

inherent in narrative because to narrate is to tell of one's own story even when that story contains some contradictions that may seem irreconcilable but had to be lived through to further deepen the idea of African beingness.

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## References

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*Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa*. Christopher Ballantine. 2012. Pietermaritzburg: UKZN Press. 16 b&w images, bibliography, index, CD, 247pp.

There is no doubt that Christopher Ballantine's 1993 book, *Marabi Nights: Early South African Jazz and Vaudeville*, published in Johannesburg by Ravan Press with an accompanying cassette provided a timely and significant intervention in the scholarly creation of a narrative of South African jazz. There were few other South African jazz histories available at the time, outside of David Coplan's *In Township Tonight: Black South African City Music and Theater* (1985); a short piece by Mary Rorich (1989) on women musicians in Johannesburg's slumyards and shebeens; Veit Erlmann had published his extraordinary volume of black South African performance history, *African Stars* (1991); there was an important piece by Dale Cockrell (1987) on the impact of American minstrelsy on black South African urban culture, and work by Charles Hamm (1995, See collection of essays in *Putting Popular Music in its Place*). While the volume was slim, in 1993 *Marabi Nights* was important not only for carving a space for South African jazz in the shadow of the American narrative, but like Coplan and Erlmann before him, Ballantine insisted on the crucial work of politics and culture in both the making and understanding of South African jazz. For musicology as a field, such contextualization was pioneering, following in the epistemological footsteps of anthropology and ethnomusicology.

*Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa* (2012) is an expanded and slightly modified second edition of the 1993 publication, published this time by the University of KwaZulu Natal Press with an accompanying compact disc. What has changed from the first to second iteration of *Marabi Nights*? This is the core question addressed here. The 1993 Foreword written by Darius Brubeck, who established the Center for Jazz and Popular Music Studies and a pioneering jazz program at the University of Natal from the mid 1980s, has been replaced with a foreword by the gifted jazz and opera singer Sibongile Khumalo. Khumalo locates the work in terms of her own experience growing up in Soweto, under the musical leadership of her father, Khabi Mngoma. She writes about choirs, musical mixing, urban and rural connections,

and how she was urged by her father to read the 1993 *Marabi Nights*. I am intrigued by Khumalo's piece, having interviewed her twice, once at Ballantine's suggestion in the early 1990s, and again for *Jazz at Lincoln Center* (2014) when she visited with her group Uhadi. On both occasions I was deeply moved by the power and poetic rendering of South African music history that Khumalo created in those interviews. She is a force not just musically but also conceptually and poetically, but a force, in my view, not as evident in the Foreword to *Marabi Nights* (2012).

The body of *Marabi Nights* (2012) includes four original and very lightly edited (changing words for a more appropriate post-apartheid rhetoric) chapters of the original book: an "Introduction: Memory, History, and Context," and three subsequent chapters providing a social history of early South African jazz. "Concert and Dance" is focused on the foundations of South African jazz (1920-40s); "Music and Emancipation" focuses on the social dimensions of early black South African jazz and vaudeville; and a chapter "Music and Repression," which outlines issues of race, class and gender in this musical moment. The new iteration of *Marabi Nights* includes two new, but previously published chapters (though I couldn't find where this was acknowledged in the book), to extend the book's coverage from the 1940s through 1960, and what is known as the era of Grand Apartheid and the Sharpeville Massacre, when many South African musicians decided to leave the country for greener musical pastures in Europe, England, and the United States. "Looking to the United States," a chapter previously published in *Popular Music*, details close harmony male singing in the 1940s and 1950s; and "Gender and Migrancy," creates an important narrative about black women in jazz in the 1950s, originally published in *Ethnomusicology*. The new material for this iteration of *Marabi Nights* is a brief afterword, largely lamenting post-apartheid musical transformations in a neo-liberal context of the free market and global capital. Here is where Ballantine poses the question of change in the time between the first and second iterations of *Marabi Nights*? His response is largely disappointment in what he sees as a loss of vibrancy in the music, as it has been diluted by a lack of political pressure and the sameness of the global marketplace. It is here I would argue, that rather than ponder the musical shifts, the more pertinent question would be whether his version of South Africa's musical past in jazz might have altered?

It is this question about what has changed not musically but politically and intellectually, that might have made this second iteration of *Marabi Nights* more than just a reiteration of what had already been published elsewhere. While I understand that it is often necessary to create more copies of a text for a new generation of scholars, citizens, and consumers, the new rendering of *Marabi Nights* could have been something far more radical if Ballantine (and the publisher) had taken the time to think about both the "peoples history" and writing history "from the bottom up" contexts of the 1980s Wits History Workshop, and the radical shifts in the contexts of intellectual and musical production that have taken place in the fields of ethnomusicology and anthropology, and indeed, in the dynamics and expectations of knowledge production both in South Africa and elsewhere since the 1990s. While writing about the working class is a good

first step towards writing about people's history, it is not the same as writing with the people who are your research interlocutors, putting their voices at the center of the narrative that is created. *Marabi Nights* (2012) is a far cry from the research and writing strategies that come with of co-authorship (even if others are not physically writing, the scholar shares authorship of ideas with research partners), of opening up the archive to a broader public or even pool of researchers, and indeed, of a collaborative process of writing and representation.

Other clues as to how this book might have been transformed emerge in several ways: first, perhaps ironically, come more from the pragmatics of formatting and primary and secondary source lists than from the substance of *Marabi Nights*, and second, there are clues that came from reading Ballantine (2013), a published interview with Chris McGregor conducted in London in 1986. In the 2012 *Marabi Nights* edition the footnotes have moved to chapter endnotes though none of the actual content has changed. The book has a "Select Bibliography" not available in the 1993 original. There is a new and comprehensive listing of an extraordinary number of personal interviews conducted mostly by Ballantine (and a couple of his colleagues)—about 60 in all in South Africa, Botswana, and London. And there is a substantial list of newspapers, magazines, and historical papers located in a variety of South African library collections. (Though Ballantine doesn't mention those he paid to gather archival materials in either book, I worked as a research assistant for him in 1987 so recall many of these from various libraries in Durban.)

It was when I saw the extensive listing of interviews conducted in *Marabi Nights* (2012), and then read one of these published separately by Ballantine (SAMUS 33/1, 2013), that I began to think about the ethics of the archive, about who owns the knowledge contained in archival resources, who has rights to access the archive, and how new narratives might be created from the contents of the interview archive itself. These questions are posed to Ballantine but also directed to the rest of us who have conducted research, often at high risk and personal cost to ourselves, gathering the words of people from outside our own families and communities. At the center of my unease with the one published interview and the 59 or so other unpublished pieces are questions of archival gatekeeping, the heavy hand of scholarly editing, the lack of access to these materials in the context where there is an ongoing struggle to create new narratives of South Africa's rich, complex but easily forgotten musical past. What struck me as I looked at the extensive list of people interviewed was on one hand, how extraordinary it was that Ballantine had the foresight and resources to travel and interview musicians most of whom have long passed away; on the other hand, I couldn't help but wonder why more of the musicians' own voices weren't archived in either version of *Marabi Nights*, or a similar kind of book/web based project? We are given a sentence here and there, with individuals named, but we have little sense of the personhood of each musician, his or her life story, perspective on South African jazz history and politics, of their own place in that narrative. What else, I wondered, was hidden in those interview tapes that has never been revealed by Ballantine in publication

or any medium of communication? I found the article in which he provides, in his own words, a much edited and even redacted rendering of his interview with jazz musician Chris McGregor equally troubling. We know Ballantine's interview was spread over many hours, but what we are given is just an inkling of the totality of McGregor's life and musical creativity. I wondered, if it was this lack of a larger people's history of musical style, a sense of the voices and stories of the larger black jazz community, an inability to connect to the words without the people, that rendered Sibongile Khumalo's Foreword as a text without her signature poetic spin and insight?

We don't know the answers to this question because despite the reflexive turn in anthropology and ethnomusicology, Ballantine provides no information on why he moved into creating a scholarly field of South African jazz studies, how he proceeded, what were the challenges and opportunities, and indeed, what were the privileges and access to research funding resources that were available to him in the 1980s, that were not available to black South African researchers or organic intellectuals of the 1980s? These kinds of reflections matter because in a historical moment where a new generation of South Africans is posing new questions about the distribution of power and construction of knowledge, much like Ballantine surely did in his early days, such a narrative of scholarly evolution could be truly useful, perhaps even inspirational.

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***Highlife Saturday Night: Popular Music and Social Change in Urban Ghana.***

Nate Plageman. 2013. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 30 figures, glossary, discography, bibliography, index, 318 pp.

'A socio-political history of Ghana from 1890 to 1970', 'the beginnings and development of Ghanaian highlife music', and 'the inextricable relationship between popular music and Ghanaian urban popular culture', are the more enduring themes that emerge from the reading of Plageman's *Highlife Saturday Night: Popular Music and Social Change in Urban Ghana*. In the 318 pages of the book, the author engages with the history, significance, and meaning of Ghanaian highlife music and, to a significant extent, the broader realm of Ghanaian popular music in a coherent, context-rich and well illustrated narrative. The purpose of the book, as he succinctly puts it, was to use Ghanaian highlife music as "a means to further understand the complex dynamics that characterized urban Ghana's fluid landscape of gender, generation, and power during the colonial and immediate postcolonial periods" (12). Using highlife music as a lens through which several aspects of the urban Ghanaian culture can be understood as an approach finds justification in Matczynski (2011), who observes that: "highlife music... represents an expression of urban identities shifting through colonialism, independence, and post-colonial periods. In this way, the history of highlife is at once a history of Ghana, its politics, and its people (11).