Recentering the Borderlands: Matepe as Sacred Technology from the Mutapa State to the Age of Vapostori

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Abstract

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Decolonial scholars insist that the work of decolonization must, at its core, involve understanding and dismantling the Western epistemologies that shape knowledge production in the academy. Historian Mhoze Chikowero identifies a particular scarcity narrative that is rooted in colonial sound archives and permeates current scholarship on African music (2015). His research, along with works by Andrew Mark (2017), shows how this scarcity narrative depicts Zimbabwean music in a state of constant decline and in need of “rescuing” by foreign NGOs and academics, thereby perpetuating foreign control over indigenous cultural property. In this dissertation I respond to Chikowero and Mark’s critical analyses of the scarcity narrative through a case study of *matepe*, a marginalized music tradition from the northeastern borderlands of Zimbabwe and central Mozambique. I provide a nuanced historical account of matepe music

cultures that centers localized understandings of music sustainability and cultural adaptation based on archival, ethnographic, and applied methodologies.

The main framework of this dissertation is based on the Nyahuna prophecy, a locally-specific prediction of cultural decline and recovery in northeastern Zimbabwe that was delivered by Nyahuna, a prominent *mhondoro* (clan) spirit of the Marembe people in 1958. Through his spirit medium, Nyahuna predicted that the Marembe people would go through a period of time in which their cultural traditions would be suppressed – first by war, then by evil spirits, and finally by the growth of independent Apostolic churches, or *Vapostori*. Within each of these time periods I offer historical and ethnographic accounts that detail the ways in which matepe musicians have adapted their practices to changing economic, political and religious landscapes. Ultimately, within the current time period, I argue that musicians actively work towards recontextualizing matepe music to reduce the stigma of the instrument's spiritual associations without desacralizing it. This recontextualization provides avenues for culture bearers to learn the sounds of matepe music within a predominantly Christian community.

My dissertation research was a multi-year, collaborative project that included the repatriation of over 150 music recordings and 250 photographs of matepe music from the International Library of African Music (ILAM) at Rhodes University in Grahamstown, South Africa. The unpublished archival collections are from the works of Hugh and Andrew Tracey, who recorded matepe music from 1933 to the mid-1990s, during periods of significant political and social upheaval. The archival collections provide a means to address the lack of music scholarship on marginalized ethnic communities in Zimbabwe. This dissertation also builds upon existing anthropological and historical research of southeastern Africa in a way that centers the significance of traditional African music.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements…… ii

List of Figures…… vi

Dedication…… viii

Chapter One. Archives and Music Sustainability: Decolonizing Praxis…… 1

Chapter Two. Marembe and the Mutapa State…… 42

Chapter Three. Matepe as Sacred Technology…… 72

Chapter Four. Nyamukupukupu: Mbira and the War of Liberation……103

Chapter Five. Marombo and the Aftermath of War……143

Chapter Six. Tukowa: Vapostori Churches and Matepe Recontextualized……171

Chapter Seven. Reclaiming the Archives……210

Conclusion…… 243

Bibliography……251

Appendix A. List of hera, matepe, madhebhe, and karimba tracks that were repatriated…… 262

Appendix B. Chart with published recordings of matepe music…… 268

Appendix C. List of Interviewees…… 270

Appendix D. Selected pages from Andrew Tracey's *Mbira Catalogue*…… 272

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List of Figures

Chapter One

Figure 1 Madhebhe, matepe, and hera, side by side………………………………. 7
Figure 2 Photos of Team Matepe…………………………………………………. 35
Figure 3 Map of research area in northeastern Zimbabwe ……………………….. 38

Chapter Two

Figure 4a Map of the middle Zambezi River and its tributaries……………………… 45
Figure 4b Map of the middle Zambezi overlayed with place names………………… 46
Figure 5 Andrew Tracey's map of diverse types of mbira………………………… 56
Figure 6 Photo by Hugh Tracey titled, "Four Nyungwe Mbira" …………………… 57
Figure 7 Map of southeastern Africa showing ecoregions………………………… 58

Chapter Three

Figure 8a Archival photo of Kadori's madhebhe…………………………………… 77
Figure 8b Archival photo of Kadori playing madhebhe……………………………… 77
Figure 9 Map showing the temporal and spatial relationships between four of the Zimbabwe culture states…………………………………………………… 84
Figure 10a Drawing by Thomas Baines of a 9-key karimba and nyonga nyonga…… 86
Figure 10b Watercolor by Thomas Baines of a musical vignette from 1859………… 87
Figure 11 Sekuru Matomati heating the fire by pumping the bellows……………… 92
Figure 12a Matomati covering the head of an axe with sap from the mukuyu tree…… 94
Figure 12b Matomati showcasing the finished demo, badza and mbezo……………… 94
Figure 13 Matomati resetting the keys on a new soundboard……………………… 94
Figure 14 Efraim Masarakufa holding up the type of wire he uses to pound keys… 95
Figure 15a Partson Nyaruwabvu's madhebhe next to Kuda Nyaruwabvu's first attempt at building a madhebhe soundboard……………………………… 96
Figure 15b Madhebhe built by Kuda Nyaruwabvu with half of the keys inserted into the bridge……………………………………………………………… 96
Figure 16 Side view of a hera built by Josam Nyamukuvhengu in the 1970s……… 98
Figure 17 Hera built by James Kamwaza………………………………………… 99
Figure 18 Matepe that belong to the Zonke family, built by Enochi Nyazvigo……… 101

Chapter Four

Figure 19 Enochi Nyazvigo's tools for building mbira……………………………… 115
Figure 20a View of the Nyamhara Mountains from Kasando's homestead…………… 116
Figure 20b Kasando at his homestead, posing with two large pieces of mupepe …… 116
Figure 21 Map of Protected Villages in Zimbabwe during the 1970s……………… 120
Figure 22 Crispen Zonke showing an area that has been cleared of landmines……… 122
Figure 23 Warning signs with pictures of landmines at Nyahuku School…………… 122
Figure 24 Crispen Zonke's map of Goronga and Mukota showing the location of landmines along the border …………………………………………… 123
Figure 25 Johani Bandeira listening to playback, 1969 ……………………………… 125
Figure 26 Sinati Nyamande listening to recordings of herself from 1969…………… 126
Figure 27 Garaji Nyamutya watching a video of himself playing matepe from 1970 126

Figure 28 Kudakwashe Nyaruwabvu interviewing Sekuru Efraim Masarakufa……… 131
Figure 29 Masarakufa posing with madhebhe in a ceremonial hat at his home……… 132
Figure 30 Sekuru Chikinya Nyamusangudza posing with his karimba……………… 133
Figure 31 Samsen Chiabirika listening to recordings of himself from 1970………… 135
Figure 32 Svikiro for Nyahuwi in 1971…………………………………………… 137
Figure 33 Gilbert Chimedza in Nyanhehwe discussing the photograph of Nyahuwi… 138
Figure 34 The present-day svikiro of Nyahuwi…………………………………… 139

Chapter Five

Figure 35 A page from Andrew Tracey's *Mbira Catalogue*, featuring Nyungwe musician Jairos Beni Chibusha and his hera mbira………………………… 148

Chapter Six

Figure 36 Former karimba player Everisto Mupadzi at his home…………………… 186
Figure 37 *Imbirai Jehovha*, the hymnal used at Mughodhi Pentecostal church……… 186
Figure 38a Team Matepe with Alec Bandeira listening to archival recordings of Johani Chiyeha Bandeira ……………………………………………………… 191
Figure 38b Alec Bandeira playing karimba at the Nyamapanda shops………………… 191
Figure 39 Johane Masowe Nyenyedzi Nomwe Vapostori church service…………… 194
Figure 40a Sekuru Chaka Chawasarira at Marymount Mission in 1969……………… 199
Figure 40b Sekuru Chaka Chawasarira and his choir at Marymount Mission in 1969… 200
Figure 41 Alice Kafu, Maria Jaredzera, and Barbara Zuze during an interview……… 206

Chapter Seven

Figure 42 New sound boards made by Crispen Zonke……………………………… 222
Figure 43 James Kamwaza and his son posing with five new sound boards ………… 222
Figure 44 James Kamwaza and Kasando sharing thoughts on matepe building……… 223
Figure 45 Nyamuhowa's matepe mbira…………………………………………… 225
Figure 46 Teachers Nyamuhowa and Musa posing with mbira at the Nyamapanda primary school……………………………………………………………… 225
Figure 47 The Zonke family girls playing the left-hand part to "Wako ndewako" … 225
Figure 48 KwaMutapa the Conquering Melodies…………………………………… 228
Figure 49 Kuda Nyaruwabvu posing with matepe…………………………………… 229
Figure 50 Saini Madera holding matepe, 1970……………………………………… 230
Figure 51 Saini Madera and Andrew Tracey listening to playback, 1970…………… 231
Figure 52 Ambuya Madera and her daughters singing along with Team Matepe as we play their favorite songs…………………………………………………… 232
Figure 53a Archival photo of the Madera family, 1970……………………………… 232
Figure 53b Madera's daughter holding a photograph from the archival collection of herself as a child………………………………………………………… 232
Figure 54 Photo of author, Melisa Madera, Chaka Chawasarira and his wife………… 233
Figure 55a Tab transcription of "Washora Mambo" on Sympathetic-Resonances.org… 235
Figure 55b Still image of an animated transcription of "Washora Mambo" from Synpathetic-Resonances.org……………………………………………… 235
Figure 56 Othnell Mangoma Moyo's matepe mbira………………………………… 240

In loving memory of Ambuya Esther Nyandoro

Chapter One
Archives and Music Sustainability: Decolonizing Praxis

Humanistic fields of study have gone through historic periods of crisis in the academy while coming to terms with their colonial baggage. In the 1970s-1990s, the "crisis of representation" challenged ethnographers (anthropologists followed by ethnomusicologists) to adopt self-reflexive practices by considering the influences of their own positionality and power in ethnographic texts. The current crisis of the academy is more encompassing, marked by an urgent call to decolonize institutions of higher learning. In African contexts, this crisis has emerged most viscerally through the Rhodes Must Fall movement that began in South Africa in 2015 when students, scholars and protestors demanded equitable access to higher education, as well as structural changes to university campuses and program curriculum. In U.S. contexts, the movement for Black lives has sparked needed debate and internal upheaval within the field of ethnomusicology, evidenced by Danielle Brown's letter on racism in music studies to the Society of Ethnomusicology in 2020, along with a call for ethnomusicologists to help restructure predominantly Eurocentric music programs at colleges and universities.

The need for restructuring is compounded by a financial down-spiral, especially among disciplines in the humanities whose budgets and available tenure-track positions continue to evaporate in the wake of the 2008 recession and 2020 coronavirus pandemic, which continues at the time of this writing in early 2021. Critical questions that emerge from this crisis include: How can we make meaningful rather than superficial or "non-performative"[1] gestures in

[1] This term is derived from Sara Ahmed's influential work on institutional diversity and equity. She argues that non-performative speech acts "do not do what they say: they do not, as it were, commit a person, organization or state to an action." This is in contrast to "performative utterances," that accomplish what they say (2009, 23). Dylan Robinson elaborates on the concept to say that scholars use non-performative statements because they "perform a certain righteousness in one's support for the project of decolonization or reconciliation without

ethnomusicological praxis that help to restructure the colonial architecture of the discipline? What are our responsibilities as scholars to make these changes with such limited resources and declining career prospects or job security? In this dissertation I investigate one aspect of the ongoing challenge to decolonize by focusing on applied research methods in music sustainability and their connections to colonial sound archives. I draw from historical, archival and ethnographic evidence to explore the localized ebb and flow of matepe music traditions in northeastern Zimbabwe and adjacent areas in Central Mozambique since the 1960s. I do this by focusing on the function and stigma of matepe mbira as a form of sacred technology. The main purpose of this project is to offer a nuanced and historically grounded account of matepe music cultures that has grown out of a multi-year collaborative project with a team of musicians from Zimbabwe and the U.S. My ethnographic work is based on three field research trips to the International Library of African Music and Zimbabwe in 2014, 2016-2017 and 2018, and online research beginning in 2012. With this research I aim to contribute to the growing dialogue that complicates the scarcity narrative of music traditions in Zimbabwe, sometimes known as "mbirapocalypse," or the imagined death of mbira, which is perpetuated through archival narratives, scholarly publications and NGOs.[2]

From post-colonial studies, Mbembe, Appiah, and Mudimbe[3] insist that the work of decolonization must, at its core, involve understanding and dismantling the Western epistemologies that shape knowledge production in the academy. This work requires a critical analysis of past narratives and the ways in which these narratives are perpetuated in present-day

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actualizing individual responsibility that moves beyond mere commitment to change" (2020, 39). Commitment without action has therefore surfaced as a widespread issue in individual and collective responses to antiracism and decolonization.

[2] Chikowero 2015; Mark 2017

[3] Mudimbe 1988; Appiah 1992; Mbembe 2015

academic systems, practices, and products. Scholars such as Chikowero, Mark, and Mavhunga demonstrate the colonial roots and cultural impacts of preservationist narratives that drive music scholarship, non-profit interventions and even environmental policy in Zimbabwe. For instance, Chikowero identifies the narrative of the ethnomusicologist as "conservator" or "savior" as a problematic trope that is too often uncritically reproduced in contemporary practice. He demonstrates how this neocolonial trope extends from the preservationist paradigm of salvage ethnomusicology, which functioned as the seemingly benevolent face of a violent and destructive colonial project. Mark and Chimedza build on this work to show how the "conservator," which operates on a specific precondition of scarcity, extends beyond the academy to international community music scenes and NGOs, further entrenching the established hegemonic power relationships that justify foreign control over Indigenous cultural practices.

Jeff Todd Titon's influential work on music sustainability and resilience helps to connect these threads in a broader context, as his research over the last twenty years traces the influence of conservation biology, and consequently the preservationist approach, in the development of cultural heritage management as well as ethnomusicology.[4] Titon shows how many UNESCO projects that aim to "safeguard" traditional music and dance cultures around the globe function through top-down, policy-driven methods of heritage management. Although UNESCO's coordinated efforts benefit from access to organizational support and resources, their top-down approaches lack the ability to navigate complex local issues of cultural history, representation and power.[5] Titon explains that UNESCO's limitations are a result of insufficient "ongoing, on-the-ground connections (partnerships) between the agencies, cultural heritage workers and the

[4] Titon 1992, 2010, 2015a, 2015b, 2016, 2019, 2020
[5] E.g., Howard 2012; Meeker 2013

culture-bearing communities themselves."[6] Ethnomusicologists and heritage studies scholars have therefore advocated for "engaged"[7] and "proactive"[8] approaches to fieldwork that situate local perspectives and sustainability as primary objectives.

Historically grounded critical analysis and ethnographic methods together serve as valuable tools with which to approach music sustainability through a decolonial lens.[9] A key component of this approach is the contextualization and interpretation of events, archival resources and ideas through ethnographic research. This needs to be considered in sound repatriation endeavors, especially, as critical ethnography is needed not just to dismantle dominant narratives, but to understand how archival resources can be reoriented based on their value and meaning to Indigenous communities. While the current crisis in the academy is an urgent call for action, I support the assertion that an essential part of this action is careful and collaborative scholarship aimed at unstitching dominant narratives that shape academic scholarship and applied work.

In this dissertation I respond to Chikowero as well as Mark's[10] critical analyses of the scarcity narrative that permeates Zimbabwean music studies by centering localized understandings of music sustainability, adaptation and cultural loss in the borderlands of northeastern Zimbabwe. I do this by demonstrating how musicians, instrument builders and other culture bearers have negotiated changing economic, political, and religious landscapes in three different time periods from the mid-1960s to 2018. These time periods are defined by the Nyahuna prophecy, a locally specific prediction of cultural decline and recovery in the northeast

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[6] Titon 2010, 2707
[7] Averill 2003, Thram 2014
[8] Landau and Fargion 2012
[9] Manyanga and Chirikure 2017
[10] Chikowero 2015; Mark 2017

that was delivered by a prominent spirit of the Marembe people. In 1958, a decade prior to Zimbabwe's Liberation War, a spirit possession ceremony was held for Nyahuna, a *mhondoro dzeMarembe*, or ancestral spirit of the Marembe. Through his spirit medium, Nyahuna predicted that the Marembe people would go through a period of time in which their cultural traditions would be suppressed. He prophesized that this would occur first because of war, then by evil spirits, and finally by the rise of independent Apostolic churches or *Vapostori*.[11] He associated each time period with a specific symbol. The first period is associated with *nyamukupukupu*, or dragonflies, whose helicopter-like flight patterns symbolize the Rhodesian Army's ominous presence in the borderlands during the Liberation War in the 1970s. The second period is marked by the *marombo*, or evil spirits, that proliferated in the aftermath of the war. And lastly, the current period is of the *tukowa*, or cattle egrets, their white feathers representing the robes worn by the Vapostori churches whose outdoor services have become a mainstay across Zimbabwe's landscapes since the early 2000s. Nyahuna explained that the last time period will end when there are noticeable signs that Vapostori churches are in decline. The spirits will thereafter be able to return, necessitating the practice of mbira ceremonies required to communicate with mhondoro spirits.

I adopt the temporal framework of the Nyahuna prophecy in order to highlight the major factors affecting changes in the cultural system of which matepe music is a part during each of these time periods. While Nyahuna's prophecy is specific to the Marembe people, and not broadly known to outsiders or those who are not familiar with Marembe oral histories, it nonetheless offers a way of parsing the last fifty years into distinct time periods marked by waves of cultural upheaval that impacted music cultures both in the northeastern region and

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[11] Interview with Chief Goronga, September 2017

throughout Zimbabwe. This framework allows us to complicate the temporalities of colony and post-colony by weaving the threads of regional experiences in the borderlands into the tapestry of nationally defined eras. During the current, and final, time period in the Nyahuna prophecy, I argue that musicians and culture bearers are actively working towards recontextualizing matepe music in order to reduce the stigma of its spiritual associations and make their traditions more accessible to family members and other culture bearers within what has become a predominantly Christian community. Throughout, I refer to "matepe" as a collective label for the instrument and its regional variations, which include madhebhe and hera (Figure 1).

In this chapter, I provide an overall framework for the dissertation project. First, I outline the discourse of the Zimbabwean music canon and illustrate how my research decenters that narrative through an ethnography of the borderlands. I emphasize the visibility of matepe music specifically, and how the matepe has grown into a topic of interest in academic and community music contexts. I dialogue particularly with scholarship and methodologies in applied ethnomusicology and situate the matepe in relation to sustainability and resilience studies, archival studies and approaches to repatriation. I am particularly interested in exploring questions of decolonization in relation to the history and context of the International Library of African Music (ILAM), where the majority of archival research for this project took place. I conclude by describing my overall research methods in digital spaces, within ILAM's archives, and in the field in Zimbabwe. Finally, I summarize how my major arguments will unfold in the chapters of my dissertation.

Figure 1. Madhebhe, matepe, and hera side-by-side. From left to right: A madhebhe that belongs to Naison Goba Karekera (shown inside a resonator), one of the matepe instruments that belongs to the Zonke family that was built by Enoch Nyazvigo, and a hera made by Josam Nyamukuvhengu in the early 1990s. It is difficult to distinguish the differences in size between these instruments from three separate photographs, but the matepe soundboard is larger than the other two mbira, and in general, the matepe keys are thicker as well. The easiest way to notice these differences is to play each instrument. The matepe requires the most hand strength to hold due to the large soundboard and stiff keys. The key layout and repertoire is similar for all three. These instruments depict only one representation of each type, but I have selected the most common style of each regional type found today. The style differs between builders and over time.

Area Studies and the Zimbabwean Music Canon

In global academic and commercial music contexts, Zimbabwean music is predominantly recognized and represented by the music of the nationally-oriented and internationally recognized *mbira dzavadzimu*. Tony Perman explains the role of ethnomusicologists in developing these core representations, as they have "successfully explained, advocated for, and celebrated [mbira dzavadzimu] practices to an extent that has not happened for any of Zimbabwe's other instrumental traditions."[12] This study offers a detailed account of matepe music cultures, grounded in several years of ongoing, collaborative archival and ethnographic research that has taken place in the borderlands of Zimbabwe, in archival settings, and online. I

[12] Perman 2015, 25

follow the example of scholars such as Tony Perman,[13] who breaks away from the geographical core of Zimbabwean scholarship in his studies of music practices of the Eastern Highlands[14] thereby offering insights into regional mbira cultures, politics, and identity in the borderlands. These perspectives from the margins work to contextualize and complicate dominant scholarly narratives about Zimbabwean music by portraying diverse ethnicities, languages and cultural practices.

The existing published literature on music of northeastern Zimbabwe is scarce. In his book on cosmopolitanism, Turino describes how specific styles of traditional music and dance have become canonized as national traditions based on their prominence in the capital during the 1950s-1970s, where these genres were promoted via radio stations and television networks.[15] Kyker argues that "the Zimbabwean musical canon also shows a distinct bias toward genres originating in the rural areas around the capital, where a sub-dialect of Shona known as Zezuru is spoken" and that music and dance traditions from the rural northeast in particular are "largely invisible in recordings, archives, and scholarly and popular writings."[16] Mark argues that this canon is geared towards mbira dzavadzimu (what he calls "the sole mbira") because of the influence of seminal works such as Berliner's *The Soul of Mbira*, and publications by scholars such as Robert Kauffman.[17] Mark also notes that earlier work by Hugh and Andrew Tracey are not skewed towards the capital city but rather cover a broad range of music styles, instruments and geographical areas.[18]

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[13] Kaemmer 1982, 1990; Perman 2010, 2011, 2012, 2015, 2020
[14] Kaemmer 1982, 1990
[15] Turino 2000
[16] Kyker 2011, 50-51
[17] Berliner 1978; Kauffman 1975 in Mark 2017, 163
[18] Mark 2017, 163

My research draws extensively from unpublished archival collections, with the aim of bringing these materials to the attention of other scholars and musicians amidst a lack of published scholarship. The resources are primarily Hugh and Andrew Tracey's work from 1933 to the early 1990s and are housed at the International Library of African Music (ILAM) at Rhodes University in Grahamstown, South Africa. Their collections feature recordings, transcriptions, photographs, field notes, tuning diagrams, and other resources associated with matepe music*,* as played in northeastern Zimbabwe and Central Mozambique. As described in the methods section below, I also consulted several smaller collections during my research; however, ILAM's extensive materials served as my core focus. My research was structured around the repatriation of ILAM's archival recordings to musicians, their families, and greater communities within and beyond northeastern Zimbabwe. These activities provided opportunities for me to play matepe music in various settings and to discuss the development of matepe music with dozens of musicians around Zimbabwe's northeastern borderlands.

What can a research project based on a colonial archive teach us about decolonization and music sustainability? Stoler, García and Chikowero demonstrate how nuanced historical research aimed at deconstructing the epistemologies of colonial archives offers scholars a means of better understanding the present.[19] Chikowero asserts that the scarcity narratives that pervade Zimbabwean music studies are in part rooted in the ILAM archives, and have been perpetuated by scholars who continue to draw from these resources without critical analysis.[20] Ethnomusicologists such as Nanyonga and Weintraub have shown that while colonial sound archives are often fraught with ethical issues such as permissions and copyright, they can nevertheless be extremely valuable to culture bearers as forms of heritage, historical records,

[19] Stoler 2007; García 2013; Chikowero 2015
[20] Chikowero 2015

memories, and learning tools.[21] Following the lead of ethnomusicologists who work critically with archival collections, such as Nanyonga and Weintraub, García, Gray, Emberly, Treloyn, Fox, and others, archival resources are foundational to my project despite their inherent contradictions. My ethnographic research, conducted both in-person and online between 2012 and 2018, has made it possible to contextualize these materials in relation to Indigenous frameworks of cultural adaptation and change.

In contrast to ethnomusicology's reification of Zimbabwe's national musical identity as largely Shona, ethnographic studies in anthropology and history have created a rich dialogue on borderland cultures in southern Africa. This body of scholarship, what I refer to broadly as borderland studies, is influenced in part by the work of British historian Terence Ranger, who wrote extensively about colonialism, war and identity politics in a number of contexts, including rural areas far from the capital city.[22] Pre-independence publications by anthropologists such as Michael Bourdillon highlight the diversity and complexity of border cultures in the northeast, including the traditional religious practices of which matepe, hera and madhebhe music are an integral part.[23] More recent studies by scholars such as Heike Schmidt, Elizabeth MacGonagle, David McDermott Hughes, and Angela Impey focus on narratives of identity, politics and culture in the borderlands of Zimbabwe and Mozambique.[24] A number of other historians and anthropologists have also focused on borderlands in southern Africa with attention to issues of religion, language, tribalism, and constructions of ethnicity and place.[25] The national imaginary portraying Zimbabwe as primarily Shona and Ndebele often overshadows the intricacies of

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[21] Nanyonga and Weintraub 2012
[22] Ranger 1999
[23] Bourdillon [1976] 1987
[24] MacGonagle 2007; Hughes 2011; Impey 2007
[25] E.g., Lan 1985; Maxwell 1995; Moore 2005

cultural practices in rural borderlands, which may not fall neatly into either group. Borderland studies challenge these constructions through in-depth ethnographic research that emphasizes layers of local and regional identity, cultural meaning and exchange, and the political significance of the frontier.

While there are numerous studies of northeastern Zimbabwe, few of them focus on what is now Mudzi district, where I conducted the majority of my dissertation research. This complicates my attempt to approach the matepe from a borderlands perspective, considering the insistence of scholars such as Heike Schmidt on how Zimbabwean borderland identities, experiences, and strategies are locally specific.[26] Maia Chenaux-Repond's book *Leading From Behind* offers some insight into social programs during the Liberation War in the 1970s that proved significant to musicians I worked with in the area around Mudzi district.[27] Many of the other publications on that area are smaller projects on rural development.[28] Consequently, I have relied on scholarship on nearby locales throughout Zimbabwe's east and northeast regions, including the Mozambican side of the border. Since the main body of this dissertation focuses on the last fifty years, the oral histories of older musicians with whom I spoke also elucidated events from this time period.

Music Sustainability & Resilience

My dissertation is about how musicians and culture bearers have sustained matepe and *karimba* music cultures in the face of colonization, modernization, and the growth of Apostolic Christianity. In each time period marked by the Nyahuna prophecy, musicians have adapted to

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[26] Schmidt 2013
[27] Chenaux-Repond 2017
[28] The development publications are mostly quantitative studies on agriculture, malaria and other common illnesses, food security, and access to clean water and healthcare.

changing economic and political circumstances to carve out a niche for matepe music. I am interested in not only the historical details of these strategies, but how they are evoked in the present through oral histories, matepe music, and the use of archival recordings. I illustrate how, in the present, musicians have deliberately invoked archival holdings as a means of disentangling the instrument from its religious stigma by asserting a secular identity for the matepe. Their purpose is not to desacralize matepe altogether, as it is still valued for its function in traditional ceremonies, but to destigmatize the instrument through secular associations using recorded media. In the process, we see Indigenous musicians using colonial archives for their own purposes. Focusing on the agency of musicians in the process of repatriation demonstrates how colonial archives can be reclaimed, which is a key element in the process of decolonization.[29]

I focus on the issue of the sustainability of matepe music because it emerged as a primary theme during the dissertation project, albeit framed and articulated differently through archival narratives, among community musicians, and by culture bearers within and beyond Zimbabwe's borderlands. Here I outline the ways in which music sustainability and resilience, which fall under the umbrella of applied ethnomusicology, can contribute to a holistic understanding of matepe music sustainability that is situated within the framework of the Nyahuna prophecy. This work is relevant in the current climate of UNESCO's safeguarding measures aimed towards Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH), since "mbira/sansi" in Zimbabwe and Malawi were added to UNESCO's Intangible Heritage list in December 2020.[30] One strategy towards sustainability that I attempt to demonstrate in my dissertation is the necessity of understanding the issues at stake–through critical ethnography and historical and collaborative research–as a component of applied

[29] Chikowero 2015
[30] The list can be accessed through the UNESCO.org website. The listing for mbira can be read here: https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/art-of-crafting-and-playing-mbira-sansi-the-finger-plucking-traditional-musical-instrument-in-malawi-and-zimbabwe-01541 (accessed May 2021)

work. This approach offers a way to view the archival collections by acknowledging their contested histories as well as their value as tools towards sustainability efforts.

Music sustainability attempts to take on a holistic view of music as part of a larger system, considering economic, social, and political factors as well as environmental limitations that may constrain or impact the lives of musicians or other culture bearers who create that music. Applying ideas from studies in music sustainability and resilience is a complicated task, in part due to inconsistent and even contradictory terms. For instance, research of this type may focus on music 'preservation,' 'conservation,' 'revival,' and/or 'safeguarding,' which all carry different meanings. Catherine Grant argues that in comparison to sociolinguistic studies on endangered languages, "ethnomusicological research on music vitality and viability has not yet developed standardized terminology."[31]

It is not only the fragmented nature of this discourse that makes it difficult to piece together, but moreover the relative lack of extensive and cohesive written scholarship on applied ethnomusicology that has dampened methodological and theoretical developments on issues of what Grant calls "music endangerment."[32] Rebecca Dirksen suggests this is partly due to the persistent divide between "pure" and "applied" research, or knowledge for its own sake versus knowledge put to practical use.[33] More specifically, applied ethnomusicology is "a music-centered intervention in a particular community, whose purpose is to benefit that community."[34] Dirksen adds, along with Harrison and Pettan,[35] that the divide between pure and applied is artificial, because applied work draws from the same foundations as academic, theoretical and

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[31] Grant 2012, 11
[32] Grant 2012
[33] Dirksen 2012
[34] Titon and Pettan 2015a, 2
[35] Harrison and Pettan 2010

ethnographic scholarship, acting as an "extension and complement" to these other realms. Nonetheless, applied work in the academy has been devalued as something secondary to theoretical pursuits and ethnomusicologists engaged in applied work outside of the academy are often not able to prioritize written scholarship.[36] Consequently, scholars stress the need to foster more dialogue about the prominence of applied methods in ethnomusicology rather than keep these discussions at the peripheries of the discipline, which has historically been the case.[37]

In the *Oxford Handbook of Applied Ethnomusicology*, Titon defines music sustainability as a "music culture's capacity to maintain and develop its music now and in the foreseeable future."[38] He analyzes the roots of the ecological metaphor and its influence on music sustainability, beginning with the cultural conservation movement within the United States that first emerged in the late 1970s. Titon differentiates "archival preservation" from the notion of music conservation based on conservationists' strategies of policy-driven, monetary support of the folk arts through organizations such as the Smithsonian, the Folk Arts Division of the National Endowment for the Arts, and the American Folklife Center.[39] Following behind applied anthropology, folklore and ethnomusicology gradually began to adopt the concept of music culture sustainability in the early 2000s after developments in conservation ecology's ideas of "diversity, [...] equity and ecojustice."[40] Archival repatriation, however, is still often disconnected from the kinds of policy-driven work geared towards cultural sustainability or cultural safeguarding.

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[36] Dirksen 2012
[37] Titon 2015, 13
[38] Titon 2015, 157
[39] Titon 2015, 162-3
[40] Titon 2015, 176

Cultural safeguarding projects are often centered around UNESCO policies. Numerous scholars have been persistent in critiquing UNESCO's cultural heritage policies and definitions.[41] Titon's work contributes to this dialogue, as he argues that the term "cultural heritage," which was adopted by UNESCO in its safeguarding policies, is problematic in that it tends to situate authenticity as something that rests in a music culture's "past glory" rather than framing music cultures as adaptive living systems that are continuously changing through process of innovation (qualities that are better recognized from the perspective of sustainability).[42] Similarly, top-down policies may have the unintended consequences of commodifying music by emphasizing presentational forms that are financed by tourist commerce and instead advocates for increased "local, grassroots, participatory, often amateur, music-making directly inside musical communities" which can help to revitalize musical traditions.[43] Although UNESCO maintains a stance of "safeguarding" rather than "sustaining" Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH), Grant argues that the multi-faceted institution is largely responsible for providing opportunities for ethnomusicologists to engage in issues of sustainability in the first place.[44] UNESCO has done this by contributing to the development of policies and infrastructure on a global scale as well as fueling the call for collective efforts towards maintaining and fostering musical diversity based on an ethical imperative to contribute.[45]

Sustainability is also a problematic term in various ways. The most pressing issues in this regard are the ecological tropes that are borrowed from environmentalism to understand cultural

[41] E.g., Wingfield 2007; Alivizatou 2007; Howard 2012
[42] Titon 2010, 710
[43] Titon 2010, 704
[44] Grant 2012
[45] Grant 2012, 32

sustainability.[46] For example, Clapperton Mavhunga's research on the history of wildlife management policies in Zimbabwe reveals the devastating impact of preservationist policies on cultures and ecosystems of the borderlands.[47] In other words, the preservationist narratives that characterize colonial sound archives are also present in sustainability discourse about the environment. While methods and approaches to music sustainability are useful to consider, I use the term itself sparingly to make room for diverse local understandings of cultural maintenance, growth, decline, and adaptation.

In a 2013 journal issue on the sustainability of music cultures and musicians in the Australasian context, Bendrups, Barney and Grant stress the need to consider two main themes of music sustainability projects: 1) the role of applied research, and 2) the conceptualization of sustainability in Indigenous music research contexts.[48] The authors stress the need to "move away from a deficit discourse of cultural loss," in other words, away from the scarcity narrative that frames preservationist work, and "towards proactive attempts at cultural maintenance and renewal."[49] The primary ways in which I apply the ideas of music sustainability is through the design of this repatriation project as a collaborative endeavor centered on music-making.

The foundational principles that Titon applies to consider the sustainability of music cultures are diversity, interconnectivity, limits to growth and stewardship.[50] The principles of diversity and interconnectivity are of particular use when considering the regional variations of matepe, hera, and madhebhe as well as karimba. These music cultures feed into one another through repertoire, playing styles, tunings, and instrument construction, and must be understood

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[46] E.g., Baron and Spitzer 2007; Keogh 2013; Titon 2020
[47] Mavhunga 2014
[48] Bendrups et al. 2013
[49] Bendrups et al. 2013, 154
[50] Tition 2010

in relationship to one another rather than just matepe mbira in isolation. My research thus was not limited to just matepe players or within Mudzi district where the matepe culture is based. The principles of diversity and interconnectivity also extend to other music cultures of the borderlands such as *ngororombe* panpipes and drum and dance traditions, whose songs and rhythms cross over into the mbira repertoire and hosho (rattle) patterns. This is important to consider when discussing the different types of music that one musician may play or contribute to, such as Sekuru "Matomati" Zonke, my main mbira teacher, who plays or has played banjo, ngororombe, several types of drums, hosho, and matepe.

In his more recent work, Titon advocates for resilience theory as a strategy towards cultural sustainability, which helps to theorize music cultures as living and adaptive systems that inevitably experience various kinds of disturbances. This theoretical approach is useful to conceptualize and understand matepe music sustainability in part because the Nyahuna prophecy is defined by three time periods that are each named by the major disturbances that have contributed to changes and shifts in traditional culture during the last fifty years. First, the War of Liberation (1965-1979), also known as the Second Chimurenga, was situated in the borderlands and heavily impacted people's mobility, freedom, and safety. The war increased the demand for mbira players and mediums as conduits to lineage spirits for the purpose of guidance and protection. Second, the time period of evil spirits took hold in an age of illness and unexplained death that occurred in the aftermath of the war. Musicians travelled to play music for healing ceremonies in the post-war period (1980 to the mid 2000s), but these ceremonies were geared towards non-lineage spirits like *ngozi*, which sought vengeance for the injustices of war. The rise of evil spirits created suspicion of traditional religious practices, especially those geared towards lineage spirits like mhondoro who operate as the core foundation of the traditional worldview.

Lastly, the rise and proliferation of the Vapostori churches (early 2000s-present) have led to increased tensions surrounding the spiritual stigma of matepe and its place in the community.

Environmental and economic factors, political violence, food security and health issues such as the HIV/AIDS epidemic have been pressing matters in the sustainability of matepe music cultures, especially in rural areas where this music is played. Mbira music as well as drum and dance traditions play an integral role in local perspectives and responses to such crises. Research in ethnomusicology and music sustainability, specifically, may provide a means for future projects that partner with local NGOs to strengthen support systems in these areas that provide such things as access to clean water, crop irrigation, and health and nutritional services. This project helped to increase dialogue among online and on-the-ground social networks and document local understandings of culture through the lens of music, history, and religion. Studies such as this one can therefore be valuable assets to foreign aid projects, which are often focused on short-term or emergency relief goals, by shifting the focus to sustainable solutions.

This dissertation aims to lay the historical groundwork that is focused on understanding the issues at stake rather than policy-driven interventionist work. I am interested not only in how valuable ethnographic work can help to inform NGO and policy measures, but also how the ethnographic work itself reinforces and builds sustainable social networks. These social connections have valuable potential to help to drive social projects through collaborative solutions. In this way, it is not just the sustainability of matepe music cultures that are in question, but also the sustainability of the research practices themselves. Shifting landscapes in academic institutions–namely less funding and decreasing job security–require new directions for research methodologies that are increasingly collaborative and supported by resilient and multipurpose social networks needed for activist work.

The International Library of African Music

Hugh Tracey, founder of ILAM, recorded African music as a site of safekeeping for future use. Former director of ILAM Diane Thram explains how "working under the 'collect and classify' paradigm of his time, Hugh Tracey was motivated, beyond a 'salvage' mission, to document and preserve African music for future generations of Africans."[51] In response to the rapid loss of cultural diversity in southern and east Africa during an era of colonial development, forced labor and migration, Hugh Tracey's vision for the ILAM archival collections was not only intended for later use as scholarly material for armchair analysis, but as a means of revitalizing cultural heritage as informal learning tools for individuals and formal educational resources within school and university contexts.[52]

The archival collections have been used for varied and creative purposes beyond these educational aims. In addition to sound recordings, Hugh Tracey and his son, former ILAM Director, Andrew Tracey, collected instruments, transcribed songs and produced metadata, photographs, tuning diagrams, and detailed field notes. These materials function as valuable tools of history, memory and learning in diverse contexts within and beyond Zimbabwe, in part due to the Traceys' attention to their viability as learning tools for musicians. I have found that the ILAM archives are often articulated by matepe players and descendants of those recorded as a way to preserve the playing styles of families and specific performers, but not unproblematically so.

Throughout I refer to ILAM as a "colonial archive" primarily because the specific resources of matepe music in this case study were created from the 1930s to the 1970s in what was then Rhodesia, before Zimbabwean independence in 1980. In general, however, John Vallier

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[51] Thram 2014, 317
[52] Thram 2014, 317

argues that "at its historical core the ethnomusicology archive is a colonial archive, one that is ultimately an arena in which researchers employ archival power to represent people and their communities."[53] Vallier's conception of "archival power" speaks to the pervasive disconnect between colonial archives and Indigenous communities of origin in terms of control, ownership, access and even knowledge of the existence and location of recorded sound collections. This disconnect has shaped the core mission statements of archives such as ILAM in their role and relationship to musicians and communities outside of the academy.

Anthropologist Ann Stoler states that "[t]his site of safekeeping, a pyre of empire, is one plausible way to describe the deadening weight of colonial archives."[54] She problematizes this imagery that implies, again, a widening gap between the perspectives and lived experiences of communities of origin and the biased histories represented in institutional archives that create and justify colonial power differentials. Building on Derrida, Stoler demonstrates how archives are living sites of knowledge production rather than just sites of knowledge retrieval. Specifically, she sees archives as "condensed sites of epistemological and political anxiety rather than as skewed and biased sources."[55] This approach allows a critical reading that gets into the mechanisms by which specific voices and subject positions are deemed intelligible while others are pushed to the margins. Stoler shows how these marginalized voices in archival sources uncover the fault lines that disrupt colonial narratives and expose their constructedness within a broader hegemonic episteme.

David García takes a similar approach to demonstrate the value of archival materials and their relationship to published resources. He analyzes the agency of informants' voices in

[53] Vallier 2010, 41
[54] Stoler 2007, 227
[55] Stoler 2007, 229

Richard A. Waterman and William R. Bascom's unpublished field notes and published writing based on their 1948 field recordings from Cuba. García argues that the absence of informants' perspectives in the aforementioned published works–and the means by which these perspectives were filtered out of academic scholarship–reveal the racist intellectual histories and methodologies of the disciplines to which Waterman and Bascom contributed, including the groundwork of ethnomusicology. Through a critical reading of the unpublished fieldwork materials, García demonstrates how "Bascom's informants in particular emerge as dialectically engaged interlocutors by virtue of their agency, selectivity and motivations in entering the anthropological 'field.'"[56] His analysis support Seeger's assertions that ethnomusicological archival resources are valuable to descendants of those who were recorded, scholars, musicians, and students, while the theoretical interpretations of those materials tend to lose their value, considering how academic theories a century or even decades later have little currency within and beyond the academy.[57]

Historian Mhoze Chikowero interrogates ILAM (and ethnomusicological archives in general) and its role in the colonial project. He contextualizes the drive for cultural preservation amid the destruction and violence of British imperialism and the British South Africa Company (BSAC), which operated under the leadership of Cecil John Rhodes. While sound recordings may at the surface seem like a relatively benign intervention, Chikowero underscores the severity of these actions by likening the plundering of sacred mbira music to "Cecil Rhodes's decapitation of those anticolonial spirit mediums and leaders" whose descendants now "call through the same music."[58] In his book, *African Music, Power and Being in Colonial Zimbabwe*,

[56] García 2013
[57] Seeger 1986, 266.
[58] Chikowero 2015, 10

he demonstrates the nature of this violence through cultural dispossession and focuses on the agency of musicians and actors in negotiating their power in colonial contexts through a deep reading of the archive.

Chikowero's visceral imagery of decapitation that connects the academy to violence reflects the tense atmosphere in higher education over the last several years in southern Africa, as it is in the context of the Rhodes Must Fall movement that the necessity and urgency of cultural reappropriation becomes palpable. In October 2016, Grahamstown, South Africa, I drove through a burnt barricade of pallets and desks near one of the main streets into Rhodes University. The pile of wood and broken glass was set on fire by protestors and extinguished by police earlier that morning. This was just one such incident on campus of many that I witnessed while working at ILAM in 2016. In 2015/16 the Rhodes Must Fall movement escalated on campuses throughout the country in the form of organized sit-ins, singing marches, broken windows and burning buildings. In some places the colonial libraries became a literal "pyre of empire"[59] as they were burned by protestors who forced us to recognize the hegemonic episteme that persists in these spaces.

During that same night of burning barricades at Rhodes there was an attempt to demolish ILAM's neighbor, the recently constructed School of Languages. While part of ILAM's mission is to imagine and implement new avenues of access to the archives, on this occasion I was thankful for the relative seclusion of the site. To enter the building, one must go down the long driveway, through the coded gate, across a courtyard and then ring to buzz open the metal bars on the front door before stepping into the space. In this way, the physical barriers to the archive greet you at the locked gate every morning despite the welcoming spaces of its interior.

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[59] Stoler 2007

The Rhodes Must Fall movement began in 2015 when student protesters at the University of Cape Town (and later at Oxford in the UK) insisted that the prominent statue commemorating Cecil Rhodes be removed from campus. This grew into a broader effort to decolonize South African institutions of higher education, aimed in part at reducing the tuition fees for residents. Philosopher Achille Mbembe underscores the connection between the initial drive to remove the statue and the larger movement, as he asserts that "decolonizing the university starts with the de-privatization and rehabilitation of the public space,"[60] which includes a sense of belonging and ownership for Indigenous African students and faculty at the university. The urgency of attention to these issues and the need for change escalated into violence that threatened (and destroyed a portion of) the material foundations of the universities, in conjunction with heated debates that included sharp criticism at the destructive approaches.

One route to draw attention to these issues, as Chikowero presses us to do, is to grasp the depth and scale of cultural violence embodied by the archive. My main interest here is how we may consider diverse perspectives to adopt a critical and historically informed lens with which to interrogate our current repatriation endeavors. I ask, how do we understand the value of these resources without losing sight of, and while continuing to investigate, their conflicted histories? How can we, as ethnomusicologists, learn how to embrace these difficult and tenuous tasks as part of our responsibility as representatives of the academy where sound collections are housed and curated? This requires us to recognize and address the discipline's "heart of darkness"[61] rather than treat it as an issue that requires distance and disassociation in favor of entirely new directions.

[60] Mbembe 2015, 6
[61] Apter 1999, from Chikowero 2015, 10

Repatriation

Repatriation is often listed as one of the primary functions of the archive, driven by ethical obligations that speak to the raison d'être of its inception. Seeger defines repatriation as "the return of music to circulation in communities where it has been unavailable as a result of external power differences—often the result of colonialism, but also including differential access to wealth and technology, educational training, and other factors."[62] While old-school materials of magnetic tape and reels formed the bedrock of sound archives in the colonial era, new technology and digital tools have made it increasingly feasible to put institutional collections into circulation. These actions are wrought with challenges that go far beyond the technical limitations of material return. Most significantly, institutions, researchers and communities of origin must contend with issues of power, access and ownership that are enlivened through the process of repatriation. The most viable solutions to these issues often require significant investments in time and resources needed to sustain relationships between institutions and communities of origin.

Archivists such as Fargion and Landau argue that the opposite trend has taken place. Scholars' mental blocks and negativity towards archives have persisted since the 1950s and spurred attitudes of neglect and avoidance. Landau and Fargion respond with the slogan: "We are all archivists now."[63] The call is not just to rewire our individual attitudes towards existing sound archives and current ethnographic practices, but to take a shared responsibility as stewards of these libraries. This institutional rewiring includes coming to terms with the incredible investment of time and energy required to tend to the wreckage of the colonial cage.

[62] Seeger 2018
[63] Landau and Fargion 2012

The matter of locating and returning Indigenous cultural property that resides in archival collections is not something that can be checked off a list. Allison Mills relays the necessity of long-term, reciprocal relationships between archives and communities of origin so decisions about preservation and access can be made through ongoing dialogue.[64] Scholars such as Aaron Fox, Andrea Emberly, Sally Treloyn and Robin Gray demonstrate this approach in the ways they manage sound repatriation in close partnerships with Indigenous communities.[65] These entanglements require attention, time, funding, an open heart, and a humble attitude. They also require a space-age perspective on the anatomy of "communities of origin" generations down the line and their collective geographic, mobile and contemporary forms. It is far too impossible for "the archivist," underfunded, maybe even part-time, to do the kind of reciprocal work needed for an entire library.[66]

Aaron Fox, the Director of Columbia University's Center for Ethnomusicology, recounts the challenges he faced when the catalogue for the Laura Boulton Collection became increasingly open to the public in the early 2000s. He describes how he was forced to manage access to the collection, with a growing awareness of "how easily mistakes could be made in such circumstances that could lead to serious ethical challenges or even litigation."[67] After an initial urge to restrict access, Fox tells about his journey in organizing a metadata nightmare of missing and unorganized information. He recalls learning about the value of the collection through engaged community dialogue over many years, and finally transferring ownership of the recordings to Alaskan communities near Barrow.

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[64] Mills 2017
[65] See Fox 2011, Treloyn and Emberly 2013, Gray 2018
[66] See Vallier 2010
[67] Fox 2011, 525

You can tell by the way Fox writes about the project that this is not a "feel good" endeavor. Engaged archival work requires the researcher to address the tenuous colonial histories embodied in these resources. This is evident in the way Fox describes Boulton's position as one that "reflected a casual and fundamentally racist disdain for the interests or equality of the people she recorded, even when she engaged in paternalistic and self-serving representation of her subjects and consultants as charming but simple interlocutors with whom she inevitably had a great rapport."[68]

In the emotional journey of sustained partnerships and repatriation endeavors, there is an opportunity to contextualize and dig into past events through collaborative and community-based work. As Fox recounts, this comes with mixed emotions, especially when you, the researcher, are the one who represents the institution. This is a realization that may settle in one hot afternoon when the third person that month comments on the nature of your responsibility in tending to your relative's recording projects. Gulp. I'm not actually *related* to any of the folks who made these recordings, one might say. The thought crossed my mind to abandon my own project and bypass its emotional burdens. But as an academic, what is my responsibility to something I did not create but may inadvertently maintain by the actions I *do not* take? My white-ness and researcher status may summon colonial power relationships regardless of my family history or good intentions. These realities can be scary to accept and are often accompanied by that impulse to walk away or cover up the uncomfortableness by focusing on the value of archival holdings and the accomplishments of repatriation. ILAM's sound engineer and doctoral student, Elijah Madiba reports that during his research his motivations were also questioned because "communities still have perceptions that individuals and institutions (such as myself as a

[68] Fox 2011, 537

researcher representing ILAM and Rhodes University) visit to pillage, leaving them at a loss, while those individuals or institutions enrich themselves."[69]

Ethnomusicology programs do not typically equip the ethnographer with real-world tools to help facilitate, participate in and (especially) listen to dialogue with and among Indigenous communities that confront the histories we unearth with these repatriated recordings. They are skills we must learn on the fly if we have the funding that enables a long-term presence or connection in the "field," however defined. How can we make room for listening to people's stories that articulate, dig into, unstitch, or rage against histories of cultural disarmament and exploitation? Without this type of training, it is no wonder that we prefer to distance ourselves from the archive whose historic practices and current limitations are under fire by postcolonial studies both from within, and outside of, the discipline.

While working at the ILAM archives for several months, it was my experience that issues of ownership and access are relatively at the surface, in part because of the library's location in South Africa's Eastern Cape. The ILAM archives are unique in that they contain extensive collections of music from sub-Saharan Africa that is one of a handful of such collections held and curated within the continent. Noel Lobley addresses a glaring disconnect that is illuminated in this context, showing how ILAM was "created explicitly for the benefit of local source communities," but, as in the case of most African sound collections, "very few are used by, or even known to, the African musicians and communities who created the music."[70]

Vallier expresses how repatriation can serve to close this gap between communities and archives and is one of the institution's "most profound responsibilities."[71] While requests directly

[69] Madiba 2017, 14
[70] Lobley 2012, 182
[71] Vallier 2010, 44

from culture bearers to access archival materials have become more common, these kinds of scenarios often still require some kind of initial avenue into the collections to uncover what they contain in the first place. This often takes the form of a searchable database of metadata so knowledge of what is there can be seen (and subsequently shared).[72] As stewards of these collections we are positioned into an uncomfortable responsibility to initiate the repatriation of resources that lack definitive guidelines about copyright and use and more generally require a lot of attention. Fox notes how he was pushed to the "edge of action" by such terms as outlined in the Boulton collection, fearing that any initial efforts may lead to "wasting the rest of [his] own career" on such an endeavor.[73] Of course, Fox goes on to describe how a decision to commit to the project shaped his career in profound and unforeseen ways.

Even when the existence of specific sound collections is known, Lobley demonstrates how social barriers also prevent culture bearers from accessing institutional archives. To do this, he conveys the difficulties in getting Hugh Tracey's recordings of Xhosa music "out of the freezer and into the townships" that are essentially situated on "ILAM's doorstep" in Grahamstown, which is a predominantly isiXhosa-speaking region.[74] To re-introduce these recorded materials, Lobley conducted listening sessions in various contexts outside of the academy, including bars, markets and gatherings at people's homes.[75] The outreach work not only increased local knowledge about the existence of the recorded materials to fuel further interest and engagement, but also aided in their local and regional circulation. Furthermore,

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[72] These endeavors come with their own set of tensions associated with the responsibilities of restricting access. Existing collaborations with communities of origin can guide the terms of fair and ethical use, including whether or not the recordings should be digitized in the first place. See Mills 2017.
[73] Fox 2011, 526
[74] Lobley 2012
[75] Lobley 2012, 192

Lobley details how the dialogue that emerged from these listening sessions then contributed to more complex and diverse understandings regarding the history and meaning of the songs that were recorded.

Ethnomusicology undergrads, postgrads and postdocs at Rhodes are also trained and encouraged to do their own applied projects that utilize archival resources. The projects that have emerged demonstrate how collaborative approaches to repatriation and on-going partnerships with culture bearers (within and outside of university contexts) are essential mechanisms towards decolonizing archival collections. Elijah Madiba argues that one-time repatriation events are often not sufficient to make a significant impact on local music cultures. His creative repatriation efforts are geared towards local artists who use Hugh Tracey's isiXhosa recordings in their own music compositions and spoken word. His work goes beyond a return of resources, as Madiba offers workshops to artists that teach the skills needed to incorporate the Tracey recordings into their music along with experience in the ILAM recording studio. Madiba provides a means for local musicians to breathe life into the recorded materials through new artistic works. He states that this ultimately speaks to ILAM's goal of "turning the archive into a living space" (rather than a freezer) by acting as a hub for artistic creation that engages with its holdings.[76]

These examples emphasize the importance of critical dialogue and stewardship of archives at the institutional level. The collective drive to repatriate sound archives is best maintained by an atmosphere of dialogue with students, faculty and staff who are invested in decolonial scholarship and community engagement. When ongoing discussions about colonial archives are visible and accessible within the university context, it becomes more feasible to engage in ongoing collaborations that work to address the ways that academic scholarship serves the public. These strategies also make it possible to begin to address the emotional work of

[76] Madiba 2017

archival repatriation that acknowledges both the value of archival holdings as well as their contested histories.

Methods: Archival Resources

My dissertation project took place from 2012 to 2018, beginning with online and archival work at the University of Washington Ethnomusicology Archives. I conducted a preliminary research trip to ILAM in Grahamstown, South Africa and Nyamapanda, Zimbabwe in 2014. During this first trip I spent ten days at ILAM and a month in Zimbabwe to make contact with matepe players, including the Zonke family in Nyamapanda, Kuda Nyaruwabvu, Chaka Chawasarira, and Silika Gomo who were situated near the capital city. The main project took place between July 2016 and September 2017, followed by a month-long trip in 2018 to conduct additional interviews and create several videos to share with the collaborators of the project.

My dissertation research in 2016 and 2017 included the repatriation of approximately 400 audio recordings and 250 accompanying photographs held at ILAM, which feature music traditions of northeastern Zimbabwe and Central Mozambique. The recordings were collected primarily by Hugh and Andrew Tracey from 1933 to 1973. These ILAM recordings include matepe, madhebhe, hera and karimba players from these regions, as well as *nyanga* and *ngororombe* panpipe ensembles, *ngoma* drum ensembles, *nyonga nyonga* and *mana embudzi* mbira, *valimba* xylophone, and *bangwe* zither players. Appendix A provides the core metadata of the approximately 150 ILAM recordings of matepe, madhebhe and hera music that I compiled for repatriation, although the repatriated recordings were not limited to these tracks. In this section I will discuss the collected tracks and the nature of the work this process required.

I conducted the major archival portion of this project during three periods of work at the International Library of African Music in 2014, 2016 and 2017. My work in ILAM's archive was

conducted with assistance and support from former ILAM Director Andrew Tracey, who recorded many of the materials, former Director Diane Thram, and current Director Lee Watkins. My research partner Zack Moon and ILAM sound engineer Elijah Madiba also played essential roles in this research. Madiba was always able to locate tracks that had alternate archival reference numbers or were absent from the searchable database because of his detailed knowledge of the collections. Similarly, both Andrew Tracey and his wife Heather Tracey were able to recall additional details about songs, people, and places based on their memories of recording trips to these areas.

My initial purpose on these trips was to determine the scope of archival materials related to my research on matepe music, much of which was not available through ILAM's searchable online catalogue. I planned to compile this unpublished material along with accompanying metadata and corresponding details. During the initial week I spent at ILAM in 2014, I quickly realized the extent of these seemingly straightforward tasks. While I managed to gather several tracks in addition to the twenty-nine songs published through the *Sound of Africa* series, I was left with the overwhelming sense that months of dedicated work was needed to sift through metadata, field notes, photographs, journals, and reels in order to really grasp the extent of the archival resources. This was my first dose of reality in confronting how sound archives are often underfunded and difficult to navigate, especially in the Global South. ILAM's collections are extremely valuable resources that require regular and predictable funding to help increase accessibility to its holdings through diverse and creative avenues. The institution's location in southern Africa is one of its most significant and defining characteristics that makes long-term connections with communities of origin and strategies of decolonization more feasible compared to sound archives of African music in the Global north. The collective efforts of researchers,

students and staff on-site help to mobilize these strategies, but limited and inconsistent funding opportunities dampen the potential impact of these endeavors. The situation also tends to favor foreign researchers, like myself, who receive external funding for such projects.

The main stage of the archival component of the project was three months at ILAM in 2016 and later a two-week follow-up trip in 2017. This work required going through the ILAM collections by hand, including recordings, photographs, films, transcriptions, field cards, journals, letters and maps. The Tracey Instrument Collection at ILAM was also a key resource that brought the monotony of tuning diagrams and transcriptions to life through well-maintained and playable instruments. Another essential source for this project was Andrew Tracey's *Mbira Catalogue*, an unpublished collection of photographs, tuning diagrams and notes from his 1993 field research in Zimbabwe and Mozambique.[77] Appendix D highlights pages from the *Mbira Catalogue* that are relevant to this study.

During the research process the volume of materials grew, not only from our own unyielding assemblage of data, but from newly found archival materials within and beyond ILAM. These include recordings by Curt Wittig from 1973, photographs from Michael Bourdillon's doctoral research in the early 1970s and recordings and photographs by Tessa Watt and Lucy Duran that were created for a BBC program in 1995. Jennifer Kyker digitized the BBC materials and has made them accessible online with translations on her digital humanities project, *Sekuru's Stories*.[78] There is also an extensive collection of matepe music recorded by John Kaemmer in 1972-1973 and 1982 that was recently digitized by the Archives of Traditional Music (ATM) at Indiana University, which I acquired in 2019. This last collection will be included in subsequent projects since it was not available at the time of the dissertation project.

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[77] The recorded cassettes from this trip have yet to be found or digitized.
[78] kyker.digitalscholar.rochester.edu

Field recordings of matepe music that I have yet to acquire include tracks from Earnest Brown's field research in 1987, Paul Berliner's unpublished field recordings from 1972, and Andrew Tracey's field cassettes from 1993. Michael Bourdillon's sound recordings from his field research were not digitized or archived and could not be recovered. The unpublished tracks from Simon Bright & Ingrid Sinclair's documentary work in 1990 may still exist, although it is unlikely.

Initially, it was no problem to fit the collection of tracks shown in Figure 3 onto a flash drive, which we did in 2014 when meeting the Zonke family for the first time. Most of the household radios in Zimbabwe can accommodate flash drives, so this seemed like the best initial solution to sharing the recordings. I also had a few small radios on hand to give to older musicians who could not otherwise listen to the recordings. The full collection of approximately 400 tracks was not as easy to manage. These additional tracks required larger flash drives and an abundance of patience, since the radio requires listening to the contents of a flash drive in order without any display of the playlist. This proved to be complicated during visits and interviews when we needed to listen to a specific item without wasting time clicking through hundreds of files. The solution was to purchase microSD cards that are housed within SD card adaptors so people could listen on their cell phones using the microSD cards or even on sound systems/radios (which typically also play SD cards). Although the quality of cheap cell phones is not ideal for playing the low-range sounds of matepe music, users are able to scroll through and select specific tracks from the collection via the cellphone screen. Zack and I modified the names of the tracks (formerly titled by the just the archival number) using shorthand metadata that put the instrument type, song name and artist name up front so they would be easier to navigate. In this way, the metadata was built into the song titles.

The SD cards also accommodated the added collection of photographs, although these files tend to take up a significant amount of space. I reduced the quality of the photographs to include them on SD cards, but many family members appreciated printed copies of these materials as well to look through and/or display in their homes. My budget for repatriation materials quickly evaporated with numerous requests for the collection and printed photos. The solution was often one that had to be improvised in the moment. Sometimes we negotiated for used SD cards at the shops of a rural growth point. These were most often 2 GB or 5 GB in size. Therefore, I would often need to select a subset of the most relevant recorded materials and photographs to fit in the given space based on who was going to receive the recordings.

Methods: On Assignment

The bulk of my dissertation field research was conducted in the capital city of Harare and around northeastern Zimbabwe in 2016-2017 by a core group of six musicians. This includes myself, Zack Moon, Kudakwashe Nyaruwabvu, who is now based in Cape Town, South Africa, and three members of the Zonke-Tsonga family: Sekuru Anthony Zonke, the Sabhuku, or village head of Tsonga Village near Nyamapanda, his brother Mr. Boyi Nyamande, who was Councilor of Mudzi district at the time and is now Chief Goronga of his area, and Anthony's son, Tichaona Crispen Zonke (see Figure 2). Nyaruwabvu continues to play an essential role in the ethnographic work based in Mutoko and UMP districts where madhebhe is played. He contributes as a skilled listener, musician, active participant in the interview process and translator. All three members of the Zonke family regularly perform matepe music as well as traditional drum and dance styles at local ceremonies and regional functions. All together, we have come to call ourselves "Team Matepe" after settling into the routine of long drives and

surprise visits to mbira players around the northeast. Our main objective was to meet matepe, madhebhe, hera and karimba players, learn about the history and culture of these music traditions and, in return, share the archival materials and stories from our own research, including information about Hugh and Andrew Tracey's work and the origin of the recordings.

Figure 2. Photos of Team Matepe. Although there were many people who participated in the research, these individuals represent the core team of musicians. From left to right: Author (Jocelyn Mory), Sekuru Matomati (Anthony Zonke), Chief Goronga (Boyi Nyamande), Crispen Tichaona Zonke, Zack Moon and Kudakwashe Nyaruwabvu.

The most valuable part of the research in many cases was the opportunity to sing, dance and play mbira with musicians and their families. Sitting with mbira legends during informal afternoon visits and playing sessions were priceless experiences. When we would listen to old recordings with families, sometimes it was a very moving experience to hear the voices of people who had passed, and it also felt very personal at times. If someone's deceased relative was featured in a recording, it seemed more appropriate to leave them with a flash drive or SD card so they could listen and process those memories on their own.

Playing music was another endeavor. Learning matepe is a specialized skill, but many people of the older generations who had known a matepe player in their family or community and participated in the music were more than delighted to sing and follow along when we played.

My favorite part about team matepe is how much fun it was for the group to play music together. With the team, we could have a full sound with singing, hosho and several mbira all at once, so it did not put pressure on whomever we were visiting to "perform" in some way. Our interactions felt more like an exchange of stories and songs rather than a one-sided encounter.

Zack and I had to make trips to Harare every couple of weeks to manage the data and hardware from our place in Greendale. One primary task on these trips was to print photographs and purchase more SD cards and flash drives from downtown. We would also spend many hours in the city backing-up our own ethnographic materials (recordings, interviews, photographs and notes) with a slow internet connection and capped data. The tools of ethnography included many digital devices—3 phones, point-and-shoot camera, tablet, radio, 2 battery chargers, extra batteries, solar battery and portable speaker. All of these things lived in my shoulder bag along with an abundance of charging chords and plug adaptors. The items had to be constantly charged so we could have ways of playing the recordings and showing photographs and videos while on the road to visit musicians. Sometimes evenings at Mr. Karimi's restaurant in Nyamapanda allowed us to slowly charge one item while enjoying his food and watching Indian soap operas, but most of the time trips back to Harare were the most reliable way to charge everything in preparation for another couple of weeks of travelling. The slew of devices in tow not only allowed us to have backup options if a device ran out of batteries, but several devices allowed multiple people to record at once (Crispen, Zack, Kuda and I did most of the recording) to represent different perspectives of the team.

The Zonke-Tsonga family were the primary collaborators in the research that took place in Mudzi and Rushinga districts. While Anthony Zonke, Boyi Nyamande and Crispen Zonke were present for many of the research trips, most of what I learned about matepe music during that year in Zimbabwe took place where they live in Tsonga Village. Anthony Zonke was my

main mbira teacher, who prefers to be called Sekuru Matomati. “Sekuru” is an honorific for a respected male elder and “Matomati” essentially means “Tomatoes,” a nickname that signifies his ability to get along with everyone, since “everyone likes tomatoes.” This title speaks to his role as Sabhuku of Tsonga Village where he mediates various issues and helps to resolve conflicts. Matomati’s mother, Ambuya (grandmother) Sinati Nyamande, is an expert musician who was featured in Andrew Tracey’s 1969 recordings (listed as “Sinati Kadende”). Her singing lines are featured in the vocal transcriptions of his 1970 article. Now in her mid-90s, Nyamande is still an enthusiastic player who participates fully in the music-making when she is in Nyamapanda. Additionally, Kenneth Zonke, Crispen’s brother, is also a skilled matepe player and drummer based in Tsonga Village. The children, grandchildren and other relatives of the family all know the sounds of matepe well and take part in singing, dancing and clapping along to bring life to the music. The Zonke-Tsonga family introduced us to local musicians in the Nyamapanda area so I was able to participate in mbira music as well as local drum and dance contexts as part of the Nzwananai Burial Society. Appendix C provides a full list of the musicians and culture bearers whom we interviewed during 2016-2017. Many of these individuals were located by following the trail of Hugh and Andrew Tracey based on the metadata in their collections.

Figure 3 provides a map of the general area of this study. The shaded regions depict districts: Mudzi, Mutoko, Uzumba-Maramba-Pfungwe (UMP) and Rushinga. I added markers for the capital city of Harare as well as the Nyamapanda border post, which is situated within Tsonga Village where the Zonke family resides and in which much of this research was based. These district boundaries are imperfect and do not necessarily correspond to distinct regional variations of matepe. In general, however, the area where the majority of the Marembe people

reside is situated around Nyamapanda in Mudzi district, the Korekore-Tavara in areas of Rushinga, and the Buja in parts of Mutoko and UMP districts. In the case of the Marembe and Korekore-Tavara, the national border between Zimbabwe and Mozambique divides the present home areas of these groups. The project at hand did not include research on both sides of the border due to restrictions in research permits, but many of the people we interviewed in these regions have spent or spend substantial time on the Mozambique side of the border and were able to offer perspectives on cross-border movement, cultural significance and social ties.

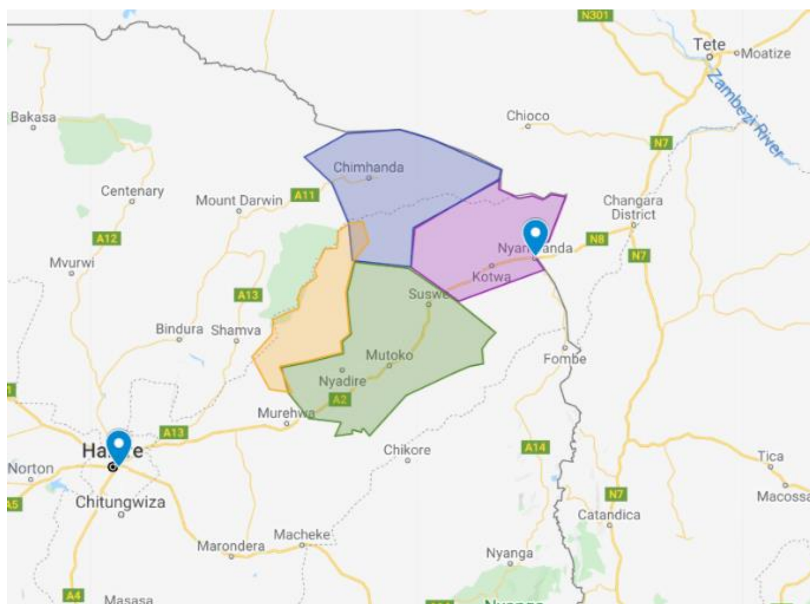

Figure 3. Map of research area in northeastern Zimbabwe. The blue markers show Harare, Zimbabwe and Nyamapanda, which is a "growth point" (small town) and a Zimbabwean border post. The shaded regions depict approximate regions of several districts where I conducted research, including Mudzi (pink), Rushinga (purple), Mutoko (green) and Uzumba-Maramba-Pfungwe (yellow). Matepe music cultures are not limited to these regions and extend into Mount Darwin as well as adjacent areas in Mozambique up to Tete.

Overview of Chapters

In chapters two and three of this dissertation I anchor the discussion in precolonial times by focusing on matepe music cultures during the Mutapa state (1450-1884), when matepe mbira

was likely developed. Chapter two specifically focuses on historical notions of identity in the middle Zambezi valley and how they connect to present-day identity politics in the borderlands of Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Historian Antonio Marizane's work on religion in the middle Zambezi, Elizabeth MacGonagle's book on cross-border identities among the Ndau and recent oral histories serve as key resources in this analysis. I draw from archival and archeological evidence in chapter three to explore the connections between the spiritual and political function of matepe music during the Mutapa state. I ground the discussion in a broader narrative of sacred iron work across Sub-Saharan Africa and how instrument makers have adapted those practices to the present day.

Chapters four, five, and six address the three time periods defined by the Nyahuna prophecy: The War of Liberation (1970s), the aftermath of the war (1980s to mid-2000s) and the growth of Vapostori churches (2000s to present day). In each of these time periods, I show how musicians and other culture bearers sustained matepe music traditions by adapting their practices to respond to shifting political, religious and economic circumstances.

Chapter four addresses the lack of published information available on the role of mbira during the War of Liberation within the borderlands where the majority of combat and violence was centered. As such, I focus on the stories of several matepe builders and musicians who discuss how they began to play during these years as a spiritual calling. While matepe traditions are often overlooked within the liberation struggle because they are viewed as marginalized traditions within the country, in chapter four I emphasize the importance of matepe players and builders in the context of the struggle. I also highlight the very local influence of spirit mediums and their connections to specific matepe players. Matepe, madhebhe, and hera traditions were impacted very differently during the war based on the geographical location where these

traditions are played and a mix of other factors. This chapter plants the seeds to demonstrate how these circumstances have played out in different ways over the last fifty years based on shifting variables of context and negotiation.

In chapter five I address the aftermath of the war. At this time, the foundational cracks in traditional religious practices that were initiated by nearly a century of colonial occupation began to deepen and shift in response to the increased marginalization of rural communities after independence. While matepe players were in demand for healing ceremonies that addressed the injustices of war, in this chapter I show how an increased mistrust of mhondoro and ancestral spirits and the rise of independent African churches led to a decline in traditional religious practices. This period was marked by extreme uncertainty and fear in the northeast, mainly due to the ongoing civil war in Mozambique and the HIV/AIDS epidemic. My aim in chapter five is therefore to demonstrate the impact these events had on traditional religious practices, not only from the rising tide of Christian denominations that rejected matepe music, but also from insider practitioners who were trying to navigate and adjust to such trying times.

Chapter six focuses on the continued proliferation of independent churches and the ways in which matepe players have responded to the changing religious landscapes of the northeast. I first discuss the heart of the issue surrounding the strict sonic barriers that separate Vapostori churches in the rural borderlands from traditional religion. I build on a wealth of publications on religious studies in southern Africa to show that while there are many syncretisms between traditional religious practices and Vapostori churches, sound is one such area that maintains separateness, especially by excluding mbira. These details change depending on context, however, as urban areas are much more inclusive of traditional music. I provide examples of how matepe players negotiate these boundaries from both within and beyond the church by

composing gospel songs and by using recorded mbira music in sacred and secular spaces. I show how the archival recordings play a particularly important role as sonic cultural heritage that has the potential to maintain continuity in practice when live music is restricted.

Lastly, in chapter seven I discuss how musicians' adaptive efforts, archival collections, and digital technology come together in online spaces through collaborative projects. I argue that the online and in-person connections that have expanded as a result of this research are one measure of success that demonstrates a potential goal for sustainable repatriation endeavors. This was made possible in part through Hugh and Andrew Tracey's own networks of social connections that they solidified through decades of recording trips. These, combined with the musicians own connections within and beyond Zimbabwe, have come together to provide numerous opportunities for further collaboration and creative projects that utilize the existing archival resources and my own ethnographic materials. I define the sustainability of this research, the branching out of this project into multiple new directions that is initiated by culture bearers, as a decolonial process.

Chapter Two

Marembe and the Mutapa State

Paul Berliner states that his intentions for his seminal work, *Soul of Mbira*, originally published in 1978, was to challenge the dominant drum and dance narrative of African music through a detailed account of mbira dzavadzimu. Andrew Mark discusses how Berliner's work, along with publications from around the same time by Robert Kauffman and John Kaemmer, have had a lasting influence on the formation of the Zimbabwean music canon. Tony Perman characterizes the canon as centered primarily on mbira dzavadzimu with little attention to the diversity of mbira types from around the country. Perman, who writes about mbira dza vaNdau and muchongoyo dance among the Ndau in the Eastern Highlands, notes how difficult it is to go against the tides of this central narrative that is reinforced by academic institutions, the recording industry, and the international music communities who are interested in learning Zimbabwean music. A shift in perception to the historical centrality of the Mutapa state therefore offers a means to broaden the narrative of Zimbabwean music and complicate the notion of "Shona music" with more attention to the geographical peripheries of the country.

Matepe music cultures are situated in the borderlands of Zimbabwe and Mozambique, an area that was once the heartland of the Mutapa state (1450-1884)[79] and a hub of trade and cultural exchange. The area is often described as the middle Zambezi River valley, which includes the area of the river valley near Tete, Mozambique up to Victoria Falls. The Mutapa state also encompassed the corresponding tributaries on the south bank of the Zambezi, such as the Mazowe River and its branches. These waterways functioned as a trade routes that connected people from different areas of the Mutapa state to the Indian Ocean. Historian Antonio Marizane asserts that "the theme of identity imposes itself immediately when we begin any discussion of

[79] Chirikure 2004

the middle Zambezi populace" in part because during the Mutapa era that region was characterized by its "relatively high ethnic intermixtures"[80] that resulted from economic activity, trade routes and regional migration. A historical grounding of this area is necessary to grasp the complexity of cultural and ethnic identity that characterizes the region today as a means to better understand the layered identities of the borderlands among matepe musicians.

In this chapter and the one to follow, I highlight the developments of matepe cultures by recentering them within precolonial historical narratives. Here I begin with a discussion on identity and music. This analysis not only shows how colonialism and nationalism have contributed to the constructed dimensions of what constitutes "Shona music," but it also reveals how borderland musicians mobilize both official/legal identity markers alongside more fluid cross-border identities. To do this, I first address the significance and complexity of culture, language and identity in the middle Zambezi, what is now the borderlands, with reference to the time period of the Mutapa state. I then demonstrate how political and economic shifts have influenced identity politics during the colonial interlude and how these play out in the present day. Andrew Tracey speculates that matepe music cultures were developed during the Mutapa era based on the political significance of mhondoro spirits at the time and their close connections to the royal courts.[81] I take this further to argue that the economic activity, ecology and ethnic plurality of the heartland of the Mutapa state contributed to the development of rich and overlapping mbira cultures in that region, including what we now identify as matepe, madhebhe, hera, and karimba.

Detailed work on southern African historiography developed significantly in the 1970s and 80s. In this chapter I draw extensively from Antonio Marizane's research, which is an

[80] Marizane 2016, 140
[81] A. Tracey 1972, 94

indispensable source on religion in the middle Zambezi from 1890 to 1970.[82] As he states, the ideological shifts in scholarly publications on history, culture and religion are evident in more recent work over the past two decades as this field continues to develop. These recent contributions must be considered to fully understand the biases of earlier work as well as how these early works have influenced dominant perceptions of music in the borderlands. Here I consider current dialogue on cultural and religious histories in south-central Africa and their relationship to Hugh and Andrew Tracey's indispensable research on music cultures from the borderlands.

The Mutapa State

The Mutapa state is a well-known African political entity, partly due to its influence on the Indian Ocean trade network via the Mozambican coast. Gold, ivory and copper were exported over long distances while locally made cotton cloth, food, iron tools and weapons were traded internally.[83] Mutapa was one of several culturally interconnected and chronologically overlapping state systems that archeologist Innocent Pikirayi calls the "Zimbabwe culture states"[84] based on their connections to the stone structures after which Zimbabwe is named, known collectively as *madzimbahwe*. While their dates are approximate, these states included Mapungubwe (11th and 12th centuries), Dzimbahwe (Great Zimbabwe) (12th to 16th centuries), Khami (15th to 17th centuries), Mutapa (15th to 19th centuries), and Rozvi (17th to 19th centuries) empires. While each political entity maintained its own center of power, each also had some degree of overlap, both geographical and chronological, with other nearby states. As Marizane

[82] Marizane 2016
[83] Newitt 2013, xx
[84] Pikirayi 2001

notes, however, these "large scale precolonial states of southern and central Africa were the exception rather than the rule," because the region was "dominated by small scale socio-political units," in the form of smaller, independent chiefdoms, which contributed to the ethnic plurality of the state.[85]

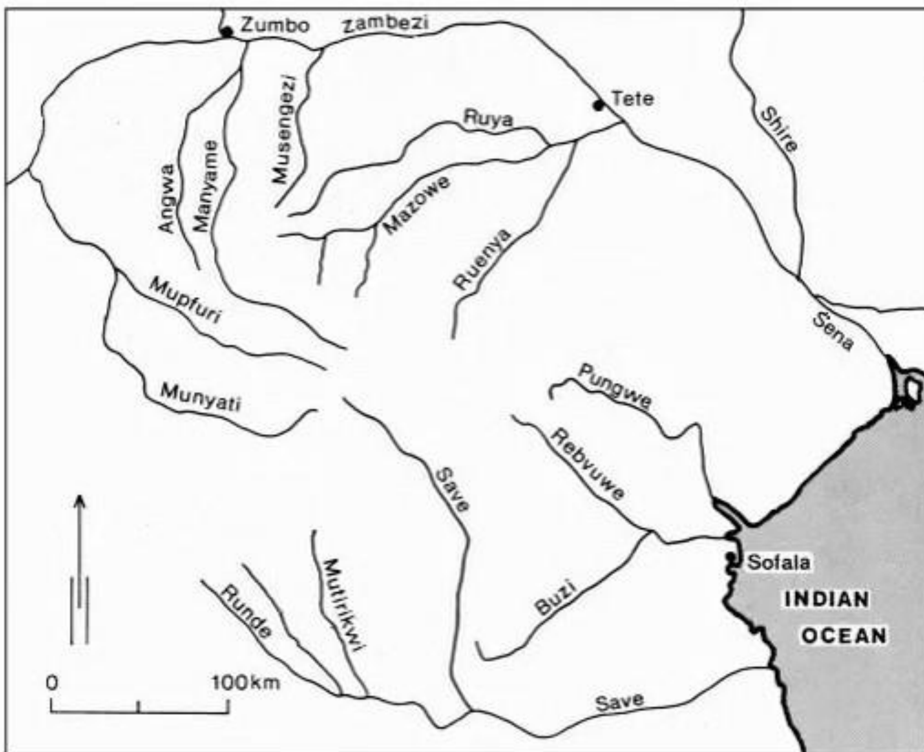

Figure 4a. Map of the Zambezi River and its tributaries. The area of the Zambezi valley most strongly associated with the Mutapa state stretches from Tete to Zumbo, depicted here. The middle Zambezi region extends from Tete all the way to Victoria Falls (not shown). Map by Innocent Pikirayi (2006), with modifications by author.

[85] Marizane 2016, 37 & 39; Birmingham and Martin 1987; Iliffe 1995; Pikirayi 2001; Mseba 2020;

Figure 4b. Map of the middle Zambezi overlayed with place names of the old Mutapa state and modern Cities. Map from Mudenge (1988, xxvii), also found in Marizane (2016, xii).

The Mutapa state was strongly associated with the Zambezi River valley and its tributaries (Figure 4a and 4b), which were the main trade routes connecting it to the coast. Although Mutapa political geography shifted over the centuries, D.N. Beach provides a rough overview of the central area of the state in the 15th and 16th centuries where the ruler of the Mutapa state, or *Munhumutapa*, was situated. This area occupied "a triangle of land between the Zambezi river in the north, the Hunyani river and Umvukwe range on the southwest, and the Mazoe and Ruenya rivers on the southeast. It thus consisted of a small segment of the southern Zambezian plateau and an arc of the Zambezi valley lowlands."[86] In current terms, this area constitutes the South bank of the Zambezi that includes Tete province, Mozambique, and parts of Mashonaland Central in Zimbabwe. As I will demonstrate in the next section, oral histories show

[86] Beach 1976, 1

that the matepe traditions likely originated in this heartland and then later spread to areas of the Mutapa state that are situated further south, including what is now Mutoko and Mudzi districts.

Newitt, a historian who transcribed the Portuguese explorer Albino Manoel Pacheco's 16th century writings about the Mutapa state, describes the significance of the Zambezi valley as follows:

> The Zambezi valley is one of the great structural features which has determined the shape of African social and political systems. The river, the fourth largest in Africa, has been both a highway and means of communication and interchange, and a frontier between different political and cultural systems. From at least the seventh century, when the Ingombe Ilede excavations show the importance of the valley as a trade route, the river has been a main artery of commerce. From the sea the Zambesi is navigable as far as the Cabora Bassa rapids and became, in effect, an inland extension of the Indian Ocean. Trading settlements of Indian Ocean merchants grew up not only at various points on the coast, such as Quelimane, from which the main stream could be accessed up the Qua Qua branch, but on the river itself at Sena opposite the point where the Shire enters the Zambesi and at Tete above the Lupata gorge, from where merchandise could either be taken by canoe and portage further upstream or could follow the river valleys southwards to the gold-bearing plateau of Zimbabwe.[87]

The gold trade greatly influenced the formation of the state systems, in other words the "Zimbabwe culture states," within regions that were otherwise predominantly independent chieftaincies. For example, Great Zimbabwe was connected to the Indian Ocean trade routes in the 12th and 13th centuries, prior to the Mutapa state. The Mutapa state's proximity to the Zambezi River made it possible for Mutapa to gradually gain control of the gold trade, especially in the 15th and 16th centuries as power shifted to the middle Zambezi. Mudenge argues that the mhondoro religious system developed to its height in this era because the power and influence of the Munhumutapas.[88]

[87] Newitt 2013, xx
[88] Mudenge 1988, in Marizane 2016, 45

Lineage and Ethnic Diversity

The extensive region of the Mutapa state was characterized by cultural plurality, not only through internal and external trade routes, but also through a political structure that supported multiple lineages in power, including the Munhumutapa and a number of lesser *mambos* (chiefs). Historian Gai Roufe shows how during the 16th and 17th centuries, Mutapa was actually made up of four relatively independent regions that ruled the area - Monomotapa, Kiteve, Sedanda and Chicanga - rather than one seat of centralized power.[89] At the local level, Mseba shows how the smaller chieftaincies within these overarching political structures are relatively ignored in historical texts even though they were the most prominent socio-political units. He stresses the need to use oral histories to "move beyond the empire- and dynasty-centric histories of pre-colonial Zimbabwe," and to pay attention to the "many people who constituted these societies."[90]

The Zambezi region was characterized by complex and layered ethnic identities that were both, on one hand, tied to distinct lineages, and on the other hand, more fluid than present-day characterizations of ethnicity. Medeiros and Capela describe the complex ethnic make-up of the Zambezi valley at the time of the Mutapa state. They claim residents of that area identified with a type of "Zambesian Ethos" before the relatively fixed ethnic/tribal labels were defined during the colonial interlude. The Zambezian Ethos was "rooted in creolisations, biological and cultural intermixtures based on Bantu culture, European and Asian influences, and the Portuguese religious and cultural impact."[91] This cultural mixing in combination with the development of the mhondoro system that is tied to matepe music led to a concentration of diverse mbira cultures within that area.

[89] Roufe 2016
[90] Mseba 2020, 435
[91] Marizane 2016, 16; Medeiros and Capela 2010

Despite the ethnic fluidity of the Mutapa state, the people in that region are descendants of distinct groups of Bantu migrants. These lineages illuminate how Korekore, Korekore-Tavara, Buja, Marembe and Nyungwe peoples who play matepe and its regional variations are connected to the heartland of the Mutapa state.[92] Historian Aeneas Chigwedere consulted masvikiro, or spirit mediums, to identify three main waves of Bantu migrations to the area, which he calls the "Great Bantu Families." His 1982 publication identifies these groups as the Dziva-Hungwe, the Tonga and the Soko-Mbire, who arrived in that order. The dates of when the Dziva-Hungwe arrived are inconsistent across sources, ranging from 100 to 800 AD, although archeological evidence of early ironwork and ceramics leans more towards the earlier centuries.[93] Marizane writes how this group identified with "water and aquatic animals and plants and so chose totems related to water creatures, such as *hove* (fish), *ngwena* (crocodile) and *dziva* or *siziba* (pool)."[94] He summarizes:

> The Dziva-Hungwe group was descended from a man called Dzivaguru and his son Karuva, ancestors of the Dziva-Hungwe clans concentrated in the Mount Darwin and Zambezi Valley areas. The Korekore and Tavara claim descent from these two great ancestors. It is also these two groups who were most closely associated with the Nyungwe-speakers of the mid Zambezi. If this claim is true, then the Dzivaguru and

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[92] While I focus on matepe music of the Marembe for this project, there is a considerable amount of published and unpublished information available on the hera tradition played by the Korekore/Tavara. The activity of the Catholic church at Marymount Mission in Rushinga district has functioned as a valuable resource for visiting scholars and has therefore influenced the number of studies and publications about that region. Anthropologist Michael Bourdillon's extensive work on religion among the Korekore and Tavara is one such example. The textual archives at Arrupe Jesuit University contains organized and detailed records of research studies about ethnicity and religion that relate to hera traditions, too, including unpublished materials and publications by Bourdillon that are difficult to locate through other library systems. These resources would be an excellent addition to future research projects that focus on hera.
[93] See Igor Kopytoff's work from 1989, titled *The African Frontier: The Reproduction of Traditional African Societies.*
[94] Marizane 2016, 41

> Karuva cluster of beliefs is more ancient than the *mhondoro* system which Mudenge claimed reached its peak at the height of the Mwene Mutapa state…[95]

The Buja, who are a sub-group of the Korekore, would also be considered part of the Dziva-Hungwe lineage, who eventually migrated south into what is now Mutoko district. Documented oral histories describe how the Buja originated from an area called Mungari in Tete province, Mozambique.[96] The Buja leader, Nehoreka, migrated from Mungari to what is now Mutoko district in the 16th century where he overthrew Chief Makate, who was difficult to defeat because he was said to have certain magical powers. Zvimbiru and Nyakutanda assisted Nehoreka in this conquest, so the three of them divided the land and are now known as prominent mhondoro spirits of the Buja.[97] Nehoreka's people settled in Charehwa, which is the current *muzinda*, or chief's homestead of the Mutoko chieftainship.[98]

The second major migration to the region were the Tonga, who settled in what is now Zambia, Malawi, and around Tete, Mozambique. Marizane states that they are likely the ancestors of modern Chewa and Nyanja-speaking people in that area.[99] The history of Tonga identity is quite complex, as the label means "grunters, dissatisfied people who complained and rebelled against their chief."[100] In other words, Tonga is a dynamic identity that is influenced by a groups' changing relationship to the dominant political entities of the middle Zambezi. Anthropologist C.S. Lancaster argues that the Tonga are not necessarily a unified group but an identity that "symbolized their active sense of independence from the southern political hierarchy

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[95] Marizane 2016, 41-42. It is important to note some discrepancies in these histories, for example, Bourdillon, who writes extensively about the Korekore, states that the Tavara were the "autochthonous people" who lived in the Zambezi Valley before the Korekore came down from the plateau (1987)
[96] Murphree 1969, 15
[97] Murphree 1969, 15
[98] Mushishi 2010, 71
[99] Marizane 2016
[100] Name of speaker not specified, interview with Tonga person from Lancaster 1974, 724

of Shona-speaking peoples and the Portuguese influenced *prazo* [system] that followed it."[101] One of Lancaster's interviews in the late 1960s (name unknown) describes the Tonga in the following way:

> The Tonga had lived a long time in Southern Rhodesia along with the Karanga (Shona). They were always farming and herding and they were peaceful people. After they had lived in the south a long time there was some kind of trouble and then as the Tonga had done something wrong the Tonga separated from the Shona. Before that they had lived together and spoken each other's languages. But after the trouble things began to change and it was said "the Tonga are no good because they complained against their chief." They did in fact rebel against their chief in Southern Rhodesia. When they rebelled against Mambo they came north and crossed the Zambezi in many places from Livingstone to Feira.[102]

Presently, the most well-known Tonga groups are the Valley Tonga who reside at the northern part of the middle Zambezi near Victoria Falls on both sides of the Zimbabwe-Zambia border. During the Mutapa era, the Valley Tonga resided on the north bank of the Zambezi and were on the margins of the "Shona-speaking confederacies."[103] The Marembe are historically labelled as "Tonga" from the southern part of the middle Zambezi valley, sometimes referred to as the Lower Valley Tonga. Andrew Tracey's field notes reveals that musicians like Johani Chiyeha Bandeira from Nyamapanda described residents of the area as Tonga. To my knowledge the term is not used often in casual conversation in the present day, but matepe songs do depict the Tonga with the same character of independence and rebellion. For example, the popular song, "Marume Washora Mambo" (the men despise the chief) often includes the line "aiwa waTonga washora mambo," meaning the Tonga despise, or oppose, the chief.

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[101] Lancaster 1974, 723
[102] Name of speaker not specified, interview with Tonga person from Lancaster 1974, 724
[103] Lancaster 1974, 723

After the Tonga, Chigwedere states that the third major Bantu migration into what is now Zimbabwe were the Soko-Mbire, who were founded by Murenga and arrived around 1000 AD. Marizane summarizes:

> Members of this clan identified themselves with land animals and were called "masters of the land." They were distinguished by their choice of land animals for their totems, such as *soko* (monkey), *gudo* (baboon), *nzou* (elephant), *mhofu* (eland) and so on. Chigwedere claimed that this last group to arrive in the region subdued the earlier Dziva-Hunge and Tonga settlers. It was to the Soko-Mbire group that the great Shona ancestors Mbire, Murenga, Chaminuka, Mutota and Nehanda belonged. They are revered as national ancestral spirits and the religious networks of the *mhondoro* system were structured around them.[104]

The development of the mhondoro belief system of the Bantu migrants therefore helps to explain why the ancestral veneration system from the middle Zambezi "shared common features with other Bantu belief systems across a wide area of southern and central Africa."[105]

Oral histories state that the Marembe are descendants of Mbire, who was from the area of what is now Mavhuradonha, near the border north of Mount Darwin. Crispen Zonke states that "the relationship between the Marembe and the Monomotapa rulers is that Nyamuzamimba, the founder of the Marembe tribe, was the lineage with the Monomotapa rulers. This is supported by the reason that Nyamuzamimba was the son of Mutorwa and Mutorwa was the son of Mbire. Mutorwa died just before he crossed Mazowe River a few kilometers from the Marembe tribe." At present, the Marembe, who are ruled by people of the nzou totem, are situated south of the Mazowe River in an area under Chief Goronga.

The matepe song, "Kuyadya Hove Kuna Mazowe" (I'm going to Mazowe to eat fish) offers some insight to the history of territorial boundaries between the Marembe and Tavara peoples at the Mazowe River. According to the Zonke family, the Marembe people migrated to

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[104] Marizane 2016, 42
[105] Marizane 2016, 43

the area of what is now Mudzi district and adjacent areas in Mozambique just after the fall of the Mutapa state. The story of how this came to be describes two spirits struggling over territory: Nyabowa, a Tavara mhondoro, and Nyahuna, one of the primary mhondoros of the Marembe people and the eldest son of Mutorwa. Nyabowa was defeated by Nyahuna, so "Kuyadya Hove" references the tensions over a particular area, although it is not evident from the lyrics alone:

Ndoenda kunaMazowe
I am going to Mazowe

Wokan'aira mukono
The bull is going

Ndoenda kuyadya hove
I am going to eat fish

Kuna Mazowe Baba
To Mazowe, father

Gore Rino tinaranga ndipo
This year we'll talk about it

Wuyawuya utaure Baba
Come and talk, father

Wacharanga ndipo
They will talk then[106]

The language is chiMarembe, which is accepted as a mixture between ciNyungwe and chiShona, as I will explain towards the end of this chapter.

It is difficult to find written sources to supplement the oral histories of the Marembe because the term itself is relatively scarce in online sources, academic literature, and other written sources prior to the appearance of the Zonke family on YouTube in 2011. ILAM has one song recorded by Andrew Tracey titled, "Kunyangara kwavo Marembe" (translated to "the

[106] Written and translated by Crispen Zonke, 2018. Field recordings from this research are held at the University of Washington Ethnomusicology Archives.

ugliness of the Marembe"), which is a song about extending graces to people beyond your immediate family. Marembe was also the name of a Protected Village that was built in the 1970s in Mudzi district, which I will address in chapter four. Andrew Tracey's work in Mudzi district uses the label "Sena/Tonga" instead of Marembe. Tonga is derived from their identification with the Tonga of the southern part of the Middle Zambezi, as I explained above, and Sena is the label of a Bantu language family that includes the sub-dialect of ciNyungwe. These various streams–Mbire ancestry, Nyungwe-influenced language, and associations with the Tonga–suggest to me that the Marembe are influenced and/or mixed with all three Bantu lineages, which in many ways aligns with the Zambezian Ethos that characterized the middle Zambezi during the era of the Mutapa state.

Mbira Diversity

Matepe music cultures are often viewed as peripheral to Zimbabwean national culture based on their proximity to the borderlands. As Newitt points out, "the colonial boundaries that were drawn in 1891 sliced through the heartland of the old Monomotapa state" between what is now Zimbabwe and Mozambique.[107] Indeed, matepe musicians along Zimbabwe's border often point to the rootedness of the music and its origins from across the political boundary, in what is now Mozambique. For matepe musicians, the border with its many landmines, planted during the War of Liberation, cut through not only the former Mutapa state, but also Marembe and Korekore-Tavara communities. The boundary also makes it difficult to conduct research on both sides of

[107] Newitt 2013, xl

the border. As a result of political history, language competency, and other considerations, most mbira research is heavily focused on Zimbabwean contexts, including the present study.[108]

The map in Figure 5 offers a visual representation of the diversity of mbira in the middle Zambezi. This map was originally published in Andrew Tracey's 1972 article "Original African Mbira," in order to illustrate the approximate distribution of twelve main types of mbira across Southeastern Africa. Tracey's purpose was to show the interrelatedness of these mbira based on his theory of their relationship to the characteristic karimba key layout. My purpose in including the map here is to illustrate the diversity of mbira types in the region, especially along the borderlands and extending to the Mozambican coast. Many of the mbira included in this map are represented in the Tracey Instrument Collection at ILAM and are played in live music spaces both within and beyond these delineated areas, but are marginalized in the literature. Madhebhe is a good example of a mbira culture that has received very little attention in print and media, but has a rich history. Madhebhe recordings in the ILAM archives date back to the early 1930s and the traditions are carried on today through players such as Efraim Masarakufa, Shorai Katsukunya and Naison Goba in Mutoko district. At the Mutoko Ruins, an important landmark in Buja history, however, the Visitor's Center displays a mbira dzavadzimu instrument, the more nationally recognized style of mbira associated with the Zezuru, rather than the Buja madhebhe mbira.

[108] Political divisions make it difficult for foreign researchers like myself to conduct work on the Mozambqiue side, but it is easier for locals to obtain permission to travel to that side, as they do so frequently. Marizane's work (2016) is an example of a long-term ethnographic project conducted by a local to that area that draws on research from both sides of the border.

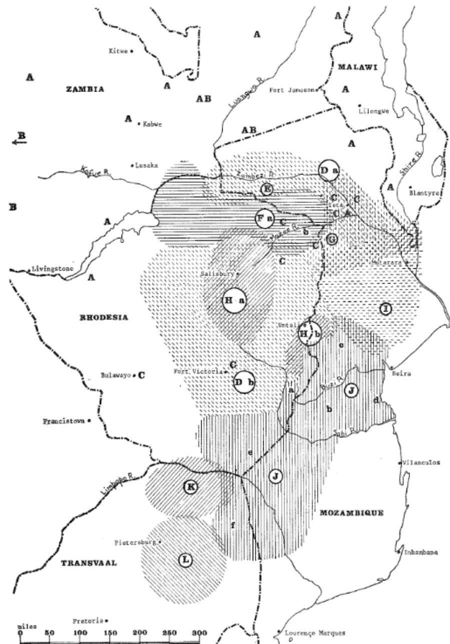

Figure 5. Andrew Tracey's map of diverse mbira types of Southeastern Africa from his publication, "The Original African Mbira?" (1972)

Andrew Tracey's map illustrates the overlapping areas where specific mbira types are historically and commonly found. This helps to complicate national narratives that tend to pair each mbira with a specific geographical region and tribal/ethnic group. Karimba is an example of one mbira type that is common over a wide area and is played together with several other types such as matepe, madhebhe, and hera.[109] Hugh Tracey's photograph from 1932 further illustrates how different types of mbira were commonly played together in the Tete region. The photo in Figure 6 shows a 25-key karimba positioned above four other types of mbira: *njari, nyonga nyonga* (different than the *nyunga nyunga),* and *mana embudzi.* The design of each instrument is quite similar: the slender arch of the keys, the hollow sound boards, the shell buzzers, and the design work etched into the metal bridges. Each of them has a different key layout. This includes

[109] Moon 2018

the left-to-right slope of the mana embudzi keys, the long bass notes on the right-hand side of the nyonga nyonga. and the many layers of njari registers.

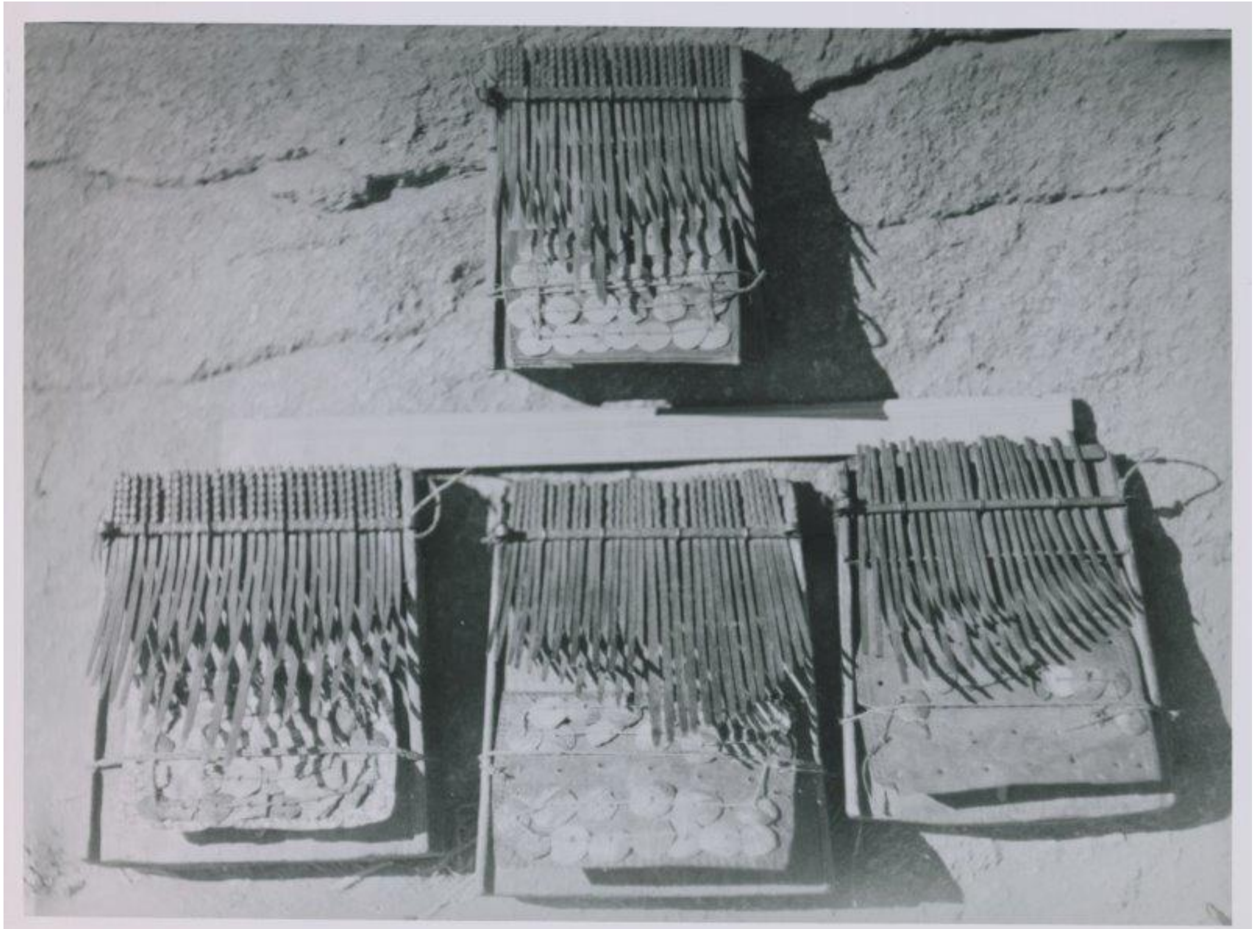

Figure 6. Photo by Hugh Tracey titled, “Four Nyungwe Mbira.” Karimba (top), *njari* (left), *nyonga nyonga* (center), *mana embudzi* (right). Tete district, Mozambique, 1932.

One important question is why is there a concentration of mbira diversity within the border region where matepe is found? Marizane offers two important pieces of evidence towards this end: the climate of this area and its impact on religious practices. In reference to the climate, the northeastern border region in Zimbabwe and the extent of the middle Zambezi is characterized as drylands or the lowveld because of its low altitude, hot and dry climate, low annual rainfall and intermittent periods of drought. This is in contrast to the higher altitude

regions, like that of Zimbabwe's capital city, which are cooler with more annual precipitation (Figure 7). Early work by scholars such as D.N. Beach and Bourdillon claim that the "pre-colonial states emerged on the higher altitude plateau of Zimbabwe in a 'Great Crescent' formation where most cities and towns are located today because of favourable natural conditions, while the valley areas were avoided because of their hostile climactic conditions."[110] Marizane shows how more recent archeological work by Pikirayi and Pwiti indicates "longstanding, significant populations even in the lowvelds, including the middle Zambezi which is classified under Regions IV and V of Zimbabwe's five agro regions that usually experience up to 650 mm [26 in] of annual rainfall."[111]

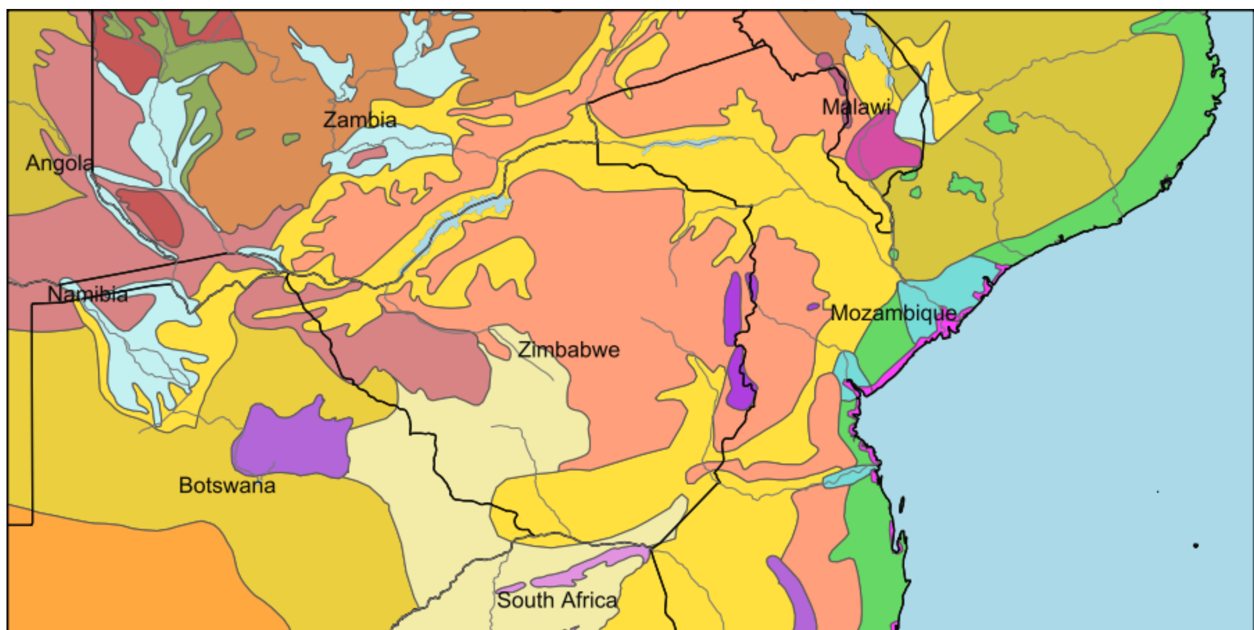

Figure 7. Map of southeastern Africa showing ecoregions. The lowveld areas of the Zambezi river valley are shown in yellow, compared to the higher altitudes of the peach-colored regions that characterize Zimbabwe's central plateau. Notice how the areas around most of the Mazowe river tributary, which extends into Mudzi district in the northeast, are also characterized as lowveld.

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[110] Marizane 2016, 6. The hostile conditions he refers to include the presence of tsetse fly and malaria, although tsetse fly has largely been eradicated from the area, which opened up large sections of grazing land for cattle.

[111] Marizane 2016, 6

Longstanding populations of the middle Zambezi prioritized rainmaking ceremonies for a good growing season because of the dry climate. These kinds of ceremonies are still a core part of annual matepe ceremonies dedicated to mhondoro spirits. They function as a way for communities to appeal to mhondoro spirits primarily to ask for rain and a plentiful harvest. Marizane argues that the Mutapa state was a "critical factor in the evolution of the *mhondoro* royal religious system" because of its dry ecological conditions.[112] Andrew Tracey further hypothesizes that matepe traditions were developed during the 15th and 16th centuries in the era of the Mutapa state because of the close ties between the mhondoro system and matepe music.[113] My findings support this hypothesis, especially considering Pikirayi, Pwiti and Marizane's more recent archeological and historical research. The mhondoro system and consequently matepe music diffused throughout the middle Zambezi and adjacent regions like Mutoko and Mudzi district, likely through smaller chieftaincies. These smaller chieftaincies maintained the mbira traditions alongside the authority of the masvikiro even as the Munhumutapas' influence waned with the decline and fragmentation of the state during the 17th-19th centuries.[114]

Ethnicity, Tribalism & Shona Music

Mark asserts that Berliner, Kaemmer and Kauffman's publications from the 1970s solidified the term "Shona music" as a way to describe the Zimbabwean music canon, which is centered on mbira dzavadzimu, marimba and the Kwanongoma mbira.[115] "Shona music" is often expressed in the singular, which diminishes the diversity of music styles that are connected to Shona cultures and identities. It also oversimplifies the historical fluidity and diversity of mbira cultures

[112] Marizane 2016, 35
[113] Tracey 1970 and 1972
[114] Marizane 2016
[115] Kauffman 1970; Berliner 1974; Kaemmer 1975; See discussion in Mark 2017, 174

in a way that uncritically reproduces nationalist discourse. In this section, I will unpack the term "Shona," and thus complicate this narrative of "Shona music," based on its political foundations in order to center the marginalized music cultures of matepe, madhebhe, and hera. I focus on studies of ethnicity and culture in the borderlands, where the edges of the Shona umbrella and its national orientation begin to unravel.

While Zimbabwe is a multi-ethnic society, the majority of the population is considered to be Shona, often divided into subgroups that include Karanga, Ndau, Manyika, Zezuru, and Korekore. While the Shona-Zezuru occupy the center of the national imaginary in cultural and political terms, many ethnic groups are marginalized to varying degrees, including the diverse Ndebele ethnicities and even Shona subgroups such as the Korekore. The ethnicities associated with matepe music cultures, including Marembe, Buja (descended from Korekore) and Korekore-Tavara (a mix of Korekore and Tavara people), are less visible in the national imaginary by comparison, especially due to their position in the borderlands, and, in the case of Marembe and Korekore-Tavara, their close associations with Mozambique.

Muzondidya and Ndlovu-Gatsheni argue that in order to understand the politicized ethnic divisions in Zimbabwe, the impact of two main historical interludes must be considered: the colonial and African nationalist interludes and their associated socio-economic and political engineering projects.[116] Terence Ranger is most well-known for his work on *The Invention of Tribalism*[117] and *The Invention of Tradition*,[118] that speak to the ways in which tribal divisions in Southern Rhodesia were crafted during the colonial interlude. Ranger claims that pre-colonial identities were much more fluid than what was depicted in colonial accounts, in part due to

[116] Muzondidya and Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2007, 277
[117] Ranger 1985
[118] Ranger 1983

frequent regional migration and extensive linguistic diversity, noting a primarily religious basis to land rights.[119] Scholars have problematized this notion of "inventedness,"[120] while demonstrating the specifics of how tribal identities were shaped both by colonial projects as well as individuals and communities from the ground up. In this section I will outline some of the major ideas and evidence to characterize present-day ethnic identities in Zimbabwe with attention to marginalized border identities and their significance to matepe music cultures.

Chirevo Kwenda points to the issues surrounding the solidification of Zimbabwean "tribes," during the colonial interlude for the purpose of indirect rule and evangelization, which not only required "a system of classification for the 'tribes' and their dialects, but also called for standardization of names, dialects, and orthography (standardizing the written language)."[121] In order to do this, artificial and arbitrary boundaries were carved and exiting ones were shifted, which "shunted unrelated 'tribes' and dialects together, thereby inventing new identities, suppressing some, and completely destroying others."[122] This system differed from local concepts of belonging to a clan (dzinza) or totem (mutupo), which factor into current notions of "ethnicity" in the postcolonial era. Lindgren notes that "ethnicity" is a fluid term that cannot be compared across cultures because it is specific to local conceptions of identity that, in this case, mix together different elements of identity and heritage like dzinza and mutupo.[123] With that in mind, Msindo's extensive work focuses on the distinctions between nationally-oriented ethnic identities versus the divisive ideology of tribalism as a relic of colonialism.[124]

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[119] Ranger 1999, 18
[120] Muzondidya and Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2007
[121] Kwenda 2003, 203
[122] Kwenda 2003, 203
[123] Lindgren 2004
[124] Msindo 2007, 2012

Sociolinguist Herbert Chimhundu demonstrates how the work of early missionaries played a prominent role in the constructions of tribalism in what was then Southern Rhodesia.[125] He details the complexity of pre-colonial power structures and linguistic variability to show how tribal identities were essentially solidified by various missionary organizations as singular expressions of language, religion and ethnicity within distinct/defined geographical regions. Chimhundu argues that although the basis for Shona and Ndebele ethnic labels extends into pre-colonial times, the way these labels were manipulated by the Rhodesian government through missionary education has radically altered their meaning over time.

One mechanism by which colonialists manipulated tribal identities was through tribal mapping projects. Ethnolinguistic maps were created in the 1890s to the 1920s to define linguistic subgroups of chiShona and their tribal and geographic correlation, including areas where dialects of Karanga, Ndau, Manyika, Zezuru, and Korekore were spoken. Chimhundu shows how the mapped tribal regions, which were predominantly based upon forced migrations onto "Native Reserves," had direct correlations to the kind of missionary presence that governed these areas. The maps were therefore not accurate depictions of the histories, subtleties and fluidity of language and ethnicity in Southern Rhodesia, but served as tools to aid in the process of subjugation through religious conversion and missionary education. Chimhundu argues that missionaries had arguably the greatest impact on Zimbabweans in comparison to other African nations due to the pervasive presence of various Methodist, Anglican, Catholic, and Dutch reform groups that established themselves in the area as early as the 1850s-1890s. In terms of the ethnolinguistic maps, the missionary authorities fought for territory in Southern Rhodesia in part by creating regionally-specific bible translations based upon these ethnolinguistic divisions.

[125] Chimhundu 1992

Anthropologists and historians have written about how the upheaval of forced relocations and ethnic mapping have led to substantial resistance and negotiation of ethnic identities that continues to this day. For instance, Eric Worby highlights the contradictions in academic ethnolinguistic maps made in the 1950s, which were based on "traditional" constructions of "naturalized" tribal identities and ties to the land, on one hand, and on the other, the colonial push to modernize the "Indigenous man" through economic relationships, nuclear family units and land ownership. This work reveals how ethnic constructions in Zimbabwe changed during the colonial era, based on language groups, economic and jural relationships, and relocation projects.

Like Worby, Jocelyn Alexander and JoAnn McGregor explore identity politics among borderland communities during the colonial period. The authors focus on how Ndebele communities who were forced to relocate to the remote Shangani reserve during the 1940s and 1950s negotiated their identities in these new contexts. They assert that Ndebele residents of Shangani fashioned new meanings for Ndebele ethnicity that mapped 20th century notions of modernity onto precolonial social hierarchies from the 19th century Ndebele state. Politically active members of Ndebele society were depicted as "modern, progressive and civilized,"[126] in relationship to the "primitive" ways of living in "darkness" within the wilderness of the borderlands. These labels were further shaped by style, gender relations, religion, relationships to the land, occupation, education, politics, and the use of technology. Alexander and McGregor show how the process of "inscribing old names with new meanings" was a key strategy in

[126] Alexander and McGregor1997, 192

everyday, face-to-face encounters within a remote region that was relatively detached from the political influence of the state.[127]

We can see through these few case studies how a number of complex criteria factored into the manipulation, resistance and reimagining of tribal and ethnic identities. The binaries between primitiveness and modernity are still mobilized by residents of the borderlands as they negotiate their identities in contemporary Zimbabwe. The stigma of matepe music as "backwards" and outdated is one means by which younger church members leverage their own modernity, in opposition to cultural technologies that are associated with ancestral spirit veneration. While mbira dzavadzimu also holds these stigmas, its popularity among urban and international audiences and association with the Shona-Zezuru ethnicity mitigates this stigma to some degree. Artists like Stella Chiweshe, Thomas Mapfumo and Jah Prayzah have created a space for mbira dzavadzimu in Zimbabwean popular music, asserting its place as a marker of urban identity. Matepe players like Kenneth Zonke and Kuda Nyaruwabvu–who are both in their mid-30s–articulate their intentions of forging a similar path for matepe as compatible with popular music and guitar-band instrumentation. Matepe players in the borderlands like the Zonke family stress the importance of a social media presence and the prominence of recorded music–field recordings and commercial recordings–to assert matepe music as a part of a modern, rural identity.

The work of scholars such as Berliner, Kaemmer and Kaufman, whom Mark references as solidifying the "Shona music" idiom, must also be viewed with a historical lens. Their work was researched and published at the height of the nationalist movement, after the focus had generally shifted from "tribal" to "ethnic" relations in order to create a unified front towards

[127] Alexander and McGregor 1997, 188

liberation against the white minority government.[128] Muzondidya and Ndlovu-Gatsheni write how in the 1950s and early 1960s, major nationalist parties "all positively deployed ethnicity to mobilise the masses" through various ethnic symbols and representations.[129] From the early 1960s until independence in 1980, the authors demonstrate how the politicized ethnic national parties, ZANU and ZAPU manipulated and leveraged identity politics in their fight for power. The "Shona music" idiom carries these political histories, as it was mobilized as a statement of unity and pride during the nationalist movement, which is reflected in ethnomusicology publications from this time. The nationalist ideology is not without a cost, as marginalized languages and cultures that do not fit the national imaginary are repressed and even invisibilized in this system. One consequence of this, as I will discuss in chapter four, is how matepe players were a key part of the liberation struggle but their perspectives are relatively absent from written accounts of the war, which was fought primarily along the borderlands where these cultures are situated.

Local and National Identities

In 2014 when I first visited Nyamapanda, the Zonke family asked Zack and I to explain my dissertation project to the police at the local station and ensure the transparency and legitimacy of my work. The authorities were suspicious of illegal mining activity and oppositional political agents in the area and asked us to come in for a short interview. In that session, I was asked a series of simple questions from a standardized document–my name, dates of residency, purpose in being there, and interestingly enough, my tribe. I answered that I did not have a tribal affiliation, but the officer who was conducting the interview said I must provide a viable answer

[128] See Msindo 2012
[129] Muzondidya and Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2007

to the question. The questions–written in English–were clearly from an outdated document created by the colonial administration and carried over to the independent state, but the context did not call for that kind of dialogue. We decided it was best to put that I am "white" in that space because there was no question about race on the document. My ethnic, national and cultural heritage – Jewish, American, Latinx – did not fit into the framework of the questionnaire.

Zimbabwean citizens must negotiate the stakes of national identity politics in specific ways. National identity cards (*chitupa/situpa*), for example, which are required for every adult, must specify one's "rural chief, village and district of ancestral origin" even if their personal identity is more complex, fluid or mixed than these parameters.[130] Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Muzondidya describe how this came to be:

> The colonial state did not only categorise the country's nationals in terms of their geographical places of origin but also enforced their identities through what the renowned Ugandan scholar Mahmood Mamdani has called an 'ethnic citizenship' regulated through a 'regime of ethnic rights'.[131] In the case of Rhodesia, this idea of an ethnic citizenship among Rhodesian Africans was enforced through the National Identity Card or Pass Law system, used to classify Africans in terms of their village and district of origin. Under this system, which was surprisingly carried over into post-independence unreformed, every 'Native district' in the country was represented by a specific numerical code and every adult Native was issued a national identity card…[132]

Citizens must navigate the system of ethnic rights in order to have access to resources. For example, land in rural areas "could only be attained through one's ethnicity."[133] While ethnicity is the accepted term in current Zimbabwean academic literature, tribe is the most common term I

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[130] Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Muzondidya 2007, 278
[131] Mamdani 1996
[132] Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Muzondidya 2007, 278-279
[133] Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Muzondidya 2007, 279

heard in the borderlands, in part because it persists through the terminology of the national identity card system and other state programs.

Hera player James Kamwaza explained how national conceptions of identity apply to communities that span the national border. While Kamwaza is Korekore-Tavara, he says that this is essentially the term for Tavara on the Zimbabwean side of the border. The national boundary distinguishes between Korekore and Tavara groups, but these groups are "just the same" in that area because of so many centuries of mixing between adjacent populations. After the national boundary was established, Tavara and Korekore people would cross the border to flee from war in both directions and when they settled across the boundary, they would inevitably adopt the other ethnic identity to have access to resources within that country.[134] In other words, the fluidity between Korekore and Tavara still exists, but it is solidified to a degree by national policy and ethnic imaginaries. Marizane writes about this same scenario among the Nyungwe and Shona further south along the border. The Nyungwe/Shona division is essentially a national divide that does not accurately reflect historical and current relatedness of these groups.[135] Bourdillon emphasizes that cultural distinctions between groups on either side of the border do exist, and are largely attributed to national differences in economic growth and education.[136]

Another way to conceptualize identity is through linguistic groupings rather than ethnicity, as the latter tends to homogenize the layered identities of residents in the borderlands. ChiMarembe, for instance, is spoken in many parts of Mudzi district along the border, but of course not everyone in that area identifies as Marembe. Matepe player John Karima, for example, currently lives in Kotwa, which is about 25 kms west of Nyamapanda. His family has

[134] Interview with James Kamwaza 2017
[135] Marizane 2016
[136] Bourdillon 1987

played matepe for generations, but his patrilineal ancestry comes from Malawi and through Mozambique, where they first learned how to play matepe near Tete province. There are some 518,000 Nyungwe speakers on the Mozambique side of the border and approximately 28,000 Nyungwe speakers on the Zimbabwe side of the border. Although I am not a linguist, my understanding is that chiMarembe is a sub-dialect of ciNyungwe with a strong Shona influence.

ChiMarembe is not documented or recognized as an independent language. To illustrate the marginalization of this language, the Zonke family matepe players tell a story about when they were rejected from a government-sponsored recording session in Harare because their speech was apparently too foreign-sounding in comparison to standardized Shona.[137] It is important to note that the family speaks Shona in addition to Marembe and there is considerable crossover between the two languages. Some words of chiMarembe are only slightly different, such as *mwedzi* (chiShona for moon) versus *mwezi* (chiMarembe for moon), whereas others are more distinct such as *hosho* (chiShona for rattles) and *ntsokoso* (chiMarembe for rattles). The sound of "r" shifts lightly to "l" in the Marembe language and often floats between the two sounds in a way that is not strictly one or the other. Since chiMarembe is not documented, the written spellings are inconsistent, especially in archival records, as you will notice in some of the song titles and translations.

The Buja play the regional variation of madhebhe in Mutoko district and parts of UMP district that are situated further from the borderlands towards the capital. The madhebhe players are not divided by the international border, but they are still faced with other issues, including political struggles over chieftainships that greatly impact the madhebhe traditions tied to these

[137] A matepe player from the Karima family in Mudzi district *was* recorded by the ZBC in the 1970s. The Karima's heritage is originally from Malawi, but their chieftainship is in Mozambique where they picked up matepe playing before relocating to northeastern Zimbabwe in the 1920s.

leaders. Kuda Nyaruwabvu explains the dialect of Buja in the following excerpt from his field notes:

> The Mutoko area is home to the Budya people. Though written "Budya" it's supposed to be written "Buja" since one of these people's identity comes from the fact that they replace every part of a Shona word that "dya" appears with "ja". For example, "kudya" [kuḍ̤ʲga] (to eat) is spoken like "kuja". Kudyara (to plant) is spoken "kujara" in Buja. Since it is not a written dialect, many distortions to the writing of the dialectical words have been carried for years. During the colonial times they used to call it Budga but in my view Buja is what identifies the people of Mutoko justifiably. The Buja language is a Korekore subdialect of Shona. The Buja share most of their cultural practices with other Korekores except for the tone and naming of a few things. They are a family situated close to the Zezuru and the Manyika dialects, which are more recognized and more accepted in written records. Listening to the recorded Mbira players of a half a century ago, I could pick many words which are no longer in use among the Bujas of today due to the fact that they have been replaced with a more universally understood words which may be Zezuru, Karanga or Manyika. "Ndikunyepe" (I can tell you) is a Buja word which is now constantly being replaced by "ndikuudze."[138]

Note how Kuda points to the fading use of Buja-specific terms as standardized Shona has become more common because it is taught in schools. Mbira music and the archival recordings can act as a historical record of linguistic change in the area as these languages continue to shift and adapt to the influences of official dialects, English and Portuguese.

Conclusion

The development of matepe music and veneration of mhondoro spirits are strongly tied to the era of the Mutapa state. The middle Zambezi valley during this time was characterized as a diverse economic center that prospered because of internal and external trade routes tied to the Indian Ocean. The national border that the British and Portuguese established around 1900 cut through the heartland of the state and created ethnic cultural divisions in these groups that are influenced by national constructions of identity. Residents of the borderlands recognize the constructedness

[138] Nyaruwabvu field report, 2016

of these labels and negotiate them through cross-border ties and flexible notions of how official state identities align with lived realities.

The middle Zambezi is now seen as a marginalized border region between Zimbabwe and Mozambique, in the "backyard" of Harare and Tete.[139] In Mudzi district, for example, the Nyamapanda shops are configured as a truck stop rather than a tourist destination, with little indication of the rich music traditions that characterize the region. National media sources often sensationalize the Nyamapanda border-crossing as a dangerous outpost that struggles with ongoing issues associated with prostitution, drug smuggling and human trafficking, with very little attention paid to Marembe people who live in the surrounding rural areas. Regional festivals and political rallies, however, do celebrate local performance practices, but this is more often with drum and dance music rather than mbira.

Despite these perceptions, the significance of the borderlands is not just historical. In the current age, travel corridors have shifted from rivers to roads. The Zambezi river and its tributaries were once the main travel routes into the region and thus contributed to economic opportunity and cultural diversity. Now, the highways serve this purpose. Nyamapanda, for instance, is a border town situated on the Zimbabwean side of Highway A2. This highway is a major vein used to transport goods on semi-trucks between Malawi and South Africa. The Nyamapanda shops cater to a diverse customer base of residents, travelers, truck drivers and people buying and selling merchandise across the border. The easily accessible border post is a significant source of Zimbabwe's informal economy that attracts people from throughout the region.

[139] Marizane 2016, 4-5

While the residents of the borderlands struggle to maintain subsistence farming practices because of frequent droughts, historical and archeological evidence reveals that this was always the case in the middle Zambezi. The limited rainfall contributed to the development of the mhondoro spirit system within the royal courts and consequently the development of matepe music, based on its close ties to the veneration of mhondoro spirits. Matepe music was not limited to one particular ethnic group, but spread throughout the state through smaller chieftaincies, some which migrated to other areas in the region. This is likely how the regional variations of matepe developed.

Chapter Three

Matepe as Sacred Technology

Matepe functions as a type of sacred technology that connects people to the spirits of the deceased. Musicians and culture bearers have utilized and negotiated this technology in innovative ways as a response to shifting political and economic landscapes to sustain these traditions since precolonial times. Clapperton Mavhunga asserts that studies of African technology and innovation in general must be grounded in precolonial histories, in part to show the continuity of such innovative practices.[140] The Nyahuna prophecy focuses on the last fifty years, a period that spans pre- and post-independent Zimbabwe, and many of the issues it deals with, including religious stigma, war, economic collapse, and political instability, stem from colonization. Yet postcolonial scholars argue that this relatively short time scale tends to render African societies as ahistorical prior to colonization. Following Mavhunga and other postcolonial scholars, I argue that the Nyahuna prophecy reveals the colonial period as an "interlude"[141] that emerged after centuries of extensive trade and development in the region of what is now Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

Building on the previous chapter, I anchor the histories of matepe within precolonial civilizations of southern Africa to demonstrate how the function of matepe as sacred technology connects to the era of the Mutapa state (1450-1884).[142] This approach works to broaden Zimbabwe's nationally oriented music canon by emphasizing the diverse ethnic contexts within which matepe and other mbira from the borderland region developed. By focusing specifically

[140] Mavhunga 2017, 7
[141] Muzondidya and Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2007
[142] Chirikure 2004

on iron technologies, this chapter situates mbira within longstanding precolonial histories of metallurgy across the African continent.

In 2018 I attended an exhibit called *Striking Iron: The Art of African Blacksmiths* on display at the UCLA Fowler Museum. This travelling exhibit highlighted the diverse histories of metallurgy on the African continent through the creative work of blacksmiths from present-day Nigeria, Democratic Republic of Congo, Cameroon, Kenya, Sudan, South Africa, and Zimbabwe, among other locations. While the exhibit was not without issues in relation to representation and the ownership of museum collections,[143] this multi-year, collaborative venture nevertheless offered an astonishing glimpse into the world of African iron technologies.[144] Narratives of African advances in iron smelting, iron work and design are significant in the ways they work to decenter Western-driven concepts of Science, Technology and Innovation (STI). African technologies challenge dominant perceptions in part by questioning the divide between technological and spiritual or sacred realms.[145]

The *Striking Iron* exhibit highlighted the sacred power of iron technologies by illustrating how African blacksmiths create "objects that mediate between humanity and divine agency."[146] One interpretive sign pointed to the inherent material/sonic qualities of iron as divine:

> The sounds of iron, by virtue of the spiritual and supernatural potencies attribute to the metal itself, are sometimes equated with voices from ancestral realms. […] [S]onorous

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[143] The African-made objects were largely from museum collections situated in Europe and North America. The curator, although a renown blacksmith, was not a cultural insider from any of the African cultures represented, and while the exhibit materials are available for viewing online for free, the materials themselves are not scheduled to be on display on African soil.
[144] See also, *Metals in Past Societies: A Global Perspective on Indigenous African Metallurgy* (2015) edited by Zimbabwean archeologist Shadrack Chirikure, for detailed chapters on the same topic.
[145] Mavhunga 2017, see also Mavhunga 2014
[146] Roberts and Berns 2018, 77

iron instruments contribute to more than just an evening's entertainment- they often serve as vehicles linking the forge to the community, to ancestors, and to divinity itself."[147]

Matepe and other types of mbira are referred to by names that point to their specialized iron keys,[148] and are closely associated with spirit ceremonies. Even when not being played, the sheer materiality of the iron keys of these instruments continue to convey strong associations to the spirits throughout the borderlands.

Mavhunga asserts that spiritually centered worldviews in Africa, like those of Zimbabwe's Shona cultures, demonstrate epistemologies of technology and innovation that offer alternatives to dominant notions of technology from the West.[149] A prominent consideration in Shona cultures is the influence of mhondoro clan spirits, which can appear in the physical form of lion in addition to possessing human mediums or masvikiro. While the masvikiro play significant political and social roles in the present day, they also feature prominently in scholarly accounts based on their historical positions as royal advisers in precolonial dynasties, and their indispensable roles in the first and second Chimurenga.[150] The mhondoro, Mavhunga states,

> …was at once a real lion, king of the forest, and the most senior ancestral spirit (mudzimu; plural midzimu), a deceased chief or clan founder who returned in spirit after death to look after the living. It was the mhondoro and the mhondoro alone who could intercede between Mwari [or Musikavhanu] (god) and the living. This senior spirit manifested and spoke to the living via his human medium, the svikiro (port of arrival)…[151]

Considering the mhondoro spirits' importance in Shona cosmology, Mavhunga asks how we might understand technology not only from a cultural viewpoint, but also as part of "a realm

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[147] Placard sign at *Striking Iron: The Art of African Blacksmiths*. June -December 2018. Fowler Museum, University of California, Los Angeles, Los Angeles, CA.
[148] Metal alloy from recycled parts is now used instead of smelted iron. Archeological publications such as Chirikure et. al. (2017) explore the chemical composition of smithing slag from sites within the Mutapa state.
[149] Mavhunga 2014
[150] Newitt 2013, xli
[151] Mavhunga 2017, 48-49

of ancestral spiritual sovereignty over the living."[152] The spiritual connections of matepe are inscribed in its very name, as it is known in full as the *matepe dzamhondoro*, or "matepe of the mhondoro spirits." While the mhondoro and other kinds of spirits are prominent topics in studies on Zimbabwean history, anthropology, religion, heritage studies, and health and development, the mbira's role in relation to the mhondoro is not as well documented, especially in the borderlands.

Approaches to Historical Research

James Millward notes that historical scholarship tends to neglect music as an area of inquiry.[153] In his study of the sitar, Millward demonstrates how musical instruments, as sites of social, aesthetic and spiritual meaning, offer unique inroads into historical understanding. He contends that any serious consideration of music as a mode of historical inquiry must frame instruments as:

> enmeshed in physical and social networks (of materials, instrument dealers, performers, consumers, divine and human patrons) and semantic and cultural webs. Every instrument is linked to other instruments before it and in other places through its mode of construction, technical features, stylistic details, and the like. Every performer learned from other players, as every composer borrows from the work of others. Instruments and musical genres are coded by class, gender, ethnicity, and social venue, and these codings link them to discourses about music in society, about spirituality, pleasure, propriety, solidarity, and other concerns.[154]

Millward's focus on instruments themselves is particularly useful in conducting historical music research on time periods predating the advent of recorded sound. The matepe, for example, has been played for several centuries. Yet the earliest available Hugh Tracey recordings of matepe, madhebhe and hera traditions, which feature a musicians named Kadori, date back

[152] Mavhunga 2014, 26
[153] Millward 2018
[154] Millward 2018, 209

only as far as 1933.[155] The Tracey Instrument Collection (TIC), on the other hand, features mbira that in some cases were built much earlier than this. One of Kadori's own instruments is a focal point of this collection, which has been well maintained in a playable state by Andrew Tracey throughout the decades (Figure 8). As Hugh Tracey describes, the madhebhe was kept by Kadori as a spare instrument. As it was already worn when Tracey purchased it in 1933, it likely dates back at least to the turn of the century. The TIC demonstrates the sheer diversity of mbira instruments from throughout southeastern Africa, as well as how different mbira builders expressed their personal style and innovative approaches to instrument design. Like the centuries of archaeological evidence in the *Striking Iron* exhibit, the material culture of the TIC mbira collection offers insights into precolonial technologies and their significance in present-day contexts.

In addition to focusing on physical instruments, scholars such as Millward, Ana Maria Ochoa, and Bonnie Wade[156] demonstrate the importance of textual sources and visual art as alternate means of understanding music histories in the absence of recorded sound. In the case of Zimbabwe, an abundance of precolonial texts correlate to the era of the Mutapa state, including accounts written by Portuguese and British missionaries and explorers. Historian Gai Roufe observes that the Portuguese presence, which dates to the late 15th century in the Zambezi valley and southeastern Africa, has produced "a relatively vast corpus of written historical documents that consists of various administrative sources, chronologies, and ethnographic manuscripts, in which contemporary oral traditions as well as oral traditions from the eighteenth and the

[155] This recording features Kadori playing "Ndonda chawa nemauyu" on madhebhe and was part of Hugh Tracey's 1932-1933 recording trip to Southern Rhodesia. The earliest recordings from the ILAM collection are of njari players from the late 1920s.
[156] Wade 1998; Ochoa 2014; Millward 2018

nineteenth centuries can be found."[157] Yet these sources, which constitute the majority of extant texts on this era in southeastern Africa, privilege external perspectives. As such, they require close and critical reading alongside Indigenous historical narratives.[158]

Figure 8a. Photo of Kadori's madhebhe. Mutoko district, 1933. Photo by Hugh Tracey. Figure 8b. Photo of Kadori playing madhebhe in a resonator. Mutoko district, 1933. Photo by Hugh Tracey.

Among these Indigenous narratives, oral histories and performance practices are paramount in conducting historical research on music in the Zimbabwean borderlands. As Zimbabwean historian Pathisa Nyathi explained in an interview with BBC:

> [M]usic and dance are art forms and art is expressive. It is a form of documentation. Africa did not write, but this is not to say that Africa did not document. Africa documented through visual art, through performance arts and it is a lot about the people, their history, their values, their perceptions, their world view.[159]

[157] Roufe 2016, 53
[158] Chikowero 2015; Mbembe 2015
[159] BBC, 2017

Both mbira technologies and the performance practices associated with these technologies can be described as a means of documentation. This documentation takes the form not only of song lyrics referencing historical events or other distinctly sonic characteristics of the mbira, but also through the practice of spirit possession. The sound of mbira music facilitates the conditions whereby the mhondoro spirits's medium, or *svikiro* (plural, masvikiro), is called to articulate genealogies, recount histories, offer guidance, and even prophesize future events. In essence, the delicate interplay between musicians, mbira instruments, mediums, and the greater community constitutes its own type of traditional archive. In the case of the matepe, ceremonies for the local mhondoro spirits, known as mhondoro dzeMarembe, still occur to honor the spirits and ask for rain; however, since there are currently no masvikiro for the mhondoro dzeMarembe, possession ceremonies that allow for direct guidance and communication from the mhondoro spirits have not been held since the svikiro for Nyahuna passed away at least fifty years ago. Oral histories about these ceremonies, however, join the resources from the ILAM archive as valuable supplements with which to approach the fragments of the traditional archive.

The Stigma of Mbira Technology

Throughout Zimbabwe, both mbira and certain *ngoma* (drums) are used to call upon various kinds of spirits to "come out" in ceremonies that involve one or more spirit mediums. As Paul Berliner articulates, in ceremonial contexts mbira is believed to "have the power to project its sound into the heavens, bridging the world of the living and the world of the spirits and thereby attracting the attention of the ancestors."[160] His quote references mbira dzavadzimu, which is known for its function in spirit ceremonies that parallels the function of matepe in similar

[160] Berliner 1978, 190

contexts. In the course of this research, I heard various descriptors such as “sacred telephone,” or “cellphone to the ancestors” used to describe the matepe and other mbira in the Zimbabwean borderlands. While music holds divine power in many cultures, the construction of matepe instruments[161] and their sonic qualities are designed specifically to fulfill certain ceremonial functions. As such, it is a specifically sacred technology. For matepe, the ceremony details differ depending on the purpose and type of spirit. These are complex practices, but in general the main spirits that I will discuss include lineage spirits such as the mhondoro and *vadzimu* (family ancestral spirits), as well as non-lineage spirits called *ngozi* (vengeful spirits).[162]

Within a majority Christian nation, mbira that have historically been used for traditional ceremonies are stigmatized because of their associations with spirits. Many churches in Zimbabwe define Christian beliefs by distinguishing between the Holy Spirit and those forces that are unholy or “unheavenly.”[163] As a result, the mhondoro and vadzimu, which are central to traditional cultures of Zimbabwe, are often depicted as demonic. By extension, types of mbira such as matepe are then sometimes referred to as “the Devil’s telephone.” I first heard this phrase in late 2016 while at a bar in Rushinga district where someone asked what we (Nyaruwabvu, Zack and I) were doing with the Devil’s telephone. These views are no doubt related to early missionary attempts at cultural disarmament, in part through a strategic demonization and persecution of traditional music, beginning in the late 1800s.[164] Chikowero provides the most detailed account of these processes of cultural disarmament, showing how colonialists were

[161] Martin Scherzinger’s work explores how the “interface” of a matepe instrument (and other mbira instruments) contributes to its unique sonic characteristics. For example, see his recorded talk, “African Rhythm as Interface Effect” (2013).
[162] Lewis 1989
[163] The term sometimes substituted in interviews and conversations for mademoni (demons) in chiShona was “unheavenly”
[164] Chikowero 2015

"terrified by the reality of the unconquered, spiritually transfigured African being," and therefore sought to "create new African identities by rendering African children orphaned, ahistorical, and disempowered, severed and alienated from their bloodlines and from the memory and history of their parents and ancestors."[165] In other words, the colonial mechanism operated by undermining an Indigenous sense of self that was rooted in culture, history and cosmology.

The ways that mbira musicians and culture bearers have continually renegotiated cultural and spiritual boundaries reveal insights about their perspectives and lived experiences. Christian perspectives in Zimbabwe are numerous and diverse, given estimates show that over 80% of the population identify as subscribers to the religion.[166] Christian institutions include mission or mainline churches as well as an array of African Independent Churches, or AICs.[167] A defining characteristic of many AICs is their "break with the past," which particularly targets traditional beliefs and practices that are seen as un-Christian, most notably ancestral spirit veneration. In rural areas, this often means that committed members of Christian churches avoid participating in traditional music, and steer clear of contexts where traditional music is played. From the perspective of those who continue to practice ancestral spirit veneration, however, Christian teachings are not off limits. Many of the musicians I worked with felt comfortable attending Christian ceremonies and services but resisted committing to a Christian path if it meant leaving mbira behind. Committed members of Christian churches are often referred to as "church-goers." By contrast, mbira players who attend church would not be referred to by this term.

It is misleading to talk about ancestral spirit veneration as a 'religion' in the same way that Christianity is known as a religion. Marizane writes how the "integration of all aspects of

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[165] Chikowero 2015, 54
[166] Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency 2017
[167] The AIC abbreviation is sometimes interpreted as African Indigenous Church or African-Initiated Church

everyday life in African religion is in sharp contrast with what has been described as the 'church-state' dichotomy found in western societies."[168] Expanding on this idea, religious studies scholar Takawira Kazembe writes that "Zimbabwean African traditional religion has a strong foothold in contemporary Zimbabwe as an integral part of the everyday lives of many Zimbabweans. It is seen as a way of life. The religious influence goes beyond what can be termed religious in a narrow (or Western) sense."[169] In this way, "worldview" is a more appropriate descriptor of traditional beliefs that are highly integrated into peoples' everyday lives. The details of this worldview obviously shift depending on one's specific cultural orientation–with considerations such as place, dzinza (clan name) and mutupo (totem)–and are not confined by national borders. Note that I use the term traditional religion repeatedly in this dissertation as a way to distinguish between traditional practices that are stigmatized by society because of their connections to spirit veneration and other traditional practices that are not stigmatized as such.

In Zimbabwe, adopting a Christian perspective does not entirely erase traditional worldviews. Indeed, part of the success of the AICs in comparison to mainline churches is how the AICs acknowledge and address the existence of witchcraft and evil spirits. These beliefs are drawn from traditional culture but are reframed into a distinctly Christian perspective that is seen as separate from, and even at odds with, traditional practices, which I discuss in detail in chapters five and six. Together, the persistence of traditional worldviews and their rejection by many Christian denominations in Zimbabwe help to explain why certain kinds of mbira continue to be stigmatized because of their spiritual associations.

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[168] Marizane 2016, 18
[169] Kazembe 2009, 55

Metallurgy & Mbira Technology

Iron technologies are one of the most significant areas of innovation that emerged from the diverse cultures of the Mutapa state. These regional histories connect to a broader narrative of African innovations in metallurgy. In *Striking Iron*, the artistry of the pieces on display–farming tools, ceremonial items, hair pins, weapons, instruments (including a few mbira at the end)–was revealed through detailed touches such as iron curves, beveled edges, and carved details in wood. The objects dated mostly from the 19th & 20th centuries but reflected practices that stretched back at least 2,500 years.[170] Beyond the clear connections between ironwork and mbira, the exhibit offered a means to think about congruent histories of iron technologies more broadly across sub-Saharan Africa. At a local level, I am interested in how present-day blacksmiths in Zimbabwe apply and adapt these longstanding practices.

In an interview with NPR, the *Striking Iron* curator, Tom Joyce, stated: "Africans actually preceded Europeans by 300 to 400 years in the development of bellowing technology that allowed more efficient smelting by preheating the iron with a mixture of hot and cool air."[171] Evidence of early iron technologies in areas of what is now Zimbabwe date back to approximately the 13th-14th centuries. Among relatively older artifacts are those from the famous ruins of Great Zimbabwe, a political entity[172] that thrived from 1250 to 1500 AD, and which was located near the present-day city of Masvingo in Southcentral Zimbabwe. The Smithsonian National Museum of African Art, which also hosted *Striking Iron*, describes how the exhibit paid special attention to the centrality of iron technologies at various locations around Great Zimbabwe:

[170] Roberts et. al., 2019
[171] https://www.npr.org/sections/goatsandsoda/2019/04/21/715117637/the-beauty-and-the-power-of-african-blacksmiths (accessed July 2020)
[172] See Roufe 2016

> The substantial number of iron hoe blades found together outside the Great Enclosure confirms that locally forged tools enabled agriculture on a scale to feed many thousands. These blade forms were probably also used as currencies. Because no large slag mounds have been found at or near the site, iron production likely occurred throughout the area. This suggests a tribute system through which taxation of small production sites met the demand for iron at Great Zimbabwe.[173]

These findings hint at the scale and significance of Great Zimbabwe and the role that blacksmithing played at the time as a means of producing sustenance and currency.

Archeological evidence from numerous studies shows that ceramics, architecture, gold jewelry, iron goods and other items demonstrate clear ties between the material cultures of the Zimbabwe culture states, including Great Zimbabwe in the south and Mutapa in the northeast. These ties are unsurprising considering that the two political centers overlapped chronologically and relied on interconnected networks of trade routes through which iron and other goods passed. As Manyanga and Chirikure point out, “the clear material culture and chronological relationships suggest that the relationship between the Mutapa state, Great Zimbabwe, Khami and other sites is more complex than previously assumed.”[174] These archaeological findings show a high degree of cultural exchange and overlap between states that were once thought of as sequentially linked, beginning with Mapungubwe. The map in Figure 9 shows an approximation of the chronological and spatial relationship between Mapungubwe, Great Zimbabwe, Torwa and Mutapa states.

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[173] africa.si.edu/exhibitions/current-exhibitions/striking-iron-the-art-of-african-blacksmiths/africas-iron-origins-archeological-evidence/ (accessed July 2020)
[174] Chirikure et al. 2017, 171

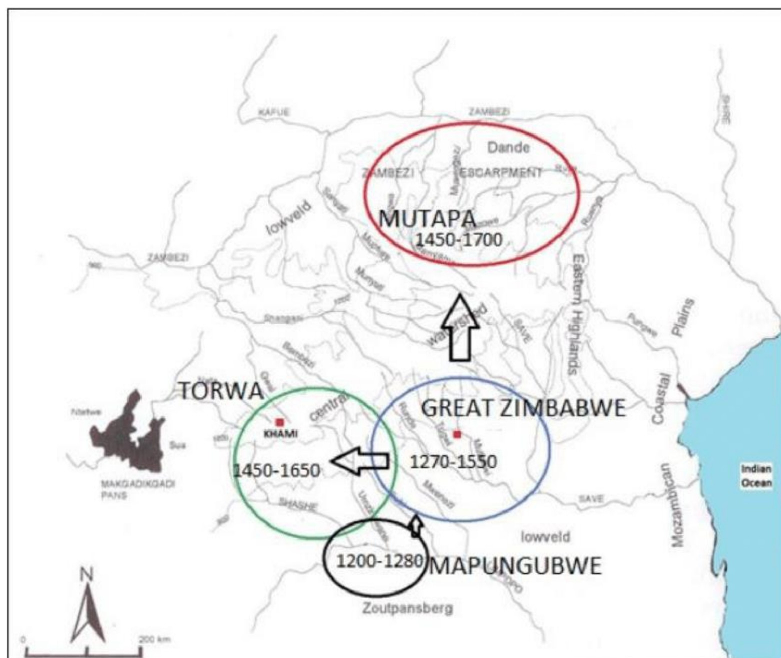

Figure 9. Map that depicts the temporal and spatial relationships between four of the Zimbabwe culture states. The dates and marked geographical areas shown are approximate. Not shown here is the influence that Mutapa had on the Rozvi state that occupied the central plateau and came to power in the 17th to 19th centuries during the decline of the Mutapa state. Map from Shadreck Chirikure (2012).

Archeologist Shadrek Chirikure, who collaborated on the *Striking Iron* project, writes that Portuguese traders in the 15th to 19th centuries preferred African iron goods because of their superior quality, which was the result of local smelting technology using bellows.[175] By contrast, blast furnaces were prominent in Portugal at the time. The Portuguese had numerous trading posts throughout areas governed by the Mutapa state in the Zambezi valley, which eventually developed into more permanent estates or *prazos*. Among the written records left by Portuguese traders and missionaries and English explorers during the time of the Mutapa state are at least a few significant descriptions and illustrations dedicated to iron technologies, including several references to mbira instruments from the northeast.[176]

[175] Chirikure et al. 2017
[176] Discussed in Hugh Tracey 1961 and Berliner 1978

The mbira cultures that focused on ancestral spirit veneration from earlier Zimbabwe culture states were likely influential in the development of the ceremonial aspects of matepe music during the Mutapa state. Andrew Tracey speculates, for example, that mbira dzavadzimu likely preceded the development of matepe mbira.[177] It is possible that karimba served as the material foundation of matepe, as builders such as Enoch Nyazvigo describe karimba as the "mother" mbira that gave rise to matepe and other types in that region.[178] This supports Andrew Tracey's hypothesis of the "karimba core" in which he suggests that the basic symmetrical layout of a karimba served as an ancient type from which many other types developed, including the mbira from regions in present-day Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi and South Africa.[179]

Ancient mbira keys have been found at archeological sites connected to the Zimbabwe culture states. Among them, Bandama et al. include findings of an mbira key from a midden in the Hill Complex at Great Zimbabwe.[180] Berliner further notes how "archeologists have discovered several examples of mbira parts at the ruins of Inyanga and the nearby Niekerk ruins in northeastern Zimbabwe" that date back to 1500 - 1800.[181] In terms of more recent written evidence, David Livingstone's extensive journals through Mutapa state territory from 1858-64 include well-known and detailed drawings of a mbira by artist Thomas Baines who accompanied Livingstone on his journey. Figure 10a and 10b show two of his drawings that feature mbira from what is now central Mozambique.[182] He also describes the prominence of iron workers on his journey, stating that each village had "its smelting-house, its charcoal-burners, and

[177] Andrew Tracey 1972
[178] Conversation with Enoch Nyazvigo, December 2016
[179] Andrew Tracey 1972
[180] Bandama et al. 2016. The approximate date of the mbira key is not clearly listed.
[181] Berliner 1978, 28
[182] Livingstone 1958-1864, 237, discussed in Hugh Tracey 1961 and Berliner 1978.

blacksmiths. They make good axes, spears, needles, arrow-heads, bracelets and anklets […].”[183] Chirikure et al. assert that the village was the prime unit of production based on the fact that local overseas trade routes were decentralized.[184] The Munhumutapa then benefitted from these activities through a centralized tax system.[185]

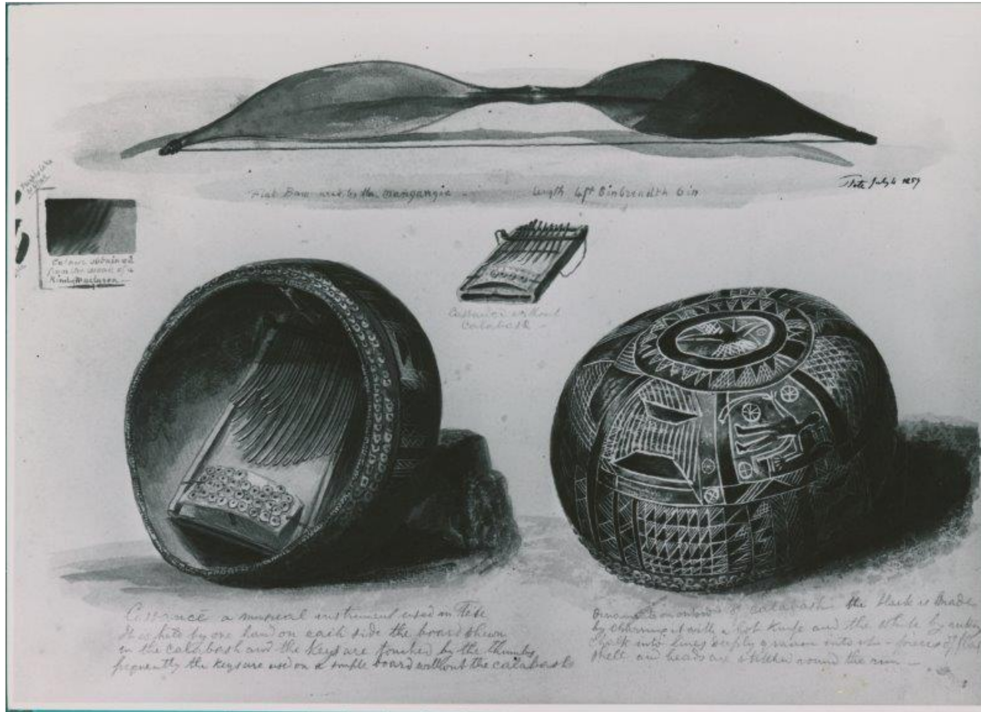

Figure 10a. Drawing by Thomas Baines from 1859 that show a 9-key karimba above a decorated resonator that contains a 22-key nyonga nyonga mbira from Tete, Mozambique. The nyonga nyonga and matepe are in some ways mirror images of one another, as the nyonga nyonga bass notes are on the right side of the instrument and high keys situated on the left.

[183] Livingstone 1858-1864, 113
[184] Chirikure et. al. 2017, 171
[185] Mudenge 1988

Figure 10b. Watercolor by Thomas Baines from 1859 that shows a musical vignette featuring a group of men and women, marimba, mbira, panpipes and rattles.

In addition to the localized blacksmiths described by Livingstone, more sought-after mbira makers included the famed Njanja blacksmiths, who lived in east-central Zimbabwe, in present-day Chikomba district.[186] Michael Bourdillon highlights Njanja craftsmanship based in evidence of precolonial trade networks around southeastern Africa. He writes:

> Of more interest, perhaps, was a group of enterprising iron workers, the Njanja, who smelted the high class ore from Wedza mountain and traded their products widely in Shona country. Their superior techniques of smelting and working iron produced high quality goods which were valued among surrounding peoples. Neighbouring peoples preferred Njanja hoes to the more local products of inferior iron. Especially prized were Njanja *mbira,* musical instruments comprising perhaps thirty finely tuned iron reeds set on a resonant wooden base and requiring good quality metal and skilled workmanship. The Njanja traded their iron products for cattle and other livestock in areas a couple of hundred kilometres from their home. Their wealth from trade allowed expert smelters and smiths to gather growing communities of apprentices and dependants, who in turn could perform the communal labour necessary for smelting on a large scale.[187]

[186] Chirikure 2006

[187] Bourdillon 1987, 13

Further to the north, there are early accounts of mbira being used in the courts of the Munhumutapa (kings of the Mutapa state). In 1586, for instance, a Portuguese missionary named Father João de Santos described a mbira (likely a kind of karimba with nine keys) that was played in the Zambezi valley, and compared it to the Chopi timbila:

> Thus the iron rods being shaken and the blows resounding above the hollow of the bowl, after the fashion of a jew's harp, they produce altogether a sweet and gentle harmony of accordant sounds. This instrument is much more musical than that made of gourds, but it is not so loud, and is generally played in the king's palace, for it is very soft and makes but little noise.[188]

Mbira at the Courts

Over the life of the Mutapa state a number of different royal court capitals flourished, including trading centers like Baranda, located near present-day Mt. Darwin.[189] What types of mbira were played in these courts, and what functions did they have? Certainly, mbira players were more than entertainment. Considering that the Munhumutapa was "a powerful political, economic and religious leader whose ancestors were important for the well-being of the state,"[190] we can connect the sacred technological role of mbira as a so-called "cell phone to the ancestors" to its function at the royal courts. In his travelogue, Albino Manoel Pacheco describes how masvikiro played an important political role in the Mutapa courts as advisors to the Munhumutapa who were able to recount oral histories of the ruling lineage. While Pacheco himself maintains a biased and degrading tone towards these traditions, especially in regards to spirit possession, he

[188] Theal 1901, 203. Father João de Santos worked in the Mutapa state from 1585-1595 and included other descriptions of court music in his writings.
[189] Baranda is referenced in several accounts as a central political location. Chirikure et al. 2017, 172.
[190] Chirikure et al. 2017, 171

nevertheless observed how mediums used historical knowledge to legitimize their status as representatives of the spirit of a particular Munhumutapa.[191]

Another piece of evidence suggesting that the mbira played an important role in the Mutapa state lies in the wide distribution of related instruments and core repertoire in mbira practice around the borderlands. Matepe player Kuda Nyaruwabvu speculates that common repertoire shared across regional traditions of matepe, madhebhe, and hera can be attributed to the lasting influences of cultural exchange within the Mutapa state. In particular, core songs for mhondoro spirits often extend across madhebhe, matepe, and hera traditions. For example, the song "Msengu" is played in each regional tradition (Appendix A). Versions of the song on each instrument are compatible with those played on other instruments, enabling performers across these traditions to play together. Other regional variations of core songs share a single harmonic progression and can be played together easily, but support different titles, meanings, and lyrics. One example is the hera song, "Kanotamba mubani," which can be played with the matepe song, "Siti" (Appendix A). As Andrew Tracey writes, each song is distinguished by a primary singing line that arises from the core instrumental part.[192] The regional variations of each song may have different lyrics, but the melody of the main singing line is consistent.

One other piece of evidence that connects Mutapa royal courts to matepe are the stone structures called *madzimbahwe*, which were associated with the royal courts. In a recent publication, historians Roufe and Miller critically analyze linguistic translations in precolonial documents about the Mutapa state for evidence regarding the function of these stone structures. They argue that while newly built madzimbahwe initially served as graves of the deceased Munhumutapas, they became places where their spirits dwelled, and therefore "were and are

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[191] Pacheco translation in Newitt 2013, 25
[192] Andrew Tracey 1970

essentially meant for paying tribute to mhondoro who were the former rulers of the Mutapa state."[193] Portuguese documents from the 16th to the 19th centuries commonly refer to the madzimbahwe as capitals, courts and palaces. This was in part because successive rulers "were perceived as guardians of their predecessors' spirits and legacies" rendering the graves of their forerunners as important political symbols and centers.[194]

In Mutoko, for example, there is a fairly accessible site with madzimbahwe stone structures on the highway out to Nyamapanda called the Mutoko ruins. It lies just east of Mutoko center after a short drive off of the main highway. The stone structures of the Mutoko ruins are reminiscent of the chevron patterns and mortarless building techniques found at Great Zimbabwe. To the madhebhe players in Mutoko, however, the most important madzimbahwe is the Nehoreka shrine. It is located near Charewa Village in Mutoko district,[195] but it is not as accessible to the public as the Mutoko ruins and is meant only to be visited in the company of locals.

Shorai Katsukunya sees playing madhebhe at the shrine as a family obligation and does so on important occasions with musician Naison Goba. Kuda Nyaruwabvu writes that "As other Shona tribes, the Bujas treated Mbira as a centre piece for their rituals and ceremonies. Their type of Mbira, the Madhebhe, a 22+ key instrument, was played by a few talented players who had a lot of stories on how they started playing. They treated Madhebhe playing as a spiritual calling more than a choice."[196] Katsukunya described how these ceremonies were tied to the

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[193] Roufe & Miller 2020, 7
[194] Roufe & Miller 2020, 7
[195] The original spelling of this name is Charehwa, which yields the correct pronunciation. The village name has changed to "Charewa," without the h, because of colonialist misspellings, but is still pronounced the same.
[196] Nyaruwabvu field report 2016

leadership responsibilities of local chiefs and mediums, in part as a way to ask the mhondoro for rain and celebrate good harvests.

In one particular outing, Kuda Nyaruwabvu, Zack Moon and I went to find living relatives of madhebhe player Jojo Charehwa near Charewa Village. We were able to locate his eldest surviving son, Mubayiwa Charehwa, born in 1947, now living in a small house off the dust road. While playing the recordings of his father, Mubayiwa discussed how he had been very close to his grandmother, who was the svikiro of Nehoreka, the most respected spirit of Mutoko, and how she would sing while his father played madhebhe. The following is Kuda Nyaruwabvu's account of Mubayiwa's dialogue, translated to English:

> Yes, I remember very well. My father used to have six wives and my mother was the third wife. He used to call himself Kamwaza because of his generosity. We used to have a lot of visitors coming to the Dzimbahwe (the shrine of the spirit of Nehoreka) and my father would slaughter a cow for them. He would go on to share the meat abundantly, which in Buja describes Kumwaza, like throwing everywhere. One would wonder where he got all those beasts he slaughtered. He was entrusted with cows which were paid to the shrine as fines for different moral crimes, he said. So those cows could be used to feed visitors to the shrine." [Mubayiwa] went on to narrate how his father entertained dignitaries visiting the shrine amongst them Chief Mutoko and headman Gezi.[197]

You can see from this account how the shrine acted as a focal point for important social functions that involve political leaders (Chiefs and headmen, or Sabhuku), mediums and mbira players.

Regional Variations

Just as precolonial blacksmithing featured diversified practices that fit local materials and needs, contemporary iron workers carry on these traditions as they innovate methods and adapting their practices for the present-day. Among them are Zimbabwe's many mbira makers. There are a

[197] Nyaruwabvu field report 2016; Andrew Tracey 1970, 46

handful of matepe builders on the Zimbabwe side of the border, with at least one builder who specializes in each regional variation, as I demonstrate below. Contemporary Zimbabwean blacksmiths need no longer go through the labor-intensive process of smelting and processing iron ore to obtain raw material. Rather, they often use metal recycled from parts of machines, bikes, mattresses, cars, and other sources. The way they render this metal pliant, however, still often relies on bellows to control the temperature of the fire.

Figure 11. Sekuru Matomati heating the fire by pumping the bellows. He does this to heat the long piece of metal that sits under the fire before pounding it.

Above is a photograph of Sekuru Matomati heating the metal for an axe, or *demo,* at his home in Tsonga Village. On this particular day he was also making a hoe, or *badza,* and an adze, or *mbezo*. To create these tools, he first heated up the fire with bellows made from a plastic grain sack. The air was pushed toward the fire through a small pipe fed under a short stack of bricks set up to shelter the flames on one side. Matomati obtained the metal from the leaf springs of an

old car, which were made from the kind of high-quality steel needed to create strong tools. Matomati constructed the wooden handles of the tools from the *musika* tree and then covered the head of the handle with sap from a tree called *mukuyu* in chiMarembe (*muonde* in chiShona-Zezuru). The sap acts as a waterproof seal and dyes the wood a pale red (Figure 12a). Figure 12b is a photo of Matomati showcasing the finished products. The *Striking Iron* exhibit showcased these same types of tools from southern Africa that were meant for sacred and ceremonial purposes. The difference is in the construction, as Matomati's items were practical with sturdy construction so they would withstand years of work, while the ceremonial items are visual works of art based on their engravings and braided wire designs. The adze or *mbezo* is what mbira builders use to shape the soundboards of matepe.

While a blacksmith and matepe player, Matomati is not a mbira builder, per se, but he does re-tune, tighten, adjust and build individual keys for mbira when the need arises. This is done by pounding thick metal wire, sometimes with minimal heat to aid in the process. Builders like matepe maker Enoch Nyasvigo in Nyamapanda and madhebhe maker Efraim Masarakufa also use wire and thin scraps to pound the keys with wire that often comes from mattresses or the springs in car seats.

Figure 12a. Left: Matomati covering the head of the demo (axe) with sap from the mukuyu tree. To do this he makes several small cuts in the bark with mbezo and then uses his finger to transfer the sap to the carved wood. You can see in the photograph how the tree has many scars on it from years of use for this same purpose. Figure 12b. Right: Matomati showcasing the finished tools he built: demo, badza and mbezo.

Figure 13. Matomati resetting the keys on a new soundboard while his grandson watches nearby.

Figure 14. Efraim Masarakufa holding up the type of wire he uses to pound keys. Masarakufa's madhebhe is shown in the resonator alongside two unfinished madhebhe. May 2017.

The shape and size of the keys differ depending on the characteristics of regional variations and individual artistry. For example, below you can see the distinct design of a madhebhe that belongs to Kuda Nyaruwabvu's father, Partson Nyaruwabvu (Figure 15a) and Kuda's first attempt to build in the madhebhe style (Figure 15b). The curve near the end of the keys is a feature I have only seen on madhebhe instruments. Kadori's madhebhe (Figure 8a) that was collected in 1933 looks more closely related to the style of matepe or hera because the keys are long and straight. The madhebhe soundboards are somewhat smaller on average than matepe, so the sound of madhebhe is not as loud.

Figure 15a. Partson Nyaruwabvu's madhebhe (right) next to Kuda Nyaruwabvu's first attempt at building a madhebhe soundboard. Newly-made keys sit alongside the mbira.

Figure 15b. Madhebhe built by Kuda Nyaruwabvu with half of the keys inserted into the bridge. The darker wood at the top of the instrument is the piro (pillow), a piece of hard wood needed to maintain the position of the keys.

Madehbhe, matepe and hera are all made from the soft wood of the mupepe tree with a hollow sound board. A piece of hardwood called the *piro* (pillow) is inserted underneath the top ends of the keys to keep them from digging into the soft wood (Figure 15b). Thin pieces of metal are beaded onto a rod on the inside of the soundboard to amplify the sound and produce a buzzing timbre. There are five registers of keys (three on the left and two on the right) that are played by two thumbs and two forefingers.

These regional variations are one of the lowest tuned mbira in comparison to the other types from that region.[198] The multiple registers and wide range of matepe, madhebhe, and hera make these instruments especially suited for ceremonial contexts because of their commanding sound profiles. For example, Andrew Tracey describes the low fundamental tones of the matepe as follows:

> [T]he deep fundamentals, which except in outstandingly well-made instruments are often up to a fourth flat of their true pitch, drone away like a bass drum of indeterminate depth and give the matepe its characteristic powerful sound, so unlike the delicate, personal quality of most other members of the mbira family[199]

The low tuning of these instruments produces prominent overtones for each bass key, which can then hocket with the equivalent pitches in the higher registers. These overtones are a featured characteristic of the sound. In his matepe article, Andrew Tracey goes into detail about the construction of the keys and the ways in which the overtones must be tuned to complement the fundamental tone. While at Andrew's home studio in Grahamstown, South Africa, back in 2017, he demonstrated this process of overtone tuning on an old mbira key. It takes patience, practice and a trained ear to pick up on the overtones, and the process overall is quite meticulous. The

[198] See Appendix D for tuning diagrams of mbira from the northeast
[199] Andrew Tracey 1970, 46

resultant sound of fundamentals plus overtones creates a complex fabric that helps a player produce a full sound with just one instrument.

Unlike the madhebhe and matepe builders, hera builder James Kamwaza from Nyanhehwe *does* use heat to pound very thick pieces of metal to make keys. Kamwaza prefers using the tough springs from a jack hammer. He learned this process from the late Josam Nyamukuvhengu, as you can see the similarity in their design (Figures 16 and 17). I have not witnessed Kamwaza's technique in making the keys, although do recall a trip to Mbare Musika, the sprawling outdoor marketplace in the capital city, to obtain the jack hammer spring he sought for a new set of instruments. It seems astonishing how that object could be rebirthed into the very thin and precise keys of hera mbira (Figure 17). This approach of sourcing quality material allows Kamwaza to create strong keys that can be pounded thin, which ring out with hera's characteristic bright overtones.

Figure 16. Side view of a hera built by Josam Nyamukuvhengu in the 1970s for Michael Bourdillon. 2017.

Figure 17. A hera built by James Kamwaza, who learned how to build from Josam Nyamukuvhengu.

In Figure 16 and 17, you can see five additional high keys on the upper right-hand register of the instrument, an innovation unique to hera that is credited to Josam Nyamkuvhengu. Kamwaza says that experienced players use these keys when they want to be "competitive" because they are often used as a way to showcase one's individual style. The high-pitched keys cut through the dense texture of the hera even when there are many players at once. The added highlines consist of repetitive single notes that move in small steps in accordance with the harmonic movement of the song. Although the lines are simple, they undoubtedly have a

noticeable impact. Upon hearing these lines, Matomati described them as lines that essentially 'bring down the house' ("every brick in the house comes down").[200]

In general, the overtones on a hera mbira are loud and bright, so the sound profile is not as deep in comparison to a matepe, even when the instruments are tuned to the same pitches. This is evident in the word "matepe," which refers to the deep sound of the instrument. As Matomati describes, one knows that matepe are for the mhondoro spirits because that depth of sound resonates deep in your chest cavity and into your heart while playing. Figure 18 shows matepe built by Enoch Nyazvigo, who has been a prolific builder in Mudzi district since the 1970s. Compared to hera, the matepe has extra high notes in the lower right-hand register. These serve a different function than the high keys in the upper right-hand register that appear on hera. Matepe players use these keys to play octaves with right thumb and right forefinger–a difficult skill to master–so the first seven pitches on the right-hand side of the instrument (in ascending order) are almost always doubled with their octave pair. This adds yet another layer of sound to the already thick texture. The excitement of doubled tones on matepe or the added high register of hera acts as a way to draw in the listener and engage the attention of the masvikiro during ceremonial contexts.

[200] Conversation with Sekuru Matomati, September 2017

Figure 18. Matepe that belong to the Zonke family, built by Enoch Nyazvigo.

Conclusion

The sacred technology of matepe was developed in detail during the Mutapa state as a system that served the royal courts of the Munhumutapa. I have shown here that this system was both specialized and adaptable. It was built on the widespread metallurgy practices of the region and the existing mbira traditions of the Zimbabwe culture states. The royal court contexts of the Munhumutapa further developed the system of ancestral spirit veneration to include the veneration of these centralized rulers. As Mudenge writes, musicians were a part of the court alongside the Munhumutapa and the masvikiro.[201] It is unknown exactly how mbira players functioned in these contexts, but we can see from archival sources in the last century that mbira

[201] Mudenge 1988

is a key element of the traditional archive based on its role in facilitating spirit possession within ceremonial contexts.

The matepe system, whose core function is geared towards mhondoro spirit veneration, also adapted to the changing conditions of the Mutapa state during the 15th to 19th centuries. Matepe music was used among the smaller chieftaincies that made up the majority of political units in the mid Zambezi. Mhondoro can refer to ancient ancestral spirits such as Nehanda or more recent ancestral spirits that gave rise to specific lineages such as Nyahuna and Chibvuri of the Marembe and Nehoreka of the Buja, among others. Consequently, matepe is not one centralized tradition, but several regional variations that are connected through core repertoire and characteristic singing lines. The structure and sound of the instruments themselves reflect centuries of technological developments in metallurgy as well as the diverse influences of the multi-ethnic Mutapa state. In the chapters to follow, I show how these traits of flexibility and adaptability persist as musicians adapted matepe music cultures to changing economic, religious and political contexts from 1965 to the present day.

Chapter Four

Nyamukupukupu: Mbira and the War of Liberation

During a ceremony in 1958, Nyahuna prophesized the detrimental impact of the Zimbabwean War of Liberation (1965-1979) through the imagery of dragonflies, or nyamukupukupu, whose flight patterns symbolize the helicopters of the Rhodesian army. The war was instigated amidst rising tensions caused by Rhodesia's newly independent status in 1965 under the Ian Smith regime and white minority rule. The guerilla warfare of the struggle primarily took place in the borderlands of Zimbabwe, so the Rhodesian army resorted to using helicopters to visually locate the soldiers within the expansive rural combat zones. Nyahuna prophesized that the disturbances of the war would initiate the beginning of three time periods marked by the suppression and decline of traditional culture based on the community's weakened ties to their spiritual council of mhondoro spirits.

The war dragged on for over a decade until independence in April 1980 and was an extremely destructive force in the lives of residents of the borderlands. The number of casualties is unknown, but estimated to be at least 10,000 to 20,000, the majority of which were liberation soldiers, or so-called "freedom-fighters."[202] Families were divided as young men and women joined the struggle as soldiers or informants while others relocated to urban centers or were forced into rural Protected Villages (PVs). Those who stayed were subject to surveillance, torture, manipulation and violence from competing sides. Within specific borderland contexts, scholars such as David Lan, Terence Ranger, Martinus Daneel and Janice McLaughlin emphasize the significance of masvikiro (mhondoro spirit mediums) and their cooperation with the ZANLA (Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army) troops as a driving force in the

[202] Weitzer 1990, 84-94.

mobilization and ideology of the liberation struggle.[203] In this chapter, I show how musicians played an important role in this equation through the sacred technology of mbira and its connections to mhondoro spirits.

Ethnomusicologists Paul Berliner, Thomas Turino, and Coralie Hancock-Barnett emphasize the national orientation of the liberation struggle through the importance of mbira dzavadzimu as well as mhondoro spirits such as Nehanda, who acted as a national, rather than clan-specific, mhondoro.[204] Scholars such as Jocelyn Alexander, Heike Schmidt, David Maxwell, Norma Kriger and David Lan complicate these ideas by stressing the multi-dimensional and highly localized unfolding of the liberation war. Alexander shows how, in addition to the nationalist political agenda, the social disruption of the war brought forth longstanding agendas that divided rural communities based on "gender, generation, class and lineage struggles," especially in light of women's active roles in the war.[205] This disruption allowed women and youth to "challenge existing structures of [patriarchal] power," which had undergone significant distortions during the social engineering projects of the colonial period. In a more recent case study in the Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe, Schmidt argues that support for the liberation armies was carried out by a "radically local agenda of defending a frontier mode of life instead of nationalist mobilization."[206]

Collectively, these scholars' works–mentioned above–among others, demonstrate that the ideology and impact of the War of Liberation varied considerably based on location, local economy, geography and existing political and religious institutions.[207] The nationalist focus that

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[203] Ranger 1985; Lan 1985; Daneel 1988; McLaughlin 1998
[204] Berliner 1978; Turino 2000; Hancock-Barnett 2012
[205] Alexander 1996, 179
[206] Schmidt 2013, 2
[207] Alexander 1996, 177

dominates publications on Zimbabwean music neglects the nuanced perspectives of musicians in rural contexts, especially in the borderlands. Schmidt asserts that attention to localized histories alternatively "[allow] for the dismantling of simplifying nationalist and post-nationalist treatments of political violence, such as Zimbabwe's war of liberation, that still frame conflict merely in terms of resistance."[208]

In this chapter I use archival and ethnographic evidence to illustrate the stories of several key figures in the history of matepe and karimba music during Zimbabwe's liberation war. I emphasize how the war took place at locally-defined levels and had to be negotiated as such by music practitioners.[209] While the music of matepe and karimba share congruencies in instrument construction, systems of transmission, repertoire, and spiritual functions, their use in context can only be fully understood through localized perspectives that reveal variable cultural landscapes based on a number of interdependent factors, including the presence and guidance of specific mhondoro spirits. Here I focus on the ways that instrument builders, musicians and mediums negotiated instability and change in the northeastern border region during this time and how these issues extend into present-day contexts. To do this, I highlight the stories of two mbira builders, Kasando (Enoch Nyazvigo) and Efraim Masarakufa, as well as karimba player Nyamusangudza and the svikiro of the Korekore-Tavara mhondoro spirit, Nyahuwi.

Land and Labor

Issues of land re-distribution during the colonial period played a major role in fueling the resistance of the liberation war. The Land Apportionment Act in the early 1930s was a segregationist measure that solidified the structural racism of the colonial state. The act "divided

[208] Schmidt 2013, 3
[209] Schmidt 2013

up the country and gave 50,000 Whites (a number which later rose to a peak of 250,000) approximately 49 million acres of the best land, while 1 million Blacks (later rising to 6 million) were allowed 29 million acres, much of it useless land in the lowveld."[210] The land was described as "useless" in part because it was not as suitable for agriculture in comparison to the areas that were taken over by white farmers. Recall from chapter two, however, that the lowveld regions had been used for agriculture since the Mutapa state, so the issues with farming in those regions were primarily due to the colonial resettlement plans that restricted Indigenous farming practices. The subsequent population density on the communal lands, the creation of taxes, and the rise of the cash economy created a scenario where subsistence living alone was not sufficient to survive.

Throughout the country, men from the communal lands were hired to work on the newly established white-owned farms. Kaemmer states that these settlements served "as a constant reminder to Africans of the land lost through European conquest."[211] The relocation measures resulted in significant social tension not only from these employment arrangements, but from the social upheaval of forced relocation as well as the incoming labor force from around southern Africa. Sundkler et al. characterize the migrant labor force as such:

> Although the vast majority of Africans were employed on European farms, or worked in their own reserves, the mining industries–gold, coal, asbestos–attracted increasing numbers of workers. In 1919 the mine labour force was 30,000, rising to 90,000 in 1937, with the men mostly `Shangaan' from Mozambique or others from Malawi and all recruited by the Rhodesian Native Labour Bureau. For more than one reason mine work was called *chibaro* by the labourers, meaning `slave labour' or `forced labour'…[212]

The Land Apportionment Act also prohibited the black population from owning land outside of the reserves, so families could not relocate to the urban areas. Kaemmer describes this as a kind

[210] Sundkler, Bengt and Steed, page 801
[211] Kaemmer dissertation 56
[212] Sundkler, Bengt and Steed page 802

of "dual economy" in which women were most often in charge of subsistence farming in the rural homestead while men travelled to look for seasonal work in the mines, on the farms or in the city.

Nyamapanda resident Ambuya Rhoda Kangora, who is married to matepe builder Enoch Nyazvigo, recalls the turmoil of the relocation initiatives in what is now Mudzi district, when the white minority government created Mudzi, Chikwizo, Mkota and Ngarwe communal areas, formerly known as Tribal Trust Lands (TTLs).[213] The residents in Nyamapanda commonly refer to communal areas as a "camp," "keep," or "reserve."[214] Kangora and Nyazvigo lived in several of these communal areas in their youth as well as a camp on the Mozambique side of the border in the decades after the Land Apportionment Act was implemented. Moving back and forth across the border or to different areas was common practice during the resettlement process.

In a recording of karimba player Johani Chiyeha Bandeira from 1969, Bandeira announces his location in Nyamapanda, "D area" when it was Mudzi communal land before the war. It was divided into D area where people had their stands (houses) and the C area where they kept livestock. The C area is now the location of Tsonga Village where the Zonke family live and the D area is north of the highway, closer to the Nyamhara mountains where Kangora and Nyavzigo reside (see Figure 24). Kangora described how thousands of people from the region were moved to Mkota and Ngarwe communal lands, which are behind the Nyamhara mountains up to Nyahuku, or even further to Nyakadecha, which lies right along the border about 50-60 kms north of Nyamapanda by road. When the war came, Kangora described how every resident

[213] Chenaux-Repond 2017, 149

[214] The "keep" was initially the name for the administration quarters in a Protected Village, but was later used to refer to the entire PV, and in the case above, was used to describe the communal areas and refugee camps as well.

was moved again all the way from Nyahuku to newly established Protected Villages (PVs) like the one in Muzezuru where she stayed, which is approximately 10 kms west of Nyamapanda.

David Lan argues that the War of Liberation was fueled by three significant changes implemented to serve the minority government's economic and political order: the loss of land and formation of the reserves, the forced restructuring of the black population into a divided labor force of migrant male workers and unpaid female subsistence producers, and the disruption of traditional agricultural techniques.[215] The population density and spatial management of the reserves (compared to the Rhodesian-owned farmlands) led to unsustainable agricultural practices that depleted and eroded the land. These tensions were at the core of the mission of the independent state, which imposed land reform measures after independence in 1980. These issues played out with intense pressure and scrutiny, as the land acquisition measures of the 1990s spiraled into the violent and bloody "fast track" land reform in the early 2000s, one of Zimbabwe's most well-known and criticized historical events since independence.

Archival Evidence

Hugh Tracey recorded matepe and karimba from 1933 to the late 1950s, a time period marked by relocation measures like the Land Apportionment Act. It is important to note that the social disruption of these colonial projects is largely what motivated Hugh Tracey to record traditional music, with the aim of cultural preservation for future generations of Africans. While Hugh Tracey's collections are incredibly valuable, the ideological foundations of his actions are complicated. The contextual details and Tracey's motivations must be addressed because they shaped his work and have contributed to the broader scarcity narrative of "mbirapocalypse" that I

[215] Lan 1985, 123

introduced in chapter one. For instance, Brent Edwards argues that although Hugh Tracey was concerned about the damaging impact of urbanization and colonial relocation measures on traditional music cultures, his work was not *anticolonial.*[216] In other words, while Tracey claimed that the sound archives were altogether separate from the politics of colonialism, authors like Edwards and Chikowero show how his work was inseparable from the colonial project, in part because it was rooted in a preservationist ideology.[217] These perspectives are useful insomuch as they help guide appropriate actions to think critically and manage the ILAM collections. In this chapter I focus primarily on Andrew Tracey's recordings, but part of the value of Andrew Tracey's research is that he was able to build on his father's foundational pursuits by visiting many of the same families and musicians in later decades. In order to recognize both the value and implicit biases of their work, it is necessary to contextualize their research within historical and ethnographic accounts to create a more in-depth understanding of musicians' agency and intentions during the time period in question.

The ILAM recordings offer insights about the impact of the war on mbira traditions of the borderlands when studied in context of other mbira scholarship that addresses the war. Andrew Tracey recorded the majority of his matepe and karimba field recordings from 1969 to 1973, indicating that he was active in Zimbabwe and Mozambique during the early years of the war before the border areas became "hot" from violence. During these early years, from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s, a shift in people's attitudes towards mbira and traditional ceremonies took place. On one hand, mbira played a crucial role as a spiritual technology during the war based on its function in spirit ceremonies and as a means of receiving guidance from mhondoro and ancestral spirits, as I explain below. On the other hand, the Rhodesian government feared the

[216] Edwards 2020
[217] Edwards 2020, 270

use of mbira as a means of mobilizing the liberation struggle, so they increased restrictions on traditional religious practices. For example, matepe player Garaji Nyamutya spoke of the dangers of playing matepe during the war in the rural areas outside of the Protected Villages because people who were caught playing in the bush would be beaten by government authorities.

Recording was also dangerous in part because it put the musicians at risk when they collaborated with *varungu*.[218] Andrew Tracey told a story of a mbira player in Mutoko who was beaten after authorities learned that he had been working with him. The visibility of playing mbira in general contributed to this danger. For example, Mubaiwa Charehwa relayed that his father, madhebhe player Jojo Charehwa, was beaten almost to death during the war for playing mbira.[219] Residents of the borderlands and mbira players furthermore had to be very careful when choosing how to interact with white researchers. Andrew Tracey writes about this in his field notes, how a number of musicians were not interested to record or talk to him because it was seen as too great a risk. These circumstances no doubt contributed to Andrew's decision to discontinue research in the borderlands as the war heated up.

Government policy at the time also revealed the rising fear and suspicion of traditional practices. In 1971, Andrew Tracey wrote the following passage in his field notes while attending the "True African N'anga Herbalist Association" (now called the Zimbabwe National Traditional Healers Association):

> Are they all really n'angas? No, but the government does not allow, apparently, meetings of private mediums, or 'bira' mbira parties, unless at a registered n'anga's house, or with one of the participants a registered n'anga. Religious suppression (No, political, as I discovered). Africans are worried about this, Gwanzura told me that last Sunday a number of mbira players were arrested in Harare at various parties, and had to pay fines. What was the charge?[220]

[218] chiShona for white people
[219] Interview with Mubaiwa Charehwa, 2017
[220] Andrew Tracey field notes 1971

The excerpt refers to the requirement of all *n'angas*, or traditional healers, to register with the government in part so their activities could be more closely monitored. No spirit ceremonies that involved mediums and mbira music could take place without a registered n'anga. Consequently some people addressed this issue by posing and registering as n'angas to circumvent the requirement. As Andrew Tracey deduced, this was not simply an act of religious suppression, but a means of political control based on the government's fear that traditional ceremonies would lead to political organization by the resistance movement. Matepe ceremonies for mhondoro spirits have always been tied to issues of politics and power based on the traditional authority of the masvikiro, or spirit mediums of the mhondoro spirits. The ceremonies for mhondoro and other lineage spirits were not only representative of a cultural ideology that helped to mobilize the liberation troops, but they also reinvigorated the authority of the masvikiro, especially in rural contexts.

Traditional religious practices and music both played a significant role in the liberation struggle. David Lan, Terence Ranger and numerous others have written about the critical role of spirit mediums in the mobilization and ideology of the guerilla troops.[221] After nearly a century of colonial occupation, the impetus to reclaim the land for an independent Zimbabwe was rooted in the traditional authority of ancestral spirits, which helped the resistance movement and rural citizens endure a long and violent guerrilla war in the borderlands. Authors such as Turino, Pongweni, Khan and Matiza & Mutasa have written specifically about how music played an essential role in garnering support for the resistance movement. A common theme of these works

[221] Ranger 1982; Lan 1985

is the impact of the all-night pungwes in which participants were taught hymn-based *chimurenga* songs with lyrics that supported the cause of independence.[222]

Paul Berliner, Andrew Tracey and Tom Turino address the increasing popularity of mbira dzavadzimu in Zimbabwe during the 1950s and the early years of the war. The dialogue on this topic is significant in several ways and requires some unravelling. First, these authors' publications focus on mbira dzavadzimu without clear boundaries or speculation about the impact that the war, cultural nationalism, or the recording industry had on other mbira traditions beyond areas around the capital city. For instance, Berliner states that interest in mbira, generally, increased during this time period, but without further specifics.

John Kaemmer's research in the Madziwa communal area near Mt. Darwin during the early 1970s offers some insight on what occurred in a region where hera is played. Kaemmer observed that mbira dzavadzimu, njari, and hera were all played in Madziwa and that mbira dzavadzimu in particular was becoming popular among young men.[223] Turino cites Kaemmer's statement about mbira dzavadzimu but neglects to tie it to the fact that the Madziwa communal area had a significant Shona-Zezuru population (alongside Korekore residents) who were living in the Korekore area due to forced relocation. To me, this suggests that mbira dzavadzimu was not necessarily gaining popularity at the *expense* of hera. This is important to point out because these works collectively may be misinterpreted to suggest that an interest in mbira dzavadzimu over other mbira types was a national trend in the decades leading up to the war. Coralie Hancock-Barnett seems to make this assumption in her article about mbira and resistance in the Tribal Trust Lands during the 1960s without naming specific regions where mbira dzavadzimu

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[222] Pongweni 1982; Turino 2000; Khan 2018; Matiza and Mutasa 2020
[223] Kaemmer 1975, 85 in Turino 2000, 76

was played.[224] There is no doubt that mbira dzavadzimu is by far the most well-known type of mbira in Zimbabwe, but more careful distinctions should be made about the *familiarity* of an instrument versus the regions where it is practiced and played.

This dialogue about mbira dzavadzimu also engages with the preservationist narrative from Hugh Tracey's earlier writings that show concern for "dying" mbira traditions.[225] While all of the authors mentioned above acknowledge an increase in the popularity of mbira dzavadzimu in the 1950s to 1970s, Turino questions the use of the idea of mbira "revival" because it likely depicts a false representation of what mbira traditions were like in the 19th century prior to colonial occupation. Instead, Turino alludes to Andrew Tracey's description of mbira as "small-scale, specialist tradition[s]" that were relatively stable over time. This description is also accurate in reference to matepe playing as an instrumental tradition, which is largely a male tradition, at least in current times. However, as I demonstrate in chapter six, the resilience of matepe music is not solely about instrumentalists, but hinges on community participation and specialist knowledge of the repertoire. This is especially true in regards to singing and hosho playing by both men and women.

Andrew Tracey recorded many types of mbira music that he came across while on his recording trips, but his data and my own ethnographic evidence demonstrate that matepe and karimba remained the prominent types of mbira in borderland contexts during the war. While it is often tempting to think of matepe as peripheral to the national culture of Zimbabwe, it is also important to recognize the centrality of the northeastern region as the main areas of combat and where matepe players and builders were situated. Building on Turino's work, many of these

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[224] Hancock-Barnett 2012
[225] Hugh Tracey 1932, 95

players had ties to Harare during the war and a few of them recorded for the ZBC radio program that featured mbira players.

One trend that lines up with the findings from Turino, Kaemmer, and Tracey's work is that interest in mbira and a demand for mbira players increased as a result of the liberation war, while at the same time ceremony attendees and players were monitored and persecuted for these actions. Nationalism played a role in this renewed interest, but communities also relied upon mbira to obtain guidance from local mhondoro spirits, and players could use their talents to help fellow soldiers connect to their ancestral spirits for protection. Maxwell argues that religious activity increased during the war in general, not just practices associated with traditional religion. In areas with a strong Christian presence, the population engaged more heavily with Christian practices in addition to, or in place of, traditional religion. His work demonstrates one primary way that the experience of war–and the role of religious music during the war–was highly localized. Maxwell's ethnographic work in the northeast also reveals the Tracey's' preferences for traditional music over local Christian-influenced styles of music like Apostolic hymns.

Visiting Kasando

It is mid-June 2017 and the winds are already strong at 7 when we rise. After tea, Sekuru, Crispen, Zack and I cross the highway and head north past the primary school to see Kasando, the local mbira maker. We park in the shade near the Magwada Dam dip tank and gather our gear: three large cross-sections of mupepe wood, cameras and audio equipment, archival recordings, printed photographs, and a half dozen mbira. The pieces of mupepe feel lighter after two weeks of drying in the sun. We carry them over the dry riverbed and up to Kasando's place

and he is in his usual spot when we arrive, hammering away at that same mbira he has tuned and re-tuned for months.

“Kasando,” or “little hammer,” is Enoch Nyazvigo’s nickname. He has been the primary mbira builder of this region for decades and uses a kind of small hammer to shape and adjust the metal components of his instruments: keys, bridge and wires (Figure 19). At his home, Kasando inspects the pieces of mupepe we brought, the thin bark textured with the Zonke kids’ engravings of their names and drawings of our truck. It is the dry season, a good time to build mbira when the fields lay dormant. Kasando explains how many soundboards he will make from each round and points to the best places to split the pieces lengthwise after slowly burning the logs with embers.

Figure 19. Enoch Nyazvigo’s tools for building mbira, including a special kind of small hammer, wire, pliers, and a piece of railroad track for pounding and shaping keys.

I sit with Kasando and begin to look at the photographs from our last trip when a dust devil runs through the yard and kicks up feathers, dust, and photographs into the air. The winds draw my attention to the horizon and expansive valley beyond the homestead as I walk around to pick up the scattered photos. I am dislodged from the usual place in the shade of the cooking hut where we have sat at least a dozen times to visit Enoch Nyazvigo and his wife, Rhoda Kangora.

Looking over the Nyamhara Mountains (Figure 20a), I see several white trees like lightning bolts against the thick vegetation on the slopes. They are mupepe trees, which Sekuru Matomati and Crispen taught me to recognize from a distance while on the path to cut the current tree that now sits in pieces behind Nyazvigo (Figure 20b). There is no mistaking the white bark that hides the tree's wine-colored heart, or *moyo wemuti*, Crispen explained some weeks ago when the guys took turns driving their handmade axe into the soft wood and its deep purple core.

Figure 20a. Left: a view of the Nyamhara Mountains from Kasando's homestead.
Figure 20b. Right: Kasando at his homestead, posing with two large pieces of mupepe.

I comment on the mountainside, saying that it must be a good place for an instrument builder to live, so close to the wood needed to make matepe and karimba. I am met with much resistance. No, they say, it is too dangerous to go there because of land mines. No wonder the fields and houses stop after their property and give way to thick brush and mature trees. I have never had to consider deadly mines tucked into the landscape, the remnants of war that have come to shape political and cultural boundaries.

The Border

To conduct research in the borderlands one must engage with the border, and the intersection of political, economic, cultural, and spiritual geographies that shape the landscape. As Schmidt reminds us, the border is not static, but defined by layers of many boundaries (political, cultural, economic, etc.) that "change at their own pace."[226] She describes how the colonial border is made and remade through local actions as these boundaries are "negotiated in a variety of ways that can be distinct, overlapping or competing."

During the colonial interlude, around the turn of the century, the border between Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa (PEA) was agreed upon by Britain and Portugal. This newly defined demarcation followed rivers in some places–like a stretch of the Mazowe in the northeast–but it had no physical bearing in other areas. As Schmidt describes, the demarcation of land was created through the process of "enframing," whereby residents of the colonial territory were deemed tax-paying colonial subjects. Enframing involved the tribalization of space, enforced in part through the tribal mapping projects, which were used to implement "order" by dividing up the land and imposing "tax[es], land rent, [and] administrative structures."[227] The colonial government enforced these policies by manipulating traditional authorities and establishing chiefs who agreed to register taxpayers and collect taxes. Despite these enforced economic and political changes, people continued to move freely across the border to and from Mozambique (what was then PEA) and often had family ties on both sides of the border.[228]

The liberation war changed the permeability of the cultural boundary between Zimbabwe and Mozambique when the Rhodesian administration enforced new relocation measures,

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[226] Schmidt 2013, 47
[227] Mbembe in Schmidt 2013, 48
[228] Chenaux-Repond 2017, 150

constructed fences and planted layers of land mines along the border. The administration sought to restrict and control movements of peoples within, and to and from, the border regions by establishing "Protected Villages," (PVs) which were densely populated and fenced areas where residents of the communal areas were forced to reside. Tens of thousands of people throughout the rural areas were relocated to the PVs and had to rebuild their houses when they arrived. In Mudzi district, the homes that people left behind were burned down by the administration to prevent the liberation troops from using them as shelter.[229] Maia Chenaux-Repond, who worked with women's organizations in the northeast in the 1970s, describes the Protected Villages in this way:

> The concept of Protected Villages had been taken from the wars fought by the British in Malaya against the military wing of the Malayan Communist Party and later that of the Americans against the communist Viet Cong during the Vietnam War. During these wars civilians were moved into fortified villages that could be guarded around the clock and the people thus separated from the guerrillas in order to counteract Mao Zedong's precept that "the guerrilla must move amongst the people as a fish swims in the sea." Similarly, in Rhodesia the idea of Protected Villages was to separate the civil population from the enemy, to deny the latter food, shelter and the opportunity to indoctrinate the people, and to achieve better surveillance of the civil population; but it was also to give them protection from the witch-hunts and executions that the guerrillas also committed to get the people "on side."[230]

In 1974 the government started to create PVs in the northeast. Altogether the residents of communal areas in Mudzi district (including Mkota, Ngarwe, Mudzi and Chikwizo) numbered over 31,000,[231] which was much lower than other communal areas in the northeast. While villagers in the Mudzi communal area moved to PVs relatively close by, the residents of the communal area in Mkota district, north of Nyamapanda near Nyahuku school, were moved to PVs entirely outside of that region, far from where they had been living. The closest PVs to

[229] Chenaux-Repond 2017
[230] Chenaux-Repond 2017, 107
[231] Chenaux-Repond 2017, 150

Nyamapanda that were constructed along the highway were Dendera north of the road and Marembe[232] just south of the road (see Figure 21). Families from the rural area were limited in their travel to and from the Protected Villages. There was only one guarded entrance to the PV and the rest of the keep was enclosed by barbed wire fences. There were strict curfews from 6am to 6pm, enforced by punishment or even death.[233] Villagers who needed to leave the PV in order to tend to their cattle or their fields were not allowed to take food with them beyond the gate because the authorities feared that it would go to the liberation soldiers.

Sekuru Matomati spoke about how someone's shoes would be inspected at the numerous checkpoints along the roads and upon entering the PV, as residents were under constant monitoring for suspicious behavior and cooperation with the guerrillas. People had to walk from the PVs near Nyamapanda about 30 to 40 km by foot to catch the bus, but if someone was travelling by foot, they were often assumed to be a "war terrorist" against the Ian Smith regime. If they were wearing shoes that resembled those shoes used by soldiers, they were fined and thrown in jail. As a result, many people travelled barefoot or used shoes that were made to look old. If someone was suspected of being against the government, they would often be assaulted by the Rhodesian soldiers. While the PVs were in part meant to cut off rural residents from guerillas, village residents were instead forced to engage in careful negotiations between various sides in every aspect of their lives. Rhodesian officers *and* guerilla soldiers regularly tortured and manipulated residents to extract information from them about opposing forces.[234]

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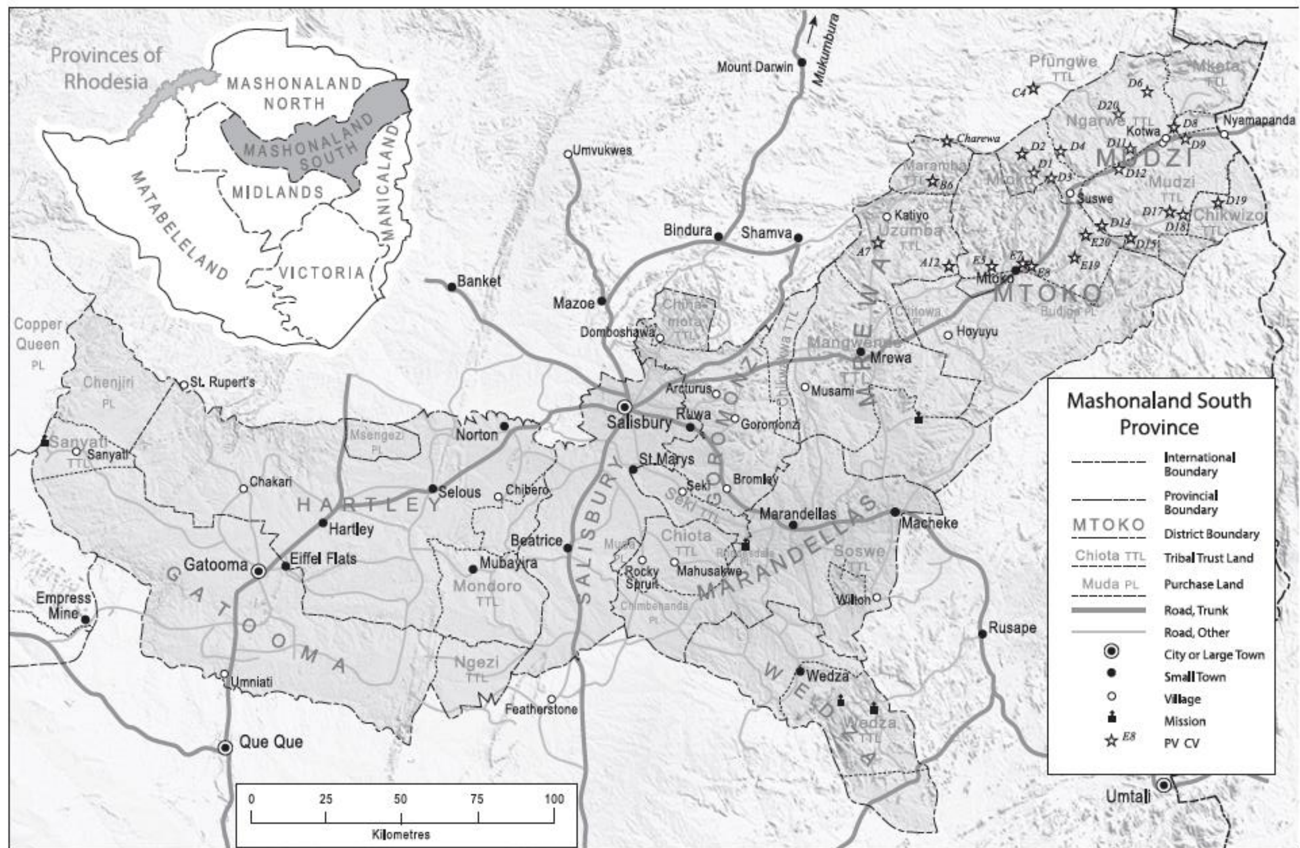
[232] The Zonke family refer to this camp as "Goronga" after the Goronga chieftainship
[233] Weitzer 1990, 84-94
[234] Conversation with Sekuru Matomati, June 2017



Mudzi District			Mtoko District		
	D1	Chingaruru			
	D2	Benson Mine / Chiunye			
	D3	Nyamakoho			
	D4	Shinga		E5	Katsakunye
	D6	Kondo / Msau		E7	Mutsvaira
	D8	Dendera		E8	Chitekwe
	D9	Marembe		E19	Chimoyo
	D11	Masarakufa		E20	Makosa
	D12	Stephen Dam			
	D14	Nyakuchena / Katsande			
	D15	Makaha			
	D17	Nyamande			
	D18	Chikwizo			
	D19	Gozi			

Figure 21. Map of Protected Villages in Zimbabwe during the 1970s along with a list of the names of those Protected Villages in Mudzi and Mutoko districts. The provincial designations on this map are no longer used in contemporary Zimbabwe (Mashonaland South is now made up of Mashonaland East and West, for example) and some places are shown with their colonial names that were in use at that time (Salisbury is now Harare, Rhodesia is now Zimbabwe). Map from Chenaux-Repond (2017, xvi-xvii).

In 1974, the belt of landmines several layers thick was established from Rushinga district through the length of Mudzi district and on through the Eastern Highlands to the south. The

political boundary between Zimbabwe and Mozambique was solidified at this time by the administration's attempts to stop the frequent border crossings that were part of the liberation army's strategy of attack. It is one of the densest mine fields in Africa and the majority of these landmines still remain–a direct byproduct of the war. This measure was intended to block the guerrillas from crossing the border, as they frequently moved to and from training grounds within neighboring regions of Zambia and Mozambique. The land mines in Mudzi district, the *cordon sanitaire* as it was called by the administration, included a fenced area on either side of the border with warning signs. The fences closely followed and reinforced the national boundary to prevent crossing even along the roads. This transformed an area of relative fluidity into one characterized by dangerous and heavily monitored borders.

The fences have since been removed, but the wildness of mature forests remains a cautionary sign. I had a glimpse of these areas during our trips along the backroads that follow the border from Rushinga to Mudzi district. Crispen was employed by Halo, one of the foreign de-mining NGOs in the area and knew exactly where the mines had been removed. The image in Figure 22 is of an area to the east just of the road that runs between Mudzi to Rushinga district. In the photograph Crispen shows us the painted blue rocks that signify an area that has been cleared of mines. One main issue is that the original mines were not buried properly, so many were dislodged by rain and erosion and continue to be an unpredictable threat to livestock and residents in these areas, especially children.[235] There are warning signs at the schools with photographs of the various types of land mines so they can be identified and avoided (Figure 23).

[235] Rupiya 1998

Figure 22. All clear! Travelling just south of the Mazowe bridge near the Mozambique border, Crispen shows us how the rocks painted blue (shown with the arrow) mean that area has been cleared of landmines. Crispen wears his Halo t-shirt, the de-mining company for which he used to work.

Figure 23. Laminated warning signs with pictures of the various types of landmines in the area are displayed at the schools around the border. This one was posted at Nyahuku River School near Mkota, about a 45km drive north of Nyamapanda on dust roads.

Figure 24. Crispen Zonke's map of Goronga and Mukota showing the location of landmines along the border. North points to the right side of the map. The circles and asterisks represent two different types of landmines and their locations along the boundary road as well as the Nyabawa route. Roads, bridges and rivers are drawn in as well as several mountains. Notice the location of the Nyamapanda shops along the main road. Matomati's place is near the south edge of the map in Tsonga Village and Kasando's place near the Magwada Dam and dip tank.

Today the landmines cause issues with the cohesiveness of cultural continuity between communities that are on either side of the border. For example, Dinin'ombe, the most sacred mountain of the Marembe people, is located west of Changara in Mozambique. Residents from the Zimbabwe side, including the Zonke family, go to conduct certain traditional ceremonies on this mountain and, somewhat controversially, churchgoers from the independent churches go to conduct Christian ceremonies on the mountain as well. Ceremonies for the mhondoro dzeMarembe sometimes take place on this mountain, and therefore necessitate the continued cultural and religious connections between both sides of the border.

Schmidt argues that "the view that colonial borders can be seen as a wedge or fracture dividing communities and polities and disrupting local identities" runs the risk of "reproducing imperial fantasies of colonial power."[236] It is important to note that the northeastern border is not only a cultural wedge, but it also operates as an economic opportunity. The active police and military presence at the highway border post restrict the movement of people and goods across the border. Local residents are able to get permission to travel back and forth without a passport, but it is a time-consuming process to go through the official channels. Nonlocals from other parts of Zimbabwe hire guides called *majorichos* to help them navigate the trails to and from Mozambique without official documentation, often for the purpose of purchasing cheap goods in Mozambique to sell on the Zimbabwe side of the border.

While the landmines have been cleared from the area immediately around the official border post, they still pose a potential risk to non-residents aiming to take the trails through the bush. Individual profits from guiding people across the border may be small, but these channels of smuggling and selling goods as a whole are a major contribution the country's informal economy. The piecemeal economic opportunities of the border as well as the position of Nyamapanda on the busy A2 highway helps to maintain at least some economic opportunity for residents beyond subsistence farming, which no doubt has helped to keep the music alive in that area by providing some potential income for musicians.

Matepe During the War

Kasando and Garaji Nyamutya, both in their 90s, are the two matepe players I spoke to who were active mbira players during the war that lasted from the mid-1960s to 1979. Sinati Nyamande,

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[236] Schmidt 2013, 47

who is Sekuru Matomati's mother and also in her 90s, was active as a vocalist in Mudzi district at this time as well (Figures 25 and 26). The other well-known players from the area who played during the war have since passed away. Among these players, Andrew Tracey recorded Saini Madera (who passed away in 1971), Saini Murira, Johani Chiyeha Bandeira, and Sinati Nyamande (see Appendix A for a full list). Garaji Nyamutya regularly played with Saini Murira during the 1960s and 1970s and was recorded by Paul Berliner for the *Soul of Mbira* album and appears in Andrew Tracey's film project from the 1970s titled, *Matepe dzaMhondoro: A Healing Party*.

Figure 25. Johani Bandeira sits in the center of the group holding his karimba (in a resonator) while listening to the playback of the recordings. Seated beside him to the right is Sinati Nyamande, who was featured as a vocalist in the recordings. Nyamapanda shops, June 13th, 1969. Photo by Andrew Tracey.

Figure 26. Sinati Nyamande at her sister's house in Kadoma listening to ILAM recordings from 1969, which feature her singing as the lead vocalist. She said she recognized her own voice but did not recall many details beyond that. Photo by author, 2017.

Figure 27. Garaji Nyamutya watching footage of himself playing matepe with Saini Murira in the 1970s with his daughter and family. Crispen Zonke holds the tablet and Sekuru Matomati peers over his shoulder. The video is *Mbira-matepe Dza Mhondoro: A Healing Party* by Alfred Zantzinger and Andrew Tracey, published in 1978.

Andrew Tracey did not have the opportunity to record Kasando during his recording trips, but Kasando was nevertheless an active player and builder in those years. He began to play and build mbira before the PVs and landmines were put in place. After working for the

government to control tsetse fly populations in the region, which he began in 1948, Kasando learned how to play matepe in the early 1950s from a man named Shuvha Teto who lived in a Mimoza Village in Gozi, about 25 miles south of Nyamapanda. Around that time Kasando lived in one of the communal areas north of Nyamapanda–likely Mkota–and met his wife, Rhoda Kangora in a similar keep on the Mozambique side of the border.[237] Kasando began to build matepe and karimba in 1966 after he bought his first instrument from a local builder on the Zimbabwe side named Kachavhi. Like most mbira builders in the region, he was never taught firsthand how to build. Kasando rather learned through experience by using the mbira he purchased from Kachavhi as a model. He recalls building many mbira in the decades to follow, sometimes making six mbira in six days. There were other builders in the area at the time named Simbi and Mugoto.

Kasando would play matepe for entertainment at the beer halls in Dendera, which is northwest of Nyamapanda (see Figure 24). From then on he earned money as a mbira builder and is still the main builder in Mudzi district, even at his age. In addition to informal playing sessions, Kasando had a spiritual calling to play in ceremonies for Mvura yaNkumo, a mhondoro spirit from Mozambique. The spirit possession ceremonies for local mhondoro spirits of the Marembe ceased prior to the war, but Mvura yaNkumo was believed to be sent by the mhondoro spirits of the Marembe. Kasando spoke of the last time he played for Mvura yaNkumo during a ceremony in 1973. He recalls, like many other players from that region, how many of the mhondoro spirits left when the war heated up because there was "too much blood," as the violence of the war drove them away. This is one of the main predictions of the prophecy, that the traditional culture of the area will decline because the Marembe will be disconnected from

[237] Interview with Enoch Nyazvigo, June 2017

direct guidance from their mhondoro spirits. The Mhondoro dzeMarembe have not "come out" since then because they require certain circumstances and codes of conduct for ceremonial procedures to take place. Mvura yaNkumo, however, continued to offer guidance to people of the Marembe tribe during the war through other means–through signs and dreams, for instance–and left after his medium died in the mid-1980s.

Traditional music practices were no doubt disrupted in Mudzi district by the administration's relocation measures that required all residents to move to the Protected Villages. In the heavily guarded area near the border, movement restrictions made it difficult and dangerous to conduct traditional ceremonies in the bush. However, music making did occur within the PVs. Sekuru Matomati described how drum and dance styles like mafuwe and jiti, that are still popular in the area today, were practiced in the PVs in Mudzi district along with other dance styles like chikombe, moda, and chizokoto, as well as ngororombe panpipes. People would also listen to kanindo, a kind of popular music from Kenya that was commonly heard on the radio. Both matepe and karimba were played as well for ceremonies and for entertainment. Jambo Karima played the matepe along with Garaji Nyamutya on matepe and Guzembe on karimba while Sinati Nyamande and her husband, Tsonga, sang with them. Jambo Karima is the father of a current player, John Karima, who is now based at Kotwa just west of Nyamapanda on the main road. Jambo Karima was a talented player and the one who provided Sekuru Matomati with his first instrument in the early 1980s. Religious ceremonies such as *bona* (memorial ceremonies) also took place in the PVs. For instance, in 1977 Tsonga held a bona for his father, Chabveka Zonge, which involved drum and dance music every night for three months.

The overwhelming majority of residents in the PV were women and children, and many women from the area were employed as educators and managers to help run the schools and

programs needed to live in the PVs.[238] Many young men and some young women crossed the border to join the liberation troops. Other residents left the PVs for urban areas, especially if they could find work. In the early years of the war, Sekuru Matomati travelled to South Africa to work in the mines for a short time while his wife, Esther Nyandoro, remained in Mudzi district in the PV. Their first child, Crispen Tichaona Zonke, was born in 1978, at which time they moved to Harare to work as domestic laborers for a white family. They maintained strong ties to the border area and moved back after independence around the time Sekuru began to play matepe, as I will discuss in the next chapter.

Masarakufa: Madhebhe as a Spiritual Calling

Madhebhe players from nearby Mutoko district and parts of Uzumba-Maramba-Pfungwe (UMP) were also active during the war. Efraim Masarakufa, Hodzi Katsukunya, Jackson Chirega, and Jojo Charehwa played madhebhe primarily as a way to connect with ancestral spirits for guidance and protection, including their own ancestors as well as the ancestors of other freedom fighters whom they fought beside. Of these players, we were able to speak to Efraim Masarakufa, who resides in the northern part of Mutoko district near UMP in an area that is difficult to access by car because of the condition of the roads. Masarakufa is also the only one who builds madhebhe in that area, which he was called to do during the war in 1968.

Masarakufa told the story of how this came to be, which started when he was living and working in Harare for a white boss in the late 1960s. Many people fled the violence of the borders for the capital city while others who were based in the capital felt drawn to serve their role in the war by way of a spiritual calling. Every night Masarakufa had dreams of two old men

[238] Chenaux-Repond 2017

with white hair who were playing madhebhe. One of the old men would gesture to him with one hand to come over while playing the mbira with his other hand. Masarakufa struggled to learn madhebhe through these dreams. Kuda Nyaruwabvu translates his story:

> [Masarakufa] decided to go and [the old men] showed him a place to sit between them where they were playing mbira. He was trying to check what they were playing but he couldn't pick what they were playing. So the next day he told his boss that, I think I have to go to the rural areas. The boss said, oh, I think you have got some spiritual problems. I can allow you to go. So, he gave him two weeks. From Harare he brought some springs from old mattresses, brought them here. He decided to make mbira. He went to his nephew who had mbira. He said, can [I] borrow your madhebhe? He said, but you don't play. He said no, I don't, just [let me] borrow [it]. He went home he started making madhebhe.[239]

This is when Masarakufa built his first madhebhe, the instrument he still plays today, modeled after the one his nephew owned. He learned that his father and grandfather, Mashonganyika and Masarakufa, respectively, used to play, so they were likely the ones who appeared in his dreams. He did not learn those sounds as a child because his father died when he was young.

Masarakufa went back to Harare for a short time after this in 1968, but soon returned home to join the freedom fighters. The other soldiers were part of this decision, as they insisted he had to stay to help them. They pleaded, "we can't allow you to go. You have to be with us, because when we are fighting, we fight with the protection of our ancestral spirits, so sometimes we will need to communicate with them. So, you will be playing mbira for us while we communicate with our ancestors."[240]

Masarakufa spoke of the importance of mbira directly following the war, too, when ceremonies were needed to cleanse people from ngozi, or avenging spirits, as I will discuss in the next chapter. He is now called to play for mhondoro spirits at several shrines in the area, including the Nehoreka shrine in Charewa Village together with madhebhe players Shorai

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[239] Interview with Masarakufa, May 2017
[240] Interview with Sekuru Masarakufa May 16, 2017. Translated by Kuda Nyaruwabvu.

Katsukunya[241] and Naison Goba Karekera. Some of these spirits are no longer communicating since the war, but a few remain. Before speaking with Masarakufa, we were, in fact, required to consult the mediums of a shrine situated north of his home under the direction of Chief Usiwako. During that visit, which took place the night before we visited, we played matepe for the mediums in order to ask for permission to conduct research in the area and speak with Masarakufa, which was granted.

Figure 28. Kudakwashe Nyaruwabvu interviews Sekuru Efraim Masarakufa. May 2017.

[241] Shorai Katsukunya is Hodzi Katsukunya's relative, who was recorded by Andrew Tracey. See Appendix A.

Figure 29. Masarakufa poses with madhebhe in a ceremonial hat at his home.

Nyamusangudza: Karimba During the War

Kasando and Masarakufa's stories demonstrate how mbira players served important roles during the liberation war as conduits to the divine. Veteran and karimba player, Mr. Chikinya Nyamusangudza, filled this role in a similar way to Masarakufa by playing for the protection and guidance of his fellow freedom fighters. Nyamusangudza plays the large type karimba from the borderlands that is often paired with matepe (Figure 30). The one he is holding in the photograph below was built by Kasando in 1986, after the war. As you can see, it looks similar to the matepe that Kasando builds—the sound board is roughly the same size, but the keys are thinner. Chief, Matomati, Crispen, Zack and I went to visit Nyamusangudza at his home after meeting him at the National Women's Day festival in Mudzi district on June 24th 2017. He lives near Mhopoti

Mountain, south of the Mazowe River on the north end of Mudzi district in what used to be Ngarwe communal land. We travelled there a couple of days after the festival, taking dust roads all the way from the highway turn-off at Kotwa.

Figure 30. Sekuru Chikinya Nyamusangudza posing with his karimba at his homestead.

Nyamusangudza grew up listening to his father play karimba but learned how to play specific songs from his dreams by working out the parts on his own. Before obtaining the instrument built by Kasando he used his father's karimba. Nyamusangudza began to play around 1963, when he was twenty years old. People in the area would hire him to play at ceremonies for the masvikiro before the war began, which not only functioned as a kind of spiritual calling, but as a means to earn some income or a meal. His father did not play for masvikiro, but instead played on his own or for entertainment. Nyamusangudza would therefore play for ceremonies by

himself or with his cousin-brother, Kamange, a matepe player from the area. The songs Nyamusangudza plays on karimba are the same ones I know from playing matepe. I had trouble identifying them because of differences in tuning and mbira patterns, but the experts–Matomati, Chief and Crispen–were easily able to recognize and sing along with each tune. During our visit, the matepe instruments we brought did not match the karimba tuning, so we were unable to play mbira together. The area is a significant distance from Nyamapanda, so it is not surprising that the karimba had a different tuning scheme by comparison.

Nyamusangudza was called to play during the war along with another comrade, a matepe player, who lived nearby but had recently died a few years prior to our visit.[242] Nyamusangudza reports that the other soldiers would ask him to play mbira for various reasons. For instance, he would play karimba to ask for rain and it would rain later that day. It was not clear if he played for specific spirits in those circumstances. Nyamusangudza said playing for the spirits in general brings him happiness, and although there have not been mhondoro spirit ceremonies in that area since the early 1990s, playing alone for Mbuya Nehanda's spirit satisfies this purpose for him. Mbuya Nehanda was a significant unifying force in the liberation struggle because she is considered to be "the mhondoro who protects the whole of the [nation] state."[243] Interestingly, however, Nyamusangudza did not play for her spirit until after the war. In general, he used to play more songs because they were needed during the many ceremonies that took place before and after the war. Now he chooses one song to play, sometimes for the whole night. On another day, another occasion, he may find a liking to a different song that comes to him through dreams and play that one for an extended time.

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[242] Interview with Sekuru Nyamusangudza, 26 June 2017. We were told where the matepe player who passed away lived, at a farm east of the road on the way back to Kotwa, but no one was home when we stopped by. Nyamusangudza said he could not recall that man's name.
[243] Lan 1985, 152

Nyahuwi's Guidance

Thus far I have focused on mbira players and builders from Mudzi, Mutoko and UMP districts who used their talents during the war to connect with mhondoro and ancestral spirits. In this last section I focus on the war in the Nyanhehwe/Makuni area of Rushinga district and touch upon a svikiro by the name of Nyahuwi who is known for guiding people in that area away from violent encounters.[244] Both Andrew Tracey and Michael Bourdillon conducted research on hera mbira in the area in the 1960s and early 1970s. Andrew Tracey recorded many players from the area, including the Nyamukuvhengu family, Samson Chabirika, Chaka Chawasarira, and Matias and Jackson Chidavaenzi (see Appendix A).

Figure 31. Samson Chibirika (left) at his home listening to recordings of himself from 1970 by Andrew Tracey. Gilbert Chimedza (right) holds a portable radio that plays a flash drive of the archival tracks. This still shot from a video shows the moment that Chabirika recognized his own playing.

[244] Lan 1985, 148

Several of the mbira players from that area remembered how the medium of Nyahuwi helped them during the war by instructing people when to move, when the fighting would shift, or if violence would crop up within a particular village. This does not always occur in the context of a mbira ceremony, but as in other areas, there is an essential link between matepe and masvikiro because mbira is used to honor and call forth mhondoro spirits for direct guidance.

I first learned of Nyahuwi's significance while visiting the home of hera player, Emmanuel Silika Gomo, who lives in Chitungwiza, a suburb south of Harare. Sekuru Gomo is originally from Rushinga district but moved to Harare in 1964. Zack, myself, and our friend, musician Jacob Mafuleni, went to talk to him about hera with a collection of newly acquired photos from anthropologist Michael Bourdillon's field research. Bourdillon still had the original photo slides from 1971-72 and gave me permission to digitize them and deposit the collection at ILAM. He was in communication with Andrew Tracey during his field research and learned how to play a few songs on hera from Andrew's transcriptions of the music. There were hundreds of good quality color photographs complete with short descriptions. As I scrolled through the photos on my tablet for Sekuru Gomo to see, he stopped in amazement at the one of Nyahuwi (Figure 32):

> Gomo: Now show me that Ambuya, Nyahuwi. Ah! How can I get this picture.
> Jocelyn: We can bring it for you.
> Gomo: Please.
> Jacob: Yeah.
> Zack: So you're saying this woman, she helped with the liberation war. Is that right?
> Gomo: Seriously.
> Zack: Can you talk about that? How did she help and what aspect?
> Gomo: When they sleep, in early morning they tell the people they very carefully today, you'll see something here. Then, chapungu, how do you call it? The bird you call.
> Zack: Eagle.
> Gomo: Yes. Then when you see that chapungu from.. especial[ly] from [the] east, when she [is] flying to [the] west they said run away.
> Zack: So she would tell that.
> Gomo: Yes. Sometimes when you hunt him to see otherwise you won't see her. Ah, please try to send me this picture.

Figure 32. Svikiro for Nyahuwi in 1971. Photograph by Michael Bourdillon.

Although the woman's birth name is not Nyahuwi (the spirit Nyahuwi is actually male), it is common for people to call masvikiro by the name of the spirit who possesses them. When we discussed the photographs with Bourdillon initially, he also referred to her as Nyahuwi, mother of karimba player, Raison Kanokombizi.

These stories were confirmed by other players from Makuni. For example, hera player Gilbert Chimedza was also surprised when he found that photograph in the stack of fresh prints I

brought up to Rushinga. He removed it from the pile and proceeded to walk up to others nearby and discuss the unlikelihood of the item he was holding (Figure 33). The collection of photographs had other individuals from the area that people recognized, but no other photo elicited such strong reactions because of Nyahuwi's significance in that community during the War of Liberation.

Figure 33. Photo of Gilbert Chimedza (center) discussing the photograph of Nyahuwi in Nyanhehwe.

Gilbert Chimedza left Makuni for Harare in 1968 to find work when he was sixteen years old. His grandfather and great-grandfather both played hera and he felt a spiritual calling to continue the tradition while living in Harare. Chimedza used to sing along with that music when he was young, so he knew the sounds to some degree, but learned how to play hera mostly

through dreaming. In Harare there was at least one other player from his home area, so they were able to play together in the city and for masvikiro ceremonies in Mutoko district.[245]

Chimedza and Gomo were based in Harare during the war, but they both stressed the indispensable role of Nyahuwi in their home area while they were away. This suggests that Nyahuwi helped to keep their family and community safe during those uncertain times. It also shows how hera players stay connected to their traditions while residing in the city. The prominence and influence of mediums in the Rushinga area continued throughout the war up until the present day. Although the Ambuya in the photograph passed away some time ago, I was able to meet the current svikiro for Nyahuwi at a ceremony in Nyanhehwe in 2017 (Figure 34). There are fewer masvikiro now and a declining interest in traditional practices overall, but the mediums' continued presence ensures to some degree that mbira ceremonies for mhondoro continue to occur in that area.

Figure 34. The present-day svikiro of Nyahuwi (left) dressed in the characteristic blue cloths for that mhondoro spirit. Photograph taken the morning after a ceremony in honor of Josam Nyamukuvhengu in Nyanhehwe, Rushinga district, August 2017.

[245] Chimedza played for a ceremony at Suswe, which is near the highway in Mutoko district, almost to Mudzi district.

Conclusion

People in the rural areas endured major disturbances during the time of nyamukupukupu when the War of Liberation ran hot in the borderlands. Migration across the border changed into a dangerous endeavor as the landmines were planted and surveillance increased. The distinction between Zimbabwe and Mozambique also crystallized by the constructed boundary of landmines and fences. Relocation measures displaced residents from communal areas into Protected Villages where people lived in high density, temporary conditions for upwards of six to seven years. Women, who constituted the majority of the population in the PVs, responded with organized social and educational programs to help make the camps livable during this crisis period, often while continuing to maintain their fields and herds of cattle in the war zones.

Many young people joined the liberation struggle for periods of time, but they also travelled to urban areas in Zimbabwe and Mozambique to earn an income. In Harare, matepe players maintained their regional traditions as a kind of spiritual calling. Silika Gomo continued to play hera in the capital city during the years of the war and Gilbert Chimedza learned how to play hera in Harare in the 1970s before moving back to Rushinga district nearly two decades later. Efraim Masarakufa and Sekuru Matomati were troubled by dreams while working in Harare and eventually returned to their rural home area where they were able to get access to madhebhe and matepe, respectively.

Mbira traditions in the borderlands did not cease during the war, despite efforts by the Ian Smith regime to monitor and suppress these practices through violence and incarceration. Ceremonies outside of the Protected Villages posed a risk to attendees, but soldiers like Efraim Masarakufa and Chikinya Nyamusangudza still continued to play mbira to keep up the morale of the liberation troops and as a means of communicating with vadzimu and mhondoro. Ceremonies

with drums and/or mbira took place within the PVs, likely in accordance with the law pertaining to supervision by a registered n'anga.

The Nyahuna prophecy speaks to this time period in a way that is specific to the Marembe people. In Mudzi district, although ceremonies in dedication to mhondoro spirits continued, there were no masvikiro for mhondoro dzeMarembe after Nyahuna's svikiro passed away. Spirit possession ceremonies continued to take place for other mhondoro spirits and for vadzimu. Rushinga district, by contrast, maintained the presence of masvikiro throughout the war even though the area was subjected to violence. Mutoko and UMP districts were not as close to the border regions and were impacted differently during the war. There are still masvikiro in Mutoko and UMP, but political struggles over chieftaincies have caused some of the mhondoro spirits to leave.[246] As I will discuss in the next chapter, the violence and trauma of the War of Liberation necessitated numerous healing ceremonies after the war that shifted the focus of matepe players to ceremonies for vengeful spirits, or ngozi, rather than lineage spirits like mhondoro or vadzimu.

This ethnographic research helps to contextualize the ILAM archival materials by filling in the gaps during the later years of the war when research was restricted due to the dangers of warfare in the border regions. Many authors have discussed how the War of Liberation effectively renewed the authority of the mhondoro spirits as influential leaders in the rural areas. As such, Andrew Tracey's recordings of matepe in the late 60s and up to the mid-1970s mostly feature songs for the mhondoro spirits, which are the core repertoire pieces of matepe music. These tracks provided rich opportunities to repatriate recordings and photographs directly to musicians who were featured in the recordings, including Sinati Nyamande, Garaji Nyamutya

[246] Interview with Chief Usiwako, 2017

and Samson Chabirika, who are all in their 90s. Other musicians who were active in the 1960s and 70s, including Kasando, were overwhelmed with surprise by the ILAM tracks. Family members of the musicians featured in the recordings also benefitted from listening to their parents and grandparents, especially as learning tools for their own musical interests, which is why Andrew Tracey recorded the songs in the first place.

Chapter Five
Marombo and the Aftermath of War

Following the War of Liberation, when Zimbabwe became an independent nation under Robert Mugabe, the country was faced with the task of healing the traumas of a decade of war and nearly a century of colonization. In the following two decades, Zimbabweans benefitted from an increased investment in education, infrastructure, agriculture and health services and began this period with hope for a promising future.[247] By and large, however, the inequities of the colonial era were maintained, especially in terms of land distribution.

After independence the communal areas (former Tribal Trust Lands) remained overcrowded areas with "poor agricultural potential" as government investments focused primarily on "urban centers, commercial farms and wildlife areas."[248] The communal lands in the lower elevation areas, or lowveld (including areas of the middle Zambezi), were the most susceptible to periodic droughts and food shortages. Development programs in these areas included schemes for improved irrigation, forestry management, and agriculture, which were implemented to some degree. The development schemes did not, however, adequately address issues of land redistribution. Residents in these areas who survived on subsistence farming and livestock were forced to rely on government aid as well as "remittance incomes from circular migration to towns, farms and mines."[249] This period came to a breaking point in the late 1990s amid a growing discontent over structural inequality of increasingly marginalized populations in communal areas.

For those communities based in the borderlands near Mozambique, the threat of war did not subside after independence in 1980, but rather pressed on with the characteristically violent

[247] Chaumba et al. 2003
[248] Chaumba et al. 2003
[249] Chaumba et al. 2003

Mozambican civil war[250] that ignited violence in the borderlands primarily from 1975 to 1992. The impact of violence was compounded by the land distribution problems and periodic drought, causing further displacement of border communities.[251] The HIV/AIDS epidemic reached its peak in the early 2000s in that region as well, along with periodical outbreaks of cholera. Political violence was/is prevalent in these areas, which became volatile leading up to elections in 2002 and resurfaced during subsequent election years in 2008, 2013 and 2018.

In this chapter, I address the primary ways that residents in the borderlands conceptualized and responded to these issues through religious ceremonies. I specifically address the second time period in Nyahuna's prophecy, from 1980 to the early 2000s, which was defined in the prophecy by *marombo*, or what is described in the Nyamapanda area as evil spirits.[252] The Nyahuna prophecy essentially foretold of a troubling time in the aftermath of the liberation war during which evil, operating through human jealousy and greed, would disrupt and oppress traditional cultural practices. The prevailing issue at this time were numerous unexplained illnesses and deaths, which were viewed as spiritual afflictions, or misfortunes caused specifically by spiritual matters. There were several kinds of spiritual afflictions that converged during this time, caused by ngozi as well as evil spirits such as *chikwambo* and marombo. Marombo are of particular importance because they represent a threat to the structures of traditional religious practices based on how they disguise themselves as ancestral spirits. The entanglements between lineage spirits and marombo have resulted in suspicion and mistrust of

[250] The Mozambican civil war was primarily fought between the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) and the anti-communist insurgent forces of the Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO).
[251] Schmidt 2013, 2
[252] Interview with Chief Goronga September 3, 2017

traditional religion and consequently, the music traditions that are inherently tied to these practices.

Beliefs about evil spirits and vengeful spirits are widespread throughout Zimbabwe, but the details are not always consistent over time, between regions, or even homogenous within a certain location.[253] One can recognize this based on the diverse accounts of witchcraft, sorcery, and vengeful ngozi that appear in numerous newspaper articles and scholarly publications.[254] Scholars in fields that range from medical research to rural development reports include issues related to spiritual affliction in their work within Zimbabwean contexts because these issues are integrated into the social fabric of communities like those in the northeast.

Spiritual afflictions that involve evil or vengeful spirits may manifest as any number of problems, including disease, death, fertility issues, or mental illness. N'anga (traditional healers) as well as church prophets from the African Independent Churches (AICs) serve as two primary modes of responding to such spiritual afflictions, although they are often used in combination with one another alongside Western medicine. Traditional religious ceremonies and localized Christian practices both serve the community as primary responses to pervasive fears and manifestations of witchcraft, sorcery, and spiritual afflictions.

Here I am most interested in how matepe players navigated the aftermath of the war from 1980 until the early 2000s. I demonstrate how, on one hand, ceremonies for ngozi, or vengeful spirits, stimulated the growth of mbira culture in the northeast as matepe players were called to travel and perform in these contexts. On the other hand, the decline of mhondoro spirit mediums

[253] See Perman 2020 for another case study that explores the variability in beliefs among communities in the borderlands
[254] E.g., Mutekwa 2010; Nyathi 2015; Jeater and Mashinge 2017

(masvikiro) and the prevalence of evil spirits such as marombo and chikwambo caused mistrust of traditional religious practices and consequently an increased stigmatization of matepe.

In this chapter I go into detail about the rising influence of independent churches that characterize the final time period of the Nyahuna prophecy. Without the strong presence of mhondoro spirits to guide communities after the war, along with increased fees for the healing services of n'anga, the AICs stepped in as leaders of the community through the spiritual authority of prophets. Churches gained momentum especially among youth, women, and migrants during this time with significant influence from revival movements stemming from Mozambique. In the effort to distinguish themselves from traditional religion, the independent churches throughout Zimbabwe built defining boundaries around what constituted Christian practices and rendered traditional systems as part of the devil's work. These religious boundaries are strict, but they are nonetheless variable, depending on the church and the context. As I will show, these boundaries are continuously negotiated by practitioners from both sides. The mbira instrument itself and mbira music are often caught in the crossfire of the devil's work, especially in rural areas. I will discuss how a number of players were called to abandon or burn their instruments during this time period as a means to protect their family against evil spirits, both within and outside of Christian contexts.

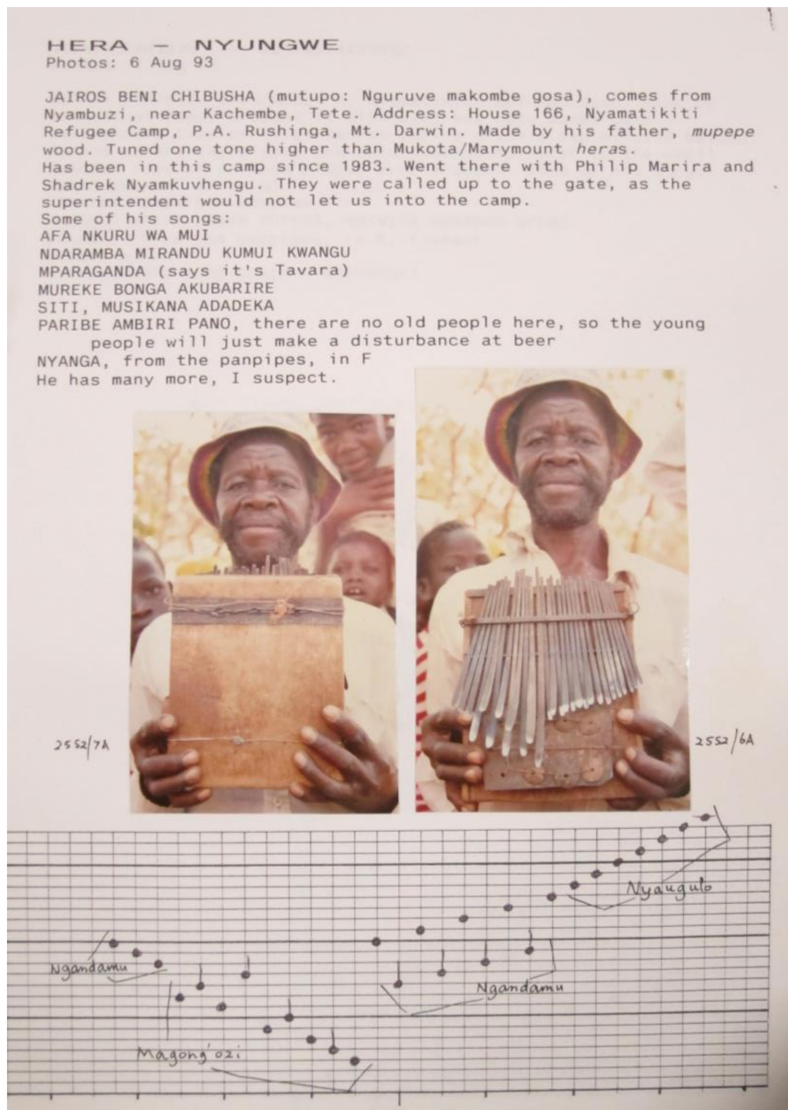
Archival Evidence

Andrew Tracey's archival collections from this time period include a recording trip in 1993 to northeastern Zimbabwe. The field tapes from these sessions have not been located in recent years, but I am hopeful that they will be found and digitized at a future date. The names of the tracks are listed in Appendix A, courtesy of Andrew Tracey. Extensive records from these trips

do exist in the form of photographs and detailed notes about instruments, playing styles, and mbira players. Andrew Tracey compiled his work from that year in his unpublished *Mbira Catalogue* that showcases a variety of mbira types that he documented with the permission of specific players as well as museum collections. For each instrument, he includes its type, likely place of origin, photographs, and charts that show the key layout and tuning scheme. The museum collections with mbira instruments that he photographed are from Zimbabwe (Harare and Bulawayo) and South Africa (Johannesburg and Pretoria). I have included relevant pages from the 130+ page Catalogue in Appendix D to highlight the varieties of matepe, madhebhe, hera, and karimba instruments that he documented at that time.

The mbira players featured in Andrew Tracey's *Mbira Catalogue* include players from Rushinga district as well as mbira players originally from Mozambique who came to live in refugee camps on the Zimbabwe side of the border during the Mozambican civil war. These camps include the Mazoe Bridge Refugee Camp in Mkota, Mudzi district and Nyamatikiti Refugee Camp in Rushinga district. Figure 35 shows an example from the *Mbira Catalogue* featuring hera player, Jairos Beni Chibusha. The catalogue offers a way to learn about the regional variation of matepe from the Mozambique side of the border, which is also called hera (distinct from the type of hera found on the Zimbabwe side of the border). You can see in Figure 35 that Chibusha's instrument seems to be a cross between matepe and Zimbabwean-style hera. There are four keys in the upper right-hand register of the instrument, which is more than the standard two keys in that position on matepe and madhebhe, and less than Nyamkuvhengu's hera design, which has six keys on the upper right-hand register. Additionally, the lower right-hand register has the full scale (seven keys for the right index finger), so all of the low notes have an

octave equivalent that can be played as chords by the right thumb and forefinger—a common technique in matepe playing.



HERA – NYUNGWE
Photos: 6 Aug 93

JAIROS BENI CHIBUSHA (mutupo: Nguruve makombe gosa), comes from Nyambuzi, near Kachembe, Tete. Address: House 166, Nyamatikiti Refugee Camp, P.A. Rushinga, Mt. Darwin. Made by his father, *mupepe* wood. Tuned one tone higher than Mukota/Marymount *heras*.
Has been in this camp since 1983. Went there with Philip Marira and Shadrek Nyamkuvhengu. They were called up to the gate, as the superintendent would not let us into the camp.
Some of his songs:
AFA NKURU WA MUI
NDARAMBA MIRANDU KUMUI KWANGU
MPARAGANDA (says it's Tavara)
MUREKE BONGA AKUBARIRE
SITI, MUSIKANA ADADEKA
PARIBE AMBIRI PANO, there are no old people here, so the young people will just make a disturbance at beer
NYANGA, from the panpipes, in F
He has many more, I suspect.

2552/7A

2552/6A

Nyaugulo

Ngandamu

Ngandamu

Magong'ozi

Figure 35. A page of Andrew Tracey's *Mbira Catalogue* from 1993, featuring Nyungwe musician, Jairos Beni Chibusha, and his hera mbira.

The *Mbira Catalogue* is useful for technical information about song repertoire, players, and instrument details. We can also use the resource to understand the context of the borderlands in the post-independence period. The presence of many refugee camps in the area portrays the severity of the civil war in Mozambique and the ongoing regional migrations among populations

in the borderlands to and from Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Guarded camps were established on the Zimbabwe side for refugees as well as borderland residents as a means of protection against the RENAMO troops who would infiltrate the border in search of food and supplies. Matepe players who were around at that time recounted the violent disposition of the RENAMO soldiers who murdered and tortured civilians.[255] This is the context that gave rise to the abundant independent churches in the borderlands as people sought spiritual comfort and protection against such circumstances. Andrew Tracey's excursions did not extend to the Mozambique side of the border and his time to interview musicians in the refugee camps was limited. An interesting addition to these materials would have been the hymns and services of Vapostori (Apostolic) church groups that proliferated at the time and featured mostly women.

Ngozi

In order to understand the time period of marombo as outlined by the Nyahuna prophecy, it is necessary to situate marombo spirits within a general understanding of spiritual afflictions that were encountered after the war. I proceed in chronological order, beginning with the healing ceremonies for ngozi and the ways in which these types of spirits affected matepe traditions after the war. Partson Nyaruwabvu, who learned to play madhebhe in the later years of the liberation war, commented that "playing mbira was not just for fun. Soon after the war, a lot of vengeful spirits needed appeasing and that is where the mbira players came in."[256] "Vengeful spirits" or "avenging sprits" are common descriptors for ngozi. There are different types of ngozi that may be understood based on the reasons why they seek vengeance, including someone who did not receive a proper burial after death or someone who was murdered.

[255] Interview with Gilbert Chimedza, August 2017
[256] Interview with Partson Nyaruwabvu, December 11, 2017. Translated by Kuda Nyaruwabvu.

The thousands of lives lost in combat during the liberation war did not all become ngozi spirits. The conditions that create an avenging spirit are more complex, as they require some kind of immoral action against an innocent person. Soldiers who attack and kill the opposition during combat are not seen as acting immorally. Schmidt, who conducted research in the Hondo Valley of the Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe in the 1990s, notes a particular saying in regards to ngozi that goes "*hondo haina pfukwa*" or "war does not lead to haunting."[257] In other words, the act of killing an enemy in the context of war is not what leads to ngozi. It is the unjust killings in these contexts that caused issues. The ngozi became prevalent after the war because the boundaries between combat zones and villages, soldiers and villagers, were blurred in the tactics of guerilla warfare and innocent lives were lost as a result.

The prominence of ngozi in the aftermath of the war was not just characterized by individual spiritual afflictions. It was a major issue at the national level and across the border into Mozambique that also served to highlight underrepresented voices. Mutekwa, for example, demonstrates how the pervasive theme of ngozi appears repeatedly in Shona literary texts from the 1990s.[258] The author claims that just as the "euphoria of the early years of independence" that glorified the war began to wear off, "the societal fissures created by the violence of the liberation war" were exposed.[259] Mutekwa argues that one role of ngozi is to provide a means of "recovering suppressed discourses," especially women's perspectives, which were marginalized within national narratives of the War of Liberation. In this same vein, Schmidt argues that at the local level, spiritual afflictions by ngozi created a space for local dialogue where people's experiences could be articulated and acknowledged. In other words,

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[257] Schmidt 1997, 303
[258] Mutekwa 2010
[259] Mutekwa 2010, 169

ngozi spirits are both an affliction and a mechanism of healing and/or retribution that occurs when an act of injustice is properly addressed.[260]

The details of how this occurs is somewhat complex, since there are several kinds of ngozi and each case is unique. Crispen Zonke describes how, in the case of an innocent person who was murdered, the issue becomes a form of retribution. The spirit's revenge may cause great suffering because rather than strike down the murderer, the ngozi will begin to affect the innocent members of the murderer's family through illness or death. When it is satisfied with its revenge, then the spirit will "come out," or reveal itself in one of the family members through possession. These contexts of possession allow the ngozi to describe the details of its death, including the perpetrator, when and where it occurred, and who else was present. This scenario also allows the murderer to confirm the details and confess to the crime.[261] This may also be followed by a specific demand for payment of some kind to the family of the ngozi spirit or to the spirit itself.

I.M. Lewis, who published a seminal work on ecstatic religion, defines spirit possession by ngozi as "peripheral" because the ngozi do not serve the core function of maintaining the integrity of the clan or lineage.[262] The veneration of ancestral spirits (vadzimu) and clan spirits (mhondoro), by contrast, occupy a central space in traditional religious practices in the way they play a "protecting role," as "guardians of social mores."[263] Instead of using Lewis's "core" and "peripheral" terminology, here I distinguish between lineage and non-lineage spirits. Vadzimu and mhondoro spirits are linked to a specific lineage or clan, whereas ngozi or outsider spirits like mashave are non-lineage spirits. The distinction is not one of "good" and "evil," however, as

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[260] Schmidt 2013
[261] Conversation with Crispen Zonke, December, 2017
[262] Lewis 1989
[263] Mutekwa 2010, 162

different types and manifestations of non-lineage spirits do have the potential to be benevolent or benign, while spirits like ngozi have specific social functions that serve to settle disputes *between* families.

A crucial point is that ngozi, while not wanted, are also not viewed as evil, even if they do cause illness, suffering and death. This is because their actions are justified. As Mutekwa notes, the "quest for retribution and justice is the reason for the malevolence of the avenging spirits, and they should not be confused with any evil spirit."[264] Zimbabwe *Herald* reporter, Pasitha Nayathi, says that in some cases, the path to retribution may result in the guilty party "taking socially agreed measures to compensate the aggrieved family or group,"[265] which may be partly why this topic has gained so much attention in scholarly research as a form of negotiating matters of justice. For example, Jeater and Mashinge demonstrate how afflictions by ngozi, while often accompanied by great suffering, also pave the way for closer inter-family relationships through the act of retribution.[266] They warn that "the term 'vengeance spirit' is deeply misleading,"[267] explaining that:

> 'Vengeance', as a concept, assumes that violence and ill-treatment can be put right by inflicting further violence and ill-treatment in return. Historically, Shona societies did not approach justice in this way. Court cases were oriented towards negotiating compensation and reparation, not towards inflicting punishment or harm on the perpetrator. The work of *ngozi* is to make sure that grievances between families are settled. External commentators, writing on *ngozi*, have often misunderstood them as being purely malevolent, rather than understanding the contexts in which they do harm.[268]

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[264] Mutekwa 2010, 162
[265] Pathisa Nyathi 2015 https://www.herald.co.zw/ngozi-an-african-reality-ensuring-social-justice-and-fairness/ (accessed December 2020)
[266] Jeater and Mashinge 2017, 4
[267] Jeater and Mashinge 2017, 4
[268] Jeater and Mashinge 2017, 4. It should be mentioned that some of the agreements associated with ngozi spirits are controversial. In some areas young women are designated as "brides" of the ngozi spirit and therefore not allowed to marry apart from this arrangement.

Ngozi Ceremonies

Ngozi can "come out" through various means. Mbira ceremonies led by a n'anga (traditional healer) are one means to call out ngozi so a settlement may be addressed. Around the northeast, matepe musicians play for these kinds of ceremonies in exchange for a fee. Partson Nyaruwabvu relayed that to avoid paying such fees for ceremonies that were needed for his relatives, he built and learned how to play madhebhe in the late 1970s. Samson Chabirika from Rushinga district would travel to play hera in ceremonies after the war, from Nyamapanda to Mozambique as well as parts of Mutoko district.[269] He was already a known player at that time, but the opportunity to travel and become immersed in matepe, madhebhe, and hera scenes in the region is what Chabirika claims helped him develop his particular playing style. Importantly, he would earn some payment in the form of cash, food or a live chicken to carry home, for example. Chabirika noted that this was not a full-time endeavor, but rather helped his family to pay for things like school fees. This kind of support was enough to justify the decision to take time away from other work to travel and play mbira.

Sekuru Matomati travelled around the region with his mother, vocalist and hosho player, Ambuya Sinati Nyamande, to play for ceremonies beginning in the early 1980s. He would play mbira and she would sing and play hosho, the duo often taking turns with other mbira players who were there to perform as part of the ceremony. Matomati and Nyamande were compensated for their time, but this was not the primary reason why Matomati was motivated to play matepe.

Matomati tells a story about how he first learned matepe through his dreams in the late 1970s. He developed a mysterious illness and went to seek the advice of a n'anga on how to address what was happening to him. The n'anga instructed Matomati to play matepe in order to

[269] Interview with Samson Chabirika September 2, 2017. Translated by Chief Goronga.

be well again. After struggling with not being able to eat or drink water for some days, Matomati began to recover when his father agreed to purchase a matepe for him. The diagnosis was that Matomati was bothered by ancestral spirits (vadzimu) that pushed him to obtain a matepe so he could play the songs that he had been learning in his dreams. His illness, which resulted from issues with ancestral spirits, is a different scenario than the vengeful affliction of ngozi. He was only sick for a short time and Matomati has benefitted from his considerable talents as a performer and teacher.

In 1981, just after independence, Matomati acquired a matepe from Jambo Karima family in Muzezuru, a town just up the road, about 15 km west of Nyamapanda. He played all night when he received the mbira, finally able to sound out the songs he had learned from three old men while dreaming: “Washora Mambo,” “Karimuchipfuwa,” and “Kadya Hove Mune Mazowe.” After he obtained the matepe, Matomati was asked to play for a ceremony that was taking place in the area. The story is indicative of post-independence contexts when mbira ceremonies for healing began to increase.

The ceremonies provided the contexts for musicians like himself to perform as well as expand their repertoire. For example, the Zonke family plays songs like “Kuyadya Hove from Pfungwe,” which is essentially “Kuyadya Hove” played in a different mode with some stylistic differences (the song is centered on a different key on the matepe). This version was learned as a result of travelling to Pfungwe to play for a ceremony. Players from different areas would play mbira together in these contexts if there was time to adjust the tuning of their instruments. They would otherwise take turns playing mbira, which still provided opportunities to absorb the sounds, instrument tunings, variations, and singing lines from other areas.

Certain repertoire, or even certain playing styles, are said to be for specific types of spirits. The general consensus about these differences among matepe players is the speed of the piece. Slow and "deep" songs are for mhondoro spirits, whereas faster songs are more suitable for ngozi. Interestingly, Samson Chabirika's style is thought of as more well-suited for mhondoro, even though he travelled around to play for other kinds of ceremonies after the war. Chaka Chawasarira described Chabirika's style of hera playing as having a kind of "richness" to the sound, in part because his instrument had thicker keys than those made by hera builder Josam Nyamukuvhengu and the sound therefore had a deeper tone. This could possibly be from the influence of travelling during the post-war period and listening to matepe, which has a decidedly lower sound and thicker keys than hera. Chawasarira recalled that Chabirika did not play very often with the Nyamukuvhengu family because their styles were different in tone (deep vs. bright) and speed (slow vs. fast).

Hera player James Kamwaza identifies specific songs that are meant for ngozi, including "Kuendaenda chirega," "Paukama," and "Ndashaya andidenha."[270] He contrasted these tunes with a list of what he calls simply "mbira songs," or those meant for mhondoro spirits. I am not as familiar with the songs for ngozi because Andrew Tracey's archival recordings from the early years of the liberation war highlight mbira songs for mhondoro, which are more central to hera repertoire. For example, hera songs such as "Dairai romba," "Kanotamba mubani," and "Pasi panodya" are considered mbira songs for mhondoro spirits. The matepe equivalents to these songs are "Aroyiwa mwana," "Siti," and "Kadya hove," respectively, which are also core pieces. These songs are not exclusive to mhondoro ceremonies, however, as they can be adapted to other secular and ceremonial contexts, including those for ngozi.

[270] Interview with James Kamwaza, December 25, 2016

Marombo and Chikwambo

Marombo are described in the Nyamapanda area as a kind of evil spirit that is associated with sorcery. Andersson states that *uroyi*, the chiShona term for sorcery and witchcraft, is "intimately related to people's understandings of 'life forces' - i.e. fertility, sex, disease, and death."[271] Crawford notes that although there is no linguistic distinction (uroyi), the details of accusations and behavior related to witchcraft differ significantly than those of sorcery.[272] Similar to ngozi, there are regional and individual variations on what constitutes witchcraft and sorcery. In the Nyamapanda area, witchcraft is a kind of evil that can be practiced with or without one's conscious knowledge. In contrast, sorcery is consciously used for personal gain. In this section I will focus on marombo and chikwambo (terms that are sometimes used interchangeably), which are types of sorcery that involve summoning a spirit in pursuit of personal wealth or success in exchange for the blood of that person's family members.[273]

The person accused of using marombo/chikwambo is not committing any murders by their own hands, but rather they cause harm by making an agreement with a kind of evil spirit who will then require payment in the form of blood (human lives). This arrangement results in the declining health or even death of that person's own family members based on a list that they provide. The owner of the chikwambo knows what they are gaining and also knows all of the members of their family who have been killed as a

[271] Andersson 2002, 425
[272] Crawford 1967, 77
[273] Based on conversations with Crispen Zonke and Sekuru Matomati

sacrifice for those gains.[274] One of the most complex issues about scenarios that involve marombo is that they are difficult to identify. Crispen describes them as follows:

> Marombo can come hiding its evil spirit in the name of svikiro (medium) imitating vasekuru vadzimu vepamusha (the family spirit) and it will be a fox in a sheep skin. Marombo (chikwambo) is also known as gamba (a patch of fabric put on a different type of another fabric). Evil spirits of this type are taken from the spirits of dead people by those who are specialised in making goblins (chikwambo). The spirit imitates the name of a close member of the family who died some time ago. The spirit [will] kill family members and suck the blood of those killed by Chikwambo. Marombo and Chikwambo are the same when they come to confess as the spirit of the family. Chikwambo without Marombo will remain as Chikwambo. In this case, the owner of this Chikwambo (goblin) will have an evil thing which he or she uses to do evil things.[275]

First let me distinguish the meanings of chikwambo and marombo. There are few published references that refer to marombo, but the term as I use it here is described differently in comparison to those publications. While accounts of ngozi and chikwambo are prevalent in news and scholarly sources with stories and case studies that have occurred throughout Zimbabwe, I could not locate published accounts on marombo that aligned with the ethnographic interviews from this research.[276] The marombo depicted in the Nyahuna prophecy are defined by the agency of who or what caused the reported misfortunes.

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[274] Correspondence with Sekuru Matomati.

[275] Correspondence with Crispen Zonke.

[276] The discrepancy between marombo definitions may be partly attributed to regional or even temporal differences in the application of this term. Several sources note that marombo are spirits of the forest and marombo ceremonies are ones that involve asking for rain. The only hint of misfortune that corresponds to these types of spirits comes from an account of marombo among the Ndau community in Chipinge, eastern Zimbabwe. Based on ethnographic research, Muzondi reports that marombo are “spirits of the land that bring good harvests, rainwater and good fortune to communities.” She goes on to say that all the elderly informants in his study agreed that “the same marombo spirits wielded the power to cause misfortunes and other calamities to the community upon defiling (breaking the rules of conduct) places where they stay, and this could simply be any unsanctioned activity in the mountains or rivers where the spirits live. Ndau people believe that crimes such as murder and incest angered forest spirits to justify the misfortunes that might befall a certain community. The rage from the forest spirits would result in the outbreak of drought, famine, and/or pests that destroy crops as well as diseases such as smallpox.” (2014, 36)

According to contemporary accounts in Nyamapanda, the agency of a marombo spirit is strictly tied to the greediness of a human being who initiates the process. The evil spirit requires blood for granting wishes, which is driven by the desires of the person who seeks certain material and/or social gains.

The evil nature of the marombo is suspect because they behave like a "fox in a sheep skin" by concealing their true identity. In other words, one may mistake the presence of marombo for that of vadzimu. These fears accumulated in a general mistrust of traditional religious practices in the Nyamapanda area after the war as residents became suspicious of ancestral spirit possession. Instances of chikwambo and marombo can undermine the veneration of lineage spirits by way of such entanglements.[277]

As I understand it, chikwambo may be the same as marombo in some respects because they are both associated with small objects that carry the spirit of a dead person. In social media and popular news stories from Zimbabwe, the chikwambo is often depicted as a gruesome goblin-like doll, but it can be as simple and unassuming as a small stick. It is seen as a kind of sorcery when someone raises a spirit in this manner for the purpose of personal gain. Nhemachena describes chikwambo as something that is "made by sorcerers in order to harm others, to acquire wealth and to be feared by others."[278] It is then up to a "sacred practitioner"[279]– a n'anga or church prophet–to use their specialized skills to identify these objects that harbor chikwambo. Nhemachena cites an interview they conducted in 2011 in which the interviewee states:

[277] After the liberation war, this occurred when people began to target matepe and karimba as objects that harbored marombo and called for them to be burned.
[278] Nhemachena 2014, v
[279] Chimininge 2012

> A chikwambo is air of a deceased human being that is evil and that manifests in things such as flowers, cats, very short man or as herbs. It is acquired or bought with the aim of succeeding in life in a number of dimensions including riches, in order to be feared in the area or at workplaces.[280]

Getting rid of chikwambo involves destroying the object that is housing the spirit. After it is identified by n'anga or church prophet, this often involves burning the object.

In the early 2000s, the Zonke-Tsonga family was afflicted with this type of evil spirit, a marombo/chikwambo that disguised itself as a family spirit. Several of their family members, including Christina Tambudzai Zonke, the daughter of Sekuru Matomati and Ambuya Esther Nyandoro, lost their lives suddenly and unexpectedly. Their daughter was one of the family members of the next generation who was learning to play mbira. The family called on the assistance of a n'anga to determine the source of the problem and the n'anga identified the matepe instruments themselves as harboring evil spirits. Consequently, they decided to burn their instruments to get rid of the influences of that spirit. Matomati and Chief Goronga were able to replace their matepe instruments after a time, but these events nevertheless created controversy surrounding their musical practices.

Whereas ngozi offer a means of reconciling past injustices between families, marombo and chikwambo represent shifts in material and social ecologies within families. The Nyahuna prophecy ascribes the marombo label to the post-independence time period, which reflects the deepening divisions within family lines, disrupted by migration to urban areas and across borders, the disproportionate accumulation of wealth, and the increasing marginalization of rural communities. Marombo and chikwambo are more than a means to understand illness and suffering but serve as a way to uncover and rehabilitate the social network of family relationships and each individual's responsibility to the group. In a recent article published in

[280] Original and translation to English provided in Nhemachena 2012, 155-156.

The Patriot, Tafataona Mahoso ties the meaning of chikwambo to the Ndau concept of mukwambo, essentially a dream or fantasy of wealth derived from one's son-in-law. He states that chikwambo is the "shadow side" of mukwambo. It is a technology that is "forced into an environment by an ambitious or greedy relative for his own private enrichment or empowerment which results in untold collective suffering for the group, family or community, where the collective suffering leads to a concerted search for and discovery of the cause."[281]

Mahoso insists that chikwambo should not be viewed as an object of superstitious belief, but as a much broader concept that points to material gain at the expense of others. On a larger scale, for instance, he states that chikwambo may offer a means of addressing the legacies of colonialism that have led to unequal distributions of wealth across the globe by tying them to the acceleration of global warming and increasing droughts and food shortages in Zimbabwe's drylands. On a national scale, these concepts offer a way to a way to articulate the political corruption and greed of the Zimbabwean government that led to economic decline (and later collapse) in this period. One can speculate that marombo in particular, the "fox in a sheep skin," might help to illustrate the disillusionment of the post-colonial state after a decade of war to overthrow the Rhodesian government.

African Independent Churches

Thus far I have discussed ngozi, marombo and chikwambo as kinds of spiritual afflictions that increased in the decades after the liberation war. The traditional means of addressing these issues involve the guidance of a n'anga, who may call upon mbira players in a ceremonial context to facilitate the spirit to "come out". The church prophet, another kind spiritual practitioner, rose to

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[281] Mahoso 2020, https://www.thepatriot.co.zw/analysis/why-chikwambo-cannot-be-a-goblin-and-why-that-matters/ (accessed September 2020).

prominence as an alternative means of tending to these kinds of spiritual afflictions during the post-independence period when independent churches proliferated throughout Zimbabwe. The AICs do not dismiss chikwambo and ngozi as superstition like the mainline churches, but instead align with the traditional belief that issues with disease, suffering and misfortune are predominantly a spiritual matter. In these last two sections, I will first go into the response of the AICs to such spiritual afflictions and then provide examples of how the growth of the AICs impacted mbira players who decided to join the church in the 1980s and 1990s. This will lay the groundwork for the next chapter, which focuses exclusively on the rise of AICs and their impact in the northeast.

One of the most pervasive topics that people brought up during the course of this research project was the rising tensions that exist between practitioners of traditional religion and local churches. Interviewees specifically referenced the Vapostori (Apostolic churches) as well as certain Pentecostal churches, which both fall under the category of AICs, or African Independent Churches, in a variety of African contexts.[282] There is a huge amount of diversity within this category even today, that range from the white robes of Vapostori groups such as the Vapostori Johane Masowe Chishanu (Friday Apostles), to the rural Pentecostal churches like Mugodhi as well as the charismatic Pentecostal megachurches in Harare like PHD Ministries.[283]

The growth of AICs in colonial Zimbabwe began as early as 1916, initiated by South African Pentecostal missionaries of the Apostolic Faith Mission whose practices were grounded in the gifts of the Holy Spirit, divine healing, speaking in tongues and prophecy. The Vapostori

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[282] These are sometimes called African Indigenous Churches or African-Initiated Churches

[283] Togarasei 2016. PHD Ministries refers to Prophetic, Healing and Deliverance Ministries and was founded by Prophet Magaya in 2012.

churches emerged from the Pentecostal movement in the 1930s,[284] and the AICs have grown throughout southern Africa in waves of revivalism that continue to give rise to a variety of churches. A distinct wave of Christian influence in the form of African-led churches was in the 1940s, largely prompted by missionaries from South Africa.

The most well-known churches in Zimbabwe today that frequently receive international attention in the news are the urban megachurches that preach the prosperity gospel. There is considerable controversy that is debated in national news outlets over the practices of megachurch leaders and their tactics for extracting profits from large church congregations for personal gain. Maxwell points out that this kind of "middle class, urban Pentecostalism" is "bureaucratic and international," and differs from the rural Pentecostal churches that are smaller, localized and autonomous. He states that while "middle class urban Pentecostals exhibit a strong sense of fraternity, perceiving themselves as part of an international community of born-again Christians, rural Pentecostals are fiercely competitive in their struggle for territory, adherents and legitimacy."[285]

Many of these rural churches flourished after independence, which Maxwell identifies as a "second Christian movement" in northeastern Zimbabwe.[286] This movement was partly in response to the resurgence of traditional religion that occurred during the War of Liberation. At the beginning of the 1980s, the country had more than 120 independent denominations.[287] The new wave Pentecostal churches such as Mugodhi or those under ZAOGA (Zimbabwe Assemblies of God Africa) that have proliferated in rural areas are more connected to Vapostori churches than the urban megachurches because of small congregations and a local following.

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[284] Maxwell 2006, 52
[285] Maxwell 1995, 315
[286] Maxwell 1995
[287] Sundkler, Bengt, and Christopher Steed 2000, 812

The rural AICs are also collectively seen as rebellious in the ways that they break away from traditional religion, mission churches and even ecstatic churches that had foreign origins, such as the AFM (Apostolic Faith Mission). One main difference between “new wave” Pentecostal churches and Vapostori is that Pentecostal churches use the Bible, whereas most Vapostori do not. Other distinctions are variable. For example, the Mugodhi church holds open-air services and its members wear white robes like the Vapostori, but ZAOGA churches hold services indoors.

Birgit Meyer states that Christianity in Africa is a “dynamic field, in which so-called AICs, mission, or mainline churches and traditional religion are in ongoing exchange, conflict, and dialogue with each other.”[288] The mission churches, such as the Methodist, Anglican and Catholic denominations, also have a presence in urban and rural areas of Zimbabwe, but they occupy a different niche than traditional religion and AICs. Chikowero writes in great detail about the violence of the missionary churches and the ways that they demonized and condemned traditional culture and religion during the colonial era in Zimbabwe, which has undoubtedly had lasting negative effects on mbira music cultures.[289] Strict boundaries and negative attitudes towards traditional culture have become more malleable and diversified in contemporary contexts. Claire Jones states that “many Zimbabweans who identify themselves as Christians continue to follow ‘the ways of the ancestors’ without conflict.”[290] She is speaking of mainstream denominations, which have cultivated a growing “mutual tolerance and

[288] Meyer 2004, 450
[289] Chikowero 2015
[290] Jones 2006, 168

interdependence" between many Christians and traditionalists through coordinated efforts to indigenize churches.[291]

In contrast, Jones notes the "outright hostility" that Vapostori and evangelist Pentecostal churches exhibit towards traditional religious practices, especially mbira music, because of its association with the devil.[292] David Maxwell writes about how the independent churches are different from mission churches because they compete for the "same metaphysical domain as traditional religion."[293] In other words, the AICs occupy a similar niche compared to traditional religion because the AICs have created a synthesis of traditional religion within a Christian framework.[294] This is in part because AICs maintain a belief in spiritual afflictions such as vengeful spirits, witchcraft and sorcery and are thus better equipped to navigate issues of spiritual afflictions in comparison to the mission churches.

In addition to a number of practical benefits of belonging to a church community, the appeal of the AICs in rural communities hinges upon this close relationship with traditional religion as a mode of rebellion and competition. The AICs connections to traditional belief necessitates well-defined boundaries between what is accepted as Christian and what is defined as demonic.[295] This is not unique to Zimbabwean or southern African contexts. A rich foundation of literature exists on African Independent Churches more generally, which helps to reveal unifying trends, insights and nuances in a variety of contexts. Nicolette Manglos-Weber writes about the Pentecostal church in Malawi, saying that in its "emphasis on individual empowerment and responsibility, collective ecstatic experience, and the very real, present nature of the

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[291] Bourdillon 1976, quoted in Jones 2006, 168
[292] Jones 2006, 169
[293] Maxwell 2006, 57
[294] Anderson 2001; Martin 2002; Mana 2004; Manglos-Weber 2010
[295] Maxwell 2006

supernatural, it maintains continuity with the traditional African experience of the sacred and allows for easy adaptability to local cultural systems and practical application to the material problems of illness and poverty."[296]

A notable example of the syncretism with and re-framing of traditional practices by rural churches is detailed by Chiminingе in his account of the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) of Samuel Mutendi among the Karanga in Masvingo, Southeastern Zimbabwe. Chiminingе details a ceremony for ngozi led by a n'anga and then compares it to a ngozi ceremony led by a church prophet from the ZCC. Both ceremonies involve the sacred practitioner driving away the avenging spirit at a sacred river. A number of subtle syncretic elements were translated into Christian terms within the ZCC context, including replacing *bute* (tobacco snuff) with holy water. Chiminingе states that "when it comes to religious symbolism we can see that although the ZCC officially rejects traditional medicines, they adapt and then adopt prophetic methods of treatment from the Karanga."[297]

A central issue in the AICs relationship with traditional religion is related to the act of 'breaking with the past' in order to concretize the transition into Christian faith.[298] These conditions and boundaries that define Christian from non-Christian are crafted by individual churches and denominations. One major boundary set by the AICs is to collapse the lineage and non-lineage spirits of traditional religion into one category defined as demonic, while accepting possession by the Holy Spirit or by angels for the purpose of healing and prophecy. The churches have become a primary means of addressing issues of witchcraft and evil, but Maxwell argues that youth, especially, are unable to distinguish these evil influences from the influence of

[296] Manglos-Weber 2010, 412
[297] Chiminingе 2012, 20
[298] Meyer 2001 and 2004

mhondoro and ancestral spirits. The documentary, *African Christianity Rising Part Two: The Story of Zimbabwe,*[299] for example, offers footage of instances where ancestral spirits are driven out from church members through prayer and the laying on of hands, as they are seen as the sources of misfortune and illness in their lives that must be addressed through exorcism.

Mbira and the AICs

Churches also frequently define mbira and mbira music as non-Christian, "un-heavenly" and/or demonic.[300] There tends to be some leeway in these negotiations when it comes to urban areas that allow smaller and more commercial karimba (kwanongoma mbira) into services. In the rural areas, churches are less tolerant of mbira, including matepe because of its strong associations to spirit ceremonies. The traditional style of karimba from northeastern Zimbabwe and Mozambique is also blocked from church contexts because it functions alongside matepe in traditional ceremonies.

Alec Bandeira was called to negotiate the boundaries between Pentecostalism and traditional religion in the early 1990s. Bandeira is the son of Johani Chiyeha Bandeira, who was a well-known karimba player in the Nyamapanda area when he was alive. Alec Bandeira learned karimba from his father, who played for both informal gatherings and spirit possession ceremonies. In 1993, Alec Bandeira was called to become a pastor for the local Pentecostal church in Nyamapanda under ZAOGA (Zimbabwe Assemblies of God Africa). He reports that at this time, he chose to give up playing karimba in order to pursue his position at the church, since the two were not compatible. Bandeira then left his karimba at a family members house some distance away.

[299] James Ault et al. 2013
[300] Interview with Everisto Mupadzi, August 2017

From several conversations with Bandeira, it seems as though his 'break with the past' did not result in him abandoning his beliefs in traditional religion upon entering the church. He cited his reasons for converting, saying that local traditions were lacking leadership and direction at a very difficult time during the 1990s. The leadership he spoke of specifically referred to spirit mediums (masvikoro) and mhondoro spirits. Bandeira claims that the church prophets were filling the role of community leaders in their ability to offer guidance through possession by angels and the Holy Spirit. Bandeira's attitude towards traditional religion was not harsh, however, as he did not demonize mhondoro spirits but rather lamented their absence, saying that mhondoro spirits are like angels themselves who offer guidance to the community. Bandeira did not seem too disrupted by the conflicting perspectives of Pentecostalism and traditional beliefs and even negotiated a flexible boundary in which mbira could be tolerated outside of church contexts.

In other circumstances, there are more hostile attitudes towards mbira and mbira music. Maxwell states that in reference to Zimbabwean contexts, "conversion is also often accompanied by the destruction of traditional charms and fetishes, considered polluted by Pentecostals."[301] Everisto Mupadzi relayed his own story of giving up karimba upon joining the Mugodhi Church (Church of God) in 1980. Mupadzi is originally from Changara district, Mozambique, about 50 kms to the east on the main highway that runs through Nyamapanda. He began to play karimba around 1950 for the purpose of entertainment at social gatherings while drinking, but not for religious ceremonies. He said that the spirits were there and the religious ceremonies took place, but he was too young at the time to be involved.

[301] Maxwell 2006, 57

Mupadzi moved to Mudzi district, Zimbabwe in 1969 and became interested in the Mugodhi church some ten years later around the end of the liberation war and has been attending the same church since that time. The Mugodhi church is a widely known Pentecostal church that has the appearance of a Vapostori church based on the white robes and outdoor services. It is considered Pentecostal primarily because they use the Bible, whereas most Vapostori churches do not. After a month of attending Mugodhi, the prophet of the church asked the congregation to bring specific items to be burned as a kind of cleansing ceremony. They asked some individuals who were n'anga (traditional healers) to bring ritualistic items to be destroyed and they asked Mupadzi to bring his mbira to be burned as well. He said that he did not regret this decision, since that marked a transition into a new life that was free from drinking, staying out late, and playing mbira—activities that were considered to be satanic by the church and also frowned upon by his wife.[302]

In this example, we can see that although there was no reference to specific evil spirits or vengeful spirits, Mupadzi's karimba was burned as a way of cleansing him from the negative associations that mbira has with spirits and excessive drinking. The church views the objects that are used by n'angas and musicians to address and facilitate communication with ancestral spirits, mhondoro, and ngozi as tools of the devil. Mupadzi spoke of mbira as a kind of ongoing temptation because he is still drawn to mbira music, but believes it is a gateway to an un-Christian lifestyle and, consequently, a gateway to spiritual afflictions.

Conclusion

Although there were many changes that occurred in the post-independence period in Zimbabwe, the two decades following independence in Mudzi district are remembered as the time of

[302] Interview with Everisto Mupadzi, August 2017

marombo because of the high occurrence of unexplained illness and death. The causes of these tragic incidents are seen as spiritual afflictions that were fueled by both evil and avenging spirits. Traditional religious practices and the African Independent Churches (AICs) served as two primary means of understanding and then addressing these issues through the work of n'angas (traditional healers) and church prophets. Many people sought healing services from both traditional religious and church contexts.

At first, ngozi ceremonies after the War of Liberation stimulated matepe cultures because musicians were called to play in these contexts around the borderlands. The abundance of cultural and musical exchange from this period is evident in mixed and borrowed repertoire and playing styles today, which strengthened matepe cultures based on increases in diversity and interconnection. The purpose of the ngozi ceremonies, however, differed from that of the mbira contexts during the war that appealed to lineage spirits for guidance and protection. In Mudzi district, the absence of masvikiro meant that direct guidance from mhondoro dzeMarembe was not accessible during this particularly troubled time. As a result, the rise of illness and death in the 1980s through the early 2000s was accompanied by a general mistrust of traditional practices, in part because of the entanglements between marombo spirits and lineage spirits that produced doubt and suspicion within the community.

Marombo eventually stopped troubling the Nyamapanda area around the turn of the century. Matomati explains that the practices of creating marombo came from Nyanga district to the south and were unique to that time period. He relayed that people in his village do not engage in that type of evil sorcery any longer, although witchcraft is still prevalent. The marombo had a lasting impact on the region as it created a deep rift between traditional religious practices and the AICs as people turned to the church for answers within an increasingly competitive spiritual landscape.

In the next chapter I will address the proliferation of independent churches and this deepening rift that characterizes the period of tukowa, or egrets, which represent Vapostori churches. The Vapostori organizations offer certain tangible benefits, especially to women, youth, and migrants, who have more freedom and power in church compared to traditional religious contexts. The churches are also popular because they provide an affordable alternative to the price of consulting a n'anga. All of these benefits do come at a cost, however, as churchgoers are often not allowed to engage with traditional music. In the next chapter, I will address how mbira musicians use digital technology, archival resources, and public performance to bridge the gaps of Christian and non-Christian practices through recontextualization.

Chapter Six

Tukowa: Vapostori Churches and Matepe Recontextualized

In August 2017, a memorial service (bona) took place in Tsonga Village. While there are different variations of what bona might look like, this one was a week of all-night ceremonies intended to honor and remember seven individuals from different families who had passed away—some recently, some many years ago. Each day a drum and dance group known as Nzwananai Burial Society performed traditional dances (*nyakapini*, *jiti*, and *mafuwe*) for the purpose of entertainment and as part of the ceremony. Matepe music was also featured in key moments of the event as a means to connect to the spirits of the deceased who were being honored. Chief Goronga explained how the monetary expense of traditional ceremonies has increasingly become a burden as fewer people are involved in hosting and therefore paying for the expenses associated with such events. Additionally, the bona ceremony used to take place over a period of several months, but in this case, they condensed it into a single week to reduce the overall cost. The community's declining interest in traditional ceremonies is directly related to the growth of independent churches in the area. Many churchgoers in the Nyamapanda area, especially those who belong to Vapostori churches, are not permitted to attend traditional religious events because they are associated with ancestral spirit veneration.

The Nyahuna prophecy describes the time period following marombo, or evil spirits, to be characterized by tukowa, or cattle egrets. These white birds represent the growth of Vapostori (Apostolic churches), whose characteristic white robes and outdoor services have transformed the landscape across rural and urban Zimbabwe, especially since the early 2000s. Nyahuna explained that this last time period will end when there are noticeable signs of these Vapostori churches in decline. This will in turn bring the end of the three time periods in which traditional

culture is suppressed and mark the return of mhondoro spirits of the Marembe people through masvikiro. The previous chapter discussed the post-independence period in which AICs began to dominate the spiritual landscape with a focus on “new wave” Pentecostal churches[303] in the rural areas. In this chapter I will get into the period from the early 2000s to the present day and address the tension that has grown between traditional religious practices and AICs, or African Independent Churches, with attention to the impact of Vapostori churches in the northeast.

Present-day churches in Zimbabwe still contend with the disastrous impact of colonial ideologies that depict ancestral spirit veneration as demonic. Mbira, for example, is often targeted as the “devil’s telephone” in the way it is thought to contact spirits that are, from many Christian perspectives, demonic. However, the tensions and boundaries between Christian frameworks and traditional beliefs, while influenced by colonial strategies of cultural disarmament, are far more intricate and variable in contemporary contexts than one may expect. The initial branches of AICs that split from mission churches were rebellious acts against the racist hierarchy of church structures. Additionally, there is a tremendous amount of pluralism in Christian as well as traditional religious practice that must be understood based on local and regional contexts. For instance, the AICs in rural areas differ significantly from the dominance of charismatic megachurches in urban centers. The prominence of mhondoro spirit mediums, the history of missionary activity, demographics of an area, and other factors contribute to the religious makeup of an area and how boundaries between those practices and beliefs are defined and negotiated.

Since independence in 1980 there has been an overall decline in the core components of traditional religion—including ceremonies for mhondoro spirits—and an increase in the number

[303] Also called neo-Pentecostal churches or NPC

of independent churches and their adherents. One main reason for this trend is that AICs in the rural areas offer a space for groups experiencing marginalization to negotiate their social and political power. This is done with many tactics, from specific sonic/musical boundaries to competition over holy mountains where traditional and church ceremonies are held as well as monetary competitiveness in the cost of exorcism and healing. The musical implications of these realms of spiritual competition have led to a decline in the number of religious ceremonies that include mbira music and a decline in the number of attendees who participate in these ceremonies. The musical implications of these patterns include a decline in the enculturation of musical knowledge, as there are simply fewer opportunities for younger generations in particular to absorb the sounds of mbira music from the northeast, which are not readily available in secular contexts or as recorded materials.

In this chapter I will first explore the reasons why the independent churches have a competitive edge over traditional religion and how this impacts the sustainability of matepe music in areas where church attendance is strong. Matepe and karimba players recognize this decline in interest in traditional religious ceremonies, which are important venues where participants absorb the sounds of traditional music through enculturation. Familiarity with and knowledge about matepe music has declined as a result. After exploring the reasons for the competitive growth of Vapostori churches, I turn to the sonic boundaries between traditional and Christian spaces in rural and urban contexts to show how these are defined and negotiated.

Lastly, I discuss the ways in which matepe and karimba musicians work to recontextualize mbira music as something that can be played and enjoyed outside of religious contexts. This was arguably the driving force behind much of the work of culture bearers who participated in this research, including the members of Team Matepe. Matepe musicians are

responding to the strict (yet variable) boundaries that limit members of Christian churches in the rural areas from pursuing mbira music because of the religious stigma that is tied to matepe and karimba. I have witnessed how, since 2011, musicians and culture bearers have used digital media to recontextualize traditional music as an alternative arena that is not in competition with the AICs. In reference to the repatriation project, I focus on how musicians reclaim digitized archival recordings and use those sounds and voices as mechanisms of claiming space in both secular and sacred contexts.

Women Drawn to Church

One major contributor to the growth of Vapostori churches is their appeal to younger adults, especially women of child-bearing age. Authors such as David Maxwell have shown how the independent churches provide contexts in which individuals are able to negotiate and renegotiate societal power dynamics, particularly from marginalized perspectives and especially in response to gendered power structures of mainline Christianity and traditional religion.

The independent churches first developed in the colonial interlude as a response to the racialized and gendered hierarchies of the missionary churches. Two notable Vapostori churches that developed in this way are the Johane Masowe Chishanu church and the Johane Marange Church, named by their founding prophets, respectively, in the 1930s. The early development of AICs brought change to the Christian landscape of what was then Rhodesia, as "African Christians immediately began challenging Catholic and Protestant missionaries over issues of leadership and practice and their racist and second-hand treatment in existing churches."[304] For instance, in the 1930s Johane Masowe prompted Africans to burn the Bible as a defiant act

[304] Tishken and Heuser 2015, 154

against colonialism.[305] The Masowe church still does not use the Bible in their services and instead focuses on the word "live and direct," through elements of charismatic worship.[306] This practice, along with a uniform style of dress that prohibits jewelry or other markers of status, works to equalize the congregation regardless of literacy or wealth.

Mwaura situates the gendered aspects of church growth as both apparent and understudied among African Christian movements in Zimbabwe and in general. She states that women "dominate the pews in mainline churches, African Instituted Churches, Charismatic movements and Pentecostal churches" both during colonial times up to the present-day and are "often the first converts and the most enthusiastic local evangelists."[307] This is, in part, because the churches offer women opportunities of leadership, a support network, and personal growth. She argues that by and large, the growth of Christianity in Africa has been driven by "female agency,"[308] although women are often marginalized or invisible in historical accounts of church development.

Part of the reason for this relative invisibility of women's voices in church history are that men more often hold positions of power in these institutions whereas women make up the majority of the congregation, especially in the AICs. Building on Elizabeth Schmidt's work, Isabel Mukonyora shows how Zimbabwean women have been caught between "two patriarchies." During the colonial interlude they were limited to the rural margins of the state where they were left to oversee the homestead and farm on the "barren soil" of the reserves when men had little choice but to seek monetary income in the urban centers. On the other hand, in the rural areas, women were subject to upheavals in traditional culture where "missionary teachings

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[305] Engelke 2004, 77
[306] Engelke 2004, 77
[307] Mwaura 2005, 411
[308] Mwaura 2005, 414

about gender roles reinforced their subordination to men."[309] This illustrates the backdrop that led many women to join churches of various denominations. Mukonyora argues that women attend, for example, Masowe Vapostori meetings "hoping to heal and transcend the boundaries of a male ordered world."[310]

Taking Their Talents to Church

Crispen Zonke believes that part of the reason why there are no mhondoro spirits in Nyamapanda is because the Vapostori churches condemn the use of traditional music, especially mbira. He recounts that "In the beginning, as I can tell, we did talk to God through those things. We do call God through mbiras and then we talked to God through mbiras, long back before I was born. Then as time goes on those mbiras were being dropped down down down down down until it's dead. The churchgoers have even taken the position of the mbiras. So, everybody thinks that mbira is a bad thing."[311] Essentially, he believes that the AICs have taken over the function of mbira as a means to communicate with the divine. Without spirit mediums, the community has no core spiritual leaders, so people turn to the church instead. Crispen's father, Sekuru Matomati, explained how people in the community who have special gifts of healing or dreaming, for example, are no longer interested in becoming mediums but instead become prophets for the church.[312]

In the Zonke family, and during my research in the rural areas of the northeast in general, none of the women around my age were very interested in matepe. The children, teenage girls and older women were present and interested in mbira during informal playing sessions at the

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[309] Mukonyora 2017, 197
[310] Mukonyora 2001, 7
[311] Interview with Crispen Zonke, September 2017
[312] Correspondence with Anthony Zonke, July 2017

Zonke homestead. Several women in their 20s and 30s from the family attend the local Johane Masowe Chishanu church. Edna Nyakudanga, the wife of Crispen Zonke, spoke about how she joined the Masowe Apostles in the mid-2000s when she was in her late twenties. Edna stated that most of the women her age are interested in church because it offers a structure to their lives. Church teachings also focus on strengthening relationships with family, friends, and neighbors.[313] Perhaps most significantly, the church provides a strategy for dealing with illness, family issues or hardship through prophecy by predicting when these problems may arise and instructing how to navigate them. This prophetic aspect of the AICs fills the niche that would otherwise be addressed through traditional religious practices.

Edna relayed that women who are past child-bearing age may be interested in going to church but they are also interested in traditional religion and tend to choose between one or the other at will. Older women can participate more fully in traditional ceremonies because there are more roles available to them, whereas younger women are more limited in this way. Keller describes these discrepancies an issue of "wetness," in that women's wetness during their childbearing years means that "their bodies carry an ambivalent power," which gives them some kinds of power in the domestic sphere while it also "makes them vulnerable to accusations of bearers of illness and misfortune."[314] Essentially, women carry status as mothers and wives, but are limited in their roles in the traditional spiritual domain until they are past menopause. Keller states that a woman who is postmenopausal "experiences a jump in social status because she has become drier, putting her on par with elder men, both of which carry great authority because they are closer to the spirits."[315]

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[313] Interview with Edna Nyakudanga August 8, 2017
[314] Keller 2002, 156
[315] Keller 2002 156

The discriminatory parameters that limit younger women's participation in traditional religious contexts include age, gender, and outsider-status. As Keller states, "A wife has a very difficult negotiation ahead of her as she moves to her husband's home because structurally wives share the status of being outsiders who are vulnerable to charges of bringing bad spirits to the community."[316] Mukonyora labels this position as a kind of "perpetual vatorwa" (perpetual outsiders) in the place where a woman raises her family.[317] Since the family lineage is patrilineal, then women's ancestral lines are seen as potential causes of disharmony.[318] This plays out in part through accusations of witchcraft, which disproportionately target women. In the Vapostori church, witchcraft accusations are dealt with through confession—a process that is offered repeatedly for those who wish to cleanse themselves of these accusations. They are not socially rejected or called to undergo what may be dangerous tests to determine if they are witches, but are rather offered a more straightforward means of confession and prayer.

Despite these divisions between traditional religion and AICs that I have just outlined, authors such as Mwaura and Maxwell argue that the AICs provide a means for women to reclaim their traditional spiritual roles, as, for instance, diviners and healers. Maxwell demonstrates that women and youth played a key role in the War of Liberation through their cooperation with guerrillas following the guidance of masvikiro (spirit mediums). After the war, women were pushed to the periphery as a "male gerontocratic elite […] reasserted itself, controlling access to land and woodland resources, and monopolizing NGO and state derived local development resources."[319] In the current time period, authors have shown how the Vapostori churches attract many women congregants because they hold more egalitarian potential than other AICs or the

[316] Keller 2002 157
[317] Mukonyora 2001, 8
[318] Bourdillon 1987; Maxwell 1995, 331; Mukonyora 2001, 8
[319] Maxwell 1995

mainline churches. For example, the issue with mainline churches, Mwaura argues, is that they have not been able to offer spiritual roles and responsibilities that are available to younger women in traditional contexts.

Maintaining ties to traditional religious practice is one important strategy that congregation members use to address the inadequacy of mainline churches. Edna grew up in Mutoko near the city center where she attended the Roman Catholic church. She maintained that members of the Roman Catholic churches, unlike Vapostori churches, have a tendency to "mix" traditional religion and Christianity.[320] Bourdillon and hera players in Nyanhehwe also spoke of this mixing, referencing times when community members would attend ceremonies at night and Catholic church services in the morning. This was a common but not entirely accepted practice, as church members were asked to repent for their sins of ancestral spirit veneration upon returning to church. These attitudes no doubt reinforced the perceived sin of participating in local ceremonies.[321]

As an alternative option, the AICs offer a localized version of Christianity that is more in line with Indigenous perspectives concerning the need to address witchcraft and evil spirits. Mwaura states that "many women started and others were attracted to the AICs, because here they were able to reclaim the functions of customary institutions that were weakened by cultural change."[322] Edna further distinguished between types of AICs, saying that local Pentecostal churches sometimes mix with traditional religion whereas the Vapostori churches are the most strict about drawing a definitive boundary. That boundary seems, in part, to offer women of child-bearing age more opportunities for spiritual leadership. Chireshe and Chimoyi, who studied

[320] Interview with Edna Nyakudanga August 8, 2017
[321] Conversation with Michael Bourdillon, 2017
[322] Mwaura 2005, 421

AICs in Masvingo province, argue that Vapostori churches are more egalitarian than other AICs because they create spaces where women's leadership, while still limited in some ways, is nevertheless "accepted as normative."[323] While they may not be able to hold senior positions, an important part of women's contribution to church services is through the role of prophet. Both men and women are seen as equally capable to act as channels for God's message as prophets, a role that parallels mediumship in traditional contexts but is more inclusive and available to younger women in the Vapostori churches.[324]

Even the matepe players agree that the village members who have certain gifts and talents of healing and prophecy, the ones who would have become traditional healers and masvikiro, are taking those talents to the church. Togarasei directly ties these roles together by showing how "svikiro" (plural *masvikiro*) is the most accurate translation of "prophet," as it appears in the Bible. He provides a broad definition of prophet as "a person who has experienced divine inspiration and who speaks or acts in terms of what he/she has experienced about divine manifestation."[325] In this way, masvikiro, or spirit mediums, provide guidance through ancestral spirits and mhondoro spirits, who in turn communicate with God. Togarasei argues this case to problematize the ways in which the missionaries used the transliteration of prophet (*muporofita*) based on their own prejudices and desires to eradicate traditional religion. The language creates barriers between Christian and traditional beliefs rather than highlighting the connections between them.

In the Vapostori churches, there are key distinctions that set apart prophets from mediums. First, someone of any age or gender can be a channel for divine messages as a

323 Chireshe and Chimoyi 2019, 288
324 Chireshe and Chimoyi 2019, 288
325 Togarasei 2017, 828

prophet.[326] Additionally, the church prophets are able to channel messages from God by being filled with the Holy Spirit. Any peripheral spirits are seen as *mademoni*, or demons, that must be exorcized. Consequently, the church provides contexts in which women and youth have the potential to be spiritual leaders. The practice of being filled with the Holy Spirit and rendering all other spirits as demons further reinforces the boundary between traditional and church contexts.

Breaking with the Past through Strict Musical Boundaries

A common aspect of AICs is the need to "break with the past," or define the boundaries between what is framed as Christian and what is non-Christian, especially in regard to traditional religion. As I discussed in the last chapter, Maxwell states that this is because many of the AICs occupy the same "metaphysical space" as traditional religion, but re-work certain beliefs and practices within a Christian framework. Here I turn to the way several AICs "break with the past" and construct boundaries that distinguish them from traditional religious practices in Mudzi district, insofar as it relates to music. To do this, I build on Birgit Meyer's work with Pentecostal communities in Ghana as well as Engelke's work with the Vapostori weChishanu (Friday Apostles) in Chitungwiza to understand the ways in which sonic boundaries are constructed. I do this to demonstrate how these sonic boundaries limit younger churchgoers' interest and participation in matepe music.

Birgit Meyer has written about the necessity of "breaking with the past" in depth, primarily in respect to her work with Ewe congregations in Ghana.[327] Her argument is an interesting addition to the literature on AICs in that it shows how the act of demonizing certain aspects of traditional religion rather than dismissing it altogether helps to maintain connections

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[326] Mukonyora 2001, 8
[327] Meyer 2001, 2004

with those beliefs and practices while simultaneously rejecting them. Meyer demonstrates how charismatic churches relate to the devil very differently from mission churches because rather than being a taboo topic, the devil "is placed right at the centre of Christian belief."[328] She argues that a preoccupation with "the image of the Devil" allows converts to continue to address traditional religion in their everyday lives.[329] As a result, it then remains a tangible reality to return to. As she explains:

> Hence, in addition to investigating African ideas about God or the positive convergence of African and Christian notions, I [argue] for the need for scholars to consider also the negative incorporation of the spiritual entities in African religious traditions into the image of the Christian devil as part and parcel of local appropriations. In this way the "old" and forbidden, from which Christians [are] required to distance themselves, [remain] available, albeit in a new form.[330]

While Meyer's point is a refreshing interjection among the critiques of charismatic churches, she nevertheless focuses her argument upon image over sound. In the case of mbira music in Mudzi district, the *image* of the mbira as the so-called "devil's telephone" is prominent in the minds of churchgoers, but the *sounds* of traditional music, especially in the form of live mbira music, are not. Here my aim is to emphasize the significance of the sonic boundaries of these religious practices and their implications, especially since music is learned and absorbed primarily through enculturation, through the act of listening. Sound is also a primary factor within religious rituals of the Vapostori. Engelke's ethnography on the Vapostori weChishanu, for instance, demonstrates that sound–more specifically, the sound of the voice in prophecy, sermons and singing–is one of the central and defining aspects of church worship that characterizes the Vapostori approach to receiving the word of God "live and direct."[331]

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[328] Meyer 2001, 117
[329] Meyer 2001, 111
[330] Meyer 2004, 455
[331] Engleke 2007

Let me first focus on the Vapostori weChishanu. While the new wave Pentecostal churches in the rural northeast may align with Vapostori as kinds of charismatic churches that centralize prophesizing and possession, the Vapostori are distinct in their interpretations of "live and direct" worship.[332] The Vapostori are more adamant about experiencing the Holy Spirit "live and direct," in part by worshipping outdoors where they are able to receive the word of God more readily. This charismatic approach is also evident in the way this type of Vapostori church does not use the Bible during services. Maxwell has labeled the Vapostori as "anti-technology" because they eschew the Bible as well as musical instruments.[333] The focus is instead on the voice, as Engelke describes:

> The audition of words (through singing especially but not only singing) is a constitutive quality of live and direct language. For an apostolic, singing is the privileged medium of the divine. Properly produced, it brooks no barriers. Herein lays a further clue to what the apostolics understand as the shortcomings of texts: the materiality of the Bible is an inadequate one because it cannot produce sound.[334]

Matepe player Kuda Nyaruwabvu, who grew up in the Methodist church in nearby Mutoko district, explains the importance of sound as a part of spiritual practice. He says that mbira, in the presence of spirit mediums, makes it possible to have a two-way conversation with ancestors and mhondoro spirits (and consequently, God), so people are able to receive spiritual advice in a very immediate and direct way. This contrasts with the mission churches that rely on faith and prayer to communicate with God, which Kuda believes is more of a one-way conversation. He asserts that the AICs therefore fill this need for concrete guidance in a Christian

[332] Engelke 2007
[333] Maxwell 2006
[334] Engelke 2007, 202

context when prophets are filled with the Holy Spirit and can communicate messages as well as divinely inspired music.[335]

It is interesting to note that mbira players as well as churchgoers have likened mbira to the Bible. These comparisons point to the function of mbira as a kind of spiritual technology that operates through sound, as I discussed in chapter three. For instance, Berliner relayed the words of an experienced mbira player who was attempting to explain the spiritual significance of mbira. The player explained to Berliner that "the mbira is not just an instrument to us. It is like your Bible…. It is the way in which we pray to God."[336] Berliner also notes that the mbira players are the ones responsible for the possession of the mediums, as their music "places villagers in a meditative state" that inspires participation and facilitates possession.[337] Vapostori churches denounce the use of mbira (and other instruments) in part because of their materiality, but also because of their role in the possession process. Charismatic churches aim to be filled with the Holy Spirit, but mbira is usually not seen as the correct technology for this task. Mbira is rather depicted by church members as the devil's technology in the way it summons spirits generally defined as "demons" (mademoni) by the churches, including ancestral spirits and mhondoro spirits. It is therefore not readily accepted by church leaders as suitable for church contexts.

The Vapostori churches in rural areas are the most strict in defining these musical boundaries. Mbira is not allowed in church services and congregation members are also not allowed to play it elsewhere, even for entertainment. Edna Nyakudanga, who is a member of the Vapostori church but married into a family of matepe players, is often surrounded by mbira music at home where the archival and newly recorded tracks play over the stereo system. She

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[335] Conversation with Kuda Nyaruwabvu, December 2016
[336] Berliner 1978, 190. In this passage, Berliner does not specify the player's name, but simply writes "well-known mbira player."
[337] Berliner 1978, 190

will avoid listening to the music live, but says that her children are free to listen. They go to church with her but are also around for evening jam sessions at their grandparent's house when everyone is participating in matepe music. When they are older, she says, it will be their choice as to which path they follow. She relayed that it is their culture, so if they have the "talent" or a spiritual calling to play matepe, then they can choose to do so.[338]

The Pentecostal churches have varying degrees of tolerance for mbira music. The Mugodhi church is a kind of Pentecostal church that resembles Vapostori in its outdoor worship services. Mugodhi congregations do use the Bible, but they do not allow musical instruments in their services. Their perspective on mbira is similar to that of the Vapostori churches, as it is prohibited in church services and the church members are not supposed to play or be around mbira music in general. As I described in the previous chapter, Everisto Mupadzi is a former karimba player in Mudzi district who joined the Mugodhi church in 1980 (Figure 36). He explained to us how the church services sing hymns from *Imbirai Jehovha* (Figure 37) as their primary way of music making.

[338] Interview with Edna Nyakudanga, September 2017

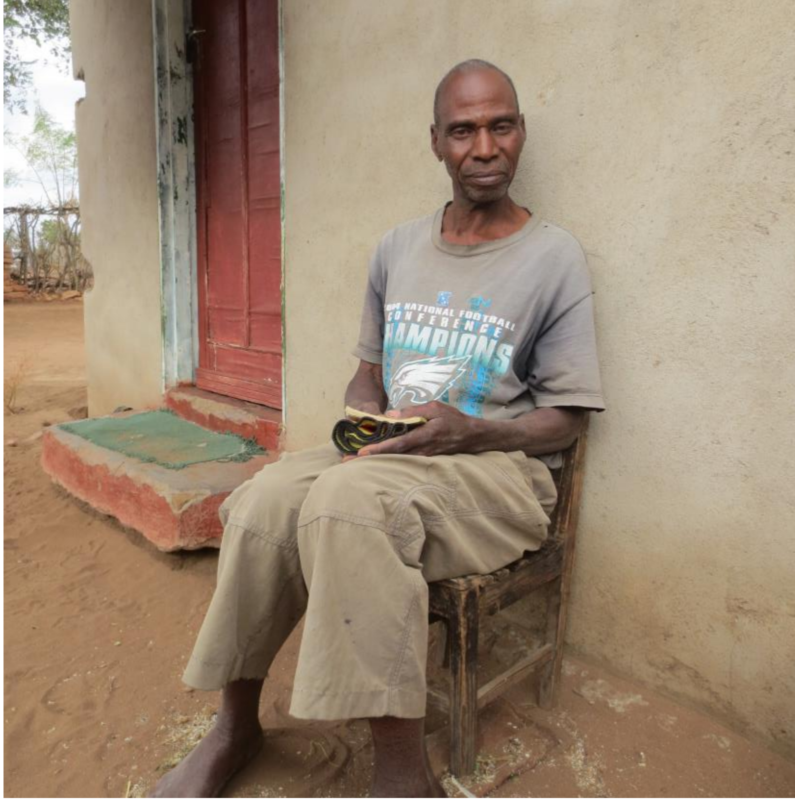

Figure 36. Former karimba player Everisto Mupadzi outside his home south Kotwa in Mudzi district.

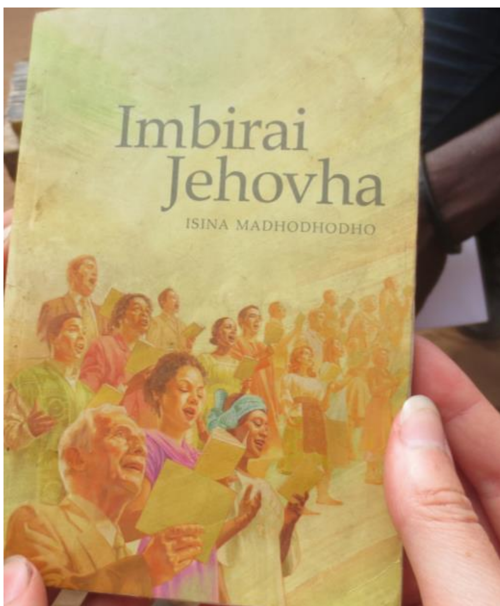

Figure 37. Photo of *Imbirai Jehovha*, the hymnal used at the Mughodhi Pentecostal church. The hymns are verses in chiShona and do not contain music notation.

Mupadzi says that he still enjoys mbira music and is tempted to play when he hears it, so he tries to avoid any contexts of that nature. He accepted the archival recordings that we brought to him on a flash drive, claiming that he could listen to mbira in this way as long as the instrument was not being played live.[339] While this would require follow-up conversations to know more details about how Mupadzi has used the mbira recordings, my understanding is that the recorded materials are less threatening than live music. He is still wary of the link between mbira music and ancestral spirits, but the function of mbira as a kind of spiritual technology is dismantled in some ways when the physical instrument is not present. This approach may allow Mupadzi to reincorporate the music that he enjoys back into his life while maintaining an appropriate distance from things that he wishes to disassociate with, including the social contexts of mbira music (that often include heavy drinking) and its spiritual connotations.

Negotiating Sonic Boundaries

Here I explore the ways that current mbira players further negotiate the sonic boundaries of AICs, since they are far from being fixed. While breaking with the past is a prime method of distinguishing the beliefs and practices of independent Christian churches from traditional religion, it is apparent from the literature that these "breaks" are variable and contextual. Engelke uses the term "porous" to describe the variability of the boundaries that define traditional religion from Christian practice, a characteristic which contributes to the contested and competitive nature of these divisions.[340]

Other Pentecostal denominations, such as those churches under ZAOGA (Zimbabwe Assemblies of God Africa) have very different perspectives on music and mbira. The ZAOGA

[339] Interview with Mupadzi August 2017 at his home.
[340] Engelke 2007, 184

church in Nyamapanda worships indoors, uses the Bible, and does not prohibit musical instruments in their services. I did not attend these services, but discussed the issue with Alec Bandeira, who serves as a Pastor for the church. As I discussed in the previous chapter, Bandeira joined the church in the 1990s and stopped playing karimba at that time. Mbira is not necessarily restricted from church contexts, however. When I asked Bandeira if it was okay to play mbira in church, he said, "there's no problem, as long as it's God's music,"[341] by which he meant music that is not part of the repertoire for spirit ceremonies. Songs that sound more like church hymns or gospel music are theoretically accepted in church, but Bandeira never attempted to push these boundaries or bring mbira into church because it is a controversial choice.

One example of a church song on mbira is "PaGorogota," or "Jesu PaGorogota" which was arranged for matepe in 2005 by Kenneth Zonke.[342] The song is common among Pentecostal denominations such as AFM and ZAOGA, with lyrics referencing the crucifixion of Jesus on Gorogota mountain. The Zonke family arrangement has the following lyrics in a repetitive call and response format:

Call: Makamurowera
You have crucified him

Response: Pamuchinjikwa
On the cross

Call: Makamurowera mwana vaMwari
You have crucified the son of God
Makamurowera Jesu
You have crucified Jesus

Response: PaGorogota

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[341] Interview with Alec Bandeira, September 2017
[342] Field recordings from this research are held at the UW Ethnomusicology Archives.

On the mountain Gorogota

Throughout Zimbabwe, standard arrangements of this song as vocal music or in a gospel style are often in four-part harmony with a duple beat. The Zonke family matepe version adopts the Christian lyrics and original melody but exchanges the duple rhythmic feel for a relatively slow triplet groove that is highlighted in the hosho (rattle) pattern. The triplet hosho pattern is similar to the traditional hosho beat that accompanies matepe music. The Zonke family's version of "PaGorogota" is slower than traditional matepe tunes, which allows for greater attention to the text. The instrumental lines on matepe also differ between gospel songs and traditional repertoire. This is in part because of the gospel song's relatively short, eight-beat cyclic form. To get an idea of what this might sound like, "PaGorogota" resembles the progression and pattern of the well-known mbira song, "Chemutengure." While "PaGorogota" may be classified as "gospel" by the Zonke family, it is unlikely that the mbira arrangement of the song has been played within church contexts in Nyamapanda. Various styles of gospel music and church hymns can be heard in both secular and religious contexts in Nyamapanda. People play them because they are popular and familiar tunes, but they can also be used to voice frustrations over tensions with Christian institutions. The family implied that their version of "PaGorogota," for example, is not simply to be interpreted at face value. It also stands to question the motivation of churchgoers in their aim to do God's work.

In 2017, the team and I had a karimba made for Bandeira at his request by local builder, Enoch Nyazvigo. In Figure 38b, Bandeira is playing karimba for the first time in 15 years. While he could pick out some of the playing patterns on the instrument, the layout and tuning are likely different than the instrument he used to play. Bandeira stated that Andrew Tracey's 1969 archival recordings of his father, Johani Chiyeha Bandeira, were a useful tool to fill in those gaps

and relearn some of the songs. He had already “captured the sound” in his heart, so to speak, so in my return visit a year later, Bandeira was singing and playing a few songs with more proficiency. In this scenario, Bandeira was likely more compelled to play because the music was a way that he connected to his father and relatives who had passed. The songs included in the archival recordings that Bandeira picked back up are core pieces that are associated with traditional religious ceremonies. Since he was playing outside of the church, playing this repertoire on mbira was not an issue.

The archival recordings themselves were not only used for learning purposes, but for ceremonial contexts outside of the church. On one occasion, we heard mbira music sounding from across Tsonga Village. This was unusual, since the matepe players of the Zonke family all live in close proximity and they are nearly always at the center of those sounds and events. Sekuru Matomati even said he suspected that Zack and I were playing mbira somewhere that night, wondering where the sounds had come from. It turned out to be Bandeira who was playing the archival recordings of his father during a memorial service (bona) for his mother. The recorded tracks include Johani Bandeira on karimba, vocalists, hosho, and matepe, so it is a full sound that one may mistake for a live performance. Music is a central element of the bona ceremony, as it is used to call a deceased person’s spirit to the event, especially if that person was connected to or enjoyed a certain type of music.

Figure 38a. Photo of Team Matepe with Alec Bandeira listening to the archival recordings of Bandeira's father, Johani Chiyeha Bandeira for the first time. From left to right: Sekuru Matomati, Crispen Zonke, Chief Goronga, Alec Bandeira, Jocelyn Mory. Photo by Zack Moon, 2017.

Figure 38b. Alec Bandeira playing karimba at his place of work, a welding shop in Nyamapanda. The karimba was built by Kasando (Enoch Nyasvigo) in 2017 for Bandeira to be able to play again after more than a decade.

The sonic boundaries of Pentecostal churches and mbira music are variable even within Nyamapanda. Prior to being elected Chief Goronga, Mr. Boyi Nyamande had planned on becoming a member of a local Pentecostal congregation in Nyamapanda in the years prior to our research. Nyamande described his incentive to join, as the church had provided him with support and guidance after a series of tragic deaths in his family.[343] While he found solace in the Christian faith, becoming a member of a church was a tense decision because it meant setting limitations on traditional practices such as mbira playing and bona ceremonies. In the process of this decision, Nyamande gave his matepe to his brother (Sekuru Matomati) so he would not be tempted to play. In an interview he recalled how that night he could not sleep because of troubling dreams. Nyamande went to his brother's place in the middle of the night to find his mbira and played until morning. He said that after that experience, he knew that joining the church was not an option if it meant abandoning his ancestors. Mbira music is an important means by which people connect to their ancestors and the church's restrictions on mbira music are intended to disrupt these connections. Beyond his own personal struggles, Nyamande also asserted the importance of his role in maintaining traditional practices in the village. As an advocate and custodian for the continuation of certain cultural practices such as bona and rainmaking ceremonies, Nyamande feared that if he abandoned this role then many elements of local culture would cease to be practiced.

Nyamande's situation demonstrates the boundaries of Christian practice more generally, as committing to a Christian path as a church member often requires one to denounce traditional practices related to ancestral spirit veneration. This does not mean that religious boundaries are absolute, as many people who are not committed to a church seek the guidance and spiritual

[343] Interview with Councilor Nyamande (now Chief Goronga), September 2017

assistance of the independent churches. Pfeiffer writes about how the AICs in central Mozambique[344] have become the main avenue by which people seek spiritual healing, largely because of monetary issues. He shows how the cost of hiring a n'anga (traditional healer, also called *curandeiro* in Portuguese) has increased since the mid-1990s, causing these services to become more out of reach for most people in the current economic crisis. As a result, many have turned to the churches for healing because consulting a prophet often does not require monetary payment. Regardless of religious affiliation, someone may attend church rituals and services. In 2020 and early 2021, the Zonke family sought advice and healing for specific health issues by any and all means, which included attending services at the Johane Masowe Nyenyedzi Nomwe Vapostori church (Figure 39), hiring a traditional healer from Mozambique, and travelling to All Soul's Mission Hospital for treatment from Western medical professionals in Mutoko district.

These fluid spiritual practices are challenged by the AICs. Pfeiffer argues that gender and economics help to explain the unprecedented growth of independent churches in southern Africa and the shift away from approaches to traditional healing. He states that "traditional healing practices have increasingly been tailored and sold to men who often pay high fees to practice, or protect against, sorcery related to obtaining employment or undermining competitors," while "treatments for maternal and child health complaints have been priced out of many women's range."[345] Pfeiffer shows that the competitive edge of the AICs emphasizes the contrast between traditional and Christian healing practices. The AICs stress differences in cost as well as the dangers of traditional healing, based on the fact that traditional beliefs are often conflated with witchcraft and sorcery.

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[344] Pfeiffer's research was conducted in Chimoio, Mozambique, about 95 kms east of Mutare, Zimbabwe.

[345] Pfeiffer 2005, 257

Figure 39. Johane Masowe Nyenyedzi Nomwe Vapostori church service in the shadow of a baobab tree, 2020. The fire was likely lit the night prior, since the services often go throughout the whole night and into the morning, similar to a mbira ceremony. Photo by Crispen Zonke.

Brothers Crispen and Kenneth Zonke (two sons of Sekuru Matomati), have responded to the demonization of traditional practices and beliefs through a song they composed called "Tubhetu," or "bat birds," as they say. They came up with the song while panning for gold together along the Mazowe River in Mozambique around 2005. The song relates the Vapostori church members to bat birds (bats) who pose as real birds. The Vapostori, especially, may resemble egrets (tukowa) in their white attire, which is how Nyahuna defined this time period based on his prophecy. Crispen and Kenneth assert that appearances can be deceiving just as one can mistake a bat for a bird. Essentially, they are questioning the perception of the church as a safe haven from evil influences, stating that churchgoers are just as likely to engage in witchcraft and sorcery as everyone else. Bats are associated with witchcraft, so the song also implies their literal use of bats (and hyenas) in the act of witchcraft. The lyrics, written and translated by Crispen Zonke, are as follows:

Tumwe tubhetu utwo
Some of those are
Muchiona
If you can see
Dzimwe in'anya
Some are witchcraft
Zvimwe Zvikwambo
Some are goblins
Zvimwe Zvidoma
Some are ghosts

The Zonke family also categorizes this song as a "church song" or "gospel" by way of musical style even though the content is critical of the church. The sound is similar to that of their version of "PaGorogota," with a relatively short, eight-beat cycle and a main triplet beat

maintained by the hosho player.[346] The mbira patterns and harmonic content of "Tubhetu" are not the same as "PaGorogota," although I have not learned the songs myself and therefore cannot provide a transcription here for further analysis.

These kinds of songs show the directional flow of church music as it permeates the soundscapes of the rural areas and makes its way into mbira players compositions and arrangements. As Claire Jones writes, "Gospel music soared in the entire southern Africa region during the 1990s," and became a dominant force in commercial music, especially regarding music associated with evangelical churches.[347] The sonic boundaries in reverse are far more selective as church members are often prohibited from listening to or playing traditional mbira music. Commercial music that incorporates traditional music and mbira as well as national events and school performances of traditional music help to recontextualize mbira and reshape these boundaries.

Matepe and Church Contexts

While hearing mbira music and gospel coincide may be unusual in the rural areas, it is not as unusual in the urban areas of Zimbabwe. There is significantly more leeway in the capital city of Harare, for instance, for church members to play and listen to mbira music inside and outside of church contexts. This is in part due to stronger associations between mbira and non-religious contexts in urban areas, such as commercial music, schools, and college music programs. These associations have been created with the prominence of more nationally recognized types of mbira, namely mbira dzavadzimu and the Kwanongoma mbira (*nyunganyunga* mbira). Just as in

[346] Field recordings from this research are held at the University of Washington Ethnomusicology Archives.
[347] Jones 2006, 167

the rural areas, the diverse religious landscape also results in considerable variability in the sonic boundaries that act to distinguish between Christian and traditional practices. In this section, I offer several examples of how musicians negotiate these boundaries. I first focus on how the popularity of mbira in urban contexts helps to push the boundaries towards the acceptance of mbira within and outside of church contexts. I then discuss how matepe players in rural areas negotiate these boundaries through strategies of recontextualization.

Kuda Nyaruwabvu grew up as a Methodist in Mutoko district but was inspired to learn to play mbira in a secular way. He was interested to learn because madhebhe had been a part of his family traditions. At the time, Nyaruwabvu was looking for ways to be Christian and also embrace this family practice. In an email from 2013 he wrote: "I started to look for reasons why the Bible did not allow me to play this instrument I grew up seeing. I realized that nothing could stop me, so long I was not playing the instrument to invoke the spirits of the dead."[348] Nyaruwabvu was referring to passages in a Shona translation of the book of Psalms in which the act of playing mbira to praise Jehovah is encouraged, a good example of which can found in verse 98:

> Sing praises unto Jehovah with the harp; With the harp and the voice of melody.
> *Imbirai Jehovha nziyo dzokurumbidza nembira; Nembira, uye nenzwi rokuimba.*

As you can see, "with the harp" is translated to "nembira" (with mbira) in the Shona version of the text, showing one example of how the Shona Union Bible supports traditional music practices from a theoretical standpoint. Traditional instruments are evoked in the Shona translations in order to make a locally meaningful equivalent to the European instruments described in the English versions.

[348] Email correspondence with Kuda Nyaruwabvu, 2013

Nyaruwabvu relayed, however, how he learned to play when he moved to the Mutare and picked up mbira dzavadzimu. This was in part because he did not learn about the distinctions between madhebhe and other kinds of mbira while growing up. Nyaruwabvu later visited his father to show what he had learned on this mbira and his father responded with questions about his motivation. In Nyaruwabvu's recollection, his father said something to the effect of, "you see, playing mbira on my side was not for fun. It was a calling. I was playing for the vadzimu (ancestors)." Nyaruwabvu's access to a teacher in Mutare and later Harare helped him to untangle and interrogate the spiritual connotations of mbira while maintaining a non-traditional stance.

The sonic boundaries of Christian spaces among the mainline denominations in general were significantly modified by "indigenization programs" that sought to create more "'mutual tolerance and interdependence' between many Christians and traditionalists."[349] This has contributed to the various AIC perceptions of mission churches as arenas of "mixed" religious practice, whereby congregation members may attend church as well as traditional ceremonies. One interesting example relating to the Catholic church is illustrated in the work of internationally acclaimed musician and educator, Sekuru Chaka Chawasarira, a matepe player and mbira builder who resides in Chitungwiza, just south of Harare. Chawasarira has advocated for the inclusion of traditional music in the Roman Catholic church for decades and consistently argues for mbira to be recognized as God's music rather than cast aside as demonic.

As a young man in his twenties, Chawasarira was hired as an educator at Marymount Mission in Rushinga where he quickly became a prolific composer. Chawasarira's early compositions of church music were in the form of choir arrangements with drums

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[349] Bourdillon 1976, 305 in Jones 2006, 168

accompaniment (Figure 40a and 40b). Twenty-one of these songs were recorded by Andrew Tracey at Marymount Mission, Rushinga district, in June 1970, featuring the Marymount Choir led by Chawasarira with drums and hosho. Chawasarira recounted the importance of this innovation following The Second Vatican Council in 1962 that allowed local languages and traditional-style music and instruments to define the sounds of Catholic services. The Vatican II held great significance as a transition from church services in Latin to the vernacular. Chawasarira states that "it allowed all the missions to sing in their own languages. We used to sing in Latin. We didn't understand it. That black book there, it was in Latin. That's what I used to use in the church."[350] This opened the door for him to compose some thirty-two choral songs that used chiShona rather than Latin. Chawasarira used his creativity to create a blend of church music with local instruments and traditional influences.

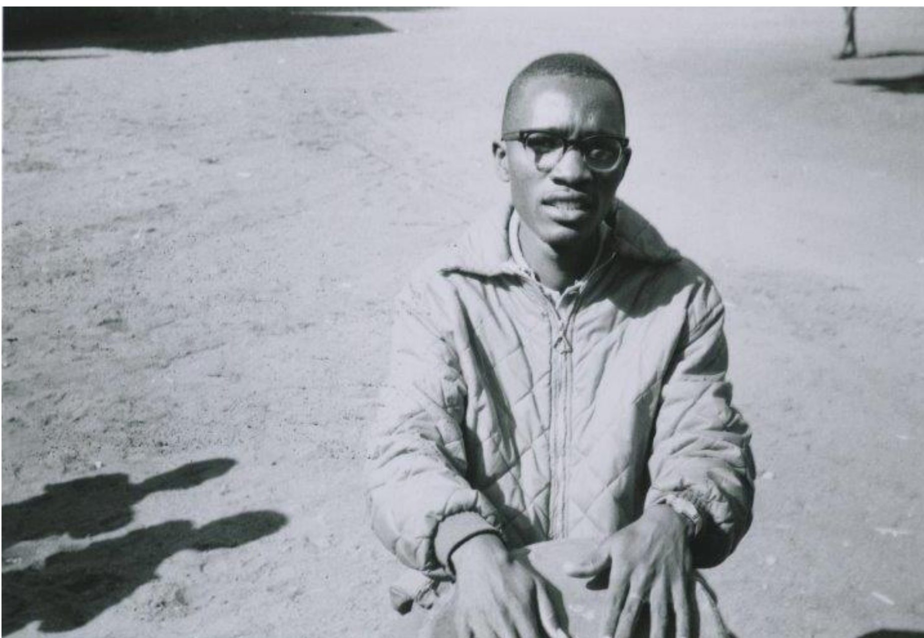

Figure 40a. Sekuru Chaka Chawasarira at Marymount Mission in 1969. Photo by Andrew Tracey.

[350] Interview with Chaka Chawasarira, December 6, 2016

Figure 40b. Sekuru Chaka Chawasarira and his choir at Marymount Mission in 1969. Photo by Andrew Tracey.

Chawasarira, although a fervent Catholic, was enthralled by the traditional mbira music in Rushinga and became a dedicated student and then proficient player of the hera. Later he developed a 19-key karimba[351] that he could use to teach, especially to young people. The intention was to create an expanded version of the Kwanongoma mbira that could accommodate the repertoire of mbira dzavadzimu.[352] The Kwanongoma mbira, as I discussed in chapter two, is an adaptation of the type of karimba from the northeastern borderlands that is closely related to matepe in its repertoire and function. Several of the Andrew Tracey recordings include

[351] See Appendix D for a photograph and tuning scheme of Chawasarira's 19-key karimba
[352] Interview with Chaka Chawasarira, December 6, 2016

Chawasarira alongside karimba player Raisoni Kanakombizi as well as Matias and Jackson Chidavaenzi on hera and vocals, recorded at Marymount Mission in June 1970.[353]

Chawasarira was not interested in the larger karimba from the borderlands at that time, however, so his 19-key karimba is a modified Kwanongoma karimba. The Kwanongoma mbira was developed as a cornerstone of the Kwanongoma College music program in the 1960s, so it is perceived as a "modernized" traditional instrument.[354] It does not carry the same kind of religious associations as matepe or mbira dzavadzimu because it was modified–albeit primarily through aesthetic changes to the resonator.[355] While Chawasarira performed traditional matepe music on international stages, he is also known for his church music compositions on 19-key karimba within Harare and around Zimbabwe.

While he is allowed to play the karimba in church services, Chawasarira admits that on occasion he brings in matepe to play as well, since it is his favorite type of mbira and most people do not know the difference between the two. He has been met with resistance in these actions by church authorities who think it is inappropriate for the matepe to be used in church settings. It is likely that Chawasarira's seniority allows him to push these boundaries to a greater degree than is normally accepted. He states that outside of church contexts, many still struggle with the acceptance of mbira, even karimba, as a secular practice because of its associations with ancestral spirits.

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[353] The recordings with karimba and hera from this session include four traditional songs for mhondoro: "Mwana Wa Mambo," "Musumbo woderere," "Kwa Msengu," and "Kuva Chenjedza". See Appendix A.
[354] Jones 2006
[355] Moon 2018. See Claire Jones 2006 for more details on the influence of Dr. Dumisani Maraire, who was the primary driver towards the popularity of gospel-stye music on Kwanongoma mbira at an international level.

Some denominations promote the use of mbira in church settings alongside other instruments. These arrangements are most often gospel music that is popular among the charismatic megachurches and other Pentecostal denominations. No doubt that popular musicians such as Thomas Mapfumo, Stella Chiweshe, Chiwoniso Maraire, Hope Masike, and Jah Prayzah, who plays mbira dzavadzimu in a resonator shaped like a guitar, have pushed these trends towards highlighting mbira in various styles of popular music. Crossover artists like Zexie Manatsa, who also became a ZAOGA pastor, have helped to bridge connections between these various realms of popular sound and church contexts.[356] Official statements from church leaders help to clarify the theoretical stance of the church in terms of sonic boundaries with traditional instruments and music. As Maxwell states:

> Whereas [ZAOGA] had previously rejected Zimbabwean cultural nationalism because of its associations with ancestor religion, it now selected from what it saw as the more benign aspects of African culture. In 1981 Guti announced to the church leadership, 'we don't just take from western culture'. Appreciating the value of an 'African authenticity' the mbira, a musical instrument previously associated with spirit possession, was encouraged in church services.[357]

The stance of ZAOGA may be part of the reason why Alec Bandeira confidently claimed that mbira in church was accepted (as long as it was "God's music") but did not push these boundaries himself in a region where these choices are controversial.

Matepe in Secular Spaces

In the rural northeast, where mbira is more heavily stigmatized by its spiritual associations, matepe players actively use recorded sound to recontextualize traditional music in secular spaces. Kuda Nyaruwabvu emphasizes the de-stigmatization of matepe music as an essential step

[356] Chitando 2002; Jones 2006, 166
[357] Maxwell 2006, 127

in the process of empowering marginalized ethnic groups such as his own Buja culture to embrace their cultural heritage within a Shona-Zezuru national framework. The emergence of matepe music in social media, along with the creation and circulation of recent and archival recorded tracks, has helped musicians to recontextualize matepe music and diversify its role beyond traditional ceremonies in the rural northeast.

On several occasions Sekuru Matomati has addressed Nyaruwabvu's concerns about whether or not Christianity is compatible with learning matepe. He asserts that matepe instruments and traditional music are not something to be afraid of, as they can just as easily function as music for entertainment if someone identifies as Christian. Although the Zonke family musicians do believe in and participate in traditional ceremonies, they are advocates for promoting matepe in secular contexts so it can become less stigmatized and more accessible for people in their family and others in the region who follow a Christian path. This mindset is a key contributor to the sustainability and multigenerational participation in community music activities in Nyamapanda, where many people attend church.

One way that the Zonke family sustains the sounds of mbira in secular spaces is at the shops in Nyamapanda. The first time I heard recorded matepe music playing over a sound system was during my first visit in August 2014 when the Zonke family matepe players along with Zack Moon and myself were hanging out at a bar in the Nyamapanda shops. Zim dancehall tracks were playing over the speakers at an uncomfortable volume, as the mostly male crowd drank beer and played snooker.[358] Unexpectedly, the music cut out and a crackly version of matepe music began to play in the bar. It was the 1932 track recorded by Hugh Tracey of Kadori playing the song, "Ndonda." Anthony Zonke, the Sabhuku, or village head, of Tsonga Village, used his

[358] Snooker is a type of billiards game popular in Zimbabwean beer halls.

authority to bring matepe into the bar scene. Playing the music over the sound system spoke to his desire for matepe to extend beyond the context of the village by occupying the same auditory spaces with the same listening technology as the cosmopolitan sounds of Jamaican-inspired popular music.

The Zonke family, Zack Moon, and I also played live in this setting, at the bars in Nyamapanda and other locations, but the sound of matepe was no match for the intense booming speakers that play Zim dancehall, gospel, and sungura music at the shops. At best, matepe music–layered with vocals and hosho–could fill in the gaps when the electricity went out, but the relatively soft sound of mbira is quickly drowned out again when the electricity returns or the generators are turned on. There is a clear opportunity that comes with the recorded tracks, both recent and archival, to bring matepe music into the shared secular soundscapes of the town.

The recordings provide a way for younger generations who predominantly attend church to listen to the sound of mbira music without the heavy stigma associated with ceremonial contexts or even informal playing sessions. The recordings, which were all made in secular contexts, can act as a kind of cultural heritage and offer inroads towards the secular enjoyment of matepe music. The recorded tracks allow younger generations (who do not already live in proximity with mbira players) alternative options to listen to matepe music. The listening aspect is key, says Sekuru Matomati, since this is the foundation of learning the music. It is more common for people to take up the mbira when they are a bit older, in their 30s or 40s, when they have some kind of spiritual calling to that path. Anthony Zonke relayed that someone from his family can play whenever they are ready because the music is already "in their heart" through extensive listening. When they pick up the mbira, a person can work out how to play on their own because they have already, as he says, "captured the sound." In other words, family

members know this music through enculturation, listening, and participation in the form of singing and dance during informal playing and all-night ceremonies. For those individuals who avoid mbira because they belong to a church congregation, or simply do not have easy access to mbira playing contexts, they do not have the same opportunities to learn.

One of the expert players featured in Andrew Tracey's audio and video recordings is Saini Murira from Dendera, Mudzi district. The Murira family have been without a matepe player in the family since Saini Murira died in the 1990s. They look forward to the day when someone from the family gets Saini Murira's "talent" and carry on this tradition. Many of the matepe and karimba players I met in the northeast who play traditional music learned through dreaming.[359] The "talent" is a combination of a players own innate abilities as well as skills that may be acquired through spiritual means. In this way, a player might "inherit" the talents of a deceased mbira player through their direct spiritual guidance. The spirit of a deceased mbira player may also might push the person to follow that path through temporary illness.

While the absence of a matepe player in the Murira family means that formal and informal playing sessions are not as frequent, there is not too much concern over the instrumental tradition that may be lost. The family is more concerned about the younger generations who do not know the sounds of this music well. During our visits, younger churchgoers were not able to participate fully in the music because of a lack of experience. The various melodies of matepe music that animate and give character to each song are not as robust without group participation.[360]

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[359] For more information on learning through dreams, see Dewey 1986 and Kyker 2014
[360] Interview with B. Zuze, M. Jaredzera and A. Kafu, July 2017 in Dendera.

Figure 41. Alice Kafu (left), Maria Jaredzera (center) Barbara Zuze (right) and child in Dendera, Mudzi district, 2017.

In 2017 Team Matepe went to visit the Murira family in Dendera, approximately 20 km northeast of Nyamapanda. On one occasion we interviewed three women from the Murira family–Alice Kafu, Maria Jaredzera and Barbara Zuze–to learn about their understanding of the family's musical traditions (Figure 41). During the interview, they demonstrated the main vocal line to "Kuyadya Hove Mune Mazowe" without matepe accompaniment. They sang the main singing line in unison, while Alice Kafu improvised vocal lines in between. There were clear generational differences between the older women who know the songs well (and even mimic the rattle patterns with their hands as they sing) and Barbara Zuze, who is much younger and only tentatively sings along with the main line. Zuze was interested in the recordings and gathered everyone to listen to the archival collection in its entirety during our visits. The recordings allow for social gatherings to include these sounds even if there are no mbira players

around or if they are not able to play, providing more opportunities to listen and sing. The recordings are also more acceptable for many Christians in the area to listen to matepe and karimba because they do not hold the same religious stigma or the same threat of spirit possession as live mbira music.[361]

Conclusion

The divisions and entanglements between Christian and non-Christian religious practices are extremely complex. In this chapter I have illustrated several key factors that contribute to those tensions, boundaries, and syncretisms. One foundational issue that draws people to the church are the gendered power relationships in Christian versus traditional religious contexts, as young women find more opportunities for spiritual authority with the independent churches. Although the AICs borrow many concepts and practices from traditional religion and rework them within Christian frameworks, the competitive nature of the AICs has caused a decline in traditional music because of their strict sonic boundaries that exclude traditional music, especially in rural areas. Matepe traditions have likely been sustained over the centuries by relatively few instrumentalists, but the decreasing number of participants in secular and ceremonial contexts has impacted the resilience of these traditions.

In response, musicians now actively use recorded sound to broadcast matepe in secular spaces and online. They do not aim to desacralize matepe, but they do hope to recontextualize the practice in as many ways as possible so it is not as heavily stigmatized in the eyes of churchgoers within the rural areas. The archival recordings as well as more recent professional recordings of the Zonke family (Appendix A and B) help to push this agenda. Recordings of

[361] Moon 2018

matepe music have seeped into the soundscape in significant ways over the last decade in surprising ways. While musicians still enjoy popular music on their radios at home, many mbira players who received the archival recordings listen to them on a regular basis, at home and even on the move. Gilbert Chimedza is perhaps the most dedicated listener who carries around a portable radio where he lives in Nyanhehwe, playing the archival tracks nearly everywhere he goes. Crispen Zonke also listens to the tracks on a loop at home and while in the field where his younger children absorb these sounds. Sinati Nyamande woke me up in the very early morning several times in Nyamapanda because she was playing loud matepe music on the speakers at her son's house. In these instances, Nyamande put on the recent recordings of her family so she was able to sing along with the tracks when no one was playing mbira. She spends half of the year in Kadoma, southwest of Harare, where there are no matepe players nearby, so Nyamande is able to carry the sounds of matepe with her all year. Musicians also carry these recordings into public spaces like bars and combis (commuter omnibuses), where they alter the soundscape of the shops and roads.

Interestingly, players also incorporate the archival sounds into sacred spaces as substitutions for live music. Gilbert Chimedza and Alec Bandeira have both used the recordings in ceremonial contexts. Bandeira incorporated his father's own recorded songs into his memorial ceremony, which allowed Bandeira to negotiate the musical boundaries of Christian identity and traditional beliefs. Chimedza uses the recordings for spirit possession ceremonies in Nyanhehwe, Rushinga district. He says this helps to fill in the gaps when the mbira players are tired, since there are fewer players now than in the past and it is a challenge to play continuously for ceremonies that go on through the night and well into the next day. On one occasion the svikiro for Nyahuwi responded with curiosity to these matepe recordings and asked Chimedza who was

playing mbira. She was surprised to learn that the tracks were archival recordings from decades ago featuring players from that area. The masvikiro in attendance welcomed the addition of the archival sounds into these contexts. Chimedza even said that if there are no hera players around when he dies, now he feels satisfied that his family can play the recordings at his funeral instead.

These strategies of altering the soundscape help to pave the way for live music in new contexts such as schools and churches. These inroads into community spaces have helped to destigmatize mbira dzavadzimu within urban environments as well. The struggle to bring matepe into educational contexts is a challenging task on the horizon for matepe players who wish to become guest music educators in the primary and secondary schools in their areas. As was the case for Bandeira, who stated that mbira in church was acceptable if it is God's music, these strategies of recontextualization are often not objected to theoretically, but likely by means of social pressure that have thus far kept matepe out of school and church contexts.

Chapter Seven

Reclaiming the Archives

In the process of my follow-up dissertation work in 2018, I interviewed Sekuru Matomati one last time at his home in Tsonga Village before heading home. He opened with the line: "Everyone I know in the world has heard me on the internet."[362] Indeed, this is how we met, when I travelled from the northwest U.S. to Nyamapanda, Zimbabwe after watching a YouTube video of him playing matepe in 2011.[363] The comment Matomati made during the interview referred to the handful of foreigners from the US and Japan as well as Zimbabweans from other regions of the country who have come to Tsonga Village to learn matepe music after seeing him online. What struck me about the comment was that Matomati himself does not really have direct access to the internet. The Zonke family has become known online predominantly through their YouTube videos, but they have very limited access to streaming social media sites because of the steep price of internet bundles and unpredictable network connections in Nyamapanda. Their online presence, however, initiated the repatriation project, as it allowed them to tap into social networks of mbira players and make connections with academics such as myself who could fulfill their request for the archival recordings.

In this chapter, I address the ways in which online spaces have helped to facilitate sharing and social networking of archival materials. I argue that the most valuable elements of the repatriation project and the key to its "success" are the online and on-the-ground social networks that connect institutional archives, researchers, culture bearers from multiple generations, and community musicians from other countries. By "success" I refer to the distribution of archival resources to culture bearers as well as the sustained contact with and between many of these

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[362] Interview with Sekuru Matomati, September 2018

[363] Matsuhira Yuji (username) 2012.

individuals. Anthony Seeger asserts that "recordings are not just commodities," but they are also "parts of networks of social relations and they can be one of the ways such networks are created and maintained."[364] My repatriation project helped to enliven and expand existing social networks that continue to function as avenues of resource sharing. To this end, here I am less interested in the logistics of repatriation and more interested in how musicians have accessed and reclaimed archival materials for their own use. This is an essential part of the sustainability of the research itself, in that it is driven by the interests of those who value matepe music.

Sustainable Networks, Repatriation and the Living Archive

In 2008, then-Director of ILAM, Diane Thram, secured funding to digitize ILAM's entire holdings of sound recordings and photographs. The process took several years, but essentially laid the groundwork for ILAM to focus on repatriation. In addition to the ongoing work of distributing the Sound of Africa Series and other ILAM recordings to academic institutions, Thram dedicated much of the 2010s to coordinating smaller, more direct repatriation projects to villages, families, and individuals in places such as Kenya, South Africa, and Tanzania. She sees this as a vital part of the repatriation process, since repatriating field recordings to academic institutions "doesn't get them back out into the villages where Hugh Tracey made the recordings in the first place," unless universities provide opportunities for students to engage in projects within local communities.[365] Thram notes that repatriation projects should be geared towards areas where there is enough local support from individuals and organizations who are able to carry out much of the groundwork required to locate musicians and their families. Despite these

[364] Seeger 2002, 6

[365] Interview with D. Thram, March 2015. Current Director Lee Watkins also leads applied archival projects with Rhodes University students to help connect communities in South Africa to the collections.

efforts, she remains concerned about the sustainability of the relationships between cultural heritage communities and the institution with these types of short-term repatriation events.

Thram's concerns highlight recent directions in the repatriation of sound archives that focus on the importance of sustainable collaborations with heritage communities and the ways in which these communities reclaim archival materials.[366] Anthropologist Joshua Bell argues that not only are collaborative methods necessary in a logistical sense, but they work to address unequal power relationships by shifting the focus from a self-interest in fulfilling an obligation to repatriation by and for the interests of communities of origin.[367] It is in acknowledging the shared path of repatriation, and the necessity of dialogue and cooperation, that methodologies have become increasingly collaborative.

The language of "repatriate" and "return," primarily refers to the action of those who are returning. If one of the purposes of returning archival materials is to make them available for communities of origin to repossess, reappropriate and/or reclaim such resources, then this lens should be a primary consideration when planning such projects. Re-examining the language of repatriation works to emphasize the agency of how these resources are used in context by those who "own" them, however variously conceived, which is a key element in the decolonization process. Shifting the perspective from repatriation to reclaim opens new pathways into theoretical discussions about the archival materials in the context of culture bearers' lives, or the "living archive."[368]

Online platforms and digital resource sharing have become increasingly popular as collaborative tools for repatriation, cultural revitalization and large-scale sustainability initiatives

[366] Treloyn, Martin and Charles 2019
[367] Bell 2017
[368] See discussion on living archives in Madiba 2017

that involve partnerships between various government and academic organizations, community groups, and NGOs. The 5-year, multi-million dollar project, Sustainable Futures for Music Cultures, for example, launched the soundfutures.org website to encourage dialogue between culture bearers globally so they are empowered to "forge musical futures on their own terms."[369] A number of national initiatives have also begun to embrace a 'grassroots,' participatory approach to safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH), in accordance with UNESCO's guidelines for sustaining cultural heritage through the practice of "collaborative inventorying." One of the main obstacles of these types of top-down projects is the lack of participation among heritage communities and consequently a lack of momentum to keep the work going. Heritage studies scholar Sabine Marschall argues that this is because digital archiving projects are often planned and initiated by cultural outsiders that do not take into account the ways in which target audiences use technology.[370] The Sustainable Futures for Music Cultures website, for example, is no longer accessible, and their YouTube channel has not had a new video posted in six years since the project was published online.

These projects are not specifically geared towards "repatriation" but are part of the same overall movement in heritage studies, museum studies, and archiving that is geared towards interactive digital platforms. New media allows online platforms to converge archival collections with born-digital media in a way that narrativizes and contextualizes the information. Communications scholar Henry Jenkins argues that although "digitization set the conditions for convergence," the process should not be viewed as primarily technological, but rather as representative of a cultural shift towards a more participatory culture that stands in contrast to

[369] Schippers 2010, 159
[370] Marschall 2014

"older notions of passive media spectatorship."[371] Heritage studies specialist Dagny Stuedahl argues that digital media, especially in the context of online social networking sites, has allowed the formation of multiple and diverse "narrative connections" between public audiences and cultural heritage collections. In other words, the focus has shifted away from the content of the collections towards the conversations and stories that give these collections meaning. These strategies also help to ensure that the public face of archival and museum collections are appropriate for the materials in question.

Projects like *Sekuru's Stories* by Jennifer Kyker and the multi-authored *RomArchive* project are examples that highlight the perspectives of culture bearers in the online space. Kyker's project stands out because it is built from her long-term collaboration with Sekuru Tute Chigamba. The content is presented in both chiShona and English so it can be appreciated and utilized by a diverse audience. Kyker digitized and included Lucy Duran's recordings of hera players from a BBC program in 1995, but the framework of her website does not focus on the "repatriation" of these materials since it is just one component of a more comprehensive project.

Romarchive is an example of a digital archiving website that is built by and for cultural insiders, specifically geared towards Roma and Sinti communities.[372] The platform also does not focus on repatriation, but it does effectively make curated archival and museum collections available to these target audiences. The project shifts the focus from "repatriation" to "reclaim" as a means of centering the agency of culture bearers. For instance, the site's ethical guidelines page states that the purpose of the project is to "foster the process of deconstruction and reconstruction of Romani history, arts, and cultures." The project participants do this through new narratives that "counter and subvert not only the structural, secular racism that led to

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[371] Jenkins 2006, 3-11
[372] romarchive.eu/en/

antigypsy representations of Romani identities, arts, and cultures, but also the hierarchy of non-Romani perspectives over Romani perspectives in the field of culture." Essentially, the *RomArchive* project reclaims cultural heritage not only through the visibility of museum and archival collections, but through the reframing of these works from insider perspectives.

Similarly, ethnomusicologists recognize that we can no longer repatriate without interrogating the contextual grounding of recorded collections. Gunderson et al. draw from the work of archivist Terry Cook to stress that we are "moving toward what is referred to as a 'post-custodial paradigm': a shift away from physical records under the custody of the archive, toward a focus on 'the context, purpose, intent, interrelationships, functionality, and accountability of the record, its creator, and its creation process.'"[373] Nannyonga-Tamusuza and Weintraub demonstrate this shift as they advocate for a methodology of "sound repatriation" that intentionally foregrounds the conditions of creation of the collection as well as the exchange that takes place upon their return.[374] These approaches etch new dimensions into dominant archival narratives through multiple perspectives, layered by historical and current perspectives.

Although ILAM's digitized collections have become increasingly accessible to online users via their website, the narrative component of the matepe recordings take place within social media platforms like YouTube and Facebook, where dialogue and convergence with born-digital media can occur. These sites encourage participation based on familiarity and accessibility, as links to videos and conversations can be uncovered easily with one-word internet searches (e.g., "matepe") and posts can be embedded and shared in other social media platforms. This online visibility and dialogue outside of the archival domain contributes to increased public awareness

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[373] Gunderson et al. 2018
[374] Nannyonga-Tamusuza and Weintraub 2012

and interest in existing archival resources while also opening up new avenues for culture bearers to voice their own experiences and perspectives.

My objective in this chapter is to demonstrate how the rural destinations of these recordings, among musicians who have very limited internet access, work in tandem with online social networks that made this project possible. My research blog at yelloweaver.com, which I started in 2016, has provided one avenue to highlight the details of the dissertation project and the many people who are involved. The blog brings together archival resources and my own ethnographic materials and puts them in conversation with other online conversations on YouTube and Facebook. The yelloweaver site functions as another node in the social networks of people who are interested in matepe music. There is more freedom in the online format to go into details about the music, people's stories, and the research process that may not fit neatly into a theoretical framework. I have received a number of requests for the ILAM materials from blog readers who have personal/family connections to the northeastern borderlands. Additionally, audiences participate in, read, and offer feedback on my work, which has been a key motivational factor in continuing these endeavors. My blog offers a gateway to the ILAM resources for those who are looking for information about matepe but may not know how to access academic collections.

Matepe Networks

My dissertation project built upon existing social networks and therefore did not have to build social connections from scratch. The most significant connections within the rural borderlands were established by Hugh and Andrew Tracey's research and enlivened by the existing social connections of the musicians themselves who live in the capital city of Harare and rural districts

like Mudzi, Mutoko, Rushinga and UMP. In my 2016 publication, "Uploading Matepe," I demonstrate how online social media helped to facilitate the repatriation project in rural areas where internet access was limited. In this section, I outline the growth of matepe's online presence in order to show how this was made possible.

Online interest in matepe music formed among international audiences who were interested to learn how to play and began to share hard-to-find resources. These resources include Andrew Tracey's 1970 article on matepe, which was the most detailed published source available at the outset of my research. In the article, Tracey draws on his own work in Zimbabwe and Mozambique as well as data from Hugh Tracey's field notes and recordings. The article includes transcriptions of seven songs along with tuning diagrams, information on several players, and the relationships between regional varieties, which are all useful items for those interested in playing matepe.

From the late 1970s to the 1990s, matepe became known to a growing international audience interested in Zimbabwean music by way of several brief references in Paul Berliner's seminal ethnography, *The Soul of Mbira*. Of equal importance, the book's accompanying set of field recordings features matepe musician Garaji Nyamutya playing the song "Kuyadya Hove Kune Mazowe."[375] Corresponding to music trends within Zimbabwe, both academics and community musicians abroad at this time were primarily interested in playing the increasingly popular mbira dzavadzimu and had a limited awareness of the matepe. Several years later, matepe player Chaka Chawasarira would initiate a new interest in matepe that enabled many Americans to experience the music in a live setting for the first time during the "Soul of Mbira:

[375] Berliner 1978

Mbira Masters of Zimbabwe" tour in 1999,[376] and a subsequent year-long residency as Visiting Artist at the University of Washington (UW) School of Music in Seattle in 2002-2003.[377]

While Chawasarira initially wanted to teach matepe mbira to students at the University of Washington, he ultimately shifted his focus to the 19-key karimba simply because it is an easier mbira to learn, especially for beginners to Zimbabwean music.[378] Chawasarira taught beginning matepe to a handful of musicians from Seattle's community-music scene, who were already familiar with Zimbabwean music. Those who studied with Chawasarira during his residency in the United States have subsequently found few opportunities to continue learning matepe, in part because no other Zimbabwean matepe teacher has since travelled to the United States.

Sekuru Chawasarira then recorded two full-length albums of matepe music: *Matepe Mbira* (2000) and *Magore Kore* (2001).[379] These two albums feature Chawasarira's dynamic singing voice over the deep, clear tone of his solo matepe playing. He has commented on several occasions during our conversations that matepe is his favorite type of mbira because a player can produce a very full sound from just one instrument.

One of Chawasarira's main American students is Texas-based musician Joel Laviolette, who studied with Chawasarira for an extended period of time while living in Zimbabwe.[380] About five years after Chawasarira's residency at the UW, Laviolette rekindled interest in the

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[376] Berliner 1978
[377] Chawasarira's residency was arranged and organized by Claire Jones, who was then a Ph.D. student in Ethnomusicology at University of Washington.
[378] Interview with Sekuru Chawasarira. In Zimbabwe, Chawasarira already had ample experience teaching karimba, as he led a well-known performance ensemble featuring the 19-key karimba during his years at Zengea School located outside of Harare. At that time he composed a variety of repertoire for church and school contexts that included rich vocal harmonies and drumming.
[379] *Matepe Mbira* was recorded in collaboration with Erica Azim of the non-profit MBIRA and *Magore Kore* was recorded by Joel Laviolette's independent label, Mhumhi Records.
[380] Recordings that Laviolette created of Chawasarira during their time together

matepe through an online forum on his website[381] where participants could learn from how-to videos and transcriptions, share knowledge and resources, and discuss their personal experiences with matepe music.

Worldwide, I estimate that there are at least a few dozen players, some Zimbabwean in various locales and some foreigners, who use online resources to learn matepe. These players are joined by other individuals who are actively engaged in watching and discussing videos of matepe songs. On Laviolette's forum, for example, certain threads have logged over 22,000 views, although only a dozen or so people have directly contributed to the discussion.[382] Participants continue to read these conversations even though the website was closed to further postings as of 2012, when social media platforms such as Facebook and YouTube began to supplant online discussion forums. This shift was precipitated largely through YouTube posts by Japanese anthropologist and musician Yuji Matsuhira, who uploaded two videos of the Zonke family playing matepe in December 2011. Matsuhira's posts increased the visibility of the Zonke family's full-length album that he produced around that same time.[383] Together, these materials were the first field recordings of matepe to be published in over forty years. The YouTube videos featuring Zimbabwean performers offer a new level of depth to the collection of how-to learning videos that were previously available online and have also sparked further interest among Zimbabweans through online dialogue.

Zimbabweans based in urban areas began to self-post matepe videos online in 2008. In that year, the first video of matepe was uploaded onto YouTube by username "B. Jakopo." He

[381] Rattletree forum on matepe music available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20160303204308/http://www.rattletree.com/phpBB3/viewforum.php?f=19 (accessed May 2021)
[382] <https://web.archive.org/web/20160313121728/http://www.rattletree.com/phpBB3/viewtopic.php?f=19&t=52&sid=9fca11728840a63c6d9eb1c237773a67> (accessed May 2021)
[383] *Washora Mambo* 2013

explains that he learned the traditional madhebhe song, “Andidenha,” from his grandfather when he was a little boy. You can hear drums, mbira and vocals even though the image shows only one man playing. “B. Jakopo” is a somewhat mysterious figure, in part because he has yet to reply to any of the questions and comments posted to his video.

In 2016, Manager Chokuwamba uploaded over fifty videos from his home area, with content ranging from hera music, mafuwe dances, ngororombe, a bona (memorial) ceremony, and information on family history mixed in with clips of soccer games and other family functions. The videos were mostly recorded years earlier by his father, who studied video technographics while attending university. Manager took on the responsibility not only to digitize the VHS tapes, but to upload them to YouTube for others to see. His family members who live in the UK are able to watch the videos, but he also made them public so people around the world could learn about culture in rural northeastern Zimbabwe, just as he had learned about culture from other parts of the world on the internet. Manager continues his father’s work by recording family events like funerals and memorials when he goes back to his home area several times a year. The footage is different from many of the other recordings online because they show events in context rather than performances that are created for the camera.

Applied Projects

The dissertation project was embedded in and contributed to these social networks of matepe players. Naturally, because of the benefits of working in collaboration with other motivated and talented individuals, we were able to mobilize numerous smaller projects through various online and on-the-ground connections. Much of this applied work was focused on building dialogue between players from diverse places (within Zimbabwe and elsewhere) and between generations.

These conversations worked to promote the work of established players like James Kamwaza, Chaka Chawasarira, and the Zonke family, while also helping others to learn from their expertise. The interview style I used was almost always group interviews so others who travelled along on visits to musicians had their own space to ask questions and converse. The international connections provided support for musicians towards things like school fees, passport funds, small business ideas, medical expenses, and agricultural costs that helped them stay afloat in challenging times.

One of the relatively straightforward projects involved connecting mbira builders with those who needed an instrument, to repair an instrument, or who wanted to learn how to build on their own. Zack and I purchased newly made instruments from James Kamwaza for Kuda Nyaruwabvu, Isaac Kufandirori, Chief Goronga, Sekuru Matomati and Kenneth Zonke, as well as ourselves, in part so we were all able to play matepe together in the same tuning. We also introduced Kamwaza to Harare-based mbira builders who have an established international presence such as Jacob Mafuleni, Albert Chimedza, Chaka Chawasarira and Edgar Bera. Collectively, the group assisted Kamwaza with establishing an online presence so he was able to sell hera instruments directly over WhatsApp to customers in the US, Germany and Japan while maintaining an accessible price for local musicians (Figure 42).

Team Matepe chopped down a mupepe tree for Kasando (Enoch Nyasvigo), who is in his 90s, so he could use it to build matepe and karimba. In the context of Nyamapanda, Kasando provided a karimba for Alec Bandeira and detailed his process of building to Sekuru Matomati and Crispen Zonke so they, too, could work on their building skills (Figure 43). Kamwaza and Nyaruwabvu took part in such conversations so they could hear Kasando's story and compare strategies and designs of hera and madhebhe to matepe (Figure 44). Our long journey to meet

madhebhe builder Efraim Masarakufa helped Nyaruwabvu create his own version of madhebhe as well. We helped facilitate the repairs of older instruments such as Saini Madera's instrument now belonging to his granddaughter Melisa Madera, as I will discuss below, as well as Garaji Nyamutya's instrument, both of them repaired by Matomati and Chief.

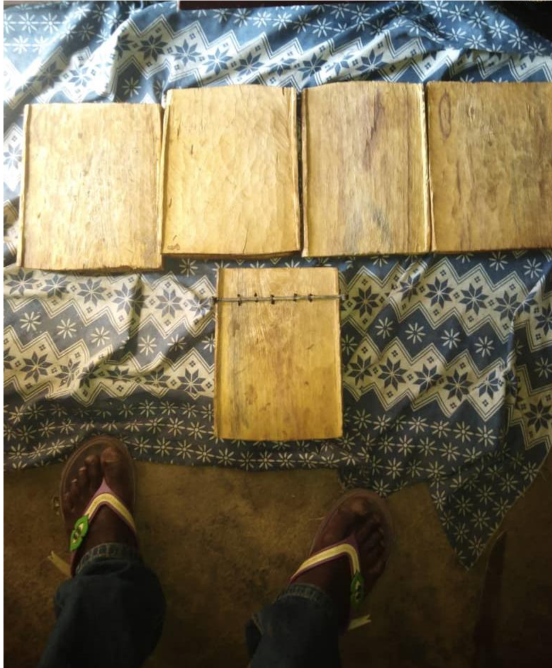

Figure 42. Above: Photo of new sound boards made by Crispen Zonke, who began to build matepe in 2020.

Figure 43. Below: Photo of James Kamwaza and his son posing with five new sound boards that Kamwaza constructed to sell.

During my time in Zimbabwe I also helped to promote matepe in school and university contexts, which has been a challenge despite the dedicated work of teachers such as Chaka Chawasarira, Sekuru Matomati and James Kamwaza. Zack and I purchased an instrument from Kamwaza for the music department at Midlands State University, my affiliate university during my tenure as a Fulbright scholar. We shared all of the transcriptions and resources with the faculty and I taught several lessons on matepe as well as matepe arrangements for their marimba ensemble that Zack and I created. The students are used to learning through transcriptions, so

although the institution is located far from matepe players, as mbira players they have the experience and tools to dig deeper into these foundations.

Figure 44. James Kamwaza and Kasando sharing thoughts on building matepe and hera.

The Nyamapanda primary and secondary school has a very dedicated music teacher, Mr. Richard Nyamuhowa, who focuses on traditional drum and dance music of that area. His drum and dance program is popular among the children and youth in that area and is part of the reason why so many adults are also familiar with local dance styles such as kwinimbira. Nyamuhowa plays his father's old matepe, which is a quality instrument that is still in good condition (Figure 45). Nyamuhowa said he was not interested to learn the traditional ("original") songs when his father was alive, so that is why he mostly plays renditions of popular songs with his colleague, Mr. Musa, who plays Kwanongoma mbira (Figure 46). He relayed that the archival recordings will be useful for him to pick up the traditional songs on matepe, which he already knows to

some degree through singing. He has not been able to incorporate mbira into the school context up until now, but sees the possibilities of putting something together in the future, especially if there are learning resources that utilize the archival recordings in some way.

In many cases teachers are hesitant to teach matepe because it is fast and complex music. Matomati insists that anyone can learn as long as they start slow with an easy song, which is the way he teaches his own grandchildren (Figure 47). The drumming patterns Nyamuhowa teaches to children are no less complicated than matepe patterns and some drum and dance songs even directly translate over to matepe. Crispen Zonke, who also learned from Nyamuhowa, borrows the drum patterns in his hosho playing for that characteristic matepe sound, which is something he picked up from his grandmother, Sinati Nyamande. While there is potential to build a matepe program at the school, it is unlikely to happen for some time because of the stigma against bringing mbira into school contexts, as parents and administrators may not approve. The Zonke family hope to jumpstart this process by creating a school or small cultural center of their own that would benefit both local children as well as visitors to the area who are interested to learn. The economic and political instability in Zimbabwe is not conducive to starting such a project at this time, but we have mapped out a potential plan that can be implemented when the timing is right. Foreign visitors would be a valuable addition to this scheme, not only to earn some revenue for the school, but also as teachers who would be willing to come and share specialized knowledge and skills from various fields (business, agriculture, or technology, for example) with Nyamapanda residents.

Figure 45. Nyamuhowa’s matepe mbira that used to belong to his father, Nyika Nyamuhowa (1924-1986). Figure 46. Teachers Nyamuhowa (left) and Musa (right) at the Nyamapanda primary school with their mbira.

Figure 47. The Zonke family girls playing the left-hand part to “Wako ndewako” at their home in Tsonga Village. Left to right: Previous Zonke (Matomati’s granddaughter), Naume Nyamande (Chief Goronga’s daughter), and Sinodia Zonke (Matomati’s granddaughter).

Mutapa Melodies

I met Kuda Nyaruwabvu online in 2014 through the comments section of one of the Nyamapanda YouTube videos. He wrote: "IM FROM MUTOKO. My Father used to play this same type of Mbira. I tried to lure him to teach me but he just doesn't want to."[384] Apart from the YouTube videos that were available in 2014, there was not a lot of additional information online about matepe, and at the time, Kuda's father was not interested to teach him a spiritual tradition for secular purposes, as I discussed in chapter six. Kuda explained how he felt limited by the available resources on matepe music cultures in comparison to what was available for mbira dzavadzimu. As we dug into the research, it was also clear that there are more publications and recordings of hera and matepe in comparison to madhebhe, which is Kuda's main interest and cultural heritage.[385]

Kuda observed from these online spaces that, on the one hand, white Americans were able to learn how to play matepe because they had access to archival resources that were not easily accessible to Zimbabweans. On the other hand, he stressed how the online visibility of the tradition and even the participation of foreigners, helped to "demystify" matepe by recontextualizing the practice in secular, online spaces. Our response to these issues was in part to make the archival and research materials more accessible through social media channels. My research blog[386] was another avenue that allowed Team Matepe to document and share our activities and research findings. The YouTube and blog posts that we created are available for

[384] YouTube video comment by Kuda Nyaru (username) on Matsuhira Yuji (username) 2012, original emphasis.
[385] There are two published madhebhe tracks by Jojo Charehwa that were recorded in Mutoko by Andrew Tracey in 1969 (see Appendix A), while the rest of the tracks of madhebhe are unpublished.
[386] yelloweaver.com

others to read and discuss in online spaces or through direct messaging alongside clips of the archival materials.

In late 2016, Kuda, Zack and I each purchased hera mbira built by James Kamwaza to develop our playing skills. During the rainy season, when travel was limited due to excessive flooding, we steadily built up our repertoire and skill by listening carefully to the archival recordings and learning from Andrew Tracey's transcriptions. The new instruments allowed us to play and learn together in part because they were in the same tuning, so we were able to figure out how to layer multiple mbira parts together with the transcriptions. Kamwaza's instruments also allowed the three of us to learn directly from Sekuru Matomati and Kamwaza by playing with them at every opportunity rather than just listening, since we could all play on mbira in the same tuning. From the beginning, Kuda was focused on variations and improvisational possibilities that fit in with the playing style as he formed his own sound and interpretation of the music.

Musicians James Kamwaza and Kenneth Zonke agreed with Kuda that matepe should be more visible and available to the public in the form of contemporary, professional recordings. They all support new and creative directions that blend matepe with popular music styles. The archival recordings are not separate from new directions, as they contribute to the knowledge base of new creative projects. Through listening, matepe musicians have been able to learn and incorporate tuning variations, singing lines, and mbira lines into their music. Kuda says he hopes to pass down the archival recordings to the next generation through performances of his own interpretations of the music.[387] James Kamwaza took this further by expressing his hope that

[387] WhatsApp correspondence with Kuda Nyaruwabvu, March, 2021

matepe will become popular enough to “phase out” mbira dzavadzimu among local and international audiences.[388]

In 2018, Kuda relocated to Cape Town, South Africa to seek better economic opportunities for himself and his family. Just prior to that he began to experiment with mixing matepe music, Kwanongoma mbira (nyunganyunga) and electric guitar together. He learns directly from the archival recordings and then uses those matepe tunes as a basis to create his own original works. He describes this process in the following way:

> In 2017, I was playing with my daughter Kuku naiye Musiki Nyaruwabvu who plays Nyunganyunga and [sings] backing vocals. When I moved to Cape Town with [the] little savings I had, I bought a bass guitar and brought in a bassist called Dennis Chimkango. We started having open mic shows where we just went to perform for free to gain some stage experience. I named our band “kwaMutapa the Conquering Melodies.” Our main instruments [are] the Matepe/Hera, Nyunganyunga, Bass guitar, Lead guitar and a keyboard. Two other band members joined the team late 2019- lead guitarist Tapfuma Mahumbunga and keyboardist Wisdom Marumahoko. It has been a roller coaster journey trying to stand strong as an artist with a demanding day job.[389]

Figure 48. kwaMutapa the Conquering Melodies. Kuda Nyaruwabvu and his daughter, Kuku, pose in the center next to guitarist Tapfuma Mahumbunga and bassist Dennis Chimkango. Cape Town, South Africa, 2020. Photo by Leeka Media.

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[388] Conversation with James Kamwaza, November 2016
[389] WhatsApp correspondence with Kuda Nyaruwabvu, March, 2021

Figure 49. Kuda Nyaruwabvu posing with matepe in a resonator. The instrument is a hera mbira built by James Kamwaza, which has been modified with a pickup. Cape Town, South Africa, 2020. Photo by Leeka Media.

Inspired by music that grew out of the former Mutapa state, Kuda's approach blends karimba and matepe along with old songs, new themes and popular music sounds. The matepe songs are not just a historical tie to the former state, but Kuda asserts, in reference to his band, that "we are the remnants of the former Mutapa Empire."[390] This is their way of visibilizing these histories through popular music venues in Capetown and an online presence where they discuss the social commentary of the music and how they mix improvisation with "ancient songs."[391] Kuda described the steady momentum of his efforts:

> The idea of keeping the Matepe alive and putting my tribal music on the map is slowly getting to be a reality. Our band managed to record a single track on gender-based violence in 2020. I envision kwaMutapa being a household name that not only represent the Buja, Matepe or Madhebe community but Zimbabwe and Mozambique's historical ties. The name kwaMutapa is inspired by the once powerful Mutapa kingdom which stretched from modern day lands of Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Zambia. Our sounds will be inspired by these places' ancient sounds. In other words, my band will revive the Mutapa music flare.

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[390] WhatsApp correspondence with Kuda Nyaruwabvu, November, 2020

[391] WhatsApp correspondence with Kuda Nyaruwabvu, March, 2021

The Madera Family

One of the most well-known matepe players in Mudzi district over the last century was Saini Madera (Figures 50 and 51). Andrew Tracey recorded some dozens tracks of his music in 1968-1971 and Hugh Tracey even recorded Saini Madera on drums in 1958 before he started playing matepe. He was known for his incredibly fast playing style that easily called out the spirits during ceremonies. His wife, Ambuya Madera, used to travel and perform with him as a singer and rattle player. Madera passed away in 1971 because of a car accident, but the family says the incident was really caused by his brother-in-law's jealousy, because the brother-in-law taught him how to play but was not as talented.

Figure 50. Saini Madera holding matepe. Photo by Andrew Tracey, 1970.

Figure 51. Saini Madera (center, with mbira) and Andrew Tracey (left) listening to playback from their recording session in 1970.

In 2017, Sekuru Matomati, Crispen, Zack and I went to visit the Madera family in Fuchira, Mkota, which is north of Nyamapanda in Mudzi district. The family was very pleased to hear recordings and to see so many photographs from the years just before he passed away. His children did not have any photographs of Saini Madera, so the archival photos were of special interest to them. Together the team and I played Ambuya Madera's favorite matepe songs–"Kuyadya Hove," "Siti" and "Chamunawe Vana Vako Vakapera"–with the family as they sang, danced and played hosho (Figure 52). They sang right along with the music even though it had been many years since Madera had died. We inquired on the whereabouts of Madera's old matepe that was in so many of the photographs (Figure 50) and if someone in the family was currently playing. I was surprised to hear that Madera's granddaughter, Melisa, who was just out of secondary school, had the mbira with her in Harare and was interested to learn.

Figure 52. Ambuya Madera (right) and her daughters singing along with Team Matepe as we play their favorite songs on matepe.

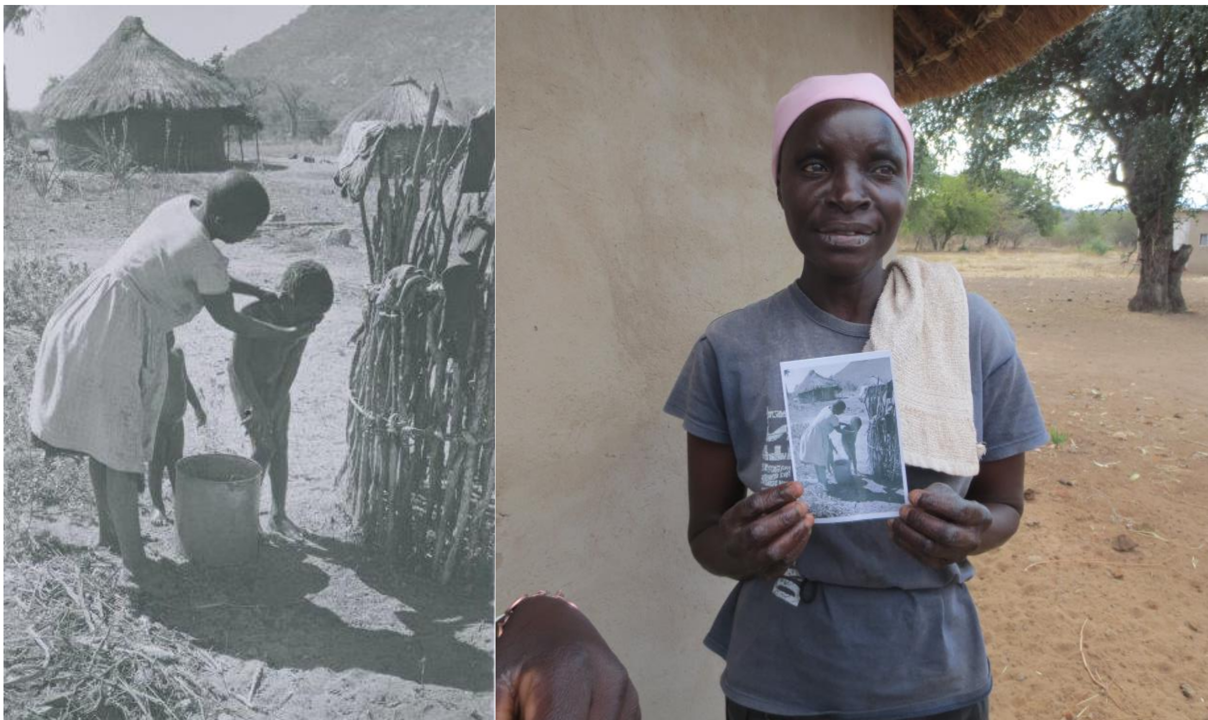
Figure 53a and 53b. Madera's daughter holding a photograph from the archival collection of herself as a child. The original photo is on the left.

I met with Melisa Madera and her father, Richard Madera, in Harare to speak to them directly. They showed me Saini Madera's old mbira (Figure 50), which was a bit worn from so many years of heavy playing. I shared the archival recordings and photographs with them and they agreed to let me take the matepe to Sekuru Matomati so he could fix the loose keys and replace the wooden piro (pillow) that holds the keys in place under the metal bridge, which he was able to do. With a repaired and tuned mbira, Melisa was then able to begin taking lessons from Chaka Chawasarira near Harare for about three months before she left for Germany where she was hired to work for a year before enrolling in nursing school (Figure 54). Melisa was a quick study and was able to play several songs in just that short amount of time while studying with Chawasarira. Chawasarira praised her abilities and built a matepe for her to play for her journey abroad. Community musicians in the US helped to pay for the lessons and the instrument so Melisa was able to make good use of her time before moving away from Zimbabwe.

Figure 54. Photo of author (left) and Melisa Madera (right) with Chaka Chawasarira and his wife (center).

Melisa Madera is a unique player because both of her parents support her interests even though she is a young women and a Christian who grew up going to a Pentecostal church. Richard Madera notes that her mother was the one who first learned to play mbira dzavadzimu, so her encouragement and experience helped to set an example for Melisa (and perhaps her younger sisters) to follow. The attitudes towards matepe in Harare are also very different than Mudzi district. The sonic boundaries that define church music in urban contexts are not as restrictive when compared to the rural areas in the northeast, so pursuing mbira is not as much of a problem for Christians in urban areas. Melisa continues to play matepe while attending nursing school in Germany along with access to the archival recordings and transcriptions of her grandfather's music. The connections that the team helped to establish between Melisa and other matepe players in Harare, Mudzi district, and online offer avenues for her to pursue matepe even while studying abroad. Sadly, Melisa's grandmother, Ambuya Madera (Figure 52) passed away the year after I met her. I was glad that Team Matepe had the opportunity to play music with her in 2017, but the passing of elders like Ambuya Madera stresses the importance of younger generations picking up and continuing these traditions.

Sympathetic-Resonances

While I have focused predominantly on the repatriation of sound recordings in this dissertation, in this section I will address the accessibility of the Tracey Instrument Collection (TIC) and Andrew Tracey's mbira transcriptions. Within the scope of my project, it was only possible to repatriate photographs of the instrument collection in rural areas rather than the mbira instruments themselves. However, through the innovative work of German software developer and mbira player, Stefan Franke, online users are now able to access a digital version of the TIC.

Here I will explain how my dissertation project contributed to this digital platform and highlight an example of how it is being put to use.

In 2014 Stefan Franke developed a unique, open-access tool to transcribe, compose, learn, and analyze songs for the popular mbira dzavadzimu on his site, Sympathetic-Resonances.org. The software uses a custom transcription template and sampled notes rather than MIDI, which enables the user to hear the plucked keys of a specific mbira in the playback feature. In other words, the playback sounds like someone is playing mbira rather than a digital simulation.

Figures 55a and 55b. Above: Example of a transcription of "Washora Mambo" by Saini Madera, which was transcribed by Andrew Tracey in 1969, published in his 1970 article and then recently added to the Sympathetic-Resonances site by Stefan Franke. The notes underneath, which are only a subsection of the entire metadata for this entry, connect the transcription to Andrew Tracey's recordings. Below: In 2021 Franke added the option to play the recording with a pictographic representation instead of with the numbered tablature. Both systems allow you to choose playback from a variety of matepe based on the instruments we sampled.

In December 2016, Zack and I contacted Stefan Franke about the possibility of developing a custom template for matepe mbira to add to the site (Figure 55a and 55b). By coincidence, Franke had learned some matepe and was looking for collaborators to start the endeavor. Zack and I began to sample the matepe instruments of each musician we interviewed during the course of my ethnographic research (with permission) as a way to document the tuning of their instruments and also as a playback source for the web tool. In May 2017, Stefan, Zack and I travelled to ILAM for two weeks to sample every note of over 70 mbira in the Tracey Instrument Collection in order to expand the project from matepe to the many different types of mbira, marimbas, and panpipes at ILAM. As Stefan describes: "following up on our previous joint effort of adding matepe to the website, we started a project to make Prof. Tracey's archive of musical transcriptions from his field research and publications, as well as the great variety of mbiras and tunings in the Tracey Instrument Collection (TIC) audible and accessible to the world."[392] This was a special opportunity to record old and rare instruments that have been maintained in a tuned and playable state by Andrew Tracey for decades. This endeavor was a huge effort–primarily accomplished by the dedicated work of Zack and Stefan–that has opened up the possibilities of making the material collection of the archive publicly accessible.

The Tracey Instrument Collection (TIC) features dozens of types of mbira, most of which have been kept in tune. Harare musician and mbira builder, Edgar Bera, asserts that many Zimbabweans learn mbira in school where they only become familiar with two national types, the Kwanongoma mbira and mbira dzavadzimu. Bera is concerned that not only do Zimbabweans learn, or learn about, a limited number of mbira traditions, but he is also concerned about the variety and diversity of tuning schemes of these instruments. Bera claims

[392] Sympathetic-Resonances.org, accessed March 24, 2021

that the tunings have largely become standardized to a few select tunings, especially in the case of Kwanongoma mbira, which is often tuned to the Western scale in the key of F. He argues that the Tracey Instrument Collection is an invaluable resource because of its diversity in tuning and construction, but it is inaccessible to those who do not have access to the Rhodes University campus in Grahamstown, South Africa.[393] Bera's own solution has been to replicate the instruments of the TIC and their tunings so musicians can play or study them in Harare. He has travelled to ILAM as a resident artist on several occasions to do this interesting work, which is no doubt a long-term endeavor.

The Sympathetic-Resonances site takes an alternate approach and makes the mbira collection accessible to internet users, including detailed photographs at every angle with measurements, the sound of each key, and corresponding notes or transcriptions, if any. The work is collective and open to interested collaborators. As Stefan writes on the website: "Adding the TIC as virtual instruments to the website is an ongoing effort, run by a group of volunteers. Slicing another instrument sample requires no more than a computer, some free software, a pair of headphones, a basic understanding of digital audio, and an hour of spare time. If you are interested in joining our team, please get in touch!"[394]

Several volunteers have spliced the sound samples of mbira so they can be used within the sympathetic-resonances program. Essentially this means that on the site I can hear the song "Siti" as it would sound on Josam Nyamukuvhengu's hera, Matomati's matepe, or Chaka Chawasarira's hera, for example. The source material for the songs comes from Andrew Tracey's archival transcriptions as well as the keen deciphering ears of current players who are able to transcribe the archival recordings. The transcriptions sounded out are vital learning

[393] Conversation with Edgar Bera, November 2016
[394] Sympathetic-Resonances.org, accessed March 24, 2021

resources in combination with the archival recordings because they offer simplified versions of matepe lines with visual cues that can be sped up or slowed down. This way, musicians can learn the work of deceased players from Zimbabwe and Mozambique whom they would otherwise not be able to learn from directly. Franke's website combines the transcriptions, tuning diagrams, and instruments into one simple, digital tool that offers users a virtual archive of the Tracey Instrument Collection. We continue to work with ILAM director Lee Watkins, ILAM sound engineer Elijah Madiba, mbira players, and, whenever possible, the descendants of musicians whose music is transcribed, to make sure all permissions are granted for the material that is posted.

Othnell Mangoma Moyo is a professional musician and instrument maker in Harare who has made extensive use of the Sympathetic-Resonances site. Moyo has Buja heritage and grew up in Bulawayo, but he is also an active performer who tours internationally in the US and Europe. Moyo was familiar with matepe before he accessed the site, in part because he studies many mbira types and other instrumental and dance traditions from Zimbabwe, including njari, nyonga nyonga, mbira dza vadzimu, karimba, marimba, and ngororombe and nyanga panpipes. Drumming traditions are Moyo's specialization, and he was able to meet the Zonke family during a ceremony in Mudzi district when he was invited to drum some years ago.

Moyo has, so far, learned about fourteen songs directly from the Sympathetic-Resonances website through the transcription software. He uses these resources to supplement his one-on-one matepe lessons with Chaka Chawasarira who lives relatively close by in Chitungwiza (south of Harare). Moyo comments that the online transcriptions offer about 10% of the material that a master mbira player knows. The transcriptions provide a jumping off point to dig into the material, but the stylistic details, the development of a piece, and the singing lines

all have to be learned through deep immersion in those sounds. Extensive listening to field recordings and in-person lessons help with this process. The Sympathetic-Resonances Users Facebook page offers one means of connecting and dialoging with others who use the site. Stefan regularly posts updates and interesting recordings from around southern Africa to spark conversation between mbira players and share resources.

In order to actually play the transcriptions, one needs access to a matepe instrument, which are not as readily available as mbira dzavadzimu and Kwanongoma mbira. Mbira builders can use the photographs, measurements, and sound clips from the Sympathetic-Resonances site to build and tune a matepe, although this requires basic knowledge about building mbira. Again, the work requires social connections with builders to learn the practical skills of these endeavors, whereas the details of construction and tuning can be extracted from the site. Moyo has used Sympathetic-Resonances for this purpose as well, as you can see in Figure 56, his first attempt at building mbira, which happens to be matepe.[395]

[395] Othnell Mangoma Moyo has a vibrant social media presence and documents his research and work on his own blog (ngomamusicanddance.art.blog). Moyo said he was inspired by the detailed information and creative writing style on my field research blog (yelloweaver.com), and so began his own website in June 2020. His work aims to fill a much-needed gap in the literature, as Moyo focuses on the diversity of drumming traditions in Zimbabwe.

Figure 56. Othnell Mangoma Moyo's matepe mbira.

Conclusion

The Zonke's family's online presence is what initiated my interest in the dissertation project, along with their request for the archival recordings. They have been an inspiration to numerous players and audiences interested in matepe. Throughout these past nine years, the Zonke family has no doubt been invested in their own online presence. When I first visited in 2014, they made their interests clear, that they wanted me to record and post videos so they could gain visibility and increase their international following. Sekuru Matomati contends that this international recognition stems from a broadcast performance of him playing at the Pumpkin Hotel in nearby Kotwa sometime in the early 2000s. Yuji Matsuhira found this recording and was, as a result, drawn to Nyamapanda to meet Sekuru Matomati.

The fact that the Zonke family do not have the ability to access YouTube is an unsettling issue in regard to their control over their own recorded materials. The recognition and opportunities that they have received as a result are worth it, Chief Goronga stated, despite these

issues. One notable highlight in their careers as professional musicians has been a tour through Germany alongside Stella Chiweshe in 2019 and two full-length albums: *At the Studio* (2020) produced by Lokalophon in Germany and *Washora Mambo* (2013) by El Sur Records and Yuji Matsuhira in Japan. These international connections have contributed to small financial benefits (mostly through direct giving) that have helped them to make ends meet in the present economic crisis. The limited monetary benefits are not the only thing that drive these interests, however. Chief Goronga explained to me that he had a dream about matepe online in which he was playing matepe through the computer keys. He reads as a sign that it is OK to proceed with the online endeavors that involve recording and distributing recordings of traditional matepe music.

Sekuru Matomati also placed emphasis on the social networks that result from their online presence as a positive outcome. In the early 2010s, before I met Matomati, he had a dream about the growing popularity of matepe music online. He dreamt that foreigners, varungu, were present at his funeral because they travelled to Nyamapanda to pay their respects. He implied that the people travelling to see him would be his many students and friends, the ones who learned matepe from his "strong hand," in other words, his talents and abilities. These intentions are apparent in Matomati's generous and open attitude towards visitors who come to stay at this homestead. Whenever I go to Tsonga Village I am always welcomed like family in that space.

The online and on-the-ground social networks that have grown from this project present a valuable opportunity to maintain connections and dialogue with musicians and culture bearers in the long-term. The online networks are not separate from the lives of musicians in the rural northeast, as I have just explained how musicians like the Zonke family have agency and motivation to fuel these online connections. The resulting social networks that are translocal, regional, urban-rural, local, online, and in-person served as the foundation for the repatriation

project of ILAM recordings and photographs of matepe music. The archival resources feed into a larger and more encompassing dialogue that includes numerous voices of scholars, musicians, and culture bearers. The issues of unequal access to online spaces and archival resources still exist, but this strategy is one step to address those issues with the tools at hand.

Conclusion

In the opening chapter of this dissertation I asked, how can ethnomusicologists begin to decolonize sound archives, especially when that kind of work often requires career-long commitments. Elijah Madiba asserts the importance of decolonizing the ILAM archive and the possibilities of how this might be done:

> To [decolonise], ILAM has to accept and acknowledge its past and has to actively engage in inviting the community to use its holdings. It must also participate in community projects and invite scholars from around South Africa and beyond to work in partnerships. But how does 'decolonisation' work? Who decides on its character and how may it address the ills of the past?[396]

Madiba goes on to say that aside from repatriation and revitalization, a key part of decolonization lies in the way culture bearers are situated in the process. He quotes Manoff, who suggests the following:

> Whereas the colonial archive places the [British] administrator at the centre, surveying and documenting foreign subjects, postcolonial literature places the former subjects at the centre and makes possible the exposure of the distortions and manipulations of the historical record.[397]

In other words, as numerous postcolonial scholars have iterated, the work of decolonizing the archive focuses on how culture bearers reclaim archival *narratives,* not just the material objects, and how these narratives are then used to rework existing scholarship. At this point I am convinced that in the process of archival decolonization, the ethnomusicologist must learn to take a back seat with their ideas, however tempting it is to dream up new and grand solutions. Our best work with these processes, I believe, comes from supportive roles of listening, absorbing, and responding with the utmost caution to what is already there.

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[396] Madiba 2017, 45
[397] Manoff, 2004, 16 in Madiba 2017, 45-46

The means to accomplish Manoff's recentering is partly through resilient social networks that weave together the archive with the lives of culture bearers. In this way, the "living archive" comes alive through diverse narratives that are contextualized by history, place, heritage, and memory. Foregrounding these narratives is the work towards decolonization. Interestingly, many musicians who received the archival recordings wanted to know when the next generation of archivists would come to deliver the recordings of *their* music so their children and grandchildren will not forget their accomplishments and talents. Of course, I have already shared the recordings of my own 2016-2017 research, but families seemed to appreciate the promised generational connections between the archive and the community. Andrew Tracey, too, had already taken the responsibility to deliver printed photographs from his field research many years ago, but these had been lost over the years, especially as people moved and migrated to and from the borderlands. In this way, the function of the archive is not obsolete, but serves a specific purpose as part of the living archive in the form of exchanges between generations of researchers and musicians.

In this dissertation project I have gone beyond repatriation to focus on dialogue and social connections through years of ethnographic work. My intentions are not only to increase access to resources (extending the archive) but to use ethnography to begin to unstitch and rework narratives of cultural sustainability and adaptation based on dialogue with matepe players in conjunction with historical research. The resulting social connections that have contributed to a living archive work to contextualize the very localized ebb and flow of matepe music cultures in Northeastern Zimbabwe since the 1960s, caused by specific factors such as civil war, the aftermath of the war, and the growth of independent Christian churches. These detailed and

locally informed narratives move beyond sweeping ideas of "mbirapocalypse,"[398] or the imagined death of mbira, by emphasizing the adaptive nature of matepe cultures and the agency of culture bearers in this work.

In chapters two and three I explored the development of matepe music cultures during the Mutapa state that ruled southeastern Africa from the 15th to the 19th centuries. The Mutapa state grew from its connections with the Indian Ocean trading routes via the Zambezi River and functioned as an economic hub for regional and overseas trade. Villages traded gold, ivory and high-quality iron goods made by local blacksmiths, who were also versed in the art of mbira making. I incorporated historical research based on accounts by Portuguese and British traders and missionaries, who produced detailed diaries of their travels from these time periods. Written sources such as these from centuries ago offer a glimpse into the significance of music in the royal courts and within village contexts in southeastern Africa.

In chapter two I detailed the history and relationships of several ethnic groups who play matepe, including the Marembe, Buja, Nyungwe and Korekore-Tavara. I discussed how early waves of Bantu migrations, the ruling Mutapa state lineages, and the creation of smaller chieftaincies within the state led to a certain "Zambezian ethos" in the region that was defined by ethnic plurality and intermixing.[399] I focused primarily on Marembe people, whose language and culture are scarce in scholarly and popular literature. Through oral history narratives, I was able to situate their ethnic group within the tapestry of the Mutapa state and highlight diverse contributions to the development of matepe music. In this chapter I also discussed how ethnic identities from the northeastern borderlands have shifted over time based on the influences of colonial and postcolonial identity politics and the creation of national boundaries.

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[398] Chikowero 2015; Mark 2017

[399] Marizane 2017

Chapter three explored the function of matepe music during the Mutapa state based on specific political, economic, and religious factors. This precolonial evidence provided a foundation from which to demonstrate how musicians and instrument builders have adapted the function of matepe in other time periods as politics, economics, and religious influences have changed. During the height of the Mutapa state in the 15th and 16th centuries, matepe was an essential part of "the mhondoro religious system" within the royal courts.[400] Just as in present-day practices, music was used to facilitate spirit possession through spirit mediums in specific ceremonial contexts. The ruler of the Mutapa state would call upon the possessed spirit mediums in these ceremonies to articulate genealogies, recount histories, offer guidance, and even predict future events. As such, matepe instruments are strongly associated with spirit possession and continue to carry a strong religious stigma even in secular contexts. This religious stigma is one of the primary reasons why matepe music cultures are so intimately connected to the decline of traditional religious practices.

Chapters four, five and six addressed the time periods of nyamukupukupu, marombo and tukowa, respectively. Each of these are defined by the 1958 Nyahuna prophecy. Nyahuna prophesized that the cultural traditions of the Marembe people would be suppressed during these three time periods, first by war, then by evil spirits, and finally by the rise of Vapostori churches. Nyahuna explained the connections between the symbols and these major factors that have negatively impacted traditional culture. Since the prophecy was given by a mhondoro spirit of the Marembe tribe, it is therefore specific to the Marembe people. However, the Nyahuna prophecy offers insights into regional and cross-border understandings of cultural sustainability based on similar socioeconomic and political pressures.

[400] Pikirayi 1993

Chapter four addressed the first time period of the prophecy defined by the War of Liberation from 1965 to 1979. The Zimbabwean struggle for liberation is one of the most prominent topics in Zimbabwean academic and popular literature. Ethnomusicologists have explored the role of the more popular mbira dzavadzimu during the war, but very little attention has gone to consider other kinds of mbira like matepe and karimba, which were prominent in the combat zones of the Northeastern borderlands where the majority of violent conflict took place. The purpose of chapter four was therefore to highlight the role of matepe players and builders during the War of Liberation and to stress the importance of mbira in local accounts of the war.

During the liberation struggle, the number of matepe players increased, as they were needed to communicate with spirits in the combat zones for guidance. Playing matepe at the time was dangerous, as it was closely monitored by the government and musicians would be beaten or arrested for playing outside designated areas called Protected Villages. The musicians I interviewed said they were compelled to play at this time because it was a spiritual calling that they could not ignore. I demonstrated how the archival recordings from this time period highlight the function of matepe music as a mechanism for guidance and motivation among the troops. I also emphasized the lasting cultural and religious changes that took place during the war, including forced relocation projects and several layers of landmines that were planted along the Zimbabwe/Mozambique border, which continue to divide present-day Marembe communities.

Chapter five addressed the aftermath of the war from 1980 to the mid-2000s and the rise of evil spirits called marombo during these years. Healing ceremonies that aimed to heal the injustices of war by appeasing ngozi spirits were common following independence. In this chapter I explored how matepe players were in demand at ngozi ceremonies and how travelling and playing for some form of payment stimulated learning and creative exchange. While matepe

players benefitted from the numerous healing ceremonies following independence in 1980, the foundations of traditional beliefs began to deteriorate in the 1990s. At first there was a sense of hope after Zimbabwe's independence, but borderland communities became increasingly marginalized in the decades following. The growing inequity between periphery and center was marked by differences in government spending on urban versus rural centers. Northeastern borderland communities further contended with the impact of ongoing civil war in Mozambique, the HIV/AIDS epidemic, cholera outbreaks, and increased political violence. I showed how archival collections are sparse during this time period because of the threat of violence in the borderlands.

Numerous unexplained deaths that occurred in the aftermath of the war were attributed to human jealousy and greed that operated through evil spirits called marombo. Possession ceremonies for mhondoro spirits declined among the Marembe people and eventually ceased at this time. The prevalence of evil spirits, along with the absence of senior ancestral spirits, caused communities to mistrust and fear traditional religious practices. This resulted in an increased stigmatization of matepe music and many people burned their instruments in an attempt to rid themselves of misfortune and death. As a result, small, independent churches began to take over the roles of traditional religion through faith healing.

Chapter six addressed the current time period, from the mid-2000s to the present day. In this chapter I investigated the rise and proliferation of independent churches known as Vapostori, how they have influenced the decline of matepe music, and how musicians have responded to these changes. Vapostori have a large following in Zimbabwe in part because they appeal to marginalized groups such as youth, women, and migrants. Young women in particular are able to become spiritual leaders in the church in ways that are not permitted in contemporary traditional

religious practices. Furthermore, accusations of witchcraft are much less serious within church contexts because they can be dealt with through prayer rather than potentially dangerous "tests."[401] While many authors have written about the syncretism between traditional religion and Vapostori churches, in this chapter I built on their work to demonstrate how strict sonic/musical boundaries between these contexts negatively affect matepe music. As a result, I show how fewer individuals in the community, especially young women, are familiar with traditional music because it is prohibited by the church both within and outside of worship contexts.

Matepe players recognize the sonic boundaries of the churches and negotiate them in various ways. For example, they compose "gospel songs" on matepe like "Tubhetu" (bats) that criticize the competitiveness of the churches. Musicians also transform the soundscape of the rural villages by playing archival recordings at home, in the fields, in public spaces, and during ceremonies when live music is not available. These actions are significant because recorded sound is less stigmatized than live matepe music, so church members can maintain their familiarity with traditional music. Many women are more inclined to transition back to traditional religious practices after their childbearing years, so the introduction of archival recordings to the village contexts may help to maintain musical continuity among women as their religious preferences shift.

Chapter seven turned to the significance of this research project in a larger context, including the influence of online social networks and matepe players in diaspora. I showed how the main "successes" of the repatriation project include resilient online and on-the-ground social networks that connect archives, researchers, and culture bearers from multiple generations. I

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[401] Mukonyora 2001

demonstrated examples of how my project has helped to enliven and expand existing social networks that continue to function as avenues of resource sharing, ongoing dialogue, and new creative projects that utilize the archival recordings. In the spirit of decolonization, I also emphasized the need for ethnomusicology to shift their focus away from "repatriation" and towards "reclaim,"–in other words, how culture bearers reclaim archival recordings. Concepts like reclaim allow projects to focus on the agency of culture bearers rather than institutions. This approach helps to stress the importance of understanding the meaning, value, and use of these resources from many perspectives, in hopes of broadening and decolonizing archival narratives.

While the research period for this dissertation ended in 2018 during my last trip to Zimbabwe, as I write this dissertation in early 2021, the time period of the Vapostori continues. Nyahuna explained that the last time period will end when there are noticeable signs that Vapostori churches are in decline. The mhondoro spirits of the Marembe will thereafter be able to return, necessitating the practice of mbira ceremonies required to communicate with spirits. Chief Goronga mentioned that several signs have occurred in recent years that indicate the close of the Vapostori period, however, exactly when this will be or what form it will take is unknown. In the meantime, musicians are working to recontextualize matepe so it is more accessible for younger generations through recordings, secular performances, and social media. These efforts make it possible for matepe traditions to carry on in a variety of diverse and creative avenues.

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Appendix A

Below is a list of the hera, matepe madhebhe and karimba tracks that were compiled from the ILAM archives and repatriated as part of this dissertation project. The information for each individual track below was used as the full title for the track itself, which is visible when viewed on a computer, cell phone, or digital stereo. In other words, this list represents the metadata in the format that was shared with musicians during the project. For convenience, here I have organized them chronologically by recording session.

Madhebhe: 20 May 1933, Mutoko, Zimbabwe
TP4094 "Ndonda" by Kadori
TP4095 "Ndonda" by Kadori and Karinungu

Madhebhe: 26 April 1948, Charehwa's Village, Mtoko District
AC0148-AM1 "Donda Chawane Mauyo" by Hodzi Katsukunya, Bambu Sotora (hosho) and six other musicians
AC0148-AM2 "Donda Chawane Mauyo" by Hodzi Katsukunya, Bambu Sotora (hosho) and six other musicians
AC0150-AM3 "Donda Chawane Mauyo" by Hodzi Katsukunya, Bambu Sotora (hosho) and six other musicians
AC0150-AM4 "Chimusoro / Chimugwende" by Hodzi Katsukunya, Bambu Sotora (hosho) and six other musicians
AC0152-AM5 "Kwendaenda Shirega Chiwaya" by Hodzi Katsukunya, Bambu Sotora (hosho) and six other musicians
AC0152-AM6 "Samuchima cha Mondoro" by Hodzi Katsukunya, Bambu Sotora (hosho) and six other musicians
AC0149-AM7 "Marume Oshore Mambo" by Hodzi Katsukunyra, Jojo Charewa and Bambu Sotora
AC0149-AM8 "Musengu cha Mondoro" by Jaji and Jana Charehwa
AC0151-AM9 "Tsikidzi" by Hodzi Katsukunya and Bambu Sotora
AC0151-AM10 "Shanje" by Hodzi Katsukunya and Bambu Sotora
AC0154-AM11 "Pfeni" by Hodzi Katsukunya and Bambu Sotora
AC0154-AM12 "Kuenda Huwerera" by Hodzi Katsukunya, Bambu Sotora (hosho) and six other musicians
AC0155-AM13 "Mutambiro wehuku" by Hodzi Katsukunya and Bambu Sotora.
AC0155-AM14 "Mutambiro wehuku" by Hodzi Katsukunya and Bambu Sotora
AC0156-AM15 "Deri" by Hodzi Katsukunya and Bambu Sotora.

Hera: 20 September 1949, Regulo Solgado, Tete, Mozambique
HTFT117-C135-C5R9 "Baba Ndilibe Mai Ndilibe" by Simbi Wezeka Malaki and 2 blind women
HTFT117-C135-C5R10 "Wampeleka Yekwa Bayako" by Simbi Wezeka Malaki and 2 blind women

Madhebhe: 23 September 1949, Charewa, Mtoko District, Zimbabwe
AC0865-C5U4 “Chimusoro” by Hodzi Katsukunya, Jojo Charehwa and 3 others
AC0865-C5U5 “Chiwayawaya” by Hodzi Katsukunya, Jojo Charehwa and 3 others
TP1087-XYZT4396 “Chongawi Chakadembo” by Hodzi Katsukunya, Jojo Charehwa and 3 others
TP1088-XYZT4397 “Samuchima” by Hodzi Katsukunya, Jojo Charehwa and 3 others
TP1089-XYZT4398 “Kwendaenda Chirega” by Hodzi Katsukunya, Jojo Charehwa and 3 others
TP1090-XYZT4399 “Donda Chawane Mauyo” by Hodzi Katsukunya, Jojo Charehwa and 3 others
HTFT121-C139-C5U10 (CR3559-GE1129-XYZT4400) “Tsikidzi” by Hodzi Katsukunya and Chikari Mususa
CR3557-GE1128-XYZT4401 “Dekunde” by Chikari Mususa
CR3562-GE1130-XYZT4402 “Pfeni” by Hodzi Katsukunya
CR3557-GE1128-XYZT4403 “Maria” by Chikari Mususa
HTFT121-C139-C5U14 (CR3559-GE1129-XYZT4404) “Mutambiro wehuku” by Hodzi Katsukunya
CR3562-GE1130-XYZT4405 “Shanji” by Hodzi Katsukunya

Matepe: 21 May 1958, Goromonzi Camp, Mkota, Mtoko
TR91-13 “Marume Washora Mambo” by Saini Murira, Chigaipa Madzikawinga and Zhogi Muzengedza
TR91-14 “Kari Muchipfuwa Kana Ziwa ne Mwene Wako” by Saini Murira, Chigaipa Madzikawinga, Zhogi Muzengedza and Saini Madera (drum)
TR91-15 “Musengu” by Saini Murira, Chigaipa Madzikawinga and Zhogi Muzengedza
HTFT587-M59-M3E13 “Waroiya Mwana” by Saini Murira, Chingaipa Madzikuminga, Zhogi Muzengedza and Saini Madera (drum)
TR91-11 “Siti, Musikana Adadeka” by Saini Murira, Chingaipa Madzikuminga, Zhogi Muzengedza and Saini Madera (drum)
TR85-09 “Waramba Ukama” by Saini Murira, Chingaipa Madzikuminga, Zhogi Muzengedza and Saini Madera (drum)
TR85-10 “Endai Kwenyu Watonga Usare Machinda” Saini Murira, Chingaipa Madzikuminga, Zhogi Muzengedza and Saini Madera (drum)
TR91-12 “Ndicha Girita Pano Mufare Mufare” by Saini Murira, Chingaipa Madzikuminga, Zhogi Muzengedza and Saini Madera (drum)
HTFT587-M59-M3E18 “Nyamutosa Chimbo Cha Gotosa” by Saini Murira, Chingaipa Madzikuminga, Zhogi Muzengedza and Saini Madera (drum)
TR85-01 “Musengu” by Saini Murira, Chingaipa Madzikuminga, Zhogi Muzengedza and Saini Madera (drum)

Madhebhe: 9 June 1969, Mutoko, Zimbabwe
HTFT763-S.2-S2C.1 “Ndonda” by Jojo Kamwaza Charehwa with his wives and family
HTFT763-S.2-S2C.2 (AMA. TR213- A3) “Ndozvitawo” by Jojo Kamwaza Charehwa with his wives and family
HTFT764-S.3-S2C.3 “Chimbo Chebere” by Jojo Kamwaza Charehwa with his wives and family

HTFT764-S.3-S2C.4 “Ndashaya Andidenha” by Jojo Kamwaza Charehwa with his wives and family
HTFT764-S.3-S2C.5 (TR213-A4) “Nyarara Uchazviona” by Jojo Kamwaza Charehwa with his wives and family
HTFT764-S.3-S2C.6 “Watsanga Mutombwi Nganga/ N'anga” by Jojo Kamwaza Charehwa with his wives and family

Matepe: 10 & 11 June 1969, Chikonyora’s store, Msau, Mkota, Mutoko, Zimbabwe
HTFT765-S.4-S2D.1 (TR212- B2) “Karimuchipfuwa Kanaziwa Nemwene Wako” by Saini Madera, Saini Murira, Nyakapunha and Josefa Kapsvairo; Simbi Karimansenga, Timoti (vocalists) and group
HTFT765-S.4-S2D.2 “Vano Vako Vakapera” by Saini Madera, Saini Murira, Nyakapunha and Josefa Kapsvairo
HTFT765-S.4-S2D.3 (TR212-A3) “Rega Kurakana Bza Dzuro” by Saini Madera, Saini Murira, Nyakapunha and Josefa Kapsvairo; Simbi Karimansenga, Timoti (vocalists) and group
HTFT766-S.5-S2D.4 (TR212-A2) “Aroyiwa Mwana” by Saini Madera, Saini Murira and Nyakapunha; Simbi Karimansenga, Timoti (vocalists) and group
HTFT766-S.5-S2D.5 (AMA. TR212- A1) “Siti, Musikana Akanaka” by Saini Madera, Saini Murira, and Nyakapunha; Simbi Karimansenga, Timoti (vocalists) and group
HTFT766-S.5-S2D.6a (TR213-B6) “Kari Muchipfuwa 1” by Saini Madera
HTFT766-S.5-S2D.6b (TR213-B2) “Aroyiwa Mwana 1” by Saini Madera
HTFT767-S6-S2D7 (TR212-B1) “Msengu” by Saini Madera, Saini Murira and Nyakapunha; Simbi Karimansenga (vocalist) and group
HTFT767-S6-S2D8 (AMA. TR213- B9) “Marume Ashora Mambo” Saini Madera, Saini Murira, Nyakapunha and Thomas Dzamwarira; Simbi Karimansenga, Timoti (vocalists) and group
HTFT768-S7-S2D9 “Waiwona Kupi Nzou Inodya Mushonga Kana Uwe” by Saini Madera, Saini Murira, Nyakapunha and Thomas Dzamwarira
HTFT768-S7-S2D10 (TR212-B3) “Kana Mano, Pasi Paenda” by Saini Madera, Saini Murira, Nyakapunha and Thomas Dzamwarira; Simbi Karimansenga (vocalist) and group

12-Jun-69, Magohoto, Mkota, Mutoko District, Zimbabwe, Matepe
HTFT768-S7-S2D11 (TR213-B3) “Aroyiwa Mwana 2” by Saini Madera
HTFT768-S7-S2D12 (TR213-B4) “Rega Kurakana Bza Dzuro” by Saini Madera
HTFT768-S7-S2D13 (TR213-B1) “Siti” by Saini Madera
HTFT769-S8-S2D15 (TR213-B5) “Msengu” by Saini Madera
HTFT769-S8-S2D16 “Chirangei”/“Chimunhu Chinonetsa Umwe” by Saini Madera

Matepe and Karimba: 13 June 1969, Nyamapanda, Mutoko District, Zimbabwe
HTFT769-S8-S2E1 “Siti” by Chief Goronga, Johani Chiyeha (karimba) and Sinati Kadende (lead vocals and rattle)
HTFT769-S8-S2E2 (TR213-A2) “Kadyahove” by Johani Chiyeha Bandeira (karimba), Thomas Dzamwarira Soko (matepe) and Sinati Kadende (lead vocals and rattle)
HTFT770-S9-S2E3 “Kunyangara Kwawo Marembe” by Johani Chiyeha Bandeira (karimba) and Sinati Kadende (lead vocals and rattle)

HTFT770-S9-S2E4 (TR213-A1) "Kari Muchipfuwa Kanaziwa ne Mwene Wako" by Johani Chiyeha Bandeira (karimba) Thomas Dzamwarira Soko (matepe) and Sinati Kadende (lead vocals and rattle)

Matepe: 16 June 1969, Magohoto, Mkota, Mutoko District, Zimbabwe

HTFT770-S9-S2F1 "Marume Ashora Mambo" by Saini Madera
HTFT770-S9-S2F2 (TR213-B7) "Kari Muchipfuwa" by Saini Madera
HTFT770-S9-S2F3 (TR213-B8) "Kana Mano" by Saini Madera

Matepe: 17 & 18 May 1970, Magohoto, Mkota, Mutoko District, Zimbabwe

HTFT780-T1-T1A1 "Siti II" by Saini Madera
HTFT780-T1-T1A3 "Msengu II" by Saini Madera
HTFT780-T1-T1A4 "Marume Ashora Mambo" by Saini Madera
HTFT780-T1-T1A5 "Ngororombe" (playing the sound of the ngororombe) by Saini Madera
HTFT781-T2-T1A6 "Chirangeni" by Saini Madera
HTFT781-T2-T1A7 "Waiwona Kupi Nzou Inodya Mushonga" by Saini Madera

Matepe: 20 May 1970, Nyamupfunde, Mkota, Mutoko District, Zimbabwe

HTFT781-T2-T1B1 "Siti" by Kafangandiwe and Saini Murira
HTFT781-T2-T1B2 "Msengu" by Kafangandiwe and Saini Murira
HTFT781-T2-T1B3 "Kari Muchipfuwa" by Kafangandiwe and Saini Murira
HTFT781-T2-T1B4 "Waroya Mwana" by Kafangandiwe and Saini Murira

Hera: 25 May 1970, Goba near Tete, Mozambique

HTFT783-T4-T1F1 "Chenjera Pusa, Munzadziwona Nsiku Dzakawanda" by Adolf Almeida

Hera: 26 May 1970, Goba, near Tete, Mozambique

HTFT785-T6-T1H2a,b,c "(Ku)tambura Kwa Nyasa" by Fernando Trakinu Chavungwa

Hera: 29 May 1970, Chioco, Tete, Mozambique

HTFT788-T9-T1K1 "Darai Romba I" by Raisi Soza and his wife
HTFT789-T10-T1K2 "Darai Romba II" by Raisi Soza and his wife
HTFT789-T10-T1K3 "Mbopa Oranda" by Raisi Soza and his wife
HTFT789-T10-T1K4 "Pamuromo/Shanje" by Raisi Soza and his wife
HTFT789-T10-T1K5 "Siti" by Raisi Soza and his wife
HTFT789-T10-T1K6 "Amai Wako Auya" by Goma KaChipapa
HTFT789-T10-T1K7 "Nparakanda" by Goma KaChipapa

Hera: 18 June 1970, Marymount Mission, Zimbabwe

HTFT792-T14-T1O2 "Muparaganda" by Samson Chabirika, Kenias Tauro and Josam Nyamkuvhengu
HTFT792-T14-T1O3 "Kanotamba Mbani" by Samson Chabirika, Kenias Tauro and Josam Nyamkuvhengu
HTFT792-T14-T1O4 "Pasi Panodya" by Samson Chabirika, Kenias Tauro and Josam Nyamkuvhengu

HTFT793-T15-T1O5 “KuvaChenjedza” by Samson Chabirika, Kenias Tauro, Josam Nyamkuvhengu and his wife, Chaka Chawasarira and Nyamjekete Kapondo
HTFT793-T15-T1O6 “Dairai Romba” by Samson Chabirika, Kenias Tauro, Josam Nyamkuvhengu and his wife, Chaka Chawasarira and Nyamjekete Kapondo

2 Hera and 1 Karimba: 19 June 1970, Maymount Mission, Zimbabwe
HTFT793-T15-T1P1 “Marume Azere Dare” by Matias Jackson Chidavaenzi, Chaka Chawasarira and Raisoni Kanakombizi
HTFT794-T16-T1P2 “Mwana Wa Mambo Haanodarwo” by Matias Jackson Chidavaenzi, Chaka Chawasarira and Raisoni Kanakombizi
HTFT794-T16-T1P3 “Musumbo Woderere” by Matias Jackson Chidavaenzi, Chaka Chawasarira and Raisoni Kanakombizi
HTFT794-T16-T1P4 “Kwa Msengu” by Matias Jackson Chidavaenzi, Chaka Chawasarira and Raisoni Kanakombizi
HTFT794-T16-T1P5 “Kuva Chenjedza” by Matias Jackson Chidavaenzi, Chaka Chawasarira and Raisoni Kanakombizi

Hera and Karimba: 21 June 1970, Maymount Mission, Zimbabwe
HTFT795-T17-T1Q1 “Kuva Chenjedza” by Raisoni Kanako Mbizi (karimba) and Dick Bobo Kadangerana (vocals)
HTFT795-T17-T1Q2 “Kanotamba Mbani” by Raisoni Kanako Mbizi (karimba) and Dick Bobo Kadangerana
HTFT795-T17-T1Q3 “Musumbo Wonderere” by Raisoni Kanako Mbizi (karimba) and Dick Bobo Kadangerana
HTFT795-T17-T1Q4 “Murume Azere Dare/Chiendai Kwenyu VaTonga” by Raisoni Kanako Mbizi (karimba) and Dick Bobo Kadangerana
HTFT795-T17-T1Q5 “Mwana Wa Mambo Haanodarwo” by Raisoni Kanako mbizi (karimba) and Dick Bobo Kadangerana
HTFT795-T17-T1R1 “Mwana wa Mambo I” by Matais Jackson Chidavaenzi (hera)
HTFT795-T17-T1R2 “Mwana wa Mambo II” by Matais Jackson Chidavaenzi (hera)
HTFT795-T17-T1R3 “Mwana wa Mambo III” by Matais Jackson Chidavaenzi (hera)
HTFT795-T17-T1R4 “KuvaChenjedza I” by Matais Jackson Chidavaenzi (hera)
HTFT795-T17-T1R5 “KuvaChenjedza II” by Matais Jackson Chidavaenzi (hera)
HTFT796-T18-T1R6 “KuvaChenjedza III” by Matais Jackson Chidavaenzi (hera)
HTFT796-T18-T1R7 “KwaMsengu I” by Matais Jackson Chidavaenzi (hera)
HTFT796-T18-T1R8 “KwaMsengu II” by Matais Jackson Chidavaenzi (hera)
HTFT796-T18-T1R9 “KwaMsengu III” by Matais Jackson Chidavaenzi (hera)
HTFT796-T18-T1R10 “Marume I” by Matais Jackson Chidavaenzi (hera)
HTFT796-T18-T1R11 “Marume II” by Matais Jackson Chidavaenzi (hera)
HTFT796-T18-T1R12 “Marume III” by Matais Jackson Chidavaenzi (hera)
HTFT796-T18-T1R13 “Musumbo Wonderere I” by Matais Jackson Chidavaenzi (hera)
HTFT796-T18-T1R14 “Musumbo Wonderere II” by Matais Jackson Chidavaenzi (hera)
HTFT796-T18-T1R15 “Musumbo Wonderere III” by Matais Jackson Chidavaenzi (hera)
HTFT797-T19-T1S1 “Marume Azere Dare” by Josam Nyamkuvhengu, Kenius Tauro, Samsom Chabirika and Baureni Joyi

HTFT797-T19-T1S2 “Ndonda” by Josam Nyamkuvhengu, Kenius Tauro, Samsom Chabirika, and Baureni Joyi
HTFT797-T19-T1S3 “Ndonda” by Josam Nyamkuvhengu
HTFT798-T20-T1S4 “Dairai Romba” by Josam Nyamkuvhengu
HTFT798-T20-T1S5 “Pasi Panodya” by Josam Nyamkuvhengu

23-Jun-70, Marymount Mission, Zimbabwe, hera
HTFT800-T22-T1U1 “Marume I” by Josam Nyamkuvhengu
HTFT800-T22-T1U2 “Marume II” by Josam Nyamkuvhengu
HTFT800-T22-T1U3 “KuvaChenjedza I” by Josam Nyamkuvhengu
HTFT800-T22-T1U4 “KuvaChenjedza II” by Josam Nyamkuvhengu
HTFT800-T22-T1U5 “Muparaganda I” by Josam Nyamkuvhengu
HTFT800-T22-T1U6 “Muparaganda II” by Josam Nyamkuvhengu

Hera and Drum: 24 June 1970, Dotito, Marymount Mission, Zimbabwe
HTFT798-T20-T1V1 “Hondo”(?) by Hasha Nhete and family
HTFT798-T20-T1V2 Untitled by Hasha Nhete and family
HTFT800-T22-T1V3 “Dairai Tausen”/”Chimbo Chinokanga uranda" by Hasha Nhete and family
HTFT800-T22-T1V5 “Nhamo Ndaiwona” by Hasha Nhete and family
HTFT800-T22-T1V6 “Kuyendaenda Chirega” by Hasha Nhete and family, accompaniment by Enock Mutsaunebaya Char

Matepe, Jenje drum and Rattles: 23 July 1973, Mutoko, Zimbabwe
HTFT911-W-R26-W2G1 “Siti” by Saini Murira, Garaji, Thomas Dzamwarira and others
HTFT912-W-R27-W2G2 “Kadyahove/Msengu” by Saini Murira, Garaji and others
HTFT913-W-R28-W2G3 “Waroya Mwana” by Saini Murira and others
HTFT914-W-R29-W2G4 “Kari Muchipfuwa” by Saini Murira and others
HTFT915-W-R30-W2G5 “Rega Kurakana Bza Dzuro” by Saini Murira and others
HTFT915-W-R30-W2G6 “Vano Vako Vakapera” by Saini Murira and others

Appendix B

Chart with published recordings of matepe music. I have maintained spelling discrepancies here based on the published track names.

Album name	Recorded by	Track number & title	Musicians	Location
Zimbabwe: Soul of Mbira	Paul Berliner	Kuyadya Hove Mune Mazowe	Garagi Nyamuja (matepe); Joseph Katsviro (hosho); Mrs. Fatsika, Gibson Utsvoma (voice)	unknown
TR 85 (1958)	Hugh Tracey	1)Msengu 9) Waramba Ukama 10) Endai Kwenyu Watonga Usare Machinda	Saini Murira, Chigaipa Madzikawinga, Zhogi Muzengedza (matepe); Saini Madera (drum)	Goromonzi Camp, Mudzi District, Zimbabwe
TR91 (1958)	Hugh Tracey	10) Waroya Mwana 11) Siti, Musikana Adadeka 12) Ndicha Girita Pano Mufare Mufare 13) Marume Washora Mambo 14) Kari Muchipfuwa Kana Ziwa ne Mwene Wako 15) Msengu	Saini Murira, Chigaipa Madzikawinga, Zhogi Muzengedza (matepe); Saini Madera (drum)	Goromonzi Camp, Mudzi District, Zimbabwe
TR212 (1969)	Andrew Tracey	A1) Siti, Musikana Akanaka A2) Aroyiwa Mwana A3) Rega Kurakana Dzva Dzuro B1) Msengu B2) Karimuchipfuwa Kanaziwa Nemwene Wako B3) Kana Mano, Pasi Paenda	Saini Madera, Saini Murira, Nyakapunha (matepe); Simbi Karimansenga, Timoti (vocalists); Joseph Katsvairo (hosho on tracks A3 & B2); Thomas Dzamwarira (matepe on track B3)	Chikonyora's stoire, Msau, Mkota, Mudzi District, Zimbabwe
TR213 (1969)	Andrew Tracey	Msengu A1) Kari Muchipfuwa Kanaziwa ne Mwene Wako A2) Kadyahove	Johani Bandeira Chiyeha (karimba); Thomas Dzamwarira (matepe); Sinati Kadende (hosho and lead vocals)	Nyamapanda, Mudzi District, Zimbabwe
		A3) Ndozvitawo A4) Nyarara Uchazviona	Jojo Kamwaza Charehwa with his wives and family	Mutoko, Zimbabwe
		B1) Siti B2) Aroyiwa Mwana B3) Aroyiwa Mwana B4) Rega Kurakana Dzva Dzuro B5) Msengu B6) Kari Muchipfuwa (Saini Madera solo) B7) Kari Muchipfuwa B8) Kana Mano	Saini Madera (matepe & vocals)	Magohoto, Mkota, Mudzi District, Zimbabwe

TR213 (continued)	Andrew Tracey	B9) Marume Washora Mambo	Saini Madera, Saini Murira, Nyakapunha, Thomas Dzamwarira (matepe); Simbi Karimansenga, Timoti (vocalists)	Chikonyora's store, Msau, Mkota, Mudzi District, Zimbabwe
Matepe (1971)	Robert Garfias	1)Chamunorwa vano vako vadapera 2)Siti musikana akanaka 3)Marume 4)Aroyiwa mwana 5)Msengu 6)Karimuchipfuwa 7)Tuning of the matepe	Saini Madera, Saini Murira, check archives	Nyahuku River School, Mkota, Mudzi District, Zimbabwe
Magorekore (2008)	Joel Laviolette and Mhumi Records	1)Chenjedza 2)Musumbu WeDerere 3)Rega Kuchema Urombo 4)Vadzimuwe 5)Pasi Panodya 6)Kanotamba Mubani 7)Marume 8)Chimupombe	Chaka Chawasarira	near Harare, Zimbabwe
Matepe Mbira (2000)	Erica Azim and MBIRA.org	1)Kumuchenjedza muTonga 2)Musengu 3)Musumbu wederere 4)Mwana wamambo haanonzarwo 5)Urombo ndehwevanhu vese 6)Ndonda 7)Pasipanodya 8)Kanotamba mubani 9)Kari mugomba 10)Dimbotimbo 11)Kumuchenjedza muTonga yekutanga 12)Nyamaropa	Chaka Chawasarira	near Harare, Zimbabwe
Washora Mambo (2013)	Yuji Matsuhira and El Sur Records	1)Washora Mambo 2)Kuyadya Hove Muna Mazowe 3)Wako Ndiwako 4)Mucharire Shamu Nhai 5)Ndevu Mbembembe 6)Karera	Chief Goronga, Anthony Zonke, Sinati Nyamande, Crispen Zonke and Kenneth Zonke	Nyamapanda, Zimbabwe
At the Studio (2019)	Lokalophon Recoreds	1)Sadza Nemusoro Wembeva 2)Nbebvu Mbembembe 3)Wako Ndewako 4)Karera 5)Tonotengana Kuipa 6)Kuroora Mukadzi 7)Washora Mambo 8)Mhembwe Mukati	Chief Goronga, Anthony Zonke and Crispen Zonke	Berlin, Germany

Appendix C

List of Interviewees

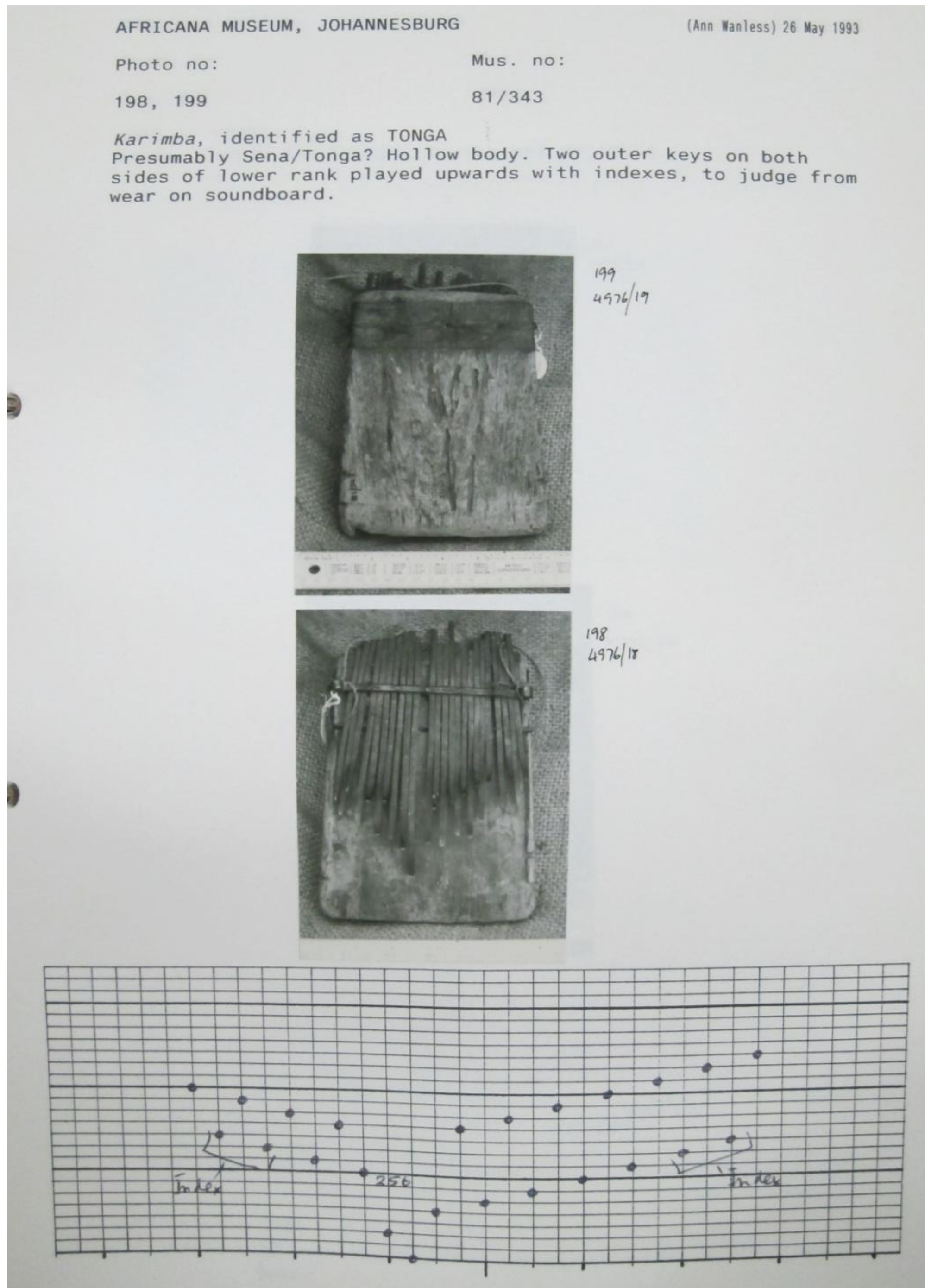
Admire Chokuwamba
Albert Chimedza
Alec Bandeira
Alice Kafu
Andrew Tracey
Anthony Zonke
Barbara Zuze
Beka Murira
Charlie Madzudza
Chaka Chawasarira
Chief Goronga (Boyi Nyamande)
Chief Usiwako
Chikinya Nyamusangudza
Crispen Tichaona Zonke
Daniel Lockley
Danny Raymond
David Gweshe
Edna Nyakudanga
Edgar Bera
Emma Nyamkuvhengu
Emmanuel Silika Gomo
Enoch Nyazvigo
Efraim Masarakufa
Esther Nyandoro
Everisto Mupadzi
Father Stephen Buckland
Garaji Nyamutya
Gilbert Chimedza
Heather Tracey
Isaac Kufandirori
Isaac Musa
Jacob Mafuleni
James Kamwaza
Jeff Brahe
Joel Laviolette
John Karima
Kennedy Kativhu
Kudakwashe Nyaruwabvu
Manager Chokuwamba
Maria Jaredzera
Melisa and Richard Madera
Michael Bourdillon
Mike Thomas

Mishek Nyamkuvhengu
Mubaiwa Charehwa
Naison Goba Karekera
Nyahuku School administration
Partson Nyaruwabvu
Perminus Matiure
Phinnaeus Murira
Rhoda Kangora
Richard Chiweshe
Richard Nyamuhowa
Robin Wild
Samson Chabirika
Shorai Katsukunya
Sinati Nyamande and Sister
Stefan Franke
Tute Chigamba
Yuji Matsuhira

Appendix D

Andrew Tracey *Mbira Catalogue*

The following images are scanned pages from Andrew Tracey's *Mbira Catalogue*, reproduced with kind permission from the International Library of African Music. I have included relevant pages of mbira instruments and players from northeastern Zimbabwe and central Mozambique in the order that they appear in the original document.



AFRICANA MUSEUM, JOHANNESBURG (Ann Wanless) 26 May 1993

Photo no: 198, 199

Mus. no: 81/343

Karimba, identified as TONGA
Presumably Sena/Tonga? Hollow body. Two outer keys on both sides of lower rank played upwards with indexes, to judge from wear on soundboard.

NATIONAL CULTURAL HISTORY MUSEUM, PRETORIA. 27 May 1993

Photo no:	Mus. no:
255, 256	ET 179

Mana embudzi type
identified as from Cheringoma, Zambezi River, Zambia. Bought from Mr. Findley, Rustenburg, poss. about 1911.
Prob at least two keys missing.

256
9876/12

255
9876/11

Index

244

Index

o = missing

NATIONAL CULTURAL HISTORY MUSEUM, PRETORIA. 27 May 1993

Photo no:	Mus. no:
206, 207, 208, 209	ET 6981

Matepe/madhebhe/hera

Hollow bell-type body, sides fluted just like the Van Zanten *nyonganyonga* described in my article "The original African mbira?", *African Music*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1972. That was identified as SENA, so this prob. is too. This instrument fits perfectly the "early type of hera" I proposed in this article, which is nowhere played today.

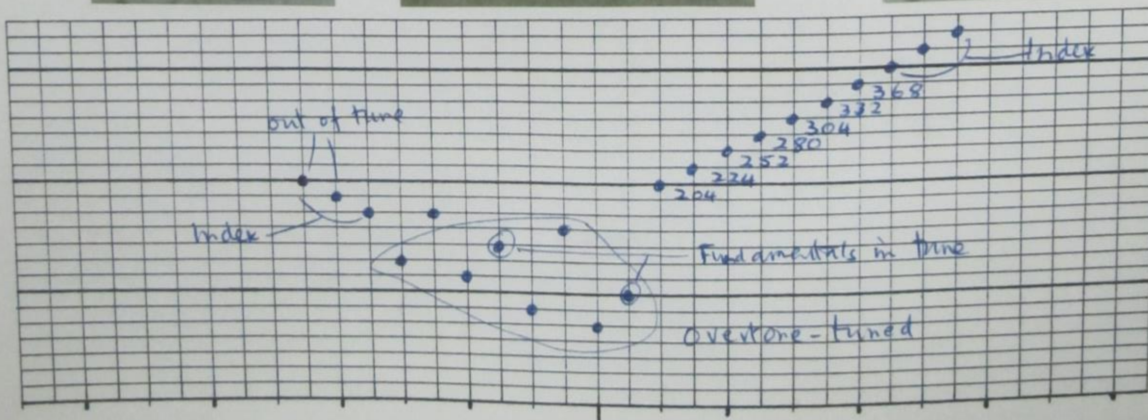
Very light keys, almost completely in tune, except two of the left index keys. The bass notes are tuned by their overtones, the fundamentals being rather low, except in two keys where they are in tune.

Donated by Mrs. C.Garton, 1924.

208 9890/2

206 9890/0

209 9890/3



NATIONAL CULTURAL HISTORY MUSEUM, PRETORIA. 27 May 1993

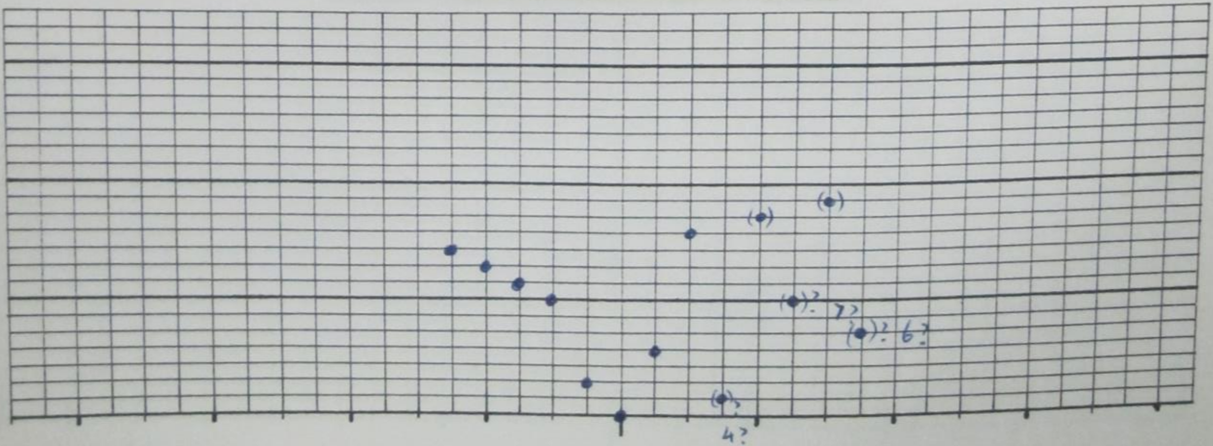
Photo no: 245, 246

Mus. no: I omitted to write it down

Karimba, lower Zambezi valley type
i.e. could be Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Malawi.
Prob. about five keys missing. Keys have been replaced wrong on the right side, but left side intact.

246
9876/2

245
9876/1



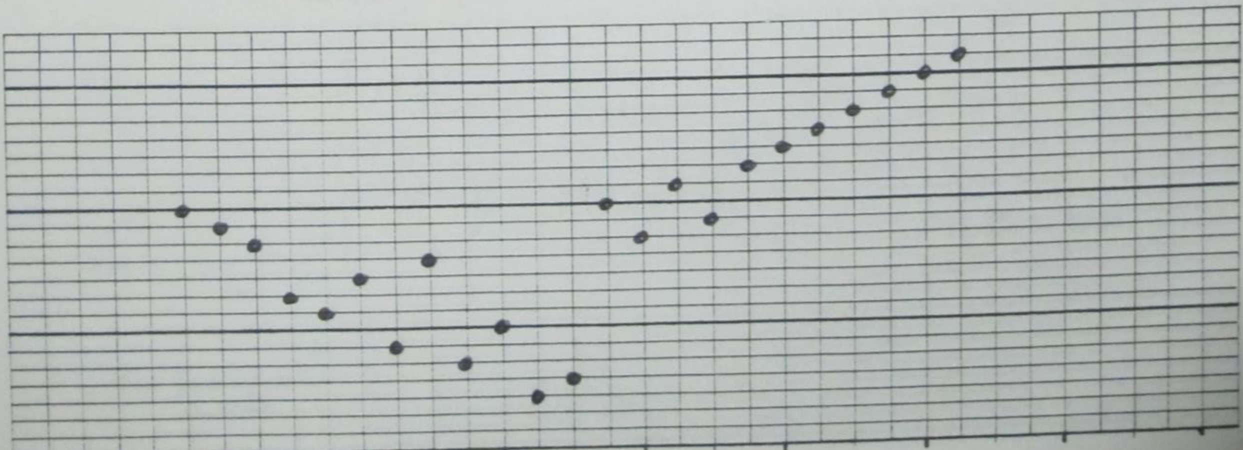
HERA – KOREKORE

Photos: 8 Aug 1993

MUDARIKI MKWENYA (Mhofu Mufakosi, c.70), at Magada, near Nyanegiti hill, Dotito. Address: Dotito Council, P.A. Pfura, Mt. Darwin. Made by Andrea Magada (see next). Tuned one tone higher than my *matepe*. A weak player, esp. left hand, but still enjoys it, plays regularly.

2553/14

2553/16



HERA – KOREKORE

Photos: 8 Aug 1993

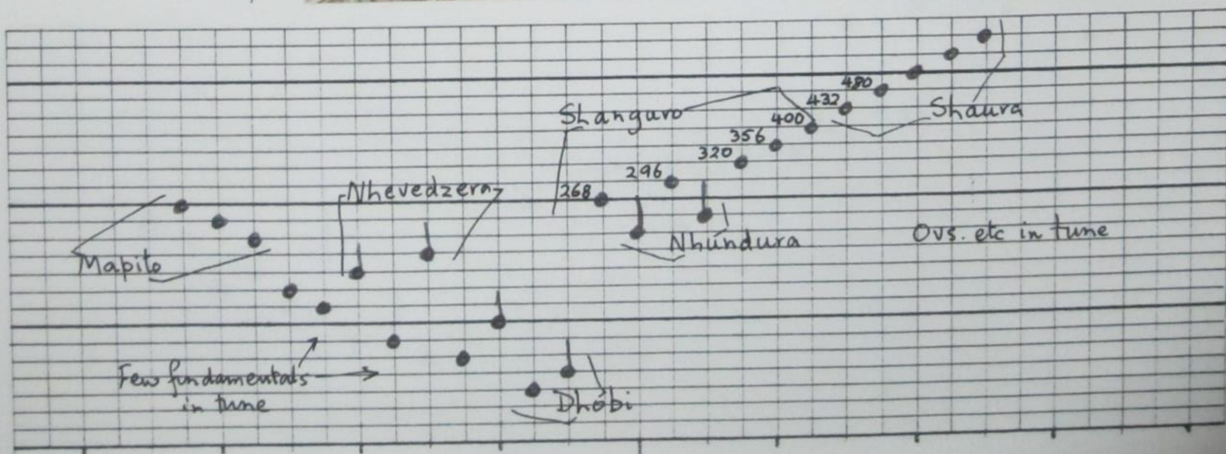
ANDREA MAGADA (Tembo Mazvimbakupa, c.50), at Magada (his younger brother is Sabuku Magada), address: Dotito Council, P.A.Pfura, Mt. Darwin. He apparently has made many of the *hera*s played around here, including this one. Had been playing all previous night, thumbs very sore! Local *mhondoro* is Nyabapa. Second mbira part he calls *kutsina*. Says Hasha, whom I recorded here in 1970, has moved to Marabada resettlement scheme, and Denis and Tobias all play *hera* there. Also says that a number of *hera* players of Nzou mutupo left Dotito and now play at Sabuku Dzuda, Chief Bushu, Shamva, including Goro, Keni, Sikumbule and Changata.

The main part of his repertoire is:

NYAMAROPA, C in C, same movement as my "Kwa Msengu" (Kadyahove), agrees it = Kwa Msengu and also "Dairai Tausen", which it cannot.
KANOTAMBA MUBANI = "Siti"
KANGA URANDA
NYANDOBAIWA
TONGORE = "Mwana wa mambo haanodarwo"
CHIENDAENDA CHIREGA, NDATUKWA NOMUTONGA
NZOU ICHIDYA MUSHONGA
PAUKAMA REGA KUSARURA
MPARAGANDA
KUVACHENJEDZA

2553/17

2553/18

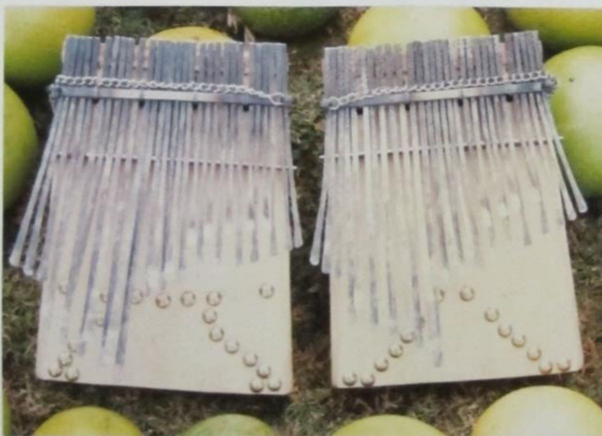


HERA – KOREKORE/TAVARA

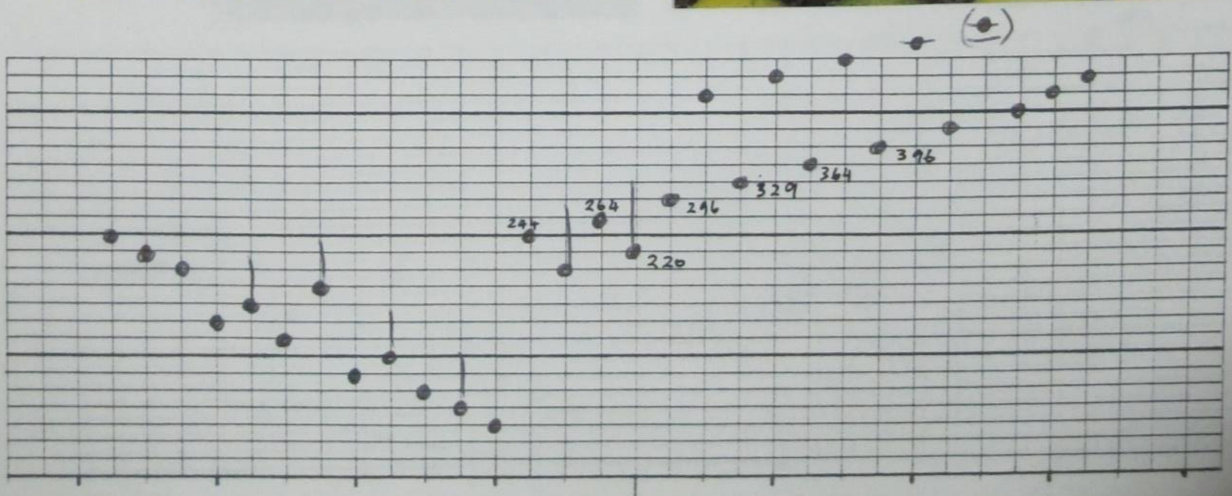
Photos: 9 Aug 1993

JOSAM NYAMKUVHENGU, Gwangwava School, Rushinga, Mt. Darwin. A pair of *heras* he made to order in about one month. $150 each. *Mupepe* wood. The left hand one is made of hard steel and he was not able to decorate the tops of the notes.

2553/21



2553/22



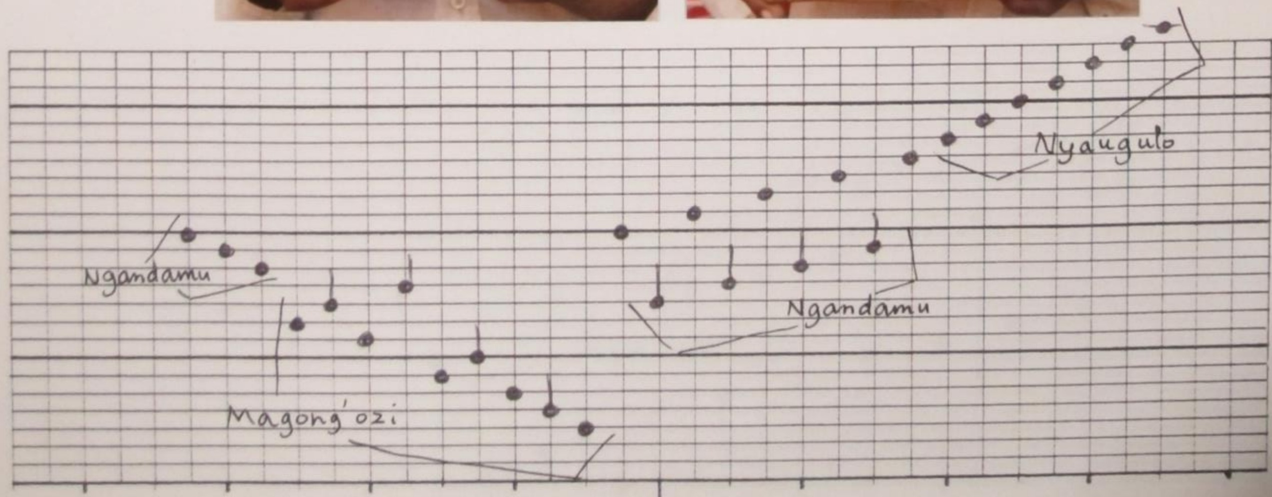
HERA – NYUNGWE

Photos: 6 Aug 93

JAIROS BENI CHIBUSHA (mutupo: Nguruve makombe gosa), comes from Nyambuzi, near Kachembe, Tete. Address: House 166, Nyamatikiti Refugee Camp, P.A. Rushinga, Mt. Darwin. Made by his father, *mupepe* wood. Tuned one tone higher than Mukota/Marymount *heras*.
Has been in this camp since 1983. Went there with Philip Marira and Shadrek Nyamkuvhengu. They were called up to the gate, as the superintendent would not let us into the camp.
Some of his songs:
AFA NKURU WA MUI
NDARAMBA MIRANDU KUMUI KWANGU
MPARAGANDA (says it's Tavara)
MUREKE BONGA AKUBARIRE
SITI, MUSIKANA ADADEKA
PARIBE AMBIRI PANO, there are no old people here, so the young people will just make a disturbance at beer
NYANGA, from the panpipes, in F
He has many more, I suspect.

2552/7A

2552/6A



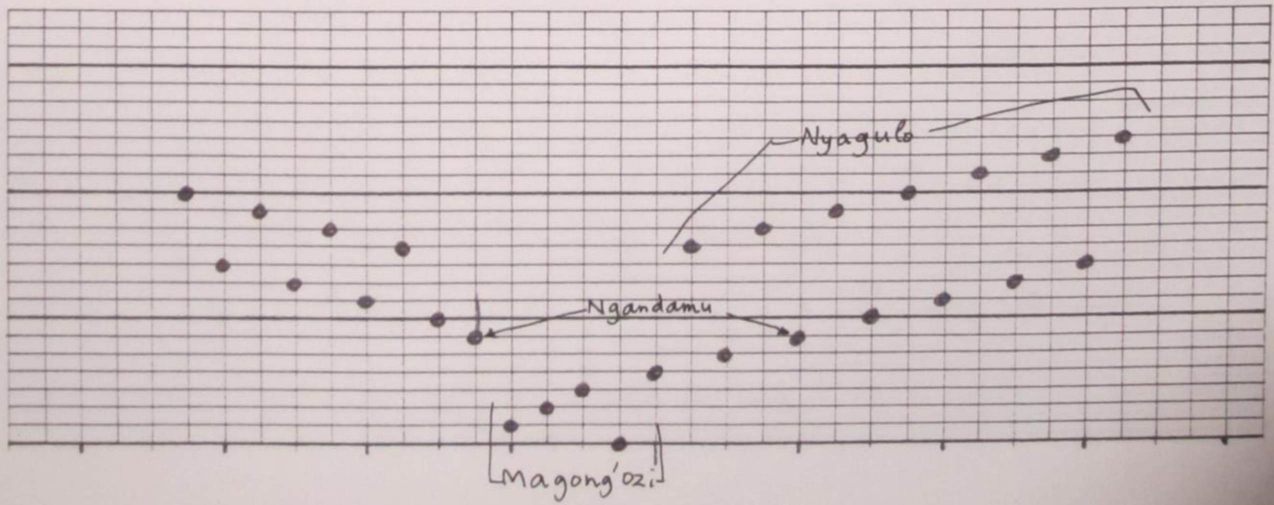
KARIMBA – NYUNGWE

Photos: 6 Aug 93

KETANI MURINYI, from Goba. At Nyamatikiti Refugee Camp. Made by himself at home, brought it with him. His note names were influenced, I am sure, by Jairos Beni's given a few minutes before. He and others there used the word *kandimu* to refer to the small Zambian type of *karimba* played over a gourd. Some of his songs:

KWAFA MBWAYA (F in G)
AIWAIWA TIMBAFIRA MUNJIRA
MURANDU WANYI USAYA KUPERA, NDINIFA MURANDU UPERE
NYANGA, from the panpipes, in E, transcr.
DAIRAI DOMBA
WAIWONA KUPI NZOU ICHIDYA MUSHONGA?

2552/3A



KARIMBA – NYUNGWE

Photos: 7 Aug 93

NSIKO SISITO, from Marara, near Chitima, chief Shundiza. Went blind after he married. Wife also blind in one eye. Played *karimba* from small. Address: Village 2 Bindura, Mazoe Bridge Refugee Camp, Mt. Darwin. Came to the camp in 1983. I went there with Josam and Shadrek Nyamkuvhengu, who were impressed with the similarity of Nyungwe music with their own, said it is one. Shadrek said he used not to like to think of himself as Tavara, but now he can agree that he is Korekore/Tavara.

Some of his songs:

DAIRAI DOMBA

MBOPA URANDA

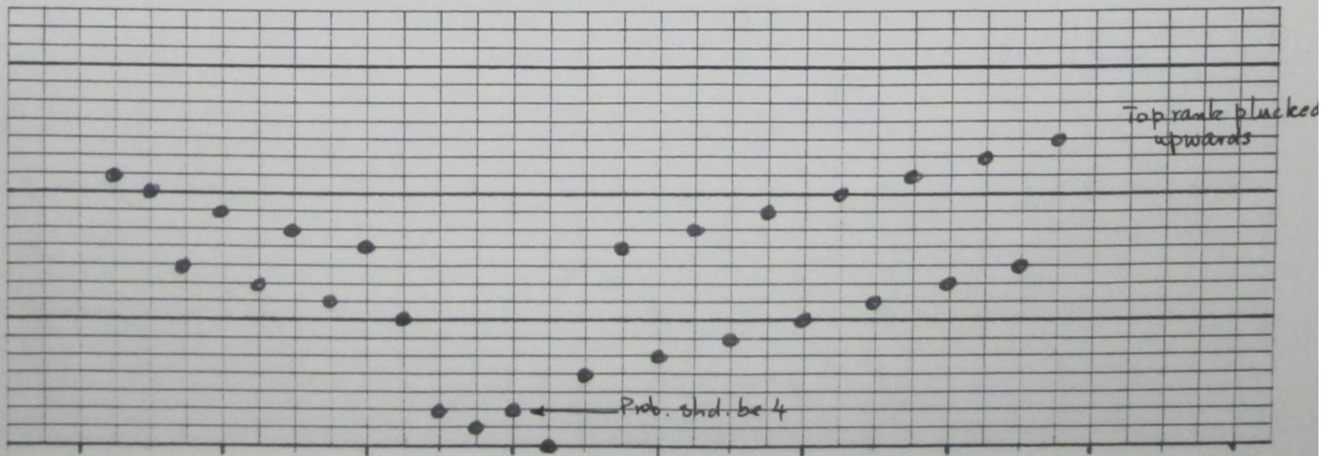
NDARAMBA MURANDU KUMUI KWANGU

DEKUNDE, a man married a beautiful wife, but went and gave her up for a mad one

NIFA INE, MUSARE MWEPO, MURANDU WANYI USAYA KUMARA

2552/17A

2552/19A



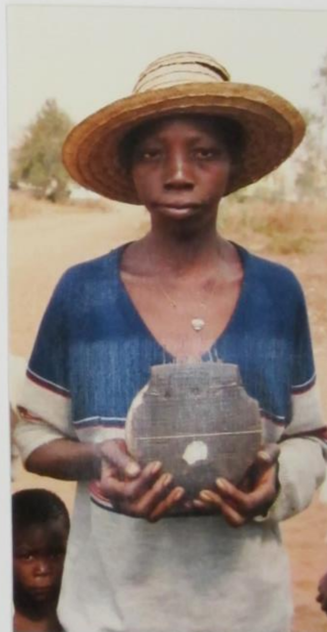
KARIMBA – NYUNGWE

Photos: 7 Aug 93

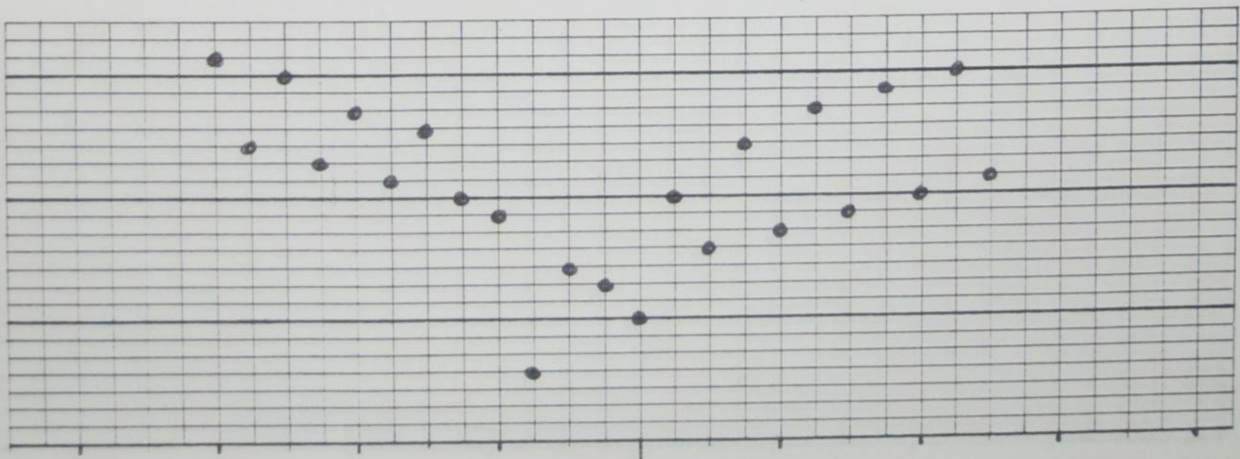
ANTÓNIO DULEZHI, from Goba. Came to Mazoe Bridge Refugee Camp in 1982. Lively, can't be more then 20, but is married, one child. The same sort of distorted Nsenga-type of body I saw at Goba & Matambo in 1970s. Very deep tuning. Very skilled playing. Agrees his instrument is also called *kandimu*. He has played from small for *mashavi* and *azimu*. Some of his songs:

KUVACHENJEDZA
MPARAGANDA
SITI
MWANA WA MAMBO ANODEI?
NZOU (ICHIDYA MUSHONGA)
MBOPA URANDA (= Pasi Panodya, he says)
i.e. all the standard *hera* repertoire
Recorded together with his brother Abilio and uncle Zondani.

2552/21A



2552/22A



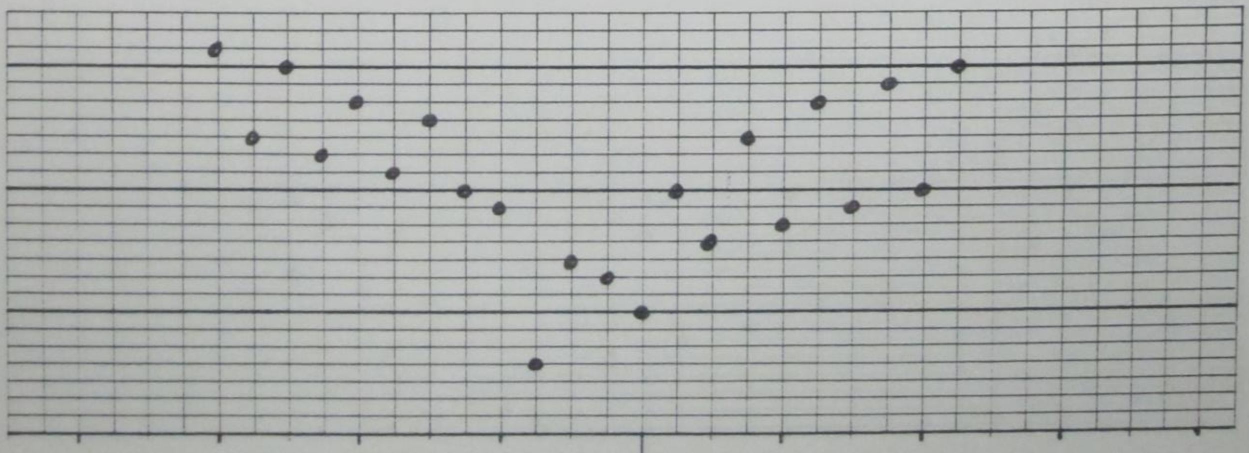
KARIMBA – NYUNGWE

Photos: 7 Aug 93

ABILIO DULEZHI, younger brother of António, apparently fast going blind, identical layout of notes except without the extreme RH note. At Mazoe Bridge Refugee Camp. Recorded together with uncle Zondani and brother.

2552/24A

2553/00



KARIMBA – NYUNGWE

Photos: 7 Aug 93

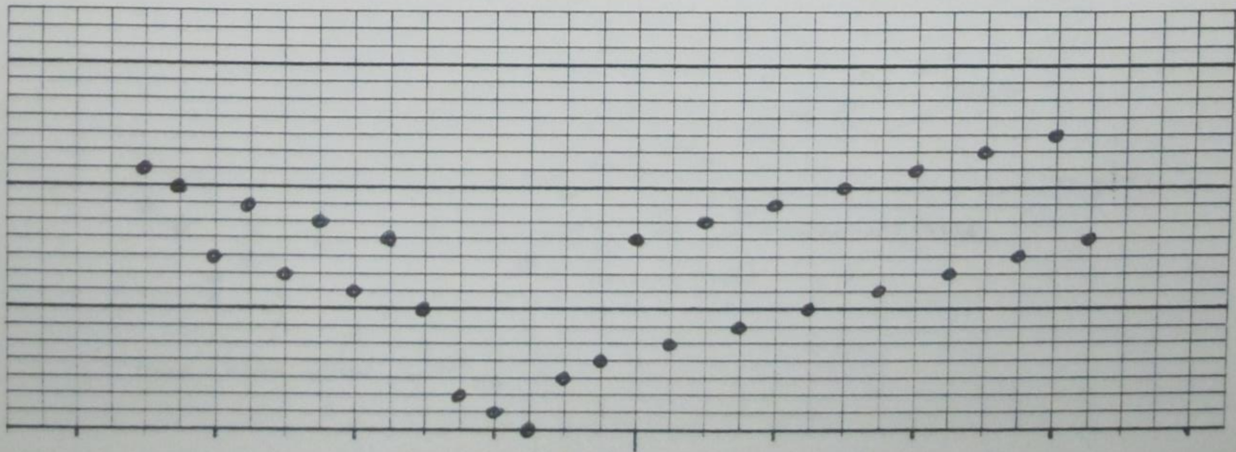
ZONDANI CHINYAMA, from Goba, uncle of the two boys António and Abilio who also played *karimba*. They called this one '*karimba nkuru*'. Made by his grandfather, Ruiz Chinyama, sounds much like a *hera*, with its overtones tuned. He also started playing at a small age, about 10. He said, if someone was sick they could call him to play, he would fix their *azimu*.

Recorded:

1. MBOPA URANDA C in C
2. REGA KURIRA A in C
3. PA MUROMO C in G

2553/0

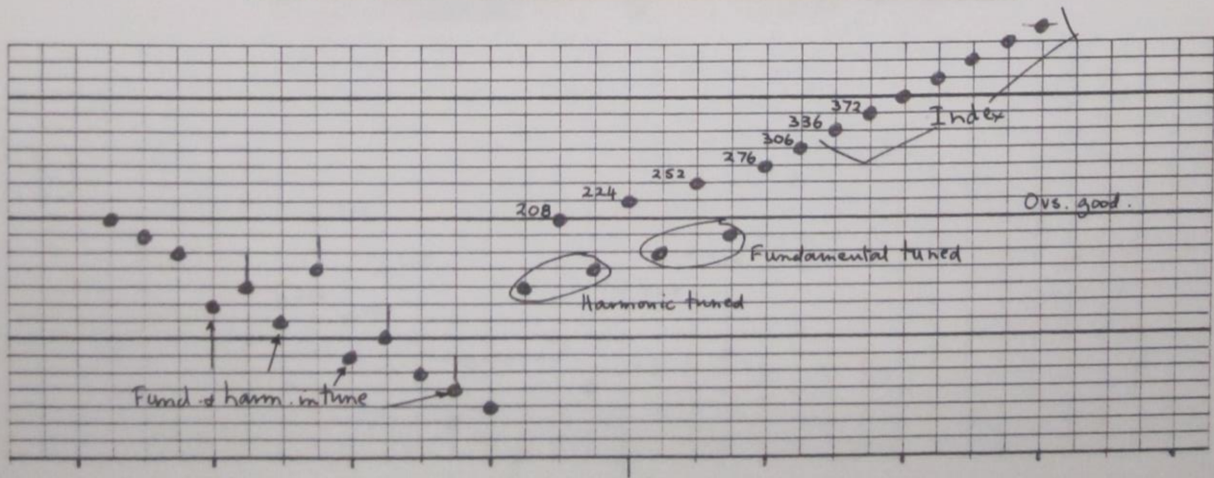
2553/1



HERA – NYUNGWE
Photos: 7 Aug 1993

KUZONDIWA CHIKOVA, from Mufakakonte, near Shangara, Chief Goba. At Mazoe Bridge Refugee Camp. Did not meet him, only his son Kerino and daughter. He was drinking somewhere. Said to be famous, and to have been invited to play at Murehwa and Harare. Held by his son Kerino, daughter looking on.

2553/3



KARIMBA – NYUNGWE

Photos: 7 Aug 1993

BERNARD CHIKO (mutupo: Chirenje), from Marara, near Shangara, Chief Goba. Address Village 16, Mazoe Bridge Refugee Camp.

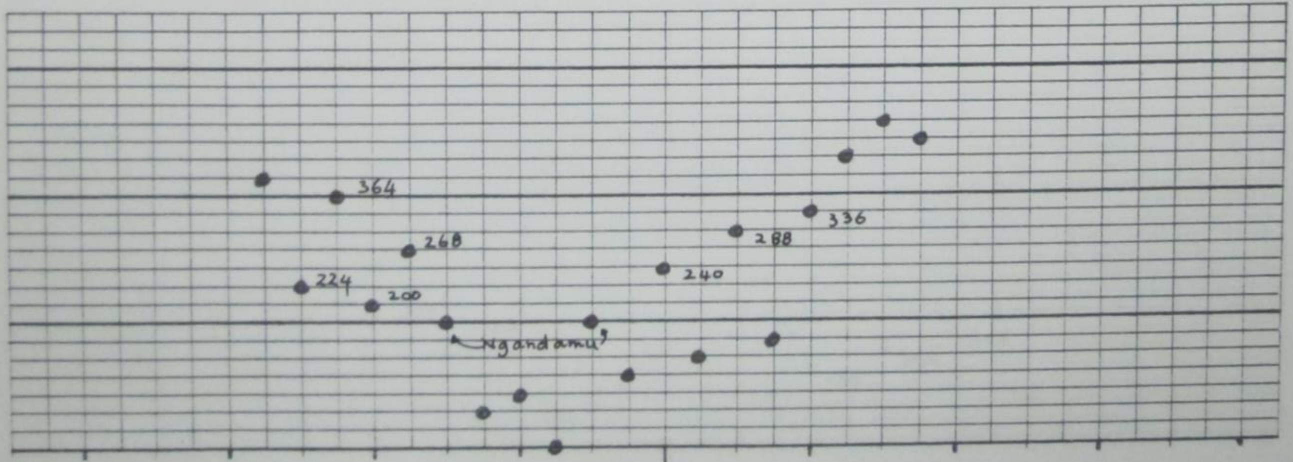
Recorded:

1. CHEMUTENGURA. Mentions his wife and daughter Sarudzai. Introduces himself and his rattle player
2. WAITANGERA KAMARONDERA
3. VANOSARA VÁNOSARA Those who stay are staying, i.e. in the refugee camp, while others go home. "Che mizimu, pondoro"
4. CHAMINUKA NDI MAMBO, SHUMBA INOGARA EGA MUSANGO. "Che mizimu"

Brought the mbira from Tete with him, started playing when v. small.

2553/4

2553/5



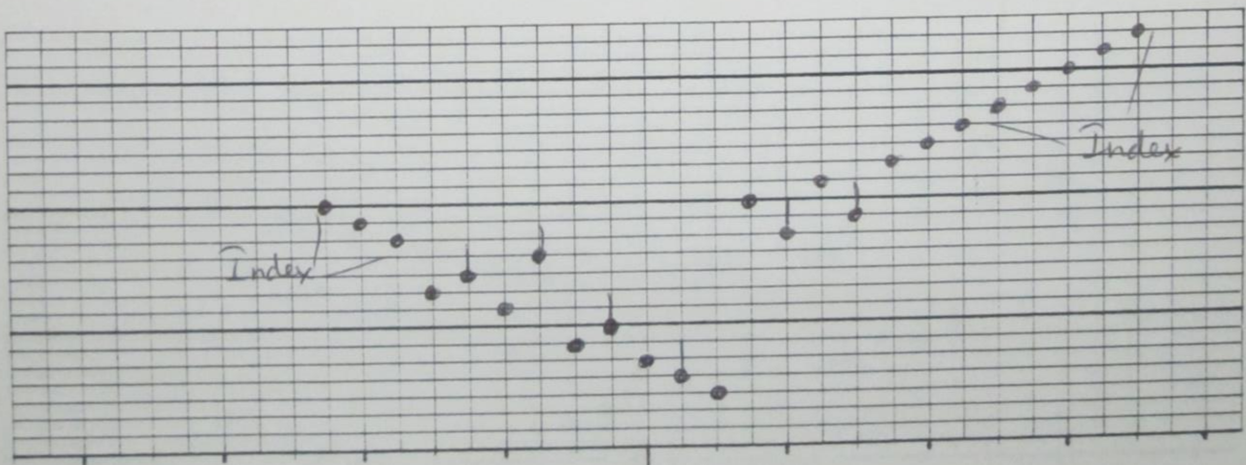
HERA – KOREKORE (ZEZURU)

Photo: 21 Sept 1993

TSHAKA CHAWASARIRA, at Zengea School, PO Box W210, Waterfalls, Tel: 608252. Age c.50, raised at Madziva, went to teach at Marymount Mission, Darwin, learned *hera* there with Josam, etc. Prolific church composer. Also makes and plays *karimba*, which his young pupils play enthusiastically, with dancing, singing. His *heras* are not very well made, but they work, and he plays it well, also adapting Zezuru songs for it.

0031/22A

0031/23A



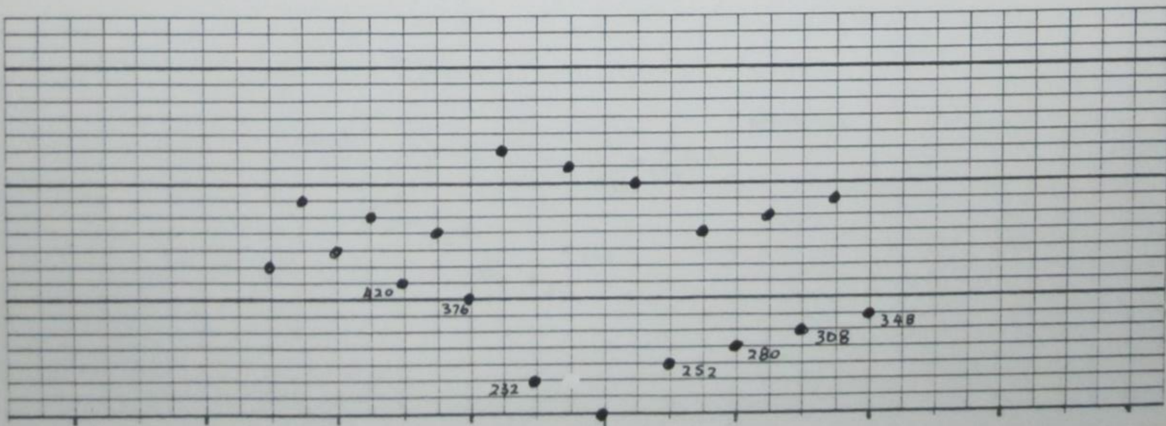
KARIMBA – ZEZURU

Photos: 9 Aug 1993

TSHAKA CHAWASARIRA, c.50, from Madziwa, then spent a long time at Marymount, Mt. Darwin, learning *hera*, etc, composing for the Catholic church, now teaches at a farm school, Zengea School, P.O. Box   Waterfalls, where he has built up a whole *karimba*/ song/dance style with his boys. This is his own version of the *karimba*, with yet another place found for Note 4. Keith Goddard wrote a pamphlet on his *karimba* style.

2553/23

2553/24



NYONGANYONGA (SENA?)

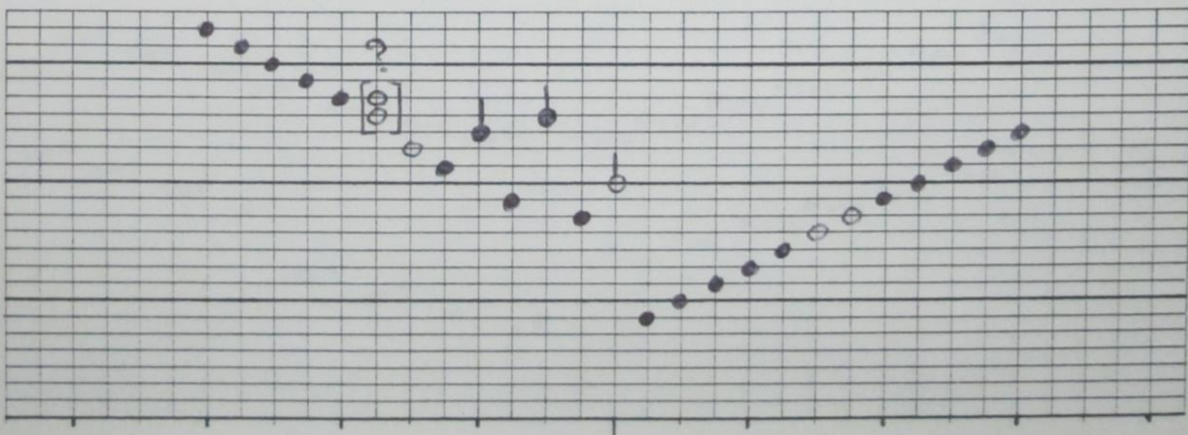
Photos 27 Aug 1993

Museum No: MM 3

Black, well-worn specimen at Killie Campbell Museum (courtesy Yvonne Winters, museologist), Essenwood Rd, Durban, prob. five keys missing, remainder remarkably well in tune considering its condition. Very black all over, and remains of wasp nest inside hollow bell body, hinting that it must have been long stored in a smoky roof. Black on front too, under where there must have been a rattle plate, which must have been lost long before.

2035/18

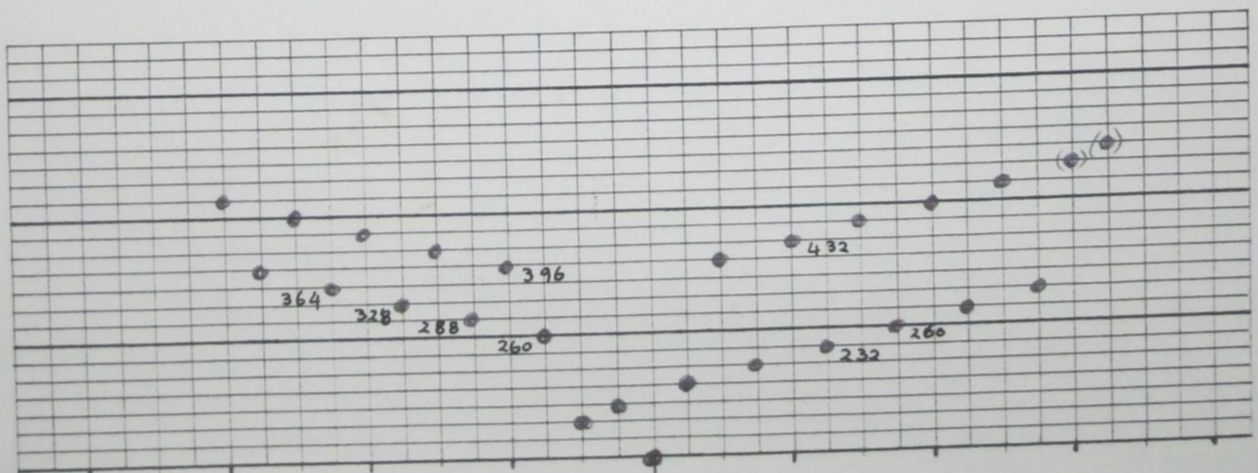
2035/19



KARIMBA – (Korekore, Nyungwe...?)

Photo: 24 Sept 1993 Museum No: 1978.69

At National Gallery, The Crescent, Harare. Not perfectly in tune, the tuning below shows a scale from the notes that seem best in tune.

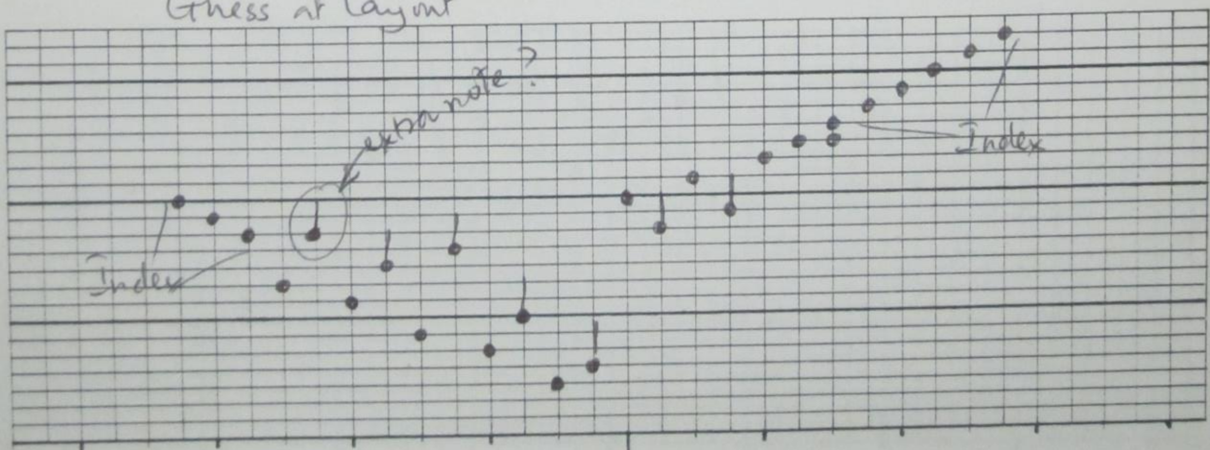


HERA/MADHEBHE – (Korekore,Budya?)
Photo: 17 Sept 1993

At Bulawayo Museum. (C/o archaeologist Mr Murambiwa). Could not open the case to check tuning because display staff were off on a course. Try next time.
One extra key in left top rank, which note is it? I guess it is B, and the layout is as shown below. If so, it is probably from Dotito area, Mt. Darwin.

0031/13A

Guess at layout



HERA, KOREKORE (?)

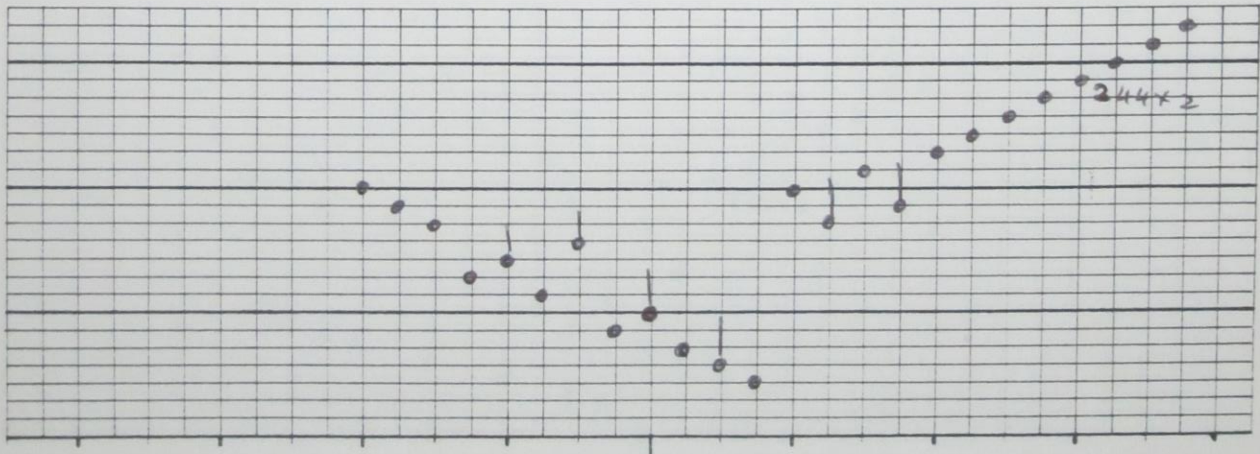
Photos: ~~4th~~ 13 Oct 1993 Nos. 3/4 Museum No: 1991.6

At National Gallery, The Crescent, Harare.
(C/o Tom Chambers, US Peace Corps cataloguer/photographer).
Mukwa wood! V. Unusual to have a hardwood *hera*. But obviously well used, not a freak. Two broken keys not repaired, L thumb upper G & A. Prob. Mt. Darwin. Standard layout.

No rattle bar

0608/5

0608/6



KARIMBA, BARWE

Photos: 13 Oct 1993, Nos. 7-10 Museum No: 1992.236

At National Gallery, The Crescent, Harare.
(C/o Tom Chambers, US Peace Corps cataloguer/photographer).

An unusual *karimba*. Says Mutoko, but unlikely. Purchased 1992, but is far older, prob. around turn of the century. Has been stored for long time in a smoky roof, strong smell, very black.
Barwe because of
1) the unique L index keys, similar to a Barwe *nyonganyonga*. This is the first *karimba* I have seen with L index keys like this.
2) the riveted, flat, swelled bar
3) the decoration on keys and bar
4) the long thin delicate keys
5) the name stamped on the bar.
I would hazard a guess it came from Vila Gouveia district, Mozambique.

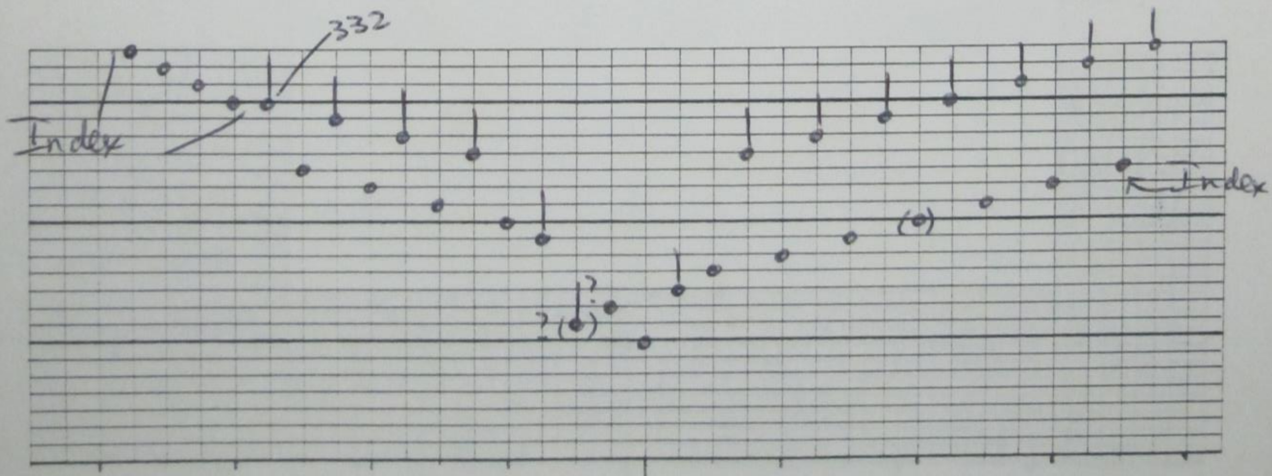
The L index keys are obvious; R index, judging from the groove on the body, probably only played one key. Two low keys have been pushed right down so they touch the surface of the body and their tuning cannot be heard.

The rivets have compressed the back of the body into a deep groove. It has been much played and tuned, to judge from the way the top ends of the keys bend sharply down, having worn away the top edge of the back rest.

Stamped on bar: LAEN (?) Could be the maker, more likely the client.

A very carefully made instrument with a soft touch and that sweet hollow sound of the delicate Barwe type of *nyonganyonga*.

P.T.O.



0608/9

0608/10

0608/11

0608/12

KARIMBA, NYUNGWE

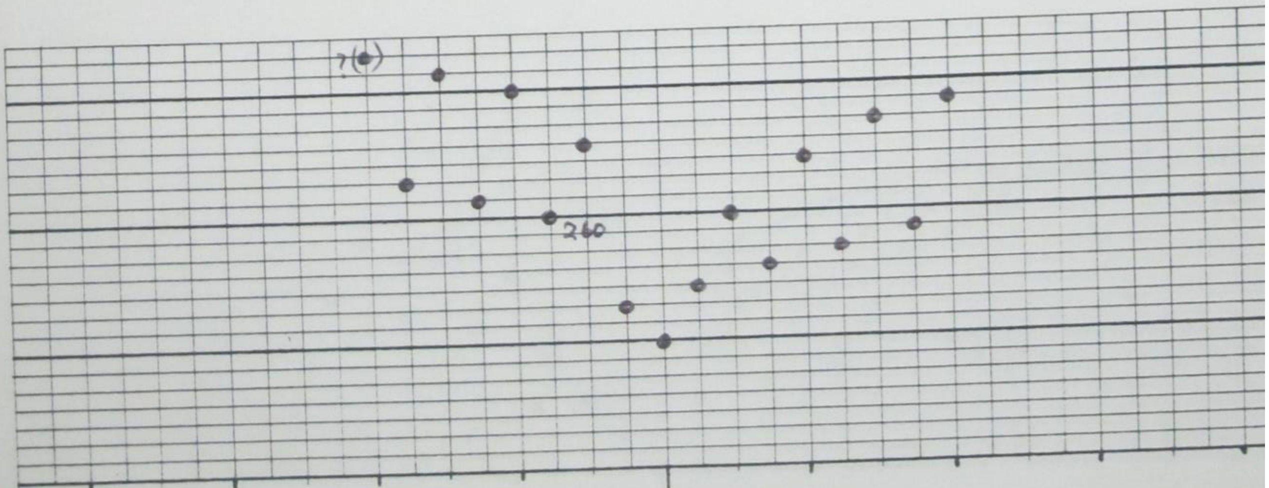
Photos: ~~4th~~ 13 Oct 1993 Nos. 11/12

Museum No: 1992.237

At National Gallery, The Crescent, Harare.
(C/o Tom Chambers, US Peace Corps cataloguer/photographer).
Almost certainly Nyungwe from the characteristic layout. Body has typical Nsenga-based shape.
Acq. Gallery Market 1992.
Carved on front JUNT. Gourd partially covered with goat skin

0608/13

0608/14



KARIMBA, NE Zimbabwe, Korekore ?
Photos: 13 Oct 1993, Nos. 13/14 Museum No: 1974.113

At National Gallery, The Crescent, Harare.
(C/o Tom Chambers, US Peace Corps cataloguer/photographer).

Prob. *mupepe* wood. Very worn from years of playing and putting into a calabash. Bell body.

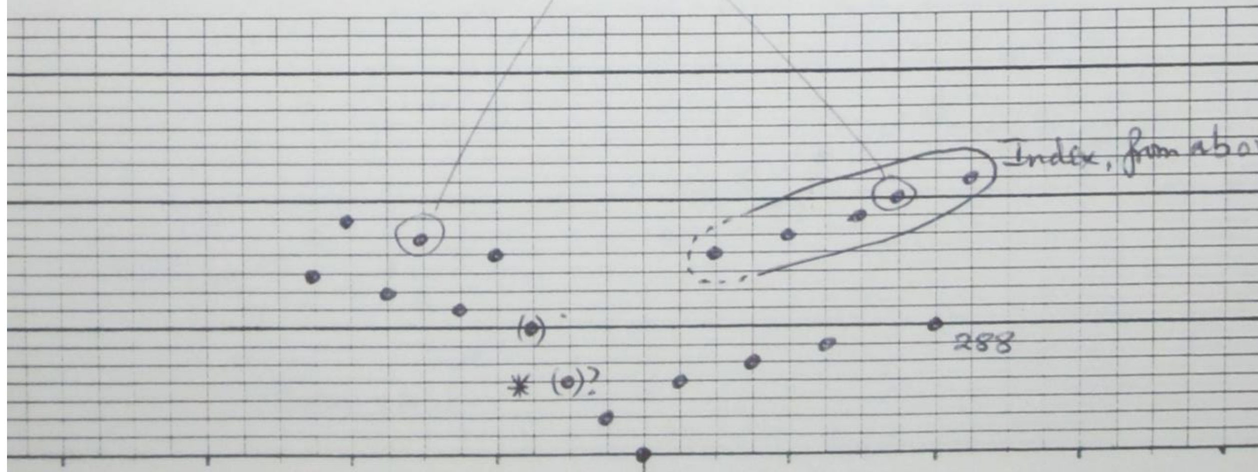
Note marked * was made after the other notes, should probably be tuned to '4'. Two keys are decorated, probably taken from another older instrument. The rattle plate is missing (visible from the cuts on each side of the soundboard which located the string which held the rattle plate).

Basic Shona *karimba* type, sim. to No. 1978.63, with bell body and construction indicating it could be Korekore.

0608|15

0608|16

Decorated



MATEPE, Sena/Tonga, Nyungwe ?
Photos: 13 Oct 1993, Nos. 15/16

Museum No: 1974.114

At National Gallery, The Crescent, Harare.
(C/o Tom Chambers, US Peace Corps cataloguer/photographer).

Standard layout, but it looks as if it has been cleaned up!

The low RH '7' key is replaced wrong, (I think it unlikely that it was originally in this position) and the whole R side is out of tune. L side is about OK. Low LH '5' has been bent down too low.

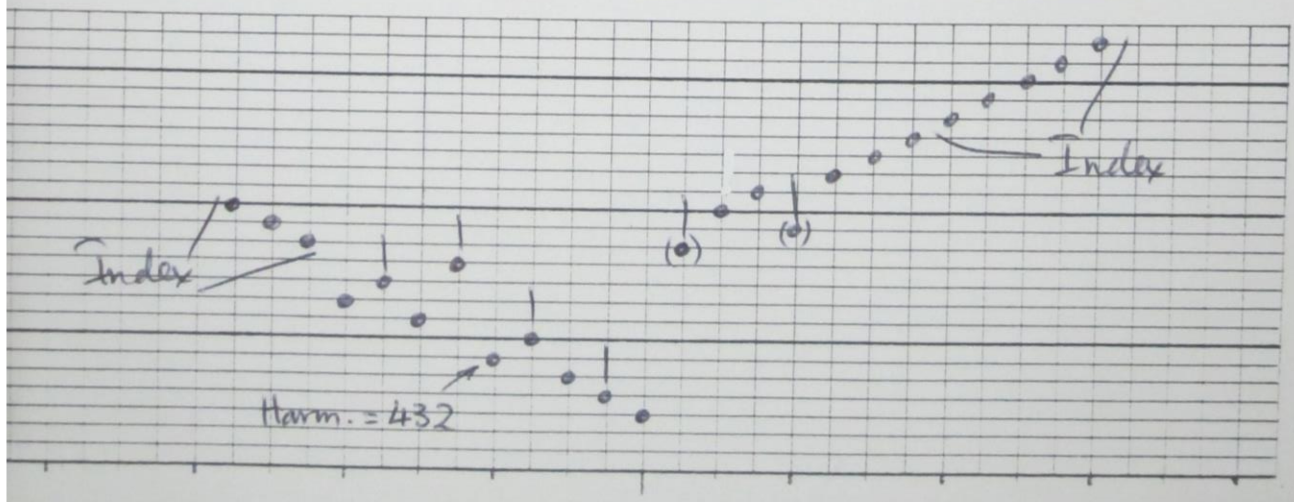
Bar held with split wire.

Deep bell, hollowed nearly to bridge. Light wood (*mupepe*?). No rattle bar, but circular rattle plate (tin lid) on top. Two small blocks inside mouth of bell for reinforcement.

Sena/Tonga or Nyungwe from the method of holding the bar down and appearance. Otherwise could be Budya, Mutoko, or Korekore, Mt Darwin, in which case it would be called resp. *madhebhe* or *hera*.

0608/17

0608/18



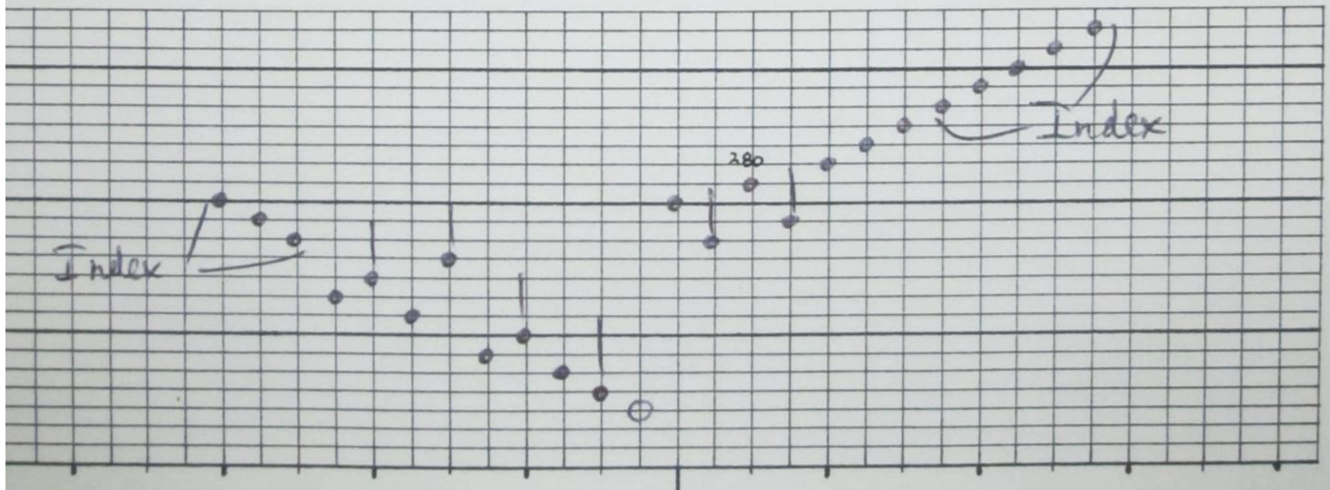
HERA, KOREKORE

Photos: 13 Oct 1993, Nos. 27/28 Museum No: 1977.65

At National Gallery, The Crescent, Harare.
(C/o Tom Chambers, US Peace Corps cataloguer/photographer).

Very likely Korekore, E. Mt. Darwin, because of the two high RH keys (four or five are more normal there at present). Otherwise standard layout.

The lowest key is missing. Very worn body, much played resting on the ground. Feather under the keys. Rect. cross-section bar. Rattle plate nailed on, with *hozhwa* snail shells. Bamboo back rest. Big groove made below L index keys for access.



KARIMBA, NE Zimbabwe, Korekore ?
Photos: 13 Oct 1993, Nos. 31/32 Museum No: 1978.63

At National Gallery, The Crescent, Harare.
(C/o Tom Chambers, US Peace Corps cataloguer/photographer).

Standard Shona *karimba*, not well in tune.

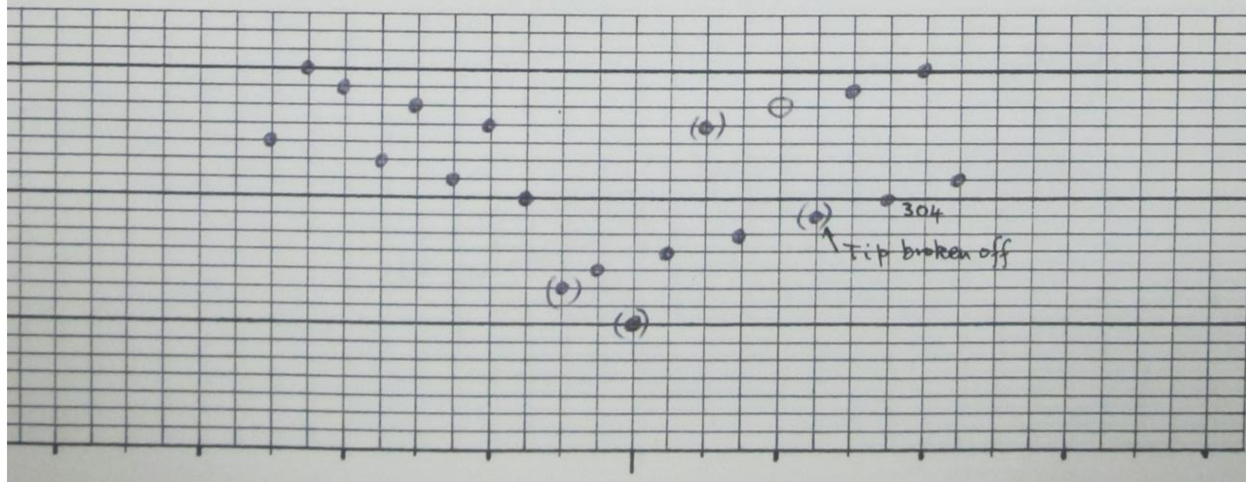
Bell body, light wood, very worn, part of back missing. Rattle plate missing. Swelled, flat bar. Remains of feather under keys.

Missing key R6 was probably missing when sold.

Basic Shona *karimba* type, sim. to No. 1974.113, with bell body and construction indicating it could be Korekore.

0609/6A

0609/7A



MANA EMBUDZI, Nyungwe, Sena/Tonga ?
Photos: 13 Oct 1993, Nos. 33/34 Museum No: 1980.2

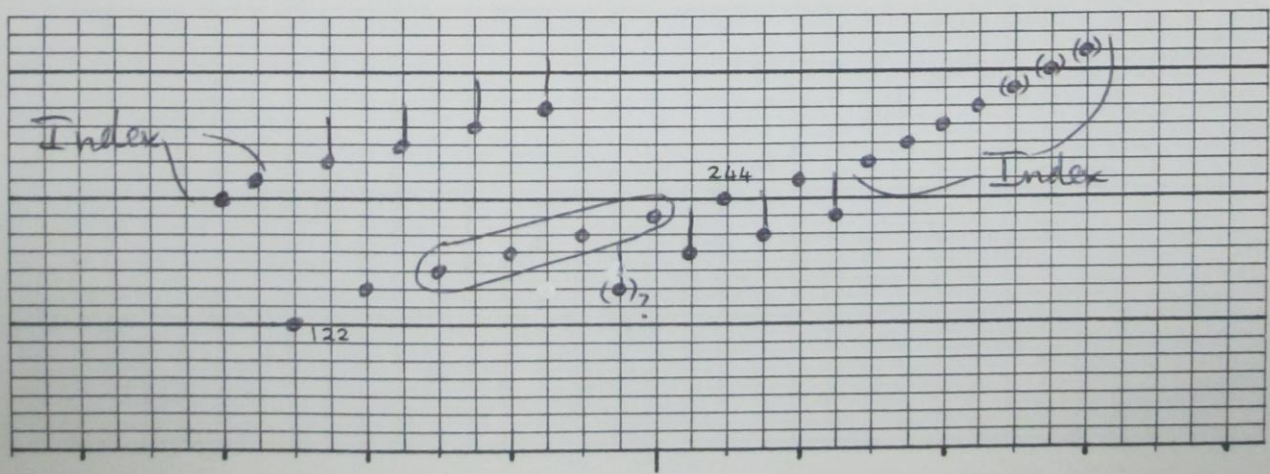
At National Gallery, The Crescent, Harare.
(C/o Tom Chambers, US Peace Corps cataloguer/photographer).

Mozambique (Nyungwe, Sena/Tonga) or NE Zimbabwe (Sena/Tonga). Bell body, light wood. Keys slightly decorated. Nice light touch and sound.

Unusual presence of a low RH rank (hard to see in the photo because the keys are bent up towards the camera), the only one I have seen in a *mana embudzi*. Possible influence from the low RH rank of a Nyungwe *hera*, which it closely resembles.

Rattle plate with *hozhwa* snail shells.

Reconstruction of the four circled keys: they are tuned 5 - 6 - 7 - almost 1, which goes with the octaves in the upper rank, but by analogy with other *mana embudzi* I assume they should be as written (4 - 5 - 6 - 7).



KARIMBA, Sena/Tonga, Barwe ?
Photos: 13 Oct 1993, Nos. 37/38 Museum No: 1980.58

At National Gallery, The Crescent, Harare.
(C/o Tom Chambers, US Peace Corps cataloguer/photographer).

Well-worn, both from playing on the ground, and from calabash.
Standard layout.

Swelled bar, decorated and rivetted with heavy screws. Keys decorated. Bell body. Rattle plate, *hozhwa* snail shells. Home-made string. A well-made instrument. All indications are Sena/Tonga or Barwe, Mozambique.

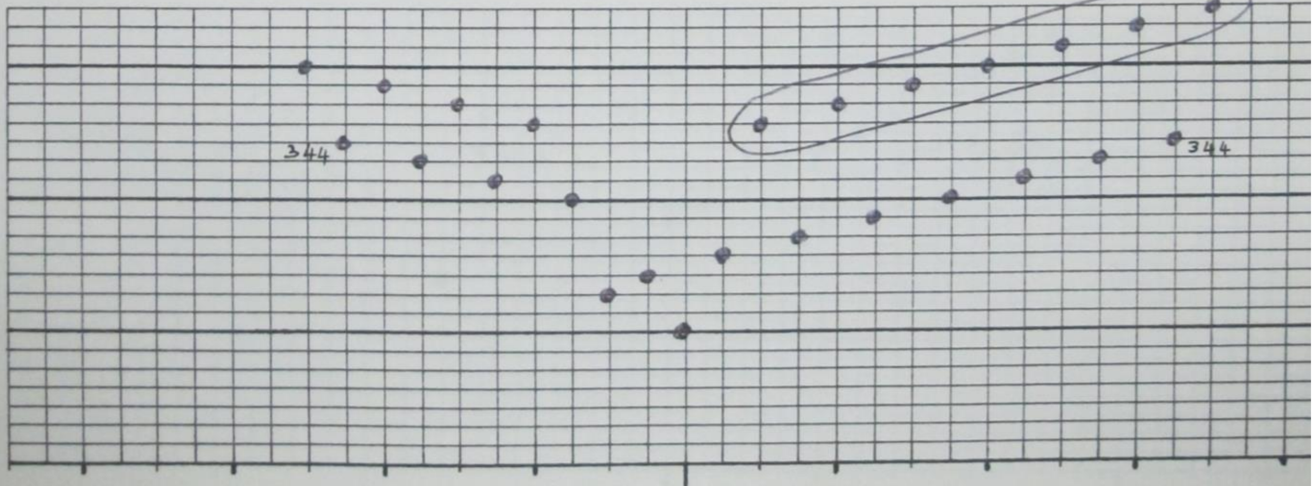
Carved on back: MAKA....
MUCHANDIKWANA (you will be enough for me)
NYAMAHOMBA

Nyamahomba should be a place name, which could be looked up.

0609/12A

0609/13A

Index, upwards



MANA EMBUDZI, Sena/Tonga, Nyungwe ?
Photos: 13 Oct 1993, Nos. 39/40 Museum No: 1981.1

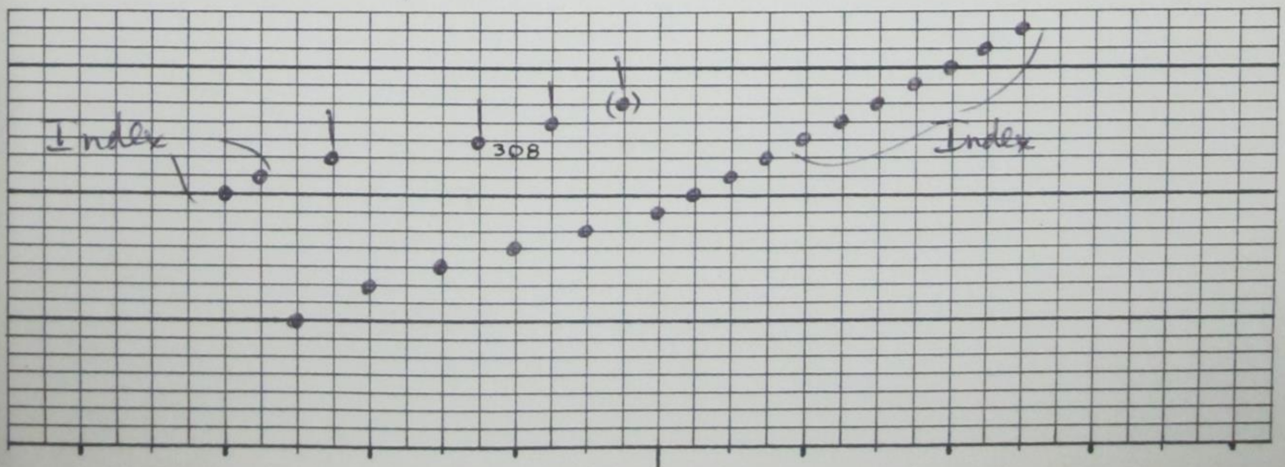
At National Gallery, The Crescent, Harare.
(C/o Tom Chambers, US Peace Corps cataloguer/photographer).

NE Zimbabwe or Mozambique. Deep bell. Decorated bar and keys. Bar held with wire, not rivets. Rattle plate missing.

One key was probably missing before sale, as the remaining keys have been retuned.

0609/14A

0609/15A



MADHEBHE, Budya, Sena/Tonga ?
Photos: 13 Oct 1993, Nos. 43/44 Museum No: 1981.77

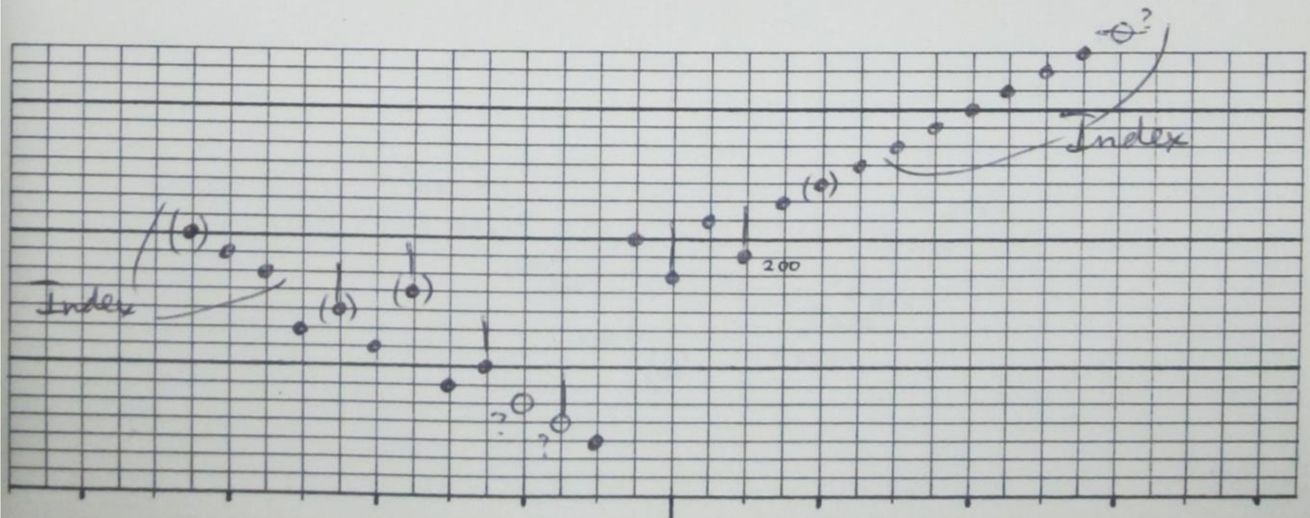
At National Gallery, The Crescent, Harare.
(C/o Tom Chambers, US Peace Corps cataloguer/photographer).

Standard layout, but very out of tune, two bass keys missing. Not certain which two, but likely '5' & '6'. Rattle bar inside bell.

If Budya, then *madhebhe*, if Sena/Tonga, then *matepe*. If neither, then Korekore *hera*.

0609/18A

0609/19A



KARIMBA, NYUNGWE
Photos: 18 Oct 1993

In personal home collection of Mrs Carole Wales-Smith, who owns Dendera Gallery, Shop No 4, Arches House, Cr. 2nd St/Robert Mugabe Rd, Harare, Tel: 725666. Home: Lot 16, Glen Lorne, Enterprise Rd, Harare, Tel: 720836.

Brought with a whole lot of similar instruments from Chipinge, c. 1988.