibilities. Deleuze's ‘machinic’ discourse is an attempt to avoid the anthropocentrism implicit in modernist theories of agency and social constructionism. Machinic discourse offers us a way to talk about the actual without assuming the necessary mediation of human subjectivity, consciousness or intentionality, whether individual or collective and without denying that humans participate in these processes.³²

The sonic is that which enables us to trace how the ‘postapartheid’ is ‘anticipated’ in sound. What work does this special sense of the term ‘anticipation’ do? ‘Anticipations’ are sensory impulses which become available as expressions or choices, grounded in the idea of a process or movement, distinct from notions of stasis and fixity.³³ Consider, for example, the coded ‘cultural informants’ available to musicians, some of whom come from ‘outside.’ We may triangulate these via an engagement with the sonic and the signified. The ‘virtual’ is too

³¹ The concept of ‘territorialisation’ is fundamental to the refrain. For example, bird songs and the Greek modes (scales) both mark kinds of territory. Music for Deleuze is always an action – a deterritorialisation – of the voice, which becomes less and less tied to language. Deleuze and Guattari, p. 313ff.

³² An abstract machine is a map that realises itself in the production of the real. The virtual produces the machine, which is a result of the articulation of various statements, projects and practices. See Lawrence Grossberg, ‘Cultural Studies and Deleuze-Guattari, Part 1’, *Cultural Studies*, 20130101, 1–28.

³³ In this, change is more than disruption; change is ontological. This dynamic of ontology and ‘potential’ accumulates in time, building up as prelinguistic, preindividual sensory force or intensity. Moreover, affect is cross-temporal – it constitutes the movement of experience into the future (or into the past as memory). See Brian Massumi, *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation*, *Post-Contemporary Interventions* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), p. 146..

quick to be ‘actual’, as Deleuze and Guattari may suggest, and only one among the set of potentials becomes ‘actual’.

Finally, what is the refrain’s relation to the sensory assemblage I am calling *goema*? I take a cue from its greatest creative exponents, its artists. Abdullah Ibrahim’s creative career has consisted in championing a radical personal vision, assembling and disassembling a multiplicity of vernacular idioms, including spiritual music of the AME Church, the blues, *marabi*, the jazz of Duke Ellington and Thelonious Monk and others off a jazzing platform. Refrains tend to appear gradually, indistinctly as a build-up of potential. Ibrahim's work gestures towards a postapartheid that is not indebted to apartheid's discourse but instead seeks to disrupt it in its own, very terms. In Chapter Two of this dissertation, I will discuss the ship the *CSS Alabama*, and the song which heralds it, as the manifestation of a refrain – an assemblage of affects, disruptions and discursive beginnings in the Victorian nineteenth-century in Cape Town. Lawrence Grossberg understood that Deleuze’s refrain ‘embodies the power of life to unfold itself... differently.’ It is the configuration of a field of living as a space of intensive relations, an organisation or actualisation of capacities, relations and behaviours.’³⁴ Within Deleuze and Guattari’s cosmos, the refrain brings what they call ‘territories’ into being. In a sense, refrains contain sound and music but are not reducible to it. Rather, they are another dissection of the ‘sensory’ – here, sound and sonicity. Such constrained representational language underpins the language of apartheid and limits the potential for new ethics, for a critique of apartheid.

³⁴ Lawrence Grossberg, ‘Cultural Studies and Deleuze-Guattari, Part 2: From Affect to Conjunctures’, *Cultural Studies*, 30.6 (2016), 1001–28 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2016.1173476>>.

Sonic Futurisms

In contemporary Cape Town, a new generation is reclaiming *goema* in a futuristic gesture.

We may account for this part in terms of the phonographic Twentieth century. The process of becoming phonographic worked from apartheid's trump and jazz exile of the 1960s. Episodes from the 1980s and 1990s demonstrate a new phonographic aesthetic at work, especially a reclaiming of *goema* for an anti-apartheid project. The films *Mama Goema*³⁵ and *Casa de la Musica*³⁶ as well as artists such as Kyle Shephard anticipate a struggle to connect indigenous rights, global futures and a less provincial understanding of *goema* beyond “Colouredness”.

The acclaimed production *Afrikaaps* - making an argument for the cause of underclass black Afrikaans - has linked the milieu to an argument about Afrikaans as a language of subaltern Cape Town.³⁷

Since I seek to trouble taxonomic orthodoxies formed around historical representation, it is worth conceiving of a cosmology of social and musicking life that is not chauvinistic, but which amplifies its creative potential inside an affective ethics. As a writer with a particular conception of the literary, the poet Stephen Watson attempts such a move but underestimates the resilience and potentials hidden in the city's mythical past and present – what one might call the postapartheid. Watson sets up a challenge when he declares that archaic Cape Town, which he figures in Lawrence Green's “Tavern of the Seas” was long replaced by the

³⁵A documentary depicting a different vision of *goema* and its heritage in Cape Town. Calum MacNaughton, Sara Gouveia, and Angela Ramirez, *Mama Goema* (Paris, Ile-de-France: Windrose, 2011), Music Online: Classical Music in Video <http://search.alexanderstreet.com/view/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cvideo_work%7C2544431>.

³⁶ A documentary following an exploratory trip to Cuba to find commonalities with the Cape and to seek hypothesis about the black Atlantic world and diaporic creole cultures. Jack Lewis & Jonathan de Vries, *Casa De La Musica* (Community Media Trust, 2003) <<http://archive.org/details/CasaMusica>> [accessed 23 April 2018].

³⁷ ‘Afrikaaps’, *Afrikaaps* <<https://afrikaaps.wordpress.com/>> [accessed 4 May 2019]; Quentin Williams, ‘AfriKaaps Is an Act of Reclamation’, *The M&G Online*, 2016 <<https://mg.co.za/article/2016-12-15-00-afrikaaps-is-an-act-of-reclamation/>> [accessed 4 May 2019].

container harbour and the Waterfront – manifestly ‘a tourist's paradise, rather than a sailor's paradise.’ He claims there is no longer a single dominant mythology of the city. In his proposition, the contemporary city was expanding and diversifying to such an extent that no single myth can contain it. Watson seems to say that its writers cannot reveal Cape Town without a revitalised mythos. Here was a culture whose weight had been lost in its translation from its parent culture. It had a cultural vacancy that goes along with its spatial vacancy.

For reasons specific to Watson, he cannot contemplate the modalities of erasure in his proposition to build a new mythos. A new radical discourse of cultural memory was being produced through a series of discussions about curatorship of musicking in the context of the formation of the District Six Museum in the 1990s. Modelled by founding members such as Vincent Kolbe, the renowned public intellectual, the museum's programmes encompassed the formation of a sound archive and a programme of public dialogue about new ways to imagine the city's vernacular musicking amid the museum's larger claim for restitution and social justice. Programmes such as Reimagining Carnival and Unsung Heroes both took on this challenge to build a different curatorial practice, and a different cosmology, around vernacular musicking in the contemporary city and its relation to the historical.

The documentary film *Mama Goema* by MacNaughton, Gouveia and Ramirez made a further public intervention drawing on this discursive space for rethinking the work of producing cultural memory.³⁸ The film has a narrative pretext in depicting preparations for a musical performance titled: Mac Mckenzie's *Goema* Orchestra. The project proposes a ‘potential’ for recoding the fragmentary mythos of the postcolonial city, harnessing a futuristic notion of *goema* as its organising principle. The film follows the orchestra's rehearsal progress, while a cast of local characters – members of a growing new intelligentsia of a new city – reflects on

³⁸ MacNaughton, Gouveia, and Ramirez.

the meanings of *goema*, its rhythmic intensity, a folklore of slave rebellion and resistance in songs such as ‘Die maan skyn so helder’ (The moon shines so brightly).’ The cast included pianist Kyle Shephard, musician Mthwakazi, bandleader Katjie Davids, and others. The film makes a deliberate move to disrupt apartheid's logic so that *goema* inclusively invites its citizens – and here it matters not that the invitation is reciprocated, only that it remains perpetually open. The film offers to encapsulate a ‘cosmopolitan’ vision for *goema*, one that holds on to its claim for sociality in a changing world.

Such a vision would align itself with all aspects of the carnival. Perhaps the youthfulness of the film’s cast speaks to the disavowal of apartheid’s generational baggage. The film does not take on the considerable controversy around carnival’s continued use of blackface. Since they parted ways in the 1940s, the radical left has not reckoned with carnival’s past, and its lost opportunities. One may read the film as offering a draft manifesto for an ‘Afrofuturistic’ *goema*, whose genealogy considers that this field has started producing phonographic forms; that it can already boast a punk legacy. *Goema*’s ‘repetition’ could produce a field in which ethical individuation is possible – ‘a difference that is not apartheid’s difference.’

In what follows, I argue that *goema* makes available the study of such an ‘assemblage’. This assemblage contains what became the ‘*klopse* carnival’, Christmas band and Malay Choir, and their respective discursive fields are contained. In addition to these, it contains elements at the limit of this milieu, or that arise at its limits as anticipation, or potential. It is the performative edge of the socius, at its limit. I read the quasi-sporting carnival institutions – carnival, Christmas bands, Malay choirs – not in a discourse of ‘disappearing ethnography,’ but rather in terms of their potential to either enable or encrust different creative drives, energies, ‘libidinal’ economies. I also seek marks of the sensory, the sonic. Why did these

figures of colonial pageantry and commercial performance have the careers they did and, in some cases, still do, and why did they become marginal in the particular ways that they have?

To limit discussion of this milieu to the sanctioned sporting categories inside the Cape carnival complex of *klopse*, Malay Choirs and Christmas Bands, or to ethnographic camps is to dwell in a 'representational' universe in which only that which the archive sanctions is discernible, sensible. It is to miss the opportunity to build ethics which might produce a critique of the postapartheid. In a perhaps unintended paradox, Denis-Constant Martin's work foregrounds what he calls the 'coon carnival,' whose driving engine is creolisation, but whose discursive language is representational. I propose to give a different, 'genealogical' account of this field, and – drawing on the creative inspirations discussed above – call it *goema*. In this, the postapartheid is anticipated, and echoes as different modalities, ways of being and different locations. In other words, I wish to take on a different project of historical writing. I start with the premise of locating a genealogy of vernacular musicking from rhizomic transnational movement of energies and signifying regimes in the Indian Oceanic and Atlantic worlds as well as inside terrestrial southern Africa. With the term *goema*, we evoke an assemblage within which 'territories' form around popular musicking, folk forms and arguments, energies circulating on both sides of 'the veil.'

In staking out the of conceptual ground of the present thesis, I wish to foreground sound and the sensory as a way to write a particular kind of history that is alive to the ways the archive has foreclosed and guided paths of getting at its modes of command and commencement. In Part I of this work, I consider aspects of the 'becoming folklore' of *goema* musicking. We turn to a critical part of the folk canon of *goema* to see this at work and to listen for its trace.

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Part One: Becoming folklore



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Chapter two: “Daar kom die Alibama” – Auditing a nineteenth-century world picture

This chapter recalls the most popular and enduring song in the *goema* folk canon – “Daar kom die Alibama” (hereafter *Alibama*) – and reads it as nineteenth-century anticipation of the ‘American century’ to come. The song depicts the arrival of a ship into the port at Cape Town in the 1860s with the first performances of what later became the pervasive minstrel ‘coon’ of the Cape carnival. The *Alibama* offers a sonic trace by which the story of the *CSS Alabama* was rendered as vernacular or deterritorialised and manifested as a refrain of the American century. The chapter accounts for *goema* as a folk milieu, auditing an image of the past by evoking how it combines discrete musical, political and cultural elements into a nascent world picture.¹ More crucially, I explore how the song that marked the arrival of the *CSS Alabama* both reinforces and works to critique the *longue durée* of race in the imperial world.

On 5 August 1863, an unusual ship appeared on the horizon in Cape Town's Table Bay, bringing with it an episode from the brutally-fought American Civil War far away. The ship's arrival inspired a song which in turn was so popular it became the 'unofficial anthem' of the Cape carnival by the early twentieth century. Later, it was appropriated by elements of the state in the service of a nationalist claim, in what famously became the official songbook of white Afrikaner nationalism - the FAK (in full Federation of Afrikaner Arts) songbook and was recorded regularly by key figures in Afrikaans folk music.² But its most enduring claim

¹ I follow Martin Heidegger's use of the term 'world picture.' Heidegger argued that the central event of the modern age is the conquest of the world as picture. The word "picture" ["bild"] now means the structured image ["gebild"] that is the creature of man's producing which represents and sets before. In such producing, man contends for the position in which he can be that particular being who gives the measure and draws up the guidelines for everything that is. See Timothy C. Campbell, *Improper Life: Technology and Biopolitics from Heidegger to Agamben*, Posthumanities 18 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), 134.

² 'Daar Kom Die Alibama', FAK Homepage, accessed 6 May 2019, <http://www.fak.org.za/wp-content/uploads/blerkas/woorde/257.txt>.

lies at the centre of the carnival canon, cast as a typical example of 'Cape Malay' folksong. Its title “*Daar kom die Alibama*” (“There comes the Alabama”) locates its addressee at Table Bay, directed towards the ocean, where a Confederate raider, the *CSS Alabama* appeared in the process of capturing a Union trader, the *Sea Bride*. The diarist aboard the *CSS Alabama*, Arthur Sinclair, described the view of the Cape settlement from the ship:

The scene as viewed from the deck of the Alabama, beggars description... Every vehicle that could be commanded was pressed into service [and] price was no object to the sight-seers. A chance of a life-time presented itself. It is safe to say Cape Town was almost depopulated. Every imaginable form and model of boat [was] represented in the throng around our ship. Boatmen and longshoremen, struggling, vociferating and swearing to get first alongside.³

The intensity depicted in this scene is not surprising considering that “Alabama fever” had been building up for nearly one year.⁴ Most orthodox accounts take the excitement and anticipation surrounding its arrival as given. Yet, it is critical to my argument here. As we will see later, ‘Dixie’ had become a trope in minstrel sheet music and performance over at least a decade before the *Alabama* event, as part of a wave of American minstrel and vaudeville shows visiting Cape Town, Durban, Accra and in other parts of the world.⁵ Meanwhile, the authorities had received word that the *CSS Alabama* was patrolling the nearby oceans to capture Unionist vessels and was seeking confirmation of the international legality of its operations with local authorities at the Cape. On either side of the arrival event, the ship spent a few months in and around port and coast. It was a momentous event which

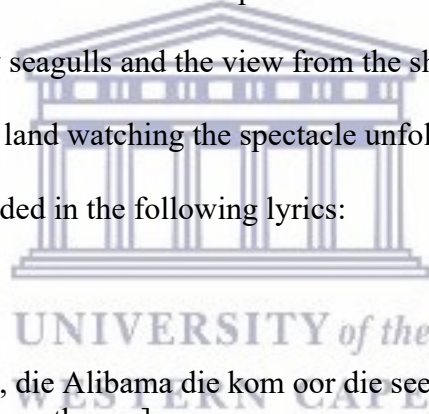
³ Arthur Sinclair, *Two Years on the Alabama* (Arcadia Press, 2016), 145.

⁴ For example, see Matilda Burden, ‘Waar kom die Alibama vandaan? Teorieë oor die oorsprong van die volkslied’, *South African Journal of Cultural History* 28, no. 2 (1 November 2014): 30.

⁵ In other words we may think of the ship as embodying what Deleuze calls a refrain. In a different context, Bertelson and Anderson argue that the refrain is a force that comes from the outside, as a challenge to established forms. Refrains bring opportunity that precedes ‘content’ and becomes content. See Lone Bertelsen and Andrew Murphie, ‘An Ethics of Everyday Infinities and Powers. Felix Guattari on Affect and the Refrain’, in *The Affect Theory Reader*, ed. Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 139.

gave the local newspapers ample content for an extended period and which would be recalled for many decades thereafter.

In accounting for the longevity and folk character of the song “Alibama,” we are likely to discern growing anxiety at work in the changing port city of Cape Town. This anxiety was mediated through the movement of technological magic and new song forms, a renewing sense of the global beyond the Dutch imperial world picture, and British colonial measures such as the abolition of slavery, the din of a century of warfare and the onset of new referents to the west Atlantic world. Reading against the visuality of the port city; one may suggest that “Alibama” anticipates these forces merging at the colonial town during the mid-nineteenth century. Arthur Sinclair’s vivid description of the arrival scene evokes the din of the crowd, the boats, the noisy seagulls and the view from the shore. The latter perspective – of this myriad of observers on land watching the spectacle unfold on the horizon, the subalterns among them – is coded in the following lyrics:



Daar kom die Alibama, die Alibama die kom oor die see. [There comes the Alibama, the Alibama it comes over the sea]
 Daar kom die Alibama, die Alibama die kom oor die see.
 Nooi, nooi, die rietkooi, nooi, die rietkooi is gemaak, [sweetheart the reedbed invites, the reedbed has been made]
 die rietkooi is vir my gemaak om daarop te slaap. [the reedbed has been made for me to sleep thereon]
 Nooi, nooi, die rietkooi, nooi, die rietkooi is gemaak,
 die rietkooi is vir my gemaak om daarop te slaap.
 Die Alibama, die Alibama, die Alibama kom oor die see.
 Die Alibama, die Alibama, die Alibama kom oor die see.⁶

⁶ Marc Duby, ‘Alweer “Die Alibama”? Reclaiming Indigenous Knowledge through a Cape Jazz Lens’, *Muziki* 11, no. 1 (2 January 2014): 106, <https://doi.org/10.1080/18125980.2014.893101>.

The song is typically sung in a fast comic or *goemaliedjie* style. It has two verses with different melodies (with an implied counterpoint), leading out with its final refrain announcing the ship's arrival. There is ambiguity in the use of the word "nooi": as a noun, it denotes "sweetheart," and as a verb, it means "to invite". Hence there is a play on 'sweetheart' and 'invite' which loads the term with sexual innuendo, besides which it has an implicit moral reading, and hidden political intrigue. Furthermore, given the larger context discussed earlier, it carries the dread of war. The object of the phrase is a reed bed, which, the song states, has been made for "me" – the gender masculine personified – to "sleep on." Both permutations of "nooi" point to the reedbed as a carnal site. This is important because, in the twentieth century, folklorist, Afrikaans poet and civil servant I.D. du Plessis laboured to apply a peculiar brand of folk ethnography to the song – one which insisted on reading this as a reference to 'Cape Malay' wedding customs – and built several institutions on this racialised world view. Such institutions included the formation of the failed Institute of Malay Studies at the University of Cape Town, the Cape Malay Choir Board in 1939, and the project to save what became known as the Bokaap Malay Quarter by its alignment with the Afrikaner Nationalist vision.⁷ Yet the historical record supports the notion of a web of intrigue around the ship's visit at the port. The ship was first introduced to the "South African Colony" at Saldanha Bay, north along the northwest coast leading to Cape Town, where reeds were harvested for making all manner of furniture for the colony.

⁷ See Shamil Jeppie, 'Reclassifications: Coloured Malay, Muslim', in *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New Perspectives on Coloured Identities in Cape Town* (Cape Town: Kwela Books, 2001), 80–96. In his labours on behalf of the fictive Malays, Du Plessis sought an original and 'undiluted' Malay type, rejecting all evidence of creolisation. The politician, DF Malan, pronounced on "the Malay" in 1925 as having earned its place in the emerging Afrikaner Nationalist version of South Africa. The Malay's "had always been civilised and did not need civilising by the White man," according to this version.

The song's anticipations of the racial order of the Cape can be read along with three registers. Firstly, the song holds in play a shifting relationship to an emerging world picture in which 'Dixie' – an assemblage of American minstrel song with its racial visibility – accumulates as a refrain of technological modernisation. Secondly, the song accumulates a sense of its location in virtual space – the *piekniek* – in a transgressive dance of mimesis and alterity. Thirdly, the song codes the black body and voice as rhythmic and sonic inflexions made actual. This is an effect formed in both in printed sheet music and in phonographic inscription associated with the long history of the song and the foundations it establishes for what will become commonly understood as *goema*.

A world picture

The underclass musicians creating what became *goema* seemed to speak back to the dominant visibility of the port city of Cape Town.⁸ "Alibama" and the historical event the song marked accumulated a substantial charge, a store of potential which consolidated with the passing of the nineteenth century. The ship's spectre also vibrated as a Deleuzian fabulation, a form of legending, of creating larger-than-life giants, hallucinatory visions of future collectivities, and a means toward preparing a social and popular idiom that in the late nineteenth century, would underwrite the industrialisation of South African society with the discovery of gold and diamonds. Before the late-nineteenth century, ship visits were a lifeblood of the port of Cape Town. The Cape also looked to the ocean for news from other remote colonial centres and to the interior for trade, supplies and commerce to service the colony.

⁸ It is worth recalling that I am using the word *goema* in a much broader sense to speak of a milieu and to think at the limits of this milieu. Hence, I take some licence in considering *vastrap* as a sub-milieu in this context. It is not musicologically rigorous, but instead thinks in terms of the Deleuzian 'milieu.'

In the first register, the ship's arrival reverberates as a sonic force. Each is accompanied by a sub-element: first the technicity of the ship, the *CSS Alabama*; second the sense in which Cape Town and its geographical ontologies constitute a port city; and third, the forming of territories around the *goemaliedjie*, *goema*'s archetypical song form. In the latter, the song held shifting relationships to an emerging *global* picture in play with the rise of the Atlantic World, a refrain specifically captured by a form of technological modernisation that arose from the plantation economies of the American South. This shift occurred as a result of the displacement of the Indian Oceanic world to the east from which the Cape originally drew its extensive cosmopolitan resources and aesthetic traditions.⁹

Technology as a talisman of the modern

For the duration of the nineteenth century, the Cape colony's general orientation shifted from dual regard for trade in both the Atlantic and Indian Oceans to a singular relationship with the North Atlantic. As a specific geographic location within the United States, the standard definition of Dixie refers to the eleven Southern states that seceded in the early 1860s to form the new confederation named the Confederate States of America. The word 'Dixie' had considerable diffusion in Cape popular culture – many formations had internalised its usage by the mid-1840s around the city and nationally. The concept of 'Dixie' works as the location of a certain set of cultural assumptions, mindsets and traditions. The lore of the carnival, to which I will return later, embeds Dixie. But the intensity of the *Alabama*'s reception suggests that it also disrupted something, at least over the time *before* the event (as build-up), and then in the long reach of its life as a popular tune. The song's influence can be traced to the

⁹ See Patrick Harries, 'Mozambique Island, Cape Town and the Organisation of the Slave Trade in the South-West Indian Ocean, c.1797–1807', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 42.3 (2016), 409–27 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2016.1178000>>. Harries offers an account of the shift towards the Atlantic oceanic world in the global slave trade, suggesting ways in which new directions in the trade, following its piecemeal abolition, and the growing dominance of Brazil, contributed to long-term developments in the region.

American Civil War, which seemed to resonate as an engine of technological progress in the Atlantic World. It heralded a new age which may be seen in the rapid spread of American popular culture and technological prowess across large parts of the world. For example, media scholars have called attention to how both typewriting and sound recording technologies were a direct outcome of communications challenges which the war had posed in the work of inventor Thomas Edison - who had also worked as a telegraph operator during that war.¹⁰ Contemporary commentators similarly lionised the *CSS Alabama* as a “nomadic hunter” right at its outset. It was built and launched, we learn, in secrecy. Hence, the ship was commissioned to be a steamer and a sailing-vessel, each stated purpose independent of the other. “Indeed,” Sinclair notes, “so rapidly could she be changed from sail to steam-power that no enemy, appearing on the horizon in clear weather, could surprise her under sail, nor could a sailing-vessel of superior speed escape her before getting her full steam-power.”¹¹ The apparition of the *CSS Alabama* was both a claim for the slave trade – fighting, as it were, on the side of the Confederate states – and for technological modernity. Besides ringing in a claim to the modern as ‘Dixie,’ *Alabama* functioned as a metonym for the force of modern technology inaugurated by a slave society in the Americas. I use the term ‘technology’ here as a correlative of ‘culture’ and derive it from Gilbert Simondon’s notion that invention is becoming, and that the individual seeks to create a world that coincides with her.¹² In other words, technology is not opposed to invention, culture and indeed to myth. If culture excludes techniques or fails to understand them, then it sustains a process of degradation the outcome of which may be fatal. Culture is a technique of survival, an instrument of

¹⁰ See Kittler’s discussion of its genealogy in Friedrich A. Kittler, *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter*, Writing Science (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1999), 191.

¹¹ Sinclair, *Two Years on the Alabama*, 4–16.

¹² Pascal Chabot, Aliza Krefetz, and Graeme Kirkpatrick, *The Philosophy of Simondon: Between Technology and Individuation* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 20.

conservation.¹³ Considered in this way, a technological challenge to established forms of meaning is better seen not as anomalous but as potentially consistent with the creation of a world view. In this sense, we might benefit from thinking along with the ways in which technology troubles and possibly enriches orthodox understandings of cultural phenomena.¹⁴

Figure 2. *CSS Alabama* engaging the *Hattera* off the coast of Texas, 1863



Diarist John Sinclair described the ship as a “formidable engine of destruction.”¹⁵ The ship’s technical prowess was on display on the day of its arrival at the Cape, as it captured the *Sea Bride* in full view of the assembled crowds. The arrival found its resonance with this

¹³ Gilbert Simondon, ‘Culture and Technics (1965)’, *Radical Philosophy* 189 (2015): 19.

¹⁴ For example, in the discussion that follows in the next chapter, one may anticipate the impact of phonography in which, by reconstructing the flow between sounds and an identifiable human source, the technology of the phonograph came to worry the complex intersection of orality, music, and writing.” See Alexander G. Weheliye, *Phonographies: Grooves in Sonic Afro-Modernity* (Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 2005), 7.

¹⁵ Sinclair, 18. Between the summer of 1862 and the spring of 1864, the *CSS Alabama* captured 65 vessels flying the U.S. flag and sank one Union warship. The *Alabama* was a media sensation and spread panic throughout the pro-Union merchant fleet and distracted part of the U.S. Navy from the essential duty of blockading southern ports. The *ship's* most important role in the conflict, however, was as a brief morale booster for the failing Confederate cause.

technological presence, anticipating new technologies of the period that impacted, over time, the twentieth-century “world picture.”

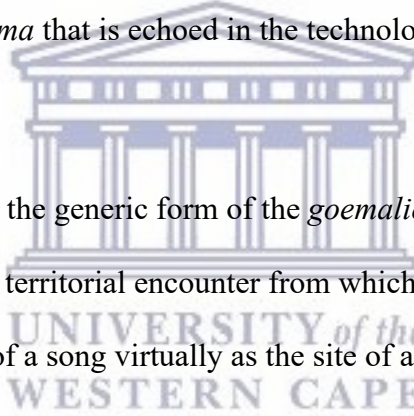
Port city, world picture

While blackface remained the ugly visual residue of the nineteenth century, much other decoding and diffusion of racial tropes that underwrite the origins of *goema* have gone unnoticed in the scholarly literature. *Goema*, it may be argued, also presented an opportunity to shine a light on the otherwise imperceptible racial tropes of historical and ethnographic writing. *Goema* helps to break up the racialised form of the divided city by allowing us to hear the crossover of machines and commodities on the one hand, and on the other, the sensory and linguistic. *Goema* is a potentially anti-racist idiom, even if it bears the traces of that racial order which it serves to undermine.

To this extent, the notion of a port city is an important element in understanding the assemblage in which something like Dixie’s’ visual expression becomes increasingly audible when it filters through a port city. In the sense that they provide an interface between maritime and terrestrial worlds, scholars such as Isabel Hofmeyr have considered the notion of ports such as Cape Town as not dissimilar to the inter-imperial role fulfilled by “islands.”¹⁶ As a metaphor of funnelling European, and later, American power in the broader network of oceanic and terrestrial connections, the port city of Cape Town had a relation to constant warfare in its interior that gave rise to the uncertainties of race formation. This lends itself to

¹⁶ See Isabel Hofmeyr, Uma Dhupelia-Mesthrie, and Preben Kaarsholm, ‘Durban and Cape Town as Port Cities: Reconsidering Southern African Studies from the Indian Ocean’, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 42, no. 3 (3 May 2016): 382, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2016.1174514>. Islands and port cities have become important analytical nodes in oceanic and inter-imperial forms of history. Colonial port cities have long been recognised as the bridgeheads that funnel European power. As one critic notes: “[t]o study colonialism is to study port cities.” Also, for the historian Leslie Witz, Cosmopolitanism, connectedness, and littorals of contact are key concepts in transnational histories that navigate worlds where difference and sameness intersect, collide, and are constantly remade. See Leslie Witz, ‘Africa [Not] in World History: A Review from the South (Part 1)’, *Journal of World History* 27, no. 1 (March 2016): 109ff.

new ways of hearing the song “Alibama” - as a metonym of power and as a reservoir of resources to undermine the exercise of that very power. Ultimately, the song “Alibama” draws attention to the invisible ties binding the Cape to the threat of war by attaching meanings to social noise. In fact, in the song, we find a ‘fossilised’ claim to the modern in the form of a *technological* refrain. Cape Town’s profile as a port city is critical. commodities rhythmically mimicking the sounds of machines and commodities as these criss-cross the port city. We might say that commodities at port undergo changes that also register in sonic terms. Here, they emerge as the noise specific to a port city. For example, media scholars such as Wolfgang Ernst recognise that every place – including the central city ‘bowl’ – has a unique sonic fingerprint.¹⁷ What is at stake in the exchange of commodities also leaves a sonic trace that is heard in *goema* that is echoed in the technological and commercial feat of the Alibama.



The *Alibama* song has become the generic form of the *goemaliedjie* in part because it resonates with the oceanic and territorial encounter from which it arises.¹⁸ This may locate the Alibama as an expression of a song virtually as the site of a *piekniek* - what I propose is the primal scene of *goema's* milieu. The song reveals the way port cities like the Cape are both sensory and linguistic constructs. Its use of a North American minstrel template further made available black American diasporic influence to South Africa and the *goema* canon. Thinking of ports as islands enables us to conceive of the transitions from the sensory to the linguistic enabled by oceanic and territorial encounters in the age of slavery. Ports exchange

¹⁷ Whether intended or not, the sonosphere encodes a sense of place. Acoustic science confirms that sonic environments are site-specific since the physical character of acoustic waves adapts to local signal run times that are uniquely expressed. See Wolfgang Ernst, *Sonic Time Machines: Explicit Sound, Sirenic Voices, and Implicit Sonicity*, *Recursions: Theories of Media, Materiality, and Cultural Techniques* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), 55.

¹⁸ Denis-Constant Martin and African Books Collective., *Sounding the Cape: Music, Identity and Politics in South Africa* (Somerset West: African Minds Publ., 2013), 143.

commodities of all descriptions and these may take on a new life in a new context. But ports also link the oceanic trades that arose with slavery in particular to the vast hinterlands of the African continent, so that the ocean's vast and looming presence in the invention of an African modernity is inconceivable without an understanding of how ports linked and opened up a terrestrial hinterland to exploration and colonisation. Something is gained, and something lost when confronting the territorial interface of the port city. The colonial state had to manage this symbolic and sensory attrition in which war looms large in *goema*'s formation and its folklore. Evidently, our attention is drawn to the sonic dimensions of the transactions that take place in a milieu that presents an opportunity to work across the sensory and linguistic divide that underpins modern racial orders.

Ports became “centres of settler diffusion and ecological change,” transport hubs configuring steam and steel, energy depots, “information ports” and communication portals, fortified and militarised sites of surveillance, nodes of smuggling and shadow economies. Colonial authorities used guns to regulate time and movement in the city.¹⁹ The Alibama is a source of this modern noise as much as it provides the soundtrack of the modernity of the Cape as it shifts from the Indian to the Atlantic world.

The port city in this conception functions as a vector of the sensory, as a way to track the formation of the social world in the context of colony and empire. With global traffic in commodities, there is a radical accumulation of affective charge in these transitions across the world. W.E.B. Du Bois offers us the interpretive idea of the ‘veil’ - the notion that where

¹⁹ The first noon gun, sited at Imhoff Battery at the Castle, had an vital signalling and time-keeping function since 1807. After the English took over, they redeployed the two Dutch guns in town as signal guns. Because of the loud report of the cannons upset residents nearby, they eventually moved the guns to the Lion Battery on Signal Hill, overlooking the city. The first signal fired from there was on 4 August 1902 and in 1918 the mayor instituted the daily midday pause. W. M. Bisset, ‘Cape Town’s Time-Guns’, *Scientia Militaria - South African Journal of Military Studies* 14, no. 4 (1984), <https://doi.org/10.5787/14-4-510>.

there is a racialising underclass, there is a veiling, and there is subject with a way of looking borne of ontological strife.²⁰ Du Bois held that to be born with a veil and given second sight, the negro (sic) lives with a kind of ‘double consciousness’, a sense of always looking at oneself through the eyes of others. This double consciousness is the source of an ontological conflict between two states of being. This idea of double consciousness complements the concept of a changing “world picture” of the nineteenth century – an effect of the Cape's changing location concerning imperial trade relations.²¹ Ports played a role in race formation in the context of empire. As funnels of concentrated exchange through which religious, secular and other intellectual influences flowed, they participated in creating “invisible empires” of colonised intellectual activity around and between oceanic and terrestrial worlds.²² Cape Town may seem like a colonial invention, yet it was a site where European colonial authority encountered older Indian Ocean and African forms of association, sociality, labour organisation and trade.²³ These encounters created unexpected new formations even as the colonial states sought to regulate them and align them in its image, resulting in the formation of new cultural objects that eluded power. Taking the idea that ports provide insecure historical narratives of association and dissociation, we may also concede that the cultural archive, while permitting particular ways of thinking about Cape Town, forecloses others, which might approach it from the vantage point of the land rather

²⁰ See W. E. B. Du Bois and Brent Hayes Edwards, *The Souls of Black Folk*, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford [England]; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 7–9.

²¹ Fernando Rosa reminds us that, in considering the Indian Ocean, we need not take received categories as natural, and that the conflation of territory, language, and ethnicity, not to mention religion, seems to be a nineteenth-century creation that became almost paradigmatic in the twentieth century. His book explores a tension between a theoretical and philosophical outlook identified with the West, and historical settings and related practices that are very ancient and supposedly not Western as such. Fernando Rosa Ribeiro, *The Portuguese in the Creole Indian Ocean: Essays in Historical Cosmopolitanism*, Palgrave Series in Indian Ocean World Studies (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 7.

²² Hofmeyr, Dhupelia-Mesthrie, and Kaarsholm, ‘Durban and Cape Town as Port Cities’, 382.

²³ Hofmeyr, Dhupelia-Mesthrie, and Kaarsholm, 382.

than the sea, looking landwards.²⁴ This is possibly what is most explicitly revealed through *goema*'s refrain as it resonates in the song, the *Alibama*.

In insisting on the connection to 'Dixie', I include the song (*Alibama*) inside the field of commercial minstrelsy supported by print technologies and commercial stage performance. That is, 'Dixie' in the argument that follows, refers to affective reverberations occasioned by sea changes in the imperial game. It approximates a refrain in which the ocean has a potent share, carrying the new disruptions which enable a changing world picture. The fact of the *CSS Alabama*'s existence relies on this network of global trade and of the emerging place of the post-civil war USA in it. Both sides in the American Civil War claimed the song 'Dixie' - with its origins in minstrelsy - for their cause. It is arguable that 'Dixie' helped make the case, more than any previous minstrel tune, that slaves belonged in bondage. It accomplished this through the song's protagonist, who, in black comic dialect, implies that, despite his freedom, he is homesick for the plantation of his birth. It is worth emphasising the global scope of the ship's work as a travelling signifier of slavery. As Sinclair notes in his expansive and boastful claims of the reach of the *Alibama* "the West Indies, the Gulf of Mexico, back again to the West Indies, Brazil, Cape of Good Hope, China Seas, Strait of Malacca, Ceylon, Arabian Gulf, Strait of Madagascar, Cape Town, St. Helena, Brazil, the English Channel - this was [its] itinerary."²⁵ Sinclair had no sight of the subversive potential to which his wandering ship would lend itself to as it washed up along the imaginary shores of a poetics in the making.

²⁴ Meg Samuelson, '(Un)Lawful Subjects of Company', *Interventions* 16, no. 6 (2 November 2014): 815, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369801X.2014.937349>.

²⁵ Sinclair, *Two Years on the Alabama*, 3.

Dixie and goemaliedjie as territories

The *CSS Alabama*'s appearance reverberated as sonic force, both in the sensory and the discursive register. These are interwoven in the ship's virtuality as a technological talisman, the song's emergence at a port on the cusp of overlapping oceanic worlds, and the sonic dimension of the transactions that took in the setting of a port city. The ontological crisis conveyed through Abdullah Ibrahim's poem expresses continuity with *Alibama*'s refrain in space and time. *Alibama*, that is, reflected a troubled symbolic order in which it emerged, and its meaning became encrusted in the twentieth century. But what are we to make of the traces of a song *form* within the port city's sensory economy? Earlier, I suggested that Table Bay offers a panoramic visual trope – an analogy of the “optical unconscious” which reaches from the state of Alabama to the modern “emerald bay” of Ibrahim's poem.²⁶ This perhaps authorises a sense that the song celebrates the theatrical staging of a kind of maritime pageant in which a new technological object enacted a scene of war – the capture of a trader named the *Sea Bride* – for which it had a reputation. In it, Dixie's refrain seems to disrupt what came before and, instead, insinuate a viable path to the modern world for colonised Capetonians. It is notable that the British had colonised the Cape at the turn of the nineteenth century, ushering in an age of imperial consolidation, fuelled by the discovery of diamonds and gold in the second half of the nineteenth century. Yet, American influence was beginning to be felt. We may surmise that it contrasted with the new, common tongue of the inner city, Afrikaans, and in the *goemaliedjie* song form that reflected the world behind the veil. This had built up together and made up what the “Alibama” song enabled. The relation is not one

²⁶ See Smith and Sliwinski, *Photography and the Optical Unconscious*, 1–45. Although the book speaks of the optical as photographic, it also raises the possibility of a broader visuality at work. The authors recognise Freud and Walter Benjamin as initiating work that attunes us to all that is not consciously controlled in the making, circulation, and viewing of photographs, the contingency involved in the production and consumption of images, as well as the unexamined motivations and effects of this technology's pervasive spread into wider and wider spheres of human and nonhuman activity.

of narrative cause and effect, but instead of amassing energies that contradict or coincide with each other.

We might consider that a manufactured longing for the minstrel stage, its sheet music and other visual forms marked a racialising profile of the age and emerged out of such frisson – or what I am calling anticipation. For Deleuze and Guattari, a refrain is not a new kind of signifier. Its reorganisation of affective forces involves a “molecular rupture” of the system of signs, of given ranges of expression, of the “already classified.”²⁷ Setting aside for the moment the technical face of the modern, which of the established categories was Dixie’s refrain disrupting in its affective build-up in the city?

During the American Civil War, soldiers on both sides of the war sang Home Sweet Home, as they did the anthem, “Dixie.” The lyrics of the song were written in 1823 by John Howard Payne (1791 – 1852) for his opera, *Clari, or The Maid of Milan*.²⁸ The melody is credited to Sir Rowland Henry Bishop (1786 – 1855), an English composer and conductor at Covent Garden Theatre. He is especially remembered for the music of “Home Sweet Home.” While “Sweet Home” had an initial trajectory as part of an opera, “Alibama” is sung in a comic or *moppie* style in Afrikaans, and the lyrics direct the assumed listener to an implied horizon on the sea where the ship is appearing in the present. The fundamental harmonic form is I IV I V7 I, with a variation at the bridge. South Africans who happen to listen to a performance of the American Civil War ditty, “Sweet Home,” may be surprised to recognise a strong resemblance to “Daar kom die Alibama.” The composers of “Alibama” had very likely used

²⁷ Bertelsen and Murphie, ‘An Ethics of Everyday Infinities and Powers. Felix Guattari on Affect and the Refrain’, 139.

²⁸ Matilda Burden, ‘Waar kom die Alibama vandaan? Teorieë oor die oorsprong van die volkslied’, *South African Journal of Cultural History*, 28.2 (2014), 24–42 (p. 34). The title translates as ‘Where does the Alibama come from? Theories regarding the origins of the folksong’.

the song as a harmonic template, adding rhythmic and vocal inflexions to it after the ship visited the Cape.²⁹

It seems the song carried an impetus to deterritorialise the Dutch influence and turn away from old colonial ties to new ones – the British Empire and the USA in particular. What, otherwise, does one make of the fact that people sing it in Afrikaans, a language that was itself young and emergent when the ship arrived? Afrikaans emerged from the Dutch linguistic milieu with a vocabulary as rich as the hyper-sensory world that forged it. Achmat Davids observed that Afrikaans was a commonly spoken language in inner-city Cape Town by 1870.³⁰ Next to the promise and territorial claim of ‘Dixie’, the city’s black underbelly also vibrated with the “Dixie” song. Here, I believe the choice of song *form* and language was key. Its exponents styled the song an archetypal *goemaliedjie*. Perhaps there is sufficient reason to assume that its composers exercised a conscious decision to create it as a *goemaliedjie* song form. It achieved its long reach in this form – whatever else had transpired before. It seems the Dutch colonial state and its surrogates are the main losers in this long game. The central declaration in the song is that the *CSS Alabama* approaches from the sea. One might think of the place names which had occupied songsters in the Dutch lexicon and evidenced in archaic repertory. Here, Batavia, Holland or *Oranje* would have held sway.

²⁹ See Burden, ‘Waar kom die Alibama vandaan?’, 35. During the American Civil War, soldiers on both sides of the war sang it, as they did the anthem, “Dixie.” The lyrics of the song were written in 1823 by John Howard Payne (1791 – 1852) for his opera, *Clari, or The Maid of Milan*. The melody is credited to Sir Rowland Henry Bishop (1786 – 1855), an English composer and conductor at Covent Garden Theatre. He is especially remembered for the music of “Home Sweet Home.” While “Sweet Home” had an initial trajectory as part of an opera, “Alibama” is sung in a comic or *moppie* style in Afrikaans, and the lyrics direct the assumed listener to an implied horizon on the sea where the ship is appearing in the present. The fundamental harmonic form is I IV I V7 I, with a variation at the bridge.

³⁰ Achmat Davids, “‘My Religion Is Superior to the Law’: The Survival of Islam at the Cape of Good Hope’, *Kronos: Journal of Cape History* 12, no. 1 (1 January 1987): 85.

After the “Alabama” moment, the Dutch presence is also “fossilised” as part of the narrative of a racialised national history.³¹

It is also worth anticipating the later impetus by interlocutors to reaffirm the place of *goemaliedjie* and the Dutch/ Afrikaans character of carnival song in the wake of rising Afrikaner nationalism in the twentieth century, particularly in the work of I.D. du Plessis. The Indian Ocean slave trade, which the Portuguese and Dutch had championed, is also a key context for understanding these shifts. The trade to Brazil became clandestine in the 1830s, and ties between Mozambique and the British colony narrowed so that from 1839 to 1842, a near state of undeclared war existed between the two powers after the British parliament voted to allow its warships to stop and search Portuguese vessels for slaves. During this time, and the decade that followed, the Cape became a site for the suppression of the slave trade, and “life in the colony turned towards contact with Africa rather than the Indian Ocean.”³²

Sonic warfare and transgression

The entry by Sinclair, the ships diarist writing between 1863 and 1865, is a sobering reminder of the normality of colonial gender-based violence:

We must not neglect an introduction to the fair lassies of the South African Colony. Buxom they are, brown and rosy, and with the assurance in their make-up of intimate acquaintance with the flail, churn and washtub.³³

³¹ Leslie Witz, *Apartheid's Festival: Contesting South Africa's National Pasts*, African Systems of Thought (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003).

³² Patrick Harries, ‘Mozambique Island, Cape Town and the Organisation of the Slave Trade in the South-West Indian Ocean, c.1797–1807’, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 42, no. 3 (3 May 2016): 426, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2016.1178000>.

³³ Sinclair, *Two Years on the Alabama*, 139.

Having thus listed the ‘positive attributes’ of the local women, including their familiarity with the whip and the washtub³⁴ – Sinclair describes the environment in which such knowledge is gained at port:

We have many influences working against the gathering of [the crew]. The dear girls, with all their assumed Southern proclivities, are, in fact, enemies, intoxicating our heroes with their attractions; the boarding-house runner has his eye to business, and the American consul is not idle; for the first time perhaps in his official career he has the inward consciousness of feeling his salary well-earned. He is plying our simple, befuddled lads with grog and cash, and placing a further sum “where it will do the most good.” But it is the unavoidable consequence of port-visiting, and we must make the best of it.³⁵

I read the “Southern proclivities” which Sinclair admires as a glimpse of Dixie’s deterritorialisation operating at an affective level – he implies that female sexual hospitality forms a set, along with obedience to the whip and a predisposition for domestic labour. The scene invokes an atmosphere of “sonic warfare.” It seems the hunt is always on in this scene, making it reminiscent of Rudyard Kipling’s “Great Game.” An invitation to the designated reedbed is an invitation to dance a quadrille, a reel or *vastrap*, and to bed down with the local American consul’s “buxom whisperers.” This honey trap intrigue is also a reminder that the claim to the modernity of the *CSS Alabama* is part of an argument for the perpetuation of the slave trade, and for the brutal cultivation of what Fred Moten called “speaking commodities.” In this, it aligns this invocation in with the trope of the ‘fallen’ woman. It is another confirmation that war and the noise of dread do not end on the battlefield.³⁶ Here, we can

³⁴ An event a decade earlier with the *Gentoo* ship confirms interoperability between domestic work and sex work for local women in the colony. See Elizabeth van Heyningin, “Gentoo” - A Case of Mistaken Identity?, *Kronos*, no. 22 (1995): 73–86.

³⁵ Sinclair, *Two Years on the Alabama*, 162.

³⁶ Steve Goodman, *Sonic Warfare: Sound, Affect, and the Ecology of Fear*, Technologies of Lived Abstraction (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2010), 10. Sonic warfare is the use of force, both seductive and violent, abstract and physical, via a range of acoustic machines (biotechnical, social, cultural, artistic, conceptual), to modulate the physical, affective, and libidinal dynamics of populations, of bodies, of crowds.

read honeytrap intrigue also as mimicry of *Alabama*'s nomadic mode of warfare, in which the lure or trap is a central motif. The ship is famous for its ability to disguise itself as the hunt demanded, to show 'empathy' with its quarry,³⁷ tempting the latter to let down its guard and then to launch a swift, deadly attack. It had made most of its oceanic conquests in this fashion.

Critically, Goodman locates sonic culture's future-sensing analytical power in its liquidity compared to other cultural fields, a suppleness that attunes it to rhythmic and morphological potentials. This may be implicit in the *goemaliedjie* song form discussed earlier, especially the invocation of the place of transgression, of what they express behind the veil, its deliberate rhythmic difference as exemplified in the concept of the camp quadrille, or of *sopvleis*. The rhythmic and comic language of the marketplace is a crucial part of the folk expression of the carnivalesque, the fast sales pitch of fishmongers and hawkers selling wares in inner-city Cape Town being a virtual sonic trope and coterminous with the musicality of *goema* as a comic folksong.³⁸ The *goemaliedjie* is continuous with the minstrel song, and potentially legitimises the din of the rabble, making the new hybrid partly sensible.

Fred Moten's discussion of Frederick Douglass enables us to consider the primal scene of the *goemaliedjie* – the *piekniek* – as ontological space. To the accrual of the sensory at the port we may add the coding of gender violence and its sense of sexual transgression of the song "Alabama," arguing that, at the virtual site of transgression, the song assembles the seductive strains of sonic warfare. This element of transgression sounds the *second* anticipation. That

³⁷ Truscott has discussed the role empathy plays in the hunt. See Ross Truscott, 'The Return of Empathy: Postapartheid Fellow Feeling', in *Remains of the Social: Desiring the Post-Apartheid*, 2017, 72, <http://www.oapen.org/search?identifier=627442>.

³⁸ See M. M. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, 1st Midland book ed (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 153.

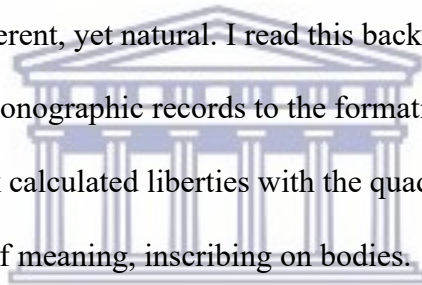
is, in the song's wake, sexual transgression becomes coded inside an ethnographic rendition of a 'Cape Malay' identity. And in its growing collection of potential affects, the song assembles what Gabeba Baderoon considers a larger history of sexual violence inherent in Cape slavery.³⁹ In the indelicate moralising of Victorian public art, this ethnographic trope is already forming a habit, a natural way to read it, which endures because of its necessary relation to the production of desire and race. It is anticipated and codified in the song form, in its mediation in print, and later in phonography.

Writing and Sounding

This chapter has presented two sets of intensities accumulating with the "Alabama" event. In the *first*, an ensemble of minstrel and vaudeville performance came from outside, making a modernising promise to people being remade as colonial subjects. A shimmering new kind of warship appeared on the horizon, come from a 'fabled' land called "Dixie," across the sea. It happened in a time when the colonial state – by its growing dominance – encroached on vernacular languages including the Afrikaans of the colonised which, at this stage, was developing its vernacular ethos, a spoken language and print culture. As we have seen, a new *mythos* was developing around transgression and racial 'mixing', constituting a *second* anticipation. The 'recipe' for this mix changed as the world picture looked to the left of the global map for sustenance.

³⁹ Gabeba Baderoon, *Regarding Muslims: From Slavery to Post-Apartheid / Gabeba Baderoon* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2014), 12ff. Baderoon's book sets out to explore normativity built on the visual depiction of Muslims. South African Muslim communities developed identities under conditions of slavery, enforced prostitution, and colonial rule.

In a *third* anticipation, the song conjures with voice and dialect – with the relation between writing⁴⁰ and the sonic. What does one make of the unusual spelling and pronunciation of the ship's name in the song title – “Alibama,” as opposed to “Alabama”? In its voice, name, and its narrator, the song marks *difference*. I read this ‘hybridisation’ as coding of the black body and voice as an *akkeltjie* – a rhythmic and sonic innovation.⁴¹ It enacts something of the contradictions facing colonised vernacular language speakers in the town and its interior. It codes bodies and voices as rhythmic inflexions made actual. Barely audible, it expresses this idea of the natural order or a feeling of ‘authenticity.’ Somewhere along the journey, the ‘phonetic’ pronunciation “Alibama” has become the way it is depicted and sounded in a kind of ‘blackvoice.’ Its explicit use of a hybrid signifier provides the main clue – both visual and sonic. It looks and sounds different, yet natural. I read this back from new thinking about the relation of print culture and phonographic records to the formation of the colonial socius and subject. Colonial subjects took calculated liberties with the quadrille and reel’s orphic inscriptions to create kernels of meaning, inscribing on bodies.



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How, then, does writing relate to the sonic? As we saw earlier, the state created its world picture by drawing lines on both the body and on the earth, locking them into a visual grid. Print culture and literacy – in various profiles including musical literacy – was emergent when the *CSS Alabama* called at the Cape in 1863. Malayu, in its Arabic written form, was the language of Islam at the Cape.⁴² By the 1860s, people already spoke Afrikaans in

⁴⁰ Recalling Derrida’s description of representation’s “dangerous promiscuity” and of the complicity between the reflection and the reflected which lets itself be seduced narcissistically. Jacques Derrida and Alan Bass, *Writing and Difference*, Repr, Routledge Classics (London: Routledge, 2009), 45.

⁴¹ In Indonesian, Malaysian and Arabic, the word “akal” denotes variously to think up a plan, to deceive, to display savvy, quick thinking, good sense. The mainstream Afrikaans dictionary renders the word with the phrase: “n Akkeltjie maak: iets besonder knap doen” [to perform an “akkeltjie”: to do something exceptionally well.] P. I. Hoogenhout, *Afrikaanse Idiome, Spreekwoorde En Segswyses*, 10th ed. (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, nd), n. Akkeltjie.

⁴² Davids, “‘My Religion Is Superior to the Law’: The Survival of Islam at the Cape of Good Hope”, 69.

Kanaladorp and beyond. Earlier, I also mentioned a genealogical link between the American Civil War and the development of typewriting and sound recording. One can also think of musical instruments as technical objects, and sheet music as artefacts of bourgeois print culture. All of these had been streaming into the port of Cape Town for more than a decade. By the 1830s, accordions were being imported and, by the 1870s, “Anglo-German concertinas” were a common feature of vernacular musicking in the city.⁴³ Later in the nineteenth century, Western musical accomplishment was a vital sign of Victorian *savoir-faire* for self-consciously modern Africans. Tsitsi Jaji observed that besides newspaper reading, “choral and reading groups, debating societies, and singing groups” were all practices that signalled elite social status.⁴⁴ Colonial attitudes, as discussed in the next chapter, were visible in nineteenth-century black aspirations, as the following extract from Lady Duff Gordon in 1862 suggests:

The handsome yellow man took the concertina which seemed so discordant, and the touch of his dainty fingers transformed it to harmony. He played dances with a precision and feeling quite unequalled, except by Strauss’s band, and a variety which seemed endless. I asked him if he could read music, at which he laughed heartily, and said, music came into the ears, not the eyes. He had picked it all up from the bands in Cape Town, or elsewhere.⁴⁵

An orientalist discourse is already audible here, especially Duff Gordon’s attribution of the man’s “yellow” skin, and her feminising descriptions of his body, his ‘natural’ musical prowess, and his mimicry of the Orphic tradition.⁴⁶ In a seamless presentation posing as

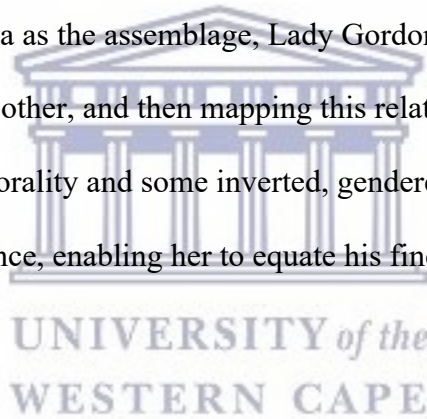
⁴³ Dan Michael Worrall, *The Anglo-German Concertina: A Social History* (Fulshear, Texas, USA: Concertina Press, 2009), 5–6.

⁴⁴ Tsitsi Jaji, *Africa in Stereo: Modernism, Music, and Pan-African Solidarity* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 24.

⁴⁵ Worrall, *The Anglo-German Concertina*, 43.

⁴⁶ The literary scholar, Srinivas Aravamudan, might call this an Enlightenment orientalism, a “nebulous form of transcultural fiction,” unlike nineteenth-century Orientalism that, in Edward Said’s words, “overrode the Orient.” In contrast, Aravamudan’s Orientalism “overrode Occidental readers.” These variable fictions were

praise and approval, Duff Gordon describes a charming, but insufficient, resemblance to Western musicality. The yellow man is the equal of the bandleader called Strauss in his delivery but has no command of this literate culture. Here, it casts vernacular culture as modernity's "other" in music, as in the other arts, while reference to 'authentic' folk and ethnic musics, primitive and exotic constructions, have remained more enduring and acceptable as forms of appropriation and projection in music.⁴⁷ It recalls Philip Bohlman's argument that we can view European history – and music history – as a dialectical conflict between selfness and otherness. A challenge to Europe's spaces results from this conflict and from the different ways in which otherness intrudes upon those spaces.⁴⁸ Tsitsi Jaji's work also draws attention to the way black intellectuals later worked to negotiate this racial inscription. With the concertina as the assemblage, Lady Gordon is drawing on a relation of European music to its popular other, and then mapping this relation to the colonial subject, mixing in some yellow, some orality and some inverted, gendered sexuality. The instrument brings its mythical transcendence, enabling her to equate his finesse with that of the bandleader Mr Strauss.



Beyond the margins of writing, the sonic environment includes the sounds we cannot hear and sounds from the ambient environment which help produce the uniqueness of a place. The underclass *piekniek* is the one 'primal' site of performance that also resonates in living memory. It offers a sense of the earth that coheres in cultural memory even as it recedes from it.

immensely popular, devoured especially by French and British reading publics. See Srinivas Aravamudan, *Enlightenment Orientalism: Resisting the Rise of the Novel* (University of Chicago Press, 2012), 3.

⁴⁷ Philip V Bohlman, 'Composing the Cantorate: Westernizing Europe's Other Within', in *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music*, ed. Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 16.

⁴⁸ Bohlman, 191.

The *piekniek* itself is not necessarily devoid of transgression, though. In fact, as an ontological space, transgressive possibilities are arguably immanent in such performance situations. Contemporary sound studies supports engagement with sound as knowledge, with pre-phonographic sensory phenomena and with what Wolfgang Ernst calls “sonicity” – a concern with sounds which our ears cannot hear.⁴⁹

The difference between speech and writing – or between the camp quadrille and the ballroom version – is the difference between enlightenment and darkness.⁵⁰ The *piekniek* cues noise (as the African ‘bush’) emerging at the boundaries of knowledge. In the racial imagination, there is a sense in which the ‘bush’ is unrepresentable. It is also a familiar trope in the South African literary imagination – a colonial landscape and primal scene of atrocity. In a landmark publication, Anthony Trail provides an account of the linguistic death of the |xam language of the Cape Bushmen in the nineteenth century. Elements of this death may linger in non-linguistic memory as Afrikaans ascended as the dominant language in Bushmanland. The descendants of the Korana and Griqua speak a variant of Afrikaans as their mother tongue. The progeny of the surviving |xam shifted to what was Afrikaans and, |xam ceased to be spoken.⁵¹ If this annihilation left traces, what is linguistic, and what also sonic? Trail has not accounted for its sonicity. There is annihilation in this profile, oblivion, a “linguistic death.”

⁴⁹ Ernst, *Sonic Time Machines*, 14.

⁵⁰ Fred Moten, *Black and Blur*, Consent Not to Be a Single Being, v. [1] (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017), 7.

⁵¹ Anthony Trail, ‘!Khwa-Ka Hhouiten Houiten. “The Rush of the Storm”: The Linguistic Death of |xam.’, in *Claim to the Country: The Archive of Lucy Lloyd and Wilhelm Bleek*, ed. Pippa Skotnes (Johannesburg; Athens, Ohio: Jacana; Ohio University Press, 2007), 130–48. Trail's article depicts Jas Verroei, a retired farm labourer in Colesberg, who speaks !ora and Xiri. His wife, Katie Geduld, speaks only Afrikaans and is reported to laugh when he speaks his “boesmantaal” (“bushman language”). By the 1870s, when Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd, as well as Gideon von Wielligh, recorded fluent speakers of |xam who still had a rich knowledge of their mythology, the critical stage of language death must have been reached. Trail infers that socialisation in |xam must have ceased mainly by then, which means that transmission of the language had ceased.

The quadrille also fits into this discourse – a vehicle for a dance of mimesis and alterity. I implicate it in sonic warfare. For Lott, the popularity in the North during the American Civil War of the 1859 song ‘Dixie’ is a sobering reminder of the reassertion of white racism after the war.⁵² The sonic invites engagement with this interface of memory and non-memory. By association, in “Alibama”, the song’s reedbed evokes District Six’s sensory street milieu, into which the ‘befuddled’ ship’s crew would spill during their shore leave, in the pubs, boarding houses and other establishments of the inner city. The revelries and debaucheries of port life have been captured in the historical archive, sometimes as taverns, ‘Rainbow Balls’ or other metaphors. Scholars have written about the forging of difference in race formation, discernible, for example, in the tango, which Marta Savagliano calls a dance of “those who should not have met.”⁵³

Sonic war is implicit in the *goemaliedjie* song form discussed earlier and its invocation of the place of transgression, of what they express behind the veil.⁵⁴ There are thus colonial and underclass versions of the square dances. The bedrock of the *goemaliedjie* performance and its associated dances was the Sunday *piekniek* tradition, recorded as occurring as far back as the 1700s. If, for Baderoon, the picturesque is a genre attended by anxiety,⁵⁵ colonial writing

⁵² Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class*, 20th-anniversary edition ed., Race and American Culture (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 254.

⁵³ After Marta Savigliano, *Tango and the Political Economy of Passion, Institutional Structures of Feeling* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995). In the sense that it is produced without the supervision of the state, and therefore it suggests also WEB Du Bois’s use of the idea in his discussion of “sorrow songs.” See Du Bois and Edwards, *The Souls of Black Folk*.

⁵⁴ Helen Thomas, ‘Mimesis and Alterity in the African Caribbean Quadrille’. It is telling that the “Commercial Square” – the last in Cape Town to be regularly performed in the 1960s – is the one that survived to the end. It has more rhythmic *akkeltjies* than the others, the Caledonians, the Lancers, the Pagaent Quadrille. This separation of styles is common to colonial quadrille scenes.

⁵⁵ Baderoon, *Regarding Muslims*, 27–36. The word *kaffir* is used to rename nativeness in botany. Indigeneity itself became belittled. The landscape is designated as barren and wild. “Kaffir” remade the landscape. There is a threat of being consumed by indigeneity. The landscape was labelled in such a way as to make it inhabitable by Europeans. The word signalled a boundary of time.

– articulated with the sonic, as I have shown here – belittled indigenously as a sign, providing its ‘sense’ for a settler claim to colonial space.

Hemisphered in time and space

In considering Dixie’s visual refrain, I have explored the technicity of the ship, the Alabama, and have considered its “libidinal” movement at the port in a process which Deleuze and Guattari might call “decoding.”⁵⁶ For Deleuze and Guattari, decoding suggests that any given social formation restricts or structures flows which are not just the flows of money and commodities familiar to economists, but can be seen at a variety of levels: the movement of people and traffic in a city, the flows of words that are bound up in a language, the flows of genetic code between generations of plants, and even the flow of matter itself (the movement of the ocean, electrons moving in metals, and so forth).⁵⁷ From the giddy sensory movement at the port described above— the mass movement of goods, ideas and humanity from the two oceans – one might predict ontological frisson; and one may indeed track this in the long reach of the nineteenth century, coded in the closing of legendary Cape Town musician, Abdullah Ibrahim’s poem “Blues for District Six.” District Six exemplifies the crossover elements of the sensory and linguistic, machine and commodity that was the distinguishing feature of the port city of Cape Town. As a residential suburb sandwiched between the foothills of Table Mountain and the Table Bay Harbour, District Six was a life formed in antithesis to the racial backdrop of a segregationist and later, apartheid state. District Six would also be a space that kept watch over the promise of *goema*:

⁵⁶ In his introduction to Lyotard’s classic work, Ian Hamilton Grant describes Lyotard as introducing a libidinal, rather than a dialectical or historical, materialism, what Deleuze and Guattari call the work of ‘the inscribing socius.’ See Jean-François Lyotard, ‘Introduction’, in *Libidinal Economy*, trans. Iain Hamilton Grant, *Theories of Contemporary Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), xxii. See also Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 139ff.

⁵⁷ See *The Deleuze Dictionary*, ed. by Adrian Parr, Reprinted (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press, 2007), p. 35.

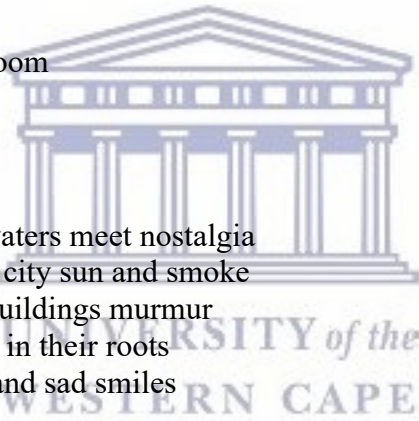
Blues for District Six

Early one new year's morning
 when the emerald bay waved its clear waters against the noisy dockyard
 a rest less south caster skipped over slumbering lion's head
 danced up hanover street
 tenored a bawdy banjo
 strung an ancient cello
 bridged a host of guitars
 tambourined through a dingy alley
 into a scented cobwebbed room
 and crackled the sixth sensed district into a blazing swamp fire of satin sound

VI

early one new year's morning
 when the moaning bay mourned its murky waters against the deserted dockyard
 a bloodthirsty south caster roared over hungry lion's head
 and ghosted its way up hanover street
 empty
 forlorn
 and cobwebbed with gloom

VII



where loneliness' still waters meet nostalgia
 and morning breaks the city sun and smoke
 and towering grey the buildings murmur
 grim subway rumblings in their roots
 I scan the vacant faces and sad smiles
 and long for home
 the night my soul had herringed red
 through raucous songs of childhood
 and friends and comic stones Jong forgotten
 were whiskied out of memories dim
 to function as narcotic
 and silence cruel reality as it screamed
 it's neither here nor there

I'm hemisphered
 but three
 the southern cross and libran scale
 and god knows
 he knows

where.⁵⁸

The poem's opening first two stanzas evoke the "noise" of the port, preparing the reader for a sense of what was lost before the schizophrenic decline depicted in the last.⁵⁹ Here, the poem celebrates a "sixth-sensed" district – a reference to the intoxicating world of an inner-city neighbourhood which the state destroyed between the 1960s and 1970s, its dialects, smells drifting from spice emporia, flower sellers, fishmongers, the sound of church bells, its pulsating street milieu, bells, brigades, the *muezzin*, the "noisy dockyard," its "bawdy banjos," and the "crackling "swamp fire of satin sound" that evokes the pulse of its carnival season. But it also serves as a narcotic for the poet. Anguish is common to both parts, notwithstanding the gulf between the sensory world of the first part, and the anguished, almost soundless second part. Ibrahim's poem refers to the destruction of District Six by the official apartheid laws relating to urban space⁶⁰ and in its optical unconscious, the poem might be read as an effort to achieve a greater temporal reach.⁶¹ Ibrahim penned these lines in exile from South Africa in the 1970s, while in New York, where he worked as a musician alongside his partner, Sathima Bea Benjamin, and Duke Ellington. Expressing a longing for the Cape as home, the poet's body, soul and imagined home are all "hemisphered," separated by distinct imaginary lines. Ibrahim seems to depict a condition under exile from 1970s

⁵⁸ Abdullah Ibrahim, 'Africa Music and Showbusiness. Blues for District Six', in *The World of South African Music*, ed. by Christine Lucia (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2005), pp. 61–62.

⁵⁹ Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus*, 4. For Deleuze and Guattari, schizophrenia, like love, is what makes the world function, but it only becomes manifest when it stops working. Schizophrenia is the universe of productive and reproductive desiring machines.

⁶⁰ See Shamil Jeppie, Crain Soudien, and Hands Off District Six Committee (Cape Town, South Africa), eds., *The Struggle for District Six: Past and Present* (Cape Town, South Africa: Buchu Books, 1990).

⁶¹ Photography had reached Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown towards the end of the 1840s. See Marijke Cosser, 'Images of a Changing Frontier: Worldview in Eastern Cape Art from Bushman Rock Art to 1875' (Rhodes University, 1992), 86. For Shawn Michelle Smith, by the 1930s, the modern subject as both an individual and collective was more than ever encountering the world with all its vagaries as, not through, a photographic representation. See Shawn Michelle Smith and Sharon Sliwinski, eds., *Photography and the Optical Unconscious* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017), 43.

apartheid, but also the long reach of the previous century. Here, a sense of crisis strikes the artist/ poet. Ibrahim's poem sketches a sonic landscape, with a full visual perspective depicting various forces moving through the inner city before arriving at a moment of crisis.

The final verse is a harvest of disorientation, especially from exile in which the poet finds himself. This disorientation is rendered visually and ontologically, but, more tellingly, it also deprives the subject of obvious sound. The result is a feeling of being temporally and subjectively split that would exceed what the more times than the term “hemisphered” would otherwise usually convey. It is also worth emphasising Ibrahim's personal experience of living under apartheid's veil, in which he could access multiple racial worlds in the inner city, including isiXhosa-speaking worlds as he set about forging his musical idiom. The ontological mobility conveyed by the poem is critical to Ibrahim’s musical works and is consistent with his nomadic disposition against the apartheid state.⁶² These imaginary lines convey a sense of disorientation in which the poet’s physical body is divided, and also gives a sense of a world not neatly dissected into two hemispheres, ‘but three.’ In equating the Southern Cross and Libran scale, the poet seems to evoke both an ancient, indigenous celestial navigation system and the Libran scale of the Greeks. The lines also seem to invoke a more extensive practice of striation, the insistence of the state upon its prerogative to draw lines, to engage a visual labour of the world, a new and changing “world picture.”

In character and form, the “Alabama” song is anthemic to this hyper-sensory world, from whose newly-formed bosom it was likely sprung – what became District Six had started as

⁶² Balasopoulos, “‘Suffer a Sea Change’: Spatial Crisis, Maritime Modernity, and the Politics of Utopia’, 125ff. To be “hemisphered” seems to gesture to a state-sanctioned discourse of the kind that enabled Europe’s colonial adventures (as codified in Holbein’s painting *The Ambassadors*).

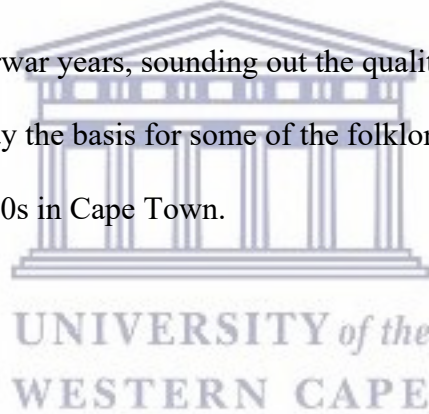
Kanaladorp twenty years before the ship's visit.⁶³ The song brings the anticipation of a branded modernity to a Southern African port city – a modernity which, we recognise, includes minstrelsy — minstrel sheet music accumulated through the decade preceding the ship's arrival. For example, a sketch by artist Thomas Baines, dated 1861, records the handwritten words “I am come from Alabama with a banjo on my knee”.⁶⁴ The lore of Alabama is inscribed in minstrel sheet music and blackface visuality arriving from the USA. In a sense, the local townsfolk anticipated the ship's arrival, or the ship road the wave of the newfangled minstrel music associated with the new sounds and images coming from American commercial theatre in the mid nineteenth century. It is likely that seemingly unrelated events impacted on this overall emerging picture. In the 1840s, preceding the “Alibama” event, the indebted *Oorlam* engaged in raids as a means of survival in the remote hinterland. “*Oorlam*” is a word from the Malay language denoting one experienced in worldly things and passed into the port's lexicon. The celebrated Ethiopian Serenaders/Darkie Serenaders sang “Christy Minstrel” songs at the Cape in some coincidence with the Khoi rebellion at Kat River along the in Eastern Cape frontier in 1850. In the same gesture, the song recalls potentialises *Malayu* as the Indian Ocean *lingua franca*, and as reduceable to a Muslim identity tied to South Africa and the Cape. To echo Deleuze and Guattari's formulation, *Malayu* is in a rhizomic relation to the Afrikaans language because of its status as an Indian Ocean maritime *lingua franca*. *Malayu*'s potential is “encrusted” in the song. Given such a genealogy, it is telling that “Daar kom die Alibama” became an archetype of ‘Cape Malay’ folksong – in an adjunct relation to white Afrikanerdom. It cues – and helps

⁶³ “Kanala” – etymology uncertain but associated with ‘Malay’, possibly from ‘kan’ (Afr.) + ‘Allah’. Literally can + god; meaning ‘please’. It generally connotes a certain spirit of sociality, of being in community.

⁶⁴ See appendix. Thomas Baines, *I Come from Alabama with a Banjo on My Knee*, 1861, Sketch, 1861, Parliamentary Library.

produce – a future whose outcome seems to be a mode of expressing the ‘natural’ order tied to the Cape. It binds the Cape to this order, attaching meanings to particular social noise.

To conclude, we have read the song “Daar kom die Alibama” as an *anticipation* of the “American century” to come. It discharged ‘Dixie’ as its sonic force bearing down on the port of Cape Town in the form of a new technicity. Alongside this technicity came anxieties that shifted as the commodities, intensities and trajectories of transactions at port started to take on new material forms with new global orientations. These shifts bring us chronologically to South Africa at the turn of the twentieth century, on the cusp of, or anticipating, an industrial nation state as part of the British empire, when black aspirations had a qualitatively different tenor to what came after the Second World War. In the next chapter, we tune in to the interwar years, sounding out the qualities that left their mark on vernacular performance and lay the basis for some of the folkloric inheritance of the later jazzing avant-garde of the 1960s in Cape Town.



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Chapter three: Making atja performance archaic in the phonographic twentieth century

Introducing carnivalesque performance

This chapter recognises an "anxious urbanity"¹ in early Twentieth-century Cape Town's carnival or *klopse* performance by undertaking a reading of its sonic traces. It focusses specifically on the *atja* troupes (a local variant of the so-called 'American Indian' and carnival devil characters).² The chapter locates the performance practice as emerging in the period of reconstruction after the South African War of 1899-1902, finding correlation between a periodisation of the emerging native question in South African history. Crucially, *atja* performance emerged in a critical moment in South Africa's history, the beginning of the Twentieth century. The aim is to show that both social performance on one hand, and the social totality on the other interact dynamically when one pays attention to the historical resonance of sonic traces.

In the context of the larger argument, this chapter reads a second carnival practice, which follows from the previous discussion of the Alibama song as archetype of the *goemaliedjie* (goema song) through which this milieu became folk music. It makes a number of observations about *atja* poetics, as it were, that offers a wider resonance with the anxieties of a critical time in South African history. We continue to make sense of the carnival

¹ See Suren Pillay, 'Anxious Urbanity: Xenophobia, the Native Subject and the Refugee Camp', *Social Dynamics*, 39.1 (2013), 75–91 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/02533952.2013.772737>>. Pillay draws attention to a notion of colonialism drawn from the the desire to resolve the native question "by rendering the majority both foreign and migrant."

² South Africa's slave past frames historical narratives of carnival season in Cape Town. Notably, this carnival is not linked to the Catholic Lent or 'Fat Tuesday' as its counterparts in the Carribean and in South America tend to be. Instead, it follows a 'festive season' which runs roughly from Guy Fawkes commemorations on 5 November through Christmas and New Year to the end of the formal competitions in March of each year. It is a time of gifting and parading. The season peaks around Christmas and New Year's Eve, and around the major street procession on the second day of January – recalling a time when Cape slaves were granted time off once a year. See Martin, *Coon Carnival: New Year in Cape Town: Past to Present*.

triangulating the documentary, visual and the sonic archive. The *atja's* poetics, its claim, its sonic dread, its vocal silence, its primitivism, all touched a nerve somewhere lodging in popular memory and inspired visceral reactions. This practice seems to have a fixed place in a very formalised - competition-centred - carnival structure. This goes some way to explain *atja's* perpetual marginality even inside the klopse competition - its tendency to both disappear and to keep bouncing back since its emergence in the earlier part of the Twentieth century.

The fortunes of the *atja* trope also coincide with the disappointment of a generation of black intellectuals and leaders that the British empire would not enable them to realise their aspirations, a disappointment which led to a more polarised and less nurturing environment for carnivalesque creativity. We may deduce, from the coincidences aligned here, that the hopes accompanying as black citizens of a global empire were manifest in the displays of pageantry during the carnival of the 1930s. The demise of these more permissive, more creatively varied and more informal 'Private' troupes (of which the *atja* was part). In general, *atja* performance was relegated to a folk practice that was at once both 'timeless' and also 'perpetually marginal' in the period after the Second World War in Cape Town.³ Deleuze's notion of desire lines offers a helpful theoretical apparatus given the concern with the production of the social in sensory terms.⁴

³ In folklore scholarship, detraditionalization and retraditionalization have often gone hand in hand, and the state of folklore research in history and in the present has been intertwined with this dynamic, while simultaneously offering a reflexive accompaniment to it. See Regina F. Bendix and others, *Companion to Folklore* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2012), p. 2
<<http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/umn/detail.action?docID=875780>> [accessed 11 December 2017].

⁴ We may think of desire lines as vectors in Deleuze's "desiring production" – the process by which the social is produced. With these lines, social agents seek to traverse socio-political categories, rather than follow them. The three lines – molar lines, molecular lines and lines of flight – are co-implicated, expressing different compositional processes immanent to continuous movements of rest and becoming. See Joshua Windsor, 'Desire Lines: Deleuze and Guattari on Molar Lines, Molecular Lines, and Lines of Flight', *New Zealand Sociology*, 30.1 (2015), 156–71 (p. 158).

While, in the previous chapter, the Alabama song had anticipated the American Century, the *atja* performance trope we consider now, arrived in Cape Town unannounced, under the veil, as an idea or a memory of somewhere else. When it emerged it seemed to find ready appeal. Specifically, the record credits one Robert Gonsalves with introducing 'Indian' marching to the Cape carnival. Gonsalves disembarked as a twenty-year-old Antiguan sailor at Simonstown after a journey from England in 1902.⁵ This performance trope found a niche in a make-believe world that involved things Dixie in which Cape Town was coded as a fictive *klopse* republic inscribing what Mamdani might call a 'coloured' "subject race."⁶ Hence, the chapter amplifies sensory aspects of a native question at the turn of the century, the force that rendered *goema*'s milieu as folklore, and which restricted its sociality.⁷ We may consider the demise of the Privates in the carnival in the interwar years as a symptom of its rendition.⁸

⁵ Robert Gonsalves became a leading member of the 'American' – black Caribbean – community in the city. In her dissertation, Misha Charles credits Gonsalves with bringing the performing 'Indian' – the *atja* – which had recently taken off in New Orleans and other Caribbean spaces, to the Cape carnival. In other words, one of the *atja*'s genealogical lines moved from the Caribbean world to the Cape. Misha J. Charles, 'Soort Soek Soort: The "American Negro" Community in Cape Town until 1930' (unpublished Thesis, University of Cape Town, 2004), p. 52ff. <<https://open.uct.ac.za/handle/11427/7986>> [accessed 27 June 2018].

⁶ See Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*, Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1996); Gabeba Baderoon, *Regarding Muslims: From Slavery to Post-Apartheid / Gabeba Baderoon* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2014). Responses to the native question enabled the intensification of state formation and racial production. Mahmood Mamdani has theorised apartheid as the generic form of the colonial state, and Baderoon argues that the coloured trope in this formation was meant to stabilise the meaning of blackness and whiteness.

⁷ I use the term "native question" in a sense evoked in Premesh Lalu's critique of South African historiography and in debates within the broader polity in the early part of the twentieth century. In the South African Liberal world view, national development was dependent on "the education of desire, the constraining of passions, and the development of the capacities of bodies aimed at cultivating a work ethic." See Premesh Lalu, 'Empire and Nation', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 41.3 (2015), 437–50 (p. 440) <<https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2015.1025336>>. For Lalu, the native question troubles "the constellation of South African history." The historiography that writes a sequential linear narrative of apartheid is "cut from the same epistemic cloth" as that which defined the colonial archive's modes of evidence – especially its ways of subjecting agency. See Premesh Lalu, 'When Was South African History Ever Postcolonial?', *Kronos*, 34, 2008, 267–81 (p. 267).

⁸ In reading the debate between Walter Benjamin and Theodor Adorno, Erlman sees the dialectic of the archaic and the modern, as well as its foundation in the commodity form, as forming the central feature of twentieth-century global culture. Veit Erlmann, *Music, Modernity, and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 20.

After the Second World War, *atja* became a sign of the tribal.⁹ The chapter proceeds by triangulating contemporary depictions of *atja* performance with remnants of affective events that inscribed *goema*'s social milieu. It starts with a depiction of a particular carnival performance idiom and then reads its failed integration with, and representation in, phonography, film and photography, locating two key performance figures in different niches inside carnival's representational matrix.

Remains of the 'American Indian'

Carnavalesque music and comic laughter have been key performance elements driving Cape Town's biggest and most enduring vernacular public spectacle – the *klopse* carnival (and its related events such as local commemorations of Guy Fawkes, the Malay and Christmas choir marching seasons and competitions). At the same time, its most marginal performance entity is the American Indian troupe, commonly called the *atja*. This practice was formed in the period of transition between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This putative American Indian plays the role of bringing dread to the performance event. One commentator described a scene in which the Devil:

jag vir hulle, hulle hou [hom] met 'n kettang vas, dan trek hulle. Dan skree die kinders. As die *klopse* kom, gaan dit weer lekker vergeet hulle die duiwel. [chases the crowd but is restrained with a chain leash. Then the kids scream in terror. Later, when the [*klopse*] come, amusement returns they forget the Devil.]¹⁰

⁹ As discussed later, the notions of failed lines also relate to a Deleuzian reading of the phonographic era. This chapter completes the first half of this dissertation's work of establishing how, against the tide of modernity, *goema* became folklore outside of the growing phonographic attitude of the century.

¹⁰ Panelist Hector 'Jerry Lewis' quoted in Bobby Heaney, 'O'se Distrik Ses', *Klopse en 'Atchas'* (Cape Town: Kyknet, 2003), District Six Museum. See 'Minstrels Perform at the Hartvale Coon Carnival', *Independent Newspapers* (Cape Town, 20 January 1987), Islandora Repository <<http://www.digitalcollections.lib.uct.ac.za/islandora/object/islandora%3A15328>> [accessed 23 November 2018].

A body of oral history repeats this trope almost without variation. Indeed, *atja* performance provides one of the fundamental transactions of the carnival at its margins.¹¹ The general setting is carnival season – starting with popular commemorations of Guy Fawkes on 5 November – or we might reference carnival’s main day, 2 January (“Tweede Nuwe Jaar” – Second New Year). The main event of carnival is the procession of troupes all dressed in coordinated satin uniforms. In contemporary times, they march with the usual colourful coordinated costumes with painted faces, *goema* drums, *tamboers*, banjos, concertinas, accordions and song. *Goema*’s etymology ties it to the drum, and percussion relates to the ear and the body.¹² Even within the din of carnival day, the crowd *hears* the *atjas* before they appear – one may consider from the onlooker’s point of view that this approximates sonic spatial positioning. The crowd hears the boom of a different drum, a threatening sound rendered in a 3/4 rhythm, with the bass drum striking on the first two beats and leaving the third beat silent. The crowd may hear the screams of children and adults before the *atjas* appear. In the 1960s a striking figure would be among them – Mr Kamalie standing astride his horse beating a large two-headed drum in dramatic fashion as he twirls the drum in his hands.¹³ The *atjas* arrive as a troupe of ‘Apaches,’ waving an American flag.¹⁴ Some

¹¹ There are other basic transactions and performative elements such as the laying of a table, the march past on Tweede Nuwe Jaar, the ‘moffie’ voorloper. See Martin, *Coon Carnival: New Year in Cape Town: Past to Present*.

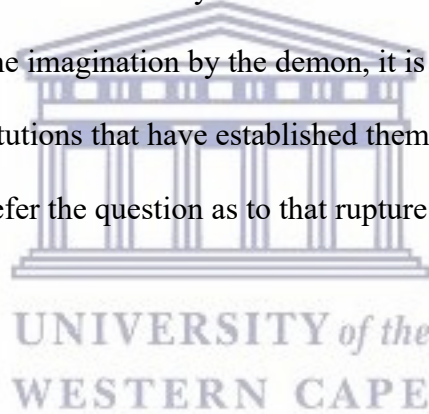
¹² As a milieu named for a percussion instrument, *goema* does not celebrate its rhythmic inventors in any obvious sense. Mr Kamalie is the closest reference in the lore of *goema* to a percussionist on the brink of individuation. This has suggestive consequences. For one, it may limit the potential for individuation inside this milieu. John Mowitt’s discussion of percussion is steeped in rock ‘n roll sensibility in which self-fashioning is immanent to rock ‘n roll. Here Mowitt fuses Althusser’s notion of interpellation with Adorno and Eisler’s cinematic apparatus, placing music in the history of hearing, and arguing that the sonoric event of interpellation is embodied in shock, in the beat of the hail or knock. The interpellative call strikes and moves the body, hailing it into position. See John Mowitt, *Percussion: Drumming, Beating, Striking*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), pp. 42–45.

¹³ See Appendix for images.

¹⁴ Martin, *Sounding the Cape*, p. 175. It is also worth speculating on a connection between *atja* performance and the emerging iconography of Americanism in gang culture. The “Americans” became a prominent gang later in the Twentieth century. See Don Pinnock, *Gang Town* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2016), p. 19.

performers walk on stilts, others ride horseback, and others are dressed as Zulus, wielding tomahawks, devils forks, assegais – a mark of Zulu performance troupes – and, finally, the devil characters wear horns.¹⁵ They are heralded by the boom of the two-headed drum – a boom that penetrates the drone of the rest of the *klopse* and the crowd. *Atja* performance distorts the moment with dread and then passes by having performed its function.

The chained devil figure is the main cause of the screaming. It is no accident that the devil is held on a metal chain leash. The performance above seems to imply that an animal of brutish strength is being held at bay by a powerful but *unnamed* agent.¹⁶ Might one evoke a becoming animal, in Deleuzian terms?¹⁷ For Deleuze and Guattari, the outcome of a becoming can be a work or performance. They assert that “if becoming- animal takes the form of monsters aroused in the imagination by the demon, it is because it is accompanied by a rupture with the central institutions that have established themselves or seek to become established.”¹⁸ For now, we defer the question as to that rupture.



¹⁵ In an evocative exchange, both the New Orleans Mardi Grass and Cape *klopse* have variants of ‘American Indian’ and ‘Zulu’ performance tropes, both potentially standing for a tribal other. See Kevin McQueeney, ‘Zulu: A Transnational History of a New Orleans Mardi Gras Krewe’, *Safundi*, 19.2 (2018), 139–63 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/17533171.2018.1407083>>.

¹⁶ There is a suggestive analogy with the popular 1980s song “Weeping,” in which an unnamed symptom of the apartheid era – notionally fear – is depicted as a chained demon that whimpers at night when no one is listening. See Bright Blue, *Weeping* (South Africa: Blue Records (25) - BLU 1, 1987) <<https://www.discogs.com/Bright-Blue-Yesterday-Night-Weeping/release/8588196>> [accessed 22 November 2018].

¹⁷ In becoming animal (or child or woman or minor), we are fascinated before something we cannot recognise, before something that has lost its molar form, something singular. We become animal so that the animal becomes something else. Instead of a resemblance relation, the relation that defines becoming is pre-positional. The outcome of a becoming is not an animal, but a “diagram,” a map, a score, a concept, or, most generally, a work. Leonard Lawlor, ‘Following the Rats: Becoming-Animal in Deleuze and Guattari’, *SubStance*, 37.3 (2008), 169–87 (p. 176).

¹⁸ Deleuze and Guattari, p. 246.

What is a *Klops*?

Having described the *atja* performance trope, we may query what potential existed for sociality and what its archival trace is. In its powerful visual association with the coon of the American minstrel show, the *klops* – the primary character of carnival modelled on the coon – is a visual trope rendered in blackface performance. But its sonic underbelly is less scrutinised, audited. I hope to show that attention to the sensory language of urban space, to the native question, and to ways in which individuation was negotiated and settled in performance can enrich our understanding of the carnivalesque inside the racialising socius in ways that neither romanticise nor dismiss the agency of subaltern people. Unlike the Malay Choir or Christmas Band fields, the *klopse* troupes recruit performing members from disreputable space.¹⁹ In this register, imperial inscription seemed to displace potentials for sociality. This section attempts to delineate the movement of sonic energies while taking space as writing and affect.²⁰ It considers sonic flows inside the world underneath the veil, where the energies of a racialising state stymied social potential. Which kinds of flows were at work? I read this back from the fragmentary *atja* trope in *goema*, asking what place it came to occupy in *goema*'s fictive republic. A cornerstone of this fictive republic is the *klops*, whose performance is potentiated in urban space. This spatial motif enables the marking of male bodies as disreputable. Carnival's seasonality means that its affective buildup has a cyclical rhythm. It repeats. We may recognise the practice of young men inhabiting a corner in the phrase, *hou hoek* [to keep corner]. In carnival, it is a necessary step towards

¹⁹ For example, see Sylvia Bruinders, *Parading Respectability: The Cultural and Moral Aesthetics of the Christmas Bands Movement in the Western Cape, South Africa*. (S.l.: NISC PTY LTD, 2017), pp. 30–45. In the case of Christmas Bands, recruitment is done through family networks, and through other structures such as Church Lads Brigades.

²⁰ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Wiley, 1992), p. 53. After medieval space, capitalism and neo-capitalism have produced abstract space, which includes the 'world of commodities', its 'logic' and its worldwide strategies, as well as the power of money and that of the political state. Within this space the town - once the forcing-house of accumulation, fountainhead of wealth and centre of historical space - has disintegrated.

participation in performance. It offers a site for pre-individuation. When on the television series, *Ose Distrik Ses [Our District Six]*, the host and entertainer Taliep Petersen asks veteran troupe owner Eddie Goldmines the question “*Hoe maak mens ‘n klops?*” [How does one go about forming a carnival troupe?], Goldmines replies: “*Dis ‘n corner boy game*” [It’s a corner boy game].²¹ Besides its central identity as a competitive sport, the annual carnival beckons young men in urban and gendered social *space*. They founded this on its urban milieu with the street corner as a masculine space, and its occupants the disreputable young men.²² Conversely, the piano and the phonograph defined feminine domestic space from which women engaged *goema*’s production and reception – a space where this field vernacular music could not land.²³ The corner boy – depicted in the Kramer-Petersen musicals such as *District Six: the Musical* – is an agent of the carnival production, a driver of its sociality. The narrow street invites public intimacy, procession and spectacle. The movement of male bodies through urban space is tropic in film and literature after the Second World War. In fact, representations of young men moving in the port city can tell us something of its sociality. Individuation may occur as literary production picked up after the Second World War.²⁴ The minstrel coon of the commercial theatre stage is synonymous with

²¹ Heaney.

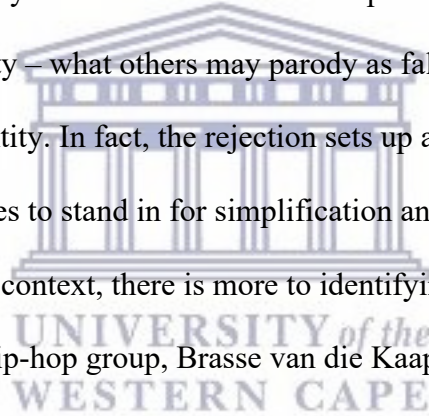
²² This is a function of the urban fabric, and of sociality. For the latter, the sociologist Don Pinnock discusses this libidinal economy in the context of gang formation, in which the gap between a street-corner hustler and a criminal network is similar to the one which would exist between a street hawker and a successful international import/export and wholesale business. See Pinnock, *Gang Town*, p. 237. For a consideration of its urban fabric, see Penny Pistorius and others, *Texture and Memory: The Urbanism of District Six*, 2nd ed (Cape Town: Sustainable Urban and Housing Development Research Unit, Dept. of Architectural Technology, Cape Technikon, 2002).

²³ Ethnomusicologist Carol Muller provides an example of gendered space in the life of Cape-born singer Sathima Bea Benjamin. As a young girl, she absorbed American popular music and jazz through listening to her grandmother’s radio, which played daily in their home. Dance band and stage performance was not considered appropriate for respectable young girls. ‘Cultural Analysis, Volume 3, 2002: Covers, Copies, and “Colo[u]Redness” in Postwar Cape Town / Carol Ann Muller’, p. 27
<http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~caforum/volume3/vol3_article2.html> [accessed 23 November 2017].

²⁴ For example, in his short story, “A Walk in the Night,” Alex la Guma’s narrator depicts its protagonist as he alights from a tram and makes his way across a busy street in the inner-city neighbourhood of District Six, bobbing and weaving, ignoring shouts and the general din of traffic. The point here is that the protagonist –

the *klops*, but with a difference in that its vernacularisation is apparent in its Afrikaans version.

A mute pageantry of the tribal marks *atja* performance as subaltern. In contrast to its Caribbean and American counterparts, the *atja* has no language, only wordless noise and mute dread. Can muteness intensify noise?²⁵ Silence inside a noisy crowd situation can instil a special sensation of fear when mixed with sonic dread and, as Gautier argues, the identity of auditory thresholds changes in different contexts,²⁶ which brings us to a second question about the subaltern disreputability. Sociologist Zimitri Erasmus voices a common rejection of the figure of the *klops* in local discourse, rejecting the carnivalesque badge for her argument about identities in contemporary South Africa.²⁷ Erasmus speaks of a “slave mentality” in discussions of coloured identity – what others may parody as false consciousness or the embrace of an oppressive identity. In fact, the rejection sets up an opposition.²⁸ *Klopse* performance in this view comes to stand in for simplification and manipulation, supporting the argument that, in the local context, there is more to identifying as coloured than the stereotype might allow. The hip-hop group, Brasse van die Kaap [Brothers from the Cape],



Michael Adonis – is only named *after* he has entered interior space. In the street, he is an unnamed young man whose anger is growing like a “toothache.” His brooding inner world is echoed in claustrophobic depictions of space – dark, broken tenement apartments, and dingy restaurants. Alex La Guma, *A Walk in the Night and Other Stories*, African Writers Series, 35, Reprinted (Oxford: Heinemann, 1995).

²⁵ Historical pageants exhibited the idealised behaviour of past generations for present generations to emulate. In the depictions in the USA in the early twentieth century, for example, pioneers conquered wildernesses and repulsed Indian attacks. See David Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century* (University of North Carolina Press, 1990), p. 249.

²⁶ Ana Maíra Ochoa Gautier, ‘Silence’, in *Keywords in Sound*, ed. by David Novak and Matt Sakakeeny (Durham: London: Duke University Press, 2015), pp. 183–92 (p. 189). The absence or presence of sound stands as the mediator of the presence or absence of life. The idea of hearing things is cosmologically mediated.

²⁷ Zimitri Erasmus, *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New Perspectives on Coloured Identities in Cape Town* (Kwela Books, 2001), pp. 13–28.

²⁸ See introductory chapter in Zimitri Erasmus, pp. 14–20.

encapsulates this complaint in their lament: “*hoekom moet ek altyd a gangster of a klops wees?*” [why must I always be a gangster or a *klops*?].²⁹

But let us consider vernacular renditions of the term *klops*. Here, I wish to highlight it as a repetition of the commercial minstrel coon, a mark which exceeds the latter by variation – anticipating an alterity it does not fulfil.³⁰ Despite its hyper-visibility as blackface, it is worth considering a sonics and semantics of the *klops* in performance. For public intellectual, Vincent Kolbe, the word indicates a club or troupe and one may understand the sonic similarities between the words *klops* and coon. Its common usage supports this. Hence, members refer to belonging to a *klops* [club], or to the fact that someone is the owner of a particular *klops*. In this sense, the usage is like the term *troupe*. The verb form of *klop* means “to knock” or “to throb.” Hence, the popular song “The Heart of District Six,” dubbed “*Klop Klop*,”³¹ refers to a rhythmic motif, and in the musical is associated with lyrics from the song: “The heart that beats in District Six.”³² In the phonographic era, it usually denotes the pounding sound of contemporary music on a sound system with the colloquial phrase “*Die music klop*” [The music is pounding]. So, the phrase, “*hier kom die klopse*”, conveys the sense “here come the troupes or revellers” and connotes the sound of the drum. The *goema* rhythm is a motif of the signification taking place. Hence it can evoke the exclamation “here comes the (beautiful) noise!” Other connotations relate to knocking or the pounding of a

²⁹ See *BVK Brasse Vannie Kaap* (Ghetto Ruff, 1997) <<https://www.discogs.com/BVK-Brasse-Vannie-Kaap/release/1371958>> [accessed 7 November 2018]. The implication here is that young men classified as coloured are entitled to make their own identities independently of these labels.

³⁰ Deleuzian repetition is understood in terms of discovery and experimentation; it allows new experiences, affects and expressions to emerge. To repeat is to begin again; to affirm the power of the new and the unforeseeable. Parr, p. 223.

³¹ David Kramer and Taliep Petersen, *District Six: The Musical* (Cape Town: Priority Records, 1986), pt. The Heart of District Six <<https://www.discogs.com/David-Kramer-2-And-Taliep-Petersen-District-Six-The-Musical/release/7745873>> [accessed 2 November 2018].

³² Track 1 of the album by Kramer and Petersen.

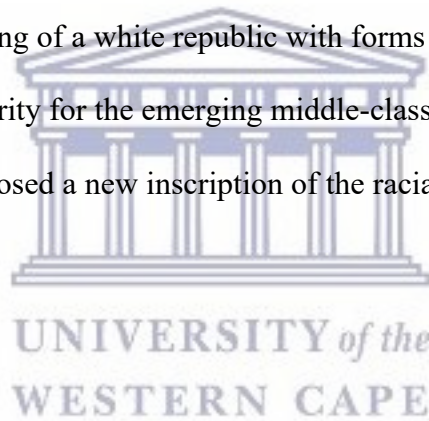
headache or others to pain or to sexual throbbing. In the latter case, the term *klop* has sexual connotations, referring to sexual arousal. Several *moppies* – comic songs – play on this idea. The song “*Hoe voel jou boude nou?*” [How do your thighs feel now?], for example, refers to the thighs being pounded in a sexual act in mimicry of pounding a *goema* drum. A further sense of the *klops* is worth discussing: the *klops* as noise, or as disreputable. Gerald Stone recalls the word “*aankloppery*,” which refers to hustling activities of petty gangsters, heckling for small change or sexual violence, propositioning or harassing or catcalling women on the street.³³

Writing the *klops* as citizen and *atja* as subject

Having introduced elements of carnival performance and discourse, this section outlines a genealogy of *atja* performance by considering its relation to the state’s attempts to resolve the native question. I argue that while the *klops* performed a virtual citizenship, the *atja* performed a mute, tribal subjecthood. In the 1890s, South Africa was becoming a modern society in the making in which any peculiarities of African culture and consciousness appeared to be submerged and functional to capitalist relations of production. Veit Erlman declares a need to examine how in colonial dream forms, the imagination of the colonisers and the colonised, and the mirror images they have created of each other, are intertwined and constructed through the circulation and consumption of imported and indigenous

³³ Gerald Stone, ‘An Ethnographic and Socio-Semantic Analysis of Lexis among Working-Class Afrikaans-Speaking Coloured Adolescent and Young Adult Males in the Cape Peninsula, 1963-1990’ (unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1991), p. 292 <<http://hdl.handle.net/11427/13547>>. In fact, such street discourse recalls Bakhtin’s description of its sociality. The words in such discourse, freed from the strictures of official meaning, can become billingsgate and comical nicknames. Bakhtin concluded that in carnival, all proper and genre names tend to become nicknames which are both laudatory and insulting; and that all phenomena can be subjugated to this double function. In Bakhtin’s view, *principium* individuation lies in praise and insult, in positivisation negativisation. See Renate Lachmann, Raoul Eshelman, and Marc Davis, ‘Bakhtin and Carnival: Culture as Counter-Culture’, *Cultural Critique*, 11, 1988, 115 (p. 143) <<https://doi.org/10.2307/1354246>>.

commodities, symbols, and narratives.³⁴ A newspaper image from 1901 evokes such an idea, depicting the police marching ‘natives’ from the docks and District Six to the sewerage farm, Uitvlugt, a new refugee camp set up amid moral panic about contagion while the South African War was still raging.³⁵ At the core of this moment is a moral panic around sanitation in the wake of an outbreak of bubonic plague.³⁶ This produced a largely Xhosa-speaking “refugee class” within the urban space of the capital city. The point I wish to emphasise here is that carnival – *klops* and *atja* – performance is not accidental in this scheme; it is an integral part of its developing logic, the racialising logic of the native question. One beginning for the new century involved the formation of South Africa as a union inside the British Empire. Here, the political aspirations of black radicalism played out in relation to the native question – the positioning of a white republic with forms of labour that enabled supply and certain guarantees of security for the emerging middle-classes. Pageantry was a key performance idiom which exposed a new inscription of the racial order.³⁷ Within this



³⁴ Erlmann, p. 27.

³⁵ H.M Paget, *The Plague at Cape Town: Removing Natives from an Insanitary Quarter*, 1901, National Library of South Africa. In Sipokazi Sambumbu’s reading, a later tourist depiction of the same scene removes reference to the protest of ‘coloured’ onlookers of the original newspaper article. Combined with moral panic around “contamination by natives,” we may trace the production of race by means of the resulting gap between the renditions of the scene. In this vein, Maynard Swanson spoke of a metaphor of infection which powerfully interacted with British and South African racial attitudes to influence the policies and shape the institutions of segregation. Maynard W. Swanson, ‘The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900-1909’, *The Journal of African History*, 18.3 (1977), 387–410 (p. 1).

³⁶ Sipokazi Sambumbu, ‘Reading Visual Representations of “Ndabeni” in the Public Realms’, *Kronos*, 36.1 (2010), 184–206. This process of commodification continues unabated. The suburb of Ndabeni is recast as part of contemporary tourism narratives. Sambumbu reads this in a contemporary sketch and its resurrected context. See the Appendices of this dissertation.

³⁷ Peter Merrington, “‘State of the Union’: The “New Pageantry” and the Performance of Identity in North America and South Africa, 1908–1910’, *Journal of Literary Studies*, 15.1–2 (1999), 238–63 (p. 253) <<https://doi.org/10.1080/02564719908530227>>. A new performance genre, the “new pageantry”, was “invented” in England in 1905 and rapidly became recognised throughout England, North America and the British dominions as an effective means of celebrating centenaries and inaugural moments such as the establishment of Union of South Africa in 1910. This genre portrayed the European colonial dream and had a “medievalist atmosphere.” The South African pageant was part of the 1910 union celebrations, forging a white nation. It included a “Bushman Baboon Dance” (contributed by the historian George McCall Theal).

universe, Malayness signalled a promise of purity within the impurity of coloured racial designation.³⁸

Black diaspora radicalism disappointed

Robert Gonsalves stepped into this atmosphere of anxious urbanism in Cape Town. Coming at end of the South African War, the year 1902 held potential for a shift in the predicaments of colonised people, of a shift in their political fortunes. On 30 Sept 1902, eight men met in Claremont to start the African People's Organisation (APO), including a certain Collins of the African Methodist Episcopalian (hereafter AME) Church, JW Tobin, café owner and manager of Cape Town Progressive Minstrels *klops*, and PJ Eksteen, bookseller. A twenty-year-old Gonsalves had disembarked from a British merchant ship docked at Simonstown earlier that year. Cape Town was becoming home to migrants from Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas.³⁹ Misha Charles describes how Caribbean immigrants resolutely encouraged and upheld an English speaking 'American' identity in Cape town in the early century. For example, until 1938, the American Sporting Club was believed to be "the only one of its kind in South Africa," suggesting that the Club was distinguished from the other *klopse* troupes by its 'Americanness'.⁴⁰ In regional perspective, words such as *marabi* and *vastrap* were entering public discourse as instruments gave new technical possibilities to old musicking practices.⁴¹ Moreover, a language of primitivism was entrenching itself in the colony – for

³⁸ Baderoon, pp. 16–19. Gabeba Baderoon argues that the racialisation of Muslims as coloured or Indian or Malay had the effect of transforming slavery into a minority concern and slaves as a minority, rather than as the first modern people.

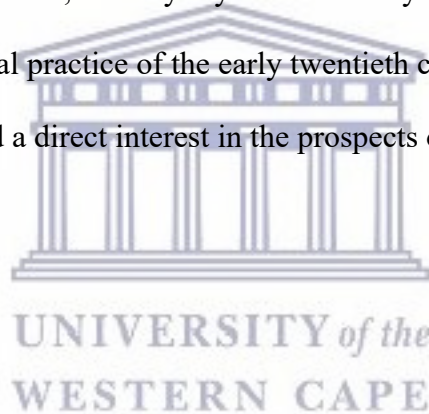
³⁹ Robert Trent Vinson, "'Sea Kaffirs': 'American Negroes' and the Gospel of Garveyism in Early Twentieth-Century Cape Town", *The Journal of African History*, 47.2 (2006), 281–303 (p. 284).

⁴⁰ Charles, p. 52.

⁴¹ *Marabi* refers to a South African urban underclass style that developed during South Africa's mineral revolution. For *vastrap*, see Dan Michael Worrall, *The Anglo-German Concertina: A Social History* (Fulshear, Texas, USA: Concertina Press, 2009), p. 19. According to Worrall, *vastrap* dances were first noted by London newspaper correspondents in South Africa in 1913. In a book of that year, entitled *Afrikanderisms*, the word

example, troupes adopted names such as the Dahomeys, a reference to new theatre musical productions appearing on Broadway in New York and which worked off blackface minstrel tropes but ambiguously promised new forms of individuation for black performance.

Orientalism and race-making seemed to assuage a pervasive anxiety in these years. Many of the old certainties were disappearing, as waves of refugees fleeing the War in the hinterland settled in the town, bolstered by immigration from India and other places.⁴² Moral panic was setting in, evident in responses to the “Hooligan Riots” and the forced removals of ‘natives’ from the inner city to Ndabeni. By the 1910s, the city was home to the largest chapter of Marcus Garvey’s Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League (UNIA-ACL). In this sense, we may say there exist layers to this city’s place in the articulation of black intellectual practice of the early twentieth century. For Victoria Collis-Buthelezi, this community had a direct interest in the prospects of black aspirations inside Empire.⁴³



“*vastrap*” was defined as a “Hottentot dance,” and the *East London Dispatch* of 3 January 1913 said that “The *vastrap* was performed by a number of nondescript characters, who provided much amusement by their antics.”

⁴² For Achille Mbembe, writing from within a Francophone African perspective, the first half of the twentieth century was shadowed by fear and anxiety incited by the world wars, but above all by the reality of the death of God, which Friedrich Nietzsche and the Marquis de Sade, among others, had long since proclaimed. In this context, African art – and to some extent jazz – appeared as a celestial path of return to one’s origins, a kind of grace by which sleeping powers could be awakened, myths and rituals reinvented, tradition rerouted and undermined, and time reversed. Achille Mbembe and Laurent Dubois, *Critique of Black Reason* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2017), p. 41, nlebk <<http://login.ezproxy.lib.umn.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,uid&db=nlebk&AN=1477975&site=ehost-live>>.

⁴³ Victoria Collis-Buthelezi, ‘Under the Aegis of Empire: Cape Town, Victorianism, and Early-Twentieth-Century Black Thought’, *Callaloo*, 39.1 (2016), 115–32 (p. 54) <<https://doi.org/10.1353/cal.2016.0011>>. Collis-Buthelezi argues that the West Indies and South Africa occupied corresponding space inside empire. For black subjects, what was called the native question in British administrative circles also crystallised their vulnerability. The Cape, and the future South Africa it seemed to promise, offered Caribbean intellectuals an uncanny continental home that was evocative of their island home. It allowed Caribbean people to locate themselves in Africa without claiming to have returned to their ancestral homeland. In this way, for Collis-Buthelezi, the Cape engenders other ways of reading Africa from the Caribbean and the New World. It serves as another lens of Caribbean modernity; rather than a sign of the Afro-Caribbean’s “atavistic longing for a racial past,” it reveals racial community as a modern notion.

We might consider carnival as a machine geared towards the production and articulation of wishful feelings, and the channelling of unconscious investments and anxious flows. In another context, Bakhtin viewed the continuities implied here to function in the workings of myth.⁴⁴ The era of pageantry encouraged a mimesis of commercial entertainment tropes like the Wild West Show. Figures such as Spanish bullfighters, the Dahomeys and the Zulus became popular performance tropes in the interwar years in Cape Town and elsewhere in the country.⁴⁵ In this, the unruly ‘native’ body was gradually constrained under the *klopse*’s satin sign. As a collective, the carnival crowd is threatening, dread, noise. Carnavalesque revelry always threatened to turn into something else.⁴⁶ In 1906, following the so-called Hooligan Riots, unemployed Capetonians held a march and some of them “sporting their hair in coon fashion.”⁴⁷ In the wake of this, the city made one of numerous attempts to ban street processions. The visiting American Christy’s Minstrels had enjoyed massive success after 1862, as an observer noted, “Nothing now goes down but burnt cork and [Piet] Pompeys Jokes.”⁴⁸ To invoke Freud’s notion, we may think of the carnival as a crowd with a collective neurosis.⁴⁹ The rapid growth of mass media enabled such neuroses, in which cinema had a

⁴⁴ Lachmann, Eshelman, and Davis, p. 137. For Bakhtin, the carnival language which prevailed in the Middle Ages and Renaissance bears within itself an older, long-buried language which speaks along with it, namely that of myth.

⁴⁵ See Loren Kruger, *The Drama of South Africa: Plays, Pageants and Publics Since 1910* (Routledge, 2005), p. 22ff.

⁴⁶ In Jamaica in 1881, a canboulay process on Christmas eve led to the biggest riot in Jamaican history. John Cowley, *Carnival, Canboulay, and Calypso: Traditions in the Making* (Cambridge [England; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 1.

⁴⁷ In fact, the colloquial term for candyfloss is *goemahare* [literally *goema* hair], evoking an image of hair styled in carnivalesque fashion. For Gerald Stone, it is denoted as Negroid hair (humorous, derogatory). From Respectable Lexicon: candy floss. See Stone, p. 426.

⁴⁸ Martin, *Coon Carnival: New Year in Cape Town: Past to Present*, p. 36.

⁴⁹ Sigmund Freud, *Mass psychology and other writings* (London; New York: Penguin Books, 2004), p. 24. Festivals, though emergent in their formation, culminated in mass activity. Whereas the neuroses are “individual religions,” religion is “universal compulsive neurosis.” Masses demand illusions. For Freud, as in the dream and

critical role alongside the phonograph. In a discussion of the cinematic Cape, Premesh Lalu argues that global apartheid responds to a modern political condition that registers “a new grammatization of the world through technological change, but with ever-hardening divides between mind and city, individual and technology, and movement and thought.”⁵⁰ It brings to mind an urban anxiety infused with the cinematic in the plot of a film depicting a “Malay” couple in Cape Town plotting to abduct and sexually enslave an innocent British governess arrived from the mother country.⁵¹

These were signposts of unconscious investments of desire in an emerging socius at the formation of the union and its as yet uncertain aftermath. Race formation seemed to emerge along with the energies directed towards finding accommodation with, or resistance to, what became defined as the native question. After the Second World War, the remainder of *atja* performance, whatever its potential as sonic dread had been, became a sign of the tribal, the archaic. The frustration of a radical black political project inside a transoceanic network and the growth of African nationalism and the politics of the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) in the Cape provided a socio-political context to this relegation.⁵²

Writing, visuality and the demise of private performance

We have now revisited *atja* performance in terms of its place in the *klopse* republic of the imagination, and we have read *klopse* performance as percussive force. We have considered *atja* and *klops* performance in its relation to the drive for sociality in spatial and gendered

hypnosis, so in the mental activity of the mass: examination of reality retreats before the strength of charged wishful feelings.

⁵⁰ Lalu, ‘Between History and Apocalypse’, p. 48.

⁵¹ See Vivian Bickford-Smith, ‘Cinematic Cities: A “Film and History” Overview for South Africa’s Major Metropolises from the 1890s to the 1950s’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 39.3 (2013), 681–99 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2013.823064>>; Unknown, *Sold to the Malays* (African Film Productions, 1915) <<http://www.bfi.org.uk/films-tv-people/4ce2b6943a80c>> [accessed 16 November 2018].

⁵² For one,

terms. We have considered these in relation to both diasporic imaginings and to a sonic reading of the native question as a concern with knowledge and affective mobilisation of urban anxieties, racialised and commodified performance tropes. If these had affective charge as we have argued, writing brought a discursive interface to produce the socius in performance.

Superficially, *atja* performance remained below the veil. It was marginal to the phonographic commodity chain and had disappeared several times in the period after the Second World War. *Atja* was marked as outside; a function of its integration into the means of representation monopolised by empire. It made local meaning in a rhizomic relation to meaning made in a transatlantic, Caribbean context. Such meaning, to connect with Chapter Two, also involved a turning away from the Indian Ocean world, towards the American century. Imperialist causes seemed to rally writing and sonics in asserting its dominance through new adaptive epistemologies.⁵³ A veritable army of reformers, linguists, folklorists, chiefs, missionaries, and elders invented tradition in Africa. These preservationists defended endangered practices. Moral reformers also looked to heritage production to harness the archaic. These generated ‘authentic’ ethnic histories which upheld the docility of the colonised. South Africa’s tourism industry turned the archaic into commodities.⁵⁴

Sound technology also reformed disciplinary dynamics. It brought new ontological regimes into play in ways suggestive for this discussion. For example, when George Eastman developed his roll film camera, he described it in terms of weaponry: “you pull the trigger,

⁵³ Adam Sitze, reviewing Lalu's *Deaths of Hintsa*, argues that the function of the “archive,” together with the academic disciplines that emerged around it, was less “to justify” colonial conquest, in any simple sense, than to prepare the “ways of knowing” in and through which colonised populations then could be governed, managed, and exploited. Sitze, p. 173.

⁵⁴ *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, Histories, and Infrastructures*, ed. by Derek R Peterson, Kodzo Gavua, and Ciraj Rassool (London, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 9.

we do the rest.” The mechanism of the typewriter, as we saw in the previous chapter, echoes that of a machine gun.⁵⁵ For Landau, guns and cameras turned emblems of the wild over to urban consumers. Like the gun, the camera made its subjects motionless. Reminiscent of breech-loading bullet cartridges, the roll film took away the mess and encouraged the commodification of photography. For example, the desired picture of the bushman, by the 1930s, was that they stay true to the now established trope, “the hunter and his blushing gatherer” epitomised by the [Kung. The picture of the bushman settled in the groove of a necessary fauna, part of an elemental landscape.⁵⁶

I argue that its organisers produced carnival through a range of performance sites, events, and inscriptions – including, for example, the buildup of the Christmas shopping season, holiday season the urban workforce, church brigades and other processions and different kinds of public pageantry. These have a social life in a commodity relation, as discussed in Chapter One of this thesis. They make up an archive with its own commandments and commencements. Musical typing, for one, played a key role in the production of a fabulation of folklore.⁵⁷ The piano marked domestic, feminine space, accompanied by a sheet music trade which provided the basis for the import of quadrilles and other styles in the nineteenth

⁵⁵ Kittler, p. 191.

⁵⁶ Paul Landau argues that around 1880, the bushmen were diminished in textual depictions. As the ivory and ostrich feather industry declined, their representational fortunes did too. Some white travellers denigrated them in animal terms, as vermin. Moreover, the gun imposed its practices on the camera. There were few hand-held mechanical devices for the colonial traveller before the 1880s, and among these, field glasses and firearms ranked foremost. Paul Landau, ‘With Camera and Gun in Southern Africa: Inventing the Image of Bushmen c.1880-1935.’, in *Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen*, ed. by Pippa Skotnes (Cape Town, South Africa: University of Cape Town Press, 1996), pp. 129- (pp. 132–41).

⁵⁷ Benjamin Filene, *Romancing the Folk: Public Memory & American Roots Music*, Cultural Studies of the United States (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), pp. 15–28. As in the USA where, in the 1910s, collectors of mountain songs were fearful of racial attrition as Eastern European immigrants were flowing into the country, there was a mixed discourse of amateur and academic folklore. In the industrialising US, it started with a fascination with the Appalachian cultures in the 1870s. Early ballad enthusiasts insisted that folk subjects be 100% English. It produced the myth of the white ballad singer. There was a fear of ‘racial degeneration.’ Nineteenth-century folklorists linked mountain music to the piano and to the feminised realm of the home, appealing to women as consumers of songbooks.

century to South Africa. Around 1892, a choir leader named Rasdien Cornelius, helped by a retired Dutch sailor, Frans de Jongh, documented Cape folk songs. Cornelius and De Jongh canonised a particular repertory in the late nineteenth century.⁵⁸ The outcome and practice of that collecting and taxonomical effort lies in at least the *klopse* and Malay choir edifices that have endured. It is notable that these efforts came to fruition in the face of rapid Anglicisation of the colonial world in the Victorian era, and after the South African War of 1899 to 1901, the rising impact of American mass media to boot.

This ties *goema*'s twentieth-century fortunes to new media and the phonograph. In a paradox, *goema* became archaic as the phonograph came into its own as a commodity. A genealogy of the phonograph might proceed with its novelty status from the 1890s onwards, followed by its form as a musical product, gradually replacing the bourgeois piano in the 1920s, and its inscription as writing, the emergence of a phonographic attitude. Michael Denning's thesis about the global phonography of the period 1925-1930 lines up with the demise of the Privates at the end of the 1930s. As Gitelman demonstrates, the phonograph itself has a beginning as novelty, as carnivalesque.⁵⁹

The phonograph's intersections with vernacular musicking – both successes and failures – are telling. Afrikaner nationalism embraced phonography as a means to domesticate *vastrap* – as *boeremusiek* [the instrumental folk music of the *Boers*], and cut off from its creoleness.

Disciplinary formations, writing or inscription, as discussed in the first chapter, are complicit

⁵⁸ Denis-Constant Martin notes that the lyrics of several “nederlandsliedjies,” written in high Dutch or older forms of creolised Dutch, display archaic features and tell of past events such as the battle of Waterloo or a seventeenth-century Prince of Orange (“Al Is Ons Prinsje Nog So Klein” [Even if our little prince is still so small]). Martin, *Sounding the Cape*, p. 115.

⁵⁹ For example, in the phonograph culture of the early century, cultural hierarchy was enacted partly through carnivalesque gestures—body sounds or animal noises—the negative of bourgeois identity, newly contained, captured, by the mimetic device. For example, one of the first Edison kinoscope films offered, similarly, *The Record of a Sneeze*, in 1894. Lisa Gitelman, ‘The Phonograph’s New Media Publics’, in *The Sound Studies Reader*, ed. by Jonathan Sterne, 1. publ (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 283–303 (pp. 290–91).

in the formation of taxonomies which enable, disrupt or constrain the libidinal flows of capitalist development. We saw that the phonograph has a complex relation to writing. The status of phonography as writing has been recalibrated considering its reorientation from reproduction on paper to reproduction as sound. Theodor Adorno saw the gramophone record not only as writing but as writing that relinquishes its existence as signification. Through its mediation, music becomes committed to the sound that inhabits this and no other acoustic groove.⁶⁰ The audit here follows a different logic to the conventional historical or anthropological tracks. Moreover, the sonic allows one to think meta-critically about the work of Bleek and Lloyd alongside the production of *goema* as folklore in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This thesis considers how we might articulate the process of producing the bushman archive alongside the production of the *goema* archive. We conceive the latter as the music produced and lived around the *goema* drum and its milieu.

While the collector/ interlocutor and choir leader, Rasdien Cornelius, did not have access to a useable form of the phonograph, the folklorist ID du Plessis had access to phonography. The intellectual labours and activism of ID du Plessis from the early twentieth century onwards helped secure a Malay identity and the preservation of the Bokaap (or “Malay Quarter”) under apartheid.⁶¹ Du Plessis turned these practices to serve a rendition of Afrikaansness for which he was sympathetic. While Du Plessis had the phonograph and ethnographic film at his

⁶⁰ Patrick Feaster, ‘Phonography’, in *Keywords in Sound*, ed. by David Novak and Matt Sakakeeny (Durham: London: Duke University Press, 2015), pp. 139–50 (pp. 141–43).

⁶¹ He studied literature – Latin, English and Dutch – at the University of Cape Town in 1918. He became involved with the *Dertigers* [literally, Thirtiers, or periodised as from the Thirties generation], a literary movement of Afrikaans writers distinguished by its resemblance to nineteenth-century Romanticism and its concern with the exotic and with the psyche. A prolific poet and short story writer, his interest in the ‘exotic’ part of Cape Town and his interest in Romanticism tended to be mutually reinforcing. But he was not a trained ethnographer. See Shamil Jeppie, ‘Re-Classifications: Coloured, Malay, Muslim’, in *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New Perspectives on Coloured Identities in Cape Town* (Cape Town: Kwela Books, 2001), pp. 80–96. See also Nezar Al Sayyad, Fabio Todeschini, and Derek Japhtha, ‘Cultural Identity and Architectural Image in Bokaap, Cape Town’, in *The End of Tradition?* (London; New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 187–209.

disposal, he seems to have scantily used the opportunities they presented.⁶² Like Stephen Watson later, Du Plessis was steeped in literary rather than a sonic disciplinary formation, which may explain the missed opportunity to bring *goema* musicking into closer proximity with the world of recorded sound. One may say the *klopse* carnival is a key archive of the *goema* pantheon. It contains traces of its rules of discourse, its exceptions, its boundaries. Its repertory, though, does not circulate in phonographic space as commodity production. There is an element of consumption in the reworking of the annual hit parade, but these mimetic productions are not then reproduced as new commodities. The potential for sociality lies in the reproduction of these as mimicry and potential repetition as alterity.

Pageantry of the Privates: the body of carnival

While familial networks may have given the initial impetus to *atja* performance, the imaginary deployed here places tribe in the foreground. *Atja* performs a “warding off” of the tribal.⁶³ In both the Caribbean and the Cape, the notion of tribe and the wild seems to be at play in “marching ‘Injun’” performance, and in devilry. Later we will consider one set of images from which one may discuss aspects of familial lineage in such performance networks.⁶⁴ Something like a symbolic enactment of a tribe also takes place, something that echoes the Mardi Gras ‘Indian’ practice:

Van ons pa se tyd, as een chieff die ander meet, het hulle n lang pyp aangesteek. Dan skud hulle hande vir mekaar, en gaan terug na die tribe toe.

⁶² Notwithstanding his role in producing ethnographic films and LP recordings for the purpose of promoting the recognition of Malay as a category under apartheid.

⁶³ This warding off is inherent to the refrain; it is the basis of defining “territory.” Deleuze and Guattari, p. 300.

⁶⁴ For example, family networks are traceable in the case of New Orleans Mardi Gras. Haitian and Kongo communities started “marching ‘Injun’” in the 1880s. In 1883, Chief Becate Baptiste, of Afro-Native-American ancestry, began “masking Indian” during Mardi Gras. Numerous gangs picked up on the practice in downtown and uptown neighbourhoods. The tribes were secret societies, primarily male, and organised in working-class neighbourhoods like Tremé. Richard Brent Turner, *Jazz Religion, the Second Line, and Black New Orleans* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), pp. 48–59. It is also worth noting that, like Cape Malay in South Africa, the ‘wild,’ ‘Indian’ identity in the Caribbean case was collapsed into a trope containing both North and South American references. See Cowley, p. 216.

[From my father's time, if one chief meets the other [in a parade], they lit a long [peace] pipe. Then they shake each other's hands and go back to the tribe.]⁶⁵

The spirit of the colonial pageant is alive in these descriptions. In Cape Town, as if in a necessary response to the hegemonic pageants, the *klopse* carnival took on its present form during the epoch of the new pageantry. Within the imperial universe, however, the empire pageants came to be part of the social scene.⁶⁶ Peter Merrington argues that the derivation of pageantry from *pagus* or “field,” and *pangere*, “to cultivate,” “establish,” and “pledge,” helps to emphasise this extended understanding of the genre – battlefields, mission fields, fields of endeavour, fields of discourse on which the nation solemnly re-enacts chosen moments in order to lift these from the realm of historical accident and locate them within a desired narrative of historical destiny. These performances and such related activities constitute an invention of heritage for the community – where heritage may be understood as a visible or material sense of avowed historical affiliation.⁶⁷

The 1920s and 1930s saw unprecedented creativity in carnival that seemed to take impetus from this legacy of pageantry. This was firmly coded so that much of this died, and the *klops*, bits and pieces and the *atja* remained at the core. The period which Denning describes as anticipating decolonisation via the phonograph also saw rising black radicalisation and Afrikaner nationalism.⁶⁸ This recalls what authors describe about how social tensions are muted and then projected back into a past which is glossed with the trappings and detail of

⁶⁵ Heaney.

⁶⁶ Merrington, p. 255. This fashion for pageantry peaked with the Van Riebeck Festival of 1952. See Witz.

⁶⁷ Merrington, p. 257. See also Kruger, p. 22ff.

⁶⁸ Denning, ‘Decolonising the Ear: The Transcolonial Reverberations of Vernacular Phonograph Music’.

the present.⁶⁹ The Privates – those troupes dressed in period costume – disappeared after the 1930s.⁷⁰

The Carnival Body

Pageantry created the constellation of humanity with which the state sought to populate its imagined community. It seems tribe is purposefully imagined at the margins of the kloof republic. The *kloof* is a bastard figure in the broader medievalist discourse of pageantry. Given this link to medievalism, it may be worth recalling Bakhtin's discussion of the carnival body in this discourse of the folk and its relation to the European discursive world. Bakhtin's carnival performs a conflict between the Renaissance body and its grotesque alterity.⁷¹ The prevailing order of Bakhtin's day was, however, that of a folk culture from which its perverse double had been banished and replaced by the folk: folklore. The poetics of the folk ethos became a recommended literary paradigm; carnival laughter was stifled.⁷² In the Cape, the folk body has a complex relation to the primitive. Visuality is key to reading the African experience against Bakhtin's Renaissance-derived notion of the carnivalesque and the Cape. Lachman reads Bakhtin's concept of carnival laughter as a subversive attack on the perverted concept of folk culture that prevailed in the Stalin era, a culture decreed from on high and that in reality offered no alternative to the official version.

⁶⁹ Erlmann, p. 29.

⁷⁰ Martin speculates that costs may have been a factor. Attempts to revive them during the controversial Van Riebeeck Festival proved unsuccessful. See Martin, *Coon Carnival: New Year in Cape Town: Past to Present*, p. 136ff.

⁷¹ Michail Michajlovic Bachtin and Hélène Iswolsky, *Rabelais and His World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), p. 30.

⁷² Lachmann, Eshelman, and Davis, p. 118. Critically, Lachman identifies a doubling at play. The Renaissance notion of the complete body leads to misunderstandings of Rabelais, and the reduction of carnival to "innocuous revelry," in its puritanisation, and in its usurpation by bourgeois culture. At the same time, Bakhtin rejects a reduction of carnival functions to a purely socially critical element.

In a related sense, the bushman brings the *klops* into relief as an antithesis of nature – a perversion. Paul Landau recalls that Bushmen imagery shifted from depraved to gentle, harmless people. Photography helped trap the bushmen in a discourse with wild animals. They were considered both disappearing and worth preserving and always on the brink of extinction.⁷³ Although they were brutally hunted, they were not depicted as bandits to Europeans. Instead, in late nineteenth century, they were drawn into a conservationist discourse.⁷⁴ In an analogous move, it is only by recourse to the racial life of the ‘Cape Malay’ that the *klops* is held up as value in the imperial archive. Otherwise, it is marked as bastardised, sometimes linked to the Hamitic hypothesis and its enduring curse.⁷⁵

The photographic and the non-human

Taking a certain license from Mamdani, I have argued that the *klops* is citizen to the *atja*’s mute, animalistic subject, and that, in the political mobilisation around the native question, this supported a warding off of the primitive. *Atja* performance also connects ideas about the human and the non-human. These tropes were formed in the heady conjunctural cauldron of the early decade leading to the formation of the Union of South Africa. Its attendant anxieties and moral panics were manifest as making race. Here the local state frogmarched Xhosa speakers “from an insanitary quarter” of Horstley Street, District Six to Uitvlugt, a sewerage farm, as depicted in Paget’s iconic image of the carnivalesque visuality of sanitation fever.⁷⁶ The *atja* – with its inclusion of tribe, animals and devilry in its performance – is sonic

⁷³ Landau, p. 129.

⁷⁴ Landau, p. 136.

⁷⁵ See Edith R. Sanders, ‘The Hamitic Hypothesis; Its Origin and Functions in Time Perspective’, *The Journal of African History*, 10.4 (1969), 521–32.

⁷⁶ See Appendices.

dread.⁷⁷ A build up to the war years attended this, and the first wave of global phonography made its impact felt. Sailors and steamships (ocean-going machines) drove this globalisation alongside capitalist trade. The initial promise of the *atja* as a claim of an American community was decoded so that it came to rest as a mute signifier of the archaic, the primitive.⁷⁸

A photographic exhibition of humans and carthorses draws attention to a different visuality from the one Veit Erlman articulated as empire's monopoly of the means of representation, one that enables individuation across species boundaries. The photographs depict alternative and usually hidden urban spaces where horses function as the nexus of differential economic status and power, sustaining the livelihoods of people engaged within the industry: the horse owners, the scrap collectors who rent the horses for the day, the grooms and farriers. For Wendy Woodward, Fanie Jason's photo essay on carthorses and the humans who work with them in greater Cape Town documents trans-species affiliations, contrary though some may be.⁷⁹ Usually, she notes, when such images include non-human animals, they are relegated to the margins of representation; sentimentalised, sensationalised, denigrated or ignored, both metaphorically and literally, they all but disappear. The presence of horses and carts in performance is also worth noting, as the following description suggests:

⁷⁷ Goodman, p. 11. In this sense, rather than the conventional monotonous artistic alliance between noise and destruction in a transgressive attempt to shock, noise instead becomes a "vibrational field of rhythmic potential." It too is implicated in what I have been calling anticipation.

⁷⁸ See Mowitt, *Sounds: The Ambient Humanities*, pp. 64–68. The horse whisperer, John Mowitt argues, bears witness to the violence of animal domestication – both the herding and harnessing of animals – and acts as if in consort with the devil. In a discussion of horse and animal whispering, Mowitt links the human domestication of animals to witch or even demonic possession in the philosophical tradition. The disjuncture that binds whispering to, and separates it from, speaking brings forth the idea that trauma repeats the "becoming human of the animal."

⁷⁹ Wendy Woodward, 'The Post-Humanist Gaze: Reading Fanie Jason's Photo Essay on Carting Lives', *Journal of Literary Studies*, 30.4 (2014), 6–24 (p. 7) <<https://doi.org/10.1080/02564718.2014.976454>>. Like the *atja*, the Durban rickshaw is a curious analogue of such a performative hybrid related to human infrastructure – a relation between human and non-human labour.

[The *atjas*] would dress [in costume] but those troupes never sang, they were just for exhibition, for beauty, and they would come on horseback. It was stunning, and some of them would walk on stilts. That was like a whole show, you see.⁸⁰

In this example, a model of pageantry as visibility is implicit in the description. For Woodward, the photographs show that the horses embody more than working units and are not instrumentalised.⁸¹ Another example, one which also alerts us to sonicity, comes from a documentary film by director Jack Lewis, portraying the lives of the Ely family and their horses, particularly a matriarch horse called Tania. The family scavenges for scrap metal, and the household is in the low-income neighbourhood of Kreefgat, Netreg, Cape Town.⁸² The filmmakers have attempted to produce a portrayal that is empathetic, but without romanticising the obviously hard lives of the characters, each of whom is depicted with some attention to the dignity of lives lived in humble circumstances, including those of the horses. An air of intimacy accompanies the portrayal, if, as in the Jason pictures, there is footage of the horses moving comfortably through what is domestic spaces. Critically, what the video footage enables as a complement to the photographs is the sonic dimension.⁸³

One may then triangulate back to the carthorse, the two-headed drum, and the performing body of Mr Kamalie, standing astride his horse as an apex of *atja* performance (see appendices for pictures). Besides the extremes of carnival performance, the sonicity of scrap

⁸⁰ From an unidentified interview cited in Martin, *Coon Carnival: New Year in Cape Town: Past to Present*, pp. 137–39.

⁸¹ Woodward, pp. 8–10.

⁸² Jack Lewis, *Tania Raised Us* (Community Media Trust, 2004), Community Media Trust <<http://www.cmt.org.za/film/>>. See also a film review titled ‘Charming Story about Survival | IOL Entertainment’ <<https://www.iol.co.za/entertainment/whats-on/cape-town/charming-story-about-survival-919286>> [accessed 24 April 2018].

⁸³ As the camera follows the cast of characters – Mr Ganief Ely, a young man called *Holle* [Bums/ Buttocks], another one called *Eiers* [Eggs], Petrus Jonas “Mcgyver”, Magamat Salie Linneveld or “Pang,” Mr Ely’s daughter, Jonathan Johnson, Gallie Goud, Kulsum (Ely’s Grandmother) – it also locates a sonic imprint of the places through which the horses move. The cast of horses include Rambo, Diamond, Tania (the matriarch horse, now retired), Mona, Tania’s foals, Roepies and Honeygirl.

iron collecting also inheres in traffic noises, the horses shoes sounding on the road, the distinctive calls issued as the collectors go about their work, hailing potential scrap donors, the encouraging or admonishing sounds they make in communication with the horses, which may become spooked by large mechanical objects such as tractors. These evocations of the human and nonhuman calls forth the notion of transduction, which Paulo de Assis draws from the thought of Gilbert Simondon. Here, instead of operating out of a centralised, controlling consciousness, the performer appears as the human-non-human link between the impersonal and pre-individual diversity of the virtual components of any given work and its actualisation in sound and gesture. Beyond subjectivity, the notion of transduction enables the inclusion of a non-human perspective on the processes of relaying flows of intensities in music.⁸⁴ Simondon radically focuses on the processes of in-formation, claiming that any event or any individual is not just a result, but a milieu of individuation. Among the everyday moments depicted in the film are Kulsum, Ely's Grandmother, who relates how the horse, Tania, arrived in the 1980s and is now the oldest living horse in Netreg. Tania, a female horse, colloquially referred to in the third person as "he," is retired, having earned her retirement. Kulsum reasons that Tania had put her deceased husband "on his feet" so to speak, having started collecting refuse in days when council workers rode horses to collect refuse.

The carhorses live among the putative Malays and carry the innards of wrecked cars and other scrap metal. Mr Kamalie epitomises the non-human legacy in *atja*, the carhorse. By the 1950s, it was Mr Kamalie – who worked with horses in scrap metal and refuse collection – who epitomised the *atja*'s creative pinnacle as a performer.⁸⁵ Insiders celebrate his mastery in

⁸⁴ Paulo de Assis, 'Gilbert Simondon's "Transduction" as Radical Immanence in Performance', *Performance Philosophy*, 3.3 (2017), 695–717 (p. 698) <<https://doi.org/10.21476/PP.2017.33140>>.

⁸⁵ I am of course *not* suggesting that all *atja* performers are scrap metal collectors.

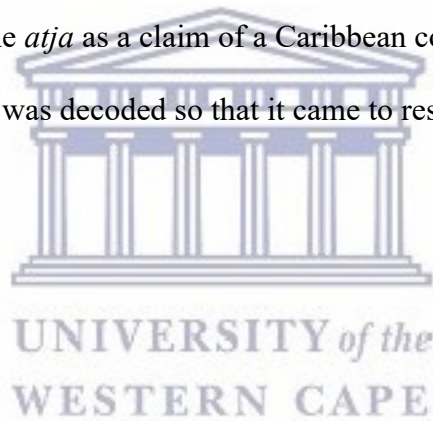
performance, standing on his moving horse and twirling the big drum.⁸⁶ *Atja*'s one notable performer had one notable media moment. Mr Kamalie had a friendship with Abdullah Ibrahim and, in the 1970s, the two performed at the Athlone Stadium as part of the carnival festivities. We may say that the AME Church continues to repeat its legacy in this anecdote since both Robert Gonsalves and Ibrahim were part of this church community. I read this as a signal of its ongoing potential for individuation. Two other artistic interventions, two acts of representation raise this potential; namely, the documentary film *Tania Raised us* and an exhibition of photographs by Fanie Jason.

We may think of a poetics of Mr Kamalie's relation between the human, the horse and the scrap metal industry.⁸⁷ The *atja*'s sociality is also potentialised in another film which putatively has no relation to the *atja*, but which does have a relation to sociality and horses. The lines of flight outlined in this chapter hint at the potential paths of a return to sociality in carnivalesque performance. At the end of Lewis's film, as the protagonists relax at the end of a working week, it is Rastafari - notionally in place of the traditional carnival - that provides the humanising impetus on a Friday night. Phonographic Rastafari – a significant platform of contemporary sonic dread – provides a home to the fractured subject in a condition of marginality, of the subaltern.

⁸⁶ Suggestively, Kamalie's son called his drum a *tamboer*, but its connection to the Caribbean or Indonesian instrument of similar nomenclature needs verification. A *tamboer* is referenced in a number of colonial sources as an Indonesian drum, often used during ceremonial processions involving Sultans there. See *Recollecting Resonances: Indonesian-Dutch Musical Encounters* (BRILL, 2013), p. 116. Also a citation in Batavia 1699 by H. C. V. Leibbrandt, *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope* (W. A. Richards, 1896), p. 231. But there is also a Caribbean Tambura, double sided drum that may just as well fit the bill.

⁸⁷ See Sandra Swart, "But Where's the Bloody Horse?": Textuality and Corporeality in the "Animal Turn", *Journal of Literary Studies*, 23.3 (2007), 271–92 (p. 286ff.) <<https://doi.org/10.1080/02564710701568121>>. There has been an embrace of new subject matter, and of contemporary sources in writing in southern Africa. In this, the horse emerges as a historical actor with the animal more accepted as 'subject,' object and even agent. Horses have served as a literal and figurative medium for the transmission of commodities, people, and culture. They were used in the manifestation and promoting of particular kinds of identity, predicated on class, gender, racial identity and citizenship. The horse has been considered the aristocrat of domestic animals as a symbol of nobility, imparting an "anachronistic grandeur."

To conclude, this chapter has argued that potential for sociality and individuation was constrained in the period before and after the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 – symptomised in the demise of the Privates in carnival performance in the interwar years. After the Second World War, the remainder of *atja* performance, whatever its anticipation as sonic dread, was an archaic sign of the tribal, the void. The *klops* and *atja* set up a tension that enables a warding off of the primitive. These tropes were formed in the heady conjunctural cauldron of the early decade leading to union, and of its anxieties and moral panics manifest as race and the native question. The *atja* – with its inclusion of tribe, animals and devilry in its performance – is a sonic echo of what Steve Goodman called dread and contagion.⁸⁸ Sailors and ocean-going machines drove this globalisation alongside capitalist trade. The initial promise of the *atja* as a claim of a Caribbean community – named collectively as “Americans” – was decoded so that it came to rest as a mute signifier of the archaic, the primitive.



⁸⁸ Goodman, p. 11. In this sense, rather than the conventional monotonous artistic alliance between noise and destruction in a transgressive attempt to shock, noise instead becomes a ‘vibrational field of rhythmic potential.’

Part Two: Becoming phonographic



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Chapter four: Behind the sonic veil: nomadism in Cape jazz

Introduction: Writing and anticipation

Part I of this thesis explored the conditions which rendered aspects of carnival as archaic, or as folklore, a process in which anticipation – understood as a means through which affective forces accumulate and then find expression – is vital. We followed such sonic flows through a genealogy of the “Alabama” song and of *atja* performance in the twentieth century and established two instances when *goema* musicking became folklore. In both cases, a dynamic of the sonic and the discursive was in play. Writing rendered the spelling of “Alabama” and its particular phonic quality, its pronunciation and its comic unconscious. In this scheme, laughter marks territory and, alongside the drum, the archaic.

We observed that alienated from black middle-class politics, and through relentless efforts to codify performance, the *klopse* carnival abandoned the more informal and creatively adventurous Privates and regulated carnival dress inside a social or sporting and commodity form. In its bare parts, carnival’s form has remained static, assuming the mantle of tradition, as the apartheid state sought to harness it for the controversial Van Riebeeck Commemorations of 1952.¹ Moreover, the discursive materiality of carnival inscribes the archaic. That is, the archive or folk ‘law’ seems to sanction the drum and its primal scene, the *piekniek*, as primitive - the *goema* drum turned out central to this formation of the archaic idea, by its overdetermined presence as force. The drum is a sign, but also a force which speaks without the presence of writing as print or as phonography, evoking a hint of an ancient language. It hints at other, older erasures and anxieties. The cases of both the *klops* and *atja* seem to imply

¹ See Witz.

that visuality hides the role of the drum and rhythm in individuation, even as art leaves a mark of individuation and socialisation.

Part two of this dissertation considers the jazzing Cape as a milieu in which the conditions of possibility for the individuation of colonised subjects was produced. In this process, the folkloric had a role to play, and artists harnessed a claim to the contemporary against the state's attempt to resolve the native question as it enforced segregation and labour preference. This claim, in turn, requires an engagement with creative production on its own terms, and in terms concerning the folkloric. Chapter Four considers artist's struggles to harness the folkloric and the urban in performative individuation. It considers the work of three artists – Tem Hawker, Winston Mankunku and Robbie Jansen, and seeks traces of their pursuit of self-fashioning or individuation in a jazzing milieu² and the struggle to embody a nomadism that might enable creative movement in constricted social space. I will argue that the milieu provided spatial, aural, linguistic embodiments of queerness in which Moten's concept of the break opens discussions of aesthetic practice.³ Such proximity and permissiveness threatened the apartheid state, which forced this avant-garde into exile or underground as part of the larger repression of opposition to the apartheid state in the 1960s.

Relationships between the Cape carnival milieu on one hand, and the jazzing milieu on the other, are complex. Carnival's repertory and general affinities generally align with pop

² Although one might fruitfully consider related musicking practices – especially reggae and hip-hop – in this regard, space does not allow such an empirical enquiry.

³ As we will see especially in considering Alex van Heerden in the next Chapter. Omi Osun Joni L. Jones, *Theatrical Jazz: Performance, Aşę, and the Power of the Present Moment*, Black Performance and Cultural Criticism (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2015), pp. 14–16. Deleuze defines “nomadism” as the capacity to evade the inscriptions and striations of the state. What concerns me here is the trope of the nomad and, as I suggest, the *Oorlam* as a kind of nomad. Can movement deterritorialise space itself, to produce a space of a different order? Deleuze and Guattari invent the conceptual persona of the nomad as the figure of the embodiment of this transformation, exemplified in history, in which the nomad invented itself as a people by inventing a smooth space of movement. See Deleuze and Guattari, pp. 354–94.

sentimentality.⁴ The jazzing world, on the other hand, is a more exclusive one. In terms of institutional relationships, it was the classical music establishment that had greater purchase on the carnival world, particularly organisations which had been set up for the advancement of the ‘coloured’ community by liberal interests such as those of the Eoan Group.⁵ It was largely the work of auteur’s such as Abdullah Ibrahim that established the vernacular carnival, along with *vastrops*, sacred music and *marabi*, as part of the folk memory of the urban underclass; who made an unequivocally aesthetic case for such vernacular memory. Yet, while South Africa’s jazz avant-garde cooked up a vibrant modern brew in the 1960s, political repression meant it got served up elsewhere. The year 1964 seems to mark the moment when South African jazz combo, the Blue Notes, brought a new intensity to European jazz, appearing at the Antibes Jazz Festival in the south of France:

They were fire, modernity with roots and fragrance, feeling and emotion; they were moved by an incredible energy which made their disappearance backstage almost painful.⁶

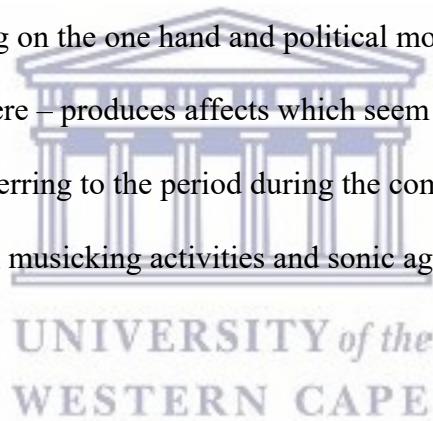
European audiences witnessed an outpouring of intensity that had been building in South Africa by the mid-1960s. Fred Moten might call this an example of Europe as a “receptacle

⁴ The copycats – performers who mimicked the performance characteristics of well-known popular stars such as Al Jolson, Mario Lanza, or Frank Sinatra - especially exemplify the huge popularity of sentimental ballads. See Martin, *Coon Carnival: New Year in Cape Town: Past to Present*, p. 115.

⁵ The Eoan Group founder Helen Southern-Holt’s first ambition was to help the ‘Coloured’ community through classes for clear, articulate speech in order to prepare them for the labour market. It eventually became an institution where working class people could take lessons in ballet, classical music and opera singing, staging a number of amateur productions to some critical acclaim, and producing several notable performers for the carnival stage such as the operatic tenor Joey Gabriels. See Eoan History Project, *Eoan: Our Story* (Johannesburg: Fourthwall Books, 2013).

⁶ Maxine McGregor, *Chris McGregor and the Brotherhood of Breath: My Life with a South African Jazz Pioneer* (Flint, Michigan: Bamberger Books, 1995), p. i. Another example is erstwhile Ibrahim biographer Lars Rasmussen’s account of Abdullah Ibrahim’s (formerly Dollar Brand) solo piano performance at Jazhus Montmartre in Copenhagen in 1969. Rasmussen describes a spiritual phase Ibrahim had undergone, having then recently hit his stride integrating Monk and Ellington’s pianism with his original sensibility, having returned home briefly to Cape Town and converted to Islam. Rasmussen, as a long-time biographer of Ibrahim, considered this to be among the artist’s greatest performances. His experience of the performance alludes to an intensity that people in a European jazz performance setting had not witnessed. It was also the period after his collaborator and spouse, singer Sathima Benjamin, persuaded Duke Ellington to listen to Ibrahim play and hence to take them both on board as potential artists for Frank Sinatra’s label, Reprise Records.

of black magic.”⁷ I wish to establish that South African jazz registered as global modernity with a local aspect that we cannot see as parochial.⁸ If South Africa exported jazz modernity to Europe, one might ask, what happened at home? Also, we may inquire, how to understand this European fascination with “black magic?” How might one understand a dynamic between these two movements? In considering the archival trace of the post-apartheid, jazzing⁹ presents its challenges and potential insights. For example, jazz has engaged in relationships to the intellectual and political class and the *socius*. Can we characterise this set of relationships? The phonograph has permeated – and even enabled – the decolonising twentieth century. I hope to demonstrate how sonic affects and poetics have manifested and how we might harness such poetics in critical reading. In this process, one engages a disjuncture between musicking on the one hand and political mobilisation on the other. The former – which is our focus here – produces affects which seem to prefigure sonic traces of a post-apartheid future. I am referring to the period during the coming of formal apartheid and its aftermath and reading from musicking activities and sonic agents.¹⁰ With South Africa’s



⁷ Fred Moten, *In the Break: The Aesthetics of the Black Radical Tradition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), p. 41.

⁸ It is worth noting that I am referencing South African jazz broadly as music emerging from creative production in the region. The popular contemporary notion of a *mzansi* sound contains an aspiration to mark South Africa as a particular set of sounds.

⁹ The word “jazzing” is used to emphasise the process and the movement involved. I offer the style description jazz in the non-specific sense usually deployed in the literature on South African music

¹⁰ We might say that something akin to a “structure of feeling” was in play. Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, Marxist Introductions (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2009), p. 128ff. Raymond Williams developed the notion from a concern that historical and cultural analysis tends to be focused on relationships between finished forms and institutions so that only the forms persist and living presence is always receding. It is concerned with meanings and values that are lived and felt and the relations between these and formal systematic beliefs. We are talking about affective elements of consciousness and relationships, which Stuart Hall acknowledged are inadequate. Williams failed to recognise that residual cultures often continue to have their irrational effects which limit how one might think about the future. See Stuart Hall, *Cultural Studies 1983: A Theoretical History*, ed. by Jennifer Daryl Slack and Lawrence Grossberg, Stuart Hall, Selected Writings (Durham, London: Duke University Press, 2016), pp. 25–51.

jazzing community, the development of a movement in the 1950s and 1960s found itself interrupted.

This chapter considers the phonographic intersection with the modern and the archaic. In the first place, phonographic globalisation created conditions for rendering music vernacular in the first few decades of the twentieth century. Musician Tem Hawker helped make of the Cape a phonographic micro-world upon which its jazzing culture is founded – with the phonograph as a method book for global jazz pedagogy. Hawker's nomadism – oceanic, phonographic – brought writing to the jazzing milieu in the city. The *second* nomad, Mankunku, also studied the state but had recourse to jazzing as disassemblage. I will suggest that Mankunku underwent an aesthetic education in a time of surveillance and rupture. The chapter articulates these lines of flight by redeploying the idea of an avant-garde. Robbie Jansen is our *third* nomad. In addition to his musical gifts, his nomadism is striking in certain ways that mark him apart. The archive approves certain kinds of visuality to which the latter two did not have natural recourse. However, as we will see in the work of Alex van Heerden, they form a lineage which I designate as the “sentimental avant-garde” after Fred Moten – mobilising a particular idea of political blackness for a liberatory, non-chauvinistic project.¹¹

Tem Hawker's phonographic modernity

The reader will recall that this thesis uses a special sense of “writing,” one which relates to the western knowledge enterprise, to text-based visual dominance that produces ways of knowing tailored for the governance of colonial populations.¹² So too the racial score.

Writing is the pull of empire in phonographic form, its onset with the imperial fantasy of the phonograph as enlarger of its voice. Fred Moten speaks of a phonographic inscription, to

¹¹ Moten, *In the Break*, p. 25ff.

¹² See Sitze, p. 173.

emphasise its grip on modern aesthetics after its articulation in Theodor Adorno's work. It assigns music literacy to whiteness, in a familiar binarism, scripting musical performance as racial phenomena.¹³ The other side of this tension is rhythmic sound – the *akkeltjie* perhaps, or the camp quadrille of Chapter Two. Here, mimesis improves on or influences its charge, creating a new set of possibilities for *vastrap*. The line between this new subaltern position which sound studies enables, on the one hand, and its inscription as the gaze, on the other, is a fine one. But an important one too. Jazz carries an echo of the racial score.¹⁴

Frazer Tem Hawker was born in 1909 in Beaufort West in the present Western Cape province of South Africa to parents Jim and Mittah Hawker. Enthusiast Lars Rasmussen describes him as “the single most influential musician in Cape Town jazz.”¹⁵ His children recall he took violin lessons as a young boy growing up in the town. He spoke isiXhosa, Afrikaans and English, and joined the merchant navy at 17 years old as a donkeyman – greasing the auxiliary engines on a ship. His family recalls that he travelled the globe at least twice and bought printed sheet music whenever he went ashore. He also worked as a driver in the Cape Town docks.¹⁶ The US Navy supplied sailors with shellac discs manufactured for the navy,¹⁷ and Tem got these off them on his travels and at the docks. Hawker's life embodies the generation Michael Denning describes as the musical agents of the phonographic twentieth

¹³ Pim Higginson, *Scoring Race: Jazz, Fiction, and Francophone Africa*, African Articulations (Woodbridge, Suffolk; Rochester, NY: James Currey, 2017), p. 4.

¹⁴ And following John Mowitt, we may consider jazz as straddling the schizophrenic socius. Mowitt argues that we can better understand fantasy as a sonic fossil embedded in the history of western thought. See Mowitt, *Sounds: The Ambient Humanities*, pp. 21–29. In a discussion of Michael Ondaatje's *Coming Through Slaughter*, Mowitt concludes that the echo is a fantasy, the fantasy an echo; and that the two are intertwined. It is better to grasp fantasy by situating it not within the imaginary but within the sonic field of echoing.

¹⁵ Lars Rasmussen, *Jazz People of Cape Town* (Copenhagen: The Booktrader, 2003), p. 80.

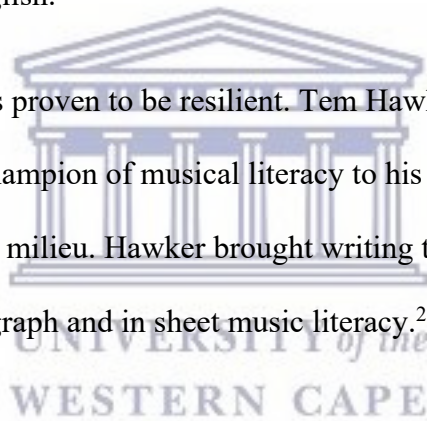
¹⁶ Rasmussen, *Jazz People of Cape Town*, p. 80ff.

¹⁷ Robin D. G. Kelley, *Africa Speaks, America Answers: Modern Jazz in Revolutionary Times*, The Nathan I. Huggins Lectures (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass, 2012), p. 70.

century.¹⁸ Hawker comes to represent the agency of the global and the urban, even as he makes a move as a nomad from the rural hinterland of the Cape.¹⁹

We saw earlier that Robert Gonsalves started a trace of the claim to sociality after his arrival in 1902. This claim underpinned what became the performance of *atja* – American Indians – in Cape Town, linked to the black diasporic aspirations in South Africa. Oceanic mobility played a key role in this narrative.²⁰ *Goema*'s links with black diasporic musics are suggestive. For example, John Collins linked Caribbean dance forms such as *goombay* to African forms in a rhizomic relation as acculturated African dance musics, of which the earliest identifiable was *game* or *gombe* (spelled *goumbeh* or *gumbey*), played on drums and sung in a pidgin dialect of English.²¹

In the same breath, writing has proven to be resilient. Tem Hawker became a forerunner of the phonographic era, and a champion of musical literacy to his musicking peers in the jazzing, ballroom and carnival milieu. Hawker brought writing to the regional jazzing world, both as an agent of the phonograph and in sheet music literacy.²² The phonograph had a



¹⁸ Michael Denning, *Noise Uprising: The Audiopolitics of a World Musical Revolution* (London; Brooklyn, NY: Verso, 2015), p. 813.

¹⁹ Rasmussen, *Jazz People of Cape Town*, p. 80ff.

²⁰ Some new-world influences circulated between regions of the African continent. John Collins recounted early West Indian musical influences augmented by the stationing of Caribbean troops in West-African forts. The West Indian Rifles, for example, had a regimental band at Cape Coast Castle in Ghana from about the middle of the nineteenth century. Similarly, member states sent soldiers from different parts of the British empire to the South African War. These states stationed troops at the Cape. Edmund John Collins, 'Jazz Feedback to Africa', *American Music*, 5.2 (1987), 176–93 (p. 177ff) <<https://doi.org/10.2307/3052161>>.

²¹ Collins, p. 178. The word *gome* or *gombe* is remarkably similar to the Bantu word *n'goma*, which means dance or a bass drum, and there is evidence of an early musical connection between West Africa and the Congo Basin. It is likely that this is related to the term *goema*. See Percival R. Kirby, 'Musical Instruments of the Cape Malays', *South African Journal of Science*, XXXVI (1939), 477–85 (p. 480).

²² Because of his mobility, Hawker's insight into the latest trends in American jazz music had a far-reaching influence on, for example, the influential Alf Wyllie Band and Jimmy Adams and His Swing Orchestra in the 1950s, and also on the flourishing Big Band Swing Orchestra of Langa in the 1940s. Hawker may take some credit with gifting the strong American big-band sound to the Cape, in the face of strong opposition from the

multiplicity of impacts in the twentieth century; it threads through the sonic world and, in Deleuzian terms, its effects work machinically through other regimes. They resonate in the anti-colonial project and are immanent to the everyday working of colonialism (and potentially for its undoing). In 1926, a significant shift came to define global music. The explosion of global trade in phonograph records occurred, shipped to and via port cities all over the world. New electrical recording technology enabled not only an extraordinary leap in audio fidelity but a dramatic reduction in the cost of phonographs.²³ With the merchant marines, Hawker encountered many American sailors with their phonograph records of American jazz during his many world tours.²⁴ Michael Denning has made a case for the phonograph as the trigger of a world-historical revolution that proceeded from the 1920s and peaked in the 1930s with a groundswell of new global musicking in port cities. The phonograph moved to centre stage during the twentieth century, bringing new poetics and new ontologies into play. Phonography, according to Denning, enabled decolonisation movements.²⁵ Tem Hawker lived in the jazz age, with its sensory mix in which the globalisation of phonography formed a condition of possibility for rendering vernacular musics as phonography. Race is the prime mover of the status of jazz in the Francophone world, in its intellectual life and its colonial relations.²⁶ Among the moralising middle-classes, jazz became an overdetermined figure for the evils of an American machine age in

strict-tempo ballroom dance community and sometimes the establishment. Here, the mode of jazzing was social dance and commercial.

²³ Denning, *Noise Uprising*, pp. 109–10.

²⁴ Music was embroiled in the symbolic economy between colonising powers. For example, in the 1910s, tango shared staged exoticism with other genres, including Cuban music, flamenco, Hawaiian dancers, and jazz. During the First World War, soldiers concentrated in European cities. In the emerging creative industries, a dominant France struggled against upstart England over the prerogative to shape social mores and dance fashions. Dancing also became a sport in which Vernon and Irene Castle, a famous professional exhibition ballroom dance couple, developed their highly influential manual. See

²⁵ Denning, 'Decolonising the Ear: The Transcolonial Reverberations of Vernacular Phonograph Music'.

²⁶ For example, see Higginson.

which modern social evils corresponded to a return to a more primitive state. Middle-class commentators figured the mechanised factory, the modern battlefield, the elevated railway, and the nightclub as sites of primitive barbarity, and as locations for a black mass or *nègre*.²⁷

In nomadic fashion, Hawker's linguistic alacrity enabled him to move between Xhosa and 'coloured' lifeworlds in the city. He put his musical range and nomad science to service in this mode of movement.²⁸ The state's facilitation of a racial divide in the Cape is at stake in this discussion.²⁹ One may trace the negotiation of these lines of colonial modernity through an aesthetic genealogy. The lines constitute what Deleuze and Guattari would call a molecular line – in the sense that they generate new possibilities for intensity by crossing boundaries and refiguring existing modes of being. The molecular is juxtaposed with the molar, being the designated pathways sanctioned by the state within the socius.³⁰

Tem Hawker moved between 'coloured' and black spaces in the city. In addition to this, his insights into the latest trends in American Jazz music influenced dance band music and social dance in the city. The list of people he influenced includes popular bandleaders Alf Wyllie and Jimmy Adams in the 1950s, and the big band swing orchestras of Langa in the 1940s. For adherents, such as one of his original pupils from Langa³¹ and founding member of the

²⁷ Jeremy F. Lane, *Jazz and Machine-Age Imperialism: Music, 'Race,' and Intellectuals in France, 1918-1945* (University of Michigan Press, 2013), p. 3.

²⁸ See Rasmussen, *Jazz People of Cape Town*, p. 90.

²⁹ As a question of method, Isabel Hofmeyr cites Jon Soske's use of the "also-colonised other." Most communities under imperial rule find themselves living alongside other colonised groups, what Soske calls "the also-colonised other." See Isabel Hofmeyr, 'The Complicating Sea: The Indian Ocean as Method', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 32.3 (2013), 584–90 (p. 587).

³⁰ See Windsor, pp. 158–66.

³¹ Langa is a historic suburb in Cape Town reserved for 'Africans' under apartheid legislation. In 1923, the state passed the Urban Areas Act to enforce the compulsory residence of Africans in 'locations.' Following forced removals from Ndabeni Location, closer to the city centre in the late 1920s, the authorities established Langa Location on the city's fringes. The former structures were shabby, with unpaved roads and no electricity supply. The township was completed and officially opened in 1927. The name is also partly derived from the name of

Harmony Kings, Joel M. Brooks Mlomo, the American impulse was too strong, and he broke away to form The Merry Macs, a band which included more African vocal jive musical elements in their dance repertoire.³² Hawker held American fashion in dress and musical style as central to his vision as a musician and noted by Jimmy Adams, one of his proteges. Musician and journalist Don Albert describes the following encounter:

One evening in the late [nineteen] forties, while still in my teens, I put my Saxophone in the car and drove to District Six where the “people of colour” lived – a forbidden place for a white person after dark, I was told. But I had no fear. From what I read, I saw it as the Harlem of Cape Town. I was directed to a place known as the Winter Garden Hall, where Tem Hawker and his band played. I introduced myself and asked if I could sit in. I was welcomed and began to play there regularly. The band’s repertoire included tunes based on riffs and blues “In the Mood”, “One o’Clock Jump”, “Tuxedo Junction”. “The Dancers Only” and “Back Door Stuff” ... I was fascinated by these hip black people dressed in their peg-bottomed trousers, snap-brimmed hats and American-styled raincoats jitterbugging or dancing almost in slow motion, at half tempo that was almost suggestive. They were “cool” before jazz lingo started using the word (*sic*).³³

The description supports the African jazz milieu in Lara Allen’s description of vocal jive. But this scene occurs within District Six, a working-class enclave in the inner city whose multicultural nature posed a threat to the state, one in which the boundaries of racial identification, while still porous, were closing. Hawker played the alto saxophone in his group the Ballyhooligans.³⁴

Langalibalele – a Hlubi rebel imprisoned on Robben Island in 1875 after an uprising against the Natal government.

³² Rasmussen, *Jazz People of Cape Town*. The members of The Merry Macs all lived in the inner city at the time and were associated with the Stakesby Lewis Hostel in District Six. See Blythe Mbityana, An interview with trombonist Malindi Blythe Mbityana, 2002
<<http://www.booktrader.dk/pdf/an%20interview%20with%20malindi%20blyth%20mbityana.pdf>>.

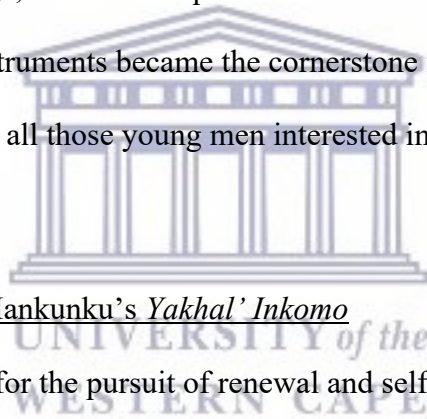
³³ Jurgen Schadeberg and Don Albert, *Jazz, Blues & Swing: Six Decades of Music in South Africa* (Claremont, South Africa: David Philip, 2007), 45.

³⁴ What is notable about these details is the fact that the dance is marked as the epitome of ‘coloured’ social dance.

It is noteworthy that Hawker did not stop at stylised American-styled social dance and vocal jive scenes. He played the saxophone for bands that accompanied the Cape Malay troupes and other elements of the carnival world in the city, including the *Nagtroepe*, the *Klopse*:

My father played in the carnival. We used to go to Wale Street the corner of Wale and Adderley and see the coon carnival. At Christmas, they came to the location just to show off.³⁵

Hawker had an intimate knowledge of multiple cultural worlds – against orthodoxy, which would consider Cape carnival an exclusively ‘coloured’ world.³⁶ The journey of isiXhosa speakers from the rural Eastern Cape to Cape Town, in turn, is part of the making of the black working-class in South Africa.³⁷ In 1941, Hawker and his family moved from District Six to Kensington and to Langa, where he acquired most of the instruments for a band from a foreign shop owner. These instruments became the cornerstone for Hawker to build a band in Langa by undertaking to teach all those young men interested in playing the American style of swing jazz dance music.



Disassemblage and the veil: Mankunku’s *Yakhal’ Inkomo*

This chapter seeks to account for the pursuit of renewal and self-fashioning or individuation in a jazzing milieu, and for the struggle to embody a nomadism that might enable creative

³⁵ Lars Rasmussen, ‘Interview with Mittah Sotiya’, in *Jazz People of Cape Town* (Copenhagen: The Booktrader, 2003), p. 84.

³⁶ Hawker mentored key Cape-based musicians such as Jimmy Adams, an influential culture broker in his own right inside the ‘coloured’ dance band world, who, in his turn, mentored other young musicians and who introduced big band styled *goema* influences to Cape jazz. Layne, Valmont. *A History of Dance and Jazz Band Performance in the Western Cape in the Post-1945 Era*. Diss. University of Cape Town, 1995. (University of Cape Town, 1995) <http://uctscholar.uct.ac.za/PDF/172587_Layne_V.pdf>.

³⁷ Even then, the Langa township was not a homogeneous block, as there were intense struggles between the migrants and immigrants over township space and resources. Therefore, festivals and sporting activities played an important part in the cultural history of Langa township’s effort to create “communities.” Rachidi Molapo, ‘Sports, Festivals and Popular Politics: Aspects of the Social and Popular Culture In Langa Township, 1945-70’ (unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1994) <https://open.uct.ac.za/bitstream/handle/11427/15984/thesis_hum_1994_molapo_rachidi_richard.pdf?sequence=1> [accessed 16 June 2016].

movement in constricted social space. Thus far we have considered Tem Hawker's work as concerned with the phonographic and with writing. Hawker, like the "Alabama" song before him, was an agent of the American century, especially in the mimetic quality of his work, and his ability to move beneath the veil, across racial spatial divides. But he was also a nomad for these reasons.

With Winston Mankunku, we may consider the work of disassemblage – an auto-pedagogy instructive for its work against the state and its deterritorialising of the native question. The acousmatics of the veil is central to understanding this pedagogy. Winston Mankunku was an apprentice when the state ejected the avant-garde in the late 1960s. He produced his masterpiece at the end of this apprenticeship but suffered its consequences. A story of that descent follows – in the next chapter, we consider his re-emergence in the 1980s.

In setting the atmosphere, it is worth turning to a visual object. A furtive atmosphere is present in reading the album cover for Maud Dammon's debut album, *The Magic of Maud*, released in the 1960s. The black-and-white photograph depicts a city enclave at night where a woman stands with her back to a stone wall right of the frame. She is facing away from the camera. She wears a sheer veil through which her pale skin is visible. Her face is obscured, but we see her shoulder-length hair, stockings, and black shoes. The scene evokes a *film noir* setting. The woman lurks in the shadows. A car headlight beams from the left of the frame onto the stone wall behind her and reflects off her leather coat. While scholars have credited expressionistic lighting patterns with producing the fascinating overall visual effect of *noir*, a judgemental/moral evaluation of the woman's alignment with enhanced shadows as a sign of her dark, evil nature often accompanies these.³⁸ Yet in this case, the *noir* effect has a double

³⁸ David Martin-Jones, William Brown, and Elena del Río, 'Feminine Energies, or the Outside of Noir', in *Deleuze and Film* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), p. 164.

meaning. The intention seems to be to disguise the fact that Maud Dammons is a dark-skinned woman, but that she nonetheless has to work from the shadows. The use of a *noir*-like setting here recalls a discussion of stylised representation in *noir* films. For Windsor, we can deploy lighting in *noir* to signal the ontological proximity between woman's power-at-a-distance and the dissimulating power of style in general. The figure of the duplicitous, dissimulating woman of *noir* shares an important quality with *noir* as a genre: they both deploy elaborate style to build and mobilise a desiring-machine.³⁹

Mankunku personifies another trope of the veil. Performing behind a curtain in the white part of town is a trope in South African jazz historiography. In a rare interview, Mankunku himself recalled an incident at Cape Town City Hall in which a mentor, the American expatriate bassist, Midge Pike, aware of its illegality, convinced Mankunku to play behind a curtain since the rest of the musicians in the band were all classified or could pass as white. In Mankunku's version, Pike attributed Mankunku's playing to a 'spirit' hidden behind the curtain in a sarcastic tone:

Midge Pike [asked me to play a solo], you know and ... so I thought maybe if I just draw attention [to it] then it will be ok ... After that, they wanted to know who was playing, so [Midge] said, Agh, it was the spirit - but he said it very tough, very rough. I think they liked [my playing], and they really wanted to know who was that. They couldn't see me.⁴⁰

For the audience, acousmatic sound – a sound whose source is heard but unseen – is twice frustrating: it changes the way we hear. Isolating the sound from the “audiovisual complex” to which it belongs, creates favourable conditions for reduced listening which concentrates on

³⁹ Martin-Jones, Brown, and del Río, p. 164.

⁴⁰ Winston Mankunku, Interview with Winston Mankunku
<http://ev2.co.uk/jisa/musicians_statements/winston_mankunku.html> [accessed 31 October 2017].

the sound for its own sake, as a sound object, independently of its causes or its meaning.⁴¹ On one level, in his mode of address, Mankunku locates what Michael Gallope, invoking Fred Moten, calls “a blackness that both satisfies and disrupts his white listeners desires with an experience and a historicity that retains a measure of difference.”⁴² But he does so without the help of sight, behind the literal and proverbial veil. Newspaper sources show that venues sometimes billed him as Winston Mann during the 1960s. Mankunku’s name appeared in local newspapers as the tenor saxophonist at the Cape Art Centre during 1967. But identity was subtly fluid. Depending on the racial classification of the venue, management would bill him either as Winston Mann, in a white venue such as a hotel, or as Winston Mankunku if he appeared at a black venue such as the Langa Community Centre. Brian Kane observes the following about the well-worn trope of Pythagoras producing his treatise behind the veil:

A scene like other scenes, the tale of the veil possesses many trappings of theatrical fictions: curtains, offstage voices, a darkened auditorium, and the imposition of silence. And, like all primal scenes, its veracity is as dubious as its grip is powerful.⁴³

The historical truth of the event is not in question here, and its poetics is consistent with Kane’s description. Kane confirms that the screen which conceals a voice disturbs our peace of mind. Something occupies our curiosity – what lies behind the curtain? The separation of Mankunku’s tenor saxophone voice and his body via a curtain may depend on the spirit

⁴¹ For a discussion of reduced listening, see Michel Chion, Claudia Gorbman, and Walter Murch, *Audio-Vision: Sound on Screen* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), p. 29ff.

⁴² Michael Gallope, ‘On Close Reading and Sound Recording’ (presented at the Voice, Performance, & Expression, Franklin Humanities Institute, 2015) <<https://humanitiesfutures.org/papers/close-reading-sound-recording/>> [accessed 26 October 2017].

⁴³ Brian Kane, *Sound Unseen: Acousmatic Sound in Theory and Practice* (New York: New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 53. Etymologically, the term “acousmatic” refers to a group of Pythagorean disciples known as the “akousmatikoi” – literally, the “listeners” or “auditors”—who, as legend has it, heard the philosopher lecture from behind a curtain or veil. According to Chion, Pythagoras used the veil to draw attention away from his physical appearance and toward the meaning of his discourse.

acquiring a new kind of body; the voice endowed with aura and authority. Ironically, the reversal of the acousmatic situation robs the disembodied voice of its auratic power.

In the scene at City Hall, perhaps Midge Pike plays off this trope of the veil. One may invoke Jonathan Sterne's notion of a regime of listening to account for this primal scene. Sterne, in turn, is drawing on Foucault's genealogical method to signal that such regimes have a history. Veils in this sense may take on different metaphorical forms. For Walter Benjamin's *flâneur*, the crowd is the veil behind which he hides. Yet in a late-night, *noir*-like setting, the crowd is missing, or the *flâneur* roams away from it. The habit of moving between enclosed urban spaces – in this case, marked by racial geographies – calls into being furtive mobility. In the enactment of such mobility, a regime of listening is invoked. A sonic poetics of everyday life underpins this production of the actual. To move in the striated space of a racialising city is to improvise, and sometimes that means moving in cars. Pianist and collaborator Mike Perry recalls he first met Mankunku in a car parked on a street in Langa.⁴⁴

Mankunku's live performance also has a visuality. Live audiences became familiar with the peremptory flick of his trademark peak cap in preparation for a solo as a mark of the disreputable. We may consider it a transduction event which signals peak performance.⁴⁵ The flicked peak cap signals the artist mobilising his entire body in the act of improvisation.

While Mankunku had a disreputable side, the more emphatically self-fashioned *skollie* (or disreputable figure) in local jazz is Robbie Jansen. His disreputability manifest in his grainy

⁴⁴ Even the car has taken on a social significance in black urban life in South Africa (as Steingo depicts in his work on *kwaito* for instance). A meeting in a car, crowded with other bodies is another index of the molecular movement through which black bodies overcome molarity or the restrictions of an oppressive geographical regime. See Gavin Steingo, *Kwaito's Promise: Music and the Aesthetics of Freedom in South Africa*, Chicago Studies in Ethnomusicology (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2016), p. 207ff.

⁴⁵ See Assis, pp. 697-698. For de Assis, questions about subjectivity tend to ignore the nonhuman component of any transductive process. Transduction allows for a perspective where musical objects and music performers are being individuated at the same time, liberating the works from structural fixity and the performers from psychological subjectification.

voice – which we meet more fully in the next chapter. His grainy voice enables individuation or a self-fashioning that was not available to the *klops* or the *atja*, given the embeddedness of the latter two within a sporting practice.

Mankunku studied the state but had recourse to jazzing as disassemblage. It is important to understand his education in a time of surveillance and rupture. Mike Perry recalls hearing, from High Level Road on Signal Hill overlooking downtown Cape Town, Mankunku playing the strains of John Coltrane’s version of the jazz standard, “My Favourite Things:

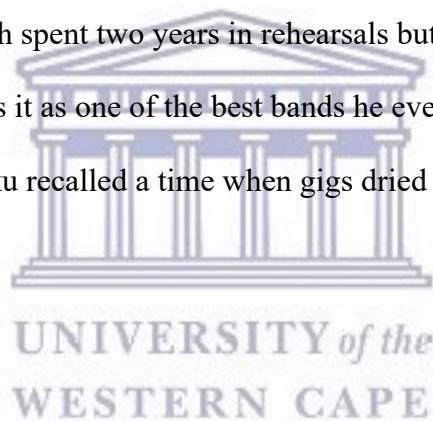
Coincidentally, I heard him playing a solo on “My Favourite Things” from a car in High Level Road [on the mountainside overlooking the bay]. I had stopped the car, and this music drifted up on the wind. I went down, but just too late, it had been Winston playing Favourite Things by Coltrane, long solo.⁴⁶

This analogy has two key registers for our purposes. For one, it points to Mankunku’s struggle as an autodidact with the music of John Coltrane, a pursuit which defined his saxophonic voice and his most famous creation, the album and song *Yakhal’ Inkomo*. If Hawker and Mankunku embody Moten’s sentimental avant-garde, how did they initiate themselves into jazz’s body of knowledge? They tie the cultural importance of jazz in the twentieth century to its abrogation of particular sensibilities that are urban, global, aligned with black radicalism and with a critique of the racial state formation. Mankunku’s struggle with Coltrane places him in a position of inhabiting an analogous space to Coltrane. Lawrence Kramer notes that Coltrane “could not leave this tune alone,” recording multiple live versions of it over his career, and yet:

⁴⁶ Mike Perry, Interview Mike Perry January 2014 jazz Workshop, 2014
<<http://www.afribeat.com/sajazz/jazzmusicians/mikeperry.htm>> [accessed 23 November 2017].

without resorting to rancour or mockery, the series of solos [on the title song of the album *My Favourite Things*] has both disassembled the original tune in a critical spirit and, in the disassemblage, found something of value.⁴⁷

Coltrane's process is relevant for jazz in many global contexts, as it is for the Cape since the literature on jazz has become more cosmopolitan.⁴⁸ Mankunku lived as an autodidact and took advantage of minimal opportunities to grow his craft. In the fashion of his kindred spirit, John Coltrane, Mankunku never stopped working. The work ethic involved moving in the margins and engaging with underground networks, Deleuze's molecular lines. His pedagogy, I argue, became his archive. In the 1960s, jazz pedagogy took its first institutional steps. New rehearsal bands sprang up whose primary purpose was to experiment with new models of music-making. Mankunku recalls that he formed such a band in Alexandra, Johannesburg called The Cliffs, a band which spent two years in rehearsals but never performed for an audience. Mankunku describes it as one of the best bands he ever played in.⁴⁹ In a recent interview the 1970s, Mankunku recalled a time when gigs dried up and woodshedding was all there was:



⁴⁷ Lawrence Kramer, *Musical Meaning: Toward a Critical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 242–67. Kramer reads Coltrane's disassemblage here as a reaction to the "unqualified idealism" of Du Bois's generation.

⁴⁸ See *Uptown Conversation: The New Jazz Studies*, ed. by Robert G. O'Meally, Brent Hayes Edwards, and Farah Jasmine Griffin (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004). This book presents a critique of linear modernist narratives in jazz. It signals a move away from what the authors identify as three key signifiers in the official narrative of American jazz as articulated by Ken Burns, Winton Marsalis and others in the famous documentary series, *Jazz*, these signifiers being: "modernity, America and the apex of artistic genius" and represented in the figure of Louis Armstrong. The linear developmental narrative in this series, O'Meally *et al.* argue, forecloses on the work that jazz might do in its relation also to the present and in the constitution of the future. In 2012, historian Robin Kelley published a new work examining how, for instance, modern Africa figured in reshaping jazz in the 1950s and 1960s, how modern jazz figured in the formation of modern African identity, and how various musical convergences and crossings shaped the political and cultural landscape on both continents. The book explored transnational encounters between musicians, seeking to explain how these encounters provided ground for new musical practices and experience. See Kelley.

⁴⁹ Mankunku.

[W]e never stopped playing. Never! Never went away from the music. We'd be home. Some work, practising, listening. It's just we weren't seen.⁵⁰

Not being seen means moving outside of the panopticon in a sense attributed to Du Bois earlier. As a member of the band *Oswietie*, Robbie Jansen, caught up in Luanda during the last throes of the Angolan Civil War, also found time to woodshed the hours away:

We were searchers, listening to every kind of music we could lay our hands on. Seeing all the killing and not being involved in it created an urgent need to make our instruments effective and expressive voices.⁵¹

Here, war constrained them; and this constraint is the converse of hypervisibility. Not being seen may be a converse of the copycat scene (discussed elsewhere in this chapter). Unlike the state broadcaster, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), the Cape Arts Centre established by Merton Barrow in the early 1960s, was notable in its ecumenical and even experimental approach to pedagogy. Besides studying John Coltrane as his singular inspiration, Mankunku places Merton Barrow and Midge Pike high up on his list of influences. Here Merton Barrow waxes lyrical about playing with Mankunku:

We used to go down to the Art Centre on a Sunday evening and get there at about 7:30 in the evening. [Midge Pike] used to play a "raga" as he would call it. He would play, and then we would get into free interpretations which was unbelievable. It was a big challenge to play along with them. And an honour to play with some of these people. Winston was unbelievable. Those are [*sic*] marvellous days.⁵²

This period between 1959 and 1963 was productive for building jazz in the city. Maxine Macgregor cites Chris Macgregor describing the intense and adaptable working environment at the Ambassador, a club run by pianist Abdullah Ibrahim:

⁵⁰ Gwen Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music, and Politics in South Africa* (Continuum International Publishing Group, 2005), p. 149.

⁵¹ Ansell, p. 152.

⁵² Merton Barrow, Interview with Merton Barrow
<<http://www.afribeat.com/sajazz/education/jazzworkshop.htm>> [accessed 27 November 2017].

Cape Town was a Mecca of jazz in 1957. They would spend the whole weekend in the place rehearsing. There'd be dancers in one corner, weight-lifters and boxers in another corner, and then groups of people sitting around drinking and chatting. Sometimes on stage, you could have three trumpeters, six saxophonists, two trombones and a succession of drummers and bassists of all colours, completely multiracial. There would be some zozos sleeping under the piano, some others fighting in a corner, all this must have seemed a bit strange sometimes!⁵³

The Ian Bruce Huntley Collection – a collection of audio recordings of performances during the 1960s in Cape Town – gives a sense of the intensive experimentation during this period. Recordings of Mankunku's tutelage are preserved there.⁵⁴ The recordings, made at several venues around town, document a dual concern with mastery of the standard jazz repertoire, and with more adventurous work coming from the USA, such as Eric Dolphy and John Coltrane. It has original material from South African jazz, including covers of works by The Jazz Epistles, compositions by Barrow, Chris Schilder and others.⁵⁵ Duke Ellington's compositions feature prominently. Musicians in the black avant-garde took on board the problem of becoming through this struggle with improvisational art and, in so doing, came to represent an expression of the avant-garde abroad. Fred Moten engaged Ellington's legacy to argue for a privileging of the avant-garde in the discussion of black performance. In the South African context, bandleader Peter Rezzant remarked on what he called Duke Ellington's 'African' sound, while Kippie Moeketsi used Ellington as a metonym for jazz sophistication at a remove from its raw or vernacular forms in *mbaqanga*. South Africa's key musical innovators, including Abdullah Ibrahim, Chris McGregor and, to a less obvious extent,

⁵³ McGregor, p. 7.

⁵⁴ See Chris Albertyn, 'ElectricJive: Keeping Time: 1964 - 1974 The Photographs and Cape Town Jazz Recordings of Ian Bruce Huntley', *ElectricJive*, 2013 <<http://electricjive.blogspot.com/2013/09/keeping-time-1964-1974-photographs-and.html>> [accessed 6 September 2014].

⁵⁵ Ian Bruce Huntley recorded it. See Struan Douglas, 'The Story of South African Jazz: Photographer Ian Bruce Huntley', *Afribeat.Com* <<http://www.afribeat.com/sajazz/history/capetown64to67.htm>> [accessed 5 October 2017].

Winston Mankunku, have harnessed Ellington's teachings. Chris McGregor recalled his engagement with Ellington's work in the following terms:

He was one of my wake-up experiences. Looking back, I wonder if it was not because I heard in him a certain solution to the problem of black traditions in a white world. I think that he came from an environment, not the same but with parallels to the scene that I have just been describing. And he found out how to organise all that, how to make it last give an order to an improvised situation which still respected the individuality of the people involved; how to use these elements to make compositions with a true sense of composition, with a true direction and unity.⁵⁶

There are notable parallels with efforts to build and codify a big band as pedagogy at the Cape Arts Centre, especially the reported influence of figures such as Cecil Taylor, who impacted Winston Mankunku. Improvising and arranging sat at the core of this work.

Ellington's example is present in each location.

There is a *second* reason for discussing Mike Perry's mention of "My Favourite Things" on Signal Hill – it has a sonic relation to its obvious visuality.⁵⁷ The foothills of Table Mountain and Signal Hill form a resonating bowl. When one stands on Signal Hill overlooking the city 'bowl,' it is possible to hear the amplified sounds of car engines, or horns bellowing from individual cars, or boats in the harbour. One might even hear the Islamic call to prayer.

Mankunku's horn was similarly individuated above the din of the city. It situated the Cape Arts Centre building between Signal Hill and the ocean. The anecdote is both not surprising and evocative. There is another sonic phenomenon that emanates from Signal Hill daily: the city still fires the colonial Noon Gun, a device whose boom regulated time and movement in the harbour in its glory days as a global port. Since the start, the gun has issued a daily report

⁵⁶ Cited in McGregor, p. 14.

⁵⁷ In the sense that it recalls Baderoon's discussion of Signal Hill as a kind of "optical unconscious" for representations of Cape Town. Baderoon, p. 2ff.

at noon. We listen against a veil of ambient familiarity, argues Roland Barthes.⁵⁸ Also, for Jean-Luc Nancy, a sound makes into a semi-presence the whole system of sounds. Nancy distinguishes noise which, for him, does not give a sense of the state of the immanence of an intrinsic family of sensations.⁵⁹ Signal Hill manifests as a visual trope in cultural memory – it has been the premier vantage point from which landscape paintings have depicted Cape Town. There are other sonic markers notable here. The pre-industrial village bell was a permanent marker of territory for those within its reach.⁶⁰ We may allow that the Noon Gun as a curious example of acousmatic sound in the city. While most city dwellers know the general direction whence comes the daily sonic boom, they cannot pinpoint it. There is an urban sonic poetics to hearing Mankunku from Signal Hill playing “My Favourite Things.” One may consider it a version of his persona as Winston Mann playing behind the veil. Likewise, in an earlier age, it was Tem Hawker operating nomadically across the spatial divides of the Eastern and Western Cape, and disappearing behind it into Langa.

There is a further happy coincidence to the fact it was at the Noon Gun Restaurant in the early 1980s that Mankunku and Perry renewed their collaboration and from which they built a relationship of trust which enabled Mankunku to imagine his second major project, the album *Jika* (discussed in the next chapter). Here I describe the song Yakh'al Inkomo with its sonic assemblage, pointing to a poetics of the subject. Readings of Yakh'al Inkomo (the cry

⁵⁸ Roland Barthes, *The Responsibility of Forms: Critical Essays on Music, Art, and Representation* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1985), p. 247.

⁵⁹ Jean-Luc Nancy, *Listening*, English-language ed., 1st ed. (New York: New York: Fordham University Press, 2007), pp. 7–17.

⁶⁰ Michael Bull, Alan Corbain, and Les Black, ‘The Auditory Markers of the Village’, in *The Auditory Culture Reader* (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2003), p. 117ff. *From the Bell Tower*, a familiar radio programme to South Africans of a certain generation would draw on this memory of a sonic register – the church bell. Similarly, the sound of the athaan (the Muslim call to prayer) is also part of this system of meaning in place. In a documentary film following one of the last families to leave District Six in the early 1980s, *Last Supper in Horstley Street*, its chief protagonist laments the absence of the call to prayer in the area to which the family has been condemned.

of the bull) foreground a transcendentalism in his performance that the bull is crying, inferring that it is a cry of black pain. In a similar vein, we may cast Robbie Jansen's output in terms of an expressionist longing for freedom. At a subjective level, Mankunku's voice expressed what Merton Barrow thought was evident in his tone and expression (as was the case with Coltrane):

When you listen to Winston's playing and how he expressed himself on that horn and what he was feeling inside is evident when you listen to him playing. It must have been agonising for him to be told you can play not 'there' or you must have certain papers to be 'here.' And this came out in his music. A lot of players from that era and in those situations, like Cups 'n Saucer. There was so much going on.⁶¹

We may stretch the acousmatic image to include the song *Yakhal' Inkomo*. I argue that Mankunku's object voice is the tenor saxophone here, drawing sonic attention to itself and also drawing symbolic attention to its mark as the cry of the bull, presenting the ambiguity of the drive and the production of desire. Mike Perry presents an atmosphere which seals Mankunku's reputation as a voice of the people with *Yakhal' Inkomo*:

Because for me on *Yakhal' Inkomo* the saxophone is avant-garde, the bull is really hurt, and the bull is complaining and crying and that is how come a simple song like that with a simple vamp and a 1 6 2 5 progression and a clever bebop semi-tonal thing, can penetrate the entire country and the ANC camps. It was known as far as [the ANC camps in] Tanzania.⁶²

It speaks of collective subjectivity. Perry recalls Mankunku's invocation when they discussed the project: "Let's do this one for people." For Perry, this meant no long solos, "nothing too avant-garde, although we will sneak certain things in Michael."⁶³ As part of cultural memory,

⁶¹ Struan Douglas, 'The Story of South African Jazz. Volume One', *Afribeat.Com* <<http://www.afribeat.com/sajazz/education/jazzworkshop.htm>> [accessed 16 October 2017].

⁶² Perry. As I argue in a subsequent chapter, Mankunku's later work – notably the album *Jika* (literally "get moving or jiving"), in which phonographic and folkloristic elements are vocalised, fusing especially John Coltrane's influences with stylistic elements from *mbaqanga* vocal jive of the 1950s – communicates a more militant and celebratory atmosphere, arguably epitomising the spirit of the 1980s.

⁶³ Perry.

Mankunku's song 'Yakhal' Inkomo is resonant. Reportedly, the cry of a bull is considered necessary in a traditional sacrificial ritual. It is a mark of the ritual's success.⁶⁴ The title, "Yakhal' Inkomo," also has a literary referent, a collection of poems (and its title poem) with the same title by Mongane Serote. Serote got the name for his collection from artist Dumile Feni, in whose description it refers to the cry of cattle. The cry of the bull is the irruption caused by witnessing the suffering of one's kindred.

In a discussion of acoustic assemblages, Gavin Steingo argues that the construction of sonic assemblages points to an alternative epistemology, and even ontology, characterised by radical openness – one which challenges the rigidity of categories such as life/ death, human/ animal and so on. For Steingo, this openness enables one to consider transductions across entities and domains. Here one may hear the traces of a different acoustic relation to that espoused by the market and the state. The adaptation of a phonographic assemblage enables such transduction.⁶⁵ It also echoes the Deleuzian non-humanist cosmology which enables "becoming intense" and "becoming animal."⁶⁶ There is a further echo of the bull cry worth putting into play here as a comparison. Making 'Yakhal' Inkomo took a toll on Mankunku – he enjoyed none of its commercial success, leaving him emotionally and financially devastated. It took more than a decade to build the confidence to embark on the *Jika* project in the 1980s. Besides being acclaimed as a musical contribution to South African jazz (and

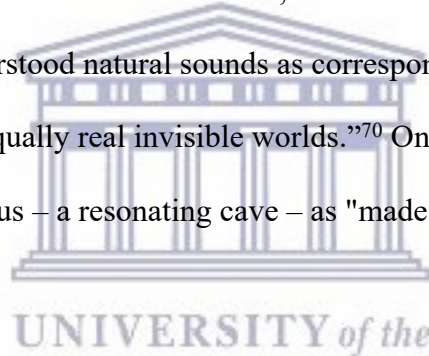
⁶⁴ There is a resonance with broader experiences of horn performance and voice such as the sacred performance of *shofar*. In his discussion of voice, Mladen Dolar evokes Theodore Reik's analysis of the Shofar, a horn used as an ancient instrument in Jewish rites. The secret, he writes, lies in Freud's *Totem and Taboo*. The anxious, tone of shofar becomes understandable by the reminiscence of a roaring bull. It obtains significance by presenting, to the listener, the anxiety of the divine father. The horn, embodying the bull voice is a signifier and an act. The voice has the power to turn words into actions Mladen Dolar, *A Voice and Nothing More*, Short Circuits (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2006), p. 53.

⁶⁵ Steingo, p. 125. The boys who herd cattle in Soweto have different whistling calls for dogs and for praising a cow, as do the men who ride horse-drawn carts have different whistles for commanding their charges. Steingo talks about praising a cow that produces much milk and increasing the sexual tendency of a bull. Steingo.

⁶⁶ Deleuze and Guattari, p. 233ff.

making a territorial claim as Cape jazz),⁶⁷ It is considered the best-selling jazz album in South African history. The song may represent a plateau in a longer becoming – a reterritorialisation of the singing voice and the biological.⁶⁸ We may read it as a reterritorialisation of black as biological. The cry of the bull at slaughter has its metaphorical equivalent in the wail of the tenor saxophone, by this stage well-schooled in John Coltrane's idiom, which Mankunku had been studying for most of the decade leading up to it.

Mankunku's disassemblage, to use Kramer's earlier notion, invokes the voice as a mark of Moten's resistance to objection that has a particular association with cattle, pre-colonial markers of identity, and with colonial conquest – and hence, with commodification.⁶⁹ By analogy, according to historian Richard Cullen Rath, both Native Americans and European settlers in early America understood natural sounds as corresponding to animate sources, “as bridges between visible and equally real invisible worlds.”⁷⁰ One might hear the thundering sounds emanating from Moodus – a resonating cave – as “made by some great spiritual



⁶⁷ Colin Miller, *Cape Jazz Collection: Real Book' of South African Jazz Tunes* <http://www.sheetmusic.co.za/p_capejazz> [accessed 27 March 2018]. Colin Miller, *Cape Jazz Collection: Real Book' of South African Jazz Tunes*, accessed 27 March 2018, http://www.sheetmusic.co.za/p_capejazz.

⁶⁸ Deleuze and Guattari, p. 233ff.

⁶⁹ The notion of the bull and the black as akin to cattle has echoes from the epoch of Tem Hawker and earlier. The nineteenth-century activist Charlotte Maxeke addressed a London audience on the likeness of blacks to cattle in her plea to the colonial government in London: “Let us be in Africa even as we are in England. Here we are treated as men and women. Yonder we are but as cattle.” Maxeke's plea directly invoked prevailing notions of the human to a nineteenth-century European audience. One may also speculate about the affective connection to the impact of the cattle killing of a few years earlier than this utterance. It marks a longer lineage of intensities evoked through animal motifs – in what Deleuze may call “becoming animal.” See Erlmann, p. 13.

⁷⁰ Kane, p. 2. Also, the voicing of animals also occurs, for Louise Meintjes, in singer Mahlatini's representation as a lion [and sometimes as bull] on international releases, reflecting the more recent exotic characterisation of his bass groaning voice as a “roar.” It marks the shift in the role he is heard to play in the group, and in the particular features of the sound its nomenclature marks. In the South African recording studio, the sound is talked about in English as a “goat voice” by musicians such as Aaron Lerole, who was the first to sing in this bass style (called *ibhodlo* in isiZulu) in the early 1960s. See Louise Meintjes, *Sound of Africa!: Making Music Zulu in a South African Studio* (Duke University Press, 2003), p. 216ff.

being." The truth about the value of the commodity, said Moten, is tied to the impossibility of its speaking. To invoke the machining of its voice is to code a vocabulary of black difference, for bringing it into the domain of the actual, to bring a sense of transcendence into play with matter.

“Nomad Jez” and visual folklore: Robbie Jansen

Robbie Jansen, another expressionist, had to mark himself as nomad. He harnessed a hybrid signifier to the colloquial sense of his album title “Nomad Jez.” Jansen can reach for the primitive, to evoke the primal *piekniek*. Like Mankunku, Jansen is a *skollie*. But unlike Winston, he has to claim the rural and the archaic. It is not bequeathed to his liberated self. He moves back towards the *boejong*. Why do we hold individuation up in this regard?

Nomadism is one ethical strategy under repression. I use the notion of individuation and a postcolonial politics and echo David Scott’s politics of self-fashioning, of individuation. His intent is not to deny the direct inscription of colonial/postcolonial violence on the subject body. He proposes to focus on those who make their lives in the state’s shadow.⁷¹

The bush, as we saw in Chapter Two, is constructed as archaic in this hyper-urban discourse, contrasting with the familiar sonic environment of the city, and of the colonial, and historical, city particularly. But the divide between them is not so neat. The bush is a constant presence in the racialising city since the marginalised inhabit spaces on the outskirts of the city. For example, Tem Hawker’s daughter, Mittah Sotiya, recalls:

⁷¹ David Scott, *Refashioning Futures: Criticism after Postcoloniality*, Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999), p. 212. Scott holds that the post-Bandung Jamaican nationalist-modern project established a horizon concerning which the movement from alienation to realisation was judged. In the immediate post-independence period, the 1960s and 1970s, when the figure is named as such in popular musical discourse, the *ruud bwai* (rude boy) outlaw-as-folk-hero was recoupable for a Fanonian narrative of revolutionary-liberationist overcoming (from alienation to realisation, from lumpen to militant).

For the practice, my father used to take [his band members] to the bushes, in fact, where we are staying now. This area was jungle then. They were actually taught in the jungle⁷²

It marks the bush as an antithesis of a sacred burial ground. There is, I argue, a converse to humanised landscape, a retreat from a place until only an imagined landscape remains. In history, humans have a habit of inscribing sacred significance to landscapes such as mountains. Memories tied to a place and the making of a tradition could take on a life of their own, becoming fluid cultural signifiers able to respond to a variety of social and cultural needs.⁷³ In such examples, there may be symbolic resonance with the Kantian sublime – the apprehension, or audition, of the void. The bush is the place of the old songs and a place of fear. The uninhabited bush seems to be a trope for the unpeopled, the godless landscape in the colonial imagination, a landscape for Spivak’s native informant.⁷⁴

In her collection, *You Can’t Get Lost in Cape Town*, Zoë Wicomb’s protagonist conducts what turns out to be an interview with the sheep minder, Skitterboud (literally, “glittering thighs”), and his partner, Meid (“maid”, but here a derogatory term for an unmarried black woman, often in domestic service). Both characters lament that the young do not know the old rural dances.⁷⁵ The narrator marks Skitterboud as one of the last of his generation who still knows the old dances. Although the dances are not named, one may infer a connection with the *tekie draai*, *rieldans*, *namastap* and other notionally black and rural dances enjoying

⁷² Rasmussen, ‘Interview with Mittah Sotiya’.

⁷³ See Liz Gunner, ‘Remapping Land and Remaking Culture: Memory and Landscape in 20th-Century South Africa’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, Landscape, politics and the historical geography of Southern Africa, 31.2 (2005), 281–95 (p. 286) <<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhg.2004.12.025>>.

⁷⁴ Spivak thinks of the native informant as “the mark of expulsion from the name of man.” Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 6.

⁷⁵ Zoë Wicomb, *You Can’t Get Lost in Cape Town*, The Women Writing Africa Series, 1st Feminist Press ed (New York: Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 2000), p. 127ff.

revivalist movement in contemporary times. This allusion marks a particular temporal and spatial relationship relevant to the discussion of Robbie Jansen and Tem Hawker's milieu, and its relation to the production of desire. While scholars have read Wicomb's textual strategies and interventions as giving virtual presence to non-authoritarian subject positions, a pervasive sense of place exists in the work. This sense of place locates the central protagonist, Frieda Shenton, at different axes to the setting – the striated urban environment of Cape Town, living in the United Kingdom, and visiting her family home in the rural Northern Cape. One might locate Wicomb's complex geography in the work as a set of intersections involving what I will call the bush as a trope in an imaginary of the Cape. In this milieu, a fraught relationship with the Afrikaans language exists, depicted in Frieda's mother, who shuns it in favour of English as a language of social mobility. The term "bushman" – the archetype of ancient, prehistoric Africa – come to mind. In the film, *Last Supper in Horstley Street*, when the protagonist, Amien Hendricks, laments the family's forced relocation to the bush, he describes a place forsaken by God, a place where the *athaan*, the call to prayer, no longer sounds. Indeed, they evoke Belhar, a place on the Cape Flats, as bush. Musician Tem Hawker's family also describe Langa as the "jungle," as a place with no built environment see.

Neither Hawker nor Mankunku had Jansen's predicament of access to the rural – the former two are marked as rural by apartheid's naturalising logic. In Mamdani's terms, they are ethnic citizens, while Jansen is a racial citizen, marked as a special case – a subject race. Hence Robbie's visual nomadism is strategic, and his becoming the work of *goema*'s refrain from another position. If Mankunku's album "Jika" saw a reworking of pop and jazz in a becoming, Robbie Jansen's work signalled another regime of production. Jansen called himself a nomad. He aspired to be a contemporary musician but came from a place of pop music and social dance. Jansen came from the copycat, fusion jazz scene. This is another

important intersection in Cape Town. It echoes the copycat scene which lived in the carnival ethos described in a previous chapter. However, he was billed as a jazz musician, even though he eschewed the term. “Jazz” as nomenclature took on a meaning of its own, one that is tied to dancing culture.

In 2005, Jansen released an album titled *Nomad Jez*, at which time he was well-established as an elder in the jazzing community, an icon of the regional idiom.⁷⁶ Jansen carried gravitas as an improviser and performer. Part of his claim to such status had been his part on the recording of “Mannenbergh,” one of South Africa's anthemic jazz compositions credited to Abdullah Ibrahim. However, a significant element was his ambiguous position in a conceptual landscape – an imaginary of the Cape. For the *Nomad Jez* album, the cover depicts Jansen dressed as a figure which one may construe as being several meanings – from the rural Northern Cape, most likely a descendant of the Cape Khoi people. Jansen sports a fedora hat atop a blue suit, which suggests the gear worn by Cape Christmas bands. On the blazer is a small epaulette embroidered with an ethnic motif which one could ascribe to the kind which a leader in the Khoisan community might wear. It is the interchangeability of these motifs that is most striking. On *Nomad Jez*, Jansen is joining the reterritorialisation of the *marabi* progression – I IV V – which has assimilated as a trope of rural music in the Northern Cape. The music of artists such as Pieter van der Westhuizen, for example, has become synonymous with *rieldans*, using the *marabi* progression with the emphasis on the off-beat. There are others. But this Cape sound was decisive in forming the *marabi* sound – through *tiekie draai* and other styles steeped in an Afrikaans idiom – as Ansell and others

⁷⁶ *Robbie Jansen - Nomad Jez* (Mountain Records) <<https://www.discogs.com/Robbie-Jansen-Nomad-Jez/release/11004684>> [accessed 9 December 2018].

have attested.⁷⁷ On his album, *Vastrap Island*, Robbie's sound carries a solid sense of the *marabi* progression. It is salutary for artists in this cohort – witness Hilton Schilder's "Grassy Park Requiem," Mark Fransman's "From the Old," and a host of other treatments.

We root the Christmas Band form in the orphic complex which travelled to Cape Town on the oceans. There is a robust military inclination, as Sylvia Bruinders described Christmas Bands as constituted voluntary organisations with an active family and community foundation. Several prototype organisations – the military and Christian organisations exhibiting the military metaphor, such as the Salvation Army, Anglican and Dutch Reformed Christian Lads Brigades – have members wear uniforms and parade in their communities over the Christmas and New Year period. They were male organisations. The sartorial choice of the blazer and hat is such a mark of respectability. Jansen's appropriation of the gear signals this notion, and it resonated with his upbringing in Harfield Village and Kensington (Cape Town), where he kept tenuous links after his family was forcibly removed from the suburb of Harfield Village. This upbringing is in contrast to the disreputability of his upbringing in Elsies River, where his family moved.

To conclude, this chapter has considered a poetics of voice in a dynamic of the modern and the archaic - threaded through this thesis - in pursuing renewal and self-fashioning or individuation in a jazzing milieu. It has helped contextualise the struggles of colonised subjects to harness the folkloric and the urban in performative individuation by considering the work of three artists: Tem Hawker, Winston Mankunku and Robbie Jansen. Tem Hawker is an archetype of the modern in African jazz in the sense that he brought and helped popularise writing both as sheet music and as the phonographic method to jazzing pedagogy.

⁷⁷ Ansell, p. 30.

In this, he helped pave the way for Mankunku's phonographic disassemblage of avant-garde jazz in the 1960s. The next chapter continues the theme of individuation through jazzing performance, considering how the voice articulates with nomadology in the strategies of three musicians.



Chapter five: Sound, individuation and the voice

Introduction: Manifesting the phonographic voice

The voice has made several appearances in this thesis so far. It is present as sonic muteness in *atja* performance ('Apache,' devil and horse), devoid of speech, but accompanied with a sense of dread performed in the presence of a booming two-headed drum, a command from an archaic world, and commenced as non-speech. Before the *atja*, the song "Daar kom die Alibama" conjured with the relation between writing and speech, as discussed in Chapter Two. Since we receive the song after the advent of the phonograph, we might conclude that the 'blackvoice' inflexion in "Alibama" is phonographic.¹ Finally, the preceding chapter referred to musicians mobilising the voice in pursuit of a new ethics of black urbanity against apartheid's difference, and I focus further on that process in the present chapter.

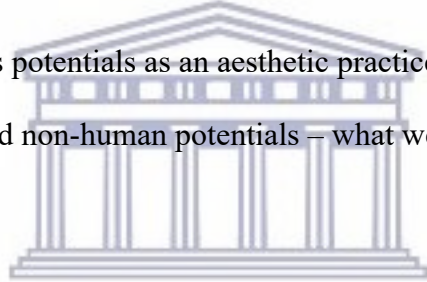
An audit of the voice in this sense may yield a trace of individuation (or self-naming) at work, of its conditions of possibility. With the artists discussed in this chapter, a vocal trace of urban musicking inside *marabi*, vocal jive and *goema* is audible. For example, with the album *Jika*, Winston Mankunku worked integrally with studio techniques to reproduce the radical atmosphere of its time in a sound object. It worked sound recording to produce a popular voice. Beside Mankunku's *techne*, a dynamic of mimesis and alterity produced a disreputable or *oorlams*² figure in Robbie Jansen's alto saxophone and singing voice – both

¹ "Alibama" has been recorded many times over the twentieth century. For example, the musician David de Lange recorded and published it as early as 1900 on a 78 r.p.m shellac disc. See Die Welgens Buikerbossis-Orkes and David De Lange, *Daar Kom Die Alibama*, 1900 <<http://samap.ukzn.ac.za/audio-people/de-langedavid>> [accessed 22 June 2018].

² In the thirty years between 1840 and 1870, a new underclass came into being on the highveld of South Africa. The members of this class were known to the Boer society of what became the Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR) as "inboekselings" (indentured persons), the unfree servants of the white households in the interior. The word *oorlams* in Cape Afrikaans has come to signify a specific attitude of independence, of troublesomeness, even arrogance ("uppity"). For a discussion of its meaning as "stupidly, arrogantly, mulishly intransigent: respectable/disreputable, experienced, clever, wily," see Stone, p. 258.258ff., <http://hdl.handle.net/11427/13547>. See Peter Delius and Stanley Trapido, 'Inboekselings and Oorlams: The Creation and Transformation of a

critical elements of his performance.³ Finally, besides considerations of *techne* and mimesis, Alex van Heerden articulated the voice's queer, non-human and psychedelic potentials. In each case, the voice works distinct modes of the phonographic as archival commencement.

I divide this chapter into three parts. In the first, I set up a concept of the phonographic voice as articulated in media scholarship. In a preliminary vignette, I consider a poetics of voice interpellation in the muezzin – the person who performs the *athaan* or *adhān*, the Muslim call to prayer – and its potential for individuation by colonised subjects. We then consider mediations in studio technology and the emergence of listening regimes as affective phenomena in the South African context. In the final section, I consider Alex Heerden in an artist's pursuit of individuation threaded with a sense of the literary and of the contemporary interlocutor, attuned to various potentials as an aesthetic practice harnessing machinic voice to explore technicity, queer and non-human potentials – what we might call electronic whispers and insect jazz.



The voice and the phonograph

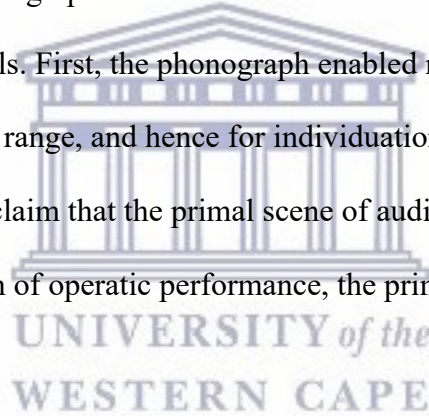
Scholars of the voice have implicated it in questions of knowledge and its relation to power. voice”—this enigmatic entity—was formed and maintained in vocal culture. James Q. Davies seeks to expose the labour necessary to the cultivation of a uniform vocal personality and to

Servile Class', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 8.2 (1982), 214–42 (pp. 214–42). and Andrew Manson and Bernard Mbenga, 'The Evolution and Destruction of *Oorlam* Communities in the Rustenburg District of South Africa: The Cases of Welgeval and Bethlehem, 1850s–1980', *African Historical Review*, 41.2 (2009), 85–115 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/17532521003607518>>.

³ The performance scholar David Coplans reports a contemporary perception that the Johannesburg oorlams mense [literally oorlams people] were guitarists and violinists who brought their famous *tiekiedraai* (Afrikaans; literally: "turn on a tickey [three pence]") music and dance style with them from the towns of the Cape and the diamond fields of Kimberley. David Coplan, 'Marabi Culture: Continuity and Transformation in African Music in Johannesburg, 1920-1940', *African Urban Studies African Urban Studies*, 6, 1979, 49–75 (p. 54).

reveal how “the voice” was formed in history as an object of knowledge.⁴ Voice is bound up with a sense of what it might mean to embrace vocal belonging, to ask after the people brought together in voice, to ask “What have these voices been?” to ask after the investments made in vocal natures, and to ask how it is that these natures become at once so unspeakably beautiful, mystical, and profanely real. For example, Katherine Biers reminds us that empire was built on the consideration of blackness as “a failure of speech.”⁵ Moreover, the voice is inherently intermediary, operating at various borders of which the border of the human, Martha Feldman reminds us, is paramount.⁶

How does the voice articulate with phonograph technology?⁷ In a moment, I will invoke Derrida in thinking of the phonographic voice as archival commencement. In this vein, it might contain several potentials. First, the phonograph enabled new aesthetic possibilities for the voice, for greater dynamic range, and hence for individuation. Hence, Fred Moten examined Theodor Adorno’s claim that the primal scene of audition has changed so that after the phonographic reproduction of operatic performance, the primary scene of audition has



⁴ M. Feldman and others, ‘Why Voice Now?’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 68.3 (2015), 653–85 (p. 677) <<https://doi.org/10.1525/jams.2015.68.3.653>>.

⁵ Katherine Biers, ‘Syncope Fever: James Weldon Johnson and the Black Phonographic Voice’, *Representations*, 96.1 (2006), 99–125 (p. 99) <<https://doi.org/10.1525/rep.2006.96.1.99>>.

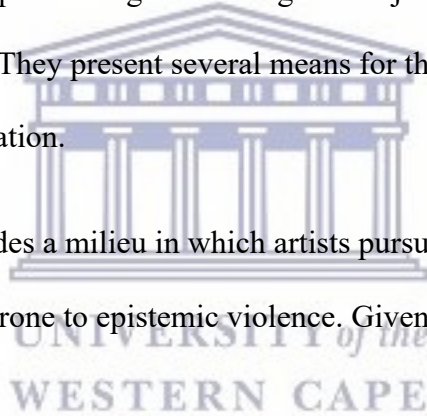
⁶ Feldman and others, pp. 654–59. In another contribution to that article, James Q. Davies asserts that being a scholar of the voice involves thinking about how “the voice” was formed and maintained in vocal culture, to expose the labour necessary, to reveal how “the voice” was formed in history as an object of knowledge.

⁷ While not a primary concern in this study, it is worth keeping the cinematic dimension of vocal sound in perspective. In cinema, as Michel Chion argues, we confuse the voice with speech. The voice is there to be forgotten in its materiality; this is the cost of fulfilling its primary function. A film's aural elements are not received as an autonomous unit – the “soundtrack.” They are immediately analysed and distributed in the spectator's perceptual apparatus according to the relation each bears to what the spectator sees at the time. In movies there are voices, and then everything else. In other words, in every audio mix, the presence of a human voice instantly sets up a hierarchy of perception. The presence of a (human body and) voice structures the space that contains it. See Michel Chion, *The Voice in Cinema* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp. 1–5.

shifted as well: from the theatre to the living room, where people gather to listen to what they no longer concern themselves to do.⁸ This shift presents a basis for the commencement of the contemporary phonographic voice.

A complex process produced the black voice. Recent writing re-narrates the voice for the late nineteenth century when changes in technology coincided with the apotheosis of empire to reveal archival traces of its episteme.⁹ In the 1920s, breakthroughs in electrical amplification technology, which included the microphone, gave singers of blues, country, jazz, and pop songs the ability to project their vocal stylings. Singers were no longer required to have operatic voices to fill a large hall or to be heard above an ensemble.¹⁰ These technologies enabled greater complexity in performing and tracing the subject body as voice, in thinking around an aesthetics of voice. They present several means for thinking about sound and the sonic as a vehicle for individuation.

In South Africa, jazzing provides a milieu in which artists pursued an idea of ethical individuation inside a socius prone to epistemic violence. Given the dominance of historical



⁸ Fred Moten, *Black and Blur*, Consent Not to Be a Single Being, v. [1] (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017), p. 118ff.

⁹ Nina Sun Eidsheim, 'Voice as a Technology of Selfhood: Towards an Analysis of Racialized Timbre and Vocal Performance' (unpublished Doctorate, UC San Diego, 2008) <<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/0h8841kp>> [accessed 28 June 2018]. Eidsheim describes the production of race through sound in general and vocal timbre in particular and investigates how the construction of the black voice – against the backdrop of the normative white – in opera, spirituals, and popular music reflects deeply-held American ideas about race. See also Geoff Mann, 'Why Does Country Music Sound White? Race and the Voice of Nostalgia', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31, no. 1 (1 January 2008): 73–100, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870701538893>. Mann argues that a dehistoricised innocence, a naive victimhood, is crucial to the politics of time in country music, and much of contemporary whiteness. Finally, Olwage argues that we cannot inscribe voice within narratives of intentional resistance, but rather that its resistance to voice culture may lie in its refusal to transform substantially, precisely because it lay below the conscious world of elite protest and choral composition. Grant Olwage, 'The Class and Colour of Tone: An Essay on the Social History of Vocal Timbre', *Ethnomusicology Forum*, 13.2 (2004), 203–26 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/1741191042000286167>>.

¹⁰ Albin Zak, *The Poetics of Rock: Cutting Tracks, Making Records* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), p. 9.

and ethnographic writing about Cape-based vernacular musicking, and outside the literary field, it is surprising how few scholars working with the cultural study of music – before the sonic turn – have enquired after the workings of an inner life beyond its ethnographic description concerning vernacular musical idioms. A small body of work narrates jazzing in an African context, placing it inside a world of creative individuation as with literature and as visual culture.¹¹ This intersection has been productive in telling jazz as a conjunctural story – as with Robin Kelley’s treatment of jazz in the neo-colonial relation to the USA.¹²

Perhaps what coheres in the discussion of Mankunku, Jansen and Van Heerden is an idea of the voice as sonic, and hence one that refuses to sense, and which works against its resonance as a failure of speech. Mankunku reworked vocal *mbaqanga* jive through a machinic voice – occasioned as a tenor saxophone – that interacts with a range of vocalisations on *Jika* and later albums. This machinic voice is present in the piece "Asiyapo" (discussed below), in which a collective of women and child voices articulate non-verbally. With Robbie Jansen, vocalisation in songs such as “Hoya-Tjie-Bongo” seems to track the production of desire in its affective charge and the slippage of its address to its object "Where have you been?" Inside its listening regime, Richard Middleton argues that phonography is intrinsically hysterical:

Cast adrift by her refusal of normative identity, the hysteric acts out a fantasy-theatre, enunciated in the name of her object of desire, addressed – usually deviously,

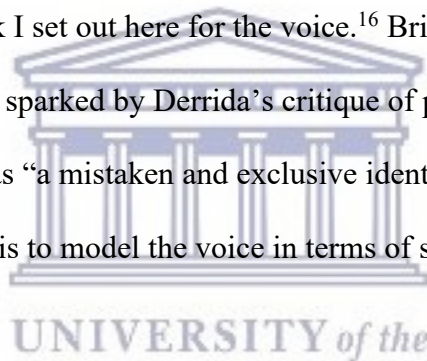
¹¹ The following incomplete list is illustrative: Michael Titlestad, *Making the Changes: Jazz in South African Literature and Reportage*, Imagined South Africa, 1st ed (Pretoria: Leiden, Netherlands: University of South Africa Press; Koninklijke Brill, 2004); Hardy Stockmann and Lars Rasmussen, *Cape Town Jazz, 1959-1963: The Photographs of Hardy Stockmann*, Booktrader’s Jazz Profiles, 2 (Copenhagen: Booktrader, 2001); McGregor; Ansell; Ajay Heble, *Landing on the Wrong Note: Jazz, Dissonance, and Critical Practice* (New York: Routledge, 2000).

¹² Kelley.

indirectly or unknowingly – to a new but absent master. Recorded voice – at least tententially – is such an object.¹³

Here, difference is coded. In particular, observes Middleton, the blackface mask is “proto-phonographic” in the sense that it denaturalises the performance act, hysterically splitting the voice from its apparent bodily source, ear from eye, planting a ventriloquist query. A “disembodied disembodiment” is at work.¹⁴ As an example which exemplifies a trope in popular culture, Elvis Presley performed in ‘black voice’ in such a ventriloquistic mode. Such concern with voice focused the racial dynamics animating the larger social body to the faces and voices of individual performers (white and black).¹⁵

Since Derrida problematised the voice in his critique of presence, it leaves us to align that trouble with the affective work I set out here for the voice.¹⁶ Brian Kane sought to move out of the impasse about the voice sparked by Derrida’s critique of presence.¹⁷ He argues that the object of Derrida’s critique was “a mistaken and exclusive identification of *phoné* (the voice) with *logos*.”¹⁸ Kane’s remedy is to model the voice in terms of spacing following its



¹³ Richard Middleton, ‘Faith, Hope, and the Hope of Love: On the Fidelity of the Phonographic Voice’, in *Music, Sound and Space: Transformations of Public and Private Experience*, ed. by Georgina Born (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 292–311 <<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511675850>>.

¹⁴ Middleton, p. 305.

¹⁵ Middleton, p. 306.

¹⁶ Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), p. 17. For Derrida, the native unity of the voice and writing is prescriptive. Arche-speech is writing because it is a law – a natural law. The beginning word is understood, in the intimacy of self-presence, as the voice of the other and as commandment.

¹⁷ Feldman and others, pp. 671–77.. For Brian Kane, the voice bears the brunt of Derrida’s deconstruction of the metaphysics of presence. If the voice no longer grants access to the presence of a subject, and if a subject no longer guarantees the discourse it speaks (its *logos*), what philosophical value remains for it? After Derrida, the voice can seem quite outmoded and backward, a sad apologist for the metaphysics of presence. The question then becomes: how to return to the voice without returning to the metaphysics of presence?

¹⁸ Feldman and others, p. 675.

movement among *echos*, *topos*, and *logos*, supplemented by *technê*. *Phoné* is the product of this constant displacement among its *echos*, *topos*, and *logos*, modified by *technê*. None of these terms is autonomous or integral. How, Kane asks, can we free the voice to circulate? Resisting the reduction of meaning to *logos*, musicologists often yearn to capture musical meaning beyond *logos*. This search manifests as a commitment to the ineffable, the body, or the Sonic, where the failure of *logos*, like a reversal of figure and ground, discloses *echos* and *topos*.¹⁹

The entwinedness of voice with phonography, then, has several profiles. For one, as Froneman argues, Afrikaner nationalism made efforts to cultivate *boeremusiek* as the folk music of white Afrikanerdom, harnessing the phonograph to its cause, and disparaging live performance. It also suppressed the use of the voice, relying solely on instrumental music as the ‘proper’ folk music of the Afrikaners.²⁰ Yet, this voice in "Alabama" became inscribed inside of the phonographic technology by the early twentieth century. In this chapter, we turn to the voice and its articulation with technology, with the non-human, and with nomadology, in defiance of the state. It considers the voice as the sonic body manifest and explores indicators of its mediation in performance and sound. I audit the voice for traces of individuation or its potential, proceeding through voice poetics as an index of individuation in performance. I also consider deployments of voice in folk's reanimation as mediated by

¹⁹ Feldman and others.

²⁰ Alongside the live music of the dance scene, *boeremusiek* emerged as a listening culture in which the phonograph had a key role. Froneman describes a move away from its association with dancing, which created the possibility for a *boeremusiek* free of adulterous connotations and scandalous appeals to the material body and, therefore, more in line with Afrikaner Christian-Nationalist principles. Willemien Froneman, ‘Subjunctive Pleasure: The Odd Hour in the Boeremusiek Museum’, *Popular Music*, 33.01 (2014), 1–17 <<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261143013000500>>. Willemien Froneman, ‘Subjunctive Pleasure: The Odd Hour in the Boeremusiek Museum’, *Popular Music* 33, no. 01 (January 2014): 6, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261143013000500>.

recording technology, working as an accumulation of affective potential or anticipation.²¹ We may describe the performers discussed here as nomadic users of the phonographic voice, and the chapter traces indices of potential for sociality. If the artists are looking for anticipations of the postapartheid, what is its trace in the voice's use and their performative pedagogies and strategies?

Phonographic vernacular musics have played the role of conserving and commencing the archive of a South African black phonographic voice, which emerges as a dominant medium for troubling colonial fictions.²² Tsitsi Jaji's work, for example, brings to light the idea that the imperial civilising mission could produce subjects adept at manoeuvring across languages, cultures, and mediums. The voice was troubling because it revealed that a teleological arc from premodern "native" authenticity to a staid Victorian modernity might land in the wrong key, a key not easily distinguished from the familiar (literally, too close to Western diatonic harmonies). The imperial ear did not have a monopoly on perfect pitch.²³ In another context, to reconsider critical conceptions of voice within the African-American literary and musical traditions, Katherine Biers reads a process by which sound refuses to resolve into sense. Black efforts at self-naming displace the controlling fiction of origin. The

²¹ In the first chapter, we considered an equivalence between anticipation and the concept of "eduction," which Patrick Feaster deploys in his genealogy of sound reproduction. Following from Feaster, Aidan Erasmus considers eduction in terms of "eliciting from a condition of potential existence." See Feaster, "What Is Education?" See also Aidan Erasmus.

²² The trace here also may lead back to the harnessing of the voice in commercial theatre as discussed in Chapter Two. See Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, Paperback (London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 100.

²³ Tsitsi Jaji, *Africa in Stereo: Modernism, Music, and Pan-African Solidarity* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 45.

noise of black music and literature tells. In a reversal, commencement replaces commandment.²⁴

Prelude: muezzin, interpellation, and voice as archive

Producing the interior subject involves cultural and technical mediation. Voices hail subjects, and hailing subjects extends to the ears. Sonic hailing aids a discussion of subaltern subjects. John Mowitt – working off a different model of the subject to that of Simondon – introduced percussiveness into Louis Althusser’s notion of interpellation. Here, phenomenology holds that meaning is unthinkable without a subject, an effect of the socially organised production of meaning. Shock embodies the sonic event of interpellation in the hail’s beat or knock.²⁵ Mowitt cites Barbara Duden who sees the skin as a genealogical thread and as part of modern subjectivity.

In another register, one may describe the Muslim call to prayer, the *athaan* as an urban spatial resonance for the subaltern subject’s interpellation, and to hail the Islamic subject. Unlike the Christian church bell, which is also a call to prayer in the most literal sense, the *adhān* hails its subjects by starting a participatory communicative practice (typically projected with a megaphone). For Eisenberg, audition of the *adhān* implies an active process engaging not only the ears but also the entire body, including the voice. Upon hearing its first line, pious Muslims repeat the first words “*Allahu Akbar*” (God is great) to themselves.²⁶ The

²⁴ “Syncope fever” emerges as Derridean “archive fever.” Ragtime is a danger to the national musical archive because it reveals that any potential American classical compositions might also be syncopated – founded, that is, not on an idea of democracy, but an alternating rhythm of inscription and consciousness, writing and voice. Biers, pp. 99–117.

²⁵ This seems reminiscent of the line “It’s the heart that beats in District Six,” from one of the hits from the landmark production *District Six: The Musical*, called “Klop Klop” [knock or throb]. The interpellative call strikes and moves the body, hailing it into position. Mowitt, *Percussion*, p. 42ff.

²⁶ ‘Islam, Sound and Space: Acoustemology and Muslim Citizenship on the Kenyan Coast’, in *Music, Sound and Space: Transformations of Public and Private Experience*, ed. by Andrew Eisenberg,

poet Rustum Kozain relates a personal anecdote about a muezzin in his hometown of Paarl, characterising the muezzin's call, in general, as a site where the "male voice in Islam finds its apotheosis":

While there were several muezzins in my hometown, one of them had a sublime voice which could draw tears from the men in the mosque. He was a lanky, gentle, and unassuming man ... [A] loner not typically drawn to stand and chat and joke in groups outside the mosque after evening prayers in Ramadan, he had the manner – looking at him now in retrospect – of an ascetic.²⁷

Kozain's muezzin here invokes a commencement. The muezzin's voice, mediated by a loudhailer, hails the faithful, inducing a ritualised response pregnant with meanings which include textual inscriptions, mediated by technologies such as print, sound, and urban space. We may think of its affective charge as marking territory, both calling *and* protecting the faithful from worldly transgression. Kozain recalls his father's speculations about this muezzin's "scandalous" sexuality, likely his 'queerness,' and Kozain himself speculates on how the man's inner struggle with this may have found expression in his vocal artistry.

Critically, in a Deleuzian sense, the muezzin's voice repeats in secular performance. While the *masjeed* (mosque) houses the muezzin's sacred inscription, its archival commencement runs beyond this world to the transgressive or even the carnivalesque. In writings on music, scholars refer to muezzins in passing connection with the Cape Malay choral competition and performance. The context, in that case, is allegorical, invoking a subject whose artistry has a resonance that one can explain in literary terms, but which also has a sonic, sensory dimension. Unrepresented aspects of his subjectivity that find traction in the ineffable are present and hailing the faithful. This ascetic loner is at a remove from the comic excesses of

Georgina Born (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 186–202
<<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511675850>>.

²⁷ Rustum Kozain, 'The Muezzin and I', *Social Dynamics*, 38.2 (2012), 277–89 (p. 282)
<<https://doi.org/10.1080/02533952.2012.716627>>.

minstrel-inspired Malay Choirs and carnival – the other place where one may expect to experience muezzin’s displaying their vocal talents, including the distinctive *karienkel* of the lead in Cape Malay choral singing.²⁸

In deploying transduction, Paulo de Assis appropriates Gilbert Simondon’s notion for performance, arguing for a move away from formalistic and subjectivity-based approaches to performance.²⁹ The muezzin’s musicality is poignant yet troubling, compelling an engagement with queerness, an ineffable, possibly feminine attribute of the man that troubles Kozain, whose speculations invoke potentials not explored. The performed utterance of prayer has its poetics and transduces something that brings listeners to tears but that troubles anxieties about transgression.

Voice, studio technicity and writing

One may speculate about the sonic artefacts that might accompany the broadcast of the muezzin's voice across the rooftops of an urban space, especially the limited range of a megaphone with the grain of the performer's voice, as opposed to say, its broadcast on radio or playback on a gramophone. For the latter example, phonograph technology enabled new aesthetic possibilities for the voice and enabled new ways of integrating blackness with technicity. While following Kane in considering the voice as a distributed phenomenon, on the one hand, we may consider it as an interpellative structure on the other. We may also place it in the poetics of the recording studio. Here one can think of studio recording as a

²⁸ See Armelle Gaulier and Denis-Constant Martin, pp. 93–94. Here *karienkel* is described as an art of vocal ornamentation. The Qur’ānic chant “is the model for other forms of musical art in an Islamic culture so that it carries at the same time a great religious and a great aesthetic value.” We can see this type of value in the art of the *voorsinger* [literally: front singer] and his talent in developing *karienkels*. It is also notable that moppie performance also carries the mark of the effeminate as a carry-over from blackface minstrel performance.

²⁹ Assis, p. 697. Assis argues that scholars have a propensity to ignore or exclude the non-human part of transduction processes.

form of composition, or inscription, in its own right. We are looking, in other words, for the voice as an ensemble of ontology and technology – to understand how to engage its potential for individuation inside a postapartheid practice.³⁰ The technicity of phonograph recording is part of the phonographic attitude I have been attributing to the twentieth century. Albin Zack stresses the place of studio recording in the aesthetics of popular music, pointing out that a recording studio does not produce an “acoustic presentation” of a written text. It is itself a text, a sonic one; “what it *sounds* like” is precisely “what it *is*.”³¹ Even if rock-and-roll had its roots in live performance practice, it was foremost a *recorded* music or, in Adorno’s terms, a phonographic music. Albin Zak argues that presenting a transparent representation of this natural acoustic reality was never the point.³² Michael Veal associates the sensation of echo with the cognitive act of memory and the evocation of the chronological past. For Veal, Jamaican dub is concerned with memory in the immediate sense; a remix, a refashioned version of a familiar pop song. It derives much of its musical and commercial power from its manipulation of the listener’s prior experience of a song.³³

This relation is instructive because it suggests the dynamic of live performance and recording at play in Jansen’s output and in that of Mankunku. While Winston Mankunku’s album, *Jika*, reproduced liveness as a trope of the atomised performance world in which he moved in the

³⁰ For an overview of the object called “voice” in musicology, see Feldman and others, pp. 654–59. They conclude that when we say “voice,” we are using shorthand for a dizzying multitude of phenomena and interests. Whose voice, what voice? Where is it situated and with respect to what?

³¹ Zak, p. 41. For Zak, the performances we hear on records present a sophisticated collection of elements. Recordists augment certain syntactic elements such as pitches and rhythms. These elements include timbre, phrasing, intonation, and so forth. Critically, the inscription process captures the traces of emotion, psyche, and life experience expressed by performers.

³² Zak, pp. 12–14.

³³ Michael Veal, ‘Starship Africa’, in *The Sound Studies Reader*, ed. by Jonathan Sterne, 1. publ (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 455–56.

1980s, this liveness had already been a trope of *mbaqanga* – a music that has only ever been made for the studio, and hence a phonographic music. Since he was steeped in *mbaqanga* as one of his folkloric influences, Mankunku had no choice but to conjure with a phonographic voice – freed from its pre-phonographic constraints – and I discuss Mankunku and Jansen’s versions below. Later, the literary return to writing and the individual in art was heralded in literary terms and had a sonic twist – readily available in Abdullah Ibrahim’s return.

Phonographic folklore: “Hoya-Tjie-Bongo”

Ethnicity and its unbundling may also be anticipated in this mix of racialisation and technicity. Robbie Jansen’s work seems to express a dual sense of the local on one hand, and a diasporic aspiration on the other. In this sense, and as with Abdullah Ibrahim’s poet discussed in Chapter Two, Jansen is hemisphered. A trip he undertook to Cuba underpins this ongoing dialogue with the Atlantic world.³⁴ There is no Indian Ocean in his world, one produced as pop phonography – in which the recording studio is a key mediator. Louise Meintjes establishes the role studios play in circulating ethnicity. In a sustained discussion of making Zulu-ness in *mbaqanga*, she argues that recording enabled the popularisation of figures of Otherness, African-ness, and Zulu-ness. Different modes of mediation overlap and comment on one another in the production process.³⁵ In this section, I draw on Meintjes’s insights in considering the dynamic of liveness and studio production of the voice as a trope in disrupting the archive even as it repeats it. Next to the deployment of *techne* in his recorded output, a dynamic of mimesis and alterity produced a disreputable or *oorlams* figure

³⁴ See Jack Lewis & Jonathan de Vries. The film *Casa De La Musica*, with Robbie Jansen and raconteur Vincent Kolbe as its main interlocutors, covers the voyage to Cuba. Vincent Kolbe articulated a wish for Cape Town as the port city of the Atlantic Ocean. Cuba in some respects is a figure of preservation of an old world. One interview respondent speaks of the Buena Vista Social Club as a trope of nostalgia in the western world. Cuba is inscribed as a trope of desire. So also for the Cape Town to Cuba trip and Jansen’s encounter with Cuban jazz.

³⁵ Meintjes..

in Robbie Jansen's two voices – the tenor saxophone and the grain of his singing voice – both elements of his performance. Robbie Jansen's performance conjured with folk and, as I argue, it produced this through his technicity and his sheer musicianship. Jansen's output with Mountain Records has a consistent aesthetic which bathes the tracks in ambient sound and the instruments blend into each other at the edges. It has an otherworldly quality.³⁶ Jansen's association with the label Mountain Records began with Abdullah Ibrahim's tour of South African universities in 1975.³⁷

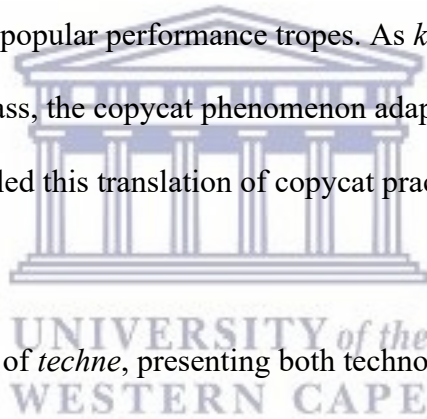
Because of his mobility inside a stratifying city, he accessed working-class and middle-class worlds, English and Afrikaans. His voice – both tenor saxophone and vocal – expressed this. Robbie Jansen is *oorlams*; in an echo of the *Oorlam* of the nineteenth century, he can stand outside the normal social relations as a disreputable figure, but one who has access to both the subaltern and the middle classes through linguistic alacrity. In Jamaica, his equivalent may be a *ruud bwaai*. Jansen embraced phonographic pop and disreputability as technique – *techne*.

Jansen seems to have drawn on his experiences of live variety concert practices such as those at the Star Bioscope in District Six or the Kismet in Athlone and so on - a performance trope in a variation of the vaudeville performer. This trope did not repeat as blackface, but as what we might call '*blackvoice*.' Robbie Jansen then functioned as a copycat who produced a disreputable or *oorlams* alterity as a nomad in what one may recognise as a schizophrenic

³⁶ As is the case with Jamaican dub. See Veal. The recorded sound quality is also merely a result of cost-cutting measures. Patrick Lee Thorp, *Robbie Jansen at Mountain Records*, 2018.

³⁷ Thorp.

process. A nomadology – defined as a way of occupying space – is at work.³⁸ His voice – which we may isolate as an ensemble of the tenor saxophone and the grain of his singing voice – was an essential element of his performance and his nomadic pedagogy. How might we think of this copycat world in which Jansen operated in his youth? The power of the copy to influence its original intrigues Michael Taussig. He defines mimesis as “the nature culture uses to create a second nature.”³⁹ For Taussig, since the late nineteenth century, “mimetically capacious” machines – such as cameras and phonographs – have reinvigorated the mimetic faculty, such that this “second nature” is foundering and unstable. Taussig’s observation helps draw attention to the production of nature here, and to what one may rationalise as its ongoing deterritorialisation. From the vaudeville and minstrel theatre stage, *klopse* carnival adopted pageantry and copied popular performance tropes. As *klopse* carnival closed off and separated from the political class, the copycat phenomenon adapted to phonography. Both the carnival and phonograph enabled this translation of copycat practice into which saxophonist Robbie Jansen worked.



Figuring Jansen’s deployment of *techne*, presenting both technology – the voice, the saxophone – and technique may help to get beyond the impasse along these lines. A duality defines Robbie Jansen’s creative output, moving as he were between the historic, mainly English-speaking suburb of Harfield Village, and the Afrikaans-speaking working-class neighbourhood of Elsies River, where the Group Areas Act had banished his family in his childhood. He worked this duality. Jansen's vocal approach is guttural, as his tone on the alto saxophone is expressive – evoking a wailing quality in his phrasing which recalls the

³⁸ *Deleuze and Music*, ed. by Ian Buchanan and Marcel Swiboda, Reprinted (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press, 2006), p. 21. Ian Buchanan and Marcel Swiboda, eds., *Deleuze and Music*, Reprinted (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press, 2006), 21.

³⁹ Michael Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (Routledge, 2018), p. 252.

enunciations of *langarm* (vernacular ballroom) music. We may say his wailing tone provides a counterpoint to his singing voice. Both are expressionistic, with the former feminine and the latter masculine. In the song “Hoya-Tjie-Bongo” off his debut album, *Vastrap Island*,⁴⁰ the iconic element of Robbie’s style – both his saxophone and his voice – is the quality of the cry. Capetonians hail Robbie Jansen as a true son because they identify with the granular qualities of his singing voice: rough, masculine and disreputable (*oorlams*) in a sense defined by Gerald Stone. It belongs to the figure of the outcast, the subaltern, the prisoner, and some might even concede the voice of an archetypal *dagga* (marijuana) smoker. The following song example exemplifies this vernacular work. Its lyrics include the song “Hoya-Tjie-Bongo.” The song does not conform to a mainstream idea of jazz, flying closer to Afro-jazz fusion. It starts with Robbie Jansen playing a wailing alto saxophone hook on a I IV ii V form, after which he vocalises the unusual chorus (and title) from the song “Hoya-Tjie-Bongo.” We conceive the song in an Afro-pop/*mbaqanga* style made popular by groups such as the Drive and the Malopoets in the late 1970s. The lyrics express a desire for political freedom in South Africa through a personification of freedom as an elusive subject, wondering aloud if it is a figment of the singer’s imagination:

Where have you been?
 I’ve been searching all over
 Freedom where have you been hiding yourself?
 I’ve been looking all over
 Are you real?
 Or are you just in the corner of my mind
 Are you real?
 Or do you just exist in the imagination of my song

Chorus:
 ‘Hoya-Tjie-Bongo!’ x3
 ‘Hoya-Tjie-Bongo!’ x3

⁴⁰ Robbie Jansen, *Vastrap Island* (Cape Town: Mountain Records, 1989)
 <<https://www.discogs.com/Robbie-Jansen-Vastrap-Island/release/4202996>> [accessed 7 June 2018].

Chant 1:

I wanna tell you 'bout the freedom I need
I wanna tell you 'bout the freedom I haven't got.

Chant 2:

O's soek hom, ons soek hom [we seek him]
O's moet hom kry [we must find him]
O's gat hom kry [we will find him]
Hoya!

The meaning of the phrase *Hoya-Tjie-Bongo* is unclear, and one may read it as a nonsense phrase. Yet a few contextual pointers affirm that it invites an instinctive or unconscious reaction. The context of the 1980s is instructive. It was a time of militancy and youthful nihilism, of a search for new signs, for a reconnection with folk authenticity, and the people. The interpellation “*Hoya*” is part of the street lingo of what Gerald Stone called disreputable Cape Town, and which one may parse as subaltern Cape Town. The phrase may register a simple greeting or signal the injunction: “Hey you!” But the key inflexion with “*Hoya*,” as opposed to local Rasta “ahoy,” is “all is good” or “I agree wholeheartedly.” In his magisterial study, Stone himself offered this definition:

Hoijaa!: cheerfully shouted greeting to acquaintance or friend. Similar to hooit!⁴¹

The phrase *hoya-tjie-bongo* registers as onomatopoeia, “*bongo*” having word-associations in English, Afrikaans and a range of vernacular registers: bongo drum, and *imbongi* (a praise singer). Jansen's voice can re-articulate global pop in disreputable terms. For me, this explains his enduring qualities as a son of the soil, a homegrown songster who can copy, but improve. His voice, his vocalisations and his expressive tenor saxophone with its marching band inflexions produce a new disreputable politics that brings his romance of the folkloric closer to individuation. It resembles self-naming, sound before sense.

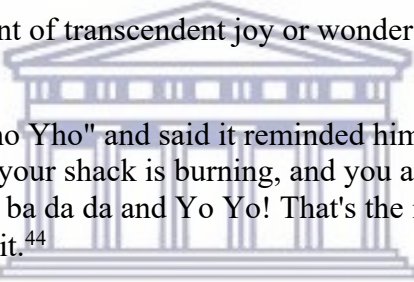
⁴¹ Stone, p. 418.

“Asiyapo”: Liveness and fabulating a people...”

The song “Asiyapo” by Winston Mankunku reproduces what Meintjes calls *mbaqanga*’s curated ‘live’ sound. The musicians in this chapter lived in a later, more militant age than the 1960s, this later period being when ‘nomadism’ manifests as restless, visible and audible. (A new, energised use of Afrikaans for a new generation in the 1980s has been mentioned earlier with the *Voëlvry* movement.) This new confidence was also audible in the freedom songs that were moving back into the country from the military camps of the exiled liberation movements. Hence the *toyi toyi* carried considerable force in the 1980s, not seen in the Cape in earlier conjunctural moments. Mankunku’s album *Yakhal’ Inkomo* and his later work, *Jika*, performed both live and as a sound object, captured this atmosphere through its technicity, its deployment in and of sound recording technology to produce a ‘popular’ voice in woman and child poetics accompanying the tenor saxophone. The sound object travelled in both Jansen and Mankunku’s cases. Mankunku, in his collaboration with pianist and composer Mike Perry, found his full expression in making *Jika*. He recalls that its timing was important, that the insistence on a full studio treatment inaugurated a different listening regime for the work, and that the artist’s work with the human voice worked an aesthetic of the black experience. *Jika* sounds both studio-created and live.⁴² Neither is there much historical connection to rural South African modes of living and expression in which it roots Africanness. Blackness/Africanness, liveness and authenticity are negotiable, provisional notions that are refigured in and reconstituting moments. These moments are aesthetic and political. They hold within them the possibility for artistic and social renewal with images of race, class, and ethnicity, and with the experience of personhood.

⁴² Meintjes, p. 134. For Louise Meintjes there is no live *mbaqanga* sound separable from studio production and no performance practice outside promoting recordings. Meintjes notes that there has never been a tradition of acoustic performance behind *mbaqanga*.

A closer reading of elements from the final recording enables an aesthetic and interpretive reading – about what a rehearsal recording might convey, and how we might explain its power as an object. In this reading, I draw on the foundation laid in Chapter One where I propose elements for an immanent critique, the core of which I briefly summarise here. Fred Moten invokes the phonographic inscription, structured by commoditised memories and expectations of what black music forms can do – a black discovery of sonic inconsistency.⁴³ Moten’s phonographic inscription may be discerned in Mike Perry’s comment on the Mankunku song “Yho Yho” on the *Jika* album. The phrase is a colloquial exclamation of disbelief or extreme pain in isiXhosa. In the vernacular, isiXhosa-speaking women might utter the words during the pangs of childbirth, or when overwhelmed with grief. A person may utter the words in a moment of transcendent joy or wonder:


 One guy listened to "Yho Yho" and said it reminded him of the bad days coming over a sand dune and seeing your shack is burning, and you are still laughing. Ga da da dum ba da da da! Ga da ba da da and Yo Yo! That's the image: We are going to be happy in spite of this shit.⁴⁴

The album tapped into a 1980s structure of feeling – or we may say it anticipates the postapartheid. It prefigures Gavin Steingo’s argument that popular music (kwaito in his case) doubles reality that may seem like a disavowal of ugly reality.⁴⁵ The burning shack, a common occurrence to this day in black South African life, is another scene of atrocity. And yet, the sonic object provides a materialisation of this structure. As Michael Gallope argues, an immanent critique may offer philosophical questions that illuminate the multifaceted

⁴³ Moten, *In the Break*, p. 14.

⁴⁴ Perry.

⁴⁵ Steingo, pp. 3–26.

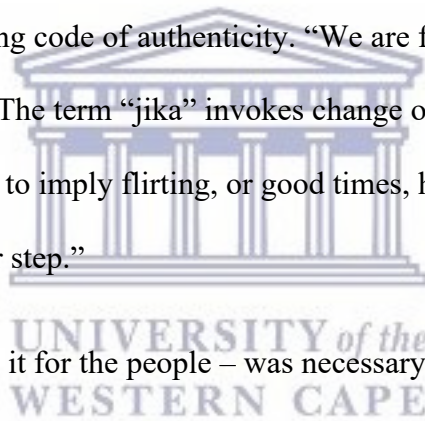
texture of the sonic object.⁴⁶ Hence, a reading of Mankunku's *Jika* output suggests a concern with the voice – both in his compositions, arrangements and in his saxophone idiom. This concern with voice may apply from the *release of Jika* onwards.

The song, “Asiyapo,” (‘We are not going there’) declares that people will not move negates the state’s command to move in the phrase *ukuthenina* (“What are you talking about?”). A first notable feature is an introductory riff which has a funky drum pattern with the bass and piano playing in unison. The tenor saxophone joins after one cycle and has what Mike Perry describes as a base line trill given by Mankunku and with a “Monk-like” quality that sounds out of the key on a D flat chord. The Monk-like trill gives the listener a sense of trembling in and out of key. This phrase resolves into a strong cadence with a strong melody, and contrast is the effect with a strong resolution. Mankunku is portraying his funk roots in jazz and African jive. Perry recalls that Mankunku once played with the Percy Sledge band when the American artist toured South Africa in 1970,⁴⁷ and was hip to rhythm and blues, and to jazz fusion sounds such as those of The Crusaders. The dance of vocals and tenor saxophone is important in this resolution. The song has an ABBCC form in which the A-part is the described unison riff, followed by a non-resolving bridge and then the chorus on C which, in a manner reminiscent of Stevie Wonder’s cyclical tours on *Songs in the Key of Life*, has extended solo and chorus runs to fade. Two melodic vocal cycles appear in this chorus – and Mankunku’s saxophone tracks both mimicking the vocal melody and then extending to ad libs which become elaborate, but which stay on the gentle side. This vocalisation is telling – the saxophone lines achieve a melodic blend with the vocalisations by women and children.

⁴⁶ Gallope.

⁴⁷ Soul Safari, ‘Percy Sledge in South Africa 1970’, Soul Safari, 2009
 <<https://soulsafari.wordpress.com/2009/11/20/percy-sledge-live-in-south-africa/>> [accessed 25 November 2017].

The chorus carries a collective vocal grain – unformed and oversung,⁴⁸ marking the voices of children – vocalising the phonetic “la la la,” and recalling the object voice, seeking to reconcile logos and voice. Might we read this as the object voice which cleaves and bars the other⁴⁹ Another song on the album, “Mikes Mood,” composed by Perry and Mankunku, is a buoyant tune with an AABA structure. On the catchy melody, Mankunku’s tenor lingers in the lower registers while Claude Deppa’s flugelhorn holds the upper line on the melody. It is a signature Mankunku/ Perry collaboration, with Perry’s comping riding atop the rhythm section’s bouncing beat and a tuneful melody. Russel Herman’s rhythm guitar riffs offer a muted refrain. Mankunku’s solo starts with the occasional excursion out of the melody form and then builds to a bold statement with whole tone steps and movement in and out of tonality. Mankunku had a strong code of authenticity. “We are from skollies, but not skollies,” he would often say. The term “jika” invokes change or is an invitation to turn around. It is used in slang also to imply flirting, or good times, hence the phrase “*wajikelez*” – “you are always looking at our step.”



The folkloric romance – doing it for the people – was necessary for Mankunku. He and Perry toured the country with *Jika* and encountered “fanatical” support in the Eastern Cape. The album expressed becoming, a rhizomic approach in which the contemporary world in London played a crucial role. We may consider Mankunku's becoming with apartheid’s disavowal as applied to the Cape, and this case study has explored a deterritorialisation of that disavowal. In this sense, *Jika* as a sonic object points to a musical and sonic realisation of a becoming that is traceable both to the milieu of Tem Hawker, its codification of a *Mzansi* (South

⁴⁸ Roland Barthes, ‘The Grain of the Voice’, in *The Sound Studies Reader*, ed. by Jonathan Sterne, 1. publ (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 504–10 (pp. 504–10).

⁴⁹Dolar, p. 56.

African) sound in vocal jive, and the brokerage of American jazz in as a specific geography of the Cape. It drove Mankunku to make his music accessible without compromising his musical standards. *Jika* expresses that.

Listening regimes: writing a return to the ordinary

In this discussion of the nomadic voice in jazzing, I have considered how phonography enabled new aestheticisations of technicity and individuation. I have considered, for example, liveness as a trope in the state's sanctioned production of blackness after the Second World War in *mbaqanga* production, as well as considered Winston Mankunku and Robbie Jansen's use of these new possibilities in their respective strategies. A change in listening regimes accompanied and indeed helped make these changes possible. This change in listening regimes, subtle though its narration demands, offers a trace of the conjuncture, the transition period in South Africa in the 1990s. One register of this transition is evident as the difference between war and not-war. This register was not in play when Sachs and Ndebele intervened in the debate on a new aesthetics for literature. The nomadism that gave expression to what we call *goema* appeared in aestheticisations of military performance, with the movement of war through the colonial socius and in its radical immanence, its everyday character.⁵⁰ The extent of this radical normality of war is evident in its converse, its demise. Here the poetic whispering voice asserts its power. It had a sonic inflexion. Jaji had observed Plaatje's resonant engagement with the 'musicality' of war:

[F]or Plaatje, the music of war, heard in stereo surround sound, is not merely thrilling but also disruptive, pointing to the insufficiency of both language and interpretation.⁵¹

⁵⁰ A point underscored in Aidan Erasmus.

⁵¹ Jaji, p. 55. In this regard, it is also worth reading Erasmus's account of Plaatje's "audition" of war and interpretative production. See Aidan Erasmus, p. 160ff.

When writers Albi Sachs and Njabulo Ndebele called for a return to the ‘ordinary’ in literature, they did not count this gesture in terms of the difference between visuality and sonicity. We may read the intervention as sonic registers of social change – a reversion from nomadology and a return to striated space. They have their logics, and, through them, one may trace an arc of desire – evident in a change in regimes of listening. Abdullah Ibrahim’s return to South Africa after 1990 provides an instance. Ibrahim’s earlier departure from South Africa marked him as a political exile, and part of what Deleuze called a fabulatory regime in which exile became a political motif.⁵² When Ibrahim returned, his status as an auteur was as much a topic of discussion as the intensity of his performances, and he became known for his insistence on standards of behaviour from his audiences. As a mark of respect, he enforced the rule of silence at his performances. The link with Ndebele’s return to the ordinary is not accidental. I argue that these are both incidents of the insertion into a global libidinal economy. In this, Ibrahim came to embody an auteur-centred concert listening regime steeped in the European tradition as he insisted on behavioural norms from his audiences, sometimes to the chagrin of local pundits. For example, *The Guardian* profiled the following:

Abdullah decided to take control: he wouldn’t devalue himself; he’d demand things given routinely to other – especially white – musicians. This rankled. Ibrahim is known to demand from audiences the respect given classical performers: “He wants total silence and the piano to be 102% in tune,” says [musician Robbie] Jansen. “If someone moves a chair, he stops the concert and goes home.”⁵³

⁵² Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela, and Abdullah Ibrahim were such figures. They existed on the horizon beyond apartheid’s reach. There were conferences such as the Culture in Another South Africa Conference, which kept this horizon in play. Return from exile had a certain pageantry. When Albie Sachs returned, he initiated a significant discussion about the need to return to the ordinary in art, away from politically committed and overdetermined approaches.

⁵³ Maya Jaggi, ‘The Guardian Profile: Abdullah Ibrahim’, *The Guardian*, 8 December 2001, section Music <<http://www.theguardian.com/music/2001/dec/08/jazz>> [accessed 20 November 2017]. For a discussion of “regimes of listening” see Sterne, p. 91.

This description seems far removed from the noisy 'slumyards' of Windemere/ Kensington, where a piercing loudspeaker mounted on an ice cream truck hailed the child named Adolph Johannes Brand, who later became South Africa's *auteur*, known to the world as Abdullah Ibrahim, inducting him into jazz.⁵⁴ It marks a break with the avant-gardist nomadism in Jansen and Mankunku, the capacity to create or adapt to striated spaces. We may consider each of these settings – the concert stage, the noisy township street, and the radio – as sonic assemblages, each with its genealogical profile. Intensities move through them, each having a poetics interacting in different ways.

Alex van Heerden: Frontier rogue

Besides considerations of *techne* and mimesis, musician Alex van Heerden articulated the voice's queer, non-human and psychedelic potentials. While new technologies enabled Jansen and Mankunku's nomadic pursuits, Alex van Heerden, a protégé, to Mankunku and Jansen, was able to enjoy these initiatives and to pursue innovations from these beginnings. Van Heerden's life marks another moment in the production of a phonographic attitude in *goema*. While his journey starts during the apartheid years (he was born in 1947), van Heerden came of age when the return to the ordinary was being heralded. While all three musicians worked becomings in their creative production, Alex van Heerden comes closer to a crooner as he delivered his song in a 'whisper' on muted trumpet or with his voice, delivered in the breathy eroticism of jazz fused with *vastrap*.⁵⁵ The latter is live music whose racial variant – *boeremusiek* – was coded as recorded music, as phonography proper to the

⁵⁴ This conversion to jazz was confirmed when Ibrahim heard Charlie Parker and Dizzy Gillespie on the radio. Kelley, p. 138.

⁵⁵ It is worth recalling David Coplan's remark about the association of the Cape with crooning: "Among the first of the semiprofessional musicians were Cape Coloureds known in Johannesburg as "crooners" or "die Oorlamse mense van Vrededorp" (the oorlams people of Vrededorp)." Coplan, p. 53.

living room. Van Heerden reproduced an immediacy in his experiments with *vastrap* as electronica. The other dimension of his work is his output as writer. Van Heerden kept a blog called *Frontier Rogue*, which he designated as follows, implicating himself in the romance of a nomadic lineage:

South African history has a rich tradition of frontier rogues. Rejecting the European values of the early Cape settlement, the frontier rogues lived at the outer edges of the colony, and at the outer edges of what was acceptable. They were at the outer edge of the collective consciousness of the time. Perhaps they were expanders of consciousness. I am prepared to accept the psychedelic overtones in this statement.⁵⁶

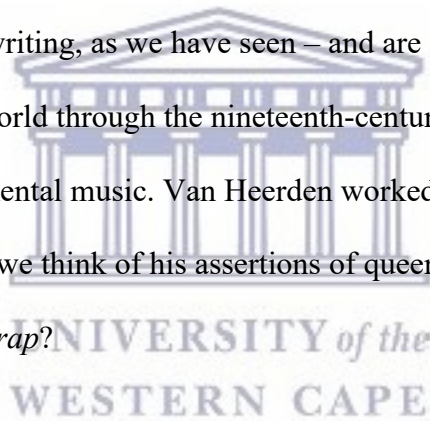
Van Heerden placed himself in a lineage emanating from his mentors Hilton Schilder, Robbie Jansen, and Mac Mckenzie. His alliance with the *oorlams* as a “frontier rogue” itself has a genealogy. Van Heerden was an agent of chaos in this sense, working to break up the sensibility that has surrounded both folk and jazzing respectability. His poetics was often androgynous, on the border of queer, as well as disruptive of received protocol surrounding *boeremusiek* and *vastrap*. He sought to bring the soul back to *vastrap*, to infuse it with spirit. The term “psychedelic” is derived from the Greek word, translated as “soul-manifesting,” the implication being that psychedelics can access the soul and develop unused potentials of the human mind and a concern with futurism. Van Heerden deployed his voices – trumpet, accordion and voice – to remake authenticity by disrupting received conventions. His mimesis and repetition of the phonographic voice introduced new potentials. Pedagogy was critical in his artistic vision, which argued for nomadism as the preferred form of an *avant-garde*, one whose pedagogy is nomadic. Where Mankunku had the band and the Cape Arts Centre as his school, Van Heerden represents a new generation. He attended Mankunku and

⁵⁶ ‘Alex van Heerden: Frontier Rogue’, 2008
 <<https://web.archive.org/web/20080513082028/http://www.frontierrogue.com:80/>> [accessed 19 November 2017].

Jansens's respective schools, woodshedding with them on the road. He insisted on the unschooled approach he adopted.

Electronic whispers

As a crooner, Van Heerden's work evokes John Mowitt's discussion of sonic boom as "both a limit and the trace of the transgression of that limit."⁵⁷ Both whispering and sonic boom occur at the threshold of something. Van Heerden's voice sits at many thresholds, including the sign of queerness, *vastrap*/ quadrille's long association with war, and the threshold of sonic boom (as considered in Chapter Two of this thesis). In one sense, Van Heerden's fusions of psychedelia and *vastrap* in a jazzing platform revisited quadrille as a black sign. Quadrilles bear inscription – writing, as we have seen – and are another archival series connecting a larger colonial world through the nineteenth-century bourgeois piano and sheet music publishing, was instrumental music. Van Heerden worked to visit decoded tropes, to recode Afrikaans music. May we think of his assertions of queerness in this context as a way of recoding blackvoice in *vastrap*?



Insect jazz

In vocal terms, we mark him as a crooner. While he is not repeating blackvoice in any obvious sense as a singer (his chosen instrument was the trumpet), it would be hard to miss the resemblance to Miles Davis via Chet Baker – the latter for whom Van Heerden was a virtual doppelganger. The animal is an important theme in his speculative art. Alex worked with psychedelia, softness, and eroticism. There is a techno-shamanism to his output:

⁵⁷ Mowitt, *Sounds: The Ambient Humanities*, p. 58.

I have a love/hate relationship with jazz – a music tragically stylized in recent years. Fortunately I find myself very much on the periphery of the “human, all too human” aspect of this music: I live in a small rural town on the brink of the South African Karoo desert, and my fellow jazz lovers here are the myriads of insects that appear in my horse-stable/studio throughout the day... Unavoidably, I have to wonder what a jazz-standard would sound like to an insect. Would its time frame be different, the song lasting for hours? The sound of piano and brushes combined with the rustling of wings and the crackling of legs? The machine-like rigidity of insect bodies projecting ritualistic, repetitive tasks onto the abstract fluidity of Lee Konitz or Miles Davis?⁵⁸

In this extract, he is commenting on the limitations of the human in jazz, and then seeking a transcendence of the boundaries of the human. One might be mindful of the discussion of the *atja* in an earlier chapter at this point – the idea of the contained or harnessed devil and the horse. One may keep an idea of the bush as void in play here. It seems van Heerden can revisit these tropes given his privileged background, but can also recode them given his commitment to a new human and his rebirth in the Jansen/ Mankunku and Genuines lineage which he claims for himself. The body hears and then imitates sounds on a frequency all its own.⁵⁹ The non-human and the bush are both combinable in Van Heerden’s vision. His blog captures a sense of this aesthetic at work, which I quote at length:

I have always liked the Davis standard "Nefertiti." The lush chords, the reference to an African queen! And particularly the endless repetition of the beautiful melody. I decided to apply repetition differently: A microcosmic view of each chord, repeating over and over until the innate nature of the chord becomes felt. To a human listening to Davis's version, each chord only lasts about 2 seconds before moving to the next one ... My version simulates the intense experience an insect might have of each chord as it prolongs, swaying, rising, falling... “Nefertiti” was created during a

⁵⁸ Alex van Heerden, ‘Nefertiti/Insect Jazz’, 2008
<<https://web.archive.org/web/20080513162708/http://www.frontierrogue.com:80/nefertitiinsect-jazz.html%23more-22>> [accessed 22 November 2017].

⁵⁹ It is worth noting that discussions of subjectivity have tended to ignore or exclude the non-human component of any transductive process and also concerns the study of music in culture. While ethnomusicology rarely deals with subjectivity, there is a literature on non-human relations. Anthropologists Bernd Brabec de Mori and Anthony Seeger write about an ontology of sound and music performance. Building upon current cultural and social anthropological theories, they elaborate on indigenous auditory perception and its interrelation with what the Indians – and we – know about the world. See Bernd Brabec de Mori and Anthony Seeger, ‘Introduction: Considering Music, Humans, and Non-Humans’, *Ethnomusicology Forum*, 22.3 (2013), 269–86 (p. 271)
<<https://doi.org/10.1080/17411912.2013.844527>>.

particularly hot summer, temperatures in my studio reaching an average of 35 [degrees Celsius] or more every day, languid heat and erotic claustrophobia seeping into the music. During this time I also travelled to Cape Town to play trumpet in the new year Cape 'Klopse' Carnival, and the hypnotic 'goema' rhythms travelled back with me to Tulbagh. Throughout the recording of the trumpet, I was aware of the presence of the Cape Jazz legends that I have worked with: Robbie Jansen, Hilton Schilder, Winston Mankunku, Mac McKenzie; they have blessed me by initiating me into ways of playing jazz outside of the usual stereotypes.⁶⁰

Van Heerden hints at a radical pedagogy here, recalling Ajay Heble's discussion of Sun Ra's seeking to deterritorialise institutionalised forms of cultural domination.⁶¹ He couched his voice in electronic ambience - with a muted trumpet and breathy vocalisations riding on top.⁶² Van Heerden here is an initiate of a *goema* lineage, asking a psychedelic sonicity to register a different temporal order. He moves between the carnival crowd and a lonely studio in the rural Tulbagh mountains. In a postapartheid world of global cultural diplomacy, Van Heerden travelled between South Africa and Europe, notably Switzerland and Germany, in pursuit of electronic music. This line had shaped his engagement with psychedelia and electronica. On top of which, he tunes in to the listening of insects in the "erotic claustrophobia" of a converted stable on a summer's day – what Deleuze in a similar discussion of the sonic world of butterflies would call an insect milieu.⁶³ The ambience of the studio includes insect drones. The description and the recording have a dreamlike quality. The continuity with carnival season is striking in this extract.

⁶⁰ van Heerden.

⁶¹ Heble, p. 130.. Van Heerden had strong views on the conservatory as an institutional form for jazz pedagogy, declaring: "If you want to play in a wedding band, go to UCT [the conservatory styled music school at the University of Cape Town]."

⁶² Alex van Heerden and magnus johansson, *Nefertiti Bar 13 by Smallfunk* (Japan: cirque/cirque.mavo, 2008) <<https://soundcloud.com/>> [accessed 4 December 2018].

⁶³ Ronald Bogue, *Deleuze on Music, Painting, and the Arts* (New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 53.. A milieu is a closed world of elements – in this case, sonic elements - outside of which nothing exists.

The non-human and machinic component of van Heerden's work allows new directions in thinking about his harnessing of a sense of lineage, so critical to the aesthetic he seems to be assembling in his rural stable studio and his sense of the global. In a different context, Ajay Heble, reading from Adorno, had argued that Louis Armstrong's vocalizing on the trumpet points to a desire for mechanisation.⁶⁴ We may think of van Heerden's voice as an ensemble of queer, machinic and a dialogue with the non-human in which non-human potential is pursued.

To conclude, this chapter has outlined ways in which the voice commences the phonographic archive, in the process reproducing a repeat of the archaic, the folkloric. The voice articulates the potential for individuation, a distributed phenomenon. It also interpellates. We may, in this sense, place the voice in a poetics of the recording studio. Robbie Jansen's voice, his vocalisations and his expressive tenor saxophone with its marching band inflexions produce a new disreputable politics that brings his romance of the folkloric closer to individuation. Winston Mankunku does the same with the studio recording. I have argued that the song, "Asiyapo," reproduces what Meintjes calls *mbaqanga's* live sound – one that is very much a manufactured sound. There are not two voices, but only the object voice which cleaves and bars the other. Finally, to the disreputable mobilisation of the rogue, Van Heerden adds the *oorlams* inflexion as a crooner and muted trumpet. As a writer in his own right, he places himself in global jazz company, able to produce inscriptions and to renegotiate the global and explore new manifestations of the folk individual.

⁶⁴ Heble, p. 35. Vocalisation has the effect of assimilating the voice into the instrumental, rendering voice an appendage of the machine. Heble seems to misread Deleuze here. Machining also calls for additional machines. Deleuzian machines never operate on their own but operate on other machines. Heble does, however, capture a sense of jazz as criticality. Atonality comes after chromaticism, in the formal movement of US jazz. With Charlie Parker's chromaticism, jazz started to become more self-referential, not seeking to infer external reference. There is a parallel movement in literary theory for Heble.



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Conclusion

Becoming Folklore

This dissertation makes a case for sound studies as a way to read the archive, for bringing the sonic into dialogue with the visual and with the sensory. By enlisting the Deleuzian refrain as a way to think about *goema* in desiring production, one may configure a sonic archive of Cape music without folding into a representational discourse of (apartheid) group identity. Here the notion of Cape Town as a port city is critical, with a cultural-spatial interface that needs consideration in both terrestrial and maritime registers. Inside this port milieu with its long-term wars and trafficking of intensities, *goema* emerged and introduced newness into the socius on more than one occasion, including its beginnings in the mid-nineteenth century, at the turn of the twentieth century with the age of pageantry, and in the post-war era. On a personal note, I have lived through such a musical reanimation in the 1980s as a figuration of artistic exile – with Abdullah Ibrahim among others - under conditions of radicalisation. This thesis has worked with *two* phases of *goema*'s engagement with modernity: the 'becoming-folklore' of *goema*, and the attempts to mobilise this folklore in a nomadic struggle for individuation.

I argued that the *goemaliedjie* "Daar kom die Alibama" anticipated a modern (Atlantic) era, that the song conjured with war as seduction and, that its form as *goemaliedjie* helped animate a world in the emerging inner-city District Six, below the veil. We then threaded the sonic through a world picture, as a state-sanctioned image of its sovereignty, but also as a site of deterritorialisation of the state's efforts at resolving the native question. While manifest as technological and visual, the modern also contained rhythmic force, so that, for example, the carnival manifested blackface visuality on the one hand, and black codifications of printed quadrille sheet military music as black, rhythmic inflexion and speech. We explored these

forces through the song “Daar kom die Alibama,” suggesting that, at the site of transgression, certain uncertainties presented opportunities to disrupt established racial and gendered signs.

A canteen scene and its sonic world



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Figure 1. Canteen Scene Potter's Inn, Grahamstown, ca 1858.

Given the argument we have made, it is worth recalling that not only the sonic, but also the visual archive contains clues as to the ways one might read the formative discourse of race and its enduring residues in the present. A painting from circa 1858 by Frederick Timpson l'Ons depicting Hottentot “drunkenness, whoredom and debauchery” on the Cape’s eastern frontier helps to place the nineteenth-century “world picture” and the social investments that inform the subsequent discussion of “Alibama” into some relief.¹ Historians such as William

¹ The immediate political context seems to explain the emphasis on Hottentot ‘debaucheries’ depicted in the l’Ons painting. British Army officers had commissioned the work in an atmosphere of settler hostility to

Pietz draw attention to the “plane of social desire” which forms part of that schizophrenic delirium which Deleuze and Guattari claim “is the general matrix of every unconscious social investment.”² In a climate of constant warfare and dispossession, considerable social investment is conceivably in play. Moreover, in the mid-nineteenth century eastern frontier, there were constant and often brutal raids and skirmishes, and dispossessions, creating a context of pervasive warfare in the nineteenth-century frontier world into which the painter Frederick I’Ons stepped.³ In this ongoing state of war, the representation of ‘Hottentot’ troops is notable because it puts race formation in some relief as process and invention. The painting references the build-up of affective potential in writing colonial performance; even as it also marks its transgression. A couple’s dance – likely a quadrille or reel – forms the centrepiece which occurs in a pub, its edges framed by a mountain landscape, and which holds the colonial order in a particular suspension. I will argue that ‘Hottentot’ women figures (dis)appear at the edges of its moral edifice, and its central motif is the gaze of the colonial soldiers over their juniors in revelry. The work depicts members of the Cape Mounted Rifles⁴ and Imperial Troops enjoying dancing or socialising in the bar.⁵

Andries Stockenström, lieutenant governor of British Kaffraria. His efforts in restraining colonists from moving into Xhosa lands served to make him unpopular among the British settlers. Ross points to a “peculiarly nasty” contrast between the Khoekhoe as portrayed by the missionaries, notably Philip and Thomas Fowell Buxton, raptly listening to sermons and learning Latin and Greek, and, on the other hand, the “drunkenness, whoredom and debauchery” of Khoekhoe in a canteen. Notably, the prints were photographed and published commercially in Grahamstown. See Robert Ross, *The Borders of Race in Colonial South Africa* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 139.

² Discussed in Pietz, ‘The Phonograph in Africa: International Phonocentrism from Stanley to Sarnoff’, 270.

³ Jeff Peires describes a one-hundred-year period of frontier wars – between the colonial forces on the one hand, and with polities to the Cape’s east on the other – as “the longest-running military action in the history of African colonialism.

⁴ Out of which the Cape Corps – a ‘coloured’ military unit - was later established. Painting included in the Appendix.

⁵ In a seeming confirmation of its appeal to local settlers, another artist, WHFL Langschmidt, later reproduced the work for commercial purposes. See WHFL Langschmidt, *Canteen Scene during the Frontier Wars, 1850* <<https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=7401946>>.

The scene contains instructive visual cues. The artist Frederick I'Ons came from Britain to the Cape imbued with the aesthetics of eighteenth-century Europe, and England in particular. In the nineteenth century, this reflected a belief in “passive recording” – honest observation of uninterpreted facts. A contemporary of Frederick I'Ons, Harriet Ward, described him as a keen observer of local indigenes, “accustomed to the study of the Kaffir countenance.” This romantic depiction of the noise – the debauchery, cacophony and sexual transgression - of the colonised marks a territorial claim to the land beyond British Kaffraria.⁶ Scanning the image from left to right, we have peripheral elements including dogs and, on the right, the soldiers, the stock of liquor behind the bar, and the bartender. In the scene's middle are several dancing couples. To the right of the frame, the soldiers are in a privileged position, their bodies steady, or leaning against the bar. The dancers are transfixed or engaged in couple formation, conviviality and transgression, inebriated lubricated by with alcohol. The doors and windows in the painting open onto fragments of a mountain landscape in the horizon. The work builds a moral judgement with the woman at its base, at her expense.⁷ The scene seems to present an antithesis of moral codes as depicted in works by Thomas Fowell Buxton for example.⁸ Notably, the racism that devastated Sara Baartman had already established the word ‘Hottentot’ as its object.⁹ The word ‘Hottentot’ later gave way to emerging categories of

⁶ For art historian Marijke Cosser, his work is best considered not for “historical accuracy,” but for capturing the “feeling of the times,” and for his occasional empathy for his subjects. See Marijke Cosser, ‘Images of a Changing Frontier: Worldview in Eastern Cape Art from Bushman Rock Art to 1875’ (Rhodes University, 1992), pp. 82–113.

⁷ For example, Marijke Cosser observes that depictions of a female figure with her blouse slipping off one shoulder are an age-old trope suggesting a ‘fallen’ woman. Cosser, p. 102.

⁸ Robert Ross, p. 139.

⁹ Elizabeth Elbourne, ‘Sara Baartman and Andries Stoffels: Violence, Law and the Politics of Spectacle in London and the Eastern Cape, 1809–1836’, *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne Des Études Africaines* 45, no. 3 (1 January 2011): 541, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00083968.2011.10541067>.

racial ‘mixing.’¹⁰ Race formation, given its work as difference, anticipates a transgression at its boundaries. The soldiers, because of their position and bearing, bring perspective and order to the scene. The visual cues depict the figures such as the pair in bare feet at the front, in mimicry of the colonial dance. If the work has a moral vision, Frederick I’Ons builds it at the expense of the women figures depicted. They cower with children and dogs at the bottom of the scene or exit in despair to the left of the picture. In such a pleasant situation, a crying baby sounds dissonant. Moreover, the social disgrace of unwanted pregnancy is a likely source of anxiety for women.¹¹

The colonial era brought with it the quadrille as its most popular social dance form that was – part of a larger assemblage. We may read the painting as holding parallel versions of the quadrille in play one of which is pitched behind the veil – coded for underclass society - and the other version for the consumption of colonial society or immanent with it (for example, as sheet music or quadrille call cards), loyal to its inscriptions on subject bodies. The broader economy, war and global shifts produced different desires within the colonial world. In the Caribbean context, Helen Thomas describes the African slave version of the colonial quadrille as the “camp quadrille” in nineteenth-century Jamaica.¹² The Cape has a comparable example – *sopvleis* [translated as “soup meat”], a particular brand of black “*vastrap*”. *Vastrap* has been reproduced or claimed in as ethnic ‘branding’ in South Africa –

¹⁰ One can read this through references to these racial codes in narratives of the Cape Corps, and the Cape Mounted Rifles, depicted in the picture. See Ivor D Difford and John Xavier Merriman, *The Story of the 1st Battalion Cape Corps, 1915-1919* (Breinigsville, Pa.: Nabu Press, 2012), pp. 1–2.

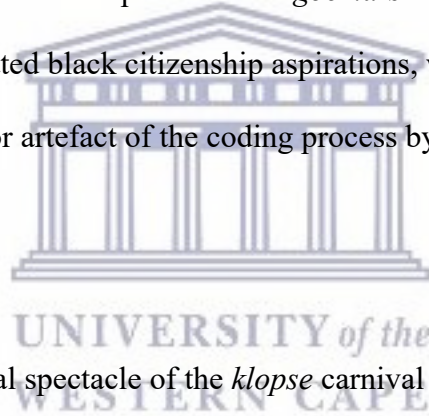
¹¹ As it was in Olive Schreiner's writing. Also see Difford and Merriman, *The Story of the 1st Battalion Cape Corps, 1915-1919*, 1–7.

¹² Helen Thomas, ‘Mimesis and Alterity in the African Caribbean Quadrille: Ethnography Meets History’, *Cultural and Social History*, 1.3 (2004), 280–301 (pp. 291–99) <<https://doi.org/10.1191/478003804cs0025oa>>.

with versions attributed to different ethnicities produced in the phonographic age.¹³ We might also imagine the inevitable slippage between these renditions.

The thesis has described an ongoing relationship between how writing - for example in the quadrille as an apparatus of orphic discourse, of commercial print music and colonial military culture - bore down upon colonised subjects and how these subjects struggled, in return, to produce renditions of themselves within the confines of a new print regime. Imperial inscription – taxonomies of the archive, new discourses of the colonised bushman, native, coloured, sheet music, even phonography – made new imperial pressures manifest, traceable in an audit. The ‘phonographic’ twentieth century – coinciding with the second imperial wave in the late 1880s – presented new pressures for *goema*'s social milieu. While the state in imperial South Africa defeated black citizenship aspirations, we may think of *atja* performance as a by-product or artefact of the coding process by which this transpired.

Becoming Phonographic

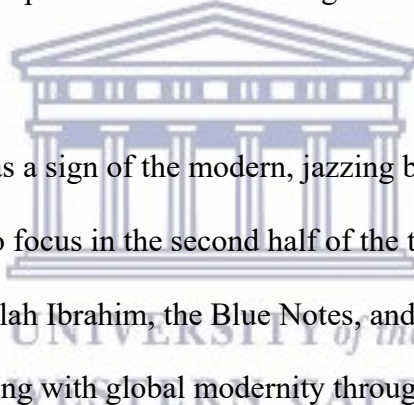


Since the late 1970s, the annual spectacle of the *klopse* carnival marching through its own ‘graveyard’ – District Six, the still-empty landscape of its host community – on Tweede Nuwejaar is both an act of memorialisation and a bittersweet representation of its ongoing entrapment in a commodity relation. Trapped inside a sporting format, an underclass carnivalesque movement insists on a place in a city which is unable to contain its contradictions, its claims to the comic (what Bakhtin called the people's laughter), the

¹³ As evident in Froneman's account of the prohibitions placed on white Afrikaans folk music by authorities mobilising to appropriate *vastrap* for an Afrikaner nationalist project. Here, *boeremusiek* – literally ‘Boer music,’ the name given to this variant of vastrap - is portrayed as forever vanishing, and live performance poses a threat to folk authenticity. This vanishing profile, she argues, is a common trope in folk music scholarship. Moreover, for my purposes, it evinces an effort to harness the phonograph for white nationalism. Willemien Froneman, ‘Subjunctive Pleasure: The Odd Hour in the Boeremusiek Museum’, *Popular Music* 33, no. 01 (January 2014): 1–17, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261143013000500>.

grotesque – including but not limited to blackface – and the disreputable. In this sense, we may speculate that other phonographic forms such as hip-hop and reggae present different phonographic anticipations of the postapartheid for new generations, occupying part of the niche left by the pre-phonographic carnival.

In the story of Tem Hawker, we may also reflect on the gap between the jazzing world and the closed world of the carnivalesque. One may wonder at this gap and what it suggests? Tem Hawker left Cape Town in the 1950s and settled in the Eastern Cape where he continued music-making as a bandleader, until his death in 1977. There is now a growing recognition of his impact on Cape Town, but almost no archive of his performance output. We know he made several unsuccessful attempts to secure a recording contract with record companies in Cape Town and Johannesburg.



From the demise of the klops as a sign of the modern, jazzing brought the struggle for sociality and individuation into focus in the second half of the twentieth century. The erstwhile natives – with Abdullah Ibrahim, the Blue Notes, and a handful of the avant-garde in the lead – asserted a belonging with global modernity through jazz in the post-war years. From these sonic stagings, square dance music or black *vastrap* echo as jazzing in the contemporary city. Robbie Jansen's pop/ jazz ambiguities, and Alex van Heerden's psychedelic urban/ rural queerness come into relief as an emerging engagement with 'folk' identity. Winston Mankunku's 'Yakhal' Inkomo is enjoying a revival of interest by a new generation of musicians and contemporary musicians have reworked it in many formats in the past few years. One may trace this revival to several impacts, including the continuity it presents for local jazz with a broader global idiom, related to local and global experimentation in Cape Town, Luanda, Accra, and other places.

The thesis reads traces of the commodification of performance tropes moving beyond notions of creolisation discussed elsewhere. In particular, commercial groups such as the Golden City Dixies carried the marks of an earlier nineteenth-century refrain in which vernacular performance became tied to theatrical tropes and later cinematic and phonographic tropes. Already, from 1927 onwards, talkie films replaced live vaudeville theatre, with Al Jolson as the Jazz Singer. The film's impact is such that there is still an "Al Jolson" performance at carnival events. However, colonised subjects also sought to produce sociality in the face of these pressures. In a second, social moment, *atja* performance exemplified the archaic within the modern. As a vanishing form, *atja* performance has transoceanic parallels and counterpoints in the Caribbean and elsewhere. Figures such as the minstrel coon, the *klops* and the *atja* represent some of these struggles over codes in the Southern African native question. In the 1930s, this parading of carnivalesque characters and codes was at its height. It went into sharp decline as black political leadership moved away from the *klopse* from the 1940s onward. In a third moment, the phonograph came into its own in an unstable alliance with apartheid. Besides commodification and desiring social production, the phonographic and the folkloric emerged as shades of each other. By the second half of the twentieth century, the state found an accommodation with the phonographic age, harnessing phonography for its racialisation of virtual and actual space and its resolution of the native question – in which blackvoice became a phonographic form in spatial discourse – the township – in comic radio and theatre. From these processes, a folkloric trope emerged in a delayed relation with *boeremusiek*. A comic element in *goema* transducted to phonography, in *boeremusiek*, as white figures producing blackvoice. It explored ways in which the voice commences the phonographic archive, in the process, repeats an ensemble of the voice, resisting the archaic, and harnessing a sense of the folk for a different project. The artists

discussed were able to use voice to articulate potentials for individuation, by conjuring with its distribution as *techne*, as *logos* and as *phoné*.)

In all, it is hoped that this thesis has made a case for *sensory* and *sonic* understandings of *goema*, as an assemblage of intensities and discursive practices. It offers new ways to discuss the energies or forces that moved through the city, inside the technological, and discursive, agency by which the social world was made. It offers a way to consider a “difference that is not apartheid’s difference.”

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Appendices

Figure 3. Cape wine barrel makers.



Figure 4. Goema drum example, modelled on barrel



Figure 5 The Magic of Maud Damons.



Figure 6. Maude Dammons with Kenny Jephthah



Figure 7 Canteen Scene, Potters Inn, Grahamstown, Frederich I'Ons.




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Figure 8 Banjo on my knee, Thomas Baines.



Figure 9 Marching to Uitvlugt/ Ndabeni.



Figure 10 Atja – Mr Kamalie with two-headed drum.




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Figure 11 Atjas – A 'Zoeloe' troupe.




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Figure 12 Atja – Mr Kamalie's son.



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Figure 13 Kramer and Petersen's 'Ghoema' spelt with an h.



Figure 14. Abdullah Ibrahim.



Figure 15. Winston Mankunku's *Jika*.



Figure 16. Alex van Heerden.



Figure 17. Robbie Jansen, *Nomad Jez*.



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