

**A history of music and politics in Mozambique
from the 1890s to the present**

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DENISE MARIA MALAUENE

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ALLEN F. ISAACMAN

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Nhi bongide ku womi ni vikelo	Thank you for life and protection
Nhi bongide gurula ni guhodza	Thank you for peace and provision
Nhi bongide gu nengela omo gu tsaniseyani	Thank you for happiness in times of suffering
Nhi bongide Pfumu	Thank you, God!
Denise Malauene song titled “Nhi bongide Pfumu” ¹	

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¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=igKvqMI9RPQ>

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Dedication

To my sons Eric Silvino Tale and Malik Tsakane Malauene Waete:

this is from you and for you.

Thank you.

Papi, ni kensile!

Abstract

This dissertation focuses on music and its historic connection with politics in Mozambique from the 1890s to the present, through the ‘lenses’ of songs in gitonga language from Inhambane in Mozambique. I studied the Vatonga people’s historical origins and culture and the development of popular music, I explored the processes of ‘Mozambicanization’, gender mainstreaming and internationalization of Mozambican popular music, I examined the role of national festivals of culture in the consolidation of Mozambicaness, and I examined the trajectories of Mozambican musicians in the diaspora and their contribution for the internationalization of Mozambican music. I argued that the relation between music and politics was continuous from pre-colonial, colonial to post-colonial periods. Music was affected by politics and affected politics. During the pre-colonial period, music was used as praise poetry to praise the rulers, kings, and elders, as entertainment, in social, religious, and political ceremonies, in rites and rituals, and as a social and political commentary. In the colonial period, the Portuguese tried to control music and remake it within their cultural politics of assimilation and the creation of a Portuguese nation and national identity incorporating the ultramarine colonies. They also used music to try and win over the hearts and minds of black troops in the colonial army. The Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) relied heavily on songs and dance as an integral part of the liberation struggle. From 1962 the liberation movement used song and dance not only as a source of entertainment for its followers but more significantly to recruit new members, to instill pride in the past, to generate a sense of nationalism, to cut across ethnic, religious, and racial divisions. After 1975, music continued to be intertwined and interconnected with politics. The Mozambican authorities used music as a way of sowing artificial and external elements of identity in the collective memory of people, as part of the state-nation and cultural identity formation project. However, musicians appropriated music as ways of social critique and resistance, sometimes facing sanctions.

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Abbreviations

AEP	Associação de Escuteiros Portugueses
APSIC	Psychological Action
ARPAC	Arquivo do Património Cultural (National Heritage Archives)
CAN	Centro Associativo dos Negros
CNCD	Companhia Nacional de Canto e Dança (National Company of Song and Dance)
CNE	Corpo Nacional de Escutas
CPLP	Comunidade dos Países de Língua Oficial Portuguesa
EME	Empresa Moçambicana de Entretenimento
FPLM	Forças Populares de Libertação de Moçambique
FRELIMO	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Mozambican Liberation front)
FUNDAC	Fundo para o Desenvolvimento Artístico e Cultural
LP	Long Play
MNR	Mozambican National Resistance
MPLA	Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OJM	Organização da Juventude Moçambicana
PAIGC	Partido Africano para a Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde
PALOP	Países de Língua Oficial Portuguesa
PIDE-DGS	Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado (International and State Defense Police) – Direcção Geral de Segurança (General Directorate of Security)
RCM	Rádio Clube de Moçambique
RENAMO	Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (Mozambican National Resistance)
RM	Rádio Moçambique
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SOMAS	Associação Moçambicana de Autores
WNLA	Witwatersrand Native Labour Association

INTRODUCTION

Research object, time, and space

This dissertation focuses on music and its historic connection with politics in colonial and postcolonial Mozambique. I examined songs in gitonga language and by Vatonga people of Inhambane and its intersection with politics and the processes of cultural identity formation in Mozambique from the 1890s to the present. Inhambane, one of the three provinces located in Southern Mozambique is the homeland of the Vatonga, Copi, Tsua, and Ndau ethnolinguistic groups.

At present times, Inhambane province borders Save River, Sofala, and Manica provinces (North), Gaza province (South and Southeast), and the Indian Ocean (East). It has 14 districts, 26 administrative units (postos administrativos), and five municipalities, namely Inhambane city, Maxixe, Quissico, Massinga, and Vilankulo. With 700km of coastline and 68.615km² land surface, Inhambane had by 2018, 1.496.605 inhabitants who spoke the following languages: Citsua, Gitonga, Cicopi, and ciNdau².

Inhambane city is also known as Inhambane Sewê and it is the province's capital. It is located around 480 km from Maputo city and has the following borders: the Inhambane Bay at North and West, Jangamo's district at South, and the Indian Ocean at East. With a territorial extension of about 192km² and inhabited mostly by the Vatonga people³, Inhambane city is currently organized in the following neighborhoods: Balane, Chalambe,

² Governo da Província de Inhambane, *Caderno de Oportunidades e potencialidades*. (Inhambane: Agência para a promoção de investimento e exportações-APIEX, 2018), 5,7.

³ Fernando Dava, Dir., *Documentação visual e narrativa dos bens culturais incluído nos roteiros culturais na Ilha de Moçambique e cidade de Inhambane. A vila tradicional dos Macuas – Cidade de pedra e cal – o dia a dia do Wagaya – a bela Kunhumbane*, (Maputo: ARPAC, 2011), 78.

Liberdade, Muele, Malembuane, Guitambatuno, Mucucune, Chamane, Marrambone, Salela, Nhaguiwa, Josina Machel, Nhamua, Sikiriva, and Machavenga⁴.

Vatonga people speak Gitonga language. Even though the region of Inhambane is composed of the ethnic groups Gitonga, ciTsua, ciCopi⁵, and ciNdau, Gitonga is considered the most preserved language due to the insularity of Inhambane city⁶, the concentration of the large part of Gitonga speaking people or Vatonga. Historically, the Gitonga language is a minority language in Mozambique, as Gitonga speakers originate from the territories corresponding to the current districts of Inhambane, Maxixe, Jangamo, Morrumbene, with strong ramifications in Massinga, Homoíne, and Inharrime⁷.

After the conquests and pacification wars which resulted in the definition of borders in the African continent in the late nineteenth century, Portugal started the process of establishing its administration which had implications in terms of cultural identity formation for the people who inhabited these territories. The independence of Mozambique from the colonial regime in 1975 also marked a significant milestone in this process with the efforts to build a post-colonial state-nation and develop the Mozambican cultural identity also termed Mozambicanness. However, neither period constituted moments of rupture as continuities and legacies from previous periods marked the constitution of the independent nation-state and Mozambicanness.

⁴ Museu Regional de Inhambane, *História da Cidade de Inhambane*, Inhambane: sd.

⁵ For more information on Cicopi language read: Father Luís Feliciano dos Santos and Father António Fonseca Maheme, “ABC das Escolas comunitárias. Português – Txitxopi, Txitxopi – Português”, Maputo, 2003.

⁶ Amaral Bernardo Amaral, Sara Antónia Jona Laisse, and Eugénio Filipe Nhacota, *Dicionário de Português-Gitonga/ Gitonga-Português e Compêndio Gramatical*. (Sintra: Câmara Municipal de Oeiras, 2007), 16. Also read Jerry S. Moisés, *Lições (curso básico) de gitonga. Aprendendo a falar, ler e escrever* (Inhambane: Centro de Promoção Humana de Guiua/ Diocese de Inhambane, 2000).

⁷ Sara Jona (2009), “Prefácio”, in Amaral, Bernardo Amaral (2009), *Matimo, Masaho ni Dzitekatekane nya Vatonga* [Inhambane Vatonga’s History, clans, proverbs and adages], Milano: Edizioni Biblioteca Francescana, 2009, 21.

The imagination of a nation started before the moment of independence, and the literature revealed that it was rehearsed during the liberation struggle in the military and educational camps, in the liberated zones, and the battlefronts. The nation was also imagined differently in several parts of the country, including urban areas, with some groups considering the independence from the Portuguese colonizer, but not necessarily the independence for the African native people. These aspects influenced the immediate outcomes of independence, the choices adopted for the edification of the state and the nation, and its repercussions on people and culture.

Research objectives

This dissertation focuses on music and its historic connection with politics in colonial and post-colonial Mozambique from the 1890s to the present, through the ‘lenses’ of songs in gitonga language from Inhambane province in Mozambique. To achieve this goal, I examined the historical evolution of urban popular music and revolutionary songs, the main stakeholders, and the impact of music on politics, on the formation and consolidation of the Mozambican cultural identity (Mozambicaness), on gender mainstreaming and the internationalization of Mozambican culture. I studied the Vatonga people historical origins and culture, I examined the development of the Mozambican urban popular music, its achievements and challenges in the colonial and post-colonial period, I explored the processes of ‘Mozambicanization’, gender mainstreaming and internationalization of Mozambican urban popular music, I examined the role of national festivals of culture in the consolidation of Mozambicaness and its impact on the development of urban popular music, and I examined the trajectories of Mozambican

musicians in the diaspora and their contribution for the internationalization of Mozambican music and culture.

Argument

I argue that the relation between music and politics was continuous from the pre-colonial, the colonial over the post-colonial period. Music was affected by politics and affected politics. During the pre-colonial period, music was used as praise poetry to praise the rulers, kings, and elders. Music was also used as entertainment, in social, religious, and political ceremonies, cultural rites and rituals, and as a social and political commentary.

In the colonial period, the Portuguese tried to control music and remake it within their cultural politics of assimilation and the creation of a Portuguese nation and national identity incorporating the ultramarine colonies. Conscious of its effects on people, the Portuguese colonial oppressive regime used music as a tool for social control and to reinforce relations of subordination. The colonial regime encouraged music and other pastimes activities for the colonized body, as ways of distracting the colonial subject from its suffering, as means of extracting its meager resources, and as a form of control and disciplining of the labor force.

On the other hand, and in light of the prominent role that music played in the political culture and daily lives of Mozambicans, the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) relied heavily on songs and dance as an integral part of the liberation struggle. From its inception in 1962 the liberation movement used song and dance not only as a source of entertainment for its followers but more significantly to recruit new members, to instill pride in the past, to generate a sense of nationalism, to cut across ethnic, religious and racial divisions. Militants also sang and danced during difficult moments to keep up

morale whether it was after the death of prominent leaders, on the eve of a major battle, or in jail. For their part, the Portuguese officers used music to try and win over the hearts and minds of black troops in the colonial army.

After the independence of Mozambique, music continued to be intertwined and interconnected with politics. Mimicking and continuing colonial practices, the Mozambican authorities used music as a way of sowing artificial and external elements of identity in the collective memory of people, as part of the state-nation and cultural identity formation project. The development of urban popular music ('*música ligeira*') was central to the edification of the post-colonial Mozambican nation and the edification of national unity. However, musicians appropriated music as ways of social critique and resistance, sometimes facing sanctions. Revolutionary songs, traditional and urban popular music including songs in gitonga language 'performed' the nation as part of the process of edification, consolidation, and internationalization of Mozambicaness (Mozambican cultural identity).

Music, subject and cultural identity formation

Music permeated African societies and people's daily lives. Of the several cultural expressions (such as dance, song, folklore, drawings, painting, visual arts, sculpture, carving, pottery, theater, cinema, literature, *cellphilmaking*, internet counterculture, among others), the existing literature revealed music's centrality to African resistance and agency, to nationalism, the complex relations between people and politics, and between

urban citizens and the formation of national identities in differentiated urban locations during the colonial period and after the independence of the African countries⁸.

Debates on music and power go back to Plato (360 BCE) and Hegel's (1817) discussions of aesthetics theory. Hegel's aesthetic theory emphasized poetry and music as the highest expressions of artistic beauty due to their connections to the soul (Geist). Since poetry and music were manifestations of Geist and all that emanated from the Geist was beautiful when compared to what came from nature, Hegel (1817) considered music's uniqueness in penetrating the spirit/soul, thus promoting and awakening deep and noble feelings and sensations⁹.

Plato (360 BCE) also followed a similar line of thought in his discussion of the ways music affected people's reactions, persuading or forcing them to take specific actions. Departing from the belief that music (words, rhythm, and harmonics), more than anything else, found its way to the "inmost soul", and that the soul took precedence and control over the body (as defined in the essay *Timaeus*), Plato (360 BCE) argued that, by accessing and controlling the body of the individual, through music, those in power controlled the society¹⁰.

Plato and Hegel might all too easily be dismissed in the Afrocentric and post-colonial literature as Eurocentric philosophers, and indeed Hegel certainly played a part in the Eurocentric dismissal of African culture and achievement common to the 19th century, but their work laid the ground for the reasoning on music's meaning both for the society

⁸ Mhoze Chikowero, *African music, power, and being in colonial Zimbabwe* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015). Laura Kelly Askew, *Performing the Nation: Swahili Music and Cultural Politics in Tanzania*. 1st ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002). Thomas Turino, *Nationalists, Cosmopolitans and Popular Music in Zimbabwe*, 1st ed. (Chicago/ London: The University Of Chicago Press, 2000). Kofi Agawu, *The African Imagination in Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

⁹ G.W.F. Hegel, "Sound" in *Philosophy of Nature* (1817), 903.

¹⁰ Plato, *Republic*, Book III (380 BCE); *Timeaus* (excerpt) (360 BCE).

and the individual. Plato (360 BCE) and Hegel (1817) were alluding to the utilitarian character of the music to serve souls and society simultaneously, and its efficiency in doing so, which could be attributed to music's subjectivity and ability to reach the inner soul and awake deep feelings.

Kelly Askew¹¹, Laura Fair¹², Marissa Moorman¹³, Kofi Agawu¹⁴, and Mhoze Chikowero's¹⁵ studies informed my research. They worked at the intersection of cultural production, the imagination of the nation, and the formation of the independent nation-state in Africa. They went further and tried to correct the Eurocentric tendency to create an unequal hierarchy between Western and African music and the latter's relegation to ethnomusicology. In their analysis, they emphasized the centrality of music in society, either for education or for entertainment and distraction, either as a means or an end, either for subjectification and identity formation or for resistance.

If nationalist historians such as Vail and White¹⁶ developed studies on music with analysis of songs as tools of resistance, inserted in the binary oppression/ resistance, more recent studies such as Laura Fair's *Pastimes and Politics: culture, community and identity*

¹¹ Kelly Askew, *Performing the Nation: Swahili Music and Cultural Politics in Tanzania*. 1st ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

¹² Fair, Laura. *Pastimes and Politics: Culture, Community and Identity in Post Abolition Urban Zanzibar, 1890-1945*, 1st ed., (Athens/ Oxford: Ohio University Press/ James Currey, 2001).

¹³ Marissa Jean Moorman, *Intonations: A Social History of Music and Nation in Luanda, Angola, from 1945 to Recent Times*, 1st ed., New African History Series (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2008)

¹⁴ Kofi Agawu, *The African Imagination in Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

¹⁴ G.W.F. Hegel, "Sound" in *Philosophy of Nature* (1817), 903.

¹⁵ Mhoze Chikowero, *African music, power, and being in colonial Zimbabwe* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015).

¹⁶ Leroy Vail and Landeg White, "Plantation Protest: The History of a Mozambican Song," In *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 1, Special Issue on Themes in Agrarian History and Society (Oct., 1978):1-25.

in Post abolition urban Zanzibar, 1890-1945¹⁷, revealed the connection between the ideological and social emancipation of former slaves and processes of identity formation.

On the other hand, Marissa Moorman's *Intonations: A Social History of Music and Nation in Luanda, Angola, from 1945 to Recent Times* analyzed the role of music in the development of nationalist consciousness in peri-urban areas, through a case study of the lives and experiences of the Africans who lived in the *musseques*, the peripheral areas of Luanda, the capital of Angola. With a critical analysis of the development of entertainment and leisure in Angola, she demonstrated that through music (semba), dance, sports, clubs, and concerts, Angolans living in the *musseques* (from different geographical regions, ethnic groups, languages, and races) created a sense of a shared culture (different from their original rural homelands) and spread it to other places through local bands during the colonial period. Focusing on the development of a nationalist consciousness and the imagination of the independent nation, she argued that those Angolans who did not join the liberation struggle but stayed in Luanda, in the *musseques*, developed, from the 1950s to the 1970s, a sense of nation and sovereignty, and prepared for independence through their social and cultural relations.

However, those imaginations and expectations were not fulfilled after independence. Marissa Moorman (2008) considered the independence date a 'moment of crisis' for Angolan music, in which the emergence, encouragement, and support of a new type of music – revolutionary and oriented to mobilization – resulted in decreased popularity of rhythms, such as semba, widespread during colonialism. This led, she argued, to the frustration of the petty bourgeoisie, the middle-class group of mostly men who

¹⁷ Fair, Laura. *Pastimes and Politics: Culture, Community and Identity in Post Abolition Urban Zanzibar, 1890-1945*, 1st ed, (Athens/ Oxford: Ohio University Press/ James Currey, 2001).

dominated the music industry and gained public visibility during the colonial period as representatives of cultural sovereignty and national pride due to the vibrant dynamics of the music scene at the time¹⁸.

Marissa Moorman (2008) and Kelly Askew (2002) employed Benedict Anderson's (2006)¹⁹ notion of "imagined community" in their studies. While Marissa Moorman (2008) agreed with Benedict Anderson (2006), in the sense that Angolans built a sense of Angolaneidade through culture, Kelly Askew's *Performing the Nation: Swahili Music and cultural politics in Tanzania* proposed a shift in the theoretical focus and terminology, from Benedict Anderson's "imagined nation" or "imagined communities" to "national imaginaries": the multiple and often contradictory layers and fragments of ideology that underlined continually shifting conceptions of any given nation. One of Kelly Askew's aims was to call attention to other media (rather than print media), in this case, musical performance as a crucial process of imagining a nation, and to challenge the theoretical distinction between state and society predominant in the literature on nationalism.

Askew revealed that instead of the "imagined nation" which was viewed as something finite and concluded, the process of construction of national identity in Tanzania through culture production was ongoing. National identities were rooted in shifting imaginaries of the nation, which fluctuated dramatically over time in response to political authority and ideology (colonialism, socialism, modernism), historical period (pre- and post-independence), and in response to public reaction or lack thereof²⁰. Kelly Askew also

¹⁸ Marissa Moorman went further in explaining the ways this visibility resulted in the enhancement of masculinity while reducing women participation and visibility.

¹⁹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, Revised Edition*, Revised edition (London: Verso, 2006).

²⁰ Kelly Askew, *Performing the nation*, 273.

discussed the connections between power and performance and claimed that performance enabled the perception of the ways power relations were navigated and negotiated at the interpersonal level, multiple social levels, up to the state level²¹.

Mhoze Chikowero's *African music, power, and being in colonial Zimbabwe* contributed to the scholarship on performance, performativity, nationalism, and nation-state building. Countering Kelly Askew and Marissa Moorman's arguments, Chikowero revealed that, during the colonial period, when singing their songs, the Africans in South Rhodesia were not only imagining the independence but "actually performed it, recentering and reasserting their marginalized humanity and epistemes."²² His study made key epistemological and methodological interventions. Departing from the assertion that Africans were still having their representations denied or being spoken for and defined by others who claimed to be more 'objective', 'rational', and 'disinterested', as an African scholar he set himself the task of deconstructing the "foundational Cartesian structures and myths of westernized knowledge production in, and of, Zimbabwe,"²³ by providing a narrative from within, that captured "the spirit of African music" which was missing in the previous scholarship on music.

Countering the narrative which depicted the colonial government as a promoter of native culture through music which gave rise to the field of ethnomusicology²⁴ related to

²¹ Ibid., 14.

²² Mhoze Chikowero, *African music, power, and being in colonial Zimbabwe* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015).

²³ Ibid: 7.

²⁴Mhoze Chikowero was alluding to studies of scholars such as, Hugh Tracey, *Chopi: their music, poetry, and instruments*, (London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1970); Henri Alexandre Junod, *Usos e costumes dos Bantus* [uses and habits of the Bantu], (2009); Paul L. Berliner, *The soul of Mbira: Music and traditions of the Shona people of Zimbabwe*, (California, University of California Press, 1978); Thomas Turino, *Nationalists, Cosmopolitans and Popular Music in Zimbabwe*, 1st ed. (Chicago/ London: The University Of Chicago Press, 2000).

the colonial project of anthropology, Mhoze Chikowero argued that “Africans used music, dance, spirituality and other forms of performative cultures to (re)assert themselves as active agents and indigenous intellectuals, to unmake their colonial marginalization and reshape their own destinies”²⁵.

Mozambican music and cultural identity formation

Scholarship on Mozambican music was scant and centered on the study of *Marrabenta* and localized in the music experiences of Lourenço Marques and Maputo, the names attributed to the capital city during the colonial regime and after independence, respectively. The historiography of music went back to the colonial period with studies of local folklore or the habits and traditions of the Africans in the colony, mostly by anthropologists and missionaries²⁶.

Rui Laranjeira (2014)²⁷, António Sopa (2014)²⁸, José Craveirinha (2009)²⁹, Eléusio dos Prazeres Viegas Filipe (2012)³⁰, Samuel Matusse (2013, 2016), Salomão Júlio Manhiça (2018)³¹, Ruth First (1998)³², Paolo Israel (2014)³³, Ciro Pereira (2014), Luis Loforte

²⁵ Mhoze Chikowero, *African music, power, and being in colonial Zimbabwe*, 15.

²⁶ Hugh Tracey, *Chopi: their music, poetry, and instruments*, (London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1970); Henri Alexandre Junod, *Usos e costumes dos Bantus* [uses and habits of the Bantu], (2009).

²⁷ Rui Laranjeira, *A marrabenta: sua evolução e “estilização”, 1950-2000* (Maputo: 2014)

²⁸ António Sopa, *A alegria é uma coisa rara: subsídios para a história da música popular urbana em Lourenço Marques (1920-1975)*, (Maputo: Marimbique, 2014).

²⁹ José Craveirinha, *O folclore moçambicano e as suas tendências* (Maputo: Alcance Editores, 2009).

³⁰ Eléusio dos Prazeres Viegas Filipe, “*Were are the Mozambican musicians?:” Music, Marrabenta, and National identity in Lourenço Marques, Mozambique, 1950’s-1975*, (Phd Dissertation, 2012).

³¹ Salomão Manhiça, *Retalhos da minha vida* (Maputo: Arminda Maculube, 2018).

³² Ruth First (Dir.), *O Mineiro Moçambicano: um estudo sobre a exportação de mão de obra em Inhambane*. (Maputo: Centro de Estudos Africanos, 1998).

³³ Paolo Israel, *In Step with the Times: Mapiko Masquerades of Mozambique* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2014).

(2019), Marílio Wane (2019) contributed to the most relevant recent scholarly works on Mozambican music.

Ruth First (1998) wrote on the export of Mozambican migrants from Inhambane to South Africa³⁴. Her work interwoven the analysis of the nature and characteristics of the Mozambican mining workforce in South Africa with transcribed and translated songs collected by Alpheus Mangezi that miners performed during work hours, and full interviews providing rich archival material for further research. Her work emphasized the role of music as a social commentary, as a means of contestation, and to preserve the narratives regarding miner's lives, works, and the impact of their professional activities on their families and their place of origin.

Samuel Matusse's books³⁵ contributed to this historiography particularly with his analysis of the role of labor migration in spotting, carving, and catapulting to fame Mozambican musicians working at or around mining companies in South Africa.

José Craveirinha's *O folclore moçambicano e as suas tendências* [Mozambican folklore and its tendencies] (2009), a collection of articles published from colonial to post-colonial times, focused on culture in general but specifically presenting narratives on Marrabenta, which were very useful as primary sources to understand the dynamics of cultural production over the years.

Rui Laranjeira's *A marrabenta: sua evolução e "estilização", 1950-2000* (2014) traced the genesis and evolution of Marrabenta as a music and dance style, from the 1950s

³⁴ Ruth First (Dir.), *O Mineiro Moçambicano: um estudo sobre a exportação de mão de obra em Inhambane*, (Maputo: Centro de Estudos Africanos, 1998).

³⁵ Samuel Matusse, *Retalhos da História da Música Moçambicana. O Septuagésimo Aniversário do Disco da Música Moçambicana* (Maputo: Minerva Print, 2016); Samuel Matusse, *Fany Mpfumo e outros ícones*, (Maputo, 2013).

to 2002, revealing its importance for the society, and the hybrid ways it opened fluid spaces navigated by different social groups, either in the small dance halls of the *caniço* neighborhoods where the majority of the African population resided, or in the cosmopolitan bars, cabarets, and dance halls of vibrant colonial Lourenço Marques. He also explained the role of ‘native’ associations such as Associação Africana (African Association) and the Centro Associativo dos Negros (Negro Associative Center) in the promotion of Marrabenta and of the musicians who performed it.

Most recently, António Sopa (2014) published *A Alegria é uma coisa rara: subsídios para a história da música popular urbana em Lourenço Marques (1920-1975)* based on extensive archival work and analysis of newspapers, describing leisure and entertainment in the suburban areas, the genesis of urban popular music in Lourenço Marques, the orchestras, bands and other types of music groups, performing folkloric local songs, Marrabenta, international rhythms such as jazz, and choral music. He also described the role of radio in the collection and dissemination of African music, and the roles of programs such as Hora Nativa [Native hour], A voz de Moçambique [The voice of Mozambique], and África à noite [Africa by night]. However, his study was very descriptive and could benefit from a more analytical stance, including discussions around the gendered and class dimensions of music. The study was temporally located on the colonial period, using independence as an interruption moment for the narrative, leaving a gap in terms of the analysis of cultural processes that transcended the colonial/post-colonial divide which would enable an understanding of the changes, continuities, and ruptures of the colonial and post-colonial moments in terms of culture and music production. I am filling this gap with my research.

Into this debate on leisure, popular culture, and music, Paolo Israel's *In Step with the Times: Mapiko Masquerades of Mozambique* (2014)³⁶ introduced important conceptual, thematic, and methodological innovations. Distancing his project from the spatial dominance of Southern Mozambique in the master narrative on leisure and music, and adopting a microhistory approach centered on ethnographic research, oral history, and performance analysis, he described Mapiko masks, dance performances, and songs as relevant "idioms of collective consciousness", as sources to capture the daily lives of Makonde people over a period of eight decades, as representations of the 20th century political and historical transformations in Mozambique, and as sites of collective historical knowledge production and preservation or memorialization. The aesthetics of carving the masks, the rhythm and lyrics of the songs, and the performance were used by Paolo Israel to reveal the agency, innovation, adaptation, and resistance of the Maconde people to the dominant systems of oppression in different historical periods of the colonial and post-colonial history of Mozambique. Mapiko masks and performances were also presented as a local means of making and preserving local and national history.

Salomão Manhiça's study highlighted the contradictions in the origins of certain compositions, genres, etc., with the discussion of the origins of the Mozambican national anthem. This was part of a historiographical trend where authors used biographies and memoirs to challenge the official historical narratives by presenting their voices and narratives as alternative truths. In 2014, Ciro Pereira published a monography on one of the Mozambican composers, maestro Filipe Machiana³⁷. Through the collection of oral

³⁶ Paolo Israel, *In Step with the Times: Mapiko Masquerades of Mozambique* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2014).

³⁷ Ciro Pereira, *Kirikiri: uma monografia do Maestro Filipe Machiana* (Maputo: Marimbique, 2014).

stories, the book analyzed the life of one of the Mozambican composers during the colonial period and highlighted the role of the protestant church, particularly the Presbyterian church in the training of musicians in notation and music instruments, and its role in forging some of Frelimo's clandestine or fourth region nationalists. Ciro Pereira's main contribution was in the fact that it shed light on actors of the Mozambican history not commonly mentioned in the official historical narrative.

Similar to this approach was Luis Loforte's book on the trajectory of Domingos Arouca, a Mozambican nationalist from Inhambane whose history could be better incorporated in the official narrative of the History of Mozambique in general and the history of Inhambane in particular³⁸. Arouca who became the first black Mozambican lawyer during the colonial period was persecuted by PIDE for what was considered subversive or terrorist activities as he was connected to Frelimo activities in Lourenço Marques when he served as the Director of the newspaper of Brado Africano, and as the President of the board of Associação dos Negros da Província de Moçambique. Arouca's trajectory intersected with the trajectory of music groups in Inhambane District and Lourenço Marques because music and culture were part of these districts' social life, but also prominent in solidarity and nationalist groups and movements.

Timbila Tathu was the title Marílio Wane chose for his book on the cultural policies and identity construction in Moçambique through the analysis of Chope music, particularly the Timbila, nowadays UNESCO humanity's cultural heritage. From the colonial period, and following prior studies such as Hugh Tracey narratives on Timbila, Marílio Wane narrated the history of Timbila in Zavala, in South Africa, and its revitalization through the

³⁸ Luís Loforte (Org.), *Domingos Arouca: As Cobras (Autobiografia – I parte)* (Maputo: Pemba & Sêwi editores, 2019).

msaho concerts. He also discussed the ways *Timbila* was used by the colonial government to reinforce its power structures with the process of invention of Portuguese colonial traditions³⁹.

Overall, these studies centered their narrative on Southern Mozambique and privileged the cultural nationalism of the educated elite in Lourenço Marques, with emphasis on Mafalala, Chamanculo, and “Chinhambanine” peripheral neighborhoods. These places hosted people from several places including Vatonga from Inhambane. Vatonga musicians were integrated and performed in local associations and cultural groups and spaces. Some of the prominent musicians in post-colonial historiography emerged from these places. My dissertation builds on this literature by providing the narrative of the Vatonga people, culture, and music and the ways it was interwoven with politics, integrated the nation building process, the edification of Mozambicaness, and the internationalization of Mozambican music and culture.

Mozambican popular music (‘*música ligeira*’) and Mozambicaness

Mozambican ‘*música ligeira*’ was the term attributed to popular urban music which encompassed the traditional rhythms, songs, proverbs with the influences of modern western music. Following Kofi Agawu’s⁴⁰ concept of popular music, ‘*música ligeira*’ was not a fixed concept, but a dynamic and nuanced concept more adequate to guide the definition and description of the character of music developed in Mozambique after the

³⁹ Marílio Wane, *Timbila Tathu: Política cultural e construção da identidade em Moçambique* (Maputo: Khuzula editores, 2019).

⁴⁰ Kofi Agawu, *The African Imagination in Music*.

independence as part of the efforts to build a Mozambican cultural identity also designated as Mozambicaness in the literature.

In his discussion of the “traditional-popular-art” music grid, Kofi Agawu revealed the complexities in defining music in Africa, and in distinguishing “popular” from “traditional” music⁴¹ – a ‘complexity’ arguably reflective of the association of music in Africa with colonial forms of knowledge production such as ethnography and its later (narrow) association with the politics of anti-colonial resistance, cultural resilience, and social identity.

General definitions would distinguish “traditional” music as pre-colonial, as not ‘contaminated’ by other music, developed in rural areas, in the context of “traditional” life with the use of “traditional” instruments, and with a participatory and communitarian character. “Popular” music, on the other hand, was understood as belonging to the urban sphere, as emerging with the European presence in Africa, involving new music ideas, instruments, and imaginings, and aiming at non-participatory audiences. However, this definition was biased because it was centered on the European presence in Africa and took Europe or European definitions as a departure point, as the norm, and it did not account for local creativity and all the historical and cultural influences that dated back to the Bantu migrations.

While popular music was ordinarily associated with bands, with composers and performers who sometimes acquire the status of stars, ‘*música ligeira*’ was also communal and participatory in its making and performance, and aimed at participatory audiences, aspects that could be associated with the concept of ‘traditional music’. So, the concept of

⁴¹ Ibid.

Mozambican ‘música ligeira’ was honed in its application, considering its place in society, its composers, producers, and consumers, the use of written or oral media, its affiliation with the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial spheres, the kinds of music influences sedimented in them, and its propensity for change.

Mozambicaness can be defined as what is specifically Mozambican. It is the specific character of Mozambican culture or history or the feeling of love and great affection for Mozambique⁴². Thus, it encompassed the sense of belonging, the sense of nationality, the feelings of love or affection for the country, and what was culturally and historically specific to Mozambique: the ways of thinking, being, feeling, and expressing⁴³.

As a cultural project, Mozambicaness resulted from the cohesion of the local cultures’ identities⁴⁴. It was not static nor innate. It was an unfinished project and encompassed the accumulation of specific characters. It was an identifier in constant transformation which embraced the historical influences the continent, the country (the collective I) and the person (individual I) collected overtime.

European imperialist countries colonized African countries including Mozambique. Colonial occupation, exploitation, domination, humiliation, ‘depersonalization’, and oppression meant that the African was a foreigner in his territory, a servant of the lands which were inherently his, and did not own his life. Thus, the construction of African and Mozambican identities meant the reclaiming of dignity, the reaffirmation of the rights

⁴² Dicionário Priberam da Língua Portuguesa, 2008-2020 (<https://dicionario.priberam.org/moçambicanidade>).

⁴³<https://dicionario.priberam.org/moçambicanidade>; <https://www.infopedia.pt/dicionarios/lingua-portuguesa/moçambicanidade>.

⁴⁴ Brazão Mazula, *Ética, Educação e Criação da Riqueza* (Maputo: Imprensa Universitária, 2005) cited by Guilherme Basilio, *O Estado e a Escola na Construção da Identidade Política Moçambicana*, Doutoramento em Educação, São Paulo: Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo (PUC-SP), 2010, 182.

inherent to the human condition, and the reconnection of the African man with his history, culture, land, and flag⁴⁵.

Therefore, more than a cultural project, Mozambicanness was a political project. Guilherme Basílio argued that Mozambicanness was a collective construction that emerged from the negation of the Portuguese fictitious colonial identity. It was a political project built by Frelimo and embraced by the people which, while negating the colonial values, re-appropriated the existing cultures to build national unity⁴⁶.

Besides being a political and sociological project, Mozambicanness was also a legal project. According to the 2004 Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique, Mozambicanness was defined by territoriality, consanguinity, marriage, and naturalization. Thus, besides those who were born in Mozambique, Mozambican citizenship was attributed to those born overseas, from parents (mother or father) serving the State overseas. Mozambicans were those who were born in Mozambique after the proclamation of independence, however, Mozambican nationality could also be acquired by marriage or naturalization upon the completion of the demanded requirements⁴⁷.

Scholars argued that political unity, legal equality, and economic equity legitimated Mozambicanness by uniting the people in a socio-political and geographical space where national identities were built and transmitted. Because national identities relied on local cultural identities in their construction, according to Guilherme Basilio, “Mozambicanness

⁴⁵ Pascoal Mocumbi, “O principal desafio para Moçambique e a África Austral é a afirmação da sua identidade”, In Agostinho Zacarias (ed.), *Repensando Estratégias sobre Moçambique e África Austral* (Maputo: Instituto Superior de Relações Internacionais, 1990, 382.

⁴⁶ Guilherme Basilio, *O Estado e a Escola na Construção da Identidade Política Moçambicana*, Doutoramento em Educação, São Paulo: Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo (PUC-SP), 2010, 175.

⁴⁷ Constituição da República, 7-11.

resulted from the aggregation of several cultural groups who affirm[ed] themselves in the Mozambican territory, forming a national political project”⁴⁸.

Methodology and sources

The study followed a multi-methods approach. It privileged documental and archival methods and the collection of oral histories. It also privileged the collection and analysis of songs, music video clips, and documentaries. Besides the development of the research project, the literature review was important to understand the existing theoretical, conceptual, and methodological approaches and define the research questions. Because “historical research generally involves identifying and analyzing primary documents, which can include written, visual, oral or material sources”⁴⁹, I conducted archival work at the Regional Museum of Inhambane, at the Provincial Library in Inhambane city, at the Provincial Directorate for Culture and Tourism in Inhambane, at Inhambane Municipality Public Library, at Guiua Center - Catholic Church, in Inhambane, at Catholic Cathedral in Inhambane, at Inhambane Cemetery, at Inhambane Notary, at the High School of Hospitality and Tourism (Eduardo Mondlane University), all in Inhambane province. I also conducted archival work in Maputo city at the following institutions: the Mozambican National Archives, the Cultural Heritage Archive, the Research Center of the Liberation Struggle in Mozambique, the Samora Machel Documentation Center, and the Library

⁴⁸ Guilherme Basilio, *O Estado e a Escola na Construção da Identidade Política Moçambicana*, Doutoramento em Educação, São Paulo: Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo (PUC-SP), 2010, 177.

⁴⁹ American Historical Association, *Historical research during Covid – 19*, approved by AHA Council, July 2020, 202.544.2422 fls.1.

Brazão Mazula (Eduardo Mondlane University). This research enabled the identification and collection of relevant primary and secondary sources on the history and culture of Inhambane. I was also able to read primary documents from the Government of Mozambique and the Government of Inhambane and Maxixe in the Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique, Inhambane Provincial Archives, and Inhambane Regional Museum.

Archival work and analysis of newspapers, particularly ‘Domingo’, ‘Notícias’ and ‘Diário de Moçambique’ at the National Library and the Mozambican National Archives in Maputo city, at the Province Library in Inhambane, at the Historical Heritage Archive’s delegation in Beira, and at the Newspaper ‘Diário de Moçambique’ in Beira, at the House of Culture of Sofala were key for the understanding of the development of Mozambican music from the colonial period to present times. Archival work at Mayibuye Archive in Cape Town, at the Library of the Foundation Fernando Leite Couto in Maputo, and the University of Minnesota’s Library enabled a wider understanding of the history of Mozambique and its relation with the neighboring countries.

Archives were part of the fundamentals of History as a discipline and they were mostly made up of text-based documents. My research did not disregard the discussions on the power of the archives in historical knowledge production and historians’ complicity in the kinds of history being made. The archive was not neutral and cannot be read as a direct reflection of what happened in the past. It was promoted by the entities in power, thus, it had agency, because in the process of selection and categorization of the documents, and the rules defined for its access, it valued and made visible some aspects, while at the same time silencing or obscuring others.

The *archons*, borrowing Derrida's concept for the archivist or those with the power to guard and interpret the archive were complicit and mediated the archive, not only in its concept but also in its constitution. Complicity, neutrality, and impartiality were seriously considered when working with archives, as archives were affected by the violence and structures of power that established it. Thus, there was an attempt to see the archive in the context in which it was constituted because it was inserted in power relations, reflecting the hegemony and choices of those who had the power to constitute, register and interpret history.

Memoirs of Mozambican war veterans were critical to understanding music production in Mozambique in pre-colonial times, during the implementation of the colonial administration, during the liberation struggle, and as part of the edification of the independent state and nation. I acquired most of the memoirs in Mozambican bookshops in Maputo, Beira, and Nampula cities. The library of the Liberation Armed Struggle Research Center in Maputo, the Regional Museum in Inhambane, and Professor Allen Isaacman's library also enabled access to memoirs of Mozambican freedom fighters.

Most of the war veteran memoirs were published as a result of the challenges to post-independence nationalism that had its echo in the re-emergence of the intellectual, every day, political debates on nationalism, not only in Mozambique, but also in other African 'Lusophonic' countries as a result of three main factors.

The first factor was the memorialization and celebration of the memories of national 'heroes' – narrowly defined as the armed freedom fighters of the parties that won the struggle for independence, negotiated the transition to independence with Portugal, and established the independent nation-states. That was made visible through the inauguration

of museums, monuments, research centers, heroes' squares, and the celebration of heroes' anniversaries. However, those processes were also marked by the continuous lack of acknowledgment of the members of other parties that existed during the colonial period, and of those who were considered reactionaries.

The second factor was what Morier-Genoud⁵⁰ referred to as the “authoritarian decompression” that occurred in the 1980-1990s which led to the emergence of pluralist political systems. That openness enabled the emergence of voices that were dissonant with the nationalist and patriotic discourses and historiography and the founding myths that had developed during the first fifteen years of independence. State nationalisms emerged to counter these dissonant voices, and that was reflected through the creation of state institutions to support and promote the writing and dissemination of the history of the liberation struggle. It also resulted in the publication of memoirs and biographies of freedom fighters and war veterans to leave testimonies for the coming generations of Mozambicans.

There was a pattern in those individual and collective memoirs and biographies associated with the considered “collective memory” about the liberation struggle, as most of the memoirs and biographies emphasized FRELIMO's role and of its leaders as the architects of independence and national unity, to strengthen the sense of belonging and unity of the Mozambican people, amid political and social instability the country experienced in the 21st century. While reading the memoirs I considered Amélia Souto and other scholars' warnings about the role of memoirs, biographies and autobiographies as oral registers and therefore relevant sources for history writing. Therefore, bearing in mind

⁵⁰ Eric Morier-Genoud, *Sure Road? Nationalisms in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique*, (Boston: Brill, 2012).

the risk of ‘use and abuse of memories’, forgetfulness (accidental) and forgetting (deliberate), memoirs, biographies and autobiographies still constituted an important source of history. Thus, I considered Amélia Souto’s recommendation as follows,

It is also necessary in these memoirs to identify the principles of selection and omission, and to pay attention to whether or not there are inconsistencies in the narratives of individuals who are writing about the same events. It is necessary to try to understand how some elements become part of the history and others are left on the margins of the story or in obscurity. Who decides, and how? What are the criteria?⁵¹

The third factor was the eruption of armed instability in 2013, waged by the RENAMO party, with its focus on the central region of Mozambique. RENAMO was a party with seats in the Parliament but decided to also take up arms, allegedly to fight for better distribution of national wealth and reduction of regional disparities in the development of the country, which drew national and international condemnation and questioning of RENAMO’s actions due to the social and economic consequences of the war. The growing popular support to this movement, particularly in the central region of the country, exacerbated by the economic crisis attributed to corrupt practices of the government headed by FRELIMO’s party, the eruption of an armed conflict in the northern province of Cabo Delgado, the devastating effects of Idai and Kenneth cyclones, and the challenges posed by Covid 19 pandemic reinforced the desire to unite the nation.

I also relied on oral interviews with musicians in Inhambane city, Maputo city, and also in Portugal. Oral tradition and spoken language were central to this day in Inhambane society as it was in other African peoples’ cultures. Vatonga traditional culture was based on oral tradition and collective memory. Family and clan’s sagas, formulas,

⁵¹ Amélia Souto, “Memory and identity in the History of Frelimo: some research themes”. In *Kronos*, 39 (2013), 296.

tales, *dzitekatekane*⁵², myths, dances, ritual celebrations, customary law norms, and practices and habits were kept in the form of oral literature. Tonga oral literature covered all life dimensions of Vatonga people; celebrated all aspects of life; revealed Vatonga people's deepest thoughts and convictions; inspired and modeled individual and social behaviors. In Tonga oral tradition the spoken word played a fundamental role as a way to preserve and transmit the common heritage inherited from the ancestors establishing the linkage between the living and the dead, between the past, the present, and the future. Through oral literature, Vatonga society interpreted and explained itself, narrated its story, ideals, sufferings, and hopes⁵³.

Therefore, oral histories provided important information to corroborate, complement or fill the gaps from the archival and documental research. Nonetheless, I considered the limitations of oral history in its relationship with issues of memory, forgetting, and the loss or adulteration of information in the transmission of the stories from one source to the other.

Radio Mozambique in Maputo and Beira, local music sellers, and online sources enabled the access to songs in gitonga or other languages. I spoke gitonga and ci-shangana which eased the understanding and transcription of songs but also the interview of people who could not communicate in the Portuguese language. I also spoke English, so I translated the songs in gitonga and ci-shangana to English. Then I analyzed the songs as

⁵² *Dzitekatekane* is a summary of ancient wisdom principles in the form of proverbs and adages, divided into two parts: the proposition and the answer. These two parts are interrelated, being the first part provocative, and the second a response to the provocation containing a message or an instruction. *Dzitekatekane's* main purpose is to teach people the best practices of daily life in society, to educate people on the ways of living in public and private spheres, to instruct people on the ways to discern good from bad, and to alert people to the dangers of living without paying attention to own and others' cultural values (Amaral, Matimo, Masaho ni *Dzitekatekane nya Vatonga*, 75).

⁵³ Amaral, *Matimo, Masaho ni Dzitekatekane nya Vatonga*, 44-45.

text considering the diversity of approaches employed by ethnomusicologists, sociologists of music, music theorists, and historians of music for content and poetic analysis.

I also sing. Therefore, I recorded songs while doing fieldwork and writing the dissertation in Maputo, one in 2019 and another one in 2020. Even though I sang in church, I recorded the first gospel song more than 20 years ago. So, recording my songs while conducting fieldwork enabled me to immerse myself in the Mozambican music industry and experience firsthand the contemporary music production process from the perspective of the musicians who are not in the mainstream music narrative or industry.

I also attended the national festivals of culture, key spaces to engage with culture producers and musicians, and to learn about the role of culture and music in the construction of the national cultural identity. I attended two national festivals of culture, one in Beira city – Sofala province in 2016 and another in Lichinga city – Niassa province in 2018. Attending the Festivals and conducting interviews or archival work in these locations enabled me to write the chapter on the role of festivals in the consolidation of Mozambicanness and the development of urban popular culture. It also enabled me to reflect on issues such as gender relations and diversity in the Mozambican music industry.

Particular aspects need to be considered as part of the reconfigurations of the African continent through the time frame analyzed. The first is chronology. The written history of the African continent was associated with the European presence in Africa. The most common chronology divided the African continent in terms of pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods. However, that did not account for the multiplicity of events from the perspective of the Africans which had been challenged, particularly with the emergence

of the nationalist historiography and the use of oral histories and other sources most likely to capture the perspectives of the Africans.

The second aspect is space. The African continent, including Mozambique, underwent several waves of migration and wars which constantly refigured its territorial configuration. The territory of Mozambique before the Berlin Conference of 1884/85 and the effective occupation of the territory which resulted in the current political configuration witnessed the emergence, ascension, and fall of ethnolinguistic groups and reigns at times categorized as states or empires by historians. The use of events such as the African political independence as historical markers and moments of rupture also hid the continuities and legacies of previous periods and missed the complexities of the transition processes and periods.

The third aspect is power relations. Once again, the centrality of the European presence in the African continent led to the narration of the power relations distributed between the ruler and the subjects or the colonizer and the colonized. But as Claudia Castelo et al. put it, “an infinity of groups (and interests) overlapped, were hidden, or could be guessed [between one side and the other], and they were all inextricably connected”. This was particularly true for the colonial period. Therefore, these categories were not seen as static because they could miss the existing ethnic, cultural, and social variety, and could elide the groups’ permeability and heterogeneity⁵⁴.

⁵⁴ Claudia Castelo et al, “Introdução: Tardo-colonialismo e produção de alteridades”, In *Os outros da colonização: Ensaio sobre o colonialismo tardio em Moçambique*, organized by Cláudia Castelo, Omar Ribeiro Thomaz, Sebastião Nascimento, Teresa Cruz e Silva (Lisboa: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 1974), 19.

This links with the fourth aspect which is race and social relations. Several constructed categorizations emerged in the literature to differentiate the racial distinctions in the African continent. Claudia Castelo et al. indicated that the colonial statistics divided the Mozambican population into ‘whites’, ‘mestizos’, ‘blacks’, ‘Indians’, and ‘yellows’. However, these categories were not homogenous nor static. If the ‘white’ category did not account for nationality, place of origin, social condition, religious beliefs, or political position, the category ‘blacks’ applicable to the majority of the people in Mozambique did obfuscate the regional, ethnic, linguistic, cultural, religious heterogeneity. In association with the legal distinction, particularly from 1926 to 1961, between ‘indígenas’ and ‘European’; ‘indígenas’ and ‘não-indígenas’; ‘Portuguese indígenas’, ‘assimilates’, and ‘citizens’, some of these categorizations hid even further the complexities of the colonial reality. Thus, the category ‘yellows’ could include ‘sino-asians’, ‘sino-africans’, ‘afro-chinese’, the first two considered ‘citizens’ and categorized as ‘civilized’, and the latter could be considered ‘indígena’ (native). The category ‘Indians’ could incorporate all people from the Indian subcontinent and their descendants missing the religious and cultural diversity that characterized the group. Besides these groups, there were others such as the Cape Verdeans who worked for the colonial administration because they came from a Portuguese colonial territory where Indigenato Policies were not applicable. Thus, despite the color of their skin they were expected to be “the bridge” between the colonizer and the colonized⁵⁵.

The initial dissertation proposal was projected having in mind the study of music production in the colonial and post-colonial Beira city in Sofala province, due to its

⁵⁵ Claudia Castelo et al, “Introdução: Tardo-colonialismo e produção de alteridades”, 20-21.

historical peculiarities. Beira was the second-largest city, after the capital of the colony, Lourenço Marques, and one of the main centers of urban tourism and cultural change after the 1950s. Studying the history of music in Beira would enable me to challenge the centrality of the Mozambican music studies in Southern Mozambique emphasizing the cultural nationalism of the educated elite in Lourenço Marques peripheral neighborhoods such as Mafalala and Chamanculo⁵⁶.

Because Beira had been the center of contestations of governance structures, policies, and practices, both before and after the independence of Mozambique, my focus on the experiences of musicians from Sofala could complicate the narratives which privileged the cultural nationalism of the educated elite in Lourenço Marques, could illuminate the roots of the continuous contestation of the nation-state and national identity(ies) after the independence, and could reveal the dynamics of the process of subject formation from colonial to post-colonial times.

However, in March 2019 Cyclone Idai hit Mozambique, particularly the central region with a massive death toll and devastating effects on infrastructures, followed by Cyclone Kenneth in the northern part of Mozambique. This prevented me from continuing my fieldwork in Beira. Therefore, I reshaped my project proposal and changed the field site to Inhambane province in Southern Mozambique and songs in gitonga language.

⁵⁶ This goes along scholars' contestations of the centrality of Lourenço Marques in the nationalist historiography, and the neglect of other Mozambican cities such as Beira in cultural production (Filimone Meigos, "Sobre a Nachingweização de Moçambique: Utopia versus Distopia. Comunicação Apresentada No Simpósio Samora Vive: Re-Significando Pátria, Identidade Nacional E Cidadania. [On Nachingweization of Mozambique: Utopia versus Dystopia. Paper Presented at the Symposium Samora Lives: Re-Signifying the Country, National Identity and Citizenship]," September 1, 2016.) Therefore, scholars called for the revisiting of the spatial and territorial dimensions of nationalism in Mozambique (Also read Eric Morier-Genoud, *Sure road? Nationalisms in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique* (Brill, 2012); Fernando Amado Couto, *Moçambique 1974: O fim do Império e o nascimento da Nação*, 1ª edição (Lisboa: Editorial Caminho, 2011); Joshua Ncomo, *Uria Simango: um homem, uma causa*.

Because Inhambane city, usually prone to cyclones, was not affected by cyclone Idai nor was affected by the armed instability in the central part of Mozambique, it was possible to collect archival data and oral histories. I traveled to Inhambane to collect primary and secondary sources, audio-visual data, to meet with key informants, to conduct interviews and group discussions with women from Chamane, to learn the local culture, and to collect local songs in gitonga. I employed assistants and I visited and collected data on local historical sites and monuments. I also conducted interviews in Maputo city and with musicians overseas. When Covid-19 hit the world in 2019 I was conducting fieldwork. Consequently, I completed the fieldwork and wrote the dissertation under the context of Covid 19 with its containment measures including the closing of school, archives, and libraries, the inability to travel to archives to consult materials that were not available for external loan or digital form, and the reduction or cancellation of funding for historical research⁵⁷.

Dissertation structure

The dissertation has nine chapters including the introduction and the conclusion. In the introduction, I outlined the study's object, objectives, arguments, the literature review, the theoretical and conceptual frameworks, and the discussion of the methods, sources, and research limitations.

⁵⁷ American Historical Association, *Historical research during Covid – 19*, approved by AHA Council, July 2020, 202.544.2422 fls.1.

The first chapter described the Vatonga people, history, and culture. The chapter discussed the evolution of the Vatonga people and history as it intersected with the history of migratory processes such as the Bantu migrations, the Arab, Asian, European merchant and exploratory migrations, slave trade, and Mfecane. The second chapter continued the analysis of the Vatonga people, history, and culture under the Portuguese colonial regime. The chapter also described Vatonga local music rhythms and songs considering the historical influences derived from historical and cultural encounters.

The third chapter focused on the development of revolutionary songs during the struggle for the independence of Mozambique and its role during the transition period and the edification of the Mozambican cultural identity after the independence. The chapter also highlighted the role of songs in the Portuguese army and FRELIMO's female detachment unit.

The fourth chapter focused on the challenges of developing Mozambican urban popular music ('*música ligeira*') from 1975 to 1990 and the role of songs in *gitonga* in the edification of the post-independent Mozambican cultural identity. The chapter provided the background of the nation-building process in Mozambique and its repercussions on culture and music. It examined the development of the culture sector in the 1970s and the 1980s and the ways it influenced the development of Mozambicaness. The chapter also highlighted the role of recording labels, concerts, music bands, and radio broadcasting programs in the development of Mozambican '*música ligeira*' and in the collection and preservation of local rhythms, songs and musicians.

The fifth chapter continued the previous chapter's argument by examining the development of Mozambican '*música ligeira*' from 1990 onwards. The chapter emphasized

the role of radio programs Ngoma Moçambique and Top Feminino in the process of making Mozambican music more Mozambican, gender mainstreamed, and diversified.

The sixth chapter examined the role of national festivals in the consolidation of Mozambican cultural identity respecting its diversity from 2002 onwards. The chapter also highlighted the impacts of the national festivals on the development of Mozambican urban popular music. Because the study focused on the Vatonga musicians and songs in gitonga, the study also elaborated on the regional and local festivals of culture in Inhambane.

The seventh chapter examined the trajectories of Mozambican musicians in the diaspora and their contribution to the internationalization of Mozambican popular music. It revealed the ways the internationalization of musicians contributed not only to the development of Mozambican music in the diaspora but also in the country of origin, Mozambique. The chapter highlighted the motivations for international migration, the challenges of integration in the diaspora, the themes privileged by musicians, and the challenges faced by musicians returning from the diaspora.

1. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE VATONGA, 1500-1900

Introduction

This chapter presents a historical overview of the Vatonga people from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century. It demonstrates that the Vatonga people's history was shaped by the structural changes which occurred in the Mozambican territory from the continental and regional migrations such as the Bantu migrations; the Arab, Asian, European merchant and exploratory migrations; the slave trade; and the Mfecane. Thus, Vatonga cultural identity was a process in constant mutation resulting from migration, miscegenation, and acculturation processes, and reflecting the transformations and influences which occurred in the history of the territory of Mozambique. During this period music was used as praise poetry to praise the rulers, kings, and elders in social, religious, and political ceremonies, and also in rites and rituals.

The history of the Vatonga before the European presence

Land of the people who spoke gitonga, Wutonga was a vast region covering what is today Inhambane province, whose history remounts the pre-Bantu period⁵⁸. According to Maria Ângela Nhambiu, 14th-century Portuguese documents mentioned the region immediately accessible by sea through Inhambane Port as butongagem or land of the gitonga⁵⁹. With around 50.000km², Wutonga was composed of two distinct lands, one in the cost, and another in the interior stretching to the limits of the current Gaza province.

⁵⁸ Fernando Dava, *Documentação visual e narrativa dos bens culturais*, 78.

⁵⁹ Maria Angela Penicela Nhambiu Kane, *A outra face do indigenato: o caso dos vatonga de Chicique, séculos XV/XVI ao presente – Traços para um debate*. (Maputo: University Eduardo Mondlane, 1995), 2.

The region was divided into two kingdoms: Chamba in the North whose power incorporated the Burra, the small peninsula designated Mocucune. To the South there was the Dongue region with the kingdoms Zavala, Mocumbo, Bongo, and Goamba, and the coastal region Nwamusa⁶⁰.

Vatonga were already established in this region around the 15th-century⁶¹. According to the Enciclopédia Britânica cited by Amaral, Tonga was one of the several African peoples who lived mainly in southern Mozambique, west of Lake Nyasa (Malawi) and the upper Zambeze River who spoke Bantu Languages. So, contemporary Tonga residing in Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, and Mozambique had the same cultural base, but their languages evolved differently in each region⁶².

There were divergences in the existing literature about the origins of the Vatonga People. According to Amaral, the current Vatonga people of Inhambane descended from the Tonga group who, over the 7th and 8th century migrated towards the south and southeast following Mwenemotapa Empire's commercial routes. These people followed Save river to the ocean and occupied the Bazaruto Archipelago from where they expanded southwards to "Inhambane River". Alongside other Tonga-Hlwengwe groups who came to the same region following the Limpopo river basin and Funhalouro and Xikwalakwala savannas, these groups formed the south oriental Tongas that inhabited for centuries the territory designated Butonga, between rivers Save and Limpopo, and spoke the language Butonga, distinct from the Mokarange language spoken in Mwenemotapa Empire⁶³.

⁶⁰ Museu Regional de Inhambane, *História da Cidade de Inhambane*, sd.

⁶¹ Amaral, *Matimo, Masaho ni Dzitekatekane nya Vatonga*, 28.

⁶² *Ibid*, 29.

⁶³ *Ibid*, 33.

This analysis was relevant because the term Tonga, Thonga, or Tsonga has been used by anthropologists such as Henri Junod, to designate the people of Southern Mozambique, namely ci-shangane, ci-ronga, and ci-tsua⁶⁴. However, a deep analysis revealed that the Tonga or Tsonga people existed in this territory before the 19th-century Nguni invasions. The presence of Nguni armies and their vassals, the Vandawu (or Vanyayi) brought from Usapha as carriers and loyal slave soldiers led to their miscegenation through marital unions with the existing Tonga people, thus resulting in the constitution of the Vashangane, Varonga, and Vatsua who developed their linguistic expressions, namely ci-shangane, ci-ronga, and ci-tsua.

Vatonga and their language, Gitonga, was what remained from the ancient people and language spoken by Tonga people before the 19th century. Because it was not deeply mixed with the other Ngoni languages, Gitonga preserved several elements of Tonga language in form and structure. However, Gitonga also evolved distinctly and suffered influences of other languages from territories such as India, Indonesia, Mauritius, and Portugal⁶⁵.

Political and social organization

Tonga people (Vatonga) were divided into small lineages which formed a village. A group of villages not politically independent was under a chief, thus constituting small kingdoms. Cândido Teixeira argued that the absence of a broader political consciousness

⁶⁴ Henri A. Junod, *Usos e costumes dos Bantu* – Tomo I e II (Maputo, Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique, 1996).

⁶⁵ Amaral, *Matimo, Masaho ni Dzitekatekane nya Vatonga*, 35-43.

prevented the unity of several groups to form a military force capable of facing external invaders⁶⁶.

Vatonga were structured in Clans under the authority of the elders. Amaral (2009) defined the Clan as a group of families who descended from a common ancestor. Each group of families (*Nyumba*) had his father (*Babe*) and an altar for the family cult (*Gihuru nya mipaso*) which was also the center of political power. The fathers of several groups of families with a common ancestor formed the Big House or *Ndranga nya yikhongolo* or *Nyumba nya yikhongolo* governed by the patriarch (*Babe khongolo*). Vatonga followed a patrilinear system in which the children belonged to the father's lineage⁶⁷.

The main Vatonga Clans of Inhambane were as follows: Bewule, Dosi, Gihemu, Gihongwe, Gihole, Gilamba, Gilima, Girugo, Givala, Givanga, Givbundra, Gyamba, Kandra, Khambula, Khosa, Khumbana, Khundrula, Kovele, Kumbi, Kwamba, Madahu, Madindru, Madzila, Magalu, Mahungwana, Mangoba, Mange, Marengula, Marime, Masundra, Matimbe, Matsinye, Mawotse, Mazive, Mbalango, Muhala, Mwanga, Mwangula, Mwendrane, Ndridzi, Ngokha, Ngove, Ngovele, Ngundrele, Ngulela, Nheve, Nuva, Nyabomba, Nyagilungwana, Nyagyombe, Nyakhule, Nyambihu, Nyambiri, Nyamombe or Nyanombe, Nyamuswa, Nyamuwa, Nyanala, Nyaposa, Nyari, Nyasengo, Peleve, Seg⁶⁸.

The *Babe khongolo* was chosen based on precedence rights in the genealogical order, according to the Clan lineages. For example, among people of distinct generations,

⁶⁶ Cândido Teixeira, "A fundação de Inhambane e a sua estrutura administrativa e governamental nos meados do século XVIII", *Arquivo*, 8, Outubro 1990, 7.

⁶⁷ Amaral, *Matimo, Masaho ni Dzitekatekane nya Vatonga*, 48-49.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 57-74.

the oldest (great grandfather, grandfather, father) took precedence. Among people of the same generation (siblings and cousins), the one who belonged to the lineage of the oldest son of the Patriarch and clan founder (*Nyumba nya yikhongolo*) took precedence. Among people of the same *Nyumba* and same generation, the oldest in age (*koma*) took precedence. The patriarchs of the “Big Houses” formed the People’s Council (*Huwu or Tshangano nya Vababe*) which elected the king or chief (*Pfumu*)⁶⁹.

Women had a special role in the clan’s power structures. The Clan’s aunties (the fathers’ sisters) had a special status in the *Huwu or Tshangano nya Vababe*. The Council respected their opinions when making decisions, and nothing could be decided in family meetings before the arrival of the “Big Auntie” or *Hane Khongolo*. Amaral (2009) emphasized that women were determinant and influencers as they were stewards of the family’s secrets, norms, rites, and habits. The reasons for the female power included the following: early female education and initiation perfected and continued over time as compared to male’s; the fact that Vatonga women spent more time at home ensuring the family’s well-being; the fact that family taboos and prohibitions fell on women; the fact that women were more perceptive and had excellent memory; the fact that women had the role of transmitting traditional education and knowledge as part of the children’s socialization process since childhood⁷⁰. Vatonga’s *Hane khongolo* possessed the knowledge and told the chief what and how to do it. Therefore, women were not excluded from the decision-making process in the Clan, despite men’s prevalence and prepotency over women⁷¹.

⁶⁹ Ibid, 49.

⁷⁰ Amaral, *Matimo, Masaho ni Dzitekatekane nya Vatonga*, 51-52.

⁷¹ Ibid, 51.

Race, ethnic, and religious miscegenation was part of the Vatonga land settlement. Besides the early migratory influences, including the Bantu migration and later the Mfecane, Arab presence also played an integral part in the constitution of the Vatonga people before the European presence, mostly with the sexual relations between the Arab traders and local women, as described by L.B.,

The Arab invasions motivated a deep corruption in the coastal indigenous people, from the northern part of the Province to the Currents Cape, in the extinct circumscription of Cumbana and the current post of Jangamo, to where the Arabs went further South. Arab blood which, despite very diluted, is still recognizable nowadays among the sea-side black inhabitants, in a maximum territorial depth of forty kilometers, is the confirmation of this ancient invasion of strange people to the African continent, from which our explorers of the fifteen hundreds found well defined social remains, and even today we recognize those remains in the social organization of the sea-side black peoples and certain traditions of eastern origin in those Arab private lives.

In fact, the Arabs, hounded by the Emo-Zaide, neophytes of Mohamed, commanded by Zaide and later by Bovua and by the Sultan of Schiras, and others, invaded this coast to the indicated point, - (Cape of Currents); and since they did not bring women, the natural unions with indigenous women resulted in new races or racial groups with special characteristics, which the Islamite religion of comfortable and easy adaptation to the following invasions, infiltrated the spirits and habits of the following generations⁷².

Artifacts before the 11th century found in Chibuene archaeological site confirmed the presence of Persians, Arabs, and Muslim merchants in Inhambane. They traded grey amber and pearls for cotton with native people which contributed to the development of the weaving industry in Inhambane. Even though people from Inhambane adopted Islam

⁷² L.B., *Os Povos negros do Sul do Save*. "Extracto de uma monografia de autor desconhecido", in *Monumenta*, 56-57.

religion at this period, over time the people of Inhambane chose Islam to flee the catholic pretensions on the people, and also due to the absence of Protestantism in Inhambane⁷³.

Culture and Music

Before the arrival of the Asian merchants and the European presence, the territory of Mozambique witnessed the rise and fall of kingdoms and states, structured around relations of domination and subordination. In kingdoms and states, such structures included religious figures whose activities incorporated the use and preservation of cultural traditions such as rites of birth, death, rites of passage, and ceremonies to bless the commercial activities, war expeditions, enthronization and to please the ancestors for rain, good crops, female and land fertility, among others. These activities were seldom accompanied by singing and dancing and the provision of appropriate offerings for each circumstance⁷⁴.

Cultural expressions and manifestations such as poetry, proverbs, enigmas, songs were an integral part of the people's culture. According to Henry Junod, enigmas and proverbs were considered precious ways to penetrate the spirits of the native people. Songs and poems were present in several activities, often with a higher entity calling the rest of the crowd to sing along, which they would do also clapping hands or dancing⁷⁵.

⁷³ Alf Helgesson, *Church, state and people in Mozambique. An historical study with special emphasis on Methodist developments in the Inhambane region*. Doctoral dissertation at Uppsala University (Uppsala: Swedish Institute of Mission Research, 1994).

⁷⁴ Felizardo Cipire, *A educação tradicional em Moçambique* (Maputo: Publicações Emedil, 1996), 26-41.

⁷⁵ Henry Junod, *Usos e costumes dos povos Bantu*, Tomo II (Maputo: Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique, 1996), 157-167.

Native poets performed several categories of poetry: lyric, satiric, epic, and dramatic. The poets (*trovadores*) could be professionals who earned their living through their art or occasional poets who wrote new poems and songs but did not aspire to “a universal reputation”. Native people also sang songs while working. Women sang while cooking or growing food. There were also travel songs sung by sailors while transporting people in the rivers to reduce the monotony related to their activity of rowing and maneuvering the boat. There were also possession songs, exorcism songs, and enchanting songs sung by experts in traditional medicine or witchcraft. The native people also used songs while telling tales, either before the tale or as part of the story⁷⁶.

People performed songs accompanied by instruments. In his analysis of Tsonga instruments, Henry Junod argued that even though there were similarities with European music in some aspects such as the scales, there were differences in terms of harmony. For Henry Junod, the native harmony was ‘rudimentary’, could be ‘unpleasant’ to the European ear, and, even if it rose to royal greatness if performed by hundreds of warriors, it was still ‘monotonous’ and ‘sad’⁷⁷.

Songs and dances were intertwined with other cultural expressions such as enigmas, proverbs, tales, and praise poetry as significant means of communication, transmission, and preservation. Oral tradition and spoken language were central to Vatonga society as Vatonga traditional culture was based on oral tradition and the collective memory. Family

⁷⁶ Ibid, 188-190.

⁷⁷ Ibid, 250-251.

and clan's sagas, formulas, tales, myths, dances, ritual celebrations, customary law norms, and practices and habits were kept in the form of oral literature⁷⁸.

In Tonga oral tradition the spoken word played a fundamental role as a way to preserve and transmit the common heritage inherited from the ancestors, thus establishing the linkage between the living and the dead, between the past, the present, and the future. Spoken or sung, Vatonga believed that a spoken word 'didn't get lost in the air'. When pronounced the word possessed power and produced intended effects either bad or good, based on the speaker's intention, dignity, and state of spirit and mind⁷⁹. This, in turn, resulted in individual and societal conflicts and accusations of witchcraft based on the spoken word.

Tonga oral literature was preserved in the form of *Dzitekatekane* or proverbs, *Dzikaringane* or tales, songs, and poetry. *Dzitekatekane* were summaries of ancient wisdom principles in the form of proverbs and adages, divided into two parts: the proposition and the answer. These two parts were interrelated, being the first part provocative, and the second a response to the provocation containing a message or an instruction⁸⁰.

According to Nyambihu (2009), "Dzitekatekane dzi thumisidwe ngudzu gale gasi gu hevbudzana khidzo mabvanyelo yaya vathu va felago gu vbanya khayoni tisoni ni gu bhasopisana dzimhango, muthu a gumba thela kota khu mavbanyelo yaye ni vakwawe." (In our loose translation: Dzitekatekane were widely used in the past in Vatonga's cultural tradition to teach people the essential values and ways of living in the community and the

⁷⁸ Amaral, *Matimo, Masaho ni Dzitekatekane nya Vatonga*, 44.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 44-45.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 75.

society as a whole). *Dzitekatekane*'s main purpose was to teach people the best practices of daily life in the society, to educate people on the ways of living in public and private spheres, to instruct people on the ways to discern good from bad, and to alert people of the dangers of living without paying attention to own and others' cultural values⁸¹.

Dzitekatekane were transmitted orally from one generation to the other and Amaral⁸² collected some examples of *Dzitekatekane* including the following:

1. *Bogo mwedo kha li rwayi ndraya* – One hand does not kill a louse (Proposition)/
Muthu moyo kha yi khale ndranga – One person does not form a home (marriage) (answer). Meaning: one stick does not make a bush.
2. *Buru nya yadi kha yi pitsi matsolo* (or *masabi*) – A good donkey does not kick/
Muthu nya wadi kha khuti malogo – A good person does not provoke fights. Meaning: a clean person, thinks clean.
3. *Giphongwana nya mabhongwe kha gi phudwi ni dzikhego dzaye* – don't cook the goat with its horns/ *Mahungu nya guvivbe kha ma konwi khu malipha* – Don't condemn evil with lies. Meaning: lies run but the truth catches up.
4. *Thomba khu mano* – A person's intelligence is richness/ *Muthu khu monyo* – A person's worth can be measured by what he/ she carries in his/ her heart. Meaning: A person who respects the small is big.
5. *Vbaguthumathuno gu thuma nga khulungu, guthumela lihanini* – When working you are like an orphan: you work under the sun/ *Vbaguhodzatunu guhodza nga*

⁸¹ Amaral, *Matimo, Masaho ni Dzitekatekane nya Vatonga*, 75.

⁸² *Ibid*, 87-126.

pfhumu, guhodzela mutsani – when eating, eat like a king: eat under the shade.

Meaning: Only gets to eat the one who works.

The arrival of the Portuguese and early political, economic and social relations

Narratives of the origins of the name Inhambane were inclined to associate it with the Portuguese presence in the land of the Watonga. Oral tradition and official documents mentioned that the Watonga welcomed the Portuguese sailors to Inhambane Bay at their arrival in 1498 under the leadership of Vasco da Gama on their maritime journey to India. They invited the Portuguese to their houses to share what they had with the Gitonga welcoming expression: “Wuyani! Belani khu nyumbani”⁸³, which can loosely be translated to “Welcome. Enter to our house”⁸⁴. As a result, the word “Nyumbani” led to the word Inhambane.

Sixteenth-century Portuguese used the name Inhambane to designate the port they regularly visited, located south of Sofala and the Bocicas Islands. The first Jesuits to visit the Watonga land around 1560 noted that the word Inhambane was already applied to the port. However, the History of Inhambane city written by Inhambane’s Regional Museum indicated that the name Inhambane referred to the region originally inhabited by the clan Nhambe, from which the name Inhambane (Nhambe) probably originated⁸⁵.

⁸³ Amaral, *Dicionário de Português-Gitonga*, 15; Amaral, *Matimo, Masaho ni Dzitekatekane nya Watonga*, 33.

⁸⁴ Ibid. Fernando Dava (Dir.), *Documentação visual e narrativa dos bens culturais*, 78.

⁸⁵ Museu Regional de Inhambane, *História da Cidade de Inhambane*, sd.

Another version indicated that the name Inhambane had its origins in the name *ambane*, which meant goodbye, uttered by the native people upon Vasco da Gama's farewell when he left the region, even though there were arguments which challenged the narrative indicating that Vasco da Gama boarded in Inhambane port on his trip to the East. That was the case of Cândido Teixeira and Gerhard Liesegang who believe that there were no documentary pieces of evidence of Vasco da Gama's presence in Inhambane in 1498, and indicated that he possibly arrived in Inharrime port on 11 January 1489⁸⁶.

Despite the diverging versions, the version which linked the emergence of the expression Nyambani with the Portuguese's understanding of the Watonga as being "Boa Gente" [Good People] due to their warm hospitality and its land Inhambane as "Terra da Boa Gente" [Land of the Good People]⁸⁷ prevailed.

The history of the Portuguese presence in Inhambane was also linked to the evangelization efforts in this region. The first evangelization attempts dated from the 16th century when the Jesuit arrived in Inhambane in 1560. Father Gonçalo da Silveira and Father André Fernandes came from India with the mandate to open the first catholic mission in Môngué, located 150 km of Inhambane settlement. On 20 May 1560, Father Gonçalo baptized king Gamba whose kingdom was located next to Mocumbi territory, alongside 400 people. However, this first evangelization attempt failed for several reasons, including Father Gonçalo's move to Monomotapa's kingdom and his martyrdom, a victim

⁸⁶ Fernando Dava (Dir.), *Documentação visual e narrativa dos bens culturais*, 79; Alfredo Chinde et al, *Projecto de Deslocamento da estátua de Vasco da Gama para o museu da cidade de Inhambane* (Inhambane, 2007), 4

⁸⁷ Other designations include "Aguada da Boa Paz" and "Rio do Cobre" (Lorreno Barradas, "Terra da Boa Gente. Aguada da Boa Paz", *Monumenta*, 11). Museu Regional de Inhambane, *História da Cidade de Inhambane*.

of political intrigue in Monomotapa's kingdom. Other reasons that concurred to this situation were Brother André Costa's departure for health reasons, and king Gamba's abandonment of church due to the demands of the Christian life, leaving Father André Fernandes alone, who eventually gave up in July 1562⁸⁸.

During the 17th century, people from the hinterland south of Save went to Inhambane, Delagoa Bay, and, on a lesser scale, to the Limpopo mouth to trade with the external world. Besides the local chiefs' rivalries regarding the control of the hinterland commercial routes, imported goods circulated to the hinterland, and the terrestrial networks connecting the distinct ports grew in size⁸⁹.

Even though the Tonga 'had very early established friendly relations with the Portuguese, for mutual benefit', over time some uprisings and insurgencies occurred revealing that the relationship was not always pacific. Such was the case of the Muslim's uprising of 1775 and the 1850's rebellion of 'natives' (considered 'the last rebellion') during which the Governor was made prisoner, ending only with the interference of the Governor-General⁹⁰.

The establishment of Inhambane's permanent settlement during the 18th Century

The Portuguese influence in Inhambane grew with the establishment of the first permanent settlement in 1730 as a result of their permanent presence from 1727 when the

⁸⁸ Diocese de Inhambane, "História da Diocese de Inhambane", in *Eco das Comunidades*: Boletim Trimestral da Diocese de Inhambane, n° 84, 2011, 3.

⁸⁹ Malyn Newitt, *História de Moçambique*, 152

⁹⁰ Alf Helgesson, *Church, state and people in Mozambique*, 25.

Portuguese Bernardo Castro Soares, the captain of a merchant ship remained in Inhambane bay after meeting the Dutch ship named Victoria trading with the local Tonga chiefs⁹¹. When the Dutch entered the port in 1727, Inhalingue lands were dominated by four chiefs: Soewane (Tesuana for the Portuguese), Mahohe (Mococa), Mawhotje, and Magombo (Mocumbo), whose lands bordered Tinga-Tinga lands, whose vassals were Kambe, Jan Mosse, and Jan Bidiene. Inhamussua was located towards the interior and its jurisdiction theoretically extended to the coastal regions where Inhampata and Colongo Namotita dominated⁹².

The establishment of a permanent Portuguese settlement in the region was part of the Portuguese's strategy to stop the Dutch merchants who were interested in the exploration of the local rivers and the northern coast looking for gold. The settlement located twelve miles above the bar also described as a "Mercantile colony" included a fort that served as the captain's residence. Outside of the fort, there was a church and the priest's house, a series of small houses occupied by mestizos and black Christians who served in the garrison⁹³. Andrade described the settlement on the following terms,

... a feitoria, a Igreja, e as poucas cazas, de que se compõem a povoação, consta tudo de hum simples artefacto da terra, estacas e palha, q. com grande facilidade transportarão de hua parte para a outra; não tem mais fortificação que hum vallado de terra, q. cerca a feitoria, que igualmente serve de alojamento ao Cappitão; de fora está a Igreja, caza do Vigario, e outras cazinhas, em que vivem alguns mestiços, e negros landinos, que tem praça de soldados⁹⁴.

[Our loose translation: the trading post, the church, and the reduced number of houses that compose the settlement, are all in a simple artifact

⁹¹ Malyn Newitt, *História de Moçambique*, 152; Cândido Teixeira, "A fundação de Inhambane e a sua estrutura administrativa e governamental nos meados do século XVIII", 5.

⁹² Museu Regional de Inhambane, *História da Cidade de Inhambane*; Cândido Teixeira, "A fundação de Inhambane e a sua estrutura administrativa e governamental nos meados do século XVIII", 7.

⁹³ Malyn Newitt, *História de Moçambique*, 152-154.

⁹⁴ A. Alberto de Andrade, *Relações de Moçambique Setecentista*, 210.

of the land, which they will easily move from one place to the other; ... the trading post also houses the captain; outside is the church, the priest's house, and other kitchens were people of mixed race and black natives who are soldiers.]

The community had around 203 Christians, with a small number of Portuguese subjects to fill the administrative positions. It was a precarious settlement with only fifty soldiers. The accessibility challenges to the location played a larger role in the settlement's protection rather than the garrison⁹⁵. On this regard, Andrade wrote,

A sua povoação está como todas as q temos naquela costa fundadas em parte muito pouco vantajosa ao comercio, e ainda à subsistência dos seos habitantes, porque está fundada quase doze legoas acima da sua barra, que para a montar he necessário passar dous bancos, q. só podem montar-se com agoas de lua, o que cauza não só perigo, não havendo pratico bom para entrar, e sahir, mas o prejuízo de se perderem as conjunções da lua, e ficarem arribados os navios com monções perdidas⁹⁶

[Our loose translation: Its settlement is like the ones we have on that coast grounded on the less advantageous place for commerce, and for the subsistence of its inhabitants, because it is grounded on almost 12 miles above the mouth, which to mount it is necessary to pass two banks which can only happen with moon waters, which causes danger, not having a practical way of entering or coming out, but the damage of losing the moon conjunctions, and have the ships anchored with lost monsoons].

The settlement was dependent on the trade with the independent “hinterland” region that provided ivory and part of the food items for its inhabitants⁹⁷. Andrade indicated that Inhambane Port was the most lucrative for ivory and slave trade. Inhambane was also considered the Port from where the majority of slaves left the territory of Mozambique. The slaves were particularly valued because they were already baptized as compared with slaves from other places. Other products traded in the Port were butter to use on ships,

⁹⁵ Malyn Newitt, *História de Moçambique*, 152-154.

⁹⁶ A. Alberto de Andrade, *Relações de Moçambique Setecentista*, 156, 210.

⁹⁷ Museu Regional de Inhambane, *História da Cidade de Inhambane*.

cows, sheep, chicken, fish, corn, rice, wheat, and wax, and honey which the native people did not use. Inhambane was considered to have rosemary similar to the one from Europe and had adequate conditions to grow the same products the Dutch were growing in Table-Bay. There was a belief that Inhambane was not producing crops such as rice and wheat due to the ecological conditions but because of peoples' unwillingness to do it, as they would rely only on vegetables and millet. Merchants considered products from this region very cheap including the oil from the Maffura tree used for boats, and an 'extra virgin oil' named Mutiana used for illumination. Plants with medicinal properties such as cashew nuts could also be found abundantly⁹⁸.

With the support of an army assembled in Sofala under the leadership of commandant Domingos Lopes Rebello, the Portuguese subdued the local people with raids which resulted in destruction and deaths, including the killing of Tinga Tinga and Nialingue (Inhalingue) chiefs⁹⁹. Despite having a modest army, informally Tonga chiefs recognized the Portuguese fort's hegemony and requested its protection against raids from the hinterland people, as was the case of the Hlengwe and Tsonga raids around the mid-century. From the early 18th-century, the Tsongas from Delagoa Bay migrated towards North and controlled Inhambane hinterland territories, some even moving towards the Save river¹⁰⁰. Therefore, Inhambane's settlement captain ascended to a chief status, and because of the Portuguese's suspicion of the Arab traders, they used the African traders to reach the hinterland.

⁹⁸ A. Alberto de Andrade, *Relações de Moçambique Setecentista*, 212.

⁹⁹ Malyn Newitt, *História de Moçambique*, 152.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 147.

By then, the decisions over Inhambane were taken in Goa, as Mozambique was subordinated to Goa Vice-Rei's government. Therefore, until 1752 Goa's Vice-rei signed on behalf of His Majesty letters (*carta patente*) to enable people to serve in Inhambane as captains and *feitores* (overseers). The separation in 1752 gave the Governor of Mozambique more and higher authority and autonomy over the *feitores*, to employ them or to take their jobs. Later on, a decision was taken indicating that the nomination for the positions above Infantry Captain should be taken based on a recommendation to the Ultramarine Council. Upon nomination to serve in Inhambane, the *Capitão-Mor* and *Feitor* should pay new rights and registration to the Secretary in Mozambique, thus receiving the credential letter¹⁰¹.

In 1761 the Portuguese ordered the raising of Inhambane to the category of village, through 9 May 1761 *Carta Régia*, and *Nossa Senhora da Conceição* Parish was erected¹⁰². Inhambane's Municipality started functioning in 1764 under the leadership of Thomaz Chagas¹⁰³. Over a century later, around 1870, the village would be described as being

constituted by houses of stone and lime, or simply of wood, all with plain roofs of grass instead of wood. It had around 100 shady-places or roundhouses, and around 2.000 huts, exclusively made out and covered with grass The houses and the shady-places were protected by mangal sticks, reed, palm leaves, sticks with thorns, or purgueira (*Jatropha curcas*) trees, where people had gardens, raised poultry, and planted trees such as palm trees, coconut trees, mango trees, and other fruit trees¹⁰⁴.

¹⁰¹ Cândido Teixeira, "A fundação de Inhambane e a sua estrutura administrativa e governamental nos meados do século XVIII", 20-21.

¹⁰² Ibid, 5; Also read Fernando Dava (Dir.), *Documentação visual e narrativa dos bens culturais*, 88.

¹⁰³ Fernando Dava, *Documentação visual e narrativa dos bens culturais*, 80; Cândido Teixeira, "A fundação de Inhambane e a sua estrutura administrativa e governamental nos meados do século XVIII", 5. João Loforte is among the people who served as president of the Municipal Chamber (Luís Loforte, *Rádio Moçambique: Memórias de um doce calvário*, Maputo: Ciedima, 2007, 43).

¹⁰⁴ Museu Regional de Inhambane, *História da Cidade de Inhambane*, sd.

Missionary presence was also relevant to the construction of Inhambane settlement and adjacent infrastructures. By then, the catholic population was composed of Portuguese and people from Goa whose religious assistance was provided by chaplains sent from Mozambique island. Part of the city's history was related to the Muslim presence. The relationship between the Moors and the Portuguese was not always pacific. Around 1775 there was an uprising of the Muslim community which included the burning of Muslim, Portuguese, Christian, and native houses. The uprising became known as Nhautsigo [at night] in allusion to the time when the agitation occurred. The reasons for this antagonism included issues of monopoly and commercial disputes in the village and the Moors' participation in the slave trade and cheap labor force export. The Moors refused the Portuguese administration regulations which forced them to be 'hired' as slaves for the Indian Ocean islands. They also refused to adopt Portuguese names. It was during this period that the Muslims built the Old Mosque also named Masgide Jamu al Kadime (in Arabic), inaugurated on 10 March 1840 under the leadership of Hagy Sulemane Abuchahama Issufo Amurani who passed away in 1880¹⁰⁵. This Mosque enabled the Muslim to worship Allah in better infrastructures, as the previous precarious mosque was burnt during the tension with the Portuguese administration¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰⁵ After his passing, he was replaced by his son Silimani, Acuchama Issufo Imrane, followed by Shehe Izidine, Muhadis Abdul Carimo, Abdul Rahaman Marandah, Muhammad Abdul Wahab Ali (Muhamad Wassimbo), Nazir Zaide Jamal, and Muzamil Mussagy (Fernando Dava (Dir.), *Documentação visual e narrativa dos bens culturais*, 84). Also read: Cândido Teixeira, "A fundação de Inhambane e a sua estrutura administrativa e governamental nos meados do século XVIII", 23.

¹⁰⁶ The construction of the Mosque involved not only local stone, lime, *chanfuta*, and *chire* wood, but also imported materials such as the roof from France, cement from Germany, and Master of Works from India (Fernando Dava (Dir.), *Documentação visual e narrativa dos bens culturais*, 82-83).

Inhambane and Indian Ocean Trade in the 18th and 19th Centuries

Phoenicians, Arabs, Chinese, people of Indian descent, Indonesians, Portuguese and Dutch traded in Inhambane Port. Before the Portuguese presence, local people engaged in intensive trading activities of gold, ivory, animal skin, and precious woods, which transformed this region into what Amaral defined as “an important field of encounters of civilizations and a laboratory of new cultures”¹⁰⁷.

People of Indian descent were the main influence in the Inhambane settlement and controlled the trade from their headquarters established in Mozambique island. Their influence in the mid 18th century was such that their people composed a large number of recruits to serve the Catholic church as priests and teachers in the mission’s school open not only for Christian but also welcoming the children of Muslim merchants. The Indian school reached high standards and prestige in Africa’s east coast and India¹⁰⁸.

Similar to the native communities, women also played a key role in society during this period. Women such as Dona Ana de Guzmão Mascarenhas Arouca, daughter Domingos Correia Arouca, governor of Inhambane from 1825 to 1830, with Dona Josepha da Cruz one of the three women with whom the governor had children in Inhambane was among the powerful women and people in Inhambane region¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰⁷ Amaral, *Matimo, Masaho ni Dzitekatekane nya Vatonga*, 29. Also read: Museu Regional de Inhambane, *História da Cidade de Inhambane*.

¹⁰⁸ Malyn Newitt, *História de Moçambique*, 154.

¹⁰⁹ Gehrard Leisegang, “Achegas para o estudo de biografias de autores de fontes e outros documentos da História de Moçambique: Joaquim de Santa Rita Montanha (1806-1870); Arone S. Mukhombo (ca.1885-1940) [sic. Ca. 1930] e Elias Mucambe (1904-1969) e a recolha de tradições históricas em Inhambane nos anos 30”, *Arquivo*, 8, 79. By this time, it is mentioned that the children from mixed-race relationships (whites from Portugal and local women) were mostly considered illegitimate.

In the 18th century, Inhambane was an important trade port in the territory of Mozambique, as it had developed a flow route to export agricultural products such as corn, vegetables, cattle, goats, poultry, oil, honey, butter, wood paste, ivory, grey amber, and slaves. Eighteenth-century Portuguese advanced to the interior and established commercial contacts with the Tonga, the Macomates, and the Mocumbos who occupied the region between Save and Limpopo rivers. By then, the Tonga were divided into small lineage groups, designated settlement or village, under a chief who controlled several villages. In the Buronga land, there were three main political and administrative groups: Inhalingue, Tinga-Tinga, and Inhamussua¹¹⁰.

Ivory was the main export product with a yearly average export estimated at 90 to 100 ivory tusks and 1500 slaves in 1768. However, 1783 was a stagnation year as Inhambane exported only 38 tusks due to factors such as the lack of Portuguese settlers, tax, lack of transport, and the products' quality. The Portuguese blamed the Indian for this economic situation and tried to prevent them from trading in the hinterland¹¹¹.

Being the first Mozambican port to engage in the slave trade, by mid 18th century, slaves were an important trade commodity exported to the French-occupied Indian Ocean islands. The “Slave Portico” also known as “Deportation Portico” was a witness of the slave trade, as the building housed the slaves before their transportation to the slave trade point in Linga-Linga close to Nhafokweni where the ship would anchor to transport them to their final destinations¹¹².

¹¹⁰ Museu Regional de Inhambane, *História da Cidade de Inhambane*, sd.

¹¹¹ Malyn Newitt, *História de Moçambique*, 155; A. alberto de Andrade, *Relações de Moçambique Setecentista*, 320.

¹¹² Fernando Dava, *Documentação visual e narrativa dos bens culturais*, 86.

In the 19th century, Portugal and England celebrated a treaty to stop slavery by February 1830. However, by 1826 under Governor Domingos Correia Arouca's rule, Inhambane town faced massive hunger caused by the wars with Massuite, a powerful indigenous chief who prevented the transit of provisions and merchants to the town. Governor Domingos Arouca ordered French ships to deliver rice to the people. It is registered that after delivering rice to the people, in mid-November one ship took off with slaves¹¹³.

Ports regions settlers' need to obtain supplies was mentioned as part of the reasons for the intensification of the slave trade and the natives' abandonment of agricultural work. Accustomed to receiving supplies brought by slave trade ships, natives preferred to exchange their relatives and prisoners for supplies instead of working the fields. As a result, the slave trade increased, lands were abandoned, and revenues were reduced. Around 1840, the concept of slave smuggling appeared in documents. Maria Fernandes indicated that by that date, Brigadier Marinho accused Lourenço Marques and Inhambane Commercial Companies and the Mozambican Industry, Trade and Agriculture Company of smuggling black people. This concept of smuggling originated from the fact that foreign ships entering the bays traded without formality and customs authorization¹¹⁴.

Around the 1850s and 1860s, most free men in Mozambique in general and in Inhambane presumably had slaves. More than a hundred of the "free population" in Inhambane were whites, mostly in the category of 'degredados', defined as "convicts who had been sent to Africa instead of being kept in prison in Portugal, making a living as petty

¹¹³ Maria Regina Pinto Fernandes, "Inhambane: apontamentos sobre a história de Inhambane sob D. Miguel", In *Monumenta*, no. 2, 1966, 37.

¹¹⁴ Maria Regina Pinto Fernandes, "Inhambane", 34 – 38.

farmers or owners of shabby bush canteens”¹¹⁵. Sending ‘degredados’ or free people (a few officers and soldiers) who could be managed by the *Feitorias*’ officers was part of the Portuguese Government’s strategy to increase the white Portuguese population in the territory of Mozambique¹¹⁶. Besides the ‘degredados’, other white people worked in the administration, in the army or farming-cum-trade, or owned coconut or coffee plantations ‘run with slave labor on the western side of Inhambane Bay’ However, most of the general trade was controlled by Indians, many of whom originated from the Portuguese colony of Goa, while few French and British traders supplied consumer goods from outside, like iron hoes and cloth, and exported local products such as groundnuts to France.¹¹⁷

By January 1858, the official count of slaves at Inhambane totaled 3122 - including 191 ‘runaways’ (compared to 812 ‘free population’ in 1855). And 55% of the total count of slaves were women and 85 of them were classified as ‘Christians’. Members of the clergy also had slaves. Such was the case of Inhambane’s Catholic priest father Joaquim de Santa Rita Montanha who presumably had between 30 to 50 slaves, mainly for his farms at Mongo.¹¹⁸

Labor migration grew and influenced the cultural dynamics and economic patterns of the people. Alf Helgesson wrote that the return of young migrants with money, the ‘red’ pounds, threatened the ‘normal’ balance between generations and challenged the traditional leaders in their roles as keepers of wealth and order in local communities, which had already been shaken by the depletion of cattle due to Gaza’s raiding, tribute, and the effects

¹¹⁵ Alf Helgesson, *Church, state and people in Mozambique*, 29.

¹¹⁶ Maria Regina Pinto Fernandes, “Inhambane”, 34.

¹¹⁷ Alf Helgesson, *Church, state and people in Mozambique*, 29.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, 27.

of tsetse fly and cattle diseases. By 1890 young men were opposing their elders politically. Other effects of the labor migration were the appearance of guns and male depopulation (25 and 30%) which resulted in “the possibility of white men in the region to have several African women as wives and concubines”¹¹⁹.

In 1887 the Portuguese legalized the export of laborers from Inhambane and Mozambique Island at the request of the French Government, who left the region with a contract as *Libres-engagés*, but to perform slave work in the Indian Ocean French Islands such as Maurícias, Bourbon, and Reunião¹²⁰.

Inhambane Settlement during the 19th Century

Overtime Inhambane Village grew in terms of infrastructure. In 1899 it is said that the Portuguese administration had four main buildings bought from private owners. One building was turned into the Governor’s house, the other one became the Civil and Military Secretariat and Repartição de Fazenda, the third one was for the Customs and the fourth one was the war material warehouse. Before that, the Portuguese administration built a stone house to install the subsection of Public Works, and a house for the telegraph station. The mail service was installed in 1875 but its definitive building was finished in 1910. Father Joaquim de Santa Rita Montanha was one of the private house owners who sold his house to the Portuguese administration for 4.900 reis¹²¹ in 1871. This building housed the

¹¹⁹ Alf Helgesson, *Church, state and people in Mozambique*, 31.

¹²⁰¹²⁰ Fernando Dava (Dir.), *Documentação visual e narrativa dos bens culturais*, 85.

¹²¹ Reis was the Portuguese currency at the time.

Customs, the Fazenda treasury, the military infirmary, the ambulance, and the primary teaching school¹²².

Another relevant building from this period is Inhambane hospital and the officials' military barracks. The construction of the building began on 8 October 1879 near the main village square. The objective was to house two companies of Hunters Battalion number three. The works were interrupted several times until its conclusion fifteen years later. In 1895 the Military and Civil Hospital of Inhambane occupied provisionally part of the building, with infirmaries for Africans and Europeans. The construction of the Hospital's definitive building started in 1890 and was inaugurated on 5 July 1929. The bandstand was part of the village buildings built from 1895 to 1899¹²³. Alongside these constructions were the kiosks of simple construction and reduced proportions mostly for the small trade of drinks and tobacco, often surrounded by entertainment spaces. Some kiosks also served food items or functioned as drug stores, pharmacies, or small general trade stores¹²⁴.

One of the early significant events of Inhambane village was its expansion in 1856, with the creation of two new neighborhoods: one neighborhood for Christians and another for moors named Balane. The mosque was near the Mesquita road. From 1800 to 1895 Inhambane church parishioner was simultaneously the village's elementary school teacher. The old Inhambane church was built under Father Joaquim de Santa Rita Montanha's regency, the longest, from 1836 to 1870¹²⁵.

¹²² Museu Regional de Inhambane, *História da Cidade de Inhambane*, sd.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Diocese de Inhambane, "História da Diocese de Inhambane", 3-4.

Another key aspect during this period was the relationship between the distinct foreign races and the black natives which resulted in a growing miscegenation process in Inhambane. Due to the absence of white women and the prevalence of unmarried white men (including the Governor) the white Portuguese, mostly convicts sent out from Portugal with a few officers and soldiers were involved in relationships with native women or had native concubines and treated the children by these women with much respect in some instances. Thus, the continuous interchange of habits and customs which ensued resulted in children growing up as part of the Portuguese sphere as well as of Tonga traditional life, which in turn resulted in acculturation and assimilation processes and the Tonga people's rapid acceptance of a monetary economy seen around 1880.¹²⁶

The Imposition of the Portuguese Rule, 1888 – 1910

Upon the Berlin Conference of 1884-5, the conquest of the Gaza Empire and the exile to Portugal of Ngungunhana and other chiefs, and the agreements to establish the borders of Mozambique, Portugal adopted the division of the territory of Mozambique into concession areas for better management. The north of Mozambique where Portugal had minimal presence was turned into Niassa Company that established autonomous government north of Lurio River. The *prazos* in central Mozambique were leased as concessions to commercial companies with the responsibility for pacification, policing and administration. South of Zambezi was turned into Mozambique Company. The Portuguese colonial state administered the area between the *prazos* and the frontier of the Niassa

¹²⁶ Alf Helgesson, *Church, state and people in Mozambique*, 29-30.

Company, an area around Tete and the region South of latitude 22. Labor migration continued and the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA) received exclusive rights to recruit workers in southern Mozambique¹²⁷.

These actions were accompanied by pacification expeditions which led to some wars and rebellions. In Inhambane, João Augusto Pereira Loforte (aka Nhafoco) was among the military officers from Inhambane who engaged in the pacification of the neighboring peoples. However, that relationship with the native people was complex and included alliances and treasons, and actions in which João Loforte, representing the Portuguese paid vassalage to Chope chiefs Mocombi and Guilundo, or fought alongside the Inguane and the Savanguane (or Hlavanguane) against the considered despotic demands of Manicusse¹²⁸.

The rise of the plantation economy created a larger demand for labor. The publishing of the 1899 Labor law forcing all adult Africans to work, either for a private employer or the government, resulted in a massive movement of workers to the mines, due to its revenues for the Portuguese Administration. This law divided the population into *indígena* (native) and *não-indígena* (nonnative). The natives were the majority of the population, forced to work and under the direct rule of the chiefs (*régulos*). The *não-indígenas* included mestizos, Indians, a few privileged Africans, the Portuguese, and other Europeans who came under Portuguese law. The creation of the secretariat for native affairs to deal with the issues of the *indígenas*, the division of the territory into circumscriptions, *concelhos* and *postos*, and the moving of the capital from Mozambique

¹²⁷ Malyn Newitt, A short history of Mozambique, 98-99; Also read: Carlos Serra, *História de Moçambique* (Maputo: Livraria Universitária, 2000), 275-279.

¹²⁸ Luís Loforte, *Rádio Moçambique*, 36.

Island to Lourenço Marques were among this period's key markers¹²⁹. A system of forced labor named *chibalo* was put in place to meet the labor requirements. Emigration was part of the solutions adopted to avoid this practice that was in place until the 1960s.

During this period, the work at the schools - chapels, daily direct contact with the population, and sanitary assistance continued a central component of missionary work. On 28 Jun 1895 the first sisters of São José de Cluny arrived in Inhambane. Their main duties were associated with health assistance at the hospital and from 8 March 1896 they managed the girls' school until they were expelled from Mozambique by the new republican government who dethroned the monarchy¹³⁰. Constant conflicts between the Catholic and the Methodist churches over space and people permeated Inhambane's history. However, both churches had a crucial role in the training of the African elites who would shape the 20th-century colonial history and cultural production in Mozambique¹³¹.

¹²⁹ Malyn Newitt, *A short history of Mozambique*, 113-115. Also read: Malyn Newitt, *História de Moçambique: Moçambique no auge do colonialismo, 1930-1961* (Maputo: Livraria Universitária, 1999), 14-15.

¹³⁰ Diocese de Inhambane, "História da Diocese de Inhambane" 3-6.

¹³¹ The presence of the Methodists in Inhambane was a result of the evangelization efforts of the American Board of Commissioners missionaries from Natal to the Inhambane area and the Gaza Kingdom around the 19th. The presence of the Methodist protestant missions was more visible in Cambine and Chicucue on the opposite side of Inhambane city's bay (Alf Helgesson, *Church, state and people in Mozambique*, 1994).

2. LIFE UNDER THE PORTUGUESE, CA. 1910 – CA. 1970s

Introduction

The imposition of the Portuguese colonial regime and administration altered Mozambique's territorial organization, history, and culture. As part of the administration policies for the ultramarine provinces Portugal engaged in processes of assimilation and shared management of the territory through concessionary companies, forced labor, labor export among others. That, in turn, affected music production and peoples' cultures. Forced labor and labor migration not only contributed to the development and internationalization of popular music but also opened the possibility for the contestation of the Portuguese colonial regime through music. On the other hand, the assimilation system, the creation of associations and sports clubs, and other youth organizations such as *Mocidade Portuguesa* and *Escuteiros* contributed to the development of cultural traits and songs resembling the Portuguese metropolitan culture. Native people continued to perform their traditional songs and dances and used them as resistance strategies to denounce colonialism.

The establishment of the Portuguese colonial administration

The history of Inhambane province after the effective occupation of Mozambique by Portugal and the delimitation of borders as a result of the Berlin Conference went along the history of the whole colony. Due to Portugal's economic conditions, the administration of the colony of Mozambique included renting territories in the central and northern parts of Mozambique. The companies of Niassa, Zambézia, and Mozambique were part of the solutions adopted to manage the colony of Mozambique. Export of capitals, forced labor plantation of cash crops, the export of labor to mines in South Africa and Rhodesia, the

reinforcement of the role and power of *régulos* and *cipaios* were also part of the strategies implemented to maximize the exploitation of the colony of Mozambique.

In 1910 the Monarchy in Portugal was replaced by a republic. That and Portugal's entry in the First World War as Britain's ally in 1916 led to the intensification of the recruitment of carriers and the exaction of chibalo labor force which led to rebellions such as in Bárue and the German's attempts to secure territories in the Portuguese colony of Mozambique. With the end of the First World War Mozambique continued "fragmented, divided between the Charter Company territories, the prazos and the areas under direct government administration which had increasingly become labor reserves providing contract workers to South Africa and Southern Rhodesia"¹³².

Salazar's rise to power and its implication for the colonies, the Política do Indigenato and the assimilationist policies played an important role in the constitution of modern Mozambique, including Inhambane and its people. The late colonialism period was a dynamic period due to the significant changes which occurred in Mozambique and other colonies in general, especially in urban centers, boosted by the set of responses and adaptations of the New State to the threats, both internal and external, that hung over the empire.

Besides Portugal and the colonies being declared to be a single state, colonial budgets and administration were centralized on a ministry in Lisbon; all inhabitants of the colonies were to be Portuguese citizens but full citizenship rights were only awarded to the inhabitants of the Indian Colonies, the Cape Verde Islands, and São Tomé e Príncipe, while

¹³² Malyn Newitt, *A short history of Mozambique* (Cape Town and Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2018), 116-119.

in Guinea, Angola and Mozambique most of the inhabitants continued to be classified as *índigenas* (natives) who had to earn full citizen status through assimilation¹³³.

Salazar used the idea of Portugal's civilizing mission. In terms of religion, Salazar's colonial law kept the formal separation between the church and the State. However, it granted the Church special recognition as an instrument of civilization and national influence. State funds supported the missions' instructive work. The *Acordo Missionário* attached to the *Concordata* in 1940 and the *Estatuto Missionário* of 1941 regulated missionary teaching. Until the wars for independence, there was cooperation between a catholic institution and the colonial regime and Catholicism became, de facto, the State's official religion receiving subsidies and privileges such as *chibalo* work force and cheap labor as students in missionary schools spent more time working on the mission's agriculture fields which contributed to the students' low quality of education¹³⁴.

The Catholic Church's main goal was to provide rudimentary education to *índigenas* and missionary education became official education. This influenced the conversion rates to Catholicism as African teachers could access jobs in schools if they were catholic. Conversion to Catholicism, good education, and strong support networks were essential for the African native's mobility and progression. The international community's pressure on Portugal, the emergence of nationalism, and the need for human resources to support the colonial government's industrialization projects contributed to the changes in the education policies in the 1960s with the adoption of a centralized system of education management with a Provincial Directorate for education, the opening of a

¹³³ Malyn Newitt, *A short history of Mozambique*, 121.

¹³⁴ Malyn Newitt, *História de Moçambique*, 414-415.

university, and the institution of mandatory education for all who lived five kilometers from a school.

The colonial State surveilled religious institutions, particularly the independent African churches. The government stimulated some churches such as the Luso African Episcopal Church opened in 1918 near Inhambane, a branch of the Swiss Mission to constitute a religious association with other churches and focus on solidarity activities. The government also actively persecuted some churches and forbade others, and even exiled members of churches such as the Jehovah Witnesses in 1953. The relative reduction of foreign religious missions favored the colonial State's interests.

Internationally, Portugal was making efforts to portray an image of the development of the colonies to attract investment. An example of such actions was the photographic exhibition of colonial Mozambique at Paris International Colonial Exhibition of 1931, which revealed Portugal's profound insecurity concerning the Colonial Administration's reputation internationally. Compared to colonial empires such as Great Britain and Germany, Portugal was facing challenges in its sovereignty over the African territories after the war which challenged the effective occupation. Among the challenges were labor relations (labor migration to Southern African region and forced labor in Mozambique) and Portugal's economic, political and military weaknesses opening space for Great Britain and Germany to consider the possibility of including Angola and Mozambique as part of their overseas territories¹³⁵.

¹³⁵ Eric Allina, "Falacious mirrors: colonial anxiety and images of African labor in Mozambique ca. 1929", *History in Africa*, Vol. 24, 9-52.

Forced plantations, taxation, and labor migration had significant impacts on the social relations and cultural norms among the people in Mozambique, particularly the sending territories such as Inhambane. One example was the reduction of polygamy. Teresa Manjate argued that household heads who were responsible for paying hut tax for each hut ended up paying large amounts of money in taxes. Thus, hut tax inhibited polygamous practices. Another example was the change in gender roles. The introduction of labor under contract and hut tax affected the traditional distribution of work and household responsibilities. To pay for the hut tax, the man had to work under contract or raise cash through work. Consequently, women carried double work or solicited additional male labor. Labor migration removed the male workforce from the household and the community. Thus, women assumed the role of co-head or even head of the household, a male task till then¹³⁶.

The 1917 regulations on assimilationism had an impact on assimilates and mestizos who had to carry documents proving the Portuguese citizenship (that they were not indígenas). To be an assimilated African, one had to request Portuguese citizenship through the fulfillment of the following requirements: be at least 18 years old; speak correctly the Portuguese language; earn money through a job, arts, or a skill; have enough money or goods for self-sustainment and to sustain a family; behave correctly; demonstrate that has acquired the customs for the integral application of the Portuguese citizens' public and private law, not be a military service deserter¹³⁷.

¹³⁶ Teresa Manjate, *A representação do poder nos provérbios: o caso dos Tsonga* (Maputo: Texto Editores, 2014), 98-99.

¹³⁷ Claudia Castelo et al, “O branco do mato de Lisboa’: a colonização agrícola dirigida e os seus fantasmas”, 45.

The existence of polygamous and interracial relationships which at times resulted in a situation of children of father incognito was among the challenges related to the acquisition of the assimilate status¹³⁸. These situations resulted in contestations by organizations such as Associação Mahometana de Inhambane (Inhambane's Muslim association) in 1939. The Association was criticizing the Portuguese Administration for the constraints and restrictions put in place for those who aspired to achieve the assimilate status. They claimed that the assimilation law demanded a lot from the native to access the assimilate status and created barriers to prevent them, because “even if they spoke and wrote the Portuguese language, they were irreprehensible, respectful, true citizens, polished, kind, they could still be prevented from acquiring the assimilate status because they did not have a godfather to recommend them, or even being civilized they could be unemployed due to the job scarcity at the time in Inhambane¹³⁹. Racism and white violence against non-assimilated people were constraints to upward mobility and personal growth and development.

Music production in Inhambane city before 1950

The culture was a significant part of Inhambane's life. The music group Melodia was Inhambane's best-known group, and according to António Sopa was among the oldest music groups in Mozambique created around 1938-1939. At the time two oldest brothers of the musician Chico da Conceição performed in the music group and the latter joined the band in 1941 at the age of 14 years old. João Domingos (sax player) was also a member of

¹³⁸ Interview with Joaquim Fortunato do Amaral, Inhambane, 2019.

¹³⁹ Valdemir Zamparoni (2000). “Monhés, Baneanes, Chinas e Afro-maometanos: colonialismo e racismo em Lourenço Marques, Moçambique, 1890-1940. *Lusotopie*. pp. 217.

Melodia alongside Manecas Guita (guitar) and Augusto Cabral. Another relevant band around the 1940s in Inhambane city was Ossman Valgy's (the father) jazz-band ¹⁴⁰.

Besides the male performers, there were female artists in Inhambane, mostly performing the role of dancers. Over this period there was a prejudice against musicians particularly female artists or dancers. For Inhambane society, being a musician was equal to having unruly life and the prospects of a futureless life. Female musicians or dancers were associated with prostitution or a 'bad life'. An example of these types of behaviors of 'closed societies' occurred around 1940 when *Melodia's* dancer named Helena Maria Alves dos Reis married Damásio Loforte against the will of Damásio's mother, Joaquina António Vicente Pires (*Khabyana wa matuvi*) who also persuaded her husband, António Arouca, not to attend the wedding ceremony¹⁴¹.

Musicians performing in Inhambane city were not necessarily from that region. João Domingos was an example as he was born in Inharrime and moved to Inhambane city to further his academic dreams at the age of 14. João Domingos's interest in music started in Inharrime inspired by a local music group. Similar to other young people at the time, João Domingos had his first experience playing guitar made out of an olive oil tin. He moved to Loureço Marques in 1954 to work at a publicity company and lived in *Mafalala* neighborhood, considered the cradle of marrabenta musicians and cultural nationalists and continued his music career¹⁴².

¹⁴⁰ António Sopa, *A alegria é uma coisa rara*, 112, 129.

¹⁴¹ Luís Loforte, "À guisa de introdução", in *Domingos Arouca. As cobras. Autobiografia – Parte I* (Maputo: Pemba & Sewi editores), 10-11.

¹⁴² António Sopa, *A alegria é uma coisa rara*, 112, 129; A. Dimas, "Estivemos sempre inclinados para Música popular", *Domingo*, Vol. 1, N°15, (03-Jan-1982), 22.

Most musicians learned to play instruments such as the guitar on their own. Labor migration, religious institutions, radio programs, gramophones, and movies contributed to instilling the passion for music in people such as João Domingos and Artur Garrido who would later become musicians. Some had music traditions in their family or had openness in the family to develop the music taste. Others learned with friends.

Associations and the role of *Mocidade Portuguesa* until the 1950s

The emergence of nationalist sentiment and movements, strikes, peasant resistance manifestations marked this period. The press, including the newspapers *Brado Africano*, *A Voz Africana* and the *Emancipador*, the emergence of associations such as *Grémio Africano de Lourenço Marques*, *Centro Associativo dos Negros*, *Grémio Negrófilo de Manica e Sofala*, among others, revealed the dynamics of contestation to the colonial regime. The Portuguese regime used race, religion, and the philosophy of action to counter these revindications. Through organizations such as the *Secretaria dos Negócios Indígenas* and some influent colonizers, the colonial regime sought to divide mestizos and assimilated blacks to lure the first with privileges thus breaking the unity in contestation. This system was applied also to whites with the separation of native whites and those from the colony¹⁴³.

Youth organizations were key for Portugal's projects of human development in the Metropole and the colonies through the colonization of the mind. Among such organizations was *Mocidade Portuguesa* (loosely translated as Portuguese youth) whose headquarters in colonial Inhambane was at the infrastructure built in 1915 to house, among

¹⁴³ Carlos Serra (org), *História de Moçambique*, 66-7, 70.

others, Manuel Nunes company¹⁴⁴. The National Organization Mocidade Portuguesa created by the Decree-Law 26611 of 11 May 1936 succeeded the Organization Acção Escolar Vanguarda created in 1935. This organization congregated youth and was considered by Simon Kuin as a totalitarian organization as its regulations determined that all Portuguese aged 7-14 years old, student or not, should forcibly belong to the organization¹⁴⁵. The 1947 lycée reforms established the extension of mandatory registration in Mocidade Portuguesa to all students from lycées and private colleges. Before Mocidade Portuguesa, the Portuguese government created Associação dos Escuteiros Portugueses (AEP, 1911) and Corpo Nacional de Escutas (CNE, 1923), some including preparatory military instruction and the development of cultural activities.

In 1939 the Portuguese Government created Mocidade Portuguesa in the colonies.

Article 1 of Decree-Law 29543 read,

To Mocidade Portuguesa in the colonies of European origin and to assimilated indígenas or youth will be given a national and paramilitary organization which stimulates its devotion to the homeland, the integral development of its physical capacity and character formation, instilling in them a sense of order, a taste for discipline and the cult of military duty puts itself in conditions of efficiently concur to the homeland defense¹⁴⁶.

General training centers (in schools and out of schools) were the basic cells of Mocidade Portuguesa for physical training, cultural formation, and social comradeship. Mocidade Portuguesa's female branch was created by Decree-law dated 08 December 1937 signed by the then National Education Minister Carneiro Pacheco and was mandatory to

¹⁴⁴ After the independence, the building continued to house cultural institutions including the Provincial Services of Culture and the Provincial House of Culture.

¹⁴⁵ Simon Kuin, "A mocidade Portuguesa nos anos 30: anteprojectos e instauração de uma organização paramilitar da juventude", *Análise Social*, vol XXVIII (122), 1993, 556. Breve Historial da Mocidade Portuguesa.

¹⁴⁶ Breve historial da Mocidade Portuguesa.

all children and girls aged 7-14 years old and first-year lycée students. Maria Guardiola was the first Commissar. In January 1961 she appointed the first deputy commissar for ultramarine provinces with provincial commissariats in Angola, Mozambique, S. Tomé and Príncipe, Cabo Verde, Guiné, Macau, Timor, and Índia. Teacher Maria Ivete Colaço was Mozambique's first commissar succeeded by Ana da Luz Silva¹⁴⁷.

Mocidade Portuguesa played a key role in youth association, sports, and cultural sectors because Decree-Law number 31908 of 09 March 1942 determined that “no organization, association or institution whose objective was the youth's civic, moral and physical education could exist without its statutes being approved by the Mocidade Portuguesa's National Commissariat”¹⁴⁸.

Escutismo (Scouts) was another relevant youth organization created in Inhambane in 1933, later extinguished and reinstated on 29 November 1964. Through sports activities and excursions, the scouts aimed at educating and stimulating the youth. The celebration of the 30th anniversary of the organization Mocidade Portuguesa in 1966 offered an opportunity to host a cultural concert at Clube Ferroviário ballroom in Inhambane, whose proceedings were donated to support the victims of cyclone Claude¹⁴⁹.

¹⁴⁷ Isabel M.R. Mendes Drummond Braga and Paulo Drummond Braga, “A mocidade portuguesa feminina e a formação culinária em menina e moça (1974-1962)”. Breve Historial da Mocidade portuguesa.

¹⁴⁸ Simon Kuin, “A mocidade Portuguesa nos anos 30: anteprojectos e instauração de uma organização paramilitar da juventude”, *Análise Social*, vol XXVIII (122), 1993, 556-568.

¹⁴⁹ “Dia da Imaculada Conceição”, *Jornal Notícias*, December 12, 1966. “Escutismo”, *Jornal Notícias*, December 12, 1966.

Traditional music production under the Portuguese administration

Alongside the emergence of cultural and sports associations in urban areas, native people practiced their traditional dance and songs. Songs and dances were intertwined, as dances were often accompanied by songs. The traditional dance rhythms in Inhambane were an integral component of the local people's cultural expressions. A study of the main dance genres in Inhambane organized by Inhambane's Regional Museum mentioned the following prevalent genres: Zorré, Massessa, Ngokiane or Nguikhikhi, Chidzidzidzi, Chigubo, Semba, Chingomana, Muxuaia, Kuguia, Húzua, Nzumbu, Nguinha, Martetos, Timbila, Chopo, Tikhundzua, Ngalanga, Macarita, Guigasi, Sindawana, Makwaia, Zumba, Chivenca, Chigadigadi, Chizimba, Makwaela¹⁵⁰.

The dances were created and performed in several traditional occasions such as harvest (Zorré), initiation rites (Húzua), funeral ceremonies (Muxuaia), ancestral spirit possession ceremonies (Ngokiane or Nguikhikhi), general traditional ceremonies (Chingomana), weddings and *lobolo*¹⁵¹ ceremonies (Massessa), birthday ceremonies (Chivenca), sentimental and commemorative ceremonies (Nzumbu), or as a representation of victory in war, as was the case of Ngalanga, performed during pre-colonial war times. This genre was particularly interesting because it was incorporated as part of the "African Folklore" and performed on official occasions during the colonial period, and later enacted as a representation of the colonial oppression after the independence of Mozambique.

¹⁵⁰ Museu Regional de Inhambane, *Danças Tradicionais da Província de Inhambane*, Inhambane, s.d.

¹⁵¹ *Lobolo* was the name attributed to the traditional wedding ceremony when the groom's family paid a certain amount of money or goods (cattle, etc.) for the girl's productive and reproductive rights.

Some dances were performed by male dancers (Chidzidzidzi, Chigubo, Semba, Kuguia, Martetos, Sindawana, Chivenca), others by female dancers with the men playing instruments (Zorré, Massessa, Ngokiane or Ngukhikhi, Muxuaia, Macarita, Húzia, Nguinha performed by old women), and others by both genres, adults, old and children (Nzumbu, Macarita, Timbila, Makwaela, Chizimba). There was no record of only female dancers and instrument players' dance genres and groups, but over time, some dance genres suffered transformations with the inclusion of female dancers in previously male dance genres as was the case of Chigubo, Chizinguire, and Chivenca, or the inclusion of male dancers in previously female dance genres such as Zorré, Massessa, and Chigadigadi. Some of the dance genres were imported from other regions of the Mozambican territory, such as Chigubo, Massesa, and Chizinguire from Gaza, other dance genres were imported from neighboring colonies or countries, such Makwaela from South Africa brought to Mozambique by labor mine workers, first to Maputo and Gaza and later expanded to Inhambane; or Sindawana, a dance genre brought to Inhambane by Mozambican labor migrants working in Zimbabwe, practiced initially by ci-Ndau dancers from Mabote regions, and later adopted by Southern Inhambane people under the name of Chingomana¹⁵².

Traditional dances included songs of counseling (Húzia), songs of grief (Chizimba), or were used to maintain and enforce the traditional authority and disseminate among the people the traditional values 'of the day' (Timbila¹⁵³), which implied the

¹⁵² It is also important to note that some dance genres from Inhambane, are not necessarily from the Vatonga people, but were later incorporated (around 1974) as part of the Vatonga land dance genres. Such is the case of Makwaia and Zumba.

¹⁵³ Timbila is a dance and song genre from Inhambane province. Timbila is also attributed to the music instrument.

existence of a Timbila group per chieftaincy. Augusta Filipe and her friends from Inhambane city demonstrated some songs and dances with counseling messages at the occasion of a lobolo and wedding ceremonies, not only for the groom and bride but also for their relatives and the community at large. The songs were intended to tell the groom and bride how to treat each other and to not give up on their commitment, but also to tell the relatives how they should treat each other as they were united through the lobolo or wedding ceremonies. The songs also demonstrated the society's joy with the new family being edified, even though some criticized the monetary component of the lobolo which could be understood as a 'purchase' of the woman by the man and his family¹⁵⁴.

The most prevalent dance and song genres among the Vatonga people included Zorré, Ngokiane or Ngukhikhi, Macarita, Chivenca, Guigasi, and Guigadigadi. Zorré was a dance genre performed among the Vatonga people, particularly in the regions of Jangamo, Maxixe, Inhambane, Morrumbene, and a small part of Homóine. There was no certainty about when it started but it was believed that it had pre-colonial origins¹⁵⁵.

Among the main instruments that accompanied Zorre dance was the Pundzo or Pundro used to invite people to attend performances. The other instruments included drums (a large drum made of a pounding object named Guikhulo, a middle drum named Kirisso, and a small drum named Njomane), an instrument made of thin plate named Tsangala, and most recently rattles made of metallic cans designated Dzinzele. Zorré was performed by women, particularly young girls with men playing the instruments. The women danced in

¹⁵⁴ Interview with Augusta Filipe, Vitória Mavila, Felizarda Munguno, Suzana Nhamona, Inhambane, 2019. Interview with Joaquim Fortunato do Amaral and Guilhermina Filipe, Inhambane, 2019

¹⁵⁵ Fernando Dava (Dir.), *Documentação visual e narrativa dos bens culturais incluído nos roteiros culturais na Inha de Moçambique e cidade de Inhambane. A vila tradicional dos Macuas – Cidade de pedra e cal – o dia a dia do Wagaya – a bela Kunhumbane*. (Maputo: ARPAC, 2011), 94.

a semi-circle facing the instrument players, dressed in *capulanas* (African cloth) with a white cloth named *keka* around the waist, and a blouse leaving part of the belly visible to showcase the effects of the circling movement women performed with their waist and bums. At its inception the dance was performed during the harvest period, thus, female dancers also carried in their hands an agricultural instrument such as an ax¹⁵⁶.

There were regional distinctions related to Zorré, associated with the emergence of specific Zorré groups. These groups incorporated particularities such as aspects of their regions of origin, ethnic and gender composition, performers roles, music instruments, among others. For example, “Zorré de Macupula” was created in 1939, but it had a short existence and reemerged in 1974. Though it was performed by Ci-Copi and Ci-Tswa performers, it maintained the other general aspects of Zorré, with the use of different types of drums to invite people for the performances¹⁵⁷.

Ngokiane or Ngukhikhi was also a dance performed among the Vatonga people, particularly in the coastal regions of Inhambane and Bembe. Similar to Zorré, drums were key instruments. Women danced and men played instruments, and the messages criticized social ills such as polygamy and laziness. The dance was originally performed in sessions of *mandriki*, *sangoma*’s spirit possession ceremonies. *Guigasi* was also a dance genre performed by both genders of all ages among the Vatonga people, with dancers dressed in *capulanas* and animal skin, under the sounds produced by instruments such as drums and

¹⁵⁶ Museu Regional de Inhambane, *Danças Tradicionais da Província de Inhambane*, (Inhambane, s.d.), 2.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 16-17.

calabash. On the other hand, Chigadigadi was originally performed by women, also with songs of social critique¹⁵⁸.

Song and dance were used as a resistance strategy. During a public rally in Inhambane city, Samora Machel interacted with one of the artists who performed the dance chingomana¹⁵⁹ with lyrics filled with proverbs and testimonies recalling the colonial atrocities. In the song, the musician mentioned that he was taken twice to chibalo, forced labor in Xinavane sugar plantations, because of dancing chingomana¹⁶⁰. Samora Machel also recalled in his public rallies the role of culture, songs, and particularly of traditional instruments as part of the resistance efforts of rural area inhabitants during the colonial period¹⁶¹.

Vatonga and Chope people who experienced oppression used song and dance to critique or show opposition to the colonial regime. Hugh Tracey used a song about a situation when a man named Katini and his wife Mashewani were beaten in their hut while asleep by a recently promoted Chief's messengers' minions Malova and Dibuliani. Five months after the beating Mashewani died even though it is not certain that the death was associated with the beating. Katini was devoted to his wife and believed that the beating contributed to shortening her life¹⁶². The songs' lyrics are as follows,

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, 4, 12, 17-18.

¹⁵⁹ Chingomana is a dance genre from Inhambane territory performed by male dancers dressed in ostrich feathers attire named massocane accompanied by a mirror, duct tape, handkerchiefs, and an ax. At the sound of the magecha, small drums, and a whistle, dancers would perform chingomana in traditional ceremonies, but nowadays the dance is performed anytime. (Museu Regional de Inhambane, *Danças Tradicionais da Província de Inhambane*, Inhambane, s.d., 5)

¹⁶⁰ Arlindo Lopes, "Retrato de uma intimidade", *Tempo Suplemento*, 4 de Abril de 1982, 12.

¹⁶¹ Carlos Cardoso, "'Digam-me lá o que é que da vida era vossa?'" , *Tempo Suplemento*, 04 de Abril de 1982, 29-31.

¹⁶² Hugh Tracey, *Chopi: their music, poetry, and instruments*, (London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 13.

Kapitini you make trouble.

You find me in my hut having taken cider.

Kapitini, you have only just been made a messenger, yet send

Malova to come and catch me.

What have I done?

Kapitini, you make trouble.

Wani, son of Chivune!

Bakubakwane said to me,

‘Don’t waste your time with *Timbila*,

Go and build your hut.’

You woke up early in the morning to look for your sjambok and watch , Dibuliani

Kapitini, you beat both of us, me and my wife.

What have I done?

So my Mashewani died.

I heard them trying to hush it up.

Chipaupau, son of Madandani, was there.

Dibuliani spoke about me in the presence of strangers and they told me .

Even Fainde was there.

Why don’t tell me to my face?

Kapitini, you make trouble.

You find me in my hut having taken cider.

Kapitini, you have only just been made a messenger, yet you send

Malova to come and catch me.

What have I done?

Kapitini, you make trouble¹⁶³.

Inhambane Municipal Band and the training of musicians

The influence of the returning miners, church cultural activities, and the Municipal Band were key to the training of musicians in Inhambane. Inhambane's Municipal Music Band was at the center of the town's cultural activities. The Band was one of the first music bands in the Mozambican territory. It was created in the Catholic Mission of São José do Môngué. Father José Victor Courtois, a Jesuit priest established the Mission of São José do Môngué on 5 May 1890. Eight years later, the Jesuits transferred the control of this Parish to secular priests (Diocesanos)¹⁶⁴.

Some documents mentioned that the band was created in 1900, while others indicated 1898 as the date of the creation of the Municipal Music Band. Inhambane's Regional Museum historical narrative of Inhambane District indicated that the band was created in 1891, through a contract between the district Governor Alfredo Brandão Cro de Castro Ferreri and the band members Júlio César Afonso, Caetano Teixeira, Primo Dimande Revez, Alfredo Loforte, José Bonaparte Africano, Celestino Ferreira Mexias, António Gabriel Rodrigues, Assane Abdula, António Ribeiro, and Naimo Faquir Amade. The "Master of Music" [Mestre da Música] was the first-class musician attached to the Hunters Battalion number three, Manuel António Afonso¹⁶⁵.

¹⁶³ Tracey, *Chopi: their music, poetry, and instruments*, 12.

¹⁶⁴ Diocese de Inhambane, "História da Diocese de Inhambane", 19.

¹⁶⁵ Museu Regional de Inhambane, *História da Cidade de Inhambane*, Inhambane: sd.

The music band was later transferred to Inhambane's Municipal Chamber. The Portuguese named Carreiras, treasurer at the Municipal Chamber was the band's maestro and was later replaced by Pedro Francisco da Cruz also known as "Tsongu Tsoni"¹⁶⁶. The music band integrated mostly Municipal workers. People could join the band without knowing how to play a musical instrument and learn to play in the band ¹⁶⁷.

The band performed its vast repertoire of march songs of acclaimed Portuguese, French and English composers on official and festive ceremonies, wedding ceremonies, funerals of prominent people or those associated with them, band musicians, or their relatives upon the approval of a request submitted to the Municipal Chamber. However, the determination of who was prominent could lead to unease situations, as it was required to prove the existence of aristocratic traits in the deceased ancestry to benefit from the band services¹⁶⁸.

On Sundays the band performed at the location of Vasco da Gama's statue, in front of the Governor's office, mostly on afternoons after the church's service. The repertoire included classic band songs, tango, and waltz. The Municipal Chamber supported the band costs including the acquisition and maintenance of musical instruments, transportation, and the band members' uniforms and subsistence allowances. The band contributed to the emergence of musicians who later performed in contemporary and

¹⁶⁶ Interview with Helena Maria da Cruz, Maputo – Inhambane, 2019. Interview with Renato Cruz, Inhambane, 2019. Luis Loforte, *Domingos Arouca. As cobras*, 42. Pedro Cruz learned to play musical instruments while studying in Mongo Mission with Catholic priests. He played most of the band instruments and performed not only with the band but also with popular music groups in Inhambane and other Districts such as Quelimane. He played a relevant part in the recruitment and training of band musicians and supported financially the band's activities in times of need.

¹⁶⁷ Interview with Joaquim Fortunato do Amaral, Inhambane, 2019.

¹⁶⁸ Loforte, *Domingos Arouca. As cobras*, 43; Interview, Alípio Cruz, 2019; Interview, Helena Maria da Cruz, 2019.

popular music groups during the colonial period and after the independence. Such was the case of Alípio Cruz aka Otis, Pedro Cruz, Adérito Arouca, Vicente Dias Pires aka Feola, Arsénio, Antoninho and José¹⁶⁹.

The idea of creating bands ensued in other municipalities such as in Beira, where there was an attempt to create a Municipal Band which failed mainly because its members were amateurs, and also because of the constant movement of people placed for working reasons in other parts of Manica and Sofala District. In its place the municipality created an orchestra, also integrating amateur musicians, which gave a preview show to the press, radio, and music experts in 1961, followed by a well-acclaimed public concert, under the leadership of maestro and composer António Gonçalves da Fonseca who also worked as an archivist at the Municipal Chamber¹⁷⁰.

Overall, the Municipal Chambers supported the bands or orchestras' costs, promoted the development of cultural organization through technical support, financing, prizes, and access to the municipalities' ballrooms, and also promoted concerts with local and foreign musicians, through the Cultural, Propaganda, and Information Services.

Colonial settlement, policies and practices after the 1950s

With the end of World War II and the allies' victory, Salazar removed Portugal's fascist state character. To join NATO, actions were taken to make Portugal more acceptable

¹⁶⁹ Interview with Helena Maria da Cruz, Maputo – Inhambane, 2019. Interview with Alípio Cruz aka Otis, Maputo – Portugal, 2019. Interview with Vicente Dias Pires aka Feola, Inhambane, 2019. After the Independence some of these musicians moved to international music stages such as South Africa (Adérito Arouca), Portugal (Otis), and José (Germany).

¹⁷⁰ Inspeção dos Serviços Administrativos e dos Negócios Indígenas. *Relatório da inspeção ordinária à Câmara Municipal da Beira e aos Serviços Municipalizados de Electricidade realizada pelo inspector administrativo, Dr. A. de Sousa Franklin*, 1961.

in the eyes of the West, such as the emergence of liberal democracy, the popular elections for the president of the Republic, and placement of somewhat representative public institutions. Portugal joined NATO in 1949 and reviewed the Constitution in 1951 which resulted in the change of the term colony used in the 1930s to Ultramarine Province. In 1953 Portugal published the Ultramarine Portugal organic Law. In 1954 Portugal updated the legislation regarding the African native people and approved the Estatuto do Indígena which was rejected in 1961 with the granting of citizenship rights to all inhabitants of the Mozambican territory.

In 1955 Portugal published the Statute for the Province of Mozambique. This influenced Mozambique's representativeness in the metropole's Corporative Chamber, Ultramarine Council, and National Assembly. At the local level, the General Governor was supported by a Government Council which included the provincial secretaries, the navy, air and military commanders, the General Attorney, the Finance Minister, and two Members of the Legislative Assembly. By 1960 Mozambique had nine districts: Lourenço Marques, Gaza, Inhambane, Manica and Sofala, Tete, Zambézia, Mozambique, Cabo Delgado, and Niassa divided into 61 councils and 31 circumscriptions¹⁷¹. Inhambane was raised to the category of a city in 1956 under the portaria 11594/56.

Before 1950 the migrants from Portugal to Mozambique were mostly specialized people, technical staff, and public and private sectors' managers. The main goal was the economic exploitation of African raw materials and labor force. By 1940 the white population in Mozambique barely reached 0.5% of the whole population. Around 27,438 white people lived in Mozambique, being 24,365 Portuguese and of those, 16530 from

¹⁷¹ Newitt, *História de Moçambique*, 410.

Portugal. In 1945 there were 31,221 whites, 28,094 Portuguese, and of these 18,936 born on the Metropole, and in 1950 there were 48,213 whites, 45,599 Portuguese, and of those 32,153 born on the Metropole¹⁷².

The 1950s marked the beginning of what some scholars considered the late colonialism period which went to 1975. This period was marked by relevant processes that influenced the end of colonialism and reflected the diversity of Mozambique upon independence. Portugal implemented actions that promoted significant changes particularly in urban areas including the plans to stimulate colonial settlement, Adriano Moreira's reformist legislation, the war in the colonies, the entry of Portuguese and international capitals, urbanization, big public works such as the construction of Cahora Bassa Dam or the railways to Rhodesia through the Limpopo region, industrialization, the late expansion of education, the confirmation of Mozambique as a territory of interest to other collective diasporas (Chinese, Greek, Indians), and the diversification of the fields 'colonized' and 'colonizer' beyond colonizer, assimilated, native (indígena)¹⁷³.

According to the 1960s census, the total population of Mozambique in 1960 was 6,430,530. Inhambane District had 8.8% of the total population and a population density per km² of 8.54%. In 1970 Inhambane District had 746,211 people of the 1,753,206 in the whole territory of Mozambique. In the census, the population was categorized as European, Indian, Chinese, mixed (mestiça), and assimilated, which left room for discussion in terms of the incorporation of the globality of the population in the province. In terms of the

¹⁷² Claudia Castelo et al, "O branco do mato de Lisboa": a colonização agrícola dirigida e os seus fantasmas", In *Os outros da colonização: Ensaio sobre o colonialismo tardio em Moçambique*, organized by Cláudia Castelo, Omar Ribeiro Thomaz, Sebastião Nascimento, Teresa Cruz e Silva (Lisboa: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 1974), 29.

¹⁷³ Claudia Castelo et al, "Introdução: Tardo-colonialismo e produção de alteridades", 22.

average gender distribution of the population, there was a proportion of 100 men for 109 women, except in towns and commercial agriculture zones. Labor migration had an impact on these proportions. Non-native (Não indígenas) people were mostly an urban class. By 1965, 65% of não indígenas lived in urban areas compared with 7.5% of indígenas and 9% of the general population. Race barriers existed even though the Portuguese government did not recognize it. Measures such as censorship, barriers for licensing or for the attainment of the *assimilado* status and education opportunities, restrictions to access job opportunities in the administration sector or private companies were placed for native Africans and mestizos¹⁷⁴.

By 1961 the statute regarding native people was abolished foreseeing wider multicultural and multiracial opening. The social, racial, ethnic, cultural, and religious configuration of the people during the late colonialism period had profound implications and was affected by the end of colonialism, particularly considering Portugal's project of homogenization of the Portuguese identity through nation-building actions to link the Metropole and the ultramarine provinces. The distinct groups were not homogeneous, had specific interests, and positioned themselves in different ways as colonialism approached its end.

The first group was the blacks with a large ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity. Overall, they were subjected to colonialism, even though some benefitted from it depending on their positionality either through marriage or parental alliances, through assimilation or integration in the Portuguese governance and management structures.

¹⁷⁴ Newitt, *História de Moçambique*, 411-413.

The second group was the whites. Among the whites, there were Portuguese and whites from other nationalities. In 1955 there were 65798 whites in Mozambique, being 63386 nationals, and of these 44240 from Portugal. In 1960 there were 97245 whites and in 1970 there were 162967 whites (104850 from Portugal) which corresponded to 1,99% of the whole population¹⁷⁵.

Among the Portuguese, Omar Ribeiro Thomaz and Sebastião Nascimento distinguished the metropolitan whites and the native whites. The metropolitan whites were at the top, were already privileged at the Metropole, and were committed to the administration of the colony. They lived in urban areas, had a cosmopolitan life with trips to South Africa and Rhodesia, safari, and sports hunting trips, and big entertainment in clubs and hotels. They were sophisticated and looked down and with disdain at the whites in the Metropole¹⁷⁶. As Cláudia Castelo put it, the population from Portugal in Mozambique was “essentially urban, with special concentration [...] in Lourenço Marques, and, in a lesser degree in the second largest city, Beira, came, firstly, from the District of Lisbon; with an education level higher than the national average and higher levels of professional skills; worked mostly on public administration, commerce, and services”¹⁷⁷.

Many metropolitan whites searched for opportunities to establish permanently in Mozambique and envisaged independence from Portugal which did not necessarily mean independence for the Africans, similar to the South African and Rhodesian situations.

¹⁷⁵ Claudia Castelo et al, “‘O branco do mato de Lisboa’: a colonização agrícola dirigida e os seus fantasmas”, 29.

¹⁷⁶ Omar Ribeiro Thomaz and Sebastião Nascimento, “Nem Rodésia, nem Congo: Moçambique e os dias do fim das comunidades de origem europeia e asiática”, 327

¹⁷⁷ Claudia Castelo et al, “‘O branco do mato de Lisboa’: a colonização agrícola dirigida e os seus fantasmas”, 30.

Among these whites emerged some dissonant voices. A minority criticized the Portuguese authoritarianism and joined Frelimo's efforts to liberate the country. Such was the case of the Democrats who played a critical role in Lourenço Marques during the transition process in 1974¹⁷⁸. For the whites who arrived in Mozambique in the early twentieth century or after the second world war, Mozambique represented a possibility of ascension and a rupture with the Metropolitan past.

Another category was composed of Portuguese colonists or settlers sent to Mozambique as part of the Portuguese government efforts to establish white settlements to implant the Colonatos and other developmental projects from the 1960s onwards. This group came from poor places in Portugal, lived in rural places, had lower education levels with about 50% illiterate, and worked in the primary sector (agriculture). Even though these Portuguese were expected to be a symbol of the spiritual and material heightening of the Portuguese nation, because the white Portuguese from poor regions were mixed with black assimilated Africans, they became a reason of shame and received charity from the rest of the Portuguese community and could not be an example for the Africans in the region¹⁷⁹.

Among the Portuguese whites, there were also the soldiers sent to Mozambique to fight the so-called terrorists or *turras*. They came from humble families and did not mix with the so-called white Metropolitans when they had to spend time in town while waiting to be sent to the battlefields. Their presence dynamized the urban centers particularly prostitution and entertainment¹⁸⁰.

¹⁷⁸ Omar Ribeiro Thomaz and Sebastião Nascimento, “Nem Rodésia, nem Congo: Moçambique e os dias do fim das comunidades de origem europeia e asiática”, 327.

¹⁷⁹ Claudia Castelo et al, “‘O branco do mato de Lisboa’: a colonização agrícola dirigida e os seus fantasmas”, 30, 50.

¹⁸⁰ Omar Ribeiro Thomaz and Sebastião Nascimento, “Nem Rodésia, nem Congo, 329-330.

The mestizos and the assimilated constituted a category worth analyzing as Inhambane city was prone to assimilationism and racial miscegenation. Mostly born out of male founding fathers (Dutch, Italian, Indian, Portuguese) with native mothers, the mestizos had to constantly negotiate their identity during the colonial period, particularly when the Portuguese started bringing white wives and families. During the pre-colonial period, the mestizos were “responsible for the maintenance of a fragile Portuguese presence in coastal conclaves, particularly Inhambane, Quelimane, Ibo island, and Moçambique island”¹⁸¹.

With a privileged situation, these families were involved in the imperial expansionist efforts of the late 19th century and early 20th century. Being mestizo, legitimate sons of the African land, who could identify with the cultural, linguistic, and civilizational heritage of the winners of the conquest wars, they hoped to ascend to high roles as part of the establishment of the colonial administration. However, after the submission of the native blacks, metropolitan Portuguese occupied the higher administration places, and the mestizos and assimilated were excluded. The mixed-race was considered a person to avoid, a child of illegitimate marital relationships, especially with the availability of European women in the region. Until the 1960s the dark mestizos and the assimilated lived in urban areas, particularly Inhambane, Quelimane, and Tete, and had to constantly prove that they were not native to avoid the penalties for non-assimilated natives. Thus, traditional assimilated African families and mestizos gravitated towards FRELIMO’s emancipatory proposals, even though they would also be looked at with

¹⁸¹ Ibid, 330.

suspicion among Frelimo ranks and progressively pushed aside from political power positions and military activities¹⁸².

The Indian community had been in Mozambique since the sixteenth century for trade purposes where the Portuguese settlements were established, including Inhambane, and also within the Prazos. Besides trade, male Indian traders established matrimonial relations with native women which resulted in mestizo children, thus ensuring the necessary alliances with the Africans for trade purposes. Over time these communities grew and became highly diversified linguistically, economically, socially, and religiously. Besides trade, in distinct periods of Mozambican history, the Indians were involved in construction works, fishing, public administration, liberal professions, and with the Catholic clergy. They were vulgarly designated baneanes, hindus, canecos, catholic Goan descendants, monhés, Muslim and indo-portuguese. They were not actively involved in politics, were not object nor the subject of assimilationism, and could not be confounded with the native Africans¹⁸³.

Cultural associations, sports clubs and music production

After World War II nationalist movements grew in Africa calling for the independence of the colonies. Among these movements, there were intellectual and religious organizations, syndicates, political parties, cultural, sports and solidarity associations. These organizations emerged alongside the implementation of the first race

¹⁸² Ibid, 311, 330-331.

¹⁸³ Ibid, 318-323.

base discriminatory legal measures over the first two decades of the twentieth century. Associations were at times ethnic and regionalist with the board members composed of people highly placed in the communities of origin or professional groups¹⁸⁴.

Mozambique in general and Inhambane, in particular, had several clubs and associations dedicated to sports and cultural activities. It is important to note that, due to the constant movement of people, cultural and music groups and associations of people of Inhambane could be found in Inhambane District, but also in other Districts, particularly Lourenço Marques, as people would migrate either for academic, professional, or other reasons and also in the diaspora, particularly South Africa and Rhodesia due, mostly to labor migration. A reduced number would migrate to Portugal for academic or professional reasons and also to the Indian territory for medical treatment or as part of the army.

Tabela 1 Relevant associations related to Inhambane during the colonial period¹⁸⁵

Clube Inhambanense Clube de Inhambane Associação de Futebol do Distrito de Inhambane Associação Africana de Instrução Beneficiência, e Recreio de Inhambane Clube Nova Aliança da Maxixe Clube Náutico da Maxixe Associação Funerária Inhambanense Comunidade Muçulmana da Maxixe Associação Africana de Inhambane	Grupo Desportivo Obras Públicas de Inhambane Aeroclube de Inhambane Grupo Desportivo Mahafil Isslamo da Maxixe Clube Náutico da Maxixe Associação de Futebol do Distrito de Inhambane Futebol Clube da Maxixe Caixa de Auxílio Funerário Mahometano de Inhambane Grupo dos Amigos de Inhambane Clube Atlético Mahometano de Inhambane ¹⁸⁶
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¹⁸⁴ António Sopa, *A alegria é uma coisa rara: subsídios para a história da música popular urbana em Lourenço Marques (1920-1975)* (Maputo: Marimbique, 2014), 49.

¹⁸⁵ Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique, Direcção dos Serviços de Administração Civil da Província de Moçambique, Secção A.

¹⁸⁶ Clube Atlético Mahometano de Inhambane had offices in Inhambane, Maxixe, Beira and Lourenço Marques.

The clubs and associations were interconnected as some of the members could belong to more than one association or club. The clubs and associations' objectives included the creation of music groups and the organization of cultural activities such as music performances (recitais), parties (bailes), excursions, and the exhibition of the Association's sports and cultural works. The sports trainers had to be certified by the Physical Education National Institute or by other national or international schools.

Besides sports and cultural activities, some associations provided social support for their members such as medical support for the members practicing sports activities, the provision of subsidies and medicines for members in need, and the employment of the unemployed members. In some Associations such as Associação Africana de Inhambane, local medical doctors provided medical support freely. Such was the case of the medical doctors António Leitão Pereira Marques and Carlos Eufemiano Pinto during the late 1950s¹⁸⁷.

In their activities, associations such as Clube de Inhambane had a clear subordination to the National Organization Mocidade Portuguesa, in such a way that the authorization of the association was given upon hearing Mocidade's opinion, and a member of the sports or cultural association also affiliated to Mocidade Portuguesa required authorization of the regional Delegate to be included in the Association or Club activities.

The creation and functioning of the Clubs and Associations were guided by the Regulamento Geral das Actividades Gimnodesportivas – Legislative Diploma Nr. 1.670 dated May 4, 1957. The Provincial Council of Physical Education and the Provincial

¹⁸⁷ Information number 293/1^a dated 10 September 10 1959, Lourenço Marques: 1a Repartição da Direcção dos Serviços de Administração Civil - Governo geral de Moçambique.

Commissariat of Mocidade Portuguesa were consulted as part of the evaluation of Associations and Clubs Statutes and officialization requests. The associations could also not engage in political and religious manifestations contrary to the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic or activities contrary to public health and morality¹⁸⁸.

Other associations whose statutes were approved in the same period had distinct nature and affiliation, though pursuing sports and cultural activities. The sports club Nova Aliança (New Alliance) created on 15 October 1932 with its headquarters in Nhambiuva, Inhambane District, had its statutes approved only on 17 February 1962 by the Governor-General of Mozambique Manuel Maria Sarmiento Rodrigues through the portaria number 15807. This sports club had the particularity of being composed only by indígenas and indígenas assimilates¹⁸⁹. In the process of the club's constitution the District and Province administrative authorities paid particular attention to this aspect as they wanted to make sure that the members were only indígenas and indígenas assimilates, and that the club would not accept members outside of these categories. Through the correspondence number 5981/1^a/599 of 26 May 1960, Director Gonçalves Lourenço requested Inhambane District's Governor to confirm if the people interested in the constitution of the sports club

¹⁸⁸ Articles 3, 4, 5, and 80 of Clube de Inhambane Statutes, approved by the members on May 5, 1960 and by the Governor General of Mozambique on 23 June 1960. (Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique, Pasta ac, Processo no. 27/175, Província de Moçambique – Direcção dos Serviços de Administração Civil). Article 10 of the Statutes of *Associação Africana de Inhambane* approved in 1964. (Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique, Processo no. 27/370, Província de Moçambique – Direcção dos Serviços de Administração Civil). Article 3 of the Statutes of the *Associação Africana de Inhambane* (Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique, Processo 27/370 da Província de Moçambique – Direcção dos Serviços de Administração Civil). Information number 334/1a. dated November 2, 1961 of the 1^a. Repartição da Direcção dos Serviços de Administração Civil – Governo Geral de Moçambique. Comissariado Provincial da Mocidade Portuguesa Process number 2.404/S dated July 15, 1959.

¹⁸⁹ During the New State under the leadership of António Salazar with Marcelo Caetano's collaboration, there was a distinction between the indígena, who lived under the laws for Africans subjected to labor and fiscal regulations, and the não-indígena or civilizado who lived under the Portuguese law, paying Portuguese taxes but not included in labor laws.

Nova Aliança were indígenas or não-indígenas, to what the District's governor confirmed to Lourenço Marques Director of Administration Services that they were indígenas through the correspondence number 2031/A/2 of 11 July 1960. Sports clubs also had to state clearly that, besides being indígenas, all club members belonged to the American Methodist Episcopal Church, they would not engage in religious propaganda, and that they did not have the necessary means to develop their activities, thus requiring financial support from Inhambane District and Homóine circumscription budgets¹⁹⁰.

Other associations brought together people from Inhambane but had headquarters in Lourenço Marques, even though they maintained close ties with the associations whose headquarters were in Inhambane District. Such was the case of Clube Inhambanense de Inhafôco aka Inhambanense. Inhambanense was an extension of a club with the same name from Inhambane (Maxixe Velha) the oldest sports club created by the Loforte family, who also created the clubs Vaco da Gama de Inhambane and Vasco da Gama de Xai Xai during the colonial period¹⁹¹.

Besides sports, culture, and music these groups were important in the integration of people coming from Inhambane to Lourenço Marques to work, to study, or to develop other activities. Lourenço Marques neighborhoods such as Chamanculo, Mafalala, and

¹⁹⁰ Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique, Processo número 27/286 da Direcção dos Serviços de Administração Civil da Província de Moçambique. Correspondence number 537/A/4 dated 6 February 1956 signed by Inhambane District's Governor Octávio Ferreira Gonçalves and addressed to Lourenço Marques Director of Administration Services. Information number 146/1^a dated 8 May 1956 signed by Informant Fortunado Gomes de Seíça Júnior, Civil Administration Services Directorate 2nd class administrator. Correspondence number 1404/A/4 dated 04 May 1960 from Inhambane District Governor Augusto Vaz Spencer addressed to Lourenço Marques Director of Administration Services.

¹⁹¹ Luis Loforte (org.), *Domingos Arouca. As cobras (Autobiografia – I Parte)*, (Maputo: Pemba & Sewi editores), 39. After the independence, Inhambanense was named Chamanculo as a result of the ideological changes pertaining to tribalism.

Chinhambanine hosted people from several places including Inhambane¹⁹². Among the people who migrated to Lourenço Marques and engaged in cultural activities were Chico da Conceição and João Domingos. Chico da Conceição was a member of the “Young Issufo Jazz Band” in 1957 and later of the music group Djambu around 1958. In 1960 the group “João Domingos” was created. It was first named “Hulla Hoop” and emerged from the disintegration of the “Young Issufo Jazz Band”. At first the music group included Issufo Omar Amade (Young Issufo), Gonzana, Abílio and João Domingos. Later in the 1960s the group included Arnaldo Assunção da Silva, Hassiade Mumino (Gonzana), Alberto Pascoal, and Ernesto da Silva Tonetti (Colinho)¹⁹³. These groups rehearsed and performed at Centro Associativo dos Negros in Lourenço Marques and other events. For market reasons, these groups performed their songs in ci-shangana, even though some of the group members spoke other local languages such as gitonga¹⁹⁴.

The migration from Inhambane to Lourenço Marques was not male-gendered. Women also migrated and engaged in economic activities in Lourenço Marques. In her memories of the colonial period, Nely Nhaka mentioned the entrepreneurial spirit of women from Inhambane who cooked and sold foods such as mahanti and bajiyas¹⁹⁵ in Chamanculo and neighboring neighborhoods, alongside their participation in savings groups¹⁹⁶.

¹⁹² Chinhambanine, for example got its name because its residents were mostly from Inhambane.

¹⁹³ António Sopa, *Domingos Arouca. As cobras.*, 122-123, 128; Rui Laranjeira, *A marrabenta*, 78-79.

¹⁹⁴ Interview with Luís Loforte, Maputo, 2019.

¹⁹⁵ Mahanti is a food made of flour and spices. Bajiyas are made of beans, onions and chili at times. Both are fried in hot oil and served as snacks or with bread.

¹⁹⁶ Nely Nyaka, *Mahanyela: a vida na periferia da grande cidade* (Maputo: Marimbique, 2018) 58-59, 119. Nely Nyaka's book enabled the reader to understand women's economic activities in the outskirts of Lourenço Marques during the colonial period particularly with the emergence of nationalism. Nely Nyaka was a member of the Female branch of the Centro Associativo dos Negros de Moçambique, and alongside

Labor migration and the internationalization of Mozambican music

Labor migration from Southern Africa in general and Mozambique in particular to South Africa and Rhodesia was very vibrant during the colonial period. Inhambane was among southern Mozambique's districts of origin of labor migrants, particularly to South Africa, also designated Djoni. Popular work songs were part of the narrative of miners' lives while in South Africa and when they returned to Mozambique in between contracts and after the completion of the foreseen contracts. All miners had to sing while working. The boss boy had the responsibility of leading the singing to stimulate the work¹⁹⁷.

The songs' lyrics emphasized the colonial oppression, the oppression by the boss boys, homosexuality (as new and vulnerable mine recruits were forced into the role of a "Rose" - a woman, upon their arrival in the mines), the reasons to work in the mines, including the need to pay debts, the suffering of those who left home in the rural area to join the mine work but never arrived as they found themselves stranded in the capital city or the border regions, insults to the white colonist, the miners' injuries and sufferings, the sorrows of the wife and children left behind, the joys of his return, and the conjugal problems among miners families¹⁹⁸.

But besides popular work songs, the South African mines presented themselves as a space for the breeding of new musicians. Mozambican miners in South Africa had music sessions where players of xib'avana and guitar players performed. Mutano Gomes

other women prepared cookies and tea for the meetings of the African National Congress and the Tsindra Association. Women also brew traditional beer (vuputro) and sew clothes to earn money.

¹⁹⁷ Ruth First (Dir.), *O Mineiro Moçambicano*, 13.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid, 13, 24, 33, 59, 70, 110, 118, 172.

Feliciano was among the musicians whose talent, voice, and lyrics pleased the listeners. As a result, Mutano recorded his first album in 1945. The success that ensued attracted the attention of South African discographies who invited Mutano to record more albums, thus becoming an instant success¹⁹⁹.

The South African discographies modus operandi included sending scouts to find more talented musicians in mines, through the attendance of miners' music sessions. That's how South African music labels 'discovered' Mozambican musicians. As the competition among labels was high, Mozambican musicians revealed agency by recording with distinct names for distinct labels²⁰⁰.

Mozambique benefitted from record albums by Mozambican musicians imported to the territory of Mozambique, which stimulated the nationalist sentiment in the territory of Mozambique. On the other hand, the South African discography was enriched with the 'discovery' of talented musicians in the mining compounds. Additionally, Mozambican miners returned home with musical instruments, which became the basis for the training of additional people in a context where most Mozambicans played with guitars made out of olive oil tin.

Mozambican musicians in South Africa performed songs inspired by themes such as the contestation of the Portuguese colonial regime. As a result, the Portuguese Police, PIDE, established a control point in Ressano Garcia's border with South Africa to censor, detect, seize and destroy vinyl records with political and contestation content from miners

¹⁹⁹ Samuel Matusse, *Retalhos da História da Música Moçambicana*, 8, 38-39.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 38-47.

returning home. The Portuguese colonial regime also banned songs with what was viewed as politically inadequate particularly in the lyrics²⁰¹.

Inhambane on the eve of Independence

Resistance was constantly present in the historical process which resulted in the emergence of nationalist movements and the decolonization process in the African continent, mostly through peaceful transition processes particularly in English and French colonies. Not wanting to give in to the nationalist movement of the time and the external pressures for the decolonization and self-determination of the colonies, and under the leadership of António Salazar and Adriano Moreira, Portugal undertook to implement reforms in the colonies, known as "the 1961 reforms", converting the colonies into overseas provinces, inspired by Gilberto Freyre's Luso-Tropicalist theory, with a view of ensuring Portugal's national unity.

The creation of liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies and the beginning of the armed struggle for their self-determination and independence began with the loss by Portugal of the colonies of Damão, Diu, and Goa to the Indian Union, followed by the war in Angola in February/ March 1961, in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde in January 1963, and Mozambique in September 1964. Fernando Manuel Malauene recalled that Mozambicans were incorporated in the mandatory military service and served the army in the Indian territory from the 1950s onwards²⁰².

²⁰¹ Samuel Matusse, *Retalhos da História da Música Moçambicana*, 52.

²⁰² Interview, Fernando Manuel Malauene, Inhambane, 2019.

As a result of the Portuguese loss of the Indian territory colonies, the Portuguese used the Indians in Mozambique categorized as British Indians as a hostage to put pressure on Nehru's India to trade with the Portuguese troops after the military defeat. Thus, the Portuguese rounded the Indians and put them in concentration camps, based on lists carefully organized by the colonial authorities. Around 20,000 Indians spent months in concentration camps, their goods were liquidated and later expelled from Mozambique. This treatment of Indians who also served the Portuguese colonial administration was among the paradoxes of Portugal's efforts to build a Portuguese national identity with the colonies. These Indians who were either born in Mozambique or who chose to live in Mozambique were considered foreigners in Mozambique and were *persona non grata* in India²⁰³.

As part of Marcelo Caetano's strategies to avoid the rupture of the Portuguese national unity in light of the liberation struggles in the colonies, the government engaged in several actions, including granting the colonies 'progressive and participant autonomy', Psychosocial Actions to conquer the population to defend the colonial order from the 1960s, and the Africanization of the pacification wars (from the colonizers' perspective) or liberation or emancipatory wars (from the nationalists' perspective).

Besides conventional weapons and chemical products, Portugal used propaganda as part of its war, reinforced with the approval of the First Plan of Psychological Action in 1960, the Manual of Psychological Action in the Armed Forces elaborated in 1963, and the imposition of the creation of sections of Psychological action (APSIC aka "Psico") in the

²⁰³ Omar Ribeiro Thomaz and Sebastião Nascimento, "Nem Rodésia, nem Congo: Moçambique e os dias do fim das comunidades de origem europeia e asiática" 322-333.

colonies. Also, as part of the psychological action in 1961, the National Female Movement was created and presided by Cecília Sulpico Pinto devoted to solidarity and charity activities for the troops including the mobilization of war godmothers for soldiers and “bate-estradas” to deliver mail²⁰⁴. Psychosocial actions also included acts of approximation to certain groups conveying specific messages to transmit a sense of proximity and empathy towards them and funding relevant activities for their leaders and followers²⁰⁵.

The competition for people engaged both the Portuguese regime and the nationalists under Frelimo’s leadership by making complex distinctions between the true nationalist and the traitor collaborationist from the liberation movement’s perspective and the faithful or subversive element from the colonial regime’s perspective. The Portuguese regime exploited the social, political, and ethnic cleavages to ‘seduce’ the population to fight for the maintenance of the colonial order. As João Paulo Borges Coelho noted, the psychosocial actions were based on concepts of ‘commandment’ and ‘actioning’, not only to command the population but to make them identify with the colonial values and actively commit to its defense. Traditional authorities were key to this process of mobilization²⁰⁶. In this regard, it is important to note that the legitimacy of the traditional leaders was challenged as the Portuguese placed régulos who were not legitimated by the local population²⁰⁷.

²⁰⁴ João Paulo Guerra, *Memórias das guerras coloniais* (Porto, Edições Afrontamento, 1994), 392-3.

²⁰⁵ Lorenzo Macagno, “Árabo-muçulmanos no imaginário luso-tropicalista”, In *Os outros da colonização: Ensaio sobre o colonialismo tardio em Moçambique*, organized by Cláudia Castelo, Omar Ribeiro Thomaz, Sebastião Nascimento, Teresa Cruz e Silva (Lisboa: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 1974), 66-69.

²⁰⁶ João Paulo Borges Coelho, “Tropas negras na Guerra Colonial em Moçambique”, 307.

²⁰⁷ Interview, Fernando Malauene, Inhambane, 2019.

Therefore, while the young population would be more inclined towards the nationalist project, those who benefitted most from the colonial regime were eager to maintain the status quo. This included the régulos, heads of settlements, cipaios, nurses, primary teachers. Ethnicity also played a crucial role as some ethnic groups would tend to support Frelimo, while others accepted the colonial order. As João Paulo Borges Coelho put it, the survival instinct influenced individuals and communities' positionalities during the war. The Africanization of the war implied the incorporation of black troops in the Portuguese army, with foreseen advantages such as the knowledge of the territory and the people, higher resistance to tropical diseases, less expensive in terms of transport and maintenance, and whose death would have fewer repercussions than of European. Even though the participation of black troops in the Portuguese Army "was unequal" during the thirteen years of the colonial military campaign, the numbers and responsibilities increased progressively and by April 1974 more than 50% of the men involved in the colonial army were African. Besides the militia created in 1961, the Portuguese implemented the *aldeamentos* (fortified and controlled villages). The militia lived with the people in the *aldeamentos*, which at times resulted in conflicts with the population and the traditional authorities²⁰⁸.

The results of Kaulza de Arriaga's Gordian Knot Operation forced changes in the Portuguese army, including the organization of smaller and more Africanized combat units. Before the 1970s the Africans involved in the Portuguese army worked as drivers, cooks, and served in the artillery²⁰⁹. Thus, from the 1970s, the Commando companies doubled to

²⁰⁸ João Paulo Borges Coelho, "Tropas negras na Guerra Colonial em Moçambique", 303-314.

²⁰⁹ Interview with Narciso Pedro, August 2019.

eight, the Special Groups and the Dondo Special Groups Training Center were created (GE) with Jorge Jardim's collaboration and funding, Special Parachute Groups emerged (GEP), and the Flechas was introduced in Mozambique early 1974. Special Groups were trained to operate in their places of origin in a clear maneuver of ethnicization of the conflict. On the eve of the Independence the African troops in the colonial army totaled 40000 men, four times the total army they fought against²¹⁰.

Recruitment to join the colonial army was compulsory, but others joined Frelimo guerrilla forces. Others such as Domingos Mascarenhas Arouca, the first black Mozambican lawyer, expressed their nationalist ideas in distinct ways, including militance as Director of the newspaper *O Brado Africano* and as president of the board of Centro Associativo dos Negros (CAN). However, he was arrested when the CAN was closed in March 1965 with accusations of being a terrorist and developing political activities in favor of Frelimo and its clandestine front²¹¹. This action had repercussions to music bands such as João Domingos and Harmonia because they lost the space for rehearsals and their planned music concerts were canceled as a result of the colonial administration's intervention to prevent them from performing²¹².

Most of the troops who served the Portuguese army were left behind when the colonists left Mozambique with the signing of the Lusaka Accord in 1974. The dialogue with the former colonial fighters was difficult or inexistent; former PIDE/ DGS and special

²¹⁰ João Paulo Borges Coelho, "Tropas negras na Guerra Colonial em Moçambique", 306-314.

²¹¹ Other Mozambicans were arrested alongside Domingos Arouca, namely, Ebenizário Filipe Guambe, Afonso André Sonamize Ugadane, Daniel Litsuri, Luís Bernardo Honwana, Rogério Daniel Ndzawana, Daniel Tomé Magaia, Abner Sansão Muthemba (Rui Laranjeira, *A marrabenta: sua evolução e estilização, 1950-2002* (Maputo, 2013), 75.

²¹² Ibid.

troops were sent to detention camps; the majority of the militia were labeled as ‘comprometidos’ (compromised) and publicly exposed on their workplaces and neighborhoods, considered by the new government the way to publicly release them from their obscure past²¹³. This context influenced the immediate outcomes of the nation-state building process under Frelimo’s leadership from 1975 onwards.

Cultural production in Inhambane on the eve of independence

Inhambane was culturally vibrant both in the cement parts of the town as well as in the peripheral neighborhoods. There was a strong feeling that Inhambane was also Portugal²¹⁴, which resulted in the public pressure for the creation of economic opportunities and the attraction of investments to develop the District.

Most of the population in Inhambane city was catholic and attended the Church’s activities such as parades to celebrate saints and fairs which involved music and dancing²¹⁵. Narciso Pedro mentioned that there were dance parties organized by the catholic church (kermesse) where people from different races could attend. An example was Father Antonio Martinho’s fundraising kermesse which included music and dancing. Those parties’ privileged foreign music performed through vinyl record players²¹⁶. On the other side of Inhambane bay, in Maxixe, the Methodist Church played a crucial role in the training of musicians. Pedro Garrine recalled that he and other members of the church’s youth organization learned to play musical instruments and to sing in choirs as part of the

²¹³ João Paulo Borges Coelho, “Tropas negras na Guerra Colonial em Moçambique”, 306-314.

²¹⁴ Gomes Barbosa, “Inhambane. Falta de persistência”, *Jornal notícias*, June 26, 1966.

²¹⁵ “Dia da Imaculada Conceição”, *Jornal Notícias*, December 12, 1966.

²¹⁶ Interview with Narciso Pedro, Maxixe-Inhambane, 2019.

church's cultural and sports programs under the supervision of American Methodist missionaries²¹⁷.

Despite the existence of a Municipal library in Inhambane city, urban dwellers were not particularly interested in reading but would spend most of their after-work time in coffee shops and bars²¹⁸. Artists from Portugal exhibited their arts in Mozambique and Inhambane received artists such as Eduardo Alves exhibit of oils, gouaches, and aquarelles and also Luís Martins Cordeiro's charcoal portraits exhibit in 1966. Inhambane's District Government and the Municipal Chamber funded most of these cultural and artistic activities²¹⁹.

Pageant shows also marked Inhambane city's history. The year 1966 was the first year Inhambane chose a representative to compete in the "Miss Moçambique" beauty pageant. The District candidates included Marcela Francisco Araújo, 19 years old, office worker, from and residing in Inhambane town; Maria da Conceição Lobato de Faria, 19 years old, from Goa, working at the Ultramarine National Bank; and Ana Maria Tavares Sarabúá²²⁰. Cinema was also part of the cultural activities in Inhambane city, with the showing of movies at the movie theatre Manuel Rodrigues.

²¹⁷ Interview with Pedro Garrine, Maputo, 2019.

²¹⁸ A. A. Coelho, "Um logradouro deserto", *Jornal Notícias*, March 28, 1966.

²¹⁹ A graduate from Escola de Belas Artes do Porto and from the Ciclo de Artes Plásticas da Associação Académica de Coimbra, Eduardo Alves exhibited his work in Beira, Vila Pery, Tete, Quelimane, Nampula, Ilha de Moçambique, and Porto Amélia. "Exposição de pintura patrocinada pelo governo do Distrito e pela Câmara Municipal de Inhambane", *Jornal Notícias*. "Exposição de retratos a carvão", *Jornal Notícias*, 24 March 1966. "Inhambane. Notícias várias", *Jornal Notícias*, April 21, 1966.

²²⁰ "Miss Moçambique 1966. Inhambane prepara-se para uma representação condigna. Termina em 10 de Julho o prazo de inscrição das candidatas", July 30, 1966. "Miss Moçambique 1966: Marcela Francisco Araújo. Terceira candidata por Inhambane", *Jornal Notícias*, July 12, 1966. "Miss Moçambique 1966. Maria da Conceição Lobato de Faria. Segunda candidata por Inhambane e uma das mais fortes concorrentes. Lourenço Marques discute também as possibilidades das suas candidatas. Quelimane não apresentará a sua representante?", *Jornal Notícias*, July 7, 1966.

Schools played an important role as an embryo for artists who started singing in choirs. Among the musicians from Inhambane was Alberto Machavele from Homoine who attended school in Cambine until the third grade and started singing in a choir and attended competitions for best group and best voice. After that, Machavele and his group recorded their first song on radio titled “kava unga heti” in ci-tsua which can be translated to “a well without an end” in 1960. From 1963 onwards, Machavele and his group started singing on wedding ceremonies catapulting him to fame, particularly in southern Mozambique²²¹.

The Lycée and technical schools played a key role in spotting and projecting musical talents. Musician Feola recalled that their music teacher promoted competitions focusing on cultural aspects which projected students attending the first preparatory cycle of education, who later became singers, songwriters, and theater performers²²². Carnaval also played a crucial role in fostering the emergence of new artists and cultural groups. Feola who learned to play musical instruments in the Municipal Chamber Music Band was also involved in cultural activities during the season of Carnaval, a local festival for the people which included performances with cultural elements of foreign countries such as Brazil, but also traditional Mozambican rhythms and dances such as Zore. Feola’s crew won prizes in two Carnaval seasons. Music contests such as the Pop Contest held in 1974 with the participation of musicians such as Pedro Garrine, Jaco Maria, and where Magide Mussá won a prize were also part of Inhambane’s cultural events.

The Portuguese colonial authorities stimulated musicians to sing songs in Portuguese inspired by international musicians such as Aguinaldo Timóteo and Roberto

²²¹ Ricardo Rangel (Dir.) “Cantar faz parte da vida é importante como respirar”. *Jornal Domingo*. Vol.1. N°46, (08-Ago-1982), 24.

²²² Interview with Feola, Inhambane city, 2019.

Carlos²²³. Likewise, the Portuguese colonial regime used traditional music as a way to maintain the ethnic divisions. Traditional music was also incorporated as part of the colonial regime's efforts to build an ultramarine identity. An example of this situation was the incorporation of the music genre Timbila of Inhambane as a mandatory presentation to welcome Portuguese colonial authorities. The creation of a Timbila Orchestra and the incorporation of the Portuguese anthem as part of the traditional Timbila repertoire were among the actions implemented²²⁴.

Among the most important groups that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s was Conjunto Musical de Inhambane with Manuel Vicente Pires as the group leader and Feola as lead singer, Kives with Dionísio Loforte as the leader and members such as Nassurdine Adamo, the Borguetes, a student group with João Borguete as the group leader and Rico as lead singer. Besides the local groups, music groups from other places performed in Inhambane on several occasions including the town's day and prom parties. Such was the case of Banda Diplomática, AC 68, Conjunto João Domingos, Os Cartolas, Omnipotentes, Djambu, the choral group under the leadership of Justino Chemane and Grupo Coral Machavela²²⁵. Other prominent musicians were Fernando Pires, Vicente Pires, Jaco Maria, Adérito Arouca, Badru, Takdir, and Renato Chadreque. Some of them were part of the music group Inhambane 70²²⁶.

²²³Raimundo Chambe, "Sabemos o que queremos, sabemos o que não queremos?" *Domingo*, Vol. 1. Nº 24. (07-Mar-1982), 12.

²²⁴Martinho Lutero, "A influência do colonialismo e o processo revolucionário", *Domingo*, Vol. 1. Nº 32. (02-Maio-1982), 20.

²²⁵ Interview with Feola, Inhambane city, 2019.

²²⁶ Interview with Renato Cruz, Inhambane city, 2019.

Other musicians such as female musician Guilhermina Caetano aka Guê-Guê performed in transportation buses to entertain the passengers. From 1972 to 1975 Guê-Guê worked for the transportation company Expresso Gazela, a company of Auto Aviação do Sul do Save. Besides fado, Guê-Guê performed Roberto Carlos' songs for passengers when traveling from Lourenço Marques to Beira or the other way round²²⁷.

Native people in the neighborhoods that surrounded the cement area of Inhambane city also engaged in cultural activities. Each neighborhood had a soccer field and musicians were invited to play after the games or as part of distinct events or ceremonies. Places such as Mafutane, Mabili, Xigune, Dambo hosted dance parties with music from gramophones for the native people. Other musicians performed live. Such was the case of Boaventura dos Santos Parruque also known as Boaventura dos Santos Mburi wo kala malevu who recorded some of his songs, alongside names such as Antonio Levene and João Naete. They were part of the music group named "Vata funungula" who performed marrabenta songs. Other musicians were Pipiliza hosi ya va ronga, Luis Chagua from Mutamba who played the mandolin, Manuel Taimo, and the family Chivanguanhana who performed marrabenta in Nhacuarra mostly using guitars²²⁸.

The psychosocial brigades also used cultural activities as a means to reach their goals. Inhambane's first psychosocial brigade was placed in Nhampossa territory in 1966. Psychosocial brigade members spent long periods working with the communities where they were placed. Besides health issues, the 'Psyco' also dealt with cultural affairs. Cinema, radio, and music were incorporated as part of their activities which included

²²⁷ Interview with Guilhermina Caetano aka Guê-Guê, Maputo, 2019.

²²⁸ Interview with Narciso Pedro, Maxixe-Inhambane, 2019.

actions such as the opening of wells to improve peoples' lives²²⁹. Musician Feola attended some the psychosocial brigades activities and had the opportunity to learn Inhambane's traditional rhythms such as massessa, zore, makhara, timbila that influenced his songs²³⁰.

There was no pacific coexistence between the colonial government and the native people. The colonial government prevented and persecuted native people who danced what was considered “shingo-shingo” (natives dances) in neighborhoods. Each administration unit arrested indígenas for chibalo. Songs were part of the narratives of chibalo in Inhambane. Prisoners sang while being transported, after being rounded up, when imprisoned or while working in chibalo. Some songs performed by prisoners mentioned their destination or their fate such as the song whose lyrics say “salani mu guia niya Manhiça xibalo muni maganda”. These lyrics indicate that the prisoners were sent to chibalo in Manhiça to work for the sugar cane plantations of the Incomati Agricultural Society. Chibalo workers from Inhambane were also sent to Magude to work on cane plantations, to Homoine to work on cotton fields, and also to work on road construction (Maxixe – Nhanombe and Maxixe – Ribeiro roads). Another song worth mentioning was known as “he mabekano uta penga ni moya”. Inmates working on chibalo danced to the sound of this song pounding the feet on the earth to pound the soil. The treatment given to inmates in the prison was intended to serve as an example and a lesson to others²³¹.

Racial discrimination during the colonial period was visible in people's intersex relationships²³² and access to entertainment venues such as the “Cinema Manuel

²²⁹ “A psicossocial e a sua acção no distrito”, *Jornal Notícias*, June 21, 1966.

²³⁰ Interview with Feola, Inhambane, 2018.

²³¹ Interview with Narciso Pedro, Maxixe-Inhambane, 2019.

²³² Vicente Dias Pires aka Feola, 2019.

Rodrigues”, a movie theater built as a public space of entertainment for the urban people, mostly European and *assimilados*, while most of the native people would continue to attend their traditional dance events in their settlements outside of the urban setting. In this regard, Francisco Malawene mentioned in an interview that the natives paid the cheapest tickets and sat in front of the movie theater with lower visibility, while the whites and the *assimilados* would sit in the higher places with better visibility²³³.

Conclusion

The objective of this chapter was to provide a historical and cultural account of life in Mozambique under the Portuguese colonial regime. Mozambique’s history and cultural identity on the eve of independence was a result of a changing process fostered by migrations, early resistance movements, the effective Portuguese colonial occupation and administration, and its effects in terms of miscegenation and acculturation. International migration, and particularly labor migration played a key role in the development of music in Inhambane and Lourenço Marques as the migratory movements resulted in rich influences in the music and dance genres appropriated by the local people and performed as part of the local culture.

From the 1960s Portugal envisaged the establishment of a Portuguese nation with a homogenized cultural identity with the so considered Ultramarine Provinces in the African continent. This included actions such as the Portuguese’s appropriation and

²³³Fernando Dava (Dir.), *Documentação visual e narrativa dos bens culturais incluído nos roteiros culturais na Ilha de Moçambique e cidade de Inhambane. A vila tradicional dos Macuas – Cidade de pedra e cal – o dia a dia do Wagaya – a bela Kunhumbane*. (Maputo: ARPAC, 2011), 91.

elevation of particular music genres and instruments. However, the end of colonialism had serious repercussions for the populations who served the colonial system left behind and also for the distinct ethnic and racial groups, depending on their positionality during the last period of colonialism.

The mestizos and the traditional assimilated families had to negotiate their identities daily before the black African majority. This meant being discrete in terms of political participation and reverting to a position of strangers who could be seen as foreigners and whose legitimacy could be put to test at any moment. Several Indians abandoned the country. Those who remained had to renew their strategies in light of the concentration of the political power in the “hands of the legitimate Africans, a legitimacy constructed not only through the liberation struggle trajectory, but in the association between autochthony and political power, in an inverse movement to the colonial period”.²³⁴

²³⁴ Omar Ribeiro Thomaz and Sebastião Nascimento, “Nem Rodésia, nem Congo, 338.

3. REVOLUTIONARY SONGS, THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE AND STATE-NATION BUILDING IN MOZAMBIQUE, 1960 - 1980

Se me perguntares
quem sou eu
com essa cara
cavada de bexigas de maldade
com sinistro sorriso
Nada te direi!
Nada te direi!
Mostrar-te ei as cicatrizes de séculos
que sulcam minhas costas negras
olhar-te-ei com olhos de ódio
vermelhos de sangue vertido durante séculos
mostrar-te-ei minha palhota de capim
a cair sem reparação
levar-te-ei às plantações
onde sol a sol
me encontro dobrado sobre o solo
enquanto trabalho árduo
mastiga meu tempo.
Levar-te-ei aos campos cheios de gente,
onde a gente respira miséria a toda a hora.
Nada te direi.
Mostrar-te-ei somente isto.
E depois
mostrar-te-ei os corpos do meu Povo
tombados por metralhas traiçoeiras,
palhotas queimadas por gente tua.
Nada te direi.
E saberás porque luto.
1966
ARMANDO EMÍLIO GUEBUZA²³⁵

²³⁵Armando Emílio Guebuza, “Se me perguntares” In *Os tambores cantam* (Maputo: Armando Guebuza e Herdeiros, 2006), 33. Loosely translated to: If you ask me/ who am I/ with that face ditched of evil bladders/ with sinister smile/ I will tell you nothing!/ I will tell you nothing!/ I'll show you the scars of centuries/ that furrow my black back/ I will look at you with hateful eyes/ red bloodshed for centuries/ I will show you my grass hut/ falling without repair/ I'll take you to the plantations/ where sun by sun/ I find myself bent over the ground/ while hard work/ chew my time./ I will take you to the fields full of people,/ where people breathe misery all the time./ I will tell you nothing./ I will show you only this./ And then/ I will show you the bodies of my people/ toppled by treacherous machine guns,/ huts burnt by your people./ I will tell you nothing./ And you will know why I fight.

Introduction

In light of the prominent role that music played in the political culture and daily lives of Mozambicans, it is hardly surprising that FRELIMO relied heavily on songs and dance as an integral part of the liberation struggle. From its inception in 1962, the liberation movements used song and dance not only as a source of entertainment for its followers but more significantly to recruit new members, to instill pride in the past, to generate a sense of nationalism, to cut across ethnic, religious and racial divisions. Militants also sang and danced during difficult moments to keep up morale whether it was after the death of prominent leaders, on the eve of a major battle, or in prison. For their part, the Portuguese officers used music to try and win over the hearts and minds of black troops in the colonial army.

The struggle for independence and the production of revolutionary songs, 1960-1975

For more than a quarter of a century beginning with the FRELIMO party Congress in 1962 until the approval of the new constitution of Mozambique in 1990, songs were critical mediums FRELIMO adroitly used at public events across Mozambique to rally popular support and define the enemy be it Portugal, Rhodesia, South Africa, Western imperialism or internal opponents. Singing was one of the defining features of Machel's efforts to reach ordinary Mozambican citizens. Allen and Barbara Isaacman indicated that Machel's singing could be attributed to his culture in which music was an 'integral part of

daily life'²³⁶. Therefore, before every rally Samora Machel sang revolutionary songs to motivate the people and as part of his speeches, as Albie Sachs recalled on his foreword to Allen and Barbara Isaacman's book on the life of Samora Machel,

We all felt proud to be there. Samora would lead us in singing freedom songs, and then in the "vivas": "Long live the just struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa!" - "Viva!" "Long live the emancipation of women!" - "Viva!" "Down with racism, tribalism, and regionalism!" - "*Abaixo!*" "*A luta. . .*," Samora would declaim and pause, and we would respond, "*continua!*"²³⁷

From the 1960s there were two parallel trends in terms of identity and subject formation which relied on education and cultural expressions for its achievement. On one side, there was the colonial Portuguese assimilationist policy anchored on the idea of lusotropicalism. In parallel, the colonial Portuguese administration privileged and supported local folk groups and appropriated the African music, specially Marrabenta, a music and dance genre from Southern Mozambique, through the patronizing of its performers and clubs or dance halls, as a way of showing the colonial administration's interest in developing the colonial territory, thus justifying its unwillingness to grant its independence.

On the other hand, there were Frelimo's efforts to define the nationalist subject and foster a sense of an imagined unified identity anchored on the shared learning of the cultural elements of the diverse regions and ethnic groups of the Mozambican territory during the liberation struggle. This was done not only through the movement's ideology and policies, but also in the training centers and the battlefronts with the introduction of departments of

²³⁶ Allen F. Isaacman and Barbara S. Isaacman, *Mozambique's Samora Machel: a life cut short* (Athens: Ohio University press, 2020), 42.

²³⁷ Albie Sachs, "Forward" In Allen F. Isaacman and Barbara S. Isaacman, *Mozambique's Samora Machel: a life cut short*, 12.

education and culture as the war progressed territorially from Northern towards southern Mozambique²³⁸.

Frelimo's communications through the magazine *Voz da Revolução* (Voice of the Revolution) reinforced Frelimo's appeals for unity. In one of his messages, Eduardo Mondlane wrote,

To reach the final victory we need to be united under FRELIMO's multicolored flag. Mozambicans need to forget all and any differences that may exist among them. The person from Zambezia needs to sideline with the person from Gaza, the person from Beira with the Maconde, the Ajaua with the person from Inhambane, etc., so that, from Rovuma River to Maputo River there is only one people – the Mozambican people. Let's derive from the spiritual contributions of our many religious traditions – Muslim, Christian, animist, etc. (...) Let's put aside all tribalism, racisms, regionalisms, and everything that might divide us²³⁹.

Education and culture were important pillars for the struggle. According to war veteran José Moiane, it was important to provide freedom fighters the adequate scientific knowledge and skills necessary for the struggle. So, besides education, sports and cultural activities, especially songs and dances from all regions of the country were practiced by students, teachers, and the community in the regions where the schools were located²⁴⁰. Besides enabling the practice of Mozambican cultural expressions which were denied by the colonial regime, during the liberation struggle, culture contributed to breaking the cultural and social barriers and divisions fostered by the colonial regime, by demystifying

²³⁸ Edmundo Libombo stressed that FRELIMO military actions in new zones were preceded by the study of the people's culture, the study of the traditional authority, and the implantation of the instruments of colonial oppression, to define the mobilization methodologies and define the targets to destroy (Edmundo Libombo, in Lourenço do Rosário (org.), *II Congresso sobre a luta de libertação nacional. Guerra colonial 27 anos depois: a reflexão possível* (Maputo: Edições ISPU, 2004), 325.

²³⁹ Eduardo Mondlane, "Messagem do Presidente da Frelimo ao Povo Moçambicano", in FRELIMO, *A voz da Revolução*, September 1966, 2-3. This message was reinforced in subsequent numbers of the magazine the Voice of the Revolution. (*Voz da Revolução* no.7, January 1967, 22p.)

²⁴⁰ José P. Moiane, *Memórias de um guerrilheiro*, 137-138.

the idea that only a person from a certain ethnic group could perform a cultural expression such as a dance typical of that ethnic group²⁴¹. Therefore, enabling the sharing of cultural values and expressions became an additional cornerstone of Frelimo's efforts to build unity among the freedom fighters and the people as the struggle progressed.

While highlighting the role of cultural expressions such as music, dance, theater, poetry, arts, and later photography and cinema to mobilize the freedom fighters and the people, in his communication to the II Congress on the Liberation Struggle, Carlos Siliya stressed the fundamental role played by music during the liberation struggle,

It was the music performed in Portuguese and in our national languages that penetrated the conscience of people and made them take on the struggle demands. It was music that transmitted the sense of courage to freedom fighters and the population when burying a comrade, it animated the freedom fighters when working, studying, undergoing military training, and in many other situations²⁴².

Francisco Zacarias Mataruca, a former freedom fighter furthered Carlos Siliya's argument. According to Mataruca, during the liberation struggle, songs contributed to each phase of the struggle: nationalists' consciousness-raising to create Frelimo, the armed struggle, the construction, and consolidation of national unity, the transformation of the struggle into a revolution, and the fulfillment of the Mozambican people's internationalist duty, as Mozambique's liberation would not be complete without the total freedom of Southern African oppressed peoples²⁴³.

²⁴¹ Carlos Siliya, *Comunicação escrita*, in Lourenço do Rosário (org.), *II Congresso sobre a luta de libertação nacional. Guerra colonial 27 anos depois: a reflexão possível* (Maputo: Edições ISPU, 2004), 339-340. Gabriel Simbine also stressed the role of the struggle for national unity (Ibid, 329).

²⁴² Carlos Siliya, *Comunicação escrita*, in Lourenço do Rosário (org.), *II Congresso sobre a luta de libertação nacional. Guerra colonial 27 anos depois: a reflexão possível* (Maputo: Edições ISPU, 2004), 335.

²⁴³ Francisco Zacarias Mataruca, Maputo, 2020.

One of the songs often performed by FRELIMO members and sympathizers conveyed to freedom fighters and the people Frelimo's certainty on the victory. War veteran Alberto Chipande indicated that the song with lyrics in the Portuguese language titled "FRELIMO vencerá" was FRELIMO's first revolutionary song composed by Simão Tobias Lindolondolo in Ilala Center in Tanzania in 1963²⁴⁴. Raimundo Pachinuapa who traveled with Alberto Joaquim Chipande, Simão Tobias Lindolondolo, and João Bosco Mula to Tanzania to join FRELIMO recalled that upon arrival in Ilala they created a choral group and rehearsed several songs, including the song "FRELIMO vencerá" composed by Simão Tobias Lindolondolo. At that time Eduardo Mondlane had decided to leave the United States permanently to work for FRELIMO in Tanzania. Therefore, they performed the song at Dar-Es-Salaam airport as a 'welcoming gift' to Eduardo Mondlane demonstrating their certainty on FRELIMO's victory over the Portuguese regime, as the song's lyrics revealed,

FRELIMO vencerá	FRELIMO will win
FRELIMO ganhará	FRELIMO will win
Na luta p'la liberdade	In the struggle for freedom
FRELIMO triunfará	FRELIMO will triumph
Europa invejosa	Jealous Europe
Concebeu mau talento	Conceived bad talent
Subjugando a África inteira	Subduing the whole Africa
E a ela escravizar	And enslaving it

²⁴⁴ Alberto Joaquim Chipande mentioned in his memoirs that besides cleaning and cooking activities in Ilala, the recruits had to perform activities in FRELIMO headquarters but also engaged in cultural activities. Chipande indicated that they created FRELIMO Youth League and through this organization, they performed their revolutionary songs in several TANU festive events side by side with the TANU Youth League, including state events, Julius Nyerere rallies, and the reception of statesmen visiting Tanzania as FRELIMO representatives (Alberto Joaquim Chipande, *Como eu vivo a minha história*, Tomo 1 (Maputo: Alberto Joaquim Chipande, 2018), 104).

This reflected the youth's enthusiasm and determination to fight for total independence until the victory, fueled by the conversations and sharing of information on the Portuguese colonial regime cruelties against the Mozambican people²⁴⁵.

Singing and dancing were part of the freedom fighters' daily activities and songs were used to inspire before battle or when under attack. Freedom fighters had to sing before going to the battlefronts and during the fights, conveying messages that would disseminate to the world what was happening in the battlefronts in the interior of Mozambique. Frelimo freedom fighters performed songs in military and political events, but also their engagement with the local communities. Renato Matusse revealed that songs and cultural activities at large were also incorporated in the celebration of social events such as wedding ceremonies even though the bride and groom celebrated their engagement wearing a military uniform, ready for any situation or emergency²⁴⁶, a common practice among freedom fighters.

Music was used to win rural support and recruit new members during the armed struggle. FRELIMO groups entered villages to hold meetings including singing recalling horrific abuse of the colonial regime as well as patriotic songs. Félix Biché Arlindo Doli indicated that revolutionary songs were “an additional combat instrument” during the armed struggle. He emphasized the revolutionary songs' role in the mobilization of the

²⁴⁵ Raimundo Pachinuapa and Mariana Manguedye, *A vida do casal Pachinuapa*, (Maputo: JV Editores, 2009), 48-50.

²⁴⁶ Renato Matusse, *Coronel-General Fernando Matavele: De cidadão vulgar a patriota invulgar*, (Maputo: Alcance editores, 2017), 31.

local populations for the distinct activities they had to perform including the transportation of goods in support of the struggle²⁴⁷.

Documentary films on Frelimo and its activities such as the documentaries titled “Behind the lines²⁴⁸”, “Estas são as armas”²⁴⁹, and “Na nossa terra as balas começam a florir²⁵⁰” narrated Frelimo’s liberation saga. Songs were incorporated in the films’ soundtracks and were performed in the filmed events or scenes.

In the documentary “Behind the lines” it became clear that for Frelimo, the revolution involved more than fighting. It also involved political work, organizing the people, gathering and recruiting people to join Frelimo ranks. Those activities incorporated singing and dancing, particularly when the local communities welcomed Frelimo freedom fighters. In the particular case of the documentary “Behind the lines” freedom fighter Alberto Chipande mobilized soldiers and the local community while performing the song “Walimba moyo”. By then, Frelimo’s speeches and actions were concentrated on strengthening the message of national unity²⁵¹.

The song “Walimba moyo” interpreted in ci-nyanja was an invitation to the listener to join together in one heart and one purpose (Tiyende pamodzi ni m’tima umodzi), appealed to courage (wa limba moyo) to reach Rovuma or Maputo maintaining a common

²⁴⁷ Félix Biché Arlindo Doli interviewed by Ilídio Valentim Manica, *A música na luta de libertação nacional*. Trabalho de fim de curso (Maputo: Escola de Comunicação e Artes da UEM, 2010), 51. Félix Biché Arlindo Doli joined the armed struggle in 1964, was in Nachingwea and Bagamoyo training centers in 1970, went to Niassa front in 1972 and moved to Maputo city after the independence (ibid).

²⁴⁸ Ministério da Cultura – Instituto Nacional de Audiovisual e Cinema, *Behind the lines [Do outro lado da linha]*, Maputo, 35min (film).

²⁴⁹ Instituto Nacional de Audiovisual e Cinema (INAC), *Estas são as armas [These are the weapons]*, Maputo, May 1978.

²⁵⁰ Instituto Nacional de Audiovisual e Cinema, *Na nossa terra as balas começam a florir [In our land the bullets begin to flourish]*, Maputo (film).

²⁵¹ INAC, *Behind the lines*.

purpose and heart (Ti fike Rovuma ni m-tima umodzi/ Ti fike Maputo ni m-tima umodzi). The song's objectives were to encourage the freedom fighters and the people in the struggle and strengthen the sense of national unity²⁵². João Facitela Pelembe stressed in his memoirs the role of this particular song and others to lift the soldiers fighting morale as they prepared for combat and as they advanced fiercely towards the enemy singing the lyrics “tiende pamozi nintima umozi” and screaming words of order such as “tuke vanemba” in cimakonde which means “let's go comrades”²⁵³.

Songs also played a key role in people's mobilization not only to join Frelimo but mostly to resist the Portuguese psychological actions to prevent the local populations from joining Frelimo, including persecutions, imprisonment, torture, bombing, massacres, among other actions²⁵⁴. Two years after the beginning of the armed struggle and through the magazine “Voice of the Revolution”, Frelimo confirmed the efficacy of the cultural strategies and actions adopted as part of the struggle and the fact that Mozambicans were fighting together²⁵⁵.

²⁵² In his Licenciatura's dissertation, Ilídio Valentim Manica included revolutionary song's lyrics in the original language and the translation to the Portuguese language and also the transcript of the interviews with former freedom fighters. The songs were published in the Mozambican Magazine Tempo in the years 1974 and 1975, some with notation, and were recorded in Radio Moçambique's studios without the registration of the notation (Ilídio Valentim Manica, *A música na luta de libertação nacional. Trabalho de fim de curso* (Maputo: Escola de Comunicação e Artes da UEM, 2010), 3). Even though I managed to access Frelimo's revolutionary songs recorded on a disc, and some available on youtube, I experienced challenges working with revolutionary songs due to lack of clarity in terms of composers and dates of the songs' composition or recording for the first time. Ilídio Manica's study partially fills this gap. Memoirs of freedom fighters such as Salomão Júlio Manhiça also discuss issues of authorship rights associated with revolutionary songs (Salomão Júlio Manhiça, *Retalhos da minha vida: autobiografia e testemunhos* (Maputo: Arminda Maculuve, 2018).

²⁵³ João Facitela Pelembe, *Lutei pela pátria: Memórias de um combatente da luta pela libertação nacional* (Maputo: João Facitela Pelembe, 2012), 97-98.

²⁵⁴ Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, “Mensagem do Presidente da Frelimo ao povo Moçambicano. A luta Continua”, FRELIMO, *Voz da Revolução*, June 1965, 4-5.

²⁵⁵ Frelimo, “Editorial. 25 de Setembro de 1966. 2 anos de luta armada em Moçambique”, In Frelimo, *Voz da Revolução*, September 1966, 5.

However, lyrics of songs such as “Frelimo ayina mwisho” performed in ci-makonde alluded to periods of conflict and tension inside Frelimo, and its implications for the members and the organization. Specific lyrics identified those people Frelimo labeled as reactionaries such as Lázaro Nkavandame, Urias Simango, Mateus Pinho Guendjere, Joana Simeão,

Frelimo ayina mwisho ayina mwisho Frelimo Frelimo does not have an end
 ayina mwisho/ (...)
 (Simango, Guendjere, Joana) reaccionário (a) (Simango, Guendjere, Joana) is a reactionary
 (...)
 Kavandame anditukuta anditukuta Kavandame Nkavandame fled.
 anditukuta²⁵⁶

As mentioned by Renato Matusse in Mateus Óscar Kida’s memoirs, FRELIMO’s revolutionary song “ayina mwisho” by hailing that FRELIMO did not have an end was also praising FRELIMO’ Defense Department²⁵⁷.

Parallel to the act of naming FRELIMO dissidents or those labeled as reactionaries, songs were also used to celebrate past heroes, fallen heroes, and deceased leaders. The song “Ife ana Frelimo” performed in ci-Nyanja and whose lyrics hailed Frelimo’s victory with the signing of the Lusaka Accords in 1974 also mentioned the names of some of the freedom fighters who fell fighting for freedom such as Josina Muthemba Machel and Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, thus preserving their heroism and transmitting it to posterity,

<p>Ife ana Frelimo zo ona Tina balwa ku Mosambiki (...)</p>	<p>We are Frelimo’s children we were born in Mozambique</p>
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²⁵⁶ Ilídio Valentim Manica, *A música na luta de libertação nacional*, 24-25.

²⁵⁷ Renato Matusse, *Mateus Óscar Kida: na sua voz e na dos seus camaradas e outros próximos*, (Maputo: Ciedima, 2018), 81.

Frelimo ya wina	Frelimo won the land of Mozambique
Frelimo ya wina	
zo ona	
ya wina dziko ya Mosambiki	
Mondlane kufera dziko zoon	Mondlane died for the country (people)
A fera dziku ya Mosambiki	died for the country of Mozambique.
Josina kufera dziko zoon	Josina died for the country (people)
a fera dziko ya Mosambiki (...) ²⁵⁸	died for the country of Mozambique.

Songs were used as an integral part of the political and military education of recruits at Bagamoyo, Kongwa, and Nachingwea training centers. Nachingwea was central to the process of production and dissemination of revolutionary songs because it brought together people from several parts of Mozambique and other countries fighting for their freedom from colonial regimes. According to João Facitela Pelembe, the objective of Nachingwea training center was to provide more advanced military training as compared to the training provided in Bagamoyo and Kongwa training camps and bases²⁵⁹. Therefore, from its inception with Samora Machel as the first Nachingwea head, the camp provided training with the support of Chinese instructors to prepare platoons, companies, and battalions, alongside special courses for instructors, engineering, and production²⁶⁰.

Thus, and as mentioned by Renato Matusse on the memoirs of Fernando Matavele, who was the Deputy head and later Head of Nachingwea military center and Governor of Gaza and Sofa provinces,

It was in Nachingwea where audacious soldiers were forged, where the sense of self-sufficiency crystalized, and the certainty that united and combative Mozambican nationalists would win external domination. It was in Nachingwea where the spirit of solidarity, the sense of homeland and mission, sacrifice and stoicism were perfected, subjecting recruits to

²⁵⁸ Ilídio Valentim Manica, *A música na luta de libertação nacional*, 26-27.

²⁵⁹ João Facitela Pelembe, *Lutei pela pátria*, 65.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 65.

rigorous military training and instilling in them values that had Mozambicaness and the love for the people as banners and the soldiers' subordination to power emanating from that people as its motto²⁶¹.

Hence, the existence of people ethnically and linguistically diverse in Nachingwea transformed it into an “incubator of the elements of the Mozambican identity” which were implemented after the independence, as people not only taught each other their cultures and songs but also translated and interpreted its messages²⁶². Like this, songs were used to blur or overcome ethnicity (‘tribalism’) and other challenges that divided the Mozambican people. Frelimo’s broadcasting network contributed not only to bringing entertainment to the soldiers but also to disseminating Frelimo’s ideology and actions²⁶³.

Revolutionary songs also reinforced the historically negative colonial impact in Mozambique and other Portuguese colonies. Such was the case of the song titled “Caetano Ugwamba” composed by Lindolondolo around 1970-1971, whose lyrics mocked Caetano as “careless”, confuse, and comparing him with a hyena²⁶⁴.

From 30 December 1971 to 21 January 1972, Frelimo organized the first cultural seminar that discussed the essence of the Mozambican culture and clarified the role of culture in the struggle and how it should be preserved. This was the first seminar bringing people from the various parts of the Mozambican territory to discuss cultural issues. Frelimo aspired to develop a national, popular, and revolutionary Mozambican culture.

²⁶¹ Renato Matusse, *Coronel-general Fernando Matavele: De cidadão vulgar a patriota invulgar*, (Maputo: Alcance editores, 2017), 50.

²⁶² Alice Lindolondolo in Ilídio Valentim Manica, *A música na luta de libertação nacional*, 15; INAC, *Behind the lines*.

²⁶³ INAC, *Behind the lines*; Instituto Nacional de Audiovisual e Cinema, *Na nossa terra as balas começam a florir*.

²⁶⁴ Carlos Siliya, *Comunicação escrita*, in Lourenço do Rosário (org.), *II Congresso sobre a luta de libertação nacional. Guerra colonial 27 anos depois: a reflexão possível* (Maputo: Edições ISPU, 2004), 337.

Even during the Gordian Knot Operation²⁶⁵, considered one of the most challenging periods of the liberation struggle, songs played a key role for Frelimo freedom fighters. According to Salésio Nalyambipano, in May 1971 there was a reduction of the bombings as part of the Gordian Knot operation. Salésio Nalyambipano who had just returned from a trip to Europe (including Germany, Italy, Bulgaria, and Romania) with Samora Machel, Armando Guebuza, Marcelino dos Santos and Sérgio Vieira, timidly introduced cultural activities in the liberated zones and the battlefronts, “as a mechanism to “relax the soldiers and lift their morale in order forget the Gordian Knot”. As a result, from August-September 1971, cultural activities were incremented to the point of having cultural exchange competitions between the different sectors and bases and a soccer competition²⁶⁶.

However, despite the positive impacts of the cultural activities, FRELIMO leadership, particularly Samora Machel was not happy and demonstrated his discontentment. In this regard, Salésio Nalyambipano indicated that he reported to Samora Machel in Nachingwea on 30 November 1971. During that meeting, Samora Machel who was accompanied by Armando Guebuza manifested his unhappiness with the cultural and sports activities occurring in the liberated zones which he considered a “lack of political and military consciousness and maturity”. Salésio Nalyambipano agreed with Samora’s

²⁶⁵ Gordian Knot was the Portuguese’s military tactic that consisted of using airplanes to drop napalm bombs in the woods before transporting the Portuguese soldiers in choppers to these locations (Jonna Katto, *‘A avó foi guerrilheira’*, 51).

²⁶⁶ Salésio Nalyambipano, *A minha contribuição para a independência e edificação do Estado moçambicano* (Maputo: CPHLLN, 2013), 131-133. In his memoirs, João Facitela Pelembe highlighted the role of sports in strengthening the relationship with the Tanzanians, who would also rely on Mozambican soldiers such as Mestre and Tito Zinóia to reinforce their teams for some games (João facitela Pelembe, *Lutei pela pátria*, 65)

positionality because the enemy could have taken advantage of the concentration of people for sports and cultural activities as the Gordian knot bombings were still occurring²⁶⁷.

While the Portuguese were reinforcing the idea that Mozambique was part of Portugal in the songs performed by their soldiers, Frelimo freedom fighters also produced and performed songs reinforcing their right to live freely in their territory, as was reflected in the lyrics of the song Nyika ire: Nyika ire/ nyika ye(du) tinoda/ nyika ye(du) tinogara/ nyika, nyika yedu ya Mosambiki/ Muxaure/ muxa we(du) which can be loosely translated to “We want this country/ this country belongs to us/ this Mozambique”. Besides claiming the right to freely belong and live in Mozambique, revolutionary songs such as “Bazooka” performed in ci-ndau were meant to showcase FRELIMO’s armed capacity to challenge the Portuguese superiority in terms of ammunition which reinforced their political and intellectual speech. Therefore, ammunition such as bazooka, mortar, grenade was invoked in the song’s lyrics.

FRELIMO’s Female Detachment and the production revolutionary songs

FRELIMO female’s wing, the Female Detachment was created in 1966. Some female recruits were forced to join FRELIMO while others joined voluntarily. Initially, FRELIMO recruited very young girls. Several former soldiers interviewed by Jonna Katto mentioned that they were very young when they were recruited, some with ages below 14 years old or as mention by Rosa Saide “without having breasts” or after the 'nhango' initiation rituals and were mostly forced to join FRELIMO. Such was the case of Helena

²⁶⁷ Salésio Nalyambipano, *A minha contribuição para a independência e edificação do Estado Moçambicano*, 133-134.

Baide who served in The Female Detachment of Niassa Oriental and was first taken to a military base when she was 11 years old. She mentioned that she was so young when she was recruited that “she did not understand what the war meant, and she had no idea that bombs killed. She said she was so small that her weapon touched the ground when she carried it on her shoulder, and so she was forced to carry it on her head ‘like firewood’”. Speaking on the reasons why FRELIMO chose young girls, Helena Baide said,

Because we, when left home, we went to the bush. This was before we had grown up. Because into our military life grown-up people didn’t enter. They sought young girls for them not to have those thoughts about parents, not to remember home. You only have to think about what you are doing. So, we went before we had grown up²⁶⁸.

On the other hand, war veterans such as Maria Bossimane mentioned that women joined FRELIMO voluntarily. She mentioned that members of the female detachment would approach the people and mobilize while also singing revolutionary songs. The example of other female soldiers and the mobilization campaigns attracted young women who volunteered to join FRELIMO²⁶⁹. War veteran Marina Manguedye Pachinuapa concurred with this argument. In her memoirs, she said that she used to take food to a Frelimo balanja (branch) close to where she lived in Cabo Delgado, and as a result of this contact with freedom fighters a desire to join the guerrilla emerged²⁷⁰.

Initially, female recruits performed activities in support of the war such as cooking for soldiers in the camps, carrying military equipment and other goods, but also mobilizing

²⁶⁸ Jonna Katto, *‘A avó foi guerrilheira’: Memórias de vidas das mulheres que lutaram pela independência de Moçambique no norte de Niassa* (Tallina: Jonna Katto, 2018), 86, 206.

²⁶⁹ Benigna Zimba (org), *A mulher moçambicana na luta de libertação nacional. Memórias do destacamento feminino*. Vol. I (Maputo: CPHLLN, 2012), 35.

²⁷⁰ Raimundo Pachinuapa and Mariana Manguedye, *A vida do casal Pachinuapa*, (Maputo: JV Editores, 2009), 17.

the people. Over time the female recruits received basic military training and some joined the battlefronts and participated in combats. Part of the basic training provided to female recruits included political training and teachings on revolutionary songs, in places such as Central Base in N'tiringwe where war veterans Celina Saide and Rosa Mustaffa who served in Female Detachment of Niassa Oriental were trained²⁷¹. Most members of the Female Detachment served as nurses, health aid workers, teachers, political commissars, military instructors, and simple soldiers²⁷².

Female Detachment soldiers also engaged in cultural activities alongside their male counterparts. War veteran Fátima Buanadi who served in Female Detachment of Niassa Oriental mentioned that among the female detachment duties was the reception of delegations arriving at the military base and she recalled that “sometimes when they returned from combat, the guerrillas would sing songs about the revolution (*canções da revolução*) together at the base. Amid all the suffering of the war, they gained morale through those songs”²⁷³. Female Detachment soldiers also integrated FRELIMO’s choir and cultural groups, and specific songs to support women's emancipation were produced.

²⁷¹Jonna Katto, *A avó foi guerrilheira*, 141, 201.

²⁷² In 1966 FRELIMO created the female detachment unit through a Central Committee decree issued in October. Therefore, in 1967 the first platoon of 24 women was trained in Nachingwea. Jonna Katto interviewed former members of the Female Detachment in Niassa whom she considered those whose voice was not visible in the mainstream speech of the experiences of female detachment soldiers (Jonna Katto, *A avó foi guerrilheira*, 9, 14).

²⁷³ Jonna Katto, *A avó foi guerrilheira*, 123.

Songs and contestation in the Portuguese Army in Mozambique

The Portuguese colonial regime used songs to coopt and win the hearts and minds of the people and the African soldiers in the army while fighting FRELIMO's waged armed struggle. The documentary titled "Estas são as armas" has scenes of the Portuguese army in Mozambique marching and singing the song "Moçambique" whose lyrics attributed to João Maria Tudella are as follows,

Moçambique que palavra tão bonita fique lá onde ela fique diga lá quem a disser Moçambique é alegre como a chita tem a graça e tem o timbre dum sorriso de mulher Moçambique é com razão traduzido em Português aquela casa onde o pão é para dois e chega a três e como há gosto em servir	Mozambique what a beautiful word wherever it is whoever says it Mozambique is joyful as a cloth has the grace and the timbre of a woman's smile Mozambique is with reason translated to Portuguese that house where bread is for two and is enough for three and because there is willingness to serve
quem acaba de chegar o sorriso vai abrir e a franqueza manda entrar ²⁷⁴	who just arrived the smile will open and sincerity sends to come in

The song encouraged the Portuguese army to defend Portugal's sovereignty in the Mozambican territory, by then considered an Ultramarine Province of Portugal²⁷⁵.

Songs were also employed by African soldiers in the Portuguese army to confuse PIDE-DGS surveillance in light of FRELIMO's mobilization of the troops, particularly through FRELIMO'S radio broadcasting network "A Voz da FRELIMO" (FRELIMO's

²⁷⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=osqk8hwpp3Y>.

²⁷⁵ Instituto Nacional de Audiovisual e Cinema (INAC), *Estas são as armas*, Maputo, May 1978.

voice). Such was the case of Aurélio Le Bon who was recruited for the compulsory military service in 1971 followed by training sessions in Montepuez until he was ranked a Comando and placed in the Comando's Battalion. Le Bon mentioned that African soldiers in the Portuguese army clandestinely listened to FRELIMO's radio broadcasting network and read books and poetry considered subversive. PIDE-DGS operatives were infiltrated to control the situation. Therefore, to confuse PIDE-DGS surveillance, Aurélio Le Bon and Armindo Leite wrote the song titled "Terrorista" (terrorist), an adaptation of a famous Brazilian song at the time titled "Hei motorista" (Hey driver). Thus, the song which started with the lyrics "Hei Terrorista Machambeiro ou Guerrilheiro, cuidado com os Comandos senão podes morrer" (Hey terrorista farmer or soldier, beware of the Comandos because you may die) was meant to divert PIDE-DGS's attention from their subversive activities²⁷⁶.

Singing songs with messages in disguise had been practiced by the African people in Mozambique and was transported to the military units either in the Portuguese or FRELIMO's army. In this regard, Carlos Siliya recalled a song performed in Niassa schools titled "Mwana wa Phite" about a bird, which seemed to say "Mwanawaputukizi" which could be translated to the son of a Portuguese. At the end of the song, the lyrics evoked the idea that "one day we will take off his beak, his wings, his foot until he dies". However, the Portuguese agents realized that they were mentioning the Portuguese who "today we will take off the wings, tomorrow the head, tomorrow the leg, and they will end up dying", and prohibited people from singing it²⁷⁷.

²⁷⁶ Aurélio Le Bon, *Mafalala: Memórias do 7 de Setembro. A grande operação*. (Maputo: Movimento Editora, 2015), 30-32.

²⁷⁷ Carlos Siliya in Lourenço do Rosário (org.), *II Congresso sobre a luta de libertação nacional*, 356.

The people of the Mozambican territory who sympathized with the Portuguese also used songs to warn the Portuguese of the presence and activities of FRELIMO people in their regions. War veteran Maria Cristina Cristovão Zoane mentioned the case of a large population of e-macua people who believed that the liberation struggle was not theirs but of the ci-maconde people. Maria Zoane mentioned that these people were designated “chegangas”²⁷⁸ and they would play instruments made of cans and sing the song “Ikoto ya Maconde... Ikoto ya Makonde ...” to inform the Portuguese of the presence of FRELIMO soldiers²⁷⁹.

Songs and contestation in FRELIMO’s clandestine front and in jails

Songs also played a key role in the clandestine fronts and particularly as a means of mobilization, condemnation, and morale lifting among the political prisoners. Albino Fregoso Francisco Magaia and Aurélio Valente Langa who were imprisoned in Machava prison in Lourenço Marques mentioned in their memoirs that arts, singing, and dancing were part of the prisoners’ routines. Albino Magaia mentioned that singing political songs, dancing, and making noise even after the call for silence was part of the prisoners’ contestation strategies²⁸⁰. On the other hand, Aurélio Langa highlighted his role in teaching songs while performing heavy tasks such as construction works in the prison. He taught

²⁷⁸ War veteran Gomes Simão N’chenye indicated that the name “Cheganga” was attributed to oppressive agents of the Portuguese regime who wore jeans and a yellow neckerchief around the neck and moved from village to village looking for FRELIMO members or collaborators (Raimundo Pachinuapa e Pedro Tiago Gemo (coord.), *Sacrificados para criar uma nação. Entrevistas com os combatentes da luta de libertação nacional* (Maputo: Nachingwa Editores, 2016), 200).

²⁷⁹ Raimundo Pachinuapa e Pedro Tiago Gemo (coord.), *Sacrificados para criar uma nação*, 109.

²⁸⁰ Ana Bouene Mussanhane, “Albino Fragos Francisco Magaia” In *Protagonistas da luta de libertação nacional* (Maputo: Marimbique, 2012), 96.

fellow prisoners old xibalo or forced labor songs in ci-shangana, not only to mobilize them but also to ease the heavy forced labor in prison. The prison included people from other parts of the territory of Mozambique. Thus, Langa had to write the songs and then explain the lyrics to fellow prisoners. Some songs had lyrics such as “Yingwe ya mab’ala yaluma, tivoneleni, yingwe ya mab’ala yaluma” which meant “beware of the leopard because it bites, don’t be deceived by those white parts thinking that he is not ferocious because he bites and kills”. In this particular case, “leopard” was the prison guards and the song was warning the prisoners to work carefully. When the guards asked for the song’s meaning they answered that the song’s objective was only to give them strength and morale to work²⁸¹.

Other songs performed in prisons had the objective of reminding prisoners of slavery and other types of forced labor perpetrated by the colonial regime in the past. One of the songs’ lyrics reminded prisoners of names of overseers such as Manuel Mendes who terrorized railway workers while building railways from Mozambique to South Africa and South Rhodesia. The songs’ lyrics are as follows: “KaManuele Mende, iyo, we muthanda,/ we muthanda, xiyambala masaka,/ Iyo, we muthanda,/ kufa kumaha lesvi, kufa kurindindi” which can be translated to “Manuel Mendes workers, ai ai, you wanted the job/ ai/ you wanted the job, wear rags/ ai, ai, you wanted it/ dying is like this, dying without leaving traces”. Besides boosting the workers' morale the song was also meant to enable some prisoners to rest during the work without the overseer noticing²⁸². Reminding the prisoners

²⁸¹ Aurélio Valente Langa, *Memórias de um combatente da causa: o passado que levou o verso da minha vida*, (Maputo: JV Editores, 2011), 215.

²⁸² *Ibid*, 216.

of past suffering not only motivated them for work but also gave them the strength to endure their situation.

Music during the transition to Independence

On the eve of independence and after the 25 April 1974 coup in Portugal, FRELIMO received even more recruits in Nachingwea, who, besides reinforcing the military personnel also boosted FRELIMO's cultural production. Such was the case of Salomão Manhiça who abandoned his academic dreams while studying in Lisbon to join FRELIMO in Dar Es Salaam. In the book of his memoirs, Manhiça who had prior music training in the National Music Conservatory in Lisbon – Portugal, indicated that he developed and directed FPLM's²⁸³ choir transforming it from “something small” to a “much formal and larger” choir, amplifying its repertoire and improving its quality and precision. Manhiça also wrote five patriotic songs, made arrangements in existing songs, and integrated theater groups and other cultural activities²⁸⁴.

Among the songs written by Manhiça is the Mozambican women anthem. In this regard, Manhiça recalled a situation when Samora Machel went to Nachingwea with Julius Nyerere and Kenneth Kaunda and the choir performed the Mozambican women anthem. While the choir was singing the song, Samora Machel grabbed Joana Simeão and told her

²⁸³ FPLM stands for Forças Populares de Libertação de Moçambique, Frelimo's armed wing.

²⁸⁴ Salomão Júlio Manhiça, *Retalhos da minha vida*, 27. Manhiça composed the following songs: “A unidade do nosso povo” [Our people's unity], “O hino da Mulher Moçambicana” [the Mozambican women hymn], “Exaltemos Mondlane” [Let's exalt Mondlane], “Patria Amada” [Our beloved country]. Other revolutionary songs attributed to Salomão Júlio Manhiça are as follows: “África em luta” [Africa in struggle] “Que belo és tú Oh Moçambique” [How beautiful you are Mozambique], “Hino do Professor” [The teacher's hymn] (Ibid, 9, 143).

“listen Joana, listen... this is no longer for you, you don't deserve it anymore”²⁸⁵. Because she had been labeled a reactionary, according to Samora Machel, messages such as the woman who “mobilizes and organizes the people”, “who produces and feed the soldiers”, “the emancipated woman who destroys the forces of oppression”, “who fights firmly against the old ideas such as ignorance, obscurantism, polygamy and lobolo”, “who shouts to the world that our struggle is the same” did not apply to her or other women like her anymore.

During the transitional government from 1974 to 1975, cultural activities grew in the neighborhoods, schools, and factories, and part of the merit was attributed to Samora Machel who stressed the importance of education and culture in his speeches. The existing cultural groups linked to the ethnic and social associations and clubs during the colonial period also engaged in the movement of changing their repertoires and composing songs and dance ensembles which reflected the Mozambican political reality. Such was the case of Semba, from Inhambane, and Chivenca created among the Vatonga in the 1960s with a short disappearance as a result of colonialism and reemergence on the eve of independence. Another example was “Zorré de Chicuque” which emerged in the region on 24 July 1975. Differently from its original intent associated with the performance of the dance for cultural rites, “Zorré de Chicuque” performed for Frelimo party's activities and ceremonies, alongside the performance of another dance genre designated Chibavane²⁸⁶

That was considered the period of revolutionary fervor, with several groups emerging and celebrating the independence, patriotism, the beauty of the country, but also

²⁸⁵ Salomão Júlio Manhiça, *Retalhos da minha vida*, 9.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 15-16.

expressing the solidarity with the neighboring countries who were still struggling for their freedom (South Rhodesia and South Africa), and voicing the repudiation and revolt against colonialism.

Songs were also used to celebrate the independence of Mozambique on 25 June 1975. As part of the preparation to celebrate the independence, FRELIMO recruited people and sent them to Nachingwea and Zambia to be trained and integrate the two music bands that would perform at the independence celebration ceremony. Before the event, the maestros returned to Lourenço Marques with the respective music bands²⁸⁷. The FPLM choir and the FPLM cultural group's music and theater performances impressed the people at the independence celebration, but afterward, several members of the groups were given other tasks and the groups eventually disappeared²⁸⁸.

The revolutionary song "Viva a Frelimo"²⁸⁹ composed by Maestro Justino Sigaulane Chemane in 1975 was the first official song of independent Mozambique sang on 25 June 1975, praising the works of the party that brought freedom to Mozambique through the armed struggle²⁹⁰. With the approval of the Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique in 1990 and the end of the single-party period and the openness to democracy and a multiparty system with the Roma Peace Agreement in 1992 and the First General Elections in 1994, the song's lyrics were often omitted in public events, until the adoption

²⁸⁷ Ana Bouene Mussanhane, "Alberto Joaquim Chipande" In *Protagonistas da luta de libertação nacional* (Maputo: Marimbique, 2012), 87.

²⁸⁸ Salomão Júlio Manhiça, *Retalhos da minha vida*, 10.

²⁸⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ctw5g8f75hA>

²⁹⁰ Roberto Chitsondzo, "Kwiri" (Maputo: Khuzula, 2017), 90.

by the Parliament of the new song titled “Patria Amada”²⁹¹ composed by Salomão Júlio Manhiça on 30 April 2002.

Polemic accompanied the process of selection of the new anthem. In 1998 the government approved the regulations for the revision of the national anthem and launched a competition to select the new anthem. Of the 35 proposals, only three were submitted to the parliament and rejected. Therefore, the anthem *Patria Amada* that was produced during the single-party period was recovered and approved. However, there were disputes in terms of authorship rights and technical inconsistencies in the song that was recorded. Therefore, the author Salomão Manhiça started a quest for justice until the governing institutions' confirmation of Manhiça as the author of the anthem only on the day of his death²⁹². In his memoirs, Roberto Chitsondzo argued in defense of the members of the parliament about the inconsistencies in the recording of the new anthem arguing that financial aspects influenced the choices made at the time²⁹³.

Revolutionary Songs in Mozambique After The Independence

After the independence from the Portuguese regime in 1975, the performance of some revolutionary songs was discontinued as the songs' message was outdated. Such was the case of the song “Wenthuthukuka” performed in ci-Makonde when soldiers went to the battlefronts. The song uplifted the soldiers' spirits and determination while marching to the battlefield as they sang: “we are going to the war/ we are going to face the enemy in the

²⁹¹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hwd0XdqpE_A

²⁹² Salomão Manhiça, *Retalhos da minha vida*, 58-61.

²⁹³ Roberto Chitsondzo, *Kwiri*, 98.

name of the Mozambican people” (Wenthuthukuka/ .../ wenthuthukuka kuynghondo/ nthunday thenday nghondo/ way lidilha venentete). That was considered a song of sacrifice and inclusion as the soldiers were encouraged to sacrifice their lives fighting for the Mozambican people, “where linguistic differences were surpassed by the distinct ethnic groups”²⁹⁴. In that particular case, the message in the lyrics of the revolutionary songs took precedence over the melody and that determined its fate after the independence.

Other songs were transformed to accompany the political developments and social and cultural transformation which occurred after the independence. The independent government was fighting hunger, nudity, poverty, polygamy, racism, regionalism, illiteracy, obscurantism, capitalism, imperialism, among other ‘evils’. Therefore, songs such as ‘A linha de ordem’ performed in Portuguese mobilized the people to unity, work, and surveillance key aspects of Frelimo’s ideology²⁹⁵.

To achieve a unified, standardized, and centralized culture, traditional songs and dances were altered to incorporate revolutionary contents while maintaining their original form and rhythm. Songs’ lyrics with messages specifically connected with the liberation struggle were changed for messages more suitable for the independence period²⁹⁶. It is interesting to note that the lyrics of one of FRELIMO’s legendary songs composed by Simão Tobias Lindolondolo in 1963 and titled “FRELIMO vencerá” was published in Tempo magazine in 1974-1975 with changes in the lyrics. Instead of FRELIMO will win/ triumph in the struggle for freedom, the song’s lyrics mentioned Mozambique will win/

²⁹⁴ Ilídio Valentim Manica, *A música na luta de libertação nacional*, 15-16.

²⁹⁵ Ibid, 29.

²⁹⁶ Félix Biché Arlindo Doli interviewed by Ilídio Valentim Manica, *A música na luta de libertação nacional*, 52.

triumph in the struggle for freedom²⁹⁷, removing FRELIMO's centrality in the song's lyrics to convey a more inclusive message regarding the participation of all Mozambicans in the victory for the independence and sovereignty of Mozambique, even though there were contestations by some groups, particularly in urban areas of Beira and Lourenço Marques regarding the outcomes of the Independence for the distinct ethnic, race, religious groups living in Mozambique²⁹⁸.

Besides its transformation, revolutionary songs had to be performed by the whole population, and national festivals of culture, cultural groups, and particularly boarding schools and teacher training schools contributed to the dissemination of these songs as teachers had to learn to teach pupils in the country's schools. Choral groups were created to produce more embellished songs than those performed during the struggle as the music was intimately connected to the new government strategies to disseminate its ideas. Revolutionary songs were also taught in Dynamizing groups in neighborhoods and schools. In this regard, David Abílio mentioned that revolutionary songs were massified in a way that a rally or a public meeting could not end without singing the songs "Kanimambo Frelimo" (Thank you Frelimo)²⁹⁹ and "Tiyende Pamodzi"³⁰⁰. Songs performed in *ci-shangana* such as "Revolução" were critical of those who still followed colonial practices instead of following Frelimo's ideologies,

²⁹⁷ Documentary titled "Na nossa terra as balas começam a florir" (Maputo: Instituto Nacional de Audiovisual e Cinema); Documentary titled "'Behind the line'. Do outro lado da linha. (Maputo: Instituto Nacional de Audiovisual e Cinema).

²⁹⁸ Writers such as Fernando Couto and Aurélio Le Bon discuss the Mozambican situation on the eve of independence, particularly the contestations and revolts which occurred before the declaration of independence on June 25, 1975. (Aurélio Le Bom, *Mafalala: Memórias do 7 de Setembro. A grande operação*. (Maputo: Movimento Editora, 2015); Fernando Amado Couto, *Moçambique 1974: o fim do império e o nascimento da nação* (Maputo: Ndjira, 2011).

²⁹⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EWe5IUG17QU>.

³⁰⁰ Ministério dos Combatentes – CPHLLN, *Samora Machel na memória do povo e do mundo*, vol. II (Maputo: Centro de Pesquisa da História da Luta de Libertação nacional, 2016), 143.

A revolução la famba liya mahlweni	The revolution is moving forward child of
mwana wa Moçambique	Mozambique
wena u shengiwa hi xwihena	you are deceived
xwa khale xwa mukholonye	by old colonial things
li famba li ku siya	it is leaving you behind
Revolução la famba (...)	the revolution is moving forward (...)
oh li famba li ku siya	it is leaving you behind
Loko Frelimo a wula	When Frelimo says
tsika maguala	stop drinking
wena a u yinguisse	you don't listen
wena u shengiwa hi xwihena	you are deceived
xwa khale xwa mukholonye	by old colonial things
li famba li ku siya	it is leaving you behind
Revolução la famba (...)	the revolution is moving forward (...)
oh li famba li ku siya.	it is leaving you behind.

In this regard, Félix Biché Arlindo Doli highlighted the issue of the adulteration of the revolutionary songs language, format, and message (lyrics) because the songs were taught to ordinary people in all provinces of Mozambique who did not understand the original language of the music's message³⁰¹. Revolutionary songs were performed in the diverse languages spoken in Mozambique, which reflect the country's ethnic diversity, but also in Portuguese and foreign languages. Songs were crucial to overcoming the people's literacy challenges, as more than ninety percent of the people could not read or write Portuguese, the country's official language defined as the language of unity.

Samora Machel was central to this process, as mentioned by David Abilio, "for Samora, songs were privileged governing vehicles for the transmission of his administration's directives. The songs' objectives were to motivate the people around the cause he had defined as a national cause, at the political, economic, and social domains"³⁰². Besides writing poetry such as the poem titled "Cultura" [culture] Samora also enjoyed

³⁰¹ Félix Biché Arlindo Doli interviewed by Ilídio Valentim Manica, *A música na luta de libertação nacional*, 52.

³⁰² Ministério dos Combatentes – CPHLLN, *Samora Machel na memória do povo e do mundo*, 143.

singing while delivering speeches in his mass public rallies (comícios). One of the song's Samora performed often in ci-shangana was titled "Kanimambo Frelimo" (Thank you Frelimo). Besides thanking the freedom fighters for their courage to fight for Mozambique's independence and sovereignty, through the song "Kanimambo Frelimo", Samora encouraged the people to study, work, grow food, and win in all fronts against all adversities aimed at building Mozambique's state-nation and national identity. The songs' lyrics are as follows,

Kanimambo Frelimo	Thank you Frelimo
Hi ta jondza Moçambique	We will study Mozambique
Hi ta rima Moçambique	We will plant Mozambique
Hi ta byala Moçambique	
(...)	We will win Mozambique
Hi ta hlula.	

Songs also played a crucial role in other Southern Africa countries' liberation struggles. According to Francisco Zacarias Mataruca, Frelimo produced and performed revolutionary songs to support other Southern African countries still fighting for their freedom. Those songs contributed to rescuing identities, evoking the ancestors' resistance struggles, as well as mobilizing the masses and freedom fighters to engage in a mission that demanded sacrifices for its achievement³⁰³. That was more visible after the independence of Mozambique with the performance of songs in support of the Southern African countries that were still fighting for their freedom. Such was the case of the song performed in Portuguese whose lyrics transmitted Frelimo and Mozambique's support and solidarity to Namíbia and Zimbabwe: "Namíbia/Namíbia não chora/ O povo

³⁰³ Francisco Zacarias Mataruca, Maputo, 2020.

moçambicano/ Está do teu lado/ Para expulsar o inimigo/ Zimbabwe/ Zimbabwe não chora (...)"³⁰⁴.

Frelimo and Samora Machel's support to neighboring countries liberation struggles was recognized and hailed by them in songs such as "Terera Madzibaba": "Ere madzibaba terera/ muxe ere madzibaba terera muxe/ Ere madzibaba terera/ Muxe madzibaba terera muxe/ Isu ta uyawo/ pano pa muxa wenyu/ Tiza kumbukira zitara wa Samora/ Isu ta uyawo/ pano pa muxa wenyu/ Tiza kumbukira zitara za Samora". The main message can be loosely translated to "we came to your home to praise the name of Samora"³⁰⁵. Miriam Makeba also recorded a song titled "A luta continua"³⁰⁶ a motto that reverberated in countries still waging freedom struggles recognizing Samora Machel and FRELIMO's support to freedom struggles.

Popular urban musicians also engaged in the process of singing the independence and Frelimo's ideology. Musician Magide Mussa indicated that he was compelled to compose revolutionary songs in response to the independent country's directives. In 1977 Magide Mussá recorded the song titled "Mozambican Youth" with the music band named "Os Inimitáveis". The song's objective was to mobilize the young people not to abandon Mozambique in an exodus that started on the eve of the independence³⁰⁷. The fear of the foreseen changes, the repercussions of the revolts after 7 September 1974, and the implementation of measures such as the famous 20/24³⁰⁸ contributed to the exodus of white

³⁰⁴ Translation: Namibia don't cry/ The Mozambican people/ Is by your side/ To expel the enemy/ Zimbabwe don't cry (...). Ilídio Valentim Manica, *A música na luta de libertação nacional*, 31-32.

³⁰⁵ Ilídio Valentim Manica, *A música na luta de libertação nacional*, 33-36.

³⁰⁶ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mtl62-6pY_I.

³⁰⁷ Interview with Magide Mussá, Maputo, 2019.

³⁰⁸ 20/24 was the measure where people had to choose between the Mozambican and the Portuguese nationality. Those who chose the Portuguese nationality had 24 hours to abandon Mozambique carrying a maximum of 20 kg luggage. Many white Portuguese former colonists left the country leaving their children

people and Africans, particularly those who held the assimilate status during the colonial period. Therefore, Magide Mussá composed and performed the song with the following lyrics: “Jovem Moçambicano/ para onde tú vais/ teu lugar é aqui/ pois aqui você nasceu” loosely translated to “young Mozambican/ where are you going/ your place is here/ because you were born here”. Speaking on his motivation to follow FRELIMO’s directive for urban musicians to produce revolutionary songs after the independence, and on those who chose to abandon Mozambique, Magide Mussá Maulide said,

They were running away from hunger. Coming from a situation where they coexisted peacefully white people they saw that attending dynamizing group and Frelimo meetings, sweep streets and engage in cleaning campaigns was not for them. Music was facing restrictions, we were guided on what to sing, that’s why I sang that song. I had to sing revolutionary songs. Music about politics. That was an order because the first president [Samora Machel] used to say: I don’t want western music. Western music was prohibited but in night clubs. But it was not easy for all musicians to perform in those nightclubs. There was no freedom to sing what you wanted. You had to sing revolutionary songs with messages about women emancipation, the organized youth, that communist and socialist jargon, etc.³⁰⁹

The song “Jovem Moçambicano” became an instant hit and was used by Frelimo Youth League as a permanent song in a radio show to mobilize the youth not to abandon the country. As mentioned by Adelino Timóteo, songs such as “Jovem moçambicano” were disseminated on radio stations alongside songs with lyrics that reminded the people of who

to take care of the properties. The rest simply abandoned the country (Carlos Domingos Quembo, *O poder do poder: operação produção e a invenção dos ‘improdutivos’ urbanos no Moçambique socialista, 1983-1988* (Maputo: Alcance Editores),63).

³⁰⁹ Interview with Magide Mussá, Maputo, 2019.

were the reactionaries (Simango, Gwambe, Gwengere, Joana) until 1990 with the change of the constitution of the republic and the amplification of the civil and political rights³¹⁰.

Conclusion

Revolutionary songs were central to FRELIMO's liberation struggle. Either in the battlefronts, in the training centers or imprisoned FRELIMO members used songs not only to boost morale and mobilize the people but mostly to resist and endure the challenges posed by the struggle. The Portuguese authorities and those who supported the Portuguese colonial regime also used songs to try and win the hearts and minds of natives. Songs were also crucial to preparing and celebrating the independence of Mozambique in 1975 and to building the new state-nation. However, for many not complying with FRELIMO's directives after the independence leaving the country or engaging in other activities rather than music became a survival strategy until the 1990s with the democratization of the country.

³¹⁰ Adelino Timóteo, *Os últimos dias de Uria Simango*, (Adelino Timóteo, 2017), 129.

4. MUSIC AND CULTURAL IDENTITY FORMATION IN POST-COLONIAL MOZAMBIQUE, 1975-1992

A cabaça, a maçaroca
Quando está a trabalhar, a suar sob o sol,
O Camponês canta.
Volta a casa
Com um cântaro de água na cabeça,
Pensa que tem de fazer fogo para cozinhar,
Vive a vida e canta a vida.
Nas noites, nas horas de descanso,
Quando a Lua-cheia o ilumina,
Canta o seu trabalho, canta as suas penas,
Seus sofrimentos, suas esperanças...
Canta a felicidade,
Canta a dança,
Pode ser triste ou alegre,
Uma referência à história
Ou um episódio quotidiano,
Mas seja como for,
Tem um significado real.
Define um inimigo,
E como lutar contra esse inimigo
(...) ³¹¹
SAMORA MACHEL

Introduction

Continuing the nation-building plans and strategies defined during the liberation struggle, the first independent government continued to see culture as a key pillar for Mozambique's nation-state building and cultural identity formation. The date 25 June 1975 marked the independence of Mozambique from the colonial domination and exploitation, after 10 years of armed struggle, and one year of relative peace under the transition government's rule. The previous chapters presented a deep history of the Watonga people

³¹¹ Loosely translated to: The gourd, the rump.../ When working, sweating in the sun,/ The peasant sings./ He returns home/ With a pitcher of water on his head,/ He thinks he has to make a fire to cook,/ He lives life and sings life./ In the evenings, at rest times,/ When the full moon illuminates him,/ he sings his work, he sings his sorrows,/ his sufferings, his hopes.../ he sings happiness,/ He sings the dance./ It can be sad or happy,/ A reference to history/ Or an everyday episode,/ But whatever,/ It has real meaning./ It defines an enemy,/ And how to fight this enemy. Ministério dos Combatentes, *Samora Machel na memória do povo e do Mundo* (Maputo: Centro de Pesquisa da História da Luta de Libertação de Moçambique - CPHLLN, 2016), 144.

of Inhambane and their contributions to the cultural and music production in the territory of Mozambique from the pre-colonial times to 1975. This chapter continues the analysis of the contributions of music in the cultural identity formation in post-colonial Mozambique, focusing on the first Republic (1975-1992). The chapter examines the development of the music industry, the main challenges and sheds light on the contributions of musicians from Inhambane and songs in Gitonga language to the efforts to building the Mozambican post-independent cultural subject.

The challenges of nation building in Mozambique during the 1970s

At the time of the inauguration of the transition government, Samora Machel, the first President of the Popular Republic of Mozambique recognized that Portugal was handing over a difficult social, economic, financial, and cultural inheritance resulting from centuries of colonial oppression and pillage, exacerbated by decades of fascist-colonial domination and repression³¹².

The 2nd article of the first Constitution of the Popular Republic of Mozambique, approved on 20 June 1975 at Tofo, Inhambane province, read: “The Popular Republic of Mozambique is a popular democratic state where all patriotic levels are engaged in the construction of a new society, free of the man to man exploitation”. The new government gave primacy to the question of patriotism and the building of a new society and a New Man.

³¹² Samora Moisés Machel, *A luta contra o subdesenvolvimento* (Maputo: Partido Frelimo, 1983) Textos e Documentos do Partido Frelimo, 8.

National unity was central to the newly independent government policies. During the first new year party held by Frelimo during the transition government's rule, Samora Machel emphasized unity as the "essential platform to edify the nation". This unity should be associated with harmony, trust in people, security, the participation of all, the establishment of correct relations between Men of all races, and the edification of democratic popular power³¹³.

National unity presupposed the creation of a nation through the state whose physical territory was inherited from the colonial state. Portugal fixed the colonial state's borders as a result of conquest and pacification agreements derived from the Berlin Conference's decisions of 1884/5. Thus, nation-building and national unity implied the effective materialization of the colonial inheritance of ethnic, regional, cultural, linguistic, racial, religious diversity, consubstantiated on the Marxist-Leninist philosophies, and the new man ideals³¹⁴. National unity presupposed the elimination of all race, sex, ethnic origin, birthplace, religion, education level, social status, or professional barriers.

The implementation of the revolution as part of the establishment of the new state-nation implied the continuous fighting against internal and external enemies. If on the external front the Cold War and effects, the South Rhodesian Government, the Apartheid

³¹³ Samora Moisés Machel, *O Partido e as classes trabalhadoras moçambicanas na edificação da democracia popular*. Relatório do Comité Central ao 3º Congresso (Maputo: Frelimo, 1977), Documentos do 3º Congresso da Frelimo, 26-27.

³¹⁴ Article four of the 1975 Constitution expanded this issue to include as part of the Republic's core objectives the following: the elimination of traditional and colonial structures of oppression and exploitation, the extension and strengthening of peoples power, the edification of an independent economy, and the promotion of cultural and social progress, the defense and consolidation of the independence and national unity, the creation of friendship and cooperation relations with other peoples and states, and the continuation of the struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

Regime, and the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR)³¹⁵ constituted some of the threats to consider, internally there was a need to eliminate the enemies of the Revolution and to reorganize the administrative structures in light of the Portuguese colonial administration officers' massive abandonment of the country. In this regard, Carlos Cardoso wrote "Each revolution eliminates old enemies to triumph and creates new enemies to consolidate, internally and externally. And ours is effectively a revolution because it does not hesitate in removing the enemy from their places"³¹⁶.

Carlos Cardoso was alluding to the actions headed by Samora Machel towards the elimination of the old compromised people with the colonial-fascism and the new candidates to oppressors which included the rejection of hundreds of candidates to the Peoples Assemblies in 1977, who had demonstrated an anti-people's behavior; Frelimo restructuring process in 1978; the Political and Organizational Offensive in 1980 uprooting people who opposed the People's progress; the Legality Offensive in 1981 against those who abused power from inside the Frelimo party to denigrate the Party's reputation; and other actions³¹⁷.

If on one side the intended objective of gaining the People's trust towards the Party and the Government's plans and goals was gradually achieved, on the other side the number of unhappy people grew. Those who were still compromised with the colonial-fascist ideologies had to find other alternatives which included the migration to Ian Smith's South

³¹⁵ Documentaries such as "Gold and Mine" directed by Nadine Gordimer, "Killing a Dream" by Anders Nilsson and Gunilla Akesson, and "Apartheid's second front" narrated the destabilizing actions of the MNR backed first by South Rhodesia and then by the South African apartheid regime and the devastating effects for Mozambique and its people.

³¹⁶ Carlos Cardoso, "Os novos moleques", *Tempo Suplemento*, 4 de Abril de 1982, 2.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

Rhodesia and Pieter Botha's South Africa, the anonymity and insertion in areas previously not associated with them, the infiltration in the power structures, among other actions. These were the people Cardoso labeled "novos moleques", or the candidates to new servants of imperialism or candidates to counterrevolutionaries who found a haven in South Rhodesia and South Africa, serving as ideological or armed wings for Mozambique's destabilization which lasted around sixteen years³¹⁸.

The reintegration of those who served the colonial structures before the independence was part of the strategies geared towards the establishment of the newly independent nation-state. That included the reintegration of people who served the colonial structures as régulos ['traditional leaders'], and also as part of the defense and security forces. Samora Machel was very critical of the role of régulos during colonialism, whom he considered first-class servants with the role of stealing the population's livestock, collecting taxes, forcing young girls to unwanted sexual violence from colonial administrators, arresting people for forced labor and labor migration, reinforced by the stimulation of unemployment in the region³¹⁹.

The ideology adopted at the time privileged the pardoning of their previous sins through public confession and the People's pardon. Their reintegration processes included their presentation to the People as transformed men in public rallies. Their confession of the colonial regime's use of force and coercion to force them to exploit their people to

³¹⁸ Ibid. In 1974 there were 200.000 white people in Mozambique. In 1977 there were 20000 white people in Mozambique, 10% of the whole population (Omar Ribeiro Thomaz and Sebastião Nascimento, "Nem Rodésia, nem Congo: Moçambique e os dias do fim das comunidades de origem europeia e asiática", In *Os outros da colonização: Ensaios sobre o colonialismo tardio em Moçambique*, organized by Cláudia Castelo, Omar Ribeiro Thomaz, Sebastião Nascimento, Teresa Cruz e Silva (Lisboa: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 1974), 337).

³¹⁹ Arlindo Lopes, "Expliquem aos vossos filhos", *Tempo Suplemento*, 04 de Abril de 1982,18.

collect taxes, recruit laborers for the forced labor or mine work was part of the public enactment of the reintegration process, even though Samora Machel would often correct them and emphasize that “at the beginning you were forced but then you started enjoying it”³²⁰. In this regard, Arlindo Lopes wrote,

Those “traditional chiefs” who did not follow zealously the colonial bosses orders were punished, arrested, or simply replaced. Being a régulo meant to be an accomplice of the oppression, exploitation, and humiliation system to his people. With the independence, some “disappeared” with heart attacks and other sudden deaths. Others went mad. Others did not accept the loss of the privileges and dreamed of riding the people again one day. But the great majority had the conscience of the humiliating role they played and accepted with gratitude the People and the states’ forgiveness³²¹.

Writing on the issue of national unity, national interest, and state security, Jacinto Veloso argued that the nature of national unity was intimately linked with the defense of national interest in each historical moment of the country’s life. He further indicated that, if in 1962 national unity’s approach was built around the strategic objective of conquering Mozambique’s independence under Frelimo’s leadership, after the independence in 1975 the edification of national unity was anchored on key objectives including the consolidation of the independence, state-making, the organization of the Defense and Security Forces, and the beginning of the country’s development. Nonetheless, by then, the concept of national unity was built around Frelimo’s political objectives³²².

A fundamental aspect of this period was the understanding that there was a need to differentiate Frelimo’s interests for the nation from the national interests which ought to

³²⁰ Arlindo Lopes, “Os moleques de primeira”, *Tempo*, 28 de Março de 1982, 18-19.

³²¹ *Ibid*, 19.

³²² Jacinto Veloso, *A caminho da paz definitiva: o iceberg, o interesse nacional e a segurança do Estado*, (Maputo: JV Editores, 2018), 219-221.

incorporate the defense of all People's interests. Frelimo's adoption of socialism, Marxism and Leninism from the Third Congress (1977) onwards, polarized even more the Mozambican People with two distinct tendencies: one favorable to Frelimo's alliance with the USSR's headed socialist bloc, and the other favorable to Renamo's alliance with capitalist ideals supported by the United States and the South African apartheid regime. This polarization led to 16 years of war in Mozambique which, according to Jacinto Veloso constituted a particular historical moment when the Mozambican lost the real sense of national unity because in practice there was no national unity³²³.

Repression was also part of the nation building process. In this regard, Benedito Machava argued that,

... Frelimo's quest for hegemony and its obsessive aim of building a state-nation under the project of 'socialist revolution' led to harsh intolerance of all that was considered a hindrance to these objectives. As obstacles to the project arose from the outset, the party-state developed a political analysis of security that did not distinguish internal from external security threats. The result was the institutionalization of a politics of punishment as a state instrument of power and social control aiming to repress, deter and educate party-state opponents and all individuals outside the realm of socialist and revolutionary principles defined by the party-state. ... much of this politics of punishment represented to considerable sections of Mozambican society a return to the 'old regime' insofar as the post-independence state reproduced some colonial mechanisms of punishment and social control³²⁴.

Therefore, arrests, mass detentions, displacement and imprisonment in camps of re-education and of production in remote areas of the country, corporal punishment, and public executions by firing squad were institutionalized by the state to punish those

³²³ Ibid, 220-222.

³²⁴ Benedito Luís Machava, "State discourse on internal security and the politics of punishment in post-independence Mozambique (1975-1983)", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 37, Number 3, September 2011, 593. (593-609).

considered enemies of the popular state being enacted as part of the revolution³²⁵. The party – state’s radicalization after the independence, particularly from the Third Congress onwards was also visible through centralized control and punishment measures to those considered traitors and labeled Xiconhoca, a cartoon figure created to represent what was the antitheses of the New Man and what could be considered the enemy in its multiple forms and circumstances. In this regard, Benedito Machava emphasized the party-state’s development of a discourse of suspicion and conspiracy, the constant need to attribute the responsibility to internal enemies or external aggressors – labeled ‘traitors’, ‘internal agents’, ‘lackeys of imperialism’, the ‘reactionary and anti-revolutionary’, the ‘compromised’, ‘armed gangs’, ‘vagrants’, and the need to identify on daily basis manifestations of the enemy and present them to the people to legitimize its claims to power and authority. That process which resulted in forced migration, forced internal dislocations, exile, executions, banishment, or silencing of the enemy (individuals or organizations), also reinforced the role of the Democratic Mass Organizations in the control of the society³²⁶.

³²⁵ Benedito Luís Machava, “State discourse on internal security”, 596. Licínio de Azevedo’s film titled “Virgem Margarida” [Virgin Daisy] (90min, 2012) based on real events narrated the stories of distinct Mozambican categories of women who were involved in the reeducation programs. Inhambane was among the provinces that housed the so-considered “non-productive” people, a concept contested by Carlos Quembo who considered that FRELIMO engaged in a process of invention of “non-productive” people and that the foreseen results of this project were not accomplished, even though places such as Inhambane were presented as examples for the positive results in the integration of “non-productive” people into productive activities (Carlos Domingos Quembo, *O poder do poder*, 75).

³²⁶ Ibid, 596; Hélder Mutemba, *A popularização da segurança: um subsistema determinante para a segurança nacional* (Maputo: Hélder Mutemba, 2019).

The development of the culture sector in Mozambique, 1975-1980s

Article 15th of the 1975 Constitution paid attention to the issue of culture, as it read the “Popular Republic of Mozambique fights energetically illiteracy and obscurantism and promotes the development of national culture and personalities. The state acts to promote internationally the knowledge of Mozambican culture and make the Mozambican people benefit from other Peoples’ revolutionary conquests³²⁷”. The issue of culture was also emphasized in the 1975 constitution, when it mentioned women’s emancipation which, according to the Constitution meant that: “a woman has equal rights and duties as a man; this equality is extended to the political, economic, social, and cultural fields”³²⁸.

To materialize the constitutional and ideological commands regarding culture (and education) and consolidate national unity and development, the government of the Popular Republic of Mozambique created the Ministry of Education and Culture headed by Graça Machel, the only female member of the first independent government. The importance of cultural revolution as part of the creation of the new society and the new man was stressed in several legal and normative documents, speeches of the government and party leaders, conference and workgroups’ resolutions and recommendations, Frelimo’s publications among others.

In this regard, Carlos Siliya mentioned that there was an understanding that cultural alienation and ‘depersonalization’ through assimilation during the colonial period was more evident in urban areas, small villages, and around religious missions. This meant that

³²⁷ Also read article 20th of the 1975 Constitution of the Popular Republic of Mozambique.

³²⁸ Article 17th of the 1975 Constitution of the Popular Republic of Mozambique.

the majority of the population had not been affected by the considered cultural alienation. Therefore, the strategy was to cut the ‘umbilical cord’ which tied the small minority to the colonial metropole (Portugal)³²⁹.

During the transition government, Frelimo placed education and culture first in the priorities for the implementation of its policies towards the establishment of the new state - nation. Workgroups were envisaged to collect all cultural manifestations in the country and increase national and international cultural exchange³³⁰. Thus, Frelimo’s Central Committee meeting in Tofo, Inhambane, allocated the largest budget to education and culture sectors³³¹. Frelimo’s fourth National Defense Department Conference documents (July – August 1975) stressed the need to transform cultural activity in a national unity and class instrument, and political propaganda vehicle among the people. The first meeting of the Council of Ministers also paid attention to education and culture sector needs³³².

The Mozambique Popular Republic Council of Minister's decree nr 1/75 of July 27th defined the Ministries competences, including the Ministry of Education and Culture competences which emphasized the role of education and culture to fight the colonial inheritance of illiteracy, ignorance, and obscurantism; to insert revolutionary contents in all cultural manifestations and disseminate them nationally and internationally as a projection of Mozambican personality; to promote the collection of the artistic heritage; to find talents among the people; to organize public libraries, exhibitions, and museums; to valorize traditional music instruments. The decree also defined the Ministry’s departments,

³²⁹ Carlos Jorge Siliya, *Ensaio sobre a cultura em Moçambique* (Maputo, 1996), 210-211.

³³⁰ This emanated from the recommendations of Frelimo’s first meeting of District Committees held in Mocuba, Zambezia province (Carlos Jorge Siliya, *Ensaio sobre a cultura em Moçambique*, 201.)

³³¹ Tempográfica, “Prioridade para educação e cultura”, *Tempo*, 278, 26-31.

³³² *Ibid*, 26-31.

including the Cultural Services Department³³³. The resolutions of the National Conference of the Information and Propaganda Department stressed the importance of the disc, the diffusion of Mozambican culture, and the need to eliminate the production of alienating music manifestations³³⁴.

Consequently, over time the government created several institutions to collect, systematize, analyze, and disseminate Mozambican artistic expressions and heritage, guided by the motto: kill the tribe to birth the nation³³⁵. Among the institutions created were following: National Directorate of Culture³³⁶, Institute of Arts and Culture, National Institute of Cinema, National Institute of Book and Disc³³⁷, Cultural Studies Center³³⁸, National Group of Dance and Song (GNCD), later named National Company of Song and Dance (CNCD), National Dance School, National Music School, National Museum of

³³³ Carlos Jorge Siliya, *Ensaio sobre a cultura em Moçambique*, 205-207.

³³⁴ Tempográfica, “Conferência Nacional do Departamento de Informação e Propaganda. Resoluções II”, *Tempo*, 272, December 19, 1975, 11; Frelimo, *Documentos da Conferência Nacional do departamento de Informação e Propaganda, Macomia 26 a 30 Novembro 1975* (Frelimo, 1975).

³³⁵ According to Roberto Chitsondzo, the motto “kill the tribe to birth the nation” was geared to the idea of unity in diversity from FRELIMO’s Fourth Congress in 1983. However, musicians had long anticipated this political motto with the creation of music groups such as Eyuphuru with strong e-macua rhythms of northern Mozambique and Ghorwane with strong Muthimba rhythms of southern Mozambique (Roberto Chitsondzo, *Kwiri*, 19).

³³⁶ The first Director was Gabriel Simbine, also the founder of the DNC’s Cultural group. Salomão Júlio Manhiça succeeded him in 1978. Composer of revolutionary songs, including the Mozambican Women song and the national anthem “Patria Amada”, Manhiça also served as Deputy Minister of Culture in 1995 (Peter E. Coughlin (org.), Salomão Júlio Manhiça, *Retalhos da minha vida – Autobiografias e testemunhos* (Maputo, 2018).

³³⁷ INLD was responsible for the centralized control of the production, import and export of discs, recording tapes, and books (Tempográfica, “Conferência Nacional do Departamento de Informação e Propaganda. Resoluções II”, *Tempo*, 272, December 19, 1975, 11).

³³⁸ This was the first center created in 1977 to train staff for the culture sector. It started with the creation of cultural animators [*animadores culturais*] who became the first trained people to promote dance, music, theater, and arts. With the Center’s extinction three artistic schools were created, namely the School of visual arts, and the national dance and music schools (Carlos Jorge Siliya, *Ensaio sobre a cultura em Moçambique*, 227). Cultural animators trained in 1975 such as Júlio Silva integrated the cultural movement which birthed the voices of revolutionary singing, even though neither arts nor culture could not ensure artists livelihoods (Amâncio Miguel, *Marrabentar – vozes de Moçambique* (Maputo: Ciedima, 2005), 113).

Arts, Provincial services of Culture, Provincial houses of culture³³⁹ in Nampula, Quelimane, Beira, and Alto-Maé, Polyvalent cultural groups³⁴⁰, Revolution Museum, Coin Museum, Natural History Museum, Mineral Resources Museum, National Library, Ethnology National Museum in Nampula, Inhambane Regional Museum, among others³⁴¹.

Frelimo's 1977 third congress clarified the party's ideological line. It clarified the need to create the basis for the implementation of socialism, centralized governance, and the strategic planning of the economy. The congress also clarified the direction for the cultural sector:

On the cultural front, a decisive front for the achieved successes, the party must intensify the collection and valorization of the national heritage, fight cultural conservatism, intensify national and international exchange, thus creating the conditions which express the working classes' revolutionary sentiment. National cultural groups created by the military forces and democratic organizations of masses are a synthesis and a dynamizing factor of this process³⁴².

³³⁹ Abreu mentioned that during the colonial period, the Portuguese created Auditoriums and art galleries, whose infrastructures were converted to the provincial houses of culture after the independence. He gives the example of Beira's Auditorium and Art Gallery converted into the Provincial House of Sofala. During the colonial period, Auditoriums and art galleries were open to the local colonial elites. Access was restricted, and the galleries offered dance, music, theater, painting lessons, exhibitions, and parties (António Pinto de Abreu, *Algumas das memórias que eu ainda retenho*. Maputo: Madeira & Madeira, 2017, 64). Alongside these auditoriums and art galleries, colonial association centers were also converted to house the Houses of Culture, legally institutionalized through the Council of Ministers' Decree nr 53/2004 of December 1st. The Houses of Culture were conceived as centers for the diffusion and massification of the Mozambican culture, and public cultural institutions for the communities' cultural and artistic development (Domingos do Rosário Artur, Alexandre Silva Dunduru, and José Manuel Alberto Pita, *Manual das Casa de Cultura*, Ministério da Cultura (Maputo, 2013), 6; Interview with Djalma Lourenço, 2017).

³⁴⁰ Abreu explained that during the colonial period the Portuguese Administration allowed the creation of Grupos Interescolares [Interschool groups]. Secondary education students from the preparatory cycle, lycée, technical schools, and vocational institutes integrated those groups. These groups were the foundation for the creation of the Polyvalent cultural groups, most of them housed at the provincial houses of culture. These groups were key in the cultural and political mobilization and education of the youth and the society as a whole, but also constituted the cradle of cadres and artists, including musicians (António Pinto de Abreu, *Algumas das memórias que eu ainda retenho*. Maputo: Madeira & Madeira, 2017, 64).

³⁴¹ Carlos Jorge Siliya, *Ensaio sobre a cultura em Moçambique*, 227-228.

³⁴² Samora Moisés Machel, *O Partido e as classes trabalhadoras moçambicanas na edificação da democracia popular*. Relatório do Comité Central ao 3º Congresso (Maputo: Frelimo, 1977), Documentos do 3º Congresso da Frelimo, 138.

Frelimo stressed in the report the need for edification, valuation, and dissemination of 'national' cultural expressions and heritage anchored on the revolution and reflecting the revolutionary sentiment at national and international levels.

Frelimo hailed the people as the legitimate cause and beneficiary of independence and national sovereignty. Thus, in his speeches, Samora Machel emphasized the role of instruction, education, and culture to regain the Mozambican personality, for the resurrection of culture, and the creation of new a mentality and society³⁴³.

Frelimo's government elected access to school, university, and culture as the key elements to eliminate social, race, and sex discrimination, and to fighting the evils of the time, namely superstition, individuality, selfishness, elitism, ambition, colonial capitalist mentality, and the negative aspects of the traditional mentality³⁴⁴. Thus, schools were defined as centers of dissemination of the national culture and political, technical, and scientific knowledge. So, the school was central for the process of mobilizing and educating the new society, a necessary condition for the development of a new nation. The role of culture in development was stressed even further in Samora Machel's speeches by calling the fight against underdevelopment a cultural battle anchored on the fight against illiteracy.

In 1978 the Ministry of Education and Culture launched the National Campaign for Cultural Preservation which continued until 1982. This campaign resulted in the collection

³⁴³ Samora Machel, *A luta contra o subdesenvolvimento*, 17.

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

and documentation of the national cultural heritage and the creation of the *Arquivo do Património Cultural* (ARPAC) [Cultural Heritage Archive] in 1983.

The process of collection and preservation of the national cultural expressions and heritage, engaged several organizations, from the polyvalent groups and houses of culture at the provincial level, to the central level which included GNCD/CNCD and ARPAC. The collection of cultural and artistic expressions of the various Mozambican ethnic and social groups were later used per se or as the basis for the creation of new cultural expressions, which, jointly with the flag, the emblem, the anthem, the Portuguese language, and other symbols composed the identifiers of the Mozambican national identity under construction after the independence. The fusion of the considered traditional Mozambican cultural expressions with the revolutionary values and cultural expressions also resulted in new unified and unifying cultural expressions and heritage mainstreamed into the national cultural identity under construction.

That process also included the fusion with international cultural expressions, mostly resulting from the exchange with the socialist countries that supported Mozambique in its nation-building efforts. Macagno referred to that process as an authentic collage or bricolage, characterized by the reinvention of culture through the reassembly of regional fragments, hybrids, and mixtures that did not necessarily recognize a common heritage. He based his argument on an interview conducted with Luís Bernardo Honwana, a prominent Mozambican writer and former Secretary of State for Culture, who stated,

After the independence there was an attempt to recreate a new folkloric framework, in which a dance from the south could be mixed with elements from the central and northern parts of the country, making several mixtures. But this work was done by choreographers from Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Germany. They made those arrangements.

They mixed what was typical folklore from one region with another to constitute what they wanted to become a Mozambican culture³⁴⁵.

David Abílio emphasized another key strategy devised by Frelimo to respond to the guideline “guide and stimulate artistic activities among the popular masses” by bringing together culture producers (mostly from FPLM and Tunduru artistic groups) and the community particularly the youth. Cultural producers were instructed to learning the cultural expressions from the communities, and later disseminating the results of the efforts to identify and define national cultural expressions. Cultural producers should also engage with the youth to materialize Samora Machel’s recommendation that “today’s artist must stimulate the birth of tomorrow’s artist”. That was accomplished through the identification of new talents all over the country and their training in the training institutions for professional artists and other cultural personnel. Several artists, cultural producers, and leaders emerged from these processes³⁴⁶.

Until the end of the 1970s, these activities resulted in advances in the cultural sector. However, Carlos Siliya stressed that the appointment of Luís Bernardo Honwana as Secretary of State for Culture galvanized the cultural sector through the campaigns for mentality change among the staff of the Ministry of Education and Culture and the people in general, resulting in increased awareness of the role of culture in the society.

In sum, while on one side there was a call to kill the tribe to birth the nation, the idea of national unity anchored on the development of Mozambican national identity [ies]

³⁴⁵ Macagno, 2009: 23.

³⁴⁶Ministério dos Combatentes, *Samora Machel na Memória do Povo e do Mundo*, Volume II, (Maputo: Centro de Pesquisa da História da Luta de Libertação Nacional, 2016),149-150.

included the definition of national cultural identifiers while at the same time respecting and valorizing the nation's cultural diversity and acknowledging the regional and international influences, without losing sight of the need to fight against the colonial cultural inheritance categorized either as elitist, bourgeois, feudal, and colonial (particularly in cities, villages, and around catholic missions), or categorized as obscurantist and superstitious (traditional practices of the local ethnolinguistic groups).

National Festivals of Culture After 1975

Among the priority actions taken by the independent government of Mozambique were the consolidation of national unity and the development of a Mozambican cultural identity through the organization of national festivals. The Mozambican government organized the two first Festivals under Samora Machel's leadership. The first was held in 1978 and the second in 1980. Due to the war, the Festivals were interrupted. Its dynamics implied the movement of people from the district levels to a chosen point, and at that time artists had to travel to the country's capital, Maputo city, for the final demonstrative ceremony. With Renamo's constant attacks on convoys, buses, and the destruction of means of communication including roads and bridges, it became impossible to continue the organization of the festivals.

The National Culture Festival was considered Mozambique's highest moment of cultural celebration; one of the nation's greatest works whose riches and diversified millenary cultural traditions reflect Mozambique's greatness and strength, whilst

constituting one of the prodigious contributions to humanity's history and civilization³⁴⁷.

Speaking on the historical role of culture in Mozambican history, Armando Emílio Guebuza said,

Culture and its multiple expressions were always present in our historical and political process... [culture] is the vehicle through which our ancestors' courage and bravery resisting colonial occupation were transmitted from generation to generation. Mozambicans also used culture to express their repulsion and to mobilize themselves to stand against external domination. With culture and its multiple expressions galvanizing us in the struggle for national Independence, no matter where we were, in PIDE jails, forced labor, in foreign countries, and the liberated zones on all fronts³⁴⁸.

The Festival's objectives included the preservation and development of arts, culture, and traditions from the different Mozambican communities; the creation of a platform for interaction and exchange; and the dissemination of the country's rich and diversified cultural heritage placing it at the society and progress's service. Alongside the promotion of cultural manifestations, the festivals also produced inventories of Mozambican music and traditional instruments, which led to the creation of a catalog of Mozambican traditional instruments³⁴⁹.

The First National festival of Culture held in 1978 focused on traditional dance from the whole country and João Rosse recalled attending the festival as a dancer. Alongside other young students at the recently created Center for Cultural Studies, Rosse performed in the opening ceremony held in Maputo in July 1978, where Inhambane

³⁴⁷ Ministério da Cultura/ Gabinete Central do VII Festival Nacional de Cultura, *Regulamento*, Abril de 2011.

³⁴⁸ Ministério da Cultura, *II Festival Nacional da Canção e Música Tradicional 2006*, (Maputo, Direcção Nacional de Cultura, 2007), 3-4.

³⁴⁹ Ministério da Cultura/ Gabinete Central do VII Festival Nacional de Cultura, *Regulamento*, Abril de 2011, 2. Ministério da Cultura, *VIII Festival Nacional da Cultura*, Maputo: Gabinete Central do VIII Festival Nacional da Cultura, (Outubro, 2013).

province attended and was among the awardees³⁵⁰. The national festival of culture started with competitions in the villages, followed by competitions in the districts and the province-level where the province representatives would be selected for the national demonstration alongside other provinces. The festival was considered the largest cultural event after the Independence³⁵¹.

The year 1978 coincided with the celebration of the third anniversary of Mozambique's independence. Therefore, 1st National Festival of Popular Dance theme was "Let's make the First National Festival of Popular Dance a great political event that contributes to strengthen national unity and consolidate popular power"³⁵². At the time, the festival was considered the main historical and cultural event with the following objectives: (i) To reaffirm the need for a cultural revolution as a decisive factor for the society's transformation, as a demand of the transition process to socialism; (ii) To strengthen the cultural and material basis of National Unity; (iii) To promote the knowledge of our cultural patrimony richness and diversity; (iii) To manifest our unshakable decision of fighting tribalism, regionalism, racism, and elitism; (iv) To develop and consolidate the Mozambican personality³⁵³.

From its inception, the festival's focus was geared towards the diffusion of the sociopolitical ideas of the day, as culture was seen as an important weapon for the people's revolutionary education. At the time, Graça Machel, Minister of Education and Culture

³⁵⁰ Interview with João Rosse, Maxixe-Inhambane, 2019.

³⁵¹ Lutero, Martinho. A influência do colonialismo e o processo revolucionário. *Jornal Domingo*. Vol. 1. N^o 32. (02-Maio-1982), 20-21

³⁵² Roberto Dove et al, *VIII Festival Nacional de Cultura Inhambane 2014*, (Maputo: Ministério da Cultura, 2014), 6.

³⁵³ Ibid.

reinforced the need for linking culture, education, and the attainment of the revolutionary dream of a united nation, when she mentioned that “culture was the soul of peoples’ revolutionary education”. She also stressed that the engagement in a cultural revolution had the objective of “returning to the Mozambican Men what was most essential, the inheritance of experiences accumulated through generations, which linked the people with its historical past and projected its future, “the culture which molds the Mozambican personality³⁵⁴”.

The 1980 Festival was inserted in a series of actions to collect and preserve Mozambican culture, so the Festival became an opportunity to show to the new generations, including those who had been assimilated during the colonial period, the accumulated Mozambican cultural heritage. At the time, and in face of the achieved results, the government decided to make the Festivals a periodical event, which was prevented by several challenges³⁵⁵, including the war that ravaged the country for about sixteen years.

Urban popular music and cultural identity formation in Mozambique, 1975-1980

Música ligeira moçambicana, loosely translated to Mozambican popular music, was the designation used for the new type of music produced after the Independence of Mozambique to counter the existing cultural influences among the Mozambican people,

³⁵⁴ Ibid. Samora Machel coined the phrase “a cultura é o sol que nunca desce” [culture is the sun that never sets] while speaking at the festival.

³⁵⁵ Aires Bonifácio Ali, “Discurso de Lançamento do II FNCMT”, In Ministério da Cultura, *II Festival Nacional da Canção e Música Tradicional 2006*, Maputo, Direcção Nacional de Cultura, 2007, 6.

resulting from colonialism and its assimilationist policies, mostly evident in urban areas, small villages and around catholic religious missions.

This notion derived from the fact that it should be urban music produced with modern and/ or western musical instruments, but rooted on the several Mozambican ethnolinguistic traditional rhythms, traditional musical instruments, and national languages besides Portuguese the language inherited from the colonial period but defined as Mozambique's official language and the language of national unity³⁵⁶.

As mentioned previously, Maputo city was the capital of the country but also attracted musicians from the whole country, including from Inhambane. While other musicians and music groups such as Pedro Garrine and the music group Bungué remained in Inhambane after the independence, most musicians where already in Maputo when Mozambique achieved its independence or moved to Maputo for academic, professional, or other reasons, but also because Maputo housed the main structures of the music industry such as cultural institutions, record labels, and concert halls. Either in Inhambane or Maputo, musicians from Inhambane performed solo or integrated into music groups, a repertoire which included instrumental songs, and songs in gitonga, Portuguese, or, for market reasons on local languages such as ci-shangana and English to audiences in the capital city or other locations.

It was hoped that urban popular music would serve as a vehicle for the transmission of Frelimo's revolutionary ideologies and as an instrument to change the considered colonial, bourgeoisie, and feudal mentality. Consequently, musicians had to alter their

³⁵⁶ Interview with Jorge Mamade, Beira, 2016.

songs' lyrics to adjust them to the new reality. They also made efforts to research the Mozambican traditional rhythms and instruments as part of the production of music with Mozambican roots.

However, in practice, that was not a pacific process. The process of building the Mozambican cultural identity included the negation of music aspects of the colonial past or from foreign countries, most preferred by the urban audience. Citizens and the press at the time criticized musicians who continued to produce music that catered to the urban audience in urban areas by calling them bourgeois and reactionary. That sentiment was exacerbated by Samora Machel's speeches where he referred to urban locations or cities as places of evil, addictions, factories of reactionaries and wrong ideas, gossip centers, and defamation centers³⁵⁷.

The final communiqué of the First Provincial Meeting of the Grupos Dinamizadores held in Meconta Village from 28 September 1976 to 3 October 1976 revealed a key concern regarding the formation of the popular and revolutionary culture which was the existence of cultural deviations which still reflected the exploratory ideology. That was the case of the emergence of new types of parties to counter the colonial parties (bailes coloniais), designated "sungura" parties, considered equally alienating as the previous ones³⁵⁸. That, in turn, revealed the contradictions and the grey areas between the known and appreciated culture(s) in urban areas and what needed to be implemented.

³⁵⁷ Tempográfica, "Dia dos heróis Moçambicanos. Presidente Samora anuncia importantes medidas revolucionárias", *Tempo*, 280, 16-27.

³⁵⁸ Tempográfica, "Evitar desvios em questões internas e secundárias através duma definição correcta dos objectivos fundamentais", *Tempo*, 264, 63.

Another example of the challenges faced in the development of popular music after the independence was found in a reader's letter to the magazine *Tempo* published in 1975. The reader started by praising the citizens' freedom to singing their Mozambican culture, to attending cultural manifestations in the *Grupos Dinamizadores* [Dynamizing groups], and the possibilities of listening to Mozambican music on the radio, conquests of the independence from the Portuguese colonial regime. He then criticized musicians who, despite the political instructions for cultural transformation were still not achieving it in their compositions. He also mentioned the musicians' lack of originality due to the introduction of revolutionary poems or lyrics in foreign melodies, and the influence of Brazilian and North American rhythms in what he termed as 'afro-brazilian', 'afro-underground', and 'afro-soul' songs³⁵⁹. To advance his argument, the reader mentioned a group of songs labeled as Mozambican but having a northern American influence, including the songs 'famba Suzete'[go Suzete] by Mazuze, 'Sonia uta ranza' [Sonia you will love] by Xadrique, 'ni size u tlelela' [spare me and return] and 'tinxaniseko' [suffering] by Baptista Panguana, and also a song in gitonga about love titled 'Minina' [girl] by Jaco Maria at the time known as Djeko³⁶⁰.

Another reader criticized the record labels *Expresso 1001*, *Moçambique 76* (previously *Xitimela 1001*), the *Bolinhas*, and *Delta's* concerts as despising Mozambican culture because they were using 'individualistic' musicians who did not want to teach

³⁵⁹ Jacinto Dinis Khossa, "Personalidade ou fama", *Tempo*, 265, November 2, 1975, 2.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 2. Jaco Maria was born in the Inhambane and realized that he had talent for music as a teenager. As Rick Jamm put it, "it wasn't until he was a young man that Jaco Maria finally found a place where he would undoubtedly feel at home ever since: on a stage, with a microphone in his hand and a guitar on his shoulder (Rick Jamm, "Jaco Maria: the 'storyteller' redefines African music!", <http://jamsphere.com/reviews/jaco-maria-the-storyteller-redefines-african-music>. Also relevant are the following sources: https://www.reverbnation.com/jacomaria?popup_bio=true)".

marrabenta to young musicians and insisted on performing music that did not belong to the Popular Republic of Mozambique. The reader was alluding to songs with foreign influences interpreted by musicians such as Jaco Maria and Pedro Ben and the music group Storm³⁶¹.

Jaco Maria's song had North American influences in the melody. The lyrics of the song "Menina" (girl) sang in *gitonga* language spoke of everlasting love,

hana nga nhi haladza	Lady, love me
monho wangu ka wu vbanhi guadi	My heart does not live well
matsigo yatsabo nagu lora nago	All days I dream of you
monho wago wuna romo guango	Your heart is still with me
gani ku gu hasa	Maybe it is because I am crippled
gani ku gu vivba (...)	Maybe it is because I am ugly
nhi mualo lipindru kuwe sona	(...)
nhi haladzi basi	Just love me
ka nhi vbanhi nhamba uwe	I can't live without you
nga nhi halaza	Love me
nhi mole	Hold me
nho gupua guirami.	I am feeling cold.

In the song's lyrics, Jaco Maria was asking a girl to love him because he was not living well without her, and every day he dreamed of her. He did not have an alternative but her, thus, he was asking her to hold on to him because he was feeling cold. A set of verses seemed to indicate some kind of refusal from the girl because he had a physical disability and was ugly or unpleasant. Therefore, the song's lyrics and rhythm led the urban and revolutionary audience of the post-independent era to label Jaco Maria's song as reactionary and alienating.

³⁶¹ Joaquim Honwana, "Alienação cultural", *Tempo*, 281, February 22, 1976, 3.

The second group of songs were labeled as Mozambican popular music but had an Afro-Brazilian rhythm even though sang in local Mozambican languages. Therefore, the songs were also not adequate to the revolutionary fervor at the time. The third group of songs had afro-Brazilian influence, but the reader believed that it had a negative poem because it spoke of what he considered “an extraterrestrial being” which was Jesus Christ. Besides singing about religion which was not accepted under the cultural revolution being implemented, the readers believed that the songs were mobilizing people to accept poverty in the name of Jesus Christ when they could, instead, work the land available for them and contribute to the country’s development. Thus, the reader concluded that the songs were contributing to spread anarchy and disrespect for the State’s authority and Frelimo’s ideology³⁶².

The challenges of developing Mozambican urban popular music also included issues of class and status. This could be illustrated by readers of magazine *Tempo*’s opinions who considered the existing musicians as remnants of the colonial elites who wanted to maintain that status after the independence, thus dividing and demobilizing musicians and the people in general. To further his point, the reader compared song with a bullet in the following terms: “a bullet shot from gunfire reaches two to three people the

³⁶² Jacinto Dinis Khossa, “Personalidade ou fama”, *Tempo*, 265, November 2, 1975, 2; Almirante, Armando “Não à mobilização pela igreja”, in *Tempo*, 265, November 2, 1975, 2; Justino Joaquim Buque, “As testemunhas de Jeová ao serviço do imperialismo”, *Tempo*, 264, 4. Also read: Miserinho Fernando Langa, “Testemunhas de Jeová”, *Tempo*, 268, November 23, 1975; Tempográfica, “Apreendido numeroso material à seitas religiosas reacionárias ao serviço do imperialismo”, *Tempo*, 265, November, 2 1975, 8; Tempográfica, “Testemunhas de Jeová: dois conceitos”, *Tempo*, 266, November 9, 1975, 60-61; Tempográfica, “Testemunhas de Jeová: ignorância e obscurantismo nos filhos de Deus”, 266, November 9, 1975, 56-60.

maximum but our [musicians] bullet transmitted through radio reaches the whole nation, crosses borders and ‘climbs over oceans’”³⁶³.

The above-mentioned examples revealed the clashes between the prohibitions regarding the music industry, the society’s role in the implementation of Frelimo’s motto “unity, work, and vigilance”, and the musicians’ freedoms in music production as some musicians were choosing to stop playing and singing music in Mozambique or abandoning the country, as at that time the Ministry of Home Affairs was conducting collective vigilance activities to “detect and neutralize counter-revolutionary elements and actions”³⁶⁴.

The repression that ensued in the process of cultural transformation through music, with the closing of bars, cabarets, and nightclubs leaving several artists unemployed exacerbated this situation. Frelimo policies to advance its Marxist-Leninist agenda after 8 March 1977 directives, the forced recruitments to join the army to fight the MNR and its destabilization campaigns, among other events forced even more unsatisfied musicians to leave the country as the alternative would be imprisonment or the reeducation camps. Hence, musicians complied with Frelimo’s cultural policies to survive as musicians in the country.

³⁶³ Justino Joaquim Buque, “As testemunhas de Jeová ao serviço do imperialismo”, *Tempo*, 264, 4.

³⁶⁴ Tempográfica, “Contra-revolucionários expulsos de Moçambique. Padre corrupto entre os indefensáveis”, *Tempo*, 265, November 2, 1975, 7; Also read Hélder Mutemba, *Temas e análises estratégicas contemporâneas sobre Moçambique. A popularização da segurança. Um subsistema determinante para a segurança nacional* (Maputo, 2019).

The production of Mozambican popular music from the 1980s to 1992

The 1980s witnessed the continuation of the discussions around the development of Mozambican music and what it should entail. In a speech delivered in 1982 to Frelimo's Youth organization (OJM), Luís Bernardo Honwana spoke of the need for 'reaffricanization of culture' and mentioned the artist's role in the process. For him, the artist, as a creator and an innovator should 'drink' from the appropriate source, which was the people, its problems, its anxieties, its ways of living, its history, its traditions, and its struggle towards progress and change. He went further in suggesting that artists should use the past to question the present and build the future. And that people should enrich their cultural experience and enlarge their horizons through the artists' actions³⁶⁵.

Thus, there was an increase in the identification and promotion of new talents through talents competitions, the promotion and funding of records (Long Plays - LPs), the dissemination of the new talents and their music on the radio and in shows.

Rádio Moçambique and music collection, recording, dissemination and preservation

Rádio Moçambique (RM) was created through the decree-law 16/1975 of 2 October, as a result of the nationalization of the whole Mozambican broadcasting system at the time, which included *Rádio Clube de Moçambique*, *Aero-Clube da Beira*, and *Rádio*

³⁶⁵ Luís Bernardo Honwana, "A nossa cultura é só a sua metade. O papel da literatura", *Domingo*, no. 112, November 14, 1984, 5.

Pax - Catholic Church's radio station³⁶⁶. Due to the nationalization of three radio stations, *Rádio Moçambique* inherited one of the largest discotheques in Africa³⁶⁷ and took over the control of the patrimony of existing publicity agencies by 2 October 1975. That was the case of publicity agency Globo – unavoidable rival of the publicity agency *Golo* – whose owners, the couple Rocha José and Maria Gabriela Rocha *donated* their patrimony to *Rádio Moçambique* before abandoning Mozambique³⁶⁸.

During Frelimo's Information and Propaganda National Conference held in Macomia in 1975, *Rádio Moçambique* was instructed to deal with the problem of “Voz de Moçambique”'s staff members. The disparities in the treatment of the Radio staff after the independence led to the privileging of some and the discrimination of others. Besides the recognition thirty-one years later of Joana Mariana Belém, one of the key pivots during the

³⁶⁶ Luís Loforte, former radio announcer and former member of the administration board of Rádio Moçambique wrote extensively on the history of radio diffusion in Mozambique. He indicated that Grémio radio station broadcasted for the first time in 1933 marking the beginning of radio broadcasting in the territory of Mozambique. On 29 July 1937 Grémio became Rádio Clube de Moçambique. Broadcasting from Lourenço Marques, Rádio Clube de Moçambique (RCM) had four independent radio broadcasts, three in Portuguese (Programs A, C, and D), and one in English and Afrikaans (B Station or LM Radio). Additionally, RCM broadcasted from the regional broadcasting units, historically implanted chronologically as follows: November 19, 1953 – Emissor Regional de Nampula; September 3, 1958 – Emissor Regional da Zambézia; April 20, 1960 – Emissor Regional de Cabo Delgado; October 1, 1970 – Complexo Regional Beira – Dondo; October 29, 1972 – Emissor Regional de Tete; December 12, 1972 – Emissor Regional de Vila Cabral (Lichinga); 1973 – Emissor Regional de Inhambane; 1974 – Emissor Regional de Manica. RM implanted an autonomous broadcasting unit in Gaza only 28 years later, in 2002. There was also the broadcasting network “Voz de Moçambique” which by 1974 broadcasted in local languages namely ci-shangane, ci-ronga, ci-nyungue, ci-sena, ajaua, ci-nyanja, ki-swahili, e-macua, e-chuabo, e-metho, and ci-maconde. With the creation of Rádio Moçambique, “Voz de Moçambique” was incorporated as “Emissão B”. Luis Loforte was amongst the people who fought the bias towards the incorporation of minority Mozambican languages such as ki-mwani and gitonga, the insertion of ci-copi in Xai Xai and Inhambane broadcasting, and the institutionalization of ci-ronga and ci-shangana parity in Maputo and Gaza Interprovincial broadcasting (Luís Loforte, *Rádio Moçambique: memórias de um doce calvário* (Maputo: Ciedima, 2007), 78, 93, 110).

³⁶⁷ Ibid. Before 1933 people had access to South African radio stations on a regular basis and European and North American radio stations occasionally.

³⁶⁸ Luís Loforte, *Rádio Moçambique: memórias de um doce calvário*, 137.

Lourenço Marques uprising before the independence, the other “Voz de Moçambique” staff members had to pay for the mistakes of their “mentors”, the colonial regime³⁶⁹.

Luis Loforte’s memoirs seemed to suggest that the issue of the Portuguese language versus the local Mozambican languages was a problem throughout the first years of RM’s life story. The reasons for that conflict included regional bias on the part of prominent and influential people, unmasked political aspirations of linguistic and ethnic hegemony, leading to the privileging of their ethnolinguistic language in broadcasting, and nepotism by recruiting staff from their ethnic groups. Because RM was built on the inheritance of what was Rádio Clube de Moçambique, all programming philosophy reflected RCM’s editorial policies and practices, fueled with conservatism which, according to Loforte, led RM to be transformed into a center of expression of past repressions and contemporary political context in Mozambique, resulting in mediocre quality of its work and products³⁷⁰.

“Despertar Cultural” was the first cultural space conceived in its entirety by Mozambicans after the creation of RM. “Cultura Viva” was another program of reference introduced by RM in 1983. The program focused on literature and arts and disseminated the works developed by the *Associação de Escritores Moçambicanos* [Mozambican writers association] and its magazine titled “Charrua”, by the Art Center (*Núcleo de Arte*), by the National Art Museum, and by the School of Visual Arts³⁷¹.

During the colonial period, Rádio Clube de Moçambique also hosted Programa ‘C’, a channel of ‘erudite’ (classic) music. After the independence, Rádio Moçambique

³⁶⁹ Ibid: 109-110.

³⁷⁰ Ibid, 111, 129.

³⁷¹ Ibid: 151,163.

maintained the characteristics of channel C anchored on the transmission of cultural programs, symphonic concerts, ballets, operas, and choral music. Later on, Emissão ‘C’ was transformed into another broadcasting channel designated Rádio Cidade with distinct objectives. FRELIMO’s 1975 Information and Propaganda Conference directives regarding the need to include more revolutionary music to eliminate the existing elitism contributed to the eventual termination of Emissão ‘C’ disregarding the existence of distinct audiences in Mozambique, including those who could be designated ‘erudite’³⁷².

Rádio Moçambique’s 8th session of the *Conselho Consultivo Alargado* clarified the network’s role as the main communication vehicle to disseminate Mozambican music through the promotion of the development of popular music (*música ligeira*), and the support to Mozambican composers and performers³⁷³.

Music group “Grupo RM” and the *Mozambicanization* of popular music

Besides the radio programs focusing on culture mentioned in the previous chapter, in 1979 Rádio Moçambique created a music orchestra with the designation of Grupo RM³⁷⁴. Grupo RM received instructions to develop original music for the new Mozambique based on traditional rhythms, instruments, and languages from the national ethnolinguistic groups while at the same time incorporating modern instruments to adapt the music to the urban audience. RM created a supergroup based on stars from several groups with the

³⁷² Ibid: 164-165.

³⁷³ Marney, Jessie, “O que é, afinal, ‘a nossa música?’”, *Domingo*,

³⁷⁴http://www.mingas.com/1990s/tn_11_amina_jan93_amoya_sm.html.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vQirI9siguU>.

mandate of employing their talents and intellects to creating Mozambican songs and to supporting other Mozambican musicians to structure and record their songs³⁷⁵.

However, a factor to consider was the diversity of music tendencies of the group members. José Mucavele mentioned that even though all group members had urban origins they researched traditional music and developed new songs in national languages such as ci-ronga, ci-shangana, ci-tsua e ci-maconde. Some of the rhythms that influenced José Mucavele's songs included 'pankwe', timbila, limbondo, zore, m'thimba, n'tchongola, semba and nyanga³⁷⁶.

Alípio Cruz aka Otis's music trajectory is intertwined with the history of Grupo RM and the challenges faced during the 1980s. Born in Inhambane city and son of Pedro da Cruz, a jazz saxophonist and maestro of Inhambane's Municipal Band, Otis learned to play musical instruments in the Band encouraged by his father. Otis also performed with the music group "Inhambane 70" in Inhambane city with some local musicians such as Manuel Vicente Pires, Feola, Jaco Maria, and Maciel Guilherme Maciel. The 'saxman' as was known attended the first school years in Inhambane city and then moved to Lourenço Marques (LM) in 1976 to attend the School of Commerce³⁷⁷.

While in LM Otis worked with several music groups and musicians such as Pedro Ben, João Paulo, Jaimito Machatine, and Zeca Tcheco. Otis mentioned that he joined "Expresso 1001" variety shows and grew professionally within the program. The Brazilian

³⁷⁵ Interview, Luís Loforte, Maputo, 2019.

³⁷⁶ Torcato, 1984: 4; http://www.mingas.com/1990s/tn_11_amina_jan93_amoya_sm.html

³⁷⁷ ("Alípio Cruz Otis – always seeking growth in his music", February 17, 2016 - <https://kreolmagazine.com/music-entertainment/musicians/alipio-cruz-otis-always-seeking-growth-in-his-music/#.XgDUJqeB10s>); "Otis, de Moçambique para o mundo" (www.otis-sax.com/biografia.php); "Alípio Cruz: é preciso enquadrar os músicos", *Domingo*, December 23, 1984, 11; Interview, Otis, 2019. Interview, Helena Maria da Cruz, Maputo-Inhambane, 2019

entertainer Victor José produced “Expresso 1001” and took the show closer to people in the city outskirts neighborhoods such as Xipamanine, Chamanculo, and Matola, who could not afford to attend the shows and concerts in the main urban music or concert halls such as Dicca or Cine África³⁷⁸.

Otis also joined Frelimo’s youth wing OJM’s “Grupo Experimental no.1” with other young musicians such as João Cabaço and Artur Garrido Júnior. At the time, Zacarias Kupela was responsible for OJM. He invited young musicians to join a music group to attend the First International Festival in Cuba in 1978. Upon the return from Cuba Otis continued performing in night clubs until he joined Grupo RM where he performed for six years³⁷⁹.

According to radio announcer Edmundo Galiza Matos Júnior, Grupo RM “was a truly ‘Big Band’ which opened new horizons to Mozambican popular music or música ligeira Moçambicana and contributed to project the name of Mozambique internationally³⁸⁰”. One of such occasions was Grupo RM’s trip to Portugal in October 1983 to perform in events part of Mozambique-Portugal solidarity week, following instructions from the State Secretariat for Culture. After the end of the official visit to Portugal, some members of the group remained in Portugal and performed under the name of “Xitotongwana”: Zé Mucavele (acoustic guitar), Zeca Tcheco (percussion), Totoginho (percussion), Alípio Cruz (sax) and Wazimbo (lead singer)³⁸¹.

³⁷⁸ Interview with Otis, Maputo-Lisboa, June 2019.

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

³⁸⁰ <http://www.clube70.blogspot.com/2008/12/wazimbo-60-anos-ao-servio-da-msica.html>

³⁸¹ Freire, Manuel, “Conjunto RM em Portugal”, *Domingo*. “Xitotongwana” is the name of a Bird in one of Mozambican national languages.

Grupo RM started revealing signs of disintegration over the first years of the 1980s when the entertainment industry entered a crisis phase and night shows were reduced³⁸². Ideological conflicts regarding the ways to respond to the instructions of producing genuinely Mozambican music were among the reasons for the group's crisis³⁸³. On the disintegration of the group, Luís Loforte (2007) wrote,

The Conjunto RM project was undoubtedly an interesting idea, mainly because they entertained people and fixated songs so far reduced to mere popular expression. Not wanting to elaborate too much on this issue, as someone who accompanied the trajectory of our [radio] network's group, the truth forces me to say that its organic structure limited restless group musicians' horizons and creativity, among them, undoubtedly José Mucavele. It was a problem of the constellation of stars, but also, and above all, of bureaucracy and the compensation leveled from below, which we know today, are not good partners of culture.³⁸⁴

In this regard, José Mucavele pointed some challenges such as RM's inadequate organizational structure, the reduced number of discs being recorded despite the existence of songs to record several LPs, as a result of Grupo RM's visibility and acclamation nationally and internationally. Mucavele mentioned that suggestions to review Grupo RM's structure had been submitted to the State Secretariat for Culture³⁸⁵. Grupo RM's responsibility to project *música ligeira* was emphasized because it had quality work conditions and a variety of expertise among its members. However, the music produced by Grupo RM was still considered as being distant from what should be *música ligeira*

³⁸² Amâncio Miguel, *Marrabentar*, 130.

³⁸³ Telephone interview with Otis, June 2019.

³⁸⁴ Luís Loforte, "Zé Mucavele: a homenagem a um cantor que não cede a gostos duvidosos e 'pimbistas'", *Ngoma*, April 27th, 2010, <http://www.clube70.blogspot.com/2010/04/ze-mucavele-homenagem-um-cantor-que-nao.html>

³⁸⁵ M.L. Torcato, "O sucesso fácil e o dinheiro não são a minha motivação. José Mucavele do Grupo RM", 12 de Fevereiro de 1984, 4.

Moçambicana because they were developing music styles resembling music being produced in Harare, Luanda, Londres, Berlim, Nova Iorque, Nova Deli, or Toronto.

Luís Loforte suggested that the groups' lifetime as compared with the quality and quantity of its components should also be considered as part of the factors that concurred to the group's disintegration. As Luís Loforte put it, "A supergroup is a concept which encompasses the idea of bringing together in a small-time frame stars from several music groups to deliver specific products. The group's lifetime should not be more than two years risking cutting the artists' creative abilities. However, Grupo RM lasted many years as a supergroup. Upon the group's disintegration, several musicians went solo such as Alípio Cruz, José Guimarães, and José Mucavele³⁸⁶". In 1984 Alípio Cruz aka Otis left Grupo RM after recording his first two original songs namely "Pai" and "Pom"³⁸⁷ at EME's studios³⁸⁸. Speaking on the reasons for leaving Grupo RM, in a recent interview Otis mentioned that saturation and the need to change motivated him to move to Portugal³⁸⁹.

Upon its disintegration, several Grupo RM members joined the newly created "Marrabenta Star" orchestra under the leadership of Aurélio Le Bon. The group was gender-sensitive as it included two female voices, namely Elisa Domingas Salatiel Jamisse aka Mingas³⁹⁰ and Dulce. "Marrabenta Star" orchestra traveled internationally to countries

³⁸⁶ Interview, Luís Loforte, 2019.

³⁸⁷ Mía Couto, Dir., "Gravando 'Pai' e 'Pom': Alípio Cruz esteve em estúdio", *Domingo*, 18 de Novembro de 1984, 4.

³⁸⁸ "Pai" was a soft 4 minute song dedicated to his father, maestro Pedro Cruz. "Pom" was a *marrabenta* 3 minutes and 16 seconds song paying tribute to a Mozambican music instrument. Alípio Cruz recorded the songs with Hortêncio Langa, Fenias Bila, Bicho, Chico, Milagre Langa, and Childo. (Mía Couto, Dir., "Gravando 'Pai' e 'Pom': Alípio Cruz esteve em estúdio", *Domingo*, 18 de Novembro de 1984, 4.)

³⁸⁹ Interview, Otis, 2019. Mía Couto, Dir., "Gravando 'Pai' e 'Pom': Alípio Cruz esteve em estúdio", *Domingo*, 18 de Novembro de 1984, 4.

³⁹⁰ Elisa Domingas Salatiel Jamisse sang at United Methodist Church and was part of the cultural movement fostered by Alex Barbosa that projected artists through the music concerts and competitions Xitimela 1001 and Foguetão. By then artists such as Jaimito Machatine, António William, Dilon Djindji, António Marcos,

such as the Netherlands and France and recorded overseas two important albums titled “Independence Marrabenta” and “Piquenique”³⁹¹. Later on, a new Grupo RM was created with only three artists from the first band, namely Zeca Tcheco, Sox³⁹², and Wazimbo, and included new additions such as Pipas (keyboard), Tomás (guitar) e Nando (bass guitar and vocals).

Parada de sucessos’s contribution for the development of Mozambican popular music

One of Rádio Moçambique’s radio programs designed to promote music was titled “Parada de Sucessos” loosely translated to “Success Hits”. “Parada de Sucessos” was a radio program broadcasted on a weekly basis, on Sundays for about two hours³⁹³. Musicians’ access and permanence on “Parada de Sucessos” was achieved on a competitive basis with the weekly highlight of the ten most voted songs and the weekly winner. This competition included a parade of national songs and a parade of international songs, which revealed the coexistence of these two segments of music in a time when the government

Fany Mpumfu, João Cabaço, and the music group Rabadab Zamtaka were popular. Mingas joined the shows interpreting songs of American musicians such as The O’Jays, Temptations, and Roberta Flack. Accompanied by the music group Hokolokwe. She later performed with Conjunto João Domingos interpreting musicians such as Miriam Makeba, Letta Mbulo, Donna Summer, and Diana Ross and performed in nightclubs such as Zambi and Mini-Golf. She joined Marrabenta Star Orchestra in 1987 after a national tour with Hokolokwe in 1982 and 1983, and a failed attempt to perform in South Africa in 1985 when she traveled to Nelspruit looking for better opportunities, where she created a music group that did not go beyond rehearsals (Amâncio Miguel, Marrabentar, 129-130).

³⁹¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U-rNTrgf6Ow>.

³⁹² <http://www.clube70.blogspot.com/2008/12/wazimbo-60-anos-ao-servio-da-msica.html>

³⁹³ Mia Couto, Dir., “Rádio: parada de sucessos interrompida para a ‘Parada das Paradas’”, *Domingo*, no. 55, 16 de Outubro de 1983f, 4.

was promoting the development of música ligeira Moçambicana and trying to gain the urban audience's acceptance of the new songs.

Several songs paraded in “Paradas de Sucessos”, including the following that reached the top ten: “Sengue” (in *gitonga* means flowers, pl. of *genge*³⁹⁴) sang by Jaco Maria³⁹⁵, “Nhinadzame” (I should drown) by Alambique³⁹⁶, “sarna” (a disease that provokes itching) by Xidiminguana, “Xibomba xa Hanhana” by Eusébio Faustino³⁹⁷, “Verdes Campos” by music group “1 de Maio”³⁹⁸, “Magubani” by Simeão Mazuze, “Perdoa-me querida” by Jerry de Sousa, “Xizambiza” by Roberto Chitsondzo, “Não há crise” by César Flores³⁹⁹, “Halima” by Grupo RM, “coração iludido” by Zarco⁴⁰⁰, “I’m on fire” by Fernando Azevedo and Andy⁴⁰¹, “Bvalha” by Grupo RM, “Xantima ibolhela” by

³⁹⁴ Amaral, A; Laisse, S; e Nhacota, E., (2007), *Dicionário de Português – Gitonga Gitonga - Português e compêndio gramatical* (Mira Sintra: Câmara Municipal de Oeiras), 148.

³⁹⁵ Mía Couto, Dir., “Rádio. Parada de surpresas ou surpresas da parada”, *Domingo*, 01 de Julho de 1984, 4; Mía Couto, Dir., “Gal Costa e Mazuze as notícias da parada”, *Domingo*, 8 de Julho de 1984; Mía Couto, Dir., “Parada. Subidas e descidas em paralelo”, *Domingo*, 29 de Julho de 1984, 4; Mía Couto, Dir., “Parada de sucessos: pequenas mudanças”, *Domingo*, 26 de Agosto de 1984, 4; Mía Couto, Dir., “Parada de sucessos. Foi tempo de mudanças”, *Domingo*, 9 de Setembro de 1984;

³⁹⁶ Alambique is the name of an instrument used to produce traditional beer. Because it brought together several components necessary to make the traditional beer, the music group name meant that it brought together each members’ peculiar music trends. Alambique performed a diversity of songs with influences of Mozambican traditional rhythms. The songs composed and recorded in 1984 included Mozambican traditional rhythms such as Muganda from Niassa, Mapico from Cabo Delgado, and also jazz and Marrabenta. The first members of the group were Mundinho: piano and keyboard, Chilco: bass guitar, percussion, and chorus, Celso Paco: drums; Arão Litsuri: guitar and soloist; Hortêncio Langa: guitar, flute, mandolin and bandoro (Panguana, 1984: 12). Mía Couto, Dir., “Parada de sucessos. O primeiro em ‘estado de choque’”, *Domingo*, 23 de Setembro de 1984, 4.; Mía Couto, Dir., “Parada de sucessos. As notícias estão na tabela internacional”, *Domingo*, 7 de Outubro de 1984, 4.

³⁹⁷ Mía Couto, Dir., “Rádio na Parada de Sucessos”, *Domingo*, no. 54, 09 de Outubro de 1983, 4

³⁹⁸ Mía Couto, Dir., “Verdes Campos da Zambézia em disco”, *Domingo*, no. 55, 16 de Outubro de 1983.

³⁹⁹ Mía Couto, Dir., “Parada de sucessos: Mazuze a grande mexida”, *Domingo*, no. 91, 24 de Junho de 1984.

⁴⁰⁰ Mía Couto, Dir., “Rádio. Parada de sucessos: Mudança me ritmo de parada”, *Domingo*, no. 90, 17 de Junho de 1984, 4.

⁴⁰¹ Mía Couto, Dir., “Parada de sucessos: paragem na nacional, ‘ar puro’ na internacional”, *Domingo*, no. 91, 24 de Junho de 1984, 4.

Simeão Mazuze, “d’A fome desta terra” by Pedro Langa⁴⁰², “Djogorro” by Felisberto Félix⁴⁰³, and “Macarita” by Bambu Rungo.

“Parada de Sucessos” contributed to the increase of Mozambican songs recorded at RM studios and disseminated either on the radio or through LP’s. In the beginning, there were more songs by musicians from Southern Mozambique musicians and songs in ci-shangana, ci-ronga and Portuguese. Gradually efforts were made to incorporate musicians from other regions of the country.

Jaco Maria and Arão Litsuri were among the musicians who sang songs in *gitonga* paraded on “Parada de Sucessos. Jaco Maria entered the top ten on the 20th edition with the song ‘Senge’ and remained there until the 23rd edition when it reached the first position of the top ten. ‘Senge’ remained in the top ten’s first position until the 27th⁴⁰⁴ edition and dropped to the 2nd position on the 28th edition with the entrance ‘Bvalha’ by Grupo RM’s to the top position⁴⁰⁵. While ‘Senge’ struggled to remain on the Parade’s top ten first places, another song in *gitonga* entered the top ten. It was titled ‘Nhinadzame’ interpreted by the newly created music group *Alambique*.

RM’s ‘Bvadla’, a recreation of a classic song of the popular Mozambican songbook won 1984’s edition of “Parada de Sucessos”⁴⁰⁶ and Jaco’s ‘Senge’ was placed second in the overall final of the national parade. According to the critics, ‘Bvadla’ revealed that musicians’ efforts to finding inspiration in Mozambican music roots mixing it with

⁴⁰² Mia Couto, Dir., “Parada de sucessos: pequenas mudanças”, *Domingo*, 26 de Agosto de 1984, 4.

⁴⁰³ Mia Couto, Dir., “Parada de sucessos. Djogoro ou a surpresa nacional”, *Domingo*, 16 de Setembro de 1984, 4.

⁴⁰⁴ Couto, “Verdes Campos da Zambézia em disco”, 4; Couto, “Gal Costa e Mazuze as notícias da parada”, 4. Couto, 1984: 4; Couto, “Parada. Subidas e descidas em paralelo”, 4.

⁴⁰⁵ Couto, “Parada de sucessos. Foi tempo de mudanças”, 4.

⁴⁰⁶ Mia Couto, Dir., “A melhor do ano: Bvalha”, *Domingo*, 20 de Janeiro de 1985, 4.

modernity was paying off. Such was the case that the winning song was included in a world parade in the Netherlands⁴⁰⁷.

Music concerts and the challenges of captivating the urban audience

Music concerts were part of urban life to celebrate important historical or social and political events⁴⁰⁸. Therefore, music concerts were integrated as part of the music entrepreneurs' efforts to disseminate urban popular music (*música ligeira*) “Espectáculo relâmpago” (loosely translated as Lightning show) was among the events organized by Maputo City's Education and Culture Directorate. In 1984 the press highlighted the initiative's objectives which included the following: to entertain citizens in their free time, particularly the youth; to showcase new music talents under the competition “canção da minha autoria” (loosely translated as my original song); to showcase *música ligeira* groups; and to disseminate rhythms from other cultures, as was the case of the music group “Os Tradicionais” with Cuban expatriates (‘cooperantes’) who performed *Rumba, Conga e Guaracha*⁴⁰⁹.

The company Empresa Moçambicana de Entretenimento – EME also played a role in finding and promoting new talents through show-competitions⁴¹⁰. *Tonga* musician Vicente Fernando Dias aka Feola won the prize for best voice singing the song “Mahigo”

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid, 4.

⁴⁰⁸ Ricardo Rangel, M. Da Graça, M. Ferro, J. Cabral e J. Costa, “Noite de festa, Noite de Trabalho”, *Domingo*, Vol. 1, Nº 15, (03-Jan-1982), 10.

⁴⁰⁹ Mia Couto, Dir., “Canção da minha autoria em meias-finais”, *Domingo*, no 102, 9 de Setembro de 1984, 2; Mia Couto, Dir., “‘Espectáculo Relâmpago’ volta aos palcos da capital”, *Domingo*, 09 de Dezembro de 1984, 2.

⁴¹⁰ EME opened a new recording studio in 1982 which was highly regarded by international musicians such as Hugh Masekela and Dorothy Massuka (Jorge Costa, “Música moçambicana tem novo som”. *Domingo*, Vol.2, Nº14, 1982, 6).

and cash prizes⁴¹¹. Besides Feola, Avelino Mondlane, Zacarias Azarias, Aniceto, and João Simbine also competed for the best voice prize. The other winners of the show-competition were as follows: music band *Xigutsa-vuma* (best composition), and music band *Formação 82* (best performance)⁴¹².

Even though musicians complained about rehearsal conditions, inadequate payment, and the unsatisfactory relationship between the musicians and the culture managing structures, the main challenges on concerts and the efforts to insert *música ligeira* on the urban setting were related to the audiences' acceptance of what was being produced and performed under the name of *música ligeira*. Urban audiences, particularly in Maputo city had already developed particular tastes regarding international music, more abundant, accessible, and widely disseminated on the radio. Additionally, the urban audience complained about the high prices to attend the shows and the noise produced during the concerts⁴¹³.

However, the press criticized the audience of the concerts as being cold and labeled them as underdeveloped or people who could not behave properly in concerts. Jessie Marney blamed the structure and organization of the movie theaters where the concerts and competitions were held as contributing factors to people's lack of interest in shows or concerts of *música ligeira*. Besides the theaters' formal environment, people were sitting in chairs far from the stage and the musicians were elevated on the stage thus restricting

⁴¹¹ Interview with Fernando Vicente Dias aka Feola, Inhambane, March 2019.

⁴¹² Benevide Mavie, "Música ligeira em Moçambique: um espectáculo-concurso que queremos ver repetido", *Domingo*, 22.

⁴¹³ Baltazar Maninguane, "Espectáculos Salutares ou Exploração dos artistas?" *Domingo*, Vol.1, N°41, (11-Jul-1982), 22; A. Dimas, "Mais encontros entre artistas e entidades da cultura", *Domingo*, Vol.1, N°41, (11-Jul-1982), 3.

the public's participation while seated row after row 'like frozen fish'. Thus, it was argued that the audience's reaction could not be different because "frozen fish does not clap"⁴¹⁴. Therefore, Jessie Marney argued that the producers were returning to the colonial past when the music for the new Mozambique required new ways of being anchored on the traditions of Mozambican people⁴¹⁵.

The other critique was related to the audiences' understanding and treatment of the new rhythms which emerged from this process of developing *música ligeira Moçambicana*. Such was the case of the music group "Sungura Tswa" in one of its live performances. Similar to critiques from the mid-1970s on the alienating factor of sungura music genre, the press at the time criticized the music band "Sungura Tswa" for performing a repertoire which included what was considered a 'vulgar' music genre, popular in East Africa, but appreciated by "certain sectors of the Mozambican audience in the central and northern Mozambique"⁴¹⁶. That revealed another layer of contradictions in terms of what should constitute Mozambican popular music. Especially due to two factors: (i) the majority of the contestants or performers in concerts (music bands and lead vocalists) were from southern Mozambique; (ii) the highly praised music bands performed in local languages and incorporated rhythms of Southern Mozambique. The critique to Sungura Tswa's repertoire associated with the fact that it was appreciated by an audience in the central and northern Mozambique revealed a certain degree of bias or discrimination in what and who could be identified as 'Mozambican' in the music industry.

⁴¹⁴ Jessie Marney, "Peixe gelado não bate palmas", *Domingo*, October 23, 1983, 3.

⁴¹⁵ Jessie Marney, "Peixe gelado não bate palmas", 3.

⁴¹⁶ Benevide Mavic, "Música ligeira Moçambicana. Um espectáculo-concurso que queremos ver repetido", *Domingo*, nr... 22

Music Label “Ngoma” and the dissemination of Mozambican music

Besides the creation of Grupo RM, another RM’s milestone was the recording and dissemination of música ligeira Moçambicana through its broadcasting programs. The Mozambican government supported RM’s efforts, including the creation of recording conditions. The main objective was to find new and emerging talents, record their songs and disseminate them nationally and internationally.

To achieve this objective, RM recorded long plays (LP) and single plays (SP) under the label “Ngoma”⁴¹⁷ (means drum) by 1979 with songs of individual urban popular music musicians or groups, choirs, and traditional music groups. Musicians Magide Mussá, Awendila, Willi and Aníbal were among the first musicians who benefitted from this opportunity in 1979. Magide Musá recorded his first album titled “Sikwatana” with the music group “Os inimitáveis”⁴¹⁸. Besides Mozambican musicians, Ngoma label also released songs of international musicians such as Miriam Makeba who recorded the LP titled “Malaika” in 1979 with 11 songs.

Nonetheless, by 1979 the focus was still on revolutionary songs and that was made visible with the recording of a couple of LPs focusing on the revolutionary messages related to the edification of the nation-state and the Mozambican cultural identity. Therefore, in 1979 Ngoma label recorded and disseminated a compilation of songs

⁴¹⁷ Discs recorded under the label Ngoma can be purchased online: <https://www.discogs.com/label/98389-Ngoma>.

⁴¹⁸ “Os inimitáveis” can be loosely translated as “the ones who cannot be copied”. In 1984 Magide Mussa recorded the songs “Procuco caminho” and “Tsala” also under the label Ngoma. (<https://www.discogs.com/label/98389-Ngoma>; Interview with Magide Mussá, Maputo, 2018).

dedicated to Mozambican women on a vinyl disc titled “Mulher Moçambicana” with 13 items among songs and poems mostly in Portuguese and ci-shangana languages praising the contribution of women to the country’s development under Frelimo’s directives on women’s emancipation. In the same year, RM also recorded and disseminated the vinyl disc titled “Canta Povo Moçambicano”, compiling freedom and revolutionary songs including songs. In 1980 another vinyl LP was released with revolutionary songs performed by the FPLM choir.

By 1983 RM had produced 118,661 single plays of several groups and musicians. RM also recorded 47,702 long plays corresponding to 10 editions of the Ngoma⁴¹⁹. Ngoma label also released songs by music groups such as “Conjunto 1º de Maio” which recorded revolutionary songs in 1983, or the music group “Eyuphuro” which recorded a vinyl disc with 10 songs in 1984 mostly in e-macua language. The label also released songs by music groups who accompanied other musicians or whose songs were incorporated in collective discs such as the music groups “Grupo Bantu”, “Os Planetas”, “Os Nacionais”, “Hokolókwe”, “Xiwora Mati”, “Sungura Tswa”, and “Conjunto Soyuz”.

Besides individual musicians or individual group’s discs, Ngoma label also disseminated songs of several artists in music compilations. Such was the case of following LP’s: “Vários Volume 1” (1980), “Various – Moçambique no Festival de Neubrandenburg 80” (1981), “Vários – Músicas de Moçambique – Zona Norte” (1983), “Various – Música de Moçambique” (1983), “Música de Moçambique” (1984), “Ritmos de Dança Moçambicanos” (1984), “Parada de Sucessos” (1984), “Parada de Sucessos nr. 3” (1988)

⁴¹⁹ Mia Couto, Dir., “Ngoma: dois discos Moçambicanos”, *Domingo*, 25 de Dezembro de 1983, 4.

“Ritmos de Dança Moçambicanos number 2” (1989), “Cidade da Beira 82 anos” (1989), “Parada de Sucessos number 4” (1989), “Músicas de Moçambique volume 4” (1990).

Ngoma label also focused on children audience with the recording and dissemination of the LP titled “Nós os Continuadores” in 1980 with revolutionary songs for children performed by Frelimo primary school, and the LP titled “Bons Sonhos” with children songs performed by musician Titio Turutão Sant’ana Afonso. As part of its dissemination campaigns, RM made efforts to sell the discs during the festive seasons. Such was the case of the recording and dissemination of two discs in 1983, namely Tomás Moiane’s “Hinguelani Huwa” and “Rula mbilwine yaku”, and Paulo Muiambo’s “Entendimento no lar” and “PEC”.

Until 1984 and despite the significant efforts to include musicians from the whole country as part of the project to develop música ligeira, part of the songs released under the label Ngoma were composed or sang by musicians from the Southern part of Mozambique, in local languages and Portuguese. However, by mid-1984 RM was making efforts to revert that scenario. As a result, RM succeeded in achieving that goal with the recording of songs of artists such as Salvador Maurício (1988) and artists from Sofala as part of the celebrations of the Beira city’s 82nd anniversary, namely Tazzi, Tomás Guilhermino, Jorge Mamad, Gizela, José Zimola, André Salvador (1989).

Ngoma label also released a compilation of traditional songs in the LP titled “Canção e Música Tradicional de Moçambique” with songs from distinct cultures, groups and regions of Mozambique, including the following: Coral da Dança Tufo (Nampula), Xipendane (Tete), Tambores da Dança Niketche (Zambézia), Sanse (Tete), Mâmbria (Zambézia), Tambores da Dança Nhambalo (Zambézia), Tchakare (Zambézia), Nyanga

(Tete), Nhakajambe (Sofala), Coral Masculino de Homóine (Inhambane), Instrumentalista de Tambores (Zambézia), Pankwé (Zambézia), Kahembe (Tete), Cassasse (Zambézia), Tambores da Dança Mamuzeza (Zambézia), Timbila de Zandamela (Inhambane).

Therefore, by the 1990s Ngoma label made significant progress in the promotion of urban popular music by releasing urban popular songs composed and performed by Mozambican and international musicians including female musicians Miriam Makeba, Joaquina Siquice, and Verónica Peterson, and male musicians Magide Mussá, José Mater, Camal Givá, Awendila, José Mucavele, Sant'ana Afonso, Arnaldo Silva, Francisco Cuna, Tomás Urbano, Amade Mulungo, Mandraque, Alexandre Langa, Xidiminguana, Eugénio Mucavele, Avelino Mondlane, Fernando Chivure, Alfredo Mulhui, Francisco Mahecuane, Salomão Tamele, Lisboa Matavele, Dilon Ndindji, António Marcos, Armando Mabjaia, Aniano Tamele, Castigo Chirindza, Leo Nthembo, Pacha Viegas, Humbe Benedito, Victor Bernardo, Rashid Ismael, Tito Chichava, Djeco, Paulo Miambo, Roberto Chitsondzo, Zarco Ferreira, Simeão Mazuze, Taíbo Ismael, Pedro Langa, Fanny Mpfumo, Felisberto Félix, José Fernando, César Flores, Biriba, Pedro Machado, Zarco, Armindo Salato, Trigueiro Correia, Fernando Silva, Yana, Xadrique, Tomás Moaine, Carlos Hlongo, Wili and Aníbal, João Cabaço, Arão Litsuri, Fernando Luís.

The civil war during the 1980s and its effects on the music industry

The civil war which occurred in Mozambique from 1976 until 1992 opposed the government of Mozambique and the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) which by 1983 was named RENAMO – *Resistência Nacional de Moçambique*. With international

support, the MNR had 76 soldiers in 1977, 6000 to 7000 armed soldiers and 2000 recruits in 1980, 10000 soldiers by February 1981, and 20000 soldiers in 1992 when the peace agreement was signed in Rome. RENAMO's main strategies relied on guerrilla warfare and economic sabotage including the destruction of railway systems, health facilities, and hospitals, schools, bridges and roads, industrial parks, communication networks, energy production centers, rural shops, destruction of government infrastructures, and agriculture fields. It also included terrorism by killing, mutilating, and abducting people⁴²⁰.

Magide Mussá's⁴²¹ life and career intersected with the post-independence war in Mozambique in several ways, particularly during the 1980s when the war escalated with significant effects for the music industry. Despite the traveling challenges due to constant attacks by RENAMO soldiers, music promoters continued to promote concerts and transported musicians from Maputo city to other urban and rural areas to perform in fundraising activities for the people affected by the war.

Such was the case of the tour organized in 1984 to Inhambane province. Musician Magide Mussá and cultural music and dance groups such as the "Makwayela of TPU⁴²²" were part of the tour that was escorted by military personnel. Magide Mussá narrated that after a two-week tour in Inhambane alongside other members of the music group "Som 75" with whom he performed, Magide Mussá boarded a *Romos* bus on January 1984 in

⁴²⁰ Hélder Mutemba, *A popularização da segurança: um subsistema determinante para a segurança nacional* (Maputo: Hélder Mutemba, 2019), 26-267.

⁴²¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CSmosoPeBG0>.

⁴²² Makwaela TPU Group was created in 1976. It was composed of 12 people. The group won first prize in competitions organized in 1980, 1981, and 1982 which allowed them to travel to several parts of the country. (Tome, Manuel, "Gil Mabjeca e o grupo dos TPU", *Domingo*, 2 February 1984, 7.

Maxixe to return to Maputo. RENAMO's soldiers attacked the convoy in Cumbana resulting in massive destruction and deaths, as recalled by Magide Mussa,

It was a slaughter. Though fallen, the bus was being shot, some passengers jumped miraculously through the windows. It was when I was shot in the hand and lost a finger. Many who tried to jump were caught in the bushes... anyway. You know, until today I don't know how I escaped that bus. Minutes after abandoning the car I saw smoke at a distance: the bus was on fire. And carbonized bodies.... People died that day.⁴²³

The armed bandits' cruelty was also mentioned by TPU group's maestro Gil Mabjeca⁴²⁴, "the bandits burned our bus, passengers broke the windshield to exit but the bandits were shooting at those who were exiting the bus"⁴²⁵. Gil Mabjeca indicated that of the 60 people in the bus 27 were gun hot and others were burnt. Two *makwaela* performers died on the site and two were wounded. Mabjaia indicated that there was intentionality behind the attack on the convoy. Consequently, the war affected not only the artists and but also influenced their repertoires,

When I left one of the bandits who could be their leader told the other whose mission was to kill all who tried to exit through the windshield, "shoot, that's him". He could only say that because they knew my face from the concerts we did. We performed songs against the armed bandits. After the attack, after losing five of four comrades with two severely wounded we decided to make more songs with a better characterization of the armed bandits. Previously, we learned about bandits from media or through the destruction they caused. Now we know well, directly what an armed bandit is... when we return to the stages, the first new song will be against the armed bandits, with more hatred, vigor and forcefulness, because we know them better⁴²⁶.

⁴²³ "Magid Mussa reflecte sobre sua carreira", Monday, 2 February 2009. ([mbila.blogspot.com/2009/02/...](http://mbila.blogspot.com/2009/02/)). Magide Mussá, 2019.

⁴²⁴ Gil Mabjeca was working as a driving instructor in the company Transportes Públicos Urbanos (Public urban transport) – TPU. Before this position, he worked in South Africa. (Manuel Tomé "Makwaiela dos TPU: um juramento patriótico", *Domingo*, 2 February 1984, 7).

⁴²⁵ Manuel Tomé, "Makwaiela dos TPU: um juramento patriótico", *Domingo*, 2 February 1984, 7.

⁴²⁶ *Ibid*, 7.

As a result, after mourning their dead they returned stronger with the addition of two female performers turning TPU into a gender-sensitive group⁴²⁷. The song “Vamos dançar” [let’s dance]⁴²⁸, by Magide Mussá’s was a consolation song for those affected by wars, bad luck and other social problems. The song invited the listener to dance that song of poverty [dzimu nha usiwana] and cry [dzimu nha gililo],

Delu ndriango hi ta hana ndzimo yeyi
u pidua dzinhala satsavbo kedza eni
u hendrua sirumbu satsavbo kedza eni
lipango eli nhi gu nalo
nhina embela mani?
usiwana nhi gu nawo.

Come my brother let’s dance this song
If they cut your nails, you say it’s me
If they cut your intestines, you say it’s me
Is this life?
Who will I tell?
About my poverty.

The song “unga vbanha gufa” by Matagal Sultuane Sultuane sang the need to return home where the elders had perished and questioned who would receive and take care of people returning home, and where would the people sleep because for a long time they were deceived by the urbanization and did not return home.

Besides the production of new songs, the attack also led to the creation of a monument designated “Vala comum de Zurene” [Zurene’s common graveyard]. Because it was not possible to send the bodies to be buried in Maputo where the artists came from a common graveyard was opened, and all victims were buried at the location of the attack. Later, the Government of Inhambane defined the attack’s location as a historical place and

⁴²⁷ Mia Couto, Dir., “Nós dissemos: a luta continua”, *Domingo*, 19 de Agosto de 1984, 12.

⁴²⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GO2H576VBaQ>.

the maintenance of this location is part of the government's priorities⁴²⁹, even though this place is not included in the province's main touristic points.

Challenges in the development of Mozambican popular music

By 1984 the development of música ligeira Moçambicana the quality of musica ligeira improved music despite challenges in terms of quantity of songs and albums recorded. Mostly Southern Mozambican musicians were recorded, modern instruments were used to complement traditional instruments, RM's technical capacity for recording and broadcasting enlarged, artists improved the quality of their songs, their vocal abilities, and music arrangements⁴³⁰.

However, despite these developments in the development of música ligeira's industry, some challenges were identified. RM was criticized for still privileging discography in the Portuguese language despite the existence of songs in local languages⁴³¹. Mozambique was losing its artistic products and materials to foreign countries due to the lack of protection of author rights and the inexistence of an association of musicians. Examples of unlawful appropriation of arts included the song "Elisa gomara saia" performed by the Angolan music group Duo Ouro Negro in a remixed version which became a huge success. Another example was the fact that the largest collection of Chope

⁴²⁹ Interview with João Rosse, Maxixe, August 2019.

⁴³⁰ Jorge Morgado, "1984 – um ano 'bom' na música Moçambicana". *Domingo*, no. 115, 9 de Dezembro de 1984.

⁴³¹ Couto, 1984, 8.

music was located in South Africa and in the United States⁴³². Another relevant aspect was the loss of traditional knowledge with the passing out of great musicians and maestros without the collection and preservation of their considerable knowledge. By the end of 1984, musicians started meetings and fundraised to constitute the association of musicians⁴³³.

On the record-making, the main challenges were related to the participation of the private sector. There was a perception that private record labels such as Teal Discos were sidelined in the process of recording musicians producing *música ligeira*. In this regard, Morgado advocated the need for the mainstreaming of the private sector to improve the quality and quantity of *música ligeira* produced, and also to break RM's hegemony as "the big collective record player of all Mozambicans". External dependency in record-making was also a concern. In this regard, Morgado emphasized that it was not enough to have a small number of singers and songs in stock as the record-making process included the musician, the repertoire, commercial marketing, the development of a plan for music production, recording, mixing, cuts, galvanoplasty, pressing, the conception of the musicians' disc, labeling, among others, which were lacking internally forcing the music industry to depend on external resources for record making⁴³⁴.

Other challenges during this period included the need to increase music training, diversification of sources of sound for recording, the increased use of musical instruments

⁴³² Mía Couto, Dir., "Músicos: os que mais avançaram na arte. Diz Albino Magaia, jornalista e escritor", *Domingo*, 22 de Julho de 1984, p.8; A. Dimas, "Estivemos sempre inclinados para Musica popular", *Domingo*, Vol. 1, N°15, (03-Jan-1982), 22.

⁴³³ Mía Couto, Dir., "Os músicos de Moçambique e a futura associação", *Domingo*, no. 116, 16 de Dezembro de 1984, 4.

⁴³⁴ Jorge Morgado, "1984 – um ano 'bom' na música Moçambicana", 2.

considered taboo due to the lack of knowledge on how to use them, the inclusion of more Mozambican rhythms and musical instruments, and the issue of marginalization of musicians⁴³⁵.

In the process of mixing traditional and modern music rhythms, there was a concern about the possibility of turning Mozambican music more towards modernity rather than tradition⁴³⁶. The question of how much of each was enough to make good *música ligeira* was part of the debates. While some would appeal to more openness in terms of incorporating external influences⁴³⁷, others would emphasize the need for more interaction between the diverse regional and local particularities in the whole country⁴³⁸ as part of the popular music's affirmation.

On the other hand, Luís Honwana warned of the possibility of falling into the trap of “cultural nationalism” with the imposition of limits to artists' creativity, thus the need for coexistence between the traditional culture and the acculturated culture. It was argued that Mozambican culture should be a “united national identity, rich in the multiplicity of its forms and expressions, and alive through the interaction with other peoples' cultures”⁴³⁹, and that Mozambican popular music did not necessarily mean a return to the origins and an embracing of the ancestors' rhythms, but open to all strategies as long as the ‘essential’ (what identified Mozambique) was preserved⁴⁴⁰.

⁴³⁵ Jorge Morgado, “1984 – um ano ‘bom’ na música Moçambicana”, 2; Mia Couto, Dir., “Artistas não são marginais como muitas pessoas pensam: Alexandre Langa, cantor popular Moçambicano”, *Domingo*, 20 de Novembro de 1983, 16; Marcelo Panguana, “Musica ligeira: um parto difícil?”, *Domingo*, Vol. 1, N°18, (24-Jan-1982), 6).

⁴³⁶ Morgado, “1984 – um ano ‘bom’ na música Moçambicana”, 2.

⁴³⁷ Ramos, 1983: 7

⁴³⁸ Ibid.

⁴³⁹ Honwana, 1984: 5.

⁴⁴⁰ Panguana, Marcelo, “Alambique... uma nova filosofia musical”, *Domingo*, December 16, 1984, p.12.

Conclusion

The implementation of policies, programs, and actions to consolidate national unity and the Mozambican cultural identity resulted in achievements such as the strengthening of territorial unity around the inherited geographical territory, the construction of unitary cultural identity through the collection and dissemination of cultural expressions, the existence of united thought and action in the implementation of socialism and the country's developmental policies and plans, the collection and sharing of knowledge on the variety of national cultural manifestations to people previously denied by the colonial regime, among others⁴⁴¹.

The consolidation of national unity was an incomplete process and the evaluations at the time pointed to the war waged by Mozambique National Resistance as the key element that prevented the consolidation of national unity and the Mozambican cultural identity due to its effects which included the disaggregation of cultural values with the people's constant and growing dislocations, the forced migration of people from their places of origin to captivity or to refugee camps for many years, and the significant destruction of monuments and infrastructures of culture. This prevented them from maintaining, amplifying, and transmitting their cultural values and expressions, thus creating a generational cultural gap. The destruction of the means of communication and

⁴⁴¹ Partido Frelimo, *Relatório do Comité Central ao V Congresso* (Maputo: Partido Frelimo, 1989) Colecção O 5º Congresso.

the impossibility of safe movement due to the constant attacks prevented the consolidation of the emerging and fragile national solidarity and consciousness.

However, the state's practices also influenced its outcomes. Over the nation and national identity building process, an era of repression ensued a couple of years after the independence of Mozambique. That resulted in actions such as the closure of bars, cabarets, nightclubs, artists' unemployment, international forced migration, imprisonment, execution, reeducation, or people's condemnation through the People's journals and the cartoon Xiconhoca. Destruction, erasure, or correction of the past was employed as part of the construction of the Mozambican cultural identity. Compliance with the state's cultural revolution was mainstreamed as part of the musicians' survival strategies. This chapter demonstrated that the first independent Mozambican government identified education and culture as pillars for state-nation building, in line with the Frelimo's ideologies and policies devised during the liberation struggle. Thus, this chapter described the diverse strategies adopted by Frelimo and the PRM's government to build the post-independent Mozambican subject, with a united cultural identity matrix in a multiethnic, multiracial, multilingual, multicultural, multireligious context, considering the challenges posed with the attempts to establish socialism, build the new man, vis a vis the colonial inheritance of illiteracy, weak social and economic development, destabilization war, natural calamities, among others.

To a certain extent, the cultural revolution implemented from 1975 onwards resulted in a rupture with the past's cultural identity(ies) on culture(s) and its assimilationist objectives. It also resulted in significant changes in music production with the identification of talents from several locations of the country, research on Mozambican traditional music, development of urban popular music designated *música ligeira Moçambicana* and its

internationalization, and the transformation of the urban audience. By the eve of the peace agreement, efforts were being made to counter the initial tendency of recording musicians from southern Mozambique with the inclusion of musicians from other parts of Mozambique.

5. THE MOZAMBIKANIZATION AND GENDER MAINSTREAMING OF MÚSICA LIGEIRA MOÇAMBICANA, 1990 TO THE PRESENT

Música, oh yeah, música
Você governa a minha vida, tú és a minha alegria
Você governa a minha vida, tú és a minha paixão
Você é a esponja que absorve do meu coração, amarguras desta vida
Você é a esponja que absorve do meu coração, as angústias deste mundo (...)
Você governa a minha vida, tú és o meu partido
Música és minha amiga, minha alegria, minha companhia, my love
Música, noite e dia estou contigo
Música, na festa, na rua, em casa⁴⁴²
Magide Mussá Maulide

Introduction

This chapter narrates the evolution of Mozambican contemporary music as a result of the transition from a single-party socialist to a democratic system and the opening of the economy to neoliberalism and capitalism. The transition to multiparty and democratic governance system, the peace and reconciliation process, the return of refugees from overseas, families and communities' reunification as part of the healing process after 16 years of civil war, the effects of globalization, among others, placed even more pressure on the Government's efforts to reinforce national unity and consolidate the Mozambican national cultural identity.

⁴⁴² Extracts from Magide Mussá Maulide's song titled "Música", loosely translated to: Music, oh yeah, music/ You rule my life, you are my joy/ You rule my life, you are my passion/ You are the sponge that absorbs from my heart bitterness of this life/ You are the sponge that absorbs from my heart the anguish of this world (...)/ You rule my life, you are my party/ Music you are my friend, my joy, my company, my love/ Music, night and day I'm with you/ Music, at the party, on the street, at home.

That included the organization of music competitions through radio programs Ngoma Moçambique and Top Feminino, and the creation of several national radio and television competitions and programs to make visible new Mozambican faces, voices, talents, thus, strengthening the Mozambican cultural identity especially among the youth.

This chapter argues that the efforts towards the consolidation of Mozambican cultural identity and national unity resulted in greater incorporation and visibility of musicians from several regions of Mozambique and in the dissemination of music rhythms, genres, and languages from the diverse ethnolinguistic groups of Mozambique. Besides música ligeira and marrabenta, the best-known Mozambican music genre, Mozambique witnessed the emergence of new rhythms such as *Pandza*, *Bondoro*, and the widespread of hip hop and R&B international genres among the youth.

After the independence of Mozambique and during the 1980s, musicians from Inhambane or musicians who composed and sang songs in gitonga language living in Maputo city gained more visibility and success than those performing from Inhambane province. From the 1990s onwards, a new generation of musicians based in Inhambane province, particularly in Inhambane and Maxixe cities emerged and achieved fame and success with distinct rhythms catering to the local audience. Entertainment programs such as Ngoma Moçambique and Top Feminino contributed to the identification of new talents and the development of music in Mozambique. Radio, television, the internet, and social media made musicians more visible.

Historical context

FRELIMO's Fifth Congress in July 1989 marked a transformation from a Socialist revolution into a Democratic revolution⁴⁴³. Frelimo's Central Committee report to the Fifth Congress assumed that national unity was still an incomplete process and blamed the civil war among other aspects as part of the reasons that prevented the full accomplishment of the goals defined for nation-building and the consolidation of national cultural identity.

However, the Congress highlighted positive achievements of the 1970s and 1980s including the emergence of a Mozambican way of facing life and solving problems; unity combined with democracy to prevent uniformity which lead to thought, progress, and societal stagnation; people's equal opportunities to participate in building the nation and its future; the expansion of school access and changes in the education models to counter the colonial inheritance; youth conscientization of their belonging to a country named Mozambique, thus eliminating local and regional constraints; and priority of economic development projects for the regions most affected by the armed struggle⁴⁴⁴. Therefore, the emphasis was given to territorial unity around the inherited geographical territory; unitary cultural identity through the collection and dissemination of cultural expressions; and united thought and action in the implementation of socialism and the country's developmental policies and plans.

After the end of the 16 years' war between the Mozambican government and RENAMO, rebuilding and healing the country was paramount. As a result of the war, by

⁴⁴³ Sampaio, Zito (2012), *Um homem, mil exemplos: a vida e a luta de Mariano de Araújo Matsinha*, Maputo: Plural editores, 66.

⁴⁴⁴ Partido Frelimo, *Relatório do Comité Central ao V Congresso* (Maputo: Partido Frelimo, 1989) Colecção o 5º Congresso, 91-100.

1990 around 100,000 had lost their lives, more than four million people were refugees in neighboring countries, around 1863 schools were destroyed or closed, the external debt rose by 500 percent, more than 60% of foreign direct investment was canceled, and the 70% of the country's GDP was dependent on foreign aid⁴⁴⁵.

The adoption of the new Constitution in 1990 and the introduction of a multiparty system, the General Peace Agreement in 1992, and the first general elections in 1994, and the subsequent general elections in 1999, 2004, 2009, 2014, and 2019 were important milestones for the consolidation of national unity.

The peace agreements led to the design and implementation of a reconstruction plan (*Plano de Reconstrução Nacional*). That changed the scenario in terms of international and NGOs' interventions in Mozambique. Previously there was a proliferation of NGOs operating in the country without coordination of their interventions. As a result of that plan, from an inflation rate of 75% in 1994, Mozambique moved to 11% of inflation in 1996 and 5% of inflation in 1999, a significant reduction in less than ten years. Ministries were transformed from project ministries to program ministries, moving from a project approach to Swap's (sectorial approach), and from this to budget support during the 2000-2004 government mandate. The moto "rebuild and stabilize" guided the economic interventions⁴⁴⁶.

⁴⁴⁵ Hélder Mutemba, *A popularização da segurança: um subsistema determinante para a segurança nacional* (Maputo: Hélder Mutemba, 2019), 264-267.

⁴⁴⁶ Around the mid-1980s, Mozambique got involved with the Bretton Woods institutions, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank. In 1984 Mozambique joined Bretton Woods and received the first credit that led to the implementation of the Economic Rehabilitation Program and the change of Mozambican economic orientation from a centrally planned economy to a market economy (Diogo, Luísa Dias (2013), *A sopa da madrugada: das reformas à transformação económica e social em Moçambique, 1994-2009*, Maputo: Plural editores, 27-29).

‘Large-scale capital-intensive projects’ to process aluminum, to exploit coal and natural gas reserves, the building of new railways, the expansion of ports, the investment in large scale commercial farms were among the major achievements after the peace agreements⁴⁴⁷. On 1 August 2008, Armando Emilio Guebuza inaugurated the bridge named after him, physically linking by earth southern Mozambique with the rest of the country “making Mozambique more Mozambican” as Edmundo Galiza Matos indicated, thus eliminating the constraints which hampered the country’s development, an effort to reduce poverty and regional economic disparities. With 2.376 meters, the bridge built over the Zambeze river linked Caia (Sofala) and Chimuara (Zambézia) was the largest infrastructure built after the independence and was considered an additional milestone cementing the independence and national unity. The reversion of Cahora Bassa to Mozambique during Armando Guebuza’s presidency, the mining sector boom, the municipalization, and the decentralization of power to the provinces also marked Mozambique’s development process fostering the reduction of regional economic disparities and the consolidation of national unity.

The revision of rural policies was among the government’s priorities in order to ensure access to land by the communities and international investors, a system for managing the natural resources, and the inclusion of traditional authorities in the systems of local governance in order to attract investments and promote development. The creation of transfrontier parks (Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park and the Chimanimani Transfrontier Conservation Area) in 2000 opened up larger areas for the migration of animals, strengthened international and regional ties, and encouraged tourism. The

⁴⁴⁷ Malyn Newitt, *A short history of Mozambique*, 213.

reinstatement of traditional leaders for political and administrative purposes brought with them the communal ceremonies connected with the ancestors and previously combated⁴⁴⁸.

The movement of people and goods in the southern Africa region increased after 1992, mostly to rather than from Mozambique, including the return of migrants and refugees, but also the movement of refugees and asylum seekers from war-affected areas such as West Africa, the Great Lakes and the Horn of Africa, but also the movement of economic migrants and white farmers expelled from their farms in South Africa⁴⁴⁹.

Despite the sixteen years of conflict, ethnic conflict or ethnic identity(ies) did not characterize the country's political scene, even though ethnic and regional tensions remained beneath the surface⁴⁵⁰. Renamo's return to war in 2013, cyclic floods, cyclones and droughts, forced migration, high rates of youth unemployment, the economic crisis, the growth of superstition, the proliferation of religious institutions and sects, the beliefs on the world of the occult, the blurring of the distinctions between the 'traditional' and the 'modern', and the 'hidden debts' were factors which averted the steady and sustainable development of Mozambique and the achievement of its political, social, economic, environmental and cultural objectives⁴⁵¹.

In light of these developments, new trends emerged in the cultural sector, including the efforts to make Mozambican music more Mozambican, the spotting and projection of

⁴⁴⁸ Malyn Newitt, *A short history of Mozambique*, 192, 197, 223-224.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid; Denise Maria Malauene, *The impact of the Congolese forced migrants' 'permanent transit' condition on their relations with Mozambique and its people*, MA Dissertation, Johannesburg, The University of the Witwatersrand, 2014.

⁴⁵⁰ Malyn Newitt, *A short history of Mozambique (Cape Town and Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 177)*.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid, 223-225; Denise Maria Malauene, *The impact of the Congolese forced migrants' 'permanent transit' condition on their relations with Mozambique and its people*; Frances Christie and Joseph Hanlon, *Moçambique e as grandes cheias de 2000* (Maputo: Autores e Livraria Universitária, 2001).

new talents, the gender, and diversity mainstreaming of Mozambican music which will be analyzed in this chapter. The promotion of culture and music development at local, provincial, and national levels through festivals and the internationalization of Mozambican music, with its achievements and challenges, also marked the post peace agreement period.

The ‘Mozambicanization’ of Mozambican music

Ngoma Moçambique⁴⁵² is among Rádio Moçambique’s⁴⁵³ programs created in 1986 as a result of the work of a group of professionals including Rafael Magune, António Alves da Fonseca, Arlindo Tembe, Santana Afonso, and later, Américo Xavier, Izidine Faquirá, Élio Sarmiento, and Glória Muianga. At its inception, the project’s goal was to consolidate its self-affirmation, to mozambicanize (make it more Mozambican) the Radio station, and to promote Mozambican music and artists, especially from low-income backgrounds, and make them visible nationally and internationally. This was key because after the independence Rádio Mozambique broadcasted mostly foreign songs. This way, the radio station hoped to stimulate music production in all regions of the country, discover new talents, and preserve the Mozambican music ‘baobabs’⁴⁵⁴.

The program was open to any Mozambican living in Mozambique and the songs were selected based on the quality and message. A group of judges composed of music

⁴⁵² Ngoma means song in southern Mozambique local languages and it was chosen because of the nature of the competition focused on music based on Mozambican roots (Interview with Manuel Zimba, Maputo, 2019). Ngoma also means drum.

⁴⁵³ Rádio Moçambique is Mozambique’s public radio network.

⁴⁵⁴ www.facebook.com/NgomaMocambique; Manuel Zimba, 2019.

experts and Disc Jockeys assessed and selected the songs to compete on the weekly broadcasting editions⁴⁵⁵. Around 60 songs competed throughout the year and only ten to twelve songs were paraded in the final gala ceremony, usually in December, when the winners were announced. The category “popular song” was chosen through popular vote while independent and suitable judges, including music professionals, radio hosts or announcers, and disc jockers selected the winners of other categories such as best male and female voice, career prize, and male and female revelation prize⁴⁵⁶. The concept of Mozambicanization of music was related to the incorporation of traditional music rhythms in the popular urban songs, and the incorporation of local languages, among other aspects.

Ngoma Moçambique impacted positively the Mozambican music industry by stimulating a yearly dynamic of music production and recording, marketing and dissemination, and also innovation with the emergence of new genres in response to young audiences’ needs. Ngoma Moçambique’s first edition was in 1987, and Fernando Luís was the first winner with the song “Zavala Toté⁴⁵⁷” (popular song), which ensured his participation in Angolan’s “Top dos Cinco” [Top Five] in Luanda, where he was placed in second place. Among the winners was also Elsa Mangué⁴⁵⁸. Subsequently, and every year RM organized the competition which stimulated music production in the whole country.

Continuing the career he had started in the 1970s when he won a music competition prize in 1974 followed by the recording of the first songs in 1974 in Inhambane’s local

⁴⁵⁵ Interview with Manuel Zimba, Maputo, 2019.

⁴⁵⁶ Interview with Manuel Zimba, Maputo, 2019.

⁴⁵⁷ According to Edmundo Galiza Matos, Zavala Toté was an original song of the colonial period of the popular «Ossumane Valgy Jazz Band» from Zandamela - Inhambane District. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yazc8NoeW3k>.

⁴⁵⁸ <http://jornaldomingo.co.mz/index.php/mais/breves/8453-ngoma-elege-os-melhores-do-ano;>
<https://www.voaportugues.com/a/toca-canta-e-dan%C3%A7a-o-regresso-de-fernando-luis-aos-discos/4749548.html>

radio station, the recording of songs in 1976 in Estúdios 1001, under contract with Somovideos, and the launching of his first album in 1979 under Rádio Moçambique's Ngoma label, Magide Mussá competed in Ngoma Moçambique during the 1990s and became the icon and an unavoidable reference of gitonga music in Mozambique, alongside Camal Givá, Sérgio Pato, and Guê-Guê..

Magide Mussá and Guilhermina Caetano aka Guê-Guê competed for the 1992 edition of Ngoma Moçambique with the songs “Nhione uwe”[I saw you] and “Nhidigue” [Let go of me] respectively, both songs with lyrics in *gitonga*. In 1992 Magide Mussá won a prize at the television program “Masseve” at Experimental Television of Mozambique (TVE)⁴⁵⁹. Magide Mussá and Camal Givá competed for the 1993 edition of Ngoma Moçambique with the songs “uya gaya” [come back home] and “Garota” [girl], respectively. Magide Mussá reached the Top twelve of the 1995 edition of Ngoma Moçambique with the song “Nhina hata mani”. In 2003 Magide Mussá won *Ngoma Moçambique*'s prize for best voice with the song “Kedzisa wane” [look back]. Camal Givá also reached Ngoma Moçambique's final ten contestants in 1991 with the song “Udogodogo” and in 1992 with song “Titia”⁴⁶⁰. Sérgio Pato and Félix Moya also reached the top ten of *Ngoma Moçambique* in 1997 with the songs “Marinheiro”⁴⁶¹ [sailor] and “Unga nhi ule”⁴⁶²[don't abandon me], respectively. José Manuel Luís aka Jomalu won

⁴⁵⁹ Interview with Magide Mussá, Maputo, July 19, 2019.

⁴⁶⁰ Camal Sultuane Givá Cane aka Camal Givá started his professional career in Vilankulos a northern district of Inhambane province in 1976. At the time he performed other musicians' songs, mainly from Brazilian musicians such as Alcione and Roberto Carlos who usually sing slow songs which influenced Camal's music style. Camal recorded about forty songs and three albums in *Rádio Moçambique*'s recording studio, *Mil Produções* studios, and *Teal* Studios, the last three already extinct. (Interview with Camal Givá, Inhambane city, June 2019).

⁴⁶¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=byyuqXg3rw0>. The song in *gitonga* suggests that the sailor took something from the singer when taking people across the ocean from Inhambane city to Maxixe: *Marinheiro/wagu nhi dzegueta silo sango/wagu nhi dzegueta marembwa yango*.

⁴⁶² <https://www.worldcat.org/title/ngoma-mocambique-97/oclc/86082847>

prizes in *Ngoma Moçambique*, namely best song (2013, 2014) and best male voice (2015) with the song “Nkongwe”⁴⁶³.

Ngoma Moçambique enabled the projection of female voices including Guilhermina Caetano aka Guê-Guê and Juliana de Sousa. Guê-Guê competed for the 1992 edition of *Ngoma Moçambique* with the song “Nhidigue” [Let go of me]. She also competed and won a prize in the 1994 edition of *Ngoma Moçambique* with the song “Mapilapila” [Not sleeping at night]. Guê-Guê reached the Top ten best songs of *Ngoma*’s 1996 edition with the song “Namba nha sura”. On the other hand, Juliana de Sousa also reached the 2015 *Ngoma Moçambique* final gala with the song “Marido egoísta” [selfish husband] but did not win a prize⁴⁶⁴.

Juliana de Sousa believed that the media and the press were inclined to shed light on specific artists, groups, and regions leaving others with a lot of talent outside of the spotlight. Thus, several musicians, particularly in Inhambane had to fend for themselves and had to find ways to emerge out of anonymity⁴⁶⁵. That was the case of musician Vasco

⁴⁶³ 2015 *Ngoma Moçambique*’s final concert was held in Tete at the Cahora Bassa Dam’s Cultural Center. The other winners were Aniano tamele “swivulavula” – popular song; António marcos – carrer prize; Tchakaze – female revelation; Belito “Kulaya” – male revelation; Sizaquiel – best female voice; Amostra Sobrinho “wai mussiro” – best male voice. (Jomalu’s personal profile, 2019).

⁴⁶⁴ In the past years, Juliana de Sousa was among the considered big five local musicians in Inhambane alongside Anibalzinho, Dzenga, Mr. Dallas, and Swaito. Juliana de Sousa’s dream was to study music, but that course was only available in Maputo city which prevented her from pursuing her dream. (“Juliana de Sousa: A mulher ‘pedaço’”, *Domingo*, December 10, 2014 (<http://www.jornalnoticias.co.mz/index.php/caderno-cultural/28140-juliana-de-sousa-a-mulher-pedaco.html>)). http://www.archivioradiovaticana.va/storico/2017/04/15/a_fé_é_o_motor_da_vida_-_canta_a_moçambicana,_juliana_de_sousa/pt-1305987).

⁴⁶⁵ “Juliana de Sousa: A mulher ‘pedaço’”, *Domingo*, December 10, 2014 (<http://www.jornalnoticias.co.mz/index.php/caderno-cultural/28140-juliana-de-sousa-a-mulher-pedaco.html>)

Menete Nhabau aka Swaito⁴⁶⁶ who was discovered at the age of 54 years old by the producer Djass Pro⁴⁶⁷ playing songs for coins at Tofo Beach

Djass Pro recorded Swaito's songs and shared the songs through radio projecting Swaito to fame and success instantly. Swaito stayed on top of Inhambane's music charts until his death due to illness five years after recording his first song. Swaito descended from Copi parents from Inharrime but lived all his life in Inhambane city, was illiterate and composed songs which privileged themes about his own life and personal experiences. According to his producer Djass Pro, Swaito incorporated those messages in songs in a way that reflected other people's life experiences, which, in turn, was reflected on his success rates. Djass Pro mentioned that no *Tonga* musician alive had more success locally in a whole lifetime career than Swaito's success rates in a short time⁴⁶⁸.

⁴⁶⁶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Em51qUHento>.

⁴⁶⁷ Jacinto Abrão Zacarias Júnior aka Djass Pro was among these musicians. Djass Pro was a musician, a composer, a music producer, and an entrepreneur Inhambane province also born after the independence. Djass Pro started singing when he was a child around 10, 11 years old. He attended local talent shows and won some prizes. He then moved to Maputo city to attend secondary school. While in Maputo he was a neighbor of the musician Magide Mussá who influenced him and took him to a professional recording studio where he recorded the song titled "Samaria" composed by Djass Pro with Magide Mussá's help. His song was disseminated through radio projecting Djass Pro at the age of 16 years old as a young gitonga musician at a time where only the old generation of musicians such as Magide Mussá, Guê-Guê, Camal Givá, Nhambire, Vitória Jacob were popular. Eventually, Djass Pro learned to record songs and remixed one of Magide Mussá's songs titled "uya gaya" [come back home] with musician Dopaz. With the growing demand of artists in Inhambane Djass Pro started "Fama Record" a recording studio in Maxixe, the first recording studio that projected young musicians. Djass Pro who was also a musician was responsible for discovering and projecting around 80% of the contemporary generation of young musicians in Inhambane, thus turning him into a reference in Inhambane's music scene.

⁴⁶⁸ Interview with Djass Pro, Inhambane, 2019.

In 2016 two artists from Inhambane reached Ngoma’s final stage as part of the twelve finalists. Gestácio Fernandes⁴⁶⁹ and Aníbal Diamantino aka Anibalzinho⁴⁷⁰ were finalists alongside Dino Miranda, Mingas, Alcino Margarida, Xidimingwana, Bela Flores, Mr. Bow, Mr. Nyúngwe, Cambezo, Big Leo, and Jimmy Dlundu, artists who occupied the first place in the weekly chart over the entire 2016 edition⁴⁷¹. Anibalzinho’s song “ma ouve dizer” [gossiper?] won Ngoma Moçambique’s best song prize. The other 2016 Ngoma Moçambique’s winners were as follows: Jimmy Dlundu “Ha deva” (we are indebted) – best song; Mr Bow “Ni tafa na wena” (together eternally) - Popular song; Deltino Guerreiro “Eparaka” – best male voice; Filo “se ndza famba” [I am leaving] – best female voice; Xidimingwana “Dlawanine” – career prize for more than 25 years of uninterrupted career; Cambezo “Ndi naenda kupi” [where will I go?]- male revelation; Tania Kim “kale ka watolo” [a long time ago]- female revelation.

The other contender from Inhambane in the final gala of Ngoma 2016 was Gestácio Fernandes with the song “Obrigado Pai” (Thank you father). The song was related to Gestácio’s personal story of the love of a father who takes care of his son after being

⁴⁶⁹ Gestácio Fernandes was born in Maxixe city is also part of the musicians from Inhambane province born after the independence. He started singing as a young boy, performing for the neighbors and in 2003 Gestácio became a professional musician upon launching his first hit “Gu haladzua nhamba haladzua” [to love without being loved]. Gestácio sang about daily social issues but also about his personal life experiences. Among his songs was the song in Portuguese and gitonga titled “ciclone” [cyclone] about the devastating effects of cyclone Dineo. (Interview with Gestácio Fernandes, Inhambane, 2019).

⁴⁷⁰ A young musician from Inhambane city, Aníbal Diamantino aka Anibalzinho was part of the generation of musicians born after independence. Anibalzinho started his music career in 2001 after spending some time performing at neighborhood parties. Inspired by Mozambican musicians such as Magide Mussá, Geremias Nguenha, Wazimbo and Madala, Anibalzinho recorded songs with local producers from Inhambane namely Nito, Kilograma, Nhambir, Dz, Djass Pro, CI, RM, Cadu, I.P, C.A, and Two L. Singing mostly in gitonga with some songs in ci-shangane, ci-copi, and ci-tswa Anibalzinho privileged marrabenta and passada rhythms in his songs which resulted in hits such as “Monho Wango” [my heart], “Sabawana”, “Guira na u phimissa Mundzuku” [do it while thinking about tomorrow], “Sumbita”, “Lidio” [jealousy/ hatred], “Mataralantanta”, “Lihaladzu” [love], “Bedjua” [prostitute], “Ni Languile Wena” [I chose you]. Despite the number of songs recorded, Anibalzinho is yet to record an album (Interview with Aníbal Diamantino, 2019).

⁴⁷¹ <http://jornaldomingo.co.mz/index.php/mais/breves/8453-ngoma-elege-os-melhores-do-ano>

abandoned by his wife. In 2017 Samuel Paulo Namburete aka Batinho⁴⁷² also from Inhambane competed in Ngoma Moçambique with the song “Cotsolo”.

Three aspects stood out from their participation in Ngoma Moçambique: language, market, and popularity. If in the early 1990s musicians from Inhambane competing in Ngoma Moçambique leaned towards songs in gitonga languages, gradually there was a transition towards the new millennium with a new generation of musicians entering the competitions with songs in other languages, including ci-shangane, Portuguese, or even emacua (as was the case of Guê-Guê who entered Top Feminino with the song “Salama edonia” in 2002).

Songs by contemporary musicians such as Anibalzinho⁴⁷³ and Gestácio’s were not in gitonga, but in ci-shangane and Portuguese, respectively. So, while in the local shows in Inhambane city and province local musicians sang their songs mostly in gitonga to cater to the local audiences when competing for national votes, the musicians turned to the most spoken languages, namely Portuguese the official national language and ci-shangana the second most spoken local language in the country, to captivate a wider audience. Emerging Mozambican female singer and social activist Denise Malauene recorded her song titled “Nhi bongide Pfumu”⁴⁷⁴ in gitonga and English languages in 2019. However, in 2020

⁴⁷² Batinho started singing at the age of 10 in Inhambane inspired by one of his idols, the South African musician General Music. Batinho built a thin guitar and learned to play. Eventually, his uncle offered him an acoustic guitar and Batinho started his music group named after himself to perform in neighborhood parties and concerts. Batinho composed and recorded songs in Rádio Moçambique’s recording studios, with the help of the late radio announcer Gildo Maputumane. Batinho also worked with producer DZ and recorded hits such as “Terezinha wango” [My Terezinha], “Moçambique frique”, “Cotsolo”, “Wagu diga gu tuma”. Batinho also won the prize for best male musician in 2017 in Inhambane’s Rádio Moçambique delegation competition named "Dzi ngoma Inhambane" [Inhambane’s songs] with the song “Ganelane” [keep talking]. Batinho sang in *ci-tsua* and *gitonga* (Interview, with Batinho, Inhambane, 2019).

⁴⁷³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MDjHjGg-9T0>.

⁴⁷⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lbGWAUczMNQ>.

she recorded the song titled “Clamor Ambiental” [Environmental Outcry]⁴⁷⁵ in Portuguese language, the official language in Mozambique, to ensure a wider understanding of the song’s message on the need for a healthier relationship between humans and the environment.

In a way, that situation resembled the colonial context where great musicians from Inhambane such as João Domingos and members of his music group, the musicians from Inhambane members of the music group Djambu, or even the musician Jafete who had to perform in the languages of the majority of the urban audiences in order to be noticed and be visible⁴⁷⁶.

So, if during the 1970s, the 1980s, and the 1990s musicians from Inhambane made efforts to keep afloat in the music industry performing songs in gitonga and to a certain extent incorporating local music rhythms, after the year 2000 musicians from Inhambane who reached the finals or won Ngoma Moçambique prizes were mostly singing songs in other languages. Such was the case of Juliana de Sousa and the song “Marido Egoísta” [selfish husband] with lyrics in Portuguese, Jomalu with the song Nkongwe, Gestácio Fernandes with the song “Obrigado Pai” [Thank you Father], Anibalzinho and the song “Ma ouve dizer” [Gossiper] in ci-shangana.

Gestácio’s music career revealed another aspect of the music industry related to record labels and recording conditions. With songs such as “Velhos tempos” [Old times] (2004); “Amar sem ser amado” [to love without being loved] (2012); “O Romântico do planeta e o pensador” [The planet romantic and the thinker] (2015); “Obrigado pai” [Thank

⁴⁷⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EuLyGYfftlQ>.

⁴⁷⁶ Interview with Luís Loforte, Maputo, 2019.

you father], Gestacio mentioned that even though musicians worked with local producers, others chose to work with producers in Maputo city as they had better recording conditions.

The songs produced in Inhambane were not necessarily inspired by local traditional rhythms nor employed traditional instruments as was paramount during the 1980s and early 1990s. To their mostly urban rhythms such as kizomba and passada musicians added African cloths and accessories when recording video clips to showcase local and national traditional cultural traits.

Ngoma Moçambique's finalists were mostly young musicians. According to Julieta Mussanhane, the reason for that change was the change in the voting mechanisms with the inclusion of social media and electronic votes. These mechanisms were accessible to young people which influenced the turnout at the end of each year's competition⁴⁷⁷. Even social media increased the number of voters, it was exclusionary in terms of social status, class, and age leaving outside of the process those who did not engage in social media and/ or old aged audiences.

It was implicit in this process that the market and the audience steered the musicians' choices in terms of themes and the choice of language to sing. With more and more people growing up in urban areas without influences from their homeland or their parents' homeland local languages, Portuguese, which is the national language, and emacua or ci-shangana, the first and second most spoken languages in Mozambique became the choice of musicians from minority ethnolinguistic groups in order to get votes from the audience, win prizes in music competitions and get recognition, or even sell their albums.

⁴⁷⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q1Umj-RZSRo>.

That, in turn, raised concerns among musicians and other people interested in the preservation of gitonga language, culture, and music. The opening of social media and sites such as youtube enabled musicians to post their songs with the translation allowing musicians the opportunity to keep on composing and recording songs in Mozambican local languages and posting them with the lyrics translated to preserve and internationalize national languages while enabling the audiences not only to enjoy the melody but also to understand the message.

The issue of insertion and preservation of gitonga language has also been taken by linguists who wrote dictionaries, by researchers who collected and published proverbs and other cultural aspects of gitonga culture, and also in the struggles taken by radio professionals such as Luís Loforte for the insertion of gitonga language as part of the languages privileged in Rádio Moçambique's programs alongside kimuane, another minority language from Cabo Delgado province. In this regard, Luís Loforte said,

one cannot assess the language's value through the criteria of the number of people who speak the language. Cultures and languages should be assessed by the intrinsic value they carry. The influence struggles among Mozambicans influence negatively the development of peoples and languages⁴⁷⁸.

There are musicians who did not compete for Ngoma Moçambique for several reasons including the inability to record songs. However, they performed locally as was the case of the music group Bunguê whose members included Pedro Zacarias Garrine. The band created during the colonial period collaborated with music groups such as "Hokolokwe" and "Homba Mo" and remained a reference in Inhambane province

⁴⁷⁸ Interview with Luis Loforte, Maputo, 2019.

performing live in a context where young musicians performed using playback instrumental songs⁴⁷⁹.

Hip-hop artists such as Azagaia⁴⁸⁰ who vociferously criticized the social inequalities of the 1990s were also not part of Ngoma contests and at times had their songs censored in written, audio, and visual media. Azagaia used hip-hop songs to “speak the truth to power” in songs such as “People in Power” [povo no poder] or to question identities as a descendant of mixed race and mixed nationalities family in songs such as “Pedigree dog [cão de raça]”. Azagaia also used hip-hop songs such as “Maçonaria” to tell the history of Mozambique and its relationship with the West from the colonial to post-colonial periods emphasizing the continuities in terms of dependency and oppressive practices but also the impact of the colonial legacies in nation-building and identity(ies) formation. Azagaia’s narrative presented historical perspectives and angles that disrupted and challenged the mainstream patriotic history taught in schools by tackling themes and approaches silenced in the textbooks. And because songs reached even those who could not read, Azagaia’s songs were a means to raise awareness and educate the people on the country’s silenced historical facts and events. Additionally, songs such as “ABC do preconceito” and “Miss and Mister Mozambique” criticized what Azagaia termed as cultural colonialism through the youth’s loss of cultural values, the imitation of the western cultural traits, and the disregard for the local cultures.

⁴⁷⁹ Interview, Pedro Zacarias Garrine, Maputo, 2019.

⁴⁸⁰

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FkcWOY6oFNQ&list=RDEMQb8O9dltJjVyzcW7tLor7w&start_radio=1.

Azagaia aimed to use his songs to voice people's anxieties, to inform the people, and to stimulate public debate on the country's problems. He was motivated by Samora's heroism and ideas and that was reflected in his songs, performance, and attire as he often wore clothing resembling Samora's military uniform in live performances. As Azagai put it, "People said that he was dictator, but he was also a symbol for Mozambique because even though the international community considered Mozambique a poor country, Samora was proud of Mozambique and wanted the best for his country and its people. Samora Machel's death meant the death of Samora Machel's ideals and practices"⁴⁸¹ which was reflected by the growth of corruption and other practices he fought against while in power.

This section focused on the Mozambicanization of Mozambican popular music and the projection of Mozambican talents through music programs such as Ngoma Moçambique and the development of local recording labels and producers in the provinces of Mozambique, countering Maputo's centrality as the music producing hub, even though it remained the central place to get visibility, continuing the colonial and first republic trends. Nevertheless, the advent of social media opened the possibility for global projection of Mozambican musicians, particularly from remote places of Mozambique and on the margins of the mainstream music industry.

Gender mainstreaming of Mozambican popular music

This section analyses some strategies and actions implemented to mainstream gender in the Mozambican music industry and to promote diversity and inclusiveness.

⁴⁸¹ Interview with Azagaia, Maputo, 2019.

Gender is a social and historical construction whose references depart from social and cultural representations constructed from gender biological differences. The term calls attention to the socially defined differences and inequalities among men and women, attributing distinct roles and behaviors for men and women.

Gender relations are relations of power, and power is the ability to affect individuals' conduct through the use (or threat of use) of reward and punishment. To exert this power over individuals or groups, 'things' they value are offered to them and the threat of privation of those things or even the effective privation of those things is used to control the society. Thus, the control of gender relations is based upon the definition and valorization of 'things' that should be accepted by society and the control of access to those things. As the power bases are interdependent, people who control a specific valuable resource control many other resources which means that who controls those resources is prone to exert power. However, academics revealed that gender relations and power were constantly contested by the socially unfavored through the development of strategies to reduce its field of action⁴⁸².

Gender mainstreaming can be defined as "The process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so

⁴⁸² These 'things' included physical security, health, well-being, wealth, material goods, Jobs, survival means, knowledge and skills, social recognition, status, prestige, love, acceptance by others, self-esteem. Denise Maria Malauene, *As relações de género na agricultura urbana: o caso das zonas verdes de Maputo, 1980-2000*, Licenciatura dissertation (Maputo: University Eduardo Mondlane, 2002), 12-14; Ana Maria Loforte, *Género e poder entre os tsonga de Moçambique* (Maputo: Promédia, 2000), 30.

that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.” Therefore, gender mainstreaming is employed to transform the discriminatory social institutions, laws, cultural norms and community practices limiting women’s participation and access to basic rights through “a set of specific, strategic approaches as well as technical and institutional processes”⁴⁸³.

Cultural diversity refers to the multiplicity of forms through which groups and societies’ cultures find their expression, transmitted between and among the groups and societies. Thus, cultural diversity manifests itself not only through the various ways in which it is expressed, enriched, and transmitted, but also through a variety of cultural expressions, and through the diverse modes of creation, production, diffusion, distribution, and fruition of cultural expressions, no matter the means and technologies employed⁴⁸⁴. In the case of Mozambique, cultural diversity was more a theoretical concept than a praxis. Therefore, gender relations, the respect for diversity and inclusion were considered in the analysis of the development of the Mozambican music industry after 1990.

Radio and television played a crucial role in gender and diversity mainstreaming in the music industry. Alongside Ngoma Moçambique, Rádio Mozambique also hosted the competition Top Feminino to promote Mozambican female music artists. In the beginning, the radio programs run separately. Later, Top Feminino was mainstreamed into Ngoma Moçambique becoming one competition where male and female artists competed equally, with gender discrimination for some prizes such as best voice and revelation prize.

⁴⁸³ <https://www.unwomen.org/en/how-we-work/un-system-coordination/gender-mainstreaming>.

⁴⁸⁴ Isaú Joaquim Meneses, Leonilde Chiulele, Denise Malauene “A diversidade cultural: do discurso à prática e das políticas à acção”, In Lia Calabre, Adélia Zimbrão, Alexandre Domingues (org.), *Anais do X seminário Internacional de Políticas Culturais* (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa), 1328-1340.

During the colonial period, there was a reduced number of female musicians. Female bodies were mostly employed as dancers and female voices appeared as background vocals. After 1975, there was a limited increase of female musicians. The creation of Ngoma Moçambique contributed to this increase of female voices, but it was still reduced as compared to male musicians. Therefore, Radio Moçambique started Top Feminino in 1991 to attract and promote female Mozambican voices. The first gala was held at Rádio Moçambique's Auditorium with a skeptic public mostly composed of women. At that time, musicians performed with playback instrumental songs, but by 2004 the female musicians were performing with live music bands, allowing more freedom of movements and more innovation and creativity in the performances⁴⁸⁵. RM attributed the name Top Feminino due to the competition's particularity of parading only female Mozambican musicians, for the following prizes: "Best song"; "Popular song"; "Press prize" and "Revelation prize"⁴⁸⁶.

According to Luís Loforte, Top feminino played an important role at the time to counter the society's discrimination of musicians. Additionally, Ngoma Moçambique's winners were male musicians who had more experience in the music industry which was reflected by their success rates. Thus, RM created conditions to ensure the identification of female talents, the recording of their songs, and the insertion of the songs either in Ngoma Moçambique or in Top Feminino⁴⁸⁷.

⁴⁸⁵ Domingos Macamo, *Top Feminino 2004*, CD, Maputo: Vidisco, 2004.

⁴⁸⁶ Interview with Manuel Zimba, Maputo, 2019.

⁴⁸⁷ Luís Loforte, 2019. Loforte who entered Radio Mozambique in 1976 was part of a music band during his youth. At the time he was harassed by PIDE for singing gospel and spiritual songs. Besides him, the other band lead singer was Carlos Macedo.

Female candidates to musicians had to go through an assessment process, mostly to check the contents of the lyrics which should not go against the editorial policy and the politics at the time⁴⁸⁸. The result of this process was a boom of female musicians singing Mozambican popular music (*Música ligeira*), as can be attested by the appendices examining the evolution in terms of female musicians with progressive inclusion of younger musicians, always considering the Mozambican territorial and ethnolinguistic diversity

Guilhermina Emília Rodrigues Caetano aka Guê-Guê was among the female Tonga musicians who competed for *Ngoma Moçambique* and *Top Feminino* in several editions. She entered the competition in its first edition and won her first prize with the song “*Nhi digue*” [let me go] in 1992. After that, Guê-Guê composed and recorded songs regularly, continued to compete in *Ngoma Moçambique* and *Top Feminino*, and won more prizes including one of 1994 *Ngoma Moçambique*’s prizes with the song “*Mapilapila*”⁴⁸⁹.

Guê-Guê’s music career intersected with the discussions around authorship rights that started in the 1980s. Consequently, she was one of the founders of SOMAS (Mozambican Association of Authors) and the first General Secretary from 2001 to 2004. Guê-Guê was the only female Secretary-General of SOMAS and has been praised for her contribution to the development of the organization during her term, alongside other female artists such as stylist Isilda da Conceição Ginote Mbagá, rappers Ivanea Mudanissa

⁴⁸⁸ Interview with Luís Loforte, Maputo, 2019.

⁴⁸⁹ Interview with Guê-Guê, Maputo, 2019.

<http://www.jornaldomingo.co.mz/index.php/cultura/9966-musica-sinto-me-esquecida>

Samamad and Ivete Mafundza Espada, and musicians Sizaquel Simões Timana and Pureza Wafino⁴⁹⁰.

Despite that progress, Top Feminino was discontinued and only Ngoma Moçambique remained with male and female contestants and gender distinction for some prizes particularly, the best voice and revelation prize. According to Manuel Zimba, the objectives of Top Feminino were achieved with the growth of music composed and performed by female Mozambican musicians. “Top Feminino was an authentic Pandora box which revealed the potential of ‘asleep’ female musicians⁴⁹¹”, who even considered the possibility of having music as their main profession. Top Feminino also catapulted the dissemination of music through cassettes and discs. However, the need to requalify the competition and the costs associated with the organization of two final gala concerts for both competitions each year was critical for the decision to terminate Top Feminino⁴⁹².

Over the 1990s Rádio Moçambique started to disseminate Mozambican popular songs through what was termed Sucessos de Moçambique [Mozambican Hits]. Sucessos de Moçambique was a series of compilations of songs by musicians from the whole country, including songs performed by Vatonga musicians of both genders. Besides Sucessos de Moçambique, Rádio Moçambique also disseminated Top Feminino and Ngoma Moçambique finalist songs in cassettes and later in Compact Discs.

Main song themes

⁴⁹⁰ <https://www.facebook.com/n.maquile/posts/200553350539494/>

⁴⁹¹ Interview with Manuel Zimba, Maputo 2019.

⁴⁹² Ibid.

Music was influenced by politics as musicians sang songs with themes about social and political issues. Similarly, songs influenced politics because the critiques of the social and economic policies in songs were influenced the governments' speeches and actions. Songs by musician Jomalu poked on politics with specific criticism to those he termed “lambinha”, ‘graxinha’, ‘pulinha’, or ‘escovinha’ or bootlickers who did anything to ascend to power including abandoning pride and losing shame. Jomalu also poked on issues of external dependency and its implication for the country’s development. Musician Azagaia was also critical of politics with songs calling on the effects of corruption, repression, and misuse of public funds.

While some songs criticized political issues such as corruption, other songs criticized contemporary social issues such as early forced marriages. Mozambican legislation and public policies promote the defense of equal rights. However, some traditional practices such as initiation rites, early marital unions, or premature marriages prevent young boys and girls from enjoying their basic rights⁴⁹³. Thus, songs contributed to educating society and advocating for the eradication of these social challenges, because of their implications which included school dropouts, unwanted pregnancies, and its consequences such as the fistula. Therefore, Ruth Virgínia with the song “Kuwe” [It is you], Jomalu's plead to let the ‘chicks’ grow [“deixem os pintos crescerem”] and Magide Mussá's appeal to boys and men not to mess with girls in “sikwatana” (boys) contributed to this debate on early marriages and their repercussions.

⁴⁹³ Osório, Conceição, 2014, *Os ritos de iniciação em Moçambique*, Maputo: Ciedima, 5; Osório, 2014: 27. Osório, Conceição and Josefina Tamele, 2013, *O ‘casamento’ prematuro*, Maputo: Ciedima, 3-5. Sónia André’s movie “À espera” [expecting] revealed in detail the implications of early forced marital unions and the social, economic and health implications.

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Inhambane’s culture, cultural heritage, and natural and mineral wealth were part of the main themes performed by musicians from Inhambane. The song “Riquezas naturais” (natural wealth) by Magide Mussa hailed Inhambane’s gastronomy, places, and people. In terms of gastronomy, the song shed light on some of Inhambane’s main dishes and foods, such as matapa (cassava leaves) with crabs, coconut or fish curry, cassava roots, tangerines, but also some of the famous drinks such as coconut water and palm drink named sura. The songs’ lyrics also mentioned the places to find those foods, such as Inhambane Sewe, Maxixe, Manze, Cumbana, Mutamba, and other culturally relevant places such as Cumbana, Manyikene, Rombene, Massinguene, Vilankulo, Zavala, Chicuque. The song “Frutas do mar” by Guê-Guê also paid homage to Inhambane but focusing more on the riches of the ocean. As fishing was among the main activities in Inhambane since pre-

⁴⁹⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3xe9bYEjz8&pbjreload=101>.

colonial times, the song sea fruits, compared seafood's tastiness with the beauty of Inhambane women.

The preservation of Inhambane's cultural traditions and traditional rhythms and instruments was also a key theme in the songs analyzed. Camal Givá's⁴⁹⁵ song "Udogodogo" was part of Ngoma Moçambique's 1996 edition and reached the best 10 finalists. "Udogodogo" confronted music genres considered modern such as rap and zouk and appealed to the society to try Mozambican traditional rhythms such as zore, massessa, ngalanga, mapico, mutimba, xingombela, and marrabenta

This, in turn, revealed the conflict between tradition and modernity considering the cultural repression of the 1970s and 1980s. Aspects such as witchcraft continued to be condemned in songs such as "Mapilapila" [not sleeping] by Guê-Guê due to its effects de-structuring families, "misava ya bomba" [the earth is falling apart] by Jomalu which gendered witchcraft, and Swaito "dzindroi" [witches]. Love, marriage, domestic conflicts, the role of gossip in society, separation, divorce, and its consequences also featured prominently in the songs analyzed. Cultural diversity and interethnic sexual unions also emerged in songs such as Eugénio Mucavele's "gitonga".

The song "Ngadelune muatsavbo" by Joaquina Siquice emphasized the need to preserve local rhythms and cultural values, mostly because the old people and their knowledge were dying,

Ama muane nga hongola uya rana Cuambe Rungue ina ni Raci Guidzi, ni Mahigo Cuambe, gumogo ni Nhacudze	brother in law, call Cuambe Rungo and Raci Guidzi, and Mahigo, and Nhacudze maybe we will resurrect givbavane and zore that is dying
--	---

⁴⁹⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dvxEKLWHuSw>.

muendro hina ta wussa givbavane
ni zore ufago (?)
hayi guikhikhi giacone
ni guigadigadi
mungo dzite keno (...)
sikosani singu vbela
hina hevbudzua ku mani olo si vbelago
Rungo gueta mipondro kiyoyo
ni dzingoma dzakone
unga divale Bambue
adi thula ndzimo

maybe guikiki as well
and guigadigadi
you know that (...)
old people are perishing
who will teach us now they are perishing
Rungo find some money
and drums
don't forget about Bambo
he will sing.

Music was also used to record, preserve, promote, disseminate and bring to public debate the local and national history of Mozambique. Song “Nwamatibjana”⁴⁹⁶ by Elvira Viegas, a female musician from Maputo spoke of a pre-colonial Southern Mozambican hero, namely Nwamatibjana. Elvira Viegas said that her intention with the song was to contribute to the reconfiguration of Mozambique’s historical and social perspectives, for she believed that that “reading of Nwamatibjana through song helps people to memorize history. Through song, we have the possibility to tell what Mozambique was and is.”⁴⁹⁷

Likewise, the song “Cabo Verde” by Brada Xiba narrated the saga of the Guirruogo family alluding to the presence of Cape Verdeans in Inhambane. The song’s objective was to tell the origins of the Guiruga family because some did not know that the Guiruga descended from Cape Verde. However, it also revealed the despair of Cape Verdean’s descendants in Inhambane due to the impossibility of returning to Cape Verde. The song’s lyrics explained that Xiba’s ancestors came from Cape Verde through the ocean by boat, married local women in Nyamossa region, started families, and never returned. During

⁴⁹⁶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BAyUiCLFyAU>.

⁴⁹⁷ “Todo o artista deve ser a voz dos que não conseguem falar”, *Infodiário*, May 10, 2016.

colonialism, Cape Verdeans belonged to a particular category under the Portuguese hierarchization of colonies based on the degree of “colonization” of its native people. The Estatuto do Indígena applied to Guiné, Angola, and Mozambique. The Portuguese State considered the native people of Cape Verde, São Tomé, and the Portuguese State of Goa and Timor as Portuguese citizens. They were treated in similar ways as the Portuguese in the Metropole and their descendants. As a result, the Cape Verdeans were part of the Portuguese administration in the colony of Mozambique and were between the colonists and the colonized⁴⁹⁸.

Challenges faced by the musicians

According to the musicians interviewed, the challenges of being a musician in Inhambane included support and funding from local entrepreneurs and government; musicians’ devaluation by music promoters, particularly when it came to the payment of a fair price for the musicians’ work; and reduced record labels and studios. Piracy also hindered the musicians’ ability to profit from his songs. Rather than profiting with recording albums, the musician in Inhambane was more likely to profit from shows and concerts. The absence of quality recording studios in Inhambane and funding for recording in Maputo city was the best recording studios were located also challenged musicians living and working in Inhambane.

⁴⁹⁸ Cláudia Castelo et al, “Introdução: Tardo-colonialismo e produção de alteridades”, In *Os outros da colonização: Ensaio sobre o colonialismo tardio em Moçambique*, organized by Cláudia Castelo, Omar Ribeiro Thomaz, Sebastião Nascimento, Teresa Cruz e Silva (Lisboa: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 1974), 21.

The fact that the music discography was not accompanying the growth of the number of musicians in the country led to the growth of counterfeited music and the proliferation of small informal recording studios owned by musicians to ensure their survival. The monopoly of the existing formal recording labels and studios and the privileging and promotion of modern music styles performed by young artists, thus downgrading the considered “velha guarda” [‘old school’] musicians, was part of Jah Bee’s critiques, who called for a music industry with recording labels with specific sections for the distinct music styles, and robustness in terms of concerts and music production⁴⁹⁹.

That included aspects such as the absence of a clear editorial policy, lack of music knowledge and adequate training by those who worked with music, the producer’s tendency to influence all artists to follow the considered “modern music trends and genres” disregarding the diversity of audiences which called for diversity of music genres, rhythms, themes. Despite these critiques, musicians noted the improvement of the quality of messages in songs composed and performed by the younger generations, with the increasing of songs with more educative messages. The creation of SOMAS, the Mozambican Association of authors in 1991 aimed at solving the problem of authorship rights which had been already identified in the 1980s was also an important marker of the development of the music industry alongside the activities of the Association of Musicians. However, the organization still faced challenges including the protection of the authors’ rights, legislation adequacy, and licensing of entertainment venues⁵⁰⁰.

⁴⁹⁹ <http://www.clube70.blogspot.com/2008/07/industria-da-msica-moambicana-no-existe.html>

⁵⁰⁰ “Os melhores artistas não vão à SOMAS”, January 12, 2011 (<http://mbila.blogspot.com/2011/01/os-melhores-artistas-nao-vaio-somas.html>)

FUNDAC was another governmental initiative created to support the development of arts and culture. FUNDAC's objectives included the improvement of the Mozambicans' spiritual and material life by subsidizing arts and culture production, by financing or co-funding initiatives, programs, and projects in the whole country to develop and train artists, as well as the valorization of the material and immaterial national cultural heritage⁵⁰¹. Funding was always FUNDAC's concern and the creation of a Bank of Culture was under discussion⁵⁰². Despite these efforts, challenges remain in terms of fundraising and allocation, particularly to the artists residing outside of Maputo

⁵⁰¹ Interview with Maria Ângela Penicela Nhambiu, Maputo, 2019.

⁵⁰² Maria Ângela Penicela Nhambiu's speech on the inauguration of Arts Center (Núcleo de Arte), 2013, 3.

6. MUSIC, CULTURE FESTIVALS, AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE MOZAMBICAN CULTURAL IDENTITY, 1978 TO THE PRESENT

Culture is the sun that never sets.
(Samora Moisés Machel)

Introduction

The government of Mozambique used festivals of culture from 1978 to build the Mozambican cultural identity. However, as mentioned in previous chapters, the war that ravaged Mozambique from 1976 to 1992 contributed to the discontinuation of national festivals of culture. In 2002, 22 years after the previous edition, Mozambique restarted the organization of the national festivals culture at a time when the country was celebrating ten years of the General Peace Agreement⁵⁰³.

This chapter analyses the contribution of festivals in the development of Mozambican popular music, in the consolidation of national unity and Mozambicanness, and in the dissemination of Vatonga culture and music.

Characterization of the National festivals of Culture

The National Festival of Culture was a national event that brought together cultural expressions and manifestations representing the whole country⁵⁰⁴. The festival has three

⁵⁰³ Interview with João Rosse, Maxixe-Inhambane, August 16, 2019; Roberto Dove et al, 2014, *VIII Festival Nacional de Cultura Inhambane 2014*, Maputo: Ministério da Cultura, 8.

⁵⁰⁴ Since the independence in 1975, the culture sector shifted Ministries from being in a Ministry only dedicated to culture, to being paired with education, youth, and tourism as it is in the current governmental

phases: District, Province, and National. The festival’s eligible cultural expressions were as follows:

Table 1. Cultural expressions eligible for the National Festival of Culture⁵⁰⁵

Field	Components
Scenic arts	Theatre
	Music (traditional and <i>música ligeira</i>)
	Choral music
	Mozambican traditional dance
	Fashion
Visual arts and fairs	Art works
	Crafts
	Photography
	Book and disc
	Movies (audiovisual works)
	Audiovisual and movies
	Mozambican attire
Gastronomy	
Training	Talks, seminars and workshops

All provinces were expected to register for all fields and all cultural works registered had to reflect Mozambicanness's noblest values to qualify. Cultural expressions never prioritized nor showcased/ displayed/ performed in previous festivals or at risk of extinction got priority in the selection process. Apart from displaying/ showcasing their artworks, artists could also sell them⁵⁰⁶.

The Festivals opening and closing ceremonies varied from one edition to the other, but usually included each province’s parades with a short demonstration of a local

mandate. These changes had at times influenced the management of culture at the province level, but at the district level, for the most part, it has been integrated into the District services of Education, Culture, and Youth.

⁵⁰⁵ Roberto Dove et al, *VIII Festival Nacional de Cultura Inhambane 2014*, (Maputo: Ministério da Cultura, 2014), 20; Ministério da Cultura, *VIII Festival Nacional da Cultura*, (Maputo: Gabinete Central do VIII Festival Nacional da Cultura, 2013).

⁵⁰⁶Ministério da Cultura/ Gabinete Central do VII Festival Nacional de Cultura, *Regulamento*, Abril de 2011.

dance accompanied by traditional instruments and songs, and the presence of local music bands, either military or from the municipality as was the case of Inhambane province. It also included speeches, a performance sang or danced by the host province, and performances of música ligeira Moçambicana, sometimes incorporating traditional rhythms and instruments. On some occasions, the opening ceremony included a festival anthem as were the cases of Sofala and Niassa. On other occasions, a poem was included, as was the case of Inhambane, and choreography was created to celebrate historical and cultural aspects of the host province, showcasing the variety of traditional songs, dances, music instruments, attire.

Patriotism, national unity, peace, reconciliation, self-esteem, the valorization and acclaiming of Mozambicanness' conquests and values were clearly outlined with clear indications on how these elements should be accommodated in the different artistic expressions. The festival prioritized educative and historic movies that hailed patriotism and the conquests and values of Mozambicanness. Fashion should privilege Mozambican traditional clothing and local adornments. Though it stated that the songs that accompanied Mozambican dances should be of free choice, it was also stated that the festival privileged songs that exalted patriotism, the values of Mozambicanness, national unity, peace and reconciliation, popular conquests, daily community issues, education, morality, and civics⁵⁰⁷.

⁵⁰⁷ Ministério da Cultura/ Gabinete Central do VII Festival Nacional de Cultura, *Regulamento*, Abril de 2011.

From 2002 onwards, Mozambique organized 10 editions of the festival. The table below lists all national festivals organized in Mozambique, including the place and date the festival was held, and the festival's designation and theme.

Table 2 List of national festivals of culture in Mozambique, 1978-2018⁵⁰⁸.

Edition	Year	Designation of the Festival	Location	Theme
First	1978 (17-24 June)	<i>Festival Nacional de Dança Popular</i> [National Festival of Popular Dance]	Maputo	Let us make the first national festival of popular dance a great political event which contributes to strengthen national unity and consolidate popular power
Second	1980/81 (27 December 1980 – 03 January 1981)	<i>Festival Nacional de Canção e Música Tradicional</i> [National Festival of Traditional Song and Music]	Maputo	
Third	2002 (04-06 October)	<i>Festival Nacional de Dança Popular</i> [National Festival of Popular Dance]	Maputo (Xipamanine, Aeroporto, Ferroviário, Hulene, Magoanine, Infulene, T-3, Machava-sede, and Boane.	For the culture of Peace and national unity
Fourth	2006	<i>Festival Nacional de Canção e Música Tradicional</i> [National Festival of Traditional Song and Music]	Cabo Delgado (Pemba)	Celebrating cultural diversity free from HIV/ AIDS
Fifth	2008 (11-18 July)	National Festival Culture	Gaza (Xai-Xai)	Mozambican culture, national pride

⁵⁰⁸ João Rosse, 2019; Roberto Dove et al, *VIII Festival Nacional de Cultura Inhambane 2014*, (Maputo: Ministério da Cultura, 2014), 6-11.

Sixth ⁵⁰⁹	2010 (27 July-01 August)	National Festival	Culture	Manica (Chimoio)	2010: International year of cultures' approximation
Seventh	2012 (11-15 July)	National Festival	Culture	Nampula (Nampula)	Mozambican culture, national pride in peace maintenance
Eight	2014	National Festival	Culture	Inhambane (Inhambane and Maxixe)	Unity in diversity: inspiration for the construction of Mozambicaness and development
Ninth	2016	National Festival	Culture	Sofala (Beira and Dondo)	Cultural diversity, National Unity and Development
Tenth	2018	National Festival	Culture	Niassa (Lichinga and Sanga)	Culture promoting women, the identity and sustainable development ⁵¹⁰

Source: Compiled by Denise Maria Malauene, 2020

By then, there was still a division between the National Festival of Popular Dance and the National Festival of Traditional Music and Dance, held in 2002 and 2006 respectively. The change occurred in 2006 under President Armando Emílio Guebuza's presidency with the removal of the separation between popular dance and traditional music and dance which led to the change of the Festival's designation to the National festival of Culture encompassing a wider range of artistic expressions⁵¹¹. On this regard, in 2014 President Armando Emílio Guebuza said,

from the mono-disciplinary festivals of Popular Dance and Traditional Music, we evolved in the past ten years to a multidisciplinary format,

⁵⁰⁹ 2010 was also the International Year of Cultures' Approximation [Aproximação de Culturas], proclaimed by the 62nd session of the United Nations General Assembly in recognition of the power of culture as a factor of mutual understanding, peace, and above all sustainable development (Matos, Edmundo Galiza, "Sexto Festival Nacional de Cultura em Chimoio: a celebração e exaltação da cultura moçambicana", *Ngoma*, June 7, 2010, <http://www.clube70.blogspot.com/2010/06/sexta-festival-nacional-de-cultura-em.html>).

⁵¹⁰ President Filipe Jacinto Nyusi's speech on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the Final Phase of the 10th edition of the National Festival of Culture, Lichinga – Niassa, July 26, 2018. In Catariana Mário Dimande and Johane Zonjo (Org.), *The people is my boss*, Vol. IV (Maputo: The Republic's Presidency, 2018), 444-451.

⁵¹¹ João Rosse, *Maxixe – Inhambane*, 2019.

aiming at more artistic and cultural inclusion (...). The multidisciplinary approach has the potential of instilling national unity consciousness, by demonstrating the ways different cultural traditions and practices exhibit similarities to the length and extension of our beautiful Mozambique⁵¹².

Changes also included the location for the organization of the national festivals.

The first editions of the national Festival were held in the country's capital, Maputo. From 2006 the national festivals were organized in other provinces of the country to ensure more inclusion and strengthen national unity, by allowing every province to host the national phase of the festival, on a rotative basis. Issues of rotativity and bi-yearly frequency were consolidated in 2006 in Cabo Delgado⁵¹³. Thus, from 2006, seven (7) provinces besides the capital Maputo city held the national phase of the National Festival of Culture, namely Cabo Delgado, Gaza, Manica, Nampula, Inhambane, Sofala, and Niassa.

The Festivals were also considered opportunities to boost the province's tourism and economy, and contributed to the rehabilitation and construction of cultural, artistic, and touristic infra-structures in the host provinces, and in the identification, production, dissemination and commercialization of *souvenirs*. That was understood by representatives of the Mozambican government such as Aires Bonifácio Ali, at the time the Minister of Education of Culture as a process of "making Mozambique" and "building a nation"⁵¹⁴.

⁵¹² Opening speech of the 8th edition of the National Festival of Culture titled "Unity in diversity: the driving force for the consolidation of Mozambicaness", by His Excellency Armando Emílio Guebuza, President of the Republic of Mozambique, Inhambane, August 14, 2014. In, Roberto Dove et al, *VIII Festival Nacional de Cultura Inhambane 2014* (Maputo: Ministério da Cultura, 2014), 56-57.

⁵¹³ Ministério da Cultura, *II Festival Nacional da Canção e Música Tradicional 2006*, (Maputo, Direcção Nacional de Cultura, 2007), 43.

⁵¹⁴ Aires Bonifácio Ali, "Discurso de Lançamento do II FNCMT", In Ministério da Cultura, *II Festival Nacional da Canção e Música Tradicional 2006*, (Maputo, Direcção Nacional de Cultura, 2007), 7.

The National Festival of Culture's Themes

The festivals' themes were important to consider as they influenced the artistic work for each festival's edition. The theme of the 2002 Festival focused on peace since that year coincided with the celebration of ten years of the peace agreement. The efforts towards the consolidation of national unity were made visible by the presence at the Festival of Renamo's leader Afonso Dhlakama and members of parliament alongside the government led by Joaquim Alberto Chissano. The international community guests included Aldo Ajello and Dom Matteo Zupi who were instrumental in the General Peace Agreement Negotiations.

The following editions focused on themes such as HIV/AIDS (2006), to raise awareness on a disease that was among the factors of high mortality rates, the celebration of national pride, and the strengthening of the country's self-esteem in Gaza (2008) the land of great Mozambican warriors and leaders (Ngungunhane, Eduardo Mondlane, Samora Machel, Joaquim Chissano, etc), and in Nampula (2012). The issue of unity in diversity to build Mozambicaness and steer development was present in all editions of the Festival, was reinforced in the 8th edition of the Festival in 2014, and was consolidated in the 9th edition of the Festival in Sofala two years later. The culture was continuously seen by the governing structures as an important means for the appropriation and materialization of the national developmental agenda, to fight poverty, and to rescue the country's self-esteem.

Alongside the fight against piracy, by 2006, the government was mobilizing the private sector to act as Maecenas for the artists, as a way to develop the cultural industry

in Mozambique⁵¹⁵. Cultural tourism, defined as “a specific type of tourism which embraced a People’s culture, including its history, traditional practices, dance, music, art, sculpture, architecture, religious beliefs, and other elements which define an authentic lifestyle of the community⁵¹⁶” was part of the development goals at the time.

Poems, Choreographies, and the rescuing of Mozambican history

The history of the National festivals of Culture included the rescuing and preservation of local, regional, and national history and the showcasing through poems and complex choreographies to strengthen the Mozambican cultural identity in the making, particularly after the ravaging effects of the 16 years of civil war.

Contrary to the trend in the 1970s and 1980s, there were additional efforts to rescue cultural values, practices, traditions, and artistic expressions, not only to preserve them but also to ensure that the youth appropriated these cultural aspects considering the aggressive international influences caused by the notion of the global village and technological advancements.

Two examples of the practical materialization of the goal of linking culture and history, the past, the present, and the future were the declamation of a poem in homage to Armando Emílio Guebuza in 2014 at the opening ceremony of the 8th edition of the National Festival of Culture in Inhambane province, and the choreographies performed

⁵¹⁵ Ministério da Cultura, *II Festival Nacional da Canção e Música Tradicional 2006*, (Maputo, Direcção Nacional de Cultura, 2007), 4, 43.

⁵¹⁶ Fernando Dava (Dir.), *Documentação visual e narrativa dos bens culturais incluído nos roteiros culturais na Inha de Moçambique e cidade de Inhambane. A vila tradicional dos Macuas – Cidade de pedra e cal – o dia a dia do Wagaya – a bela Kunhumbane*. (Maputo: ARPAC, 2011), 5.

during the opening ceremonies of the 9th and 10th editions of the Festival in Sofala and Niassa Provinces, respectively.

During the 8th edition of the National Festival of Culture in Inhambane in 2014, President Armando Guebuza raised the issue of the transmission of values to the new generation of Mozambicans as a way to preserve Mozambicaness when he said, “ more than an opportunity to showcase our Mozambicaness these festivals are a vehicle for the transmission of our system of values to the younger generations, a stage where they can appropriate themselves and proudly own the identarian traces of Mozambicaness ⁵¹⁷”.

At the 8th edition of the National Festival of Culture in Inhambane, the artist Júlio Gonçalves described Armando Guebuza’s historical trajectory in a poem titled “Heróicos tambores de África” [Heroic African Drums]. Intermingled with songs, Gonçalves discerned on Guebuza’s life from his birth in Ribáue, Nampula province through his families’ persecution by PIDE to its participation in the liberation struggle and later in independent Mozambique’s nation-building as national political commissar, minister, governor, peace negotiator, Frelimo’s general secretary, and the country’s President⁵¹⁸. Speaking on the reasons for President Armando Emílio Guebuza homage when he was ending his second mandate, the Ministry of Culture, Armando Artur mentioned his impact on the development of culture during his term, including the opening of two higher education training institutions on culture, namely Higher Institute for Arts and Culture (ISARC) and the School of Communication and Arts at the University Eduardo Mondlane.

⁵¹⁷ Opening speech of the 8th edition of the National Festival of Culture titled “Unity in diversity: the driving force for the consolidation of Mozambicaness”, by His Excellency Armando Emílio Guebuza, President of the Republic of Mozambique, Inhambane, August 14, 2014. In, Roberto Dove et al, *VIII Festival Nacional de Cultura Inhambane 2014*, (Maputo: Ministério da Cultura, 2014) 56-57.

⁵¹⁸ Roberto Dove et al, *VIII Festival Nacional de Cultura Inhambane 2014*, (Maputo: Ministério da Cultura, 2014), 22-32.

The Minister also referred to Armando Guebuza's historical engagement with culture since the liberation struggle which included the publication of a book of revolutionary poems⁵¹⁹.

The innovation of introducing ballets in the history of the Festival's opening ceremonies occurred during the 9th edition of the Festival in Beira city, Sofala province, countering the traditional performance of several dances in the previous editions of the Festival. Performed by about 1500 people, Bailado Aruângua was a complex choreography, incorporating several forms of art, to tell the history of Sofala and Beira from its origins, when people were hunters and gatherers to the independence of Mozambique in 1975. Worthy of the best entertainment stages of the world, the bailado was fueled with creativity, originality, historic rigor, and representativeness of cultural elements such as dance, song, poetry, and theater.

The performance was centered around the Aruângua river, today Púngoè, which was staged across the whole Stadium from one side to the other. For about 30 minutes, and to the sound of the rhythms of Mandôa, Utse, N'dhokodo, Makwaia, Mukapa, Valimba⁵²⁰, the artists sang, danced, performed, and delivered messages in Ci-Sena, Ci-Ndau and Portuguese about the history of Sofala, which in many aspects reflected the history of the whole country.

The piece started with sounds characteristic of the early morning activities when the sun rises, such as domestic animals, birds, and domestic activities such as pounding, and had one of its highest moments (judging by people's reactions) with the theatrical

⁵¹⁹ The book is titled "Os tambores cantam" [The drums sing] and was published in 2006. The author, Armando Emílio Guebuza holds authorship rights.

⁵²⁰ Also read Domingos Nhacalize et al, *Canção, dança e instrumentos de música tradicional nos distritos de Búzi, Dondo, e Marromeu, província de Sofala* (Casa Provincial de Cultura de Sofala, 2005).

staging of the arrival of the Portuguese through the Aruângua river. The scenes that followed were charged with violence reflecting the brutality of the Portuguese colonizers after a warm welcome by the local people under the leadership of a local Chief. Slavery, forced labor (chibalo), and racial discrimination were enacted with passion, revealing the ways people gradually lost their freedom and dignity. Though the catholic church had been described in the historiography as an wing of colonialism, Sofala was marked by particular positions of the church and its leaders in the 1960s and 1970s, against the colonial policies towards the Africans. That was visible in the literature on Sofala, concerning Catholic priest father Sebastião Resende Soares who openly criticized colonialism through his actions to promote African pastoral life, and in his interventions in the sermons, books, letters, and the newspaper he created, the *Diário de Moçambique*. These actions not only led to the expulsion of priests, but also acts of repression against the priests, including the Massacre of the Priests of Macuti.

The other memorable moment (which provoked moments of agitation and applause from the crowd) was the staging of the liberation struggle accompanied by the exaggerated and theatrical gestures of the performers in the staging of the celebration and euphoria of independence and in the actions defined as a priority by the independent government to promote national unity and access to education, health services, and protections previously denied to the people by the colonial rulers. The artists ended the ballet (bailado) with the staging of two words in Ci-sena e Ci-ndau, with the colors of the national flag: “FICANI” and “GUMANHI”, which in Portuguese means “welcome”.

The whole bailado was accompanied by the explanation of different moments by two radio announcers, one from Maputo and the other from Nampula, based on a text

previously prepared by the organizing committee. The public television and radio stations broadcasted the festival and people in other parts of the world could also follow the event because the two stations were streaming live online. That was particularly significant because since 2013 the central part of Mozambique was facing military instability, with Renamo forces attacking and killing people, and destroying roads and railways.

In his opening speech in Lichinga during the 10th edition of the festival, President Filipe Nyusi continued to emphasize the interaction between the festivals and history, between the past, the present and the future, as he considered the festival a moment of preservation, and transmission to the future generation of the country's historical legacy, and contemporary cultural conquests and values.

The choreography performed at the opening ceremony of the 10th edition of the Festival paid homage to queen Bibi Achivanjila, one of the powerful female figures of Mozambican history, which gave birth to a lineage of female traditional authorities in Niassa province, a province with historical matrilineal influences. The ballet was a reflection of the Festival's theme focused on women, identity, and sustainable development. In his opening speech, President Filipe Nyusi highlighted the government's commitment towards the promotion of gender equity and women empowerment and challenged the cultural artists to reflect on the cultural factors which contributed to female subalternation in the Mozambican society, as illiteracy, poverty, diseases such as

HIV/AIDS continued to be feminized⁵²¹. The cataloging of traditional musical instruments was also part of the Festivals' objectives⁵²².

Contribution of festivals official songs for the development of *Música ligeira Moçambicana*

Music was central at Festivals. Aires Bonifácio Ali expressed his understanding of the role of music in Festivals when he said that “through music we sing the country and its stories, its joys, its sorrows, its day to day and its aspirations. Through song and music, we radiograph the Mozambicans' present and we project the Mozambican's future⁵²³”.

In terms of the festival's categories, at first, traditional songs were considered “all popular traditions (habits, beliefs, myths, proverbs, tales) translated into or by singing or melodies accompanied by locally produced musical instruments or musical instruments produced using local material”. Over time, music appeared in the regulations divided into traditional music, choral music, *música ligeira Moçambicana*, and also incorporated in the different categories of dance – traditional, popular, and contemporary, as the dance was always accompanied by songs and traditional or contemporary musical instruments. Parallel to these categories, music was also incorporated in the gastronomy fairs and as part of the fashion parades. Traditional music incorporated music rhythms whose form and

⁵²¹ President Filipe Jacinto Nyusi's speech on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the Final Phase of the 10th edition of the National Festival of Culture, Lichinga – Niassa, July 26, 2018. In Catarina Mário Dimande and Johane Zonjo (Org.), *The people is my boss*, Vol. IV, (Maputo: The Republic's Presidency, 2018), 449.

⁵²² Article 37 of the 2013 regulations of the 8th edition of the Festival, 16.

⁵²³ Aires Bonifácio Ali, “Discurso de Lançamento do II FNCMT”, In Ministério da Cultura, *II Festival Nacional da Canção e Música Tradicional 2006*, (Maputo, Direcção Nacional de Cultura, 2007), 41.

contents were connected with the daily life, cosmovision, and rituals of a specific ethnolinguistic group. Choral music was inspired by religious choirs and involved a group of people who danced and sang together united by poetry⁵²⁴. *Música ligeira Moçambicana* was the designation attributed to music of popular success, produced to entertain the masses. It was music produced to be performed in concerts, to be disseminated through radio, and which was accessible to the audience commercially. The distinction between traditional music and *música ligeira* was very thin and the use of modern and western musical instruments was what usually distinguished one category from the other, as elements of traditional music were frequently incorporated in *música ligeira Moçambicana*⁵²⁵.

The inclusion of the category of *música ligeira Moçambicana* at the Festivals contributed to the development of this type of music from the villages to the main urban areas and enabled the emergence of new talented artists who could join the mainstream industry of *música ligeira Moçambicana*. Besides the presence of several music groups in the Festivals, it is worth mentioning the impact of the official songs in the development of *música ligeira Moçambicana*. The official song was usually *música ligeira* (popular urban music) and was performed during the whole Festival, particularly at the opening and closing ceremonies.

Sofala's edition of the National festival in 2016 had "Moçambique" as the official song. Mia Couto, a Mozambican writer wrote the lyrics of the Festival's official song

⁵²⁴ Roberto Dove et al, *VIII Festival Nacional de Cultura Inhambane 2014*, (Maputo: Ministério da Cultura, 2014), 38-40.

⁵²⁵ Ibid, 39. Ministério da Cultura, *VIII Festival Nacional da Cultura*, (Maputo: Gabinete Central do VIII Festival Nacional da Cultura, 2013), 11. Interviewe with João Rosse, Maxixe, 2019.

reflecting the Festival's theme: Cultural diversity, National Unity and Development. The lyrics can be loosely translated to,

Mozambique, Mozambique, Mozambique
there are many Waters, many rivers, and only one sea
there are many voices, many dreams, and only one singing
There are in this one time, many memories to remember
in one land, so many histories to tell
we are, Mozambique
Different but equal
we are, Mozambique
all together, we are more
make peace a way of living and working
a way of being, we will always be a nation growing
we will always make, Mozambique at dawn.

In that particular song, the musicians including Jorge Mamade⁵²⁶ chose to keep all lyrics in Portuguese. That raised questions about what was more relevant in a song: the lyrics, the sounds, the process of writing and recording the song, the specific historical context when the song is written, or the performance. Plato, for example, gave primacy to words in the process of writing music, followed by the rhythms and harmonies. In turn, the words should be determined by the realities of his ethos doctrine, and the rhythms and harmonies should follow the words, thus privileging the text

On the other hand, Adorno problematized this relationship when he juxtaposed the similarities and differences between music and language. It is my understanding that the paradoxes could be found in the intentionality (or not) of music as a language. If on the one side, music was intention-less in its relation to the soul, music is also impregnated with

⁵²⁶ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xRhRRRszhpY&list=RDxRhRRRszhpY&start_radio=1&t=49.

intentions. Adorno indicated that, if the music were intentional, it would cease from being music to become language. Thus, while at the same time expressive and subjective intentions are essential to and are ambiguously and imprecisely circulating in music (flowing in, refracting outward), they also gave the music a very mysterious and occult appearance. Following the Festival's theme, unity through the Portuguese language prevailed in producing the official song, which included a variety of local traditional rhythms in its melody.

Aurélio Furdela wrote the official song of the 10th edition of the National Festival titled "Kadibu", performed by Niassa's music group "Massukos". The lyrics can be loosely translated to,

Mozambique land my flower
shine the burning sun of our culture
in our roots' soul, voice and lyrics
vibrate Niassa drums
Cabo delgado and Nampula; Manica, Tete e Zambézia; Inhambane; Maputo and Gaza, a
festival li fiquile kwa a yao
Kulungwane (ululate) ladies
in the confluence of rivers that we are
lives our difference, our wealth
cultivating the essence of peace and progress
all Mozambique united through culture
Kadibu, Kadibu, Kadibu kumagwetu
Kadibu, Kadibu, Kadibu ku Niassa
Kadibu, Kadibu, Kadibu ku che mataka
Kadibu, Kadibu, Kadibu ku Niassa.

Kadibu means welcome. The song spoke of the beauty of Mozambique, its culture, its roots, its traditional instruments such as the drums, and reinforced the idea of unity through culture by mentioning the names of all provinces who were welcomed in Niassa, the land of Chief Che Mataka for the Festival. The song verses were in Portuguese and the

choruses in local Niassa languages. The song's poem was written in Portuguese, the language of national unity, but the organization translated the chorus to local languages to make visible the region's culture and language⁵²⁷. That way, people could understand the message and learn words in local language.

The reduced presence of female musicians in the groups that performed the Festivals' anthems at the Sofala and Niassa Festivals raised questions regarding the gender relations in the music industry in particular, and the Festivals' organization and participation in general. Female artists performed more as backing vocals, dancers, and at times as the lead vocalists, however, women were seldom playing musical instruments. Even though female musicians attended music schools, and most recently integrated orchestras such as Xiquitsi orchestra or the orchestras under the Music Conservatory or belonging to universities such as the University Eduardo Mondlane and High Institute of Arts and Culture, the presence of female musical instrument players in popular music groups could be improved. In the past, groups such as "Sadzyana" created by Rádio Moçambique and the "Marias" integrating music students from the School of Communication and Arts at University Eduardo Mondlane, were solely female music groups.

Interestingly, though, the ballets performed in Sofala and Niassa were choreographed by female choreographers, namely Luisa Mugalela and Cândida Mata in Sofala, and Pérola Jaime in Niassa. This, in turn, reassured the gender differences in terms of artistic areas of intervention, as the lyricists and composers of the songs were all males,

⁵²⁷ Aurélio Furdela, Maputo, 2018.

and the choreographers of the dance ballets (which included traditional, choral, and música ligeira Moçambicana music) were female.

Inhambane's Local Festivals of Culture

Locally, apart from the organization of the district and provincial levels of the National Festival of Culture, Inhambane held other local and regional Festivals to preserve local cultural expressions, namely M'saho, the Timbila Festival, and the Regional Festivals of Zore and Nzumba organized in 2015 and 2016, respectively⁵²⁸. M'saho, the Timbila Festival was organized yearly and brought together the provinces' Timbila players mostly from Zavala District where the Festival is held.

In 2015 Inhambane organized the Zore Festival involving Inhambane city, Maxixe, Morrumbene, and Jangamo districts. The main objective was to preserve the dance and ensure its continuity. According to João Rosse, most of the performers of the local dances were aging and there was a need to pass the knowledge of the cultural expressions to a younger generation of performers. Thus, besides organizing the Zore Festival, the government stimulated the linkage between a Zore group and a school to involve school children in Zore performances. In 2016 Inhambane held the Nzumba Festival integrating the districts of Massinga, Funhalouro, Vilanculos, Inhassoro, and Govuro⁵²⁹.

Inhambane city held regularly the Tofo Festival (*Festival do Tofo*) a music festival that brought together local artists, with Mozambican artists from outside of Inhambane and

⁵²⁸ Interview with João Rosse, Maxixe-Inhambane, August 16, 2019.

⁵²⁹ Ibid.

international artists. It was first organized in 2002 in Tofo beach under the umbrella of Inhambane's Municipality and later moved to Barra beach⁵³⁰.

Apart from these festivals, Inhambane held the following festivals:

- Carnaval (between February and March)
- Barra Festival (between October and November)
- Women's month Festival (April)
- New year's Festival (Decembro)
- Inhambane City's day Festival (12 August)⁵³¹

Despite similarities related to performances of local and international musicians, these Festivals had some differences such as the use of masks in Carnaval or the organization of collective weddings to celebrate women's month. In 2013 Inhambane reactivated the Municipal music Band. Because the bands' objectives included "the conservation of Inhambane population's memory, ensuring the protection and transmission of its cultural and historical legacy, conquests, achievements and values to future generations", Inhambane's Municipal Band⁵³² performed in the Festivals' opening and closing ceremonies.

⁵³⁰ Interview with Susária do Amaral, Inhambane, 2019.

⁵³¹ Interview with Deve, Inhambane, 2019.

⁵³² Município de Inhambane, *Regulamento da Banda Musical Municipal da Cidade de Inhambane*, Conselho Micioal da Cidade de Inhambane – Vereação da cultura, juventude, desportos, transportes e comunicações (Inhambane, 2013), 2-4.

Conclusion

At its inception, the festival's focus was geared towards the diffusion of the sociopolitical ideas of the day, as culture was seen as an important weapon for the peoples' revolutionary education. Over time, the festivals revitalized Mozambican cultural and artistic expressions and contributed to consolidating a fairer and stable society, particularly after the 16 years of civil war.

According to the festivals' organizers, the festivals contributed to the materialization of national unity, one of the constant elements in the Festival's themes. It is their understanding that the environment of confraternization of several ethnolinguistic cultures enabled the participants unique moments of cultural exchange⁵³³, shared with the whole country through television and radio broadcasting networks and social media. Knowledge exchange, sharing of inspiration and innovation, development of new competencies, promotion of new talents, scale-up of scientific research, and reinterpretation of history through arts and culture were highlighted as positive results of festivals⁵³⁴.

Since Mozambique was a young nation, and with all wars and environmental and economic hardships it faced, national unity was still being built. Mozambicaness continued

⁵³³ Roberto Dove et al, 2014, *VIII Festival Nacional de Cultura Inhambane 2014*, Maputo: Ministério da Cultura, 11.

⁵³⁴ President Filipe Jacinto Nyusi's speech on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the Final Phase of the 10th edition of the National Festival of Culture, Lichinga – Niassa, July 26, 2018. In Catarina Mário Dimande and Johane Zonjo (Org.), 2018, *The people are my boss*, Vol. IV, Maputo: The Republic's Presidency, 450.

a goal to be achieved and the youth's constant training and exposure to cultural traditions in the era of globalization and technological advancements were seen as a way forward.

7. 'TRANSFORMING HOMESICKNESS INTO ART'⁵³⁵: MOZAMBICAN MUSICIANS IN THE DIASPORA AND THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF MOZAMBICAN MUSIC

Music has a universal feeling,
It's just like the instruments themselves.
You don't understand them,
you just like what you hear.
And you can relate to any
kind of music in the world.
Gito Baloi⁵³⁶

Introduction

The movement of people for various reasons is part of the History of Africa and Mozambique. From the Bantu migrations, the Mfecane, the waves of merchants, explorers and colonists, slavery, labor migrations, deportations, wars, and other historical events, people and their culture moved in African. As part of the culture, music also moved from one place to the other as part of these migratory processes. However, the reasons for the movements which also led to the migration of music and musicians varied over time. Fernando Arenas argued that “the historicity of Africa cannot be isolated from the rest of the world and the processes of globalization overtime”⁵³⁷.

Thus, this chapter discusses key aspects related to the migration of Mozambican musicians and the internationalization of Mozambican music from 1975 to recent times. Through the analysis of the Mozambican musicians' careers in the diaspora, this chapter

⁵³⁵ Borrowed from José Dos Remédios, “Os criadores da tradição II: uma escuta aos grandes”. www.opais.sapo.mz

⁵³⁶ Daniel Brown, “Tribute to Gito Baloi” (http://www1.rfi.fr/actuen/articles/105/article_1514.asp).

⁵³⁷ Fernando Arenas, *Lusophone Africa. Beyond Independence*, (London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), xviii.

explores the motivations for the international migration of musicians, the participation of Mozambican music in the global world, the interconnections between Mozambican musicians and other musicians in Lusophone Africa, and the challenges faced by returning musicians from the diaspora.

Conceptualizing globalization and postcolonialism

The analysis of the Mozambican musicians in the diaspora and the internationalization of Mozambican music will be anchored on Fernando Arenas' contributions to the discussion of the concepts of modern globalization and postcolonialism. Citing Harvey (1989) and Bauman (1998)⁵³⁸, Fernando Arenas (2011) indicated that contemporary globalization was “characterized by an intensified ‘time-space compression’ ... resulting from the extraordinary advances on the realms of information technology, mass media, telecommunications, and transportation, which have been revolutionizing the planetary existence in economic, social, cultural and political terms”⁵³⁹.

However, Arenas called our attention to some challenges on the conceptualization of globalization such as (i) the segmented and differentiated ways people experienced globalization, based on the social class and geographical location on national, regional, and global scales; (ii) the limits to interconnection in Africa due to the lack of interconnection

⁵³⁸ David Harvey, *The conditions of Postmodernity*, Oxford: Blackwell; Zygmunt Bauman, 1998, *Globalization: the human consequences*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989).

⁵³⁹ Fernando Arenas, *Lusophone Africa*, xviii.

structures in some places where the capital cannot go; (iii) the fact that the national elites in Sub-Saharan Africa tended to be active participants in and beneficiaries of the advances of globalization while the majority of the population “struggle to survive, often lacking the most basic of rights such as sanitation, education, adequate food, or decent housing”; and the prevalence of the “unequal geography of globalization” when it came to the relations between Europe and the so considered developing countries during colonialism and the decolonization processes⁵⁴⁰.

The other relevant concept for this analysis was the concept of postcolonialism defined by Arenas as “a field of knowledge encompassing the ensemble of socioeconomic, geopolitical, and cultural consequences of colonialism and a historicized referent that signals the aftermath of colonialism, most particularly, late European colonialism in Africa”⁵⁴¹.

A field that emerged in the 1980s in the Anglophone academy, and not a unified ideological field, the postcolonial studies engage with an array of discussions, including, the ‘post’ prefix in postcolonialism, considered a “tense floating signifier” which may not “reflect clearly enough the enduring legacies of colonialism in today’s globalized world”⁵⁴².

The ‘post’ prefix in postcolonial has led to an analysis of African history considering the independence moment as a point of rupture with colonialism and at times

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid. Fernando Arenas cites Frederick Cooper, 2005, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press; and Ali Behdad, 2005, “On globalization, Again!” In *Postcolonial studies and beyond*, ed. Ania Loomba, Survir Kaul, Matti Bunzl, Antoinette Burton, and Jed Esty. 62-79.

⁵⁴¹ Fernando Arenas, *Lusophone Africa*, xix.

⁵⁴² Ibid, xx.

of continuities in what has been termed neocolonialism or recolonization. However, citing Albert Memmi (2006), Fernando Arenas (2011) revealed that after four decades of the independence of African countries, the African states could no longer hold the former colonial empires culprit of their failures and shortcomings in terms of governance, as corruption and other social, economic and political evils revealed the African ruling parties and leaders' inability to take agency in shifting the developmental pattern of the African continent despite its natural and mineral wealth⁵⁴³.

Internal colonialism was also an issue to consider in the analysis of postcolonialism and globalization in the African context. Drawing from the Sub-saharan African context and inspired by the theorization of Latin American scholars, Fernando Arenas indicated that the unequal socioeconomic and political structures inherited from the colonial period were determinant to shape the geopolitical and geoeconomic relations between the North and South or the central and the peripheries after the African independences. The 'postindependence' elites replicated the unequal power structures in what could be termed internal colonialism, or 'class colonialism' where "decolonization has primarily involved a change of political sovereignty but not necessarily a change in the vastly unequal socioeconomic structures or dependency ties vis-à-vis the former metropole"⁵⁴⁴.

This internal or class colonialism was characterized by the 'institutionalization of a relation of clientelism' bound by the hegemony of the dominant class in a relationship of inequality and powerlessness. On this matter, Fernando Arenas cited Patrick Chabal who

⁵⁴³ Ibid, xx-xxi. Arenas cited Albert Memmi, 2006, *Decolonization and the Decolonized*. Trans. Robert Bononno. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

⁵⁴⁴ Fernando Arenas, *Lusophone Africa*, xxii. Marc Ferro, cited by Arenas, coined the term 'class colonialism' (Marc Ferro, 1994, *Histoire des colonisations: Des conquêtes aux indépendances XIIIe-XXe siècle*, Paris: Éditions du Seuil.)

pointed that ordinary African men and women ‘mortgaged their future’ to ‘modern’ elites whom they could not reach nor control when they entrusted their future to the national liberators. Therefore, the only way they could connect was through clientelism⁵⁴⁵.

Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2007) cited by Arenas (2011) added the idea of a ‘new scramble for Africa’ to the discussion. Wealthier nations from the Western and Eastern world ferociously competed with each other to sign bilateral agreements with independent African countries, especially for the extraction of raw materials that resulted in economic, diplomatic, and military implications⁵⁴⁶.

The other relevant aspect was related to the substantial immigration waves from former African colonies to former European colonial powers. Such was the case of Portugal and its former colonies. As a result, Africans and their descendants inhabited the metropolitan spaces as immigrants or European citizens of African origin “contributing to the increased hybridization of various European cultures while producing new forms of diasporic identification”. The analysis of the Mozambican musicians in the diaspora and the internationalization of Mozambican music is framed on the above-mentioned conceptualizations of globalization and postcolonialism.

⁵⁴⁵ Fernando Arenas, *Lusophone Africa*, xxii cites Patrick Chabal, 2009, *Africa: The politics of Suffering and Smiling*, London: Zed Books, 91, 96.

⁵⁴⁶ Fernando Arenas, *Lusophone Africa*, xxiii cites Boaventura de Sousa Santos, 2007, “A partilha de África.”, *Visão*, June 21. Lusophony was a term developed and institutionalized as part of the efforts to increase the visibility and integration of the Portuguese-speaking community in the world and alluded to the idea of a community, a group of cultural identities that exist among the countries that had Portuguese as the official language . These efforts occurred particularly at the economic and political levels, with the creation of Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa [African Countries of Portuguese Official Language] - PALOP in 1992. PALOP was an organization that congregated the five Portuguese speaking countries in Africa and led to the creation of Comunidade dos países de Língua Portuguesa [Community for Portuguese language Countries] – CPLP in 1996, with Brazil and Portugal, and later, the addition of East Timor in 2002 and Equatorial Guinea in 2014. Moreover, the efforts to build a community were also visible in terms of intellectual exchange and collective actions to advance the production and dissemination of knowledge on/ in/ from/ by Portuguese speaking countries and peoples. <http://www.ces.uc.pt/opinioao/>.

Lusophone community and post-colonial international migration

The post-colonial relationship between the former European colonial powers and their former African colonies was complex, ambiguous, and was subject to scholarly scrutiny. In the case of Portugal's post-colonial relationship with its former colonies, one had to consider the concept of the Lusophone community. Lusophone Africa arose from the idea of an imagined community of African countries, linked by a common colonial past (Portuguese colonization), and its linguistic and cultural legacies. Thus, the term was used to identify the five former Portuguese colonies in Africa: Mozambique, Angola, Cape Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe, and Guinea Bissau, considering their geographical, racial, ethnic, and linguistic diversities.

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⁵⁴⁷ <http://www.dicionarioinformal.com.br/lusofonia/>

Moreover, the efforts to build a community were also visible in terms of intellectual exchange and collective actions to advance the production and dissemination of knowledge on/ in/ from/ by Portuguese speaking countries and peoples.

Besides the linguistic aspects that justified the sense of unity, scholars also employed the following elements to justify the concept Lusophone community as a valid analytical category : (i) common colonial oppressor and the similarities in the historical paths derived from management strategies adopted by Portugal in its African colonies; (ii) intersections in the roots of nationalism in the Portuguese speaking countries in Africa; (iii) struggles for independence and guerrilla warfare; (iv) liberation struggles adopted as a result of Portugal's refusal to grant pacific independence; (v) the possibility of tracing transformations, continuities, and ruptures through a *longue duree* approach, from pre-colonial, to colonial and post-colonial history; (vi) the role of Marxism in the liberation struggles and the post-independent nation state formation processes; (vii) the post-independent civil wars (only for three of the five countries); (viii) the "success" of the independence struggles and the consolidation of nationalist unity attributed to the political agency of the nationalist parties and leaders (with more success in Guiné Bissau due to PAIGC's "successful diplomacy" and less in Angola where internal disunity and MPLA's "frailty" contributed to the post-colonial wars).

There were critiques to the notion of the Lusophone community. Scholars' critiques focused on the connection of the term Lusophone with Gilberto Freyre's ideology of lusotropicalism⁵⁴⁸. Moisés Martins went even further in suggesting that Lusophony, a

⁵⁴⁸ According to Arenas, lusotropicalism argued that "because of a series of interrelated climatological, geographical, historical, cultural, and genetic facts, the Portuguese were more inclined to intermix racially with peoples of the tropics" (5). Thus, the national identities of both Brazil and Portugal and by extension of

concept rooted in the idea of a Lusophone community, was a re-composition of lusotropicalism⁵⁴⁹. CPLP emerged having in mind the development of exchange at cultural, scientific, educational, and technological levels among the Portuguese speaking countries of the world. This was perceived as a neocolonial project due to the association of its embryonic activities in Portugal and Brazil, and due to the expected goals conveyed by Portuguese leaders, advocating for the use of a unifying and common language to increase the Portuguese presence in Asia and Africa⁵⁵⁰.

Questioning the motivations of the North in inviting the South to engage in discussions towards the achievement of the Lusophone community, Eduardo Lourenço warned to the danger of this seemingly innocent term, forged (proposed and assumed) in the North to materialize a project, a dream and even a utopia, which mirrored the same images, phantoms, and misunderstandings of the past⁵⁵¹. He argued that Lusophony was more mythology and mirage since the Lusophone space did not even coincide with the Lusophone community of reference (with the exclusion of Galiza)⁵⁵². Alluding to the idea that a shared language was more than intercommunication and should entail the sharing of being and feeling, Lourenço seemed to suggest that, before Lusophone was imagined as a community it should be established effectively

the African colonies and the various Asian enclaves of the Portuguese Empire would be “inextricably intertwined” (ibid). Arenas seemed to suggest that Lusotropicalism reinforced the idea of a transatlantic cultural identity, linking the African colonies, Portugal and Brazil, as part of attempts to go against the ideas of nationalism and struggles for independence.

⁵⁴⁹ Moisés de Lemos Martins, “Lusofonia E Luso-Tropicalismo: Equívocos E Possibilidades de Dois Conceitos Hiper-Identitários,” *Viagens d’Amérique Latine* 3 (June 2006): 95.

⁵⁵⁰ See Hamilton, “Lusophone Literature in Africa.” Some of the initiatives are the Colloquim of the *Sociedade da Língua Portuguesa* held in Lisbon in 1989 entitled “Língua Portuguesa: que futuro”; and the meeting of the seven heads of State (Angola sent a representative) in Brazil in 1989.

⁵⁵¹ Eduardo Lourenço, *A Nau de Ícaro Seguido de Imagem E Miragem Da Lusofonia* (Lisboa: Gradiva, 1999), 175.

⁵⁵² Ibid., 179.

However, despite these claims, scholars such as Hamilton pushed back against this theory of neocolonialism, arguing that even though Lusofonia could entail unequal power relations and opened the possibility of dependency in terms of economic and diplomatic relations, in terms of knowledge production, the claim of Portuguese as “more than lingua franca” was still relevant in advancing scholarship. He based his argument on the idea of “co-ownership” of the Portuguese language claimed and defended by Africans, which started with the creation of PALOP, and later of CPLP. “Co-ownership” meant that Africans had contributed to the development of the Portuguese language in the ways it was used in African countries. It also meant that instead of depending on the Portuguese language, writers and intellectuals from the Lusophone countries replaced the sense of accommodation to the language, with appropriation and modifications as an inherent process of their political sovereignty and cultural autonomy⁵⁵³. Maybe echoing Eduardo Lourenço when he wrote “a language is no one’s language, but we are nobody without a language that we make our own”⁵⁵⁴, African writers and intellectuals from Lusophone Africa experimented with the language, reincorporating traditional orature into language, and, as Hamilton put it producing “an iconography that transforms the totemic elements borrowed from the indigenous cultures⁵⁵⁵”.

⁵⁵³ Hamilton, “Lusophone Literature in Africa.”

⁵⁵⁴ Lourenço, *A Nau de Ícaro Seguido de Imagem E Miragem Da Lusofonia*, 132.

⁵⁵⁵ Hamilton, “Lusophone Literature in Africa,” 331. This was more visible in literature and cultural studies. Some writers that engaged in these practices include, Luis Carlos Patraquim, Helder Muteia, Mia Couto, Ungulani Ba Ka Khosa, Armando Artur, Eduardo White (Mozambique); Luandino Viera, Manuel Rui, Uanhenga Xitu, Boaventura Cardoso, Pepetela (Angola). One could also talk about the dictionaries, grammars, books and blogposts advocating for the mainstream of new words (localized nationally or regionally, existing or created) which resulted from the practical use of the language in the African countries. Some examples include: Hildizina Norberto Dias, *Minidicionário de Moçambicanismos* (Do autor, 2002); Armando Jorge Lopes, Salvador Júlio Siteo, and Paulino José Nhamuende, *Moçambicanismos - Para Um Léxico de Usos Do Português Moçambicano* (Ver curiosidade, 2002); António Carlos Pereira Cabral, *Pequeno dicionário de Moçambique: moçambicanismos e termos nativos mais correntes* (Cabral, 1972).

Hamilton revealed another challenge associated with the term Lusophone that was the Portuguese language and its historical marginalization or invisibility⁵⁵⁶. The Anglophone (community, language, and scholarship) was perceived as more vibrant and dynamic and this influences questions of access, funding, and other factors that contributed to the reduction of intellectual production and dissemination in Africa and the world.

The issue of translation was key. The interests of the translators (and the authors to a certain extent) also reflected the power relations and economic interests of the Global North and the Global South, which influenced the methodological, thematic, and theoretical approaches that African countries could develop in the Portuguese language. This became even more challenging when it came to the linguistic diversity in the Lusophone countries. Portuguese was adopted as the language of national unity after independence in Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, and S. Tome and Principe⁵⁵⁷. Because these countries kept the international borders virtually defined in response to the European imperialistic interests in Africa, the emphasis on the Portuguese language for knowledge production and even in the sources available for historical and cultural research, missed the diversity of ways of knowing which emerge in the local languages.

⁵⁵⁶ Hamilton, *Literatura Africanam literatura necessaria I: Angola*. In his argument, Hamilton also alluded to Gerald Moser who argued in his 1969 book titled African Literature in Portuguese: the first written, the last discovered, where he argued that African literature in the Portuguese language was the first to be written in Africa and the last to be revealed. Even though I could not find evidence to counter this, it remits to the need for the problematization of the concept literature and African literature, since Africa had other languages such as the Ethiopian/Eritrean Ge'ez, Swahili in East Africa, and Arabic, before the European presence in Africa. Moser's Eurocentric lenses might have guided comparison of the production of African literature in the European colonizers' languages.

⁵⁵⁷ Due to the colonial education policies and assimilation, only a small number of Africans assimilated the Portuguese language by the independences. Hamilton indicated that by the time of Angola and Mozambique's independence, only an estimated 25% of the African population in both countries spoke Portuguese (only 0.5% spoke fluently). Russell Hamilton, "Lusophone Literature in Africa: Lusofania, Africa, and Matters of Languages and Letters," *Callaloo* 14, no. 2 (1991): 325. Also see Enders, *História da África Lusófona*, 95.

It also led to dialectics between the Portuguese language and the local or national languages, which hid the linguistic nuances that emerged as resistance to the cultural genocide that was implicit in the idea of assimilation and the prohibition of the use of local languages during the colonial period. But more importantly, it became a fragile category to account for the dynamics of knowledge production in the regions these countries were inserted in, which was complicated with Mozambique's adherence to Commonwealth.

International Migration of Mozambican Musicians after 1975

The reasons for the migration of Mozambican musicians to South Africa, Europe, and the United States after the independence of Mozambique in 1975 included labor migration to South Africa spanning from the pre-colonial period and continuing after the independence. But the exodus which occurred from 1974-1975 onwards resulted from the aftermaths of the Lusaka agreement, the independence of Mozambique, the censorship that ensued with the implementation of the socialist project in Mozambique, the Operation Production, and the reeducation camps, and the compulsory recruitment for the army in the war against the MNR. The late 1970s and 1980s were times marked by all sorts of insufficiencies that limited the creative capacities of many, particularly those who used art as their way of being and seeing the world. Some conformed but others did not and chose to leave the country⁵⁵⁸ such as Jaime Machatine and Alípio Cruz, among others. The Mozambican civil war from 1976 to 1992 also resulted in massive movements of people

⁵⁵⁸ “A música Moçambicana tem de ser grávida com padrões internacionais”, November 8, 2014. <http://www.jornaldomingo.co.mz/index.php/cultura/4174-a-musica-mocambicana-tem-de-ser-gravada-com-padroes-internacionais>; Matos, Edmundo Galiza, “Costa Neto no ‘Clube dos Entas’”, May 7th, 2009. <http://www.clube70.blogspot.com/2009/05/>.

to the neighboring countries including South Africa, not only as refugees but also to avoid conscription to fight the civil war⁵⁵⁹. Upon the signature of the Roma Peace Agreements in 1992, some Mozambicans refused to be repatriated and remained in South Africa.

More recently, South Africa continued to be a regional migration hub in Africa fostering the South-South migration not only as a result of wars and conflicts in Africa but also as a reflection of the inaccessibility of Europe with the tightening of policies against migration⁵⁶⁰. Musicians continued to migrate to South Africa to continue their music careers and to find better life opportunities. Domingas Salatiel Jamisse aka Mingas⁵⁶¹ was among the musicians who worked with South African musician Miriam Makeba⁵⁶². However, while several musicians migrated to South Africa as the final destination, for others South Africa was a means to reach other places and stages in the larger diaspora⁵⁶³.

⁵⁵⁹ Felix Garção do Rosario Serafim Bernardo Baloi aka Gito Balói migrated to South Africa in 1980 at the age of sixteen to avoid conscription to serve in the army because he wanted to be a musician. He walked to South Africa with his friends on a trip that lasted six months. There he became a renowned musician alongside the music groups Pongolo (1986) and Tananas (1988) but over time he created his band, The Gito Baloi Band. He recorded several albums with strong influences of jazz and the rhythms from his country of origin. He was shot dead at the age of 39 in South Africa, in April 2004. Sources: “Artist Profiles: Gito Baloi” (<https://worldmusiccentral.org/2018/10/26/artist-profiles-gito-baloi/>); “South Africa’s Gito Baloi Killed In Shooting” (<https://www.billboard.com/articles/business/1440526/south-africas-gito-baloi-killed-in-shooting>); “Musician, Gito Baloi of Tananas fame, is killed” (<https://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/musician-gito-baloi-tananas-fame-killed>); Gito Baloi (<https://variety.com/2004/scene/people-news/gito-baloi-1117903495/>); Former Tananas member shot dead (<https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/former-tananas-member-shot-dead-209874>); “Gito Baloi” (<http://www.angelfire.com/blues/bassplayers/gitobaloibio.html>); “South Africa music star shot dead” (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/3600593.stm>); (<http://www.music.org.za/artist.asp?id=173>); “SA With Martin Simpson: Remembering Gito Baloi” (<https://bassmusicianmagazine.com/2009/08/sa-with-martin-simpson-remembering-gito-baloi/>); Basildon Peta, “South Africa’s deadly streets claim jazz man” (<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/south-africas-deadly-streets-claim-jazz-man-54862.html>); Daniel Brown, “Tribute to Gito Baloi” (http://www1.rfi.fr/actuen/articles/105/article_1514.asp).

⁵⁶⁰ Aurélia Segati, “Migration to South Africa: regional challenges versus national instruments and interests”, In Aurelia Segati and Loren Landau (eds), *Contemporary migration to South Africa: a regional development issue* (Washington: The World Bank, 2011).

⁵⁶¹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=845mcX_Glc4.

⁵⁶² https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mtl62-6pY_I.

⁵⁶³ <http://www.otis-sax.com/imprensa.php>

Education, the search for better economic conditions, and the need to grow as a musician were among the reasons for the migration of Mozambican musicians to Europe and the United States of America from the 1970s onwards. Such were the cases of Garrido Garrine and Luís Navesse who migrated to Europe in the 1980s⁵⁶⁴. Others such as Joaquina Siquice⁵⁶⁵ migrated to Germany in the 1990s to pursue the dream of singing. Before she migrated to Germany, Joaquina Siquice was living in difficult conditions in Mozambique around 1989 even though she was hailed as one of the greatest Mozambican dancers who toured the world with the National Company of Song and Dance⁵⁶⁶.

The outcomes of the Mozambican musicians' migrations varied. Some musicians remained in the diaspora and continued to pursue their music careers and to internationalize the Mozambican music and culture from the diaspora. Other musicians returned to Mozambique after achieving their educational goals and invested their knowledge to develop music from Mozambique.

Mozambican Musicians and Transnational networks through music in the diaspora

The positionality of the Mozambican Musician in the diaspora enabled the discussion of the complexity and hybridity of cultural identities. Julio Silva's⁵⁶⁷ project

⁵⁶⁴ Garrido Garrine traveled to Bulgaria to continue his studies as part of the Mozambican government efforts to increment the number of trained professionals in several developmental sectors. While in Bulgaria he joined music groups and performed with fellow students. In Portugal, he continued to sing and play guitar. He joined the music group Julio Silva Band that recorded the album titled "Chitata". (Interview with Garrido Garrine, Maputo, 2019).

⁵⁶⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nm7XdHxBafl>.

⁵⁶⁶ Nelson Saúte, "Joaquina Siquice", *O País*, January 18, 2018 (<http://opais.sapo.mz/joaquina-siquice>); Nelson Saúte, "Joaquina", *Tempo*, September 17, 1989, 44-46.

⁵⁶⁷ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2ev3-9zx_N0.

Chitata was an example of the attempt at representation of Mozambican culture and music. The project involved several Mozambican musicians who performed songs in various Mozambican languages, including Garrido Garrine and Luís Navesse who sang primarily in Gitonga.

Mozambican musicians performed in the events organized by the Mozambican Embassy in Portugal to strengthen Mozambicanness among the Mozambicans and their networks in the diaspora. But because the audience was not only composed by Mozambicans, but included Africans from Lusophone countries, the songs performed by the music group Chitata in several Mozambican languages, their live performances, and the dissemination of their songs through Radio and Television networks created to cater to the African Lusophonic communities, contributed to foster and strengthen a sense of Mozambicanness and Africanness, and the relationship between the former Metropole and former colonies⁵⁶⁸.

Songs by musicians in the diaspora had different thematic approaches but tended to strengthen the need for brotherhood, solidarity, and unity like the song “Keni nhonga” (I am alone) by Garrido Garrine,

Keni nhonga nhi vegueni lihanine	I am alone put me under the sun
Dzimindro dzile gambe nhi na wuga (...)	In the morning I will wake up
Vangui vatu va guetago gu vbanha	Many people want to live
Ka va gu mani ku mahungu nha ligungo	They can't because of avarice
(...)	Put me under the sun
Nhi vegueni lihanine va minau	I will wake up
Nhina wuga cucuanana	Don't be avaricious
Munga kaleni ni ligungo	If you live alone no one will bury you
Wo vbanha wenga kunanga mana mutu	
nha gu dzingue	

⁵⁶⁸ Interview with Garrido Garrine, Maputo, 2019.

Songs also highlighted Mozambican cultural traits such as the gender roles in the household as was the case of the song “ngadzamuane” (daughter in law) and community conflicts derived from accusations of witchcraft associated with one’s prosperity and wealth, as was the song “Tembueni guango”, both by Garrido Garrine,

Tembueni guango, tembueni guaye	My farm, your farm
Tembueni guaye kama dugue marosa	On his farm rice does not grow
Tembuene guaye kama dugue mifarinha	On his farm cassava does not grow
(...)	(...)
Ku ginani gia kona	Why?
Ku mahungo nha gu duanisse basi	It is because of fighting/ conflict
Hongoleni hiya lima mifarinha	Let’s all grow cassava
Gasi mafu yaye masiri yadi	Maybe this sand is not good
Ku mahungo kamwe nho duanisane	It is because of fighting/ conflict
Hinga duanisane (...)	Let’s not fight

Homesickness and the desire to return home were part of the musicians’ thematic approaches in their songs. The song “Phari yango” (my friend) by Luís Navesse and Garrido Garrine located in the diaspora, stimulated the listener to return home and reassured that people back home would be waiting,

Pari yango	My friend
Hongole gaya	Let’s go home
Sanana satu singo hi emela	Our children are waiting for us
Dzi pari dzatu dzingu hi emela	Our friends are waiting for us
Dzi pari ni vatsavbo	Our friends and everyone
Pari yango dundrugaya gaya	My friend remember home
Uwe pari yangu dundrugaya gaya	You, my friend, remember home
Sanana satu singo hi emela	Our children are waiting for us
Etu hatsavbo hingu gu emela (...)	All of us are waiting for you
Valongo vago vango gu emela	Your relatives are waiting for you

Even though songs were in Gitonga or other Mozambican languages other than Portuguese, rhythm, sound, melody, and performance ‘spoke louder’ to the audience than the lyrics, transcending the role of the message. This, however, did not disregard the fact that the musicians explained the message to the audience, and some people who understood the lyrics shared their meaning with the audience. The complex relationships between the song’s lyrics and sound (rhythm, melody, voice) could also be discerned in Alípio Cruz aka Otis’ repertoire. Otis played the saxophone and similar musical instruments and his repertoire was mostly instrumental with saxophone solos. Lyrics were scant and appeared mostly as part of the chorus. However, nostalgia and homesickness were also present particularly when his songs conveyed messages such as “unga divaleni gaya Inhambane”⁵⁶⁹ (don’t forget our home Inhambane). Video clips played a key role in transmitting images from Inhambane and Mozambique to remind people in the diaspora of their places of origin.

Otis’s musical trajectory in the diaspora enabled the discussion of distinct dynamics from those of the Julio Silva Band and the Chitata Project. His music trajectory made visible the complexity and hybridity of the Mozambican musician’s positionality when in the diaspora. On one side, Otis’s trajectory intersected with the trajectory of several Lusophone(ic) musicians. After working in Portugal for about 10 years, Otis’s breakthrough occurred through Roberto Leal. Working with him and other musicians including the Portuguese Miguel, André, and Paulo de Carvalho, and the Angolan Eduardo Paim and Paulo Flores eased Otis integration into the Portuguese society and opened doors

⁵⁶⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3VIPksDPocw>.

to the world, enabling him to tour to several countries⁵⁷⁰. These collaborations enabled Otis to improve professionally and became more polyvalent as a musician and performer. By and by, he started collaborating with other musicians such as Rui Veloso, Dulce Pontes, Sandy, Anjos, Mariza, and Bonga⁵⁷¹.

The album titled “MozamVerde”⁵⁷² was also an example of collaborations that included Lusophone(ic) artists. The album’s title resulted from the mixture of the names of two countries, Mozambique and Cape Verde, the nationalities of the two main musicians featured in the album, Otis and Tito Paris. The 2010 Soccer World Cup in South Africa inspired Otis to produce the album to share two countries' cultures. The album included a song in Gitonga titled “Uwe Muane” (you, brother-in-law). This was particularly relevant because the Portuguese Soccer Federation invited Otis to integrate Portugal’s nationals committee to South Africa. Similarly, Mozambique invited Otis to promote the image of Mozambique while attending the World Cup in Portugal.

Therefore, from their positionality as African musicians in the diaspora, Otis, Tito Paris, and other musicians not only represented and promoted their homeland’s culture and cultural identity, the culture and cultural identity of the host country, Portugal, but also the Lusophone cultural identity through the songs, rhythms, and lyrics in the album "MozamVerde" promoting Mozambique, Cape Verde, and Portugal. Otis also promoted SADC’s regional cultural identity reflected in the collaborations with Mozambican

⁵⁷⁰<http://www.otis-sax.com/imprensa.php>

⁵⁷¹ Reinaldo Nhalivilo, “Um lusitano com alma bitonga” (<http://www.verdade.co.mz/cultura/50623-um-lusitano-com-alma-bitonga>); <http://www.otis-sax.com/biografia.php>; “Este sábado : Saxofonista moçambicano Otis e cantora portuguesa Sandy na Rockhal” (<https://www.wort.lu/pt/cultura/este-s-bado-saxofonista-mocambicano-otis-e-cantora-portuguesa-sandy-na-rockhal-5720a7d41bea9dff8fa76cae>)

⁵⁷² <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p3MiLWDMeSA>.

musicians in South Africa, such as Jaco Maria. That particular moment revealed the cultural hybridity which characterized Otis as a Mozambican musician rooted in Portugal.

Contributions of Musicians in the diaspora

In general, the diaspora was important to ignite, expand or professionalize Mozambican musicians. Artists in the diaspora tended to return to Mozambique to visit relatives and to perform in solo concerts or to participate in concerts and events to promote new albums, to celebrate Summer in Mozambique, to attend the Mozambican National Culture Festivals, or as guests of other international musicians⁵⁷³. Musicians in the diaspora also contributed to empower and shed light nationally and internationally on younger and upcoming musicians from Mozambique. Because musicians in the diaspora believed in the idea of sharing the legacy and building future generations of musicians, they invited younger musicians from Mozambique and Europe to perform and record with them

While all musicians contributed to disseminating the Mozambican culture and music in the diaspora through their songs, video clips, performances, interviews, others such as Joaquina Siquice also contributed to the development of Mozambique from her positionality in Germany. She visited Mozambique to engage in social activities including the construction of schools and water boreholes, and in projects to empower women

⁵⁷³ Belmiro Adamugy, “Tocar com Earl Klugh vai ser uma cena ‘cool’”, Domingo, *December* 21, 2015 (Online access); “Cremildo Caifaz em concerto no Cinema Gil Vicente em Maputo”, *Infodiário*, November 26, 2014 (Online access); Redação, “Verão Amarelo traz Cremildo Caifaz a Moçambique”, *Mozambique Media Online*, December 5, 2014 (Online access); FDS, “Verão Amarelo: Cremildo de Caifaz regressa a casa para apresentar ‘Ciconia Ciconia’”, *Fim de Semana*, December 4, 2015; “Cremildo de Caifaz sela marcas de um regresso”, *Jornal Notícias*, December 7, 2014. Interview with Alípio Cruz aka Otis, Maputo – Portugal, 2019.

through entrepreneurship in Picoco, Boane (Maputo Province), and Linga-Linga (Inhambane province)⁵⁷⁴.

Joaquina Siquice died in Germany, but while there she taught percussion and sang. She created a singing group composed of women from several parts of the African continent where she shared her experiences in the realm of music⁵⁷⁵. Joaquina Siquice's music album titled "Karingana" edited by "Globe Music" was also evidence of Joaquina Siquice's efforts to preserve Mozambican music rooted in local traditions from her positionality in Germany, which lend her praises for her efforts in the preservation of the Mozambican culture and traditions from the diaspora. Her album was considered an "archive, a legacy for the future generations, particularly those who research our [Mozambican] rhythms"⁵⁷⁶.

Joaquina Siquice's compositions were rooted in the experience, research, and tradition as she had a long career in the National Company of Song and Dance (CNCD) where she became notable after performing "The Hands" and "Ntsay". Nelson Saute described Joaquina Siquice as

the splendor of truth. She had an extraordinary empathy with the audience and danced like someone who levitated on the stage, with refined aesthetics and an absolutely irresistible modesty". He went further is writing that "Joaquina combined a seductive simplicity with an eximious ability to be truthful in the stage⁵⁷⁷.

⁵⁷⁴ "Luto: morreu bailarina Joaquina Siquice" (<https://vi-vn.facebook.com/radiomoc/photos/luto-morreu-bailarina-joaquina-siquicefontes-pr%C3%B3ximas-apontam-que-joaquina-siqui/1902416589803252/>); <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r33HGj8vYRw>; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1LlZ3HKT5C8>;

⁵⁷⁵ "Luto: morreu bailarina Joaquina Siquice" (<https://vi-vn.facebook.com/radiomoc/photos/luto-morreu-bailarina-joaquina-siquicefontes-pr%C3%B3ximas-apontam-que-joaquina-siqui/1902416589803252/>)

⁵⁷⁶ "Sai CD 'Karingana' de Joaquina Siquice", *Notícias* (https://www.caicc.org.mz/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=538:combate-se-desertificacao-e-erosao-no-sul-do-pais&catid=33:meio-ambiente&Itemid=160)

⁵⁷⁷ Nelson Saúte, "Joaquina Siquice", *O País*, January 18, 2018 (<http://opais.sapo.mz/joaquina-siquice>).

The trajectories of the musicians in the diaspora influence the host country's image of Mozambique and the Mozambican people. For example, news articles about Gito Baloi's death had comments from people with whom he collaborated and whose lives intersected with his. Messages such as "he was the most gentle individual I have ever known in my life and he was a very good musician", "We are all traumatized", he had "very spiritual performances", "Gito was an icon for millions of young people and he was contributing to the creation of a free South Africa through art", "he had such a warm welcoming spirit and didn't have a problem with anybody", "he was an incredible member of a very loving family", he "left his mark but there was so much more that he could have given", "Gito was a very peaceful man and for him to die such a violent death was something we just couldn't come to terms with"⁵⁷⁸ reverberated in the memories of the fans of Gito Baloi.

The inclusion of Mozambican music and discography in the international educational curriculums and syllabi was also an important contribution to the internationalization of Mozambican music. International educational institutions like the University of Minnesota had Mozambican songs in their sound archives. Two genres of Mozambican music stood out: Venancio Mbande's Timbila, now a World Historical Heritage, and Marrabenta, either personified in the musician Stewart Sukuma with his album Afrikiti, or the musician Dilon Ndjindji and other members of the music group Mabulu in their interpretation of the album "Soul de Marrabenta". The Mozambican female

⁵⁷⁸ "SA mourn musician's death" (<https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/SA-mourn-musicians-death-20040405>). "SA With Martin Simpson: Remembering Gito Baloi" (<https://bassmusicianmagazine.com/2009/08/sa-with-martin-simpson-remembering-gito-baloi/>)

musician Zena Bacar and the group Eyuphuru, and sounds of xitende mixed with the Timbila sounds are also part of the archive.

Despite these advances, there was an understanding that Mozambican music needed international marketing. Pedro Ben, a Mozambican musician in the diaspora, highlighted social media and information and communication technologies as marketing spaces in the global world. He also identified the lack of music videos of the Mozambican musicians, which could contribute to enhancing the visibility of Mozambican music internationally. Pedro Ben also highlighted the musicians' motivations to embrace the career and the music quality as challenges for the internationalization of Mozambican music. According to Ben, some musicians embraced music as a survival mechanism but lacked affection, passion, and time for music. This, in turn, affected the quality of the music produced if compared with the international quality standards⁵⁷⁹.

Challenges faced by Mozambicans in the diaspora

The 'thingification' of immigrants and their consequent dehumanization in the minds of the Europeans and South Africans was part of the core reasons for the growing xenophobic sentiment in those territories. The constant distinction of "them" and "us" facilitated the adoption of protection policies and strategies against immigration in what was considered Fortress Europe. The situation in the Mediterranean with the denial of entrance to large numbers of immigrants mostly from North Africa attested to that reality.

⁵⁷⁹ "A música Moçambicana tem de ser gravada com padrões internacionais", November 8, 2014. (<http://www.jornaldomingo.co.mz/index.php/cultura/4174-a-musica-mocambicana-tem-de-ser-gravada-com-padroes-internacionais>)

The recurrent acts of xenophobia and killings of foreigners, also designated “makwerekwere” in South Africa, including a large number of Mozambicans who were living there for years was another significant example. The association of immigrants with the recrudescing of drug use and trafficking, and the perception that the foreigners “stole” South Africans’ jobs and women motivated the xenophobic acts which resulted in massive deaths and destruction, raising the question if South Africa was also not turning into a fortress against immigrants, in a context where the African Union and the Southern Africa Development Community advocated for the “burden-sharing” of immigrants among African countries.

Musicians were also affected by these circumstances. Integration of musicians was not easy in Portugal⁵⁸⁰ or South Africa where Otis and Jaco mentioned the existence of “South African Protectionism” of their people which constituted a challenge to foreign artists⁵⁸¹. These situations linked to past relationships between Africa and Europe, and between South Africa and the surrounding countries, including Mozambique, anchored on economic interests because Mozambique and other Sub-Saharan countries were for decades the providers of cheap labor for the South African and Rhodesian mines and farms

In his article “Vermin Beings: On Pestiferous Animals and Human Game”, Clapperton Mavhunga argued that Europeans treated the Africans not “like animals” but “as animals” which allowed them to use techniques and weapons designed to destroy vermin to target Africans, leaving a legacy and precedent of objectification and

⁵⁸⁰ Reinaldo Nhalivilo, “Um lusitano com alma bitonga” (<http://www.verdade.co.mz/cultura/50623-um-lusitano-com-alma-bitonga>). “Alípio Cruz Otis – Always Seeking Growth in His Music” (<https://kreolmagazine.com/music-entertainment/musicians/alipio-cruz-otis-always-seeking-growth-in-his-music/#.XQndJ49rTIV>)

⁵⁸¹ <http://www.otis-sax.com/imprensa.php>

‘thingification’ of people and its subsequent inhuman treatment through the employment of psychological, physical, material and even legal means⁵⁸². This links to Arenas' argument on globalization and post-colonialism concerning the continuation of legacies inherited from colonial powers by the independent governments in Africa.

Returning from the diaspora and attempting reintegration in Mozambique was challenging for musicians. Many musicians were unable to formally reintegrate into society and pursue their artistic careers. It is my understanding that the reasons for leaving and returning to Mozambique constituted underlying factors for successful inclusion or reintegration in the society as a whole and the music industry in particular⁵⁸³. A great majority engaged in other activities or performed other roles either in sports, education, alternative medicine, filmmaking, music coaching and mentoring, talent scouting, cultural research. Even though they did not resume their music career in its entirety, they continued to sing informally or as pastimes⁵⁸⁴.

Conclusion

The international migration of musicians was part of Mozambican history from the pre-colonial period. Historical contexts and processes such as labor migration, particularly during colonialism, the exodus which ensued after the independence of Mozambique in

⁵⁸² Clapperton Mavhunga, “Vermin beings: On Pestiferous animals and Human Game”, *Social Text*, 106, (vol.29), 151-175.

⁵⁸³ <http://www.clube70.blogspot.com/2009/04/jaimito-o-melhor-guitarrista.html>. Documentary “Ecos do Silêncio” describing João Paulo’s life after returning to Mozambique from the diaspora. <http://www.clube70.blogspot.com/2010/01/jaimito-um-louco-ou-o-homem-que-devia.html>

⁵⁸⁴ Garrido Garrine, 2019; Eduardo Quive, “Lançado filme ‘Chikwembo’ de Júlio Silva” (<http://eduardoquive.blogspot.com/2011/03/lancado-filme-chikwembo-de-julio-silva.html>); <http://www.clube70.blogspot.com/2008/05/segunda-feira-25-de-fevereiro-de-2008.html>.

1975, the flights from censorship as a result of the implementation of the socialist project, the Operation Production and reeducation camps in Mozambique, and the sixteen years' civil war created the conditions for the international migration of Mozambican musicians. Education, the search for a better life and economic opportunities, the dream to pursuing, expanding, and professionalizing music careers were among the reasons for the international migration of Mozambican musicians to several parts of the world, particularly South Africa, Europe, the United States.

Mozambican musicians faced challenges to adjust to the new cultural realities. However, through hard work, most of them eventually established themselves in the diaspora as music references not only for the host country but also for the country of origin and the world. The dissemination of Mozambican culture and music were among the main results of this process. Several musicians started families in the diaspora with mixed nationalities' children in processes of cultural assimilation and acculturation, thus enriching theirs and their offspring's cultural identities. However, as foreigners, they were also potential subjects of phenomenon such as xenophobia and the recurrent discrimination against migrants, exacerbated in times of the hardening of the economic conditions in the diasporic countries.

Musicians in the diaspora contributed to the cultural and economic development of Mozambique. Through socio-economic projects, musicians empowered needy communities in the country of origin and projected and trained new artists through their integration in their music projects. Musicians in the diaspora also contributed to social critique and political contestation from the 'safety of the overseas'. Returning from the

diaspora and attempting reintegration in Mozambique was challenging for musicians. Some managed to successfully reintegrate into Mozambican society. However, their trajectories revealed that they had to adopt other professional careers to ensure a certain degree of successful social and economic integration. Consequently, musical careers were put on hold or abandoned. Other musicians were not able to reintegrate into society and pursue successful music careers. Disillusionment and the inability to fit the music industry amounted to the reasons for their lack of integration and exclusion. Some returned to the diaspora. Others died disillusioned.

Nevertheless, international migration constituted a unique opportunity to advance one's music career, to attain additional music training, to find opportunities to record albums and to engage in transnational networks. Musicians' trajectories revealed the creative ways they engaged in transnational networks and music collaborations with Lusophone musicians, and other Mozambican musicians in distinct diasporic countries and continents, promoting the exchange of experiences and wider dissemination of the Mozambican languages, sounds, rhythms, tales, proverbs, etc., when incorporated in their songs.

In an era of globalization, information and communication technologies and social media constituted important vehicles to disseminate the music performed by Mozambican musicians in Mozambique and the diaspora. The lack of music videos constituted a challenge in the efforts to internationalize Mozambican music and culture. The Mozambican musicians in the diaspora sang a variety of themes. Mozambique and the local place of origin were common themes in the musicians' repertoires. Homesickness and the

desire to return home one day (even if only to be buried) were prevalent in the musicians' songs. However, for the time being, many remained in the diaspora without a return date.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation focused on music and its historic connection to politics in colonial and post-colonial Mozambique, through the ‘lenses’ of songs in gitonga language from Inhambane province in Mozambique, from the 1890s to the present. Through the use of archival and documental research, oral stories, songs, videos, and participatory observation I examined the historical evolution of popular music and revolutionary songs, the main stakeholders, and the impact of music on politics, on the formation and consolidation of the Mozambican cultural identity (Mozambicaness), and on gender mainstreaming and the internationalization of Mozambican culture. I studied the Vatonga people historical origins and culture, I examined the development of the Mozambican urban popular music, its achievements and challenges in the colonial and post-colonial period, I explored the processes of ‘Mozambicanization’, gender mainstreaming and internationalization of Mozambican urban popular music, I examined the role of national festivals of culture in the consolidation of Mozambicaness and its impact on the development of urban popular music, and I examined the trajectories of Mozambican musicians in the diaspora and their contribution for the internationalization of Mozambican music and culture.

I demonstrated that the relation of music and politics was continuous from the pre-colonial, colonial to post-colonial periods. Music was affected by politics and affected politics. During the pre-colonial period music was used as praise poetry to praise the rulers, kings, and elders, as entertainment, in social, religious, and political ceremonies, in cultural rites and rituals, and as a social and political commentary.

In the colonial period, the Portuguese tried to control music and remake it within their cultural politics of assimilation and the creation of a Portuguese nation and national

identity incorporating the ultramarine colonies. That included actions such as the Portuguese's appropriation and elevation of particular music genres and instruments such as the Timbila that was incorporated as part of the official events of the Portuguese administration with Timbila orchestras playing the Portuguese anthem. Conscious of its effects on people, the Portuguese colonial oppressive regime used music as a tool for social control and to reinforce relations of subordination. The colonial regime encouraged music and other pastimes activities for the colonized body, as ways of distracting the colonial subject from its suffering, to extract their meager resources, and to control and discipline the labor force. However, the end of colonialism had serious repercussions for the people who served the colonial system left behind and also for the general population, depending on their positionality during the last period of colonialism.

In light of the prominent role that music played in the political culture and daily lives of Mozambicans, the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) relied heavily on songs and dance as an integral part of the liberation struggle. From its inception in 1962 the liberation movement used song and dance not only as a source of entertainment for the followers but more significantly to recruit new members, to instill pride in the past, to generate a sense of nationalism, to cut across ethnic, religious and racial divisions. Militants sang and danced during difficult moments to keep up morale whether after the death of prominent leaders, on the eve of a major battle, or in jail. For their part, the Portuguese officers used music to try and win over the hearts and minds of black troops in the colonial army.

Therefore, cultural identity on the eve of independence was a result of a changing process fostered by migrations, miscegenation, and acculturation processes, and reflected

the transformations and influences which occurred in the history of the territory of Mozambique from the pre-colonial times passing through the early resistance movements, the effective colonial occupation, and the Portuguese colonial administration. International migration, and particularly labor migration played a key role in the development of music in Inhambane as the migratory movements resulted in rich influences in the music and dance genres appropriated by the local people and performed as part of local culture.

After the independence of Mozambique, music continued to be intertwined and interconnected with politics. The first independent Mozambican government identified education and culture as pillars for state-nation building, in line with Frelimo's ideologies and policies devised during the liberation struggle to build the post-independent Mozambican subject, with a united cultural identity matrix in a multiethnic, multiracial, multilingual, multicultural, multireligious context, considering the challenges posed by the attempts to establish socialism, build the new man, with the colonial inheritance of illiteracy, weak social and economic development, destabilization war, natural calamities, among others.

Mimicking and continuing colonial practices, the Mozambican authorities used music as a way of sowing artificial and external elements of identity in the collective memory of people, as part of the state-nation and cultural identity formation project. The implementation of policies, programs, and actions to consolidate national unity and the Mozambican cultural identity resulted in achievements such as the strengthening of territorial unity around the inherited geographical territory, the construction of unitary cultural identity through the collection and dissemination of cultural expressions; the existence of united thought and action in the implementation of socialism and the country's

developmental policies and plans, the collection and sharing of knowledge on the variety of national cultural manifestations to people previously denied by the colonial regime.

The development of urban popular music ('*música ligeira*') was central to the edification of the post-colonial Mozambican nation and the edification of national unity. However, musicians appropriated music as ways of social critique and resistance, sometimes facing sanctions. Musicians and songs in gitonga language 'performed' the nation as part of the process of building, consolidating, and internationalizing Mozambicaness (Mozambican cultural identity).

To a certain extent, the cultural revolution implemented from independence onwards resulted in a rupture with the past's cultural identity(ies) and assimilationist objectives. It also resulted in significant changes in music production with the identification of talents from several locations of the country, research on Mozambican traditional music, the recording of *música ligeira moçambicana*, and the transformation of urban audiences. By the eve of the peace agreement, efforts were being made to counter the initial trend of recording musicians from southern Mozambique with the inclusion of musicians from other parts of Mozambique.

The transition to a multiparty and democratic governance system occurred in a context where the idea of national unity was still in process. The peace and reconciliation process, the return of refugees from overseas, families and communities' reunification as part of the healing process after the civil war, and the effects of globalization placed even more pressure on the Government's efforts to reinforce national unity and consolidate the Mozambican national cultural identity. This included the reactivation of the National festivals of Culture, the maximization of radio music programs *Ngoma Moçambique* and

Top Feminino, and the creation of several national radio and television competitions and programs to make visible new Mozambican faces, voices, talents, thus, strengthening the Mozambican cultural identity especially among the youth.

The efforts towards the consolidation of Mozambican cultural identity and national unity resulted in greater incorporation and visibility of musicians from several regions of Mozambique and in the dissemination of music rhythms, genres, and languages from the diverse ethnolinguistic groups of Mozambique. Among the priority actions taken by the independent government of Mozambique to consolidate national unity and develop Mozambican cultural identity was the organization of national festivals from 1978 onwards. At its inception, the festival's focus was geared towards the diffusion of the sociopolitical ideas of the day, as culture was seen as an important weapon for the peoples' revolutionary education. Over time, the festivals revitalized Mozambican cultural and artistic expressions and contributed to consolidating a fairer and stable society, particularly after the 16 years of civil war. The festivals also contributed to the materialization of national unity, a permanent element in the Festival's themes.

Music moved from one place to the other as part of the migratory processes that characterized Mozambican history. However, the reasons for the movements which also led to the migration of music and musicians varied over time. Historical contexts and processes such as labor migration, the exodus which ensued after the declaration of the independence of Mozambique, the flights from censorship as a result of the implementation of the socialist project, the Operation Production and reeducation camps in Mozambique, and the sixteen years' civil war created the conditions for the international migration of Mozambican musicians. Education, the search for a better life and economic opportunities,

the dream to pursue, expand and professionalize the music career were among the reasons for the international migration of Mozambican musicians to several parts of the world, particularly South Africa, Europe, the United States.

Mozambican musicians faced challenges to adjust to the new cultural realities. However, through hard work, most of them eventually established themselves in the diaspora, as music references not only to the host country but also to the country of origin and the world. Despite the threat of xenophobia and the recurrent discrimination against migrants, musicians in the diaspora contributed to the cultural and economic development of the diaspora and Mozambique, and for social critique and political contestation from the 'safety of the overseas'. Returning from the diaspora and attempting reintegration in Mozambique was challenging. However, musicians were resilient, adjusted, adapted, and some engaged in professional careers other than music.

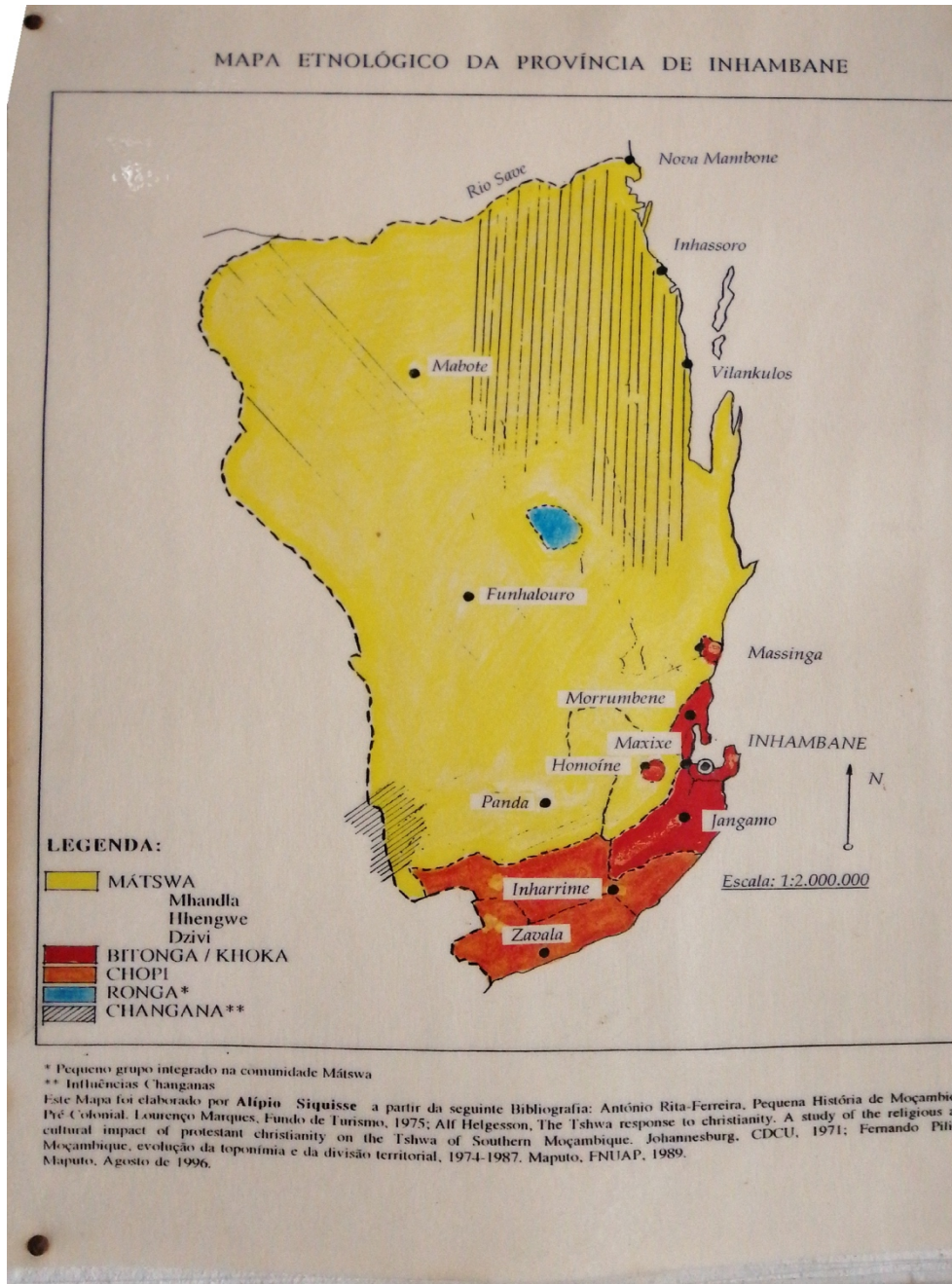
Illustrations

Figure 1 Map of Mozambique



Source: <https://www.mapsland.com/africa/mozambique>

Figure 2 Inhambane's Ethnological Map



Source: Inhambane Regional Museum, Mozambique.

Figure 3 Republic Square in Inhambane City



Source: Courtesy of Inhambane Regional Museum

Figure 4 Inhambane Orchestra in the hinterland



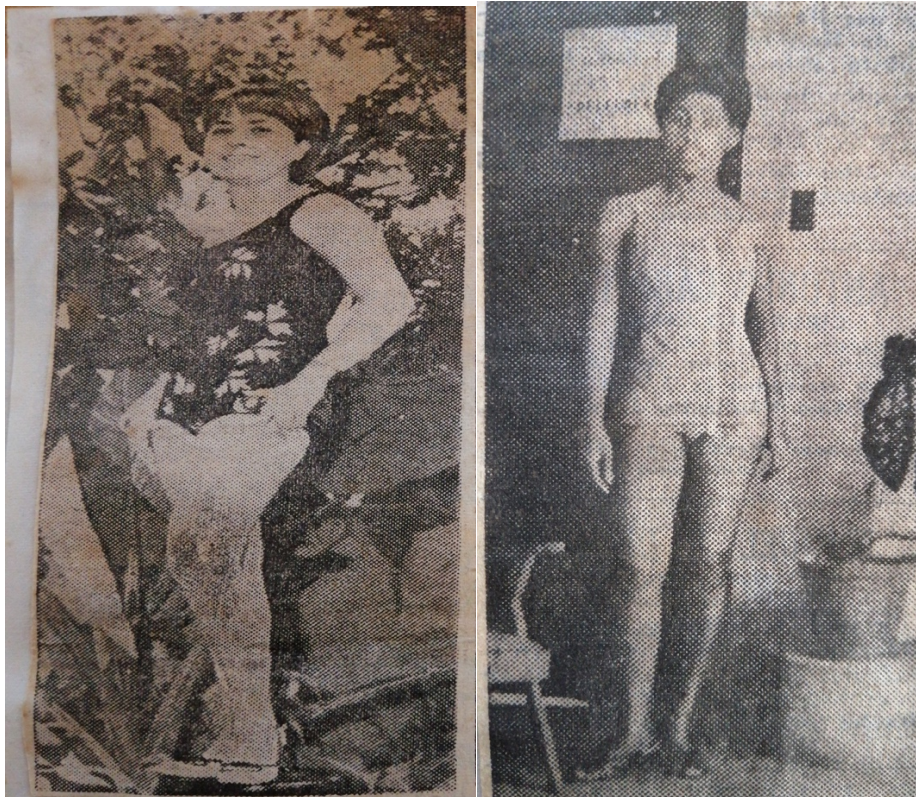
Source: Courtesy of Inhambane Regional Museum

Figure 5 Slave route including Inhambane



Source: Courtesy of Inhambane Regional Museum

Figure 6 Candidates from Inhambane to Miss Moçambique, 1966



Courtesy of Inhambane Provincial Library

Figure 7 News on Inhambane candidates to Miss Moçambique in 1966

Maria da Conceição Lobato de Faria 2.ª candidata por Inhambane e uma das mais fortes concorrentes

★ Lourenço Marques discute também as possibilidades das suas candidatas
★ Quelimane não apresentará a sua representante ?



Embora não esteja disposta a fazer declarações, a segunda candidata para a cidade de Inhambane, Maria da Conceição Lobato de Faria, que vive em Inhambane, declarou que, embora não se saiba o dia do concurso, ela não se dá ao trabalho de fazer declarações de simpatia e simpatia.

Ainda ontem tivemos o prazer de assistir à chegada de Maria da Conceição Lobato de Faria, vindo a flor da pele e bem decorada com uma coroa de flores por aquela cidade, a insinuante

Maria da Conceição Lobato de Faria, filha de um comerciante de Inhambane, é uma das mais fortes concorrentes para o concurso de Miss Moçambique. Ela vive em Inhambane e tem 19 anos. Ela é uma das mais fortes concorrentes para o concurso de Miss Moçambique. Ela vive em Inhambane e tem 19 anos.

— Ainda haverá? —
— Não sei, mas acho que sim. O concurso de Miss Moçambique é uma das mais importantes atividades culturais da cidade. Espero que seja bem sucedido.

— Ainda haverá? —
— Não sei, mas acho que sim. O concurso de Miss Moçambique é uma das mais importantes atividades culturais da cidade. Espero que seja bem sucedido.

— Ainda haverá? —
— Não sei, mas acho que sim. O concurso de Miss Moçambique é uma das mais importantes atividades culturais da cidade. Espero que seja bem sucedido.

(Continua na pág.)

MARCELA FRANCISCO ARAÚJO — Terceira candidata por Inhambane

★ Por Lourenço Marques inscreveram-se ainda mais concorrentes, horas antes do encerramento do prazo



concurso acabou por despertar entre as jovens da cidade da «Boa Gente», já que nunca conseguiu estar presente em qualquer outra competição provincial feminina. Desta feita, apresentou três simpáticas senhorinhas que irão tornar difícil a escolha da que representará o Distrito na grande final a realizar brevemente nesta cidade.

Marcela Francisco Araújo, é a candidata n.º 3 de Inhambane, com 19 anos, empregada de escritório, natural e residente na cidade de que será uma das representantes.

— Como se interessou por concorrer ao «Miss Moçambique»? —
— Levei tempo a fazê-lo, embora desde o princípio esse fosse o meu desejo. Acho este concurso digno de se efectuar nesta Província, pois servirá para mostrar que em Moçambique também existem jovens elegantes e capazes de marcar posição e atrair sobre todas nós as atenções dos entendidos.

— Sentir-se-á nervosa quando tiver de desfilhar? —
— É natural que sim, mas não tenho complexos. É um concurso para me distrair e para colaborar com a cidade de Inhambane de bastante interesse.

— Em casa, a família levantou-lhe obstáculos? —
— Nenhum. O meu pai não pôs dificuldades na minha participação, tendo compreendido que realmente nenhum contratempo surgirá para quaisquer das inscritas.

— Espera ganhar? —
— Gostaria de ganhar, mas não penso alcançar a vitória. Contudo, digo-lhe que vai ser retribuída a corrida para a escolha da «Miss Moçambique».

— A população daquela cidade aguarda com interesse a escolha da sua representante. Não escondendo a satisfação pelo entusiasmo que as suas raparigas nutrem

Quase a findar o prazo para inscrição do concurso «Miss Moçambique», o nosso delegado de Inhambane enviou-nos a inscrição da terceira inhambanense. Foi notável o interesse que este

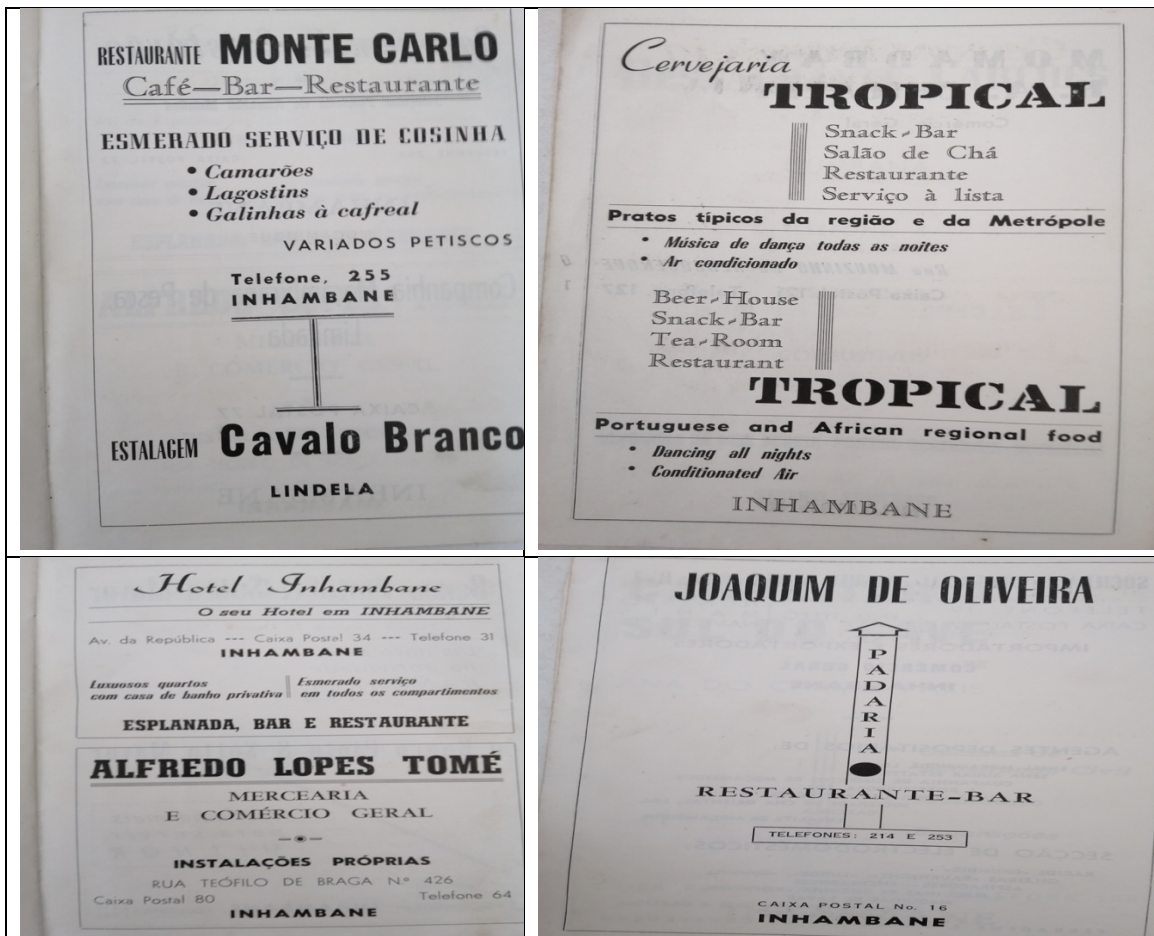
Courtesy of Inhambane Provincial Library

Figure 8 Luis Martins Cordeiro preparing an art exhibition for colonial Inhambane Municipality



Courtesy of Inhambane Provincial Library

Figure 9 Entertainment spaces in Inhambane District during the colonial period



Source: Na histórica rota para a Índia esta maravilha nasceu (Courtesy of Inhambane Municipality Public Library)

Figure 10 Health workers in Inhambane District, 1923



Source: Inhambane Regional Museum

Figure 11 Nova Aliança da Maxixe sports team



Courtesy of Nova Aliança da Maxixe Sports Club, Inhambane

Figure 12 Sports team in Inhambane District



Source: Inhambane Regional Museum

Figure 14 Cultural and Religious Celebrations in Inhambane District during the colonial period


DIA 10 DE JANEIRO DE 1970
(DOMINGO)

DIA DA CIDADE

As 06,30 horas — Alvorada — Banda Municipal
 As 08,00 horas — Içar da Bandeira Nacional, no mastro da Capitania
 As 09,15 horas — Missa na Catedral
 As 09,00 horas — Distribuição de um «Bado aos Pobres»
 As 09,30 horas — Corrida de triciclos — juniores
 As 10,30 horas — Corrida de bicicletas — juniores
 Capitania do Porto
 As 11,00 horas — Regatas de barcos à vela (Caiques) — Colaboração da
 As 15,00 horas — Corrida de bicicletas — Seniores
 As 16,30 horas — Ginacana de bicicleta motorizadas
 Distribuição de prémios
 As 21,00 horas — Sessão de fogo de artifício, lançada na baía

CONCURSO DE MONTRAS

— 3 PRÉMIOS —
(Inscrições na Secretaria da Câmara)



A COMISSÃO DE FESTAS ANUNCIA:


De 16/12/1970 a 24/1/1971

- Iluminação da Avenida da República
- Presépio da Cidade: Música, Autos e Cânticos alusivos
- Concurso de Montras versando temas da Natalidade
- O Natal das crianças das Escolas do Ensino Primário
- Inauguração de «Posto de Apoio» ao Turista
- Concursos de Pasco Desportivo e de «Construções no Areias» (Tofo)
- Torneio de Tiro aos Pratos


DIA DA CIDADE

Em Julho de 1971:

- 1 Feira de Inhambane — Amostra das actividades da Região;
- Celebração das «Bodas de Prata Sacerdotais» de Sua Exa. Revma. o Bispo de Inhambane D. Ernesto Gonçalves Costa.



OUTRO PORMENOR DA CIDADE



ARQUIV. INFANTE

EM 23 E 24 DE JANEIRO DE 1971

TORNEIO DE TIRO AOS PRATOS

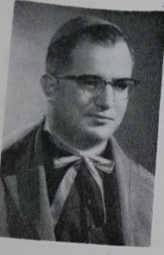
Nos variantes de «SKEET» e «PRANCHA-TRAP»

— ORGANIZAÇÃO DO CLUBE DE INHAMBANE —

COMISSÃO:

- José Correia Lopes de Sousa
- Diamantino Martins Farinha
- João E. Griné
- José Gomes Silvestre
- Eric Brown

VER «REGULAMENTO», EM SEPARADO



CELEBRAÇÃO DAS BODAS DE PRATA DO SR. BISPO

Nos dias 24 e 25 de Julho de 1971

— Dia 24, «Pôr-de-Sol» e confraternização

COMISSÃO EXECUTIVA

- Presidente da Câmara
- Srs. Vogais
- Rui Santos
- César Rodrigues
- Madre Superiora do Colégio N. S. Conceição
- Chefe dos Escuteiros

— Dia 25, DOMINGO, Concentração e Missa Concelebrada no Campo do Ferrovário

COMISSÃO EXECUTIVA

- Diamantino Farinha
- José Pires Antunes
- Anastácio Domingos
- José Alves do Rego
- Irs. da Diocese

Source: Festas da cidade de Inhambane, 1970-1971

Figure 15 Document referring to the Inauguration of the Monument to the World War I (1914-1918) soldiers in Inhambane



Source: Inhambane Regional Museum

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Nos somos filhos de Moçambique (Ife ana Frelimo)
(<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aXzon7SkjPk>)
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A luta continua – Miriam Makeba (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mtl62-6pY_I)

Appendices

Table 3 Ngoma Moçambique finalist songs, 1990-1996

Ngoma Moçambique 1990	Ngoma Moçambique 1992
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Manecas Tomé – Ndapota 2. Chiquinho – Mata wanga 3. Eusébio Faustino – Ngoma ya makandju 4. Roberto Chitsondzo – A kuhanha 5. Mingas – Diekele 6. José Guimarães – Tatana wa Sumbi 7. Chico António e Mingas – Baila Maria 8. Fernando Chivure – Nita kuyine 9. Jaime Tembe – Pomporro 10. Tomás Guilhermino – Crianças desaparecidas 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tomás Guilhermino – Kifo 2. Mingas e Grupo RM – Mamana 3. Magide Mussá – Nhione uwe 4. Carlos Hlongo – Niyo yini 5. Romualdo – Cuidado Maria 6. Fernando Chivure – Munti wa wusiwana 7. Eva Mendonça – Omnikopa 8. José Barata – Malume 9. Sterwart – Flor 10. Eugénio Mucavele – Male ya phepha 11. Guê-Guê – Nhi digue 12. Hortêncio Langa – Xipanda nganda
Ngoma Moçambique 1993	Ngoma Moçambique 1994
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tomás Moiana – Hlamankulu 2. Dimas – Txotxoloza 3. Elsa Mangué – Tindjombo 4. Camal Givá – Garota 5. Romualdo – Almoço à Zambeziana 6. Pedro Langa – Mamba ya Malepfo 7. Magide Mussá – Uya gaya 8. Eva Mendonça – Suku saka 9. João Bata – A liranzu 10. Ainda Humberto – Onafike 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Silio Paulino – Nkassana 2. Abílio Mandlaze – Juro sinceramente 3. Alfredo Mulhui – Hiva makwero 4. Xanana – Kokwana 5. Guê-Guê – Mapilapila 6. José Barata – Xonguile 7. Tomás Guilhermino – Dinuto 8. Eduardo Carimo – Udjeliwe Petê 9. Baba – Mãe negra

11. Victor Bernardo - Nimurandzile	10. Francisco Domingos – Kuni ku kateka
Ngoma Moçambique 1995	Ngoma Moçambique 1996
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Stewart – Julieta 2. Magide Mussá – Nhina hata mani 3. Elvira Viegas – Kasi ya yine 4. Dimas – Mukume ni vemba 5. Tomás Guilhermino – Utamo 6. Julia Mwito – Nashilanga 7. José Guimarães – Miboba 8. João Bata – Mahigo 9. Gémeos Parruque – Kielani 10. Resiana Jaime – Dindrika 11. Aly Faque – Tufo Moçambique 12. Eva Mendonça – Kussema kwele 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Aly Faque – Kinachokuro 2. Romualdo – Isabere 3. Carlos e Zaida Hlongo – Nikuvonile 4. Célio Figueiredo – Paz no meu país 5. Tito Chichava – Wutomi la mina 6. Dionísio da Silva com o Conjunto Rastilho – Cuidado Celina 7. Resiana Jaime – Akuna manguenela 8. Camal Givá – Udogodogo 9. Victor Bernardo – A hi mukeni 10. Aniano Tamele – Uli ndzi fana naye 11. Guê-Guê – Namba nha sura

Table 4 Songs that reached Top Feminino's Top Ten, 1992-2003

<p>Top Feminino 1992</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bragancina Tembe – Oh Dinheiro 2. Mingas – Mamani 3. Eva Mendonça – Omnikipa 4. Gue-Gue – Sida não tem cura 5. Julia Mwito – O telefone 6. Alzira Pereira – Escuta 7. Luisa Boaventura – Viajante 8. Ainda Humberto – Exeeni ela 9. Albertina Pascoal – Uwe Papai 10. Rosália Mboa – U dhawa hi nomu 11. Helena Macamo – Ndzi dzivaleli 12. Wizzy Massuke - Thlanganu 	<p>Top Feminino 1994</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ruth Virgínia – Desconhecido 2. Gue-Gue – Mapilapila 3. Elsa Mangue – Jochua 4. Isis Mabota – Amiga 5. Bragacina Tembe – Mahlolwana 6. Gina Vilanculos – Mamana 7. Zaida Hlongo – Zabelani 8. Alzira Pereira – Nkaziaeda 9. Luisa Boaventura – Madiro 10. Adelina Muchanga – Wayila 11. Safira José – Nixikumile 12. Ainda Humberto - Nicontokolo
<p>Top Feminino 1995</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Joana Coana – Nilamuleleni 2. Zaida Hlongo – Ceroulas 3. Lurdes Massinga – Vanu va missava 4. Yolanda Mussá – Nikissamile 5. Elsa Mangue – Nwananga 6. Júlia Mwito – Nashilanga 7. Reinalda – Riquezas 8. Safira José – Uta tilaya 9. Luisa Arveolos – Criança que eu fui 	<p>Top Feminino 1996</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Rosália Mboa – Txuvuka mufana 2. Albertina Pascoal – Mamana wa wumbiri 3. Gue-gue – Namba nha sura 4. Gizela Mendonça – Vida 5. Safira José – Mamana 6. Luisa Arvélos – Férias de verão 7. Zaida Hlongo – Calamidade 8. Lina Vilanculos – Maxaka 9. Ruth Virgínia – Aceito o meu erro 10. Isabel Flores – Amor e Ilusão

<p>Top Feminino 1997</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Helena Nhantumbo – Anina kupfumela 2. Joana Coana – Djuwawana 3. Ilda Fumo – Nayala 4. Amélia Moiana – Swilo swa missava 5. Luisa Arvéleos – Quelimane 6. Telma Luís – Retrato falado 7. Rosália Mboa – Respeito 8. Isabel Flores – Penso teu nome 9. Resiana Jaime – Makweru 10. Alzira Pereira – Na dzila hi chivite 11. Isis Mavota – Tudo foi feito 	<p>Top Feminino 1998</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Joana Coana – Swadanissana 2. Rosália Mboa – É natural 3. Pureza Wafino – Nsakanaho 4. Albertina Pascoal – Maria 5. Dina Wiriamo – Quero vibrar 6. Luisa Boaventura – Dakota 7. Zaida Hlongo – Sibó 8. Rosa Novela – Tomassan 9. Maria Miguel – Vizinha 10. Akey Mendinga – Tolera 11. Tucha - Ikhombo
<p>Top Feminino 1999</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Joana Coana – Se ukholwile 2. Helena Nhantumbo – Ex. de amor 3. Gisela Mendonça – Ngondo yamala 4. Genny – Brigas trazem amor 5. Emília Fátima – Gueveza mani 6. Rosália Mboa – Solidão 7. Pureza Wafino – Oyewa wa namuali 8. Ilda Fumo – Inta kaya kaya 9. R. Mabunda – Moya wanga 10. Candida - Unakichupa 	<p>Top Feminino 2000</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Rosa Novela – Murandziwa 2. Énia Bambo – Hambí sô hlwela 3. Emília Fátima – Sanana satu 4. Rosália Mboa – Jeito 5. Emília Boca – Mamane 6. Maria da Graça – Khoma switiya 7. Amélia Moyane – Amintirhu ya munu 8. Ancha – Khombo 9. Ludy – Surpresas 10. Otilia Tamele – Amor da minha vida 11. Wizzy Massuke - Ximuce

Top Feminino 2001	Top Feminino 2002
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ruth Virgínia – Kuwe 2. Neyma – Baila 3. Pureza Wafino – Vuru-vuru (desobediente) 4. Gue-gue – Mapongowongo 5. Paula e Nené – Criança 6. Zaida Hlongo – Drenagem 7. Safira José – Minhembete ya África 8. Beatriz Rhombe – Kulhupeka 9. Rosália Mboa – Preciso de ser o que sou 10. Wizzy Massuke – Vanabela 11. Elsa Mangue – Chindzenkwana 12. Énia Bambo - Ndzizwa 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Reinalda – Xihari Muni 2. Lalinha – A khali wena 3. Joana Coana – África kuni xirilo 4. Neyma – Nuna wa mina 5. Maimuna David – Perdoa-me 6. Cecília Meque – Auswitive 7. Pureza Wafino – Meu amor, que haja sinceridade 8. Wizzy Massuke – Delela 9. Domingas e Belita – Niungo Baba 10. Candy - Umassikini
Top Feminino 2003	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ancha – Te quero muito 2. Domingas e Belita – Nihe wione 3. Maimuna David – Lágrimas de amor 4. Júlia Mwito – Malove 5. Rainha Avelino – Utxava kuphamela 6. Ester Timba – África 7. Eunice Nhancale – Lirandzo 8. Helena Nhantumbo – Utano xuva 9. Rosália Mboa – Ni huma hi nawo 10. Joana Coana – Akukala mwana 11. Gue-gue – Salama edonia 12. Pureza Wafino - Mitory 	