THE IMPACT OF APOCALYPTIC MUSIC ON RELIGIOUS, ECONOMIC, SOCIO-POLITICAL AND CULTURAL LIFE EXPERIENCES IN ZIMBABWE

BY

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DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University

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This thesis has been submitted with our approval as University supervisors

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the countless apocalyptic Musicians who across the world have advocated for religious, socio-political, economic, and cultural reforms through music. It is mainly dedicated to musicians, including Thomas Mapfumo, Hosiah Chipanga, Leonard Zhakata, Paul Madzore, Oliver Mtukudzi of Zimbabwe, and Joseph Kamaru of Kenya, being the modern seers and voices of the voiceless.

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ACRONYMS/ABBR1EVIATIONS

MSI:	Music on Social Issues
M.P.I.:	Music on Political Issues
M.E.I.:	Music on Economic Issues
M.R.I.:	Music on Religious Issues
MCI:	Music on Cultural Issues
P.S.I.:	Poems on Social Issues
PPI:	Poems on Political Issues
P.E.I.:	Poems on Economic Issues
P.R.I.:	Poems on Religious Issues
PCI:	Poems on Cultural Issues
PE:	Post-Colonial Era
L.M.G.:	Liberation Music Group
Z.I.A.N.A.:	Zimbabwe Inter-Africa News Agency
HDR:	High-Density Recording Studios
G.R.S.:	Gramma Records Studios
Z.M.C.:	Zimbabwe Music Cooperation
M.T.S.:	Mosi-a-Tunya Studios
L.P.M.:	Last Power Media
N.R.S.:	Ngaavongwe Records Studios
S.S.:	Shed Studios
T.M.S.:	Tuku Music Studios
FML:	Fishers of Men Label
M.C.B.:	Music Censorship Board
S.A.R.C.:	Southern Rhodesia Africa National Congress

ANC:	Africa National Congress
NDP:	National Democratic Party
Z.A.P.U.:	Zimbabwe African People's Union
Z.A.N.U.:	Zimbabwe African National Union
Z.A.N.L.A.:	Zimbabwe National Liberation Army
U.A.N.C.:	United African National Council
ZANU PF:	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriot Front
Z.I.P.R.A.:	Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army
UDI:	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
L.O.M.:	Law and Order Maintenance
P.O.S.A.:	Public Order and Security Act
A.I.P.A.:	Access to Information and Public Act
Z.B.C.:	Zimbabwe Broadcasting Cooperation
Z.U.M.:	Zimbabwe United Movement
AIDS:	Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome
A.V.A.:	African Voice Association
M.D.C	Movement for Democratic Change
M.D.C. T	Movement for Democratic Change-Tsvangirai
M.D.C. A	Movement for Democratic Change Alliance
Z.C.C	Zimbabwe Council of Churches
N.G. O	Non-Governmental Organisations
G.N. U	Government of National Unity
Z.F.T.L.R. P	Zimbabwe Fast Track Land Reform Programme

DEFINITIONS AND CONCEPTUALISATION OF TERMS

Apocalypticism is derived from a Greek word *apokalypsis* meaning revelation and uncovering. Literature labelled apocalyptic is whose characteristic feature is or claims revelation of some secrets about the past and the future (Boadt, 1984, p. 506). As a literary genre, apocalypticism is found in the book of Daniel in the Old Testament and Revelation in the New Testament (Aune, 2005, p. 233-244). Some apocalyptic tenets are, however, found in other books in the Bible. Suffice to say, the definition of apocalypticism portrays an image of the literary genre which is esoteric and uniform, yet apocalypticism by nature is not a homogenous phenomenon. This is mainly because apocalypticism's characteristic features always get transformed from one context to another (Dunn, 1977, pp. 310-315). Jewish apocalyptic literary tendencies are similar to tenets that characterise Zimbabwean political songs that are the subject of discussion in this thesis.

Apocalyptic Literature is the literary style developed to answer the difficulties associated with God's justice in the light of suffering under oppressive leadership (Anthony, 2013, pp. 301-338). In the Jewish context, the genre developed during the post-exilic period (Hanson, 1975, p. 7). This literary genre's key feature is pseudonymity (Aune, 2005, pp.233-244). In this study, songs of liberation in Zimbabwe form this type of apocalyptic literature. The Zimbabwean apocalyptic literature (songs of liberation) was produced during the colonial and post-colonial era to critique oppressive measures.

Pseudonymity refers to a strategy by authors to conceal their real identities using fictitious or false names. The word pseudonymous comes from a Greek compound word *ψευδώνυμον* (pseudnymon) that is, *ψευδος* meaning false and *ονομα* meaning name

(Webster, 2015). Pseudonymity is a *sine qua non* (that without which nothing is) feature of apocalypticism. Concealment of the authors' real identities and names suggested that the environment in which they operated was characterised by repression. Hence concealment saved them from easy identification, therefore, victimisation by the powers that be. Zimbabwean musicians who composed apocalyptic songs appealed to the same strategy. In that way, they managed to express their political and social opinions with some degree of freedom.

Vaticinium Ex Eventu technically means 'prophecy after the event'. As a characteristic feature of Jewish or, more broadly biblical apocalypticism, it is used by apocalyptic writers, not for purposes of deception. Instead, it gives their works great authority and conceals the actual meaning of their message to those outside the social circle of their audiences (Hartman, 1978, p. 448). This is like how Zimbabwean musicians have often composed their songs of liberation. They speak of past events, yet they critique the present. In this way, the music serves the purpose of avoiding quick association with the current event, thereby allowing the message to get to the intended hearers (the ordinary suffering people) before being banned by the government.

Eschatology comes from two Greek words *eskatos* and *logos* meaning study or discourse about the last things. It refers to a belief that by the divine plans, the adverse conditions of this world will end in the judgement of the wicked and the vindication of the righteous that will bring in the era of prosperity and peace (Freedman, 1992, p. 28). In essence, it attempts to counsel and comfort those suffering by promising a bright future (Collins, 1996); (Collins, 2019). In the case of Zimbabwean apocalyptic music, most of the songs not only bemoan the deplorable conditions of the poor but always provide hope for a bright future.

Apocalyptic Liberation Music is a genre of Zimbabwean liberation songs characterised by apocalyptic traits. The songs exhibit characteristics like those found in biblical apocalypticism. Like Jewish apocalypticism, the songs were written in a coded or hidden language. To understand their concealed meaning, one needs to decode them. In some instances, like biblical apocalypticism, the subtlety of imagery, symbolism, and secrecy characterised the songs. Like biblical apocalypticism, these songs in Zimbabwe served to arouse the ordinary people's anger against authority and tenacity during suffering. According to Chiwome (1996, p.5), music is a "sensuous speech", as it appeals to the imagination through rhythm and figurative language. Bois (1999, p.162) characterises music of this nature as a genre of unhappy people, of disappointed children, and it tells of death and suffering. However, the message is camouflaged in metaphors and idioms meant to avoid direct and naked attacks on the powers that be.

Socio-Political Reform in this thesis refers to a move towards change regarding people's social and political status. It is a stage when people see a new face of the social structure, hence developing new relations of power. Also, conflict ends with establishing authentic social and political networks, and the achievement of this stage registers real socio-political reform.

Religious-Economic Reform refers to the change associated with religious and economic factors within society, and it relates to how religiosity and economic growth could reflect some change. The assumption is that the two are mutually inseparable, and religious matters are economic as well as political and social. Hence in this thesis, apocalyptic literature and Zimbabwe's songs of liberation are regarded as mediums to agitate for improvement of the political, social, religious, and economic fortunes of the suffering masses.

Epoche comes from a Greek word ***ἐποχή*** that has been philosophically used to refer to the suspension of preconceived ideas or judgements (Daniel, 2012, pp. 130-137). The suspension of preconceived notions about individual beliefs of Zimbabweans enabled the free flow of information regarding the grievances that apocalyptic music addressed.

Seer refers to one who can see beyond the naked eye. Two Hebrew words, **Roeh/Hozeh** (Ritenbaugh, 2015), are usually translated as seer or visionary. In the study of apocalyptic literature, a seer is one who rose as a spokesperson or advocate for the oppressed and deprived people. The role of the seer and the militant transformation of the phenomenon during the Maccabean revolt informs the need to understand it in this study not only on futuristic perception but as a pattern of thought that arises from a situation of crisis, persecution or deprivation. In the case of Zimbabwe, the musicians became the seers of their society.

Impact is a marked effect, influence, or aftermath (Collins, 1989). Therefore, the word 'impact' in this study will refer to the effect of apocalyptic music in addressing perceived societal problems. The impact measurement of Zimbabwe apocalyptic music will be assessed on its influence or changes regarding the transformation of the Zimbabwean society on religious, economic, socio-political and cultural issues.

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the impact of apocalyptic music on religious, economic, socio-political, and cultural life experiences in Zimbabwe. The study arises from the realisation that religious, economic, socio-political, and cultural problems which are catastrophic in proportion have recently increased in Zimbabwe. Poverty, oppression, and repression characterised the daily circumstances of the Zimbabwean society of which the general citizens bore the full brunt of it all. To cope with these challenges, Zimbabweans appealed to apocalyptic music. Thus, the study was then motivated to investigate how Zimbabwean music has become a conduit of apocalyptic thought today and the extent of its impact in addressing these issues.

Research on apocalypticism and its relevance to human experiences has shown that there is a strong connection between apocalypticism and popular culture. Given that apocalypticism is a biblical, particularly Jewish phenomenon, the approach considered the general and particular context. In that regard, the study investigated the context and impact of apocalyptic music on religious, economic, socio-political and cultural experiences in the light of biblical apocalypticism.

Building on Jewish apocalypticism, the study responded to the following questions: What are the origins, nature, and characteristics of Jewish apocalypticism? What is the conceptual sense and functionality of apocalypticism as a strategy for resolving perceived societal problems? What is the life setting of Zimbabwean apocalyptic music? How does apocalyptic music impact on religious, socio-political, economic and cultural life experiences in Zimbabwe? Based on scholarly work reviewed in the light of Jewish apocalypticism, it has been established that apocalypticism is a genre of protest literature that was produced in the face of extreme suffering. As it communicated the state of affairs, this study referred apocalyptic genre to have manifested in different societies as a liberation tool. Besides its manifestation in Zimbabwean music, it manifested through black music in America and Kenya through Joseph Kamaru's music, to mention a few.

The study employed the descriptive research design method. Given apocalyptic music being a protest or liberation genre with the capacity to advocate, empower, liberate and transform the marginalised, the study aligned itself to the combination of the interpretivism and emancipatory philosophical paradigms. Thus, from the two frameworks' philosophical assumptions, the study employed the qualitative method to analyse data. The qualitative method helped analyse how apocalyptic music has been associated with issues to do with conflict, oppression, marginalisation, alienation, and other forms of deprivation.

Data was gathered from Mashonaland Central, Mashonaland West, Mashonaland East, Manicaland, Midlands and Matebeleland provinces. From these provinces, the targeted population was the ordinary Zimbabweans, musicians, biblical scholars, directors of music censorship board and production companies, and members of the liberation music choirs. A combination of the content, narrative and discourse methods were used in analysing the data. Then to test the hypotheses, the Cognitive dissonance theory by Leon Festinger and the Centre Periphery theory by Johan Galtung

were applied. The Cognitive dissonance theory helped analyse how Zimbabweans developed cognitions based on their beliefs, actions and life perceptions. Also, it was helpful to analyse how Zimbabweans, under undemocratic leadership, experienced inconsistencies when promises were not fulfilled and how they appealed to apocalyptic music to attain assonance. On the other hand, the Centre Periphery theory helped analyse how the background and social position of a musician influenced his message.

An analysis of the findings shows that from listening to apocalyptic music, Zimbabweans have managed to reinterpret and establish solutions to their religious, economic, social, political, and cultural problems posed by undemocratic systems. Several challenges surround apocalyptic music as it is produced under pseudonymity and written in coded language that needs decoding. Besides these challenges, still, apocalyptic music instils hope for a better future for the deprived, marginalised and oppressed and as well breeds the spirit of liberation. Unlike Jewish apocalypticism, which is anchored on the belief that reprieve from suffering comes through divine intervention, the divine is not central in Zimbabwean apocalyptic music. However, it is the seer (musician) who agitates for a revolution.

Finally, the study established that Zimbabwean apocalyptic music had an impact during the colonial and post-colonial periods to motivate people so that they persevere in times of challenges or adversities. On this basis, it is recommended that apocalyptic music plays a significant part in communicating the woes of the suffering community. Further research may be carried on the role of language in conveying hidden or public transcripts. Studies may be done on the role of drama as an outlet to speak people's minds in times of extreme suffering, repression and oppression. Also, further study may be carried on the voice of apocalypticism from the women musicians as it has been seen that most singers on protest music are male seers.

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

This study investigates the impact of Zimbabwe apocalyptic Music in the light of the Jewish context of the phenomenon because the two share common traits. Apocalypticism could generally be regarded as protest literature whose origins are in the post-exilic Jewish society. It is the literature produced in the face of extreme suffering whose purpose is to communicate the state of affairs as well as to encourage those suffering to endure. The promise of a glorious future for those who would have endured is usually the whole mark of apocalypticism. A classic example of Jewish apocalyptic literature is the book of Daniel. Lambert (1977, p. 3) observed that scholars also apply apocalypticism to portions of other books such as Joel Ch. 3, Isaiah Ch. 24-27, parts of Ezekiel and Zechariah. Third Isaiah[1] and a few non-canonical books such as Enoch, Ezra, and Baruch are other examples identified as Jewish apocalyptic literature (cf. Aune, 2008, pp.2-3).

In the New Testament, the book of Revelation is another classic example of apocalypticism. To appreciate apocalypticism, the need to situate the texts in their historical, cultural, religious and economic context is necessary. The book of Daniel investigates the post-exilic environment, notably the domination of the Jewish people by the Greeks. In this context, Jewish apocalypticism sought to respond to their current predicament of suffering against the background of their theological beliefs (Cook, 1995). It is some form of response to cognitive dissonance emanating from the failure of fulfilment of prophetic predictions or what the society was promised hence expected

[1] Third Isaiah refers to the third division of the book of Isaiah that covers Chapters 56-66. Though unknown the author of these chapters is viewed to have penned them after the Babylonian exile. Most of Isaiah 56-66 reflects a background of intense suffering believed to have prevailed between the time Sheshbazzar attempted to rebuild the Temple and to its completion under Zerubbabel in 515 B.C. (Gregory, 2007, pp. 475-496).

for a long time (Festinger, 1956; Carroll, 1979). In order to appreciate this approach, there is need to situate apocalypticism in the history and theological beliefs of Israel.

The Israelites attributed their establishment and security to God's commitment to them after the successful establishment of the nation by David and later Solomon against all the odds. It was a confirmation that God had chosen Israel among all the nations on earth. Armed with the Davidic covenant (2 Sam 7:8-16), the Israelites as God's elect since the days of Abraham (Gen 15), did not expect adversity let alone defeat by foreign nations. Grisanti (1990) observed that "God's establishment of His covenant with David represents one of the theological high points of the Old Testament Scriptures. This key event builds on the preceding covenants and looks forward to the ultimate establishment of God's reign on the earth".

The Temple, the city and the palace at Jerusalem guaranteed the permanent presence of God among the people. This nationalist ideology that permeated Jewish society was anchored upon the Temple, the city of Jerusalem and the house of David (Roux, 1987, p. 107). Contrary to their theological beliefs, in 722 BCE, the northern kingdom fell to the Assyrians. In 587 BCE, Judah, the Southern kingdom fell to the Babylonians, marking the end of the Davidic-Solomonic kingdom. The domination by foreign nations, especially by Babylon raised questions about Israelite beliefs in the invincibility of Jerusalem, the Temple, the Davidic Royal Ideology. While in captivity in Babylon, Jewish captives undertook to reflect on their situation seriously. It was from these experiences that prophecy arose as the voice of God to inform the Israelite nation that unless they repented, they were going to continue suffering. Pre-exilic prophets like Amos (6:4), Hosea, Isaiah (5:11) and Jeremiah spoke harshly against the Israelite elite, but they were not apocalyptic seers.

Apocalypticism or apocalyptic tendencies begins to appear in 3rd Isaiah narratives. This change of tone by the prophets is the reason why Rowley (1962, p.167) referred to apocalyptic motif as an heir of prophecy as it utilised the means by which prophecy was transmitted, such as through dreams and visions. Apocalypticism has been viewed as a motif that grew out of despair over human conditions (Miller, 1968, p. 23). It is from this background that Jewish apocalypticism reflects evidence of both internal and external motivations (Murphy, 2012, p. 14). Apocalypticism externally developed during the period when oppressive foreign empires dominated the Jewish community, including Babylonians, Persians, and Hellenistic world through the conquest of Alexander the Great. Internal motivations for the rise of Jewish apocalypticism have been traced to Jewish wisdom and prophecy.

It is assumed that Jewish apocalypticism was drawn up to challenge formed oppressive structures of the Jewish society in which seers had to find secretive ways of conveying their message. They thus appealed to coded language so that those familiar with the experience could make some connections. It consequently became a response to persecution, real or perceived (Mary, 2010, pp. 591-603). Social alienation coupled with oppression, especially in times of crisis, generally led to the emergence of apocalypticism (Cook, 1995; Shively, 2015, pp. 381-406). Apocalypticism assisted Jewish people recover from national traumas and cultural shocks expressed in non-canonical texts of 2 and 3 Baruch. In times of persecution, apocalypticism provided motivation and comfort, as reflected in the book of Daniel.

The Zimbabwean experiences demonstrate similarities with the context of Jewish apocalypticism in which Zimbabwean apocalyptic liberation music emanated in similar circumstances of national oppression, trauma, and cultural shock. Jewish apocalypticism and Zimbabwean apocalyptic songs provided not only the logical

explanation of the source of suffering but also offered comfort in the hope for brighter days ahead. Scholarly research on Zimbabwean apocalypticism and its relevance to human experiences has manifested in apocalypticism and popular culture (Thomasino, 2014). Movies, novels, stories, and songs, according to Steinmetz (2010, pp. 591-603), have become avenues of apocalyptic thought today. This observation gives impetus to investigate the impact of Zimbabwean apocalyptic songs of liberation with emphasis on the increase in religious, cultural, economic and socio-political problems in Zimbabwe resulting from apocalyptic music.

In order to situate Zimbabwe's apocalyptic songs of liberation, it is vital to revisit the country's colonial and post-colonial eras. It is this background that sheds some light on how apocalyptic thought like Jewish apocalypticism emerged in music. Colonialism for Zimbabwe is like the disruption that was brought by exile to the Jews. Before colonialism, Zimbabweans controlled not only their mundane affairs but also controlled their spiritual matters. They had their land, minerals and cattle that formed the basis of their economy. On that basis, they managed to create a vibrant socio-cultural and religious worldview. However, when colonialists started to exploit their land (Palmer, 1977; Palmer and Parson, 1977), impose forced labour (Onselen, 1976) and oppressive laws, the masses quickly realised that their fortunes had been turned upside down (Vengeyi, 2013). It is from this experience that the musicians began to compose apocalyptic songs to sensitise people.

The war of liberation was accompanied by songs that motivated and mobilised masses and educated them about the direction of the struggle (Pfukwa, 2009; Sibanda, 2017, pp. 42-48). Both Jewish and Zimbabwean apocalyptic authors or seers used symbols like animals to represent the ruling authorities of the day. Animals within Zimbabwean society are metaphorically used to represent humanity or register

grievances where direct communication is difficult (Tatira, 2004). There has been less effort to assess the impact of apocalyptic music in addressing religious, economic, social, political, and cultural issues. Like Jewish apocalypticism, Zimbabwean apocalyptic music emerged from a context of religious, economic, socio-political, and cultural deprivation. Its functionality in addressing the experiences, however, changed from time to time. Like Jewish seers who confronted foreign rulers who dominated them, Zimbabwean apocalyptic music equally targeted local collaborators with the colonial system.

Contrary to the expectations of the oppressed Zimbabweans, independence came empty-handed as it failed to transform the oppressive structures of colonialism. Zimbabweans began to confront religious, economic, socio-political and cultural problems brought by the misrule of their own leaders. They never realised the importance of independence. During the struggle for independence, people developed hope that the situation could change for the better, but this was quickly dashed as colonial structures remained intact after independence (Sibanda, 2015). The land question was not addressed (Bakare, 1993; Hanlon, 2013). It was from such disillusionment that new forms of apocalyptic songs were authored to address the situation (Mhandu and Chirere, 2008). The challenge since independence in 1980 has been how effective this apocalyptic genre of music is, given that both Zimbabwean apocalyptic seers (singers) and the perpetrators of suffering are of the same race. There is, therefore, a need to assess the efficacy of the message to both recipients.

The connection between the development of apocalyptic thought in Zimbabwe and religious, economic, social, political and cultural deprivation demands a serious investigation. Just like in the Jewish context, an analysis of Zimbabwe apocalyptic liberation music of both colonial and post-colonial eras spoke to the people who were

suffering. These apocalyptic songs, especially those banned by the government led by Ian Smith, the prime minister of Rhodesia at that time, responded to oppressive policies, such as the 1930 Land Apportionment Act (Floyd, 1962, pp,566-582), the Hut Tax, which controlled movement and a raft of other oppressive laws (Mutiti, 1974).

The intended goal of the apocalyptic seer is also important in this research. It seems the apocalyptic genre intends to give hope, courage and explanation to face unwanted circumstances. Unlike the context of Jewish apocalyptic seer, where rebellion was not always called for, Zimbabwean apocalyptic songs encouraged people to fight for their freedom. It is from this background that there was a need to establish the impact of apocalyptic music genre as a source of courage and hope for the oppressed. As a result of its emphasis on the "them and us" dichotomy, apocalypticism, according to McGinn (2003, p.15), usually bred fanaticism and intolerance. This claim is investigated within the Zimbabwean setting to establish if apocalyptic music in Zimbabwe escalated racial tensions and the resolve to struggle for independence.

The final element to be investigated is pseudonymity, a central feature in apocalyptic literature. Once the boundaries are established, pseudonymity of the seer is blown away (Smith, 2011, p.4). During the onset of the struggle for liberation, fighters and songwriters concealed their identities by using pseudonyms. As the struggle intensified, like Jewish apocalyptic seers, liberation fighters, leaders, artists and musicians (seers) revealed their identity. This explains why Zimbabwe apocalyptic songwriters are known by their real names.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

This study investigated the impact of apocalyptic music in addressing religious, economic, socio-political and cultural life experiences in Zimbabwe. The investigation was done drawing inferences from Jewish apocalypticism in terms of its origins, nature

and characteristic features. The study arose from the realisation that Zimbabwe experienced religious, economic, socio-political, and cultural upheavals and these were characterised by poverty, repression, and oppression of ordinary citizens.

This work, therefore, investigated how ordinary Zimbabweans had to cope with these challenges by appealing to apocalyptic music. The study also rose from the realisation that apocalypticism in both its conceptual sense and functional deployment is not a homogeneous philosophy, a shared worldview or strategy for resolving societal problems, but rather an imprecise reality that can be interrogated from various dimensions and standpoints. By its very nature and definition, apocalypticism is indeterminate in meaning, but apocalyptic music in liberation context is successfully deployed to comprehend the levels at which apocalypticism is manifest. There is need also to understand how it attracts adherents, how it has strategically been used, and how it informs conscious liberation struggle.

It was observed that in oppressive contexts, writers and artists (performers), including musicians, become quintessential as both critiques of power and expression of the voice of the oppressed providing alternative narratives. It was, therefore, discovered that, like in similar situations in the past and other environments, collective stress or trauma always creates conditions for the rise of the seer (writer or musician) who voices the concerns of the deprived and oppressed majority among the Zimbabweans. The same had happened among the black American slaves in the southern states (Cone, 1992). It also had occurred among the Jewish people under extreme oppression where suffering produced a seer who wrote the apocalypse. This study argued that apocalypticism, as manifested within Zimbabwean songs of liberation, addresses religious, economic, socio-political, and cultural deprivation.

Apocalypticism from its Jewish background and its reflection in Zimbabwean music is not only a product of extreme oppression, but also a coping mechanism. The study revealed that a comparison could be established between the post-exilic Jewish society and the Zimbabwean society. It was interested in responding to the origins, nature and characteristics of Jewish apocalypticism, their relationships to the history of songs of liberation in Zimbabwe and conclusions for comparative purposes. In order to address these questions, a background to Jewish apocalypticism was underscored so as to establish its connection with Zimbabwean apocalyptic music.

It was realised that the origins of Jewish apocalypticism are rooted in their historical, socio-economic, religious, cultural, political and theological conditions. Subjugation and oppression are at the centre of the onset of apocalypticism which seeks to foster resistance to the enemy (Reddish, 1998; p.25). It was established that Zimbabwean apocalyptic songs of liberation, just like Jewish apocalyptic literature, are commentaries to society's trials and tribulations which are exacerbated by the colonial and post-colonial Zimbabwean harsh realities.

1.3. Research Questions

The following research questions guided this study;

1. What are the origins, nature and characteristic features of Jewish apocalyptic literary genre?
2. What is the conceptual sense and functionality of apocalypticism as a strategy for resolving perceived societal problems?
3. What is the life setting of Zimbabwean apocalyptic music?
4. How does apocalyptic music impact on religious, economic, socio-political, and cultural life experiences in Zimbabwe?

1.4. Objectives

The primary focus of this study was to establish the origins of Jewish apocalypticism and how it manifested within Zimbabwean liberation songs. It sought to highlight the impact of apocalyptic music in facilitating religious, socio-political, and economic reforms. To achieve this, the research was guided by the following objectives:

1. To investigate the origins, nature and characteristics of Jewish apocalypticism,
2. To examine how Jewish apocalypticism, as manifested in Zimbabwean liberation music, gets interrogated from various dimensions and standpoints,
3. To identify the religious, economic, socio-political and cultural context of Zimbabwean 'apocalyptic' music,
4. To establish the impact of Zimbabwean 'apocalyptic' liberation music as an interim measure to the religious, cultural and socio-political experiences.

1.5. Justification of the Study

Various works on Jewish apocalypticism concluded that it is an offshoot of prophecy (Cook 1995, p.11). The major tenets include pseudonymity, visions, symbols, imagery, dualism and dreams (Hill 2000, p.453). Many scholars have however not paid attention to the manifestation of Jewish apocalypticism in other contexts. This study examined the impact of Zimbabwean apocalyptic music, drawing inferences from Jewish apocalypticism hence contributing to biblical scholarship. The study contributes not only to social studies but also to studies on the role of music in political, economic, and religious transformation.

The study shows that apocalypticism is not a uniquely Israelite phenomenon but is manifested among different societies in various forms and roles. It is evident in deprivation and oppression as necessary conditions which trigger the apocalyptic

response in society. Zimbabwean apocalyptic music is similar to Jewish apocalypticism because it was motivated by suffering and deprivation. Unlike Jewish apocalypticism that was anchored on the belief that reprieve from suffering comes about through catastrophic and cataclysmic mediation by God (Geraci 2008, pp.138-168), in Zimbabwean apocalyptic songs, divine intervention is not always central. The manifestations of Jewish apocalypticism demonstrate that human beings tend to respond in a similar way when confronted by similar challenges, although there exists a historical and geographical gap.

Second, this study is beneficial in educating the ordinary populace of Zimbabwe that apocalyptic songs are a means of communication for the disillusioned people. It is also helpful to them to establish that apocalyptic music breeds a spirit of hope (Skrimshire, 2011, p.13). Like Jewish reading of apocalyptic literature, Zimbabweans from listening to apocalyptic songs will reinterpret and establish solutions to their religious, socio-political, economic and cultural problems posed by pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial eras (Collins, 1979, pp 204-13).

Third, the study motivates musicians that their songs have a significant role in addressing societal problems, and it also encourages them and motivates people to act against their undesirable situations. The genre of their songs, like any apocalyptic literature, is characterised by innuendos, double meanings, or ghost names which, when decoded decipher their hidden messages (Ndebele, 2007).

Apocalypticism has however been accused of fostering passivity by avoiding direct confrontation with the inherent powers (Collins, p.357) in the face of life-threatening existence. This, however, may not be a weakness for passivity is a strategy of resistance. The study argued that religious, socio-political, economic and cultural administrators need not only consider violent protests as resistance but compliance also.

The research therefore sensitises administrators on the efficacy of apocalyptic messages, manifested in songs which are essential in liberation.

1.6. Scope and Limitations of the Study

This research covered the motif of Jewish apocalypticism as manifested in Zimbabwean apocalyptic liberation songs. It is restricted to Zimbabwean apocalyptic liberation music's impact on religious, socio-political, economic and cultural reforms. Since apocalypticism is a Jewish biblical ideology, Jewish background of the motif was considered to give insight into how it manifested in Zimbabwe. The phenomenon of apocalypticism from its Jewish background arose due to oppression and deprivation. It is from the Jewish setting and context of 3rd Isaiah and Daniel that the authors of these texts were regarded as champions of resistance to the empire or oppression under the dictatorship of the Seleucids or Greek empire (Grey, 2013, pp. 553-589).

The analysis of Zimbabwean apocalyptic music in light of Jewish background of the phenomenon exemplifies the impact of apocalyptic music when faced with adversity and challenges of dictatorship. The study also examined how apocalyptic music formed an alternative model for pursuing religious, socio-political, economic and cultural transformation. It also examined selected apocalyptic music in the colonial period with illustrations from 1893 to 1979 and post-colonial from 1980 to 2016. The research was interested in apocalyptic music because it was triggered by social, political, religious, economic, and cultural deprivation.

The research covered selected areas of Zimbabwe (cf. Appendix IV) such as Mashonaland Central, Mashonaland East, Mashonaland West, and Manicaland Provinces which were sufficiently affected during the liberation struggle. These regions are undeveloped and experience challenges in accessing good infrastructure. The study samples Matabeleland South, Matabeleland North and Midlands which experienced

post-independence political massacres orchestrated by the government. These areas continue to be strongholds of opposition parties. An extensive investigation was done in the cosmopolitan cities of Harare and Chitungwiza where most modern apocalyptic songs are composed and produced by musicians who reside in these towns.

The research focused only on apocalyptic music that addressed socio-political, religious, economic and cultural issues. Most of the apocalyptic liberation music on which this study focused existed under some form of censorship[2]. This is why musicians and researchers on this subject were not always free to be interviewed or even share sensitive information for fear of authorities (Eyre, 2016).

Since deprivation triggers this genre of music, be it political, social, and economic or religious, it was always a challenge to find people willing to give possible interpretations of the songs. This was due to fear of victimisation or association with those against the socio-political status. The writers used pseudonymous or anonymous names to conceal their identity from oppressive government agents. Some musical texts were established but were attached to the names of past heroes leading to a more protracted process of locating the person who authored them.

The study overcame some of these limitations by utilising music archives or studios and websites in locating most of the banned music or songs. After being censored, most of these songs found their way onto the YouTube platform (Nyathi, 2016). The banned music has been accessed from other communities whose interest was not in the contents, but in the accompanying beat. Some banned apocalyptic songs in Zimbabwe were accessed in Kenya, in which they have adopted gospel music tunes

[2] Censorship is the suppression or prohibition of any parts of the books, films, news, novels, music and art that is considered obscene, politically, socially, religiously and culturally unacceptable or a threat to security (American Civil Liberties Union, 2017)

and evaded censorship. This is corroborated by Turino (2000, p. 12), who cited Nathan Shamhuyarira, a war liberation cadre who revealed the double-sided role of Christian music in Zimbabwe. On one hand, Shamuyarira argued that Christian music diluted the spirit of revolution, while on the other, Christian tunes became carriers of revolutionary messages. Apocalyptic literature continues to be viewed as faith's response to a situation of crisis and a looking up to God to intervene in a situation where human resources are failing (Mollete, 2012, pp. 219-236) from which this study was pursued with more interest.

1.7. Literature Review

Literature review is discussed under the following sections: a genre of apocalypticism whereby origins and religious concept of apocalypticism are dealt with; conservative and liberal scholarship on apocalypticism, present and futuristic concept of apocalypticism, and role of apocalypticism on socio-political issues and African scholarship's perception of apocalypticism.

1.7.1. Genre of Apocalypticism

Scholars cannot be unanimous on what comprises the genre of apocalypse. Collins (1979, p.5) exudes that, it is a supernatural world mediation revelation that envisages eschatological salvation. Although Collins' definition forms a platform for establishing the characteristics of the Zimbabwean apocalyptic music as part of a genre of Apocalypticism, Hellholm (1985) expands on the definition by stating that 'apocalypticism is a type of literature intended for a group in crises'. It serves the purpose of exhortations, consolations by divine authority (Hellholm, 1985, p. 168). The two definitions of apocalyptic genre were helpful in this study in its analysis of Zimbabwean apocalyptic music.

Hellholm's definition associated with crisis theory aided this study in assessing Zimbabwean socio-political, economic, religious and cultural issues that apocalyptic music serves to address. Hellholm's further assertion that apocalypticism functions as a tool for legitimisation and behavioural modification (Hellholm, p.87) assisted this study in establishing the impact of apocalyptic liberation genre on social experiences of Zimbabweans.

Scholars also associated apocalypticism with the idea of hope (Moltmann, 1967; McGinn;2003, p.68). For them, apocalypticism is a theology of hope for the deprived and oppressed. Thus, according to Gager (1975), deprivation depended not on how weak the individuals were but on their perception of their poverty. Also, to Reed (2010, p.48), a situation of disadvantage in relation to expectations needed hope. However, the idea of apocalypticism being a homogeneous phenomenon cannot be sustained because it always undergoes transformations.

A working definition is the only option to understand the phenomenon within this study. Drawing from McGinn, Moltmann and Hellholm's definitions, apocalypticism may be defined as a pattern of thought that arises from a situation of crisis, persecution or deprivation. These conditions may exist in socio-political, economic, religious and cultural contexts. Understanding apocalypticism in this way aided this study to put into perspective the origins, nature and characteristics of Zimbabwean apocalyptic music. Additionally, the views assisted in evaluating how general people in Zimbabwe used apocalyptic music to deal with the gap between their circumstances of deprivation and the promise of salvation from their predicament.

1.7.2. Origins and Religious concept of Apocalypticism

Scholars who have studied Jewish apocalypticism are unanimous that the book of Daniel and the non-canonical Baruch, Enoch and Ezra are classic examples of apocalypticism (Rowley, 1962; Forher, 1968; Russell, 1978; Soggin, 1987; Freedman, 1992). Some trace the origins of this genre to the pre-exilic period (cf. Hanson, 1987, p.7; Childs, 1993), while most of them are inclined towards post-exilic origins. Apocalypticism grows in stages as it developed from pre-exilic prophetic traditions and became fully established in the post-exilic era. Apocalypticism is characterised by pseudonymity, visions and symbols, esotericism, eschatology, ethical exhortation, dualism and numerology (Dunn 1977, p. 310). These features aided this study to assess whether its functions have parallels to the Zimbabwe apocalyptic music.

Based on these key features Russell (1964, pp.6-8) asserts that apocalypticism is a language of crisis. It was a language for those subjugated and oppressed. In this regard, apocalypticism was viewed as an aspect of freedom and purity. In apocalyptic literature, submission to oppressors was seen as pollution and shame. Apocalypticism develops from initial to more advanced stages, accumulating all necessary characteristic features. Hence Russell's analysis becomes handy because there were long and short-term causes of Jewish apocalypticism that grew out of different historical circumstances and were associated with oppression and suppression. These ideas are essential for they allow contemporary societies to claim to create their own apocalyptic versions of the sort. Music, art and poetry become some elements of apocalyptic vending of the anchor of the society as they are a conduit through which the suffering of the people is expressed.

In this regard, they are apocalyptic, and their authors become apocalyptic seers augmenting the view that Zimbabwean musicians of liberation as apocalyptic are seers.

The importance of Russell's discussion of the origins of apocalypticism further emanates from his ability to locate Jewish apocalypticism within the broader context of Mesopotamian religious thought patterns. While Jewish apocalypticism shared a lot in common with the Ancient Near Eastern context, it developed with time into a uniquely Israelite phenomenon (Russell, 1964). These observations provided this study with the necessary background to analyse both Jewish apocalypticism and Zimbabwean apocalyptic music as products of their contexts.

In order to adequately analyse these phenomena, there was a need to investigate the socio-historical context in which the phenomena thrived to confirm that phenomena do not just appear from nowhere. Israel was not an isolated nation in the Ancient Near East, but what became distinct to her was an emphasis on monotheism which sheds light on how this study established characteristics exhibited by Zimbabwe apocalyptic liberation music.

1.7.3. Conservative and Liberal Scholarship on Apocalypticism

Conservative or confessional scholars explain apocalypticism from an eschatological point of view (Cohorn (1993, p.28), while liberals explain it basing on the historical foundation of people's contemporary situation. Rowley (1962), a liberal scholar held that the eschatological element within apocalyptic literature is a secondary or a later addition which emphasises that Apocalyptic oracles should be understood within their context and the situations of the day. The reason is that apocalypticism was employed to address contemporary conditions and policies in each society. This is so because apocalypticism was employed to address contemporary conditions and policies in a given society. This study adopted a liberal perspective in its religious and historical positioning of Zimbabwe apocalyptic music and its impact on the daily religious, socio-political, economic and cultural experiences.

1.7.4. Present and Futuristic concept of Apocalypticism

Apocalypticism was rooted in the notion of what would be the future of Jerusalem after Babylonian exile. It is a post-exilic Jewish religious movement motivated by eschatological expectations which were rooted in prophetic predictions relating to the future, hope and expectations of an ideal time to come (Hayes,1995, p.93). This arose after disruption of the Jerusalemite theology that guaranteed the permanent existence of the Temple, house of David and the city of Jerusalem. Pre-exilic Israelite traditions were adapted during the exilic while post-exilic responded to their situation of deprivation. Apocalypticism demonstrated that there was a deliberate process of rethinking Jewish history in response to existential circumstances in the post-exilic period. The best theory of describing the situation that gave birth to Jewish apocalypticism is cognitive dissonance, where all the beliefs of the Jewish community were shattered by exile, interrupting the history by Yahweh, who would exalt Israel above all other nations of the world.

Contrary to the promise that Jerusalem as the abode of Yahweh would never fall, that the house of David would rule forever and that the Temple of Yahweh would always be present, in 587 BCE, the Babylonian captivity brought all these to a sudden end. The catastrophe led exiles and those who remained (in Judah) to rethink their present and future status in the scheme of Yahweh. Apocalypticism flourished during times of crisis when pessimism and discontent with the status quo kindled aflame the embers of hope. Denial of freedom and rethinking of history as postulated were essential elements in apocalypticism (Hayes,1995). This assisted the study in analysing Zimbabwean apocalyptic music's impact on its push for reforms. The unfulfilled promises at independence in Zimbabwe nurtured apocalyptic music, making musicians voices of the voiceless people.

In keeping with dissonance and the claim that Jewish prophecy gave birth to apocalypticism, Freedman (1992, p.28) emphasised the continuity between apocalyptic expectation of a final judgement and the prophetic "Day of the Lord". He also highlighted the idea of the cosmic day of judgement attested in the prophets and psalms (Psalms 96, 98, Isaiah 2:4 and Amos 5). Considering suffering under oppressive structures that perpetuated social injustice, pre-exilic prophets promised a day when the Lord would intervene to correct the situation.

The exile came and brought to an end the existence of Israel as a people of God altogether. While the religious and political history of the Jews' divine intervention appeared to have taken long, the Jews armed themselves to defend rather than wait for God. This resonates with the Zimbabwean situation where the masses expected an abrupt end to their suffering from one regime to another but to no avail. Apocalyptic musicians engaged in motivating a revolution as exemplified in Jewish apocalyptic ideas which are manifested in Zimbabwean music.

1.7.5. Role of Apocalypticism on Socio-Political issues

Leakey (1954) examines the politicised Christian hymns by *Mau Mau* guerrillas among the Gikuyu in Kenya where propaganda messages were easily sung in front of Europeans who could not understand the words in Kikuyu. They could sometimes sing to the tune of "Onward Christian Soldiers" or "Abide with me", but Europeans could hardly suspect any form of subversion. They instead assumed that some kind of revival was taking place (Leakey, 1954, p. 54). The understanding of camouflaging a message with coded language was helpful in establishing why apocalyptic music writers in Zimbabwe emulated the same.

Berliner (1978, p. 160) studied Shona music and discovered that the songs were characterised by imagery and symbolism, which helped assess the impact of

apocalyptic music in Zimbabwe. One of Zimbabwe's most celebrated writers on liberation songs and poetry, Pongweni (1982), compiled some songs and categorized them depending on their features and functions. These songs were composed and produced with a lot of imagery and symbolism which is parallel to Jewish apocalypticism (Pongweni, 1982, p. 78). Just like other Old Testament scholars on apocalypticism, Pongweni (1982) mentioned and explained some salient features of the songs. He, however, seems to have not dealt with the notion of apocalypticism within his songs. Since Pongweni categorised his songs, it has been useful to this study to identify which songs fall under genre of apocalyptic music. Lane (1993, p.53; Chirere & Mhandu, 2008) observed that songs and poetry played an essential role in mobilising and maintaining participation in Zimbabwe`s liberation war. Such views were helpful in identifying apocalyptic songs and their impact in mobilising and pushing for Zimbabwean liberation.

Shona songs, according to Chiwome (1996, p.9), have different functions and different social settings. They were composed for a variety of institutions and situations. Some enhanced the morale of peasants and freedom fighters during the liberation war. Apocalyptic songs kept people cheerful and determined at the height of the war. Some songs were meant for communal celebrations, while others were supplications to the spiritual world. Some songs were composed for specific events, while others were composed to be sung at any event. In this study, songs that gave peasants hope and resolve to carry on the struggle for freedom are apocalyptic. How Chiwome analysed the impact of songs on socio-political reforms made it easier to understand the effect of music on the Zimbabwe liberation struggle.

Manson (2002, pp.46-47) postulates that apocalypticism plays an extensive role in socio-political issues and influences political policy where politicians demonise their

enemies as wholly evil (pp,46-47). Manson's assertion that apocalypticism employs symbolism, secret language, numerology and animal figures helped this study examine the characteristics of Zimbabwean apocalyptic music. His ideas helped this study in its quest to examine the characteristics of Zimbabwe apocalyptic music and the assessment of messages presented in symbolic language. It also aided the study in evaluating the extent to which the message of apocalyptic music reaches its recipients when not presented in common terminology.

1.7.6. African Scholarship's perception of Apocalypticism

African scholarship on apocalypticism denotes scholars (in the diaspora and in the continent) who wrote about Africans' experiences in different contexts of oppression and deprivation. In this study, African scholarship included Afro-American scholars. The context of slavery in America, particularly in the south produced similar reactions to oppression, and the oppressed created a worldview that competed with that of their oppressors. The oppressed black people developed a theology of liberation whose premise was in black experiences of oppression. James H. Cone, in *A Black Theology of Liberation* (1970), made essential insights into the circumstances of the slaves in America through his writings. Classical texts by Cone include *Black Theology of Liberation* (1970), *God of the Oppressed* (1975), *Martin & Malcom and America* (1991), *The Spirituals and the Blues* (1992) and *The Cross and the Lynching Tree* (2013). He indicated that black slaves communicated their ordeals through songs, sermons and campaigns. The songs responded to the claims and lies of the oppressors by advising their members of strategies to fight back.

Cone (1980) observed that Black faith was found or expressed not only in churches, sermons and songs but was also found and expressed in secular songs and

stories, slave insurrections and protest assemblies. In *The Spirituals and the Blues* (1992), Cone deals with the connection between the blues music and the existential realities of oppression among black slaves in America. Music explained the suffering of black slaves and affirmed their humanity which was denied by oppressors. It united people and encouraged them to move to total liberation. Hence the blues are a this-worldly expression of cultural and political rebellion. At the same time, the spirituals attempt to create an existence in a very trying situation similar to Jewish apocalypticism that developed in the same context and likewise addressed their existential realities. The same conclusion could be drawn about Zimbabwe songs of liberation whose content is apocalyptic too. The colonial experiences of Zimbabwe are similar to the slave experiences of America.

In The Cross and the Lynching Tree (2013), Cone highlights that blacks in America existed under excessive oppression to the extent that whites could lynch them for trivial matters. For example, a man could be lynched for looking at a white lady with lustful eyes or being too proud and economically successful. Under such conditions, Cone argues that blacks made profound use of "two fruitful resources of resistance": the juke joints[3] on Saturday night and church service on Sunday morning. Music, therefore, played an immense role in giving direction to the struggle. Similar to oppressive contexts of Jewish people who later composed apocalyptic literature, black slaves in America composed songs to refute lies by the white people as well as to tell their story from their perspective. More often than not, the songs were banned, denied airplay and the musicians were threatened with death or other ways of intimidation. In

[3] Juke joints is kind of combination of music, dance and gambling that is operated by African-Americans.

The Cross and the Lynching Tree (2013), Cone gives the example of Ida B. Wells (1862-1931) and Jazz singer Billie Holliday as cases in point.

In Kenya, Joseph Kamaru is a case in point whose songs date back to Kenya's colonial period, especially during the Mau Mau struggle for liberation, challenging colonial hegemony. Kamaru, like Jewish apocalyptic seers made extensive use of symbols, numbers, and animals to depict Kenya's oppressive socio-political environment. After independence in 1963, his songs still challenged the political experiences that Kenya faced during the turbulent times of the leadership of that time. Kamaru, just like the Zimbabwean musicians and Jewish apocalyptic seers, stood at loggerheads with the government of the day due to the type of messages contained in his songs.

Kamaru used metaphors like Chameleon to communicate with Kenyans regarding their political experiences. Kamaru's song on the death of Kariuki almost landed him in prison (Thiong'o 2019). His songs offered sharp criticism on the sensitive issues that affected society. Like that of the Zimbabwean apocalyptic singers, Kamaru was quickly discovered by the establishment as inciting rebellion against the government. For example, his songs *'Cunga marima'*[4] and *'Thia ithuuire mumianirii'*[5]are characterised by idioms. Kamaru, like Zimbabwean apocalyptic singers, was subjected to harassment and imprisonment. It is evident that music in Kenya had apocalyptic traits which challenged economic, social, cultural and political

[4] *'Cunga marima'*translated *'*watch your steps*)* is a song by Kamaru in which he mentioned a serious warning to an unmentioned person. This song, just like the Jewish apocalyptic literature and Zimbabwean apocalyptic liberation music had a hidden meaning.

[5] *'Thia ithuuire mumianirii* is also a song by Kamaru which translates *'an antelope hates the person who exposes it'*.In the song, Kamaru appropriates a metaphor of an antelope to warn those who lodge criticism against the government to exercise care as the same hyena that ate Kariuki may eat them (Thiog'o:2019).

problems that had enslaved people, hence calling for the need to liberate themselves from their grievances.

John Mbiti (1971) focused his research on eschatology from an African cultural perceptive and not music. His work gave insight into the feature of eschatology. Mbiti (1971, p. 216) argued that the liberalisation of eschatology leads to ideological inconsistency. His conclusion guided the study to its assessment of how apocalyptic music's eschatological tenet was interpreted in Zimbabwe.

After independence, Vambe (2004,p.167)) wrote on the role of Zimbabwe *Chimurenga*[6] music, criticising corruption and poor governance by leaders. It emphasized delays in redistributing land to the people of Zimbabwe (Vambe,2004) but did not specifically look into apocalyptic *Chimurenga* music and its impact, which is a gap the study explored. His work, however, opened a window through which this study examined some specific issues challenged by apocalyptic music, such as poor governance, social justice, the rule of law, and delays in addressing issues affecting the people of Zimbabwe.

In his work on the prophetic oracles of Mugo waKibiru in Kenya, Kibicho (2006) states that prophetic oracles were a source of encouragement, divinely inspired vision and promise of ultimate deliverance from white strangers (p.30). He further asserts that in the same way the Israelite apocalyptic utterances gave hope of liberation during the exilic period, it also provided hope to the Kenyans during the war of liberation. Although Kibicho did not provide much reflection on apocalyptic literature, his connection of Israelite utterances to the Kenyan prophetic oracles provided some insights to assess the impact of messages presented apocalyptically.

[6] "*Chimurenga*" Music refers to a genre of protest music that is based on visible and organised forms of struggle (Vambe M. 2004, p. 166)

Kibicho's views also aided the study in analysing how apocalyptic liberation music instilled a spirit of hope among Zimbabweans through the painful colonial and post-colonial periods. His ideas on the rise of a *seer* aided the study in evaluating the figure of the *seer* who became the voice of the voiceless. It also aided in establishing whether seers created the revolution or the revolution created the *seers*.

1.8. Theoretical Framework

The research applied the 'Cognitive Dissonance theory propounded by Leon Festinger (1956), who first used the theory in a participant observation study of a cult that held the belief that the earth would be destroyed by a flood. He further observed what happened to the committed followers of the cult when the floods did not occur. After observing the reactions of the cult to unfulfilled predictions, he wrote a book titled *When Prophecy Fails* (1956).

Three assumptions form the basis of the Cognitive Dissonance theory. First, it assumes that humans are susceptible to inconsistencies rising from both their actions and beliefs. Second, recognising these inconsistencies cause dissonance[7], motivating a person to resolve the inconsistencies and attain assonance. Third, it assumes that three ways to address the inconsistencies are a change of belief, action, and change of perceptions of action (Festinger, 1985.p.14). Festinger highlights four ways that lead to the rise of dissonance: logical inconsistencies, cultural mores, changes of attitude or behaviour and the inclusion of a particular opinion in a more general view that may arise due to past experiences (Festinger, 1985.p.18).

[7] Dissonance refers to a state of discomfort or inconsistency or lack of harmony felt especially when two kinds of thoughts contradict each other and this may be in a form of conflicting ideas, beliefs, behaviour or knowledge held by an individual about something. Assonance on the other hand is a state of harmony or peace that emerges after the alteration of one of the attitudes, behaviour or knowledge about something (Collins, 1989).

The dissonance theory assumes that every society has some cognitions which comprises the norm or standard. But, if that which the society holds as the norm or belief or rule is disconfirmed or proved wrong, then the society or individual suffers discomfort or gets into cognitive dissonance or inconsistency. The Cognitive Dissonance Theory has been employed to analyse the roots of apocalyptic music in Zimbabwe which emerged from unfulfilled promises. The theory's assumption that dissonance happens through relations of powers, areas of conflict, competing values and beliefs, expressions of allegiance and social networks helped analyse the rise of apocalyptic music in Zimbabwe. When it happens, there is also the motivation to eliminate it to attain assonance (Festinger, 1956, p. 3). There is a renewed push for conversion, in which there is a total process of adjustment that includes a social and intellectual component (Festinger, 1956, p. 3). This theory was applied to examine the origin of apocalyptic liberation genre and establish elements of inconsistencies that led to its composition.

The elimination of dissonance was valuable in evaluating how Zimbabwean apocalyptic music helped the recipients modify their cognitions in conformity to their experiences for reforms. This theory has been used to assess how apocalyptic music motivated people to reinterpret their beliefs to overcome the inconsistencies. The cognitive dissonance theory aided in analysing how Zimbabwean apocalyptic music has emerged as a form of intellectual creativity in the light of the failure of the promised good life after independence. The theory was also used to assess how apocalyptic music was used to reduce inconsistencies arising from unfulfilled promises of independence. Like any other apocalyptic genre, the hallmark of Zimbabwean apocalyptic music sensitises people that there is something wrong with the world, namely, corrupt leaders were at the helm of the throne.

This theory is vital in understanding the motivation leading to the writing of apocalyptic music and how it becomes a strategy to challenge ruling authorities. During the liberation struggle, Zimbabweans developed various cognitions about how life would look like after independence. These included better quality of life, free education, economic empowerment, employment, free transport, peace and prosperity, to mention a few. After independence, the situation remained the same, oppressive systems were rehabilitated while the ordinary citizens fell into cognitive dissonance. Although the populace fell into dissonance, they hoped that change was forthcoming. In order to maintain their morale of hope which they had during the struggle for independence, they developed apocalyptic music, which kept them aware of their obligation of resisting but avoiding victimisation. It is in this way that the social aspect of apocalyptic music became a tool of power to mobilise people.

The theory further asserts that all knowledge is socially conditioned and perspectival in nature. It was indispensable for this work as it assisted in studying apocalyptic music as both a reflection and response to the socio-political, religious and cultural settings that birthed this genre of music. The Zimbabwean society believes that, it has not fully realised the gains of independence. It is from this background that musicians continued to produce apocalyptic songs to help the people manage the dissonance and make strategies to address the situation. Against this background, the study has been able to trace the *Sitz-im-leben*[8] of the Zimbabwean liberation music in the light of their political, social, religious and economic backgrounds.

[8] "*Sitz-im-leben"* is a term that is employed by the German biblical form critics which denotes the "social context" or "setting in life" or "situation in life". The point being that any particular literature in the Old Testament could only be understood in the light of its social context. In other words, social situation determines the communication (Moeser, 2002, p. 34).

Some of those producing this type of music continue to conceal their nomenclature or identity. However, like in Jewish society, there was a time when the seer could no longer hide his or her identity, as exemplified in the Zimbabwean society. The cognitive dissonance theory helped in checking how apocalyptic music has achieved its functions related to the religious, socio-political, economic and cultural experiences of the Zimbabwean people.

1.9. Research Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were generated from the objectives of this study:

1. The external invasion and oppression of the Jews led to the rise of apocalypticism.
2. Apocalypticism, in both its conceptual sense and functional deployment, is not homogeneous.
3. Music communicates the religious, economic, socio-political and cultural struggles of Zimbabwean society.
4. Apocalyptic music has an impact on socio-political, religious, cultural and economic reform in Zimbabwe.

1.10. Methodology

This section of the study focuses on the research design, targeted population, sampling procedures, methods of data collection and methods of data analysis.

1.10.1 Research Design

The study employed a descriptive research design. The descriptive design was used to obtain information about who authored apocalyptic music, its causes, development, and impact in colonial and post-colonial Zimbabwe. The study utilised the qualitative method in identifying how literary genres developed and analysed how the

Zimbabwean apocalyptic music genre is related to conflict, oppression and discrimination. This investigation was confined to Harare, Chitungwiza and Bulawayo as the metropolitan cities in Zimbabwe where much of this kind of music is produced. Investigations were also done from Mashonaland Central's Mount Darwin area, Mashonaland West and Midlands, where the liberation war operated. The study targeted ordinary Zimbabweans, musicians, biblical scholars, and people in positions of influence in politics, social, religious, economic and cultural matters. Leaders of liberation choirs of both colonial and post-colonial eras were also targeted.

The study focused on these groups as they form both the composers and recipients of apocalyptic music. Snowball sampling procedures were applied since apocalyptic music researched were sensitive. Purposive sampling was done to collect detailed information from participants involved in legislation that affected the music industry. The primary data were drawn from in-depth and key informant interviews, participant observation, focus group discussion and survey questionnaires. The secondary information was drawn from libraries, museums, music production studios and archives. Data collected were processed, analysed and categorised into the specific themes: religious, political, social, economic and cultural. A total of four meetings were convened with fourteen selected University of Zimbabwe students who formed the team of research assistants that assisted in the research. They as well helped in arranging appointments with some respondents. Three additional meetings with the research assistants were convened to analyse the data collected.

1.10.2. Research Samples and Sampling Procedure

Musicians, liberation choirs, Directors of music studios, and Music Censorship Board from both the colonial and post-colonial eras of Zimbabwe formed this study's targeted

population. In line with the research questions, the groups were chosen based on a provision of information needed to explore apocalyptic music. The study took a sample of 30% of the targeted population of each category. A total of thirteen musicians, eight directors of music production Studios, ten members of liberation choirs, three Music Censorship Board members and four administrators from religious, socio-political, economic and cultural spheres were interviewed. Table 1 reflects the totals for each category.

Table 1: Participants per Category

Category	**Targeted Population**	**Sample (30%)**	**Percentage (%)**
Musicians	43	13	26.5
Directors of Music Studios	30	8	16.3
Liberation Choirs	30	10	20.4
Music Censorship Board	10	3	6.2
Administrators in Positions of Influence	10	4	8.2
	159	**49**	**100**

The study utilised snowball sampling for analysing the targeted musicians from which it sought what motivated the musicians to write such a genre and established what characterised their kind of music or scripts. A snowball sample of thirteen musicians was picked from those whose songs are on religious, economic, cultural and socio-political issues. As the writers of apocalyptic genre of music tend to hide their identity due to fear of victimisation by those at the helm of power, the established musician linked the researcher to the next person/musician who was willing to divulge sensitive information. Table 2 illustrates the numbers and how they grew as the interviews progressed.

Table 2: Snowball Sample for Musicians

Category	MSI	MPI	MRI	MEI	MCI
Representatives	1	1	1	1	1
References	1 1	1 1	1	1 1	1

Purposive sampling was used in collecting data from three groups of research participants comprising Directors of Music Recording Studios, members of Music Censorship Board and Administrators in government positions of influence. Eight Music Production Studios directors from Tuku Music Studios, Gramma Records, Mosi-a-Tunya Records, Sheds Studios, Ngaavongwe Records, Zimbabwe Music Cooperation, Last Power Media and High-Density Records were interviewed. The Directors of Music production companies shared the banned songs and the actual musical CDs or demos. This group also shared their personal experiences with the government instruments, some thoughts on how songs were interpreted and the information helped establish apocalyptic songs. Table 3 reflects the numbers of the Directors of Records Studios interviewed.

Table 3: Purposive Sample for Directors of Music Recording Studios

Category	ZMC	GRS	MTS	TMS	SS	NRS	LPM	HDR
Representatives	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**

Purposive sampling was carried from representative members of Music Censorship Board. Three members from the Music Censorship Board were interviewed. These were purposively selected as they have the knowledge and capability on censorship of music. The group provided information about the reasons that led to some music being banned.

A hand-picking of the board members who possess much knowledge about the music censorship from colonial and post-colonial periods was done. Table 4 shows the numbers of the Music Censorship Board.

Table 4: Purposive Sample for Music Censorship Board Members

Category	MCB(CE)	MCB(PCE)
Representatives	**1**	**2**

The other group of research participants was the administrators in positions of the socio-political, religious, economic and cultural influence of which the sample was purposively sampled. A sample of four personnel from the noted categories above was picked. The selected group provided more useful information to critically analyse the impact of apocalyptic liberation music on socio-political, religious, economic and cultural experiences in Zimbabwe. The group provided rich information about the changes that took place in Zimbabwe during various eras and whether apocalyptic music has pacified or revolutionised people.

1.10.3. Methods of Data Collection and Processing

This study utilised in-depth interviews, Key informant interviews, Participant Observation, Focus group discussions, survey questionnaires, documentary analysis and discography in data collection as discussed below.

1.10.4. In-depth and Key Informant Interviews

The In-depth and Key Informant Interviews were used in this study to obtain information from musicians, directors of Music Production studios and Music Censorship Board members. Questions were formulated from the research questions and the statement of the problem. Follow-up was done to get clarifications and

additional information. In certain circumstances, interviews were conducted in the local language as some research participants were not conversant with the technical terms about apocalypticism.

1.10.5. Participant Observation

Participation observation was used to obtain information on how the Zimbabweans in their experiences are reacting through apocalyptic music. The researcher was a participant and observant of political rallies from the ruling and opposition parties, community gatherings, religious gatherings and economic forums, which enabled the researcher to learn more about society's activities and reactions. This, therefore, led to an analysis of the impact of apocalyptic music in socio-political, religious, economic and cultural reforms. The phenomenological aspect of *epoche* (suspension of preconceived judgement) was exercised, which made the participants free to behave without fear that someone was tapping on them.

1.10.6. Focus Group Discussion

Focus group discussions were conducted with Liberation choirs, especially the LMG (Liberation Music Group). This strategy was applied while carrying out the participant observation. Some research questions were given in advance, and then a meeting was scheduled with ten members to deliberate about the topic. During the meeting, tape recording was used to capture the information to avoid missing valuable information. The technique helped observe their facial and emotional expression as they explained their experiences, especially during the Matebeleland 1982 atrocities. Some follow-up questions were formulated to expand the discussion.

1.10.7. Survey Questionnaire

Questionnaires were used in data collection from people who had much knowledge in socio-political, religious, economic and cultural experiences.

1.10.8. Documentary Analysis

As secondary data, information regarding apocalyptic music was drawn from either published or unpublished books or articles (Kothari, 2004, p. 111). The data drawn was crucial as it gave the researcher a full background of apocalypticism, especially from its Jewish background and as well the apocalyptic genre within the modern day songs. It also aided in establishing how other scholars or writers analysed this phenomenon from a different setting in life and for a different reason. As a result, this helped construct how apocalyptic literature manifests in Zimbabwe from various dimensions and, in this case, in music.

Some of this information was drawn from the New ZIANA library archives in Harare, where the old Newspapers containing the stories leading to the war of liberation are kept. The documents were significant because they provided historical information on specific oppressive laws during the colonial and post-colonial periods. It also drew data from the National Museum and Monuments of Zimbabwe, Natural Museum of Zimbabwe, National Gallery of Zimbabwe and censored music portal from internet sources, University of Nairobi and University of Zimbabwe libraries.

1.10.9. Discography

This method of analysis and classification of phonographic recordings (Collins, 1989) was used with Directors of Music Production studios to identify apocalyptic songs, including those under censorship.

1.11. Methods of Data Analysis

A combination of the content, narrative and discourse data analysis were employed in analysing the data. The content analysis method was used to analyse the data from secondary sources. The narrative analysis was used to analyse data drawn from interviews, surveys and focus group discussions. Then the discourse analysis was used to analyse data from participant observation. The data was organised and analysed to answer the research questions by grouping the musicians who had texts focusing on the areas of study (Mugenda, 2013, p. 85).

Assessment of reliability and credibility of the information resulted in the selection of three musicians for in-depth analysis of the texts of their songs. The texts were noted down after listening to the songs. The musical texts were translated from Shona to English, thereby establishing their functions, roles and motives of apocalyptic music (Appendix I, II, III). The tape-recorded information was typed into texts. It should be admitted that as the information presented in the Shona language was translated into English, some words established could not explicitly bring out the intended or strong message contained in the Shona words. This was overcome through a literary translation of the musical text to ensure the message becomes clear to the readers. The pidgin translation was used in some musical texts where it proved to bring the song's true meaning.

1.12. Chapter Summary

The chapter was the general introduction to the study, and it set the stage for the discussion on the origins of Jewish apocalypticism, characteristic features and 3rd Isaiah. This chapter highlighted the origins and context of Jewish apocalypticism as the foundation to examine its manifestation in Zimbabwean apocalyptic liberation music. It stated the statement of the problem and critical areas that need to be addressed.

Religious, economic, socio-political and cultural deprivation under oppressive leaders was cited as the central issue to the problem which needs to be addressed. The chapter highlighted the research questions, objectives, scope and limitations and justification of the study. It captured the critical literature that forms the cornerstone of this study. The chapter also addressed the theoretical framework and research hypothesises, methodology, research design, samples and sampling procedures. Methods of data collection and processing and data analysis methods were also considered in this chapter. The next chapter sets the general context of apocalypticism as exemplified from its Biblical context by examining the full background to understand the phenomenon, its development and its characteristic features.

CHAPTER TWO

ORIGINS OF JEWISH APOCALYPTICISM

2.0. Introduction

This chapter discusses the origin of Jewish apocalypticism and relates it to contemporary scholarship on two main positions regarding Jewish apocalypticism. Two opinions are made in relation to Jewish apocalypticism. One, Jewish apocalypticism, has foreign origins, while the other argues for its indigenous origins. The religious, cultural, political and economic considerations that informed both scholarly positions are discussed. In discussing the foreign origins of Jewish apocalypticism, Egypt, Mesopotamia and Babylon are considered. Indigenous origins of Jewish apocalypticism and the relationship between prophecy, wisdom, and deprivation during the post-exilic Hellenistic rule over Jews is discussed too.

The relationship between Jewish prophecy and apocalypticism is drawn in discussing the development of Jewish apocalypticism. The role of seership and the prophet are examined to correlate the two phenomena. It is advanced that apocalyptic *seer* replaced the prophet as the voice of the voiceless. A good example of Jewish Apocalypticism is drawn from Third Isaiah. The characteristic features, roles and functions of apocalypticism within the post-exilic Jewish society are investigated so as to establish how it led to reformations.

2.1. Scholarship on Apocalypticism

Jewish apocalyptic literature as a social discourse had been relegated to the periphery and has not been an attractive subject both in religious and scholarly discourse in general (Hall (2009). It was often associated with the marginalised groups in society who were responsible for producing and nurturing such esoteric and sometimes agonistic literature claiming divinely inspired revelations regarding the destruction of

the world. The situation has however, changed because several scholars have studied apocalypticism in general and Jewish in nature. It is the disasters of apocalyptic nature that were responsible for reawakening interest in apocalypticism.

Palmer (2014) states that apocalypticism has had little scholarship because it is degrading phenomenon which concentrates on revelations and mythical speculations about journeys of visionaries into heavenly spheres. This promotes the notion of an ecstatic experience in which one envisions the heavenly throne. Such an experience accords divine status to a human being, making it difficult to distinguish the human spheres from the divine (Palmer, 2014).

The history of apocalyptic literature is credited to A. Hilgenfeld and F. Lücke, respectively, in the 1830s. British scholarship, such as publications from R. H. Charles (1913), H. H. Rowley (1955) and J.J Collins (1980), paved the way for the modern exploration of Jewish apocalyptic texts. While the debate is dissipating regarding the texts constituting apocalyptic literature, Flusser's (2007) contribution begins with fundamental questions that help to clarify matters from the start. The most important historical questions in literature analysis are: who wrote? When? Where? Why? whose answers open an avenue to analyse power dynamics within the community that produced the literature. These questions allow readers or scholars, in general, to unpack the history of the author and establish if he was an authority in the field or not? What were the motivations for writing?

Studies by McCloud and Mirola (2009) explored Jewish apocalyptic literature from social discourse instead of the millennium view, which religious apologists mostly take. Research has indicated that Jewish apocalyptic literature, amongst many other mystic kinds of literature, reflect deprivation, a social voice or social expression of feelings and thoughts because of harsh, oppressive contexts (Grabbe, 1989).

Apocalyptic literature is esoteric, escapist and focuses on world-denying convictions. It reveals that the social location of the producers of the content is marked by anti-social behaviour, coupled with a lack of ethical engagement and frustrations, especially in a socio-political sense (McCloud and Mirola, 2009). This literature becomes coded views in which only those who share or are familiar with the communicated reality can decode. Both the author(s) or seers and the audience may belong to the lower strata of the society from which they have a common low social standing.

Rossing (2005) demonstrated that apocalyptic movements were numerous in the Middle Eastern with revolutionary potential, together with their literature, were shunned almost everywhere. They operated "underground" and resorted to social violence, which developed through the arbitrary reading of Biblical apocalypses. This literature discusses the rapture and, at the same time, promotes speculations about end-time battles, which paused a significant threat to the political stability of a society.

Lawrence (2002), a British novelist, wrote an essay on Revelation published after his death in 1932 and then re-edited in 2002 (Villiers, 2016). In this work, he discusses the vulgar, bleak and destructive character of Revelation (p.41). He focused on how apocalyptic language pointed to the life setting of its author and readers. He further noted that the language spoken by John, the author of Revelation, showed both passion and hatred of his society. Although he appreciated some parts of this book, Lawrence criticised it on the basis that it was:

> '... utterly unpoetic and arbitrary imagery, some of it really ugly, like all the wadings in blood, and the rider's shirt dipped in blood and the people washed in the blood of the Lamb' (Lawrence 2002. p.62).

Lawrence (2002) located the book's counter-cultural life setting into apocalyptic scholarship and its later readers. He argued that those who were dominant and powerful were intensely criticised by the minority, hatefully and vengeful. This position gave

rise to the view that apocalyptic literature emerged from the people's social reality other than from prophecy, as traditionally held in scholarship. He further argues that apocalyptic writers hated and despised their opponents, who were the rich. The contemporary readers of the book of Revelations use it to bring down their enemies to complete destruction and unredeemable state as they rise to the position of honour, which denotes the apocalyptic genre is a form of combative literature that is spread by those who negatively view their society (Lawrence 2002.p.63).

Robinson (2005) stated that the emergence of socially marginalised and criminals was the basis for the rise and emergence of apocalyptic messages in Jewish society. In the ancient world, apocalyptic literature established the value of life, death of artisans, peasants, or the sick. This form of exegesis fails to re-establish the connection between the social context of social imaginary of ancient society and the apocalyptic literature.

2.2. Theories on the Origins of Jewish Apocalypticism

Many scholars do not agree on the origins of apocalypticism, and they instead project the differences culminating in two schools of thought (Polaski, 2001, p. 2). One school argues for external origins hence adaptation into Jewish religion, while the other argues for indigenous origins of Jewish apocalypticism.

2.3. Foreign Origins Theory

Russell (1964) examines the foreign influence of the apocalyptic genre as a borrowed phenomenon from the Ancient Near East, especially Egypt, Persia and Mesopotamia.

2.3.1. Egyptian Origins

Hall (2009) associated apocalyptic literature with ancient Egypt, in which slaves or those marginalised people communicated among themselves symbolically in

establishing a sense of order. The Pharaoh's regalia symbolised his power and ability to maintain order. Other symbols focused on Egyptian gods and goddesses where Egyptian art, symbols were extended to animals to represent different events and situations. The same was familiar with colours in which the river Nile was symbolically represented with blue and green colour while the sun god with yellow and authority with red.

Hall (2009) exemplifies symbolic language in hidden codes where the Pharaoh was represented by an animal, colour, or symbol to express their socio-political disquietedness. This is why the subjugated and oppressed people in ancient Egypt appealed to the use of coded, apocalyptic language.

2.3.2. Persian Origins

During the early days in the study of apocalyptic texts, there was considerable interest in Zoroastrianism, the religion of Persian and its influence on Judaism, which was and is still believed to be the source of Jewish apocalyptic thought. Lücke's (1837) hermeneutical considerations assert that the Jews did not only adopt, but also transformed the Persian religion's materials to suit the Jewish society (Kvanvig, 1988, p.3). They had figures or institutions that they could depict as angels and demons, as seen in the dualism in Daniel as it was in Persian apocalyptic literature, including the Book of Jubilees and Syriac Baruch Apocalypse (Kvanvig, 1988). The alien school concludes by analysing the characteristic features of apocalypticism, which reflects the Mesopotamian life setting. Israel experienced Mesopotamian influence during the Babylonian exile, where some characteristic features like dualism and wisdom betrayed foreign origins (Kvanvig (1988, p. 3).

The alien school further asserts that the Persian religion has influenced Judaism in moulding apocalyptic traditions (Murphy (2012, p. 15). Zoroastrianism contains elements that easily feed into apocalypticism. This assertion is in harmony with Charles' (1914, p. 22) conclusion that apocalypticism is a religious movement influenced by Zoroastrianism and associating the movement with Zoroastrianism makes it a development after exile.

This is concluded from an analysis of the characteristics of Zoroastrianism, which seem to find their reflection in Jewish apocalypticism. Murphy (2012) highlighted elements such as periodisation of history, dualism, heaven and hell, rewards and punishments, angels and demons and resurrection. He also mentions the clash of good and evil forces, suffering, the ascent of the soul and eschatological battles. These are the key characteristics of Zoroastrianism that are also found in Jewish apocalypticism. Since the Jewish social life was intertwined with political, religious, cultural, and economic experiences, the degree of influence was high. In that way, apocalypticism rose as a socio-religious movement that responded to the social, political, religious, and cultural domination of the day. Apocalypticism became a tool of resistance that was exhibited by the oppressed minority, thereby instilling a new identity on them about their struggles against dominant imperial powers in the socio-political realm (Thomas, 2005). From that assumption, the Jews did not only adopt Persian traditions, but also adapted them through transformation. As the apocalyptic genre is not merely a conceptual genre of mind but a generated social response to historical circumstances, then foreign influences cannot be ignored entirely.

Jewish apocalypticism viewed as an implant in Israel was strengthened by ideas drawn from the form critics such as Hermann Günkel. Gunkel in Polaski (2001, p. 2), in his *Schopfung und Chaos,* helped to popularise the tracing of the apocalyptic themes

from the mythological material outside Israel. In this case, the Babylonian worldview is regarded as the one that influenced Israel. He related biblical literature to Ancient Near East mythological texts such as combat myth (Hengel, 2014, p. 333). Gunkel assumed some relation in the *Urzeit* [9] and *Endzeit*[10] in Genesis 1 and Revelation 12 as being traceable to Babylon. Thus, to Murphy (2012. p.15.), the two phrases depict much that is central to apocalypticism. Hence on the apocalypse of Enoch, several scholars have recently identified Babylon as the possible origin for apocalypticism.

Widengren (1979) in Davis (1984, pp. 305-25) supports the idea of Persian influence based on the Qumran Scrolls' mention of dualism of light and darkness. In this way, the alien school of thought concluded that Persia becomes the source of angels, demons and dualism, as highlighted in the biblical book of Daniel (Robinson, 2005, p. 17). The examination of the book of Daniel by Kvanvig notes the specific relationship between the Akkadian and the Jewish apocalypticism, particularly the rise of a visionary (*roeh*) to the divine throne (Collins, 1998). The idea of associating apocalypticism with the kind of divination in the Mesopotamian world may not be sustained. The material established by archaeology may provide some resemblance of divination to visionary but may not sufficiently provide the matrix for the source of apocalypticism.

2.3.3. Middle-Ground Origins

Collins (1984, p. 41), in his rebuttal of the foreign origins of apocalypticism, concluded that if there was any element of borrowing from Persian apocalypticism, it was

[9] *Urzeit* is a German word translated 'primeval times' or 'in the beginning'. Günkel sees a clear correspondence between the biblical phrases in the beginning mentioned in Genesis 1 and concludes that it developed from Babylonian mythology.
[10] *Endzeit* is a German phrase translated to 'End-times' of which Gunkel concludes the use of the phrase in Genesis 1 and Revelation 12 reflects heavy influence from Babylon.Thus to him the two phrases becomes evidence of influence of Babylonian mythology to Jewish apocalypticism.

thoroughly reconceived and integrated with other strands. Collins (1984) argued that, although the Persian apocalypses could be dated securely to the Hellenistic period, the Jewish apocalyptic genre cannot be regarded as simple borrowing as it adapted to the needs of the Jewish monotheism. The argument may sound well, but the evidence that Canaanite imagery played a crucial role in Daniel, chapter 7 may not be readily dismissed. The reason is that the nature of the four kingdoms in Daniel chapter 7 is borrowed from the Hellenistic world's political propaganda. This, therefore, means that the Persian influence cannot be entirely dismissed.

In his opinion of the reconceiving of the borrowed elements, Collins (1984) admitted that Persian influence on Jewish apocalypticism is widely reflected in the Qumran scrolls. For him, the Qumran scrolls are entirely compatible with the extensive use of Israelite traditions. He drives it from the definition of apocalypticism as a conceptual genre of mind that may be generated by social and historical circumstances. This idea of borrowing has often led apocalypticism to be viewed by scholars as a derivative phenomenon which leaves it as a product of something other than a unique phenomenon. Collins's position is dismissed favouring external influence as such a conclusion leads to theological prejudice.

Collins (1984) identified pseudonymity within apocalyptic literature as a critical feature to understand apocalypticism. Pseudonymous authors of the Jewish apocalypse are predominantly patriarchs and leaders from biblical history, suggesting that the ancient traditions originated with the Jews (Collins, 2003, p. 42). Collins observes modifications of the biblical traditions that he sees being in harmony with the popular ideas in the Hellenistic period, such as interest in the heavenly world, judgement of the dead, periodisation, ex-*eventu* prophecy and pseudepigraphy. Cook (1995, p. 3) calls

this idea of foreign origins of apocalypticism a misguided quest hence a watershed to modern scholars to establish the roots of Israelite society.

2.4. Indigenous Origins of Jewish Apocalypticism

The indigenous school of thought states that Jewish apocalypticism originated within Jewish circles and, in this case, from in the religion of Israel involving a significant Israelite component. Cook (1995, p. 3). from the indigenous school of thought supports this idea by arguing that the origins of apocalypticism lie in Israel's traditions. This argument is based on the fact that the Jewish revelations are drawn predominantly from Jewish tradition. The indigenous school of thought assumes that the *Sitz-im-leben* of apocalypticism was the religion of the Jews themselves. It is traceable from the pillars of the Jewish religion, such as the law, wisdom, and prophecy.

The assumption arose from the Jewish belief that, despite the supremacy of the Gentile powers to which they had been subjected, their God would not lead them to fall, but he would restore them by returning them from exile. From their monotheistic religion, they could not imagine any religion would destroy theirs as to them, Yahweh would destroy idols. Jews subjected to religious repression, leading them to abandon their religious cult at Jerusalem, developed apocalypticism to cushion themselves. This was important for their religious heritage was preserved and restored in a catastrophic and cataclysmic way through God's intervention. In that intervention, God would change the order of the day.

2.4.1. Wisdom Origins of Apocalypticism

Gerhard von Rad (1965, pp.315-330) suggested that apocalypticism was a derivation from wisdom where apocalyptic literature, just like wisdom literature to have eschewed the historical focus that was supposedly central to Israel's faith (Polaski, 2001, p. 2).

Although Gerhard von Rad's argument was meant to strengthen his position that apocalypticism did not originate from prophecy, but showed that he subscribed to the phenomenon's indigenous origin.

This assumption arose from the understanding of wisdom being the effort made by Israel to grasp the laws which governed the world in which Israel lived. Hence to him, the realisation of knowledge reflected through Jewish wisdom being the nerve-centre of apocalypticism makes it easier to determine the matrix from which it originated. His analysis of apocalyptic and wisdom literature, for example, Enoch, Ecclesiasticus and Daniel, formed the basis of his argument for wisdom as the source of apocalypticism. According to him, the apocalyptic writers were educated and wise (Rad, 1965, p. 306). Rad (1965, p. 306) sustained the argument that wisdom was the source of apocalypticism. He asserts, the apocalyptic writer Daniel was enrolled among the wise men (Daniel 11:48) because of his charismatic ability to interpret dreams.

In his analysis of the book of Enoch, Rad (1965) argued that the apocalyptic writer Enoch designated himself as a unique representative of true wisdom. This, for him, pointed to wisdom as the source of apocalypticism. Therefore, the authors of apocalyptic literature deposited their knowledge in books. This conclusion found support from Hanson (1979), who argued that within the apocalyptic eschatological tradition, wisdom was wedded. Hanson, at a time when religious leaders were sceptical and hostile towards prophetic figures, visionary circles exserted efforts to establish their credentials. This is why Rad (1965, p. 306) concluded that the apocalyptic writers were described as researchers and scholars.

Besides Rad's arguments, other scholars have relied more on the nature of wisdom in different cultures to argue for the role that wisdom in Israel contributed to the birth of Jewish apocalypticism. Hans Muller (Polaski, 2001, p. 5) located the

transition of wisdom and apocalyptic from the diviners. Thus, to Muller, the type of wisdom that birthed apocalypticism was associated with those who read the future.

2.4.2. Prophetic Origins of Apocalypticism

The indigenous origin of apocalypticism is traced to Jewish prophecy in the second century after a long development reaching pre-exilic times (Hanson 1975, p. 5). Apocalypticism culminates from the overlap between it and prophecy (Russell S., 1964, p. 105). It is viewed as an outgrowth of prophetism as an analysis of the two phenomena reflects commonalities regarding divine inspiration and belief in God's ultimate reign (Miller, 1968, p. 23).

This conclusion arises from an exegesis of writings classified as '*late apocalyptic*' or '*early apocalyptic*', such as Zachariah Ch 9-14, Isaiah 24-27, and Isaiah 56-66 (Hellholm, 1985). These texts reflect a transition from classical prophecy that held a historical view of salvation to the apocalyptic writings` transcendent view. Rowley (1962) concludes that there is continuity between the conception of יום יהוה [11] (the Day of the Lord) and apocalyptic expectation of final judgement by God. It should be acknowledged that the 'Day of the Lord' is an idea widely attested in Amos 5:18ff, Isaiah 5:1ff and the cosmic final judgment is also attested in the prophets and psalms (Psalms 96, 98).

Apocalypticism then is understood as a development from prophecy because both phenomena maintained the concept of warning and encouragement concerning the

[11] יוֹם יְהוָה is a biblical Hebrew phrase meaning the day of the Lord. It mostly relates to the events that will take place at the end of history. The Day of the Lord was a pre-exilic doctrine in which a belief was held that there was a Day, when Yahweh would vindicate Israel by humbling its foes and raising the nation to a position of prestige and blessing in the world. From the biblical texts such as Joel 2:31 and Isaiah 7:18-25, the day will be characterized by the turning of the sun into darkness and the turning of the moon into blood. In other words, this points to the time when God will personally intervene in history. Then it is such an understanding of how the theme appears in the prophetic oracles and what is drawn from the apocalyptic predictions that it is concluded that prophecy birthed apocalypticism.

future. It may, therefore, be concluded that Jewish apocalypticism evolved from prophecy in the same way seership evolved into prophecy (I Samuel 8:9ff). This exposition reveals that apocalypticism is akin to prophecy. It finds its roots in the Old Testament traditions (Tenny, 1967) because apocalyptic literature of the second century, like Daniel and Baruch, reflects a continued development of the phenomenon traceable from both pre-exilic and exilic prophecy.

Hanson (1975) concludes that the most creative response to the vacuum of alienation emerging in the exile came from the prophetic voice, Second Isaiah. Second, Isaiah put together pieces derived from prophecy, royal court and myth in a manner that prepared the way of transformation (Hanson, 1975, p. 440). Hanson agreed with Dunn (1977, p. 310), arguing that apocalypticism developed from prophecy. From an exegesis of the book of Daniel, it is noted that Daniel has continuity with prophets in the vision form and the use of Jeremiah's prophecy, among other things.

The arguments above deduced that authors of apocalyptic literature like Daniel living in times of fierce religious repression, had to set their stories in distant historical or exotic locales. In that way, the real-life under the Greek empire became apocalyptic Babylon (Jenkins, 2006, p. 128). Cook (1995) agreed with this assertion that apocalypticism originated within the Jewish traditions. However, he disagreed that apocalypticism was a development from prophecy or evolved from prophecy. In his recognition of the importance of prophets to apocalyptic writings, he terms prophetic apocalyptic writings as proto-apocalyptic.

Miller (1968) argues that apocalypticism grew out of despair over human conditions. When the prophets found that their moral prognostications of the rewards for the righteous had failed, they extended this operation of the just-righteous, loving God to the realms beyond earthly experiences. Apocalypticism as an outgrowth from

prophecy became a movement that endeavoured to show that God's righteousness to a nation and an individual would ultimately be fully vindicated, for the just would inherit their due. Apocalypticism then became a new view that pushed history into the future.

In addition, apocalypticism replicates and expands prophetic images and it responds to specific deficiencies within prophecy. Crenshaw (Carroll, 1979, pp. 204-213) concurs that apocalypticism was a response to the total failure of prophecy in the form of unfulfilled vision, change of circumstances and hence became a reworking instead of replacing prophecy. In that way, apocalypticism served to maintain the prophetic traditions.

Hebrews apocalypticism forerunner became associated with the conception of the Day of the Lord. The prophets taught that Yahweh was to punish Israel's enemies and establish his people as the world power. The conception of the Day of the Lord was further supplemented by the expectation of judgment for Jews and recurrent heathen prophets' perception of the Day of the Lord. The Day of the Lord was perceived as a day where everything would be turned upside down, and the world would be disorganised, coupled with darkness, fire, and destruction of both the people and the land. Although an emphasis on destruction is there, however salvation of the righteous in general is referenced in some biblical texts.

The Old Testament's depictions of the Day of Yahweh are grim. In chapter 2verse 12ff, Isaiah mentioned this when he said, "…For Lord of hosts has a day against all that is proud and lofty, …and the proud shall be humbled…In that day man…cast forth their idols….".

The day of the Lord concept also appears in the oracles of Zechariah 14:1, Ezekiel 13:5, Zephaniah 1:7,14 and Joel 1:15,2:1,11. Then the view of looking into the future as bringing hope comes up in full freight in apocalypticism. That is why it could be

concluded that apocalypticism developed from prophecy. In this way, Hastings (2011.p.39) concluded that prophet Isaiah's book was the parent of apocalypticism. Apocalypticism is viewed as related to prophecy because apocalyptic styles are evidenced early among the prophets (Isaiah 24-27; Amos 2:6-8,3:9-15,5:10-13, Jeremiah 24:1-3, Ezekiel 1-37, Joel and Zechariah 12-14). Lohse (1974, p. 62) supports the assertion in his conclusion that the prophetic writings, particularly those which arose in the period after the exile, discusses judgment and redemption, the new heaven, and the new earth.

Apocalyptic writers who see themselves as heirs of the Old Testament prophets refer to the connection of apocalypticism and prophecy. It is admitted that the eschatological expectations, which the apocalypticists propound, are furnished with several features, which are not taken from the Old Testament. All the Old Testament prophetic oracles mentioned so far point to a time when Yahweh will assume victory over his enemies. From Zechariah's oracles in chapters 12-14 and Joel 3:9-21, Yahweh will overthrow resisting forces and become a Ruler over all the earth. The writings in Isaiah 24-27, viewed as 'little apocalypse', also portrays the last judgment when Yahweh will judge all the nations and turn upside things by bringing about a cosmic catastrophe. The writer agrees with Cohn's (Anderson, 1988, p. 621) conclusion that some parts of the Old Testament are apocalyptic in the sense that they are prophecies of a benign future.

Collins (1984, p. 28) concluded that apocalypticism was the development of prophecy. Besides, it has given up on the present world but looks beyond suffering and persecution to vindication in the near future. It is also noted that Ezekiel's prophecies, with their symbolism and message of the resurrection birthed apocalypticism. Hanson (1989), from his evaluation of the two phenomena, concluded that apocalypticism is

prophecy in a new idiom. The unfulfilled prophecies led most prophets to be viewed as false. Apocalypticism then sought to assure the faithful that God had not abandoned his people and that the prophecies would be fulfilled. By giving this assurance to believers that despite adversities paused by the evil world, God will triumph, apocalypticism as the heir of prophecy helped sustain faith in times of crisis and persecution.

Apocalypticism as an heir of prophecy utilises how prophecy was transmitted, such as through dreams and visions. Some differences between prophecy and apocalypticism may, of course, be detected in the literary styles, especially the use of coded or symbolic language. The relationship between prophecy and apocalypticism rests on the continuity of symbolic visions. Collins (1984) asserts that the way the apocalypticists were enriched in their allusion to the old tradition reflects that they had a prophetic heritage from which they drew the store of symbols ancestral vitality (Collins, 2015.p.65). The imagery in Daniel 7 makes an excellent example as it is assumed that it is traceable to the Canaanite mythology believed to have been transmitted somehow in Israel. Symbolism is also traced from the symbolic names of the sons of Isaiah, Hosea and the symbolic speeches of Ezekiel and Zechariah. The only difference to be noted is the context, and this could have influenced a much development of apocalypticism in Daniel. While there is concrete evidence that apocalypticism evolved from prophecy, a feature like pseudonymity is not reflected.

This continuation of prophetic themes in apocalypticism can be seen when we analyse how Daniel seems to shift the 70 years prophesied by Jeremiah to symbolic and consider them as seventy weeks of years (490years) to mean the end of Jerusalem's desolation (Buttrick, 1989, p. 160). Anderson (1988, p. 629) supports this conclusion by his assertion that although Daniel's historical summary is cast in the form of a vision of events to come, it was not a prediction in its proper sense but a resume of past events.

Apocalypticism pointing to past prophecies which were fulfilled and yet to be fulfilled became a development of prophecy.

This conclusion culminates from the link between prophecy and apocalypticism as articulated from how both phenomena present their eschatologies. As prophets interpret their eschatologies regarding earthly and historical dimensions, apocalyptic eschatology emphasises Yahweh's action of deliverance as disclosed through cosmic vision. Grabbe (1995) concludes that apocalypticism should be viewed as the subdivision of prophecy. His conclusion rests on the assumption that both phenomena presuppose a mythical worldview in which the heavenly world determines the happenings on earth (Collins, 2015, p. 57).

2.4.3. Post-Exilic or Hellenistic Origins

The origins of Jewish apocalypticism were associated with conditions in the post-exilic Jewish society, specifically the oppression under the Greek empire. It is argued that the repressive political circumstances such as persecution and deprivation during the Hellenistic period led to the development of apocalypticism. This suggests that even when the non-homogenous nature of Jewish apocalypticism is noticed, this brings to the fore that apocalypticism was less concerned with systematic uniformity than addressing present crisis. This meant that through apocalypticism, the Jews had to define themselves within the hostile world and establish ways to sustain their hope.

It should be noted that the Hellenistic period's political events assisted in the development of apocalypticism and its advancement. Despite Alexander the Great's favour shown to the Hellenised states, Antiochus IV (Epiphanes) his son, directed religious persecution. In 168-167 BC, he moved forcibly to make the Jewish people Hellenists (Achtemeier, 2001, p. 23). Antiochus IV went further to even profane the

Jewish Temple by erecting an altar for god Zeus. He also compelled the Jewish people to transgress their ancestral religion and violet the Mosaic laws. This move was met with resistance as it brought about the Hasidim's protest on the one hand. On the other, it ignited a great vivacity of the imagination of the visionaries or seers or mystics who became the spokespersons of the groups that suffered repression.

The seers' influence, deeds of valour steered the Maccabees to take arms against the oppressive systems. The seers or visionaries saw in the Israel God Yahweh their refuge and hope of deliverance through the Messiah. After the Maccabean revolt, the Jews experienced partial independence that came to an end during Roman rule. This position is anchored on the social deprivation theory, drawn from a Marxist social perception. The theory is not entirely new, and its central claims have been around for some time. This theory, as given by McCloud and Mirola (2009), assumes that apocalyptic literature came from groups that were deprived of social rights and responsibilities. In their deprivation, they communicated their refusal to compromise with the privileged elite through codes which only they and their members understood. Weber's and Troeltsch's followers concluded that apocalyptic millennialist groups being unable to compromise settled on the lower strata of society (Collins,2009).

The opposition between the lower and upper classes is created in a society where the lower citizens who produced apocalyptic messages did not enjoy the same privileges as the upper classes. Niebuhr (1929) perceived those emerging from the society`s lower strata as usually religious or social movements dominated, dispossessed and impoverished. Their needs were not considered, so they withdrew from the middle class. McCloud and Mirola (2009.p.13) explored apocalypticism alongside class, social standing, or material status. The social deprivation theory asserts that religious apocalypses are embedded within groups with high eschatological views.

Such inspired groups feel marginalised by theocracy hence exist as conventicles condemned to exist as secret groups that regularly meet for religious purposes (Cook 1995, .p.7). The groups` strong mythological orientation represents a denial to re-mythologising of prophetic literature with its realistic social concerns for the present world. Apocalyptic literature then offers comfort to the oppressed by telling them about the end of the suffering of their members because of the destruction of their oppressors. For Jewish literature, the apocalyptic writers were writing in their challenging times and post-exilic context as they articulated the adversities of powerlessness minorities who could not contemplate the reality of life. Apocalyptic writings revived the socio-political position of the lame, the blind, slaves, peasants and the slaves in ancient society. After the exile, it became an emerging voice within Jewish literature that exerted a revolutionary cultural change against Palestine and Greco-Roman's secular context. However, it took the apocalyptic-prophetic stance, which also brings in the assumption that it had some local origins.

2.5. Characteristic Features of Jewish Apocalypticism

There are two types of Jewish apocalypticism, which are cosmological apocalypticism and historical eschatological apocalypticism. On the one hand, cosmological apocalypticism focused on the secrets of the world and the heavens, while the historical eschatological apocalypticism was concerned with God’s purpose in history and its review within a plan of divinely ordained periods. It was also concerned with the coming end of history, usually thought to be imminent, catastrophic, and cataclysmic. God would overcome evil and suffering and establish his universal kingdom forever.

It is from the cosmological and historical concepts that we can establish what characterised Jewish apocalypticism. The characteristics are classified as primary and secondary. The primary features are those which show a close affinity with

Zoroastrianism, whereas the secondary features have their *Sitz-im-leben* within the Jewish religious pillars like wisdom and prophecy.

2.5.1. Revelation

Lawrence (2005) asserts that revelation as a characteristic feature of apocalypticism was mediated through dreams and visions whereby the seer gets a glance of God's world and the future. An analysis of apocalypses of Daniel, 2 Esdras and Revelation reflects this feature. Daniel envisions Antiochus Epiphanes IV's elimination and the imminent inauguration of God's kingdom upon the righteous. Also, the angel's explanation relating to a vision in 4 Esdras about a woman whose weeping turned into glory signifies the transformation that would happen to Zion.

Bauckham (2008, p. 45) asserts that the feature is reflected in Daniel's activity (Daniel 2, 4, 5) consisting of the interpretation of the dreams of Nebuchadnezzar and the mysterious message on Belshazzar's palace wall. The interpretations reflected the function of disclosing the secrets of the future. About the visions and dreams, apocalyptic works employ elaborate symbolism. We, therefore, observe that animals and birds are provided by Ezekiel 17 (the two eagles), 2 Esdras 11(the eagle vision) and 2 Baruch 29 (Behemoth and Levithan). Symbols are also presented in numerical puzzles exemplified by number seven in Daniel 9:24 and Revelation and the number forty-nine in the book of Jubilees.

2.5.2. Symbolism

Apocalyptic literature is heavily characterised by the use of symbols and images. Kummel (1990, p. 23) highlights that symbols and images carry with them the diverse or a multiplicity of interpretations as such distortions are common in the interpretation. Animals and signs of the sun, stars, moon, and numbers are very pronounced in

apocalyptic literature. The symbols vary and include number symbols, colour symbols, and animal symbols. These act as the vehicles and agencies of the secret wisdom.

One needs to interpret each symbol to get the meaning from the symbols. For example, Daniel has a great deal of animals as symbols. In Daniel 7, the seer Daniel had a dream of four beasts emerging from the sea. In Daniel 8, he had a vision of a ram that conquered the world until a he-goat charged towards it and broke its horns (Daniel 8:5–7). Animals, in this case, refer to a variety of things. Beasts refer to the power of Satan, and the lamb represents the animal of sacrifice. The lion stood for kings and eagles or ox are superior animals of their kind, and their horns represent power, and multiple heads are rulers. The horns represent empires, and in this case, the little horn represents Antiochus Epiphanes IV. A ram represented Persia and Media, while a he-goat represented Greece. This kind of imagery is also familiar to us in the book of Revelation (Peake, 2011).

An interpretation for a particular symbol is sometimes given, but there might be no interpretation for the same symbol. While an interpretation may be given, it may mean a different thing altogether in the same apocalypse. Hence there may be a need for another interpretation in a particular context. For instance, 2 Esdras 12 presents a vision by a seer that of an eagle emerging from the sea as representing the fourth kingdom and at the same time referred to be the same vision shown to Daniel. That vision was not interpreted to Daniel, but it was to this seer. Hence, symbolism safeguards meaning from discovery, especially when it might appear dangerous to speak openly.

2.5.3. Pseudonymity

Pseudonymity refers to a strategy by authors to conceal their real identities using fictitious or false names. Mazzafferi (1989, p.174) observed that authors attached themselves to prominent figures in history. Murphy (1996) agrees with Mazzafferi that all Jewish apocalypses are pseudonymous. It is observed that Jewish apocalypticists attach themselves to Jewish antiquity heroic figures like Adam, Enoch, and Abraham, sons of Israel, Moses, Ezra, and Baruch. Thus, according to Buttrick (1989), Daniel 7-12 are pseudonymous texts written during the Maccabean period by an unknown person who in turn attributed his work to Daniel. Hartman (1978) agrees with Buttrick that the unknown authors of Daniel 7-12 identify themselves with the sixth century BC experiences (Daniel 1-6).

Murphy (1996) posits that at least five apocalypses preserved in the Ethiopic Aramaic fragments from Qumran are assigned to Enoch, who is believed to have walked with God (Genesis 5:24). Enoch is taken as a heroic figure after enigmatically being taken by God. Hence, he is considered an appropriate figure for heavenly revelations. An explicit assumption about the use of heroic figures possibly was made to increase authority and acceptance of the texts. It should be noted that pseudonymity was not an invention by authors. However, it appeared to be the prevalent tradition as most of the Old Testament texts are either anonymous or pseudonymous.

Some Old Testament examples of anonymous writings include the Tetrarch, Deuteronomistic History, Proverbs, Psalms, Job, Deutero-Zechariah (9-14) and Wisdom of Solomon, among others. From a historical perspective of the second century, pseudonymity was used to conceal one's identity to the oppressive systems. Since heroic names were for well-known persons, they would foster unity and identity among the oppressed community. Collins (2003) supports this in his conclusion that

attributing work to an ancient author removes the work from its current setting and places it in another context. In such a context, it would serve to validate the view of defectiveness of the present world and the need to seek outside revelation.

2.5.4. Dualism

Dualism refers to an idea or belief in the existence of two supreme opposing forces. An act of dualism within apocalypticism follows the fact that there is the emphasis of the doctrine that reality consists of two essentially opposing elements (Collins 1998, p.24). Dualism is viewed in three forms: ethical, spatial, and temporary. It looks at events from two different perspectives. Jewish apocalypses reveal the reaction of the heavens to evil on earth, from which contrast is made between the present evil age and the future virtuous age.

In his analysis of the Book of Revelations, Sanders (1972, p.134) adds that apocalyptic literature tends to recognise the existence of worlds in terms of ages. In this case, the end of one age will mark the beginning of the other. This is even further signified by the concept of the coming of the New Jerusalem in which this would come to replace the old corrupted one that existed before.

In his endeavour to put the apocalypse book of Enoch into Israelite religious context, Nickelsburg (2003, p. 44) observes that the authors of the book of Enoch situated the existence of human beings within a set of dualisms. Nickelsburg concludes that to the authors of Enoch, the earth is not heaven, neither the present age nor the age to come. 1 Enoch makes an excellent example of spatial dualism that exists between the earth and heaven or the recesses of the inaccessible to humanity. Again,1 Enoch highlights a temporal dualism that exists between the present and the eschatological

future (Lawrence, 2005). From Enoch chapters 6-11, dualism was further enhanced, especially through dualistic myths about how evil originated.

The ethical dualistic view also emerges whereby people are divided into two classes of moral conduct: the righteous and the wicked. There is conviction in ethical dualism that each human being can belong only to one side or the other, and this is characterised by the continued existence of good and evil deeds. In several levels of texts in Enoch, especially temporal or spatial dualism, things are set in distinction or opposition to one another. In Daniel, dualism is presented in the light of how Judaism was viewed as being opposed to Hellenism under Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Dualism is a characteristic feature of apocalypticism that presupposes that there is ever a crisis or constant conflict.

2.5.5. Eschatology

In tracing the development of Old Testament apocalypticism, Otto Ploger (Cook, 1995, p. 6) established two lines of development. The first has no traces of apocalypse and the other being thoroughly apocalyptic. According to him, the two groups opposing Antiochus Epiphanes' policies, that is the Maccabean interpreted events from the none-eschatological point of view. The Hasidim that produced Daniel apocalypse produced a dual-eschatology tradition. Eschatology then characterised apocalypticism in the sense that it investigates the development of events in the light of end time.

The assumption of dual eschatology unveils the contention among scholars regarding the kind of eschatology found in the apocalypses. While scholars agree that eschatology characterises apocalypticism, but the question still to be grappled with is whether the apocalypses reflect a consistent eschatology. Rowland Carmingnac (Collins,1984) argues that eschatology is too diffused to the extent that it is difficult to

understand. Besides these arguments, scholars are unanimous that all apocalypses entail some form of retribution to be administered in the eschaton.

3 Baruch reflects a notion whereby, in some instances, eschatology takes the form of judgement of individuals after death without necessarily referring to the end of history as revealed in the book of Daniel. The apocalyptic Book of Daniel presents eschatology that is both political in focus and cosmic in scope. The pattern of the eschatology in the book of Daniel presupposes that human history is set in a distinct two ages, of which the present age is viewed to be under the dominion of evil. Therefore, there is no hope in this present age of history, but people are optimistic concerning the age to come. This leads to the conclusion of Koch (1972) that the word apocalyptic is popularly associated with fanatical millenarian expectations. This has been often referred to as a prediction of a long-awaited future establishment of the Kingdom of God, of which this brings in its futuristic characteristic (Koch,1972).

Sanders (1972, p. 29) further asserts that Jewish apocalyptic literature was a combination of the themes and revelations or reversal of Israel's fortunes, which were regarded as the righteous tribe. Collins (1998, p.53) notes that the imagery of such literature as revelations is not reflective or realistic of the current physical world but somewhat surreal and invokes the sense of wonder at the completion of new order to come. This follows from the fact that the central core of apocalyptic belief is a futuristic eschatology in which the future is envisaged through direct divine intervention.

This will be equal to a universal judgment of the nations and a new age of salvation, in which the world will be radically transformed in the future. For example, Daniel’s prayer and Gabriel’s revelation in Daniel create the impression that God already predetermined humanity's fate, although this might not always be the case. The reason is that the ‘future’ is described in terms of the already passed history.

The reference to ‘future’ is only attributed to a few predictive texts (Lucas, 2002, p. 224). Prophecy shaped the form of history as if it was predetermined, and this was a way to lead the readers and listeners to trust all the predictions made for the future (Helberg, 1994, p. 93). The term ‘end times’ points to the end of Jewish exile, and it is interpreted here in relation to the end of Antiochian suppression and repression.

2.5.6. Vaticinium Ex Eventu

Vaticinium ex eventu is another characteristic of apocalypticism that is related to eschatology. *Vaticinium ex eventu* is a Latin phrase translated as ‘prophecy from the event’ or ‘prophecy after the event’ (Milinovich, 2011). The apocalypses of Daniel, Enoch and 4 Ezra reflect elements of this feature. An example is the redactor of Daniel’s apocalypse is written in the second century from its fictional timeframe of the sixth century BC. In the light of the persecution of the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes, Daniel writes as though this is during the diaspora in Babylon. He presents history as if it was a prediction of the future. Another example is Daniel 12 that presupposes the *vaticinium ex eventu* of Daniel 11:2-39. In the animal apocalypse set in the Maccabean revolt, Enoch is written as if the *sitz-im-leben* is from the beginning of the days. In his presentation of the destruction of Jerusalem, 4 Ezra (100 CE) depicts the writing as if it was the work of Ezra, the scribe of around 556 BC.

Scholars critique this technique as a form of deception, but Hartman (1978) argues that the writers of apocalypse used the technique to give their work credibility and authority. Varies (1995, p. 72) supports this assertion in his conclusion that all passages with this form of transition are correct predictions. The redactors of literature characterised by *vaticinium ex eventu* were projecting the future through intuitive inspiration, not from already known facts (Varies 1995.p.72). It should be acknowledged that *vaticinium ex eventu* was used to strengthen the patience and

courage of the devout who were suffering persecution. Presenting the events in this way would instil new hope as they remember how God helped others in the past, which offers an alternative picture of reality.

2.5.7. Exhortations

Exhortation is a characteristic of apocalypticism, in which the term refers to encouragements. The exhortations also include woes and warnings against acts of unrighteousness. Apocalypses exhort its readers by encouraging them to repent and not face the next judgment. The Epistle of Enoch is replete with such exhortations in the form of education by the patriarchs. Horsley (2012, p. 289) affirms that moral exhortations have always been one of the functions of apocalyptic literature. Apocalypse comprises exhortations of high ethical standards in which there is a constant call for adherents to improve their relationships with the deity.

2.5.8. Numerology

Numerology is another characteristic feature of apocalypticism which refers to numbers. McGinn (1998, p. 400) points that numerology is an ancient technique used to calculate the predetermined future. Numbers represent specific units or figures or particular events, and in Jewish society, they represent their alphabet. Apocalypticism by using numerology tends to connect numbers and material objects and beings. For example, the Roman emperor Nero Caesar was known in Hebrew as **נרון קסר** which has a value of 666 coming from numerical addition of 50 (N) + 200 (R)+6 (O) + 50(N) and100 (K) +60 (S) + 200 (R).

2.6. Third Isaiah within the context of Apocalypticism

Third Isaiah, denoting Isaiah 56-66 (Beuken, 1989), is sometimes interchanged with Trito-Isaiah (Anderson 1988, p. 475). These chapters highlight how the redefinition of

the Judean identity played a role in the development of apocalypticism. Third Isaiah is set around 515 BEC-70 CE during the building of the Jewish second temple. The chapters reflect the early post-exilic period when the Jewish situation had changed. Social background of the text referred to Third Isaiah reflects to have come as a development of a prophetic movement that stood in opposition to other contemporary movements. Hanson (1979, p. 43), in trying to justify his argument of the native origins of apocalypticism, concluded that the development of Third Isaiah happened simultaneously with the transformation of prophetic eschatology.

Third Isaiah is a move towards apocalypticism that counteracted the Zadokite exclusiveness, which believed that priesthood controlled the religious life of the Jewish community both during and after exile and was exclusive (Beuken,1989). This presents a bitter mood of disillusionment and controversy in the Palestinian community.

Third Isaiah brings in the element of the people of Yahweh, which modifies the attitude of the Jews toward the foreigners. This ushered in the apocalyptic element of dualism. Third Isaiah, from a dualistic concept, tends to divide the community into two, the righteous and the wicked. Third Isaiah becomes a response to the exiled community's lament. The visionaries believed to have been the disciples of Second Isaiah came up with a revival restoration plan and insisted that priesthood was meant for all people, not only the Zadokites. Third Isaiah also introduces back the theme of the restoration of Zion, which was once popularised by prophets.

Third Isaiah appears to be a replica of the former prophets while, on the other hand, departs from the exclusive prophetic office to a more inclusive office of a visionary who revive the office of the servant of Yahweh. It is these visionaries against the hierocrats features from Third Isaiah who developed apocalyptic eschatology with an emphasis on cosmic instead of historical interpretations of the oracles. Yahweh's

intervention in Isaiah 63:7-64:11 is introduced to emphasise that Yahweh would intervene and bring salvation to the faithful. It is from this view that Isaiah is seen to develop an eschatological idea that envisaged that the obedient people would be brought to Mout Zion.

Third Isaiah's message of salvation of those obedient culminates in the liberation and glorification of Zion, which carried apocalyptic eschatological claims. Third Isaiah also addresses economic crisis in which he highlights the bitter animosity of rival groups in Judah. He as well denounced political and religious leaders who had become corrupt. Third Isaiah condemns oppressive structures, which he sees as the causes of poverty. In this, Third Isaiah stands in solidarity with the oppressed and the poor. In Isaiah 65:11-14, he then speaks of a future revolutionary change in which the oppressors would suffer hunger and shame. In other words, from apocalyptic assumptions, he envisages a future in which things would change.

It is from these observations that Third Isaiah is believed to have influenced the apocalyptic movement. The full expression of the apocalyptic element within Third-Isaiah is reflected in Isaiah 65:17, which talks about the creation of a new heaven and new earth (LaSor 1996, p. 306). In this promise, Isaiah brings a sense of hope which characterises most apocalyptic literature of which, to him, there was hope beyond the Israelite nation of that time. While it is acknowledged that Isaiah mentioned the hope in previous oracles, in Third Isaiah, the hope is thrust out ahead. Bright (1980, p. 297) asserts that Isaiah, by pushing national hope beyond the existing nation, birthed the restless search of a true remnant, new Israel that would arise out of fires of tragedy. Third Isaiah's perception of the happenings within the post-exilic Jewish society paved a new stage of understanding social experiences.

The outcome of this research makes it clear that the new perception of social life as reflected in Third Isaiah is possible only from apocalyptic imagination. In that imagination, the recipients embrace pain and, at the same time, anticipate a thoroughly transformed society (Brueggemann, 1984). The society expected is the one in which there will be no more hostility, oppression, and poverty. In this assumption, Third Isaiah is viewed as a voice of the 'have not' visionaries who are world-weary and are against the priestly aristocracy. Although the exiled Jews had already experienced liberation from Babylon, Third Isaiah presents an assumption of full liberation from economic slavery. Additionally, Third Isaiah, like other apocalyptic literature, introduces symbolism. Third, Isaiah also uses imagery such as light, adornment, garments and wedding, a nursing mother and warrior. Imagery is one of the key characteristics of Jewish apocalypticism.

2.7. Role and Functions of Apocalypticism within the Jewish post-exilic Society

Apocalypticism's role and function within the post-exilic Jewish society is first traced from Third Isaiah. I concur with Paul Hanson's assumption that after exile, the Jewish community was characterised by two rival religious groups (Hanson,1979). There was a group of those who remained in Jerusalem and that which returned from exile. The remnants in Jerusalem were exclusive as they tried to guard the monotheistic concept of the Jewish religion. In contrast, those coming from exile were more inclusive as they tried to accommodate pluralism. Those from exile had experienced oppression, and their rights were violated to the extent that they got involved in mixed marriages.

Then on returning to Jerusalem, they were met with a call for religious and social restoration, which we read from the biblical book of Ezra. During the religious and social restoration, the exiles were requested to divorce their foreign wives. The

main reason was that to the Jews, submission to foreign influence was viewed as pollution. Those Jews who were not taken into captivity and remained in Jerusalem, freedom and purity were foremost. In turn, this emphasis alienated their fellow Jews, those who had been exiled. The exiled once again experienced oppression from their own people and the political, economic, religious, social, and cultural deprivation they went through while in exile once again resurged.

It is evident that apocalypticism was spearheaded by visionaries who were more inclusive and these explicitly established the role and function of the phenomenon within the Jewish post-exilic society. Apocalypticism in Jewish post-exilic society addressed the experiences of marginalisation and oppression. The exiled Jews felt marginalised and oppressed and longed for further liberation that would take place through an immediate replacement of their world with a new era. Although a deity would initiate the liberation, those enlightened would share a message of hope.

It is evident from Third Isaiah that apocalypticism addressed the experience of alienation which the exiled faced when they returned from Babylon. Apocalypticism in the post-exilic period helped maintain boundaries for preserving Jewish ethical identities as they appeared to be under threat. While the Jews tried to maintain boundaries, they ended up creating elements of alienation (1 Enoch 89:75) which the visionaries with their eschatological view had to address.

Apocalypticism functioned as a tool to address political persecution as envisaged from the Maccabean revolt because Jews were shocked by the crisis precipitated by Antiochus IV Epiphanes whose move was meant to abolish the Jewish religious autonomy and replace it with a pagan divinity. Pious Jews saw the only option to resolve their crisis was through divine intervention whereby God would destroy their oppressors and validate the oppressed. The Jewish adherents were the activists under

the influence of Judas Maccabaeus, who engaged in guerrilla warfare against their oppressors. Apocalypticism in the post-exilic period thus instilled the spirit of resistance against oppression.

Daniel's apocalypse that originated during the Seleucid times, played a role in bridging the gap created by the socio-political, religious, cultural and economic deprivation of the Jews. Apocalypticism instilled hope in the community to endure their travails at the height of deprivation and persecution (Keddie, 2013). After the exile, Jews were assured through apocalypticism of positive change to address the crisis created by the powerful. Daniel viewed from the time when the Seleucids were in control reflects apocalypticism as serving a role of resistance from Antiochus IV Epiphanes's attempt to impose Hellenism, not only religious but also cultural elements upon the Jews. Apocalypticism then played the role of reorientation in the face of national cultural shocks.

Horsley (2010, p. 3) reiterates that apocalypticism has a form of resistance to imperial oppression. He further points that the plot of apocalyptic texts in the late Second Temple times reflects resistance to oppressive imperial rule to the point that the adherents had to face martyrdom. The Jews in the Second Temple times waged resistance from the overly oppressive Hellenistic and Roman rule. Collins (2014, p. 135), in his assertion that apocalypticism was a movement of critique, defiance and resistance to tyrannical regimes, concur with Horsley (2010). This is supported by Portier-Young (2011, p. 14) in her assertion that theologies of resistance to the oppression and terror of Seleucid empire characterised apocalyptic literature.

The Jewish post-exilic apocalyptic resistance, which limited, opposed, rejected and transformed the hegemonic institutions and systems, mainly was against domination (Portier-Young, 2011). The Jews needed to resist the different practices

imposed on them, which would, in turn, shape their culture and identity. They also needed to combat direct political control by foreign powers so as to undermine the imposed discourse of imperial power by reinventing the discourse (Portier-Young, 2011, p. 14). Those who resisted Hellenization and persecution also rejected the internal influences from the priest like Jason and other reformers. They also rejected the Greek symbols imposed as tools of domination, but at the same time, they retained some aspects of the hybrid identity and culture.

Apocalypticism in the post-exilic Jewish society was a pacifist tool that led Jews to shun violence and embrace the attitude of endurance to suffering. A further review of the book of Daniel reflects an encouragement that led the Jews to understand that the events were predetermined; hence, they had to bear up with persecution. The Jews still believed that victory rested in the hands of God. The 'leave it to God' pacifism undermined the Maccabean attempt to implement a political solution as human institutions were taken as the source of the problem rather than the solution (Luker, 2001, p. 107).

2.8. Inconsistencies within the Apocalyptic Genre

Scholars argue that apocalypticism is a shared motif among various societies, but they disagree on the classification of the apocalyptic genre itself. They share the same views that apocalypticism may be discussed from historical and sociological perspectives. The characteristics mentioned in this chapter help establish what is classified as apocalyptic literature. However, inconsistencies exist when observing how the phenomenon manifests itself within various life settings.

(Collins J, 2014, p. 5) states that understanding apocalyptic literature regarding characteristics has some challenges as some characteristics are just a list of things found

in apocalypses. The phenomenon has both indigenous and foreign origins, but not all the characteristic features may be established in the apocalyptic literature. This then justifies the inconsistencies found across the literature. The phenomenon of apocalypticism is found and influenced by Gnostic, Greco-Roman, Persian and Jewish pillars; hence, its reflection was inconsistent.

Fowler (1982) argues that literary genres evolve, and every text has an individual character conveying meaning and modifying generic conventions. His conclusion justifies the inconsistencies observed when we analyse the apocalyptic literature. Newsom (2005,p.444), invoking George Lakoff's ideas, suggested that to establish the kind of literary genre, one needs to assess its relationship with all the elements that form it. In this case, a genre is not dismissed because of not reflecting all elements of characteristic apocalyptic features as long as it captures the nature of the phenomenon. The Jewish and Christian apocalypse reflects the characteristic feature of revelation but was not the determining feature for apocalyptic literature and the prominence of the supernatural world (Collins, 2014 p. 5). It should be acknowledged that some literature may be classified as apocalyptic in so far as it resembles the core features of the apocalyptic genre. Such a conclusion allows access to other forms of the apocalyptic genre like music.

2.9. Chapter's Summary

This chapter discussed the origins of Jewish apocalypticism, from which it has been established that scholars have discussed the phenomenon under indigenous and foreign origins. The school of thought that subscribes to the foreign origins of the phenomenon based their arguments on the point of connection between apocalyptic features from the similar phenomena in the Ancient Near East. In sustaining this assumption, evidence has been drawn from Persia, focusing on Zoroastrianism and from Mesopotamia,

Babylon, and the Greco-Roman. Elements of dualism, angels, resurrection, and punishment were identified as points of contact to justify the foreign origins of apocalypticism.

The indigenous school of thought that argued for internal origins drew evidence from the Jewish pillars of wisdom and prophecy. The connection of apocalyptic origins with wisdom was based on how apocalyptic literature was formed as it evidenced the hand of educated scribes. The connection of apocalypticism with prophecy was based on both phenomena's characteristic features as they both betray some continuity.

It has been further observed that scholars in both schools of thought do not agree on how the phenomenon originated within the agreed milieu. In exploring the indigenous origins of the phenomenon, the relationship between apocalypticism and prophecy was discussed. It was observed that there is continuity of prophecy to apocalypticism as the two rose from the same religious circles of Israel. The role of politics, economy, religion, social and cultural life in shaping the establishment of apocalypticism in the pre-and post-exilic periods impacted the origins of apocalypticism. The Israelites being under political siege, sought a way to overcome dissonance through the visionaries or seers who arose during their time of suffering and renewed their hope.

As some ambitions rose during suffering, what characterised apocalypticism was examined. The chapter identified these characteristic features which vary from how the apocalyptic phenomenon manifested, but common ones like revelation, pseudonymity, dualism, eschatology, ethical exhortation and numerology were discussed. The agreement that apocalypticism has indigenous origins led to the consideration of Third Isaiah to establish how apocalypticism developed from prophecy and as well how it bridged the gap between the exiled and the non-exiled. In this

chapter, it has also been found that the conflict between the Zadokites and the Visionaries on how the Jerusalem cult would be handled had considerable influence during the Third Isaiah regarding a form of inclusiveness. The development of apocalypticism had much impact on removing the parameters set for the exiled as the non-exiled Jews had viewed them as the polluted. Apocalypticism had been a phenomenon that influenced the culture of inclusivity as the Jewish community had been torn apart by exile experiences.

The chapter examined the role of apocalypticism during the post-exilic period. It is evident that apocalypticism addressed the matter of marginalisation that had characterised the Jewish community in the post-exilic period. The development of apocalypticism helped the Jews to live together, whether they were exiled or not. Then the chapter concluded by evaluating the existing inconsistencies within the apocalyptic literature itself and the possible reasons for such inconsistencies.

It was also found that instead of scholars dwelling on the inconsistencies, it is essential to focus on the value of influence of apocalypticism in the community in which it manifested. The discussion on Jewish apocalypticism paves a way to the development and manifestation of the phenomenon through Zimbabwean apocalyptic music. This background links Zimbabwean society to the development of apocalyptic music due to religious repression and social deprivation. The foreign origins of apocalypticism highlighted in this chapter strengthened the argument of its existence outside the Jewish society, such as in Zimbabwean music. The association of the motif with visionaries, prophets, and seers strengthens the argument of Zimbabwean musicians who are identified as *seers*. Jewish apocalypticism characteristics help to link the tenets of Zimbabwean apocalyptic music. Finally, the role and function of apocalyptic literature within the Jewish society assists in establishing the connection of

the role of Zimbabwean apocalyptic music, which leads to determining its impact on religious, economic, cultural, and social experiences in Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER THREE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF ZIMBABWE'S SOCIO-POLITICAL EXPERIENCES

3.0. Introduction

The discussion on apocalypticism from its Jewish background leads to the understanding of this phenomenon in the Zimbabwean context. In order to do this, historical background to Zimbabwean experiences that gave birth to apocalyptic music will be explored. Zimbabwe`s pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial socio-political, economic, religious and cultural experiences are examined. In the pre-colonial and colonial era, the chapter discusses how the ethnicity of the Zimbabwean populace was formed. It also investigates the early Zimbabwean society's structure regarding the economy, politics, culture, social and religion.

The intention is to examine if such a background could have bred apocalyptic tendencies. The chapter looks into the establishment, distribution and concentration of power in certain individual families. This setup may have created the two dominant classes in the society: the masters and the subjects or the rulers and the ruled. Of interest is to investigate how the ordinary poor people in Zimbabwe interpreted their circumstances in the light of the power dynamics present. Is it not possible that they devised a way of speaking about their oppression by the elite master class without detection by their oppressors? Could we establish roots of apocalyptic liberation music in this period?

Like in the Jewish society, elements of how apocalypticism led to the development of apocalyptic thought will be traced. The chapter thoroughly investigates the reaction of Zimbabweans to the oppressive colonial rule of Africans. It points out to the beginning of the early uprisings termed *Chimurenga one,* its causes and results.

It assesses the colonisers' harsh laws enacted to silence any forms of resistance by Zimbabwean citizens. The chapter also evaluates how the Zimbabweans felt deprived during the imposition of the legislation and the exploitation of their land by the whites. It also analyses how this led to the development of apocalyptic music in Zimbabwe. It examines the early impact of apocalyptic music on sensitising and mobilising people to stage a more organised revolution. It also discusses the events leading to the Lancaster House agreement that led to the majority rule in Zimbabwe. The chapter also discusses the adoption of colonial laws by the new Zimbabwean government of black majority rule, which was meant to silence the voice of the people by the continued censorship of the apocalyptic songs.

3.1. Zimbabwe`s Pre-Colonial Life Experiences

The history of Zimbabwe dates to the 8th and 10th centuries AD. Tradition and archaeological findings assert that the San hunter-gatherers inhabited the land called Zimbabwe today up to the 8th century AD until they were slowly replaced by the cattle-herding and farming Bantu (Beach, 1980, p. 29). These were groups of migrants from the northern part of the African continent, who spoke languages that belonged to a cluster which the linguists have termed Bantu (Mlambo, 2014, p. 12). One of the Bantu groups, the Shona, settled in the land called Zimbabwe today.

The word Bantu in Zulu just means people. The Bantu people are traced from the great Congo basin in the central part of Africa (Beach,1994, p. 108). The arrival of the Bantu speaking migrants laid the foundation for a series of large and prosperous political kingdoms that included Mapungubwe, Great Zimbabwe, Mutapa and Torwa or the Rozvi states (Mlambo, 2014, p. 10).

Figure 1. Great Zimbabwe Ruins

(Huggett, 2013) [12]

This Shona group built several cities of stones, with Great Zimbabwe being the prominent one. Great Zimbabwe, which is near Masvingo town, flourished around 1290

[12] This picture of Zimbabwe ruins which reflect the security skills of the Mutapa empire. The ruins were built without mota and served as security to the empire.

to 1450 AD as a powerfully well-structured society (Chikoko, 2014). The group also built an empire known as Munhumutapa, which included parts of present-day Transvaal in South Africa, Botswana and Mozambique. This defines the society's multi-ethnicity, namely the Shangani/Tsonga, Venda, Kalanga, Ndebele, Karanga, Zezuru, Korekore, Manyika and Ndau. These groups' socio-political and economic relations are believed to have been dynamic and complex as sometimes they lived in conflict and sometimes in cooperation. Beach (1980, p. 31) only put these groups into two blocks of the Shona and the Ndebele. It is believed that the Shonas did not refer to themselves with that term, but it is the Ndebele who named them (Beach, 1980, p. 31).

Mazarire, quoted by Raftopoulos (2009, p. 32), highlights that the Shona are perceived as the progenitors of the Zimbabwe tradition, which is traceable to the Leopard Kopje people. Raftopoulos further asserts the view of Beach that the claim by the late white settlers that the Shona were backwards cannot be sustained (Raftopoulos, 2009, p. 32). The reason is that Shona's ancestors are believed to have had a well-developed economy, culture, and politics that suited their era. Achebe (1973) also concludes that African societies were not mindless but had a philosophy of great depth, value and dignity. This means that African culture was not adapted from the Europeans but was created by Africans themselves.

Although it may be admitted that the country was not politically organised under one ruler, it should be acknowledged that the kingdoms mentioned above had a recognisable superstructure and existed under influential political leaders. These leaders were the custodians of the empire's political, social, religious, economic and cultural spheres. They determined the foreign policies of their kingdoms and served as the commanders in chief. They also regulated how the resources were shared among their subjects within the kingdoms. They were the custodians of their customs hence

strived to safeguard the cultural traditions as well as religious rituals. They would do their best to protect any form of infringement from foreign powers or other kingdoms.

3.1.1. The Economy of the Munhumutapa Empire

The economic base of the Mutapa state was diverse. While it mainly thrived on agriculture, animal husbandry and crop production, both regional and long-distance trade for gold played a part. It traded with the Chinese, Indians, Portuguese, West Africa, and the Middle East. Pikirayi (2001) asserts that imports played a minimal role in Shona economy. Gold mining was only a seasonal activity and not a full-time speciality (p. 21). The imported goods were used to mark the elite's status. In tandem, Palmer (1977) concludes that a sense of the class of rich and poor based on the differential access to and control over the means of production is distinguished in the Early Iron Age (p.10). Vengeyi (2013) concurs with this assumption that this also resulted in the classification of people into the rulers and the ruled, which in turn had some negative impact on the economy of the formed states (p.173).

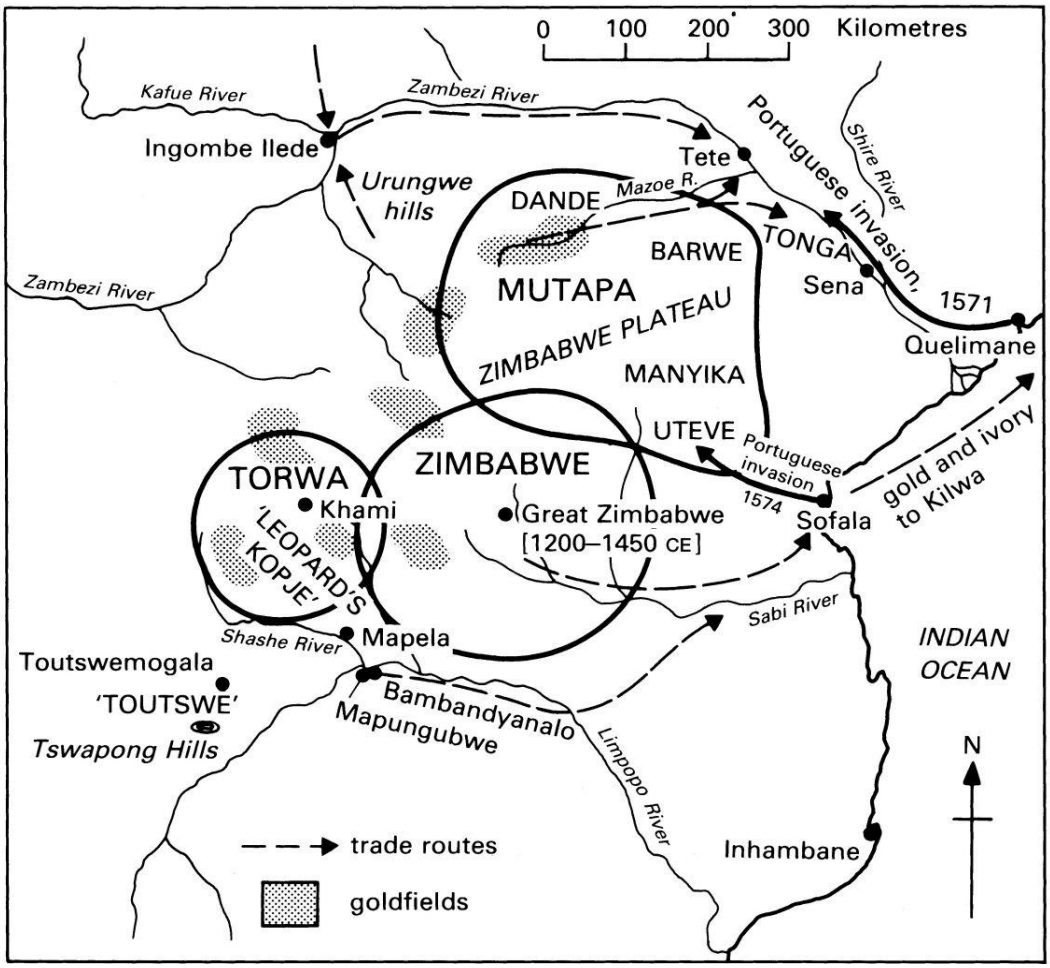
Trade was meant to strengthen power following the production of cloth locally. Long-distance trade, however, was only introduced to already wealthy chiefdoms believed to have been practising redistributive economy. In the process, more wealth reached the chiefs and kings, who in turn could monopolise and attain power. The kings and elite or their relatives gained much from the spoils economically. Vengeyi (2013) then concludes that such social differences between the ruler and the ruled resulted in an increased gap between the poor and the rich (p.172).

From this early history of Zimbabwe, we already see how the political structures created by rich people caused an imbalance in wealth distribution. One would ask, how much of these specially imported goods filtered from the elite to ordinary individuals

of the society? From archaeological findings, the state existed to blend the self-interest of a particular class (Pikirayi, 2001, p. 22).

Could we then conclude that the colonial and post-colonial developments are traceable from these class structures? One draws some facts from these reflections because, by the 15th century, the economy of the state started to decline due to food shortages, pasture, and natural resources. It is probable that the subjects developed ways of speaking and interpreting their circumstances that the rulers could not detect. Songs may have been composed to communicate their dislikes of the system. While this may not be full-blown apocalypticism, this period had its kind of apocalypticism.

Figure 3: Mutapa Empire Trade Routes



(Beach, 1984) Map of Zimbabwe showing the early states and trade routes. From this map showing trade routes,it refelcet that the Mutapa empire strengthened its economy through trading with neigbouring empires.

3.1.2. The Demise of the Munhumutapa Empire

The Munhumutapa empire began to decline around the 19th century. It became vulnerable to invasion by the Nguni tribes from the south, the Ndebele, who eventually settled in Matabeleland and established its state under king Mzilikazi (Ajayi, 1998, p. 45). Mzilikazi created this state after being pushed to the north during his encounter with the Boers of the Great Trek (Zvobgo,2009, p. 9). The Ndebele state which Mzilikazi established is also believed to have been destroyed by the incoming colonial rule in the 1890s. The colonialists described the pre-colonial Ndebele as militaristic as their lives were characterised by cattle raiding, well-structured social and military organisation (Pikirayi (2001,p.31). As a result, the state`s economy rested on cattle keeping though some recent findings of the Ndebele reflect that their economy depended on farming as well. Palmer (1977) exudes that the Ndebele were primarily agriculturalists who were prosperous in grain production around 1850. Zvobgo (2009) concurs with Palmer that although the Ndebele were primarily a pastoral community whose large heads of livestock were mainly captured from defeated tribes, they engaged in agriculture and peaceful pursuits (p. 10).

All in all, the economy of the Ndebele rested on land, minerals, and cattle. When one had a kraal of livestock, it symbolised power as these could be used to pay dowry or (bride price) lobola (Shoko, 2016, p. 15). This justifies why the Shona people strived to keep as many livestock (Killeff, 1970, p. 20). It is further noted that the Ndebele`s social organisation resembled that of the Shona as it too had households that formed a village. Then several villages culminated into a state with the king holding a position similar to the Shona rulers. The formation of the Ndebele political and social unfolded through the elite Khumalo ruling class' strategy of broadcasting its power over different ethnic groups (Cobbing,1988).

Sithole (1995) concurs with this conclusion in his opinion that the Ndebele social system was porous rather than a rigid caste system as it was united by the language known as IsiNdebele. Assimilation and incorporation characterised the Ndebele society as people from different ethnic groups got absorbed into Matebeleland (Bhebhe, 1979). The coming of the Christian missionaries, however, resulted in the stigmatisation of the Ndebele king due to his resistance to western values and ideas. The London Missionary Society then described the Ndebele kingship as a repository of absolute dictatorship and authoritarian government (Gatsheni, 2009).

3.2. The Colonization of Zimbabwe and its Impact

It is important to note that there is traceability of the colonisation of Zimbabwe to South Africa. The understanding of Zimbabwe colonial experiences falls within the context of the struggle for control of Central Africa by Germany, Britain and the South African Republic. According to Zvobgo (2009), the discovery of the vast deposits of gold in 1886 in the Zimbabwe territory became a serious competitor for the scramble for Matabeleland (p. 11). Onselen (1980) agrees to this assertion in his conclusion that it was in the Southern province of Zimbabwe that is Matebeleland which was endowed with significant resources of gold deposits. Thus, Rhodes, worried that eastward expansion of the German Protectorate established in modern-day Namibia would block British expansion northwards, decided to harness his wealth to advance British imperialism. Rhodes then pursued British imperialism due to the fear that the British's northern expansion would be thwarted by the friendship treaty between Ndebele King Lobengula and the Southern Africa Republic in 1887 (p. 12).

With assistance from Rev John Smith Moffatt, Lobengula was led into signing various treaties with Rhodes' British South Africa Company. To begin with, the Moffatt Treaty was signed on 11 February 1888. In this treaty, Lobengula was obliged to refrain

from any correspondence or treaty with any foreign state or power without prior knowledge of the British High Commissioner of South Africa (Zvobgo, 2009, p. 13). The treaty text highlighted how Lobengula would maintain peace between his kingdom, subjects and Her Britannic Majesty. It also pointed out how Lobengula would use his utmost endeavours to prevent the lapse of the treaty and how he would follow the treaty's requirements and the agreement. He would strictly guard previous agreement between his father Mzilikazi and the governor of the Cape of Good Hope that was signed in 1836.

The treaty also spelt out that on behalf of Lobengula and his people, he would not engage in any correspondence or treat with any foreign state or power. He would not alienate or cede or permit or sell the whole or any part of the land under his chieftainship without prior knowledge and sanction of Her Majesty High Commissioner for South Africa (Roberts, 2017). Already from the treaty's stipulations, we see how colonial experiences infringed on the Zimbabwean king's rights to conduct independent foreign policy on how to relate to other nations.

The Moffatt treaty was followed by the signing of the Rudd Concession on 30 October 1888 between Lobengula and Dunnell Rudd. Stocker (1979) termed the concession fraudulent as nothing was explained to Lobengula about its implications (Fripp, 1979, pp. 1-20). This treaty gave a concession to minerals and it made promises to lure Lobengula to sign the concession. Therefore, under the terms of the agreement, Lobengula and his successors would receive 1000 Martin Henri rifles and 10000 cartridges, 100 pounds as monthly payment paid in gold and an armed steamboat or 500 pounds instead (Kevin, 2005, p. 1294). Already some cheating elements within the treaty could be noticed here as the land and minerals belonged to the natives and so how could they benefit from being paid to what belonged to them? Moreover, the offer

of a steamboat could not consecutively be used as this was only meant for when Lobengula wished to cross the Congo river to meet Queen Nzinga, which was rare.

3.3. Complicity of British Missionaries in Colonisation

It should also be noted that missionaries played a role in the colonisation of Zimbabwe. Rev Charles Helm and John Smith Moffatt played a significant role. Rev Charles Helm misinterpreted the Concession by influencing Lobengula with the false impression that he would receive protection from Britain just like his neighbour Khama of Ngwato (Mungazi, 1999, pp. 55-56). Rev Charles Helm framed this verbal assurance, and it was not even written in the Concession. Thus, from Rev Charles Helm's activities, a Protestant London Missionary Society agent, we observe that missionaries had a role in the colonisation of Zimbabwe. According to Gelfand (1969, pp,442-3), Father Depelchin, who headed the Jesuit missionaries, managed to set up a mission station at Tati and Gubulawayo in Matebeleland. Later on, after setting the mission station, Father Peter Prestage managed to establish a school in 1880. Father Prestage having challenges in making converts from the Ndebeles, concluded that Lobengula and the Ndebeles would only be redeemed after being defeated through military intervention. Such a conclusion by church fathers reflects how foreign religion infringed upon the local Zimbabwean perspective on religion.

Andrew Walls (in *Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era* by Williams,1982) asserts that there was no dividing line between the colonisers and the missionaries. Thus to Walls, the vocabulary of the pioneer missionaries was spoken of the imperial pioneers. Mugambi (1995, p. 205) concurs with this conclusion in his emphasis regarding the prominence of Christian missionaries in the project at the Berlin Conference. Thus to Mugambi(1995):

> Regarding the 1884-5 Berlin Conference on Colonial Questions, it is believed that European powers' 'spheres of influence' were based mainly on the presence of their missionaries in particular regions. In that case, Germany claimed those areas where German missionaries were present, Britain claimed regions trodden by British missionaries. Likewise, France claimed the lands which had, no matter how remotely related to the French missionary enterprise.

Colonisation then would be seen to have been preceded by missionary settlement. Mudenge (1986), in agreement with the assumption above, traces the early connectedness of the Portuguese missionary activities of Gonzalo da Silveira within the Mutapa state, from which he concludes that Christianity and colonialism were inseparable. Vengeyi (2013, p. 190), in his analysis of the role played by missionaries in the rise of capitalism in Zimbabwe, agrees to the above conclusion when he argues that missionaries were servants to the European Empires. This argument is confirmed with King Leopold II's 1883 charge to the Belgian missionaries to Congo, in which he highlighted how the interpretation of the Bible would aid in achieving the Belgian interests. In his charge, King Leopold II said:

> Reverends, Fathers and Dear Compatriots: The task that is given to fulfil is very delicate and requires much tact. You will go certainly to evangelise, but your evangelisation must inspire above all Belgium interests. Your principal objective in our mission in the Congo is never to teach the niggers to know God, this they know already. They speak and submit to a Mungu, one Nzambi, one Nzakomba, and what else I do not know. They know that to kill, to sleep with someone else's wife, to lie and to insult is bad. Have the courage to admit it; you are not going to teach them what they know already. Your essential role is to facilitate the task of administrators and industrials, which means you will go to interpret the gospel in the way it will be the best to protect your interests in that part of the world. For these things, you have to keep watch on disinteresting our savages from the richness that is plenty in their underground. To avoid that, they get interested in it, and make you murderous competition and dream one day to overthrow you. Your knowledge of the gospel will allow you to find texts ordering and encouraging your followers to love poverty, like "Happier are the poor because they will inherit the heaven" and, "It is very difficult for the rich to enter the kingdom of God." You have to detach from them and make them disrespect everything, which gives them courage to affront us… (Arnaut, 2018)

Thus, missionaries are viewed in most colonies as agents of imperialism. For instance, the Anglo-Ndebele war of 1893 which saw the fall of the Ndebele state, had the full support of the missionaries (Zvobgo, 1996, p. 1). In all these, we see the approval by

the missionaries to dismantle the Ndebele state. It was in these mission stations and schools where Christianisation colonised the conscience of the people. Individual accountability to God was emphasised within Christian teachings. Christianity promoted equality for all people that included even the captives, which as a result, created a haven for those who experienced oppression. Christianity also promoted the use of persuasive language, which in turn led the people to turn against their culture, history and religion. This, in turn, undermined the African ideology of divine leadership, which existed as a combination of the political, judiciary and religious powers. In this way, it weakened the Zimbabweans' whole socio-religious system, thereby resulting in giving into colonial forces.

Under all these influences, Lobengula signed the Rudd Concession treaty from which he would grant and assign to the grantees, their heirs and representatives an exclusive charge over all minerals and metal in his Kingdom. He would also allow them full power to procure and collect profit and revenues. He further gave the grantees the authority to take any necessary measures which could exclude anyone seeking minerals from his kingdom. He also promised to render them any form of assistance in the form of the workforce to stop other invaders. However, it is believed that upon some further explanation to Lobengula by disappointed suitors that by signing the concession he had sold his country, it is said that he suspended and repudiated it as an inauthentic agreement (Stocker, 1979, pp. 1-20).

Palley also confirms that Lobengula made several attempts to revoke the Concession shortly after and later but was unsuccessful (Palley, 1966, p. 29). Following the signing of these treaties, we see in 1890 the infamous Pioneer Column financed by Cecil Rhodes entering the territory from South Africa (Herbst, 1990, p. 13). In the process, the British South Africa Company under Cecil John Rhodes, a Prime minister

of South Africa, imposed political control over Zimbabwe. The pioneer column then embarked on the activities of subduing and conquering the people and the country (Schatzberg, 1984, p. 35). Thus, with their western cultural supremacist ideology, the Europeans supplanted the Zimbabweans' culture, traditions, customs, religious beliefs, and even how the local people lived. These colonisers were not empathetic to the Zimbabweans' culture and traditions; hence, this bred the spirit of resistance. Thus, according to Vambe (1972, p. 97), the settlers took the Zimbabweans' land and at the same time coerced them to work on that same land. Also, these settlers appropriated vast tracts of land from the indigenous population, which then out of desperation, the indigenous people had to act against the strangers (Vambe, 1977).

According to Austin (1975, p. 30), the Europeans subjected the Zimbabweans to humiliation through the control and allocation of land without equal tenure. The Europeans also executed the white control of the economic power of labour, which in turn left the Zimbabweans living like slaves in their land of birth. This acquisition of land by the white people and the control of labour, economy, suppression of Zimbabwean culture and religion triggered uprisings of the Ndebele and Shona in 1893 and 1896, commonly known as the First *Chimurenga*. Ranger asserts the magnitude of the Chimurenga revolt in his conclusion that 1896 constituted an ecological crisis of cattle plague, drought and locust, political turmoil related to the threat of sovereignty and economic crisis associated with the confiscation of cattle and land (Ranger, 1979, p. 14). All these triggered the first *Chimurenga*.

Chimurenga is a term derived from the name of a legendary Shona ancestor, *Murenga Sororenzou*[13] , known as a huge man who had a head (*soro*) ironically viewed to be that size of an elephant's (*renzou*). Murenga was commonly known as a skilled fighter who was brave (Vambe, 2004, p. 167). This understanding encouraged soldiers to fight against their enemies. In this way, *Chimurenga*[14] became a word used to refer to any kind of struggle or war against forms of oppression. It also referred to protest against the colonial exploitation of Zimbabweans and socially criticised the unreasonable treatment of women in modern African societies (Vambe, 2004, p. 167). Hence, the 1893 and 1896 uprisings were generated from this spirit. These revolutions, from a general analysis, are signs that the indigenous population felt oppressed and deprived. Spirit mediums, traditional African leaders, chiefs and village heads became central in organising the First Chimurenga (Bucher, 1980). Thus from this context, we see the role of a seer in apocalypticism being reflected by the spirit mediums. These spirit mediums rose to conscientise people and mobilised the mass to stage a revolution against the oppressors.

Their justification was that the white people acted as conquerors as they moved Black people from the best farming land to newly created tribal Reserves (Banana, 1989, p. 2). The land acquisition left most Zimbabweans landless and starving, depriving the inhabitants economically. Hence the conclusion of Warhurst (1973) that peasant farmers were then denied and alienated from their land, which was their only source of income. According to Kosmin (1977), the indigenous people were deprived to the point that they were only left with the alternative of serving the colonialist. The

[13] "*Sororenzou*" is a Shona compound pronoun that is formed out of two words "soro" meaning head and "nzou" meaning elephant. Hence, "Sororenzou" refers to one whose head is too bigger and is ironically resembled to that of an elephant.
[14] "*Chimurenga*" derived from Murenga became a term that was used to refer to the liberation struggle or uprising that could be violent.

extent of deprivation is reflected in Doris Lessing's novel, in which she highlights a story about hate, humiliation, revenge, lost hope and frustration *(Lessing, The Grass is Singing, 1950*). The colonialists' acquisition of land would mean that they needed workers, and these were sourced from the indigenous people. The relationship between the two is that of slave and master. In the process, the colonised were subjected to forced labour (*chibharo)*[15] on the farms, plantations, mines and road construction. According to Onselen (1977), the conditions in the mines were so poor that they made men lose their minds due to violence and injustice (pp. 152-153). Isaacman (1977) agrees with the conclusion of Onselen (1977) as he too asserts that colonisation turned the indigenous Zimbabweans from being self-sustaining agriculturalists to mere peasants.

The Shona people, their land having been grabbed, were forced to pay taxes, particularly the hut tax (1894). The colonialists instituted the hut tax as payment in return for "good governance" and protection. Failure to pay the tax forced the defaulter to pay with his cattle as a ransom (Prew, 1993, pp. 99,178). The hut tax could be paid in the form of sheep or goats. Some Bhuja chiefs in Mutoko started to resist the hut tax. In their resistance, they recaptured their cattle that had been seized by force by the Native Commissioner's messengers (Ranger, 1979, p. 75). They attacked the messengers, which reflect initial resistance by the Zimbabweans to the oppressive laws. This initial resistance was met with harsh colonial policies. The colonialists reduced some chiefs to the level of native commissioners who were to collect hut tax from their subjects. This means that the chiefs' authority was reduced to an ordinary man. For instance, chief Gurupira of Mutoko had his field of corn and finger millet torched

[15] "*Chibharo*" is a Shona word that literally means labour but its use in the colonial era had some negative connotations meaning slavery or forced labour mostly used by the Rhodesian Native Labour Board (Onselen, 1977,p.114.)

because he had refused to pay hut tax. Furthermore, he had more than 500 of his men taken to work on farms as punishment for negative action.

On the other hand, in Lomagundi areas, it was reported that the Mining Commissioner's police killed six chiefs who resisted paying hut tax (Ranger, 1979, p. 72). Mr Evan, one of the missionaries, condemned the police's acts of brutality. He argued that the chiefs who were assassinated were innocent. The chiefs' resistance was evidence that acts of injustice were carried among the natives, which later generated resistance. In the process, the Zimbabwean people experienced oppression as they had to labour severely. This was through acts of injustice perpetrated against them by the colonial native police. They were discriminated racially regarding land redistribution, education, employment opportunities and remuneration (Moyana, 1999, p. 57). This triggered *Chimurenga 1* (Kriger, 1992, pp. 51-81), which justified the rise of apocalyptic liberation genre of music and poetry.

From this background, one can quickly note that the suppression and oppression of the blacks bred a spirit of resistance. During their settlement in Mashonaland, the whites came in the guise of protecting the natives from foreign invasion; instead, they became the oppressors and then the natives fell into dissonance. The native Zimbabweans had to resist to attain assonance. The black population was assigned works that the whites could not do themselves. Hence, the blacks being removed from their land and at the same time subjected to slavery reflects socio-economic and political deprivation. The blacks felt humiliated as the whites came up with rigid policies of segregation (Warhurst, 1973).

For example, in 1895, passes were introduced for every adult male native (Manson P, 1966, p. 252). Colonel Napier, a member of the Legislative Council, moved a motion to empower municipalities to make by-laws that restricted native Africans

from using streets and roads set aside for footpaths. Instead, they were to use only roadways (Manson, 1966). Moreover, under the guise of administration of justice, the colonial courts existed to execute discipline to tax defaulters in farms, plantations and mines labourers who infringed upon the draconian Masters and Servant Act. According to Ranger (1979), these colonial courts are said to have tolerated violence by white employers against the African labourers (Schmidt, 1972, pp.16-30).

It is also reported that many young boys who had been forcefully taken to work in farms, plantations and mines ran away. The reasons for their desertion included poor remuneration and mistreatment. Lessing (1950), in her novel that reflected colonial experiences in Zimbabwe, highlights Charlie Slatter, a farmer, one of the main characters whom she referred to as someone who did not care about the life of his farm labourers but only money (p.15). The presentation in the novel explicitly shows that black people were treated as lesser beings. The black people were accused of theft and were killed like animals (Vengeyi,2013. p.200).

A good example is an incident mentioned by Austin (1975) about Captain Lendy, who killed several men from the Ngome's village as punishment after a settler who wanted to search the kraal was struck for accusing the men of theft (p.24). All these were signs of social, economic, cultural and political deprivation. The spirit of hope emanating from Chimurenga music arose from this background. This genre sensitised the people of their suffering and encouraged them by assurance of victory.

3.4. Zimbabwe's Reaction to the Oppressive Rule

The whites' exploitation of African land, the imposition of legislation that dehumanised Africans and the assignment of duties that reflect elements of slavery led the Zimbabweans to stage some resistance. The people got engaged in the struggle to put

right what was wrong. This happened through the message of hope that is mainly related to apocalypticism. The resistance came about because of the harsh discrimination and lack of opportunities centred on colonial policies. Hence, to address these differences and resist colonial rules, the Shona and the Ndebele in Zimbabwe staged armed uprisings in 1893/1896, known as First Chimurenga. However, before the First Chimurenga, it is possible that organisers appealed to apocalyptic narratives: *chibhende*[16], *mazita ekunemera*[17], and others to describe their situation and organise the resistance. According to Chikowero (2015), the Europeans were called '*people without knees*'[18] (p.244.), and by addressing them as "*people without knees"*, they subverted colonial fetters on free speech.

People naturally may have been mobilised by songs and speech. In Hartley, Nehanda and many spirit mediums are said to have met to discuss the threat posed by grasshoppers and exchange snuff. In a real sense, they met to talk about the colonialists. To avoid immediate confrontation with the colonialists, the spirit mediums ironically referred to natural disasters caused by grasshoppers. Also, the Zimbabweans Christianised, for example, the *Mbende*[19] dance to be known as Jerusalem dance, as a way to disguise the dance. In this way, this cultural dance survived European criminalisation. These expressions are seen as part of the apocalyptic coded language, which mobilised resistance.

[16] *Chibhende* is a Shona word meaning sarcasm. The use of sarcasm was mostly common in the Zimbabwean societies especially if they wished people not get what they were saying.
[17] *Mazita ekunemera* are two Shona words, *mazita* meaning names and *ekune*m*era* meaning disguised. Disguised names were normally used to divert the attention from the known to the unknown situation.
[18] '*People without knees'* were a linguistic armory which the Africans used when talking about the Europeans. They called them '*people without knees'* because the Europeans wore trousers.
[19] *Mbende* is a sensuous dance practiced by the Zezuru dialect of the Shona tribe in the Murehwa area. In this dance a pair of women and men advance on each other, twisting their legs as well jingling their pelvises to the staccato of drumming (Chikowero, 2015). The Europeans banned this dance as evil but to skip the ban, the Zimbabweans named it Jerusalem dance.

Warhurst (1973) would then conclude that the Ndebele and Shona rebellion movements were a way to restore the good old days. Although the resistance came through political and religious leaders, who wanted to preserve cultural and political autonomy, credit is rendered to religious practitioners. Three spirit mediums, Mukwati in Matebeleland, Kaguvi in Mashonaland West and Mbuya Nehanda, the only woman spirit medium from Mashonaland central and east, spearheaded the First Chimurenga (Bucher, 1980, p. 51). These spirit mediums are believed to have worked with the chiefs to coordinate resistance against the colonisers. They viewed the colonisers as disturbers of their social, political, economic, religious, and cultural lives (Beach,1979).

From this background, spirit mediums were encouragers of the uprising as they felt deprived religiously since they were the hub for religious heritage. Although the Zimbabweans were motivated to stage some resistance, during the first Chimurenga, several factors contributed to their defeat. To begin with, they were not adequately equipped. According to Murdoch (2015), they used knobkerries and *assegai*[20] type of spears, of which their opponents used rifles. Secondly, First Chimurenga failed because of the attitude of some peasants as well as some chiefs. They collaborated with the settlers and became sellouts (Beach 1971; Palmer 1977). Nevertheless, it should be acknowledged that the efforts by spirit mediums could not go unnoticed.

Mukwati having spearheaded the Matabele rising of 1893 and with Lobengula assassinated moved to Mashonaland. He joined the other spirit mediums in this region and motivated the Shona to stage a revolution in 1896. However, because of the uprising, Nehanda the female medium spirit was condemned for murder by the Commissioner of British South Africa and hanged in 1898. Mbuya Nehanda is claimed

[20] *Assegai* were short types of spears invented by the legendary Zulu Tshaka in the 1800s

to have uttered her last words in irony, '*mapfupa angu achamuka.'*[21]The host of the medium spirit is believed to have spoken these words during her execution. The words have been interpreted as apocalyptic codes. She was not referring to her real bones, but that people would rise to fight for justice.

Amongst the Shona, the rising of the guerrilla fighters reflected the meaning of Mbuya Nehanda's prophecy '*mapfupa angu achamuka*'. From her expression, we notice that she could not directly point out that people would rise against the European masters. Instead, she talked about the resurrection of her bones. The word resurrection within Christian understanding only pushed Nehanda's statement to the final eschaton. Hence it would not bother to investigate what surrounded this idiom. Mbuya Nehanda's words became the motivation that led to the Second Chimurenga.

3.5. The Aftermath of the First Chimurenga

Having felt the First Chimurenga's effects, the white minority in Zimbabwe started to introduce other laws that went further to deprive the nationals. These facilitated further land dispossessions. Nyagumbo (1980) presents a report that reflects extreme ruthlessness and humiliation of his father and the Makoni people that led to the loss of their ancestral land (p.20). Thus, according to Vengeyi (2013), Africans were in a dire situation in which they could no longer control their circumstances (p.207).

In the process of such humiliations, the people of Zimbabwe were deprived of their fundamental human rights through the enacted laws. To begin with, the creation of African native reserves marked disparity in land distribution between the Africans and the Europeans. The setting up of the Carter Commission under Sir Morris Carter's chairmanship made the imbalance worse off as it came up with virtually

[21] "*Mapfupa angu achamuka*" is a Shona expression that means "my bones shall resurrect"

permanent segregation of all land. The Carter Commission in its 1926 report clearly stated that:

> Though it could be desirable that the blacks and the whites could live together with equal rights regarding land, but the Commission felt that such an arrangement would only be practical with future generations. In that case, there is a need for enough time for the Africans to advance in civilisation; during then, the point of contact between the two should remain reduced (Cary, 2017).

The Carter Commission report birthed the Land Apportionment Act of 1930. This Act institutionalised the segregation of all the land. Native Zimbabweans who were fortunate to remain on their land as agriculturalists still were not spared as the competition for the market of their products arose. The Rhodesian government introduced another act called Maize Control Act of 1934. The Maize Control Act 1934 came with the establishment of a state-run marketing board, and that board regulated the sales of maize within Rhodesia and foreign markets.

The Act favoured white farmers by allocating them 80% of the domestic market. Under the same Act, White farmers' maize was bought at a higher price while that of the local farmers was purchased at a lower price (Raftopoulos, 2009, p. 87). At the market, the maize from white farmers would receive an A grade while the one from local farmers would be graded D no matter how good it was. Sometimes native Zimbabwean farmers were not paid for their maize received at the market. This led African farmers to feel harassed (Palmer, 1977, p. 242). The Maize Control Act was further reinforced with the Market Stabilization Act and Farmers' Debt Adjustment Act. European agriculture was subsidised heavily within this Act, while African agriculture was neglected.

In case of drought or natural factors, the white farmers were compensated while the Zimbabwe local farmers were not considered. Also, to increase African harassment, the government as well introduced the Cattle Levy Act and the Reserve Pool Act. The

two Acts obliged Africans to pay levy and take their cattle to the dip pool for vaccination. If they failed, they had to pay the levy through their animals. There was also the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1934. This Act was used to determine the status of the industrial workers, trade unions and wages. The Industrial Conciliation Act was discriminatory against the Africans. It only recognised the white labourers as workers while the African labourers were controlled by the Master and Servant Act (Houser, 2018). The Industrial Conciliation Act economically destroyed the potential advantage of an African to an employer to the point that the African could be hired cheaper than a white worker (Bourne, 2011).

Furthermore, the Native Land Husbandry Act abolished communal land ownership by Zimbabweans. It furthered the Europeans' accumulation of property while restricting ownership of land and cattle to the Zimbabweans. The Native Land Husbandry Act was enacted in the name of curbing environment (Chikowero, 2015, p. 241). Later on, the Native Land Husbandry Act faced resistance from the African group known as the Africa Voice Association. The African Voice Association was headed by Benjamin Burombo and was in turn banned in 1952 (Houser, 2018). All the above measures by the colonial system made the Zimbabweans feel not only suppressed and deprived of a stake in their economy but also their livelihood. The deprivation of Zimbabweans drove them into forming the first political party in 1950 - the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress (SRANC) under the leadership of Joshua Nkomo. The Southern Rhodesia Africa National Congress aimed to voice the grievances of the Africans. While that party was mainly confined to Matebeleland province, in Harare area was the Youth League under James Chikerema. The two political establishments amalgamated to form the Africa National Congress (ANC) with Joshua Nkomo being the President and James Chikerema as Vice President.

In response to African initiatives to liberate themselves, the colonial regime enacted more repressive laws. As an immediate response by the colonial regimes, the enacted laws banned any public meetings. For instance, the Unlawful Organisation Act and the Preventive Detention Act were enacted to give the police extensive power to arrest and stop nationalist speakers at any meetings (Houser, 2018, p. 2). Tightening of these laws continued to such an extent that by 1950s, open meetings were forbidden. Imprisonment would be the fate of anyone who made a statement that seemed to undermine the authority of any government official. The government could ban any organisation whose actions would lead to disaffection among the inhabitants of 'Southern Rhodesia'. Moreover, preventive detention of up to five years could be meted upon anyone whose activities were deemed dangerous to the safety of the public order. Additionally, the police could search property without a warrant (Herbst, 1990).

To further strengthen the move to stop any political meetings, the Rhodesian government introduced the Law and Order Maintenance Act of 1960. Within this Act's stipulations, police had to arrest the speakers at political rallies with the ultimate penalty of death to those who defied the act (Houser, 2018, p. 2). Such laws enforced and perpetuated inequalities and injustice. The formed political ANC party was then banned in 1959. The banning of Africa National Congress saw the formation of the NDP (National Democratic Party) under the interim leadership of Michael Mawema, which also was banned in 1961.

Thereafter, a new party under the leadership of Joshua Nkomo was formed that is ZAPU (Zimbabwe African People’s Union), which was banned in September 1962. After this, another party established under the leadership of Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole and the remaining elements of ZAPU continued to exist and later became merged in 1974. It became known as Africa National Council, a movement that Bishop

Abel Muzorewa set up. The Africans, feeling deprived, then started to conspire in idioms or sarcastic messages. However, in their conspiration, some radical parties thought to wage a real guerrilla struggle as the only solution to address the differences and the deprivation.

The revolutionary movement was much credited to ZANU rally by Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole in 1964 (Sithole,1968). Thus, as a result, it sparked the Second Chimurenga in 1966 on 28 April around the Chinhoyi area in Mashonaland West. This was under another force that had its base in Zambia: the ZANLA (Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army) forces. A group of seven fighters, namely David Guzuzu, Arthur Maramba, Christopher Nyandoro, Godfrey Manyerenyere, Godwin Dube and Chubby Savanhu staged a mission to destabilise the settlers around Chinhoyi area. The seven fought the Rhodesian Security Forces but only got killed when they ran out of ammunition. Although this force was defeated, the Chinhoyi battle did send a high signal to the colonisers.

Then between 1974 and 1975, the struggle went on abeyance. It was during that period that early efforts by Kaunda president of Zambia, and Vorster of South Africa to try to bring the national parties' leaders to the negotiation table began. The negotiations birthed the 8 October document titled "*Towards the Summit: An approach to Peaceful Change in Southern Africa*" (Malebang, 2012) nicknamed the "*Détente Scenario*"[22]. Kaunda's efforts were thwarted as he made agreements without the knowledge of the national party leaders. Although Kaunda's efforts were thwarted, the Détente period saw the release of national leaders such as Robert Mugabe, Joshua

[22] Détente is French term which literary means relaxation. Its meaning is extended to express the conscious attempts to normalize and build friendly international relations by easing tension among political rivalries. (Denish, 2018).The Détente scenario laid a negotiated political settlement in Zimbabwe.

Nkomo and Ndabaningi Sithole who had been arrested for a decade. During the same period in November 1974, some internal rebellion within the fighting forces rose in the camp in Zambia. These internal conflicts were spearheaded by Thomas Nhari (Raphael Chinyanganya) and Dakari Badza who later surrendered and got disciplined.

In December 1974, the national parties decided to form a temporary united party UANC (United Africa National Council) under Bishop Abel Muzorewa, but ZAPU and ZANU refused to join it. In the same December 1974, Julius Nyerere, the leader of the frontline states known as the independent African states that included Angola, Botswana, Tanzania, Mozambique and Zambia, called for a meeting in Lusaka to discuss the conditions of the political settlement in Zimbabwe. All the leaders of the national parties were invited to attend. Herbert Chitepo, the then chairman of *Dare reChimurenga*[23] of ZANU, opposed the proposed political solution that would see the establishment of a government of national unity with Ndabaningi Sithole as General Secretary, Nkomo as President and Muzorewa as Vice President. Chitepo declared that there would be no further talks, negotiations, and discussions with Ian Smith until Smith could recognise majority rule (Moyo, 2016). Chitepo vowed that the war of liberation would continue until every part of the land gets liberated.

From these sentiments, Julius Nyerere accused ZANU of being married to disunity, and he labelled Chitepo as a "black Napoleon" (Moyo,2016). The collapse of the talks resulted in further tragic circumstances to ZANU as Herbert Chitepo was assassinated on 18 March 1975 and this was thought to have been done internally by ZANU. Resultantly senior members of ZANU were again arrested. However, Mugabe

[23] *Dare reChim*urenga was a ZANU War council which was instituted to deal with the ZANU administration issue as well as the sourcing of ammunition. It also coordinated communications with prisoners of war through smuggled letters.

and Edgar Tekere were released and later were assisted by Chief Rekayi Tangwena to cross to Mozambique so that they could organise the struggle from there. The High Command and *Dare reChimurenga* unanimously agreed that Robert Mugabe becomes the president of ZANU. In 1976, after Nkomo and Mugabe settled their differences, they merged their parties to form the Patriotic Front. It was the Patriotic Front that carried out massive guerrilla attacks with unsettling effects, further crippling the economy of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). Owing to ethnic antagonism, the two parties split again in the same year and started fighting as separate forces against the whites. ZANU PF had the ZANLA (Zimbabwe African Liberation Army) forces as their military wing, while PF ZAPU had the ZIPRA (Zimbabwe Peoples' Revolutionary Army) forces. Most of the ZANLA forces' bases were in Mozambique in the Tete, Chimoio and Nyadzonia where training was carried. On the other hand, the ZIPRA forces had their headquarters in Zambia.

The two Patriotic Fronts had bases in Tanzania, where the training of the freedom fighters was also conducted. The two fronts adopted a guerrilla strategy of surprise attacks and ambushes. These two nationalist parties also adopted the 'fish and water'[24] strategy, relying heavily on the local peasant communities for both moral and material support. The two Patriotic Fronts exerted pressure on the Smith regime. Resulting from these attacks and support from independent neighbouring countries like Mozambique and other democratic nations, Ian Smith saw the need for concessions. Hence, he opened paths of discussions with the black leaders. These talks were intended to strategise for the establishment of black majority rule. Zanu PF was banned, Ian

[24] 'Fish and Water' is a phrase adopted by the two Patriotic Fronts from which they likened themselves as fish and the mass as water. The guerrillas would take the mass as their haven when pursued by the Coloniser soldiers. The mass would camouflage the soldiers to just appear as common people thereby disguising the colonial soldiers from noticing them. In other words, the mass would make the guerrillas to survive the struggle through the support which they would render to them.

Smith settled for an agreement with a moderate African leader Bishop Abel Muzorewa. With a guarantee that the economic and political interests of the white minority would still be retained, an election involving all the Zimbabwean racial groups was conducted in 1979. Nkomo and Mugabe did not participate in that general election; hence, Muzorewa emerged as the first black Prime minister of Rhodesia. However, Muzorewa was not recognised internationally, and the Patriotic Front continued to wage war against the Rhodesian forces.

As the liberation war continued, a meeting for Commonwealth Heads of Government was convened in Lusaka in 1979 to discuss the way to bring a solution to Zimbabwe. On 29 August 1979, Senator Carrick, a minister representing the Australian Prime Minister, affirmed the Lusaka Declaration. He confirmed that all peoples of the Commonwealth must work together for the total eradication of the infamous policies that dehumanise racial groups (Hogan, 2010). Carrick expressed his concern about the exploitation of people in colonial territories and endorsed all moves designed to bring about genuinely majority rule in Zimbabwe. On 10 September 1979, the British Government facilitated an agreement at Lancaster House, London, with representatives from Rhodesia, which included the African party-political leaders. That September 1979 meeting brokered the Lancaster House Agreement.

The Lancaster House meeting overturned Smith's UDI (Unilateral Declaration of Independence) and Rhodesia once again briefly reverted to the status of a British colony. Thus, Britain exercised transitional administration to pave the way for free and fair elections. The Lancaster House agreement was hinged on the promise by Britain to avail funds that would be used as compensation, also purchase part of the land occupied by white farmers. This was to be implemented on a willing-buyer, willing-seller basis for the much-needed land redistribution process. This move resulted in a ceasefire.

Elections followed in February 1980, for which Mugabe of ZANU PF won with a decisive victory. The Republic of Zimbabwe was inaugurated on 18 April 1980, with Robert Mugabe as the Prime Minister and Reverend Canaan Sodindo Banana as executive President (Huysen, 2007).

3.6. The Post-Colonial Experiences of Zimbabweans

Zimbabweans considered the independence declared in 1980 a beacon of hope after decades of white dominance. Most Zimbabweans assumed the new government would dismantle the repressive system (Schatzberg, 1984). The new administration promised change replacing the colonial regime and Smith's coercive rule. It also pledged to lead the people to realise the national dream of freedom and their fight against repression and subjugation witnessed during the colonial era. It further promised free education, healthcare, transport, and redressing of the imbalances created by the colonial regime. These promises were made public from the independence speeches and other rallies.

Through its representative Robert.G. Mugabe, the new government adopted a policy of reconciliation that would eliminate injustice between the blacks and the whites. In 1980, Mugabe delivered a speech during which he encouraged the Zimbabweans to adapt themselves to the new reality of political change. In his remarks, he urged the citizens to develop a brotherly relationship bound by the spirit of comradeship. Mugabe declared, 'If I fought you as an enemy yesterday, then you are a friend and an ally today with the same national interest as myself' (Savage, 2005). He called all the citizens to bury their differences and not to revive past grievances and wounds. He encouraged the people of Zimbabwe to forgive and forget the past wrongs. His conciliatory approach was demonstrated by retaining Ian Smith as a Member of Parliament and inviting Joshua Nkomo into his cabinet. This was the best approach that

seemed possible in view of Mozambique's experiences, which paralysed the economy after giving their coloniser twenty-four notice hour to leave. But what could this mean to the Zimbabweans? It was essential to bury the wounds, but the question rested on how the imbalances could be addressed.

Mugabe's speech showed that he and his government were prepared to redress historical injustices through the spirit of embracing and practising brotherhood. Hence, at the beginning of his administration, he adopted a socialist approach. In that sense, the 1980 budget presented by the finance minister reflected a 'conservative with a mild and pragmatic application of socialism' (Saungweme, 2013). Such a description of the 1980 budget was because Zimbabwe was still under the 1965 international sanctions imposed on the Smith regime. In that way, Mugabe's socialist ideology could not make significant progress due to the white minority control of the economy that had remained wedded to the private enterprise system. It became problematic for the new government to balance its promises against the existing structures inherited from the colonial era. As time passed, violence resurfaced as a means for resolving political conflict. Within two years after independence, hostilities between the Shona and the Ndebele characterised the political climate of Zimbabwe. One of the signals of this deterioration was the dismissal of Joshua Nkomo from Mugabe`s cabinet in 1982.

The Ndebele minority became discontented with Mugabe's rule soon after the dismissal of Joshua Nkomo from the cabinet. They started some pockets of resistance which Mugabe condemned them as dissidents. The condemnation of the Ndebele as dissidents was followed up with the unleashing of North Korean trained soldiers known as the 5th Brigade. These were deployed to the Midlands and Matebeleland North provinces, where they massacred civilians as they tried to crush the 'dissidents' in 1983

(Sisulu, 2007). The atrocities are known in Zimbabwean history as the *Gukurahundi*[25]. The international community condemned these killings of civilians by the Zimbabwean government forces.

The reaction to these killings resulted in some talks between Mugabe and Nkomo. In 1987, PF ZAPU of Nkomo and ZANU PF of Mugabe merged to end violence in the southern part of Zimbabwe. The Commonwealth endorsed this move paving ways and means to foster peace, security, democracy and freedom of rights. Although this pact resolved the differences between PF ZAPU and ZANU PF, the gestures were too meagre to satisfy the concerns of both those in Zimbabwe and outside.

Mugabe continued the persecution of political opponents. For example, Ndabaningi Sithole was evicted from his Porta farm. He got arrested upon some allegations of having planned to assassinate Mugabe. These experiences resulted in acts of reverse oppression perpetrated by the blacks towards the whites and even towards their fellow blacks. For instance, the Zimbabwe people's government, just like the colonial government, reverted to the use of repressive laws. The implementation of these laws makes it impossible for people to enjoy total freedom of speech, assembly and movement (Tsvangirai, 2017). An example was the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) in 2002. The Act is viewed as the reincarnation of the notorious colonial Law and Order Maintenance Act (LOMA) of 1960. The Rhodesian regime had used the LOM to suppress civil dissent. Many nationalists and Mugabe were victims of that law. Civil rights organisations condemned the POSA for incorporating the stipulations from the Rhodesian's LOMA of 1960. Alongside the POSA was the AIPPA (Access to

[25] *Gukurahundi* is a Shona phrase meaning first rains that sweeps the chaff. It was a term for mobilisation of the 5th Army Brigade that it would sweep off all the dissidents from the Midlands and Matebeleland regions.

Information and Public Protection Act) of 2002. The AIPPA was enacted for stifling independent media. It also led to the closure of the Association of Newspapers in Zimbabwe and the Daily Newspaper in 2003.

The existence of these laws became the sign that the "Rhodesian political culture has not been wholly buried with its political domination" (Schatzberg 1984). From an analysis of Mugabe's 1980 Independence Day speech, some contradictions are observed, especially in view of the recent political experiences. In his speech, Mugabe echoed how incorrect it would seem to carry out reverse exploitation of the white people in revenge for the power and oppression which they had exerted on the black people. Mugabe viewed such a move as leading to inhuman rule because, in his view, "it reflects injustice to those who have a different perspective from ours" (Baumhogger, 1984). These two statements sound as if Mugabe intended to execute justice among the community despite any affiliation though this proved later not to be the reality. Thus, to Mugabe, evil will never be justified, whether practised by blacks or whites against one another (Baumhogger, 1984).

Nevertheless, the statements appear to be ironic when analysed in the context of land distribution issue and the relations between the black people themselves. The "land relocation", as others would like to call it was manifested in the confiscation of white property by the black Zimbabweans, which others viewed as reverse exploitation. Thus, the new government, instead of changing the political structures and the measures, which in the past had undermined justice, there is continuity between the past and the present. The question that keeps on recurring out of such experiences is whether it is possible to use apocalyptic liberation music as a tool for socio-economic, cultural, religious and political reform. Such a genre of music emerged during the colonial era

and aroused the spirit of resistance to oppression, and it is also being utilised in the post-colonial period.

3.7. Chapter Summary

This chapter has examined Zimbabwe's pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial challenges, focusing on socio-economic, political, religious, and cultural experiences. It has been observed that hierarchical differentiation between the rich and poor, the rulers and the ruled, emerged within the early kingdoms. It was from these classes that pockets of discontent began to be experienced. During the colonial era, Spirit mediums began to communicate their displeasure through metaphors and idioms. It was also observed that Zimbabwe's social, economic, religious and cultural life changed drastically after colonisation.

Thus, colonial masters introduced laws and policies during the colonial era, which fomented the spirit of resistance. Many political parties were formed but banned, and their leaders were arrested. The early impact of apocalyptic music became popular among the oppressed owing to apocalyptic lyrics. The chapter has evaluated the oppressive laws applied by the colonial government as the background to the popularisation of apocalyptic music. The natives had no representation through which to voice their grievances; hence apocalyptic songs became the media for self-expression. The revision of some parliamentary legislation became a sign that apocalyptic music was having an impact on people's experiences. The chapter also highlighted the re-enactment of some colonial laws after independence on which reverse exploitation was witnessed.

The chapter has also discussed the discontent from the Ndebele people, to which the ruling party responded through acts of genocide named Gukurahundi. Having set

the background that birthed apocalyptic music, it is essential to consider its context. The following chapter will focus on the context in which this kind of music became an avenue to register suffering.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ZIMBABWE APOCALYPTIC MUSIC

4.0. Introduction

The previous chapter provided a broader background to apocalyptic music in Zimbabwe. That background is the religious, socio-economic, political oppression that Zimbabwe witnessed in the hands of the successive colonial regimes and ZANU PF government. This chapter discusses Zimbabwe's apocalyptic songs considering both the broader and immediate contexts. Emphasis though is on the immediate context. Apocalyptic musicians are discussed from the centre-periphery theory. The claim made is that the musician's background and social position has an impact on their message. An important focus in this chapter is also on Jewish apocalypticism's characteristic features as manifested in Zimbabwean music. It is essential as well to emphasize that apocalyptic music basically is protest music. It is music generated by a seer to a community that shares conditions of suffering and oppression with the seer.

4.1. Background Issues to Apocalyptic/Protest Music in Zimbabwe

Chitofiri Kudakwashe, Davie E. Mutasa and Tavengwa Gwekwerere have done an incredible article on Zimbabwe’s protest music. Their article focused precisely on the three musicians that are the subject of this study: Thomas Tafirenyika Mapfumo, Hosiah Chipanga and Leonard Zhakata (Chitofiri, 2017). Their focus was on the role of apocalyptic music in Zimbabwean society from colonial to the post-colonial period. They concluded that protest music (which in this study is called apocalyptic music) played an essential role in alerting society of the dangers posed by political, socio-economic leaders.

According to Chinweizu as cited by Chitofiri (2017:59-73), protest [music] is (that genre of music) that is preoccupied with [the] 'inadequacies' that undermine the capacity of systems (be they political, socio-economic or religious) and institutions to address human needs. The role of protest music in society is 'to help us (human beings) see our (their) barnyard life for what it is and to show us (them) why we (they) should not continue with it' (Chinweizu, 1987: 220). Apocalyptic music in Zimbabwe as a manifestation of Jewish apocalypticism was informed by conscious and thorough analysis of the material conditions of the singer and the audience. Achebe (2009, p. 57) observed that protest music is constructed around "knowledge of two kinds": First, self-knowledge by the victim of oppression. This means the victim must be aware that he/she "has fallen from a great height of promise or glory into the present depths". Second, there must be an explicit "knowledge of who the enemy is". This knowledge requires one to be specific about the actual name of the enemy, "not an alias, a pseudonym, or a nom de plume" (Achebe, 2009: 57).

According to Chitofiri et al. (2017, p.61), the inclination towards protest in the music of Mapfumo, Chipanga, and Zhakata speaks to the reality of conflicting perceptions of independence in the Zimbabwean society. Most citizens viewed independence as the dismantling of all oppressive institutions of colonialism. On the other hand, the ruling elite was not keen on that commitment and promise. However, during the liberation struggle, freedom fighters who became Zimbabwe's leaders at independence promised a total overhaul of the colonial system. It became after independence that the leaders had reneged on their promise. Thus, apocalyptic musicians such as Mapfumo, Chipanga and Zhakata, as well as their social group, the general citizenry of Zimbabwe, are committed to seeing the fulfilment of the promises made before independence.

Their songs are hence a commitment to the liberation struggle. Moreover, in the songs or the texts, there is clarity of what is the problem and what needs to be done. This does not, however, imply that the message should always be conveyed as open as that. That becomes counter-productive in a way for the enemy may quickly know the thoughts of his/her opponents. To conceal the message from the enemy, pseudonyms, metaphors, and euphemisms are common in the case of Zimbabwe (protest) apocalyptic music. As it was in Jewish apocalypticism, it should be remembered too that the narrative in this genre of music is always competing with another narrative peddled by the powers that be. However, this counter-narrative is not always presented openly. This has been true of Zimbabwean apocalyptic music. According to Chitofiri et al. (2017, p. 60), the "Zimbabwean regime's hegemonic forte of patronage, violence and corruption is contested through euphemism, ridicule and overt criticism". This is generally to avoid early detection by the regime. The oppressive regimes always wish to thwart such efforts to oppose them.

The apocalyptic songs in Zimbabwe indicate the twists and turns in Zimbabwe's religious, socio-economic and political journey. As spokespersons of the masses, they celebrate what the masses celebrate and protest when masses protest. During the colonial period, Mapfumo and most Africans were upset with the colonial oppression. Hence Thomas Tafirenyika Mapfumo sang against colonialism, urging his community to resist colonial oppression. Because of that stance, the colonial administration arrested him, banned his music and stifled his voice through a myriad of ways. Thus, from that perception, Mapfumo's songs should be taken as criticism of the centre coming from the periphery.

Soon after independence Mapfumo like most Zimbabweans, celebrated and hoped that the new black government would fulfil its promises made during the struggle

for independence. This is reflected in his songs composed during the war. In a way, Thomas Tafirenyika Mapfumo moved from the periphery to the centre. During these heydays of independence, all his previously banned songs enjoyed prominence. Hence Thomas Mapfumo had to compile his anti-colonial songs into an album in 1986. The new black government regarded Mapfumo as one of their own, a fellow comrade. He was branded the *Chimurenga guru* or champion.

However, as soon as faults started to develop and the public slowly realising that they had gotten a raw deal, Mapfumo shifted focus. He went with the people. He thus became an ardent critic of the government and its policies. Mapfumo, therefore, shifted from centre to periphery again. Like he had done after independence, Mapfumo rerecorded his anti-colonial songs to speak to new realities confirming that there was hardly a transition from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe. The same theoretical analysis can be used to discuss Chipanga and Zhakata. Their songs reflect the ups and downs of the Zimbabwean religious, socio-economic and political journey.

It must be acknowledged that while protest songs went on, the regime sponsored counter-narratives, Cde Chinx, galas, Andy Brown, Tambaoga and Chimbetu and others who towed the government narrative, blaming sanctions to the west and anybody but ZANU PF (Vengeyi, 2011). At the helm of the ministry of information and publicity, Minister Jonathan Moyo undertook to compose some of the songs. In this case, it is crucial to consider the characteristics of apocalyptic Chimurenga music as reflected from the messages of the songs. Some common features to be considered are dualism, symbolism, ancient heroes, bad and evil, futuristic eschatology, divine intervention and the end of an era.

Munochiveyi (2011: 90) notes, “musicians suppressed all forms of the war against the colonial Rhodesian government, while the guerrilla narratives [and ZANU-

PF] were popularised as the essential narratives of the anti-colonial history". For the architects of these discourses, the chief protagonists in the liberation of Zimbabwe from colonialism were ZANU-PF nationalist leaders Mugabe and ZANU-PF. Whites were viewed as *nhunzvatunzva* ('scoundrels'), emphasising that they needed to be ashamed of themselves (*nyarai kana makundwa*[26]) for their dismal performance in the 1980 elections that ushered ZANU-PF into power.

With the advent of colonialism and the consequent rise of African nationalism, apocalyptic or protest music would be enlisted to narrate the humiliation occasioned by the forced reduction of a once self-determining African people into colonial subjects. It pointed out the violence of the colonial system, framed the rationale for African independence and fanned African nationalist indignation towards colonialism. In the post-independence Zimbabwean context, apocalyptic or protest music matters, not only because it "solely focused on persuading the people within a society to progress toward reflection and mediation" (Fanon, 2008, p. 141), but it as well as "generate positive dreams which may serve as an alternative remedy to pervasive nightmare" (Osundare, 2002, pp. 3-4) of patronage, violence and corruption.

4.2. Mapfumo the Peripheral Prophet

Thomas Mapfumo was born Michael Munhumumwe on the 3rd of July 1945 in Marondera, a residential area East of Harare (Eyre, 2015). He started to use his current names at the age of nine. He was nicknamed "Mukanya"[27] or "Gandanga".[28] Thomas Mapfumo went through his initial ten years living in rural areas with his grandparents,

[26] *Nyarai kana makundwa* is a Shona phrase which means be ashamed when defeated. It was used to communicate a message to the Rhodesians in 1980 during the elections.
[27] *Mukanya* is a Shona praise term used for those who belong to Monkey totem. This was used as a nickname for Mapfumo as praise to his clan together with his courage to challenge injustice.
[28] *Gandanga* is a term in Shona that is used to refer to a fearless person. The term is used on Thomas Mapfumo because of his courageous character to voice the concerns of those who are deprived. However, during the Zimbabwe liberation struggle it was used by the Smith Regime to refer to terrorism or terrorist.

tending cattle, and awakened some time before dawn to do errands before school. One of his most delights was traditional music, particularly the sacred music of the Shona *Mbira.*[29] At ten, Mapfumo moved to Harare and lived in Mbare. In Harare, Mbare was the most impoverished black township of the time. It goes without saying why Mbare became the hotbed and springboard of African nationalism. Dissent against the Rhodesian government almost was the preoccupation of Mbare residents. On the other hand, Rhodesian police were constant visitors in Mbare to curtail and eventually thwart African nationalism. All this may have had an impression on Thomas Mapfumo's political consciousness.

Mapfumo started singing in the early 1960s as a teenager (Chitofiri et al.,2017. p.62). The first band he joined was Zutu Brothers. As the liberation and nationalist activities continued to take shape across the country, Mapfumo moved from one band to another. He eventually started his own band named Hallelujah Chicken Run Band in 1972. Thomas Mapfumo worked with guitarist Joshua Dube, and he made it conceivable to adjust songs from the old *mbira* collection and worked them into the band's Afro-rock repertoire.

As can be observed, Mapfumo's musical career coincided with African nationalist developments, as ZANU-PF was formed in 1963. That naturally could have influenced his political thought and analysis of the conditions of the poor, mainly black people of Rhodesia. Hence by the mid-1970s, he began to be engaged with traditional African rhythms and lyrics supporting the liberation struggle. He did so through songs such as 'Zeve zeve' (Whispered conversations) (1977) and 'Kuyaura' (Suffering)

[29] *Mbira* is a Shona word used to refer to a musical instrument found mostly in the Southern Africa. The instrument consists of wooden or gourd resonator which is fitted with metal keys or wooden strips which are properly tuned and vibrates when plucked (Webster, 2015).

(1977), ‘Hokoyo’ (Watch out) (1978) and ‘Mhandu musango’ (Enemies in the woods) (1977) that feature on the album, Hokoyo (1978).

Mapfumo recorded these songs and they were not given airplay because they supported the nascent liberation struggle. The songs only enjoyed unlimited airplay after independence in 1980 because the new political dispensation appreciated them. Mapfumo compiled together most of his songs that supported the liberation effort which had been recorded before independence in 1986. An analysis of these songs demonstrates that Mapfumo composed them in a situation of oppression. Thomas Mapfumo uses euphemisms and metaphors that can be understood by the black people who were equally oppressed.

First, the name of the band, “Hallelujah Chicken Run Band”, was designed to be deceptive. The name concealed the political and socio-cultural and economic criticism embedded in the songs. While the band affirmed African religious and cultural worldview that colonialism meant to destroy completely, “Hallelujah” was meant to affirm Christianity. There was nothing Christian about the band. Africans in Rhodesia had adopted the strategy of giving Christian names to subversive African activities and ceremonies. In Mashonaland East province, a popular traditional ceremony accompanied by a dance called Mbende was named “Jerusarema”. Missionaries and colonial establishment thought people gathered to pray each time they went for Jerusalem, yet they were deeply involved in African cultural activities. In most of these activities, religious, political and socio-economic issues were discussed. Africans shared stories about their oppression and strategies to cope with these ceremonies.

The songs, in the end, encouraged the fighters to be strong for victory was in sight. Victory would reverse the colonial humiliation. Those who lost their land and homes during the war of freedom would get them back. Secondly, songs that Mapfumo

recorded were political and carried overt criticism of colonialism. For instance, *Pamuromochete* (a mere talk) sensitised people about Ian Smith's statements that Zimbabwe would not experience majority rule in 1000 years. In this song, Mapfumo encourages blacks not to listen to such statements as victory would come. Also, in *Pfumvu Paruzhevha* (troubles in reserves), he communicated to the blacks how they had become poppers by the creation of reserves by the colonial regime. Following that the blacks had become poor as the land allocated to them was not fit for agriculture, Mapfumo was conscientizing them to react against the colonial regime. *Zeve zeve*, for example, was meant to communicate to the black masses that they needed to whisper when they speak about their political strategies of liberation; otherwise, the white colonialists would hear and foil the liberation. This song carried the same message as the song *Musango muneShumba* which ironically cautioned that the blacks needed to take care when voicing their concerns as public sharing of issues would blow like the wind in the midst of the sell-outs.

Kuyaura (Suffering) also talks about the black people's suffering because of colonialism. He invites spirit mediums and other black leaders to provide leadership to liberate the Africans. In the song, Mapfumo repeats "*kuyaura kwevasina musha*" (suffering for those with no homes) several times. He does not mention who these people were. One only gets the meaning when the song is situated in the context of colonialism and the black struggle. Colonialism had deprived people of their land hence home. The struggle for freedom also meant that the black people had to leave their homes to fight in the bush. So, in the song, he sings about the suffering of the black people to reclaim their dignity. Thomas Mapfumo does this in a way that white people would not tell the meaning carried within the lyrics of the song. In *Mhandu musango* and *Hokoyo,* Thomas Mapfumo was equally singing about the liberation struggle. He

supported the fighters and urged the black people to do the same. He tricked the white colonialists by some phrases in the song that followed their narrative. White people of Rhodesia used to regard freedom fighters as enemies of the state and terrorists. His understanding of the enemy was not the same as that of whites. For him, whites were the enemies, and he encouraged the freedom fighters to watch out (*Hokoyo*) for the enemies in the bush and to kill them in large numbers. He says *vuraya mhandu musango* (kill the enemy/terrorists in the bush) as if he encourages the white people of Rhodesia to kill black freedom fighters, yet the opposite is true. This was at the height of the liberation struggle.

Moreover, the war was taking its toll on both sides. Some, especially among the poorly equipped blacks, were contemplating surrendering. However, Mapfumo encouraged them to fight on. He says if they had to die, they should know that they were not dying in vain; they were dying a dignified death; dying for the truth, dying for what rightfully belongs to them. The song actually tells black people to fight on as their war is legitimate. He describes the white fighters as dying in vain; people dying to continue occupying others and oppressing others do not deserve respect. Hence Mapfumo encourages the black fighters to kill the enemies in their numbers. Mapfumo reveals the intention of the song and the enemy in two instances.

First, he says *zita rangu ndini Muchadura (*my name is you shall admit*)* (x2) *and Zita rangu ndini Tafirenyika* (x2) (my name is we are dying for our land). By involving himself, particularly his name Tafirenyika in the song and Muchadura, Mapfumo tells his constituency that we are together in the struggle. He picked the names that have a meaning that related to the struggle. Secondly, Mapfumo identifies the enemy again by involving himself in the phrases, "*regai vanouraya vauraye*" (Let them kill us at will) (x2) *tinofira chokwadi mambo* (but we die for the truth, my lord)

(x2). This was clear enough for the black masses that the war would be fought to the logical end of victory. However, even if blacks were to lose the war, Mapfumo told his audiences that their deaths were honourable. Death was better than living in humiliation under colonial occupation. Moreover, he tells his audiences that several of their own had already died and were buried in graves in the bush; they did not get a decent burial. He presents the dead as martyrs and as heroes to be emulated.

Like Jewish apocalyptic seers, Mapfumo uses animals, flies and worms to represent individuals or institutions. In the song, *Mhandu musango*, a jackal, a fly and a worm are used, symbolising a stage of no return in the battle. The animals are found in Shona proverbs that encourage fighting to the bitter end. Again, proverbs were another strategy of concealing his message to the enemies but speaking eloquently to the members of his social group. The choice of jackals, flies and worms says something about the dead freedom fighters who were not buried distantly. They were buried in shallow graves, and as such, they were eaten by jackals, flies, and worms. Mapfumo is also telling his enemies that they would even die in a similar fashion.

Thomas Tafirenyika Mapfumo, from this perspective, is singing for the periphery, the oppressed and against the establishment. He is a seer of the exploited. As such, the colonial establishment branded him an enemy. Because of his stance to stand with his people, the poor and oppressed and exploited black people, Thomas Mapfumo was arrested, tortured and imprisoned, among other tactics of intimidation and harassment. As a system that survived on patronage, the colonial regime promoted musical careers of black people who cooperated with colonialism and those who did not criticise colonialism. For Mapfumo and his oppressed constituency, black people who collaborated with the colonial regime were *nyoka* (snakes) that is sell-outs. Among the Shona, snakes are regarded as dangerous not only because of the venom but also

because of tradition that says witches use them. From that perspective, Mapfumo views sell-outs (some blacks) as weapons (snakes) of the witches (whites).

4.2.1. Mapfumo's Shift from Periphery to Centre

Independence in 1980 after the Lancaster House negotiations that paved the way for elections in Zimbabwe ushered in the black government into power. ZANU-PF won the overwhelming majority seats in parliament hence got popular mandate to run affairs of the country. As a result, Robert Mugabe became the Prime Minister of the country. This development had a profound effect on religious, political and socio-economic transformation. Mapfumo, whose musical career was closely associated with ZANU-PF and the freedom fighters, was not left out in the transformation process. As ZANU-PF, which was all along at the periphery while the Smith colonial regime occupied the centre, got transformed hence moved from periphery to centre, Mapfumo's music reflected the same transition.

In the process of celebrating victory by the revolutionary movements, Mapfumo himself was also celebrated as a hero of the people. Mapfumo was spoken of in the same light as freedom fighters who actually carried guns. Mapfumo, in turn, penned songs that celebrated this monumental achievement by black people, self-rule. His songs communicated the position and policies of the government to the masses of the people, rural and urban. Mapfumo's previously banned and suppressed music became 'national anthems', so to speak. They had free airplay on the national broadcaster, both radio and television. In the same celebratory mode, songs and artists who enjoyed prominence during the colonial era were suppressed. Thomas Mapfumo, as a spokesperson of the government, did not see this as a problem for the nascent state.

Mapfumo was not alone in celebrating independence. He was, in fact, among a host of musicians and artists who composed songs, novels and plays celebrating this monumental occasion. One of the popular hits of the time included Jonah Moyo's *Zuva reIndependence* (Independence Day) (1980). Jonah Moyo regarded the 18th of April (Independence Day of Zimbabwe) as God-given. Kasongo Band penned a song *Asante Sana* to thank Mwalimu Nyerere of Tanzania, Samora Machel of Mozambique and Robert Mugabe for their leadership and sacrifices in prosecuting the war that culminated into Independence. Oliver Mtukudzi and Marshall Munhumumwe also weighed in with '*Nyika yedu yeZimbabwe*' (Our nation Zimbabwe) (1980) and '*Makorokoto*' (Congratulations) (1980) (Chitofiri, 2017). The discourse of celebration and thanksgiving co-existed with the discourse of ridicule in which the former colonial masters and other black political formations are derided as losers. On the other hand, Cde Chinx in '*Maruza imi*' (You have emerged as losers) (1980) celebrated independence by scolding the whites who had lost the war. According to Chitofiri (2017), musicians and writers also celebrated independence in their productions. This is the context to understand *Gona reChimurenga* by Makata, (1982), A fighter for freedom, by Chipamaunga, (1983), *Zvaida kushinga* by Makari, (1985), *Mutunhu une mago*, by Nyawaranda, (1985) and The contact by Mutasa, (1985).

Mapfumo, among other artists in the celebratory mood, cared less about the interests of the defeated and those who sympathised with the colonial system. Instead, their songs expressed confidence in the new political establishment as the custodian of the interests of the people. They thus encouraged all previously dominated people to support the new government. Thomas Mapfumo, in songs *'Tirikupemberera Zimbabwe'* (We are celebrating the birth of Zimbabwe) (1980), *'Rakarira jongwe'* (The rooster prevailed) (1980), and *Chitima cherusununguko'* (The freedom train) (1980),

declared his support for ZANU-PF and its leadership. It is not farfetched to claim that Mapfumo believed in ZANU-PF socialist policies.

Mapfumo lauded independence as having brought the possibility of land redistribution and normalisation of life that was ruined by colonialism. In *'Chiruzevha chauya'* (Country life has come) (1980), and *Rita* (1980), Mapfumo encouraged Zimbabweans to heed the government's call for resettlement. In *Rita*, Mapfumo sees independence as having a significant blow to poverty. He believed that land reform would address issues to do with inequality and living in squatter camps. Mapfumo assumed the role of a brother telling his sister Rita to recognise that the war was over; hence, she needed to join him to the village for a normal life. He says, "*nhamo yapera Rita, hondo yapera Rita, hande kundorima Rita, Zimbabwe tatora Rita, minda tapiwa, gejo tinaro, mombe ndinadzo, siya tangwena Rita* (poverty has ended, Rita; the war has ended, Rita; Let us go farming Rita; We have taken Zimbabwe back; we have been given land, I have a plough, I have cattle, leave slam life).

While Mapfumo was celebrated as a freedom fighter, he saw it as incumbent on him to salute the freedom fighters who were in the bush. As a tribute, he composed a song, '*Varwi veZimbabwe'* (Zimbabwe's Liberation fighters) in 1980. However, the same freedom fighters were called terrorists by the colonial regime. It was clear that times had changed. Mapfumo could openly declare his support for the liberation fighters. Moreover, the same openness was witnessed in '*Zimbabwe yevatema*' (Zimbabwe for the Blacks) (1980), in which he declared that Zimbabwe was a country for the blacks. In the song, he divulged that it was Mugabe who taught them that Zimbabwe was for black people. Mapfumo thought of independence as so precious that it needed to be celebrated continually. Thus, in '*Pembera*i' (Celebrate), composed in 1982, two years after independence, he still urged most Zimbabweans to celebrate. He

echoed the same message in his lyrics, '*Ndatomutswa nengoma'* (It is the music that woke me up) (1982), and *'Farirai Zimbabwe'* (Be happy for Zimbabwe) (1982) (Chitofiri et al. 2017).

Broadly, the first decade of independence saw Thomas Mapfumo openly showing his support for the government. He even in *Jojo* warned those who dabbled in politics against ZANU-PF that their fate was death. This made him an apologist of the state. He was one and the same with the state. It is evident from 1980 that Mapfumo did not always appeal to idioms, euphemisms and other codes. He was blunt. However, this stance could not last. Mapfumo and most Zimbabweans soon realised that political rhetoric did not relate with action on the ground. Ordinary citizens began to accuse the government of having taken them for a ride. Most of the promises before independence were not fulfilled. Mapfumo, as was typical with Jewish seers, shifted with the people to criticise the government.

4.2.2. Mapfumo's Shift from Centre to Periphery Again

Corruption in the black government transformed Mapfumo and the citizenry from being admirers and praise singers of the leaders to ardent critics. In the case of Mapfumo, it ushered him back to the periphery; to sing for the people and not the leaders. He resumed the long-time career of being a critic of the establishment. The Willowgate scandal whereby government ministers abused the subsidised Willowvale Motor Vehicle Scheme to enrich themselves left Mapfumo convinced that the black government had failed the people. According to Chitofiri (2017), the Willowgate scandal brought the reality of corruption in government to the attention of the nation. Mapfumo captured this reality in the song, 'Corruption' (1988). Unlike other songs that he normally sang in Shona using proverbs, euphemism and idioms, in the song

"Corruption", Mapfumo used English. Hence, unlike Shona, the English language is direct. This was tactful, Mapfumo was calling for direct confrontation with not only corruption but perpetrators of corruption. He is, in a way calling for an uprising, a revolution of some sort. Mapfumo identified corruption everywhere. He identified it as a huge betrayal of the interests of the people. Mapfumo said:

> Life is so hard these days, my friend
> You cannot get something if you cannot give away
> In the streets, there is corruption
> In private companies, there is corruption
> Everywhere, there is corruption
> Something for something
> Nothing for nothing

Corruption for Mapfumo was cancer that retarded development in the country. For him, corruption was responsible for the continuation of the colonial class system. What was worrying to him was how sudden the once celebrated liberators had become enemies of the people. The ruling elite had joined hands with former oppressors, whites to exploit the citizenry. For him, therefore, the much-hyped transition from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe had not happened.

This scenario, he captured it in a song *Varombo kuvarombo* (The poor are on their own) (1988). For Mapfumo, the poor have been forgotten by the new elite, the black leaders. Rather than destroying the class system evident in separate schools, residential suburbs and shopping malls, among others, the new black administration maintained and rehabilitated the classes. In fact, the gap between the black leadership with the peasants and the poor widened as each day went by. The black leadership no longer stayed in high-density suburbs where the poor were condemned to live by colonialism. However, these were the places they lived in before the war. These are the places where African nationalism was weaved. However, the black elite now shunned these places for former European areas, the low-density suburbs.

Mapfumo believed that black people who lived in the low-density suburbs were corrupt. Hence, they could afford such a high life when the majority were poor. Therefore, in the song, *Varombo kuvarombo*, Mapfumo lays bare this betrayal.

> Varombo kuvarombo (That the poor must fraternise among themselves)
> Vapfumi kuvapfumi (And the rich among themselves)
> Ndiwo magariro atisingade (This is the lifestyle we do not celebrate)
> Dai ndine mari hama dzangu dzaidada (If only I had money, my relatives would enjoy)
> Dai ndine pfuma hama dzangu mune rugare (If only I had wealth, my relatives would live a high life)
> VaMapfumo vacho (Now Mr. Mapfumo himself)
> Vakanga vasina mari (Was not having any financial resources)
> Chikonzero chacho (The cause for that was)
> Takanga tirimuRhodesia (We were still in Rhodesia)
> Munoziva mose (And all of you know)
> Rhodesia yaidzvinyirira (Rhodesia was oppressive)
> Onaiwo nhasi (But look at us today)
> Onaka tiri varombo (We are still in poverty)
> Onaiwo nhasi (But look at us today)
> Onaka hatina mari (We still lack financial resources)
> Nhasi yave Zimbabwe (Today it is Zimbabwe)
> Chokwadi tasungunguka (We are indeed free)
> Zvino chasara chii (What is left?)
> Imari yatiri kushaya (We lack money)
> Vatongi veRhodesia ndivoka vachine mari (Former rulers of Rhodesia are the ones who have money)
> Nevamwe vatema (And a few black people)
> Honaka vanoba mari (Who steal money and are corrupt)
> Hurumende yedu, (Our Government),
> Inoda mushandira pamwe (Needs us to work together)
> Kana iri nzara yototiuraya tose (If it is hunger, let us all be hungry)
> Kana tichiguta (If we are to eat and be full)
> Totoguta tose vatema (We all must eat as black people)
> Saka vatema vose (So, all black people)
> Ngatibatsirane tose (Let us help each other) (Mapfumo 1988)

The concept of blackness, strength, and power in the unity of black people is repeated many times in the song. It is given as the final resolution to deal with corruption and poverty among the black communities. Mapfumo at this moment, somehow still believed that not everyone in the black government was corrupt. Hence, he thought that the black government needed all black people to unite and work for its survival. Mapfumo as such, believed in the black power consciousness. He thought that black people needed each other more than ever for their survival and prosperity of Zimbabwe.

The song, as such, was for the exploited masses of Zimbabwe. It was not for the oppressors. Indeed, the poor identified with the song, while the rich dismissed it as some meaningless rant from the worthless individual. However, to the oppressed, this was a clear signal and call for a long battle against their exploitation.

Unlike the previous songs that appeared in albums that addressed other issues, from a new album, Mapfumo with the release of Chimurenga Explosion (1999), signals the divorce with the ruling elite. Out of ten songs on this album, five address economic and political challenges in post-independence Zimbabwe. According to Chitofiri (2017), the inclination towards albums congested with explicitly political songs inaugurated by Chimurenga Explosion is carried through in subsequent albums. Thus, Chimurenga Rebel (2000) features songs such as *'Marimanzara'* (Investment in poverty), *'Marevanhando'* (The liar) and Zimbabwe. These songs are pregnant with insinuations that the ZANU-PF government had failed the people of Zimbabwe, especially the poor.

The same holds for the album *Manhungetunge* (2001). In Manhungetunge, five of the ten songs that comprise it were dedicated to castigating the regime and its policies that yielded nothing but suffering for the Zimbabweans. Mapfumo in songs: *'Pamuromo chete'* (It is mere talk), *'Manhungetunge'* (Disjointed livelihoods), *'Ndini ndega'* (I am the only one), '*Magobo'* (Menial labour) and '*Ndaparara'* (I am finished) address a variety of related subjects that point to failure of government. From now he had resorted to colonial apocalyptic expressions. Although Mapfumo clearly articulates the problems of the people, he nevertheless does so by using euphemisms. Mapfumo, although he is courageous, he does not mention names of his protagonists. Like a Jewish apocalyptic seer, Thomas Mapfumo instead addresses God, ancestors and unnamed individuals whom he summoned to come or intervene to help the people.

In so doing, Mapfumo is appealing to apocalyptic dualism whereby this world is perceived to be wrong and faulty, but the wish is the world to come that is the opposite of the current one. Those suffering in Zimbabwe and Mapfumo in *Pamuromo chete* knew who exactly they blamed for the problems especially lack of social amenities. In *Ndaparara* and *Magobo*, Mapfumo laments the poverty that the people were condemned to by ZANU-PF policies.

Mapfumo's album *Toi Toi* (2003) also featured five songs that were dedicated to fighting the ZANU-PF government establishment. The most prominent ones were *'Mukoma J'* (Big brother J) and '*Vechidiki'* (The youths). While Mapfumo dedicated a song to Mukoma J, it was not as clear, especially to the establishment as to who he meant. However, the ordinary people knew that he meant the president was responsible for destroying the country. In the song, Mapfumo contrasts the state of the country at independence and the state it was in 2003. The country had become a shadow of its former self.

In *Vechidiki*, Mapfumo appealed to the youth of Zimbabwe not to obey orders from the ZANU-PF government, as it was a discredited regime that killed its own people. Considering that ZANU-PF government relied heavily on the youth in the Border Gezi militia, intelligence service, police and military, for its survival, Mapfumo in the song encouraged mutiny in a coded way. The name of the album itself, *Toi Toi* (jogging done often by security forces each morning), is a code addressing the security services that they needed to remove the ZANU-PF government.

Three songs are critical to our discussion in the album Exile (2010). These are '*Ndambakuudzwa'* (The adamant one), '*Musatambe nenyika'* (Do not mess with the nation) and *'Rufaro'* (Happiness). The song Ndambakuudzwa blames the ZANU-PF government for the suffering of ordinary people due to sanctions enacted by the USA

and the European Union. The sanctions were meant to enforce democracy and respect of the rule of law in Zimbabwe. Mugabe government had embarked on the racially discriminatory land reform, taking farmland from white people to redistribute to blacks. In a way, *Ndambakuudzwa* is a statement against the government but also the name of the leader of the government. *Ndambakuudzwa* is a euphemism for hot-headed people. However, usually, in Shona culture, Ndambakuudzwa faces dire consequences for his/her actions against the opinion of others. Mapfumo in the song, encourages racial unity and amicable relations with other countries of the globe as a solution to the suffering of Zimbabweans.

Mapfumo coded his message in a traditional family setup. He describes Zimbabwe as a family which needed the effort of every family member. However, some few individuals in the family foil others' efforts for they do not cooperate; and do not give others a chance to contribute to family development. Mapfumo, therefore, scolded Mugabe for remaining in power at an advanced age in a coded way. He coded his message by describing a traditional family set-up where grown-up boys must marry and leave the bachelors' bedroom to young boys. Mapfumo scolded the grown-up boy who did not want to marry and leave the bachelor's room.

To Mapfumo's audience, Mugabe was the bachelor who refused to leave the small boys (younger generation) run their bedroom (country-Zimbabwe). Mugabe's behaviour is what Mapfumo describes as *kutamba nenyika* (messing with the nation) as if Zimbabwe is his own. In the song Rufaro, Mapfumo again concealed his direct attack on the powers that be by asking his lover Rufaro (happiness) to come back home. He went on to describe the poverty that characterised the family hence the longing for Rufaro (happiness) to come back. Thomas Mapfumo further claimed that God and ancestors were angry and had cursed the family; hence, the absence of Rufaro

(happiness). In a way, the song is a love letter, and Mapfumo thus cannot be accused by the powers that be of denigrating the government efforts.

As we conclude on Mapfumo, before moving on to discussing Hosiah Chipanga's musical career, it is essential to highlight that Thomas Mapfumo's musical career came full circle. He started during the colonial era as an anti-establishment musician. After independence, Mapfumo became a seer of the establishment. He began to wine and dined with the establishment to the extent that he compromised his role as a watchdog of the citizens. However, disillusionment with the mismatch between political rhetoric and commitment to developing the lives of the citizenry saw him turn against the establishment. He adopted his erstwhile approach of concealing his message to his opponents using codes, euphemism, idioms and parables.

4.3. Hosiah Chipanga, the messenger of God

The musical career of Hosiah Chipanga as an apocalyptic '*seer*' follows the path of Thomas Mapfumo. He started his career from the periphery and then moved to the centre but eventually trekked back to the periphery. Chipanga rose to prominence sometime after Thomas Mapfumo who was already in the music industry. Hosiah Chipanga is a typical apocalyptic musician whose messages decry the evils of the ruling elite. While in some songs, Chipanga adopts Thomas Mapfumo's bluntness, in most songs, Chipanga conceals his message in parables, euphemisms and metaphors.

Chipanga uses imagery from the Bible and traditional African settings frequently. His background is responsible for this approach. Hosiah Chipanga was born on 21 February 1952 in a Marange Apostolic Church family in the Marange communal

area. He thus grew up as a member of *Marange Apostolic Church.*[30] Chipanga believes that he received a call from God to be a prophet or his messenger at Shebba Mountain, Penhalonga in 1977. These two components influence his worldview and approach to life in general. Since he was born in a rural area, he has a simplistic view of life and its expectations. Chipanga's songs also reflect the influence of the apostolic churches (churches that have a negative view of city and extravagant wealth). Chipanga started his musical career in 1982, at the height of the euphoria of independence. At that time, Thomas Tafirenyika Mapfumo was still celebrating the ruling party and independence of Zimbabwe.

Nationalist politics influenced Chipanga to a greater extent. As expressed in his songs, his wishes are those promised during the war of liberation by the fighters. The fighters promised free houses, well-paying jobs, free education, free healthcare and free service delivery. In a way, the fighters promised heaven on earth, an egalitarian society characterised by social justice. Given his background, the message must have resonated with Chipanga to such an extent that he almost always sang about the possibility of that utopian world. Like a Jewish apocalyptic seer, Chipanga looks forward to its establishment on earth. Since 1982, Chipanga has been leading his musical group which initially was called the Broadway Sounds. However, in 2007, the name of the group was changed to *Vaparidzi veShoko,*[31] that is, Preachers of the Word. Chipanga changed the band's name to relate it to the mission that he claims God gave him which is to preach to people to be converted and serve God. However, Chipanga is regarded as a controversial figure due to three factors.

[30] *Marange Apostolic Church* is one of the Pentecostal churches in Zimbabwe and mostly prominent in the eastern part of Zimbabwe

[31] *Vaparadzi veShoko* is a Shona term which is translated Preachers of the Gospel.

First, Chipanga sings *sungura*[32] music, a genre which, according to Zimbabwean standards, is secular, yet he is a Christian and "mupostori" (an Apostle). Secondly, Chipanga sings about socio-economic and political issues more than what Zimbabweans would consider conventional gospel messages. Thirdly, because of his grounding in African worldview, some claim that he is a 'spirit medium', for he claims to receive messages from the dead through dreams and visions. This is a claim that Christians in Zimbabwe believe is incompatible with Christianity. Chipanga, however, believes that all these practices are not contradictory (Masau, 2013). They cross-pollinate his ideas about human existence.

4.3.1. Chipanga's Message

Like the message from Jewish apocalyptic seers that was always hidden, Chipanga's songs are characterised with idioms, proverbs, euphemism, metaphors and parables that need decoding. Biblical figures, ancestors, and animals play a significant role in Chipanga's songs as codes for his message. Without understanding the Zimbabwean religious, socio-cultural, economic and political environment, it is difficult to make sense of the songs. Characteristically, as a seer, Chipanga's songs do not only complain about the hardships the poor are subjected to by the ruling elite, but his songs also suggest ways of coping as well. Chipanga thus resembles not only Jewish seers who like the peripheral prophets always took sides with the poor and oppressed. He is against the ruling elite who use their financial and political muscles against the vulnerable poor. It is against this background that Chipanga uses coded language and symbols that are open secrets to his targeted audiences.

[32] Sungura is a Zimbabwean local genre in the Music industry. This type of music became popular in the 1980s soon after the independence. It was pioneered by Ephraim Joe and his Sungura Boys.

In the late 1990s, Hosiah Chipanga became one of the musicians who became vocal critics of the ruling party (Chitando, 2002, p. 46). The socio-economic conditions of the poor were worsening each day. Musicians, as well as social critics, took to vocalising their disgruntlement. Prices of basic commodities did not only skyrocket; the goods were not available in shops. Hospitals, schools and universities closed down, manufacturing companies and factories shut down. The situation was apocalyptic in proportion. Zimbabwe had never experienced that. Musicians, like every other poor citizen, were affected. Even musicians who were known to support the ruling party ended up also composing songs that deplored the state of poverty in the country. For example, Simon Chimbetu recorded two songs that tacitly blames the ruling elite for forgetting the poor or rather orchestrating the suffering of the people by bad policies. This is clear in the song *Vana Vaye* (Those children) (1997). In the song, Chimbetu tells leaders that they should position the poor at the centre of the discussions every time they meet in parliament or at any important meeting.

Like other musicians in the likes of Thomas Mapfumo who resorted to embedded codes, Chimbetu is complaining to VaNyamande in the song. VaNyamande is a fictitious figure in Zimbabwean folktales, and Chimbetu by VaNyamande refers to the ruling elite. Moreover, in song, *Ndaremerwa* (I am burdened) (2003), Chimbetu puts himself in the worker's shoes who cannot afford transport fares to and from work every day of the week; a worker who barely can survive from his sweat. In the song, he tells *Baba mukuru* (father's brother), yet he meant the Zimbabwean president in particular and the ruling elite broadly. Comrade Chinx Chingaira, a war veteran and well-known supporter of the ruling party, whose music is replete with ZANU-PF philosophy, composed a song *Gedje Yaramba* (making ends meet has failed) in 1999 that detailed the suffering of the people.

Gospel musicians were not left out, Fungisai Zvakavapano's song *kurarama inyasha* (to live is God's grace) in 1999 carries the sentiments of extreme poverty as well. Unlike others who were hopeless about the ever-increasing prices of bread and other basic commodities ushering people into despair as to how the next day would be like, Fungisai gives hope. For her, God was still in charge and had a plan to sort things out. The problems for Fungisai were almost a way of God to punish and test the faith of God's children. This period was the watershed in Zimbabwe's religious, socio-economic and political environment.

As the society descended into pandemonium in reaction to the socio-economic catastrophe, some who were not satisfied with the government's explanations and its plans to solve matters provided their own solutions. The country's largest labour union leaders, the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions, resolved to form a political party. The party was named Movement for Democratic Change and launched in 1999 to contest elections in the following year. Since then, Zimbabwe has never been the same. The MDC party won more than fifty seats in parliament, giving ZANU-PF a challenge they had never experienced since 1980. The political environment became so polarised and toxic that ZANU-PF viewed any criticism of the government as support for the opposition. On the other hand, any criticism of the opposition's policies was considered by MDC as support for ZANU-PF.

Violence became the order of the day. In these, musicians were not spared. Musicians who raised critical voices against the prevailing religious, socio-economic situation and political violence were regarded as unpatriotic and labelled supporters of the opposition, Movement for Democratic Change. Hence, they were subjected to harassment and intimidation by the government agents. Their songs hardly got airplay on the national broadcaster. Some apocalyptic musicians had their shows disturbed by

government agents. These musicians include Mapfumo, Chipanga and Leonard Zhakata, among others.

However, musicians who decided to turn a blind eye to the prevailing socio-economic and political environment were praised by the government as patriotic. Most of the musicians who composed songs that supported the government's policies were given unfettered airplay, and musical shows were organised for them by the government. Some of these state musicians, so to speak, include Cde Chinx Chingaira, Simon Chimbetu, Andy Brown, Joshua Sacco, Cde Yondo, Brian Mteki and Tambaoga (Vengeyi, 2011). This is the context to understand Hosiah Chipanga's apocalyptic songs. The environment had changed to the extent that it was difficult to be direct without consequences. Hence Chipanga resorted to euphemism, metaphors and parables, among other coded ways of reaching out his message.

According to Chitofiri (2017), in *'Ivhu redu nderipi*?' (Which here is our land?) (2004), for instance, Chipanga deployed these strategies to proclaim his message. In this song, however, Chipanga tackles the pertinent issue of land redistribution in post-independence Zimbabwe. Chipanga asks some pertinent questions about land policy in Zimbabwe at a time when the land reform dubbed Third Chimurenga was just being concluded. For him, the land reform should have been approached from a social justice perspective where the poor would be given priority to uplift their lives. The poor, for him, cannot afford to buy land to construct houses and businesses. Because the land reform failed to put the poor at the centre, Chipanga thinks of the land reform as having failed. Its success was to be measured against how many people it lifted from poverty hence could afford houses and business stands. This was the main objective of why poor people supported land reform. The ruling party premised the land reform programme on poverty alleviation and decongestion of rural and high-density suburbs.

However, a year after the conclusion of the land reform, Chipanga observed people still living in shacks and more impoverished than before.

To avoid the wrath of the ruling government for his criticism of their programme, Chipanga resorts to three strategies. First, to embellish his message, he addressed questions about the land reform to well-known long-dead ancestors and heroes of the First and Second Chimurenga such as Mbuya Nehanda, Sekuru Kaguvi, Mufemberi Chaminuka, Tongogara, Ziyapapa Moyo and Joshua Nkomo. Secondly, he addressed the pertinent questions to the living, those who participated in the land reform. These were chimbwido (female war collaborator), mujibha (male war collaborator) and Comrade (war veteran). In this category, Chipanga deliberately avoided mentioning names of the living that he addressed. Unlike in the first category, where he mentioned real names like Chaminuka, Nkomo, among others, Chipanga only used titles (chimbwido, mujibha and comrade). Yet there are known prominent figures in Zimbabwe who were active in the land reform.

Thirdly, in a typical apocalyptic fashion, Chipanga conceals the message in the use of numbers. The number '3' is prominent in the song. In his scheme, the number '3' represents, First, Second and Third Chimurenga. He connects the three to the land issue, hence the title of his song, *Ivhu redu nderipi*? In the song *Ivhu redu nderipi*? Chipanga shows that the three revolutions were fought by the poor and for the poor to access land. He also arranges his addressees in three sets of three. He mentions three heroes of the First Chimurenga (Nehanda, Kaguvi and Chaminuka), three of the Second Chimurenga (Tongogara, Moyo and Nkomo) and three of the Third Chimurenga (chimbwido, mujibha and comrade).

Since the land revolutions' ideals did not materialise in alleviating poverty, Chipanga chastises the government as having betrayed both the dead and the living

heroes. In the same vein of criticising the black Zimbabwean government for failing to empower people, Chipanga composed *Zipe nhuwe* (Sweet but smelly) (2004). Chipanaga's concern is not that the land was not supposed to be expropriated from the white people. His concern is that those who benefited from the land did not deserve it, and the genuine poor people did not benefit from being settled. In fact, for Chipanga, while it is sweet news (*zipe*) that the land reform was carried out, it is smelly (*nhuwe*) in that it was badly handled. In the song, he interchanges *zipe nhuwe* with *zitapi vave* (sweet and bitter at the same time) to reinforce his position.

For Chipanga, the resettled poor peasants should have been given financial and technical support to realise the benefits of farms. Instead, the few who got help from the government were the ones connected to the elite. Yet these did not deserve any support from the government. To conceal his overt criticism, Chipanga uses euphemism and metaphors. He presents three scenarios with the same outcome. First, Chipanga gives a scenario whereby a well-wisher buys someone a wardrobe, yet the recipient does not have clothes either a shirt or even a vest. Second, the well-wisher buys someone a pair of socks, yet the recipient does not have shoes, sandals or even slippers. Third, a well-wisher visits a hungry person and prepares soup, which is thicker than *sadza* (Zimbabwe's staple diet), yet the opposite is to be the case. This is the scenario that Chipanga calls *zipe nhuwe* or *zitapi vave*.

According to Chipanga, the motive for the government to distribute land was political grandstanding. Hosiah Chipanga's version contradicted that of the government, which claimed that the poor were the direct beneficiaries of the land reform. For him, only the rich used the poor as pretext. Therefore, he says *vane udyire vana vasabhuku kuvaka matendere avo nemanhenga edzimwe shiri (*they are covetous the children of headman as they build their nest with other birds' feathers).

In a song *Dafi* (Frog) (2004), Chipanga strongly criticised the government policy of land reform that saw the removal and murder of white commercial farmers. His premise is that although Zimbabwe is for black people, white people also have a right to live there. For him, Zimbabwe was self-sufficient, probably because of the white commercial farmers. Hence to chase them or kill them would create problems of food shortage in the country. To avoid direct attack on the government's policy, Chipanga uses common Shona beliefs about the relationship between a well and a frog. The Shona people believe that frogs are not to be killed if you find them in your well. If one has a problem with the frogs, it is better to boil the water before drinking than kill a frog. Frogs are believed to be guardians of wells; hence, the well may dry up if one kills frogs in a well. In this euphemism, Chipanga criticises the government for issuing policies that cause hunger because white farmers who were responsible for food security were being murdered.

Be that as it may, the fear for his life in the toxic political environment in Zimbabwe saw Chipanga compromise his stance briefly. He composed a song that praised President Mugabe for the land reform. His song, *'Gushungo'* (A totem for President Robert Mugabe) (Chipanga, 2006), praised him for visionary leadership and intelligence in redistributing the land to the black Zimbabweans. Chipanga blames the recipients of the land as mindless for failing to use it successfully. Chipanga faced serious criticism from his legion of fans who accused him of having sold out the struggle. He immediately reverted to the periphery and continued his message of protest through apocalyptic songs.

In subsequent songs, Chipanga is unrelenting in his criticism of the government and its apparatus. For instance, the poverty that characterised the country due to the land reform was interpreted by Chipanga as lack of common sense among the leaders.

For him, poverty in Zimbabwe was a result of misplaced government policies. The land was supposed to be equitably shared among Zimbabweans, whites and blacks alike, and priority for him was supposed to be placed on the poor. For Chipanga, the anti-white and anti-West rhetoric from Zimbabwean leaders as they carried out the land reform was responsible for the state of affairs in the country. The country experienced capital flight, directly resulting in job losses, scarcity and high prices for basic commodities as inflation rose to astronomical heights. To fix the problems, Chipanga claimed that it was easy; if one needs foreign currency, one should also be prepared to welcome and live with foreigners. As his habit, to communicate his position, Chipanga appealed to euphemism based on what is common knowledge.

In the song Zvimwe *zvinoda mutorwa* (Some issues need outsiders to assist) (2010), Chipanga portrays the futility of inward-looking policies of the government (Chitofiri et al., 2017). Chipanga makes particular reference to the land reform and another raft of indigenisation laws that followed. These policies drove foreigners away, resulting in the calamities that followed. For Chipanga, if one wants milk and honey, cows and bees respectively are indispensable. The same with foreign currency; if the government wants foreign currency, for example, foreigners should be indispensable too. Chipanga pursued this same theme later in the song *Huchi* (Honey) (2015).

In the midst of economic problems, around 2008/9, on one hand, diamonds were discovered in the Marange area. On the other hand, Gold erupted in most of the ten provinces of Zimbabwe. In a society as religious as Zimbabwe (both from a traditional and Christian perspective), this eruption of precious minerals at the height of unprecedented economic hardships was quickly interpreted as divine intervention. Many people swamped Marange communal land and other centres for diamond and gold panning.

The government, in turn, sent soldiers and police to protect the precious minerals, thereby denying people their only opportunity to turn their fortunes around. In this context of dissatisfaction and public anger against Robert Mugabe's government and its policies, Hosiah Chipanga released a song titled Pharaoh in 2011. Like the public, Chipanga believes that the diamonds and gold were a result of divine intervention since people of Zimbabwe no longer had leadership. For Chipanga, it was Mbuya Nehanda and Chaminuka, the great ancestors and spirit mediums of Zimbabwe, who had intervened to save their sons and daughters. The diamonds and gold were for him meant to facilitate the crossover of Zimbabweans from Egypt into Canaan. Poverty, in this case, is Egypt, and prosperity is Canaan. However, according to Chipanga, the impediment on the road to Canaan was Pharaoh who was unrelenting, and Pharaoh continued to pursue Zimbabweans.

In the song, *Pharaoh* Chipanga avoids the direct attack by appealing to the well-known biblical story of the Israelites. According to Chitofiri (2017), the song equates contemporary Zimbabwean experiences with those of the Israelites on their way from Egypt to Canaan with the reigning Egyptian Pharaoh's forces in pursuit. The use of the biblical exodus is not accidental, but it was deliberate. Chipanga is aware of how it has been used in the Zimbabwean political narrative. Since the liberation war, Robert Gabriel Mugabe and ZANU-PF were regarded as Moses liberating children of Zimbabwe from Egypt into Canaan. According to Janice McLaughlin (1996), this was part of the indoctrination that was part of the curriculum in refugee camps in Mozambique and Zambia. She observed that in these refugee camps, 'teachers' (nationalist) contextualised their lessons to the ideology of nationalism. A teacher at Matenje refugee camp in her explanation of how academic education and politics were

integrated, highlighted the following example, which sets the intentions of the black struggle for liberation.

According to her,

> One could address the topic: 'A Bad King Rules Egypt'. In that lesson, examples were given to the children like Pharoah representing Smith. On the other hand, Egypt could be viewed as Zimbabwe, the Israelites as representing the people of Zimbabwe who were under the bondage of Smith for several years. Robert Gabriel Mugabe could be identified as Moses, who was appointed by the spirit mediums to take the Zimbabweans out of the hand of Smith as Pharaoh. Then the liberation of Zimbabwe could be compared to Canaan, the country flowing with milk and honey. (McLaughlin,1996).

Thus, according to Hallencreutz (1988) ''We did it for Love" (p.134). Therefore, Chipanga's use of the exodus narrative emphasising the challenges caused by Pharaoh is deliberate. He is saying Moses has become Pharaoh. It was a way of turning the government narrative upside down. While the government always wanted to portray western powers or whites as Pharaoh that always causes trouble to the Zimbabweans, Chipanga turns tables upside down in the song. Chipanga expanded the same theme in the song *KwaMarange* (2015). In the song, he tells God how difficult life has been in Marange as the soil is sandy, and it is a low rainfall region. Hence, Chipanga tells God that we celebrated thinking that you had provided a solution to our problems when you provided diamonds.

However, the deployment of soldiers and police and subsequent removal of Marange residents to pave the way for big diamond mining companies had become a source of bitterness. This is also the same theme in *Zipe nhuwe*. For Chipanga, the security operations in Marange have taken lives and disabled some. Chipanga complains that jobs in Marange are not given to the locals but foreigners. The people that were meant to benefit from diamonds have been turned into beggars. It is the local and global elites that are benefiting from the diamonds.

Addressing God instead of Robert Mugabe's government was a deliberate way of avoiding direct confrontation with the brutal government. Yet, all his audiences, especially the residents of Marange communal land who had been forcibly removed from their homes to pave way for diamond mining by the government and the global elite, precisely knew the message contained within the song. Chipanga is encouraging people in the communal land of Marange not to support the unfair and unjust government. At the same time, he is like the seer of his community, alerting the global community about the injustice perpetrated by the elite on the poor people of Marange.

Because Chipanga and his constituency, the poor of Zimbabwe are powerless, to confront the state openly, their only salvation is only to long for another world to come, a world run differently from the current one. This is an embedded way of calling for a revolution to overthrow the tyrannical Zimbabwe regime. Chipanga's description of the current problems in songs such as *Kurongerana* (Trapping each other); (*Hapana dhiri*, (No deal) (2019); *Zvaita Nyika* (State of the Nation) (2019) and the world to come creates in his constituency zeal to fight for a better world. Such apocalyptic dualism is replete in Chipanga's songs: *Tumai Moses* (Send Moses for us) (1996), *Umambo Hwekudenga* (Heavenly Kingdom) (2019) and *Simba renyu ngariuye* (Let your power be manifest) (2019).

Apart from concealing his overt criticism of the establishment in wish for speedy intervention by God in creating a new world order, Chipanga also has a dialogue with the dead. Chipanga is fond of Zimbabwean ancestors, heroes (Mbuya Nehanda, Kaguvi, Chaminuka, Chitepo, Nkomo, and others) and biblical characters (God, Moses, Jesus, Pharaoh and Satan). For Chipanga, diseases, hunger, jealousy, and all the problems faced in this world are evidence of the rule of the devil on the earth. He, therefore, calls for the immediate and quick intervention of God. God's rule is

characterised by justice and righteousness, love, and prosperity. Contrary to Zimbabwean leaders' narrative that they are God-sent, Chipanga describes them as enemies of God.

Furthermore, Chipanga continually uses coded or symbolic language in the song *Murombo haana chake* (A pauper owns nothing) (Chipanga, 2012). In the song, Chipanga shows the nature of poverty and discriminative social classes prevailing among many societies in Zimbabwe. He expresses this in the phrase that; *Zvawati tarasa tonhongawo isu* (We pick from that which falls from your table). These show the ruling elite specialising in self-embezzlement at the expense of the poor. It follows that these words encourage the poor to recognise that the state there are in is due to the way the rich grab everything. He further expresses his discontent in the phrase *Vapfupi kudya zvirimuvhu pasi (*The heritage of the short is what falls on the ground*)*. This simile shows that the shorter are poor in society and the taller are the rich, especially the elite. The rich have access to resources using their political muscles and nepotism to gain economically. This is confirmed with the Shona proverb, '*kudya zvevapfupi nekureba'* (Taking advantage because of physical stature), which denotes the rich's exploitative and manipulative nature. Also, his use of the word *'Mazitye' (Used things)* points to second-hand things that the poor depend on that are left by the rich. The musician in this song stands for social justice and equality between the poor and the rich. A reflection of the biblical prophet Amos, in Amos 5:14;24, on the creation of social justice confirms the singer's perspective.

In the song *Hove dzemugungwa (Fish from the sea)* (2015), Chipanga uses sarcastic language. He argues that if the fish in the sea complain about the water being less, what about the ones in the river. Thus, to him, if the wealthy ruling elite complain about how hard the economic, social, political life has become, then how much more

would the commoners? This sarcastically means that the rich are the fish in the sea, and the poor are the fish in shallow rivers. Thus, the song indicts the rich as they cannot complain of economic hardship because they are the ones in excess of all commodities.

He goes further to make a biblical analogy of father Abraham from the parable of Lazarus and the rich man (Luke 16:19-31), which is to say that he appeared as if he was singing a religious message as a way to avoid victimisation. Chipanga, in his apocalyptic song, cautions the rich from just ironically crying while they are living luxurious lives. In this way, the musician becomes the voice of the voiceless, the poor, a seer who mobilises the mass to overcome dissonance. Because of his appeal to apocalyptic codes, Chipanga is in the realm of Jewish apocalyptic seers. His analysis of the problems and the interventions equally qualify him to be among the seers. Like Thomas Mapfumo, Chipanga operated in a difficult socio-political environment that required several strategies, some of which appeared as if one had sold out the struggle for the people. Be that as it may, Chipanga is a peripheral prophet, one dedicated to the concerns of the poor. Chipanga, like Mapfumo, is anti-establishment. Leonard Zhakata also adopted the same approach.

4.4. Leonard Zhakata

Like Mapfumo and Chipanga, Leonard Zhakata's music must be understood in the context of a failing economy owing to the various policies of the government of Zimbabwe. Like his two contemporaries, Zhakata decries the state's heavy-handedness in dealing with issues raised by the people. Zhakata is aware of the dangers of being a prophet of the people at a time of political volatility. As such, Zhakata conceals his criticism of the state in euphemism, metaphors and carefully arranged Shona words.

Zhakata is one of the best wordsmiths that Zimbabwe has ever produced during the period under consideration. His analysis of the complex socio-economic, religious,

cultural and political matters is also without match among musicians in Zimbabwe. While Leonard Zhakata's surroundings, personal and community life shaped his apocalyptic music's content, his analysis goes beyond that of ordinary Zimbabwean. Apart from the artistic touch he gives to the matters, his analysis opens a whole world of difference. Zhakata was born on 25 June 1968 in Manicaland. As the only boy in a family of seven children, he, as a result, nicknamed himself *'Karikoga'*[33].

The nickname Karikoga also relates well with his life as his parents separated while he was still young. He grew up in the Rusape area, a village in the eastern part of Zimbabwe. Since he was born in 1968, a time when the liberation struggle was at its early stages, as he grew up, he was exposed to the liberation war against Ian Smith's regime. He became one of the war collaborators at a very young age. Among his responsibilities as a war collaborator was to sing (liberation war songs) at political gatherings at night. Thus, from such a background, Leonard Karikoga Zhakata's early songs were dedicated to social life related to people's suffering, children, lovers, marriage, and general poverty.

Zhakata later moved to Harare to stay with his father, who was a cook. During his school days, he used to secretly dodge from home, join his school mates and started to play music (Zhakata, 2016). Together with his nephew Thomas Makion who was also a young and upcoming musician, they became a formidable team. As such, at the age of thirteen, Zhakata and Makion composed their first song named *"Baba VaSamson"* (Samson's Father). The song, however, could not be recorded since they were still pursuing school. Even after finishing Ordinary Level, he could not record his songs as he had to go for an apprenticeship to become a fitter and turner.

[33] *Karikoga* is a Shona words which means 'loner' or the only one

Nevertheless, during his school days, he tried to record a song but was always frustrated as he was always turned down by recording companies. His breakthrough to record a song came in 1989 when his first album entitled *'Moyo Muti*'(Choice) was recorded and followed with his album *'Yarira mhere*' (The Call has been made) in 1990. The breakthrough for Zhakata and Makion was when they formed the Maungwe Brothers band. Zhakata's song '*Mugove*' (My Share) and Makion's '*Makorokoto*' (Congratulations) presented the two musicians as a powerful combination. In 1991, Paula Fraser picked the two as a talented combination, and he then booked for their band for a tour of Europe (Muzari, 2016). This became a rare achievement in the European trip in 1992 as they spent two weeks performing shows that were a quick start to their music career. From their tour, they managed to gather enough financial resources to buy equipment. Since then, Zhakata has not looked back. He writes and sings in his native language, Shona. His genre type of music is the local Sungura that he calls ZORA (Zimbabwe Original Rhythms of Africa). Most of his songs are critical of the establishment in a subtle way.

This background has a bearing on Zhakata's musical career. That he is educated until the tertiary level may be responsible for his skills in word arrangement and analysis of the socio-economic and political issue. His poor background, on the other, helps him in sympathising with the poor. Most of his songs encourage the poor to soldier on in hope and determination. All this background is reflected in his music. Like Thomas Mapfumo and Chipanga, he uses euphemism, metaphors and codes.

4.4.1. Zhakata Music

Zhakata is best known for his hits *Hupenyu Mutoro* (Life is a burden)**,** *Batai Mazwi* (Interpret well the message) (2006) and *Gomba Remarara* (Garbage Pit) (2010).

However, it was his 1994 album that skipped government censorship and set his popularity nationally. Leonard Karikoga Zhakata with Makion and the Maungwe brothers ran a lot of live shows in Mutare, Zvishavane and Jenaguru in 1995 where their popularity was confirmed. Thus, at an event featuring most prominent musicians in Zimbabwe, Zhakata and Makion stole the show. This then confirmed their fame and sealed their career. Like any other progressing musical group Zhakata and Makion split. According to Zhakata, their split did not come as a surprise as they knew from the beginning that their careers were different (Zhakata,2016).

Zhakata's songwriting skills rose through the release of songs such as '*Tungidza Gwenya' (*Put on the light*) a*nd '*Shungu Dzemoyo' (*Heart's yearnings*)*. Nevertheless, he remained in the mediocre periphery of his recognition within the Zimbabwean music arena until the time he released '*Maruva enyika'* in 1994, with the song *Mugove* being on the hit. In the same year, with the backing by the Zimbabwean all-stars band and with its well-choreographed dance, Zhakata 's album was launched during the festive season. "Mugove" was being played across the country at every party in that year. Many people reconsidered their perception about the music career of Zhakata. Zhakata got further established in the music industry through additional albums like *Vagoni vebas*a (The Professional Workers) and *Nzombe Huru* (The Bull), *Pakuyambuka*(On Crossing) and *Ndigaitasei* (What can I do) (Wasserman, 2011).

Mugove, 'My Share' captures the revulsion shared by many Zimbabweans towards political repression, economic exploitation and social marginalisation. 'Mugove' became an 'anthem' for Zimbabwean workers to the extent that one of their representative bodies, the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions, invited Zhakata to perform at the 1995 Workers' Day celebrations at Rufaro Stadium in Harare. Using both overt criticism and euphemism, 'Mugove' tables the plight of the downtrodden

before the bar of justice using terms that elicit empathy with the oppressed members of post-independence Zimbabwean society. Zhakata's primary concern is the failing economy and rising levels of poverty.

Packaged as an appeal for intervention on behalf of the impoverished by forces more powerful than the persona, '*Mugove*' does not pinpoint political dysfunction as the reason behind the afflictions the masses have to contend with in post-independence Zimbabwe. Instead, Zhakata refers to *vakawana mukana wokuvepo pamusoro* (Those who had the chance to get to the top) and *vane mari* (Those with money) in a discursive strategy that makes it difficult for politicians to argue that the song is specifically directed against them. This does not, however, undermine the potency of the song's message. In Zimbabwe, the line between politicians and capitalist exploiters got increasingly blurred to the point that capitalist and political elites diffused into each other. In addition to appealing for intervention on behalf of the impoverished by forces more powerful than the persona, 'Mugove' also addresses the architects of post-independence poverty in Zimbabwe by appealing to their moral conscience.

In the song, Zhakata reminds them of egalitarian values that emphasise satiations for all regardless of station in society. This reminder is buttressed by another enjoining those in positions of political and economic power to realise that they are in such positions, not because they are smarter, but because of their good fortune. It seems that Zhakata expects post-independence capitalists and politicians to reform by bringing moral arguments to bear on their conscience. He abandons this approach in later protest apocalyptic songs, particularly in his album *Mubikira* (Catalyst) and in his song '*Sakunatsa*' (The never faltering one) (2002). In the song, he falls back on direct criticism and adopts a militant posture towards the breakdown of the rule of law engendered by state control of the judiciary.

In the song, Leonard Karikoga Zhakata decries an unfair and unbalanced judiciary system that persecutes the innocent person and protects the offender or the guilty. Finding its legitimacy in the corridors of power being increasingly questioned, ZANU-PF sought to tilt the scales of justice in its favour through the selective application of the laws of the land. 'Sakunatsa' engages that tendency. In 2003, he released his album *'Hodho'* (The Toy Gun). The collection carried songs like '*Mirira nguva*' (Wait for your time), which was written in the apocalyptic language. In this song, he encouraged those who had lost hope within their selves to be patient and wait for their time. The track dealt with the life experiences of the unprivileged within most societies in Zimbabwe. By encouraging them to wait for their time, Zhakata's message was meant for the poor to persevere. Nevertheless, the song did not receive any airplay because it was banned. The banning of this song was based on the interpretation that it referred to the political situation. This was so especially in his words *vakazvigonasei* 'how did they make it', which was understood to point to the liberation struggle.

Thus, in the song, Zhakata was understood as calling indirectly to the liberation war fighters that what they did was counted. Still, even the new generation if it were today, could as well liberate themselves. He is telling the liberation fighter that the liberation struggle is now history as they should work to deliver than to rest on the liberation history. Thus, from that context, the song was labelled political. However, Zhakata still held that the song carried a message for the poor. He goes further in the same song to encourage the people that they should not take messages of discouragement if ever they think to succeed in life. To Zhakata, they should not even listen to the message that it is hard to register achievement in life as the success by others to achieve something is a sign that it is possible. The emphasises in his message is that nothing is complicated.

In strengthening his point that he was singing about social life, not political, he highlights how people who began from low levels at a company ended up in higher positions. In the end, he advises people to wait for their time. He emphasises that not everything comes on a silver platter, but things take time to be achieved; therefore, one should be humble and persevere. He concludes with an apocalyptic message of hope, which points to futuristic intervention by God to change history. According to Roosblad (2013), for twenty years, Zhakata became a household name within the music industry in Zimbabwe. In his use of idioms in his songs, he made it difficult for many people to deduce the exact nature and context of his message. Although others tried to categorize his music as anti-government but to him, his songs addressed social issues that ordinary people were facing. Also, others viewed the singer as part of the opposition, and to them, he was just using his music to attack the Zimbabwean ZANU PF government.

Moreover, it was not only the public broadcaster that shunned his politically charged songs. The singer received some bashing also from the public media's print sections, which demonised him as a spent force (Sibanda, 2017). His crime was related to his fight for political freedom through music. In this way, he was accused of having joined the likes of self-exiled Chimurenga singer Thomas Mapfumo. Thomas Mapfumo is believed to have come against the government involving his songs like Pamuromochete (1973), Pfuma paruzevha and Mapuruvheya. Since releasing his songs, **'***Segwayana' (Like a lamb), 'Ngoma Yenharo'* and *'Sakunatsa'* and more, some quarters viewed Zhakata as anti-government. He reported suspicious people trailing him whenever he made live performances. In some cases, some demanding, he strikes off certain songs from his playlist (Zhakata, 2016). In 2003 he realised that the ZBC had banned his music on all its channels. As ZBC was the sole broadcaster then, he took action to determine why his music was banned.

Zhakata approached Munyaradzi Hwengwere, the then ZBC chief executive officer who was ignorant about the ban. From that point, he was continuously attacked by the state media, which portrayed him as a sent force. “At that time, I was at the worst moment as far as my music career is concerned (Zhakata, 2016)”. The banning of his songs came as a result that they were interpreted as being politically incorrect as they were linked to the opposition party, Movement for Democratic Change (M.D.C). In 2003, the songs from his album Hodho disappeared from the airwaves. Among them was ‘Warrior’, in which he sought help from an uncle who had fled the country because of political violence. In the song “Warrior”, Zhakata sends a message to his uncle, pleading him to find a job for him and that he runs away from the country. He laments that his counterparts are tormenting him. His message is explicit in his words that things have not yet changed since his uncle left.

He also presented his message apocalyptically and put the situation in the context of a game or sporting activity. He highlights that rules of the game have been twisted to the extent that one is tied and then asked to run or fight. He gives a picture of a warrior who has been sent to fight with a toy gun while his opponent has machine guns, bazookas and bombs or grenades. In this song, he refers to the way elections were conducted. He reflects how the political playfield was not even for the opposition parties during the elections. In the song, Zhakata points out how the ruling ZANU PF would celebrate after winning a flawed election with twisted electoral laws. He further laments to his uncle, who fled the country because of political violence. Here, he refers to all those who had become victims of political violence and informs them that they are still being haunted and at the same time, their relatives are being tormented. In highlighting that they have put him on a challenge that they know he will only lose, Zhakata presents a message to the opposition.

In this way, he strengthened the opposition parties that the elections were not free and fair. He pauses a question to the opponent that if they think they will win the fight, why not allow him to fight while free and not tied. He resembles the scenario of being called to war while one is ill-equipped. Again, this points to the political playing field, which was not even for the MDC and how political parties were forced to enter the election race when the electoral reforms were not addressed. Also, in this song, "Warrior", Zhakata laments about his condition to his uncle. He highlights the pain he is enduring that it is too intense. For him, he cannot stand the torment. Reflection on the opposition's claim that the previous election was stolen, he tells his uncle that they have made him fight a battle that they claim that he once boasted that he is a winner and should prove himself. He, however, cannot fight for they had taken everything away from him. This song is believed to have a deeper meaning than it resembled, and it was banned from being aired because it was thought to be politically motivated. In his song *"Ngoma yenharo" (persistency)* on the same album *Hodho (*Toygun*)*, he urges the Zimbabweans to unite if they are to conquer. He is urging people to come together as one in order to overcome.

He gives an illustration of those in war and calls them to unite in order to conquer. He says, *zvakanaka kukunda wani asi zviri nyore kukunda pamwe chete (It is easy to conquer but easier when united)*. In the song, he advises the people not to be enemies of one another but be friends or join hands to overcome as one. He is against those who join with the enemies to fight their brethren. He expresses this in his words *'Rangu pfumo ndakanda kumhandu' (I have thrown my spear to the enemy), 'Rako pfumo wokanda kuneni' (But you throw your spear to me).* Here, he brings a message to the opposition parties to get united and fight ZANU PF. This came at a time when some small opposition parties appeared to demonise the MDC as an agent of the whites.

In the song, he pauses a question, *'Mhandu yangu yave aniko' (Who then have become my enemy).* Once again, like his contemporaries Thomas Mapfumo who sang during the liberation war, Zhakata informs the opposition parties that sellouts had infiltrated their movements.

Additionally, in the song '*Segwayana'* (Zhakata,2015), Zhakata sings and points to a lamb's death that does not cry when being slaughtered. He tends to sing religious in this song, but still, his songs carry a hidden message. The song infers how people are killed, beaten, and even children are being raped in the country. The people have nowhere to turn to and at the same time, remain helpless. The song seems to reflect on the 2005 incident of *Murambatsvina* [34] , which left many people helpless, homeless, destitute and had nowhere to claim their property or possession. In this song, he inferred the 2008 experiences of people being killed and their cattle being taken away from them, and the government turned a deaf ear. In the song, Zhakata laments about how he is treated. He describes his situation and how they treated him, but he is not going to complain, a case which many people encounter. Zhakata presented his message as someone having no voice, even if he wanted to cry or talk but had been made to suffer in silence. Hence, in this song, he infers how his songs were banned due to various interpretations from different contexts. Also, in the song *Segwayana,* Zhakata made use of idioms. Zhakata uses coded language to express his feelings. In the actual context, he does not pinpoint the real people who are making him suffer. According to him, people may interpret his songs independently, depending on their experiences and

[34] *Murambatsvina* is a Shona word used by the Government in 2005 that could be translated "Operation Clean Up" (Sokwanele, 2005) when it decided to pull down structures which were not approved by the city councils especially in Harare. The more literary translation of '*murambatsvina'* is 'getting rid of the filth'. During that time the government ventured into building small houses which could not be to any level of habitation. The United nation condemned this through its envoy Tibaijuka (2005, p. 7) who thought the move undermined humanitarian rights as it turned to be chaotic.

context (Zhakata,2016). Thus, like any other seer, he does that fearing victimisation by the powers. Zhakata managed to present his message to the Zimbabwean community's deprived people through his deep and strong language.

His 2005 album *Udza Vamwe* (Spread the Message) with tracks such as *Yarutso* (Upbringing), *Tasvika* (We arrived), *Sugano* (Covenant), *Ndereka* (Misguided), *I promise, and Tarisiro* (Hope) was totally banned from airplay. In his song Yarutso, Zhakata laments how some children are disadvantaged. In the same album in his song *Ndereka*, he decries that the children are being taught lessons that are against the proper ethos and cultural values. He refers to how the children were militarised to the point of being taught to hate others. In 2006 in the song *Kuremerwa (*Ladden*)* from his album *Tine Vimbo* Zhakata says *chidhanana cheuka tendeuka nyora gadziriso yemaitiro ako...mukuronga kwako kose chinobuda hapana*. In his words, he calls how Mugabe's regime needed to review the way it operated. He laments that in many cases when the name of the president is mentioned, people no longer feel comfortable but pronounce a curse. In the song, he laments that whatever plans were put forward by Mugabe's government nothing materialised. Hence from such a context, the album was banned. In this song, Zhakata gave hope to the desperate Zimbabweans. He encouraged them to persevere as to him in the journey of success there are challenges or setbacks, but there is a need to remain hopeful as a breakthrough is certain. In his words, *vakadanwa vakawanda asi vakaenda vashoma* (Many were called, but only a few took part in the journey) mentioned that many could not make it because of the challenges on the way.

4.5. Apocalyptic Music and the rise of fanaticism and Intolerance

What is notable about all the songs discussed above is that they feature on albums that address various issues ranging from love, sorrow, death, self-praise and adventure. In other words, some songs address economic, social, religious, cultural and political

challenges from the colonial to the post-independence Zimbabwe. Due to the Zimbabwe regime's disregard for justice and freedom for Zimbabweans, the songs generated the attitude of intolerance and bred the spirit of resistance.

Sometimes, the kind of resistance was through compliance and later seen through public protests. Hence, as some seers moved to the centre, we see that those rising from the periphery started to compose apocalyptic songs which explicitly denounce impunity. Such apocalyptic music helped widen the audience for transitional justice in states like Zimbabwe, which can be argued to be nations in transition. The use of apocalyptic music to convey contemporary discourses such as the intolerability of human rights abuses in general and transitional justice became a growing phenomenon. The apocalyptic music widened the transitional justice audience, and it helped in enlightening both conflict and post-conflict societies on the undesirability and intolerability of impunity. Apocalyptic music, therefore, had an impact on the socio-political environment of Zimbabwe. It can also be concluded that corruption and oppression still run in the ruling ZANU-PF government's veins.

4.6. Chapter Summary

The chapter examined Zimbabwe's apocalyptic music and its context. It focused on the birth of apocalyptic music in Zimbabwe during the colonial period and its development and transformation over the years until the contemporary period in independent Zimbabwe. Three selected apocalyptic musicians: Mapfumo, Chipanga and Zhakata were analysed and provided as a sample. The reaction of the Zimbabwe government to such a genre of music was highlighted in the chapter. It was observed that both the colonial regime and the post-colonial government did not tolerate apocalyptic music. Measures were undertaken in both eras to suppress the music. Most oppressed people understood the music to be addressing their day-to-day struggles. In doing so, the

apocalyptic songs' initial impact was also established at its earliest stage and how the readers reacted to apocalyptic messages. Mapfumo, as an apocalyptic seer was discussed considering how he started as a peripheral seer criticising the colonial regime. He, therefore, was on the side of the masses who were oppressed.

However, as soon as the masses won their struggle against the colonial regime, Mapfumo became the central seer, speaking for the government. Because he supported the ruling government, his music received unlimited airplay and promotion on national broadcasters, both radio and television. However, as he began to criticise the new government, thereby moving from the centre to the periphery, the government undertook to victimise him as it blacklisted his music. In the analysis of Mapfumo's music, it has been established that like the Jewish seer, he used animal symbols, colours, ancient hero names to conceal his message. In that way, he managed to have his message reach its recipients. The chapter also discussed the rise of Chipanga as an apocalyptic seer. Chipanga, like Mapfumo, equally used symbols and other apocalyptic characteristics within his music to communicate his message. The chapter concluded by looking into Leonard Zhakata's music. It has been established that these seers were influenced by their social, political, economic, religious and cultural experiences in writing their scripts which they later transmitted as apocalyptic songs. Finally, the chapter established how apocalyptic music birthed the spirit of fanaticism, which led to the revolution in all eras of Zimbabwean history discussed in this study.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE IMPACT OF ZIMBABWEAN APOCALYPTIC MUSIC ON REFORMATION

5.0. Introduction

This chapter investigated the impact of Zimbabwe apocalyptic music by analysing the cemented components of Zimbabwean apocalyptic music. This is based on the musicians who were considered in the previous chapter. It investigates the songs that advocated for justice, decrying the oppression, repressive laws, and institutions and evaluating how these impacted on the listeners. Thus, to establish the impact, the chapter provided the meaning of the protest messages from the apocalyptic genres. The focus has been on Thomas Mapfumo, Hosiah Chipanga and Leonard Zhakata. Moreso, this chapter also analyses the relationship that is witnessed between the music industry and the government, what made the musicians interested in the socio-politics, economic, cultural, and religious experiences of the time? In the process, the chapter also highlighted the strengths and weaknesses of apocalyptic music, the tone of the music, the government's reaction, and the reaction of the Zimbabwe nation towards apocalyptic music.

Also, alluding to the previous chapter, it also provides a dialogue with centre-periphery theory, for instance, Mapfumo was critical of Ian Smith’s regime as a peripheral seer who during the revolution continued to praise freedom fighters and even during the early days after independence. The chapter covers five domains where music intersects the socio-political, religious, economic and cultural. Within the socio-political, it considers apocalyptic music as an agent of change, apocalyptic music as an implicit or explicit commentary on power, apocalyptic music and the politics and apocalyptic music as a mirror of historical, political and cultural change or reformation

within a society. It also analysed how apocalyptic music impacted on the Zimbabweans to overcome the dissonance and how they worked to attain assonance.

5.1. Social Reformation and Elimination of Dissonance

Studies on apocalypticism have since established that the aim of apocalypticism is to cause a social revolution or reformation through the elimination of dissonance. At that point, dissent starts to take root in society. In the case of Zimbabwe, the whole colonialism project with its successive governments until the climax during the rule of Ian Smith was the root cause of dissent. For instance, dissent in Zimbabwe was rooted in issues to do with land dispossession, social justice and social marginalisation, poor salaries and biased law. Besides were issues like poverty, corruption, liberation or freedom, bad governance, mistreatment of foreign nationals and economic exploitation.

5.1.1. The Roots of Dissent

As already observed, the rule of Ian Smith, the head of the white minority government in Southern Rhodesia, who had been nicknamed *"Dikondo"*, a Stock Bird in the Shona language, was loathed by most black people. Smith was nicknamed *"Kondo"* due to the belief that Smith had one eye. His rule merely is known as well as the Smith Regime. The main bone of contention was Smith's iron fist rule. Indigenous Zimbabweans experienced a myriad of acts of injustice under his leadership. Black people of Rhodesia felt disenfranchised by the regime to the extent that while they got poorer by the day, whites became richer. The black masses worked for long hours but received meagre wages that were not even enough to sustain themselves, let alone their families back home. There was also the issue of ill-treatment, cultural erosion, family disintegration to mention only a few.

The Smith regime was only a climax of white supremacist ideology imposed from 1890 when Zimbabwe was colonised. Hence pre-liberation genres were the early sub-foundations of nationalism, which triggered protest movements. The First Chimurenga of 1896-1897 was fought following the long, brutal suppression system. While the whites managed to pacify the black masses, it was short-lived. It took a few emerging African working classes in civil service and in the industry to start the revolution against colonialism. They began to organise protest movements as a response to the indigenous people's ever-deteriorating political, religious, social, cultural and economic position.

Initially, the notions of liberation, freedom and national independence were totally alien to these movements. They campaigned for recognition, participation and representation in this government. High on their list of demands were the opportunity to be allowed to buy land, have better wages and healthy working conditions, representation in the parliament and non-discriminatory educational opportunities for the rest of the lesser indigenous Zimbabweans. However, these notions later became the themes of apocalyptic protest music. Apocalyptic music hence helped the Zimbabwean populace to voice their concerns.

The protest movements did not challenge European rule unjustifiedly but in fairness. The early protest movements provided a necessary stage in the political evolution process. The upcoming future nationalists during that period were built on the foundation of the early protest movements. They could show that the world injustices could not be immediately removed or washed away by any other method but through militant and revolutionary nationalism. The anti-Smith struggle underwent a qualitative change of its goals, organisation and strategy. This was indeed due to the help of poets (musicians), spirit mediums, elites and peasants, summarily all oppressed

masses of Zimbabwe who were against the unjust Smith regime. Attempts were made to mobilise all social discontentment, the educational elites, peasants and workers. Demonstrations and strike actions were used as weapons to express political discontent. Chimurenga apocalyptic music became handy in not only mobilising masses against colonialism but also in popularising the discontentment of the people. Thomas Mapfumo, as indicated, already became a voice to reckon with.

As alluded to in the previous chapter, apocalyptic music drew a lot of motivation and inspiration from the people's day-to-day struggle. For instance, Thomas Mapfumo was motivated by the City Youth League, which was in Salisbury (present-day Harare). It was a politically conscious group formed by James Chikerema, George Nyandoro, Edson Sithole, Paul Mushonga, Henry Hamadziripi and Thompson Gonese. It is plausible to argue for a strong connection between apocalyptic chimurenga music and nationalism. The roles of workers in the anti-colonial struggle were also significant factors that shaped the apocalyptic liberation music known as the 'Chimurenga music'. The working class started to organise themselves to stage a struggle against the racist capitalist system, which comprised of increased oppressive legislative measures, such as pass laws, forced labour systems and low wages.

Undeterred by repression and marginalisation, black workers continued to resist settler colonial domination. They organised more unions in several industries mushrooming before and after the Second World War. Workers participated in the strikes, and operations were paralysed during the strike action. The colonial government was forced to conduct a full inquiry into the working conditions. The inquiry brought about slight improvements in the conditions of services, which comprised some categories of workers. The workers who had the sympathy and support of the peasantry demanded improvements in their meagre wages and squalid living conditions.

However, the colonial regime responded with more oppression and restrictions. The arrest and detentions of African nationalist leaders of ZAPU and ZANU did not kill African nationalism. If anything, they spurred on the colonised Zimbabweans to resort to armed struggle as the only option left to them. Notwithstanding the differences between political parties and individual leaders, there was broad unity that armed struggle would bring about genuine self-determination.

Since apocalyptic songs were shared, it is seen that even the Zimbabweans in Mozambique started demonstrating with placards that read "Down with Ian Smith and his acts of aggression". During the time of struggle, the most influential people were musicians since music was a way to precipitate awareness. An assessment of the implications of using symbols as an apocalyptic language in addressing any socio-political ills that the society faced due to the misrule of the authorities is reflected from these times. An analysis of Thomas Mapfumo`s liberation songs or music of both colonial and post-colonial eras of Zimbabwe spoke to the people who were suffering. For instance, the immediate release of the album “Hokoyo” by Thomas Mapfumo reflects apocalyptic music's impact in addressing the socio-political ills.

Mapfumo, in 1977 had composed his album, ‘Hokoyo’, which literary means “Watch Out!”. He had produced a blend of traditional music that popularly carried “thinly veiled political messages” (Laskey, 2016), the so-called apocalyptic Chimurenga music. Mapfumo’s apocalyptic music was viewed as a threat by the white minority government. From that perception, Mapfumo’s music was banned from the state-controlled radio stations (Laskey, 2016). Nevertheless, his music could still be played in discos and as well as broadcast on radios in neighbouring countries. After getting some interpretation, the white minority government banned Mapfumo’s

apocalyptic music from state-controlled radio or television stations as they accused it of being of security threat.

Nevertheless, since apocalyptic literature spread quickly among the deprived, Mapfumo's apocalyptic music still received broadcast in neighbouring countries and could even be heard in discos. With the escalation of guerrilla warfare in late 1977, the security forces attempted to silence Mapfumo by putting him into prison. From such a development, it is seen that Mapfumo's apocalyptic songs were impacting much on the people as it motivated them to stage a revolution. After being released, Mapfumo resumed composing his apocalyptic songs, which encouraged the fight for liberation and later resulted in Zimbabwe's independence.

However, under Robert Gabriel Mugabe's rule, the government made promises that aimed for a complete change with effectiveness over the grievances that people were facing from the white minority government. There was the Zimbabwean constitution which was later renewed in 1999 by Robert Mugabe. The Constitution had the fundamental rights and freedoms that involved the right to freedom of the press and other media of communicating and freedom of speech and expression. It also had the anti-corruption and public accountability commission with a mandate to investigate and expose any corrupt practices in the public and private sectors. It supported the establishment of an education system supporting research programmes and the transmission of information that could enhance accountability and integrity in both civic and public sectors.

The constitution also contained stipulations on the right to have access to adequate healthcare services, the right to administrative justice, the right to work, and every worker to have fair labour practices. In it also was the affirmation of greater equality by according women right to land, full maternity salary and equal treatment

with men in all spheres of life. Lastly, the independent electoral commission, whose main functionality was to ensure efficient, free and fair conduct of elections was set up. Thus, the shaping of the constitution after independence is attributed to apocalyptic songs and messages during the liberational war.

As all eyes were on the indigenous government and as indicated earlier in the previous chapters, it was through the Zimbabwean constitution. Constitution, simply meaning the governing of operations of any country, state or political organisation written down in one comprehensive document by legal experts, ratified and endorsed by the parliament. The Zimbabwean citizens lost their faith in this government. Mapfumo's apocalyptic music, even after independence maintained a socio-political edge. Mapfumo confidently remarked that he, as a representative of Zimbabwe's oppressed citizens, had lost faith in President Robert Mugabe (Pameus, 2017). In that case, his criticism increasingly targeted the government.

Mapfumo became firmly established in the mid-1990s, and his protest music became popular again. Hence, his release of 'Corruption' in 1989 had him together with his band members, subjected to torture and harassment by the government. His compilation in his album Corruption 1989 pointed the finger at those in authority though the message was in coded language. Mapfumo's Shona apocalyptic lyrics in his 1993 album, 'Hondo' "War", still spoke of war against the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) epidemic across Africa (Laskey, 2016) and the erosion of socio-cultural traditions. The same tone is also reflected in his *Liberation (Chimurenga) Rebel* (2001) titled *"Marima Nzara*"[35], "*Mamvemve*"[36] that talks of how

[35] *"Marima Nzara*" is a Shona phrase meaning you have reaped poverty

[36] "*Mamvemve*" means tatters in Shona and in his song Mapfumo wish to express how Zimbabwe has been trashed due to the land invasion. "The country you used to cry for is now in tatters," Mapfumo sings. "Let's get out of here. The country you used to cry for is now run by crooks." (Washingtonpost, 2004)

the country of Zimbabwe has been trashed. Hence the conclusion of Alice Dadirai Kwaramba that Thomas Mapfumo indirectly wrote songs to avoid confrontation with the government but left the message to be inferred from the text (Kwaramba, 1997, p. 18). Thus, to Kwaramba, Mapfumo in his music expresses concerns in idiomatic expressions which are ambiguous and therefore interpreted in various ways (Kwaramba, 1997, p. 18). In this way, we observe that such a genre of music carries apocalyptic traits.

Now in the pretext that Mapfumo avoids confrontation with the government or change of system or the misrule, instead of challenging the government for its actions or lack of them may appear to point to some weaknesses of apocalyptic music as an interim measure to socio-political reform. However, his apocalyptic songs were instrumental in organising the people against the government. That is why the Smith regime and even the Mugabe regime haunted Mapfumo, a move that justifies the effectiveness of the method. Thus, from this genre of music, one can deduce that the singers spoke of social issues such as poverty and peoples` plight. It is true that from these songs, we observe that the writers were concerned with the traumas of oppression, cultural, social, economic, religious and political upheavals. Their messages were presented in an ironic trajectory, easily understood by the intended people, yet the outsiders remained out of the picture.

In this way, the apocalyptic music had an impact as it quickly mobilised the people against the establishment while at the same time, the establishment remained out of the picture. Then by the time the establishment got the picture, or the message carried in the apocalyptic songs, already people were set for action. Mapfumo's album, Corruption of 1989, predicted the main challenges that face Zimbabwe's political leadership in the 21st century, especially in the areas of health and economic recovery.

The HIV/AIDS pandemic posed severe health, social, economic and cultural challenges as it turned to undermine steady progress hitherto achieved. With the support of the private sector and non-governmental organisations, the government formulated programs that sought to minimise further HIV transmissions and that provided care and support for individuals, families, and communities affected by the epidemic disease. Mapfumo viewed his genre not only as brilliant music but an inherently revolutionary and influential advocate of the distribution of opportunities within the Zimbabwean society (Laskey, 2016). In that way, Mapfumo then lived in continual conflict with the Zimbabwean government.

Solomon Murungu (2004) argues that “In the late 1980s and early 1990, Mapfumo sang his warning song against HIV/AIDS, "*Mukondombera*" (Plague). As the Zimbabwe government kept a tight lip on HIV/AIDS's actual statics, Mapfumo broke a social taboo by singing about the calamities of HIV/AIDS. This, in a way, forced most Zimbabweans to face the impending danger and started to talk openly about the pandemic. The breakthrough gave most Zimbabweans an avenue to address a national crisis. Thus ‘*Mukondombera’* and AIDS became household words that people could talk about openly.

The other challenge was restoring macroeconomic stability and completing the agrarian reform programme. The successful agrarian reform programme was not only to bring about increased agricultural production, reduce poverty and empower most Zimbabweans but ensured sustained peace and stability in the country (Chinouriri,2014). The issue of poverty is one of the factors that influenced the apocalyptic musicians; for instance, Zhakata writes his songs. Although his apocalyptic music first addresses social issues affecting ordinary people, others view the singer as part of the opposition party and use his music to attack the government.

His 2003 album *'Hodho'* did not receive any airplay because of its message. For example, the song *'Mirira nguva'* (Wait for your time) encouraged the underprivileged, those in the margins or oppressed to bear their situations as their time would come in the future. In some of the scripts in this song, as seen in the previous chapter, Leonard Zhakata strengthened those suffering and at the same time, cautioned those who were abusing power. The song encouraged the deprived to have hope for the future, and it aided people to soldier on despite the challenges. The apocalyptic music by Zhakata impacted on Zimbabweans to advocate for change.

On 19 March 2005, the Daily News version conveyed a title, *"Withholding of Food magnifies the hunger for change"*. The article highlighted the gravity of hardships exacerbated by political violence as musically enunciated by Zhakata and how it weighted on a soul touching interview captured in the newspaper. Tenji Matema, aged 48, a widow, vowed to vote for the opposition. According to Matema, "it is better to suffer than vote for ZANU PF" (Matema, 2005). The action by Matema as representing the marginalised shows that apocalyptic music impacted the people of Zimbabwe to showcase resilience.

In this way, apocalyptic music also helped people establish their condition of living. It unloaded the wrongs submitted by the ruling party members against purported members of the opposition. The song Mugove by Zhakata comforted individuals in distress, as in singing Mugove (Pay/share) and Hupenyu mutoro (Life is a burden), people rallied for a common purpose. Zhakata firmly emphasised that life was indeed a burden. Even if they tried to work hard, the economic conditions surrounding them were hostile. Thus his lyrics in Hupenyu mutoro (Life is a burden) helped activate compassion for the people inclined to cherish their 'fatherland'. Zhakata's apocalyptic lyrics conveyed solidarity to the oppressed regardless of political orientation, tribe and

gender. His music repackaged and trumpeted daily challenges and news events to national attention. His song *Sakunatsa* (The never faltering one or Good Samaritan) enlightened the people of Zimbabwe on how ZANU PF government was tilting the law in its favour through its selective application.

On the other hand, it challenges the ZANU PF regime's dependence on auxiliary viciousness to subvert justice and freedom. Zhakata announces that injustice and oppression should be abolished, and residents should battle for their rights. Up to this point, the song turns into a challenge to activity and a reason for hope (Fanon, 1967, p.198). Zhakata's responsibility to struggle reveals that there is a point of confinement to what restraint can accomplish for dictator regimes. In 'Mirira nguva' (Wait for your time), the song blasts the ZANU PF government's deployment of their past achievements as the basis for manufacturing legitimacy in the present (Chitofiri, 2017. pp 59-73). It also emphasises the ability of the dominated to change their circumstances and make history. Through the message of the song, Zimbabweans were encouraged to come face to face with the fact that while the past possesses the capacity to inspire, dwelling in it is the shortest route to stagnation.

In *'Mirira nguva'*(Wait for your time), Zimbabweans were encouraged to invest in the terrain of the possible. The emphasis on 'possibility' liberates 'objectified' listeners from paralysis of action, transforming them into subjects with the capacity to invent alternative approaches, paradigms and systems in the unfolding of the full meaning of the history of their nation (Nyamande, 2013). Ardono (cf. Gatsheni, 2009) recognised that music had the power and ability to verbalise those things covered by a political belief system. Music turned into the exigency of the Zimbabwean social circumstance that showed through a coded musical language of anguish. This impacted the daily published news to the extent that for the first time, the Sunday Mail published

news that reflected the situation on the ground; instead of its usual propaganda news that always promoted the prevailing ideology. For instance, The Sunday Mail of 6 March 2006 carried a headline on politics influencing some court decisions. The Sunday Times of 6 March 2006 also had a story on the unlawful use of force that was tantamount to torture and degrading of humanity. In that way, the Sunday Mail reported the situation as it happened just like other anti-establishment newspapers, the Daily News in particular. The Daily News of 7 March 2006 had a story on detentions and arbitrary arrests of some political activists.

In this, apocalyptic musicians as representatives of people became part of anti-colonial struggles. Hence, they had to continually contend with conceptualisations of nationalism while at the same time upholding to classical traditions of their society. Thus, they still had to simultaneously use alternative nationalist symbols like apocalyptic music to narrate the existing social structures which were exploitative. The restoration of unity and national consensus remained a hanging issue, especially in the so-called increasingly polarised society. Unity has been the pillar of apocalyptic music which was shaped by socio-political ideologies in Zimbabwe since the rule of the white minority government.

5.1.2. The Zimbabwean Community and Apocalyptic Music

It should be acknowledged that a strong relationship between society and the music industry exists. Ethnomusicologists argue that “prediction on how audiences respond to protest music in terms of aural and even visual cues tend to be difficult” (Pedelty, 2019). Paradoxically this should be treated with caution since the message being sung by musicians is shaped by society. Thereby to a higher dimension, it can be agreeable that apocalyptic music that impacts on political, social, economic, cultural and religious

matters within communities is readily accepted and does not take time for such musicians to become famous. However, some genre of music through cultural association may not be viewed to be political, irrespective of some political content which may lead to the ruling government to deepen and maximise strictness within the music industry. Zimbabwe apocalyptic music that delivers messages of social, cultural, economic, religious and political protest through idioms and metaphors are particularly those featuring the Shona *'mbira'* (thumb piano). During the 1960s and '70s liberation struggle, apocalyptic Chimurenga music played a crucial role in mobilising the people to fight the white-minority government (Gorlinski, 2010). Hence, apocalyptic Chimurenga music became an emblem for nationalism in black Zimbabwean society. In that way, it strengthened the Zimbabwean traditions.

Apocalyptic music helped instil determination and unify the freedom fighters, raising their morale to defeat the enemy. For instance, Mapfumo's song *'Pamuromo Chete'* (It is just a mere talk) encouraged the liberation fighters and collaborators not to take the propaganda of Ian Smith seriously. It was mere talk that did not represent the situation on the ground. The song motivated the people of Zimbabwe not to retreat but to fight on. The same is true in Mapfumo's song *'Musango muneshumba'* (The Wilderness is infested with lions). The song had an impact on giving caution to freedom fighters to be vigilant of sell-outs. The song's message helped them take care of what they talked about as the message could be shared quickly and lead them into danger. The Rhodesian government tried to intimidate and silence the musicians without success. It was incapacitated by their failure to grasp the nuances of the lyrics entirely. Apocalyptic or protest music therefore quickly spread like veld fires. It inspired Zimbabweans to soldier on in adversity with the hope that change would one day come.

Thus because of the message of hope within apocalyptic music, the musical output is not for the sake of art form but for humanity. In that context, apocalyptic music helped people come together and form active political, social, economic, cultural and religious communities, like what was done by the Jews during times of cultural shock. Its socio-political, religious, cultural, and economic impact should never be undermined. Moore (1991) argues that 'When modes of music change, the fundamental laws of the state always change with them'. Therefore, this means that Zimbabwe apocalyptic music is much more than just melodies and harmonies but a much important genre in the lives of all human beings. For instance, '*Tsvimbo dzemoto'* (literary translated Staff of fire) sung by Biggie Tembo (post-independence musician) meant guns. The message of the song had an impact as it is a reminder to the people of Zimbabwe that liberation came through the gun. Musicians fought through their songs before Zimbabwe gained its independence in 1980. Their music and art persuaded, strengthened and encouraged people to continue the struggle. Famous musicians like Zex Manatsa, Oliver 'Tuku' Mtukudzi, Thomas Mapfumo and Chinx Chingaira led the struggle with apocalyptic music.

In this case, local musicians became the most critical voices that highlighted and commented on the injustices that prevailed before independence. After the liberation war, some apocalyptic songs intended to fight the war for cultural revival and self-identity. After thirty-six years, Zimbabwe having gained independence, a new breed of musicians began to do the same; to encourage most Zimbabweans through apocalyptic music. According to Mutukudzi (2016), the fight before independence was against the Rhodesian regime, and his songs were against oppression and a repressive system by the Smith regime. Mtukudzi sang for the people who were protesting against the Rhodesian government under Ian Smith.

He did not give in to the intimidations by the Rhodesian government. Mutukudzi also recalled the numerous occasions whereby the Rhodesian system tried to stop him from singing for the masses. Under 'Wagon Wheels band', a song like *'Dzandimomotera'* was a song of hope which encouraged the black majority not to give up. In fact, '*Dzandimomotera'* is a prayer of a troubled man. Using apocalyptic language, Mutukudzi subtly attacked the Rhodesian regime. As already discussed, Mapfumo's music reflected the people's aspirations, concerns, and hopes. He provided information relating to hardships, which the black majority faced in rural areas. The coming of independence on April 18, 1980, saw Mapfumo serving as a central seer as he sang in praise of the Mugabe regime. For him, the Mugabe regime was the culmination of the hard sacrifices of the masses. Independence for him was a collective achievement that brought joy to the people of Zimbabwe. Apocalyptic music had the impact of bringing people together into the mood of celebration, and hence, it helped people bury past experiences during their struggles. Apocalyptic songs encouraged people to bury the past and look ahead to the new future, a new beginning.

Apocalyptic music gave that motivation, boldness and expelled dread in the general population. It urged networks and alliances to be forged during the execution of the war. It gave society hope and the energy to fight oppression. Most of the pieces were in the vernacular language, mainly to make a language hindrance with the whites because some of the lyrics were insulting. Apocalyptic music was the apparatus and type of social critique that was utilised to move the majority to act. The economic decay, poverty and terrible policies like ESAP (Economic Structural Adjustment Program) became favourite themes in the apocalyptic songs.

Hence, these issues became a rallying point by the masses to stage food riots in the late 90s. Songs like Mugove (Pay/share) by Leonard Zhakata, Chinyemu (Teasing)

by Leonard Dembo wound up prevalent tunes at Workers Day rallies and gatherings. The reason was that they addressed the day-by-day struggles of the common labourers, encountering a financial breakdown and the imbalances that existed between the rich and poor people. Zimbabwe apocalyptic genre became a kind of music that could not be ignored or undermined. The apocalyptic music had an incredible impact of regularly binding together natives of various particular social conventions, which set Shona, Manyika, Korekore, Changana and Ndebele separated. Leonard Zhakata's *'Mugove'* (Pay) and *'Hupenyu mutoro'* (Life is a burden) verses showed manners of thinking, thoughts and activities which anticipated prevalent solidarity against world-class decision authority. Zimbabweans' group social mindfulness could have characterised social encounters in a roundabout way or specifically spurred oppositional political foundations. The Movement for Democratic Change(M.D.C) was birthed from how Zimbabweans interpreted songs like *"Hupenyu Mutoro'* (Life is a burden) and 'Mugove' (Pay) as the people quickly found some connections from these songs to their socio-political and economic life experiences. The songs revealed the concealed acts of corruption by the elite carried at the expense of the vulnerable people.

Thus, apocalyptic music instilled a sense of passivity and satisfaction among the oppressed but at the same time aroused people to act against their oppressors. The fabric and dynamics of the genre of *'Hupenyu Mutoro'* (Life is a burden) enlightened people to respond to their socio-economic life experiences. The miserable way of life experienced by the enduring dominant part epitomised by political constraint and economic meltdown became the impetus for political cooperation and 'open doors for plural voices (Fanon,1967, p.253). Apocalyptic music became a voice that conscientise people about their daily life experiences.

In this way, Zimbabwe apocalyptic music validates authentic national renditions that easily circle around the authority of common administration forms, which Fanon (1967) alludes to as ‘a zone of occult instability’. High levels of unemployment, coupled with the outbreak of diseases, shortages of food and high inflation, resulted in Zimbabweans taking the message of these apocalyptic songs seriously. Through discursive implements such as euphemism, ridicule and overt criticism, Zhakata’s songs ‘pose new answers for old questions and new questions for old answers’ (Osundare, 2002, p. 25). In the process, they invite the Zimbabwean establishment to measure itself in the mirror of the nation’s best interests.

As narratives of resistance and sermons of hope in the cataclysm of oppression and chaos, the apocalyptic songs discussed in this study are available for public consumption. This is against the backdrop of the realisation that ‘while there is no moral obligation to sing in any particular way… a moral obligation is there…not to ally oneself with power against the powerless’ (Achebe, 2012, p.58). Zhakata’s lyrics have been instrumental in clearing space for the rebirth and entrenchment of justice, freedom, human dignity, equality and belonging promised by the advent of independence in 1980. For aligning his music to the desires for opportunity and equity, Zhakata has needed to pay through avoidance on the ZBC playlist. His encounters on account of the Zimbabwean establishment are indistinguishable from the regime struggle for the authenticity of misplaced priorities, unfulfilled promises, crucified dreams and aborted beginnings. However, the regime’s bid to stifle voices of protest remains incapable of achieving total silence.

5.2. Government’s Strategies to thwart dissent before and after Independence

Since colonial times, protest musicians posed a threat to the government. In turn, the government, at various intervals, created laws and strategies to deal with the threat.

Some of the strategies were successful, but some were easily subverted. In both contexts, the government was comfortable with musicians who supported it and brutal towards those who criticised it. Only a sample of these strategies is dealt with here regarding their impact on selected musicians.

5.2.1. Music Censorship

The censorship of Zimbabwe protest or apocalyptic liberation music dates back to the 1960s. In a quest to suppress dissenting musical voices, the Rhodesian government on 1 December 1967, set up a legislative framework to examine any article or entertainment. Although revision to the legislation was done in the new Zimbabwe under the Censorship and Entertainment Act 1996, still it retained its original form (Nyathi, 2016). This is one of the worst reactions of both Rhodesia and Zimbabwe governments to set up such kind of law. Music has been regarded as the common enemy since the tone of patriotic music changed. They thoroughly censored all other forms of artistic expression as well as music to the point of totally silencing it. The Censorship and Entertainment Control Act of 1 December 1967 (Chapter 10:04) commenced during the rise of the Chimurenga gurus. Although the Act was revised in 1996, it survives in almost its original form.

The Ministry was assigned to administer the Act. The Minister had the power to appoint the board, known as the Board of Censors. That Board had been mandated to undertake to the strictly sense the stipulations set under this Act. The Board consisted of not less than nine members whose tenure was set at a maximum of three years (Nyathi, 2016). The Board of Censors, commonly known as the Censorship Board, was mandated to review any article meant for public entertainment. The Censorship Board makes inquiries and may consider necessary regarding publication, picture, statue,

record or public entertainment following section seventeen of the Act. Then it advises the Minister of Home Affairs regarding any matters arising from the reviewed articles in light of the provisions of the Act. The Board, in this case, functions within the guidelines set in the Act or any other enactment. It is vital to note that the authority invested in the Board in terms of phrases like "alleged to be" and "has reason to believe" (Nyathi, 2016), then anyone can invite the Censorship Board to examine any work of art or a piece of music.

Although such a legislative framework exists, what has been witnessed on the ground is an evident subversion of justice. In specific incidences, individuals or groups of individuals appear to have taken over the board's authority, and they became the authority to determine what is aired on Zimbabwean airwaves. This could be a minister in the government, a fearful radio presenter, an executive of a recording studio, or a ZBC reporter who could act without considering the legislative stipulations set within the Act. Such an approach suits the authorities as they tended to use ways that would avoid controversies related to the regulated process of censorship. For instance, in the time when Leonard Zhakata checked with ZBC regarding his album *Hodho* those within the censorship board professed ignorance on the ban (Zhakata,2005).

5.2.2. Banning of Songs

In Zimbabwe, the Censorship Board remains alert to occasionally review and act against unsuspecting artistic texts scripts (Nyathi, 2016). On 9 September 2004, they displayed their utter lack of interest in their mandate of addressing censorship matters. They dismissed a discussion raised on censorship and with no interest, they took almost a year without addressing a petition tabled by Rooftop Promotions' lawyers. The petition was on banning a play presented by Super Patriots and Morons, which was

considered critical of Zimbabwean government policies. The delaying tactic to address such censorship matters is meant to frustrate the artists.

In most cases, it is difficult for upcoming artists to wait for such a more extended period, given that their source of livelihood comes from music. The Board appear to communicate that: 'Next time stay clear of controversy and do not stray from approved messages' (Eyre, 2015). Chitofiri (2017) argues that in May 2003, some of the songs by Leonard Karikoga Zhakata on the album titled *'Hodho'* (Toy Gun) were banned hence never given airplay. His songs were banned on the allegation that they were politically incorrect as they were linked to the opposition party, that is, Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). Upon realising that his songs were banned and could not receive airplay from the sole national broadcaster, the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) Zhakata confronted some personnel at the broadcaster. This invited wrath of the regime as all media targetted him for criticism and exposed him to unwarranted attacks daily. Zhakata views this period as 'the worst moment in his life as far as his music career is concerned' (Zhakata, 2016).

Chitate (2003) argues that "had the MDC leaders taken hid to the message from Leonard Zhakata's lyrics in the song 'Struggle' (2003), they could not have been caught up in the debate relating to the re-introduction of the Senate by President Robert Mugabe". He also argues that, in the song, Leonard Zhakata highlights that to be victorious people need to be united. He sings: *"Tikaita struggle within a struggle, tingakunde sei, Rangu pfumo ndokanda kumhandu, iwe rako pfumo wokanda kuneni*" (Zhakata,2003). Zimbabweans struggled under Mugabe`s government to a level that some people moved to the diaspora. Chitate suggests that the MDC remains the beacon of hope for the transformation of the lives of the people of Zimbabwe. Thus, to him, it will only take MDC leadership to realise this and then move forward to set up

appropriate strategies to dislodge the repressive government for Mugabe and usher in new reforms.

As already discussed, after Mapfumo's song "Hokoyo!" caught the attention of the Smith government, it was banned, and himself got imprisoned in 1979. This ban of his music was evidence of its impact upon the life experiences of Zimbabweans. The impact was also seen later in the elections held in 1980, which installed a new government. At the celebratory concert, Mapfumo performed in praise of Mugabe and his government. He, later, became dissatisfied with Mugabe's regime. As soon as he started to sing about the shortcomings of the Mugabe regime, his music was banned.

Chipanga received numerous threats from various supporters and enforcers of the Robert Mugabe regime (Chipanga,2016). Chipanga asserts that the banning of some of his songs birthed in him the spirit of resilience, for he now feels encouraged to share the message of wisdom (Masekesa, 2015). For him, it is regrettable that in Zimbabwe, one is persecuted for telling the truth (Chipanga, 2016). He asserts that he vowed to soldier on despite all these problems he faced. He accused the regime of having banned some of his songs. Although that was a challenge, Chipanga vowed never to stop preaching the messages affecting the people. Allan Chiweshe, who was the director of programmes at the ZBC, publicly admitted that some of Chipanga's songs were banned as they had heavy political connotations (Muzari, 2009). However, Chipanga said he did not know what they meant when they said the songs were political. Thus, to Hosiah Chipanga, the officials needed to define what the word 'political' meant to them and the people, and he wanted them to differentiate between politics and the truth (Chipanga, 2017).

5.2.3. Denial of Airplay

In Zimbabwe, the evidence that a particular type of music or song was suspiciously viewed as "politically incorrect" was reflected through no airplay on state-controlled radio stations. Such music would not even get mentioned in radios or newspapers controlled by the government. From about 2000, when the government embarked on the controversial land reform exercise, if any musician wanted his or her music to be heard, then one would sing about the success of the land reform exercise. Also, to guarantee airplay, the musician was expected to sing something against people of same-sex attraction or Tony Blair in the most offensive language. In that regard, one would have secured a free ticket to perform at all state organised functions, galabashes, and they could even have their studios funded. In this case, artists were so overwhelmed by the desire not to be in trouble through the composition of songs that may be deemed irrelevant to their condition. Moreover, music that is relevant to the current conditions must question the socio-political challenges of the current time.

The resistance of the protest music movements was polished by propaganda. Many, including musicians, hailed the government's policy in 2001 of the promotion of 75% local content (Gande, 2001). They took this development positively because the move would improve their lives. It did not take so long to increase local content to100%, which became a total ban on foreign music. This opened avenues for even cabinet ministers to record some songs, videos and liberations jingles. To deprive an alternative voice that was through apocalyptic music and determine what Zimbabweans should listen to rested at the centre of censorship of music. The government also sponsored the recording of propaganda songs. Hence any music viewed to promote 'revolutionary ideas' was replaced with music that talked about socio-political ills. Supporting the Mugabe regime was equivalent to being revolutionary and patriotic.

5.2.4. The use of Security Forces and Torture

Vengeyi (2013, p.204) noted that "to avoid revolts further, the settler government muted the idea to strictly monitoring Africans." This view is vital, and it shows that all Shona cultures were now being monitored including music. For example, during the Smith regime, security forces broke into the concert venue of The Green Arrows band, where they were performing a revolutionary song titled *Madzangara Dzimu (The Cyclopes*[37]*)* in 1978 (Turino, 2000). The police arrested and imprisoned the band members for two nights. They had once experienced the same earlier in 1975 during their performance at Jamaica Inn. Ironically. 'The Green Arrows' involvement in political campaigns resulted in it being demonised. Thomas Mapfumo also is known to have been imprisoned at Chikurubi Prison for at least three months. Thomas Mapfumo got released upon his agreement to perform at a political rally for Bishop Abel Muzorewa (Eyre, 2016). These points to some of the captured incidents of using security forces or torture to silence apocalyptic musicians during the colonial era.

Leonard Karikoga Zhakata on April 2004, was interrogated by the Harare Central police for about 30 minutes (Zhakata, 2016). The police questioned the inclusion of his song *Ngoma Yenharo* in Zvakwana`s compilation of anti-government songs produced by Zvakwana, a civic pressure group. Raymond Majongwe, the then Secretary-General of the Progressive Teachers` Union, alleges that on April 2004 state security agents instructed him to remove his music from the British –based SW Radio Africa (Major, 2004). He also claims that since the Daily News released his album, he has been stalked by shadowy characters. Thomas Tafirenyika Mapfumo, in November

[37] Madzangara Dzimu translated cyclopes in Greco-Roman mythology are believed to be giants one eyed creatures.

2004, released '*Chaputika'* (It has exploded), which included the song called '*Masoja NeMapurisa'* (Soldiers and Police) which was once not released. Gangs of unidentified people were reported to have raided flea markets, confiscating and destroying the CDs. It is also claimed that the music studio director`s father was attacked. All these led Thomas Tafirenyika Mapfumo to experience some challenges recording a new album in late 2004 as subsequently the master recordings disappeared mysteriously.

In an interview with Kamangeni Phiri and Pamenus Tuso in Bulawayo, it was indicated that Mapfumo was accused way back in 2001 (Pameus, 2017). He was accused of having purchased stolen BMW cars, of which he dismissed such allegations as to him were meant to silence him because of his hard-hitting lyrics in his political songs. Mapfumo blamed former President Mugabe for architecting his persecution (Pameus, 2017).

5.2.5. The issue of Exile

Most of the time, musicians self-exiled themselves following torture or labelling of their songs by the government security institutions. Chipanga, for instance, moved to Namibia following the blacklisting of some of his songs by government-controlled radio and TV stations. According to a report in the Standard Newspaper, Chipanga with his Vaparidzi Veshoko band relocated to Windhoek in search of an audience that would receive his message (Sibanda, 2019). Chipanga viewed this as a call to preach his gospel about socio-economic issues affecting innocent Zimbabweans and Namibians. Chipanga decries the socio-economic decay in Zimbabwe, and he asserts that:

> "Leaving Zimbabwe was an unfortunate move for me. It is miserable that one is persecuted because of telling the truth. As a musician, I faced some challenges. Despite all these problems that I have faced, I will soldier on in Namibia," said Chipanga. "They have banned some of my songs, and I have received threats from certain people, but I will never stop preaching the messages affecting people, and that is why I have decided to move to Namibia" (Chipanga, 2016)

Furthermore, as Mugabe moved with his crackdown on any sign of dissent, security forces brutally targeted any critics, which led to opposition gatherings being banned. Mapfumo also became a target after releasing his album "*Corruption*" in 1989. Before Mapfumo left for the USA, police tried to pursue the case of him being accused of buying stolen cars and threatening him that if convicted, he would face a long jail term (Korpe, 2004). Mapfumo then moved to the United States of America in Oregon, where a friend who advised him to flee from Zimbabwe in solidarity gave him one room for himself and another for his band (AFP, 2018). In his "*Rise*" album, Mapfumo being in exile urged Zimbabweans to remain resilient even during trying times under Mugabe`s authoritarian government.

5.3. The Dawn of Hope and Religious Revival

When apocalyptic music was being silenced in Zimbabwe, one wondered what then the voice of the voiceless would be. However, it should be acknowledged that its voice was not silenced entirely as it had already impacted even the Zimbabwean society's religious elements. A form of religious revival rose and started to instil hope despite adversity. As life continued to change with new laws being enacted, the effect was felt in every aspect of society. In 1998, Operation Mobilization, with its theme "Love Africa Missions", mobilised the launch of an International Day of Prayer (Omusa, 2019). Churches in Zimbabwe saw the need to pray for the nation to raise the hope that was fading due to continued suffering. The messages during the International Day of Prayer emphasised good governance.

This move was a sign that the churches in Zimbabwe were beginning to raise a voice concerning the adversities the people were facing. The church resumed its role of being a watchdog. This could not go well with the ZANU PF government as it, later, tried to silence the dissenting voice of the Church. The Central Intelligence Officers

cautioned most church leaders to leave politics and concentrate on the pulpit. Since the organising of the International day of prayer rested with the Zimbabwe Council of Churches, this led to the souring of relations between the government and the churches that belonged to the mainstream. The state started to accuse the mainstream churches of being agents of imperialism. The accusation rested on the fact that the missionaries brought the mainstream churches. ZANU PF had just forgotten that it once received support from the World Council of Churches and the Roman Catholic during the liberation struggle (Cviic.1979).

On the other hand, the Apostolic churches, as well as African Pentecostal and Evangelical churches with some splinter Anglican groups, sided with the government. These pronounced prophetic oracles about Mugabe as the type of Moses who was raised to liberate Zimbabwe. The state was no longer shy to demand the obedience and participation of the churches in the development process. The Pentecostal linked fervently to Mugabe's crusade against people of sexual attraction to those of the same sex (Sunday Mail, 1995). This move by the Pentecostals put to spotlight the mainstream churches. In that way, it led the ZANU PF government to denounce any mainstream church Non-Governmental Organisations' programmes. Nevertheless, this made the Church NGOs associated with the mainstream Protestant and Catholic churches become essential players in the policy advocacy and voter education, negatively resulting in them being labelled as opponents to the government. Thus, the Pentecostal churches that used to be in the periphery during the liberation struggle at this moment moved to the centre and became more significant players in the 1990s. This increased the division between mainstream churches and the Pentecostals. John Makumbe confirmed this move in his interview that:

> The day of prayer is a coup for Mugabe as he has split the leaders of the church into two just as he busted the MDC and split that into two as Mugabe will use anything, including the priest, to clean his filth (IWPR, 2006).

Makumbe made this conclusion after Mugabe lured the Zimbabwe Council of Church leaders to support him. During their preparation of another International Day of Prayer which had become the platform for the church to voice its concerns regarding the status of the country, Mugabe invited the leaders to the State House. After their meeting, the church leaders changed their tone and pronounced their support for Mugabe.

The system had to put strict laws that deterred outside missionaries from coming to Zimbabwe. This left most church NGOs open to ridicule from the Mugabe regime as they were identified with their sponsors and accused of supporting regime change. This opened a great path of revival as the NGOs got the opportunity to write articles regarding acts of injustice perpetrated by Mugabe's government. Be that as it may, the church NGOs started to present more articles on the relationship between the state and the churches.

In the articles, the Church NGOs voiced their stance concerning democracy. Considering the deteriorating economy and acts of injustice, the Zimbabwe Council of Churches' new leadership diversified its activities by creating a Justice Peace and Reconciliation desk to address these issues. The Zimbabwe Council of Churches lobbied the Electoral Supervisory Commission to permit Non-Governmental Organisations and churches to monitor elections (Mutesha, 1995). Additionally, Ecumenical support Services started a theological reflection group that was committed to achieving liberation and self-reliance for the oppressed, poor, marginalised and disadvantaged people. The church began to talk about economic matters, social justice and discrimination, which helped conscientize people about their status and the need to come out of that status. In this way, the church helped people to overcome dissonance.

Furthermore, the NGOs which were associated with the churches started to call for the campaign on justice (Gokova, 1995). The church began to challenge the government's Economic Structural Adjustment Programme and its effects on citizens' lives. The challenge got strengthened by the International Jubilee 2000, [38] which called for the church and NGOs to campaign against oppressive governments (Wiley, 1986). Thus, we now see the church coming to advise on reforms in a non-partisan manner. The church also took a facilitative role during the formation of the Government of National Unity (G.N.U) (2009 to 2013) and called people to shun political violence.

5.4. Constitutional Amendments and Land Redistribution

Since the colonial period, apocalyptic musicians addressed the deplorable living conditions of the black people, especially their loss of land to the colonisers. The struggle for independence for the musicians was to result in land being given back to the rightful owners, black people. That the government failed to fulfil the wartime promise to return land to the indigenous people became an area of concern for the musicians after independence. Their continued and spirited articulation of the need for the land pushed the government to yield to their demands. Obviously, the demands of the musicians were the demands of ordinary people.

Simon Chimbetu's song *Ndima* (a piece of land) (1998) motivated in a significant way the government to take the land from white farmers and redistribute it to the poor black masses. Mugabe was fully aware that he did not address the land question since he was the one who brokered the Lancaster House Agreement in 1979 and was well versed with the agreement's stipulations. According to Moyo (1995), the land question

[38] International Jubilee 2000 was a global campaign that led to an ultimate debt cancellation owed by the poorest countries

remained the most hotly and popularly contested policy reform area in Zimbabwe fourteen years after independence. This means that apocalyptic songs that voiced the land issue to be addressed had a real issue requiring urgent attention. The haste approach with which the government fast-tracked the Land Reform Programme in 2000 shows the impact of apocalyptic seers' voices through their music. This justified why Mugabe chose to fast track the land issue after 14 years of independence.

The Fast Track Land Programme's supporters would argue that Britain, the former colonial master of Zimbabwe, had failed to fulfil its obligation as set in the Lancaster House agreement. The Lancaster House agreement had a clause binding Britain to avail funds after ten years from independence to compensate for any land the government needed from the white commercial farmers. However, an analysis of the form of evictions observed during the farm invasion was forced, as it did not consider the idea of surrendering extra land as stipulated in the Lancaster House Agreement. Still, it followed Constitutional Reform 16 as reflected in Appendix XI. The amended Constitutional Reform 16 specified that since the colonisers took the Zimbabwean land without compensation, hence the white farmers had to surrender extra land for resettlement. In that case, no compensation would be granted, but the government from its limited resources would only pay for some development. There were no compensation or consideration of some developments during the forced land invasion.

Although most scholars argue that the land reform programme ignored constitutional rights, the writer will not analyse that conclusion but subscribes to the fact that the amendment of the constitution to address the land question was caused by the rising voices that had been conscientised through apocalyptic music. Therefore when the ZANU PF government saw that people rallied behind the opposition party (MDC) which had well captured the apocalyptic seers' message and drove its manifesto

to the people, it quickly called for a Referendum to amend the constitution as a way to quell the revolution. The MDC campaigned against the amendment as the clause had many gaps, so the ZANU PF was defeated in 2000. Thus, ZANU feeling this embarrassment decided to amend some sections of the constitution, which led to the land invasion without compensation.

Nevertheless, people had already found hope in MDC that sang the chorus of reformation. Then the elections in 2002 show that people voted for economic revival, a kind of revival of their fortunes which they argue had been destroyed by ZANU PF. Thus to the people, MDC was messianic in outlook. Hence from a message drawn from apocalyptic songs, people saw a pathway opened to address the years of marginalisation and oppression by ZANU PF. The MDC identified itself with the suffering community, and since the community had lost hope, they hoped for a new, better future. The mass saw MDC as the agent of change to correct the situation. Therefore ZANU PF, with its defeat during the Referendum and the slight victory in the 2002 election, went into a panic (Magaisa, 2010). This is not the only time when ZANU PF panicked. Still, the War Veterans' push for compensation following economic decay necessitated by the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme led the ZANU PF government to grant Z$50 000 lamps and a further Z$2000 monthly pay to the War Veterans. The government carried this compensation out of the budget. Again, this is a sign that apocalyptic songs that voiced that things are not right did impact not only those in the periphery of the ZANU PF circles but also those at the centre.

These also experienced cognitive dissonance as what they had been promised were not fulfilled, and they needed to overcome this. In this way, they had to exert pressure on the government through the influence of apocalyptic music messages. Thus with the apocalyptic music, the Zimbabweans from all circles of life saw the coming of

the long-awaited replacement of their era. Again we see that as a way to avert the emerging revolution the ZANU PF government had to address the challenges through several amendments of some sections of the Constitution through Parliament as the Referendum had proved their defeat.

The climax of addressing the challenges was the chaotic land reform in which Mugabe himself was quoted to support the forced land occupation by the war veterans. Although the land issue was addressed haphazardly, it remained unsolved as; most black Zimbabweans have not benefited since it was carried on political party lines. In this case, it favoured more ZANU PF supporters. Like in the White minority rule, other ZANU PF elites still received a double allocation of multiple farms. Women were also marginalised in the allocation. Thus, the land invasion or relocation from white to some blacks did not address all the challenges faced by the nation of Zimbabwe. The main reason is that agriculture in Zimbabwe holds the economy of the country. The land invasion just transformed the land into a 'dead capital' with no economy generated from it. Poverty increased and again the hope was dashed.

Hence, we see again seers like Thomas Mapfumo, who had moved to the centre to support the government relocating again to the periphery and started to compose more apocalyptic songs. During this time, Thomas Tafirenyika Mapfumo sang the already highlighted song *'Mamvemve'* in which he preached about the land having been trashed. Singing in the hidden message, he challenged the government that it mobilised people to enter into the farms saying they were able to til it but look now what is the result. He, later on, called people to move to the diaspora as life was becoming unbearable. Mapfumo made sense since there was no effort made to allocate large farms to those well skilled in the field of agriculture or who had the needed capital. If the

black government could have put this into consideration, then there could be continuity in commercial farming.

5.5. Cementing Relationship of Opposition Forces with Suffering Masses

Zimbabwe apocalyptic music not only awakened the government to address the demands of the masses but also aroused the opposition political forces to identify with the people. In the process, apocalyptic music cemented the relationship between opposition forces and the suffering masses. Morgan Tsvangirai, the leader of the opposition Movement for Democratic Change, picked the message of the apocalyptic seers like Mapfumo, Chipanga and Zhakata. Tsvangirai criticised how the land reform was done, and his main concern was disrespecting human rights and justice. For Tsvangirayi, it was counterproductive to see people just mushrooming on the farms without skills as all commercially viable farms were turned into peasant plots (Mutasa, 2019). Although the writer subscribes that apocalyptic music impacted on land reform, skills development is still lacking among those who gained from the land reform programme in Zimbabwe.

Now following that life did not change with the land reform programme, apocalyptic songs continued to be composed, and these encouraged the people that they had not yet achieved the gains of independence. The new apocalyptic message came from opposition forces like the Movement for Democratic Change. Moreover, characteristically the songs reflected the need for another liberation. For instance, Paul Madzore, one of the members of parliament for the opposition party, became a prominent critic of the government, thereby endearing himself with the suffering masses. Paul Madzore (2007), in his song *Chikumba zvose'* (Bulldozer), sang about the unproductive farming programme. For him, farms were taken without anyone stopping, resulting in the unproductivity of the farms. He also mentions in the song that

factories were as well taken during the invasion, which has affected many people's lives as they lost employment. The failing agrarian programme and industries affected many orphans and widows. Once again, Paul Madzore brings a message of hope that one day, Zimbabwe will attain real independence. In this way, Madzore's apocalyptic song encourages the Zimbabweans that although they were liberated from the white minority rule, complete liberation from socio-political, cultural, religious and economic slavery was still needed.

Paul Madzore (2007), also in his song *'Chirangano'* (Promise), encourages people that even though the reformation was taking time, people still need to persevere as they wait for the promise. This apocalyptic song encouraged the people of Zimbabwe to bear the pain with the hope that one day things will change. This helped the people of Zimbabwe to endure pain with anticipation of a completely transformed society. In other words, the apocalyptic message contained in the song was that there is hope beyond current Zimbabwe. During this time, ZANU PF engaged in beatings and abducting members of the opposition and the activists, which brought fear among people. In such an experience, some words of encouragement were needed. In 2007 Morgan Tsvangirai was being accused of treason, and Madzore sang *'Hondo'*(War) (Madzore, 2007) in which he sang about Mugabe accusing other people and yet he was the one who had destroyed the economy, social and cultural life of Zimbabwe. The song encouraged people to stand in solidarity with Tsvangirayi.

After 2008, when ZANU PF experienced defeat from the MDC party and launched a move of terror, Paul Madzore (2009) sang another song, *'Tombana'* (Childmind). In the song, he indirectly pointed to president Robert Mugabe as Bob and referred to his behaviour like that of a child. The singer views the destruction of people's houses which was termed *'Murambatsvina'* as an unreasoning child's move.

Madzore (2009) sang another song, '*Saddam waenda kwasara Bob*' (Saddam has fallen, and next is Bob) in line with the above song. In this song, he refers to Saddam Hussein's fall, the former president of Iraq in 2003 and points out that the next to follow was Bob (Robert Mugabe). In this song, he was pointing that one dictator had gone in history and Mugabe was the next. Thus, with his song, Madzore pointing to a historical figure instils hope to the people of Zimbabwe that it was possible for a dictator to fall.

In the same song, Madzore also pointed to the failing economy due to the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme and called people to endure as things will not remain the same. In this apocalyptic song, we observe the apocalyptic genre's role of reorientation in times of challenges. In 2011, Madzore also sang *'Tokwira Makomo Tomudana'* (We call Him as we ascend the Mountains) in which he encouraged the people that life had become like an experience of ascending mountains but still needed to call upon God. In this song, he took the whole church song but used it ironically. In the song, he mentions Tsvangirayi as a messianic figure who should rescue people. The song encouraged the people that life has become too hard, but still, they need to develop hope as an intervention will come from above. Madzore also sang *'Zimbabwe Simuka'* (Zimbabwe Arise). In the song, he calls Zimbabweans to stand and challenge the government on the deteriorating economy. In that way, the song encouraged people to endure political persecution and embrace the spirit of resistance from the oppressive system. Madzore narrates about the scarcity of commodities and unending queues in banks and hospitals then calls the people of Zimbabwe to protest.

He encourages the people to protest so that ZANU PF could recognise that they had destroyed the economy. Like in the Jewish apocalypticism, there was a time when the seer started to speak publicly about the deteriorating situation or state of affairs. Paul Madzore, as an apocalypticist, begins to articulate a clear message of revolution.

Things did not change soon after the 2013 elections, so Madzore came up with the same song *'Tomudana'*. This time in the message, he includes soldiers and police that they too are crying for the redemption of socio-economic life. He still refers that only Tsvangirayi is the messianic figure who may lead to the reformation.

On the other side, ZANU PF members thought that Mugabe would hand over power to his successor after elections, but that did not happen, and some factions started within. From the factionalism experiences within ZANU PF, we observe that the apocalyptic songs did not only impact the opposition party members but also on all those marginalised even from the ZANU PF team. In 2016 Madzore released another song, *'Tikabatana Tinokunda'*(United we conquer). This song rallied people from different circles of life to identify their shared experiences. We then observe some people from Mugabe camp starting to register their discontent with his leadership from this time. Matemadanda and Mutsvangwa prominent war veterans began to openly share their displeasure with the Mugabe regime. This means the message of unity to address the challenges touched everyone.

5.6. Political Challenges to Dictatorship and Political Change

The message to overcome challenges through unity appears to have united people of shared experiences. It became clear that most Zimbabwe people had been conscientized that the ZANU PF government was dictatorial. Apocalyptic songs continued to conscientise the people that things were not right and action was needed. Madzore produced more songs like *'Nineveh Kure'* (Nineveh is Far) in 2017 which encourage people to persevere as the journey to reformation was long but attainable. He also produced *'Tsvangirai svitsva vana kuCanaan'* (Tsvangirai take the Children to Canaan), which again encouraged people to look at Tsvangirai as the type of Moses who would take people to experience a good life. During this time, other apocalyptic

seers like Jah Prayzah emerging from the centre but singing songs that referred to the discontent among the followers within ZANU PF rose. In his song, *'Mudhara vachauuya'* (The old man will arise) (2016), he sings a love song in the irony of the political tensions within ZANU PF. It called those who were challenging Mugabe within to exercise compliance, knowing that the time will come when their choice would rise like a lion. The song became a hit in 2017 as frictions and tensions within ZANU PF increased.

In 2017, tensions became unbearable in ZANU PF, and some dismissal of the prominent members started. Jah Prayzah in his December 2016 album '*Kutonga Kwaro Gamba*' (The Reigns of a Fighter/Hero), had songs that predicted the military coup of 15 November 2017 that toppled Robert Mugabe started to make sense. The songs mobilised people to revolt against the state of their life experience, which had become unbearable. From this point again, we see the impact of apocalyptic music as people in ZANU PF who used to be Mugabe loyalists rose to challenge him openly. This means they also saw that things were not right but could not rise against their own system, fearing victimisation. We observe apocalyptic music's impact in uniting people to overcome alienation and join forces against the oppressive system. Everyone in Zimbabwe had the same voice.

Everyone longed for a new Zimbabwe where there would be respect for the rule of law, good governance, social justice, corruption-free, no more poverty and a Zimbabwe characterised with freedom of association, freedom of media and respect of rights. This was the unity that characterised a coup that removed Mugabe. Opposition forces, military, civil society, war veterans, youth, white Zimbabweans, and blacks joined hands in demonstrations until Mugabe stepped down. Emerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa took interim power and later was voted in by people (in July 2018), hoping

that he would improve their lives. Mnangagwa came with a message of unity and restoration of the rule of law and building of the economy. The message made sense before the elections, but hope was dashed during the announcement of the results. On that day (1 August 2018), lives were lost as soldiers rose against the people. This reflects that reformation did not come as the socio-economic, political, cultural and religious life remained untransformed.

The challenges to accepting Mnangagwa are that he was part of the same government and involved during Zimbabwe's atrocities. During the Matebeleland genocide, Mnangagwa was a minister of State Security and was actively involved in the massacres. For most Zimbabweans, he is not the Messianic figure they hoped for. In that regard, we again see another form of apocalyptic music rising. Nevertheless, though things did not improve as people expected, the impact of apocalyptic songs still stands as they mobilised people, conscientized people, encouraged people to persevere and rallied people to hope for a better future.

5.7. Chapter Summary

In conclusion, the chapter discussed the socio-political, economic, cultural and religious impact of apocalyptic music as reflected within Zimbabwean experiences. There was a revisit to the roots of dissent from the colonial and independent Zimbabwe. The same reasons which caused dissent in the colonial era have been established as resurfacing after independence. Issues of injustice, ill-treatment, cultural erosion, bad governance, the rule of law, family disintegration and the decay of the economy raised the cost of living, just to mention a few. The chapter also highlighted the factors that influenced apocalyptic musicians, such as mass nationalism and workers' status in both colonial and independent Zimbabwe and marginalisation.

The Zimbabwean community's response to the apocalyptic message was also examined. The chapter then discussed the strategies used by governments of both colonial and independent Zimbabwe to thwart dissent. Methods like music censorship, banning, denial of airplay, use of security forces, and the musicians' exile were examined. The fading of hope and religious revival was also investigated. The government's interim measure to quell the emerging revolution was also analysed in this chapter. In this case, land utilisation was discussed. The chapter concluded by analysing the impact of apocalyptic music in challenging dictatorship and the results leading to political change. In evaluating these, the chapter analysed the Zimbabweans' attitude towards the current government of Emerson Mnangagwa, the old system of Robert Mugabe and the opposition.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND GENERAL CONCLUSION

6.0. SUMMARY

The research was set out to investigate the manifestation of Jewish apocalypticism within Zimbabwean apocalyptic music in terms of origins, nature, characteristic features and the extent of its impact in addressing religious, economic, socio-political and cultural spheres of life. It has identified the context, concept and function of both Jewish apocalypticism and Zimbabwean apocalyptic music as a strategy to resolve the social, political, religious, economic and cultural repressive circumstances. It has also established Jewish apocalypticism's characteristic features and how they are reflected within Zimbabwean apocalyptic music. It further identified the role of a seer in both Jewish apocalypticism and Zimbabwean apocalyptic music. The study has also sought to establish whether foreign invasion and oppression led to the rise of apocalyptic music in pre-colonial, colonial and independent Zimbabwe. The contemporary scholarly work on Jewish apocalypticism and apocalyptic music in Zimbabwe is not unanimous in addressing the study's critical questions;

1. What are the origins, nature and characteristics of Jewish apocalypticism?

2. What is the conceptual sense and functionality of apocalypticism as a strategy for resolving perceived societal problems?

3. What is the life setting or context of Zimbabwe apocalyptic music?

4. How does apocalyptic music impact on religious, socio-political, economic and cultural spheres of life?

Jewish apocalypticism has both indigenous and foreign origins, which justifies the diversity of its characteristic features in its manifestation. From an indigenous school of thought, a conclusion is that Jewish apocalypticism is traceable from wisdom and prophetic literature. In its conclusion, the indigenous school of thought brought in the relationship between apocalypticism and prophecy. Apocalypticism then is seen as an outgrowth of prophetism. Third Isaiah has been identified to have influenced the development of apocalypticism in Jewish society.

On the other hand, the alien school of thought drawing from some similarities between Jewish apocalypticism and Ancient Near East mythologies concluded that apocalypticism was a borrowed phenomenon outside Judaism. Following that, there is full agreement among scholars regarding apocalypticism being a shared motif among many communities, the writer subscribes to apocalypticism having its origins in Judaism. We see it being fully expressed in Judaism or Jewish society or biblical community. The similarities seen outside the circles of Judaism were because of its manifestation. From such a conclusion, its manifestation in Zimbabwean apocalyptic music is justifiable.

In this research, it has also been found that within the two Jewish forms of apocalypticism, the cosmological and the historical, the key features are revelation, symbolism, pseudonymity, dualism, eschatology, vaticinium ex eventu, ethical and moral exhortations and numerology. Not all characteristics may be established from whenever apocalypticism manifests outside Jewish circles. Symbolism, numerology, dualism, pseudonymity, vaticinium ex eventu, ethical and moral exhortations are apocalyptic features that are also reflected within Zimbabwean apocalyptic music. Pseudonymity and symbolism play a significant part in the delivery of the message. In both Jewish apocalypticism and Zimbabwe apocalyptic music, pseudonymity of the

seers was blown away especially when the battle lines were drawn as their fear of victimisation disappeared, and then the seers or musicians started to speak out.

Fanaticism takes over during the point when the seers no longer conceal their names. In this, the writer agrees with Moyo's (1998) conclusion that there existed centre and peripheral prophets who uttered apocalyptic messages for and against the powers in the Jewish society. In the view that these apocalyptic seers could not conceal their identities, they moved to the periphery and started to rebuke the kings in the light of their evil deeds. This is when we begin to observe tensions, conflict and confrontation between the kings and the peripheral seers. This was a move that the central seers could not take as they benefited from the status quo. Due to its diversity in manifestation, there are inconsistencies within the apocalyptic literature as it is reflected in various life settings. Its manifestation in a political environment, then it was shaped by politics. Like Jewish apocalypticism, its manifestation within Zimbabwean apocalyptic music is primarily shaped by social, political, religious, economic and cultural experiences.

In the light of its manifestation, apocalypticism is not homogeneous in its deployment as life experience shapes how it appears in each society. This research has noted that its causative factors are shared among societies from which it manifest. Apocalypticism functions as a tool to address political persecution, alienation, marginalisation experiences, social, economic, religious, and cultural deprivation. From these experiences, apocalypticism serves as a tool to mobilise people to seek liberation, spearheaded by a seer. Although the seer plays a vital role, divine intervention rested at the centre of Jewish apocalypticism. The Jews believed that God would intervene in their situation in a catastrophic and cataclysmic way. In that situation, the seer's role was to conscientise people and instiled hope with the view that God would come into their experiences.

Unlike Jewish apocalypticism, the manifestation of apocalypticism within Zimbabwean music does not always have divine intervention as the norm, but the seers play the central role to agitate change. Divine intervention is not explicitly highlighted within Zimbabwean apocalypticism, but an appeal to the divine is mostly reflected within the scripts. The study also established that Zimbabwean apocalyptic music was born in similar circumstances that birthed the phenomenon within Jewish society, such as trauma and cultural shock. Apocalyptic songs just like apocalyptic literature in Jewish society presents an explanation of the source of suffering and at the same time, offers comfort and hope for a better future.

Apocalypticism in Jewish society and Zimbabwean music was a tool to sensitise people. The writer concurs with Dunn (1997) that apocalypticism has been identified as a war for freedom and a language of crisis. This is confirmed from the findings that, from both Jewish apocalypticism and Zimbabwean apocalyptic music, it has been seen that it voices elements of a violation of rights by those who hold power. The writer also concurs with the conclusion made by Munochiveyi (2011) that apocalyptic music narrated the humiliation of the Zimbabweans into colonial subjects. In Jewish society, apocalypticism was spearheaded by visionaries and seers. In the Zimbabwean context, it is spearheaded by musicians and poets who have emerged as the seers in that context. This research has also found that apocalypticism serves as a support when people feel alienated. From this, Osundare's (2002) sentiments are confirmed that apocalyptic music served as an alternative antidote in the face of repression. In that way, it helped create new dreams among Zimbabweans to chat a new course to register their discontent.

Apocalypticism instils the spirit of resistance from oppressive systems. In this, the writer agrees with the conclusions of Horsley (2010) that apocalypticism serves as

a form of resistance to imperial oppression. Resistance in both Jewish apocalypticism and from Zimbabwean apocalyptic music has been against the imposed foreign practices, which would have an implication on the socio-cultural identity of a community. Apocalypticism serves as a pacifist tool that helps people shun violence, thereby leading people to endure suffering from the hope that things will turn better in the future. In pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial Zimbabwe, apocalypticism helped people endure suffering and voiced the challenges facing society. In this way, the writers of apocalyptic music appealed to the same features that characterised Jewish apocalypticism, like euphemism.

The writer agrees with Chitofiri (2017) that the Zimbabwean regime's patronage, corruption, and violence were contested through euphemism, ridicule, and overt criticism. Like in the Jewish society, apocalyptic music seers in Zimbabwe confronted the foreign rulers and even those who collaborated with the oppressive system during the colonial period. Still, after independence, they now challenge the socio-political, economic, religious, and cultural problems resulting from their Zimbabwean leaders. In other words, as the spokespersons of the oppressed masses, the apocalyptic seers' music celebrated and protested with the mass.

The research has established that apocalyptic thinking in Zimbabwe dates to pre-colonial, then developed in the colonial and continued after independence. In these periods, apocalyptic music and poetry emerged due to the infringement of foreign powers upon the social life, economy, culture, religion, and politics of Zimbabwe. In the pre-colonial era, it emerged from socio-political and economic relations between the early kingdoms. The rise of the status of the elite in the early kingdoms which resulted in the stratification of the society into the classes of the rich and poor or the rulers and the ruled stimulated new pockets of resistance. The subjects of the ruling

class developed ways of communicating and interpreting their experiences in a way that the rulers could not easily detect. Songs during this time were composed to communicate people's dislikes. The writer agrees with James Cone (1992), the founder of Black Liberation Theology in America, that music among black Americans responded to their oppressors' lies and claims. For instance, during the internal kingdom invasions between the Shonas and Ndebeles, the Shonas used the word *Madzviti* to refer to the Ndebeles. Also, use of words like Munhumutapa and the Rozvi.

Apocalyptic thinking developed much during the colonial era when the white colonisers took the land and cattle which formed the basis of the Zimbabwean economy, with the assistance of missionaries who infringed on the religious, social, and cultural practices of Zimbabweans. It has been established in this research that European missionaries in the colonial era added the level of deprivation of the Zimbabweans. This was so because the missionaries connived with the colonisers to erode the Zimbabweans' cultural and religious life. Like in Jewish society, apocalyptic music in Zimbabwe developed when external powers dominated Zimbabwe. In that way, apocalyptic music emerged from a context of socio-political, economic, religious, and cultural deprivation. Apocalyptic thinking started in the form of idioms, metaphors, and pseudonymity. From this, the writer agrees with the observation of Steinmetz (2010), as seen in this research, that today apocalypticism has resurged in the forms of stories, movies, novels, and songs. This is seen in the colonial era when the spirit mediums met to discuss the challenges relating to colonialism but could not openly point to this.

They then referred to their meeting as meant to discuss the disasters caused by grasshoppers or to share snuff and no white person could suspect their meetings as they thought they were to discuss natural disasters, yet they discussed the colonisers as the natural disaster. The writer concurs with the findings of Leakey (1954) in his analysis

of the Kikuyus people that in most cases, apocalyptic camouflaged message in coded language but was always clear to those who were affected. This is true in the Zimbabwean setting because the messages transmitted in the apocalyptic genre were well understood by those who were experiencing deprivation. In that way, in this study, it has been established that in certain circumstances in colonial Zimbabwe, the apocalyptists sometimes changed Christian hymns to disguise their message.

In most cases, like in Jewish society, where apocalypticism rallied people to either comply or resist, the research established that it was the same case in the Zimbabwean scenario. In the Zimbabwean experiences, stories in idiomatic form circulated even in the presence of those who were depriving people who could sometimes get or miss the message. In the case that the message reached the audience, it impacted both sides in a way that is to the powers, it led to reforms and correction, but sometimes it led to extreme persecution. In this, the writer concurs with the conclusion of Tatira (2004) that apocalyptic music became an effective way of registering grievances where direct communication proved to be complicated. A notable example in the colonial era was the famous Electoral Act of 1969 which resulted in Zimbabweans being given representation in the Parliament though minimal. The reaction by the authorities led the people to quickly notice that their message had been heard and they would come to terms with the new experience and at the same time develop another way of enhancing their apocalyptic language.

Like in Jewish apocalypticism, the Zimbabwean manifestation of the phenomenon even in the colonial era was because of foreign invasions. The colonising Europeans instigated forms of oppression, alienation, and deprivation, which was social, political, religious, economic and cultural. In most cases, it had been seen that the invading powers had a supremacist ideology that had an effect in supplanting the

Zimbabwean culture, tradition, customs, and religious beliefs. Through this conclusion, the writer also agrees with the observation of Cone (1992) that invasion led to enslavement. Somehow Zimbabweans devoted themselves to apocalyptic music and poetry in which became a response to socio-political, economic, and cultural invasion by the colonisers. The response was not always peaceful but sometimes violent.

The writer agrees with the conclusion of McGinn (2003) that the apocalyptic genre led to fanaticism and intolerance. This is justified by the emergence of protest movements with its climax being the guerrilla war in Zimbabwe. Thus, in the case of the Zimbabwean guerrilla war in which lives were lost, the writer agrees with the findings of Horsley (2010) that when apocalyptic resistance was not peaceful, then it could lead to martyrdom.

In this research, it has also been established that apocalyptic music grew out of despair over the deteriorating conditions. Like in Jewish society, the Zimbabweans felt marginalised, alienated, and oppressed. Then from that, apocalyptic music grew out of the experience of inequality and alienation in terms of services. For example, the different treatment in terms of education and employment is one good example. In that music did not only express the message of suffering but also what it meant to be a human being in a society. The writer agrees with Cone (1992) that music confirms humanity denied by the oppressors. Zimbabweans expressed their wish for better treatment through apocalyptic music. Apocalyptic music also grew out of discontent due to repressive laws of both colonial and post-independence. It grew as an outlet of people's anguish and bitterness and it became a tool of mobilisation. Like in Jewish apocalypticism, the Zimbabwean musicians and poets as the seers rose and mobilised people through their music. Apocalyptic music in Zimbabwe rose as a response to the crisis by the Rhodesians.

In terms of form, Zimbabwe apocalyptic music reflects the same characteristics, just like those prevalent within Jewish apocalypticism. Within apocalyptic music, we observe the use of symbolism evidenced by reference to powers as animals, pseudonymity, coded languages in the form of idioms and metaphors. For example, Mapfumo appealed to dualism in which he perceived this world as wrong and faulty hence the need to look forward to another world that is opposite to the current one. Like the Jewish prophetic seers, Zimbabwean seers (musicians and poets) emerged from the periphery and they played a role of a watchdog by challenging the powers and at the same time motivating the people to resist. In the pre-colonial and colonial era, spirit mediums who were local prophets authored apocalyptic scripts which were turned into songs during the liberation struggle.

In independent Zimbabwe, musicians and poets authored apocalyptic songs. Although motivation, as seen in the Maccabean revolt of Jewish society, is less common within the Zimbabwean setting, such motivation is more prevalent, and in most cases, it birthed protest movements. Apocalyptic music lured the Zimbabweans during the colonial era, and it made them conscious that they needed to fight for their freedom. Like the Black Americans, apocalyptic music motivated the Zimbabweans to formulate some liberation strategies from the white minority yoke of oppression. It also sustained the morale of the freedom fighters during the war.

In this research, it has been established that apocalyptic music during the colonial era conscientise Zimbabweans to know that the Rhodesian set laws not only suppressed them but also deprived them of their livelihood. Apocalyptic music led to the birth of Zimbabwe political movements or parties. For instance, Mbuya Nehanda's prophecy is paraded to have impacted much in the birth of the struggle for independence in Zimbabwe. Apocalyptic music mirrored the tribulations and trials of the oppressed

people. From the three selected Zimbabwean musicians, it has been established that apocalyptic music had a significant impact in addressing the socio-political, economic, religious, and cultural dilemmas.

Apocalyptic songs both challenged and mobilised people by conscientizing them about the cause of their sufferings. In the case of the experiences during the colonial era, it decried the disregard of the privileges of the black people by the Europeans. For the case of Mapfumo, his music during the colonial era conscientised the Zimbabweans how destitute they had become due to the land that had been grabbed from them by the Europeans. It then rallied the people to stage resistance in both the colonial period and as well in post-independent against any forms of oppression. It conscientised people to see socio-economic, political, religious, and cultural areas that needed to be addressed. The writer confirms the impact of the messages carried within the three apocalyptic seers' songs. It is confirmed that their music alerted the Zimbabwean mass how hard life had become to the point that most circles of the society had become corrupt. In that way, apocalyptic music served to inform the Zimbabweans how difficult it has become to draw lines between the judiciary, the executive and corruption. It alerted the people that class differences emerging from the social structures created a fertile ground for exploitation that they were already experiencing. It then mobilised the Zimbabweans to fight for the removal of these structures and classes. It further alerted the Zimbabweans that their rights and opportunities were being compromised. It has been seen that apocalyptic music helped people to persevere while at the same time working to eradicate the ideology of exclusion to reach total freedom.

Apocalyptic music in Zimbabwe became easily famous and acceptable as it addressed issues that affect people in today living. It helped to instil determination and

unifies people of the same experience. During the liberation struggle, it cautioned the freedom fighters to take vigilance as sell-outs were increasing, hence becoming challenging to know whom to trust. It inspires people in times of adversity to move forward with the hope that things are moving towards change. Thus, within that spirit, the writer agrees with Cone (1992) that music encouraged the people to move towards the direction of total liberation. The writer affirms the conclusion of Vambe (2004) that apocalyptic music was a vehicle to critique corruption, poor governance, and delays in addressing land redistribution. In independent Zimbabwe, it informed the new leadership under President Robert Mugabe to work to redress the repression and subjugation experienced during the colonial times.

It voiced that economic fortunes had not yet been realised after independence. Also, as a unifying phenomenon, it led to the reconciliation between the whites and black Zimbabwean nationals after independence. Apocalyptic music encouraged people to develop a new perspective towards life in the new Zimbabwe. In both Jewish and Zimbabwean experiences, apocalypticism led to the reformation of specific laws. On the other hand, the apocalyptic songs reflect people's aspirations, concerns, and their hopes. It also helps people to bury past experiences and helps them to make a new beginning. It is not easily silenced as it may manifest in another form.

Just two years after independence, apocalyptic music birthed pockets of resistance by the Ndebeles who felt discontent with Mugabe's rule. It challenged the reincarnation of the oppressive rules in an independent Zimbabwe. It encouraged the Zimbabweans to find an alternative way to communicate their grievances. Apocalyptic music became weapons by which the Zimbabweans fought back during colonial and independent Zimbabwe. It persuades individuals to join the struggle, be it social, economic, political, religious, or cultural. The writer then agrees with the conclusion of

Kwaramba (2017) that apocalyptic music becomes a port of call when one fails to put up a speech. In a way also apocalyptic music helped the people of Zimbabwe in coping with the challenges related to the oppressive systems as well as to express their discontent. Apocalyptic music in the colonial era impacted on acceptance of a small percentage to represent the blacks in the Rhodesian parliament.

It has also been seen that apocalyptic music in both colonial and independent Zimbabwe birthed protest movements. The reason was that apocalyptic music motivated the masses to act against the oppressive systems. Advocated by a seer, apocalyptic music agitated for a revolution. In Zimbabwe, protest movements influenced by apocalyptic music emerged from the periphery and sometimes from the centre. In the colonial period, it emerged from the periphery, but after independence, especially during the deposition of Robert Mugabe, it emerged from both the periphery and centre. We see the impact of apocalyptic music even within Mugabe's circles because even people from his camp were feeling discontent with his leadership but endured suffering as they feared victimisation. It has been observed that apocalyptic music motivated people to move forward with hope. When promises were not fulfilled, they withdrew to the periphery and started to voice their concerns once again. Apocalypticism instils the spirit of courage and motivation among those who feel marginalised or deprived. It criticizes the social elements relating to domestic violence, liquor, AIDS, and corrupt behaviour. Apocalyptic music demonstrates misery with ways that appear to undermine people's justice. It also serves to applaud in times of heroism. Apocalyptic music served as a voice to mourn the decay of Zimbabweans' socio-political, religious, economic, and cultural life. It served as a call for remedial action against deteriorating life. Apocalyptic music serves to register people's frustration about the mode of operation by the administration. It serves as a reminder to

the powers and the people about promises made during times of oppression. Apocalyptic music voices the need to improve the way of life. In this way, it led to a review of the constitutional terms which undermines the betterment of people's lives.

The deposing of Mugabe in Zimbabwe which ushered in Mnangagwa's regime brought the hope that things would change. However, recent developments that saw the brutalisation of civilians by government machinery have once again dashed people's hope. People now observe that the government of Emerson Mnangagwa is becoming oppressive even more than the previous regimes. This research has established that a new genre of apocalyptic music is already emerging. This new genre is reorganising the people the same it did during Ian Smith's regime and that of Robert Gabriel Mugabe. Apocalyptic music serves as an advocate for change. It also helps people develop resilience in a time of socio-political, economic, religious, and cultural shock. This has been witnessed in Zimbabwe as people managed to absorb the shocks of life and still stand with hope for a better future.

It conveyed solidarity to the oppressed or marginalised regardless of political orientation, gender, or tribe. It challenges the authorities in their move to subvert justice and freedom. Apocalyptic music liberates and reforms, thereby helping people invent alternative ways to address their situation. Apocalyptic music influences how issues are reported and interpreted from another voice. The move taken by Zimbabwe's colonial and independent governments to thwart dissent also shows its impact. Also, the move by the governments to silence it shows that it was bearing a significant impact. Therefore, both colonial and independent Zimbabwe governments used strategies such as censorship, banning, denial of airplay, torture of the musicians by security forces, and the musicians' exiling as a way of silencing dissent. It has been established as well that as hope seems to die, there is always a form of revival, and in Zimbabwe, it came

through religious forms. Then after revival, it has been seen that some quick measures were taken to quell an emerging revolution. In this case, the government of independent Zimbabwe tried to do this by carrying out land reform programs, which did not resolve all the concerns. Apocalyptic music has been seen to have voiced the undermining of equity and opportunities for the Zimbabwean populace. On the other hand, it served as a caution to those in power that things do not remain the same.

A cognitive dissonance theory has been applied in investigating the impact of apocalyptic music on socio-political, economic, religious, and cultural experiences in Zimbabwe. It is confirmed in this research that tracing from the early kingdoms in Zimbabwe, colonial and post-colonial the people were comfortable with their social, political, economic, religious, and cultural life. From these, the people had built cognitions based on the establishment of their land and vibrant communitarian life. However, both colonialist and independent Zimbabwe systems came with promises of a better life, and these did not come through in colonial and post-colonial Zimbabwe. During pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial times, the oppressive regimes led people to fall into dissonance. The reason was that the cognitions they had built raised hopes, but when all these were disconfirmed, the people thought of a way to attain assonance. In that case, messages started to be presented in apocalyptic language through songs.

It is later confirmed that, in the light of the impact of the songs in motivating the people, reviving the spirit of hope and perseverance in times of challenges, the people attained assonance as they built new cognitions from the apocalyptic music. In this way, the writer confirms the conclusion by Festinger (1985) and as well as affirms the effectiveness of the Cognitive Dissonance theory's assumption that dissonance may be reduced through passiveness. In the case of the Zimbabwean experiences, as

observed from the apocalyptic music, the passiveness reduced dissonance as the Zimbabweans tried to avoid anything that could increase dissonance. Thus, in the face of persecution of dissent voices, abductions, or the disappearance of activists and other political voices, most Zimbabweans through apocalyptic messages became passive. In that way, they overcame dissonance and attained assonance.

They kept motivated and became vigilant. In this way, the writer agrees with Festinger (1985) in his theory that when dissonance happens, then for one to overcome, there is a need for the change of belief, change of action and perception. Thus, from the Zimbabwean experiences, through apocalyptic music, the people changed their minds on what they once believed about the colonisers and even about Mugabe's regime. They saw that all the cognitions they had built through the promises of the good life were not fulfilled. Then through messages from apocalyptic music they changed their minds.

In the colonial period and even after, they changed their actions. Instead of being passive, they developed pockets of resistance, and their perception of the white minority rule changed. This was the same also with their perception of the Mugabe black rule, and they saw that things had not changed, and they developed a new action. Thus, the change of belief, action and perception about both the colonial and post-colonial regimes helped Zimbabweans attain assonance as they started to speak about their challenges.

As drawn from the conclusion of the Cognitive Dissonance Theory, then Zimbabwe apocalyptic music became both a reflection and a response to socio-political, economic, religious and cultural experiences. Festinger used this theory for religious testing from a psychological position, but it has been seen in this study that the theoretical framework may be helpful in other fields of study. This research has established how the Cognitive Dissonance theory may not only be confined to studies

in psychology but as well may be used for assessments of other related fields. Its use in Zimbabwe apocalyptic music analysis shows that apocalyptic music plays a significant part in communicating the woes of the suffering community. The songs gave a message that led to the change of perception and belief, and as well it motivated the Zimbabweans to act against the oppressive systems and thereby attain assonance. An assessment of the impact of apocalyptic music in Zimbabwe opens a path for the musicians not to take for granted their songs as they carry messages that may transform the society's perspective on social, political, religious, economic and cultural experiences. This research considering the Jewish apocalypticism celebrated by Jewish people as a strategy to resolve societal problems has established evidence through apocalyptic music that the method thrives well where the seers are quick to move away from pseudonymity. Their message brings an impact in addressing the challenges.

Although the study utilised the Cognitive Dissonance theory, however, within the analysis of the selected apocalyptic musicians' activities, the Centre-Periphery theory propounded by Johan Galtung (Kees van der Veer, 2009) was as well used. Just like the Jewish prophets or seers who swung between the centre and periphery, the same was seen with the Zimbabwean apocalyptic musicians. The Centre-Periphery theory was used to analyse the Musicians' behavioural change and their composition, which was influenced by their social positions at a given time. Following the Centre Periphery theory's assumption that conflicts originate from the situations in which individuals find themselves in as necessitated by their position in society, this became a reality to the apocalyptic musicians. This study established that the apocalyptic seers changed their message due to their position of standing with the system. For instance, when the two Mapfumo and Chipanga received favour from the system, they moved to the centre and started to sing praises to the system. However, just like the peripheral Jewish prophets,

when they were at odds with the system, they moved to the periphery, where they identified themselves with the marginalised.

The songs they composed while in the periphery were more apocalyptic as they spoke against the system. Like some Jewish prophets who remain in the periphery, Leonard Karikoga Zhakata resembles them as he sang throughout from the periphery. It has been noted in the study that while in the periphery, the apocalyptic musicians disconnected themselves from the centre. Therefore, the apocalyptic songs composed while in the periphery had much impact on the people of Zimbabwe as these helped them to network and thereby leading them to stage resistance against the powers at the centre. For the selected musicians, in most cases, they did not stay at the centre as the activities of the centre quickly proved to be against their socio-religious positions of standing with the marginalised. In that regard, apocalyptic songs composed while in the periphery became both a reflection and a response to the challenges of the oppressed.

6.2. Recommendations for Future Research

The theme of apocalypticism remains a great topic to be explored, given the growing ideas and perspectives on millennialism. Since the research has considered its manifestation in music and its impact on socio-political, economic, religious and cultural experiences of a given community, there is still a need to consider case studies on specific communities and establish how it manifests. Further research may be conducted with reference to:

- The role of language in conveying hidden or public transcripts. In this case, research may be carried through identifying how different languages and dialects may be used to convey messages in hidden or public scripts and establish how this may aid in reformation. The investigation may be done

from James Scott's theory of resistance, and it may as well extend to the gospel musicians, especially women who seem not to be open with their protest voices.

- The role of Arts like sculpture in communicating and mobilising masses to act towards a given goal. Some further studies may be carried on how various communities may use art in the form of sculptures to communicate messages that may shape communities and mobilise people to achieve specific set goals in life.
- The role of drama or theatre as an outlet to speak out peoples' minds in times of extreme suffering and repression. An investigation may be carried on how people may convey messages through dramas.

6.3. General Conclusion

In the light of the findings, this study concludes that any situation of oppression or religious, economic, socio-political and cultural deprivation unintentionally mobilizes the weak to craft a secretive or alternative narrative to eliminate the oppressive systems. Also, as established in this study, apocalyptic music, a secular genre, rose as the counter-narrative in Zimbabwe; the study informs the academic community and contextual biblical scholars that the prophetic voice is not exclusively restricted to religion. The rising of these secular voices is also a sign that the prophetic religious voices are becoming passive. Hence for society to strive, there is a need for openness to other voices. Therefore, the impact of apocalyptic music on religious, economic, socio-political and cultural life experiences serves as a reminder to those in positions of influence to take apocalyptic music seriously as it encourages people to take action against their undesired circumstances.

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Appendix I: Sample Apocalyptic Music for Thomas Mapfumo

HOKOYO (WATCH OUT**)**

Banga ndinaro, katemo ndinako 'I have a blade and a hatchet for war.'

DAI TENZI VAIZIVA (IF ONLY GOD KNEW)

Dai Tenzi vaiziva zvavo. (Only if God knew the levels of poverty among the Blacks)
Vaitora hurombo vorasa. (He would admonish (vanquish) poverty from our midst)
Vagopawo hupfumi kuvanhu. (And give prosperity to the masses) (Benyera, 2015)

MHANDU MUSANGO (ENEMIES IN THE BUSH)

Kutaura handitye Mambo. (I am not terrified of telling the truth).
Honai makuva musango Mambo. (Look at the numbers of the soldiers dying in the war).
Regai vanouraya vauraye zvavo Mambo. (I would rather die than keep quiet).
Hona tinofira chokwadi. (We are prepared to die for the truth)
Uraya mhandu musango. (Kill the terrorist).

KUMAGOBO (MENIAL LABOUR)
Aiwa hande kumagobo (Let us go to cut trees)
Enda wega ini handidi (Go alone; I do not want)
Hama hande kumagobo (Relatives, let us go to cut trees)
Vana sisi hande kumagobo (Sisters, let us go to cut trees)
Vanamukoma hande kumagobo (Brothers let us go to cut trees)
Enda wega ini handidi (Go alone; I do not want)
Hama dzangu dzapera kufa (My relatives are dying)
Ini ndoenda kumagobo (I am going to cut trees)
Ini ndoenda nemagorira (I am going with the guerrillas)
Hama hande kumagobo (Friends, let us go to cut trees)
Enda wega ini handidi (Go alone; I do not want)
(Mapfumo, Kumagobo)

CHITIMA CHERUSUNUNGUKO (INDEPENDENCE TRAIN).

Ndezvenhando kugunununa Zimbabwe yakauya. (It is fruitless to continue grappling and complaining because we liberated Zimbabwe).
Ndezvenhando kuchema chema Zimbabwe takaitora. (It is fruitless to negotiate because we have liberated Zimbabwe).
Ndezvenhando kugunununa Zimbabwe tirikutonga. (It is fruitless to grumble, for we are ruling in Zimbabwe).
Ndezvenhando Shamwari yangu Zimbabwe tirikutonga. (It is fruitless, my friend we have liberated Zimbabwe).
Zvamaigona kutongawo musina kusvika. (You were once leaders, but you did not make it).
Satan ibva mushure hurumende imbotonga. (Satan give the Black government a chance to rule without disturbances).

Shamwari kwira chitima ufambe nevamwe. (Join others in the ride of the train of independence).
Chitima cherusununguko baba machiona. (Father, you have seen the train of independence).
Mutyairi wacho ndianiko ndivo VaMugabe. (The driver is Prime Minister Mugabe).

'CORRUPTION' (1988)

'Life is so hard these days, my friend.'
'You cannot get something if you cannot give away.'
'In the streets, there is corruption.'
'In private companies, there is corruption.'
'Everywhere, there is corruption.'
'Something for something.'
'Nothing for nothing.'

'Nothing for nothing is nothing.'
'But something for something is something.'
'I will give you something.'
'That is if you give me something in return.'
'That is the slogan of today.'

'The young schoolgirls are being corrupted.'
'The big fish do not care about it.'
'Some women strip for jobs'
'What is the solution to this problem?'
(Mapfumo, 1988).

VAROMBO KUVAROMBO (THE POOR ON THEIR OWN)

Varombo kuvarombo. (The poor associating among themselves).
Vapfumi kuvapfumi. (The rich among themselves).
Ndiwo magariro atisingade. (Is the kind of existence that we do not celebrate).
VaMapfumo vacho. (Now Mr Mapfumo himself).
Vakanga vasina Mari. (Did not have any financial resources).
Chikonzero chacho. (The reason for that was).
Takanga tiri muRhodesia. (We were still in Rhodesia).
Munoziva mose. (And you all know that).
Rhodesia yaidzvinyirira. (Rhodesia was oppressive).
Onaiwo nhasi. (But look at us today).
Onaka tiri varombo. (We are still in poverty).
Onaiwo nhasi. (But look at us today).
Onaka hatina Mari. (We still lack financial resources).
Nhasi yava Zimbabwe. (Now that we are in Zimbabwe).
Chokwadi tasununguka. (We are indeed free).
Zvino chasara chii? (But what is it that we still do not have?).
Imari yatiri kushaya. (It is financial resources that we do not have).
Vatongi Rhodesia. (The Rhodesians of yesteryear).
Ndivoka vachine Mari. (Are still financially powerful).

Nevamwe vatema. (And a few blacks as well).
Onaka vanoba Mari. (Who are in the habit of stealing national funds).
(Mapfumo, 1989)

Jojo (1991)
Nyaya dzenyika Jojo chenjera (Political issues, brother Jojo).
Ndakambokuyambira Jojo chenjera. (I warned you to be careful Jojo).
Siya zvenyika Jojo unozofa. (Leave politics; you will die).
Nyaya dzenyika idzi. (These political issues).
Jojo siyana nazvo Aiiwa-iwa Jojo. (Leave these issues, no no Jojo).
Jojo unozofa Aiiwa-iwa Jojo. (You will surely die Jojo, no! no!).
Vakawanda vakaenda pamusana penyika.(Many people died because of political issues).
Vakawanda vakapondwa. (Many people were murdered)
Vadiki vakapondwa pamusana penyika. (The young were murdered because of this country).
Vadiki vakapondwa pamusana penharo. (Youths were murdered because they were adamant)
Vana mai vanochema pamusana penyika. (Mothers are weeping because of politics).
Mhuri dzakatsakatika pamusana penyika. (Because of this country, families, perished and disaapered).
Saka ndati kwauri shamwari yangu. (This is the reason I am warning you, my friend).

MAITI KURIMA HAMUBVIRE (SELF-PROCLAIMED FARMERS) (1992).

'Kwapera makore mangani, vakuru we-e?' (How many years have gone by gentlemen?)
'Kwapera makore mangani, vakuru we-e?' (How many years have gone by gentlemen?)
'Hona takamirira zvamakavimbisa?' (While waiting for what you promised?)
'Kwapera mwedziwo mingani, vakuru we-e?' (How many months have gone by, gentlemen?).
'Hona takamirira zvamakataura?' (We still wait for what you promised?).
'Kwapera mazuva mangani, vakuru we-e?' (How many days have passed; gentlemen long have passed by elder?).
'Hona takamirira zvamakataura?' (Look, we are waiting for what you promised?).

DISASTER (1994)
Mharidzo yenyu zviroto kani. (Your brand of politics is nothing but dreams).
Kufunga kwenyu kwakarasika. (Your thinking is unhinged).
Mai vemwana zvaite musha. (Look, my wife, at what has become of our home).
Tonozvireva takamirepi. (From what platform are we are going to talk about it).
Mharidzo yenyu zviroto kani. (Your brand of politics is nothing but dreams).
Kufunga kwenyu kwakarasika. (Your thinking is unhinged).
Mai vemwana zvaite musha. (Look, my wife, at what has become of our home).
Tonozvireva takamirepi. (From what platform are we going to talk about it).
Mai mwana pano paita disaster. (Mother of my child, there is a disaster here).
Disaster mumhuri medu. (Disaster within our family).
Disaster mumba medu. (Disaster within our house).
Varume pane disaster pano. (Man, there is a disaster here).
Disaster munyika. (Disaster in our country).

Murume kwaita corruption. (Man, there is much corruption in our country).
Nyika yedu yazara corruption. (Our country is full of corruption).
Matsosi vachatipedza. (The crooks are going to finish us).
Uyezve Mukondombera urukutiuraya. (Also, AIDS is killing us).
Matso imi muchamhanya chete. (You crooks, man, you are going to run).

MARIMA NZARA (YOU HAVE HARVEST POVERTY)
Kutaura muchinyanya baba. (Father, you are too talkative).
Kudzinga vasevenzi. (You have lost the plot),
Kutaura muchinyanya. (By expelling the worker),
Marima nzara. (You have reaped poverty).
Baba mairasa. (You have lost the plot).
Kupopota muchinyanya. (You talk down others).
Baba makaura. (Father, you have been fixed).
Marima nzara, marima nzara. (You have reaped poverty 'You have reaped poverty).
(Mapfumo, Marima Nzara)

'TODYA MARARA HERE?' (ARE WE TO FEED ON GARBAGE?) (1995).

Vangani vedu vanosevenzawo? (How many of us are employed?)
Takashaya mabasa isu. (We could not find jobs).
Tinonyimwa mabasa kani vakomana. (We are denied jobs, my brother).
Vana vedu votiza nzara mudzimba umu. (Our children flee from hunger at home).
Nyika takatora kare vakomana. (Yet we gained independence a long time ago). (Mapfumo, 1994)

CHINOBHURURUKA CHINOMHARA (1997) (THAT WHICH FLIES WILL EVENTUALLY PERCH)

Chinobhururuka chinomhara. (That which flies will eventually perch).
Mungatonge kwemakore akawanda. (You may hold on to power for many years).
Ziva kuti zvichakuwanawo. (Bear in mind that one day misfortunes will catch up with you).
Mungatibire kwemakore akawanda. (You may steal from us for many years).
Ziva kuti tichakubatanerimwe zuva. (Bear in mind that we will eventually apprehend you one day).
Teresa zvako mutero mwana wamambo. (Collect taxes as you will honourable one).
Ziva kuti uchaionawo nhamo. (Bear in mind that misfortune will befall you).
Pisa wakazvara pore. (Haste gave birth to lethargy).
Ziva kuti zvichakuwanawo. (Remember that one-day setback will happen to you also)
Zano ndega wakasiya jira mumasese. (The obdurate one messed his blanket at a beer party).
Ziva kuti zvichakuwanawo. (Remember that one day misfortune will happen to you).
Musi mumwe gava rakadambura musungo. (One out of countless good days will be your bad day).
Ziva kuti zvichakuwanawo. (Remember that one day misfortune will happen to you).
Chisi hachieri musi wacharimwa shamwari. (Repercussions do not unravel on the day of transgression, my friend).
Ziva kuti zvichakuwanawo. (Remember that one-day setback will happen to you).

Chinenguwo wakazorohwa naMurombo. (The invincible was eventually preyed upon by the underrated). (Mapfumo, Chinobhuruka Chinomhara, 1997)

MAMVEMVE (RUGGS)

Musha wenyu wamaichemera hona waita mamvemve. (The country you cried for is in tatters).
Chipo Chipo iwe bereka mwana tiende. (Chipo, Chipo, carry the baby on your back, let us get out).
John John iwe bereka mwana tiende. (Johnny, Johnny, carry the baby on your back, let us get out of here).
Musha wenyu wamaichemera hona waita matsotsi. (The country you cried for is run by crooks now (tsotsis).

Appendix II: Sample Apocalyptic Music for Hosiah Chipanga

CANAAN
Takanange Canaan tichibva Egypt. (Journeying from Egypt to Canaan).
Nzara mugwenga, nyota, makumbo tayaura. (Hunger in the wilderness, thirst, we experienced' hardship).
Nehanda Nyakasikana modira madiamonds. (Nehanda Nyakasikana (spirit medium) gave diamonds sparingly).
Hondo yasara ndiye Pharaoh. (The challenge we have is Pharaoh).
Pharaoh atinetsa. (We migrated with Pharaoh).
Pharaoh take-take nesu. (Pharaoh pursues us).
Dambudiko ndiye Pharaoh. (Our problem is Pharaoh).
Pharaoh atisona. (Pharaoh pursues us).
Pharaoh atishungurudza. (Pharaoh has troubled us).
Nhamo yasara ndiye Pharaoh. (The challenge we have is Pharaoh).
Dambudziko ndiye Pharaoh. (Pharaoh is the stumbling block) (Chipanga, Canaan).

NDAFUNGA ZANO (I HAVE MADE UP MY MIND),

Kuti kana vokwidza mitengo vanotangira varipasi, (That when charging exorbitant prices, it starts to affect those below)
Kuti kana vokwidza mitengo vanotangira varipasi. (When they raise the prices of commodities, it starts for those below).
Kuti vatikwidzire mitengo vanototanga vaita zvekukwira gomo. (That for them to raise prices for us they first must ascend the mountain).
Ini ndaramba. (I do not condone this).
Amai mwana zvinhu zvaoma. (The mother of my children thing has become difficult)
Ndagaya. (I have made up my mind).
Kuti vatikwidzire mitengo votokwira ndege. (To raise prices for us they need to board a plane)

MUROMBO HAANA CHAKE (A PAUPER OWNS NOTHING)

Zvawati tarasa tonhongawo isu. (We pick from what falls from your table)
Zvamati masvipa, totsengawo isu. (What you vomit that is what we eat)
Zvamakumura topfekawo isu. (What you take off that is what we put on)
Mafuta emuriwo ava mazitye. (The oil we get is used oil)
Vapfupi kudya zvirimuvhu pasi. The heritage of the short is what falls on the ground).
Kudya zvevapfupi nekureba. (Taking advantage because of physical stature)
(Chipanga, 2012)

ZVIPFUKUTO (MOTHS)
Mudura remari rapinda zvipfukuto. (The Bank has been attacked with moths)
Nhasi ukaita mari mangwana unofuma usina. (You deposit money today, and tomorrow you are told you have zero balance)
(Chipanga, Zvipfukuto, 2013)
Vana veZimbabwe (Children of Zimbabwe) (Chipanga,2012).

Hove Demugungwa (Fish from the Sea) (Chipanga, 2015).

Ivhu Redu Nderipi (Which here is our Land) (Chipanga, 2011).

Appendix III: Apocalyptic Sample Music for Leonard Zhakata

MARUVA ENYIKA (THE BLOSSOMS OF THE NATION)

Zviitiko zvenyika haungazvikwanise. (Things that occur on the earth are beyond our capabilities).
Chenjera. (Be careful).
Poison yakadirwa mutsime rinocherwa nemunhu wese. (Poison had been poured in the well, where everybody drinks from it).
Ndianiko achararama pamukondombera. (Who will endure HIV/AIDS?).
Zvakauya seiko mupfungwa dzenyu. (What made you think along these lines?)
Mwari mambo kutisikira. (To make ladies for us Lord).
Maruva enyika vanasikana. (Blossoms of our nation, these are young ladies).
Vetsiye nyoro, verunako, vecheno. (The caring ones, beautiful, excellent and brilliant).
Madzimai ngavarumbidzwe. (Ladies ought to be praised).
Deno vasipo madzimai edu vakomana. (On the off chance that our spouses were not here, my companion).
Nyika ino dayi iri yembavha nemhondi chete. (This nation would have been loaded up with thieves and killers).

NZOMBE HURU (BIG BULL)
Kana ndichishaura batai mazwi kuitira mangwana. (If I sing grasp the message, for future purpose).
Vamwe vanozodudzira nepasipo. (Some will misinterpret).
Vamwe ndivo vanofamba vachiti hazvisi zvake. (Some will say he is not worth it).
Asi chakanaka chakanaka ngatirumbidzei. (However, what is right is right; we should be thankful).
Hama handirevi kana kuvenga munhu. (My Brethren l do not gossip or hate people).
Asi ndinoshaura zviitiko zvenyika. (However, I sing the calamities of the nation).
Ziya midzi yako mwanangu kani. (Know your roots, my child).

MUGOVE (WAGE OR SHARE)
Vakuru woye ndipeiwo kamukana kangu. (Elder give me my chance).
Inga vaye vaye vakawana mukana wekuvepo pamusoro. (Those who got chance to be on top of the ladder),
Vakuchitora mukana uye seuchenjere. (They took that as self-wisdom).
Votanga kutsikirira vari pasi. (Then begin to oppress those below them).
Deno ndirini ndaive paye. (If l was the one who was on top).
Ndairidza huhwi ndodaidza vamwe vangu. (I would sound a call upon my friends)
Ndoti kuno kwabikwa dopiro vakomana. (And l would tell them, here there is peanut butter).
Huyai mose, huyai munombore. (Come all of you, let us eat).
Chawawana idya nehama. (What you find then eat with your relatives).
Amai vangu vanoda kunditendawo. (My mother needs to appreciate me).
Havachazive nekudeketera mutupo wangu. (She no longer meditate upon my totem).
Ndovapeiwo amai vangu vazonditendawo. (What can l give my mother so that I can be appreciated?).

SAKUNATSA (THE GOOD SAMARITAN)
Mutemo wekwedu wakanyangara. (Our law is unjust)
Wakarerekera kudivi rimwe. (It leans one side)
Mhaka imwe inosiyaniswa. (Same case is treated differently).
Zvichienderana kuti wabuda mumba maani. (Depending on you belong to which homestead).
Vakasunguka vana vevamwe, miromo yavo yakatandavara. (Their children have freedom of speech)
Kana urimutemo unoda kutwasanudzwa. (The law then needs to be straightened)
Kunyararira zvose vodzana madiro. (Just keeping silent on everything, then they celebrate)
Ukada kunyunyuta voti pisai muromo. (If you complain, they say trim him).
Havana Chakanaka vanhu ava. (These people do not recognise the good)
Ukatungamira vanokupinga ndare. (If you lead in the race, they will trip and you to fall)
Ukasarira vanokunyomba. (If you take the last position, they scold you).
Mashoko anoti, havana chakanaka'. (The message is, there is nothing good for them)
Kusvikira rinhi takanyarira. (How long should we keep quiet?).
Moyo yavo yakaoma, vakakuridzira tsamwa inochiona. (Their hearts are hard if they sound anger, you do not stand).

'WARRIOR'
Kubvira chendero chenyu muchitiza kuurawa. (Since you left uncle being afraid to be killed).
Kuno zviro zvandiomera. (Things are still hard here for me)
Dai zvaibvira maindirongerawo kabasa. (If possible, look for me some employment).
Ndogouya ndogoshandirawo ikoko. (So that I come and work there).
Kuno vakandisona, vanoda, vanoda, vanoda ndiputike moyo neshungu. (Here, they are against me, they want me to suffer internally or bust).
Vakandisunga mbira dzakondo. (They have tied my feet)
Ngaamhanye navavo. (Then they say I should be on the trek with others).
Akangokundwa chete shambadzai shoko' (Publish it after he loses).
Akangokundwa chete ngatimurikite aimbozviti anomhanya samare… (If he loses beat him).
Vandisunga maoko, Vochinditi tamba tsiva newoyo. (They tied my hand and said fight)
Ko magotyeizve ndakasununguka. (What is your fear for to fight while not tied)
Itsiva rudziyi yokupinda mudariro wakarohwa kare. (What kind of fight is this that you get into the game already defeated)
Ihondo rudziyi, kuti Mhandu inebazuka iwe unerekeni. (What kind of war is this, that the enemy have a gun and you have a catapult).

NGOMA YENHARO (STRUGGLE)
Rangu pfumo ndakanda kumhandu. (I have thrown my spear to the enemy)
Rako pfumo wokanda kuneni. (But you throw your spear to me)
Mhandu yangu yave aniko. (Who then have become my enemy)
Zvakanaka kukunda wani, asi zviri nyore kukunda pamwe chete. (It is good to conquer but easier when united)

MIRIRA NGUVA (WAIT FOR YOUR TIME)
Zvamakaita paye yaiva nguva yenyu. (What you did years ago, it was your time)
Kana nesuwo tinozvigonawo. (Even ourselves we may do it)
Zvavakaita paye yaive nguva yavo. (What they did those years, it was their time)
Saka newewo unozvigonawo. (Even yourself, you will do it)
Chegore riya yaiva nguva yacho. (What happened, it happens in its time)
Naizvozvo regakugodoka. (Therefore, do not lose heart)
Hapana shura apa, hapana maninimini. (Nothing was a miracle or acrobatics)
Matakadya kare haanyaradze mwana. Yesterday experiences will not serve us
Chegore riya yatove nhoroondo. (Happenings of that year is now history)
Hapana chakaoma apa. (Nothing is hard)
Ramba kutyisidzirwa. (Do not bend to threats)
Kana zvakaoma ivo vakazvigona sei. (If it was hard, then how did they make it)
Akatanga ari mutumwa ikozvino azofa ave shefu. (He who started as a messenger, look today he is the boss)
Vakatanga vachingoshorwa ndivo vave kurumbidzwa. (Those who were looked down up, look today they are now the respected one)
Hapana chakaoma apa. (Nothing is impossible)
Mirira nguva chete, uchazoreva. (Wait for the time, and you will confess).
Nyararai zvenyu Tenzi vanoziva. (Be calm, the Lord knows).
Nguva yakwana vanopindira. (He will intervene at the right time).
Kunyange zvikaoma, Tenzi vanoziva. (Even if it becomes hard, the Lord knows)
Nguva yakwana vanopindira…' (The Lord will intervene in the right time)
Ngavarindire varimuchadenga umo. (They down look at you)
Asi ziva vachmhara chete. (Know they like a plane will land on the ground)

SEGWAYANA (LIKE A LAMB TO THE SLAUGHTER)
Mambo handina simba nezvandiri. (Lord, I do not have strength)
Saka ndisingazvitengere zvangu. (This is why I do not hold anything for myself)
Tarirai vanotuka havo handivapindure. (Look, they scold at me, but I will not respond)
Vangaponde zvavo handiridze mhere. (They will murder, but I shall not cry)
Ndofa ndinyerere segwayana. (I will rather die silently like a lamb)
Ndakapika vangaponde zvavo. (If I make an oath, they may kill me)
Handiridze mhere, ndofa ndinyerere segwayana. (I will not cry, I will die silently like a lamb)

BHORA REMBABVU
Zvakanaka kunemi vatenderana. (It is beautiful for you who are in love)
Yambiro imwechete yaandokupai. (Single advice to you)
Nyaya rerudo itai bhora rembabvu. (Take love like a soccer match for stamina)
Uya uone rava bhora rembabvu. (Come and watch, it is soccer for stamina)
Rinotorwa nevaneutsinzi. (The mighty ones take the ball)
Rinotorwa nevanehukundi. (The overcomers receive it)
Nyaya yehushefu itai bhora rembabvu. (Position should be fought for)
Rega kudekera muchiti mava makoya. (Do not relax and say you are a champion)
Chinzvimbo chamunacho ndiwo mukombe wemutambo. (Your position is the trophy of the match).
Pane varikutochirwariwo. (So many wishes to be in that position)
Nyaya yehushe ravebhora rembabvu. (Leadership has become a game for stamina)
Hunotorwa nevaneutsinzi. (It is taken by the courageous).
(Zhakata, Bhora Rembabvu)

Appendix IV: Apocalyptic Sample Music for Paul Madzore

Chirangano (Promise)

Hondo (War)

Chikumbazvose (Bulldozer)

Tombana (Childmind)

Saddam waenda kwasara Bob (Saddam has fallen, and Bob will follow)

Tokwira makomo (We call him as we ascend the mountains)

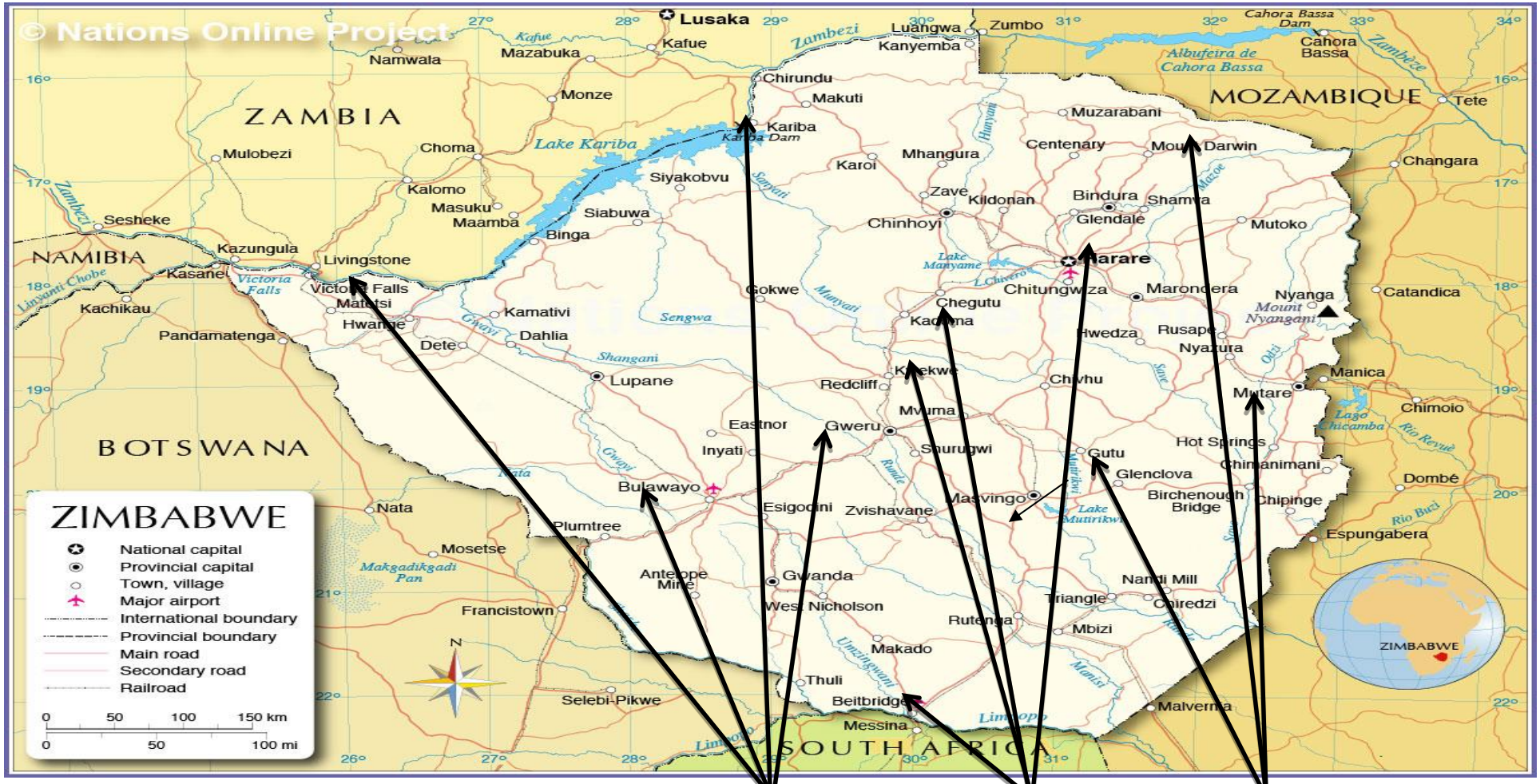
Zimbabwe Simuka (Zimbabwe arise)

Tikabatana tinokunda (United we will overcome)

Nineveh Kure (Niniveh is far).

Tsvangirai svitsa vana kuCanaan (Tsvangirai take the children to Canaan)

Appendix V: Geographical Map of Zimbabwe showing Areas of Research



Source: Projects, N.O (2016) http://www.nationsonline.org

Appendix VI: In-depth and Key Informant Interview Guide with Representative Apocalyptic Musicians and Poets

1. For how long have you been a musician or a Poet?
2. What does your music or poem 'talk' about?
3. What motivates you to write or sing such kind of genre of music?
4. What is the target for your music or poem, and for what reasons?
5. Have any of your songs or poems been censored? Which of these and why?
6. Do you think your audience can interpret the meaning of your songs or poems?
7. What are your feelings regarding the impact of your music or poems?
    1) Revolution
    2) Pacification
    3) Sensitisation for people to act.

Appendix VII: In-depth and Key Informant Interview Guide with Representative Music Censorship Board Members

1. In your general understanding, what is censorship?
2. Are there any statutory laws in place to govern censorship?
3. May you briefly highlight the governing regulations for censorship?
4. Which type of music and poetry was banned from public use in the colonial and post-colonial era?
5. Do you have any record of reasons why such kinds of music and poetry were banned?
6. What effect does it have on the producer and the recipients of the music and poetry?
7. Is there any legal prosecution of a person whose work has been censored?

Appendix VIII: In-depth and Key Informant Interview Guide with Representative Directors of Music Production Studios

1. May you share with me the general role of Music Production studios?
2. What are challenges faced by Music Production Studios in Colonial and Post-Colonial Zimbabwe?
3. Have you once experienced the banning of Music of some of your clients?
4. Which type of Music is mostly stopped, and for what reasons?
5. Does this have any effect on the Music Industry?
6. What precautions do you take to address the Musicians, the recipients and the Regulating Board's demands?
7. Is it still possible to access the banned Music?
8. What are your assumptions regarding the impact of the music of your clients in addressing political, social, economic, religious and cultural experiences?

Appendix IX: Interview Questionnaire with Administrators in Positions of Influence

1. What comes into your mind when discussing socio-political, economic or cultural reform?
2. What are your thoughts about the country's socio-political, economic, and cultural situation?
3. Would you say you are satisfied with the current socio-political, economic and cultural situation, especially how things are going?
4. Are there things you are dissatisfied with? What would you like to see changed?
5. If we reflect on the pre-colonial and post-colonial eras, we find the apocalyptic type of music that was used to voice some grievances. Are there any that you know that you could share?
6. In the pre-colonial era, what was the impact of music and poetry on the liberation of Zimbabwe?
7. During the Liberation War of *Chimurenga,* ironic music was popular. Do you think it had an effect and in what way?
8. What could have been the reason why the songwriters or poets during the liberation war chose to use apocalyptic songs or poems to present their messages?
9. Now, after Independence, such kind of music or poems still exists. In what ways could these songs or poems be adopted in the current political situation in the country?
10. Some people assume that the way for a quick socio-political, economic and cultural reform is to do away with the use of coded language expressed in apocalyptic music and start to use direct statements. What do you think or feel about this suggestion?
11. Do you see any connection of political music or poems to the political instability and injustice experienced in Zimbabwe today?
12. Are these songs or poems only confined to socio-political woes or applied in other settings?
13. Are there any recommendations you may have or suggestions you would like to make?

Appendix X: Focus Group Discussion Guide for Liberation Choirs

1. Reflect on all the years you have been in the music industry and share your most defining moments with us.

2. When do you decide to write music? What influences you? May you share with us at least two things that you consider important in putting down your genre of music?

3. What positive experiences have you had by using this type of music?

4. What disappointments have you had in utilising this genre of music as a tool to sensitise people about the need to resolve some issues?

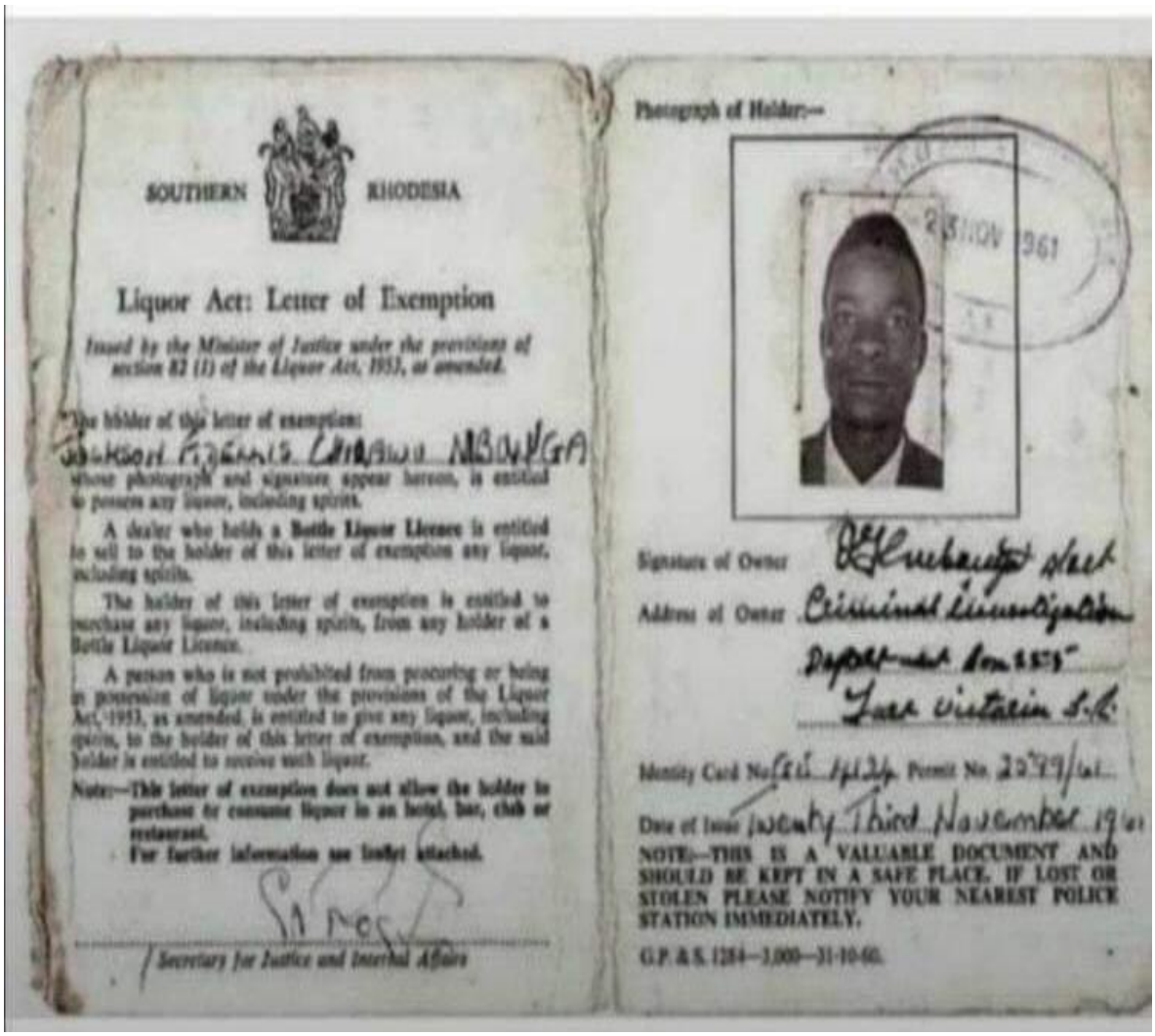
5. In the biblical world, such kind of message was uttered as the cry of the oppressed. Is there any connection of this understanding to what it stands for in modern society?

6. What is the biggest problem encountered in accepting this kind of music?

7. Who is your primary target audience?

8. Do you have anything more or any recommendations you wish to make regarding the language of music you use?

Appendix XI-Sample Pass for Liquor Exemption 1959



SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Liquor Act: Letter of Exemption

Issued by the Minister of Justice under the provisions of section 82 (1) of the Liquor Act, 1953, as amended.

The holder of this letter of exemption: [illegible] whose photograph and signature appear hereon, is entitled to possess any liquor, including spirits.

A dealer who holds a **Bottle Liquor Licence** is entitled to sell to the holder of this letter of exemption any liquor, including spirits.

The holder of this letter of exemption is entitled to purchase any liquor, including spirits, from any holder of a Bottle Liquor Licence.

A person who is not prohibited from procuring or being in possession of liquor under the provisions of the Liquor Act, 1953, as amended, is entitled to give any liquor, including spirits, to the holder of this letter of exemption, and the said holder is entitled to receive such liquor.

Note:—This letter of exemption does not allow the holder to purchase or consume liquor in an hotel, bar, club or restaurant.

For further information see leaflet attached.

Secretary for Justice and Internal Affairs

Photograph of Holder:—

Signature of Owner [illegible]

Address of Owner Criminal Investigation Department Box 8573 Causeway S.R.

Identity Card No. [illegible] Permit No. 2279/61

Date of Issue Twenty Third November 1961

NOTE:—THIS IS A VALUABLE DOCUMENT AND SHOULD BE KEPT IN A SAFE PLACE. IF LOST OR STOLEN PLEASE NOTIFY YOUR NEAREST POLICE STATION IMMEDIATELY.

G.P. & S. 1284—3,000—31-10-60.

Appendix XII: Zimbabwe Constitutional Amendment Number 16, Act 2000

16AAgricultural land acquired for resettlement

(1) In regard to the compulsory acquisition of agricultural land for the resettlement of people in accordance with a programme of land reform, the following factors shall be regarded as of ultimate and overriding importance—

(a) under colonial domination the people of Zimbabwe were unjustifiably dispossessed of their land and other resources without compensation;

(b) the people consequently took up arms in order to regain their land and political sovereignty, and this ultimately resulted in the Independence of Zimbabwe in 1980;

(c) the people of Zimbabwe must be enabled to reassert their rights and regain ownership of their land;

and accordingly—

(i) the former colonial power has an obligation to pay compensation for agricultural land compulsorily acquired for resettlement, through an adequate fund established for the purpose; and

(ii) if the former colonial power fails to pay compensation through such a fund, the Government of Zimbabwe has no obligation to pay compensation for agricultural land compulsorily acquired for resettlement.

(2) In view of the overriding considerations set out in subsection (1), where agricultural land is acquired compulsorily for the resettlement of people in accordance with a programme of land reform, the following factors shall be taken into account in the assessment of any compensation that may be payable—

(a) the history of the ownership, use and occupation of the land;

(b) the price paid for the land when it was last acquired;

(c) the cost or value of improvements on the land;

(d) the current use to which the land and any improvements on it are being put;

(e) any investment which the State or the acquiring authority may have made which improved or enhanced the value of the land and any improvements on it;

(f) the resources available to the acquiring authority in implementing the programme of land reform;

(g) any financial constraints that necessitate the payment of compensation in instalments over a period of time; and

(h) any other relevant factor that may be specified in an Act of Parliament.

[Section inserted by section 3 of Act 5 of 2000 - Amendment No. 16.]

(Veritas, 2019)

Appendix XIII: List of Interviews

B. Samhika, Life and Music Career of Leanard Zhakata (2016, October 2).

B. Samhika, Understanding of Zhakata's Songs. (October 2016)

B. Samhika, Music Career of Paul Madzore (October 2016)

B. Samhika, Life and Music career of Thomas Mapfumo (October 2016)

B. Samhika, Life and Music Career of Hosiah Chipanga (October 2016).

B.Samhika, Tuku Music with Oliver Mutukudzi(2016/2017).

B.Samhika, Understanding music career of Abert Nyathi (2016).

Appendix XIV: Turnitin Report

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