RELIGIOUS MUSICAL PERFORMANCE AS AN ARTICULATION OF TRANSFORMATION: A STUDY OF HOW THE TSONGA PRESBYTERIANS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF MOZAMBIQUE NEGOTIATE THEIR INDIGENOUS TSONGA AND SWISS REFORMED CHURCH HERITAGES

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the

requirements for the degree of

MASTERS IN MUSIC

of

RHODES UNIVERSITY

by

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February 2015

Dedicated to Jean-Daniel Germiquet

1949 - 2013

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Abstract

The Presbyterian Church of Mozambique (IPM) has its origins in the Swiss Mission and the European Reformed Church. An ethnomusicological study was conducted on the music of the IPM in order to uncover its musical influences. The musical influences were found to pertain to an indigenous Tsonga musical character, as well as to a Reformed Church musical tradition. By situating the discussion in this thesis within the perspective that music may reflect that which is not explicitly spoken about in words, the music of the IPM was shown to reflect the dual-heritage of the members of the IPM. Thus, this thesis attempts to answer the questions: how is the music of the IPM a reflection of the Tsonga Presbyterians' dual-heritage?; and how do the Tsonga Presbyterians negotiate their dual-heritage?

It was found that the Tsonga Presbyterians negotiate their dual-heritage by blending a Reformed Church performance style with a Tsonga one. For example, the music in the form of hymns and church songs, performed by church choirs, is shown to be didactic in nature where the lyrics are the most important aspect of the music. The didactic nature of the music is a principle of the Reformation carried forth in the music of the IPM. Although music serves to transmit the Christian message and is used as a means of praising the Christian God in the IPM, it also exists on the level in which the indigenous Tsonga heritage may be incorporated into the Christian lives of the members of the IPM without having an impact on the Reformed Church belief system. This is where the members have the freedom to blend their musical heritages. Music, in this instance, is shown to be a powerful tool by which the importance of an indigenous, and an appropriated, heritage may be garnered and observed.

Looking to the historical aspects of the IPM, the music and language literacy education, provided by Swiss missionaries on the mission stations, was shown to have had an influence on Tsonga hymn composition. Along with the mobile phone, the observed decrease in music literacy at Antioka was situated within a discussion that looked at the influence of these aspects on the transmission, conservation and continuation of music in the IPM. Throughout the thesis, social transformation is referred to and the manner in which the music of the IPM is conserved or continued is an indication of how musical transformation may reflect social transformation.

Acknowledgements

During the past three years of conducting ethnomusicological research on the music of the Presbyterian Church of Mozambique, I have received the generous help and guidance from so many people. My thanks and appreciation extends to all of those with whom this research led me to cross paths. A special thanks to:

My parents, Lauren and Edouard Germiquet, for their ceaseless support and assistance. Reverend Jafete and Palmira Muchanga, and the members of Antioka parish, this research could not have happened without them. I appreciate greatly their incredible hospitality and generosity during fieldwork at Antioka. My interpreter during fieldwork at Antioka, Paolo Zamba, for his intricate insight and knowledge into the historical and present social situation of the people of Facazissa and further afield. Margy Dale for her translations of hymns, and interpreting between Xitsonga and English during fieldwork. This research would not have been as successful without her enthusiasm, dedication, and insight into the history of Antioka. Lance Van Rooyen for his assistance in recording during fieldwork. Dr. Lee Watkins for his support and guidance during the research process. Mareli Stolp for giving me the encouragement and confidence to follow my interests.

The International Library of African Music (ILAM) for the generous assistance provided by its staff. Special mention to Elijah Madiba for his kind assistance with translation, recording techniques, and sound technology. Rhodes University, the Swiss South African Joint Research Project (SSAJRP) of Basel University, and the Mandela Rhodes Foundation for the financial assistance during the research exchange to Basel University in April and May of 2014. Patrick Harries, my hosting professor, and Veit Arlt for assisting greatly in my sojourn in Basel. The Department Missionaire in Lausanne, Switzerland, for the hospitality during the research in the Swiss Mission archives. The South Africa Music Rights Organisation (SAMRO) for financial assistance.

The Mandela Rhodes Foundation for the scholarship to pursue the second year of a masters degree at Rhodes University, as well as for providing a platform of academic and personal growth.

The financial assistance from Rhodes University Prestigious Scholarship towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at, are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to Rhodes University or the donor.

Chapter 1

Researching religious music in southern Mozambique

This thesis looks at how the music of the Presbyterian Church of Mozambique reflects the dual-heritage of the Tsonga Presbyterians. The Presbyterian Church of Mozambique, more commonly known as the IPM from its Portuguese name, Igreja Presbytériana de Mozambique, was officially established by local evangelists and the Swiss Mission in 1887. The idea of a dual-heritage within the IPM came from the knowledge that the Swiss Mission, having introduced the Christian belief system to the locals, would have influenced the lifestyle of the locals. This includes the belief system and the music. My observations of the dual-heritage as manifest in observable data was developed during fieldwork where I noticed that the music performed by the Tsonga Presbyterians exhibited characteristics of both the Reformed Church music, of which I am familiar, and of what I have termed, not without reservations, Tsonga music.

The idea for the research was developed from my interest in what happens when two groups of people meet. Having grown up in a Christian community and regularly attending services of the Presbyterian Church in South Africa, and having been exposed to hymn performances in both European and African churches from a young age, I have experiential and insider knowledge of Reformed Church music and a deep appreciation for church hymns. The first mission station in Mozambique that is affiliated with the IPM, and which is now a part of its heritage, is Antioka. My decision to conduct fieldwork at Antioka was not only facilitated by the opportunity I had to attend the 125th Jubilee of the IPM in July 2012, but it was also guided by the knowledge that Antioka was previously a Swiss mission station where my grandparents worked as missionaries in the 1950s. This research therefore has an added dimension of recognising and learning about my own heritage.

I found that I could relate to certain aspects of life in the community where I was conducting research because of the similar heritage that I share with the Tsonga Presbyterians, that of the Reformed Church tradition. However, the major difference that I experienced was one of lifestyle, resulting from the Tsonga Presbyterians of Mozambique and I living in different places geographically, nationally, politically and socio-economically. Furthermore, aspects of an indigenous music, for example call and response and an indigenous style of dancing, are apparent in the musical life of the members of Antioka parish. These are aspects to which I am an outsider.

Background

Although no longer a mission station, Antioka is still a thriving Christian community with its members living in Facazisse, the village bordering the grounds of Antioka. The Antioka parish itself is the major parish of the IPM in the Magude district of southern Mozambique. Other parishes in the Magude district fall under the label of annexes to the Antioka parish, some of which are Ricatlana and Macupe.

Antioka is situated four kilometres outside the well known town of Magude. Magude itself is about 120 kilometres north of Maputo and is situated on a bend in the Nkomati River. Antioka was built on the plateau of a hill that overlooks the flat plains of the land that is to this day known as the land of the Khosa people. As one drives eastward from Magude on the newly tarred road, the old mission buildings can be seen atop this hill. As one draws closer, skeletons of old mission buildings consisting of timber and brick can be seen protruding from peeling and cracked cemented walls. In 2012, some of the buildings at Antioka were renovated for the 125th Jubilee of the IPM. These buildings, such as the clinic and school, are of primary importance in the Antioka community. Driving along the road that runs parallel to the Nkomati River, the clinic, which is painted a bright yellow, glows in the distance sitting astride the edge of the slopes of the hill. The Edouardo Mondlane primary school, in which the children of the bordering village Facazisse are educated, is painted a saturated orange and is a distinct feature on the sandy, sparse grounds of Antioka.

Sounds emanating from Antioka on a daily basis are primary school children playing during break time; shouting and the kicking of a ball as local soccer teams play against one another; a vibrant bird life, a vibrant social life as people walk or catch lifts with passing cars to and from work in Magude or their fields; rhythmic electronic music emanating from CD or DVD players and, at times, drumming can be heard late into the night travelling across a vast distance over the plains of Facazisse village.

The Antioka parish building is a prominent feature of the Antioka grounds. It is kept in very good condition and many daily activities seem to be guided and influenced by the frequent congregating of Antioka parish members in this building, whether for a church service or for other matters. Before a meeting starts, those who have gathered will sing church songs. The subject of the occasion as well as the energy within the group guide the choice of repertoire and the vibrant or more sober manners in which the songs are performed.

The singing of church choruses in the IPM occurs in a relatively free manner. A leader will begin a chorus and others will follow by either singing the lead part along with the leader, or the chorus part along with the rest of the congregation. In the spirit of learning about the music of the IPM through performing it, in a church service at Antioka, I joined in the singing and dancing of a popular church chorus, *U ta nghena njhani ni mintswalo*, meaning, 'How are you going to get into heaven?'. The message in this chorus is a question asking how one is going to enter heaven with baggage in one's heart. In the act of performance people put bags on their heads, as the words literally mean that one cannot walk through a doorway with a bag on one's head.

I had learnt this popular chorus the previous year at the 125th Jubilee of the IPM. I had noticed then that individuals seemed to have freedom to improvise in the performances of this chorus. I had wondered about the musical choices that individuals would make during performances. For example, why they

would choose to sing the lead or the chorus part, and whether or not they would choose to improvise upon these core parts.

It was towards the end of this particular church service that the chorus was introduced. I noticed that after the first phrase some members of the congregation joined the leader with the singing of the lead part. Individuals would intertwine their voices with, and between, the lead and the chorus parts. Variations were also made upon the core melody and core motif that I identified from the numerous repetitions of the chorus due to its cyclical nature of performance. Individuals had the freedom to join in with the singing of the core melody and core motif as well as to articulate their musical improvisations in a musically appropriate way above and in between the mass of sound emanating from the group.

Literature review

This thesis places the Swiss Mission in the context of the Reformation which began in Germany in 1517. With a brief discussion illuminating the relevant principles of the Reformed belief system and musical practices of the European Reformed Church (Dawson, 2011; Germiquet 2011; Macey, 2001; Spitz, 1997; Hagenbach, 1879), it is later shown that these aspects have had an impact on the belief system and music of the Presbyterian Church of Mozambique.

The evangelical encounter between the Vatsonga and the Swiss Mission is placed within an historical context by providing information on the Reformation and the associated music. The music emanating from the evangelical encounter was influenced a great deal by the Reformed Church music brought by the Swiss Mission to the Vatsonga. Thus, following the Reformation in Germany, the discussion turns to a dominant figure in the Reformation, Jean Calvin, who had a large influence on the Reformed Church in Switzerland (Hagenbach 1879). This thesis focuses on the influence that Calvin had on the music of the Reformation by way of establishing the metrical psalm, a form of music primarily associated with the Calvinist Church (Germiquet, 2011; Garside, 1951).

This thesis describes the impact that the Reformed Church's emphasis on literacy education had on the music and musical practices in the European Reformed Church (Marzolf, 2005), as well as the linguistic work that the Swiss missionaries conducted in southern Africa (Harries, 2007, 1995). The Reformed Church belief system is compared to indigenous Tsonga beliefs (Junod, 1927) and social practices (Johnston, 1975) in order to place within an historical context the transformation of the Vatsonga lifestyle seen through the work of missionaries and the music of the IPM.

I have included the section on the Reformation prior to discussing the history and the music of the Vatsonga. This is not because the Reformation is more important than the history of the Vatsonga but because the history of the Vatsonga that is accessible to researchers has been recorded mainly in a written form by Swiss missionaries. I have also sought other sources of information, such as those which

have been informed by oral transmission (*De la Missão Suíça à l'IPM*, 2014; Mundlhovu, n.d.; Nxumalo, 2014). However, prominent sources of information on the history of the Vatsonga have been informed by the perspectives of Swiss missionaries (Harries, 200, Junod, 1927). I therefore discuss the historical origins of the Swiss Mission and the music which was used in the evangelical encounter to allow the reader a sense of the perspective in which the recorded information on the history of the Vatsonga exists.

Following the history of the Vatsonga, this thesis briefly describes the work of pioneer Swiss missionaries in southern Africa. It focuses on the evangelical encounter with the Vatsonga in southern Mozambique and on some of the changes in an indigenous Tsonga lifestyle that occurred as a result of the encounter. This includes not only the already documented perspectives of Swiss missionaries in literature (Harries, 2007; Junod, 1927), and documentation of work that local Tsonga evangelisers did in order to establish Antioka mission station (Harries, 2007), but it also incorporates local perspectives on the history of the Tsonga people in relation to the Swiss Mission (Mundlhovu, n.d.; Maluleke, 2003). The historical and geographical locus of the research is at Antioka mission station, on which a great deal of the documentation is focused.

In the discussion of the evangelical encounter, focus is placed on the music of the Tsonga Presbyterians as a means of indentifying social transformation within Vatsonga society. The establishment of the Swiss Mission in the second half of the 19th century has its roots in the European Reformed Church. As importance was placed on the use of the vernacular in the Reformed Church, a large portion of the work conducted by the Swiss Mission was to make the Christian message accessible to followers in southern Africa. As this work had a lasting influence on the transmission, conservation, and continuation of knowledge and music in the IPM, this thesis provides a lengthy narrative on the language delineation and literacy education conducted by the Swiss Mission (Harries, 2007, 1995). The Swiss Mission placed a great deal of emphasis on education (Knoesen, 1987) and thus literacy education was provided on the mission stations in order for the local followers to read the Scripture. Reading the Scripture in the vernacular is a necessity in the Reformed belief system (Germiquet, 2011, Harries, 2007). Aspects of social transformation include, for example, influences on domestic life such as building, sewing, and new forms of dress (Junod, 1927), as well as a Church uniform of the IPM and EPC (Schneider, 2014). Other aspects include the impact of migrant labour on the indigenous Tsonga lifestyle (Johnston, 1971), as well as a comparison to missionary activity in other areas of the world that have had similar effects on an indigenous lifestyle (Baker, 2005). Following the evangelical encounter, this thesis provides a discussion of indigenous Tsonga music including the folktale (Bill, 1983) and vocal music (Johnston, 1975, 1973). This is achieved in order to place into perspective a later discussion of indigenous Tsonga musical characteristics in the IPM.

The members of the IPM live within a historical and contemporary social context that exists within two different heritages, that of an indigenous Tsonga lifestyle, and that of the Swiss Reformed Church belief system. It is clear that the members of the IPM incorporate into their church lives, and hold in high esteem, both these heritages and, as mentioned above, these two heritages are reflected in the music of the IPM. The features of Reformed Church music are apparent in the standard four-part harmonies that exist within the repertoire and musical performances of the IPM. The members of the Church continue to sing translated European Reformed Church hymns brought to them by the Swiss missionaries. This choice of musical repertoire is an indication of the continued affiliation with the Reformed Church and, in this, an acknowledgement of their heritage in the Reformed Church of Switzerland and, through this, the Tsonga Presbyterians' heritage in Switzerland. I refer to the merging of these two heritages as the Tsonga Presbyterian's dual-heritage.

Searching for an understanding of the musical performances of the IPM within their musical, social, and historical contexts, I was drawn to existing literature on the music of the Vatsonga (Johnston, 1975, 1974, 1973a, 1973b, 1973c, 1971). However, there is little literature on the topic (*ibid.*). This is an area needing attention in the field of ethnomusicology. With little previous research to draw on I decided to situate the comparisons I would be making between the music of the IPM and Reformed Church hymns within the context of what I refer to, for the purposes of clarity and musical analyses, as Tsonga music¹.

One may question the relevance of understanding the music of the IPM as a reflection of the Tsonga Presbyterians' dual-heritage. Through observations and by participating in musical performances and various aspects of life among the Vatsonga (Machangana as they refer to themselves) of Antioka parish and Facazisse village, this consideration is central to an understanding of the music of the IPM performed by the Tsonga Presbyterians. I have approached this research bearing in mind the strong and inextricable link between music and society. One of the bases of my research is the assumption that music is a reflection of society and that it is a powerful tool to gain knowledge about a group of people

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¹ This term is problematic because the concept of Tsonga ethnicity is itself a contentious issue. It has been argued by Harries (1989) that the language work conducted by the Swiss missionaries in south-east Africa in attempting to define a *lingua franca* in which to evangelise has not only contributed to, but was the main reason for the development of the concept of Tsonga ethnicity, a concept which locals eventually came to define themselves as. Through defining the indigenous music of the Khosa people, for example, who, it is now understood as a part of common knowledge, form a part of the Tsonga group of people, their music could not have been described as Tsonga music before the encounter with the Swiss missionaries. My use of the term 'Tsonga music' should therefore be understood within this historical development in that I am using this term from a perspective that is current in today's literature on the Swiss Mission and the Vatsonga. The past therefore being understood in terms of present conceptions of ethnicity. While I do not believe that this is the only means of understanding the indigenous character of music under discussion, I have decided to use this term in full understanding of the contentious issues surrounding Tsonga ethnicity. While I do not wish to perpetuate unfounded claims, if any, about a group of people and their music, I find it necessary to delineate some boundaries from which an understanding of the music of the IPM can be sought.

in areas where words fail to communicate to the same effect the values that are held by a given society. This is especially the case with certain subjects that are taboo, such as HIV/AIDS, where people feel more comfortable to sing about such issues than to talk about them. Members of the EPC have expressed how at times they sing about that which they cannot talk about (Tshawane, 2013; Maluleke, 2013).

In the case of taboo subjects, music allows a space in which the performer can express ideas about a subject which she or he cannot confront directly or confront the person that is involved directly. An informant in my research found that when it is difficult to approach a person about an issue he will sing about it instead. He will not approach the person to whom the sentiment in the song is intended, but will rather sing a short distance away, ensuring that the person can hear them singing while allowing the listener the freedom to respond or not. The person to whom the song is directed may only remember the words later on, but this is accepted as he or she would have heard the message that the singer needed or wanted to convey to him or her (Maluleke, 2013).

Music is also a medium by which to transmit and reflect information on, or to address issues about, taboo subjects such as HIV/AIDS (Tshawane, 2013). In this sense, music reflects what people may not feel comfortable to verbalise. This is an especially pertinent issue in the context of an interview conducted by a researcher. Such a practice also invokes the extended use of aural memory where the knowledge transmitted and gained from the performance of such songs requires an aural memory to evoke the intended outcome.

Angela Impey (2006) analyses the jews harp and mouth bow music performed by the women of western Maputaland, South Africa, as historical text:

"These songs comment on social encounters, on love and marriage, and on social discord. Their focus is family and community; a named greeting being an acknowledgement of a known individual; a proverb drawing on mutually understood references and cultural forms; a moral assertion referring to mores and customs that shape social relations and cultural practices" (p. 70).

The women of western Maputaland play the *umqangala* and the *isizenze* mouth bows. In living memory these instruments were used to accompany "songs that commented on the behaviour of friends, neighbours, and family members" (Impey, 2006, p. 62). Thus songs may be used to learn about a group of people and their lifestyle before major changes occurred that have influenced the continued production of the music.

Hymn texts have been found to reflect belief systems in that they uncover the central tenets of a belief system, as is the case in the Nazarite Church (Sundkler, 1976 in Muller, 1999). The hymnal of the Nazarite Church has also been described as a lens through which Nazarite theology may be viewed

(Oosthuizen, 1967, in Muller, 1999). From another perspective, the musical texts and performances of religious music can be seen to reflect the culture from which they emanate. They can reveal aspects about the culture that the composers and performers may not have anticipated and more than researchers have to date identified (Belsey 2006:46).

John Blacking (1980) is of the opinion that music should speak for itself, where all that can be said about a piece of music should be heard in its notes. This is taking into account the need to speak about the music to understand its socio-political context. However, the important aspect is that music reveals itself as a reflection of transformations in society. This includes change as well as stasis where both aspects are factors in transformation. With this in mind, hymns composed by Tsonga Presbyterians may be regarded as texts that can reveal much about the dual-heritage of the Tsonga Presbyterians. In interviewing Tsonga hymn composers, I realised that the questions I was asking them as an outsider to their belief system and musical practices expected them to analyse their music from an outsider's perspective. I further realised that the music they compose is an expression of their faith rather than a purely musical activity. I therefore realised that the information I should seek as a researcher would lie in the music itself. To further illustrate the point of music as a reflection of society:

"Africans use ritualised social arrangement to externalise ... their sense of a relationship because, if a relationship is to be meaningful to them, the recognition one person gives another must be visible outside their own private involvement. For example, in many African societies, a gift is obligatory as just such a visible token of recognition...a display that acknowledges one person's participation in another's life and often initiates reciprocal responsibilities" (Chernoff 1979, p. 161).

Looking to the music of the Shangana-Tsonga it is apparent that the lyrics in *khomba* songs "reflect Tsonga women's activities" (Johnston 1971, p. 440). "Other aspects of *khomba* music reflect Tsonga administrative relationships: the formal constitution of lines of marching, singing women in an audible sign of the Tsonga system of administrative authority" (*ibid.*, p. 440). *Khomba* is therefore a reflection of the Tsonga social system. Johnston's (1975) research reveals that in an indigenous Tsonga society the different musical styles fulfil different social functions and it is for this reason that individuals are motivated to learn the styles that they do. For example, the Tsonga boy' and girls' initiation and puberty schools each have their own musical repertoires. One may thus see social institutions in indigenous Tsonga societies as reflected in musical performances.

At the time that Johnston (1971) was conducting his research he was already filling a gap in ethnomusicological literature. Little subsequent ethnomusicological research on the Vatsonga has followed (Johnston, 1975; 1974; 1973a; 1973b; 1973c). Previous studies of church music in South Africa (Brown 1998; Dargie 1997; James, 2006; Jorritsma 2011; Muller, 1999, 1994) have overlooked

the need for research on the church music of the Vatsonga in South Africa², an area of study that is long overdue in the field of ethnomusicology. In an attempt to negotiate my own understanding of the distinct musical character that I observed in the IPM, I situate my research in ethnomusicological discourse on how music is a reflection of social values (Chernoff, 1979) as well as transformations in music, heritage, and society (Baker, 2005; Muller, 1999; Wells, 1994; Johnston, 1971). In understanding music as a means by which the above transformations can be understood I aim to articulate how contemporary musical practices or the performance style of the IPM, and in particular of the Antioka parish, is a reflection of the Tsonga Presbyterian's dual-heritage.

Of importance in this thesis are the beliefs and values of a society that are transmitted through the musical practices pertaining to a belief system, as well as important occasions in the society that would result in celebration and hence singing and dancing. Elements such as musical practices and the celebration of significant occasions, are common to both indigenous African belief systems and Christianity (Mbiti 1975). However, the manner in which they are manifested in the lives of various believers is different. These elements can be seen as externalisations of societal structures, and beliefs and value systems. The musical performances at Antioka, during the ordinary church service, as well as during important occasions such as the Jubilee celebrations of 2012, thus give insight into the Tsonga Presbyterians' dual-heritage.

Looking at what are not characteristics of Reformed Church music in the IPM, I turn to the following examples. There are about 70 members of Antioka parish, all of whom live in Facazisse, the village bordering Antioka. These members may be exposed to the music of Independent African Churches, some of which are situated in Facazisse, such as the Apostle Church and a Zionist Church (Muchanga, 2013). Some ethnomusicological literature on religious music in South Africa is concerned with research in Independent African Churches (Dargie 1997; Muller, 1999, 1994). Although the IPM is an autonomous church, and has been since 1948 (Chirinda, 2012), it is not an Independent African Church. Without neglecting that the music of Antioka parish may be influenced by music of Independent African Churches in Facazisse, the music of Antioka parish should not necessarily be associated with research on Independent African Churches as referred to in literature on the subject (Muller, 1999; Dargie, 1997; Blacking 1995). I find that the performance styles of Independent African Churches, which are more usually informed by a syncretic belief system, are quite different to the performance style of the IPM in which members do not follow a syncretic belief system and continue to perform Reformed Church hymns.

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² This would include research on the sister church of the IPM, the Evangelical Presbyterian Church, situated in South Africa.

Henri-Alexandre Junod (1927) has provided a valuable source of information of music heard on and around the mission in southern Mozambique. The nature of music-making among the Vatsonga is largely communal (*ibid.*). Although some of the examples he transcribed are illustrative of indigenous Tsonga music I am aware of the influence on music performed by the locals in southern Mozambique from the migrant mine workers returning home and bringing with them music that they had learned while on the mines in South Africa. One piece in particular is a song about life on the mines in South Africa. Junod titled this song: Complaint of the boys going to Johannesburg (Junod, 1927, p. 284). The lyrics are: Stones are very hard to break, far from home, in foreign land. They are an expression by Mozambican miners of the difficult time that they have on the mines (Schneider, 2014). According to Schneider, a retired Swiss missionary and Tsonga linguist, Junod took this song to Switzerland during one of his furloughs and he would teach this tune to members of the churches. Schneider himself learnt this song from hearing his father singing it, who himself had learnt in church.

Along with ethnomusicological literature, I turn to, among others, literature in musicology (Keil, 1987), anthropology (Junod, 1927; 1964) ³, history (Gengenbach 2010; Harries, 2007, 2001, 1997, 1995, 1989; Maluleke, 2003; Mundlhovu, n.d.; Van Butselaar, 1999), and other literary sources (*De la Missão Suíça à l'IPM*, 2014; Junod, 1957). I also draw on recordings of Tsonga music housed in the archive of the International Library of African music in Grahamstown, South Africa; published music defined as Tsonga or Shangaan music; local Mozambicans who could tell me about local popular forms of music in Mozambique; as well as from my own awareness of local forms of music while conducting fieldwork in Mozambique. By incorporating and reflecting upon literature in these different fields as well as other sources of information that I could find, I hope to ensure the clarity of my argument within the relevant perspectives of previous research as well as the musical, social, and historical contexts of my topic.

Most of the information I found that spoke specifically about the music of the Tsonga Presbyterians was in written reports by Swiss missionaries beginning in the 1870s and housed in the Swiss Mission archive at the Départment-Missionaire in Lausanne, Switzerland. As the indigenous history of the Vatsonga has been transmitted mainly in an oral form over generations I, being an outsider and

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³ Henri-Alexandre Junod (1927) has come to be known as one of the prominent Swiss missionaries during the early years of the Swiss Mission in southern Africa through his anthropological study on the group of people whom the Swiss Mission evangelised. He is considered the first person to have conducted an anthropological study on a group of people in southern Africa (De Sousa, 2006). The anthropological work by Junod (1927) is a rich source of information on an indigenous Tsonga lifestyle. Included in this work are descriptions and transcriptions of the sacred music composed and performed by converted locals that he heard in the early years of the Swiss Mission in southern Africa, c. 1890. Junod also conducted musical transcriptions of secular or indigenous music that he heard in the area surround the mission stations.

researcher embedded in literacy, draw substantially on written material with the awareness that much of it is based on written documentation by Swiss missionaries during their encounter with the Vatsonga. It has been a challenge to attempt to separate accounts of the history of the Vatsonga from the encounter with the Swiss Mission for this reason. With the limited range of historical accounts of the Vatsonga in a written and therefore accessible form, the history of the Vatsonga is heavily linked to the evangelical encounter between the Vatsonga and the Swiss Mission. May this speak to the pivotal role the Swiss Mission had in developing the concept of Tsonga ethnicity as discussed in this chapter and as described in detail by Patrick Harries (1989).

A broader aim of my research, an aim which I intend to initialise in further research, is to touch on ideas of applied ethnomusicology. Research in this area has been conducted, for example, by Angela Impey (2006, 2002). Applied ethnomusicology, also known as advocacy ethnomusicology, looks to the social benefit that ethnomusicological research can have in the lives of the people whose music is being research. Although Ruth Stone (2008) provides a wonderfully clear and coherent description of various theories used in ethnomusicology, she does not refer to applied ethnomusicology, which needs more attention in ethnomusicological research in general than has been the case thus far. Performing research with this approach in mind may begin to help the congregation of Antioka who live a rural lifestyle and who often live in difficult circumstances. Although the research performed for this thesis is not applied ethnomusicology, my interest in it was developed during fieldwork. I was able to observe and experience how fieldwork allows the researcher to obtain information not only on the music of, for example, the Antioka parish but to also discover the hope and future plans of the Antioka community. How, for example, they plan to reconstruct some of the old missionary buildings for projects that will benefit the community such as the construction of a chicken run and the establishment of a tourist information centre which will attract visitors who drive past Antioka on the newly tarred road to the popular, coastal town of Bilene. Having participated in some of the day to day life of the members of Antioka I was able to hear about some of the details of their lives other than to garner information about the music of the Church through semi-formal interviews.

Method

Fieldwork was conducted in July 2012, and October and November 2013, among the Tsonga Presbyterians at Antioka, in the Magude district of Mozambique. July 2012 marked the 125th Jubilee of the IPM. I attended the celebration and the Annual General Meetings (AGM) of the Jubilee during this period. In October and November of 2013, I returned to Antioka to conduct fieldwork on the ordinary church services that are held on most Sunday mornings in the Antioka parish. This was a means of discovering what the music of the Church is like away from vibrant festivities such as the Jubilee. I hoped that it would give a better perspective on the music of the IPM.

Further to the fieldwork at Antioka, I conducted some fieldwork in the Daveyton and Mamelodi parishes of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church in South Africa, situated in the Gauteng Province of South Africa. Having been established by the Swiss Mission in 1975, this Church is more commonly known as the EPC and is the sister church to the IPM. By conducting fieldwork at the EPC, I aimed to investigate some similarities and differences between the music of the EPC and the IPM that would be explicitly apparent during the church services. I attended a regular church service of the Daveyton parish on Sunday 19 May 2013. This service was filled with much choir singing as youth choirs from various parishes of the EPC had performed a night vigil in the form of a choir competition on the Saturday night. During the church service the following Sunday morning the winner of the choir competition was announced. The following Sunday I attended a regular church service of the Mamelodi parish of the EPC. This service was also used as a farewell to the parish's minister. The multilingual character of these parishes, including Xitsonga, Sesotho, isiZulu, and English reflects the variety of social backgrounds from which the congregants come. During these church services prayers and songs were conducted in these various languages, more often this was the case in the Mamelodi parish. The manner of singing was as vibrant as I observed in the IPM. The congregations were larger than the Antioka parish, having an effect on the overall sound and an energetic atmosphere. From interviews and conversations conducted with members of the EPC, I discovered that many church choruses are common to both the IPM and the EPC.

Along with the fieldwork conducted in the IPM and the EPC, I conducted some fieldwork in Switzerland in June 2013, and in May and April 2014, in order to experience the differences in the characters of music that one might find between the IPM, the EPC, and the Swiss Reformed Churches. I mainly wanted to get a feeling for the performance style that the Swiss Mission brought to South Africa and Mozambique to place my own discoveries of the musical aspects of the churches within an experiential framework. I attended church services of Reformed Churches in the Swiss Romande, meaning the French speaking part of Switzerland, from which the Swiss Mission originates. More particularly, I attended church services in Geneva where, as I discuss in Chapter 2, Jean Calvin had a significant influence on the Reformation in Switzerland. I attended a regular church service of the Saint Gervais parish on 2 June 2013, as well as a regular church service at Meyrin parish on 9 June 2013. Although a period of over one hundred years exists between the time that some of the first Swiss missionaries attended church services in the Swiss Romande, and my attending the services in the Reformed Churches, by looking at the hymnbooks of the church it is apparent that they still sing some of the same songs. In a written form, these hymns serve to maintain the hymn performances as mostly the same over time. Thus, from the brief period of fieldwork in Switzerland, I observed that the environment of the Swiss parishes was more sombre and reflected a character of meditative reflection upon the Christian message. This, I believe, is characteristic of the Reformed Church. Congregational singing was accompanied more usually by the organ. Hymnbooks with a similar structure to the hymnbook of the

IPM, *Tinsimu ta Vakriste*, were used. The structure being that the hymnbook itself is divided into different sections, each corresponding to particular events in the Christian calendar, and with important sentiments in a Christian belief system, such as giving thanks.

From fieldwork observations, in making comparisons between the church services of the different parishes, from hearing the musical performances of the IPM at its 125th Jubilee in 2012, and subsequently in the Antioka in October and November 2013, I noticed that although there were many aspects of the music that were familiar to my ear, there was something about the music that was distinctly different to what I had known from my previous experiences of church music. I observed that the music of the IPM exhibited musical characteristics and practices that are not originally of a Reformed Church music style. It became apparent to me that the music performed in the IPM exhibits a tendency towards an oral manner of performance, which includes improvisation and the invoking and extended use of aural memory. Keeping in mind my own musical experiences and influences I sought to find out what it was that gave the church music of the IPM its distinctive sound. I came to believe that the distinctive sound of the music of the IPM is informed by Reformed Church music and Tsonga music.

An aim in this thesis is to discover which musical aspects in the musical performances of the IPM are features of an indigenous Tsonga musical system and what can be considered as Reformed Church music. One of the aims of the musical analyses in this thesis is, therefore, to show that if the music of the IPM is constituted of musical features of both indigenous Tsonga music and Reformed Church music then it may be considered as a reflection of the Tsonga Presbyterians' dual heritage, that of indigenous Tsonga society and that of the Reformed Church tradition of Swiss Romande.

My research question is therefore two-fold: firstly, how do the musical performances of the Antioka parish reflect the Tsonga Presbyterians' dual-heritage? Secondly: how do the members of the IPM negotiate their dual-heritage? The research question refers to the dual-heritage of the IPM as well as of the Antioka parish. The first aspect: 'how do the musical performances of the Antioka parish reflect the Tsonga Presbyterians' dual-heritage?' deals with the idea of a dual-heritage and the negotiation thereof in contemporary society on the level of the specific, meaning in the lives of members of the Antioka parish. The second aspect: 'how do the members of the IPM negotiate their dual-heritage?' deals with the negotiation of the Tsonga Presbyterians' dual-heritage on a general level, meaning in the community of Tsonga Presbyterians; and how they negotiate the dual-heritage as a collective.

To elaborate, the focus of the research question on how the music of the IPM may reflect the Tsonga Presbyterians' dual-heritage refers to musical performances as a reflection of society. As described in the Literature Review, music is able to reflect social aspects such as gender and age norms of a particular community. By heritage, I mean social and musical practices that the community members of IPM and Antioka parish today have inherited through affiliation with the Church. The European Reformed

Church hymns are a part of their heritage, as well as Church songs and hymns composed by members of the IPM since the time of the encounter, for example, one of the first recorded Christian hymns written by a local converted Christian, and Chopi evangelist, Onisemi, see Chapter 3. I also discuss other compositions by members of the IPM which speaks to the same point as above. By heritage I also mean social and musical practices that are inherited from the indigenous lifestyle, such as call and response singing, locally choreographed dances, as well as gender and age stratification in society, as seen in the seating arrangements in the Church, discussed in Chapter 2.

In order to answer my research questions, I draw extensively on the fieldwork data, including interviews and recordings of musical performances at Antioka. Fieldwork was conducted using the anthropological and ethnographic method of participant-observation. I observed and participated in the musical performances held during the 125th Jubilee of the IPM at Antioka in July 2012, as well as hymn singing and choir performances in the ordinary church service of the Antioka parish in 2013. From an analysis of the data collected during fieldwork I attempt to draw parameters around the performance style of the IPM, and in particular the Antioka parish, to gain clarity on which musical features can be understood as originating from the Reformation in Europe and which can be likened to a Tsonga musical character.

As most of my fieldwork was conducted at Antioka, my findings hold most worth in describing how the musical performances of Antioka parish articulate its members' dual-heritage. However, I also believe that the musical performances of the Antioka parish hold for an understanding of the performance style of the IPM and the Tsonga Presbyterians for the following reasons: 1) There is a great deal of transfer of music between different parishes of the IPM, most notably between Khovo parish in Maputo and Antioka parish. I discuss this further in Chapter 4; 2) there is regular interaction between parishes of the IPM and annexes of these parishes. For example, during fieldwork, Antioka parish joined a service of one of its annexes, Macupe, for the laying of the first brick of the new church building for the Macupe congregation. This regular interaction is also manifested in music with the youth choir of Antioka and Macupe meeting on occasions prior to the service to rehearse songs together to be performed at the service (Mucavele, 2013). Also, when a new song is composed for the IPM, someone from Maputo, for example, will come to Antioka to teach the Antioka members

the song as most of the people at Antioka cannot read music (Sitoi, 2013); 3) the Jubilee was a time and a space in which people affiliated in various capacities with the IPM came together. The crowd, about 5 000 people, consisted of members of the IPM, the EPC, as well as people from Switzerland. The majority of the crowd, however, consisted of members of the IPM who came from across southern Mozambique as well as some of the more northern areas of Mozambique. Through engaging with the fieldwork data I found that the improvisations in the musical performances at the Jubilee were not dissimilar to the performances of the same hymns and choruses performed in the Antioka parish.

During the research process, I sought information on the experiences of the stakeholders during the evangelical encounter between the Vatsonga and the Swiss missionaries in the 19th and 20th centuries. The stakeholders are those who have an affiliation with the IPM, and who perform or have had an influence on the music in the Church. Thus the stakeholders are members of Antioka parish, the IPM and the EPC, as well as Swiss missionaries who lived on mission stations of the Swiss Mission in southern Mozambique. I therefore conducted interviews with relevant stakeholders in the community of the IPM as well as appropriate Swiss missionaries, namely but not limited to, those who lived and worked on mission stations in southern Mozambique, and who thus had affiliations with the IPM and, most importantly, those who were stationed at Antioka.

In order to find the relevant stakeholders I had to trace the history of Antioka and the IPM. It became apparent that the history of the IPM has proceeded over the years on two regularly intersecting paths, namely, through the interaction of: 1) the locals, their indigenous belief system, and culture, and 2) the Swiss missionaries and their Reformed Church belief system and culture. I thus travelled to places where the stakeholders were, Mozambique and Switzerland. As the main fieldwork component, the trip to Mozambique gave me insight into the lives of the people whose music I am researching. It also gave me the opportunity to participate in the music-making as well as to conduct interviews with informants. During the sojourn in Switzerland, I observed church services of Reformed Churches in the Swiss Romande, the French speaking part of Switzerland from which the Swiss Mission originates, and also found information on the history of the IPM through written text such as published material and primary documents in the Swiss Mission Archives held at the Départment Missionaire - Échange et Mission in Lausanne.

Many of the perspectives of the different parties in this research, namely the Vatsonga members of the IPM and the Swiss missionaries, were gained through an analysis of interviews I conducted with members of both parties. While these interviews should not be viewed as constitutive of the opinions of the entirety of each group to which the stakeholders are categorised, they have nonetheless provided significant insight into certain perspectives held by members of each party. These perspectives are applicable in many respects to the ethos that underpinned the evangelical and social work conducted by Swiss missionaries, as well as the current functioning of the church and social life of the IPM, including a general attitude towards the Swiss missionaries held by members of the IPM. I also took an informal approach to the interviews thus allowing the interviewees to speak about that which was important to them so that I could find out about aspects that I may not have conceptualised before. I was of the opinion that the experiences of the stakeholders would influence the experiences of the researcher, as the information revealed by the stakeholders is what the researcher has to interpret. This information is therefore informed by the stakeholder's perspectives which are influenced by their life experiences, heritages, and belief systems. The stakeholder's perspectives that I will be discussing in this thesis are

on the history of the IPM; on the music of the IPM; as well as on their experiences revealed through interviews.

For example, the Swiss missionaries' perspectives that will be discussed in this thesis are on the Swiss Mission stations as they knew them during the times that they lived and worked on them, their perspectives on the music and culture of the local Tsonga Presbyterians, as well as emphasis on certain topics that came about through informal discussions with them. To elaborate, I conducted interviews with retired Swiss missionaries in order to gain perspective on how they perceived the music on the mission stations which shows an acceptance of the indigenous culture by Swiss missionaries. I wanted to find out whether musical restrictions were put into place, for example the prohibition of drums or dancing in the Church. I short wanted to find out whether indigenous musical characteristics were incorporated into the musical repertoire of the IPM already during that time or whether it a new practice.

Since my topic of research, the music of the Tsonga Presbyterians and the IPM, is relatively untouched in the field of ethnomusicology in Southern Africa, I decided to approach the interviews with broad questions so that I could take any leads given by informants to conduct research in significant areas of the topic. Since ethnomusicological research involves the study of music among a given group of people, and since I am an 'outsider' to the group of people whose music I am researching, I had to ask culturally sensitive questions in the interviews. This required me to learn as much as possible about the culture through publications and through interactions with group members. It also called for a certain social awareness during these interactions and interviews where I had to be conscious of assumptions that I might be making about features that are deemed to belong to, or which originate within a particular culture.

As an 'outsider' researcher it is often easy to essentialise a group of people and their music. As I learnt more about the members of Antioka and their music, and in large part due to getting to know the informants on a personal level through fieldwork, I became aware of my own preconceptions of what I believe a 'culture' or a 'tradition' to be. While the question of naming the music, for example whether it can be described as traditional or not, and eventually what one actually means by the word traditional, I realised that my own background was influencing the stances I took on certain topics within my research. While this is not entirely bad, nor is it possible to detach oneself completely from ones background and formation or 'emic-ness', the awareness of one's background, preconceptions, and way of thinking, are significant for a study to be culturally sensitive while still asking pertinent questions. Thus, I learnt that, to do ethnographic research, the researcher has to put self-reflexive thought into practice. This type of thought compels the researcher to see him- or herself within a social environment, and thus to become aware of environmental and social influences. Therefore, interviews which bring about these above mentioned leads, and which express the attitudes and perspectives of the informants, are semi-structured, qualitative interviews. Further to these interviews, I prepared a number of specific

questions relating to the music of the IPM, as well as to the history of the Swiss Mission. I kept a certain number of questions specific so that I could place the research as a whole within a structure of historical facts. I also asked informants in the IPM and the EPC some specific questions in order to gain their perceptions on the music that they perform and/or compose.

With questions involving the need for personal and cultural sensitivity I hoped that some of these aspects would emerge during discussions in the interviews. If they did not come up directly I hoped that questions around the topic would reveal to me whether the informant was comfortable talking about such issues. Once I had built up a level of trust with the informant and learning that they are a type of person to which I could ask such probing questions, I realised that as a researcher I needed to seize the opportunity and make a well-informed decision to take a risk and ask a question out right. The trust that was established between some of the informants and I was from interaction outside the interview and research setting, in other words during times when I put the pen and paper down and spent time with the people. This trust was also predetermined from my connection to the IPM and Antioka as a result of my grandparents.

Heidi Gengenbach (2010), a professor of history at the University of Massachusetts in the United States, while conducting research in the village of Facazisse, Magude, at first found it a challenging experience to gain information on social issues during some of her first interviews with women of this community. However, she found that as time passed, and once trust had grown between her and her informants, informants would speak more openly

As I am conducting historical research of the IPM and the parish of Antioka, I attempted to obtain oral accounts within living memory of the situation on the then Antioka mission station and, when compared to my own observations and data collected during fieldwork, how these accounts differ from the present situation of Antioka as presented through data collected during fieldwork. A comparison of these accounts will contribute towards a description of the changes in indigenous societal structures as a consequence of the evangelical encounter between the Vatsonga and the Swiss Mission. This comparison also attempts to show how changes within the functioning of various aspects of the Church have come to being and this is with the assumption that these changes are influenced by, and reflective of, societal changes in which the Antioka parish is embedded. One aspect which illustrates these changes is the music of the IPM.

As an outsider to the music of the IPM, it has surprisingly not been a challenge to understand the music in the locals' terms because these terms are similar to those of the music tradition in which I have been taught. The process of negotiating the naming of music in Africa has long been a point of contention. In the 1950s, for example, "broad statements about African music was the norm" (Agawu, 1995, p. 1), however, according to Kofi Agawu (1995), a generalisation of the music across the continent is not possible nor is it desirable. In this respect, I draw on Agawu's (*ibid.*) perspective on the naming of

different types of music in Africa. In this perspective he calls for an attitude of compromise where an understanding of how a given system or type of music is named by the people to which it belongs or who produce it. I am aware of how the music or musical system of a group of people may be misconstrued through the use of incorrect or insufficient terminology, however, the attitude of compromise that Agawu (1995) suggests, allows for a researcher from outside the group of people whose music is being researched, to engage with the music in an academic way. Thus, Agawu (1995) suggests one procure, first and foremost, an understanding of how the people, who produce the music, understand their music. The challenge for the researcher is, therefore, to translate this understanding into terms which scholars of music, or the 'outsider' to the society or musical form, can understand.

Since I have insider experience of Reformed Church music, I attempt to extrapolate which aspects of the music of the IPM do not originate from the Reformed Church. Through this I will be able to further define, not necessarily Tsonga music prior to the encounter with the Swiss Mission, but rather, features of the music of the IPM that represent or exhibit a link to an indigenous musical character. By drawing on what is arguably not characteristic of Reformed Church music, and by delineating boundaries as close to the topic of research as possible, I attempt to define a flexible and permeable concept of the Tsonga music relevant to this study. Tsonga music, as a concept, is far too broad for a comprehensive assessment of how it might be defined. It is important for the purposes of this research, however, to define some concept of Tsonga music in order to substantiate the argument that the music of the IPM is a reflection of the Tsonga Presbyterians' dual-heritage. I compare the four above mentioned examples to literature on the music of the Vatsonga in order to substantiate my argument that the music of the IPM consists of musical features that pertain to Tsonga music.

I will be analysing various musical performances in the IPM and the Antioka parish of translated hymns brought by the Swiss Mission to southern Africa, locally composed Tsonga hymns, church songs performed by choirs within the IPM, as well as church choruses. In most part, the musical analyses will be based on data collected during fieldwork. I have observed that the repertoire of the IPM exists in four identifiable categories, each of which has their own musical personalities and which will become familiar to the reader throughout the thesis. They are 1) European Reformed Church hymns published in the hymnbook of the IPM, *Tinsimu ta Vakriste*, meaning 'Songs of Christians', and translated into the vernacular, Xitsonga; 2) locally composed Xitsonga hymns published in *Tinsimu ta Vakriste*; 3) church songs which are newly composed for choir performances or which consist of new text added to known melodies; 4) church choruses which exhibit a strong improvisatory character and are orally transmitted. I use these categories as guidelines for the musical analyses in this thesis.

In order to delineate the characteristics of Tsonga music that occur in the musical performances of the IPM, I aim to investigate the improvisations prevalent in the musical performances of the Antioka parish while using, as a guide, the flexible parameters of Tsonga music that I have delineated. To define

flexible parameters of Tsonga music I draw on Thomas F. Johnston's ethnomusicological research on the Shangana-Tsonga of the Limpopo Province, South Africa, conducted in the late 1960s and early 1970s. According to Johnston (1975b) the Vatsonga perform both instrumental and vocal music and they have a large range of instruments including drums and bows. I am mainly interested in the vocal music that Johnston describes. A reason for this is that the music of the IPM consists almost entirely of vocal music, and in the Antioka parish, it consists only of vocal music. Similarly, through analysing the social determinants of the music of the Shangana-Tsonga, Johnston found that vocal music played a more significant role in their social life (Johnston, 1974), as it does in the lives of the members of Antioka parish.

Based on the notion that musical improvisation is a characteristic of Tsonga music, the musical analyses will attempt to extrapolate which features of the musical performances exhibit improvisation. In other words, through referring to Johnston's (1975) research on the music of the Shangana-Tsonga of the Limpopo Province, I aim to analyse various musical features of the Antioka parish to discover their origins, whether based in a Tsonga lifestyle or the Reformed Church.

As discussed in the section below, it was not an easy task to uncover the musical character in the IPM which was foreign to my ears. I have nonetheless attempted to delineate parameters from which to conduct the musical analyses that exemplify the different musical influences that I observed in the IPM. It is my hope that by uncovering the different musical characters within the music of IPM, and by situating the discussion within the perspective of music as a reflection of social transformation, that the music of the IPM may be understood as a reflection of the Tsonga Presbyterians dual-heritage.

<u>Discussion: A critical engagement on the conceptualisation of 'indigenous music' in</u> ethnomusicology

In light of the above, and as far as possible, I use the terminology that the members of the IPM use when discussing the music of the Church. The music terminology used by the members of the IPM appears to have origins in the Portuguese language most probably due to the fact that the official language of Mozambique is Portuguese and, perhaps more indirectly, the similarity of the music of the IPM to European classical music and European classical choir ensembles. For example, church members use the Portuguese translations of the words, soprano, alto, tenor, and bass to refer to the different voice ranges of their choirs. Thus the music of the IPM has been influenced in large part by the European Reformed Church music of the Swiss Mission, and the music terminology of the Portuguese language.

A great challenge that I faced as a researcher of religious music was negotiating the separation of the music from its religious underpinning for appropriate musicological analyses. As I have had experiences in a similar religious setting as the members of the IPM, namely the Reformed Church, and having been a member of a group whose music also stems from the Reformed Church, I am aware of the close link

between music and the emotions and how this link may often be closely intertwined with one's belief system. I have chosen to use certain musicological terms that corresponds with musical analyses but that may sometimes render inappropriate impressions of religious music. For example, I refer to renditions of hymns and church songs as musical performances. In some instances a separation of music and its religious content is false, for example in the reading of the Quran which is often referred to, from a Western perspective as singing, while it is in fact the recitation of the Quran. In the case of the Tsonga Presbyterians and the IPM there is a certain separation between the music and the belief system where a definite difference between what is sung and spoken is made. However, the ethnomusicological study I am conducting may differ from the point of view that members of the IPM might have of their music. For example, where I discuss the meaning of the musical performance in the Church, for the performers who are the members of the Church the music might rather have a religious and spiritual meaning. This distinction that I am making is not altogether foreign to the Church as there is an element of "presentational performance" (Turino, 2008)⁴ in the music of the IPM with the importance that is placed on choirs within the Church and the choir performances that take place at most Sunday services.

While certain interviews with members of the IPM did bring about discussions of music on a musicological level, the informants with whom I had these discussions were more often involved in the composition of songs. The subject of these songs would often pertain to the Church and Christianity or were composed to be sung by choirs in the Church. These informants generally had an affinity for song composition and/or they were directors of choirs within the Church. Thus, through such interviews and my participation in choir rehearsals and performances in the Antioka parish of IPM, I discovered that in the IPM there exists a musical performance practice that is, first and foremost, of a religious or Christian nature, but that reflects a consciousness and/or emphasis on the aesthetics of musical performances in the Church. This emphasis on the aesthetics of the music is contrary to a value in the Calvinist Church where the aesthetic enjoyment of music is understood to detract from the messages contained in hymns and is thus considered as something avoidable (Germiquet, 2011). In the IPM, the performance practice reveals a continuation of this value, where the message in the hymn or church song takes primary position. However, the aesthetics of the music are important especially in the choir performances, and this can be considered as taking a secondary role.

Comparing fieldwork data and accounts from retired Swiss missionaries on the music and manner of performance in the IPM contributes to an understanding of how these aspects have changed over time. According to Josian and François Monier, who lived and worked at Swiss Mission stations in Mozambique from 1963 to 1975, there was not much dancing in the church of the IPM at that point. Dancing did, however, take place during special occasions, such as a marriage ceremony (Monier, 2014a; Monier, 2014b). At Antioka there also does not appear to be much dancing during an ordinary

⁴ As discussed in Chapter 3.

church service. However, when there is an occasion to be celebrated dancing and choruses are performed during the church service, usually after the sermon has ended. Furthermore, the retired Swiss missionaries commented that the songs were often sung in the IPM with great vigour, even the melodies that were brought from Europe (Monier, 2014a). Early missionary accounts also show how, from the beginning, Swiss missionaries realised the importance of vivacious celebrations for the Vatsonga (Harries, 2001). The manner of musical performances in the IPM was found to be extraordinary (Monier, 2014a; Monier, 2014b).

A great deal of the discussion in this thesis involves clarification and reflection upon terms and classifications of the Vatsonga and their indigenous music. I have embarked on such a discussion to steer away from perpetuating essentialist thought on the music and its practitioners. Since the commencement of my ethnomusicological research on the Presbyterian Church of Mozambique in 2012, the research I am conducting has not been conducted by other scholars as far as I am aware. I therefore believe that it is important to deal with prominent issues that reveal themselves during the research process and to understand these issues within their historical, musical, and contemporary contexts. It is also important to understand them within present research paradigms, such as Westernised academic thought that seeks labelling and the construction of information within categories akin to positivistic and empirical knowledge (Harries, 2007). While these paradigms are indeed beneficial to knowledge construction, when researching various topics such as music, that exists within their own paradigms of knowledge construction, an awareness of how and what knowledge is constructed during academic research is important. Such paradigms may, for example, exist in a lifestyle embedded within orality and mysticism as one may see in an indigenous Tsonga society.

I would like to pay attention to the impact that my own research may have on understandings and perceptions of the music of the IPM and the social context in which it exists, especially through the use of the term indigenous Tsonga music. A reason for this is that the classification may have an impact on further analyses of musical performances by the Vatsonga, namely, placing the label of Tsonga on to an indigenous form of music. A reason for providing a detailed account, in Chapter 2, of the Swiss Mission's delineation of the vernacular and the subsequent identification of the speakers of the vernacular as a nation, or group, is to negotiate this issue by placing it within its historical context.

Thinking along the lines of vernacular logic as discussed by Sanneh (1990), combined with an analysis of the music of the IPM, I have come to see that there is a 'local logic of music' in the music of the IPM. This 'local logic of music', as I call it, is reflected in the features of the music of the IPM that are distinctly not originally from the European Reformed Church. The local logic of music is the significant factor in distinguishing the dual-heritage of the Tsonga Presbyterians through musical analyses. Musical features that explicitly reveal this local logic are, firstly, the deviation from standard four-part harmony in Western Classical music that is prevalent in Tsonga hymn composition. Secondly, the improvisation

during performances of church choruses, in particular the deviation from the written rhythms in hymns published in *Tinsimu* to ones that are chosen by the performers during performance, and thirdly, the appropriation of popular church chorus melodies in church hymns. I discuss the local logic of music in more detail in Chapter 4.

Since the term Tsonga music is so broad, and that it is impossible to define it without essentialising the music and its practitioners, I attempt to define it as closely as possible to the research topic, and in doing so I begin by defining what it is not. Therefore the musical features in the music of the IPM that are not originally from European Reformed Church origin I choose to define as Tsonga music. This term classifies music that is not necessarily perceived as such by the locals, especially since the music I am researching is more often inextricably linked to Church related experiences. Using the term indigenous Tsonga music assumes that there is a musical system in use by Tsonga groups of people which originates from within the group. However, in interviews with Tsonga hymn composers references to traditional Tsonga music, or music that is distinct from Church music, have been made thus it is evident that practitioners of the music make distinctions of such a nature (Tseco, 2013; Tshawane, 2013; Marivate, 1984).

The term Tsonga music is itself problematic because of the transformative nature of music. As music does not exist in a social vacuum (Wells, 1994) and as it is an aspect of social life, music is continually transforming. Viewing societal transformation and hence musical transformation as a constant, defining a musical system completely is almost impossible, and defining the parameters of a music system of a group of people is a complex task. Music is influenced from exposure to other musics and develops over time according to the people who perform it and the society in which it exists. Thus, Tsonga music as a problematic term cannot be entirely avoided. However, for the purposes of conducting musical analyses, it is necessary to use it while keeping in mind an awareness of classifications and any misleading impositions that may result.

Jean Kidula's experience with researching religious music speaks to my method of determining what is characteristic of Tsonga music by way of defining what musical characteristics are not of Reformed Church music in the music of the IPM. As explained in her article *Nandio Kwalange: 'Embodying' Logooli Cultural Memory In Song''*, published in 2005, Kidula first approached her research of Logooli music in the 19080s with a "European trained musical eye" (Kidula, 2005, p. 2). By identifying "otherness" (*ibid.*) in Logooli Christian music, by way of what is not European music, Kidula sought to elucidate a Logooli identity in the music. As Kidula clarifies, this only serves to perpetuate European hegemonic discourse of a positivistic perspective, and a lack of deeper knowledge of how people identify themselves. I turn to Kidula's research and realisations because her research questions are very similar to mine. She began her research with the premise that Logooli people were Christianised but not "de-ethnicised" (*ibid.*) and that the Christian and indigenous cultures are embodied in Logooli

Christian music. Kidula suggests a deeper look into the cultural life of the Loggoli people, where they identify themselves with the 'way of the clan'; thus not the way of Logooli, a superficial description. Kidula was able to come to this insight because of her insider knowledge, being herself Logooli.

I began my research on the music of the IPM having found that the music of the Church contains characteristics of Reformed Church music as well as other characteristics which were foreign to my European music trained ear. I have based the research in this thesis on the premise that the music of the IPM consists of not only Reformed Church music, but also of musical characteristics that are brought into the music by its practitioners, the Tsonga Christians. I have ventured to claim that these non-Reformed Church musical characteristic are Tsonga musical characteristics. In comparison to Kidula's research perspectives, I have attempted to identify 'Tsonga-ness' through elucidating musical 'otherness' in the music of the IPM. As an outsider to Tsonga Christianity and Tsonga music, my perspective, with regards to a deeper understanding of the cultural aspects of the music of the IPM, is limited. Nonetheless, in introducing research on the music of the IPM to the field of ethnomusicology I hope to begin a path of study that may yield a deeper understanding of the music in time to come.

The music of the IPM may be influenced by the local music of the Magude district. The influence of Tsonga music could include the local music of the Magude district that the members of IPM are exposed to. Due to the limitations of fieldwork in Antioka, to substantiate this would require further research. An individual is influenced by his/her environment⁵ (Visser, 2007), therefore the local music of the Magude district that the members of Antioka are exposed to influences their musical habits. These musical habits manifest in the improvisatory choices made by members of the Antioka parish during musical performances. Improvisation exhibits a musical tendency of a lifestyle embedded within orality and thus it is reflective of a characteristic of Tsonga music.

The argument in this thesis calls for an understanding of which aspects of the music of the IPM reflect a Tsonga heritage. I describe some features of aspects of Tsonga music and Reformed Church music relevant to the topic in this thesis. I thereafter define the performance style of the IPM in terms of its constituency as a blend of musical characteristics which pertain to Tsonga and Reformed Church music. To make conclusive deductions about which musical features in the IPM are of a Tsonga musical character and those which are from the Reformed Church musical character, it is important to work within certain yet flexible parameters of what one might call Tsonga music. Discovering what really is the indigenous music of the Vatsonga, if this is possible, has been problematic because research on

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⁵ Most notably Kurt Lewin's Field theory, which states that human behaviour is a function of the individual and his or her environment. See Lewin, K. *Field theory in social science*. New York: Harper & Row, 1951; as well as Urie Bronfenbrenner's Ecological model of human development, which addresses the influences that various levels of an individual's community have on his or her behaviour. See Bronfenbrenner, U. *The ecology of human development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979.

Tsonga music is limited. Further to this, my fieldwork recordings are limited to the music performed in the IPM as fieldwork was concentrated mainly on the grounds of Antioka. I have therefore sought to find information about music relating to the Vatsonga from various sources including research conducted by Thomas F. Johnston, as dealt with above, and from informants during fieldwork.

Drawing on Johnston's (1975) research as a means of defining flexible boundaries within which to conduct the musical analyses that illustrate how musical performances of the IPM reflect the Tsonga Presbyterians' dual-heritage is problematic. Johnston's (*ibid.*) research was conducted in the Limpopo Province of South Africa in the 1970s. Not only is there a large geographical space between Limpopo Province and Antioka, but there is a period of about 40 years difference between the time of research. Although these groups of people have common roots in southern Mozambique, the nature of societal and musical transformations according to geographical, environmental, political and cultural factors sets them apart from one another. Johnston's research does however provide an in-depth look at the link between society and music in an indigenous Tsonga lifestyle. Therefore, I draw on Johnston's research in an attempt to define some parameters from which I can make conclusions, not without reservations, on the nature of Tsonga music, as well as the local logic of music that is apparent in the music of the IPM. This thesis therefore does not attempt to definitively explain the music of the IPM but it is aimed as a guide to understanding how the members of the IPM, in particular the Antioka parish, articulate their dual-heritage through musical performances.

In order to negotiate the problematic issue of defining the parameters of what constitutes Tsonga ethnicity and by extension Tsonga music, I include, where possible, accounts of the history of the Vatsonga from informants. This is with the broader aim of including perspectives and conceptualisations on the music and history held by the practitioners or stakeholders themselves. This manner of research is important to challenge established "institutionalised patterns of academic analysis and authority" for the purposes of constructing knowledge that is in large part informed by the practitioners of the music (Waterman 1991, p. 180) This information is limited however in comparison to the vast amount of written literature on the history of the Vatsonga in relation to the Swiss Mission.

I draw information from a written document of the history of Antioka by Sinai Mundlhovu, a member of the Antioka parish and secretary of Facazisse who had contact with Swiss missionaries at Antioka from childhood, beginning in the 1940s and 50s (Mundlhovu, n.d.). I also draw information from a play written by members of the IPM and performed by these members, mostly from the Ricatla and the Khovo parishes in Maputo. I was a member of the audience while it was performed in Switzerland in May 2014. The play is titled "De la Missão Suíça à l'IPM": Naissance d'une Eglise sur le continent africain. Hereafter referred to as the play. The title is translated as "From the Swiss Mission to the

IPM": The birth of a Church on the African continent ⁶. Having been written by members of IPM, the play provides an account of the growth of Christianity in southern Mozambique through the eyes of locals. In this theatre piece there is a focus on local evangelists that include Yosefa Mahalamhala, Lois Xintomane and Eliachib Mandlakusasa. I also draw historical information from the hymn composed by Daniel Cornelius Marivate, *Mahungu Lamanene*. I do this to put into action a belief that music transmits knowledge, in this case knowledge of the history of the Vatsonga and the encounter with the Swiss Mission.

While the above mentioned sources of information do not negate the work of the Swiss Mission, in all three accounts there is a focus on the role that the local evangelists had in bringing Christianity to the Vatsonga of southern Africa. The significant role that the local evangelists had in the transmission of Christianity to the Vatsonga is also described in some written reports and historical documents by Swiss missionaries (Harries, 2007). But, similar to the focus on the local evangelists in these three documents, the Swiss missionaries' perspective emphasises the role of pioneer missionaries such as Ernst Creux and Paul Berthoud (Russ, 2014).

Tsonga identification

Like the clarification of the use of the term 'Tsonga music' in this thesis, clarification is needed for the use of the terms 'Tsonga society' and 'indigenous Tsonga belief system'. By defining what is not a Reformed Church belief system, a Tsonga Presbyterian lifestyle, or the music of the Reformed Church, these terms have risen to the surface of inquiry. With the broader implications of these terms in mind I do not wish to perpetuate thinking in diametrically opposed terms such as indigenous and modern. The blending of musical features with different origins in the music of the IPM led me to perceive the music of the IPM as a reflection of the Tsonga Presbyterians' dual-heritage. The concept of the dual-heritage assumes the need for different categories.

The theory of hybridity which questions the assumption in identity politics that identity is fixed and where society and culture may be considered as in a perpetual state of transformation. Homi Bhabha, one of the main theorists of hybridity, for instance believes that all cultures are "in a continuous state of hybridisation" during times of intercultural contact, especially between minority groups with a dominant group, where new forms of culture and discourse are created and recreated within the marginal groups (Macey, 2001, p. 192). Linking the concept of transformation to the theory of hybridity, I agree

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⁶ Translated by author. As one may notice the title is in both Portuguese and French. The Swiss Mission is most commonly known in Mozambique as the *Missão Suíça* due to the official language of Mozambique being Portuguese. This play was originally written in Portuguese and was translated into French to accommodate the French speaking audiences in Switzerland. For this thesis I have worked from the written French version although the play itself was performed in Portuguese.

with Bhabha's view that all cultures are in a continuous state of hybridisation, however, I do not fully agree with an implication of hybridity which holds that encounters between marginalised and dominant groups upset the stable order of things which have, prior to such an encounter, been established along the lines of binary opposites such as "past and present, inside and outside, or inclusion and exclusion" (*ibid.*, 2001). I find that this point of view sees lifestyles, practices, and belief systems, especially of marginalised groups, in a state of stasis before any encounter. Even if it is not a colonial encounter, cultures are continuously changing even within their immediate environment.

The music of the Shangana-Tsonga of the Limpopo Province may be considered as a reflection of an amalgamation of musical and cultural⁷ practices of different groups of people living in close proximity to one another (Johnston, 1971). For example, Johnson showed how indigenous Tsonga music reflects drum rhythms of neighbouring groups such as the Ndau and the Zulu and that certain cultural aspects, such as Tsonga girls' *musevetho* puberty school, were appropriated from the Venda (Johnston, 1987), a group of people with whom the Tsonga were neighbours or among whom they lived (Johnston, 1975b; Baily, 2008; Sutter, 2011). The Vatsonga and the Bavenda have songs in common and this supports the claim that musical repertoires change due to cultural contact (Johnston, 1975)8. Johnston links the migration of Tsonga refugees to the Limpopo Province as contributing to an intensified blending of cultural and musical aspects between the Vatsonga and the indigenous groups of people in South Africa (Johnston, 1975b). This intensified blending is illustrated by the increased number of musical instruments that the Vatsonga played after their migration westwards. In particular the Vatsonga who were in contact with the Bavenda and the Bapedi (ibid.). In anthropological and cultural studies the term hybridisation is most commonly associated with the colonial encounter, however, through the examples above it can be seen that hybridisation also occurred outside the colonial encounter where indigenous groups of people were influenced by one another.

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⁷ I use the term culture not without reservation as the concept of Tsonga culture, or what constitutes an indigenous Tsonga character or heritage, is problematic. Turning back to the examples of the influence of the Tsonga girls' *musevetho* puberty school and the appropriation of neighbouring groups' drum rhythms (Johnston, 1987), it is important to ask where to draw the line when carrying out analytical observations in order to reach certain conclusions or understandings of the music and society in focus.

⁸ The transformation of musical repertoires among the Vatsonga and the Bavenda is in part due to inter-group contact evidenced in recordings of the music of the Bavenda made by John Blacking and Jaco Kruger housed at the International Library of African Music (ILAM). For example, the play dance among Venda children is named *Tshifase* after the Tsonga name. These dances are popular in areas where the Venda and the Tsonga live among one another (Blacking, 1967, p. 25).

The Tsonga Presbyterian identification⁹ may be viewed as a form of hybridity as its practitioners are embedded in Christianity and connected to an indigenous way of living; such as a rural, agrarian lifestyle among people who follow indigenous beliefs and practices. An indigenous Tsonga lifestyle has been described as an agricultural community with animistic beliefs and a hierarchic social order (Junod, 1964). It has been shown in literature that the language work, delineation of the vernacular and translation of Christian texts into the vernacular, conducted by the Swiss Mission in search of a *lingua franca* for evangelical purposes resulted in the forging of a Tsonga ethnicity (Harries, 1995; 1989), hence the construction of Tsonga identification. Thus one may consider that the Tsonga identification has been around for about 127 years to date when the first encounter between the Vatsonga and the first Swiss missionaries occurred.

The Tsonga identification, in which a feeling of autonomy is present within the IPM, is constructed in one way through the taking of ownership of the music. Fraser McNeill (2011) found among the Bavenda that "by categorising their repertoire, they are laying claim to meanings" in the music, and "their sense of ownership over songs comes from their creative engagement with them" (p. 234). Similarly, the members of the IPM take ownership of their music by engaging creatively with indigenous music and dance within a Christian framework. This occurs in the form of musical performances which exhibit Tsonga musical characteristics within a musical performance practice of the Reformed Church of Switzerland, such as the performance of *Makwayela* at the Jubilee, as discussed below.

Autonomy of the IPM

To further my argument that members of the IPM make their own musical choices I turn to examples in ethnomusicological literature. McNeill (2011) finds that the boundaries between music genres are problematic because it is difficult to say when a church song transforms into a struggle song, or when a secular drum beat becomes a church one. McNeill (*ibid*.) holds the view that the fluidity of categories of music can help to redefine songs for new purposes and that categorisation of the redefined music can enable people to feel that they have ownership of the music. McNeill (*ibid*.) brings attention to this with regards to the way the young women of the Forum for AIDS Prevention (FAP) use song in their peer education efforts.

David Coplan (1985, p. 30 in Muller, 1999) found that the "mission educated" locals in South Africa realised their need "to construct a self-image that was not exclusively based on European/Western models" (p. 90), thus taking ownership of their identification within a Christian belief system. Through

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⁹ I use the term identification rather than identity as the latter implies fixity and stasis in a particular form while the former denotes a process. This concept is relevant to encounters between groups of people with differing lifestyles, practices, and belief systems as group identity is in a continual process of development and change. This is especially the case where different aspects of each group continually need to be reconciled for the maintenance of a stable social order, which in itself is in a constant state of flux.

engaging with the performance style and repertoire of African-American Churches, Shembe, along with other religious leaders in South Africa, took ownership of a constructed performance style through translating it into an "identifiable genre of South Africa religious hymnody" (Muller, 1999, p. 90).

One of the main musical choices in the IPM that denotes the taking of ownership is improvisation. This musical attitude: the freedom to develop upon Reformed Church hymns in the way that the members of the IPM choose, is an autonomous act where they have not rejected the Reformed Church repertoire but have developed upon it in such a way that it fits according to their local logic of music and local paradigms.

While the belief system of the Tsonga Presbyterians reflects a transformation from an indigenous belief system to a Reformed Christian one¹⁰, I have observed that an indigenous Tsonga musical character is highly prevalent in the musical performances of the IPM as well as compositions of church music by locals. I believe that there is a continuation of a Tsonga musical character in the musical performances of the IPM because music at its core is an abstract medium and therefore does not necessarily bring to clash any forms of knowledge such as an indigenous Tsonga belief system and a Reformed Christian belief system. In certain instances music may speak louder than words and reflect a strong autonomy that the Tsonga Presbyterians have; the significant factor being the prevalence of an indigenous Tsonga musical character in the musical performances of the IPM.

With the Tsonga Presbyterians' awareness of their dual-heritage and the fact that they have not rejected the Christian belief system even since Mozambique as a country achieved independence from colonial authority in the Mozambican revolution in 1976, this awareness has broad social implications especially in how the Tsonga Presbyterians relate to a modernising and globalising world.

Retired Swiss missionaries who worked in southern Mozambique in the 1970s describe the music of the IPM as: "l'air, la musique, alors c'était quelque chose" (Monier, 2014b). Translated as: "the atmosphere, the music, it was really something". Swiss missionaries, influenced by the social movement in France known as the 'Year 1968' which saw the beginning of the emancipation of the individual, as this was the year of great social unrest in France led by social students and workers, were of the opinion that the locals in southern Mozambique had not been allowed to find their own way of singing, of dancing, or even to allow dancing within the church (Russ, 2014). This brings to light that perhaps the prominent featuring of an indigenous music character in the music of the IPM is a relatively new trend in the IPM. It could very possibly be connected with the social environment of, for example, Mozambican independence that took place in 1976. Also, with most of the Swiss missionaries having left southern Mozambique by that year, perhaps thereafter, the locals decided their own direction, most notably illustrated in the music. Why does this taking of their own direction feature in the music most

¹⁰ See Junod (1927) for a detailed account of an indigenous Tsonga belief system.

prominently? A reason could be that music is an abstract form of communication, and in this people have the freedom to express. This freedom of expression allows the music to communicate to the researcher or the outsider, underlying currents of transformation in the society.

Most informants had grown up within the Christian faith. One informant recounted how she had grown up in a strict Christian household where she and her siblings were not exposed to many influences outside Christianity. In her case, she grew up singing only songs of the Church at home, and today prefers these songs over any other music in her environment (Zamba, 2013). Thus, the people whose music and cultural life I am researching have been Christian for generations, 127 years to date. Remnants of a past cultural and social life including a different religions belief system are few. The crux of what I aim to describe in this thesis is that although indigenous cultural practices are few in the lifestyle of the people of Antioka parish, the musical performances in the IPM reflect affiliation with an indigenous Tsonga heritage. In this sense, the musical performances exist on a level beyond that of a belief or social system. In surpassing these boundaries they have the potential to be incorporated into everyday life, whatever the belief, or cultural system, within which everyday life exists.

Daniel Cornelius Marivate's Mahungu Lamanene (Hymn 250 in Tinsimu, 2011), tells the history of the Vatsonga and their encounter with the Swiss Mission. This hymn, along with the play written and performed by members of the IPM as mentioned above, are ways of remembering, through music, dance, and re-enactment, the history of a group of people. I ask the question: Why is it so important to have this history retold? And why is it important to recognise one's heritage? One relevant explanation comes from historical research based in Facazisse and the surrounding areas in the Magude district, conducted by Heidi Gengenbach (2010). In her research on deslocados (people who moved from Magude district to Maputo during the civil war from 1978 to 1992), she found that the people came back to Magude in search of their history. She believes that "they hoped to find it [their heritage] through a deliberate act of remembrance, a socially orchestrated calling up of past experience into present consciousness" (ibid., p 2). The deslocados gathered under the sacred tree of the village in order to "to gather as a community defined not by colonisation or postcolonial war but by the tradition of vukanyi" (ibid., p. 3). Vukanyi which is based on the seasons and celebrates strong chiefly leadership and the controlling rhythms of an ancestral agrarian culture (Gengenbach 2008, ibid., p. 3). The vukanyi celebrations during the time of colonisation took place under the Chief Magudzu's nkanyi tree in Magude (*ibid.*, p.2). The festival's continued operation today is a means of remembering the past that was "always marked by traditional festivities and ceremonies" (ibid., p.2). In this sense, celebrations which incorporate past indigenous social and musical characteristics into a present day society are a means of establishing one's identification in the present with the incorporation of one's heritage.

A similar sentiment can be seen in the musical performances of the Jubilee of the IPM in July 2012. The purposeful blending of indigenous music with music of the IPM as well as the contemporary values

of society reflects the performance of an indigenous lifestyle with present day values. For example, women having a role to play in a previously only male performance, rather than a re-enactment of such a musical performance with the indigenous meaning attached. This took place in the performance of a *Makwayela* song and dance at the Jubilee.

*Makwayela*¹¹ is described as a guerrilla dance where traditional weapons are used as props, usually a spear and a shield (Tseco, 2013). The dancing is vibrant (Pers. comm. with Zamba, October 2013) with performers dressed in costume enacting fighting with one another. The costumes are chosen according to the event at which *Makwayela* is performed, and at times no costumes are worn but everyday dress. The general performance characteristics consist of a leader and a chorus where the leader speaks or sings and the chorus follows. The subject matter of the songs usually consist of social commentary focusing mainly on social issues, national events, national heroes or leaders, the praising of important events and heroes, all within history. Sometimes contemporary issues are sung about.

Makwayela was originally performed by men only, however, recent times have seen the inclusion of women in its performance (Tseco, 2013; Pers. comm. with Zamba, October 2013). A reason for this is that society is transforming thus allowing women to take part in what was previously reserved for men (*ibid.*). With the transformation of society, women have the opportunity to grow and to be included in such performances (Pers. comm. with Zamba, 2013).

Tseco (2013) believes that culture and religion exists in a relationship where each influences the other. With regards to music composition, he finds that people compose music that corresponds with the culture in which they live regardless of their religion. Tseco describes his own musical compositions as reflecting the culture in which he lives. He finds that the Church has changed over time and this is in part due to cultural influences. For example, the incorporation of dancing during singing in the IPM was introduced because it corresponded to the local culture:

"The tendency now is to compose songs that go with dancing, that move people, that are a part of the joy that people have when worshipping their God. It's no longer just to be sombre or quiet, and what happens is that people feel the climax of their joy when their singing matures with the culture of dancing. This is where culture and religion find a common ground" (Tseco, 2013).

Celebrations for the Tsonga Presbyterians are not only a means of expressing joy through song and dance but are also a means of establishing or reaffirming a local identification with history and place, as shown in this section. Thus the autonomy of the IPM can be seen in the manner of performance that

¹¹ Also known as Makwai (Tseco, 2013).

incorporates indigenous musical characteristics and dance where the members of the Church actively engage in and incorporate these characteristics into the music and celebrations of the IPM.

Outline

Chapter 1 has included a background of the research area as well as a section on the methods I used to undertake the research. Along with this, Chapter 1 included a discussion on the contentious issue of naming, such as the labelling of indigenous groups of people and their music, as in the terms Vatsonga and Tsonga music. I found that it was necessary to include such a discussion in the first chapter in order to establish the perspective that I have taken with regard to the research. For example, the musical analyses I conduct in this thesis require an understanding of what 'Tsonga music' may constitute. In order to avoid the perpetuation of a 'taken for granted' essentialist paradigm, I sought to uncover and discuss pertinent contentious issues within the historical and musical contexts of the IPM and its music.

Chapter 2 provides a brief history of the Reformation in Europe, and the establishment of the Free Evangelical Church of the Canton of Vaud from which the Swiss Mission developed. This was achieved in order to place the musical performances of the IPM, and in particular the Antioka parish, within an historical context. Included in Chapter 2 is information on the various values of the Reformed Church belief system and the music of the Reformation, in particular the metrical psalm developed in the Calvinist Church. Chapter 2 also provides a discussion on the evangelical encounter between the Vatsonga and the Swiss Mission beginning in the 1870s, as well as an account of the delineation of the vernacular conducted by the Swiss Mission. The vernacular is known most commonly today as Xitsonga. In literature it is also referred to as Thonga or Shangaan, and by members of Facazisse and Antioka parish as Xichangana. Further to this, 'Tsonga music' is described in relation to a discussion on how the parameters of what constitutes Tsonga music can be identified. A delineation of Tsonga music is attempted in order to conduct musical analyses on performances in the IPM.

Chapter 3 focuses on the performance style of the Antioka parish of the IPM. The centrality of music in the lives of the members of the Church is discussed in terms of the didactic nature of the church music, and the social function with which church repertoire is imbued. The influence of music and language literacy education, provided by the Swiss Mission on the mission stations, is analysed in terms of how it has had an influence on Tsonga hymn, church song, and choir song composition, and how this has contributed to the music as a reflection of the Tsonga Presbyterian's dual-heritage. In light of this, I attempt to extrapolate how the prevalence of improvisation in the performance style of the Antioka parish is both a result of diminished music literacy at Antioka, and an articulation of a musical character that has a proclivity towards Tsonga music. Charles Keil's theory of Participatory Discrepancies is considered in order to discuss how improvisations in the music of the IPM contribute to the musical performance as being socially meaningful, and through this contributing towards the establishment of a sense of community.

Chapter 4 provides a discussion on the Swiss missionaries' translation of hymn lyrics into the vernacular. Through an analysis of interviews (Schneider, 2014; Masuluke, 1984) and literature on the subject (Muller, 1999), it has become apparent that very often translations of hymn lyrics conducted by European missionaries into the various African vernaculars exhibit insensitivity toward the tonal nuances and idiomatic conceptions inherent in the vernacular worldview. I found that the Swiss missionaries were, to a large extent, aware of the necessity of understanding various nuances of the local language and its concomitant worldview. However, an area which has proven to lack sufficient attention is the corresponding of translated versions of hymns with the speech-tone of the vernacular (Schneider, 2014). Chapter 4 seeks to shed light on these issues within the context of the evangelical encounter.

Through invoking the concept of literacy in the musical performances of Antioka, Chapter 5 attempts to uncover how the forms of transmission of music in the IPM contribute to the conservation and continuation of music. Notable forms of transmission include literate and oral means as well as modern media technology such as the mobile phone. Walter Ong's (1982) notion of "secondary orality" is considered by way of linking the mobile phone as a form of electronic literacy to the transformation of the music in the IPM. Furthermore, modern media technology is highlighted as a form of literacy through which the members of the rural community of Antioka have access to a global discourse surrounding globalisation and development. This is addressed by looking at the rise of industrial farming in southern Mozambique.

Chapter 2

Xineri: "The special Christian language"

The Swiss Mission was established in the second half of the 19th century by the Free Evangelical Church of the Vaud Canton in Switzerland. The Church has its roots in the Reformation which was a religious movement in Germany started by Martin Luther (1483-1546) in 1517. It was aimed at reformulating the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church. Key aspects that promoted the Reformation were the reliance on reason, influenced by Luther's humanistic education (Spitz, 1997) and the importance placed on literacy education so that each individual could critically reflect on Christian texts without complete reliance on church authority (Hagenbach, 1879). Of importance to Luther was the translation of the Scripture into the vernacular so that all members of the congregation could understand the message of the Bible. A principle of the Reformation is that God is present among all people and therefore all people are equal (Germiquet 2011, Hagenbach 1879). Since all people are equal, there is an emphasis on congregational worship in the Reformed Church, and therefore all may take part in worship (Germiquet 2011; Dawson, 2011).

These values are reflective of Enlightenment thought which was "critical of all forms of traditional authority", especially of religion where "it seeks to replace fear and superstition with consent and truth" and to establish "a social order based upon reason and natural law" (Macey, 2001, p. 111). The Swiss Mission's emphasis on literacy education, thus the promoting of critical reflection of texts, is illustrative of its roots in the Reformation and Enlightenment thought.

Shortly after the Reformation began in Germany, it spread rapidly through Northern Europe. Through the work of Jean Calvin it was officially adopted in Geneva, Switzerland by 1536 (Germiquet, 2011) and was thereafter established strongly within Geneva's political life (Hagenbach 1879). Calvin had a significant influence on the Reformation in Switzerland. In the Calvinist Church, reading is regarded as a central element of faith. It is perceived as a personal, interpretive act, and a means of entering into direct contact with God (Harries, 2007). Thus the Swiss Mission placed emphasis on reading in the vernacular. On the mission stations literacy became a prominent mode of transmission of the Christian belief system. Literacy education was thus provided to local Tsonga Presbyterians and schools belonging to the Presbyterian Church were set up for this purpose. Many of these are still in operation.

Through Calvin's efforts the Reformation moved to Vaud, Geneva's neighbouring Canton (Hagenbach 1879). In 1829, following the establishment of the Evangelical Missionary Society of Lausanne in 1826 and the first institute for training missionaries in the Canton, it was felt that the Church should separate from the state. In 1847 the Free Evangelical Church of the Canton of Vaud was established (Harries, 2007).

In terms of music, the defining role that Calvin played in developing the structure of the Reformed Church in Geneva was through the introduction of singing psalms during the church service. He discouraged the use of ornamentation in church music so as to take away any distractions from the words of the Scripture (Germiquet, 2011; Garside, 1951). Therefore, the music of the Reformed Church was kept simple so that the Biblical messages in hymns could be understood and so that all members of the Church could participate in congregational worship. Accordingly, the music of the Reformed Church is best described by the metrical psalm. This form of music consists of Biblical messages, taken from the book of Psalms, which are sung in strophic form with alternating verse and chorus, steady rhythms, stepwise melody, and lyrics in the vernacular. Metrical psalms allowed all people in the congregation to participate in the singing of the hymns. Hymns in the Reformed Church were also a means of teaching the scripture through song, which helps one memorise the scripture especially if one is illiterate or if one cannot afford to purchase a Bible or a Psalter (Germiquet, 2011). Thus the transmission of knowledge about the belief system took place through the singing of psalms.

In Calvinist Churches people were taught to read music so that they did not rely on rote learning of Biblical messages or hymns (Germiquet, 2011), and so that they could compose their own devotional songs or hymns (Marzolf, 2005). This is the same reason why the Swiss missionaries conducted language and music literacy education among the Vatsonga on the mission stations (Harries, 2001). It is through the Church or church seminaries that members of IPM and Tsonga hymn composers have come to learn tonic sol-fa notation as reflected in the hymnbook used in the IPM (Tseco, 2014; Tshawane, 2013; Marivate, 1984). This hymnbook is titled *Tinsimu ta Vakriste*, meaning Songs of Christians and it is used both in the IPM and the EPC.

Of importance in the Reformation was "the expression of the common faith" (Hagenbach 1879, p. 134). In this sense, congregational singing is a practical illustration of the importance placed on all people participating in the church community. Congregational singing was therefore an important aspect of the Reformation. This is especially apparent in music that emits, or is a channel of expression of, profound sentiment or energy, and which develops an atmosphere of an enhanced sense of community (Germiquet, 2011). Communal singing contributes to the formation of a sense of community that arises from doing something together for a common purpose. The doing involves music, and the common purpose is a belief. A fundamental difference between Reformed Church and indigenous Tsonga musical performances is that in an indigenous Tsonga society there exists a practice of institutionalised musical performance where age and gender are the defining categories (Johnston, 1975, p. 785). Today, all members of the IPM, regardless of age or gender, may sing church hymns together.

During Calvin's campaign, in order to make the Christian message accessible to all, the Bible was sometimes printed with the Psalter at the back so that people could purchase one book instead of two (Germiquet, 2011). The Genevan Psalter, published in the French language, was used for 300 years among French speakers. Thereafter it was translated into other European languages some of which, such as the Gaelic language in Ireland, owe a great deal to these translations for their survival, (Germiquet, 2011). The first editions of the hymnbook used on the Swiss mission stations in southern Mozambique was known as the *buku* (Harries, 2007). From conducting research in the Swiss Mission Archives in Lausanne, Switzerland, I found that most of the first hymnbooks or editions of the *buku* consisted of the Ten Commandments followed by hymns translated into Xitsonga¹². Harries (2007) states that the *buku* consisted of "fifty-seven hymns, the Ten Commandments, early passages from Genesis" among others to provide a basic understanding of the Christian message (p. 159). The early editions of the *buku* did not include the musical scores of hymns nor did many of them have the composer's names accompanying the hymns. Many of the hymns have been included in the later editions of the book as well as the present edition of the hymnbook of the IPM, *Tinsimu ta Vakriste*, hereafter *Tinsimu*.

The early editions of the *buku* were published in Shigwamba, a language perceived as foreign by locals whom the Swiss Mission was evangelising. It was for this reason, among others, that the *buku* did not have much success in southern Mozambique where, Swiss missionaries discovered later on, that the local language, although similar to Shigwamba, was a different dialect or speech variety which they classified as Xironga (Harries, 2007). The *buku* was considered by locals in the area of Maputo, then Lorenço Marques, to consist of "a special Christian language", and, "local people made fun of the foreign accent, expressions and words employed by the missionaries and their evangelists" (Harries,

¹² For example, the 1908 edition titled Buku ya Tinsimu ta Hlengeletanu ya Va-Kriste (SMA W 324).

2007, p. 171). Similarly, Theo Schneider, a retired Swiss missionary and Xitsonga linguist who conducted translation work at Valdezia mission station from 1969 to 1975, and thereafter at Giyani in South Africa, remembers that the Swiss missionaries' manner of speaking Xitsonga was referred to by the locals as *Xineri* (Schneider, 2014).

In Geneva during Calvin's time, singing and playing instruments "was the recognised traditional way of expressing togetherness" and in this an indigenous lifestyle was used for evangelism. This extended to the nuclear family setting where children were taught to sing at home (Germiquet, 2011). During the Reformation, and in particular during the time of Calvin, the psalms were set to music for use in the Church, as well as for use at home (Lotz, 2013). In Church, Psalms were to be sung in unison, while at home people had the freedom to sing them in many voices or in harmony (Lotz, 2013). It is apparent in the IPM today that the members of the Church sing hymns originating in the European Reformed Church in a way that is familiar to them. For example they will openly change the rhythm of hymns (Schneider, 2014)¹³, and they replace hymn melodies with other popular melodies that do not apparently originate within the Reformed Church. The latter is seen in the musical performances of *Tatana wa rirhandzu* as seen and heard on Track 8 of the accompanying DVD, and as discussed on page 50.

<u>Gwamba, Thonga, Tsonga, Shangaan, Changana: the Vatsonga, the evangelical encounter and</u> the issue of naming

The encounter between the Vatsonga and the Swiss missionaries begins with the events of migration of Tsonga refugees as a result of Nguni invasions. The Vatsonga were first evangelised by the Swiss Mission in South Africa. The Nguni invasions were led by the Zulu chief, Manukosi¹⁴ (Junod, 1964). Manukosi is also known by one of his surnames, Shoshangane, from which the name Shangaan is said to derive. Manukosi and his followers easily dominated the Vatsonga, who are described as a peaceful and mild people with no concept of national unity (Junod, 1964, p. 32).

After Manukosi's death in 1856 the war of succession between two Nguni brothers Muzila and Mawewe began in 1858¹⁵ (Maluleke, 2003; Mundlhovu, n.d.). In around 1835 to 1840 and as a result of the war, many of the Vatsonga¹⁶ fled (*De la Missão Suíça à l'IPM*, 2014; Maluleke, 2003; Masuluke, 1984; Johnston, 1971; Junod, 1964; Mundlhovu, n.d.) westward from the Mozambican coast to the foothills of the Spelonken in the Zoutpansberg district of the Limpopo Province, South Africa (Mundlhovu, n.d.;

¹³ Discussed further on page 98.

¹⁴ Also spelt Manukusse (*De la Missão Suíça à l'IPM*, 2014).

¹⁵ This war is known as The War (Junod, 1964) and also as the war of Mumbango (*De la Missão Suíça à l'IPM*, 2014).

¹⁶ Many of Muzila's followers (Junod, 1964).

Harries, 2007). Muzila, the legal heir, won the war with the help of the Portuguese and Ronga warriors (Junod, 1964). Muzila was succeeded by his son Gungunyana in around 1895 (Harries, 2007; Junod, 1964). Gungunyana controlled the Gaza Kingdom where Antioka had been established.

Before the time of the Nguni invasions, there existed a number of loosely related groups in southern Mozambique such as the Khosa and the Nkuna, both of whom the Swiss missionaries classified, in around 1885, as speaking the Djonga speech variety (Harries, 1995). The Khosa inhabited the coastal area between the Limpopo and the Nkomati rivers in the then Gaza Empire (Harries, 1995). The area, including Magude and Antioka, is today still referred to as the land of the Khosa (Mundlhovu, n.d.; Pers. comm. with Cossa¹⁷, 2013), or as eKhoseni (Schneider, 2014). Orally transmitted genealogies suggest that the Khosa have existed in southern Mozambique for many generations (Junod, 1964), with the first names of some of the people living in the area of southern Mozambique dating as far as 1550 (Junod, 1964, p. 26). After the Nguni invasions the Nkuna¹⁸ inhabited an area in the Spelonken¹⁹. These two above mentioned groups are now separated by national borders with the Khosa in Mozambique and the Nkuna in South Africa.

Before this categorisation, however, the Tsonga identification existed in a different state: a conglomeration of people from different parts along the south-east coast of Africa speaking a range of speech varieties or dialects²⁰ (Harries, 2007). During the Nguni invasions into southern Mozambique the local women were not learning Zulu, and since women are the "safeguards of the purity of the language", Junod (1964) felt the indigenous language of the people could not be uprooted by the Nguni invaders (p. 33). It is with this insight that Junod (1964) believed that language should be considered the "oldest element in the life of a tribe" and it is this factor which gives a group of people its unity (p. 32). Language therefore became a crucial factor for the Swiss Mission in deciding who to evangelise (Harries, 2007).

In order to understand the loosely connected groups whom they evangelised, the Swiss missionaries categorised the people into definitive groups according to the languages they spoke (Harries, 1995). Thus, in the late 19th century the conceptualisation of the Vatsonga as a linguistic group resulted in part from the Swiss Mission's work in delineating and defining a *lingua franca* which they found necessary for their evangelical work (Harries, 2007; 1995). The language work conducted by the Swiss Mission

 18 According to Junod (1964) the Nkuna are originally from Zululand situated along the east coast of South Africa.

¹⁷ Cossa is the Portuguese spelling of Khosa.

¹⁹ Along with the Baloyi and Mavudju clans (Junod, 1964, p. 28).

²⁰ I will henceforth use the term speech variety as it was used by an interviewee Theo Schneider, a Xitsonga linguist. I find that it is appropriate to use this term rather than dialect to address the contentious issue of the naming of the different forms of language that the Swiss Mission encountered during their evangelical work in southern Africa.

contributed to the conceptualisation of the Vatsonga as a nation²¹. The Vatsonga as a 'nation' or social group did not exist as such before the 19th century encounter with the Swiss missionaries (Harries, 1989; Junod, 1927).

The perception of the Vatsonga as a social group was not only held by the Swiss Mission. Being that many of the Vatsonga in South Africa were immigrants or refugees in South Africa, groups of indigenous people, or groups of people who had been settled in South Africa for many generations before the arrival of the Vatsonga, also viewed the Vatsonga as a social group, referring to them as MaGwamba or Thonga (Harries, 2007; Junod, 1927). The Vatsonga thus become known under the broad term, Thonga (Junod, 1927), and more commonly as Tsonga (pl. Vatsonga) or Shangaan. The term Shangaan or Changana²² is a political construct referring to those separate groups of people that came under the rule of the Zulu chief and military leader, Manukosi.

The name Thonga comes from the Zulu language meaning easterner. This term has been said to have derogatory implications (Harries, 2007). Today, across the national border between Mozambique and South Africa, Tsonga Presbyterians, in most part, refer to themselves as Vatsonga, and often as Shangaan or Changana. The terms seem to be synonymous, however, Iris Nxumalo, born in South Africa and whose mother tongue is Xitsonga, finds that there is some contestation as to whether Tsonga and Shangaan are indeed synonymous (Nxumalo, 2014). She was socialised to understand the Shangaan term as a negative, pejorative name to label her culture: "Quite often in my interactions with people from other cultural groups, anything that was ugly, dirty, negative or frowned upon was considered to be Shangaan" (*ibid.*). With this social labelling of Shangaan in South African a distinction separating Shangaan and Tsonga is somewhat unavoidable. The use of the term Vatsonga to refer to the Tsonga Presbyterians is exemplified in Marivate's reference to the Vatsonga as being thankful for the work of the Swiss Mission in *Mahungu Lamanene*. Further, the members of the Antioka parish who live in Facazisse village refer to themselves as Changana. This is also the case with people living in the broader, surrounding areas of Magude (Mathe, 2012).

²¹ Nation in this sense refers to "a community of people of mainly common descent, history, language, etc., forming a State or inhabiting a territory" (Allen, 1991, p. 789). The Swiss missionaries, with their perspective embedded within European Enlightenment and positivistic thought, viewed the Vatsonga as a nation, the perimeters of the nation as defined by the language. For more on this see Harries, Patrick. *Butterflies and Barbarians: Swiss Missionaries and Systems of Knowledge in South-East Africa.* Oxford: James Currey Ltd; Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2007.

²² I use this particular pronunciation and spelling because it is what informants of Facazisse and Antioka use. However, other designations common in literature on the subject are Shangana (Johnston, 1971) or Shangaan. Today, Shangaan is, for some, synonymous with Tsonga and this is apparent in the way the terms are used interchangeably by certain individuals such as Daniel Cornelius Marivate and Thomas Masuluke (Harries Tape Collection). However, according to an informant, Iris Tintswalo Nxumalo, the synonymous value of Shangaan and Tsonga is a contentious issue especially in the context where Shangaan is perceived as a pejorative term.

My interest in sources of information other than written accounts of the history of the Vatsonga led me to contemporary understandings of the history of the Vatsonga. I thus inquired about historical information passed on from one generation to the next through oral transmission. The information I obtained suggests that the term Shangaan is derived from a Zulu chief who fled the tyrannical rule of strong Zulu chiefs in the interior of South Africa. This led to the establishment of the Shangaan group of people in Mozambique (Nxumalo, 2014). There are similarities between this familial understanding and ones in literature as mentioned above. Interestingly though, the events are reversed. Where the former describes the Shangaan as originating in Mozambique, the latter describes them as originating in South Africa. The term Shangaan is also said to originate from a description of the people who fled to Mozambique in search of a place to settle away from the wars. These people were perceived as having left their families and children behind. The term Shangaan therefore stems from the phrase *shaya ingani* meaning 'leaving children behind' (*ibid.*).

Looking to the more common terms in use today, Tsonga and Shangaan, different accounts of the origin of these terms exist. According to Thomas Masuluke, a store owner in Malamulele, South Africa, in around 1984, and a teacher of Xitsonga and English at Lemana²³ (Masuluke, 1984) the secondary school near Valdezia mission station (Harries, 2007), the term Tsonga evolved as a result of the encounter between the Vatsonga and the amaZulu. While referring to themselves as Ronga, meaning the people who come from the east or easterners, the amaZulu whom they encountered could not pronounce the 'rh' sound, and therefore pronounced it as 'ts' (Masuluke, 1984). According to Junod (1927), however, the difficulty experienced by the Zulu to pronounce the sound 'rh' resulted in the pronunciation of 'th,' hence the name Thonga. Before the invasions by the amaZulu the Vatsonga were not aware of themselves as forming "a definite nation" and it was the amaZulu who applied the term Thonga to them (Junod, 1927). Thus we have two accounts of the development of the terms, Tsonga and Thonga.

Two important points to draw from the above examples are that the term Vatsonga has its origin in encounters between different groups of people, that there are different historical accounts of the development of the term, and that there is a close connection between language delineation and the construction of the Tsonga ethnicity in relation to the classification of languages as realised by the Swiss Mission.

From Antioch to Antioka

Adolphe Mabille, subsequently replaced by Ernst Creux, and Paul Berthoud were the pioneers of the Swiss Mission in southern Africa. They first began to explore the Transvaal in search of a group of people to evangelise. They thought the people in the Transvaal spoke a language very similar to Sesotho.

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²³ The school was named Lemana after Lac Léman (Lake Geneva) in Switzerland (Harries, 1997).

With Sotho evangelists having accompanied them and their own knowledge of Sesotho learned in the company of the Paris Evangelical Mission Society (PEMS) in Lesotho prior to the exploratory expedition, the Swiss missionaries believed this would facilitate their evangelism considerably as they would not have to learn a new language (Harries, 2007). Having first been rejected by the Bapedi and their strong chief Sekhukhune (Maluleke, 2003), Berthoud and Creux made their way to groups of people living in the Spelonken foothills of the Zoutpansberg district of the then Transvaal, this expedition took place in the 1870s (Harries, 2007).

Upon arrival, Creux and Berthoud however realised that the people whom they wanted to evangelise did not speak what they thought was a language similar to Sesotho. In the Spelonken the people lived in "scattered villages independent of one another" with many chiefs, no one common language among them, nor a "concept of themselves as a community" (Harries, 2007, p. 156). These people were thought by the Berlin Mission Society and the Dutch Reformed Church to speak a very difficult language and this was one of the reasons why they remained untouched by missionary evangelism for quite some time (Harries, 2007). Nevertheless, as mentioned above, the Swiss missionaries attempted to define a *lingua franca* which they referred to as Shigwamba, and the people who spoke the language as MaGwamba (Harries, 2007, 1995). The term MaGwamba was used only in the Spelonken and was applied by the locals of South Africa²⁴ to the Vatsonga refugees (Harries, 2007). Upon realising this, the Swiss Mission preferred the term Thonga.

At the time of the encounter, the Tsonga refugees in the Spelonken were living under the leadership of Joao Albasini²⁵ (*De la Missão Suíça à l'IPM*, 2014; Maluleke, 2003; Mundlhovu, n.d. p. 1), a Portuguese consul and "well known elephant hunter" (Mundlhovu, n.d. p. 1). Assessments of Albasini's role among the Vatsonga vary (Maluleke, 2003). According to Mundlhovu (n.d.) Albasini had been a leader of the Vatsonga in Mozambique since 1848. According to Maluleke (2003) he had become the leader of the Vatsonga refugees once they arrived in the Limpopo Province. Furthermore, it has been suggested that Albasini played a role in the Ronga being independent of Zulu chiefs and instead accepting Portuguese authority (Junod, 1964). Albasini agreed to have a mission established among the Vatsonga in the Spelonken (*De la Missão Suíça à l'IPM*, 2014). Valdezia, the first Swiss mission station was thus established in 1875 in the Spelonken (Knoesen, 1987). The EPC grew from this mission station.

A factor contributing to the ease with which Christianity was received by certain groups of people appears a result of these groups having a fragmented leadership. The London Missionary Society (LMS)

²⁴ This term was derived from an 18th century chief living on the east coast near Inhambane, one of the areas from which the Tsonga refugees came (Harries, 2007).

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²⁵ Also spelt João Albazini (*De la Missão Suíca à l'IPM*, 2014).

in Polynesia found the same case among groups in Samoa, western Fiji, and New Zealand, where few if any changes to the indigenous lifestyle "would have been accepted without the active support first of the chiefs and later of islander evangelists" (Baker, 2005, p. 99). It is apparent in the context of the Swiss Mission in the northern parts of South Africa that their first attempt to evangelise the Bapedi was rejected due to the strong leadership of Sekukune (Maluleke, 2003).

Through the connections that the Tsonga refugees had in southern Mozambique another mission station was established in southern Mozambique in 1887, Antioka. It is from this mission station that the IPM came about. The establishment of Antioka was the work of both local Tsonga people, most prominently Yosefa Mhalamhala (*De la Missão Suíça à l'IPM*, 2014, Chirinda, 2012, Mundlhovu, n.d.), Loice Xintomana, and Eliachib Mandlakusasa (*De la Missão Suíça à l'IPM*, 2014, Chirinda, 2012), and the pioneer Swiss missionaries, Ernst Creux and Paul Berthoud (Chirinda, 2012, Harries, 2007). Yosefa Mhalamhala, a key person in the evangelisation of the Vatsonga (Mundlhovu, n.d. p. 1) with the familial connection to southern Mozambique, was considered the first African missionary in Mozambique (Van Butselaar, 1999). He and Yacob Mhalamhala significantly aided the Swiss missionaries in understanding Shigwamba as they spoke Djonga, a speech variety, from the northern bend of the Nkomati River in the land of the Khosa (Harries, 2007, p. 158), Magude.

Yosefa Mhalamhala was originally from the Magude clan (Schneider, 2014), in the land of the Khosa in the Magude area (Schneider, May 2014; Harries, 2007). Mhalamhala was Yosefa's borrowed family name and he has been referred to as Yosefa Mhalamhala *wa ka Khosa*, meaning, 'of the Khosa' (Schneider, 2014). The name Mhalamhala is believed to stem from the Tsonga name of a large antelope found in southern Africa (Schneider, 2014). Its horn is usually used as a musical instrument, similar to a trumpet (Swiss Mission in S.A., 1974), and with cultural significance it is most often used by the royal family (Junod, 1927). It also has mystical connotations as the indigenous Tsonga society believed that the spirits of ancestors sing and dance while blowing the *mhalamhala* horn or trumpet in the sacred woods (Johnston, 1975).

To establish Antioka, Mhalamhala moved to the "East" (Mundlhovu, n.d. p, 2) with his family in the years of 1881 to 1882. In his home district, Mhalamhala often sang the hymn *Huwa ya Makedonia* (Hymn 287 of *Tinsimu*, 2011) during the time of his evangelising in his home district (*De la Missão Suíça à l'IPM*, 2014). This hymn was significant for Mhalamhala as it is about proclaiming the Christian message and telling people about the Christian God, a God that will guide people through difficulties and bring them to a better place. Lyrics in the hymn that speak poignantly to the situation of the locals are:

Hi bohiwile hi matimba ya Sathan',

We were tied to the sugar canes of Satan,

Hi kala Mukutsuri.

We are deficient Redeemer/Liberator.

The hymn also addresses the problematic issue of alcohol and how Jesus will help people out of their difficult situations involving such. The hymn is imbued with a sense of courage and strength to overcome difficult life situations, life situations that are specific to the people whom Mhalamhala evangelised.

It is apparent that Mhalamhala needed the blessing of the Khosa chief in order to establish the mission. Due to Chief Magude's²⁶ conversion Christianity spread rapidly in the area that he controlled (*De la Missão Suíça à l'IPM*, 2014):

"He journeyed to Magude to find his relatives and to teach them the gospel. With permission from the chief Magudzu, Mhalamhala began to teach the gospel in the chiefdom of Magudzu. Then the people were amazed to see someone communicating with many pieces of paper; and they came to listen to him, he accompanied them and prayed with them, and he desired to show them these things very much. It was the first time they had seen someone reading and getting information from a book. Then they were all heart sore over this matter, they gathered and discussed thus: what shall we do to help our people? They concluded that it was necessary to find someone who could come over and help them and for some of our people to go over to them" (Mundlhovu, n.d. p. 1).

The people in Magude chose Mhalamhala to come back to them to preach the gospel and to help their people (Mundlhovu, n.d). Chief Magudo, the chief of Magude, is recounted to have said:

"We cannot understand everything in only one meeting. I will be happy if one day you follow your mission to spread the gospel because no one can live without divine blessing" (*De la Missão Suíça à l'IPM*, 2014)²⁷.

Mhalamhala responded: "Thank you very much for accepting the Good News. I will return to the Spelonken and come back to establish the mission at Ka-Magudo" (*De la Missão Suíça à l'IPM*, 2014). Mhalamhala established himself as an evangelist in Magude and named the mission whose establishment he initiated, Antioka (Harries, 1995; Mundlhovu, n.d.). The name Antioka is derived from Antioch in the Bible. Mhalamhala related his experiences and feelings:

"When I started reading the Word, I remember the first journey of the Apostle Paul, when he arrived at his first destination where he started to preach, he gave it the name of Antioka, so I

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²⁶ Note the different spellings of the same name in the different sources Magudzu (Mundlhovu, n.d. and Magudo (De la Missão Suíça à l'IPM, 2014).

²⁷ Translation of excerpts from the play by the author.

said to myself: this place is Antioka. The same name is still being used until today" (Mundlhovu, n.d. p. 2).

Similarly, Swiss missionaries, Berthoud and Grandjean, recorded that Antioka, "the first mission established outside the Spelonken" was named so "in memory of the first Christian colony established outside Palestine, Antioch (Harries, 2007, p. 187).

In 1887 Swiss missionaries travelled to Magude to monitor the progress of the mission (Harries, 2007). It is this year, 1887, that IPM officially recognises as its date of origin. At the beginning of its establishment in southern Mozambique the Church was known as the Swiss Mission. From 1948 the Church became autonomous and was thereafter known as the Presbyterian Church of Mozambique, and as mentioned in the Introduction, more commonly by its Portuguese name, the Igreja Presbytériana de Mozambique (IPM) (Chirinda, 2012). The missionaries' use of religion in order to reform²⁸ society (Spitz, 1997), and the teaching of Scripture to the Tsonga through literacy education (Junod, 1927; Harries, 1989, 2001) and Biblical messages in hymns (Harries, 2001, p. 423) formed the basis of the Swiss Missions' approach to their encounter with the Vatsonga.

It is evident that the history of the Vatsonga is a contentious issue as different knowledge systems exist, and these are a manifestation of encounters between groups of people. The different knowledge systems in this instance are the Vatsonga with a proclivity towards orality and indigenous African religion, and the Swiss Mission's worldview steeped in classification and categorisation with their emphasis and reliance on literacy. Nevertheless, it is significant within the context of this research with regards to the broader scope of the thesis which discusses the dialectical nature of orality and literacy and the different forms of transmission that they promote.

Transformations in indigenous societies as a result of encounters

Although evangelisation was the primary task of the Swiss Mission another important function was education (Knoesen, 1987). In Chapter 5, I look at the influence that language and music literacy education had on the conservation and continuation of knowledge and music in the IPM. These were, however, not the only forms of education. Other forms of education were for example in agronomy, brick making, and sewing. The Swiss Mission saw education as means of transforming the indigenous Tsonga lifestyle to one guided by or embedded in a Christian belief system. Through this they transformed society in a number of ways. Among the schools established by the Swiss Mission were, Lemana Training Institution near Elim in Limpopo Province and Ricatla Bible seminary in

improvement of what society previously was.

²⁸ Although I speak of the transformation of society as a result of the evangelical encounter, I adhere to the use of the word 'reform' in the context of this paragraph. The reason for this is that the intention of missionary work to reform society reflects the perspective that what society transforms to through evangelism, is an

Mozambique (Knoesen, 1987). The syllabus in some schools had an industrial and agricultural focus (*ibid.*). Jean-Francois Monier, a retired Swiss missionary, had taught in the school of agronomy in Switzerland and was asked by the Swiss Mission to teach agricultural techniques at Macuvulane and Antioka to diminish the number of migratory workers in the mines in Johannesburg (Monier, 2014a). At that stage, in the period of 1963 to 1975, when Monier was in Mozambique, there were one hundred thousand miners who left Mozambique to work in the mines (*ibid.*).

Classifications of indigenous Tsonga music conducted by Thomas F. Johnston (1975) further illustrate the penetrative impact that migrant labour had on the Vatsonga lifestyle which mainly survives on subsistence farming. The stages of an individual's life in an indigenous Tsonga lifestyle are accompanied by Tsonga social institutional practices where knowledge of a certain musical style or repertoire is indicative of an individual's maturation. In one of these phases of maturation acknowledged within Tsonga society is the departure and return of men between the ages of sixteen and forty for migrant labour. These two phases of life, departure and return, are accompanied and signified by the *muchongolo* national dance.

Transformations resulting from encounters between missionaries and locals did not only occur in the belief system, language, and music, but also in other areas of indigenous societies. In the Pacific societies for example changes swept through to the "most intimate aspects of island societies" such as "personal adornment, family organization, gender roles, leadership, orientations to time and space, and artistic production," among others (Baker, 2005, p. 99).

Figure 1: Members of the IPM surround the hole in which the first brick of the Macupe parish church building would be laid, at captured at Macupe parish in Magude, Mozambique, in November 2013. The women and men often wear the uniform of the IPM for special occasions. The minister who conducted the service is dressed in the clerical robe.



The influence that the Swiss Mission had on the lifestyle of the indigenous Vatsonga include different techniques of building houses with the use of clay bricks introduced by the Swiss missionaries (Junod, 1927, II, p. 111) as well as new forms of dress (Junod, 1927). The converted Tsonga women were taught how to sew (Junod, 1927) and in around 1950s church uniforms were designed (Schneider, 2014). I have observed that these are still worn in the Church today. Figure 1, above, was taken during fieldwork in 2013 and illustrates the uniform worn by both women and men in the IPM. The same uniforms are worn in the EPC. The use of church uniforms in the IPM and the EPC was probably an influence from urban areas where members of various church denominations, such as Methodists and Anglicans, wore uniforms specific to their denomination. A church uniform was an "identity symbol" and it became important for the members of the IPM and the EPC to also have a uniform (Schneider, 2014). Both the locals and the Swiss missionaries wore the uniform.

In terms of music, in around 1955, the Swiss Mission made a clear distinction between indigenous and religious music. On the Swiss mission stations singing of music that the local youth leant from their mothers was banned and replaced with Church hymns. (*Petit Bulletin d'actualites Su-Africanes*, SMA 4.29). The Swiss Mission described the indigenous music they found in southern Africa as having been influenced by many other musics of the area and that little of the original, or indigenous, characteristics of the music remained (*ibid.*). However, the Swiss Mission found that some indigenous musical characteristics were still prevalent and these characteristics were that the rhythms and melodies of European songs that the locals learnt were improvised upon (*ibid.*). Therefore, although indigenous songs were banned, the style of musical performance of church hymns incorporated characteristics of indigenous music.

Vuyimbeleri wa Vatsonga (The music of the Vatsonga)

I here attempt to define the musical features of the IPM that are characteristics of Tsonga music, and further to define musical parameters upon which the musical analyses are based. Some of the musical features which shed light on, what can be defined as, Tsonga music are as follows.

Folktale songs

The folktale is a common part of indigenous Tsonga expressions especially with regards to the repertoire of Tsonga children's music (Johnston, 1973) and story-telling is a popular pastime amongst the Tsonga and Ronga people living in rural areas (Bill, 1983). Folktales are not simply for entertainment but also a medium of education where each "contained moral teaching proposed at character-building aimed at creating harmonious community life" (Setiloane, 1986, p. 2). Since folktales are a popular part of Tsonga life, aspects of an indigenous Tsonga musical character are evident in the songs of folktales.

Henri-Alexandre Junod transcribed folktales and described the songs in folktales as usually having short, sometimes sustained, and easy to learn melodies which are used to embellish the narrative (Junod 1897, p. 77 in Bill, 1983, p 2). Bill (1983) describes the singing in folktales as antiphonal where the audience responds to something sung by the narrator in what is generally known as call and response style singing. Some Tsonga folktales consist of pentatonic melodies with a pathogenic quality where the melody descends usually to a cadential point (Johnston, 1973). A cadential drop in pitch is considered musically desirable by the Vatsonga (Johnston, 1973a).

Vocal music in Tsonga society

In this thesis the focus is on vocal music as the music of the IPM consists almost entirely of vocal music with some instances of body-percussion such as clapping and stamping of feet. In the Antioka parish the musical performances are mainly vocal only for the reason that the Church does not have the resources available to purchase instruments (Muchanga, 2013). Marivate, who was a prominent choir conductor in the EPC was not against the use of instruments but he was of the opinion that instruments deafen the voices in the choir (Marivate, 1984).

According to Johnston (1975) the Vatsonga perform both instrumental and vocal music and they have a large range of instruments including drums and bows. In an indigenous Tsonga society communal vocal music is performed by all members of the society, mostly within the context of social institutions such as children's activities (*vuhlangi*), girls' puberty school (*khomba*), boys' drumming school

(*xigubu*)²⁹, boys' circumcision school (*murhundzu*), the beer-drink (*nhlengeletano*), the work party (*dzava*), the *muchongolo* dance (national dance), and spirit exorcism (*mancomane*) (Johnston, 1974), while instrumental music is performed by only a few (Johnston, 1975). Therefore vocal music can be considered the most important aspect of indigenous Tsonga music. For example, songs are the most important part of the Tsonga folktale and if there is no song the folktale can be understood as not being of Bantu origin (Marivate, 1974 in Bill, 1983, p. 3).

The importance of vocal music in indigenous Tsonga society speaks to Johnston's view that Tsonga musical harmonies, such as the parallel fourth and fifths, are based on vocal practices. It is commonly thought that vocal parallelisms in African music exist because they are emitted on a string instrument from the natural overtone series and that vocal harmonies usually follow this pattern (Johnston, 1975). However, in Johnston's analysis of Tsonga bow music he found that the musical characteristics follow the voice rather than the voice following the bow or string. For example, "low vocal tones become high instrumental tones in order to avoid the bow's soft low register" and "this practice has a precedent in Tsonga vocal music in the way that singers transpose upwards the low out-of-range tones of a song" (*ibid.*, p. 769), usually occurring at an interval of a fifth or a fourth (Johnston, 1975). Furthermore, in indigenous Tsonga vocal music these intervals are interchangeable with one another especially when a song moves out of a singer's range. This is different to Western classical music which exists in a linear arrangement and where altering the melodic contour with harmonic substitution of the above mentioned nature would change the melody (*ibid.*).

The role of music in an indigenous Tsonga belief system

Music is linked to the Tsonga belief system. Certain acts of singing and dancing in indigenous Tsonga society were prohibited for fear of invoking superstitious beliefs that would bring ill to the community and the individual (Johnston, 1975). Furthermore, drum rhythms of neighbouring groups are employed to exorcise evil spirits that are thought to have their origins in neighbouring groups (*ibid.*). Comparing this to the belief system in the Reformed Church, the Swiss Mission, with their education steeped in enlightenment thought, did not have superstitious beliefs about life and the world. Huldrych Zwingli (1484 – 1531), a prominent figure in the Reformation in Switzerland, attempted to disconnect superstitious belief from religious matters in Switzerland (Hagenbach, 1879). The link between music

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²⁹ The *Xigubu* drum was also used in the Xingomane dance performed by women of the IPM at the 125th Jubilee celebration at Antioka in 2012. This dance can be seen in track 6 on the DVD provided.

and superstitious beliefs is not apparent in the IPM. The music, as is the case in a Reformed Church, is centred mainly on the expression of one's Christian faith, especially through the lyrics of the music.

Furthermore, the belief system in the IPM is not linked to an indigenous belief system such as a belief in the role that ancestor spirits may continue to have in life on earth. The belief system in the IPM is therefore not syncretic. To put this into perspective, a comparison may be made with an example of a syncretic belief system among the amaXhosa of Keiskammahoek in the Eastern Cape of South Africa where both Christianity and indigenous Xhosa customs involving ancestral spirits have central roles. This is made especially apparent where ceremonies invoking the amaXhosa ancestors are often commenced with the singing of a church hymn.

<u>Characteristics of the music of the Shangana-Tsonga of the Limpopo Province as described by</u> <u>Thomas F. Johnston</u>

To further understand the parameters of indigenous Tsonga music I will draw on the research conducted by Thomas F. Johnston on the music of the Shangana-Tsonga of the Limpopo Province, South Africa. One of the main characteristics of the music of the Shangana-Tsonga is the descending quality of the melody where a melody will be begin at an initial peak and descend in pitch to a cadential point (Johnston, 1975)³⁰. Johnston (1975) argues that Tsonga music has a vocal precedent rather than the common opinion in Ethnomusicology that sub-Saharan African vocal music is based on the harmonic series of the bowed or plucked string. Johnston argues that the harmonic choices in musical repertoires of the Vatsonga are based on a "tonal equivalence system" (*ibid.*, p. 793). In order to understand this concept, two aspects of Tsonga music need to be understood. Firstly, Tsonga music is based mainly on the pentatonic scale. Secondly, when a singer is unable to reach a low note s/he may substitute the pitch with a higher one at an interval of a fourth or an inverted fifth above the initial pitch. This is referred to as "tone-substitution" or "harmonic equivalence" (*ibid.*, p. 769).

In Western classical music melody is perceived as occurring in a linear fashion and the incorporation of tone-substitutions as described by Johnston would, in a Western classical music paradigm, be considered as a transformation of the melody and possibly a different melody altogether. However, tone-substitution in the musical practices of the Vatsonga which results in the melody being perceived as unchanged and the musical meaning remains the same (*ibid.*).

Johnston (1975) further illustrates that preferred harmonies within Tsonga music can be realised by comparing the harmonies when two pentatonic melodies are sung parallel to one another, as is common

performed by Shangaan women in Mozambique in 1949, refer to ILAM field card CH3.

³⁰ For an example of this pathogenic quality of the melody refer to the following audio recordings housed at the International Library of African Music (ILAM): *Zebe kwaya*, a Shangaan dance performed in Mozambique and recorded in 1955, see field card H1H2; *Wamloyile*, a Shangaan dance performed during the *Xingomane* dancing by men and women recorded in Mozambique in 1949, refer to ILAM identifier AC0044-CH7; and *Nawalata*,

practice in Tsonga vocal music. From a quantitative analysis of such musical examples it was found that the most commonly occurring harmonies or "note-pairings" (p. 772) are the perfect fifth, perfect fourth, as well as the octave and unison. Thus these harmonies may be considered as characteristic of indigenous Tsonga music. In this thesis I do not focus on the musical analyses of harmonies but rather on the improvisations that occurred during the musical performances. An analysis of the musical harmonies in the music of the IPM may shed further light on the extent to which a Tsonga musical characteristic is apparent in the music of the IPM.

Johnston (1975) further found that when the Shangana-Tsonga of the Limpopo Province sing songs of neighbouring groups of people they omit passing tones which would otherwise render the music heptatonic, unlike the usual inclination toward the pentatonic system as apparent in their music. This brings to mind the stepwise melodic character of the Reformed Church metrical psalm. The metrical psalm with its stepwise melody and melodic rhythms consisting mainly of minims and crochets was designed to make congregational singing accessible to all members of the congregation, especially the musically illiterate. For example, referring to Figure 2 below, 'A toi la gloire' from *Psaume et Cantique*, this metrical psalm contains rhythms that are straight forward and easy to read for the amateur musician. It consists mainly of quavers, crotchets, and minims, as seen in bars 9 to 12, with some use of dotted rhythms, but the latter is not a common feature.

Figure 2: An excerpt of 'A toi la gloire', a Reformed Church hymn based on a theme by G. F. Handel, published the hymnbook, Psaume et Cantique, 1976.

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³¹ Also a well known hymn known in English as 'Thine be the Glory'.



Congregational singing was an important aspect of the Reformed Church as singing was viewed as an "expression of a gathered community" as well as a "vehicle for gathering" people together (Germiquet, 2011)³². It is clear that there are differences in the characteristic features of indigenous Tsonga music and Reformed Church music, as with the omission of passing tones in Tonga music, and an inclination towards a stepwise melody which necessarily consists of passing tones in Reformed Church music. In observing the musical performances in the IPM I did not find that passing tones were omitted. What I did notice at times was that the melody of a given hymn was replaced with another melody. This is standard liturgical practice in the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches and a technique that is enabled through the metrical quality of psalms. At times the rhythm of hymns are transformed resulting in a less

³² This idea further links to the engendered feeling that is created in the instance of participatory discrepancies as discussed in more detail in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

sombre rendition of Reformed Church hymns but ones with syncopation that encourage the congregants to dance or to move³³.

Among the Shangana-Tsonga of the Limpopo Province, Johnston (1975) found that since the form of music is circular a caller may begin a song with the chorus or refrain, eventually leading back to the starting point. Interestingly Johnston found that the chorus part of vocal music "is considered to embody the heart and tonality-establishing characteristics of the song" (p. 769). I believe that this speaks to the church choruses that are very often sung in the IPM. I have noticed that these choruses are most usually performed for a celebratory reason, even during the ordinary or formal church service. They are filled with energy and passion with much dancing and improvising upon the core motif. These choruses are performed for particular occasions even if it is giving thanks in the ordinary church service and that they are usually accompanied by much energy and expressions of joy through the dancing. For the members of the Antioka parish dancing is an expression of joy (Cuna, 2013).

Starting at any point in a song is also the case, for example, with borrowed songs from neighbouring groups when performed by the Vatsonga. With the improvisation that occurs in the IPM, especially where members of the Church improvise church hymns when they feel appropriate (Mucavi, 2013; Tseco, 2013), it brings me to question whether hymns are started at any point during performance in the IPM. I have not seen this to be the case. A popular hymn in the IPM, Tatana wa rirhandzu (Hymn 185 in *Tinsimu*, 2011), meaning 'Father of Love,' exhibits improvisation and is often sung during times of emotional significance. It has a quality of a sentimental mood, more so than the light hearted choruses sung with much energy, such as Ku Tsutsuma meaning To Run, as illustrated above. This hymn is sung to the melody of a Sotho chorus, Lipina Zioni, it is therefore a borrowed melody that is sung with improvisation. However, contrary to what I had imagined, the renditions of this hymn that I observed and recorded began on the first verse and did not start at any point in the song. In fact the structure of the hymn lyrics were adhered to except for the last line of each verse being repeated twice and the insertion of vocables instead of lyrics in a verse. The hymn consists of different verses but what appears to be the standard performance practice of this hymn is the singing of verse 1 through verse 4, followed by the verse with vocables, followed thereafter by the last verse again. See transcription in Figure 3 for the full layout of the hymn, transcribed from a performance by the men's Activistas group of the Antioka parish on 20 October 2013. I have used this performance to illustrate the core structure of the performance style of Tatana wa rirhandzu in the IPM as it does not consist of improvisations because each verse is sung in the same manner, with the same harmonies and rhythms. In other performances of this hymn, outside the formal church service, there were improvisations

³³ Refer to page 98 for more on the transformation of the rhythm of a hymn.

Looking to the circular style of performance of church choruses and their similarity to the circular style of performance in Tsonga music, Johnston (1975) describes the music of the Shangana-Tsonga as consisting of a variety of rhythmical units ranging from 16 to 72 units and that these units are sung in a circular fashion. The units most often occur in an even numbers. The hymn *Tatana wa rirhandzu* consists of 4 units where each unit is a rhythmical phrase. Referring to the transcription in Figure 3 below, each unit is made up of the rhythm in two bar segments such as from the upbeat to bar 1 through to bar 2; from the upbeat in bar 2 to bar 4; from the upbeat in bar 4 through to bar 6; from the upbeat in bar 6 through to bar 8. The upbeat in bar 8 through to bar 10 is a repetition of bars 6 to 8, however, with a slight change in rhythm to incorporate the crochet value of the word 'oh' in bar 8.

Figure 3: An excerpt transcribed from a performance of Tatana wa rirhandzu (Hymn 185) by the Activistas men's choir of Antioka parish, performed on 20 October 2013. This excerpt illustrates the first verse of the hymn, each verse



Furthermore, each cycle of the church chorus *Ku tsutsuma*, meaning 'To run', consists of 16 units in total where each section, consisting of 8 units, is made up of its unique melody and lyrics. For an illustration of this, see Track 1 on the accompanying DVD. In the recording, captured on 6 October 2013 in the Antioka parish, one may notice the exuberant and vibrant dancing that occurs during the performances of such church choruses.

I observed *Tatana wa rirhandzu* performed at the 2012 Jubilee of the IPM during the part of the celebrations when retiring ministers were wished farewell. This hymn was also sung from memory and with improvisations before the service for the laying of the first stone at Macupe parish in Magude while attendees were waiting for people to arrive for the service. Again it had a quality expressing the emotional significance of the event saying good bye to the church services held under the cashew nut tree and welcoming the construction of a church building for the parish. Interestingly, the score for this hymn in *Tinsimu* is not set out in verse and refrain format but it has four sets of lyrics each sung to the same melody and harmonies as written in the score. However, this hymn is remarkably similar to the format of a church chorus in the sense that it consists of a short repetitive cycle, 8 bars in duration. The similarity to Reformed Church hymns and the difference to church choruses is that there are verses consisting of different lyrics.

In my previous research on the music of the IPM, I made the assumption that the melody of *Tatana wa rirhandzu* was an improvisation on the notated melody of Hymn 185 in *Tinsimu*. However, upon further investigation it became apparent that the melody that is performed is substantially different from the notated melody of Hymn 185 and therefore appears to be a different melody altogether. According to Reverend Joe Tshawane (Pers. comm. on 7 January 2015, Johannesburg), the melody that is most usually performed with the lyrics of Hymn 185 is a popular Sotho chorus with the title *Lipina Zioni*, meaning song of Zion³⁴. Tshawane himself is a member of the EPC and knows the rendition of *Tatana wa rirhandzu* with the melody that I observed during fieldwork. My father, Edouard Germiquet, who spent the first few years of his childhood living at Antioka, recognises the notated melody in *Tinsimu*. He is not literate in tonic sol-fa and when I asked him to sing the hymn he sang the notated melody of Hymn 185 from memory while reading the lyrics.

It became apparent that the performance style of *Tatana wa rirhandzu* has developed over time to be sung most usually with the melody of the Sotho chorus. Rather, therefore, than it being an instance of improvisation on a Reformed hymn melody as previously reasoned (Germiquet, 2013), it is an instance of melody substitution where the lyrics of the hymn are sung with a suitable melody.

In previous research I alluded to this hymn as an example of the performance practice of the IPM where improvisation upon a hymn melody, and at times hymn lyrics, takes place. However, with a musical practice in Reformed Churches where hymn lyrics may be sung to a variety of hymn melodies that correspond to the metrical quality of the hymn lyrics or phrasing of the lyrics, I have come to realise

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³⁴ Within Sesotho musical classification, *lipina* are not classified into different categories but are rather used to fulfil a social function such as being a means to an end "often outside the realm of musical activity itself" such as to accompany work activities but most commonly they form an integral part of social institutions where they "act as a cohesive force, cementing the validity of the occasion with the vital social presence of the community and thus, by extension, the ancestors" (Wells, 1994, p. 10).

that *Tatana wa rirhandzu* is an instance of hymn melody substitution that is common practice in Reformed Church music.

Different performances of *Tatana wa rirhandzu* (Hymn 185) appear to oscillate between a proclivity towards a Reformed Church style and a proclivity towards the performance practice of an Tsonga character. For example, adhering to the score and singing all four verses straight through as notated in the score is for me an adherence to the performance practice of the Reformed Church. The character of a Tsonga or local performance practice is when there are improvisations and it is sung from memory. For example, the last line of each phrase is repeated during performance although the repetition is not notated in the score. The repetition may be due to the need to correspond the hymn lyrics to the already existing melody of *Lipina Zioni* or that it has become a part of the performance style of this particular hymn through time. This repetition took place each time I observed and recorded the performances of this hymn. These difference performance practices occur during different occasions. For example the performance by the *Activistas* men's choir occurred in the formal church service in a manner which I have discussed as presentational performance in Chapter 3.

Were there improvisations each time this was sung? If this is so it is an example of the beginning stages of how a hymn can transform into a chorus. It already seems like a church chorus to me however the hymn is still at times sung while using the hymnbook, as was the case in the *Activistas* choir. I have learnt that the use of the hymnbook was in order to read the lyrics as in each performance this hymn was sung with the melody from the Sotho church chorus *Lipina Zioni*, not with the one that is notated in the score. Furthermore, each time I observed this hymn performed there were improvisations where individuals would insert short motifs which would be echoed by other voices. This occurred during the rendition at Macupe where a soprano voice inserted the motif in bars 4 and 7 of Figure 4. These motifs consisted of two semi-quavers followed by two quavers, and were variations of the lyrics sung just before the motifs were executed. These motifs were echoed by the tenor voice as illustrated in bar 3 of Figure 5. The tenor voice inserted only one quaver but the general proclivity of the motif reflects very similar qualities.

The same use of vocables occurred in more than one performance that I have observed. This reflects that this practice has become a part of the performance practice of this hymn. I think it may have been as a result of previous improvisations that were transmitted between individuals and appropriated as a part of the hymn performance. This example speaks to the discussion on how the decline of music literacy at Antioka contributes to a musical performance practice as the one described above, where congregants learn melodies and harmonies through singing in church rather than reading the score in the hymnbook. The performance practice of this hymn is not exclusive to the IPM. Upon asking Rev. Joe Tshawane about this hymn it became apparent that the use of the melody of *Lipina Zioni* for *Tatana wa rirhandzu* is also common practice in the EPC.

Figure 4: An excerpt transcribed from a performance of Tatana wa rirhandzu (Hymn 185) at the church service of the Macupe parish held on 3 November 2013. This excerpt illustrates the first verse of the hymn and includes some variations where individuals inserted their own improvisations.



An example of appropriate improvisation takes place in *Tatana wa rirhandzu* (Hymn 185) where the improvising voices echo one another, as seen with the echoed part in Figure 5. Appropriate improvisation is where improvisations are transmitted from individual to individual and are appropriate because they fit into the context of a given performance of a song. Through an analysis of three different performances of this hymn it is apparent that some improvisations occur that are not common to all of the performances. It is clear that improvisations occurred during times of celebration such as the

performance at the 2012 Jubilee of the IPM and during the church service for the laying of the first brick of the Macupe parish church building.

One of the renditions took place at the *Activistas* men's choir performance in the Antioka parish and did not exhibited improvisation. Therefore, improvisation is specific to occasions of celebration, and in the church, the music tends to follow its scripted form. During the performance at Macupe improvisations which I had not heard previously occurred in this hymn. The improvisation was first introduced by a woman singing in the alto register where she inserted a repetition of the words that had just been sung but in a different rhythm. This improvisation was inserted in a later verse at the same point in the hymn, with the same rhythm, however, this time by a man singing in the tenor register. Furthermore, in the performance of this hymn at Macupe, the third line of each verse had a rising interval of a minor second whereas in the other performance descending major third.

Figure 5: An excerpt transcribed from a performance of Tatana wa rirhandzu (Hymn 185) at the church service of the Macupe parish held on 3 November 2013. This excerpt illustrates the end of the second verse of the hymn and includes a variation performed by a tenor voice which echoed improvisations brought to the performance by other individuals. The improvisation in the tenor part is an example of 'appropriate improvisation.'



Characteristics of Tsonga music that relate to the music of the IPM

In summary, some of the characteristics of Tsonga music as described by Johnston (1975), and that relate to the music of the IPM are:

- 1) The preferred intervals of a descending and ascending major second, and descending minor third.
- 2) Pentatonic melodic patterns/scale (considered the norm in Tsonga music although other scales are evident at times).
- 3) Music based mainly on basic cycles of rhythmical units

- 4) Pathogenic quality of melody where the melody begins on an initial peak and descends to the lowest pitch of the melody.
- 5) Rhythmic accompaniment which may consist of handclapping, drumming, or both.
- 6) Call-and-response style of vocal and instrumental music.
- 7) Polyrhythm between the voice and the rhythm section or between two accompanying rhythms.
- 8) Harmonies are derived from the tonal equivalence system and note-pairing, resulting in preferences for harmonies of a perfect fifth, perfect fourth, octave, and unison. Monody is present but it is rare.
- 9) The form of the music is circular.
- 10) Musical performance may appear to begin in the middle of a song.
- 11) Different Tsonga musical styles fulfil different social functions.
- 12) Performances of specific repertoires are according to age and gender.
- 13) The physical positioning of these age and gender specific groups during musical performances contributes to the emergence of situation-specific harmonies.

Some parameters of indigenous Tsonga music have been established, as above, through a summary of some of the harmonic and melodic characters of indigenous Tsonga music. When compared to the music performed in the IPM certain similarities appear. While not all of the characteristics of Tsonga music are explicitly present within the music of the IPM there are some that stand out. These stand out particularly because they do not originate within Reformed Church hymns and are evident in the music performed in the IPM.

Looking to the summary above, there are some similarities between indigenous Tsonga music and the music of the IPM. These similarities are illustrated in the corresponding Tracks on the DVD provided. For example, call and response style of performance is heard in the church chorus *U ta nghena njhani*, illustrated in Track 2. This audio recording was captured at the 125th Jubilee of the IPM in July 2012. Music based mainly on cycles of rhythmical units is illustrated in the church chorus *Ku Tsutsuma* in Track 1. This recording was captured on 6 October 2013 towards the end of a Sunday church service in the Antioka parish. Rhythmic accompaniment which may consist of handclapping, drumming, or both, is illustrated in the performance of *Tatana wa rirhandzu* in Track 3. This audio recording was captured at the Jubilee in 2012. Polyrhythm between the voice and the rhythm section or between two accompanying rhythms is illustrated through the occurrence of polyrhythm between different the voice parts in a song sung about the IPM performed at the Jubilee in 2012. This happens between the tenors and sopranos in the audio recording in Track 4. Another example is between the soprano and alto voice parts in the Tsonga hymn *Mahungu Lamanene*, as seen in bars 57 to 59 in Figure 9 on page 82. Furthermore, the form of the music is circular as heard in Tracks 1, 2, and 8.

Further similarities can be found. For example, different Tsonga musical styles fulfil different social functions, and this is illustrated in the discussion in Chapter 2 on how the music of the IPM is performed for specific occasions. Performances of specific repertoires are according to age and gender, as seen in the musical repertoire which is specific, but not limited to, each group in the Church which are constructed according to age and gender, as discussed in Chapter 2. The physical positioning of these age and gender specific groups during musical performances contributes to the emergence of situation-specific harmonies. For example, the seating arrangement in the Antioka parish, as discussed in Chapter 2, influence the situation specific harmonies and instances of appropriate improvisation where individuals hear some individuals more clearly than others, influencing the improvisation.

Chapter 3

Music, the dynamo of the Church: the performance style of Antioka parish

I have a limited understanding of Xitsonga and therefore, in order to comprehend much of the events during fieldwork, I found myself having to focus a great deal of my attention to informants' gestures and tonal expressions. I thought about the meaning in their facial expressions as they spoke about certain topics and considered whether their voices would rise in pitch because they were excited. One example of this is how people of Antioka parish speak about the centrality of music in their lives and in the life of the Church. One man described that he feels as if he is in prison when he does not sing (Mundlhovu, 2013). By using the word prison, it shows how singing makes him feel free. Music has also been described as the dynamo of the Church, where every activity in the Church is related to and is powered by music (Muchanga, 2013). Furthermore, these sentiments were expressed with great enthusiasm and were both accompanied by laughter. Not understanding what was being said in those moments, but registering the change in atmosphere and affect after which my interpreter relayed what they had said, allowed me, as the researcher, to obtain a sense of the importance of music in the life of the Church and in the everyday life of the Tsonga Presbyterians of the Antioka parish and Facazisse village.

The importance of music in the Church becomes ever clearer with the following statement by the minister of the Antioka parish, Reverend Jafete Muchanga:

"Music is an instrument that brings people to church. If people just stand in church and talk and talk, people outside would wonder what is going on inside. But if they hear singing they will want to come and join in. The music itself is also important because through it you can learn about the message of God. Music takes first place in the process of praying because it helps one to pray. Music is the driving force in the Church. It is like the dynamo in a car. All the activities in church are related to music. If you want to call the pastor or someone to pray, you use music. When you want to start a ceremony in the Church, it is music. Whatever you try to do, it is music. If you want to finish, it's music again.

An informant of Antioka parish observed that a reason why the Church members dance while singing in church is because they are following the Christian message. The dancing is an expression of happiness at following the message (Cuna, 2013). Dancing is also a means of acting out the messages in the songs (Cossa, 2013). It therefore assumes an important role in the music-making at Antioka. Similarly, the Swiss missionaries were aware of the importance that the Vatsonga placed on festive celebrations (Harries, 2007; 2001). Harries (2007) has described this aspect in the lives of the Tsonga Presbyterians as a "festive religiosity" (p. 199).

In an African religion people put life into action, "they dance life, they sing life, they ritualise life, they drum life, they shout life, they ceremonise life, they festivise life, for the individual and the community" (Mbiti, 1975, p. 201). This point, although insightful of the importance of music in everyday life in African societies, presumes Africa as a homogenous whole which is not what I hope to allude to. Rather, by focusing on the locus of music in the celebration of religion and how music and dance are central features in religious life in many Africa societies, I hope to clarify that celebrations that involve much music-making in the IPM today are a proclivity of Tsonga society. This contributes to my argument that music and dancing are not akin to the Swiss Reformed Church but are rather activities that originate within a Tsonga lifestyle. In the play, De la Missão Suíça à l'IPM, when key events in the history of the encounter are introduced, such as the arrival of the pioneer Swiss missionaries Ernst Creux and Paul Berthoud, and the work of Yosefa³⁵ Mhalamhala spreading the gospel to Magude, the chorus begins with "I celebrate" (De la Missão Suíça à l'IPM, 2014, p. 2). In the script of the play, this word is marked as synonymous with the expression "I sing" (*ibid.*), thus further noting the central roles that celebrating and singing assume in the IPM.

The importance of music in an indigenous Tsonga lifestyle is illustrated through its deep connections to social life (Johnston, 1975b; 1974; 1973b). Junod found that music "plays a great part" in the life of the Thonga³⁶ people and he found that "Thongas are also great singers and players, and their dances are invariably accompanied by music" (Junod, 1964, II, p. 276). The importance of music in the life of the Tsonga Presbyterians of Antioka parish has been communicated through interviews (Muchanga, 2013; Mundlhovu, 2013), and through musical performances during celebrations where music forms a significant part of the proceedings. It also defines the proceedings of the ordinary church service (Muchanga, 2013).

To define some of the musical characteristics and the performance style of the Antioka parish I ask the question: what is the particular way of performing that articulates the essence of performance in the Antioka parish? For Muller (1999), the Nazarite performance style is articulated by the "free nature of the music", "the complex rhythmic texture articulated in song and dance performance" and the "indigenous poetic text" in the performances (p. 106). Observing the musical performances in the IPM, and particularly in the Antioka parish, I believe that the essence within the musical performances of the Tsonga Presbyterians is made of its vocal character, the importance placed on the transmission of the Christian belief system through the music, as well as the prominence of improvisation in the participatory musical performances. I noticed regular occurrences of these particular musical practices in the Antioka parish. These musical practices may serve as a guide to understanding the performance

³⁵ Spelt Josefa in the script.

³⁶ Junod (1964, 1927) uses the term Thonga. It is synonymous with Tsonga.

style of the Antioka parish and the IPM. To understand the performance style of the Antioka parish is to come to an awareness of the Tsonga heritage that is alive and vibrant within the IPM.

The didactic function of the music in the IPM

Language assumes an important role in the music of the IPM. This is in part due to the importance that the Reformation placed on understanding the belief system in one's own language. The translation of Christian texts into Xitsonga was therefore an important part of the evangelisation conducted by the Swiss Mission. Thus, the Christian belief system was transmitted in Xitsonga through literacy education, and the reading of the Bible, as well as through the singing of hymns.

A primary function of music in the IPM is the transmission of the Christian belief system. This emphasis stems in part from the Calvinist Church in which the Swiss Mission was embedded, where the messages transmitted through the singing of psalms took precedence over the aesthetic appeal of the music. One can therefore conceptualise the music of the IPM as: the belief system informs the message in the music; and, in the case of a tonal language such as Xitsonga, the lyrics, which denote the message, in turn inform the melody³⁷.

The function of the music in the IPM has an impact on the musical choices, especially during the composition of new church songs. Much music that has been analysed in ethnomusicological literature has been categorised as entertainment (Blacking, 1967; Johnston, 1975) or resistance music (Blacking, 1995; James 2006; Jorritsma, 2011; Muller, 1999; Vail and White, 1991). However, influenced by a value in the Calvinist Church where the primary function of church music is to transmit the Christian message, the music of the IPM is not entertainment or resistance music, but didactic. Thus the primary function of the music of the IPM is to transmit the Christian message.

The music in the Calvinist Church places the messages in the metrical psalms as the most important aspect of the music as this was one way in which the Christian message could be transmitted. Along with this, members of the Reformed Church were encouraged to become musically literate so that they did not rely on rote learning. This idea stems from a value in the Reformed Church that emphasises individual reflection on the messages within the Scripture, and the need therefore for members of the Reformed Church to be literate in the vernacular. A minister of Temple de Saint Gervais, a Protestant Church in Geneva, Switzerland, put it this way: "Calvin said that in church singing should be in unison and the words should be very well pronounced because man is not a parrot, he must hear what he says (Lotz, 2013).

The messages transmitted through the singing of the psalms in the Calvinist Church took precedence over the musical aspects of the psalms. Although ornate music was not preferred in the Calvinist

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³⁷ Refer to a detailed discussion on the influence of tonal language on melody composition in Chapter 4.

Church, the psalms were transposed into four-part harmony for members of the Church to sing at home (Lotz, 2013). This reveals that it was important for members of the Church to sing the psalms, and the beauty of music, exemplified in harmony in this case, was harnessed to encourage the singing of the psalms at home.

In contrast to the principle stemming from the Calvinist Church, music in the IPM is ornate with rich harmonies and thick textures resulting from several voices singing in unison and in an interlocking manner. Hymn scores in *Tinsimu* are notated in four-part harmony. The Swiss missionaries realised the importance of vivacious celebrations among the Vatsonga, celebrations which more often involved singing and dancing (Harries, 2007, 2001), even though this was not allowed in the Calvinist Church in the sixteenth-century. This illustrates the continuous aspect of social transformation.

It is evident that the style of singing in the IPM that involves choir performances which, when possible, consists of the full range of voices singing in four-part harmony, is not something that was introduced into the IPM by the Vatsonga. This is especially the case seeing that the hymnbook, *Tinsimu*, is notated in four-part harmony where the notated harmonies of translated Reformed Church hymns exhibit Western classical principles of standard four-part harmony. While in many instances, the members of the Antioka parish sing the hymns according to the text, as far as music literacy and aural memory facilitates this, the particular musical character of the IPM is heard when individual members deviate from the notated harmonies to include harmonies that are not of Western classical origin.

The composition of church songs according to the didactic function of music in the IPM

The manner of composition of church songs in the IPM is achieved in three ways. The first is setting a particular message to newly composed music, the second is composing the melody and lyrics simultaneously, and the third is setting new lyrics to a familiar melody. Looking to the first manner of composition, the message takes precedence over the music where the composer has a message that he would like to convey and the music is thereafter fitted to the message (Mathe, 2012). At times a different language is used altogether so that the message may be properly conveyed (*ibid*.). Alvez Mathe, a composer and choir conductor, says that if he runs into any difficulty setting a certain Christian message to a melody, he simply switches to a different language (*ibid*.). This may be achieved particularly well with Xitsonga and Xironga, both spoken in southern Mozambique, as they are very similar to one another. In the IPM at present, there is regular interchanging between the Portuguese, Xitsonga, and Xironga languages. It is common practice in the Church for hymns to be sung in both Xitsonga and Xironga simultaneously. The importance that the Reformation held for one to read the Bible and express one's faith in one's own language (Hagenbach, 1897) is reflected in the multi-lingual quality of IPM today.

In the second manner of composition, syllables of a word may be left out (Mbazima, 2012), in a manner that Johnston (1973a) describes as "vowel elision" (p. 64) in order to fit the lyrics to a melody. This is a technique employed to free a "song-rhythm from speech-stress controls" (ibid., p. 64). In Tsonga music, a common vowel elision is the contraction of a word through extracting the 'i' on the last syllable such as *lewsi* (meaning 'this'), rendering the word, *lesw'*. Johnston (*ibid*.) terms this "terminal syllable contraction" (p. 64). It allows for a bi-syllablic word to be sung on a single musical tone. More usually, it tends to be a trochaic word consisting of one long stressed syllable followed by a short unstressed syllable. One could compare this to an accented crochet followed by an unaccented quaver, or note durations relative thereof. Johnston (ibid.) also mentions how the letters 'm' and 'n' are often used as independent syllables and can contain one musical tone by themselves (ibid.). I noticed this while members of Antioka parish were singing. They would often make use of a prolonged 'm' sound at the end of a musical phrase. A word that was sung but which did not contain the 'm' sound at its termination often had an 'm' sound inserted afterwards. The timbre of the sound changes in such a way that the tone, sung on the previous syllable, is prolonged.

The third manner most often occurs where there is little working knowledge of music. Aida Zamba, the choir conductor, or maestro as she terms it, of the women's Activistas choir of the Antioka parish, sets new lyrics to already existing melodies (Zamba, 2013). Her reason for this is that she is not strong in music literacy or composition and it works for her to fit a new message to a melody that the Activistas women already know (ibid.). Zamba further states that, although she cannot read music very well, when she knows the melody and harmonies of a song she is able to teach it to the choir with ease. The fact that the music stays the same and Zamba does not feel the need to change it reiterates the importance of the transmission of messages through music. The practice of appropriating new lyrics in an already known melody is also performed in the IPM rendition of Tatana wa rirhandzu, as mentioned in Chapter 2.

The addition of new text to popular melodies was also practiced by the Reformed Church under Luther's guidance. Luther held that music in the Church need not be sung precisely as written as he found it necessary to sing songs in a manner that was familiar to the performers (Grew, 1938, p. 78). Furthermore, the 'occasional music'³⁸ style in the IPM brings members of the Church to compose new songs for particular occasions. For these purposes melodies are sometimes recycled and new lyrics are added. This practice facilitates the reproduction of church songs in new forms or with new messages for particular occasions especially in cases of music illiteracy. Joe Tshawane, a retired minister of the EPC and musician, composes music to transmit knowledge about contemporary social issues in Africa. Such issues include HIV and AIDS. Tshawane uses his music, which he refers to Social Gospel, to

³⁸ See page 67.

address issues that are often considered taboo and are therefore not easily spoken about (Tshawane, 2013)³⁹. These messages are therefore didactic in function and render the music didactic too.

In the above examples, an effort is made to convey a particular message through music. The fact that new church songs are composed on a regular basis in the IPM, and taking into account the link between the messages and the music as described above, new songs are composed to transmit and express new or reproduced messages pertaining to Christianity, an illustration of the importance of the message in the music of the Tsonga Presbyterians. Thus, a value of the Reformation that comes through strongly in the musical practices of the IPM is the importance placed on the message transmitted in the music. This is in contrast to an aspect of an indigenous Tsonga musical character where often the actual performance of a given repertoire or a particular song takes precedence over the lyrics (Johnston, 1975). The social designation of the musical repertoire is therefore of greater importance than the message transmitted through the music (Johnston, 1975, 1974, 1973b, 1971).

Dancing in the IPM

Similar to the performance practice of the Swiss Reformed Church, the members of the Antioka parish do not usually dance when singing hymns from the hymnbook, *Tinsimu*. These hymns are more often sung while members remain seated. Dancing as an expression of joy more often occurs in the Antioka parish during the singing of church choruses where the energy is palpable and the occasion is a joyous one. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, dancing is also a means by which members of Antioka express the happiness they feel when they follow the word of God (Cuna, 2013). Dancing usually occurs towards the end of the regular church service where the formal proceedings of the order of service have come to an end. The choice to not dance or to move only a little during the singing of hymns in *Tinsimu* reflects a proclivity towards the Reformed Church musical performance practice where no dancing was previously allowed. As I observed during fieldwork in Switzerland in June 2013, the lack of dancing is a feature in the Swiss Reformed Church performance practice⁴⁰.

Dancing in the IPM also occurs in the form of mime where the messages in the hymns or church songs are acted out through dance gestures. In the IPM, the manner of dancing depends on the message that is being conveyed in a given song. According to Fatima Cossa, a member of Antioka parish since childhood: "If one is singing a hymn or a church song that calls for the message to be acted out then one does so through dance" (Cossa, 2013). In this sense dancing may be viewed as the embodiment

³⁹ See page 30.

⁴⁰ In Swiss contemporary society it may be a cultural aspect rather than a restriction. The question is currently beyond the scope of this thesis but it is an interesting trajectory of further research.

⁴¹ In May 2013 I observed members of the Mamelodi parish of the EPC in South Africa also acting out the messages of songs through dance.

of the message that is being transmitted. Dancing is thus a form of literacy, gestural literacy. To reiterate, the acting out of the messages in hymns and church songs shows the significance of the message in the music of the IPM.

A choir in the Antioka parish, called *Group Changana*⁴², sings a song titled *Hi fanela ku hanya ha vona* which means, 'The rule we must live by.' This performance is accompanied by some gestures. One gesture in particular is a loud clap. Octavio Mabessa, the composer of this song and choir leader, explained that the clap is used to illustrate the Church as a unit (Mabessa, 2013). When the lyrics that express this idea are sung, each choir member claps his or her hands together as a symbolic gesture of coming together. Choir performances do not always make use of dramatic gestures such as this. However, the clap in this song drives home the idea of the Church as a unit. This is accompanied by the overall message in the song that speaks about the lack of peace in society, and the loss of church values in society as a factor.

Junod (Junod, 1913, in Finnegan, 2012) found that among the Vatsonga, the storytellers live and act out the stories they are telling. This illustrates the importance of embodying the messages transmitted in song. An example of the embodiment of the message transmitted in a church chorus is the performance practice of the church chorus, *U ta nghena njhani*. The message in this song asks the question: how is one to get into heaven with baggage in one's heart? Performers place bags on their heads while singing as a symbol of the baggage that is in one's heart. This is a physical illustration of not being able to walk through the doorway of heaven with the bag on one's head. The word *rhulo*, meaning 'to put down', is sung as a short motif in the chorus and is a statement for one to remove the bag from one's head so that one may walk through the doorway of heaven.

In Figure 6, on the following page, one may see people at the Jubilee of the IPM in 2012 singing *U ta nghena kanjani*. The image was captured from a video recording and illustrates the use of bags or blankets placed or held above the head. The lady on the far left can be seen with her index fingers pointing towards the sky. This gesture denotes the concept of heaven and was done while the words *ni mintswalo* were sung, referring to 'heaven.' The leader of this chorus can be seen on the far right with a microphone in his left hand, and his right in a gesture pointing towards the sky too. This image also exhibits the exuberant nature of the musical performances at the Jubilee.

⁴² This choir is not a part of the groups in the IPM that I discuss in Chapter 2. This choir was established by the conductor of the Jouventude (Youth group) choir, Octavio Mabessa. *Group Changana* sings its own choir songs in the ordinary church service of the Antioka parish. Thus it forms part of the performance practice of the IPM as discussed in Chapter...

Figure 6: A performance of the church chorus 'U ta nghena njhani ni mintswalo' at the Jubilee of the IPM held at Antioka, Magude district, Mozambique, in July 2012.



I participated in a song performed by the *Activistas* women's and men's choir at an ordinary church service of Antioka parish on 6 October 2013. For the purpose of clarity, I ascribed this song a title drawn from a prominent word in the song, *Vutomi*, meaning 'life' or 'health'. While participating in this performance, I could not fully comprehend the message as my understanding of Xitsonga was limited, however, I was able to learn the lyrics and reproduce their sounds quickly during the performance due to the continual repetition of the lyrics. I was also able to get a feeling for the message by examining and copying the movements. Track 5 on the accompanying DVD is an excerpt of this particular

performance. The repetition of the lyrics and gestures, as mentioned above, can be seen in this excerpt. The use of gestures brings to mind that for illiterate people who cannot read the message in the hymn or for those who cannot understand the language, miming the message through gestures is a way in which these people can interpret, even if quite abstractly, the meaning of the message.

The dancing in the Antioka parish, most notably performed by the women of the *Activistas* group, often consists of small movements of the feet mimicking, or produced in time with, the rhythm of the melody and lyrics. I also noted a particular style of movement where alternate feet are slid across the floor in time with the beat. This happened often during their performances and created an extra percussive sound element on the cement floor of the church building when the performers moved during performances. The *Activistas* women's group would also perform this foot movement as they walked to the front of the church for their choir performance. In the above discussion it is apparent that the purpose of dancing in the Antioka parish is, often times, to act out the messages in hymns or church songs. In this way the Christian message is transmitted through the embodiment of the meaning of the messages through dance gestures in the form of gestural literacy.

Presentational performance: the divide between the performers and the audience

Along with the participatory performances that occur in the IPM, the members of Antioka parish participate in presentational performances. For example, each group in the Church prepares choir songs which they sing during the regular church services on Sundays. Solo performances are not uncommon. In times of celebration, such as at the 125th Jubilee of the IPM, audience members were caught up in the joy of the event and, feeling the inspiration to join would take part, even if for a short moment, in the performances. Track 6 is an example of this, where a woman can be seen running in from the left of the screen to the performance area. This particular performance was of the Xingomane, a Tsonga dance performed by women. The woman joins in the dancing for a while and at one point it seems that she is about to return to the crowd, but, seeming to be caught up in the joy of the moment, she returns to dance some more. This particular performance is of an indigenous Tsonga dance but with the dancers performing vocal exclamations pertaining to the IPM. It therefore reflects the participatory performance nature within the IPM, as well as the blending of the Tsonga and Reformed Church heritages.

There was also not so much of a divide between the audience and the performers as all people present at the Jubilee were in some way affiliated with the IPM, as member or visitor, and all were gathered for the Jubilee celebration. While often it may seem that the division between the audience and the performers is at times almost non-existent, Kofi Agawu (1995) emphasises that such a division exists and is an important part of musical performances. With this, and the manner of Tsonga folktale performance in mind, one may see that there is a divide between the audience and the performers but that this divide is not as rigid as one may find in presentational performances in a Western society, for example.

Thomas Turino (2008) discusses the transformation in Zimbabwe of participatory musical practices towards a focus on presentational performance. He links this transformation to new values and practices such as presentational performance, high fidelity recording, and musical professionalism developing in Zimbabwe as a result of colonialism and the introduction of cosmopolitan music and values. In particular, he notes that 19th century musical performances in Zimbabwe were characterised by group participation. Colonialism brought the presentational mode of performance to Zimbabwe, something that was foreign to the Shona conceptualisation of music. Zimbabweans learnt presentational performance as a value, idea, and practice, from the missionary and government schools (Turino, 2008). The socialization of Zimbabweans by the British has been shown to have resulted in a cultural formation of "middle-class Africans" (Turino, 2008, p. 123). The values and ideas related to presentational music were thus pervasive, and middle-class Africans took to such a mode of performance resulting in the commoditisation of music in Zimbabwe (ibid.). Such a group of people are said to be "distinctive" from other neighbouring cultural formations (ibid., p. 125). A material manifestation of such a cultural formation has been the development of a form of presentational music unique to the African middleclass. This unique form of music was modelled on cosmopolitan popular music which eventually became local music.

The audience is of equal importance to the narrator⁴³ in the performance of the Tsonga folktale (Bill, 1983). The audience takes part by repeating the word *garingani* after each line of the folktale as a means of encouraging the narrator (*ibid.*). Songs are generally sung to accompany folktales and these are sung by both the narrator and the audience together in what is described as "a formalised means of audience participation" (Finnegan, 1970 in Bill, 1983). In Tsonga folktale performance everyone in the audience is expected to join in the singing of the refrains or choruses (Marivate, 1974, in Bill, 1983). As is the case among the Dagbamba of Nigeria, audience participation in musical performances is obligatory even if it is only clapping accompaniment (Chernoff, 1979).

In the Antioka parish members of the congregation can be seen to be mouthing the lyrics or singing along softly to the songs sung by choirs. The choirs in the Church represent the different groups of the Church to which each member of the Church belongs. The groups are defined by age, gender, and by musical repertoire, as discussed further in this chapter. The latter is quite flexible where members of a group may sing songs which belong to another group should they wish (Sitoi, 2013). The boundary between the performers in the choir and the congregants exists due to the presentational performance aspect of choir performances in the IPM. The mouthing of the lyrics by congregants, however, diminishes this boundary somewhat where the audience members or congregants attending the service

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⁴³ The narrator is "usually a middle-aged woman" (Bill, 1983, p.1).

feel free to engage in this way. This freedom to participate is obtained in an appropriate way where the choir is respected for it being a group and the congregants allow the choir to perform. At the point when the choirs sing to move to the front of the church, as is the practice in the IPM, members of the congregation sing along.

Church repertoire as 'occasional music'

In the IPM, choices about musical performances are not haphazard. The choices regarding the repertoire to be sung during a Sunday service are usually guided by the particular message given in that service, a particular event on the Christian calendar, an occasion on the day of the service such as an event particular to IPM or one of its parishes, or a Mozambican national event. The Mozambican National Peace Day is celebrated annually on 4 October. The Sunday service in the Antioka parish, following Peace Day, incorporated the celebration of this event. Choir songs with Peace as the central theme were sung during this service (Mabessa, 2013).

The hymnbook used in the IPM, *Tinsimu*, is divided into four sections. These sections are attributed to particular purposes and occasions associated with the Christian belief system and serve to help the church members in their choice of repertoire for church services and other church occasions⁴⁴. The sections are: 1) Ta ku gandzela Xikwembu (For worshiping God); 2) Ta ku minkhuvo ya kereke (For celebrations of the Church including feasts, wedding days and jubilees); 3) Ta ku hanya ka vana va Xikwembu (For the life of the children of God); 4) Ta kereke ni ndyangu ni tiko (For the Church and the family and the country). The sections of the hymnbook reflect various aspects of the Christian belief system that the members of the IPM sing about. For example, they sing to worship the Christian God, they sing for celebrations of the Church such as weddings and jubilees, and they sing about suffering and difficulties in life to which they turn to the Christian God for guidance. The repertoire of the IPM also reflects a close connection to the values of the Christian belief system with the importance placed on the community of the Church, the maintenance of a cohesive family/household as well as an awareness of the country and the larger social context in which the members of the Church live. There is a range of musical influences in this particular hymnbook of Western classical composers such as Haydn, Mendelssohn, Beethoven, and Handel; isiXhosa composers such as Enoch Sontonga, and John Knox Bokwe; and a Tsonga composer, Daniel Cornelius Marivate.

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⁴⁴ Many of the hymns performed in the IPM, while I was conducting fieldwork, were about thanksgiving and praise. Although this is a standard feature of Christian music, I wonder whether the musical repertoire chosen or composed during the civil war had an influence on the choice of hymns or church songs, for example ones that would ask for help and peace during the horrifying experiences of war.

The hymnbook of the Reformed Church in Switzerland, *Psaume et Cantique*, is also divided into sections for specific occasions (Lotz, 2013; *Fondation d'édition des Eglises protestantes romandes*, 1976). The sections are associated primarily with the order of service in the Protestant Church, the Christian calendar such as songs for Advent, Christmas, and Pentecost, as well as various aspects of a Christian lifestyle such as baptism, songs for adoration and praise as well as service and thanksgiving⁴⁵. While there are some differences between the two hymnbooks, it is evident that *Tinsimu ta Vakriste* and *Psaume et Cantique* are structured in a very similar way to one another with the focus on a Christian life, and with a particular emphasis on various Christian occasions and values such as devoting oneself to the Christian God and belief system, and gathering as a community for religious purposes.

Hymns and other songs are used at Antioka for occasions to welcome guests, to mourn the death of a loved one, or to celebrate a special occasion (Mucavi, 2013). *Tinsimu* and *Psaume et Cantique* are both set out in this structure denoting the importance of occasions. This importance is reflected in the choices of musical repertoire. Celebrations direct the musical repertoire where for example, a church song, *Dri Tshasile Jubileu*, was composed by Valente Tseco in 2011 for the Jubilee of the IPM held in 2012. Other hymns, such as *Mahungu Lamanene*, were performed at this event. The choice of musical repertoire as directed by the occasion illustrates that the occasion is very important.

In order to correspond the above discussion to the notion of orality, I turn to Ruth Finnegan (2012) who suggests that an "oral piece," and in particular poetry, is 'occasional' in that its composition and transmission is "directly involved in the occasions of [its] actual utterance" and that occasional oral pieces are such that they are designed for and arise from particular situations such as funerals, weddings, and accompanying work (Finnegan, p. 14).

Johnston (1975) describes the association of Tsonga song repertoires with Tsonga social institutions and has noted that age and gender are distinct markers in musical performances among the Vatsonga of the Limpopo Province, South Africa. Johnston (*ibid*.) therefore refers to the emergent social markers as a means of classifying the Tsonga musical system. He not only notes the social significance of Tsonga music but also the strong link between musical repertoire and the horticultural year in such that the performance of musical repertoire is defined by the seasons of the year. Thus, the music of the Vatsonga of the Limpopo Province is "seasonal" and should therefore be "observed in context at the appropriate time" (*ibid*.). In comparing Johnston's observations on the musical repertoire of the Vatsonga of the Limpopo Province to the musical performances of the Tsonga Presbyterians of Facazisse and Antioka parish, it can be noted that, although the members of Antioka survive mainly on subsistence farming

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⁴⁵ In recent years *Psaume et Cantique* has been increasingly replaced by the contemporary hymnbook, *Alleluja*. *Alleluja* is also divided into sections as described in this chapter.

and are therefore aware of the seasons that direct their day-to-day activities, their musical repertoire, namely that of the Church, is not subject to the horticultural year. Rather it is largely dependent on specific events in the Christian calendar, as well as significant Church and national events such as the 125th Jubilee of the IPM and the Mozambican Peace Day. To use Agawu's (1995) term, the music of the Antioka parish is "occasional music" (p. 25)⁴⁶.

According to Tseco (2013), there is a time for everything in the IPM. There is a time for dancing and for singing hymns that originate from Europe. There is a time for each of the groups in the Church to sing, and there is a time to focus on the lyrics of the hymns and church songs rather than the expression of communal joy. Each song performed in the IPM is related to a certain aspect of life. The mood and message of the song is specific to the occasion. There are some songs to receive visitors and to say good-bye to them (Mucavi, 2013). There being a time for everything in the IPM is the reason why there are different manners of performance in the IPM. The music is informed by the belief system and its requirements. The music of the IPM is also informed by the culture or society in which the IPM exists. Since societal transformation is an ever occurring reality, so too is musical transformation. Members of the IPM have recognised that the music in the Church has changed over time (Mucavi, 2013; Sitoi, 2013; Tseco, 2013; Pers. comm. with Zamba, 2013).

In the above discussion it is apparent that the music of the IPM has its own character that is informed by Reformed Church music in the hymns brought by Swiss missionaries, that is informed by local forms of music such as the *Makwayela* and the *Xingomane*, as well as the transformation of culture and society that continually informs the musical practices within the Church. I have identified that improvisation within the musical performances of the IPM, the composition process of Tsonga hymns adhering to Xitsonga speech-tones, the dynamic and lively character of singing and dancing in the IPM, the centrality of music in Church life, as well as the focus on heritage contribute to the distinctive character of the music of the IPM. This distinctive character is guided by the musical choices that the members of the IPM make. This is a manifestation of the agency which members of the IPM have in the Church. They choose to incorporate their local heritage in the music of the IPM.

Social stratification and musical repertoire as factors in defining and representing Church <u>Groups</u>

Being a visitor at Antioka I had the privilege of sitting in the front of the church building on a pew reserved for the minister, the elders of the Church, as well as for guests. From this vantage point I

opinion that categories should not be presumed definite boundaries.

⁴⁶ By using the term 'occasional music' Agawu (1995) is referring to categories of music that are performed during specific occasions. For example, he defines festivals as forming a category of music, although he is of the

observed the seating arrangements of the congregation. An image of this vantage point is seen in Figure 7 below.

As one looks across the congregation seated on the pews in the church during an ordinary Sunday service, one may see that there are very few adult men in the Church. The difference between the number of women and men is made especially stark by the seating arrangements, seen in Figure 7, where the women sit on one side of the church building, and men on the other, with the aisle separating them. In the Antioka parish the aisle extends from the main entrance, at the back of the church building, to the pulpit at the opposite end of the church building. Gender plays a role in the sound space of the Church as the church groups are structured according to age and gender. In the performances of the men's *Activistas* choir of Antioka parish I observed a small number of only four men performing, while the women's *Activistas* choir consists of about 25 women. The performance practice of the Antioka parish has thus been influenced by the number of members in gender specific groups.

Figure 7: The congregation of Antioka seated for a church service on 6 October 2013. The minister, Reverend Jafete Muchanga, stands in the foreground as he addresses the congregation. The seating arrangements can be seen in this image with the Activistas women on the right, and the elderly Vakokwana, meaning grandparents, seated behind them. The Activistas and Madodana men are seated on the left with the Jouventude, youth, seated behind them.



The seating with the women's

arrangements along and men's choir

performances of the *Activistas* group showed the absence of many adult men of working age. I believe that this is due to the migrant labour system on the South African mines. Although a certain level of trust had by the time of these performances been established between myself and the members of the community with whom I engaged, I did not feel that it was appropriate at the time to ask personal questions that pertain to the living arrangements of female headed households. I therefore did not ask of the absence of many men of working age in the Antioka community. I feel however that it is safe to assume, given the current statistics of migrant labour from Mozambique, that many of the working age men of Facazisse and Antioka are miners.

According to the South African Department of Labour in around 1990 there was a drastic decrease in the number of migrant mine workers on the mines in South Africa, from 477 000 in 1987 to 200 000 in 2001. However, with the rise in gold price there was again an increase to 260 000 migrant workers by 2006. More significantly, employment in South African mines has, since 1990, decreased for all areas except Mozambique. Since 1990 there has been an increase in employment of Mozambican mine workers in South Africa, and by the year 2000, Mozambicans made up a quarter of the mine workers in South Africa (Maja, 2007). Already by the time Antioka was established in 1887 "more than half the able-bodied male population" in the Maputo area "was estimated to be working at any given period in

the Transvaal, Natal or Kimberley" (BEJP 1890, L11, Saunders to Shepstone, L7 November 1887 in Harries, 1977, p 64). Thus migrant labour has been effecting and is continuing to have an effect on the musical performances and sound space of Antioka, most notably during the ordinary church service.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, a difference between Reformed Church and indigenous Tsonga musical performances is that in an indigenous Tsonga society there exists a practice of institutionalised musical performance where age and gender are the defining categories (Johnston, 1975b, p. 785). As mentioned earlier, today, all members of IPM, regardless of age or gender, may sing church hymns together. However, social structures within the Church are evident in the seating arrangements during the ordinary church service, as well as in the choir performances.

Each group in the IPM has a choir consisting of most, if not all, of the members of the group. The groups include the *Vamamana* (Women), *Madodana* (Men), *Activistas* (Activists), and *Jouventude* (Youth) and *Vatsongwana* (Children). Although these are defined groups it appears that the age parameters are flexible. That an individual may be a member of more than one group and that participation in the choirs is voluntary. The *Vamamana* group consist mainly of middle-aged to elderly women. The members of this group are described as the mothers or the grown-ups (Sitoi, 2013). The *Madodana* group is the same except that it is constituted of men. *Activistas* is the group in the Church with members that mainly manage the Church as they are the appropriate age for working. The members are young to middle-aged adults who are married and are parents (Sitoi, 2013). The group, *Jouventude*, is made up of the youth of the Church. This group consists mainly of teenagers and young adults who are not parents. The group *Vatsongwana* consists of the children in the Church from pre-school age to pre-pubescence.

The first groups of the Church were *Vamamana* and *Madodana* (Schneider, 2014). It is interesting to note that all of the names of these groups are in Xitsonga except for *Activistas* and *Jouventude* which are in Portuguese. There also used to be a group in the Church called, *Mintlawa*. Swiss missionaries referred to the *mintlawa* as *les patrouilles* which is French for patrols. The idea appears to be that the *mintlawa* was a structure in the Church to educate the youth in what the Swiss Mission believed to be the correct way, embedded in a Christian value and belief system. In the IPM today, there appears to be no group by that name, however, I believe that this group's names has transformed into *Jouventude*. It could possibly have changed because the focus of the group has changed, however, further research is required to understand the nature of this change or transformation. Furthermore, the *Activistas* choir seems a more recent development in the Church than the *Vamamana* and *Madodana*. Further research is also needed to qualify this information. However, this may be the case because the Swiss Mission emphasised the use of the vernacular Xitsonga in the Church, hence the names of the groups are in Xitsonga. As it became apparent to me at the Jubilee in 2012, the IPM favours the use of Portuguese so that members and non-members who do not speak Xitsonga are able to understand what is being said in the Church. Therefore it is worthwhile to note the use of Portuguese reflects the contemporary

ideology within the IPM and the use of Xitsonga reflects the ideology of the time that the Swiss Mission was still present in southern Mozambique.

Returning to the seating arrangements in the Antioka parish, how do the seating arrangements affect the musical performance within the Church? One of the clear associations here is that each group, identified loosely by seating arrangements and performance repertoire, has its own choir. As is common practice in the Antioka parish each choir will begin a song while seated and begin to move to the front of the church while singing the chosen song to prepare for their choir performance. The groups, being in their seating arrangement in the church building, create a sound space where a mass of sound consisting of singing voices emanates from the area where the group is sitting. Being that the groups in the Church, and by extension the choirs, are defined by age and gender, each choir has a unique sound because of the types of voices of the members.

In the church building of the Antioka parish, the women of *Activistas* sit on the pews on one side of the church in the front (F in Figure 8). The elder members of this group sit in the front pews extending backwards. More prominent leaders of the Church appear to sit at the very front. The younger, new mothers of the group, sit behind the elder women (E in Figure 8)⁴⁷. During one performance, when the *Activistas* began singing, a mass of sound made up of mature women's voices emanated from the area of the church building in which they were seated.

The *Vamamana* sit on mats or on chairs in the front of the *Activistas* women (G in Figure 8)⁴⁸. During fieldwork I observed that the *Vamamana* would sing choir songs with the *Activistas* women. They would not begin their own song nor would they sing together as a choir, as the other groups would. Often however, when the *Activistas* choir had come to the end of its performance, its members would sing a song for the *Vamamana* to join them. The mass of sound at this point would emanate from the middle of the church, at point H in Figure 8, where the choirs sing. The sound of the voices of the *Vamamana* would contribute to the sound of the ensuing choir songs from point G in Figure 8. The elderly women of the Church, the *Vakokwana*, would sit behind the young mothers of the *Activistas* group (D in Figure 8). It appeared that they do not form a part of a choir as they did not join in any of the choir singing, besides singing softly along with the songs that they knew performed by other choirs. The men of both the *Madodana* and *Activistas* groups sit on the opposite side of the church building to

⁴⁷ It appeared to me that these women did not partake in the choir performances nor the meetings held by *Activistas*. Further research may reveal the less explicit structures in this regard.

⁴⁸ Margy Dale, who lived at Antioka mission station as a child for about six years from 1949 to 1955, remembered from her experiences there that the children would sit on mats in the front of the church. During fieldwork I observed that the children did not attend the ordinary church services which the other groups of the Church did. They had their own Sunday-School conducted by the older children of the *Vatsongwana* group. This would usually take place before the ordinary church service on a Sunday morning. The Sunday-School consisted of children's games usually including singing and movement or dancing, the singing of hymns from *Tinsimu*, the reading of a verse from the Bible, as well as the recititation of verses from the Bible by memory.

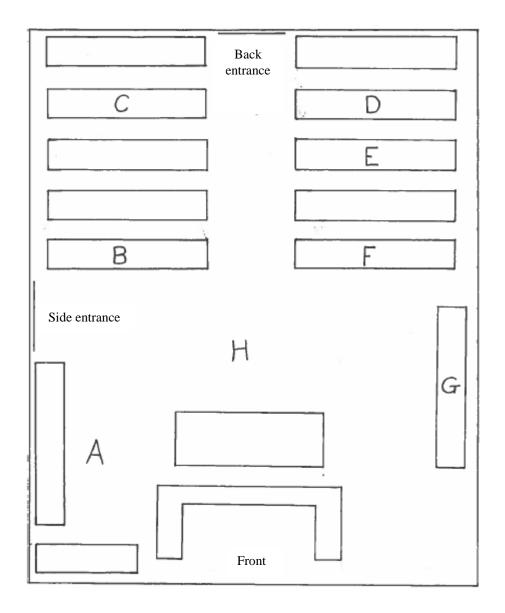
the women (B in Figure 8). It was difficult to define exactly which members belonged to which groups according to the seating structure in the church building, however, it appeared that the elderly men would sit in the pews further to the front of the church while the younger men behind them.

The flexible nature of the musical repertoire belonging to each choir is also made apparent during the choir performances. During a Sunday service in Antioka parish on 20 October 2013, I noticed that the *Activistas* men sang with the men of the *Madodana* group. This choir consisted of only four men. There were a few elderly men who remained seated on the pews, possibly the *Vakokwana*, who, like the elderly grandmothers, did not join the choir performances. Two of the men in the above mentioned choir, also sing in the *Jouventude* choir. There are few men of working age who attend the church services at Antioka. I believe that many, if not most, are migrant workers in the South African mines. This has an effect on the overall sound of the Antioka parish during musical performances. Looking to the musical performances of the *Madodana* and the men of *Activistas* on this Sunday, the sound created by this choir was thin in texture and low in pitch, resonating from the opposite side of the church to the women.

The *Jouventoudi* sit behind the *Madodana* in mixed genders (C in Figure 8). The two men of the *Activistas* group, as mentioned above, sat with the *Jouventoudi* and performed in the *Jouvntoudi* choir. When it was the *Jouventoudi*'s turn to sing, the sound that would erupt from the far corner of the church consisted of voices of all ranges, from the high pitches of young girls, to the low pitches of the older boys. This was the largest group in the parish and had the loudest sound.

Here, I refer to Johnston's (1975) description of the seating and dancing arrangements of what he refers to as a "social beer-drink" (p. 785). In the description that he provides the dancing reflects the social structure in that the members of each group are defined by age and gender. Noteworthy in this example is that the seating and dancing arrangements are such that the old men and middle-aged women face east, for arguments sake, while the senior wives and young men face west. Thus the formerly mentioned groups are facing the latter groups, while the junior wives dance in the centre of this arrangement. Johnston (*ibid.*) suggests that the positioning of each group results in "situation-specific harmonic lines" (p. 785). He is here referring to the principle of harmonic equivalence in the sense that the combination of voices of both men and women of a vast range of ages produces "not only spread octaves but filling in of the 4ths and 5ths between the octaves, as voices go out of range and seek to transpose parts of the melody downward or upward" (p. 786).

Figure 8: A diagram illustrating the seating arrangements in the Antioka parish.



Comparing this to the singing in the Antioka parish, the seating arrangement is also defined by age and gender and it facilitates, to a certain extent, individuals of the Church facing one another. In the example above provided by Johnston (1975), the junior wives are at the centre of the performance. I perceive them as being at the heart of the performance as they, being of child-bearing age, are the life force that sustains the community. With regard to the Antioka parish, the choir performances take place in the church building at point H in Figure 8. The seating arrangement therefore compels all the congregants to look towards this point. This is the area where congregants dance together during the singing of church choruses, as seen in Track 1 of the accompanying DVD. It is also the area across which the minister addresses his sermon to the congregation. It is important to note the direction that each group faces while sitting in their delegated places. Point H in Figure 8, the centre of the church building, is a physical space in which the life of the community of the Antioka parish is celebrated and sustained.

Sinai Mundlhovu is a prominent figure in Facazisse village as well as in the Antioka parish. His prominence in the parish is made evident by his being seated in a pew in the very front of the church facing towards the congregation (A in Figure 8). Point A is where the elders, the minister and the minister's wife, as well as visitors, are seated. This is where I was seated for the church services during fieldwork and it allowed me a wonderful vantage point from which to film the congregational singing. Mundlhovu's facing the congregation from his delegated seat provided a space in which reflexive singing, as described by Johnston (1975), could occur. He is also able to read tonic sol-fa and is known for his musical ability in the Church. During this service his voice featured prominently in the musical performances.

The direction that the choirs face while singing, changes such that at times the women's *Activistas* choir would face the *Vamamana* during performance, and at other times they would face the congregation. Their facing the *Vamamana* is as if they are addressing their performances to the *Vamamana*. However, the choir performance of *Jouventoudi* and *Group Changana* would, as far as I observed, be performed facing the congregation.

Classifications of indigenous Tsonga music conducted by Thomas F. Johnston (1975) illustrate the concept of groups in the Church as a continuation of indigenous Tsonga social institutional practices where groups are defined by age and gender, and are accompanied by various musical repertoires. The presentational performances of certain musical repertoires by the groups at Antioka during the ordinary church service are an example of, literally, performing one's affiliation to a group. Individuals in an indigenous Tsonga lifestyle learn and perform the musical repertoires of groups according to "social and biological maturation"; "knowledge of the various styles is used as an index of maturation" (Johnston, 1975, p. 776). The social institutions of an indigenous Tsonga lifestyle in relation to musical performances, as described by Johnston (1975), are less flexible than the groups in the IPM. In the IPM repertoire usually sung by a group, and repertoire that is at times specifically composed for the group, may be sung by other groups too. Reverend Valente Tseco, a member of *Activistas* in the Khovo parish of the IPM in Maputo, composes church songs on a regular basis, many of which are designed to be sung for the *Activistas* choirs in the various parishes of the IPM.

With group performances in mind, I return to the concept of occasional music. The musical performances during the church services of the Antioka parish generally follow a format. In the Presbyterian Church the proceedings of the church service also follows a general format, this is known as the 'order of service'. During the ordinary church service proceedings, hymns from *Tinsimu* are usually sung. Choir performances form a part of the formal proceedings of the service every Sunday as each group has an opportunity to sing a number of songs. Once the formal proceedings have come to an end, it is usually the time when church choruses fill the air. The vivaciousness of the dancing is directly proportional to the energy or inspiration that the congregation is feeling. More often, the

dancing helps the energy to grow during the performance. When there is an occasion in the Church, church choruses sweep through the congregation with enthusiasm.

Choruses are sung most often during special occasions. If the special occasion is being celebrated during an ordinary church service the choruses will be sung towards the end of the formal proceedings of the service. During the Jubilee, choruses would erupt from the crowd whenever there was a lull in the proceedings of the event. The celebration of Peace Day in an ordinary church service at Antioka consisted of the singing of choruses towards the end of the service. Other church services did not include any chorus singing. At the laying of the first stone of the church building of Macupe annexe of Antioka in Magude, choruses were sung while the first stone was being laid. The crowd who had gathered for the event stood in a large circle around the hole in the ground where the brick was to be laid, singing choruses with much ululating and some gentle dancing. The laying of the brick took place before the formal church service began. Similarly, when I was leaving Antioka after completing five weeks of fieldwork the congregation sang church choruses as gifts of material (called *ka pulana*) were offered. These observations show that church choruses are sung more usually during a time of celebration and when a significant event is taking place, especially an event in which there is much joy to be expressed.

Choruses, thus, appear to be sung during events of emotional significance and can be seen as a form of embellishment of the special occasion. I have observed that choruses are sung most often to celebrate a special occasion and to express joy. A particular service at Antioka was the occasion of the laying of gifts on the table at the front of the church. These gifts are in the form of monetary donations to the parish. During the laying of the gifts on the table each group in the Church has a chance to walk or dance to the front of the church to lay their gifts on the table. Each person will place the money on the table quite purposefully making a thumping sound on the surface of the table as the gift is placed on it. This is done while each group sings the chorus or song chosen and lead by the group whose turn it is. The purposeful placing of the money on the table, as seen in Track 1 of the accompanying DVD, adds a percussive element to the overall sound of each groups' performance. If there is an occasion that calls for much celebration, choruses will generally be sung straight through the proceedings, erupting at any point, most often guided by the atmosphere of the event, and experienced at different intensities within the crowd at different moments, as I observed at the Jubilee in 2012.

When one observes how church choruses performed in the IPM are sung with much improvisation and "participatory discrepancies" (Keil, 1987)⁴⁹, it seems that the music performed by the Tsonga Presbyterians is continually transforming, and that there is little resistance to musical transformation. There also appears to be an understanding of the necessity and inevitability of social transformation, as

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⁴⁹ As discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

reflected in the incorporation of women into a previously exclusively male musical performance. While transformation is apparent in the Antioka parish, some practices brought by the Swiss Mission and which are common practice in the Presbyterian Church, remain in use in the IPM. For example, the order of service and the singing of European Reformed Church hymns.

Literacy, orality, memory: Tsonga hymn composition

As a result of the evangelical encounter, one of the major changes that took place in an indigenous Tsonga lifestyle was the movement towards literacy due to the emphasis that the Swiss Mission placed on literacy in the vernacular. The print culture, referring to printed Biblical texts such as the Bible and hymnbooks, exists in an object form and is reliant on literacy. The print culture was one of the factors contributing to the transformation of the indigenous Tsonga society. Through the "print culture" (Harries, 2001, p. 424) of the buku, the Swiss Mission could exercise a certain amount of control over the locals (Harries, 2007). Writing in the vernacular has had a prominent role in the spread of Christianity in southern Mozambique. Missions in Africa became associated with not only Christianity, but also with writing (Harries, 2007, p. 184). The transmission of Christianity in the vernacular contributed to the appropriation of Christianity by locals because of its familiarity through a language that they understood (Harries, 2007, p. 185). The buku was a powerful tool in evangelization because it existed in writing in a language that was familiar to the locals (ibid.). Its ease of travel in object form transmitted the Christian message across vast distances even into areas where missionaries had not been before (Harries, 2007, p. 157). The locals' fascination for information pertaining to a belief system stored in an object form was accompanied by people believing that the *buku* itself had mystical powers (Harries, 2007). The Bible has been viewed in a similar way in more recent times in areas of Africa, such as Tanzania (Goliama, 2011) and for Isaiah Shembe, the prophet of the Nazarite Church in South Africa, who "clearly understood the authority and power vested in the written word" (Muller, 1999, p. 97).

The hymnbook, existing in a written form, has contributed to the transmission of Christianity in the vernacular across vast distances. When looking at the hymnbook as a form of "print culture" (Harries, 2001, p. 424) one can compare the use of print media in Africa today. Those commonly used are "books, newspapers, magazines, newsletters, brochures, business cards, flyers, printed materials hung on billboards or glued on walls or trees by the roadside as well as letters" (Goliama, 2011, p. 6). Although the mobile phone usage has increased drastically in the past two decades (Bekele, 2010) many churches in Africa still use print media as a form of communication (Goliama, 2011). In recent years in Africa, modern media technologies have transformed the manner of transmission of the Christian belief system and its music⁵⁰. It has thus been shown that literacy was a prominent tool in the evangelisation process

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⁵⁰ For a more detailed discussion of the effect of modern media technologies on the communities of Antioka and Facazisse refer to Chapter 5.

in southern Mozambique and South Africa, as well as a prominent feature in the transformation of indigenous Tsonga societies or communities.

Marivate (1984) made a clear distinction between Tsonga people who, as he put it, go to school and those who don't. Marivate believed that the Tsonga Presbyterians, those he describes as school-going, who have been educated by the Swiss Mission, relied mainly on literacy and thus neglected oral memory. Marivate felt that he, along with other Tsonga people educated by the Swiss Mission, could not remember songs nor improvise upon them as effectively as those who do not go to school. Thus education became a clear marker distinguishing groups of the Vatsonga who were affiliated with the Swiss Mission and who thus received an education, and those who were not. In light of Marivate's perspective, literacy education transformed Tsonga society, more particularly in the realm of orality, where aural memory and improvisatory skills were, as a result of literacy education, not given the space to develop to their potential when literacy became a primary tool in a person's life. From this perspective, literacy education was an indicator of the distinction that was made between Tsonga Presbyterians and those who did not attend the Presbyterian Church or the mission schools.

I have observed a strong improvisatory character in the musical performances of the IPM today. From the brief glimpse I had into the church services of the EPC, it was apparent that the members of the EPC also incorporate a strong improvisatory character in their musical performances. The apparent decline in music literacy at Antioka has also contributed to the extended use and regular invoking of aural memory. With the strong improvisatory character and the prominent use of aural memory in the musical performances of the Antioka parish, as well as the steady increase in literacy in Mozambique in recent years, I believe that literacy education is not as strong a force in making distinctions between groups of people among the Vatsonga, as in the school-goers or the educated, and the non-school-goers, than has previously been the case. It has been argued that the education provided by the Swiss Mission instilled within Mozambicans a political consciousness that eventually helped in the political revolution and the independence of Mozambique in 1976 (Cruz e Silva, 1998). While this may have been the case forty years ago, today, social and political transformations in Mozambique are experienced by its citizens as an increase in the availability and type of technology including large scale industrial farming. These transformations are impacting upon their lives, and experienced most poignantly by the people living in a rural lifestyle where their experiences of modernity are different to people who live in an urban lifestyle⁵¹.

Music literacy and musical performance in the Antioka parish

Ethnomusicological literature has shown that, in an oral tradition, musical features of songs transform according to living memory (Blacking, 1967). For example, among the Bavenda, if there is a dispute

⁵¹ For more on a proposed 'alternative modernity' refer to Chapter 5.

between which melody is the correct version of a song, the melody with the majority of people believing that it is the correct version will be accepted. However with literacy, once a piece of music is written down and as long as its performers can read the notation, the music is conserved in a particular form and future performances will reveal the same melody. Although hymns in the IPM are conserved in a written form in the hymn book, decreasing music literacy at Antioka will have an influence on future performances of these hymns in the Antioka parish. See Chapter 5 for an in depth discussion of this.

With the Swiss Mission's emphasis on reading, and the important role of music in transmitting the Christian belief system, literacy education in language and music was of high importance on the Swiss mission stations. The issue of literacy is therefore inextricably linked to the didactic function of the music of the IPM. During the time that Swiss missionaries were in Mozambique they taught the Tsonga Presbyterians on the mission stations how to read tonic sol-fa notation. This practice continued through the 1950s with members of the Antioka parish noting how, when they were youth at Antioka, they and their peers were taught to read music by the Swiss missionaries, particularly during Christmas holidays (Chauque, 2013; Mundlhovu, 2013). The church building was used as a school during that period (Chauque, 2013). Today, the children of Antioka learn church hymns from singing them at home and in church. They also do not receive formal education in music literacy (Mucavi, 2013).

To take this one step further, I look at the music literacy education in terms of the concept brought forward by Walter Ong (2002), 'primary orality'. This refers to societies which have not encountered writing or print. Ong, however, does qualify that this is not usually possible as most societies in today's world have encountered writing in some way. He is of the opinion that even societies that rely heavily on writing are never far removed from the mindset of primary orality. Ong (ibid.) goes on to say that, those in societies that commonly use oral transmission, "learn by apprenticeship" through "listening, by repeating what they hear, by mastering proverbs and ways of combining and re-combining them, by assimilating formulatory materials, [and] by participation in a kind of corporate retrospection" (p. 9). Thus, when looking at the manner in which the children of Antioka learn to sing church hymns, one may see that although they learn language literacy in school, they learn church hymns through a manner of apprenticeship which involves a variety of different memories including muscle memory. The latter is what Ong refers to as corporate retrospection, where an individual will learn something experientially and be able to draw on previous experiences of learning by thinking back to those experiences and reenacting them through different forms of memory, including muscle and aural memory. Furthermore, although Xitsonga is their home language, the children of Antioka do not learn to read and write in Xitsonga at school as it is not taught in schools in Mozambique. They learn to read in Xitsonga from singing church hymns and reading the Bible.

A prominent singer in the Antioka parish, Sinai Mundlhovu, uses his knowledge of music literacy in the singing of hymns in the church. In a particular rendition of *Kereke ya wena, Yesu* (Hymn 30 in *Tisimu*,2011), meaning 'Your Church, Jesus', performed at an ordinary Sunday church service during fieldwork, I observed that Mundlhovu seems to be singing the tune slightly ahead of the rest of the congregation. It seems as if the congregation is drawing the rhythm out and that Mundlhovu is keeping the pace. This could be likened to the issue that Temperley (1981) raises with regards to church singing without musical accompaniment:

"In places where congregations are left to sing hymns without musical direction for long periods, a characteristic style of singing tends to develop. The tempo becomes extremely slow; the sense of rhythm is weakened; extraneous pitches appear, sometimes coinciding with those of the hymn tune, sometimes inserted between them; the total effect may be dissonant" (Temperley, 1981 p.511).

Although Mundlhovu holds a prominent position in the Antioka parish and broader community of Facazisse, his prominence in church music performances is due to his confidence and capability as a musician. His prominent role in the music is not due to the social position he holds but due to his affinity for music. There are other members of Antioka who hold similarly important positions in the Church, such as Church eldership, however, not all of them occupy leadership roles in church music performances. Referring also to the description of *U ta nghena njani* ⁵² in Chapter 1, it is apparent that individuals have the freedom to make musical choices, whether choosing to sing the leading role or the chorus part for example.

Literacy education and Mahungu Lamanene (Good News)

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Furthermore, I refer to this the chorus *U* ta nghena njhani in previous research as Ngena kanjani (Germiquet, 2013). I have since found that the present title is more applicable in Xitsonga. The previous title was influenced by my knowledge and experience of isiXhosa from living in the Eastern Cape of South Africa. Although I have heard this chorus sung in Keiskammahoek, Eastern Cape, upon further investigation of the Xitsonga lyrics I have found it necessary to modify the title in this thesis.

For the purposes of clarity, I refer to this chorus as *U ta nghena njhani*, a title that I have given to it. It is apparent that a title of a song is not an important aspect of the music in the IPM. The didactic function of the music of the IPM is illustrated through the common practice of the anonymity of the composer and title, as the important aspect of the music is the message it transmits. Performers do not mention the composer or the title of the choir song before or after choir performances. Joseffa Mucavele, a youth choir conductor of a parish of the IPM in Magude, does not tell the choir when they perform a song that he has composed as he would not like this to affect their performance (Mucavele, 2013). When I asked Mucavele what the title of a particular song was, he responded that he had not given it a title as that is not usually the practice in the IPM. It was apparent that he was not intending to ever give it a title but, since I had asked, he made the title from the first phrase of the song, *Hi vito ra Hosi,* meaning 'The voice of God'. When a title is needed, using the first phrase of a song or hymn as the title seems to be common practice within church song or hymn composition in the IPM. For a further example, Marivate named Hymns 99 and Hymn 198, as discussed in Chapter 4, by the first phrase of the lyrics in the hymns. *Dri Thlasile Jubileu*, meaning 'The Jubilee is coming', is a song composed by Valente Tseco in 2011 for the women's fellowship of the IPM in honour of the 125th Jubilee of the IPM in 2012. This song's title is also inspired by its opening phrase.

One hymn which is sung regularly in the IPM and which stands out as an example of the merging of an oral tradition and a literate one is *Mahungu Lamanene*, meaning 'Good News'. It was composed in around 1962 by Daniel Cornelius Marivate at the request of the Swiss Mission for a Jubilee of the Church⁵³ (Marivate, 1984). It displays characteristics of the Reformed Church tradition with its Christian message, steady rhythm, and stepwise melody. However, areas of the hymn show musical features characteristic of a Tsonga oral tradition such as multiple melodies being sung simultaneously and producing polyrythms, as in bars 57 to 59 in Figure 9. Other features include a hocketing style of singing between the sopranos and altos, as well as between the tenors and basses, as seen in bars 73 to 81 in Figure 9. *Mahungu Lamanene* is published in the hymnbook, *Tinsimu ta Vakriste*, which both the EPC and IPM use.

This hymn also displays characteristics of a Tsonga oral tradition with its lyrics being an historical account of how the Swiss Mission came to southern Africa. For example, bars 49-56 translate as: "They arrived yonder at Jiwawa, the Portuguese chief to whom the Vatsonga went when they were fleeing the wars of Mawewe⁵⁴ when he was fighting their person Muzila." Jiwawa is what the Tsonga refugees called Joao Albasini, a Portuguese consul from Mozambique whom the Tsonga refugees regarded as their chief at the time of their encounter with the Swiss Mission. Mawewe and Muzila were brothers fighting over chieftainship in southern Mozambique around 1862 (Maluleke, 2003, p. 12).

In this respect the hymn represents a manner of storytelling. In storytelling, the story teller may draw inspiration from his or her own interests, from the present and the past and from "changing literary convention" (Finnegan, 2012, p. 376). Marivate, in the case of *Mahungu Lamanene*, has drawn on history, and in particular, the encounter of the Vatsonga with Christianity. While there is reference to the encounter with the Swiss Missionaries, focus is rather placed on the local evangelists who spread the Christian message such as Yosefa Mhalamhala and Calvin Mapope. This focus is apparent due to the use of these names in the lyrics of the hymn. This focus on local evangelists is echoed in the play performed by the IPM in May 2014, *De la Missão Suíça à l'IPM*.

Marivate has used indigenous Tsonga proverbs in this hymn. For example, in bars 65-66, the proverb *Ku dya i ku engeta* is translated as "To eat is to go on." One source of information explains this proverb as meaning when people do not have enough to eat, the real joy of good food is to know that there will be more of it tomorrow (Junod, 1957, p. 213). The proverb has also been described as a form of politeness to thank one's host for a most enjoyable meal, and its literal meaning is to say to one's host

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⁵³ It is unclear whether this hymn was composed for the Jubilee of the IPM or the EPC. Marivate lived and worked at Valdezia and was a member of the EPC, however, with this hymn's composition being c.1962 and IPM having been due to celebrate its 7th Jubilee in 1962 it could have been composed for the Jubilee of the IPM.

⁵⁴ The Ngoni King who had to flee to Swaziland to avoid the wrath of his brother Muzila (also known as Umzila) during the civil war of 1858 – 1862 " (Harries, 2007; n.d., p. 62). The war spoken of here affected the people living the Khosen and Bilene area (from Magude to the coast). Mawewe died in 1872 (*ibid*, p 65).

,"I'll come again and eat at your place" (Schneider, 2014). In any respect, the proverb is used to thank one's hosts. In the context of the hymn, its meaning is expanded to express gratitude to the Swiss pioneer missionaries as well as the local evangelists. "Marivate is saying that we are a generation for this Jubilee that remembers all the pioneers" (*ibid.*). Of proverbs, their "use and application depends so crucially on their context that no full understanding can be reached without some knowledge of the occasions and purposes of their actual use" (Finnegan, 2012, p. 395). Assuming this is the case in Tsonga society, it is interesting to note the transformation of the context of application of these proverbs used previously in an indigenous Tsonga context, and now in the context of a Christian belief system.

Muller (p. 100) discusses how Shembe, of the Nazarite Church, chose to "inscribe his people's experiences" where he used rhetorical techniques to mark "important places and historical processes" (Muller, 1999, p. 100). In this way, *Mahungu Lamanene* marks important events in the history of the Tsonga Presbyterians, such as the wars that caused some people to flee to South Africa, and the encounter with the Swiss missionaries. It also places continued importance on prominent figures in history, such as Mhalamhala. As Belsey (2006) puts it:

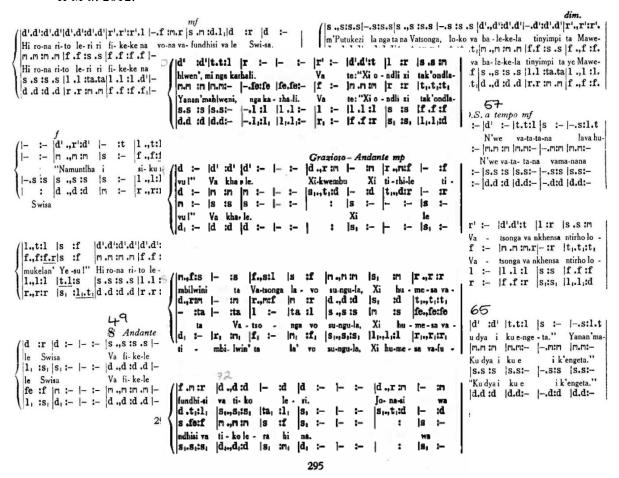
"And rather than needing a cultural context in order to make sense of them [texts], we learn about the culture that produced them from the texts themselves. Texts (in a broad sense) are, indeed, the only available instances of that culture. And the texts that tend to form the material of cultural criticism cannot be closed down by the one definitive reading that would surpass all others. Instead, they can be shown to reveal more than their authors knew, and more than previous critics have identified" (p. 46).

In this regard the fact that Marivate used traditional Tsonga proverbs in a Christian hymn reveals that indigenous Tsonga values are still important in the lives of Tsonga Presbyterians today.

Looking deeper, beyond the text, the use of this proverb was not an arbitrary compositional choice or a matter of Marivate's personal taste. It was used very often in the interaction between local Tsonga Presbyterians and Swiss missionaries (Monier, 2014a). It was used in the context when two parties would share a meal or a moment together. They would express their joy by saying to one another: *Ku dya i ku engeta*, meaning that they had just shared a moment that they would like to enjoy again (Monier, 2014a; Monier, 2014b). On the Swiss mission stations this proverb took on a meaning beyond that of the importance of the message in the hymn. The hymn was made meaningful in the context of the encounter as the use of the proverb represented the interaction between the locals and the missionaries. Reflecting another side to the encounter, however, is something that is not seen explicitly through an analysis of the lyrics of the hymn, but with the tacit knowledge of the encounter provided by Swiss missionaries' own experiences with the use of the proverb (Monier, 2014a; Monier, 2014b) there is a deeper understanding of the relevance of this proverb in the context of the IPM and the Tsonga Presbyterian paradigm.

As one may see, this is a Christian hymn, which in the spirit of a Tsonga oral tradition, recounts the history of the Vatsonga and the encounter with the Swiss Mission. It illustrates the incorporation of literacy into a previously oral tradition where melodies and messages that would normally have been transmitted orally are now also written down. The incorporation of indigenous Tsonga proverbs in a written form not only contributes to the conservation of indigenous knowledge but also illustrates the value held for certain forms of indigenous knowledge in the Tsonga Presbyterian community. This perspective is echoed in the play discussed in this thesis where the focus is on the work conducted by the locals. *Mahungu Lamanene* is an example of a manner of transmission resulting from the encounter with the Swiss Mission as it exhibits tendencies of both orality and literacy. Thus, with the combination of two previously separate belief systems, one may see a co-existence of an indigenous Tsonga heritage and that of the Reformed Church of Switzerland and in this a reflection of the Tsonga Presbyterians' dual-heritage.

Figure 9: Mahungu Lamanene (Hymn 250), meaning 'Good News', composed by Daniel Cornelius Marivate for a Jubilee of the Church. This hymn was performed at the Jubilee of the IPM in 2012.



Memory and local paradigms: Mahungu Lamanene as mnemonic device

The translation of hymn lyrics into the vernacular which display sensitivity towards the nuances of the vernacular may be regarded as a form of memory. Local paradigms would have influenced the choice of lyrics in order to make sense in the vernacular and to correspond with the worldview of the receptor or receiving culture. Thus, in hymns, local paradigms are preserved in a new form. They are written down in notated hymns within the context of a belief system which was not around to have an influence on the formation of the local paradigms in the first place. From the composition of Church hymns by local members of the IPM, came the construction of new forms of local paradigms. The construction of this new form is exemplified in *Loko xirimo xi fika* (Hymn 99), as discussed in Chapter 4, with the linking of an indigenous Tsonga lifestyle to Christianity where, for example, working hard to cultivate food is not only a necessary part of life for survival but is considered valuable within the paradigm of a Protestant work ethic. In *Mahungu Lamanene*, the placing of indigenous Tsonga proverbs into a Christian context, thus constructs a new form of a local paradigm.

Harries (2007) refers to hymns as mnemonic devices that moved performers and listeners "more than their hesitant and distracted reading of texts" (p. 192). "Written or printed they were easily memorised when divided into verses, packed into slogans and locked into tunes that stirred memory and emotion" (*ibid.*, p. 192). Tsonga hymns, such as *Mahungu Lamanene*, may be seen as a synthesis between the written and the oral: "As a form of oral reading, hymn-singing was especially important, for it introduced illiterate people to the Swiss Mission and the language that unified their field of operation" (Harries, 2007, p. 166). According to Harries (2007) hymns require a different form of reading which he refers to as 'sung reading.' The hymns published in the *buku* were a form of sung reading "that appealed to people with little knowledge of Christianity or literacy" (Harries, 2007, p. 192).

Similarly, "learning to sing psalms as opposed to learning to recite them was found to be a more effective way of memorising scripture. This was especially true for illiterate people and for those who could not afford to buy a Bible or even a Psalter" (Germiquet 2011). It is evident that the *Tinsimu* is important in the lives of the congregants of Antioka parish today. It is mainly used as a mnemonic device for the singing of hymns rather than an object imbued with mystical powers as was believed during the beginning of the evangelical encounter.

Through the continued performance of *Mahungu Lamanene*, the Tsonga Presbyterians remain aware of their history within the encounter with the Swiss Mission. Through the popularity of this hymn in the IPM; it being performed at the Jubilee, in the ordinary services of Antioka parish, as well as featuring prominently in the above mentioned play, it is clear that while the members of the IPM embrace their history, they are not opposed to transformation. Musical aspects that illustrate transformation in the IPM are the common use of improvisation, albeit appropriate improvisation, and variations or Reformed Church hymns.

The musical transformation in the IPM links to the autonomy of the Church. Referring to how the members of the IPM told the Swiss missionaries that they themselves would decide how they would evolve or not (Russ, 2014), that the members of IPM make their own choices with regards to transformation becomes most explicit in their musical performances. This is especially the case where they improvise upon and make variations to notated Reformed Church hymns. Although the origins of *Tatana wa rirhandzu* have been difficult to determine since there is no reference to the composer or genre, the members of the IPM have made it their own through invoking it in significant events and through improvisation upon the hymn text. A member of the Antioka parish, an elderly woman of the community, Palmira Mucavi, who has been at Antioka since childhood (c. 1950s) stated that they never used to sing hymns from *Tinsimu* with alterations to the notated version. But, this practice began recently. She mentioned that *Kunene ndzi swi kumile* (Hymn 143 in *Tinsimu*, 2011), meaning 'Indeed I have found', is a hymn that they used to sing according to the text but these days, when there is a special occasion, they sing it with variations (Mucavi, 2013).

Figure 10: A performance of a Tsonga style of dance, Makwayela, at the Jubilee of the IPM held at Antioka, Magude district, Mozambique, in July 2012. Makwayela previously involved only men, but recent years have seen the inclusion of women.



A more recent example of social transformation, as exemplified and articulated through musical performance, is exhibited in a performance of *Makwayela* at the Jubilee in 2012. This performance, as illustrated in Figure 10, consisted of both men and women dancing to drum rhythms with weapons and shields⁵⁵. According to Tseco (2013), *Makwayela* is a form of dancing originally only of groups of men and boys ranging in numbers between four and twenty. The size of the group depended on the size of the community. The involvement of women in this dance at the Jubilee in 2012 shows a transformation in societal values where before women would not have taken part in such a dance. Tseco explains:

"In our culture, women used to have their own typical dancing and singing and they would not mix it with men. But now that things are changing, the tendency we might find is that even women are mixing with men in that kind of dancing" (Tseco, 2013).

While the members of the IPM embrace their history, as seen in *Mahungu Lamanene*, they also embrace social and musical transformation, as seen in the improvisations and variations upon notated church hymns in the hymnbook, as well as the incorporation of women into Tsonga dances that were originally only for men.

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⁵⁵ The use of shield in this dance could have been influenced by the Nguni invasions into southern Mozambique where some Zulu custom were appropriated by Tsonga people. This is speculation however, and further research is required to substantiate this idea.

Chapter 4

Translation, vernacular paradigms, and the local logic of music

The translation I refer to in this section is not only linked to language translation, as in the translation of Christian texts into the vernacular, but also the translation and transformation of paradigms which occur during encounters between different groups of people. This research looks at the transformation of the Tsonga conceptions of the universe, the world, and life, toward conceptions embedded within Christianity.

With the importance placed on vernacular literacy education in the Reformed Church, and hence on the Swiss mission stations, Christian texts, including hymn lyrics, were translated into the vernacular. In the Calvinist Church the messages transmitted through hymns needed to be heard clearly by the congregation, hence the didactic nature of hymns in the Church. The emphasis placed on understanding the messages transmitted through hymn lyrics stems from the music being designed for congregational singing in the Reformed Church, and so that people could learn Biblical messages through singing. Thus hymns in the Calvinist Church were didactic in nature, and through their performance they were a means of transmitting the Christian message, an issue especially pertinent for the illiterate. In South Africa and southern Mozambique, Swiss missionaries translated hymn lyrics into the vernacular,

Xitsonga, so that messages transmitted in hymns could be clearly understood by the members of the IPM.

Swiss missionaries displayed sensitivity towards the issue of translation in the lyrics of hymns. Either the original melodies would be manipulated or the messages in the hymns would be changed to accommodate the new language. For example, Hymn 86 in *Tinsimu*, *Ha ku dzunisa*, is a Xitsonga translation of the well-known Protestant hymn 'Thine be the Glory' based on a theme by G. F. Handel. An excerpt of this hymn, in Figure 11, reveals a subtle manipulation of the original rhythm of the melody. At the end of each phrase, in bars 4, 8, 12, and 16, a note is added to accommodate the extra syllable that makes the phrase in Xitsonga grammatically correct. The added note does not change the contour of the melody but adds an extra beat on the same pitch as the previous note so that the second syllable of the word may be sounded.

One may refer to Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of heteroglossia in this instance. Bakhtin finds that the power of the novel is found within the conflicts between different types of speech within the novel (Holquist, 1981), and in this, the novel finds its individual character (p. 431). In relation to the music of the IPM, the different types of speech may be linked to the different musical heritages of the IPM, namely Tsonga music and Reformed Church music. The distinct musical character of the IPM arises from the conflict, as Bakhtin observes, or from the dialogue between these different musical heritages. Further research is needed in order to elaborate on how the music of the IPM may be perceived in the context of Bakhtin's theory.

Figure 11: Ha ku dzunisa (Hymn 86), meaning 'May you be praised', from the Tsonga hymnbook Tinsimu ta Vakriste published in 1989. This hymn is based on the chorus "See, the conquering hero comes," from George Frederik Handel's oratorio Jonas Maccabaeus. It is also a popular Protestant Church hymn known today as 'Thine be the Glory.'

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Translation and local paradigms

In order for the didactic nature of hymns to be realised, the translation of Christian messages transmitted through hymns had to take into account local paradigms. A reason for the ease with which Christianity was appropriated into African lifestyles was that, in Africa people have a concept of the divine and religious belief is a part of everyday life in Africa (Setiloane, 1986) ⁵⁶. Therefore, the ease with which Christianity was included into the Tsonga lifestyle may be as a result of the Vatsonga already being a spiritual people with a concept of a creator and the divine. The appropriation of the Christian belief system was also made possible through the incorporation of local paradigms during the translation process. Locals interpreted Christianity in local paradigms, thus they understood the message of Christianity within the context of their already existing understandings of spiritual and religious concepts.

According to Lamin Sanneh (1990), a professor of Missions and World Christianity, the translatability of the Christian gospel offers cultural pluralism, and in this way it may enter into living cultures with relative ease (p. 50). By translating Christian texts into the vernacular, the particular worldview inherent

⁵⁶ Setiloane (1986) translates the word religion to "customs" or "peoples' ways" as it is "lived and practised" rather than only intellectualised (p. 41).

in the language would have had an influence on the conceptualisation of the new belief system as translation brings one to new ways of understanding the world through the conventions of language. Thus, for the Vatsonga, an understanding of the Christian message within the perspective of their worldview would allow for the effective assimilation of the Christian belief system. The "vernacular logic of Christianity" helped to promote an indigenous understanding of Christianity rather than perpetuate the "Western forms of the religion" (Sanneh, 1990, p. 178).

Effective translation involves reciprocity where the "receptor culture", to use Sanneh's (1990) word (p. 198), or the indigenous people who are on the receiving end in the case of missionaries in southern Africa, assert their own values and manners of thinking within the exchanges that occur between the introducer of the new belief system and themselves (Sanneh, 1990, p. 199). The assimilated belief system is most usually "grounded in the life and experience of the believer" therefore "new paradigms and vastly different presuppositions must now replace earlier symbols and the certainties they enshrined" (ibid., p. 53). William Carey (1761 - 1834), a British missionary in India, understood the importance of translating Christianity not only into the vernacular but also into an indigenous worldview, thus advocating for the "indigenous expression of Christianity" as he did not want to perpetuate Western points of view on Christianity (Sanneh, 1990, p. 101). In light of Sanneh's opinion, the translation, and hence the assimilation of Christianity into the receiving culture would not be as effective otherwise. For a translation of the Christian message to be effective it must represent the way in which the people receiving the belief system speak (Nida, 1952, p. 34 in Sanneh, 1990, p. 199). "A necessary precondition for effective translation is to surrender to the terms of the receptor culture" (Sanneh, 1990, p. 198), and in this, one may see the emergence of a vernacular logic of Christianity; in the case of the current research, an emergence of a Xitsonga logic within a Tsonga Presbyterian paradigm.

Locally composed Tsonga hymns and local paradigms

I arrived at Antioka for fieldwork during the ploughing season. At this time people spend many of the cooler hours of the day preparing the soil and planting various foods such as peanuts and corn. Referring to the relationship between work involving physical labour, and music (Sidran, 1995, Germiquet, 2011), I presumed that the air at Antioka would be filled with singing voices and that its musical landscape could be linked to agricultural factors. However, emanating from the fields was mostly the sound of hand-held hoes rupturing the fine, grey sand and the sound of cow hooves stamping the soil as they pulled the plough across the hillside. As I was helping Mamana Aida Zamba in her field, I asked her whether she ever sings while she works in her field. She explained that she does not. Indeed, as I spent

time planting peanuts and corn with her and her mother, Kokwana Lucinda⁵⁷, the sounds drifting through the hot and humid air were the rhythmic pulse of the hoe, the laboured breathing of people at work, and the sounds of passers-by travelling across the flat plains as they called to one another in the distance.

The inclusion of local paradigms in hymns was not only employed during the translation of hymns the the indigenous worldview was also incorporated into locally composed Tsonga Presbyterian hymns. Local paradigms were incorporated into hymns of the IPM through the use of analogy as representing a local lifestyle within a Christian belief system and a Protestant work ethic. Such is the case in both hymns, *Loko xirimo xi fika* (Hymn 99) (*Tinsimu*, 2011, p. 113 – 115), and *Xidzedze* (Hymn 198) (*ibid.*, p. 229 – 233), composed by the late Daniel Cornelius Marivate, a teacher, minister and choir conductor at Valdezia mission station in the mid-20th century. An indigenous Tsonga worldview was also incorporated into a Christian hymn through the use of indigenous Tsonga proverbs in *Mahungu Lamanene* (*ibid.*, p. 291 – 298).

In *Loko xirimo xi fika* (Hymn 99) meaning 'When the ploughing season arrives', Marivate included references to an agricultural component of a Tsonga lifestyle with lyrics that discuss the preparation of soil for cultivation. The verses and refrain are translated as follows⁵⁸:

Verse 1:

When the ploughing season arrives - Oh!

The rains start to come.

We take our seeds and mattocks.

We go and plough the field! - Oh!

The earth is softened up - Oh,

The seeds are quick to sprout.

Absolutely everyone is at work.

Refrain:

Those who are idle - it is their business.

⁵⁷ Mamana is a respectful term in Xitsonga when referring to a woman older than oneself. It also designates the general age of the woman. Kokwana is a respectful term for an elderly woman. It designates her status in society as an elderly woman.

⁵⁸ Translation by Margy Dale.

They will starve and feel hunger.

Others plant ground nuts, and corn.

Others plant sweet potatoes and green vegetables.

Others plant sugar cane and peanuts

Everyone is at work!

Verse 2:

When Gope is asleep - Oh!

The rooster disturbs him and says: - Oh!

Nkinkiliho o nkinkiliho, - Oh!

The sun has risen long ago - Oh!

The young men are digging up the earth.

Others have gone to fetch water.

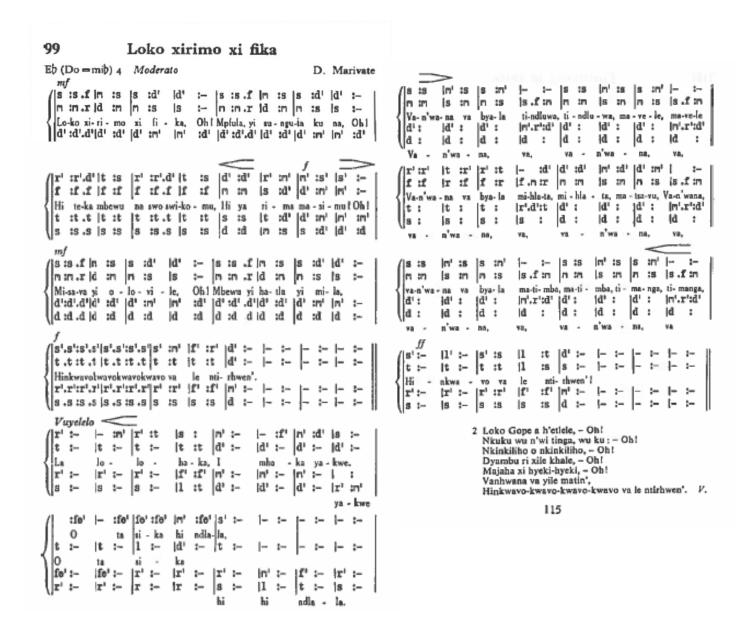
Absolutely everyone is at work.

The type of food planted, as described in the refrain, is the same as the food that is locally grown among the Vatsonga in the southeast area of Africa As I conducted fieldwork during the ploughing season (October and November) and through participating in some of this work, I observed that the refrain reflects the type of crops that the members of Antioka and Facazisse plant. Furthermore, these crops are similar to the crops that Marivate describes that he and others planted on their farms near Valdezia mission station in South Africa (Marivate, 1987).

Referring to the notated score in Figure 12, the lyrics include an 'oh!' which is to be sung on a crotchet beat by the bass and tenor voice parts on the tonic note as illustrated in bars 2, 4, 8, and 10. This type of musical feature is echoed in a song performed by the Jouventude of Antioka which includes a 'hm' sound stressed at the end of some phrase occurring the lower voice part. This may be heard in Track 7 of the accompanying DVD. Thus, one may see that types of musical exclamations, as discussed above, are features of the music of the IPM, musical features which are not, as far as I am aware, performed in Reformed Church music. These features seem to be a part of southern African singing where one may

also note the use of exclamations such as "jo!" and "helele!" and the onomatopoeic use of the word "moo!" in Sotho songs (*Lipina tsa Banna*) (Wells, 1994, p. 63).

Figure 12: The score of the Loko xirimo xi fika, composed by Daniel Cornelius Marivate, and published as Hymn 99 in Tinsimu, 2011,



The third line of verse 2 which includes the lyrics *Nkinkiliho o nkinkiliho* is assumed to be onomatopoeic, representing the sound of a rooster's call. The rooster in this piece is explained to awake the people so that they can start working in the fields. It is apparent that animal noises are incorporated in the rhythm of life in Facazisse too. According to an informant of Facazisse and my interpreter during fieldwork, Paolo Zamba, the donkey is recognised as a source of time in the village since it brays on the hour every hour (Pers. comm. with Zamba, 2013). During the time when the Swiss missionaries were present at Antioka, the church bell accompanied the rhythms of life and it "was rung in such a

way as to divide the day into manageable portions devoted to the regular performance of specific tasks" (Harries, 2007, p. 82). During fieldwork in 2013, I noticed that the church bell at Antioka marked the start of church meetings or church services. However, I did not notice it being used to such an extent as described by Harries (2007). Thus, one may, see the incorporation of a Christian symbol into the rhythm of everyday life among the Vatsonga of Facazisse and Antioka.

Along with it being embedded in local paradigms, *Loko xirimo xi fika* also reflects a Protestant work ethic. This occurs most notably in the last lines in both the refrain: "Everyone is at work", and verse 2: "Absolutely everyone is at work." Furthermore, the refrain expresses the idea that work is highly valued in the community. This value is echoed in an interview conducted with Marivate where he makes a distinction between the Vatsonga who attend school and those who do not. Being a member of the EPC and living at Valdezia mission station, Marivate included himself in the group of people who attended school. Marivate stated that:

"Our [Christians who have received formal education] disadvantage is that we are too much in the books. We have no time, we think it is a waste of time to sit outside there with them [non-schooled Vatsonga] and to listen to how they speak, how they sing, and to listen to all the stories that they tell. They finish the whole day without having done anything except gaining sand in their pockets,, and having lost a lot of time. That's why we are the people who are confining ourselves to books and to houses. A long time ago when there were no schools, no cars, and no books, we were all one, doing things properly. Now, you see, we are all busy trying to improve ourselves, trying to do something for the country, that we have no time to listen to that kind of thing anymore [story-telling and singing songs]" (Marivate, 1984).

This statement further reflects on how the Swiss Mission influenced not only the belief system of the Vatsonga but also their value system. For example, working to improve oneself became of higher importance in the Tsonga Presbyterian community than of gathering to engage in music-making and story-telling (Marivate, 1984), something which has long been an important aspect of social life in an indigenous Tsonga lifestyle⁵⁹.

Looking at the transmission of values during the encounter, the concept of a mission station had, to a certain extent, kept the values of the indigenous society to the periphery. But this was not infallible, as indigenous beliefs were assimilated into local understandings of Christianity (Harries, 2007), most notably because of the worldview that is intricately intertwined in a language system. Translating Christianity into the vernacular inevitably imbued Christianity with a local logic, as discussed above. As far back as 1876, one of the early hymns in the Gwamba language titled 'Work' associated being

⁵⁹ See Junod's (1927) account of indigenous literature and the place that it held in everyday social life among the Vatsonga.

religious with labour (Harries, 2007, p. 199), and thus, transmitted this manner of thinking to the performers and listeners. The transmission of the Christian message was also aided greatly when local figures of authority engaged in the performance of such hymns (*ibid*.).

In *Xidzedze* (Hymn 198), meaning 'gale' or 'a strong gust of wind', an analogy between nature and Christianity is made through the lyrics, depicting the gale as a force thinking that it has the strength to rip off the overcoats of young men who walk along the road. It makes fun of the sun as not having the strength to do the same. As hard as the gale tries to rip the overcoats off however, it cannot. The last lyrics of the hymn provide the outcome of the story or message that is being transmitted: "The warm rays of the sun which are pleasant will lead the young men to take their overcoats off. The heavens, they have strength" (*Tinsimu*, 2011, p. 232 -233).

In terms of the analogies in this hymn, the overcoats worn by the young men may represent pride. The gale may represent social forces exterior to Christianity which have an influence on people and may cause them to stray from the path of Christianity. The Sun may be an analogy to either Jesus or Christianity, referred to in the hymn as "the heavens." It is "the heavens" that have the patient strength to eventually lead the young men to rid themselves of their pride. An analogy to nature is used throughout *Xidzedze* to express a Christian sentiment. This may bring to mind the common use of analogies in Tsonga folktales (Bill, 1983), as well as the strong link to nature in an indigenous Tsonga lifestyle where certain beliefs are related to particular animals (Junod, 1927).

Further to the discussion on analogy in *Xidzedze*, analogies are prevalent in proverbs. Proverbs are "expressed briefly and concisely; they involve analogy, whether of meaning, sound, rhythm, or tone" (Finnegan, 2012, p. 413). It is clear that the inherent nature of analogies in proverbs is a feature of orality. Among the Yoruba of southern Nigeria "poetic allusion and analogy" are present in the Ifa⁶¹ divination rituals (Finnegan, 2012, p. 191). Among love songs of the Kuanyama Ambo of South West Africa, analogies are made of the relationship between humans and nature (Finnegan, 2012).

The images, metaphors, idiomatic expressions, and philosophy in the language of the hymns brought by missionaries were foreign to the locals (Mthethwa, 1989, p. 32; Muller, 2004, p. 192). With a limited understanding of local paradigms and vernacular idioms, missionary translations of Zulu hymns, for example, have been found to obscure the messages in the hymns (Muller, 1994). To avoid loss of understanding through translation, the missionaries had to have a "thorough knowledge" of the customs and habits of the locals (Evans-Pitchard, 1965 in Sanneh, 1990, p, 177).

⁶⁰ Translation by Margy Dale.

⁶¹ The name for the Yoruba oracle (Finnegan, 2012)

The Swiss missionaries' efforts to effectively translate the gospel into the vernacular resulted in cultural pluralism that displayed sensitivity towards the vernacular understanding of the belief system of the Reformed Church. For example, already existing words in the vernacular were used to describe Christian concepts. With regards to the first section in *Tinsimu* titled *Ta ku gandzela Xikwembu*, meaning 'To worship God,' the Tsonga/English dictionary (1974), produced and published by the Swiss Mission in South Africa, defines the word *ganzela* as to "worship", as well as to "make sacrifice to an ancestor spirit" (p. 123). It is interesting that the word *ganzela* is used in the hymnbook to describe worshiping God as it originally had associations with ancestors, something which the Reformed Church and the IPM do not encourage.

Another example is the word *xikwembu*, which translates as 'ancestral spirit.' The existence of the word *xikwembu*, as with *ganzela*, in Xitsonga shows that prior to contact with the Swiss missionaries, the Tsonga already had a conception of life existing beyond the physical world. Swiss missionaries translated the word 'God' to '*Xikwembu*' (notice the change to a majuscule 'X') thus developing the indigenous concept of an ancestral spirit into an almighty power or creator. By translating the gospel into the vernacular, and by using relevant words such as *ganzela* and *xikwembu* to denote Christian meanings, the particular worldview inherent in the vernacular would have had an influence on the conceptualisation of the new belief system. Figure 13, exhibits an example of an early Tsonga hymn recorded by Junod (1927). It was composed by a Chopi evangelist named Onisemi who found in song a means of expressing his faith. This hymn illustrates the use of the word Xikwembu⁶² by a local person newly converted to Christianity around 1900.

In indigenous Tsonga society religion and mystical beliefs played a prominent role in everyday life (Junod, 1927). Studies on the social and cultural life of the Vatsonga including discussions about music, folktales and religious practices reveal the extent to which the Vatsonga lived within a mystical belief system before the arrival of the Swiss Mission (Junod, 1927, 1918; Junod, 1957). The concept of *xikwembu* or *swikwembu* (pl.) is still in use in Facazisse among the people who follow an indigenous belief system. The Christian influence among Vatsonga of this area can be seen in such that traditional practices dealing with spirit possession (*kuhlupeka hi swikwembu*) are called "heathen" by the very women who practice them (Gengenbach, 2008).

Translation and speech-tone

Not only did missionaries require a thorough knowledge of local paradigms, but, following the necessity for hymn lyrics to be heard clearly during performance, the linguistic nuances of the vernacular, such

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⁶² In the notated hymn the word is spelt Shikwembu, an early spelling of the word.

as speech-tone, had to be taken into account. In a tonal language the "speech melody", described as "patterns of rising and falling pitch intonation", has an influence on the meaning of the "verbal text" (Baily, 2008, p. 119). Although Swiss missionaries paid particular attention to making the translated messages within Tsonga hymns understandable in terms of local paradigms the tonal aspect of Xitsonga was more of a challenge. According to Schneider:

"Music and speech are very closely linked. Singing in Xitsonga is the key to finding its prosodic element. Either lengthening the last but one syllable, going up with the sound, or down, or keeping it level has a semantic influence. Xitsonga is a musical language" (2014).

Missionary translations of hymn texts into vernacular tonal languages have long been an issue often resulting in poor renditions of hymns in the vernacular (Schneider, 2014; Muller, 1999). Schneider further notes that:

"In some of our hymns [hymns in *Tinsimu*] the music and text don't go together. With the accentuation and the tonal fluctuations in Tsonga the music should follow the language but sometimes it goes the other way round. That is why in African tunes composed by Africans in African languages, the correspondence of the harmony of music and speech is obviously much better than for Tsonga text on a European melody" (2014).

Since Marivate's mother tongue is Xitsonga, Schneider finds that his compositions "fit the language because his music and his language are one. They are in harmony" (Schneider, 2014). To illustrate this point, I turn to Figure 11, *Ha ku dzunisa* (Hymn 86), once more. As discussed before, an extra note of the same pitch was added onto the last bar of each phrase in order to accommodate the two-syllable word in Xitsonga. I look to the speech-tone of two words, *wena*, meaning 'you', in bar 8, and *vona*, meaning 'to see', in bar 12, to analyse how the translation of this hymn was dealt with in terms of speech-tone. According to Johnston (1973a), the speech-tone of *wena* consists of a rise on the first syllable and a fall on the second. It is clear in the hymn that the melody does not follow the speech-tone contour of *wena*. Keeping to the same pitch, the extra note that accommodates the second syllable of *wena*, in bar 8, is remaining loyal to the melody of the hymn.

The melody in a song that Johnston (1973a) uses to illustrate this point such that *wena* is sung on a descending major second interval the first time, and the second time on a minor second interval, with the higher voice singing on the same pitch to produce harmonies of a perfect fourth and a perfect fifth. Looking to the word *vona*, another song that Johnston (1973a) recorded is shown to exhibit a melody that remains on the same pitch when the word *vona* is sung. The same song, however, consists of a descent of a minor third interval and a major second interval in the use of the word *vona*. This indicates that, with the word *vona* the same pitch in the melody is permissible, as is the case in *Ha ku dzunisa*. An important aspect of Tsonga music is that although speech-tone plays a prominent role in the rise and

fall of a melody, there are other "musical forces" at play that allow the melody a substantial amount of freedom (*ibid.* p. 58), as one may see in these two examples. The musical freedom also exists in the case where it is common for the melody to consist of a cadential drop in pitch at the end of a phrase (*ibid.*).

A member of the EPC, Thomas Masuluke, explained that when he composes songs he writes the lyrics first and thereafter composes the music. He does this in order to have the melody correspond with the lyrics of the tonal language Xitsonga:

"For example, *Ndzi ta famba munzuku*, meaning 'If I go tomorrow.' When I compose I must say, *Ndzi ta fam-ba mun-zu-ku*. I must find out how the Tsonga people say, *Ndzi ta famba munzuku*. This is not as some composers do it when they take Western sounds and then fit Tsonga words into those sounds. In this way I find that we are spoiling the language" (Masuluke, 1984).

With Xitsonga being a tonal language, melody in much Tsonga music will follow tonal contours of the lyrics. In general, if there are two tonal inflections of the same direction on two successive syllables in any given word in a melody, then the pitches in that melody will stay the same (Johnston, 1973a). In bars 10 and 11 of the composition in Figure 13, the melody is composed according to the tonal structure of the word *Shikwembu*. Its tonal structure is such that there are two upward inflections on the first two syllables *Shi-kwem*, and a downward inflection on the last syllable *bu*. In bar 10, the melody remains on the same pitch reflecting adherence to the two upward tonal inflections of the syllables *Shi-kwem*. The descent to the last note of the melody in bar 11 is in accordance with the downward tonal inflection of the last syllable *bu*. This example serves to illustrate that the melody follows the general trend of tonal inflection within Xitsonga and hence an adherence to musical characteristics inherent in local musical practices.

Figure 13 also exhibits Reformed Church music tendencies. For example, the melody is more elaborate than what one may find in Tsonga music as described by Johnston (1975). Its melody does not have a descending proclivity nor does it show preference for the descending and ascending major seconds or the descending minor third. As is a prominent feature in Western classical music, which had influenced Reformed Church music (Marzolf, 2005), the composition begins on a dominant upbeat and ends on the tonic with a perfect cadence. With its original lyrics in Xitsonga, and a limited pitch range, which does not exceed a perfect fifth, it also exhibits some indigenous Tsonga music characteristics.

Figure 13: An early Tsonga hymn recorded by Henri-Alexandre Junod (1927, p 300).

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From a perspective of analysing music through learning to perform it, also referred to as a "performative approach to ethnomusicology", Blacking found that his singing of Venda songs was deemed correct only once he purposefully changed the melodies of each verse in correspondence with the speech-tones of Tshivenda (Baily, 2008, p. 122). In Venda musical performances, the different lyrics in each verse of a song compels the performer to sing a different melody in each verse in order to correspond the lyrics of the song to the melody created by the speech-tones of the language.

Translated Tsonga hymns and the local logic of music

Theo Schneider's knowledge of the linguistic aspects of Xitsonga has provided incredible insight into my own research on the link between language and melody composition, as well as translation of hymn lyrics. Interestingly, Giyani is geographically the central linguistic area of the various speech varieties of Xitsonga and the standard form of Xitsonga, as a literary language, is found in the area of Magude and Antioka (Schneider, 2014). Schneider found that very often European melodies would be, as he put it, Africanised. An example of this is the transformation of the rhythm of a European Reformed Church hymn to incorporate syncopation where previously there was none. This aspect is apparent in *Ku kotisa mhalamhala* (Hymn 205 in *Tinsimu*, 2011), meaning 'To sound the trumpet'. Schneider remembers this hymn sung with syncopation when he was in south-east Africa. Yet when on furlough in Switzerland, he remarked that this hymn was sung with a steady rhythm (Schneider, 2014).

On further inspection of this hymn I found that the score calls for a steady rhythm. All sung notes in the melody are the value of a crochet, except for a quaver note in the alto part in bar 8, which is the leading note moving to the tonic. There is something interesting in this piece too. It is common practice in the standard form of harmonic progression in Western classical music, on which Reformed Church hymns are based or at least influenced, to make use of phrasing that is four bars or eight bars in duration. The phrasing in *Ku kotisa mhalamhala* does not correspond with this usual practice in that one finds the

phrasing as follows (where each number represents the number of bars in the phrase indicated by the comma in the notated score): 5-4-5-4-4-4-5-5. The number of bars in the phrases is not the same consecutively nor are they in any order such as occurring alternately. It could be interpreted that this phrasing is a consequence of the translation and concomitant accommodation of Xitsonga into the piece.

However, on closer analysis this apparent unique phrasing is not particular to the Xitsonga translation only. In the notated score of this hymn in the hymnbook used in the Protestant Churches of Switzerland, *Psaume et Cantique*, the phrasing is the same as the Xitsonga versions (with the same sequence of numbers 5 - 4 - 5 - 4 - 4 - 4 - 5 - 5). The five bar phrases exist in order to accommodate the last syllable of the word at the end of the phrase in both French and Xitsonga. This brings into question whether the messages remain the same. Since these two versions are based, at least in part, on Psalm 42, it is necessary that the message transmitted in both versions is loyal to the message transmitted in Psalm 42. This is also an example of the attention to intricate detail during the translation process of hymn lyrics. This piece is originally a metrical psalm based on Psalms 42 and 43 from the Reformed Church in Geneva. It is titled *Comme un cerf*, meaning 'Like a deer', and is attributed to C. Goudimel in 1565, as one may see in the score from Psaume et Cantique provided in Figure 14 below.

Referring back to Schneider's comment on the performance of *Ku kotisa mhalamhala* exhibiting a change in rhythm, one may notice the local logic of music in the performance of this hymn where the rhythm is changed from a Western classical paradigm to a syncopated rhythm which denotes a feeling of movement and flexibility in musical time.

In the process of hymn translation, it is good practice for the vernacular lyrics of translated hymns to fit the melodies in order that the messages transmitted through the hymns may be understood correctly. This is pertinent when translations involve a tonal language such as Xitsonga. Schneider says that a crucial factor in translation is the music of the language, referring to the tonal fluctuations. Where in French one would end the sentence on a high tone, in Xitsonga the penultimate syllable is stressed and the tone would descend as with the Tsonga phrase *Hi fambile*, meaning 'we go'. Since the messages in hymns and church songs are of great significance in the IPM, the Tsonga hymnbook, *Tinsimu*, has been revised in order to, among other reasons, negotiate the issue (Schneider, 2014).

Figure 14: Comme un cerf (Hymn 24 in Psaume et Cantique), meaning Like a deer, C. Goudimel, Geneva 1551.



For the Christian message to be taught through song the messages in hymns not only had to make sense according to the tonal nuances of the vernacular but also in terms of local paradigms. Therefore, in needing to take local paradigms into account the translated lyrics not only had to correspond well with the melody but they also had to correspond with the indigenous worldview in order to make sense. The effective translation of the lyrics in hymns is of vital importance for the transmission of the Christian message. In Chapter 5 the importance of music in the transmission of knowledge and societal values is made clear. In the context of the encounter between the Vatsonga and the Swiss Mission, and further to this the continuation of the belief system among the Vatsonga today, music is an incredibly important aspect in the secular and religious life of the Tsonga Presbyterians and is therefore an important medium by which the Christian message has been transmitted in the past and continues to be transmitted.

The translation of Christian messages in hymns had to take into account the nuances of the vernacular, such as idiomatic expressions as well as tonal fluctuation that denoted meaning in the vernacular. The ineffective translation of messages in hymns by missionaries at times would have had an impact on the newly developing conception of the belief system among the locals. The importance of music in the Presbyterian Church and in the lives of its members renders the effective translation of the messages in hymns inextricably linked to the transmission of the Christian belief system.

Musical improvisation and social interaction in the musical performances of the IPM

Referring to the discussion on participatory performance as a guide to the concepts of participatory and presentational performances, in this section I look to participatory performance in the IPM. In previous research (Germiquet, 2013) I discussed that social meaning and collective emotion in music may come about from individuals participating in communal music-making. In this sense a musical score or a song transmitted through oral performance may be seen as an outline of the music and it is the performance of the music that fills in the rest (Germiquet, 2013). In other words, a written musical score, or the structure, core melody, and core harmonies of an orally transmitted song, may be viewed as outlines of a performance of music. This idea was developed from re-contextualising Charles Keil's theory of Participatory Discrepancies from jazz into religious music. Keil's theory offers critical thought on the deviation from a given meter during performance. According to Keil (1966), meaning and emotion in music may be generated through the participatory discrepancies that occur during musical performances. He refers to the meaning and emotion that are generated as "engendered feeling" (p. 338). It is the engendered feeling that he believes inspires people to participate in the musical performances.

Keil's theory is relevant to religious music because of the idea of engendered feeling. In the context of the IPM, engendered feeling is pertinent because it inspires people to rise from their seats and dance. Muller (1994) too speaks of the feeling in the Nazarite church that inspires people to get up and dance, however, she does not refer to Keil's theory. Keil's theory is relevant to the musical context of the IPM because it focuses on how music is created within a particular time and space and how such musical performances may go against expected outcomes (Keil, 1994, p. 97). Musical performances going against expected outcomes renders the present moment valuable or socially meaningful where the improvised and spontaneous nature of that present moment is, in a sense, unrepeatable. Participatory discrepancies also "lead from participation by the individual to collective representations by the group often resulting in an emotionally charged event. It is in this that music-making can become a powerful experience" (Germiquet, 2013).

With the theory of Participatory Discrepancies, henceforth PDs, in mind and the insight that it provides from understanding the creation of socially meaningful musical performances, I previously turned to the improvisations that are prevalent in the musical performances of the IPM. I referred to the church chorus *U ta nghena njhani* and the hymn *Tatana wa rirhandzu* (Germiquet, 2013). In this thesis I will develop the notion of socially meaningful musical performances and invoke them within the context of the discussion of the Tsonga Presbyterian's dual-heritage, focusing especially on the idea of a sense of community that may arise during, or as a result of, communal music-making. This will be achieved through a musical analysis of fieldwork recordings of the same musical items as mentioned above which were captured after the publication of my previous research.

'Appropriate improvisation'

The purpose of looking at more fieldwork recordings of the same items is to situate my argument within the boundaries of what I have come to understand as 'appropriate improvisation' which I discuss in detail below. With appropriate improvisation in mind, I aim to show how the a sense of community engendered through communal music-making that consists of appropriate improvisation may be a catalyst for the Tsonga Presbyterians' awareness and embracing of their dual-heritage.

Improvisation is an integral part of the performances of church choruses in the IPM. Such choruses are transmitted orally and therefore the performers do not have a written text from which to sing. Since such choruses are most often in cyclical form, the repetition of certain melodies and lyrics during a performance serve to establish the core melody and lyrics of the song thereby replacing the text that would otherwise have provided these indications. Although most improvisations occur in the performances of church choruses, at times they also occur during the singing of notated hymns from Tinsimu. One member of the IPM explained that usually the church members sing hymns according to the text in the hymn book. However, there are times when they change the hymns at liberty (Pers. comm. with Ngomane, 2012). The changes usually occur when hymns are sung during special occasions (Mucavi, 2013; Tshawane, 2013). The differences in singing style depended on the context of the musical performance. For example, during formal church service proceedings hymns were usually sung according to the text. However, outside these formal proceedings, hymns and church choruses would at times spontaneously erupt from the crowd. Often the spontaneity would be evoked at events or occasions of emotional significance. Referring to the examples of the popular church chorus U ta nghena njhani and the popular hymn Tatana wa rirhandzu, the freedom that each participant has to improvise, as well as the manner in which appropriate improvisation occurs, shows that individuals situate their own improvisations against one another's improvisations, as well as against the core melody and core motif.

Thus, through participating in and observing the musical performances of the IPM I have come to believe that improvisation in the performances of church choruses is not only a common occurrence but it is an expected part of the performance. Referring to the description of *U ta nghena njhani* at the beginning of the thesis, every performer, or participant has the freedom to improvise during performances. Further to this, the occurrence of improvisations in hymns published in *Tinsimu*, is also an expected part of performances. Improvisations mainly occur during special occasions and they are, to a certain extent, prescribed from previous performances of a given chorus. The improvisations do not deviate to a large extent from previous improvisations, nor do they deviate too far from the core

melody and core motif⁶³. The improvisations which exhibit these deviations are interpreted as learnt improvisations and as improvisations that are employed to garner a sense of cohesiveness in the music. The cohesiveness of musical improvisations refers to how individuals draw on one another's improvisations to execute their own. In doing so the performers situate their improvisations in close relation to other performer's improvisations and in this the music takes on a cohesive quality. Thereafter, the quality of cohesiveness in the music produces group cohesiveness among the performers. This practice contributes to the establishment or deepening of a sense of community between the performers. The musical practice of each individual situating his or her improvisations in relation to other's improvisations I term 'appropriate improvisation'.

Referring to appropriate improvisation as a catalyst for the Tsonga Presbyterians' awareness and embracing of their dual-heritage, when individuals situate their musical improvisations against one another in a manner of 'appropriate improvisation', it contributes to an engendered feeling, a feeling of belonging to the group of musical performers by contributing one's own musical improvisations to the performance as a whole. This, in turn, generates a sense of community. The awareness that the members of IPM have of their different musical heritages contributes to the sense of community not only between participants in the communal music-making, but also an awareness of the musical and religious heritages, being of Tsonga and Swiss Reformed Church heritages.

Regarding the observation that improvisation is an expected part of performance in the IPM I turn to the Tsonga folktale. In Tsonga society there is no 'correct' version of a folktale and each version depends on the creativity of the narrator (Marivate, 1974 in Bill, 1983, p. 1). Junod, found that among the Vatsonga "the contents of the stories themselves are changed by oral transmission, this giving birth to numerous versions of a tale, often very different from each other and sometimes hardly recognisable" (Junod, 1913, ii, p.198 – 200 in Finnegan, 2012, p. 11). Although social and musical transformation in Tsonga society has resulted from the encounter with the Swiss Mission, the telling of folktales still takes place in the homes of members of Antioka (Massinyue, 2013). Since it is not unusual to change performance aspects of a folktale during performance in Tsonga society this may shed light on the apparent ease with which improvisation takes place in the musical performances of the IPM. That improvisation results in different versions of the same song, folktale, chorus or hymn is therefore not something new or unfamiliar to the congregants of Antioka.

⁶³ The core melody and core motif are prominent aspects of church choruses which are established from the repetitive nature of these musical items. The repetitions of certain musical features in a given chorus are the musical basis of that chorus upon which improvisation are situated and built (Germiquet, 2013).

Improvisation is not only common to indigenous societies such as the Tsonga society, but it is a common musical feature in other southern African Churches. For example, deviations from previous renditions of a church hymn also occur in various churches such as in the Dutch Reformed Church of the Christian community of Kroonvale (Jorritsma, 2011) and among the Nazarites in Kwa-Zulu Natal (Muller, 1999, 1994). Jorritsma (2011) believes that the general shape of official hymn melodies along with the traditional music from oral sources had an influence on the development of unofficial tunes in church singing. These unofficial tunes resulted from musical practices characteristic of the Kroonvale Dutch Reformed Church and has become a tune that is often sung in church. A similar occurrence takes place in the IPM and the EPC⁶⁴ with the hymn, *Tatana wa rirhandzu*, where the melody that the lyrics are sung to is not the notated melody in the hymnbook, but the melody of a Sesotho chorus that has been appropriated for this hymn. I discuss this in more detail below.

I attended a special church service of the Macupe annexe of Antioka parish situated in the town of Magude. The event was the laying of the first stone of the church building that was to be erected for the Macupe congregation. The congregants of this annexe had been holding their church services in the shade of a cashew nut tree and had, by this time, procured funds to build a church. Due to its celebratory nature, this service included dancing, singing and musical improvisation. As there were many members of Antioka and Macupe coming from far distances to the event, there was a period in which those who had already arrived waited in a relaxed way for others to come. During this period, one of the women of the *Activistas* group began singing the hymn, *Tatana wa rirhandzu*. It was performed in a gentle way, but it did not have the same air of sentimentality as the performance at the Jubilee where people were honouring the retiring ministers, as heard in Track 3. From experiencing the sensation emanating from the singing voices at Macupe, I perceived that the emotional intensity was produced by the event and enhanced by the music. The singing was imbued with a certain nostalgia that had an undercurrent of excitement for the new opportunities that a church building would provide. This hymn was sung with improvisations as well as in the manner of appropriate improvisation.

I have observed this hymn performed on at least four occasions. Although the rendition at Macupe exhibited improvisations that I had not heard before, there were improvisations that seem to occur regularly in the performance of this hymn, which have become standard practice. These improvisations are 'appropriate improvisations' meaning they are learnt and reproduced each time the hymn is sung. These improvisations are becoming incorporated into the performance style of the hymn. For example, one improvisation in particular is the use of the vocable 'wee' throughout the performance of a cycle of

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⁶⁴ Although I have only heard performances of *Tatana wa rirhandzu* in the IPM, I mention the EPC because upon discussing this hymn with a member of the EPC, Joe Tshawane, it became clear that the musical practice of *Tatana wa rirhandzu*, as discussed in this thesis, also takes place in the EPC.

the hymn, as heard in Track 8. The lyrics are not adhered to but are replaced by this vocable. Refer to Figure 3 for the notated score in *Tinsimu* which includes the structure of the verses.

In the rendition of the *Activistas* men's choir, as heard in Track 8, the performers read the lyrics from the score but sing the melody that was sung in the other renditions. The manner of performance in this rendition also exhibits similar changes to other renditions, changes that are not notated in the score. I had first perceived these changes as the general practice of improvising upon the hymn text. However, upon closer analysis I realised that the deviation from the hymn text was far too great for the features of the performances to be considered as only improvisation upon the hymn text. Upon discussing this observation with Joe Tshawane, it became clear that an entirely different melody is used, as mentioned before. A melody from a Sesotho chorus, *Lipina Zioni*, has been appropriated for use in the performances of *Tatana wa rirhandzu* in the IPM and the EPC. Another improvisatory feature that has become common practice in this hymn is the repetition of the last line of each verse, as seen in bars 7 and 8 in Figure 3 and heard on Track 8. Further research will reveal whether this repetition is in accordance with the melody of *Lipina Zioni* or whether it is a musical choice performed by members of the IPM and the EPC. The notated version of the hymn does not ask for this repetition, as evidence in Figure 3.

The musical practices of this particular hymn may result in this hymn becoming a church chorus in the future. For example, it is a popular hymn sung in moments of spontaneity, the melody is sung from memory while its lyrics are at times sung from memory or read from the hymnbook, it consists of musical improvisations performed in a manner of appropriate improvisation, it is performed in a cyclical manner, and sometimes its verses are repeated at will.

Having witnessed this hymn sung on different occasions, each time exhibiting appropriate improvisations, these improvisations are informed by a local logic of music that makes use of appropriate improvisation. The character and quality of the music during a given performance is largely guided by the occasion and, in particular, the emotional significance of the event. This is very much how church choruses are performed in the IPM, many of which I witnessed performed during the five day celebration of the Jubilee in 2012.

There is, however, one aspect in particular about *Tatana wa rirhandzu*, that sets it apart from church choruses and the moments that motivate the singing of these choruses. As mentioned before, choruses are usually charged with energy and evocative of an occasion that calls for joyous celebration. The performances of *Tatana wa rirhandzu*, while still, however, exuding a deep sense of joy as one may perceive in church choruses, have been performed on occasions where the mood has been a little more calm, perhaps sentimental, thus imbuing the performance with a quieter character.

Social interaction and a sense of community in the IPM: 'saying something' through musical interaction

Due to the improvisatory character embedded in the performances of choruses in the IPM and the manner in which every individual may offer musical improvisation, there has developed within the IPM a performance style of church choruses and other hymns that includes improvisation and an intricate connection to social interactions and the values of a community. This idea is informed by research brought forward by Chernoff (1979) on how the Dagbamba people of Nigeria learn social values through music. In the IPM, for example, the values of respect for the thoughts and opinions of other as exhibited in the instances of appropriate improvisation during musical performances and which I observed in discussions during the Annual General Meeting of the IPM which I attended during the Jubilee of 2012 at Antioka. The appropriate improvisation is linked to society because, when something is appropriate it is socially acceptable. Therefore, appropriate improvisation at once requires a sense of community and establishes it.

Looking to the Nazarite Church in South Africa, by singing unaccompanied the first two lines of a hymn, the leader sets the "musical landscape" for the rest of the singers, especially the illiterate. This unit constructs the rhythmic pattern which is then used throughout the piece (Muller, 1999, p 111). Thus, appropriate improvisation may result from the musical landscape that is constructed by improvisations that occur in previous performances of a given chorus, as well as ones which occur in a given performance where individuals are influenced by one another. The musical landscape is therefore reflective of the manner of appropriate improvisation in which each individual situates his or her sounds in relation to one another, thereby engendering a sense of community among the performers. The musical performances at the Jubilee may be included in this where members of the IPM from across southern Mozambique, people from South Africa as well as Switzerland, were gathered, and danced and sang.

Many of the musical performances at the Jubilee seemed to consist of improvisation. In moments of exuberant singing during church choruses, and in moments of a quieter performance style during the singing of some hymns, there seemed not to be any individual that stood out with their improvisations. This is especially interesting where ht crowd consisted of about 5 000 people. I therefore argue that appropriate improvisation is learnt during performance through individuals influencing one another musically, that improvisations in subsequent performances are guided by the improvisations in previous performances. For example, this occurs musically in the echoes between voice parts of newly introduced improvisation or previously executed improvisations, that carry through a performance or several performances of the same musical item, as seen in *Tatana wa rirhandzu*.

Keeping in mind the notion of PDs in communal music-making, I turn to Ingrid Monson (1996) and her book, 'Saying Something: Jazz Improvisation and interaction.' Monson (1996) discusses the interaction

between the rhythm section and the soloist during improvisation in jazz performance and is primarily concerned with the musical result of these interactions which she describes as 'saying something'. With the concept of 'saying something' Monson does not refer to any extra-musical meaning, such as social meaning which uses music as a vehicle for its communication, but rather that musical improvisation is produced in a context of interaction between the performers. Monson's perspective on jazz improvisation and the interaction between the rhythm section and the soloists in a jazz ensemble resonates with the manner of improvisation in the performances of choruses in the IPM where participants or performers do not necessarily have extra-musical intentions, as may be the case with resistance music in South Africa. Rather, the musicians draw inspiration from one another through musical interaction. Therefore, improvisation, and in particular appropriate improvisation, is a musical interaction that maintains and/or establishes social relationships among the performers, and thus contributes to the establishment or maintenance of a sense of community.

One may see, at a celebration like the Jubilee, the existence of musical interactions between people from different societies, communities and heritages. These disparate groups of people are unified, if only for a moment, during musical performances of a communal nature. The broader implications of such moments are significant. Swiss people associated with the Swiss Mission, in particular retired Swiss missionaries, were present at the Jubilee and joined in the music-making. They sang with the crowd and presented their own choir performances along with the choir performances of the IPM. One may see that a sense of community between these disparate groups of people with a common heritage in the Swiss Mission was established through musical interactions.

Referring to the theory of PDs, musical interaction that is out of time and out of tune creates an engendered feeling that makes a musical performance socially meaningful (Keil, 1966), in this sense the musical performances at the Jubilee and Macupe were socially meaningful through the existence of PDs. For example, the musical performances exhibited appropriate improvisations and reciprocal musical tendencies, where individuals were influenced by one another and echoed one another's improvisation as seen in *Tatana wa rirhandzu*. Furthermore, the community of disparate groups of people that was established at the Jubilee, in part from the musical performances as described above, contributed to the musical performances becoming socially meaningful. The sense of community that is created from such socially meaningful events compels people to embrace their heritage and, in turn, to produce and reproduce musical performances that reflect a dual-heritage. Similarly, the Jubilee was a way to teach the members of the IPM about the history of their church and was therefore an opportunity for them to learn about and embrace their heritage (Tshawane, 2013).

The Reformed Church emphasises the importance of a sense of community among its members (Germiquet, 2011), especially through the concept that a church is established when more than one person is gathered in the name of the Christian God. The concept of community and inclusivity is

similarly inextricably linked to social life in Africa as well as in an African belief system (Setiloane, 1986). Therefore, the sense of community established within the IPM through musical performances is a link to both heritages of the Tsonga Presbyterians.

Through the singing of the hymn *Tatana wa rirhandzu* in a manner that exhibited appropriate improvisation, a sense of community was created between the members of the Antioka parish and the Macupe annexe. The sense of community was further enhanced by the emotional significance of the occasion. As Muller (1999) notes, the participation of all people present embodies a sense of community. Therefore, the singing of *Tatana wa rirhandzu*, during the Jubilee of 2012 further established the sense of an international community where, along with the members of the IPM, performers of this hymn were members of the EPC and people from Switzerland, affiliated with the Swiss Mission Department.

According to Gabriel Setiloane (1986), an African intellectual who challenges the Western theological discourse on concepts of divinity, in an African society "belonging is the root of being" (p 10). Thus the concept of inclusivity and sense of community is important in an African belief system (Setiloane, 1986). The energy and inclusivity created by the communal music-making in the Antioka parish, most explicit in the church choruses and hymn performances that exhibit appropriate improvisation, is an example of the role that music has in manifesting a sense of belonging for each member of the parish as well as an affiliation to the broader community of IPM. This sense of community is continuously established through the singing of the same songs between different parishes of the IPM. Such is the case with the *Activistas* choir singing songs that they learn from members of the Khovo parish in Maputo.

The energy and inclusiveness created by the communal music-making in the Antioka parish, more apparent in the church choruses, is an example of the role that music has in manifesting a sense of belonging for each member of the parish as well as an affiliation to the broader community of IPM. This sense of community is continuously established through the singing of the same songs between different parishes of the IPM. The connection to a broader community marks the recognition of one's heritage.

Chapter 5

Transmission, conservation, and continuation of music and knowledge in the IPM

There are various forms of transmitting music and knowledge in the Antioka parish and they more often occur in oral and literate forms. Another interesting form of transmission in the IPM occurs through modern media technology such as the mobile phone. While I associate the musical performances of the

IPM with an oral form of transmission, and the written music and Christian texts with the literate form, I also link the use of mobile phones in the transmission of music to a term coined by Walter Ong: "secondary orality" (Ong, 1982). Secondary orality refers to a type of oral transmission that exists in the form of "electronic technology" which is dependent on writing and print "for the manufacture and operation of the equipment" (Ong, 2002 [1982], p. 134-135). Mentioned in an earlier chapter, primary orality refers to a character of a society which is relatively untouched by writing or print. The difference between secondary orality and primary orality is not only that secondary orality makes use of writing, but that it involves electronic technology.

The aim in this chapter is to describe the different forms of transmission that I observed in the IPM and to follow these descriptions with a discussion on the influence that these forms of transmission have on the conservation and continuation of music and knowledge within the IPM, and in turn, the transformation thereof. Transmission in the context of the IPM refers to the act or instance of transmitting music or knowledge pertaining to the Christian belief system, and in some cases indigenous Tsonga knowledge. Conservation and continuation are linked to the concept of transmission as the form of transmission has an influence on the extent to which the music and knowledge are preserved or continued in the IPM.

Negotiating conservation in terms of the music of the IPM is a challenge as it is usually used to refer to the conservation or protection of the natural environment. Its meaning in other contexts is the repair or restoration of the deterioration of historical or cultural sites and artefacts. These definitions do not sufficiently illustrate conservation in the music of the IPM. I therefore turn to its use in physics where conservation is the principle in which the total value of a physical quantity remains constant within a system (Allen, 1991). The physical quantity refers to energy, mass, or momentum. Thus while conservation denotes maintenance of music in a constant form, it also brings across the feeling of movement or momentum, thus not disallowing that society and music are in a constant state of transformation. It is this momentum that is harnessed to illustrate that, while the notated version of a piece of music maintains its form in a constant state, its realisation depends largely on the performance practice in which its performers are embedded at the time of its rendition.

Continuation means the act or instance of continuing and refers to "a part that continues something else" (Allen, 1991, p. 249). In the context of my research, I choose to use this word flexibly and I understand it as being intricately linked to conservation through the concept of momentum. Continuation denotes a less rigid feeling than conservation, allowing for more freedom in musical performances. In the context of this thesis, continuation refers to the form of transmission of music and knowledge in the IPM which allows for changes or transformation in the content to occur. Other terms I use are orality which refers to verbal communication and thought in societies where writing and print are unfamiliar to most of the population (Ong, 1982).

Forms of transmission within the Antioka parish

The categories of music and musical performances that I identified in the IPM inform my understanding of the different forms of transmission within the IPM. Likewise, these different forms of transmission contribute to the identification and understanding of these categories of music. In light of the categories of music as mentioned in Chapter 1, there are three main forms of transmission that I have observed in the IPM: 1) a form based on orality; 2) a form based on literacy; 3) and a form that is based in modern technology, secondary orality. As it will become clear in this chapter, these forms exist or become manifest to varying degrees within the music of Antioka parish and the IPM.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, reading is regarded as a central element in faith in the Reformed Church. It is perceived as a personal, interpretive act, and a means of entering into direct contact with God. According to this principle, the Swiss Mission placed great emphasis on reading in the vernacular and literacy became a prominent mode of transmission of the Christian belief system on the mission stations. Literacy education was therefore provided to local Tsonga people who had converted to Christianity, and schools belonging to the Presbyterian Church were set up for the purpose of literacy education, among others. Many of these schools are still active today.

In the Reformed Church people were also taught to read music so that they did not rely on rote learning of the Christian message or the hymn melodies transmitted through the music, and, so that they could compose their own devotional songs or hymns. Similarly, the Swiss missionaries taught the Tsonga Presbyterians how to read and write in tonic sol-fa music notation. Muller (1999) suggests that through literacy rituals and religious experiences are formalised and made permanent in a fixed state. It is clear that the music and knowledge pertaining to the Christian belief system within the hymns in *Tinsimu* are a means of transmission through literacy. Therefore, the transmission of knowledge and music through literacy is an act of conservation since the information is written down, and as long as members of the Church are language and music literate, it is possible that the performances of these hymns will maintain a constant trajectory.

Since many missionaries left Antioka at the time of Mozambican independence in 1976 (Russ, 2014), training in music literacy has decreased and today most young members of the Church, who did not have regular contact with the missionaries like the elders of the community had, are unable to read tonic sol-fa notation. A reason for the decrease in music literacy is that no one is available to teach the members of the Church how to read (Muchanga, 2013). Furthermore, Ricatla, a seminary 7 kilometres outside of Maputo established by the Swiss Mission, used to provide music literacy education to the student ministers. This, however, came to an end in 2001 (Muchanga, 2013). Although there is less emphasis on music literacy education than was in the Reformed Church and on the Swiss Mission stations, there is still an active choir at Ricatla managed by José Mbazima and this is a means by which apprentice ministers and members of Ricatla congregation learn tonic sol-fa. Mbazima was the youth

choir conductor at Antioka when I met him in 2012. By October 2013 he had begun training in ministry at Ricatla seminary near Maputo, and was conducting a choir at Ricatla (Mbazima, 2013).

With regards to the singing of hymns from the hymnbook and following the decrease of music literacy within the IPM, a performance style in the IPM is such that most melodies of hymns are memorised while the lyrics are read from the hymnbook. If a melody is not known the congregants learn the melody from someone who knows how to read tonic sol-fa or the melody is passed on through invoking aural memory. Performances of hymns in *Tinsimu* that rely on aural memory are examples of the transmission of music through oral means. This form of transmission is not completely oral however, as the performance is still informed by literacy where those who can read tonic sol-fa guide the rest of the congregation during performances. Furthermore, most members of the Antioka parish are literate in Xitsonga and can therefore read the lyrics from the hymnbook. Once again, hymns in *Tinsimu* are, to a degree, orally transmitted in the Antioka parish at present, and this can be regarded as an act of continuation where it allows for more freedom during performance than an adherence to the written form. With the ongoing decrease in music literacy at Antioka it will be interesting to see the extent to which the music will change in time to come.

Transmission of knowledge and values through music

The transmission of knowledge pertaining to the Christian belief system occurring in the IPM is through the written form in the Bible and the lyrics of notated hymns. This form of transmission contributes to the conservation of knowledge pertaining to the Christian belief system. The transmission of indigenous Tsonga knowledge also occurs in the IPM in the form of proverbs incorporated into a hymn composed by Daniel Cornelius Marivate. This hymn is *Mahungu Lamanene*. It is sung regularly in the IPM. The indigenous Tsonga knowledge in the form of proverbs in this hymn would previously have been transmitted orally, however, in a Christian hymn the incorporation of indigenous Tsonga proverbs in a written form not only contributes to the conservation of indigenous knowledge but also illustrates the import of indigenous knowledge in the Tsonga Presbyterian community.

While the performances of the musical repertoires of both the Tsonga Presbyterians of Antioka and the Tsonga people of Limpopo Province are defined by factors in the external environment (Church and national events as well as the horticultural year), as discussed in Chapter 3, they are also defined by societal values. Following the idea that social values are transmitted through music, when looking at music as a reflection of social and musical transformation the social values of a given community may be known to the researcher through an analysis of musical performances.

Music has been shown to fulfil social functions within societies such as among the Vatsonga of South Africa (Johnston, 1974, 1973, 1972). In his study of northern Ghanaian Dagbamba drumming, Chernoff (1979) found that the manner in which music is performed among the Dagbamba people is a reflection

of their social values. Where, for example, if there is a musical performance taking place all people associated with the group, whether performing or not, should participate in the music-making even if only with clapping. Similarly, the performers need to listen to one another to know where their drum rhythm fits into the complex rhythms created by the sum of the different parts (Chernoff, 1979). With regards to the significance of musical performances in the social life of the Dagbamba people of northern Ghana, societal values are often implicitly encoded in musical performances and are recognised through the manner of performance.

John Blacking, a British anthropologist whose research on the music of the Bavenda in South Africa in the 1950s has become well acclaimed in ethnomusicology, noted that the realisation of particular social functions through music is not necessarily fulfilled through the performers' knowledge about the meaning of the lyrics of the songs. Rather, the song or repertoire of songs is imbued with a particular meaning through its performance at a particular time, in a particular place, and by a particular group (Blacking, 1967). Blacking was interested in the role that music plays in socialising children (James, 2006, p. 71), and he saw music as "an audible and visible sign of social and political groupings" (McNeill, 2011, p. 5). These aspects are especially evident in the Venda girls' initiation school on which Blacking conducted extensive research.

The lack of importance in the meaning of lyrics in songs is not the only form that represents this case. For example, riddles in Africa "all share the characteristic that the analogy between statement and reply is primarily one of form – tone and perhaps rhythm – rather than meaning" (Finnegan, 2012, p. 416). Finnegan (2012) finds that an African story in a written form gives an impression that it is fixed in time, space and in knowledge systems in that form. However, she asserts that the "variability of tales according to the teller and the occasion is one of their most apparent characteristics. There is no one *correct* version of form" (Finnegan, 2012, p. 320)⁶⁵. "Form, plot, and character may all equally, therefore, provide only a shifting and impermanent foundation for classification" and to write such oral pieces down "can only result in misconceptions about the nature of the stories as actually told" (Finnegan, 2012, p. 320).

Taking the above into account, an analysis of how music in the IPM is being transmitted, when it is being transmitted and the manner in which the music is performed can provide insight into the values of the society in which the Tsonga Presbyterians of Antioka live. A central question in this chapter is therefore: how does the manner of transmission in the IPM today influence the conservation and continuation of the belief system and, in particular, the music of the IPM?

Looking at music from Chernoff's (1979) perspective, asking questions about musical performance as a manner of transmission of social values can provide insight into the values of the church community.

⁶⁵ This includes the Thonga story-telling as discussed by Finnegan (2012) while referencing Junod (1913).

Swiss missionaries valued literacy education and therefore taught music literacy to local Christians on the mission stations. When looking at transmission as a means of prolonging something's existence, music literacy education can then be viewed as a means of preserving the music in a written form. Without music literacy new hymns cannot be recorded in a written form and their transmission would rely on oral means. Ethnomusicological literature shows that in a lifestyle characterised by orality, such as in indigenous Tsonga and Venda societies, there is no one correct version of a song or piece of music (Johnston, 1971; Blacking, 1967) or, in the context of the Vatsonga, in the folktale (Bill, 1983). It is therefore the case that musical aspects such as the melody and lyrics would transform over time, especially when not written down.

Ethnomusicology, sustainability and modern technology, with reference to the Mozambican transition from subsistence to corporate farming

With an overall interest in sustainability, I understand the aspects of transmission, as discussed above, as mechanisms of social transformation. Understanding how music and, in particular, knowledge, are conserved or continued may help us to understand the changes that occur in society. Mentioning this interest here gives perspective to my discussion about technology in Africa and how modern media technologies contribute to the empowerment of rural communities. While these modern media technologies exist in the form of both radio and television, I focus on how the prevalence of the mobile phone in rural communities or "communication margins" (Goliama, 2011, p. xi) serves to empower these communities by providing access to information and discourses on the global level. More importantly the locus of my perspective is on how the mobile phone increases knowledge within a community, especially knowledge about the self and other, and how this knowledge pertains to music.

By incorporating the above mentioned interests into my ethnomusicological research, I am locating my research within an emerging trend in ethnomusicology that, according to Jonathan P. Stock (2008), sees music analysis as "a pathway to the empowerment of people" whose music is being studied (p. 190). The fundamental question here being: "whose interests are ultimately served by each kind of research writing"? (*ibid.*, p. 191). Stock brings the awareness of the 'us-and-them' paradigm to two points; that with research comes a power difference between the researcher and the researched, especially given that most ethnomusicologists are Westerners:

"It is clear that our [Westerners] having access to music theoretical accounts of our own traditions and ethnographic accounts of those of others results in a dialogue of difference that maps onto imbalances in power both between nations and scholarly communities. The ethnomusicological assumption that others are different from us was one intended to avoid the reduction of other people's intentions to our own" (Stock, 2008, p. 191).

Secondly, Stock (2008) further asserts that while noting this difference and by focusing on the social aspects within one's research field, the ethnomusicologist should be careful about reducing music analysis to the performance of social structure. This reduction may "be contrary to the interests of the people whose music is being so described" (p. 191).

While the issue of recapturing music of a group of people in a way that is contrary to the interests of the people whose music is being studied, or that the researcher may make claims about the music which do not have the performers', or practitioners' perspectives at the core, I am of the opinion that understanding the music of a group of people as a reflection of social transformation is to a large extent possible and may serve the interests of its practitioners when the knowledge gained is used in a way that benefits the people. Furthermore, it is often the case that subjects that are not easily spoken about are often addressed through song. I discuss this later in the chapter, however, the point here is that music may enable the researcher, when coming from an outsider's perspective, to gain knowledge about certain issues within a community which are not easily spoken about, or that are inextricably linked to everyday life, and that it has not been necessary for the community members to conceptualise music in a way that the researcher may.

While I am aware of Stock's (2008) warning that reducing music to the performance of social structure should be treated with care, seeing music as a reflection of social transformation should be regarded as one perspective of many which together contribute to an understanding of a given music. Thus, not claiming in a reductionist sense that all music is the performance of a social structure, but rather that viewing it in this light contributes to an understanding of the music itself and the social structure in which it exists. An observation that Blacking made of the music of the Bavenda is equally pertinent to this issue; that music should not only be regarded as the performance of social structure or "as a signifier of fixed social positions" but that it is "equally a source of, and for social change" (McNeill, 2011, p. 6). Blacking saw the Venda girls' initiation school as "reinforcing pre-existing positions in a rigid patriarchal hierarchy" as well as Christian hymnody as "rooted in the strictures and structures of a missionary past" (McNeill, 2011, p. 6). However, the music which he regarded as a potential source for social change is "the Zionist style of independent African church music" (*ibid.*, p. 6).

The perspective in this thesis has been influenced largely by the views of Chernoff, Blacking, and Johnston, and with the assumption that music is a reflection of transformations in society, I suggest that the music of the IPM is a reflection of the Tsonga Presbyterians dual-heritage. It is important however to keep in mind the paradigms from which I am making these claims, and here I would like to make mention of Stock's (2008) idea that by looking at new directions in ethnomusicology "we may not need an entirely new discipline, but there is potential for us to improve the present one by continued questioning of underlying assumptions" (p. 188). Following this idea, I situate my discussion in this chapter within a perspective that I am interested in and find incredibly meaningful; gaining knowledge

about marginalised groups of people for the purposes of improving their quality of life. I attempt to make this association in my current thesis because the community whose music I am studying is a rural one in southern Mozambique which faces the hardships that so many rural communities in Africa do in a rapidly globalising society and an increasingly money driven economy. I also locate my research in this direction because I would like it to ultimately serve the interests of the community whose music is being studied.

In order to answer my research question in light of the above mentioned perspective, I view the ethnographic narrative that this thesis transmits as a means of exposing the readers to information about the rural and marginalised community of Facazisse. Through disseminating this information, even if to a small audience, I hope to bring awareness of some of the social situations in which this community, and many like it, are living in. Some such social situations are the forced transformation from a rural self-sustaining lifestyle to one based on an increasing dependence on a money economy where the gap between the rich and the poor is growing ever wider.

Ethnomusicological research that uses the fieldwork method of participant-observation can inform researchers about the details of a lifestyle and livelihoods of the people whose music is being studied, and obtain information that is not always easily accessible. This type of research compels the researcher to not only observe but also to participate in the life and music of the community in which the research is being conducted. Drawing on Gengenbach's (2010) fieldwork experiences, from the trust that builds over time through participating in the life of the community, the ethnomusicologist may experience relatively open communication between him- or herself and the members of the community.

The fieldwork aspect of ethnomusicological research has enabled me to see first-hand some of the circumstances in which the people of Facazisse are living. Ethnomusicology too asserts the importance of the social aspects of the music being studied and it is important to be aware of the social context in which the music occurs (Chernoff, 1979; Blacking 1967; Johnston, 1971; Muller, 2004). Some of the data obtained during fieldwork was not only about the music of the IPM but it also reflected the historical and social situation of the members of the IPM and the community members of Facazisse. This data was obtained through semi-structured interviews which I held with members of the Antioka parish. By choosing to make the interviews semi-structured I hoped to allow the interviewees a certain amount of freedom to speak about topics which were important to them and their society. Through this approach I was able to gauge, to a certain extent, some of what the community members find important in their lives. This not only enabled me to focus my research on musical issues that seemed most important to the interviewees and pertinent to the Antioka parish at the time, but it also allowed me to gain some knowledge about, and insight into, the Facazisse community which I might not have otherwise known.

Two examples stand out for me in relation to this type of insight gained from semi-structured interviews and the participant-observation method of fieldwork. During fieldwork, I learnt that some of the members of Facazisse loan their fields to companies for large scale sugar cane farming. The members of the family who own these fields work in the sugar cane fields for some income. I observed young school-going members of these families also working in the fields⁶⁶. In some cases, members of Facazisse have resisted attempts from these companies to use their land for sugar cane plantations. While the income that the family members receive for their work helps the household in many ways, through the development of, and the paid labour on, these plantations members of rural and semi-rural villages, like Facazisse, are becoming increasingly dependent on a money economy for survival. Other southern Mozambicans have not been so lucky where "thousands have lost their land and livelihoods" to corporate farms intent on large scale production of soybean, corn, wheat and rice (Bourne, 2014, p. 56). This is a common practice in global agriculture where arable land in sub-Saharan Africa is being increasingly used to feed the world's growing population (Bourne, 2014). Though some corporate farms have pushed locals off their land, it has been suggested that others have improved life for the locals by providing thousands of jobs, building roads, schools and power lines, as well as by converting Mozambique into an exporter of natural produce, such as bananas (Bourne, 2014).

<u>Technology in Africa: modern media technologies and the increase of knowledge in rural communities</u>

Along with the development of the agricultural sector in Mozambique, technology is increasing rapidly on the African continent. Statistics show that more than one in three sub-Saharan Africans own mobile phones and use them for "mobile banking, to run small businesses, or to send money to relatives in rural areas" (Bourne, 2014, p. 57).

In her research on women's performance of the *umqangala* and *isizenze* mouth bows and the jews harp, *is'tweletwele*, in the western Maputaland of South Africa, Angela Impey (2007) found that a decline in the performance of these instruments is associated with the presence of radios and cassette players which have "assumed the place of music-making in many areas of social life" (Impey, 2007, p. 107). The decline in the performance has also been associated with "social and economic attrition" and forced

⁶⁶ In rural areas which survive mainly on subsistence farming the lack of resources such as written material as well as the need for children to help the family with harvesting or planting crops during the seasons has also hindered the transmission of literacy (Harries, 2007, p. 200).

removals, especially in the 1970s out of what is today known as the Ndumo Game Reserve. While modern media technology has contributed to the mobility of music across national borders and linguistic and cultural groups, as is the case with the church chorus *U ta nghena njhani ni mintswalo* which I heard being sung in the IPM and the Eastern Cape of South Africa, it is also one of the factors impacting upon the decrease in live performances of indigenous music by locals in their communities.

Modern communication technologies have been associated with widening the gap between the poor and the rich. While it has been suggested that these communication technologies have "liberated lives, created stock market miracles and improved economics" (Windheck in Mdlongwa, 2010, p. 4) these technologies have only touched a fraction of the world's population. While the gap spoken of here refers to the fissure between the people who do not have access to modern technology and those who do, the rate at which technology is growing and becoming cheaper by the day in Africa, mobile phones are becoming increasingly accessible to the poorer people of Africa and people living in "communication margins" (Goliama, 2011, p. xi) such as the rural areas of a country.

Goliama (2011), coming from a theological perspective, views the spread of "mobile technologies in contemporary Africa" as "obtrusive" and "pervasive" impacting upon "lives and relationships" (p. xi). With the increasing development of modern media technologies in Africa, such as the radio, television and mobile phone, new forms of evangelization arise, and using these new technologies, the Christian message can be spread efficiently and effectively and is thus able to reach people "living far from places of worship" or who for various reasons cannot attend places of worship (Goliama, 2011, p. 7). In this way, these modern media technologies assist in building ecclesiastical communities (Goliama, 2011, p. 7) across geographical distances. The sharing of music, and by extension knowledge, pertaining to the Christian belief system between the Antioka and Khovo parishes is an example of this. "Hymns not only carried the message in the sung form; in some cases they also served as a devotional 'literature' for Christians living far from centres of missionary enterprise" (Harries, 2007, p. 199). For example, for many years in the period between the Reformation and the arrival of the Swiss Mission in south-east Africa, Protestant literature in the vernacular, French, had been sent across borders from Switzerland to France (Harries, 2007, p. 182).

There has been a great deal of growth of the internet and mobile phones in Africa in the last two decades and "Africa has shown the highest growth with regards to mobile networks compared to all other regions of the world for four consecutive years" that is from about 2005 to 2009 (Bekele, 2010, p. 45). I too have experienced the easy availability of mobile phone 'simcards' in southern Mozambique. At a petrol station in Manhiça, people walk around wearing bibs advertising the mobile network whose airtime and simcards they are selling. As I spent time in the Magude district in July 2012 and in October and November 2013, the increase of mobile phone advertisements was palpable. Within a year, the number of stores and even run-down or unused buildings painted with the logos of major mobile phone

companies had increased. The colour and logos of mobile phone networks are fast becoming a common sight in the cities and countryside of southern Mozambique. Mobile phones are becoming a common utility in life in southern Mozambique and it is becoming less and less common to see someone without one.

The mobile phone has been described as the communication device that has had the most influence on the communication revolution in contemporary Africa (Goliama, 2011, p. xiii). It has also contributed to the empowerment of people in Africa which in this context refers to the ability of Africans to engage more fully or on more equal terms with a globalizing world. As a result of the advancement of mobile phones and the internet, African media has joined the rest of the world in the "new media" revolution (Bekele, 2010, p. 46) that has seen many media organisation changes especially from paper to electronic news sources (Hartley, 2010). People in Africa now too have access to global media through the internet and this is empowering because they are not limited to knowing only the information available in their country or in their immediate environment. In the context of Mozambique, media censorship was lifted in 1997 and the Mozambican constitution allows for freedom of speech. This, along with the increased rate and efficiency of telecommunication that the mobile phone facilitates, further empowers Africans (Goliama, 2011, xi).

In Africa, the mobile phone is not only viewed as a tool for communication but also "as a device that will help induce real positive changes in other sectors, including economy, education, women empowerment, health and democracy" (Goliama, 2011, p. xiii). Music can be included in the above mentioned category of education where singing songs imbued with social values and knowledge, and through using the mobile phone to record these songs, facilitates the transmission of social values and forms of knowledge across vast distances. Through this, the mobile phone contributes to the increase of knowledge within marginalised communities. The transmission of music through using the mobile phone as a device to do this also serves to connect disparate communities, as is the case with Antioka and Khoyo.

A large number of members of the Antioka parish have mobile phones, television and radio. With regards to the mobile phone, these members fit into the age groups which include mainly teenagers and young to middle-aged adults. The prevalence of modern media technology such as the radio, television and, in particular, the mobile phone in a rural community, such as Facazisse, allows its inhabitants to experience at once, two different realities: one of living in a community marginalised through limited communication with outside communities, and the other of living in a globalising world and being connected to this world through these modern media technologies. This is also an example of how globalisation can be experienced in a non-Western country. In this there exists a tension between the marginal and global. The Tsonga Presbyterians of Antioka experience this tension on a daily basis and

they negotiate this tension in their everyday lives, especially through the frequent and prevalent use of mobile phones in daily life.

The mobile phone may be seen to contribute to the empowerment of Mozambicans living in rural areas such as Facazisse. With this in mind the Vatsonga of Facazisse may be seen to be living a modern lifestyle that does not comply with the Western model of modernity. Thus an alternative model of modernity needs to be sought. The modernity of the Vatsonga exists within a context of other modern technological developments in Mozambique, such as the increase of tarred roads and a growing dependence on a money economy, where rural communities are becoming increasingly dependent on money because working the land is becoming less and less sustainable. In Mozambique, the adjustment towards a modern mode of living has brought about a forced transformation for the rural communities. This forced transformation calls for a new way of understanding modernity in the context of a developing country, as well as the impact that it may have on the vitality of a given community.

This alternative modernity in Facazisse may exist in the form of the mobile phone. Its use in everyday life is increasing and this is especially noticeable with regards to its use in the transmission of music, as the device was not necessarily developed for that specific purpose. A characteristic of a modern lifestyle is the almost instantaneous communication across vast distances. The mobile phone has facilitated the development of instantaneous telecommunication for rural communities that were previously communication margins. The phone also gives the members of Facazisse the opportunity to be in instantaneous connection with members outside of their community, including members of other parishes of the IPM in Magude, and at a further distance such as Khovo.

Similarly, in rural communities where access to transport is not easy, mobile phones allow members of these rural communities to connect with people from other towns and countries. This is the case in the IPM where the rural community of Antioka parish and the urban community of Khovo parish may be in regular communication, especially with regards to the sharing of choir songs, through the mobile phone. Sharing these choir songs is important because it marks the affiliation of a group in each parish to the larger collective of the IPM. Through mobile phones the community members of Antioka parish have joined the virtual space of telecommunication where mobility and exchange is held in one's hands. Furthermore, the alternative modernity in the form of the mobile phone also exists by way of the empowerment of people living in a rural lifestyle as a result of the connection that these communities have to the global community, especially in terms of information exchange.

The mobile phone as mnemonic device: secondary orality as an act of continuation

Mnemonic refers to a device such as a pattern of letters, ideas or associations that assist in remembering something (Allen, 1991), as in the song about cholera on page 130 (Maphorogo & Sutter, 2003). In terms of this thesis I choose to refer to the mobile phone as a mnemonic device where its encoding of

recorded sound and image into a digital format, is an aid to memory, especially in the case of oral transmission in the IPM.

Choir songs, which are composed on a regular basis for performances in church every Sunday, are taught to the choir members through both oral and literate means. For example, the leader of *Group Changana*, a youth choir of Antioka parish, regularly composes songs for the choir. He does not write them down but usually remembers the melodies, harmonies, and lyrics of the songs. The choir members also do not write down any aspects of the music, but remember them. Through participating in this choir's rehearsals, I observed how mobile phones are sometimes used to record the songs that are being learnt. In this sense, the transmission of these choir songs is informed by secondary orality through the recording of the songs on an electronic device which makes use of literacy for its operation. Furthermore, the songs that are orally transmitted are continued through the collective memory of the choir members.

A major composer of choir songs in the IPM, Valente Tseco, writes down his songs and usually distributes photocopies of the songs that he is teaching to the choir that he conducts. He then teaches the songs orally, but all the while, the choir members are informed by the written copy. The choir that Tseco composes most of his songs for is *Activistas* (Zamba, 2013), a group in the IPM whose members fit the profile of young to middle-aged parents. To remember a melody that might come to him at any moment, Tseco uses his mobile phone to record himself singing the melody (Tseco, 2013). Since melodies most usually come to him while commuting to and from work, using his mobile phone is an easy way to remember the melodies. In comparison, Marivate, who was an active composer at Valdezia mission station in South Africa during the mid-20th century, before the time of mobile phones, would write his ideas on paper (Marivate, 1984). For Tseco and the choir *Group Changana*, the mobile phone may be viewed as a mnemonic device that assists in memory during the composition and learning processes of church songs. The mobile phone as a mnemonic device may be regarded as an act of continuation of music, where the music is not preserved in the written form, but the recording, as a form of memory, serves as an act of continuation when played to the listener.

Since about 2007 the women's fellowship of the IPM has been requesting songs from Tseco that correspond to the theme of the year. For example, in 2012, the year of the Jubilee of the IPM, Tseco composed a song for the IPM women's fellowship that dealt with how the IPM is transforming lives within Jesus Christ. This was the theme for the Jubilee. In 2013, the theme of the year was "God of life, lead the IPM to peace, justice, and dignity", so Tseco composed a song for the ministers and their wives to sing as a commitment to continuing the work started by the Swiss missionaries (Tseco, 2013). This again shows a focus on heritage, in this instance the Tsonga Presbyterian heritage in the Swiss Mission.

Local heritage is equally important in the IPM. When asked how he would describe the music of the IPM, with specific regard to locally composed church songs, Tseco did not know what to call it except

to say that that it is just the way they sing in the Church, and the songs are to praise the Christian God. The use of *Makwayela* and other local forms of music⁶⁷ within the musical performances of the IPM, as discussed in Chapter 1, is an example of the connection that the Tsonga Presbyterians make of the society in which their Church exists, the concomitant culture, and their religion. The Xingomane performed by women of the IPM at the Jubilee, as seen in Track 6, is an example of how local music is used to transmit the Christian message. The reason for this is that the members of the IPM do not disregard their indigenous heritage, but incorporate it into their Christian belief system. I find it especially interesting that the music reflects a blending of Christianity and an indigenous heritage. While there is clearly a strong affiliation with both the indigenous heritage and the Christian belief system, the Tsonga Presbyterians however, do not incorporate indigenous religious beliefs into the belief system of the IPM. Thus, it seems that music exists on a level different to that of the belief system. Although music serves to transmit the Christian message and is used as a means of praising the Christian God, it also exists on a level in which the indigenous heritage can be incorporated into the Christian lives of the members of the IPM without having an impact on the Reformed Church belief system. Music, in this instance, is a powerful tool by which the importance of an indigenous and an appropriated heritage may be garnered and observed.

The music that Reverend Valente Tseco composes for the IPM has been influenced by *Makwayela*. As a child Tseco used to sing and dance *Makwayela* during school recess times. Referring back to the description of *Makwayela* in Chapter 1, the incorporation of women into its performance is a result of the transformation of society (Tseco, 2013). In contemporary society women are free to decide where and in what they will participate (Pers. comm. with Zamba, 2013).

Tseco has composed hundreds of songs for the IPM. Many are sung by the *Activistas* group in the IPM. Tseco's compositions most often have a dynamic character to correspond with the emotional intensity that is created during communal music-making. According to Tseco, songs of the IPM are composed

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⁶⁷ A form local Mozambican music is *Marabenta*. According to Paolo Zamba of Facazisse village, my interpreter and guide during fieldwork, *Marabenta* is performed on guitar, keyboard and other modern instruments. It has no drumming but consists of a style of dancing specific to *Marabenta*. The transformative nature of this style of dancing makes it modern. Zamba found that the music itself used to be easy to identify, however, in recent times it has been mixed with many other different types of music and its characteristic features are being diluted as a result. One of these characteristic features is the rhythm specific to *Marabenta* (Pers. comm. with Zamba, 2013). *Marabenta* has also been described as traditional Mozambican music and is at times mixed with South African music (Mabessa, 2013). One informant enjoys listening to *Marabenta*, South African music, as well as Tswana music through her radio and DVD player (Cossa, 2013). People living in Facazisse often listen to South Africa music (Cossa, 2013; Mabessa, 2013).

to involve everyone in the singing. Furthermore, the type of singing that takes place in the Church calls for a person to concentrate while singing, as the music is complex. Tseco finds that the singing in the Presbyterian Church requires a singing technique that is different to other churches. One of these singing techniques, which I have identified and discussed, is appropriate improvisation as seen in the performance style of *Tatana wa rirhandzu*.

Writing is perceived as an old, traditional way of recording music (Tseco, 2013). Tseco wanted to learn how to read and write in tonic sol-fa so that he could understand the secret behind composing music. He would often have dreams in which a melody would come to him but he had no way of keeping a record of these melodies. He wished to have a tape recorder to help him record the songs but also became literate in tonic sol-fa to enable him to harness his creative inspiration for hymn or church song melodies and lyrics. Tseco found the tonic sol-fa system easy to learn as it was familiar to him from the church hymnbook, *Tinsimu*. Tseco keeps records of his music electronically so that they do not get lost easily and can be mass produced if necessary. An example of this is *Dri Tshlasile Jubileu* which was distributed in printed copies in tonic sol-fa notation during the Jubilee for all attendees to be able to sing it.

The composition of songs which are appropriate to the mood of a particular occasion speaks to the concept of appropriate improvisation. Songs composed for funerals tend to be much softer than songs composed for joyous occasions. Tseco found that hymns brought to the IPM from Europe are often sung with a different rhythm. It is often the case in the IPM that people prefer songs that are dynamic and allow for great expressiveness. Tseco too has been influences by the dynamic and driving rhythms of *Makwayela* in his hymn compositions, one such example is *Dri Tlasile Jubileu*.

Mobility of music and a sense of community: the mobile phone and its ability to connect

As far back as 1878, Ernst Creux noted the mobility of music across vast distances where he heard hymns being sung in villages where an evangelist had not yet been before (Harries, 2007). Swiss missionaries further found that the Christian message had travelled to Mozambique through migrant workers returning home from the mines. Writing and print helped to spread Christianity. For example, the written text as an object, such as the *buku*, transmitted the Christian message in a literate form (Harries, 2007). In this sense "hymns took both writing and the Christian ethic far" beyond the borders of the evangelical enterprise (Harries, 2007, p. 198). There is also much musical exchange between the parishes of IPM in southern Mozambique, as well as between the IPM and its sister church the EPC, across the Mozambique-South Africa national border. The latter occurs during celebrations for which the sister churches come together, for example the 125th Jubilee of the IPM in July 2012. Musical

exchange across these national borders also occurs through modern media technology such as the radio or the television.

During interviews with informants of Antioka parish, and from visiting them in their homes in Facazisse village, it was evident that modern technology, in particular the radio and the television, are used to listen to music. Various members of Facazisse have access to South African radio stations, for example, and prefer some of the South Africa music genres that they hear on these stations (Cossa, 2013). Modern media technology, when viewed as a vehicle for transmission, contributes to the mobility of music across national borders and, at times, linguistic and cultural barriers. The chorus *U ta nghena njhani* stands out as a particularly pertinent example of the mobility of music. I heard this chorus being performed in Keiskammahoek in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. I also heard it performed in southern Mozambique. According to Tshawane, this chorus, which he refers to as a township chorus, originated in South Africa, and spread to Mozambique either through the television or the radio (Tshawane, 2013).

The mobile phone allows the community members of Facazisse to connect with people from other countries, as I have experienced through being in communication with members of Antioka parish and other parishes of the IPM through the mobile phone while in South Africa. This form of technology not only enables communication and hence the transmission of knowledge and music across vast distances within national boundaries but also across national borders.

Sometimes members of the IPM will travel to Antioka to teach the members of Antioka parish new songs that have been composed for the various groups of the Church. (Sitoi, 2013). Many of the songs sung by the *Activistas* choir of Antioka are taught to them by members of Khovo, a parish of IPM in Maputo. As a distance of about 120 km separates Antioka from Khovo these songs are transmitted to members of Antioka through mobile phones. While a person in Maputo sings, a member of Antioka parish will record the singing onto the inbuilt recording device in their mobile phone. The lyrics are transcribed from the recordings. Due to limited music literacy at Antioka the melodies and harmonies are not written down but are instead memorised from the recording. This type of music transmission corresponds with the general performance practice at Antioka where the words are read during performance and the melody is remembered. The use of the mobile phones in the examples above corresponds with the concept of secondary orality where the music is transmitted via "electronic technology" while language literacy is needed for the use of the mobile phone.

During fieldwork I participated in a choir performance with the *Activistas* women's choir at Antioka. We sang one of the songs that had been transmitted through the mobile phone and I noticed that in two of the books that the choir was singing from there were different words at the same point in the song in each book. Although I could not understand the meaning of the words they clearly were different. The number of syllables was the same in these two words, and they both fitted into the music, and therefore

did not have an impact on the music itself. From this observation, it became apparent to me that the number of times a particular piece of music is transmitted has an influence on the continuation of the music, especially during oral transmission or a form thereof. Factors influencing that which is heard through the mobile phone have an impact on the eventual outcome, such as an unclear sound through the mobile phone speaker or if there is background noise. Furthermore, transferring from one book to another through hand-writing also allows for human error to come into play, as I noticed with the different words. To return to the example of the song transmitted through the mobile phone after which it is further transmitted to other members of the choir, the transmission of the music and lyrics (knowledge) in this example reflects a character of continuation where the general idea remains the same but the music, and occasionally the lyrics, are subject to change due to the manner of transmission.

Not only has the mobile phone facilitated a connection between the Antioka parish members of Facazisse with other communities of the IPM, but mobile phones are also used in their daily lives. For example, in the evening mobile phones are often used as a source of light. I have observed that torches built into the hardware of mobile phones or the screens of the mobile phones are used as a means of lighting the path to and from home in the evenings. Facazisse does not have street lights but the village is constituted of dirt roads and foot paths winding through the various homesteads of brick or cement houses and grass huts accompanied by fields belonging to these homesteads. I also observed the mobile phone being used as a source of light during a choir rehearsal of the *Activistas* women's choir on the evening of the 5 October 2014. When the light outside began to dim some of the women took out their mobile phones to continue reading the lyrics of a song they were practicing. The building I was staying in during fieldwork, the unused clinic situated about one hundred metres from the church building, received its electricity from the power source of the church building. In light of this, I was aware that the church building did have access to electricity at the time of the choir rehearsal, however, the women did not switch the light of the church on, but instead took out their mobile phones and used these to read the lyrics of the song that they were rehearsing.

The mobile phone has facilitated a means by which church members can record church songs that they learn during choir rehearsals; the mobile phone is also a means by which to share in the listening of songs through playing them from the built in music players; and furthermore, it is also used to record musical performances of the Church for personal use I believe. The last point I see in this light because members of the Antioka parish would delight in taking photos of, and with, my family and I, and they recorded my family and I singing a song in church with their mobile phones.

The use of mobile phones to record music is a new and modern form of preserving the music of the IPM. Before the advent of modern technology the music was preserved in written form. In the case of the IPM it was the literacy education provided by the Swiss Mission as well as the Swiss missionaries' own initiatives to write down the music that preserved it in a written form. Today, as a result of the new

technology of mobile phone and the recording devices built into its software and hardware the music of the IPM is being preserved in video or sound recorded format.

This does not, however, account for illiterate people using mobile phones. Although, the rate of literacy in Mozambique is increasing, a large portion of the Mozambican continent still remains illiterate with, according to UNICEF, in 2012, only 50.6 percent of the Mozambican adult population was literate (www.unicef.org/infobycountry/mozambique_statistics.html). As far as I am aware most of the people in the Antioka parish are literate. This is in large part due to the emphasis on literacy in the Reformed Church. With regards to the elders of the community, their literacy is also in large part due to the literacy education provided by the Swiss Mission as well as their exposure to the written from of the vernacular in Church.

These examples show how modern technology in the form of the mobile phone is being used as a vehicle for the transmission of music pertaining to the Church. One may see how the increased use of mobile phones, particularly with regards to music, reflects a growing character of secondary orality in the Antioka community. This character of secondary orality influences the continuation of the music where the melodies and harmonies which, when not written down, are more susceptible to change. Placing the prevalence of technology within the perspective of Churches in Africa:

"Electronic media technologies...have increasingly pervaded Africa's social communications scene. Some churches such as the Pentecostal and Charismatic denominations have particularly privileged the use of the radio, television and electronic musical instruments for evangelisation" (Goliama, 2011, p. 6).

Modern technology also exists in the EPC in the form of electronic musical instruments. I observed the use of electronic keyboard in a parish of the EPC in Mamelodi, Gauteng Province, South Africa. Tshawane also uses electric guitar in the singing of hymns in church as well as in his recorded gospel music. From having attended church services of both the IPM and the EPC, I observed that in the IPM the music was mostly performed unaccompanied with some dancing and clapping in choruses, while in the EPC electronic and acoustic musical instruments were used. As I only attended one service within each of the Mamelodi and Daveyton parishes of the EPC, I cannot conclusively state the extent to which electronic or acoustic musical instruments are used in the EPC. However, seeing that the use of electric guitar in the EPC is no longer a taboo as it was when Tshawane first started using it (Tshawane, 2013), it is used prevalently, I believe. One of the main reasons for the music being unaccompanied in the IPM is that the Church does not have the resources to purchase instruments (Muchanga, 2013; Tshawane, 2013). Tshawane states that in Mozambique: "they don't have much sophisticated equipment so we take some of their music and build on it and as a part of their heritage" (Tshawane, 2013). An example of a Church chorus that has moved between Mozambique and South Africa is *Kanimambo Hosi*.

According to Tshawane, this chorus is originally from Mozambique, and that, in fact, most of the choruses sung in the EPC in South Africa are from Mozambique.

Modern technology and the cross-pollination of heritages

Tshawane believes that the languages, such as French and Portuguese, that were brought to Africa, are now a part of the African heritage. Instead of seeing them as symbols of colonialism Tshawane sees them as a gift to the African continent as the knowledge of learning new languages, or other people's languages as he puts it, broadens one's worldview and creates linkages between people. Tshawane's music has been influenced by Tsonga music, which he refers to as 'traditional music', Reformed Church hymns and, in recent years, after working in Nigeria, Nigerian music. One of Tshawane's other major influences was Daniel Cornelius Marivate. Tshawane would like to rework the music that Marivate composed because he feels that Marivate pushed the boundaries of the music of the Church by pioneering the introduction of instruments in church music in the 1950s. Within the Churches established by the Swiss Mission instrumental music was associated with traditional music and it was a taboo, during that period, for the Presbyterians to sing traditional music. To sing with instrumental accompaniment in the Church was taboo:

Christians felt embarrassed when they heard somebody singing with guitar accompaniment. It was taboo, especially because of the Reformed tradition. They did not want to see any drums, guitar, nor any kind of instrumentation accompanying hymns from the hymnbook. I still remember the first day when I introduced this kind of music in Valdezia, they completely wanted to disassociate themselves from this kind of music (Tshawane, 2013).

Tshawane introduced this kind of music in the 1970s and today it is accepted and even embraced within the EPC. Since Tshawane also grew up exposed to indigenous forms of music through his grandparents, and Reformed Church music through the Church and his parents, he did not have a problem mixing the two genres and included instrumentation in the music that he composed for the Church as well as the music that he performed in Church. Tshawane sees the coming together of indigenous Tsonga music and Reformed Church music, which he refers to as "Reformed hymnology", as the "cross-pollination between the culture of the Swiss Mission and the Tsonga" and in his view this is good (Tshawane, 2013).

Tshawane's future plan for his music is to bring together even further Tsonga music and Reformed Church music. Marivate has been a great inspiration for Tshawane in terms of bringing indigenous Tsonga music and Reformed Church hymnology together:

"There was a lot of influence from Marivate and others. For example, in the wedding songs there was a lot of mixture in terms of the African, the Tsonga music, and the hymnbook. I want

to record an album that will be going back to Marivate. Marivate's music is where the hymnbook and the African music collided" (Tshawane, 2013).

Tshawane was the pioneering minister who introduced the guitar into the music of the EPC parish in Soweto where he was ministering. This was a pioneering initiative because it took place before the charismatic movements came to South Africa. Tshawane clearly remembers that in 1976 in the Xawela parish of the EPC in Soweto where he started as a minister, this type of music was not well received by the congregation except by the youth:

Even though I was more of a minister than a musician, music helped me, it galvanised my leadership in terms of young people listening to me. The young people were for it and the Church was full of these young people. That is the kind of language they understand. That is why I used it as an evangelical instrument; mobilising young people to go to church (Tshawane, 2013).

Some research on the preferred activities of youth in South Africa has been conducted by Youth Dynamics with 1 800 scholars, students, working or unemployed youth. The most highly ranked activity is watching television at 71%. Listening to one's own music is ranked third at 59% (Hartley, 2010, p. 14). This reveals the importance that modern media technology has in the lives of the youth in South Africa and the importance they place on listening to music they enjoy. By incorporating the electric guitar, and rap into his music, Tshawane attracts the youth to the Church because of the high importance that the youth place on contemporary styles of music in their social and everyday lives.

Tshawane's mixing of South African indigenous and Reformed Church music, as well as blending it with contemporary instruments such as the guitar is an example of what McNeill (2011) refers to as harnessing the particular zeitgeist of a peoples' social situation. McNeill refers in particular to AIDS educators in Venda who use song as a tool to transmit information about the prevention of AIDS. The songs of the AIDS educators "represent a creative rearrangement of existing repertoires" where "local elements" are incorporated into songs and dances that hold national and international significance and where the "strategic blending of various music traditions" harnesses the "particular zeitgeist of their post-apartheid experience" (McNeill, 2011, p. 7). Thus making the music, along with its lyrics that serve an educative purpose, socially significant.

Tshawane uses modern media technology to distribute his music and to unite people through music. His wishes for the distribution of music with a multi-lingual approach across the African continent are informed by his philosophy based on the idea of the global village. It is important in the Church to include everyone (Tshawane, 2013). According to Tshawane, during certain occasions in the Church, such as a funeral, there will be a time of singing that follows the "formal hymnology process" (Tshawane, 2013). After the formal proceedings come to an end, choruses of the Church will be sung.

This practice is observed for the reason that choruses call for all people present to join in with the singing and dancing:

When men are busy putting soil into the grave they [the congregation] will start chorusing. They want everybody to participate in the chorus. Then they start dancing. The people might ask: how can you dance? But they dance away, the African way. And then they are also mindful of those who might not be Presbyterian people so they would like to sing the choruses because these choruses are uniting (Tshawane, 2013).

Tshawane used music to bring people to church. Similarly, in the European Reformed Church singing was seen as a vehicle to bring people together (Germiquet, 2011). Through the mobility and the uniting nature of the choruses a community may be formed between disparate groups of people, including those groups who do not share a common heritage or belief system. With the blending of social and musical forces in church music, exemplified in Tshawane's wish to further the cross pollination between Tsonga music and Reformed hymnology, one may regard Tshawane as an example of how Tsonga Presbyterians not only embrace their dual-heritage but situate it within contemporary paradigms thus facilitating social and musical transformation within their churches.

Social transformation: music, modern media technology, and the transmission of knowledge about contemporary social issues in Africa

As discussed before, music is a rich source of information on the needs, values, and beliefs of a community. Songs are a rich source of information about a group of people especially with regards to topics that are considered taboo. Singing has been shown to be a form of memory, as in the Reformed Church (Germiquet, 2011). In contemporary Tsonga Presbyterian music one may see the significance that orality has in the lives of the Tsonga Presbyterians. In interviews with some members of the EPC it became apparent that issues that cannot be directly spoken about are often addressed in song. This is also the case among the Bavenda in South Africa where the subject of AIDS and in particular education about AIDS prevention takes place through songs composed and performed by young women peer educators who are part of the Forum for AIDS Prevention (FAP) (McNeill, 2011). Furthermore, song and the activity of singing is also a form of learning about an issue pertinent in one's life such as a preventable disease as is the case in the Tsonga community of Elim, South Africa and the contagious but preventable disease *Trachoma* (Sutter, 2011; Maporongo, 2008; McNeill, 2011). With songs addressing poignant or taboo subjects people can come to learn about pertinent issues in contemporary social life in Africa.

There are high levels of HIV infection and death due to AIDS in contemporary Africa (Goliama, 2011) and, in relation to my topic, in Mozambique (Gengenbach 2010). Gospel music is composed for funerals, and other songs are composed for different reasons such as to console, to empower with the

invitation to take courage in the situation, as well as messages underpinned by a reliance on the Christian God for consolation (Chitando, 2002, in Goliama, 2011). Some messages encourage people to turn to Christianity as a means of combating the spread of AIDS (Goliama, 2011).

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Tshawane transmits messages about contemporary social issues, such as HIV/AIDS, in the form of what he calls 'Social Gospel' (Tshawane, 2013). Tshawane makes this music accessible to a large African audience by singing in Xitsonga, English and several African languages that include isiXhosa, Sesotho, and Swahili. His music is also made accessible through the technology of compact disks. Although many poorer people in Africa do not have access to CD players this technology is becoming more wide spread, cheaper, and therefore increasingly accessible.

Tshawane speaks explicitly about the taboo surrounding the discussion of HIV/AIDS in his Social Gospel song entitled 'Africa will be saved' from his album aptly named 'Music with a message.' At 1'18'' - 1'48'' the lyrics are as follows:

This music is dedicated to people living with AIDS.

Those who have passed away due to AIDS related diseases.

Those who have been recently diagnosed as HIV positive.

AIDS is a new, deadly infection for which there is, as yet, no cure and no vaccine.

It is a disease which has spread to most countries around the world.

But Africa has been declared as the region with the highest number of AIDS cases.

Tshawane goes on to explain that AIDS is a sexually transmitted disease. A means of combating this disease that he suggests have their grounding in Christian morals. The lyrics at 2'27"- 2'43" continue as:

And in Africa it is difficult to teach people about the sexual spread of AIDS,

because sexuality is seen as a taboo in our African tradition and customs.

For Africa to survive, this must change, now.

Tshawane's music can be seen as an example of "secondary orality" (Ong, 2002, p. 134-135) as it is not written down but exists only in a sound recording. Thus, in the form of Social Gospel and secondary orality, Tshawane's music can reach a wide African audience, especially the illiterate.

In the community surrounding the former Swiss Mission station hospital, Elim, South Africa, where the disease trachoma (*Chlamydia trachomatis*) is rife, music has been used by the community to teach its

members about the disease. According to the World Health Organisation (http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs382/en/) Trachoma is estimated to be endemic in 53 countries in Africa, Asia, Central and South America, Australia and the Middle East, with Africa being the most affected continent. Trachoma largely affects people living in crowded areas where there is poor hygiene, lack of adequate sanitation and water shortages. Trachoma is also associated with waterrelated diseases (http://www.who.int/water sanitation health/diseases/ trachoma/en/). It has caused the visual impairment of 2.2 million people worldwide. 1.2 million of the 2.2 million have become irreversibly blind as a result of infection without treatment (http://www.who.int/mediacentre/ factsheets/fs382/en/).

An intervention, known as Care Groups, was established to control the spread of trachoma amongst the community in the area of Elim by educating the local women about the disease. Unsatisfied with previous interventions Erika Sutter, a former Swiss missionary doctor who worked at Elim for 32 years, from 1952-1984, along with Care Group motivators Selina Maphorogo and Andrew Radebe established the Care Groups in 1976. The intervention was first established in the three villages of Chavanni, Mtsetweni and Nkuzana to "mobilise local women to form groups and spread their newly acquired knowledge about trachoma within their own area" (Sutter, 2011, p. 79). The intervention was so successful that this model spread rapidly to neighbouring villages (Maphorogo & Sutter, 2003, p. 83). The Care Groups is still in operation today (Sutter, 2014).

At times music is used by the local Care Group members as a means of expressing the new found knowledge that they learn in Care Group meetings (Sutter, 2011, p. 79). Similarly, Care Group members would use singing and dancing to demonstrate what is needed for good nutrition (Sutter, 2011, p. 88). An example of such a song has been recorded by Selina Maphorogo in the book titled 'The community is my university' (2003).

The above example of the Care Groups is to show how music has been used among Tsonga communities in South Africa to transmit knowledge about the pertinent issue of trachoma which adversely affects many local communities in the area. Music was used by the local members in the intervention strategy as one of the methods to educate locals on how to minimise the infection rate by changing certain lifestyle habits. A song was also composed by Care Group members to educate on how to deal with the cholera epidemic that took place in the early years of the Care Group's existence. The song entitled 'The Song of Cholera', sung by members of the Care Groups, was recorded by Maphorogo & Sutter (2003). Some of the lyrics are as follows below, with the English translation on the left and the original lyrics in Xitsonga on the right:

On 17 December

Siku leriya ti 17th n'weti leyi ya December

Mr. Masilane came

Ku fikili tatana Masilane

He taught us about cholera. kambe tina hi dyondzisiwile.

We will protect ourselves! Hi ta tisivela

By boiling the drinking water hi ku virisa mati yo nwa

Or by adding a small teaspoonful Kumbe ku chela xilepulana xa

of Javel or Jik Javel kumbe Jik

To 25 litres of drinking water. e matini yo nwa ya 25 liter.

We will protect ourselves! Hi ta tisivela

By washing the vegetables hi ku hlantswa miroho

In clean water hi mati yo tenga

By washing each fruit Hlantswa mihandzu

Before eating it. u nga si yi dya.

We will protect ourselves! Hi ta tisivela

It is better to prevent. Swa antswa ku sivela.

We thank you, our Motivators. Ha nkhensa varhangeri!

In the above examples of the Tsonga and Venda communities of South Africa it is apparent that song is a powerful means of educating communities about pertinent issues. Moreover, it is apparent that the members of the communities themselves are composing and performing these songs for ends that benefit their communities. According to Goliama (2011), the use of music makes messages about HIV/AIDS "more appealing to people than long academic speeches of statistics on HIV/AIDS" (p. 17). While acknowledging the importance of music in spreading knowledge about HIV/AIDS, Goliama does not address the often taboo nature of the subject in Africa. Tshawane (2013) and Maphorogo (2003) both, however, make reference to the taboo nature of the subject. Maphorogo (2003) noted how in recent years she has observed a change in the attitude towards discussing sex because of the need for knowledge about HIV/AID in the communities affected by it. Thus efforts made to retain the taboo are declining.

In the above discussion music may be seen as a force that can powerfully transmit messages about important social issues. Its power lies in its ability to rest and be evoked in the mind through the ease

with which people remember lyrics combined with melody. It is also a strong force for social change in that issues that are not easily spoken about can be sung about (McNeill, 2011). These examples illustrate how music, in the form of Tshawane's Social Gospel and other means is calling for Africans to embrace social transformation.

While there is a great deal of research on how the mobile phone in Africa transforms society (Goliama, 2011), in this chapter I focused on an aspect of social transformation that involves the use of the mobile phone in the transmission of music, and by extension the transmission of certain forms of knowledge, in this case the Christian belief system, as well as societal values. The increasing prevalence of the mobile phone in Africa has been shown to empower people in Africa, especially those living in communication margins, through the access that it provides to information and global discourses. In the light of mobile technologies serving to connect communication margins with their wider social spheres, the prominence of the mobile phone, as well as the television and radio in the life of the rural community of Antioka and the village of Facazisse, has served to empower the community members. This is especially illustrated through their communication with the head offices of the IPM at Khovo.

In this chapter also I described some forms of transmission of music and knowledge within the IPM and how these forms of transmission influence the conservation and continuation of music and knowledge within the IPM. It is relevant to know about the outcomes of the different forms of transmission, these outcomes being the conservation or continuation of music and knowledge, so that we may understand the mechanisms of social transformation. One such mechanism, for example, is the conservation of Tsonga indigenous knowledge preserved in a written form in a notated Christian hymn. It is important to understand these mechanisms so that we may come to understand changes within society and, through an understanding of these changes, we may come to make informed decisions that support a sustainable future.

Conclusion

The dual-heritage of the Tsonga Presbyterians has been shown as a blending of features of a Tsonga lifestyle embedded within Christianity. It was shown how the musical performances of the IPM, with specific focus on the Antioka parish, reflect social transformations that have occurred in the Tsonga Presbyterians' lifestyle. This thesis also addressed how Tsonga Presbyterians articulate and negotiate the social transformations that they have experienced, in their history, such as the encounter with the Swiss Mission, and in their present lifestyle, such as in a globalising world and money driven economy where rural lifestyles, for those members of Antioka, are being drastically affected.

A main point of focus in the thesis was the role that music has in the reflection, articulation, and negotiation of social transformations in the IPM. A discussion of social transformations took place in terms of the Tsonga Presbyterians' dual-heritage, with the aim of showing that the abstract quality of

music allows for the members of the IPM to have the freedom to negotiate social transformations that they experience, as well as a means of articulating their autonomy as a church. It was argued that the members of the IPM articulate their dual-heritage through musical performances. This was shown specifically because of the different musical influences that are present within the musical performances of the IPM, those of and indigenous Tsonga music and Reformed Church music. Music has a prominent part in the life of the members of the Antioka parish, and the abstract nature of music gives the members freedom to negotiate their dual-heritage without influencing central tenets of their Christian belief-system.

Various examples, such as the hymn *Mahungu Lamanene* and the play *De la Missão Suíça à l'IPM*, were referred to as a means of showing how, even though the IPM is an autonomous church today, its member have an awareness of, and appreciation for, their heritage within the Swiss Mission. Further to this, the incorporation of Tsonga musical practices in the musical performances of the IPM, most notably the explicit blending of Tsonga dancing and drumming with words pertaining to the IPM as in the performance of the *Xingomane* at the Jubilee of the IPM in 2012, exhibits the members' awareness of their Tsonga heritage. Their musical choices, in this regard, show that their Tsonga lifestyle and heritage is important in their church life too.

Upon first observation of musical performances in the IPM, I noticed that there was a distinct musical character that was not of the Reformed Church. The blending that occurs in the IPM was addressed not as one which pertains to a syncretic belief system, but one which finds its locus in the music of the Church. The belief system and practices of the IPM were compared briefly to other Independent African Churches and it was found that, in general, the belief system of the IPM remains inherently Presbyterians with no apparent syncretic beliefs.

Musical analyses that would reveal which components of the music of the IPM are of a Tsonga heritage and which are of a Swiss Reformed Church heritage were attempted. With the nature of musical transformation as a constant in society, any kind of labelling of Tsonga music or indigenous music proved a difficult task. A delineation of some parameters from which musical analyses would be conducted in order to find the musical influences in the music of the IPM was ensued. Parameters were drawn with the understanding that defining 'Tsonga music' is a contentious issue.

By referring extensively to research on the music of the Shangana-Tsonga of the Limpopo Province of South Africa, conducted by Thomas F. Johnston in the 1960s and 1970s, this thesis attempted to define some characteristics of the music of the IPM which relate to a Tsonga musical character. There are shortcomings to this trajectory as my own attempt to define what constitutes Tsonga music is spurious given the limited fieldwork data, and transformative nature of music. However, in order to address this issue I turned to music discussed by my informants when asked about the music of the local environment, such as *Makwayela* and *Marabenta*. With the limited fieldwork data and research

confined mainly to the music of the IPM, I turned to the fact that my informants have expressed that these are forms of music that they and the community in which they live listen to and are influenced by. Musical analyses of the correlations that may exist between the performance style of in the IPM and these local forms of music is beyond the scope of this research. Thus, this thesis is focused towards the insight that may be gained with regards to the music of the IPM knowing that *Marabenta* and *Makwayela* are prevalent forms of music in the lives of some members of the IPM. Findings were that the performance style of the IPM reflects, or is an expression of, an awareness of the performers' dual-heritage, and thus the dual-heritage of the Tsonga Presbyterians.

Although there has been a keen rejection of a colonial past in widespread Africa, the Tsonga Presbyterians of the IPM are aware of their dual-heritage in that they incorporate both their Tsonga heritage and their heritage within the Swiss Mission and the Reformed Church. Furthermore, there is an attitude of autonomy in the IPM where the members direct their own path in the development and/or transformation of the Church. The autonomy of the Church was found to be particularly apparent in the musical performances where the musical choices reflect the incorporation of a Tsonga musical character into the music of the Church. Placing the Tsonga Presbyterians' negotiation of present day life in southern Mozambique as autonomous, does not, however, account for the economy driven society within which many southern Mozambicans live. Since their agrarian lifestyle is becoming less sufficient in rapidly modernising societies and communities in southern Mozambique, many southern Mozambicans, living in rural areas, are being increasingly pressured into labour work on large scale industrial farms.

Through the extensive documentation that the Swiss Mission conducted of the history and lifestyle of the Vatsonga, a large body of history of the evangelical encounter, between the Vatsonga and the Swiss Mission, is available. The discussion in this thesis was placed within its historical context in order to clarify my own perspective in the contentious issues of naming and transformation of categories of understanding of what constitutes 'Tsonga'. This would inform an understanding of 'Tsonga music' underpinning a great deal of the discussion in this thesis. With the realisation that the available information on the history of the Vatsonga is closely embedded within the perspective of Swiss missionaries, I sought to find sources of the history of the Vatsonga other than written documentation informed by the Swiss Mission's archive. Upon conflating the information of these different sources it became apparent that different versions of the history of the encounter between the Vatsonga and the Swiss Mission exist. This not only speaks to the nature of orally transmitted information, but also to the different perspectives of relevant stakeholders.

Along with the social history of the Vatsonga, the discussion in this thesis was placed within the history of the Reformation. This was done to bring to light important religious values within a Reformed Church belief system in order to discuss how these values are apparent in the IPM today, and how they are thus

a continuation of a Reformed Church heritage within the IPM. In this section a brief outline of the music of the Reformed Church was presented. Since Reformed Church hymns are performed in the IPM today, and some musical characteristics of a Western Classical paradigm exist within the IPM, it was found necessary to discuss these aspects in detail. A focus was therefore on a comparison between the metrical psalm and the musical performances within the IPM today. Along with placing the music of the IPM within its social and musical histories, the performance practice of the IPM was discussed in this thesis. This was achieved in order to reiterate, in detail, the blending of the two musical heritages discussed in the thesis, and in turn, to substantiate the argument that the Tsonga Presbyterians' dual heritage is articulated and negotiated in the musical performances of the IPM.

Placing the music of the IPM within its present social context also brought to light, the role that music has in the Church. From interviews with members of the Antioka parish, as well as through observing church life and church activities, it became clear that music forms a very important part in the Church. Music was described, by an informant, as the dynamo of the Church, and it is evident that members of the IPM find great worth in expressing their faith through music. As was important in the Reformed Church, the messages in church songs are of great importance in the IPM.

Since the message is an important aspect of church music in the Reformed Church and in the IPM today, translation of hymn texts into the vernacular, Xitsonga, was a task upon which the Swiss Mission placed a great deal of emphasis. It was found that although translations of hymn texts into the vernacular, conducted by Swiss missionaries, were attentive to the tonal nature of Xitsonga, the melodies of Tsonga hymns composed by locals of southern Mozambique and South Africa were better suited to the tonal inflections of Xitsonga. Thus the issue of Xitsonga being a tonal language was addressed, and it was found that the tonal structure of Xitsonga influences the melody of the songs. The form of the melody can be seen to follow the tonal inflection of the lyrics.

Local paradigms were taken into account where the worldview, inherent in a language, would influence the message, transmitted through the lyrics of hymns. Tsonga hymns composed by Daniel Cornelius Marivate, such as *Loko xirimo xi fika*, and *Xidzedze*, were shown to incorporate features of a Tsonga lifestyle in the messages an images embedded within the lyrics. These local paradigms were shown to be situated within a Christian belief system.

Charles' Keil's theory of Participatory Discrepancies was discussed in relation to the improvisations that occur in the musical performances of the IPM. My previous research had re-contextualised Participatory Discrepancies from jazz to religious music. In this thesis, the idea of an 'engendered feeling' put forth by Keil, and understood as that which makes a musical performance socially meaningful, was discussed in terms of how communal music-making that exhibits Participatory Discrepancies, contributes to the establishment or deepening of a sense of community. The sense of community established in this way is particularly pertinent in the case of disparate groups of people

with common origins in the Swiss Mission. For example, the Tsonga Presbyterians of the various parishes of the IPM, the Tsonga Presbyterians of the EPC, descendents of Swiss missionaries, as well as those affiliated with the Départment-Missionaire, in Switzerland.

A large component of this thesis is the transmission of the Christian message through literate and oral means. The evangelical encounter saw the transformation of the Tsonga society from one embedded in orality to one which incorporates literacy. The present social context of Antioka was brought to the discussion. Fieldwork observations prompted a discussion on the use of technology, and in particular the mobile phone, in the transmission of the music of the IPM. It was found that the different modes of transmission, for example, through oral means, literacy, and through 'secondary orality', promoted the conservation and continuation of music in the IPM. Literacy was found to conserve the music in such a way that it is not easily subject to change. The notion of conservation was found to be more appropriate than preservation, as the former denotes a flexible quality to the transmission process of music. This flexible quality allows for musical transformation which, as discussed in the thesis, is a necessary and real part of life.

The transmission through oral means was seen to promote the continuation of music in a particular way that is mainly informed by a performance style that members of the IPM learn through participating in communal music-making. The notion of secondary orality was incorporated into the discussion on technology in the Antioka community and the larger community of Facazisse. It was shown that the mobile phone is used a great deal in everyday life of the Antioka community, thus connecting the members of Antioka to a broader community. This is especially important where different parishes of the IPM are connected through telecommunication, more pertinently through the transmission of church songs composed for particular groups of the IPM. The *Activistas* women's group of Antioka is thereby connected to the Khovo parish of the IPM through the transmission of choir songs across vast distances aided by the mobile phone. The mobile phone in this instance has also been discussed as a mnemonic device.

Finally, this thesis sought to analyse how the dual-heritage of the Tsonga Presbyterians of the IPM is negotiated by the members of the Church. It was found that the musical performances in the IPM were an articulation of social transformation. The evangelical encounter between the Vatsonga and the Swiss Mission began the transformation of a Tsonga society in southern Mozambique from one characterised by orality to one embedded in literacy. The belief system in the IPM does not incorporate indigenous Tsonga religious beliefs, but the music of the IPM incorporates both Tsonga and Reformed Church musical features. The conscious and purposeful blending of these two musics by the members of the IPM articulates how the Tsonga Presbyterians negotiate their dual-heritage. Through the awareness of their church's heritage in the Swiss Mission, as well as the awareness of living in present society in southern Mozambique, and in some cases discussed in the thesis in South Africa, the Tsonga

Presbyterians have chosen to remain aware of both of their heritages, and this awareness is expressed through their musical performances.

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Petit Bulletin d'Actualités Sud-Africaines. Publié par le State Information Office, Pretoria. Swiss Mission Archives (SMA) 4.29 No. 1: *La Musique Indigene en Afrique du Sud.*