



RHODES UNIVERSITY

THE SOUL OF MOZAMBIQUE: An autoethnographic and performance-based study on the correlation of globalisation, *Chopi* people migrations and the reinterpretation of *timbila* music in Mozambique.

A dissertation submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Ethnomusicology

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Abstract

This is an autoethnographic and performance-based study on the correlation between indigenous and modern cultures. It discusses the influence of globalisation, modernity, and of the *Chopi* people migrations to Maputo, the main city of Mozambique and to gold and platinum mines in South Africa, on *timbila* music. *Timbila* is both the name of a musical instrument (xylophone) and of a cultural manifestation, practiced by the *Chopi* people from Mozambique. It is one of the most documented music and dance cultures in Mozambique and was proclaimed as a masterpiece of the oral and immaterial heritage of humanity by UNESCO in 2005. The oldest references by Father Andre Fernandes date from the 16th century. However, the most well-known *timbila* sources were written and recorded by Hugh Tracey, the founder of the International Library of African Music (ILAM), from 1940s. All these sources were based on traditional *timbila* music. None refers to contemporary *timbila* music, which is a mixture of *timbila* with Western musical instruments. The research is thus based on both historical and is new research to understand the role of the phenomena mentioned above to the reinterpretation of *timbila* music over the time.

Performance based and autoethnography methods were selected because of my role as a pedagogue of the music and culture of *timbila*, allowing me to express my knowledge on this cultural expression. Literature review and interviews are the two procedures of data collecting employed to get an understanding of the research methods; the phenomena of modernity, globalisation and of the *Chopis* migration for the searching of better living conditions in Maputo and South Africa; and the approaches of different scholars who have written about *timbila*. The use of these methods and methodologies, allowed me to conclude that, *Chopis* migrations, modernity and globalisation has allowed the emergence of a modern version of *timbila* music; internationalisation and dissemination of this musical expression; and contributes to the extinction of traditional *timbila* orchestras in Zavala.

Despite considerable studies on *timbila* music and culture, this thesis is important and pioneering, from the perspective of studying the influence of *Chopis* migrations, globalisation and modernity on *timbila* and is one of the few sources that approach the contemporary *timbila* music.

key words: *timbila*, *m'saho*, *chopi*, indigenous knowledge, globalisation, modernity, contemporary, traditional music.

List of Abbreviations

AMIZAVA: *Associação dos Amigos de Zavala* (Association of Friends of Zavala).

CNCD: *Companhia Nacional de Canto e Dança* (National Assembly of Music and Dance).

FUNDAC: *Fundo Nacional Para o Desenvolvimento Cultural* (National Fund for the Cultural)

FRELIMO: *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique).
Development).

IDFA: International Documentary Film festival Amsterdam.

IK: Indigenous knowledge.

ISArC: *Instituto Superior de Artes e Cultura* (High Institute of Arts and Culture).

RENAMO: *Resistência Nacional de Moçambique* (Mozambican National Resistance)

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

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I would like to extend my gratitude to everyone who directly or indirectly supported me through my studies.

Dedication

To my father Venâncio Mbande. I will always miss you.

Declaration

I, **Venâncio Bande Júnior**, declare that the content of this research report is my original work. This research report has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other institution. All data contained in this report document was produced specifically for the purposes of this research and the sources and references used were duly cited.

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1. Chapter I: Introduction

At the start of Mozambican independence from the Portuguese colonial system, the ideas of cultural identity and national unity were widely promoted by the new government, led by the *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique*, FRELIMO (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique). Some of the first actions in the cultural field was the realisation of the *Primeiro Festival Nacional de Dança Popular* (first National Festival of Popular Dance) in 1978, and the establishment of the *Companhia Nacional de Canto e Dança*, CNCD (National Assembly of Song and Dance), a year later, in 1979, with a particular emphasis on the collection and dissemination of national music and dances, which I will discuss in detail in Chapter 4. However, throughout this post-independence period, the civil war that broke out in 1977, a confrontation between the government forces and the Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO) which came to an end 16 years later, with the signing of the peace agreements in Rome, on October 4th, 1992, greatly impacted the music and dance of *timbila*. Due to the destabilisation, it was a period where people were concerned about safety, and it was almost impossible to practice any cultural manifestations. Therefore, with the movement of people from their home areas to other safer places, the lack of rehearsals and the death of orchestra's members throughout the war, almost all *timbila* orchestras became dysfunctional.

Chopi people, custodians of the *timbila* practice, are a small part of the Mozambican population that inhabits the southern region of the Province of Inhambane and part of the north of the Province of Gaza, in Southern Mozambique. The specific areas include the Districts of Zavala, Inharrime and part of Homoine and Panda, in Inhambane Province and Mandlakaze District in Gaza Province.

According to José Chemane (2018:13), for many years *Chopis* had already set a legacy with their cultural performances, as well as their creative compositions which had been framed within their musical knowledge systems and culture. One of the musical traditions which exemplifies *Chopi* artistry and versatility is *timbila*, whose history and significance have had wide scholarly discussion across disciplines. Chemane (2018:13) also argues that although the *timbila* are a well-known music tradition of the *Chopis*, there are other styles such as *ngalanga*, *cinveka* (nyanga pipe) and *xitende* (bow music), which also uphold a distinct musical aesthetic and significance within the *Chopi* musical milieu. However, these have been less explored within scholarly circles. As my object of study is *timbila* music, a discussion about these musical styles is not within the scope of this research. What is important is that with the

signing of the peace agreements in 1992, which dictated the end of the war, conditions were re-established for the free movement of populations, as well as for the practice of different activities, including cultural ones. Therefore, the *timbila* orchestras were reactivated and in 1994 the *M'saho* (*Timbila* Festival) was held for the first time after many years, as the result of the intervention of different individual and organisational actors. One of these actors is the *Associação dos Amigos de Zavala*, AMIZAVA (Association of Friends of Zavala), which will be discussed in Chapter 3. Despite the break in practice, *timbila* remains important in Mozambique and several anthropological and ethnomusicological studies have been developed on it, with even some reports by Father Andre Fernandes, from the 16th century (Wane 2010:104). Following him, many other researchers carried out important studies. Some authors include Tracey (1946), Webster (2009), Lichuge (2020), Wane (2010), and Morais (2020).

As I referred to previously, from the end of 1970s, civil war in Mozambique led to the decline of the performance practice of many traditional musical and dance forms. Linked to this state of instability and to the search for jobs and better living conditions was the fact that many people left the rural areas and the countryside, moving particularly to Maputo, the national capital and to the gold and platinum mines in South Africa. Therefore, the migrations of the *Chopi* people to these places resulted in the beginning of the practice of their cultural performance moving out of the local areas. This manifested in *timbila* music and dance being performed, both in the mines of South Africa and in Maputo City.

Venâncio Mbande (1933-2015), my father, a former miner and undeniably one of the most outstanding *timbila* masters, in one of many conversations about *timbila* we had during my youth, told me that *timbila* orchestras existed in almost all the South African mining companies where the *Chopis* worked. From the late 1970s onward, *Chopi* performance groups emerged in Maputo, such as *ngalanga de Unidade 7*; *ngalanga de Xiphamanine*; *Companhia Nacional de Canto e Dança*, (which includes *timbila* music); *Timbila ta Gwevani*; *Grupo Silita*; *Orquestra de mestre Durão*; *Orquestra Timbila Muzimba* and the *Orquestra Timbila Tathu*. However, some of these are different to the *timbila* orchestras from the South African mine companies and from Zavala District, which preserved the traditional *timbila* music and dance lineage. Many *timbila* musicians in Maputo, influenced by various factors including urban life and culture and the consumption of Western music, started to mix *timbila* with other types of music, national and foreign. However, no matter what style of *timbila* music was being performed, the fact is that the migration of *Chopis* both to Maputo and to South Africa are among the events that most contributed to the dissemination of *timbila* music and dance nationally and

internationally, in addition to the recordings made in the 1940s by Hugh Tracey.

It is important to note that even though *timbila* is one of the most documented traditional cultural expressions of Mozambique, all these studies, articles, and documents from the national authorities in the cultural sector, have traditional *timbila* music as their object of study. None of the articles relates to the music resulting from the mixture of *timbila* and other musical instruments, particularly those of Western origin, brought by the globalisation. Thus, the influence of this phenomenon on *timbila* music and of others mentioned above, provided me with the basis of this ethnomusicological study. The aim, therefore, is:

Goals. To understand the correlation between *Chopi* people migration, globalisation, modernity and *timbila* music in Mozambique.

To narrate the history of *timbila* music.

1.1. Research question:

What is the correlation of *Chopi* people migration, globalisation, modernity and the music and culture of current *timbila* in Mozambique?

What is the history of the different forms of *timbila* music (traditional and contemporary)?

1.2. *Timbila* performance

In this introductory section of my research, I found important to present the contextualisation of *timbila* practice. As described by many authors, the *timbila* are musical instruments of the xylophone family, played by the *Chopi* people of Southern Mozambique in large orchestras called *m'godo*. However, the name *timbila* simultaneously designates the dance, the music, the instrument, and the poetry spoken throughout the performances. Hermínia Manuese (2014:10), explains that the name *timbila* is the plural of *mbila*, a musical instrument of the family of xylophone, from the *Chopi* people of Southern Mozambique. Thus, the name *timbila* is applied to several *mbila*.

Addressing the complex genre of *timbila*, I state that my research does not focus on orchestral analysis. This has been well documented by many authors, specifically by Hugh Tracey (1946). However, it should be noted that the orchestral description presented by this ethnomusicologist can no longer be applied. Tracey (1946), suggests that a complete and average *timbila* orchestra is composed of five *timbila*, arranged from high to low: *xilanzane* (soprano), with twelve to sixteen keys; *sange*, from fourteen to eighteen keys; *dole* (tenor), from ten to fourteen keys;

dibinda (bass), with ten keys and *xikhulu* (double bass), with three or fourteen keys. However, nowadays, *timbila* orchestras are different and a current orchestra is composed of five *xilandzanes* but with eighteen, nineteen or twenty keys. *Sange* and tenor no longer exist, as they are incorporated into the current eighteen to twenty keyed *timbila*. Contemporary orchestras are also composed of two *mabinda* (plural of *dibinda*) with eight to ten keys; two or three *xikhulu*, with three or four keys; two or three rattles and at least five dancers.

The current *timbila m'godo*/orchestra performance lasts from 45 minutes to an hour and the full repertoire is composed of 11 songs. To start the performance, the *timbila* players are the first to enter the stage. The leader is usually one of the most skillful and therefore is in the center of the musicians, followed by the other musicians on the right and left, usually profiled in order of importance and ability to perform the *mbila* in the orchestra. In other words, the most skillful performers stand close to the leader and the least skilled ones occupy the extreme positions. The leader is the musician who communicates with the other musicians and the entire orchestra and dictates when the music starts and ends, respecting previously established signals. However, these rules do not always prevail, especially when all are good musicians, and the position of the musicians is not necessarily defined by the ability of performing the *mbila*. Of the three existing *timbila* categories (*xilandzane*/soprano; *dibinda*/bass and *xikhulu*/double-bass), *xilandzane* occupies the main position and appears in greater numbers in an *m'godo* (on average five *xilandzanes* in an *m'godo*). The *xilandzane* players are positioned at the front line. The *maibinda* players follow in the second line and further back the *xikhulus*. However, there are cases in which only two lines are formed, the first line of the *xilandzane* and the *xikhulus* and *dibinda* in the same line behind *xilandzane* players. The rattle players are placed in the front of the musicians and are seated until the entrance of the dancers.

Before the dancers enter, the musicians play two or three introductory movements, called *m'tsitso*. These three movements are normally instrumental, played without singing and last between 10 and 15 minutes. They serve to announce the beginning of the show to neighboring populations so that they can attend the performance. However, in some cases musicians are free to improvise and sing throughout the performance. The fourth song is also called *m'tsitso* but with the specific function of being played to accompany the dancer's entry onto the stage. On the stage, the dancers stand opposite to the musicians. The disposition of the dancers also follows the same logic as the disposition of the *timbila* players. The most skillful dancers are positioned in the center. The only difference is that there are usually two leaders of the dancers, one leads all the dancers to his left and the other leads all the dancers to his right. I must emphasise that although in large performances, especially on conventional stages, the dancers are facing the

audience, traditionally and in local performances, they are facing the musicians. Firstly, because this position facilitates the communication between musicians and dancers, and secondly, because the perception or concept of the stage used locally is different from the conventional concept. In conventional stages, the audience is generally positioned in front of the stage. So, logically it does not make sense that the *timbila* dancers stand showing their back to the audience. However, locally it makes sense for the dancers to face the musicians because the audience usually stands in a semi-circle, starting behind the *timbila* players. An important fact to mention is that the disposition of conventional stages and the position of the *timbila* dancers in front of the musicians, facing the audience, obstruct the public's visibility to the *timbila* players who are already seated behind the dancers. Nevertheless, *timbila* orchestras in these stages are always subject to the adoption of these conventional standards.

The contemporary *timbila* dancers hold a shield in their left hand and a stick in their right hand, dressed in *capulanas*¹ and T-shirts. They also wear a set of feathers (usually ostrich) around the waist, called *ngundo*. On the left leg or on both legs they wear other adornments, usually sheepskin. However, in the past, *timbila* dancers dressed in only animal skins and bird feathers. They held a shield but instead of a stick, they held spears. This is because *timbila* is a warrior dance. Therefore, in the past, dancers sought to represent, as much as possible, the wars of resistance to the *Nguni* occupation. So, the choreography is made of repetitive movements that represent positions of advance, retreat, defence and attack to the enemy.

After the entrance of the dancers, the fourth *m'tsitso* is immediately finished and the fifth song, called *m'geniso* starts. It is one of the most vigorous songs and at the beginning, the leader of the orchestra or any other *timbila/xilandzane* player, starts the music with a very subtle rhythm. At this moment, dancers have the freedom to improvise any dance step they want, even some comic performance. This is a very short period of the music and serves for the dancers to interact with the audience and takes place at the beginning of almost all songs from *m'geniso*. Then, still utilising a relaxing rhythm, the leader of the orchestra makes a call for the dancers to sing and soon afterwards the music changes to a more vigorous rhythm.

After the *m'geniso*, follows the *m'txuyo* which is one of the longest songs in the repertoire and one of the most relaxed for the dancers. At the beginning and at the end of the dance, all the dancers perform in unison. However, throughout the song, the dancers are divided into two groups. Split by the two leaders in the centre, while those on the left are dancing, those on the right side relax. The next song is called *mwemiso* and is also vigorous but at the same time is the shortest of all. At a certain point the dancers move into a similar position, singing and

performing only light movements. It is suggested that this is the reason why the song is called *mwemiso*². After *mwemiso*, the next song is called *xibudo*. It is also vigorous and is given this name due to the repeated times that the dancers hit the ground with the shield. Like the last two, throughout the performance, the dancers are divided from the middle and some dance while the others stand aside.

After the three vigorous songs, the *m'zeno* follows, which is the most relaxed of the entire repertoire. However, it is considered the apex of the entire performance of the orchestra and is also titled a solemn song (Wane 2010). The dancers perform very light movements and sing slowly and more audibly. It is a song with strong messages of moral, social education or criticisms, usually told in parables or in the form of humor. At this moment, the audience is invited to join the dancers, singing and dancing. After *m'zeno* follows the *mabhandla*. All the dancers start dancing at the same time. However, during the song they are also divided into two groups and like the other songs, one group dances while the other relaxes. To end the orchestra's performance, the *timbila* players play the last *m'tsitso*, which accompanies the dancers' exit from the stage.

It is important to note that the names of the songs that make up the repertoire of a *timbila m'godo* respect a pre-established logic and are immutable. All *m'godos* must respect this logic. This means that *timbila* orchestras can create new compositions and incorporate them in the repertoire, but the names of the songs will remain the same. For example, if they create a new *m'zeno*, the old composition is replaced by the new one, but the music designation and the choreography remain the same.

¹ A kind of coloured cloth, which women in different African countries wear around their waists. In recent times, it is also used for the manufacture of men's and women's clothing. For the *timbila*, dancers (men and women) use the *capulana* as adornment.

² *Mwemiso*, is a *Chopi* word that comes close to the term stop or interrupt.

1.3. *Timbila* construction process

Since 1995, after my father retired from work in the gold and platinum mines in South Africa, most of my brothers and I have been involved in the practice of *timbila*, learning since then to play and manufacture this type of xylophone. Therefore, I noted that although there are common characteristics among xylophones in general, the *chopi timbila* has distinct characteristics when compared to other xylophones. Its manufacturing processes, tuning, sound, way of playing, as well as its structure and physical appearance, are unusual in the world of xylophones. Its construction demands thorough and complex knowledge, usually passed from parents to children, close relatives, or neighbors of the masters of *timbila*. The construction begins with the collection and selection of *massala*, a kind of bush calabash that is used as the resonance box. After extracting the seeds, *massalas* are dried in the sun. After the preparation of the base (wooden board) for the resonance box, the *massalas* are profiled from left to right, from largest to smallest. The size and quantity of *massala* is based on the size of the instrument that is intended to be manufactured. If the intention is to build a 16-key *timbila*, it will have to be 16 *massala*, since each *massala* corresponds to a key.

In this first phase, the *massalas* are profiled to mark the position on the board. A hole is drilled in the position of each *massala* on the board. The holes are small for the bigger *massalas* on the left and big for the small *massalas* on the right side of the board. The reason for this is that the holes on the left correspond to the lowest notes and the holes on the right correspond to the highest notes. After this, the *massalas* are fixed, tied with palm straw, and then secured with a black mass, mainly made of underground beeswax. With *massalas* fixed on the board, the next step is the manufacture of the *sikando*, (two wooden boards that support the entire instrument, especially so that the *massalas* in the resonance box do not touch the floor), one on the left and another on the right.

After this, the next component is the bow, a long thin piece of wood bent on its left and right side. This piece serves to fix the two stands on the right and left end of the resonance box. However, it also serves as support for the keys. From the left to the right side of the bow, two wires are extended and stretched parallel, to support the keys. Then, small wooden pieces called *nyamanganane* are attached on top of the resonance box to support the wires. The next phase is the manufacturing of the keys. The keys are made of *mwendje*, a local tree, scientifically known as *ptaeroxylon obliquum*. Before the manufacturing of the keys, it is important to extract the resin, done through a drying process with fire. This process allows the keys to produce a

good sound and be more resistant. After the extraction of the resin, the making of the keys starts. The size of the keys is determined by the *nyamanganane*. In other words, each pair of keys must fit in the range of two *nyamangananes*. It is important to note that the range from one *nyamanganane* to the other decreases from the left to the right side of the *timbila*. Therefore, the size of the keys also gradually decreases from left to the right side of the xylophone. When holding the key at a certain point and playing it with a stick, it produces a variety of sounds, according to the place where it is held. So, at the place where the sound is clear and good, a hole is made. The holes serve to allow the keys to be tied with a wire and fixed in the resonance box. After this, on the *massalas*, small holes are made to place the resonators. These amplify the sound produced by the keys. Resonators are secured with small rings of underground beeswax. A membrane extracted from cow intestine, or a portion of extremely thin plastic is fixed thereafter on the top of the ring. This membrane vibrates and amplifies the sound when one plays the xylophone. For the protection of the ring and the membrane, another ring made of *massala* is attached surrounding it. In addition to protecting the membrane, this ring of *massala* also serves as a funnel and helps in the amplification of the sound.

After this phase, the tuning of the notes follows. To produce a low note, the central section of the key is scraped away, close to the bottom of the wood. To produce the higher notes, a portion at the end of the key, also at its bottom, is removed. Next, the sound of each key must be combined with the sound of each corresponding hole and *massala* in the resonance box.

Generally, this is done by placing the beeswax in the hole to reduce its size, but in some cases, usually in the higher notes, it is necessary to do the opposite. So, in this situation, the size of hole is increased. An important fact is that this tuning process is done on days of intense sunshine. As temperatures in Mozambique are generally warm the *timbila* must be tuned to support this weather. However, if this process is done on a cold day, whenever it is warm the xylophone will not produce the sound that had been anticipated during preparation in the low temperatures. Therefore, *timbila* generally does not sound perfectly in cold areas or on cold days.

1.4. Summary of the chapter

In this chapter, I discussed introductory information on *timbila* music and dance to contextualise the different social, cultural, economic, and political phenomena around it, which have had a direct influence on the music and dance of *timbila* over time. I also presented the

timbila manufacturing process, seen as complex and unique among the different xylophones. I also introduced scholars who have done important research regarding *timbila* music and whom I also have consulted in my research.

2. Chapter II: Methodology

For the analysis and scientific interpretation of the research data, I utilised two research methods. The first is autoethnography, which is used as a qualitative method that combines the techniques of autobiography and ethnography. This method allows practitioners to use their experience to reflect on how they work, the skills they have found necessary and those events that brought the need for these skills to their attention (Livesey & Runeson, 2018:41). The second is performance-based theory, which is a field of interdisciplinary study that includes a wide variety of concepts, focused on performance as a central element of social and cultural life, which emerged as a field of academic studies from the 1970s (Schechner, 2012). I selected these two research methods because of my role as a pedagogue of the music and culture of *timbila*. I was born into a family of *timbila* music practitioners, and I have been playing this music and other traditional music styles of Mozambique since I was young. From that period forward, I have taught *timbila* music to local and foreign students and have been an integral part of the organisation of the only *timbila* festival in Mozambique. After my graduation in Cultural Management, at the *Instituto Superior de Artes e Cultura*, ISArC (Higher Institute of Arts and Culture) in Maputo in 2012, I started to collaborate with the *Direcção Provincial de Educação e Cultura de Inhambane* (Directorate of Education and Culture of Inhambane Province). From 2015 I worked with the *Direcção Provincial da Cultura e Turismo de Inhambane* (Directorate of Culture and Tourism of Inhambane Province) in different departments related to the cultural sector.

Since 2012, I have been collaborating with several national and foreign cultural researchers and institutions about the music of *timbila*, including Rhodes University. Therefore, my connection with the phenomenon under investigation, makes autoethnography and performance-based theories suitable for my work.

2.1. Autoethnography

Heewon Chang (2008), discusses autoethnography as a method of research from the complex landscape of self-narrative and he presents its characteristics and applications in the Social Sciences. He argues that, stemming from the field of anthropology, autoethnography shares storytelling features with other genres of self-narrative but transcends mere narration of self to engage in cultural analysis and interpretation (Chang, 2008:43). Later, Chang (2008:46) defines autoethnography as autobiographies in which the writer/author intentionally engages

himself in cultural descriptions, mediated through language, history, and ethnographic explanation. He argues that, like ethnographers, autoethnographers follow a similar research process, by systematically collecting data, analysing and interpreting it, and producing scholarly reports. He also claims that although autoethnographies are highly personalised accounts that draw upon the experience of the author/researcher, it is not about focusing on self alone, but about searching for understanding of others through self (Chang, 2008:49).

Peter McIlveen (2008:3) states that using autoethnography is not just writing about oneself, it is about being critical about personal experiences in the development of the research being undertaken, or about experiences of the topic being investigated. So autoethnography is an appropriate research method because firstly, in this research I am narrating my story and that of my relatives as *timbila* players. Then secondly, because this is not a simple biography of myself, I follow a research process, analysing and interpreting my account scientifically to evaluate the correlation between, globalisation, Chopis migration and the culture and music of *timbila*. Therefore, there are different interpretations of the term autoethnography and it varies according to the relations between the researcher's personal experience and the phenomenon under investigation (Foster et al. 2006). This can range from research about personal experiences of a researcher to exploration of the researcher's and the participants' experiences or about the experience of the researcher while conducting a specific piece of research (Ellis & Bochner, 2000). Ellis et al (2011), have suggested that differences in autoethnography may be judged by the emphasis the authors place on the research and interaction with others, the context in which the research takes place, the emphasis on the power of a position in a relationship and finally by the degree to which traditional methods of analysis are employed. David Hayano (1979) used the term autoethnography to refer to a study of an ethnographer's own people or group of people in which he belongs. So, even though I am expressing my knowledge and experience, I did not centralise the research on my personal account but, rather, as referred to previously, I brought to my work a variety of experiences of different members of the *timbila* community, including my own. Therefore, my research fits Hayano's definition. Autoethnography is becoming a particularly useful and powerful tool for researchers and practitioners who work with human science in multicultural settings, such as educators, social workers, medical professionals and so many others. According to Chang (2008:52), the benefits of autoethnography as a research method lie in three areas: It offers a research method friendly to researcher and readers; it enhances cultural understanding of self and others, and it has potential to transform self and others to motivate them to work toward cross-cultural coalition building. For example, Mariza Méndez, lecturer at the University of Quintana Roo in Mexico,

when sharing her experience of using autoethnography for education, argues,

Autoethnography was first used to explore my emotional experiences in my language learning history to sensitize myself to the topic of my investigation and to find out about participants' motivation and the way emotional experiences shaped it (2013:280).

Despite the advantage presented above, autoethnography as an approach has attracted some criticism from “more conventional” researchers. Chang (2008:54) argues that such criticism does not necessarily imply that autoethnography is at fault. However, it is always helpful to look out for appropriation of this research inquiry and avoid potential pitfalls which Chang presents as: excessive focus on self in isolation from others; overemphasis on narration rather than analysis and cultural interpretation; exclusive reliance on personal memory and recalling as a data source; and negligence of ethical standards regarding others in self-narratives (2008:54).

To avoid these drawbacks, I mixed data gathered from different *timbila* music players both from the *Chopi* community in Zavala District and from Maputo City. In these locations there is a concentrated group of musicians experimenting with contemporary *timbila* music playing where they combine the music of *timbila* with western musical instruments. However, my deep involvement with the culture of *timbila*, although was an asset to the research and makes autoethnography an adequate method, made my analysis difficult. It was difficult for me to deal with and scientifically structure all the information about *timbila* that I acquired over time. I already had an approach to all the questions in my survey even before my interviewees answered, which somehow made it difficult to analyse the responses from them.

2.2. Performance based theory

Performance studies emerged as a field of academic studies from the 1970s. Like autoethnography, it is a field of interdisciplinary study that includes a wide variety of concepts. It focuses on performance as a central element of social and cultural life, including not only theatre and dance but also such forms as sacred rituals and practices of everyday life, storytelling and public speaking, avant-garde performance art and popular entertainment. Academically, performance study is an interdisciplinary and intercultural account, and it has been utilised in Social Sciences, Anthropology, Drama, Linguistics, Philosophy, Cultural Studies, and Comparative Literature (Schechner, 2012:5).

The matter of performance theory has been studied by numerous scholars. However, it is most associated with the work of Richard Schechner (1985), a theatre director who became an anthropologist, and Victor Turner (1988), known for his work on cultural performance, carnival, film, and theatre to break new ground in anthropological thinking about event, spectacle, and audience. These two authors drew attention to the performative nature of societies around the world, how events and rituals as well as daily life were all governed by a code of performance. Performance theory suggests that every one of us puts on a performance in our society, whether through the clothes we wear, the conversations we hold or the food we eat. All are a performance designed as a signal-system to us and to others of our place within our social group (Goffman, 1969:28). To perform is to take a complex series of actions that integrate skills and knowledge to produce a valuable result. It can be a presentation of an artistic work to an audience; a public display of behavior that others find distasteful; the language that a speaker or writer produces; the way something or somebody functions, operates, or behaves; as well as a collection of people who are collaborating (Auslander, 2003:01).

Dan Caprar and Benjamin Walker (2019), in their work, entitled *When performance gets personal: Towards a theory of performance-based identity*, emphasise this approach when they argue that it is common for people to categorise others along performance-based lines. Yet once these kinds of performance-based categories are used to define others, they also inevitably become available for defining ourselves (Walker & Caprar, 2019:1099). Performance-based theory becomes fundamental to the understanding of different configurations of our culture when applied to the context of intercultural exchanges and constant external influences. These intercultural exchanges and influences of others' culture result in incorporation of languages, styles and techniques that denote new values and meanings to the forms and contents material and symbolic of popular and traditional expressions. As Walker and Caprar argue, many individuals are likely to develop performance-based identities, for example, in a world where performance is increasingly emphasised as important, and where other identities (e.g, those derived from groups, organisations, and cultures) are being destabilised by fundamental shifts in work and society (2019).

The above approach led me to reflect on how Western cultures have been acting in local Mozambican daily life, especially in the *timbila* music and culture. It also led me to analyse my performance as activist, musician, and the role of other *timbila* players in Mozambique.

Commenting on the influence of Western cultures on daily life in Mozambique, it is mandatory to mention the police of assimilation of black people, which was adopted by the Portuguese

colonial system, to destroy their cultural traditions. This policy resulted in the formation of a black elite, dividing them into two categories (indigenes and assimilated). The assimilated black community had some privileges and different obligations to the indigenous cohort. This and other policies of the colonial system had serious consequences, one of which was the denial of national traditions and the adoption of Western cultures by some black Mozambicans. Although slightly different, the consequence of these categorisations and disclaimers of identities persist to the present day and are felt in different social and cultural spheres, including in the music industry (Filho & Dias, 2015).

2.3. Methods

Regarding data collection, the first phase of this process was literature review, defined as a comprehensive survey of previous research on a topic. This was to get an understanding of my research methods, the phenomena of globalisation and modernity and their impacts in local cultures, as well as to understand the approaches of different scholars who have written about the matter of *timbila* music and culture. Beyond the online research, I visited different libraries, with particular focus on the International Library of African Music (ILAM), located in Makana Municipality in South Africa and *Biblioteca Nacional de Moçambique* (Mozambique National Library), located in Maputo, in Mozambique. ILAM is a prominent institution regarding African music research, archiving, publishing, and teaching. It holds one of the most important collections of African music data on the Continent. The Mozambique National Library is the most important public library in Mozambique, and it has a valuable collection of information on different themes. So, from these institutions, I collected information about *timbila* music during the Mozambique colonial period as well as the general history of *timbila* music and culture and about *Chopi* people.

To start my second phase of data collection which was made through interviews, from November 2020 to March 2021, I travelled to Zavala and Homoine Districts, located in Inhambane, Southern Mozambique, where the practice of *timbila* is based. My interviewees were representatives of *timbila* masters, former miners and *timbila* dancers or musicians. In Zavala, I met Mr. Estevão Nhacudime (November 10, 2020). Nhacudime, is one of the locally well-known *timbila* masters. He has a small *timbila* (xylophone) workshop at his home and he is the leader of *Timbila ta Maziveleni* (Mazivela *Timbila* Orchestra). He is also one of the *Timbila* Players and Dancers Association leaders, which was created in 2015, unifying almost all local *timbila* orchestras.

Next to Nhacudime's residence, I met Mr. Alfredo Nyamahango (November 10, 2020), a former *timbila* player. Nyamahango was one of the founding members of *Timbila ta Maziveleni* orchestra. Before the creation of this orchestra, when he was working as a miner in South Africa, he played for many years in different orchestras, including in my father's (Venâncio Mbande) orchestra at the Impala Platinum mine. During his work in the South African mine, he met Hugh and Andrew Tracey, two well-known ethnomusicologists who undertook essential research on *timbila* music and culture. I then met Mr. Andre Ngulele (December 02, 2020), also a former South African mine worker. Like Nyamahango, when working in the mine, he was also a member of a *timbila* Orchestra, especially as a dancer. He joined my father's orchestra in Impala Mine and he was a leader of the orchestra.

Another research partner I met is Mr. Américo Nangaria Dove (December 15, 2020). Like the two above, he is a former South African mine worker, and he was a *timbila* musician (double bass) in my father's orchestra, in Impala Platinum Mine. Locally, he joined an *Ngalanga* dance assembly, a mixing of *timbila* and drumming, mainly practiced by young people. Then, in Homoine District, I interviewed my uncle, my father's young brother, Raimundo Mbande (January 10, 2021). He is also a former South African miner, and *timbila* player (double bass). He played with my father in Impala Mine and he travelled overseas for *timbila* concerts in Germany, England and Belgium, in 1992. After these interviews, in March and February 2021 I travelled to Maputo. My interviewees were musicians playing contemporary *timbila* music (Cheny Wa Gune, Simão Nhacule and Matchume Zango).

Cheny wa Gune (February 03, 2021), was born in Maputo city, but his parents are from Zavala. He is a well-known contemporary *timbila* musician. He plays as a solo musician but is also a member of the *Timbila Muzimba* band. He has travelled to different countries around the world for concerts, festivals and for many other events. Simão Nhacule (February 25, 2021), is also a well-known musician in Mozambique, especially in Maputo and he also plays and teaches different African musical styles. He works as a teacher at the *Escola Nacional de Music* (National School of Music) in Maputo and he play with different orchestras including *Companhia Nacional de Canto e Dança* CNCD (National assembly of song and dance) and *Timbila Tathu* orchestra. Matchume Zango (March 15, 2021), like Wa Gune, was born in Maputo, but his parents are *Chopis*, from Zavala. He and Wa Gune are cousins, and he is also a member of *Timbila Muzimba*. He has a brilliant solo musician career. He has performed in different parts of the world and is completing his masters in ethnomusicology at the University of Cape Town. Later, in Chapter 4, I discuss the careers and contributions of these 3 musicians to contemporary *timbila* music playing.

During the process of fieldwork, my experience as a *Chopi* ethnic group member, *timbila* player as well as my relationship with all *timbila* practitioner in Zavala and Maputo, played an important role in the identification and contact of my interviewees, as well as in all the process of data collection and analysis.

2.4. Literature review

I consulted different literary works to provide evidence that may be used to support my own findings; to review the arguments and ideas of the phenomena of modernity and globalisation to the local cultures; and to learn how others have analysed the impact of globalisation and modernity. I also consulted with various research artefacts to understand approaches by different researchers who wrote about *timbila* music and culture, the most important of which I summarise in the following passages.

Filho and Dias (2014), in their article about colonialism in Africa and its legacy, state that the phenomenon of marginalisation of the local culture is because of long periods of colonisation, globalisation and the advent of new technology which many African countries have experienced. They argue that,

The reproduction of social categories originating from the colonial system can be found in different disputes: From persistent racial representations to contemporary ways of classifying and ranking habits, relationships, spaces, knowledge, languages, religious beliefs, political systems, moralities (Filho & Dias, 2014:13).

Dennis Ocholla (2007:3), pointing to the same theme as Filho and Dias (2014), argues that the marginalisation of Indigenous Knowledge (IK) has also occurred because families and communities are becoming increasingly disintegrated and globalised. This is a trend that may have stemmed from the push and pull of technologies, and the over-extensive supply of mass products, services and mass media gadgets and content to private spaces where IK once thrived. Octávio Ianni (2001:16) argues that the world began to be defined as a "global village". The term suggests that the world has become a global community, accomplished by the development of communication and information systems. The technological advent of the media and information, transport of goods and people and work systems has resulted in structural changes in social life. In a short time, provinces, nations and regions, as well as cultures and civilisations are traversed and articulated by information and communication systems, making people continually connected and moving from one to another place.

Pertti Anttonen (2005), was also very important to my reflections. The author deals with the issue of modernity and its relationship with the traditional. He emphasises the polarity between the modern and traditional. However, he also finds that polarity is not always prevalent. In simple words, he argues that tradition, more than being opposite to modernity, has often been a source for the creation of modern products, through its reinterpretation. Therefore, these two phenomena are complementary and inseparable (2005:37).

These approaches are important to my research because although the effects of colonisation, globalisation and modernity are different from country to country, the question of local cultures' marginalisation is a problem also faced in Mozambique and it affects the preservation of *timbila* music and culture. So, their findings helped me to analyse how these issues have been interfering in the process of *timbila* culture perpetuation and to analyse and describe how these two phenomena have been influencing *timbila* musicians specially in Maputo, to create the contemporary music of *timbila*, separate from its traditional genre.

While I largely agree with the arguments of the authors above, I would argue that the major problem for the devaluation of local cultures is based on the inability of most governments of African countries to provide quality education, even after many years of the last independences in the continent. It is a fact that colonialism existed and left deep roots. It is also a fact that media and technologies exist and will always exist. However, it is only with a qualitative education and not only focused on science but also to develop a critical knowledge that people will be able to reaffirm and value their identity as Africans.

Sara Morais (2020), in her PhD thesis, among several other issues, debates the transmission of *timbila* music and culture from father to son. She argues that this practice is consolidated because the leader of the *timbila* orchestra has in his closest kinship network his greatest source of cooperation. He has enough social power to recruit members of his narrower parental circle. Continuing, she asserts that children generally pay loyalty to their fathers and are not away from home for long periods. Therefore, Morais' (2020) research was important to my research and helped me to look over the process of *timbila* music transmission from one generation to another. In fact, the stories of all well-known *timbila* practitioners I know, particularly the musicians, have something in common: they all learned to play or make *timbila* with a close relative (parents, uncles, or grandparents).

David Webster (2009) wrote about the *Chopi* people and culture. He included not only the musical or *timbila* perspective, but the entire social, economic, and cultural context of these people, describing and analysing the issues of agriculture, the social role of women, the

migratory work of *Chopis* to South Africa, music and other cultural practices. Therefore, his findings were fundamental for my work, as they provided me with an overview of the *Chopi* people which helped me to debate various contents of the research.

Wane (2010), in his MA thesis, discusses *timbila* from the perspective of the role of this cultural practice in the construction of ethnic identity, and political and cultural diversity in Mozambique. Among other issues, he describes and analyses the influence of the struggle for independence in Mozambique as well as the civil war and the various political, social and economic transformations that the country underwent between 1934 and 2005, to the culture and music of *timbila*. He also debates the role of culture, particularly the *timbila*, in the construction of what is known today as Mozambique. His analysis helped me to understand the different events that marked and defined the trajectory of the culture and music of *timbila*, as well as the lives of its practitioners.

Tracey (1946), in my opinion, has produced one of the most outstanding works portraying *Chopi* music and culture to date, about the *timbila*. From 1943, Hugh Tracey began to visit the *timbila* players in Zavala frequently to carry out research and music recordings. At the same time, he invited musicians to South Africa. With this invitation he created the opportunity to describe in detail all the elements of *timbila* music and dance. This research resulted in the book "*Chopi Music: these fortunate people*", published in *Revista Moçambique*, between 1946 and 1948 (Wane 2010). It is the most complete study on the music and dance of *timbila*, a mandatory reference for scholars interested in the subject. As a *timbila* musician and already familiar with a broad knowledge of *timbila* culture, reading Tracey's book allowed me to understand the scientific description of the musical, as well as the choreographic and lyrical elements. In this work, the author describes and analyses in detail the *timbila* orchestra, the structure of the instrument (xylophone), as well as the composition and role of the various instruments in orchestras.

Henri Junod (1996) was a Swiss missionary who lived in the Southern Mozambique region between the late 19th and early 20th centuries, due to his activities in the Presbyterian Church of Mozambique. This contact resulted in the work "*Usos e Costumes dos Bantus*" (Uses and Customs of the Bantus), in which the author describes the aspects of the individual and collective life of local peoples. Among other aspects, the author describes the region, language, economy, culture and in the chapter called "*A timbila ou Xilofone Bantu*" (the *timbila* or Bantu xylophone), the author describes the music and culture of *timbila*. He discusses an important aspect about the *Chopi* region and the entire southern region of Mozambique: the migratory

labour to the gold and platinum mines of South Africa, which played an important role in spreading *timbila* music.

Rita-Ferreira (1982) also addresses the ethnographic history of the *Chopis*. Among various aspects of administrative, linguistic, and cultural nature, the author argues that the *Chopis* were so called by the *Nguni* invaders in the 19th century, during their expansion to the north of what is currently South Africa, because of their skills of manipulation of bow and arrow. The act of manipulating the bow and arrow is called ³*ku tchopa* in *Changane*. Continuing, the author argues that the *Chopis* were constituted by the unification of peoples from different ethnic origins. Rita-Ferreira's work helped me to understand the constitution of the *Chopi* people ethnic group, as well as their geographical situation.

2.5. Summary of the chapter

In this chapter I presented a discussion of authors who have completed research on the *timbila*, which were important sources for my research. For his contribution to the documentation of the *timbila* music and dance, since the 1940s, Hugh Tracey was one of the main authors throughout my own research. Apart from Tracey, contemporary authors such as Morais (2020) and Wane (2010), with their doctoral and master's theses, respectively, were some of the important researchers in the field of *timbila* that I consulted to contest and support my arguments, not only in relation to *timbila* but also in relation to *Chopi* culture in general. I also presented autoethnographic and performance method as the basis for my study. As I am a practitioner of the music of *timbila*, these two theories I found to be the most adequate, as they allowed me to be a participant and include my experiences in the research.

As my research deals with the influence of modernity and globalisation on the music of *timbila* in Mozambique, I also discussed the authors who have completed research on the above themes. One of those authors is Anttonen (2005), with his work entitled "Tradition Through Modernity- Postmodernism and the Nation-State in Folklore Scholarship". The author defends the complementarity between the traditional and the modern. So, his arguments helped me to analyse in Chapter 4, the contemporary *timbila* music, which is a result of the mixture of *timbila* and Western musical instruments, mainly practiced in Maputo.

³*Kutchopa*, a word from which the name *vatchopi* (Chopi people) was invented. *Kutchopa*, is an ability of manipulating the arrow and bow, which is a very common practice among the *Chopis*, from the war of resistance against *nguni* invaders (Rita-Ferreira 1982).

3. Chapter III: The *Chopi* people and their *timbila* history

After the introductory notes, the methods, and methodological approaches in Chapters 1 and 2, I dedicate Chapter 3 to the *Chopi* people and the history of *timbila*. Although my research does not have a full anthropological focus which would allow me to discuss more aspects about *Chopi* people and culture, I think it is important to give a brief description of the people before approaching the history of *timbila*, as they are the guardians of *timbila* music and culture.

Chopi people are inhabitants occupying a small portion of land in the Southern part of Inhambane Province (Districts of Inharrime, Zavala, and parts of Panda and Homoine), and the Northern part of Gaza Province, in Southern Mozambique, washed to the south and east by the Indian Ocean.

Morais (2020:30) and Rita-Ferreira (1982), indicate that *Chopis* are the mixing of different ethnic groups who immigrated from various regions. These groups included the *karangas* from Zimbabwe, the *tsongas* and *ndaus*, from Southern Mozambique and *changanes* from South Africa. Morais (2020:30), also argues that the denomination *Chopi*, seems to have originated recently, from the 16th century, resulting from the resistance war against *ngunis* for the occupation of the southern part of the territory known today as Mozambique. Along with the *Chopis*, the *ngunis* from South Africa faced strong battles for the acquisition of slaves to provide wives and workers during the constitution of the Gaza Empire. None can affirm how these people were called before the *nguni* invaders. However, Junod (1927) suggests that *Chopi* people belong to the family of Bantu populations and generically identifies them as *tsongas/thongas*.

According to Rita-Ferreira (1982:189), in the 19th century, due to the increasing violent incursions perpetuated by the Gaza Empire, many *Chopis* emigrated to different bordering parts. Nowadays these people can be found in places such as Massinga, Morrumbene, Homoine, Panda and Marracuene Districts. However, *Chopi* people are still centered in Zavala and Inharrime Districts, in Inhambane Province.

- Its effigy stamps one of the coins of the national currency (*Metical*);
- Excerpts from *timbila* songs are played on different radio and television programmes;
- *Timbila* music was incorporated into some university teaching programmes;
- *Timbila* is the main instrument of the National Song and Dance Company, which has traveled to many countries;
- *Timbila* music and dance was proclaimed Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO in 2005.

This statute is not because *timbila* is more important than other cultural expressions. It should be seen as a recognition of its uniqueness, originality and result of a set of actions by various social forces. This is due especially to the role of Hugh Tracey, with his different research and of the *Associação dos Amigos de Zavala*, (Association of friends of Zavala), also known as AMIZAVA, with the reintroduction of the *timbila* festival in 1994.

In fact, many African peoples cultivate the practice of manufacturing and playing xylophones⁴. However, as Tracey (1946:93) argues, among these peoples *Chopis* are known by the uniqueness of their xylophones sound and by the exuberance of *timbila* of varied timbres and distinct sonorities. Tracey also argues that the *Chopi* people of Portuguese East Africa are famous for their music, and he writes, “they have great xylophones orchestras, which they call *timbila*, and their orchestral dances, *m’saho*⁵, must be the highest expression of African art in southern Africa” (1946:93). Thomaz (2009), with the same argument as Tracey (1946) and Morais (2020), maintains that *timbila* music and culture is an extraordinary musical genre which reveals individual creativity as well as being the symbol of the *Chopi* people which is now incorporated as a cultural symbol of the country (2009:16).

The oldest written sources about *timbila* were documented in the 16th century by Father André Fernandes from Goa to his colleagues of the Society of Jesus in Portugal (Morais 2020).

⁴For example: the *bsabingas* of the Central African Republic, the *Weres* of Burkina Faso, the *Mandingas* from Guinea-Bissau, the *Bambaras* from Mali, the *Fangs* from Gabon, the *Baribas* from Benin, the *Masikoros* from Madagascar, among others (Morais 2020).

⁵*M’saho*: In a direct translation, is a *chopi* word that means feast, festival, celebration. However, some scholars, such as Wane (2010) and Tracey (1946), point to *M’saho* as a *chopi* word that corresponds to orchestra. *M’saho*, is also the name given to the *Timbila* Festival that takes place annually in August, in *Quissico* Village, District of Zavala.

He describes certain aspects of life in the colonies he had visited. Father André Fernande, in his report, writes that,

These people are given the pleasures of singing. Their instruments are many gourds connected by ropes and a stick bent like a bow, some large and some small. [T]hey play music at night to the king and whoever gives them something (Morais 2020:247).

As a *timbila* player, I was told by my father that the art of playing *timbila* emerged a long time ago. The story, which is transmitted orally, through many generations, remembers that the music of *timbila* emerged from the process of chasing away monkeys from corn plantations. Children were delegated to guard the plantations. So, to scare away the monkeys, they were instructed to play on small wooden boards, profiled on banana bulbs. Because of the interesting sound produced by the wooden boards, they started to play for fun and over time they developed what is known today as *timbila*.

None can accurately say whether this art was created by *Chopi* people or imported from other ethnic groups. However, there is a small probability that the *timbila* development is a result of the accumulation of knowledge of various ethnic groups in the art of making and playing xylophones, since *Chopi* people are a result of a mixture of various ethnic groups from different parts of Africa, as stated by Morais (2020) and Rita- Ferreira (1982). I was also told by my father that the *timbila* dance has strong links with the wars against *nguni* invaders, with whom the *Chopi* people fought many battles during the 19th century. This suggests that the *timbila* music and dance components arose from different times and in different contexts. In other words, the dance component was incorporated years or perhaps centuries later as a celebration of battles won against invaders. Therefore, the shield and rod that the dancers hold while they dance symbolise defense and attack movements.

An important fact to mention, as passed on to me, is that *timbila* music and dance is historically practiced by men, perhaps because of its connection with war, which was also a task reserved solely for men. However, what is known is that during colonial times divorced women were delegated for the transport of musical instruments (xylophones) and other equipment to the places where the orchestras would perform. As kind retribution, these women were spared forced labour by the Portuguese colonial system. In fact, as Wane (2010:68) reports, *timbila* players and all those who somehow contributed to the development of this cultural practice were also spared forced labor. Likewise, those who worked in the gold and platinum mines in South Africa were excluded from this kind of domination perpetuated by Portuguese

colonialism. This finding shows how the Portuguese colonial government used a very strong strategy for the control and exploitation of the native peoples. In the case of the *Chopi* population, the *timbila* music played a very fundamental role in the policy of Portuguese domination (Wane, 2010:65).

Eduardo Lichuge (2020:76), claims that some *timbila* orchestras were invited to perform at the First Colonial Exhibition of Porto and at the Exhibition of the Portuguese World in Lisbon in Portugal in 1934 and 1949 respectively. Apart from this Nhacudime (interview November 10, 2020), in Zavala argues that during the colonial times, all the township leaders in Zavala were encouraged by the Portuguese colonial authorities to have their own *timbila* orchestras and these leaders were involved in the organisation of the *Timbila* Festival. So, the above can also be seen as part of the role of *timbila* music and dance during the Portuguese colonial system. Of all these examples of the political instrumentalisation of the *timbila*, the most notable was the summoning of *timbila* orchestras to perform the Portuguese national anthem. This ceremony took place once a week, on Sundays, (Wane, 2010:68).



Photo2: *Chopi timbila* orchestra in the fictional village of Mozambique at the Porto colonial exhibition 1934.
Source: Lichuge, 2020:76.

3.1.1. *M'saho* - *Timbila* Festival

In the *Chopi* language, the word *M'saho* can have different meanings. Some of the meanings relate to celebrations and festivals. However, locally and in national artistic instances, the word *M'saho* is unmistakable. It is the name given to the *Timbila* Festival, held on the last weekend of August, in Quissico Village in Zavala, since 1994. This festival is an updated version of an event held during the period of Portuguese colonisation. Over a period of one week, all the *timbila* orchestras met and performed at the colonial Administration Centre in Quissico. It is not known exactly which month the event took place, or even the purpose of its realisation. It is known, however, that it had strong support from the Portuguese government and that it contributed to the popularity and national visibility of *timbila* music. Likewise, it is not known

when the performance of the *M'saho* was interrupted. However, it is supposed that with the destabilisation that occurred due to the struggle for the independence of Mozambique and the outbreak of civil war in 1986, there were no conditions for the continuation of the *M'saho*.

Sixteen years later, the civil war came to an end with the signing of the peace agreement in Rome, Italy, on October 4th, 1992, which led to the immediate cessation of fighting. Therefore, displaced populations returned to their areas of origin and many civil society organisations were created and played a very important role in the reconstruction of the country at various levels and in various ways. It is in this context that the *Associação dos Amigos de Zavala*, an organisation formed by natives and friends of the District of Zavala, many of whom occupied high positions in the national government, with the objective of rescuing the music and culture of *timbila* which was seriously affected by the war. It was through this initiative that *M'saho* was reintroduced in August 1994. I witnessed an extraordinary day in the Village, where thousands of people and more than ten *timbila* orchestras and other traditional music and groups attended the festival. These included: a). *Timbila ta M'kandene*; b). *Timbila ta M'banguze*; c). *Tinbuila ta Nyakutowe*; d). *Timbila ta Zavaleni*; e). *Timbila ta Masaveni*; f). *Timbila ta Maziveleni*; g). *Timbila ta Mindú*; h). *Ngalanga ya Vungane*.

This event took place before the creation of my father's Mozambican *timbila* orchestra. He was still preparing for his retirement from the South African Impala Platinum mine, which happened in 1995. However, on that day I went there with him and he performed with *Timbila ta Nyakutowe*, while I sat next to him on the improvised stage. As happens currently, the festival was used to spread political messages. 1994 was only two years after the end of the civil war and the festival was used to reassure the world that the war was over. Therefore, several political figures were present, including Pascoal Mocumbi, who is a native of the *Chopis* and was the country's Prime Minister at the time. There were also representatives of the Government of the Province of Inhambane and the District of Zavala.

From 1997, *M'saho* was held twice a year. One of *M'saho* was Produced by *Numbu Produções*, between May and June, and the event featured more than 30 performances, not only of *timbila* but also of different musical genres. Musicians like Xidiminguane; Gemeos Paruque; Wazimbo; Avelino Mondlane; Jeremias Langa and *Timbila Muzimba*, performed in some editions of this festival. This event is the one that attracted a huge crowd, especially due to the diversity of its programming. However, the production of two annual editions of *M'saho* was halted around 2001 due to lack of funding. Since then, the festival is produced only once a year. From the same period, AMIZAVA has declined to assist with the production of *M'saho* and

the Government Authorities of the District of Zavala and the Province of Inhambane have emerged as producers of the festival. However, if on the one hand government involvement prevented the extinction of *M'saho*, on the other hand, the event lost its focus on the preservation and promotion of *timbila*. It became a stage for political advertisements and the assertion of political power.

In 2013, after my graduation in Management and Cultural Studies from the *Instituto Superior de Artes e Cultura*, in Maputo, I started working at the *Direcção Provincial de Educação e Cultura de Inhambane* (Directorate of Education and Culture of the Province of *Inhambane*). I then became part of the production of *M'saho* and was also more active in the context of *timbila* preservation and promotion. As an employee of the former Ministry of Education and Culture from 2013 to 2015, I realised that little investment was channeled into the cultural sector, including into *M'saho*. More funds were allocated to the education sector because education is one of the priority areas in Mozambique. With the beginning of the new governmental cycle, resulting from the 2014 elections, the Ministry of Education and Culture was dissolved, and the cultural sector joined the sector of tourism which then constituted the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Therefore, as a worker assigned to the cultural sector, I was relocated to this new ministry based in the Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism of Inhambane at the end of 2015. From that time onwards there has been a significant increase in public investment for the sector of culture, and therefore a more notable intervention by government authorities in the production of *M'saho*.

My degree in Management and Cultural Studies and my position as an official of government authorities in the cultural sector at the provincial level, combined with my roots as a practitioner of the culture of *timbila*, have made me a visible person among all practitioners of *timbila* culture in Zavala. It has also increased my commitment to the preservation and promotion of *timbila*. Consequently, in 2020, through the *Procultura* project, a platform created by the Member States of the European Union with the aim of supporting the cultural and creative industry sectors in Portuguese-speaking countries, I received funding for the creation of a *timbila* website, to work as a *timbila* virtual museum. The initiative aims to increase the visibility of *timbila* and *M'saho* and includes audio and video recording of all *timbila* orchestras in Zavala, creation of the *timbila* collection, as well as establishing an e-commerce platform for products and services related to *timbila*, which started being developed from the beginning of 2021 and will be launched in 2022. The website is being created by a competent organisation and will also be used as a data source for the *timbila* festival. On behalf of the Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism of Inhambane, I created another initiative, financed in 2021,

also by the European Union. This project includes the restoration of *M'saho*; preservation of the *Mwenje* (a local tree that provides the main material for the manufacture of *timbila*); the creation of a *timbila* interpretation centre (a place where people can get information about *timbila* and visit a *timbila* exhibition), as well as material support for the different manufacturers of this musical instrument in Zavala.

3.1.2. Masterpiece of the Oral and Immaterial Heritage of Humanity

On November 25 of 2005, *timbila* was proclaimed a "Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity" by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). Some important starting points to support the candidacy and consequent proclamation of *timbila* as a world heritage were based on the various studies on the *timbila*, carried out by several researchers. Among them, the South African Ethnomusicologist Hugh Tracey stands out. Another factor was the realisation of the *M'saho* as one of the most sublime moments in the celebration of the *Chopi* culture and of the *timbila*, and the internationalisation of the *timbila*, pointing to the role of the migratory work of the *Chopis* in the gold and platinum mines of South Africa. The *Companhia Nacional de Canto e Dança* and the role of Venâncio Mbande Senior, one of the most known *timbila* masters and other contemporaries of his, who I discuss in the next chapter also complimented the proclamation. The *timbila's* candidacy was based on the following motivations:

- a) *Chopi timbila* is a highly developed and complex form of music and dance expression;
- b) *Chopi timbila* has outstanding value not only with regard to the complexity of its music, the respective playing techniques and the elaborated craftsmanship involved in the manufacturing of the musical instruments, but also because the dances and songs that accompany the orchestra display a very particular expressive vigour and artistic mastery;
- c) *Chopi timbila* is an extraordinary example of collective memory contained in the music and the symbolic dance movements and gestures;
- d) *Chopi timbila* is deeply rooted in the history but also in the current daily cultural life of *Chopi* communities;
- e) *Chopi timbila* is a source of identity and enjoyment for the *Chopi* people as well as for many Mozambicans from other ethnic groups;
- f) *Chopi timbila* has been recognised and documented by academic researchers in the 1930s until

1950s but the major developments and transformations since then need also to be documented and researched;

g) *Chopi timbila* performances are a great means of bringing people to a festival called *M'saho* in Zavala District which has not yet been diluted by tourism but is a real forum of exchange of experiences for *timbila* performers and connoisseurs; and,

h) The great motivation and interest among *timbila* practitioners as well as district, provincial and governmental authorities to become involved in the safeguard process with their ideas, experience, and knowledge (Ministry of Culture 2004).

In addition to these reasons presented by the Ministry of Culture, the *timbila* candidacy file presented by the Government of Mozambique includes, among other components, an action plan for the safeguarding and promotion of *timbila*. The *timbila* safeguard plan contemplated the construction of a school for *timbila* teaching and the reforestation of the *mwenje*. However, to this date none of these actions have been implemented. This situation leads many *timbila* practitioners to question the importance of proclaiming the *timbila* as a world heritage.

As a *timbila* practitioner, if I were asked what the importance of proclaiming *timbila* as a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity is, I would reply promptly that it is of no importance. However, as a civil servant in the cultural sector, there is a conflict of interest. So, perhaps I would not be the best person to answer that question. Perhaps I would argue the political importance and explain how Mozambique is known at the international level and the prominent place that the *timbila* occupies during national cultural festivals and other protocol events, as the result of its proclamation. But what is the real importance of this, if there is no *timbila* safeguarding program? For example, around 2005, when *timbila* was declared a world heritage, there were 11 *timbila* orchestras in Zavala. However, there are currently only 5; *M'saho*, which was once one of the biggest productions among the festivals of its nature in Mozambique, is becoming less and less visible.

3.1.3. Venâncio Mbande

Writing about Venâncio Mbande as one of the people who made a great contribution to the development of *timbila*, especially after the civil war in Mozambique, as well as for the spreading of *timbila* internationally, may seem subjective, since he is my father. However, if on the one hand I am competent enough to approach this subject with the utmost rigor and with minimal interference from my emotional connection, on the other hand, personal experiences

are the basis for an autoethnographic study. I am aware that the contribution of master Mbande to the Mozambican culture and to the *timbila*, deserves a more exhaustive treatment than just a small part of my research, due to its richness. Therefore, this is a subject that I intend to address more exhaustively in my future research, but due to its importance in relation to the present study, I have decided to present a short summary of his biography.

Born on October 4th, in 1933, in the District of Zavala, Southern Mozambique, Venâncio Mbande spent his childhood with his maternal grandparents, with whom he learned to play *timbila* music. From that time onwards he became notable for his ability to play the *timbila*. Around the age of nine, he moved to Homoine District to live with his father, where he further deepened his musical ability and began playing in local orchestras. Later, at around the age of 18, he began working as a miner in South Africa, where he worked for several mining companies, including Van Dyk Mine and Impala Platinum Mine. In these companies, master Mbande played in orchestras that had already been constituted even before his arrival at the mines. However, after contacting Hugh Tracey around the end of the 1950s and founding his orchestra in South Africa, allied to the strong support from the company, it was at the Impala Platinum Mine where he became internationally recognised. According to Raimundo Mbande (January 10, 2021), younger brother of master Mbande, who also worked in the mines of South Africa, it was customary at the time for people from the same origin to gather in leisure time and celebrate their cultures. Therefore, people from other countries and other parts of Mozambique also practiced their cultural manifestations and some companies supported these initiatives, as they were healthy practices. According to the same source, when there was a concert or other programme, both in South Africa and abroad, the *timbila* players and dancers were excused from their work in the mines for as long as necessary. Master Mbande was also relieved of his work in the mine for the position of head of the kitchen so that he could devote more time to *timbila* and was given an annual quota to bring people from Mozambique who could work in the mine but also play or dance *timbila*.

Through his contact with Hugh Tracey and later with Andrew Tracey, he was invited to present workshops at various locations, including at Rhodes University. As a result of these works in academies and other institutions, in 1992 he was invited by the Royal Conservatory in the Netherlands to teach *timbila* to a group of music students and teachers and founded a *timbila* orchestra, which was called *Anumadutch* (a gift for you Dutch People). In 1999, the Dutch *timbila* orchestra travelled to Mozambique to learn more about *timbila* music and culture. While in Mozambique, they performed at the *M'saho* in Zavala and in a concert in Maputo, at the former Mini-Golf. On the same occasion, preparations were also made for the recording of the

documentary on the *timbila* directed by Frank Diamand, also from the Netherlands which was titled ⁶*Keep the timbila playing*. The documentary tells the story of *timbila*, both in Mozambique and in the gold and platinum mines of South Africa, which is frequently exhibited at the International Documentary Film Festival Amsterdam (IDFA). Nyacudime, commenting about Anumadutch's performance at the festival, emphasises that it was the most vibrant period of *M'saho*, and of the *timbila* in general. 'It was amazing seeing white people playing *timbila* and singing in the *Chopi* language'', he said.

In 1993, on a visit to Mozambique, Mbande maintained his first contacts with AMIZAVA and was informed of the initiative for the revitalisation of the *timbila* orchestras and the creation of *M'saho*. As a person with a lot of influence among the *timbila* players and due to his involvement on *timbila* music, including his intermediary work during some research by Hugh Tracey, he was invited to join the movement of *timbila* revitalisation. He then decided to rush his retirement from the mines of South Africa, to dedicate his time to the cause of *timbila*. In 1995 he retired, after 44 years of service, but before that, between 1993 and 1995, he made several trips to Mozambique and together with Andrew Tracey, they visited and provided support for the revitalisation of many *timbila* orchestras in Zavala. At the same occasion he began the creation of his own new *timbila* orchestra in Zavala, which was inaugurated in May of 1996. A month after the inauguration of his new orchestra, between June and July of the same year, he took a tour in Portugal and Denmark, along with 18 players and dancers, organised by Tony Van der Eecken, a Belgian producer. This was followed by a series of tours in Europe. Mbande performed throughout his career, both with the South African and Mozambican orchestras in the following countries: Portugal, Denmark, France, Belgium, Netherlands, Germany, England, Austria, Australia, the United States of America, Swaziland, South Africa, Zambia, and obviously in Mozambique, where he has constantly performed on numerous occasions. He was recognised for this commitment and dedication to the preservation and promotion of *timbila* in Mozambique and across national borders. Therefore, in 2009, the former Ministry of Culture through the *Fundo Nacional para o Desenvolvimento Cultural* (National Fund for the Cultural Development), also known as FUNDAC, awarded him the FUNDAC award and a few years later in 2014, he was awarded the *Medalha de Artes e Letras* (Medal of Arts and Letters).

⁶You can get the *Keep the Timbila Playing* documentary from the next link of the International Documentary Filmfestival Amsterdam: <https://www.idfa.nl/en/film/3e89eb5a-9749-439c-b552-ff43db871641/keep-the-timbila-playing/docs-for-sale>

The second is a recognition given by the Government of Mozambique to people or organisations that over time have stood out in the promotion of national culture. Throughout his career he recorded and published five *timbila* music albums. However, he also recorded numerous *timbila* albums archived at ILAM that were not officially published.

3.2. Summary of the chapter

In the third chapter, I discussed the ethnography of the *Chopis*. Specifically, I presented the geographical situation of the Chopiland; the origin of the *Chopi* people; the history of *timbila*, including of *M'saho* and the proclamation of *timbila* as a masterpiece of the oral and immaterial heritage of humanity by UNESCO in 2005. I also presented a short summary of the biography of Venâncio Mbande, as one of the most outstanding figures in the preservation and dissemination of the *timbila*, inside and outside Mozambique.

4. Chapter IV: *Chopi* people migrations and the influence of globalisation and modernity on *timbila*.

To address the influence of globalisation and modernity on the *timbila*, it is important to discuss the *Chopi* people migrations from the countryside to the city and from Chopiland to outside the country. I look at their movements to Maputo and to the gold and platinum mines of South Africa, as these events have fully enabled the internationalisation and crossover between *timbila* and other cultures.

South Africa is rich in mineral resources, and therefore has been seen as a land of opportunity by many peoples from different countries, including from Mozambique, since the 19th century. As Wane (2010) reports, the migratory work of Mozambicans in South Africa intensified after the signing of an agreement between the South African and Portuguese authorities in 1964 to facilitate this type of work. Nowadays, many Mozambicans continue to carry out migratory work in several mining companies in South Africa and there are around 43 000 Mozambican miners doing this kind of work in South Africa (Sousa 2014). Sousa (2014) also reports that some of the first Mozambican musicians who had the opportunity to record their music did so in South Africa from the 1950s, and many of these musicians went to South Africa as miners and then developed a musical career. Such are the cases of Fanny Mpfumo, Francisco Mahecuane and the *timbila* master Venâncio Mbande.

Wane (2010:76) argues that the migratory work of Mozambicans in South Africa had a greater impact on expanding the cultural universe of populations, especially in rural areas in Southern Mozambique. Salaried work and the relationship with consumer goods were some of the aspects involved in the confrontation between Mozambican miners and employers in South Africa. Another example pointed out by Wane (2010), which happens to this day, is the habit that Mozambican miners have of buying and taking musical equipment to Mozambique. As the author argues, at one time, this custom allowed rural populations to listen to music, but it also allowed them to follow the social, cultural, and economic dynamics that took place in different parts of Mozambique and in other countries. I remember that my mother, who doesn't know how to write, to communicate with my father, used to record an audio cassette and send it to my father. Dove (December 02, 2020) in Zavala, reports that this was a common practice among miners and their families, as most of them could not write and this practice came to replace scribes who were appointed to support miners' families to write and send letters to the mines in South Africa.

The migratory work of Mozambicans to the mines of South Africa also influenced other

cultural and social aspects. Names generally of objects and equipment used in the mines, started to be acculturated and even attributed to the miners' children. In the nomenclature of *Chopis* for example, the names *Hamelane*, *Watchane*, *Naenyane*, *Thauzeni*, *Daimanyane* and *Tualufo*, coming respectively from the terms hammer, watch, nine, thousand, diamond and twelve, came to be given frequently when youngsters were born. Therefore, migratory work also resulted in cultural exchanges or the acculturation of ways of life from South Africa.

The migration of *Chopis* from the countryside to the city, particularly to Maputo, dates to the times of Portuguese colonisation and the beginning of industrialisation of the region of Maputo. Due to its easy location and because it is the main city and coincidentally the largest industrial centre in Southern Mozambique since colonial times, many *Chopis* have relocated to Maputo to look for jobs or to attend universities. Durão Lamussen, one of the influential *timbila* masters in the city of Maputo, as well as the parents of Cheny Wa Gune and Matchume Zango, who are also well-known people in the cultural arena in Mozambique, are some of the *Chopis* who emigrated from Chopiland to Maputo many years ago.

These movements from Chopiland to Maputo and to the mines in South Africa, are to be understood as the movement of people from one reality to another reality and during these migrations they carry with them their habits and customs that, upon arrival, clash with the new reality. As Elvio Martins (2001) argues, the reason for spatial mobility itself already has its traumas. But the fact has even more profound repercussions as people become something else in another place. They are no longer peasants, they are now proletariats, but they do so while preserving their rural subjectivity in an urban world. Martins (2001) continues arguing that, in the urgency of survival, in the challenges imposed by the alienation of the new place they are forced to redefine their identities. The redefinition of their identity finds its place in the neighbourhood, their refuge from far away homes. This situation is more evident when the origin is a country, and the destination is another country. For newcomers, the difficulties of adaptation are now many. Because of the difficulties faced, the trend is towards solidarity based on origin or race (Martins 2001).

Martin's approaches can be used to explain *Chopi* migrations to different places. Because of the solidarity based on origin or race, most of the *Chopis* who arrived in Maputo at the time are concentrated in specific surrounding areas of the city. Some of these places are: Luís Cabral, Jardim and Bagamoyo neighbourhoods. Apart from this, from the solidarity based on origin, orchestras of *Ngalanga* of *Xipamanine*, *Ngalanga* of *Unidade 7*, *Timbila Muzimba* and *Timbila ta Gwevane* were created. Also, *timbila* music was included in the *Companhia Nacional de Canto e Dança*. In South Africa, from this relationship based on origins, *timbila* orchestras

were also created in different mining companies. Some of these companies are Marvel and Impala platinum mines, as pointed out by Andre Ngulele (December 15, 2020), a former miner, *timbila* dancer. About this, Tracey (1952) records that in 1944, there were around 47 *timbila* orchestras in South African mining companies where the *Chopis* worked.

4.1. Traditional and contemporary *timbila* music.

Mozambique is a very rich country in terms of musical traditions and dances that keep and transmit living memories of Mozambican people since long before the creation of Mozambique, first as a Portuguese Overseas Province and later as a State. These traditions survive different moments in the country's history and challenge different political, economic, social, and cultural phenomena. However, it is irrefutable that these traditions have over time lost some elements and incorporated others to accompany these different dynamics. As mentioned earlier, my research focuses on the influence of globalisation and modernity on *timbila* music. Therefore, it is essential to address the intersection between the traditional and the contemporary.

Sofia Soromenho (2013:484) argues that the term contemporary does not refer only to what is current, but to a particular way of relating to time. Soromenho believes that the term “contemporary” has been used superficially by the market and often becomes an indicator to categorise the production and consumption of art. Arguing about the same matter, Anttonen (2005:37) defends that tradition more than being opposite to modernity, has often been a source for the creation of modern products through its reinterpretation. Therefore, these two phenomena are complementary and inseparable. In any case, what is perceived is that the boundary between the meaning of these two terms is always tenuous and often confusing.

Zango (March 15, 2021), reported on the participation of Lucas Macuacua, leader of *Timbila Muzimba* orchestra in one of the *M'saho* preparation meetings held in Zavala. He said that with the meeting almost over, Macuacua was invited to leave the meeting because allegedly from that moment on they would discuss more sensitive matters that had to do with the *timbila*. At the time, the *timbila* masters claimed that what the *Timbila Muzimba* orchestra played (a fusion of *timbila* with other rhythms) was something else, not *timbila* music and for that reason Macuacua had no right to follow what would be discussed further. Wa Gune, commenting on a similar episode, explained that around the end of 1991 there was a musical project that included an album recording of *timbila* music mixed with different musical instruments (saxophone, drums, guitars, and others) at *Cinema África*, in Maputo. Apart from *timbila* masters from

Zavala District, who were invited to *Maputo* to participate in the project, the Family of Percussion (FoP) band led by Peter Giger from Europe was also included. Upon arrival the *timbila* masters from Zavala were told that the objective was not only to record traditional *timbila* music, but also to make new creations with a mixture of different musical instruments. When they became aware of this, they decided not to participate in the project. According to Wa Gune, it took a thorough dialogue to convince them to participate.

From these statements, it can be noted that among the *timbila* masters, the idea of mixing *timbila* with other musical rhythms is not welcomed, allegedly because it destroys the authenticity of the *timbila* culture. For some, innovation or reinvention makes traditions lose touch with their origins and mystical value. It is, however, my opinion that it is impossible to maintain traditions in their original form, without any influence over time, especially in the dynamic world we live in today. Therefore, the relationship between the traditional and the contemporary makes us reflect on the need for a culture to equate conservation and innovation processes at the same time. Soromenho (2013:62), argues that the growth and the (re)invention of tradition, in the context of the (re)affirmation of national identities by artistic performances are a strong source for tourism and commercial productions. However, they represent more than mere folkloric performances, as they provide space for a (re)elaboration of values and traditions, allowing dialogue between the past and present with a view to the future Soromenho (2013:62)).

Soromenho (2013:62) also finds that the reinterpretation of traditions is endowed with reflective communication, guided by the essence of the ritual of each tradition. It represents, reflects, and comments on society in addition to contributing to the mere reproduction and transmission of cultural elements. Nevertheless, what matters for now is that fusion between different arts is a common practice among young musicians. This is especially apparent with musical rhythms considered traditional, which are fused with Western rhythms, resulting in contemporary music. In light of this, in the next section I present some of Mozambican artistic movements and artists who work with the mixture of *timbila* and other types of music, and who best fit my area of research. These are: *Companhia Nacional de Canto e Dança*; the *Timbila Muzimba* orchestra; Simão Nhacule; Cheny Wa Gune and Matchume Zango.

4.2. Companhia Nacional de Canto e Dança.

The *Companhia Nacional de Canto e Dança*, also known as CNCD, (the acronym in Portuguese), was created in 1979, and consisted of various artists (dancers, actresses, actors,

musicians, and storytellers, etc.) with the aim of collecting and preserving various forms of art throughout the territory of Mozambique. At the time, CNCD was formed with the vision of building a national identity and seeking unity among the diverse cultures and peoples of Mozambique. In 1983 the Mozambican government professionalised the CNCD, under the Ministry of Culture, and artists from different provinces of the country were selected and incorporated into the working group, including some *timbila* masters (Soromenho, 2013:162). David Abílio, CNCD's first director, is reported as saying that at first, the company was involved in projects that were familiar, alluding to the reproduction of music and dances that were already known, which were not new to the public. However, in the following years, they started to produce new choreographic and musical conceptions, working with the material collected from research on local traditions as an element for their creations, creating contemporary and unique works. During the following years, the CNCD adopted two directions, one to maintain its initial proposal for the preservation of traditional culture and the other open to contemporary projects (Soromenho, 2013:163).

The inclusion of CNCD in this research is precisely because it was one of the first groups to create works of contemporary music and dance, based on expressions of traditional music and dance from different parts of Mozambique. This included music of *timbila*, with the participation of *timbila* masters Eduardo Durão Lamussene, Rolando Mahuaie, Simão Nhacule, Amós Lamussene Mahuie, among others, from Zavala. CNCD was also one of the first groups to perform outside Mozambique after national independence and is one of the groups that travelled the most around the world, presenting the national culture in different ways, including the *timbila* and therefore making it known internationally. The countries that *CNCD* has performed in include the following: United States, Cuba, Jamaica, Bulgaria, Romania, Germany, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Angola, Italy, Norway, Spain, Russia, South Africa and Swaziland.

To demonstrate the role that the *CNCD* performed for the *timbila* music, I introduce the following example in the *Jornal Notícias*, “Zanzibar não resiste a música *Chope da CNCD*” (Zanzibar can't resist to the *Chopi* music of the *CNCD*). This is a portrait of the *CNCD*'s participation in the Zanzibar International Film Festival (ZIFF), written on July 3rd of 2000.



Photo5: CNCD performing Chopi timbila in 2000's Zanzibar Festival.
Source: *Jornal Noticias*, July 03, 2000

Soromenho (2013:163), states that one cannot disregard the fact that traditional African cultural manifestations are the form of artistic expression that have gained visibility outside the African continent. Perhaps for this reason, the CNCD, as well as other groups that work with traditional manifestations are among those with the most performances outside Mozambique and Africa. Despite CNCD's long history of success, inside and outside Mozambique, it is currently going through a very critical moment in its existence since the change of the first director, David Abilio. Sadly, it is now limited to small performances mainly in Maputo.

4.3. *Timbila Muzimba*

Founded in 1997, *Timbila Muzimba* is an orchestra of ten young musicians and dancers from *Bairro do Jardim*, on the outskirts of Maputo City. Many of the members are descendants of *Chopi* parents who, as mentioned, emigrated to Maputo city, the country's main urban and industrial center, to search for jobs and better living conditions. The members include Celso Durão, Cheny Wa Gune, Lucas Macuacua, Matchume Zango and Osório Mahuaie. The music of the *Timbila Muzimba* fuses the traditional rhythms and sounds of the *timbila* with those of modern instruments. The name of the group, *Timbila Muzimba* was based on the name of the main musical instrument used by the group (*timbila*) and on the term *muzimba* (which means body) and which relates to the movements of the group's dancers who move briskly to the sound of the *timbila*.

According to Wa Gune, in his interview as part of this research, as previously mentioned, the mixture of the *timbila* and modern musical rhythms was not very common at the time of the group's formation. He reports that many knew the music of *timbila*, from events such as *M'saho*, but no one had yet had the idea of doing what they do (a fusion between the *timbila* and other musical rhythms. According to the same source, the motivation was based on traditional *timbila* music to create something new that was more adjusted to the urban context. This was more acceptable to the urban consumer, but at the same time was representative of

Chopi culture. Therefore, young people from different music and dance groups from the Jardim neighbourhood got together and formed the *Timbila Muzimba* orchestra.

Wa Gune also reports that the group's participation in the Music Crossroads competition in 1999, where *Timbila Muzimba* won first prize, was one of the orchestra's first appearances. It was clear from this that the group was making very good music. Since then, *Timbila Muzimba* has performed concerts in several countries, particularly in Europe and released their first album in 2003, entitled ⁷*Conta Propria*. Most importantly however, Nhacule argues that mixing *timbila* with Western instruments, or playing *timbila* music in its contemporary format is the best way to preserve and keep the *timbila* culture alive. Nevertheless, I believe that we do not necessarily have to play *timbila* music in its contemporary way to keep *timbila* culture alive. I am convinced that *timbila* will survive as it has always survived during the ages, through different moments and social dynamics, whether it is practiced in its original form or in the form considered contemporary. In the sections below I introduce Wa Gune, Zango and Nhacule. These 3 musicians are currently the most notable contemporary *timbila* players, nationally and internationally.

4.4. Cheny Wa Gune

Cheny Wa Gune is the stage-name of Geraldo António Mahuaie, born in Maputo in 1980 to a family of musicians from the *Chopi* people. In 1992 he was part of the first Youth Cultural Group in the Jardim neighbourhood called *Novos Raios*, where he learned to dance and play most of the traditional and popular dances of Mozambique. In 1994 he joined the cultural group *Ntwananu*, of the *Organização Continuadores de Moçambique*. In 1997 he founded the orchestra *Timbila Muzimba*, with whom he toured Europe, Asia, and Africa, participating in major festivals, and gaining a lot of experience. He was very connected with the artistic world and had the opportunity to engage in many collaborations in national and international cultural exchange programmes as a solo musician. He works with theatrical groups in the composition of soundtracks for cinema and advertising. He also acts as a collaborator for national universities, among them the *Instituto Superior de Artes e Cultura (ISArC)*, and *Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (UEM)*, presenting lectures on national traditional music. In addition, he has taught at several national and international schools, presenting master classes on *timbila* music and other traditional Mozambican musical instruments.

⁷ *Timbila Muzimba*, *conta propria* album: <https://www.discogs.com/es/release/12913689-Orquestra-Timbila-Muzimba-Conta-Pr%C3%B3pria-M%C3%BAsica-E-Dan%C3%A7a-De-Mo%C3%A7ambique>

In 2007 he founded yet another group called the *Cheny Wa Gune Quarteto*, with other young musicians from Maputo and recorded an album of original music in 2010 entitled ⁸*Jindji Jindji*. He is part of the TP50 (a group that brings together music, theatre, dance, poetry, and video) with a focus on thematic concerts and tributes, exalting Mozambican music and culture, and is currently professor of percussion at the *Xiquitsi* Project.

In all his musical works, both individually, with the *Quarteto*, as well as in his collaborations, Wa Gune explores the symbiosis between conventional and traditional Mozambican instruments. Of interest to this study is his focus on the *timbila* resulting in him being one of the most influential *Chopi* musicians today, both in Mozambique and abroad. In addition, he stands out as a leading musician, teacher, composer, interpreter, and researcher of traditional music.

4.5. Matchume Zango

Matchume Zango was born in 1981. He has dedicated himself to traditional Mozambican music and dance since the age of six. He is regarded as one of the most influential young masters of *timbila* music. Like Wa Gune and other *timbila* musicians in Maputo, his parents and grandparents are originally from the *Chopi* people. Inspired by this long and passionate trajectory of music and percussion, he began to play and study music such as *timbila*, *mbira*, *xitende* (bow music) and *djembe* drums.

Over the past twenty years, Zango has toured the world as a performing musician and composer of traditional, experimental, and fusion music. As an ambassador of Mozambican music and culture, he has performed, taught and carried out artistic and cultural projects in a number of countries including Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Botswana, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Chad, China, Congo-Brazzaville, Congo-Kinshasa, Denmark, France, Gabon, Germany, Guinea-Bissau, Japan, Luxemburg, Madagascar, Mali, Norway, Portugal, Reunion Island, Rwanda, Senegal, Slovenia, South Africa, South Korea, Spain, Swaziland, Sweden, Switzerland, United States, and Zimbabwe. He has completed dozens of successful collaborations with international artists in the genres of music performance, theatre, dance, and film, and has recorded several albums. Two examples include *Wata M'cande* in 2017 and *Tate wathu: tributo Venâncio Mbande* in 2019.

⁸ Cheny Wa Gune Quarteto, *Jindji Jindji album*. <https://music.apple.com/mz/album/jindji-jindji/1226764692>

In 2016 he earned his bachelor's degree in music performance from the University of Cape Town, South Africa (UCT). While studying at UCT, he was employed as a lecturer and composed and performed music for various departments including theatre, dance, and cinema. In addition, he has given workshops and courses in Mozambican music and dance at schools and universities in several countries. Some of these include: *Universidade Eduardo Mondlane* (Maputo, Mozambique); *Universidade do Porto* (Porto, Portugal); and the University of Cape Town (Cape Town, South Africa). In Mozambique, he maintains his role as one of the founding members of the *Timbila Muzimba* orchestra, the *Warethwa* Cultural Association, and the *Orquestras Amadoras* (Community Orchestras). Furthermore, he created the *Nzango* Artist Residency in a semi-rural area in the outskirts of Maputo, which he has been directing since its opening in 2013. Throughout the ⁹*Nzango* Artist Residency he has been collaborating with different national and foreign musicians, producing contemporary music from traditional music including *timbila*. Some artists are Julian Hesse from Germany; Frank Mavhimira, from Zimbabwe and Kate Griffin, from England, all recorded in 2021.

In September 2017 he released his first solo album ¹⁰*Wata M'cande*, recorded at *Nzango* Artist Residency and mastered at M.E.L.T. 2000 in Durban, South Africa. In November 2017 he finished recording the album *Tributo a Venâncio Mbande* (a tribute to Venâncio Mbande) financed by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation. Mbande was his grandfather and master teacher. Currently, Zango is pursuing his master's degree in Music, with a specialisation in performance and a dissertation in music technology at UCT.

4.6. Simão Nhacule

Simão Adriano Nhacule (February 25, 2021) was born in 1974. He is my cousin, son of my father's sister. Different from Wa Gune and Zango, he was born and raised in the District of Zavala. He was born into a family of *timbila* players, both on the maternal side and on the paternal side. His father Adriano Nhacule was a member of the discontinued *timbila ta Madleni* orchestra, and became a member of *N'kwayo*, an orchestra which was made up of the best *timbila* players and dancers selected from different orchestras in the Zavala District.

⁹ Watch the videos of the Matchume Zango collaborations through the link: <https://pt-br.facebook.com/NzangoArtistResidency/>

¹⁰ Matchume Zango, *Wata m'cande* album: <https://www.deezer.com/pt/artist/13099323>

According to Nhamahango, they regularly performed at the Zavala Colonial Administration in official ceremonies, from about the 1930s, learning to play *timbila* from his father, he and his brothers were part of *Ngalanga ya Nyokweni*, from an early age. After the death of the leader of the *Ngalanga* group, the leader's son, who is Nhacule's cousin, assumed the leadership of the group in 1987. However, a few years later, the new leader emigrated to Maputo, looking for a job and better living conditions. Therefore, at the age of 13 Nhacule assumed the leadership of *Ngalanga's* group. After finishing primary education, in 1993 he left the group and migrated to Maputo in search of a job, as was the custom at the time. Later he joined the *Ngalanga de Xipamanine* belonging to the Municipal Council of Maputo City and composed of *Chopis* who were already based in Maputo. During this period, he was invited by Mr. Fernando Rafael, former Director of the *Casa da Cultura do Alto Maé*, in the center of Maputo City, to be part of the *Grupo de canto e dança da casa da cultura do Alto Mae*, and thus began to work as an effective musician in this cultural institution between 1995 and 1999.

For the first time, accustomed to the traditional style of playing *timbila*, he started to mixture *timbila* with different musical instruments and with other young people who worked at the same institution, he created his orchestra called *Silita*, dedicated to contemporary music. In 1999, the orchestra participated in and won a music competition held at the *Centro Cultural Franco-Mozambican* in Maputo, where the prize was the recording of an album in France, in 2000. In the same year, he started working at the *Companhia Nacional de Canto e Dança* and travelled to different countries in different continents where he played different musical instruments with other members of the *CNCD*. He also participated in an intensive course to learn to play *mbira* and *marimba*, at the *Escola Nacional de Música*. In 2005, he recorded his first solo album and in the same year he recorded his second album with the *Silita* orchestra.

Nhacule has participated in several musical projects. Citing some examples, Nhacule in his interview, held in August 20, says that he has already participated in the recording of albums of several Mozambican musicians such as Jimmy Dlundu; Mingas, Stewart Sukuma and the South African musician Hugh Masekela. He also participated in some theatre projects, particularly working with the Mutumbela Gogo Theater Company. Currently, Nhacule is a teacher of *mbira*, *marimba* and *timbila* at the *Escola Nacional de Música*, in Maputo.

4.7. *Timbila* music consumption in Mozambique

All my approaches in different chapters of the report, leads me to the following question: Who

listens to this music and what is the impact? So, in the next section I argue around this question. To approach the consumption of *timbila* music it is crucial to discuss the general context of music consumption in the country. The Mozambican music market has been dominated by ¹¹tropical music since the 1990s from countries like Angola, Cape Verde, and São Tomé - African countries with Portuguese as their official language. In southern Mozambique (the provinces of Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane), South African music is predominant as the result of its proximity to South Africa and other circumstances such as migratory work, as well as the sharing of ¹²Changane language.

Despite this large consumption of foreign music, from the late 1990s and early 2000s the Mozambican music industry grew substantially, especially regarding the production of popular music from southern Mozambique (Marrabenta). During this period, music of artists such as Avelino Mondlane; Xidominguane; Carlos and Zaida Ndlongo; Jeremiah Langa; Mingas; MC Roger, among many others, began to be consumed. Later, in the mid-2000s, musicians such as Ziqo and Danny OG were also consumed a lot. During the same period, because of the growing taste for tropical music, several young Mozambican musicians adopted this style, making it one of the most produced genres among young singers, although facing difficulties due to the lack of infrastructure to support the development of the music sector.

Maculuve, in his interview to *Diario de Notícias* Blog, in November 2017, argues that the lack of schools in cultural and creative industries in general is the biggest obstacle for the development of the cultural and creative economy in Mozambique. Currently, there is only one public music school which is in Maputo. Another important point to highlight is that the concentration of music production, recording companies, show rooms/theatres and other important companies and infrastructure for this kind of market is found only in the main cities, specifically Maputo. Independent recording studios that are currently operational in Mozambique include Cypher Studios (Maputo), Bomba Music Records (Maputo), Capta Studio (Maputo), Friends Studios Productions Mozambique (Maputo), VonZan Studio (Beira) and Bom Track Studios (Beira). According to Larangeira (2018), this situation makes production and recording music very expensive for many musicians residing outside of Maputo and the musical market very difficult to be functional.

¹¹Tropical music is a category used in the music industry to denote Latin Caribbean music. It encompasses music from the Spanish-speaking islands and Caribbean coasts but is also played in several African countries.

¹²Changane, belongs to the Niger-Congo languages. It is spoken in the Southern Mozambique, South Africa (close to the Mozambican border), and Zimbabwe.

At the heart of the problem in the cultural and musical sector is the lack of funding programs. It is very difficult to get funds for cultural initiatives in Mozambique. This problem is even more serious for unknown musicians or cultural entrepreneurs at the beginning of their careers. Talking to a publication called the Modigi Blog in 2015 about the limitations and difficulties in the field of music, José Barrata, one of the oldest and most well-known musicians in Mozambique said that if it were possible to go back in time, he would not have been a musician. He notes in the interview that he would have chosen to study and find another kind of job. According to him, musicians in Mozambique are subject to several limitations as they don't have socio-professional status.

This traumatic experience was common. Stories like this are frequent when it comes to the involvement of children on the *timbila* orchestras. Some children interested in learning to play or dance the *timbila* end up being banned from doing so by their parents. They prefer to occupy their children with other things. As reported by Morais (2020) this is one of the reasons why most orchestra members come from the familiar circuit of the masters and leaders of the *timbila* orchestras. The *Timbila ta Venâncio* group, for example, currently has fifteen members. Of these, five are brothers, three are nephews of the first five, two are grandchildren of the first five, the other five are neighbors of the master Mbande's house and among them, two are brothers and one is son of a former member of the orchestra. Therefore, each one somehow has a family or friendship relationship with the others that justifies his involvement in the orchestra. Apart from the above, it is not common in Mozambique for people to consume traditional music and *timbila* music. However, the music and dance of *timbila* is consumed locally in Zavala and in very specific cases in Maputo City, mostly performed in wedding ceremonies and in rituals related to death. It is very common for a *timbila* orchestra to be invited to a ritual because the spirits require this or because the person to whom the ritual is addressed liked *timbila*. Even at wedding ceremonies, it is common for orchestras to be invited to brighten the spirits of the bride and groom.

Most people who consume *timbila* music are *Chopis* or people who somehow have a significant connection with *timbila* music and dance or with the *Chopis*. Despite its national status these findings suggest that the consumption of this music is mainly based on ethnic identity and symbolic connections. However, with the emergence of orchestras and individual musicians who adopted contemporary *timbila* music, a specific, albeit small audience of people began to consume this style of music, especially in Maputo and in some touristic areas of the country.

Records show that from the 1930s onwards *timbila* orchestras began to perform outside

Mozambique and Africa with their participation in the First Colonial Exhibition of Porto and at the Exhibition of the Portuguese World in Lisbon, Portugal, organised by the Portuguese Government. However, it was between the late 1980s and mid-2000s that traditional *timbila* music and dance orchestras were performed regularly in European countries, with an emphasis on the orchestra of master Mbande, from the gold and platinum mines of South Africa. The last recorded appearances by traditional *timbila* music orchestras took place with the performance of groups of *Timbila ta Muane* and *Timbila ta Mazivela*, in the last half of the 2000s in France.

It seems that the moment of glory of traditional *timbila* music orchestras has passed. Currently, contemporary *timbila* music orchestras, particularly the *Timbila Muzimba*, perform regularly in several countries around the world. These aspects represent the history of *timbila* but also clearly demonstrate the effects of modernity and globalisation on the *timbila* culture. With the emergence of contemporary *timbila* music orchestras, with a different aesthetic, which interpret themes easily perceived by those who have never listened to *timbila* music and mainly which demand relatively few resources for mobility, traditional *timbila* music orchestras do not have the previous demand. However, this does not necessarily mean that the phenomena of modernity and globalisation are bad for *timbila*. The world is dynamic, everything is constantly changing, and it is not different with the music and dance of *timbila*. These phenomena pose challenges and *timbila* players must overcome these challenges in order to keep the tradition alive.

As mentioned, one of the most prominent and popular groups of contemporary *timbila* music is the *Timbila Muzimba* orchestra, having participated in important events internationally, especially in European countries, including in the *Festival Músicas do Mundo*, in Portugal, in 2018 (World Music Festival). Apart from this, in the national context, the music by the *Timbila Muzimba* Orchestra and other orchestras that practice contemporary *timbila* music is often played on different radio stations, in concerts, festivals, streaming's, and wedding parties. It is the most appreciated *timbila* music among urban audiences as compared to the traditional style. Contemporary *timbila* music is characterised by mixing *timbila* with instruments such as guitars, drums, piano, among others, mainly of Western origin. Different groups that practice this musical form recreate songs from traditional *timbila* music, including popular *Chopi* songs and explore different musical traditions of Mozambique.

An important fact that plays in favor of contemporary *timbila* music is the use of new technologies. As an example, I have reported the work of Mr Zango. Historically, *timbila* music never managed to establish itself in the music market in Mozambique, neither in the times of cassettes, nor in the times of CDs. So, contemporary *timbila* music is the one that is best

positioned for the context of *timbila* music commerce and internationalisation.

4.8. Summary of the chapter

In the fourth chapter I address the mixing of traditional and contemporary cultures, particularly the mixture of *timbila* with other musical styles. As a starting point, I address the migrations of the *Chopi* people from their homeland to Maputo and to South Africa, searching for jobs and better living conditions as events that contributed to making *timbila* known outside Mozambique and introduced the contact between *timbila* and different musical styles. Apart from this, I address the issue of conflicts over the definition of *timbila* between different generations of practitioners of this cultural manifestation. Finally, I discussed the consumption of *timbila* music and dance in Mozambique.

5. Chapter V: Conclusions

In the first chapter of my research report, I discuss some introductory notes on the *timbila* music and dance, as well as the *timbila* (xylophone) manufacturing process and I give an overview of these migrations of the *Chopis* to Maputo and to South Africa. I also discuss different social, cultural, economic, and political phenomena which had a direct or indirect influence on *timbila* music and dance over time. I mention some scholars who have completed important research on this cultural manifestation which were also important for the contextualisation of my study object.

The second chapter was dedicated to methodological issues. For this research, I adopted two methods. The first was autoethnography, which allows practitioners to use their experience to reflect on how they work, the skills they have found necessary and those events that brought the need for these skills to their attention (Livesey & Runeson 2018). The second was performance-based theory, which emerged as a field of academic studies from the 1970s. It is a field of interdisciplinary study that includes a wide variety of concepts, focused on performance as a central element of social and cultural life (Schechner 2012). I selected these two research methods because of my role as a pedagogue of the music and culture of *timbila*. Therefore, these theories allowed me to express my knowledge on this cultural expression. In terms of data collection, the first phase of this process was document analysis and the second was interviews.

In the third chapter, I discuss the origin of the *Chopi* people and the history of *timbila*, including of *M'saho* and the proclamation of the *timbila* as a masterpiece of the oral and immaterial heritage of humanity by UNESCO in 2005. I also present a short summary of the biography of Venâncio Mbande, my father, as one of the most outstanding figures in the preservation and dissemination of the *timbila*, inside and outside Mozambique. By approaching these themes, I intended to show the influence of different social factors; cultural; economic and political aspects in the life of the *Chopis* and in the practice of *timbila*.

In the fourth chapter I address the issue of mixing traditional and contemporary cultures, particularly the mixture of *timbila* and other musical rhythms. Here, I addressed the migrations of the *Chopi* people from their homeland to Maputo and to South Africa searching for jobs and better living conditions. These events contributed to making *timbila* known outside Mozambique and made possible the crossover between *timbila* and different musical rhythms, especially in Maputo. Apart from this, I addressed the issue of conflicts over the definition of

what *timbila* is, between different generations of practitioners of this cultural manifestation. In the same chapter, I also presented the most notable musicians and groups of musicians when it comes to contemporary *timbila* music. I also discussed the issue of the consumption of *timbila* music and dance in Mozambique, which is mainly motivated by the ethnic and symbolic associations.

As starting points to discuss the influence of globalisation and modernity on *timbila* music, I refer to migration of the *Chopi* people from Zavala to Maputo City and their migratory work in South Africa's gold and platinum mines. Since colonial times people from different places of the country have moved to these places, searching for job opportunities. Sousa (2014) argues that many Mozambicans continue to carry out migratory work in several mining companies in South Africa and currently there are around 43000 Mozambican miners doing this kind of work in South Africa.

As reported by Tracey (1952) in his work entitled *African Dances of the Witwatersrand Gold Mines*, while workers were in the mines, they strove to keep their traditions alive, especially through dance and music. Tracey records that in 1944, there were around 47 *timbila* orchestras in South African mining companies where the *Chopis* worked.

In Maputo, the migration of the *Chopis* contributed to the foundation of different groups of *timbila*, *ngalanga* and other *Chopi* dances. Therefore, whether to Maputo or to South Africa, the movement of the *Chopis* opened space for the influence of globalisation and modernity on *timbila*, both as a cultural manifestation and as a musical instrument. From this point, *timbila* was known outside the local and national meanders. Because of the influence of other cultures in the mines, some *timbila* songs started to incorporate aspects of other cultures. For example, some were sung in isiXhosa and other languages. From the same point, *timbila* music started to be mixed with other national and foreign cultural rhythms.

In 1999 there were 11 groups of *timbila* music and dance performers in Zavala. But by 2020 there were only six. Although this is as result of different factors, the current over consumption of mass media and of other products and services of globalisation and modernity from western countries by young *Chopis*, has a direct impact in the undervaluation and subsequent extinction of *timbila* orchestras in Zavala.

Nhacule, in his interview for this research, commenting on the mix of *timbila* with other instruments and contemporary music based on traditional music, stated that it is very important nowadays for a *timbila* player to be multifunctional when it comes to selling this kind of music. He argues that “It is essential to preserve the traditional *timbila* lineage, but we have to be able

to insert ourselves in different rhythms and musical projects''. In fact, I have found that it is very difficult to sell traditional *timbila* music in Mozambique. Its performance demands a large investment in the transport of equipment and staff. So, technology and other products and services of globalisation and modernity can play a big role in the dissemination and commerce of *timbila* music. An example of the importance of these products and services of modernity and globalisation in the cultural and *timbila* in Mozambique, is the growing use of information and communication technologies by different actors for the conception and implementation of musical projects. This has been especially noticeable in this period of the Covid-19 pandemic. As mentioned earlier, Zango has been developing different *timbila* music projects, particularly virtual music residencies, with artists from different countries.

Previously, I also referred to the creation of the *timbila* music website which will be launched in 2022. However, as also mentioned, some ideologies persist contrary to these phenomena. Among the *timbila* masters, the idea of mixing *timbila* with other musical rhythms is not welcomed, allegedly because it destroys the authenticity of the *timbila* culture. What is clear is that approaching or experiencing modernity and globalisation and acceptance thereof generally depends upon the perspective and quality of information of the subject who addresses these matters. For those who live in a modern, technological world, for example, their understanding of the use of technology is vastly different from those who do not. Debating the positive side of modernity and globalisation, I introduced Zango who, through information and communication technologies, produces different musical projects whilst mixing the *timbila* with other modern instruments. I also point out my example as a cultural activist, that I am developing a project to create a website for the dissemination of *timbila*. Most importantly however, Nhacule argues that mixing *timbila* with Western instruments, or playing *timbila* music in its contemporary format is the best way to preserve and keep the *timbila* culture alive. If on the one hand I support the idea of the great potential of contemporary *timbila* music and of the information and communication technologies for the preservation and dissemination of *timbila*, on the other hand, I believe that we do not necessarily have to play *timbila* music in its contemporary way to keep *timbila* culture alive. I am convinced that *timbila* will survive as it has always survived during the ages, through different moments and social dynamics, whether it is practiced in its original form or in the form considered contemporary. My arguments should not be understood as a resistance to the change or to the contemporaneity of *timbila* music. I appreciate the music of *Timbila Muzimba* and others who mix *timbila* with different musical genres and, indeed, I practice this kind of *timbila* music.

Addressing the negative effects of these phenomena, I point to the undervaluation of *timbila*

and local cultures in general, as argued by Ocholla (2007:3). Allied to this, the development of cities and the increasingly difficult search for jobs, contribute to the migration of many young people from the countryside to the cities, abandoning traditional *timbila* music and dance orchestras. As a result, most of the *timbila* orchestras are composed of older members with younger musicians being less prevalent. In general, technological products and solutions tend to gain ground in the international music industry and indeed in Mozambique. If throughout the 1990s, the use of cassettes was replaced by CDs, the following decade was characterised by the replacement of CDs by electronic music commerce. Historically, the music of *timbila* has never entered the Mozambican music market, neither in the days of cassettes or CDs. However, with the facilities brought by technology, the electronic commerce of Mozambican music in general and of *timbila*, although unexplored by the traditional *timbila* music and dance orchestras due to the lack of mastery of digital resources, seems to conquer new contours. Thus, contemporary *timbila* music orchestras are easily reaching the global market. Digital resources as effects of globalisation and modernity play a very important role, both for the preservation and for the dissemination of *timbila* at the international level. Thus, it can be said that despite a generational gap, as outlined in this research, globalisation and modernity can, and should, have a positive effect on the future of *timbila* music.

5.1 Recommendations

Many scholars have been carrying out different research on *timbila* music and culture, especially since the 1940s. However, one of the areas less explored by them is the teaching of *timbila* music. This is a very important subject. For example, the development of a *timbila* teaching model could facilitate the dissemination of this musical practice at local, national, and international level, which seems to be too complicated to learn for many. Another important gap is the collection and translation of *timbila* songs which have important messages of different interest. These have been disappearing with the death of *timbila* masters. Apart from this, many projects have been proposed by different institutions and persons (for example the *timbila* museum, *timbila* school, *timbila* cultural center, *mwendje* reforestation) for many decades, but nothing concrete has developed so far. but it is evident that something must be done for the preservation of *timbila* music and dance.

In my closing statement I conclude that despite a generational gap which clouds the consequences of change, as outlined previously, globalisation and modernity can have a positive effect on the future of *timbila* music. Thus, it is important, if not inevitable to equate the application of its products and services.

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