WEAPONS AND REFUSE AS MEDIA: THE POTENT POLITICS OF RECYCLING IN CONTEMPORARY MOZAMBIAN URBAN ARTS

By

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To Mom and Pop
Thank you!
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By

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Chair: Victoria L. Rovine
Major: Art History

My dissertation explores contemporary Mozambican urban artists who use recycled materials in their art. This investigation is founded on interrelated themes that include object materiality, recycling, art making in urban Africa, and post-conflict resolution. The transformation of recycled materials into art reflects a nexus of environmental, economic, and cultural issues I investigate to determine how and why artists utilize recyclia to create distinctly Mozambican art.

Many creative, environmental, and financial factors, including the impact of past wars, the development of the Transforming Arms into Plowshares/Transformação de Armas em Enxadas (TAE) project, and poverty illustrate how recyclia provides an advantageous art medium. Each of the artists addressed in this analysis comes from vastly different economic, social, and educational backgrounds, yet all use recycled materials. These artists utilize natural and urban detritus to produce art, continuing recycling traditions, which are pervasive throughout Africa. This investigation addresses these artists and their varied motivations as I define widespread recycling use by artists in urban Mozambique.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

War had killed the road thereabouts. Hyenas slunk along the tracks, snuffling among ashes and dust. The landscape had blended sadneses the likes of which had never been seen before, in colors that clung to the inside of their mouth. They were dirty colors, so dirty that they had lost all their freshness, no longer daring to rise into the blue on the wing. Here the sky had become unimaginable. And creatures got used to the ground, in resigned apprenticeship of death (Couto 2002, 1).

My research explores contemporary Mozambican urban artists who use recycled materials in their work. The transformation of recycled materials into art reflects a nexus of environmental, economic, and cultural issues I investigate to determine how and why artists utilize recycia to create distinctly Mozambican art. This country’s post-independence war tremendously impacted its population, including serving as an influence for many artists discussed here. The vivid descriptions in the quotation I use to introduce this chapter dramatically capture the aftermath of the war, and also begin Mozambican author Mia Couto’s text, *Terra Somnambula/Sleepwalking Land*.

Each of the artists discussed in this analysis comes from vastly different economic, social, and educational backgrounds, yet all use recycled materials. These artists utilize natural and urban detritus to produce art, continuing recycling traditions, which are pervasive throughout Africa and elsewhere. This focused study of artists will reveal the implications of recycling as a tool to explore larger themes related to Mozambican art and its meanings. While artists in Mozambique utilize many different types of media, I have discovered that a majority of artists choose to work with pre-used materials. My investigation is founded on a series of interrelated themes and concepts that are difficult to unwind. These connected ideas include object materiality, recycling, art making in urban Africa, and post-conflict resolution. Many creative, environmental, and financial factors - including the impact of past wars, the development of the
Transforming Arms into Plowshares/Transformação de Armas em Enxadas (TAE) project, and poverty – illustrate how recylicia provides an advantageous art medium. Finally, I explore the artists’ individual sense of pride in their use of recycled materials. Each of these elements will be addressed through the words and images of the artists I present here.

Recycling

An understanding of activities related to recycling is crucial for determining how artists obtain pre-used objects. Recycling is generally understood as the reprocessing of waste. The United Nations Environmental Statistics Division defines recycling as “waste (garbage, trash, rubbish, refuse, or litter) material that is not a prime product (produced for the market) for which the generator has no further use in terms of his/her own purposes of production, transformation or consumption and of which he/she wants to dispose” (United Nations Statistics Division 2011). Recycling is not new in the context of African cultures, yet its recent surge as a popular medium is illustrated by its widespread use in contemporary Mozambican urban art specifically. Within the last decades, there has been a recognizable spike in global practical and scholarly interest in recycling. Motives fueling this appeal include diverse economic, political, financial, and philosophical concerns.

Most recently, scholars have turned their attention to the newest aspect of recycling: discarded electronic or electrical products (Lawhon 2012; Dempsey and McInryre 2009; Finlay and Liecht 2008; Widmer and Lombard 2006; Wilson et al. 2006). Referred to as e-waste, e-scrap or WEEE, which is an acronym for waste electrical and electronic equipment, all of these terms indicate a fast growing and lucrative commercial interest. Most of the main international markets responsible for post use of e-waste are located in developing countries, including many African locales. Research undertaken in these countries overwhelmingly demonstrates that recycling in the private (informal) sector has consistently made a significantly greater
contribution to waste management than activity in the public sector (Wilson, Velis, and Cheeseman 2006; Mensa 2006; Kassim 2006; Masocha 2006; Njeru 2006; Gill 2007; Gowan 2009; Linganzi 2008; Mamphitha 2011). African cities that demonstrate greater success in recycling within the informal sector include Johannesburg, Monrovia, Dar es Salaam, Cairo, Victoria Falls Town, Ouagadougo, and Nairobi. Recycling in Africa is pervasively private, occurring within individual households, and not as likely to be widely practiced publicly (Gowan 2009; Masocha 2006; Wilson, Velis, and Cheeseman 2006). Scholarship dedicated to recycling research in Mozambique is rather paltry in comparison to other African countries. Only one study exists to date, a comparative analysis between South Africa and Mozambique (Karani, Jewasikiewitz, and Da Costa 2008).

My desire to create a contextual framework for recycled materials has led me to study the varied waste streams of garbage to determine its different paths before it is selected to become media for art. Scholars identify four primary categories of informal recycling: itinerant waste buyers, street waste, municipal waste collection, and dumps (Wilson, Velis, and Cheeseman 2006). In order to understand such contact points of detritus, I have interviewed municipal directors, administrators, and consultants of solid waste management, public and private garbage collectors, as well as owners, operators, and workers at recycling facilities. Visits to solid waste containers, dump sites, and interviews with workers and independent entrepreneurs in the informal sector who buy and sell recycled materials allows me to analyze the course of an object’s history, thereby exploring the everyday aspect of recycling in Mozambique. Three object recycling facilities exist in Maputo: Recicla, Saaner, and Associação Mocambicana de Reciclagem/Mozambican Association of Recycling (AMOR) (See Figures 1-1 – 1-4). Each of these non-profit, local and international organizations relies upon market values that determine
preference for one object (metal) over another (plastic). Not only are these facilities promoting sustainability, but they have connections to social causes as well. For example, Recicla hires former garbage pickers (primarily from the nearby Hulene Dump) to provide them with greater financial stability. AMOR hires women from Xidzuki, an organization of HIV-positive women who run the eco-points that serve as satellite drop offs for community recycled goods.

**Object Materiality**

My focus on object materiality underpins this investigation of recyclia as artistic media. Consideration of objects’ physicality as well as their uses prior to selection as media is essential for determining meanings of these objects within artworks. Several authors have focused on the concept of objecthood in extremely varied contexts, including the contemplation of street debris to more theoretical conceptions (Seitz 1961; Kopytoff 1988; Edensor 2005; Strasser 1999; Bennett 2010; Polanah 1981; Davis 2006, 2011; Strasser 1999; Bennett 2010; Calvino 2001; Thompson 1979; MacGaffey; Rubin 93; Coole 2010; Baudrillard 2006; Cohen 2012).

Examples of scholarly analyses I have found useful include David Doris’ investigation of visual analogies determined by object typologies in Yoruba ààlè. Doris describes these object assemblages as “useless residues of things that were once positively valued – they index the histories of their own depletion” (Doris 2011, 31). Like Doris, I also focus on deciphering specific meanings of objects within assemblages created from recyclia. In addition to defining and underscoring linkages between disparate objects, I appreciate the emphasis Doris places on the voices of his individual informants, as their interviews appear as a fundamental resource throughout his text.

In his 1961 Museum of Modern Art exhibition, The Art of Assemblage, curator William Seitz probed into objects’ pasts. He admitted recycling the earlier words of English art critic Lawrence Alloway in his catalog essay as he stated, “objects have a history: first they are brand
new goods; then they are possessions, accessible to few, subjected, often, to intimate and repeated use; then, as waste, they are scarred by use but available again” (Seitz 1961, 73). Although his words directly focus on western sculptural assemblage arts outside the African context, Seitz and Alloway demonstrate a keen understanding of object materiality comparable to my own view of pre-used things as they are transformed into artworks. Similarly, in his definition of “junk culture,” Alloway’s comprehension of the compositional origins of sculptures in 1961 continues to be relevant today: “junk culture is city art. Its source is obsolescence, the throwaway material of cities, as it collects in … city dumps” (Seitz 1961, 75). These observations suggest similar ways of looking, and each provides a framework for better viewing and understanding contemporary artworks that form the basis of this analysis.

In *The Saga of a Cotton Capulana*, Mozambican writer Luís Polanah presents a harsh social commentary of colonial Mozambique in his chronicle of peasants’ lives on cotton plantations. The story is narrated by a *capulana*, which at the beginning of its life was a beautiful, colorful and boldly decorated cloth that over time is reduced to a shredded rag, a scrap of its former self. Polanah’s narrator, the *Capulana*, is a striking culturally specific reminder of the great power of things. A consideration of objects and their diverse meanings in varied contexts has shaped my thinking on garbage, recycling, objects, and their interrelatedness. This has led to the construction of a theoretical framework for this research, related to the objects artists use to create their art.

**Theoretical Frames**

The theoretical frames underpinning this investigation also draw from Igor Kopyttoff’s seminal essay, “The Cultural Biography of Things,” which focuses on understanding commodities through an investigation of an object’s transformation from its initial use through its many lives. Whereas Kopyttoff’s central question, “How does the thing’s use change with age
and what happens to it when it reaches the end of its usefulness” (Kopytoff 1986, 33), relates directly to issues of commodification, it informs this analysis based on object materiality and the potential to intensify past meanings as recycled objects are transformed into art.

I diverge from Kopytoff, as I argue that the life of an object does not effectively end when it is deemed no longer useful - but in its reincarnation as a recycled material it gains more expressive power as it is transformed into art. As recycled objects are selected as media for artworks, they are extracted from the context of their former lives. Within the framework of their new lives, as part of an artwork, the identity of recyclia is enhanced, as it gains expressive power. The recycled object no longer exists where it once belonged. Now, as it is consciously chosen to begin its new life, it is physically isolated from its past. But, in its employment within the artist’s construction, its new task is now inextricably linked to, and based upon its own state of being, or materiality.

Additional foundations Kopytoff provides for my analysis include my extension of his notion of objects’ “lives,” in which I further consider the lives of the artists in relationship to the lives of the objects with which they intersect (Cerny and Seriff, 11). Adapting Kopytoff’s “lives,” I consider the notion of the “histories” of past uses of recycled objects in conjunction with their meaning as it is translated into an artwork. Finally, I supplement Kopytoff’s concept of object biographies to include ideas based on Arnold Rubin’s examination of historical African assemblage arts. Linking my own focus on object materiality with these earlier foundations has led to my development of an analytical tool for investigating recycled materials. Wheras Rubin suggests that the “content” of a work of art includes formal elements and symbolic associations in his article, “Accumulation: Power and Display in African Sculpture,” he does not advocate
creating a dichotomy between these opposing elements of media in African sculptures as an analytical tool:

What might be described as the content of African sculpture has clearly not received the attention it deserves … content is defined as one dimension of the affective power and complex of multiple meanings embodied in a work of art. It originates in the orchestration of materials and techniques, and transcends both purely formal qualities on the one hand and comparatively explicit iconographical or symbolic associations on the other. As one of several possible approaches to content in African sculpture, I propose to consider media – their nature, how they are used, and what they seem to mean (Rubin 1993, 5).

I find it useful to separate objects into what I view as their two fundamental aspects in order to more fully understand recycled objects and their use by artists. I have conceptualized a theory based on this idea that is founded on the point that objects possess two intrinsic halves: utility and history. I identify this theoretical framework as “Object Frictions,” which relates to an inherent tension in the materiality of objects. The intrinsic materiality of objects is based on two distinct factors: an object’s composition and its original or former uses. I state that a tension exists between the utility (Rubin 1986; Bennett 2010) and the history (Appadurai 1986; Kopytoff 1986) of an object, both of which are directly based on the physical state, or materiality (Coole and Frost 2010) of the object. The friction I view between these two elements is derived from the fact that in most cases one of these elements will emerge as the stronger, more apparent factor as determined by the artists’ selection of this particular object. Examples of artists who focus on diverse selections based on these two halves will be investigated here.

Simply put, objects bisect. Two distinct halves define objects, one half is characterized by what the object is made of (utility), and the other half is defined by its past uses or original purpose (history). Particularly relevant as an analytical tool for artworks incorporating recycled materials, the concept of object frictions facilitates defining and determining how and why artists select particular materials as media. The delineating terms, utility and history, directly relate to
the use of object frictions as a tool for visual analyses of recyclia. Utility specifically focuses on
the artists’ selection of an object based on its use to solve a mechanical or visual problem based
solely on its physical materiality. Utility does not address meaning. In contrast, history
emphasizes the past uses of an object as a symbolic signifier of meaning within the artwork. In
other words, an object’s meaning may be determined by its physical or conceptual elements, or a
combination of both of these aspects.

Artists’ selection of objects is motivated by either the history or utility (or a combination
of both elements) of the recycled objects they transform into art. Although many artists select
similar pre-used objects, their motivation for using these materials often differs. Differences
between artists are defined by which aspect of the object is most desirable for their purposes: the
utility or the history of the recycled object. I argue that these implicit dualities inform the
construction and meaning of artworks incorporating recyclia, thus determining and defining
artists’ styles. As I expand upon Rubin’s observations and Kopytoff’s larger foundations, I will
explore and utilize these facets of object frictions as a tool of visual analysis throughout my
investigation.

**Assemblages and Recycling: linking past and present**

Mixed media assemblages and recycling are rooted in historical African visual culture
and continue to the present. Two examples that have proven useful in the development of my
analyses of object materiality and its meanings are Bakongo *minkisi* and Yoruba *ààlè*
(MacGaffey 1993; Doris 2005, 2011). Admittedly, these forms are contextually different both
from each other and from the art I analyze here. Historical forms such as *minkisi* and *ààlè* serve
healing and social functions within their cultural contexts, whereas the artists I investigate create
art from pre-used materials within a framework of contemporary art production. Despite these
obvious differences, the *minkisi* and *ààlè* assemblages link to contemporary artists and share
common constructions of mixed media and recycled objects that also include Fon *bocio*, Bamana *komo* headaddresses, and Fon *asen*, among other historical African assemblages (Blier 1995; McNaughton 1972, 1979; Bay 2008).

Returning briefly to Rubin, it is important to note that he divides assemblage art forms into two broad categories he defines as display and power. Essentially, Rubin views objects of display as illustrative of prosperity, vitality, vigor, and strength, whereas power objects are “activated through the transfer and concentration of essential qualities…from a variety of sources” (Rubin 1993, 19). In his assessment of display and power, Rubin focuses on the historical African *minkisi* assemblage sculptures to illustrate his points.† Wyatt MacGaffey, who has undertaken extensive research on *minkisi*, has stated:

> At its most basic, an *nkisi* represents a container of empowering materials or 'medicines' (*bilongo*) … the ingredients of *minkisi* were chosen for linguistic and figurative reasons rather than pharmacological ones…minerals from the land of the dead, items chosen for their names, and metaphorical materials…earths collected from graves, gullies, streambeds and other places regarded as abodes of the dead (MacGaffey 1993, 62).

By the 19th century, European interest in *minkisi* had developed into a potent curiosity often accompanied by a zeal for ethnographic collecting. An account by a Christian missionary of this era illustrates both European amazement and misunderstanding of the forms, “A fetich itself may be an image decorated with strips of cloth and feathers, often with a bit of mirror set into the belly, behind which is the bit of rubbish containing the potent power” (Ibid, 33. Sic; italics by the author).‡ The use of the word rubbish in this description of the parts of the *nkisi* figure underscores the 19th century European misinterpretation of these objects: as fetishistic curios and haphazardly assembled forms. But *minkisi* are actually meticulously ordered, well thought out constructions. As described above, the materials used to create the *minkisi* come from both natural and cultural landscapes. In the *minkisi*, it is the careful design and assemblage of
specifically chosen objects that create the powerful assemblage construction that is spurred into action by the banganga, the ritual specialists that administer them.

David Doris explores Yoruba ààlè figures in his book, Vigilant Things: On Thieves, Yoruba Anti-Aesthetics, and the Strange Fates of Ordinary Objects in Nigeria. He defines ààlè as “warning signs, meant to protect properties from thieves. In their materials they often describe punishments awaiting those who disregard their warning – for example, an old shoe, battered from constant use, might portend a similar battering for a thief” (Doris 2011, 5). Further describing the materiality of the ààlè, Doris states:

the objects used as ààlè are not in themselves treasured. Often made of select bits of trash, ààlè are ephemeral things, useful because in many cases they have been used up. Like all the works of the canon, ààlè are deployed in space to compel moral thought and ethical action … because they shockingly displace the most ordinary detritus of everyday life. Ààlè objects are transformed (Doris 2011, 17).

Thus, the objects selected to convey specific meaning in the ààlè constructions are composed of recycled objects whose meanings both derive from, and are directly based on their past use or physicality, as I define in object frictions. Both of these assemblage constructions (minkisi and ààlè) function here on two distinct levels. First, I have selected these assemblages as examples of historical African visual culture. I seek to draw attention to widespread practices including mixed media sculptures comprised of objects that are selected based upon their meanings, and the incorporation of recycled materials in the case of Yoruba ààlè. Second, I wish to employ these constructions as examples of how object meanings and assemblage provide a link between contemporary African art and visual culture of its past. Contemporary artists who select particular objects to convey meanings in their assemblages are not developing a new art practice, but continuing pervasive indigenous African techniques of recycling and constructing mixed media assemblages.
Scholars have addressed the uses of recycling and assemblage in African visual culture. In an editorial in *African Arts*, Suzanne Blier presented “Nine Contradictions in the New Golden Age of African Art.” Included within a section she entitled “Artistic Models,” Blier affirmed the ancient traditions these artistic techniques:

Western art critics often ostracize African works that incorporate visual abstraction, assemblage, jarring juxtapositions, salvage materials, and recycling, saying they are derivative of Euro-American modernist movements. Yet these approaches are firmly rooted in Africa’s art historical past; they were appropriated and reframed from the African aesthetic wellspring by artists in the West (Blier 2002, 4).

Exhibitions have further investigated and interrogated the role of recycling in contemporary African art. Much of the contemporary African art made from recyclia comes from urban centers. Because of this, exhibitions that investigate recyclia focus directly on the urban framework as a facilitating backdrop, and as a foundation for understanding the context of the art. Many exhibitions closely examine the environment in which these artworks were created. Investigations include connections between art and urbanity, tradition versus modernity, and local versus global concerns (Grabski 2003, 2007; del Real 2006; Vogel 1991; Subíros 2001; Roberts and Roberts 2003; Malaquais 2006; October Gallery 2009; Serageldin 1993). Joanna Grabski defines the most ubiquitous form of art within the city of Dakar as recuperation, “a category of expressive production relying on materials culled from the urban environment” (Grabski 2003, 11).

In *Africa Explores*, Susan Vogel links art and artists, stating, “urban art is the only strain of African art to portray the artists who make it, it is subject to their daily existence” (Vogel 1991, 31). Allen F. Roberts and Polly Nooter Roberts’ *A Saint in the City: Sufi Arts of Urban Senegal*, presents the city of Dakar as a microcosm of artistic production, including several artists who rely on detritus (newspaper, wood, metal, cloth scraps) from the city to construct their
art. The larger point of the Roberts’ investigation expands upon the basic concept of recycling to include visual hagiography surrounding Sheikh Amadou Bamba (Roberts and Roberts 2003).

Finally, in “Quelle Liberte: Art, Beauty and the Grammars of Resistance in Douala,” Dominique Malaquais presents a public mixed media sculpture made of recycled materials as a discursive site. In her critical analysis of Joseph Sumegne’s Quelle Liberte, she addresses issues raised by heated debates surrounding the sculpture, such as political resistance, contested ethnic identities, economics, and conflicts within social classes. As a result of these types of investigations by scholars and exhibits alike, African art has become increasingly identified with and represented by mixed media constructions of recycled materials. In fact, the majority of artworks in the exhibitions described here may be defined as created from recyclia. My research on artists in Mozambique who use pre-used materials contributes to understanding uses of this widespread medium throughout diverse African contexts.

Overview: History of Mozambique

Between the first and fifth centuries, Bantu speaking peoples migrated from the north, settling in the geographical area today known as Mozambique (Murdock 1959, 375). As early as the eleventh century, Swahili, Arab, and Persian traders took advantage of extensive coastal ports in this area. In preparation for impending colonization, Vasco da Gama explored the region for the Portuguese in 1498, who consequently colonized Mozambique in 1505. Mozambique fell under Portuguese colonial rule until 1961, and the war for independence was fought from 1962-1974. The Mozambican “civil” war, (1976/7-1992) almost directly followed its colonial war. Due to the complexities of this conflict and the fact that both sides received considerable external support, referring to this war as “civil” is widely contested among scholars, and it is often referred to as Mozambique’s post-independence war.3
This war was fought between the ruling party, The Liberation Front of Mozambique/Frente de Liberação de Mocambique (FRELIMO), founded in Tanzania in 1962 to fight for the independence of Mozambique, and the Mozambican National Resistance/Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (RENAMO). RENAMO was founded in 1975 following Mozambique’s independence as an anti-Communist resistance movement. Whereas scholars debate the extent to which external aggressors precipitated Mozambique’s last war, the larger point of importance most central to this investigation is the aggregate damage, violence, and overall destruction caused by this conflict. Social anthropologist Bjørn Bertelsen, who focuses on Mozambique and Southern Africa, succinctly captures the totality of the powerful impact of violence on Mozambican culture following its wars: “sketches of colonialism and post-independence civil war in a country in which relations between state and violence, however one might conceive of these entities, have been crucial, visible, and tangible from the liberation struggle onward” (Bertelsen 2009, 216). Mozambique’s post-independence conflict precipitated economic collapse, famine, nearly one million war-related casualties, and the internal and external displacement of several million civilians.

The sheer volume of scholarship dedicated to war easily dominates the field of Mozambican studies. Most attention has been given to the post-independence conflict (Bertelsen 2009; Honwana 2007, 1997; Schafer 2007; Anouilh 2010, 2005; Mazula 2008; Azevedo 2002; Manning 2002; Castanheiro 1999; Bartoli 1998; Chan 1998; Nordstrom 1997; Synge 1997; Ciment 1997; Berman 1996; Zuppi 1995; Sengulane 1994; Hume 1994; Finnegans 1992; Africa Watch 1992; Vines 1991). The majority of this literature is dedicated to the attainment of peace. Other significant themes include destabilization, financial losses, refugees, military veterans, and child soldiers. Important Mozambican literature, including the work of popular authors Lina
Magia (1988) and Mia Couto (2013, 2009, 2008, 2005, 2002) also directly relates to Mozambique’s most recent war. The breadth of scholarship on the last war in particular indicates the far-reaching implications this war has had on several generations of Mozambicans.

Scholars who address Mozambique’s war for independence fought against Portugal (Israel 2009; Hall and Young 1997; Chabal 1996; Egero 1990; Machel and Munslow 1986; Hanlon 1984; Isaacman 1978) focus on themes including decolonization, war heroes, as well as the political, social, and economic effects of the war. Prior to its wars, the colonial era has provided a fertile area for investigation within Mozambican studies (Allina 2012; Penvenne, 1995; Isaacman 1972, 1995, 2004, 2006; Harries 1994; Isaacman and Roberts 1983; Polanah 1981; Leroy and White 1980). Subjects investigated include slavery, peasant struggles, migrant workers, the era as a precursor to the last war, the cotton industry, and capitalism. Focused examinations of indigenous cultural groups (Macgonagle 2013; Israel 2006; West 2005; Isaacman and Isaacman 2004; Dias, J. 1964, 1961; Dias, M. 1964, 1970) largely relate to the Makonde of northern Mozambique. Further scholarship investigates ethnic identity and inhabitants of Zambezi Valley. Other topics include diverse subjects such as law and justice (Santos et al 2006); land and governance (Galli 2003); international donor governments and NGO’s in Mozambique (Hanlon 1991); economic shift to democracy and postwar development (Isaacman and Isaacman 2013; Pitcher 2002); historical studies of slavery and peasant struggles throughout history (Bowen 2005; Isaacman, 1995, 1978, 1972); issues directed toward women in history, politics, war, and cultural identities (Gengenbach 2008; Sheldon 2002; and Urdang 1989) and musical instruments (Dias 1986).

Mozambican art has received much less scholarly attention than its wars, and most of this research focuses on Makonde sculpture (Bortolot 2013, 2007; Kingdon, 2002 Kasfir, 1992, 1980;
Important scholarship relevant to this research includes the work of Alexander Bortolot and Sidney Littlefield Kasfir. In *Revolutions: A Century of Makonde Masquerade in Mozambique*, Bortolot presents his exploration of the Makonde *mapika* masquerade, looking at the historical and social contexts of an object’s development in order to determine a fuller understanding of one specific art form and how it has maintained historical traditions while embracing modernity:

> What accounts for *mapiko*’s sustained, central role within the lives of so many Makonde generations? Although changing times may both help to keep old traditions alive and engender new ones, *mapiko*’s continued importance to Makonde experience derives neither from a nostalgic desire for the past nor a reactive need for self-definition. Instead, the art form has provided succeeding generations of Makondes with an essential language with which to assess changing realities and articulate their positions within them (Bortolot 2006, 9).

Bortolot explores how the *mapiko* masquerade functions as a mirror of Makonde identity that reveals cultural transformations over time.

Sidney Kasfir’s article, “Patronage and Maconde Carvers” also addresses Makonde art forms, as she demonstrates how patronage encourages artistic innovation. She describes how a new artistic genre (*shetani*/spirit figure) evolved out of sculpting tradition previously comprised of only one artistic form (*binadamu*/human beings). Kasfir recounts one artist, Samaki Likankoa, who developed a new sculptural form after an arm had broken off a sculpture and his consequent alteration, as he created something that had not artistically been done before, forever changing the canon of Makonde art. Whereas Bortolot focuses on the continuation of one artistic form, Kasfir investigates the development of a new one.

Surprisingly, very few scholars have yet addressed the important artist Malangatana Valente Ngwenya (Schmidt 1972; Ngwenya, 2003). The artist is featured in a documentary film chronicling his life and artwork, *Ngwenya, o Crocodilho*, directed by Isabel Noronha. Malangatana played a crucial role in the development of contemporary art in Mozambique, and
his expressive artistic style defines a bridge between modern and contemporary art. I met with Malangatana in 2009 (See Figure 1-5). One of the subjects of our conversation included the division between traditional and contemporary African art. Malangatana defined contemporary art as “more or less a base of what was a tradition before.”

His comment is important to think about in terms of both traditional and contemporary art in Africa. Presumably, because of his relatively recent death in 2011, there will be a rise in research and scholarship devoted to him.

Selected attention has been given to conflict based art (Salström, Berit 1988, 1990; Sachs 1983; Frontline States Ltd. 1990). Sachs and Salström present cogent and thoughtful examinations of revolutionary murals and political posters (Sachs 1983 and Salström 1988, 1990). Recently, some scholars have begun to examine contemporary Mozambican artists using weapons as art media (Spring, 2005; Elmquist, 2007; Fonseca 2012). Most recently, Maria Emília Fonseca presented a contextual analysis of Tree of Life, a weapons based artwork in the British Museum, in Touching Art: The Poetics and Potency of Exhibiting the Tree of Life. My research seeks a different approach, analyzing many artists’ use of diverse recycled materials and making connections to recyclia in art making and art as a tool in post-conflict resolution.

Beyond this scholarship on weapons art, no substantial research currently exists on contemporary Mozambican artists using recycled or other materials. Gandolfo’s recently published book, Reinata Sadimba, focuses on the celebrated Makonde ceramic artist (Gandolfo 2012). Reinata explained to me how she first began creating ceramic sculptures when she was a little girl in Cabo del Gado, the northernmost province of Mozambique. She stated that she continues to use these clays from her childhood home because they are a darker color that she prefers to the local clays in Maputo, where she now resides and demonstrates traditional ceramic production at the National Museum of Anthropology in Maputo (See Figure 1-6).
Harun Harun develops an important dialogue on art criticism and critiques of art education in Mozambique. He presented these previously unaddressed topics at the International Association of Art Critics meeting in Cape Town in 2007. His paper provides a foundation for further development of these important aspects of art analysis, as he offers insight into the state of visual arts in Mozambique, including a historical overview, discussion of art education, description of exhibitions and galleries, and plans for the developing art criticism.

Alda Costa’s unpublished dissertation, Arte e Museus em Moçambique, entre a Construção da Nação e o Mundo sem Fronteiras/Art and Museums in Mozambique, between the Nation’s Construction and World without Borders, investigates modern and contemporary artists in Mozambique. Costa provides comprehensive, historical analyses of artistic development. Her work provides a solid foundation for expansion into more detailed explorations. Finally, Mozambican artists have been fairly well represented recently in selected international art exhibitions (Njami 2006) and African art historical surveys (Spring 2008). Before these exhibitions, Mozambican artists had been absent from these important exhibitions and texts.

Research Methodology

This investigation is based on eighteen months of fieldwork. Most of the research took place in the country’s capital, Maputo, where important arts organizations, cultural centers, embassies, galleries, and artists’ studios are located. Many artists work in Maputo, but their homes are located in Matola, an industrial suburb situated thirty minutes from the capital. Several journeys beyond these boundaries included outlying neighborhoods, districts, and provinces (Gaza, Inhambane, and Sofala). My longest uninterrupted research trip took place from August 2010 – November 2011. Time spent in Mozambique preceding and following this has contributed to my investigation; most recently from December 2012-January 2013; and prior to this during the summers of 2008 (August) and 2009 (August-September). Earlier travel,
including a trip to Senegal for five weeks in 2007, introduced me to artists’ widespread use of recycling and inspired my subsequent investigations.

My goal in selecting artists to be included in this dissertation was to provide a representative sample of artists who use recycled materials in order to present a valid overview of contemporary Mozambican artists working today and to illustrate the large number of artists who use recycling. Although focused on the use of recycled materials, many artists I interviewed chose to utilize other media, including painting on canvas, ceramic production, wood or stone sculpting, and printmaking. Overall I have found that the use of recycled materials has become the medium of choice for the majority of artists I worked with. Over the course of my research, many more artists were consulted and interviewed than finally appear in this dissertation. I selected individuals who illustrated diverse motivations for using different types of objects in order to present a cross section of artists. My research methodology included direct engagement with individuals through recorded, transcribed, and videotaped formal, informal, and group interviews. I also captured artists’ processes and techniques through photography and video. Although my interviews were highly effective, I found that artists tended to be more candid expressing themselves in the evenings at A Associação Núcleo de Arte and the nearby Museu barracas (shanty bars and restaurants), which many of the artists regularly frequent.

In my investigation of the Transforming Arms into Plowshares/Transformação de Armas em Enxadas (TAE) project, interviews included past and present administrators, security forces responsible for weapons destruction, informants who trade weapons to TAE for incentives, artists who create art from destroyed weapons, patrons of TAE artworks, and financial donors to TAE. My structured questionnaires also included questions related to TAE in an attempt to determine how widely spread the project is known within Mozambique, and if particular groups,
i.e. viewers of art may be more aware of this country-wide project. My research expands beyond an investigation of Mozambican artists who use recycled materials to address larger issues inextricably bound to these art practices. My work engages with ongoing debates concerning the differences between fine art and tourist art (Rovine 2001; Steiner, 1994; Phillips, 1999; Kasfir, 1999), as well as begin to develop a discourse on the division between traditional and contemporary art in Mozambique. Furthermore, this research develops a dialogue using recycling as a key link between traditional African art and contemporary African art. Focusing on the materiality of objects underpins my examination of recycilia as artistic media as a tool to tackle these important issues. My investigation of artists who use recycled materials as media contributes to the underdeveloped literature on the use of recycled materials in African art in general, and begins to develop scholarship on contemporary Mozambican art specifically. Moreover, my research on the local and global impact of recycling in Mozambican art offers a valuable contribution to the burgeoning discourse on contemporary art in Africa, developing themes of recycling more broadly, within the context of artistic production, fine art, and art as a medium for post-conflict resolution.

**Chapter Organization and Summaries**

Following this introductory chapter, I present a foundation for my investigation of artists who use recycled materials in chapter two. It introduces the current state of the arts in Mozambique. As I demonstrate in this second chapter, specific arts spaces provide a framework for promoting the advancement, as well as a fundamental understanding of contemporary art, despite tremendous social and political obstacles that have impeded its development. Chapter three focuses on a countrywide project founded in 1995 by Bishop Dom Dinis Sengulane. It explores the history of *Transforming Arms into Plowshares/Transformação de Armas em Enxadas* (TAE) project, focusing on its processes, individuals who provide weapons, donors,
artists who create artworks, and patrons. I describe the beginning of TAE from its original
tripartite process, including collecting weapons, making them unusable, and providing incentives
to individuals who provide weapons, to its expansion, which included the creation of art from
parts of destroyed weapons.

In the remaining chapters, (4-6), my emphasis on the importance of materiality is
highlighted through the basic chapter structures. Each of these chapters is organized related to
specific recycled materials. Chapter four focuses on my investigation of distinctions among
artists who use wood and metal to create art. In chapter five I introduce a group of artists who are
linked in their preference for using fabric and paper, yet differ in terms of how and why they
utilize these materials. Chapter six focuses on artists Domingos and Butcheca, who use diverse
combinations of recycled materials as media. Throughout this dissertation I have foregrounded
the artists’ voices in order to create a narrative that is fundamental for understanding the
complexities of their individual artworks. In chapter six, this is true to an even greater extent, as I
present a more self-reflexive, personalized introduction to individual artworks and practices.
This is particularly relevant in this final content chapter, as it represents a combination of the
diverse recyclia previously discussed in chapters four and five. Finally, chapter seven presents a
conclusion to this analysis based on summaries of my research findings.

1For comprehensive interpretations of minkisi and their multiple meanings within African cultures and
their impact on the west, see MacGaffey, Astonishment and Power, 1993; Pynor, Cooksey, and Vanhee,
Kongo Across the Water, 2013. Pynor, Cooksey, and Vanhee’s text provides an important contribution
to minkisi scholarship. Fon bocio are similar forms, discussed by Suzanne Blier in her text, African
Vodun: Art, Psychology and Power. For an interesting discussion of the minkisi as an index of cumulative

2 See John K. Thornton. The Kongolese Saint Anthony: Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian

3 I must thank Kathleen Sheldon and Bjørn Bertelsen for pointing out the necessity of drawing attention
to subtle complexities lost with the often over-simplified terms used to describe the history of
 Mozambique’s conflicts. This also includes determining when the wars actually began, as some scholars state as early as 1974, with Mozambican associations with Rhodesia and South Africa. Thanks also to Bertelsen for sharing the scholarship of those who directly address this issue, notably Alpers 1979; Coelho 1993, 2009, 2011; Dinerman 2006; Mateus 1999; Nwafor 1983; Opello 1975; and Saul 1979.

4 I invited Isabel Noronha to be a participant in the African Studies Association (ASA) panel I organized and chaired directly following my return to the U.S. from Mozambique in fall 2011. The panel, “Examining Mozambican Visual Culture: Political Implications in Distinct Artistic Expressions,” incorporated the film she directed about Malangatana. Due to unexpected illness, Noronha was unable to attend, but her husband and producer of the film, Camilo De Sousa, presented in her absence.

5 Malangatana, interview, Maputo (Aeroporto) Mozambique, August 15, 2009. Sidney Kasfir suggests a similar idea in her introduction to her text Contemporary African Art, 1999, 11. As we spoke, Malangatana showed me his impressive home designed by his friend and architect, Pancho Guedes, which served as a gallery for hundreds of his paintings as well as the artwork of many others. After we had been talking for quite some time Malangatana stated, “someone is here from America who is hurting my head.” While I was considering whether he was giving me a compliment or insulting me, my assistant Julio signaled me a thumb’s up gesture. At this point I realized this was probably one of the greatest compliments I have ever received.

6 Lourenço Marques was the former name of Mozambique’s capital city before it was changed to Maputo in 1976 following independence from Portuguese colonial rule.

7 Structured questionnaires were used to determine opinions from audiences at particular art venues and exhibitions. I utilized portions of this information for chapter two, in my discussion of viewpoints surrounding the impact of the TDM Bienal exhibition. I also relied on public responses in chapter three as I sought awareness of the TAE project among viewers of art.
Figure 1-1. Recicla Employees weighing plastic for a customer, Maputo, 2011. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
Figure 1-2. Recicla Employee cutting down plastic for crushing machine, Maputo, 2010. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
Figure 1-3. AMOR Employee dropping recyclables off at Eco-Point, Maputo, 2011. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
Figure 1-4. Hulene Dump, Maputo, November 2011. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
Figure 1-5. Malangatana Valente Ngwenya (Malangatana) in his home in Maputo (Aeroporto), August 2009. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
Figure 1-6. Reinata Sadimba at her workshop at the Anthropological Museum, Maputo, 2011. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
CHAPTER 2
CONCEPTUAL, TEMPORAL, AND TANGIBLE: DISCURSIVE SPACES OF CONTEMPORARY ART IN MAPUTO

Widespread recognition of the arts does not exist in Mozambique. Throughout the country, particularly in Maputo, this lack of engagement with the visual arts is beginning to change. Arts spaces are attempting to compensate for the absence of government support and public interest in the arts by seeking private and public patronage from corporations in Mozambique and Mozambicans respectively. This chapter contextualizes the development and dissemination of contemporary art by exploring the conceptual and operational dynamics of exhibition spaces in Maputo.

These diverse spaces range from a Mozambican artists’ association that evolved out of a Portuguese artists’ cooperative begun during the colonial era (A Associação Núcleo de Arte/The Association of the Nucleus of Art), to a twenty-first century theoretically based arts movement focused on expanding contemporary art in Mozambique through its didactic exhibitions featuring conceptual art (Movimento de Arte Contemporânea de Moçambique/Contemporary Art Movement of Mozambique (MUVART). These initiatives involve a range of formats, sponsorships, and venues. For example, the largest privately owned telephone and cable corporation hosts a juried biennial exhibit (TDM Bienal), while (Associação Kulungwana/Kulungwana Association), an arts venue funded by its diverse membership, uses thematic exhibitions to promote Mozambican art.

Physical presence determines the framework of classification used in this analysis of the arts spaces within Maputo. The spaces under investigation will be defined as conceptual, temporal, and tangible. Conceptual spaces refer to movements that exist in a liminal space that can be quantified by adherents, exhibitions, and the art created as a result of the conceptual influences of the movement. Temporal spaces refer to ephemeral events that exist for a specified
amount of time, such as a recurring exhibition. Finally, tangible spaces occupy concrete physical locations and exist continually as permanent exhibition venues.

A blunt appraisal by Pompilio Hilário (Gemuce), founder of the Contemporary Art Movement of Mozambique (MUVA), reveals the state of the arts in Mozambique: “In Mozambique there are no critics of art. There is only one historian of art. There is only one curator of art. So you see the level of this country.”¹ Gilberto Cossa, Chief of Visual Arts (Ministry of Arts and Culture), supplements these claims, “culture accounts for less than one percent of the national budget.”² (To put this into global perspective – the U.S. budget (2.5 trillion dollars) devotes seven percent to the arts, whereas Mozambique, among the world’s poorest countries, maintains an overall budget of 4.3 billion dollars. Mozambique remains among the world’s poorest countries while the U.S. is one of the richest (IMF World Economic Outlook). Arts Administrator Otilia Aquino, who is Executive Director of the Mozambique Association for the Development of Democracy/Moçambique Associação para o Desenvolvimento da Democracia (AMODE), further substantiates a deficiency in governmental support for the arts in Mozambique: “there is a lack of time and money to do what we need [to promote the arts].” Aquino additionally stressed the necessity to reach people at community levels to insure culture becomes part of Mozambicans’ lives.³

A subtext interwoven throughout this analysis of arts spaces is the widespread use of mixed media, including recycled materials by artists to create distinctive Mozambican contemporary art. Maputo, the location of these arts spaces, provides a compelling site for this analysis because its strong network of arts organizations draws many artists who are exceptionally varied in approach, technique, and media. Whereas the artworks featured in these spaces are distinct, specific trends link artists’ works. Contemporary Mozambican artists who
scavenge, select, and recycle diverse pre-used objects create mixed media artworks that illuminate important environmental, political, social and economic issues.

As stated in the previous chapter, Mozambique’s protracted history of war cannot be overlooked when seeking a contextual understanding of its contemporary art. Olu Oguibe’s acknowledgment of individual identities in contemporary African art relates to contemporary Mozambican artists and their history specifically:

There is a clearly defined individuality – hardly any contemporary African artist of note would be correctly described as belonging to a particular stylistic trend – yet there is a strong sense of place, of the self moving in space, moving through geography and history, seeking for not only that which is inside but that which resonates with the present and the past as well (Oguibe 2001, 54).

This innate individuality Oguibe refers to is exemplified in the geo-political histories that frame the development and identity of contemporary Mozambican artists, inextricably linking them to their country’s changing political environments and extensive history of war. This chapter elucidates Maputo’s artistic culture by surveying different exhibition spaces and specific examples of artists whose artworks are framed by these spaces.

The artistic movement MUVART (Movimento de Arte Contemporânea de Moçambique/Contemporary Art Movement of Mozambique), evolved to fill a wide chasm in the cultural landscape of Mozambique, which its founders perceived as lacking a contemporary art aesthetic. MUVART Curator and current Director of Escola Nacional de Artes Visuais/National School of Visual Arts (ENAV), Jorge Dias, articulated the suppression of the arts by the state and how this had a widespread effect on further artistic development in Mozambique well into the latter decades of the twentieth century, thus provoking the development of MUVART:

Until the late ‘80s, the structure formed for the arts in Mozambique supported and encouraged a great number of artists who produced the so-called ‘easel painting,’ ‘chipping sculpture,’ drawing, printmaking and photography. These productions were marked by nationalist, social, cultural narratives … the criticism and censorship of the arts came to anticipate the production [of art], adopting a
strategy of repression and forcing the direction, which ended up dictating determined aesthetics and concepts for the arts in Mozambique (MUVART 2006, 13).

Although there is currently a definitive lack of governmental patronage of the arts in both use for political means and financial support of the arts in Mozambique, this was not always the case. As Dias remarked above, both during and following Mozambique’s wars, the government adopted art as a tool to further its ideals. A direct result of the current widespread apathy in the general public regarding art is linked to memories of how the government used the arts as a medium through which it articulated its power. Generally speaking, the Mozambican population is largely unfamiliar with art outside its use in revolutionary service. This includes individuals who are twenty-five years and older, comprising those who lived through both of Mozambique’s past wars. Mozambicans who are younger than twenty-one years old were not yet born as the most recent war was fought. Based on this reality, young Mozambicans do not have memories that link art with propaganda and war. Younger generations are undoubtedly aware of the many social realist style murals and posters employed to garner governmental support as part of their country’s violent history. But it is not their lived history. This is an important reason why arts spaces direct a majority of their outreach toward youth, providing civic education to potential new audiences of art.

Beginning during the colonial war, (1962-1974), FRELIMO’s use of art intensified after assuming control of newly independent Mozambique as its governing party. Recent scholarship by Alexander Bortolot addresses FRELIMO’s political interest in Makonde blackwood sculpture workshops based on beliefs that their collective cooperative structures aligned with FRELIMO socialist ideals. Bortolot argues:

as it [FRELIMO] developed its political philosophy and sought support from international allies, FRELIMO realigned the medium [blackwood carving] for
distinctly different purposes, conceptualizing blackwood carving as a primary symbol of its socialist project in Mozambique (Kasfir and Förster 2013, 253).

I would extend Bortolot’s contention beyond Makonde carving to include art in general. In this way, an understanding of how art has historically functioned and developed within Mozambique becomes clearer. Simply put, the visual arts are not well received today because of their past use by the government in a socialist revolutionary context, which dictated its patronage. As a result, contemporary art and its development face tremendous challenges in undoing and recreating these past functions. In 2009 Mozambique’s first institution of higher education devoted to the arts was established under state sponsorship, (Instituto Superior de Artes e Cultura/Institution of Higher Learning of Arts and Culture) (ISArC), in Matola. State sponsored ENAV, which is devoted to the arts education of young Mozambicans in middle school and higher education began in 1978.

**Conceptual: MUVART**

In 2002 Pompilio Hilário (Gemuce) founded MUVART in the role of facilitator, with Jorge Dias as curator, along with eleven original members. Gemuce explained that an overarching aim of MUVART was to “include all people who are intellectual and who want to interact with culture, because the idea of the movement is producing art - but art that will be participating in society.” Further remarking on the rationale for MUVART’s foundation, Gemuce referred to the reality that “the gap between traditional and contemporary art is wide in Maputo, and contemporary art is marginalized.”

MUVART strives to advance the development and proliferation of contemporary art in Mozambique. MUVART’s Manifesto of 2002 explicitly states the Movement’s intention to expand the arts as a major goal: “Art in Mozambique needs to assert itself as an essential tool and intervener in society. It is urgent to expand the number of viewers interested in the arts, open
new horizons in relation to new forms of artistic practice and extend this effort beyond the capital city” (MUVA 2009). MUVART’s primary strategy for advancing contemporary art in Mozambique is through civic education, and, to those ends, the organization uses exhibitions, lectures, debates and artworks to provoke discussion on the production, dissemination, and politics of art.8

Ironically, MUVART creates a broad foundation for the intellectual development and advancement of contemporary art in Mozambique, yet the organization does not occupy any permanent physical spaces of its own. Despite its intangibility, MUVART’s theoretical presence has shifted the paradigm of art making and its theoretical foundations in Maputo. MUVART’s biennial exhibitions comprise a central platform for facilitating its artistic discourse, and they have mounted five biennials since it first inaugurated these exhibitions in 2004. These exhibits’ goals include addressing current issues using new media (including recycled materials, video, and installations), collaborations with international artists, employing global curatorial strategies involving invited guest curators, and sponsoring theoretical debates that challenge divisions between traditional and contemporary art.

MUVA 9’s first biennial exhibition, Expo Arte Contemporânea Moçambique (Exposition of Mozambican Contemporary Art), was held in 2004 and exhibited at Mozambique’s Museu Nacional de Arte (National Museum of Art).9 Thirty-seven artists participated, including twenty-three artists from Mozambique, as well as artists from six additional countries; Portugal, Brazil, France, Spain, South Africa, and the Czech Republic. This exhibit addressed goals initially set forth by MUVART in its Manifesto, such as opening “creative possibilities and fields of art that are not [currently] present in the production of new
arts … and … changing and disrupting the pre-established aesthetic in Mozambique” (MUVRT 2004, 9).

One specific artwork from this exhibition, an installation by Faizal Omar (Matequenha), *Estudo Acústico do Convencional/Tradicional (Acoustic Study of Conventional/Traditional)*, provides an excellent example of the conceptual boundary crossing implicit in MUVRT’s artistic philosophies and the ways exhibited artworks challenge viewers’ conceptions about experiencing works of art (See Figures 2-1, 2-2). Before beginning a discussion of this artist, I must address the fact that most artists in Mozambique adopt an “artist name.” This is the name they are known by and use to sign their artworks. The artist name may represent an individual’s given name, surname, or a new name altogether. For consistency, I will introduce artists using their given name, surname, and artist name. Following the first instance I will refer to them by their artist name only. Throughout this dissertation diverse permutations of artist’s names will be found.

Matequenha’s engagement with ongoing MUVRT debates, including divisions between traditional art and contemporary art, and fine art and craft art underpin this work and challenge viewers’ conceptions about viewing and experiencing works of art. His complex installation addresses divisions between music and art, performance and object, environmental sustainability, and invented traditions. In *Acoustic Study of Conventional/Traditional*, Matequenha combines diverse natural and recycled materials including clay, animal skins, and fur to create innovative forms. The percussive forms he recreates display musical instruments he has reinvented by altering traditional instruments based on familiar prototypes. Describing his inspiration to create this piece, Matequenha explained:

I had a dream to play the drums. My father had just passed away. Even if I wanted to buy one I would not accept it. I wanted to play, and at the same time I was
working with clay. That’s how I started to make the drums – to show people that it is not necessary to cut down trees to make drums. We can use clay to make what we want.\textsuperscript{12}

To realize these goals through his installation, Matequenha embarked on research in the different provinces and districts of Mozambique where these percussive instruments were historically used. Ultimately four styles emerged from varied geographical settings that he used to create innovative new drum types: Chigubu, Tofo, Mapeko and Maputo.\textsuperscript{13} Most noticeably, Matequenha altered the materiality of these forms by replacing the wooden support of the drums with clay. By exchanging the original materials that historically comprised the drums’ bodies, Matequenha modifies viewers’ conception of these “acoustic forms.”

These are not original historical objects, except for the fact that they are based on models of recognizable traditional instruments. Matequenha has transformed these instruments by substituting new materials – essentially refashioning the old designs and reconstructing them to create new forms and liminal identities provoking discourse on multiple themes. Matequenha displays these newly made instruments in an ethnographic style; thereby creating an archivistic framework that challenges notions of authenticity and originality. By doing so, Matequenha draws upon invented traditions, as he visually presents Hobsbawm and Ranger’s definition of invented traditions: \textit{“traditions}, which appear to be old (but) are actually quite recent in origin and sometimes largely invented” (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983, 1).

\textit{Acoustic Study of Conventional/Traditional} is a kinetic work in progress, a constantly changing artwork, whose overall form evolves based on audience participation. Matequenha invites viewers to engage in an interactive dialogue with his installation, by encouraging audiences to touch and play these acoustic forms in order to understand Mozambican musical traditions. Matequenha focuses on conceptions of art in context, and how art is viewed and/or
experienced by viewers. He addresses his goal: “When we go to galleries, the pieces around are untouchable - for me I want to break that mindset, [by creating] things you can touch. [With my artworks], I allow people to play.”14 By allowing the instruments (perceived here as art/ethnography in the museum context), to be touched, the contemporary is linked to the traditional. Matequenha commented:

It is a blend of materials, colors, shapes, and culture to produce percussive sounds, varied and innovative, but not only that – it is intended to observe a direct interactivity with the drums, participating in the production of sounds, focused on the tentative disregard of any preconceptions about music as an art form. The object – drum, is in a way, decontextualized. Constructed of a different material and exposed within a gallery, … the drum automatically assumes another meaning; beyond mere musical instrument … these simple objects subvert the idea that it is just an exhibition of traditional tools… Despite its slight metamorphosis, these musical instruments produce faithfully the role of his mother – music (MUVART 2004, 31-32).15

As he decontextualizes historical forms by refashioning them, Matequenha’s seemingly simple and straightforward installation is actually a multivalent didactic encouraging new ways of looking at, and experiencing art. Installations such as Matequenha’s explore boundary crossing between artworks and their meanings, as well as between artists and audiences of their art. In his alteration and re-creation of traditional musical instruments, Matequenha challenges ideas about materiality, past and present, recycling, as well as art and audience. Clearly, Acoustic Study of Conventional/Traditional illustrates MUVART’s effective use of its biennial exhibitions as a potent teaching tool to introduce and/or educate Mozambican audiences to artistic forms.

Whereas MUVART lacks a concrete presence in the physical landscape of Maputo, individual members highlight its theoretical focus through artworks exhibited both individually and in the Movement’s biennial exhibitions. MUVART exhibitions have widely embraced various arts spaces in Maputo in addition to global expansion made through the participation of international exhibitors and guest curators from varied countries. Artistic projects by MUVART
Curator Jorge Dias and its founder, Gemuce, illustrate further developments of themes rooted in the Movement’s ideologies, particularly focused on conceptual art and greater explorations of creative processes. In their personal projects, Dias and Gemuce continue to revisit and further develop subjects they previously displayed in earlier MUVART biennial exhibitions, such as conceptualism, materiality, globalization, and democracy.

Dias and Gemuce expand MUVART ideals both locally and globally, in arts spaces of Mozambique, and abroad. Dias presented Transparência: Processos criativos e devaneios (Transparency: Creative Processes and Daydreams) at Instituto Camões (Camoes Institute) in Maputo in 2010. In this exhibit Dias highlights the complex processes of art making through an exploration of its inherent materiality. Urging viewers to contemplate how and why artists create art from particular media, Dias incorporates materials he has stripped to their essence. By revealing what is often concealed with narratives, Dias underscores a link to basic environmental systems of production, destruction, and transformation.

As his exhibition title suggests, Dias presents a daydream surrounding the process of creation, as he vividly explores manifestations of its fantastical possibilities. Working primarily with recycled materials, (mostly newspapers); Dias creates an environment peopled with the everyday (newspapers) that is transformed into the uncommon based on his [day] dreams of creativity (See Figure 2-3). Speaking about the forms he created and their underlying materiality, Dias explained, “Newspaper is the material I like to use the most…sometimes I change newspaper into a wholly different form. I use newspapers because most people use them every day.” Dias illustrates the dynamics of life through daily activity, focusing on the relationship of construction and reconstruction visualized here (MUVART 2008, 17). These are recurring themes in Dias’ artistic explorations, in which he frequently relies upon recycled materials as
media. He relayed a deep interest in “…investigating relationships with materials and transformation … to be born and to die – to show life and death, transformation. It does not end – I work with the idea that pieces of art are not finished pieces. It becomes, it grows.”

Gemuce’s participation in an artists’ residency in Huntly, Scotland (2009-2010), illustrates his continued exploration of globalization and politics, themes he previously developed in past MUVART biennials. In MUVART’s third biennial exhibition, *Perspectives and Experiences: Other Territories* (2008), Gemuce presented *Jogo/Democracia* (*Game/Democracy*). This conceptual work shows his ironic interpretation of the democratic form of government as he reduces it to a game. Gemuce presented a circular wooden board game patterned on the model of chess, and thus illustrated democracy as a game to be played by the viewer. Inspired by the notion of the democratic system as a game of chance, strategy, and opponents who may win or lose, Gemuce defines this piece in the following terms:

> Every intellectual dispute expended in the game illustrates the evil manipulative capacity of men in the struggle for power in the democratic system. But at the same time, as is my appeal to tolerance, with a civilized attitude, because whomever plays, expect to lose … after all we are simply dealing with a game (MUVART 2008, 14).

With this elemental yet highly politicized work, Gemuce underscores MUVART practices by raising thematic discussions and simultaneously inserting his association and contemporary art praxis into Mozambican society.

In a more recent project, *Money Crunch*, Gemuce moves beyond his conceptual exploration of democracy to investigate themes of capitalism, economics, and differences between these ideas in both Western and Non-western contexts. A multi-media performance piece, *Money Crunch* was a site-specific work designed as part of an artists’ residency program Gemuce participated in. Sponsored by Scotland based contemporary arts organization, Deveron Arts, Gemuce’s performance took place in Huntly, Scotland, in order to site the piece in a
Western, capitalist location. In this work, Gemuce tackled the reality that most of the global economy is teetering on over-extended credit. Addressing political and social concerns, Gemuce made an ironic statement in his appraisal of Western society and the gross materialism of its ubiquitous gift-giving traditions of the Christmas season.

The opening segment of *Money Crunch* took place in Huntly Square on an early December evening, intended to coincide with the commencement of holiday shopping in the village center. Booths set up by local merchants provided various items for purchase, ostensibly to facilitate and stimulate holiday gift shopping. In the midst of this space of commerce, Gemuce presented *Calabash Bank*. Gemuce’s selection of a calabash to brand his bank underscores this gourd’s significance in Africa. Making a wry statement on value, Gemuce alludes to the multiple uses of the calabash in Africa versus the multiplicity of consumer items offered for sale in Western cultures that appear to provide only one, very specific use.

Unlike all of the other booths, *Calabash Bank* interrogated global monetary and credit systems by challenging interwoven themes including value, ideas, money, and credit. Dressed as Father Christmas, Gemuce handed out credit cards for his *Calabash Bank* (See Figures 2-4, 2-5). Encouraging contemplation of Western and specifically African contexts, Gemuce contrasted and linked Western ideals of Christmas capitalism and the ubiquitous African calabash. By linking Christmas and calabashes, Gemuce created a conceptual performance devoted to interrogating globalization, value, and currencies. *Calabash Bank* credit cards Gemuce created were exchanged for ideas offered as an alternative to monetary currency. Ideas were collected from shoppers who were given a credit card issued from the *Calabash Bank*, with which they were permitted to withdraw ideas. Playing on the common Western practice of relying on and over using credit cards, ideas replaced the money that is typically extracted from the automatic
teller machines of a bank. Evidence of MUVART’s influence on Mozambique’s developing contemporary art scene and its engagement with international sites and themes can be seen in the specific examples described above. In its efforts to expand the exhibition of contemporary art in Mozambique, MUVART has built upon its previous exhibits. MUVART’s didactic strategy of exhibitions, workshops, lectures, and artistic events, as well as highlighting elements of Mozambique’s histories in its artworks (Matequenha’s acoustic forms discussed here is an excellent example), has led to a promulgation and perpetuation of an intrinsically Mozambican contemporary art that transcends the previous governmental control of art. Through its instructive advancement of the arts, MUVART presents a trajectory of evaluation and reevaluation of artistic trends in order to move the dissemination of contemporary art in Mozambique forward artistically and intellectually, as well as locally and globally.

**Temporal: TDM Bienal**

The TDM *Bienal* is an art exhibition sponsored and organized by *Telecomunicações de Moçambique* (Telecommunications of Mozambique/TDM). This group of companies was created in 1981 following the termination of the government agency handling telecommunication services. The *Bienal* is a partnership with the National Museum of Mozambique, where it is displayed for two months on alternating years (See Figure 2-6). Despite its time-based limitations, the TDM *Bienal* is definitively the largest single exhibition of art in the country, and represents a tremendous cultural highlight in Mozambique. Furthermore, the competition to select artworks included in this exhibition is the largest in the country. Finally, and perhaps most directly linked to this event’s extreme popularity is the fact that considerable cash prizes are awarded to winners (See Figure 2-7).²¹ The TDM *Bienal* is widely acknowledged as representing and defining not simply art, but contemporary art in Mozambique.
The TDM Bienal wields great power in the artistic and cultural landscape of Mozambique. The first exhibition, TDM Exposição, was held in 1991 to celebrate the ten-year anniversary of TDM’s establishment in 1981. This exhibition laid the foundation for the development of its Bienal, as well as establishing a standard for TDM to amass and develop its own art collection. Then TDM Director General, Rui Fernandes, presented TDM’s artistic commitment in the accompanying exhibition catalogue:

We believe that this initiative is the first edition of what we intend to become the TDM Arts Biennial. This time, [we present] only the works of our collection, but in its other editions [it will be] open to all who want to participate in it. We believe this opens a new perspective in the field of artistic Mozambique and thus gives more focus to this ‘show’ in commemoration of our birthday (TDM 1991, n.p.).

It is interesting to note here the explanation Fernandes provides, that although this first edition presented existing works in the TDM collection, subsequent editions would be “open to all who want to participate.” This subtle point challenges the democratic aims of its organizers. Future TDM Bienal exhibitions would be open to all in terms of allowing anyone to submit a work of art for consideration, whereas actually having one’s artwork included in the exhibition is not. Acceptance to the Bienal is contingent upon TDM’s jury selection.

Throughout the history of the Bienal, two types of juries facilitate selection of artworks. The first jury accepts artists into the exhibition, and the second selects prizewinners from among the accepted artworks. Jurors are individuals with different art related knowledge bases, incorporating technical, curatorial, art historical and artistic aspects, and are modified with each Bienal. The first Bienal set a precedent linking TDM to the promotion of the arts in Mozambique. Sixty-one artworks, representing twenty-four artists were included in this exhibit, including paintings and sculptural works. Representing previous acquisitions to TDM’s developing art collection, the exhibition showcased such luminary Mozambican artists as Alberto
Chissano, Ídasse, Eugénio Lemos, Bertina Lopes, Malangatana Ngwenya, Estêvão Mucavele, and Víctor Sousa.

This first exhibition became both an inspiration and a template for TDM, presenting specific goals that would be replicated in its future biennial exhibitions. Objectives included ensuring works of art by Mozambican artists remain in the country, providing broad and widespread support and encouragement of the plastic arts, and building both cultural heritage and financial assets (TDM 1991, n.p.). The Bienal serves as a means for building the TDM corporate art collection. Artworks are acquired by TDM through prize winning (an artwork submitted by an artist who wins first prize in the Bienal automatically becomes part of the art collection of the TDM corporation), or optionally purchased directly from the artists represented in the Bienal. In the exhibition catalogue, TDM Director General Fernandes referred to how this exhibition will “…give the public the opportunity to appreciate a set of works that we consider of value” (Ibid, n.p.). Imposing value on artworks and artists whose works are selected to be shown in the Bienal is an important detail. Audiences of the visual arts revere many of the artists exhibited in the first Bienal, and the success of these artists has determined the context for understanding individual artistic styles. The implicit connection of value imposed upon the artworks presented in 1991 set a very high standard for all future artworks and artists that would be accepted into the Bienal. For example, juried editions of the exhibit allowed a limit of two artworks per artist submitted for selection. Furthermore, by impressing the notion of value upon these works, younger generations of artists inspired to submit artworks to future exhibitions would view artworks shown in this first exhibition, as well as future biennials, as representative examples of value, and more importantly, of the arts of Mozambique. As a result of this, TDM Bienals have become implicitly linked with selecting and displaying artworks of value. Based upon high expectations set within
the framework of the first Bienal, future incarnations would inherently be charged with a great amount of power to define Mozambican art. This self-appointed power of TDM exerts a tremendous influence in determining valuable works within the visual culture of Mozambique.

The Dak’Art Biennial is arguably the most important recurring exhibition held in Africa. Scholarship regarding the far-reaching role of this exhibit sheds light on the widespread impact of the TDM Bienal in Mozambique:

By way of both political rhetoric and the exhibited works, Dak'Art forms a site for the construction of a Pan-African discursive platform. Its singular focus on exhibiting the work of African and Diaspora artists relates to both the event's history and ideological foundation. From its inception, Dak'Art intended to rectify the marginalization of African artists from international art venues by creating an international platform for showcasing their work in Africa. Dak'Art's ideological raison d'être is thus undergirded by an "expression of political will." Pan-African in focus, the event's force resides in the premise of geopolitical collectivity. In this, it is as much an artistic event as an illustration of collective power. Its discursive construction relies heavily on the political rhetoric associated with Senegal's first president, Leopold Sedar Senghor, in his writings on Négritude and subsequent cultural policies. In fact, the tenets of Senghorian ideology provide the ideological capital for the Biennale (Grabski 2008, 104).

Here Joanna Grabski captures the essence of Dak’Art’s power in both global (International) and local (Senegal and African) arenas. Current TDM administrator Adolfo Boane puts a positive spin on the implicit power of TDM: “contextually, TDM tells a history of Mozambique. [It] provides a platform to talk about art, painting, how to teach painting...”

Biannually, TDM publicizes a call for submissions to its Bienal. Most years since the inception of the competitive exhibition in 1993, this format has been followed. An exception occurred in 2007 when artists from the first Bienal were included in addition to previous prizewinners (1993-2007). In 2011, twenty years after the first Exposição TDM, its president Dr. Teodato Hunguana commented on the how the Bienal had advanced since its beginnings, including “increasingly new and more diverse media such as video and photography, following the trends that are expressed in a more internationalized pace” (TDM 2011, 3). This reflective
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technology, and household goods.

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His work, Vandals of Fiber Optic wire and the Masks of the Vigilant, was created for,
His work, Vandals of Fiber Optic wire and the Masks of the Vigilant, was created for,
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His work, Vandals of Fiber Optic wire and the Masks of the Vigilant, was created for,
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within a framework of faceted, interlocking cubist forms that suggest three-dimensional space.
within a framework of faceted, interlocking cubist forms that suggest three-dimensional space.
within a framework of faceted, interlocking cubist forms that suggest three-dimensional space.
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Sections of ovoid and oblong curvilinear shapes invade the geometricity of the picture plane,
Sections of ovoid and oblong curvilinear shapes invade the geometricity of the picture plane,
Sections of ovoid and oblong curvilinear shapes invade the geometricity of the picture plane,
creating a large skewed mask form diagonally oriented from the left top corner to the center of
creating a large skewed mask form diagonally oriented from the left top corner to the center of
creating a large skewed mask form diagonally oriented from the left top corner to the center of
creating a large skewed mask form diagonally oriented from the left top corner to the center of
the bottom of the canvas. This mask creates an optical illusion, alternating its appearance and
disappearance within changing surfaces of the canvas. Once this mask is observed, others begin to appear, connecting with the larger mask, as they alternating in different directions as fragmented images.

The imagery within this artwork is kinetic, its movement created in arcs and planes that move erratically around the canvas. The movement is amplified by the dissonance of the framing device of the smaller rectangular section on the left side of the canvas. The metallic silver impasto treatment in this area is heightened with the addition of applied staples. The three-dimensional effect of the added staples creates a chaotic complement to the dissonance within the dominant square. As the title indicates, this painting deals with vandals destroying the fiber optic lines that facilitate telephone access throughout Mozambique.

In his discussion of this artwork, Domingos foregrounds the widespread effects this type of vandalism has on the population, “this is a real situation we are living in … but now nothing is usable…at the same time [there is a] problem with people break[ing] wires of TDM [which is] report[ed] to the newspaper.” He uses staples symbolically, as a three dimensional addition to his canvas, to broadly represent the complex infrastructure of TDM. Domingos explains that the vigilantes of the technological vandals are equipped with arcs (portable weapons and arrows). By creating a visual link between contemporary society and the past, Domingos introduces the legacy of legendary Mozambican warrior and folk hero, Ngungunhane, who according to legend could not be killed by Portuguese forces despite being hit with arrows several times. Domingos inserts the mythology of this figure into his work, as one who will continue to use his historical weapons in the role as a vigilante, defending against the vandals of contemporary technology (of TDM, who sponsored the Bienal exhibition this work was created for).
This work was not a prizewinner. Domingos did win first prize in the 2009 Bienal however. His winning artwork was a mixed media painting that incorporated natural recycled materials, such as wood, sand, and dry leaves. Forming part of a series that included Domingos’s 2011 entry investigating vandalism of TDM communication systems, these works are based on his explorations of destruction by men and nature. These paintings typify artwork currently being created by artists in Mozambique. Based on my analysis of archived TDM exhibition catalogs, there has been a steady increase in artworks submitted and accepted to the Bienal that are comprised of mixed media and/or recycled materials. In the last Bienal of 2011, eleven of the forty-four selected artworks were created from recycled materials, and the first prize-winner was created of recyclia.

Whether the TDM biennal exhibition represents an accurate portrayal of Mozambican art today is a popular debate among artists and patrons of art, and a difficult question to address. This debate, as well as jury bias toward younger, trained artists, disapproval of a single prize award instead of one representing each media, favoritism towards artists working in Maputo, and finally, corruption, represent critiques of the TDM Bienal I am currently investigating. As a result of these criticisms, the Bienal has become problematic and several artists I have spoken with refuse to participate any longer. Highlighting one of these criticisms, TDM has previously acknowledged that the majority of artists represented in its Bienal are concentrated in Maputo, thereby not providing an overall view of Mozambican art (TDM 1991, n.p.). The desire to achieve a truer representation of art throughout Mozambique has been a point of contention for the entire history of the TDM Bienal. This is not a new problem, yet it continues to be the source of consternation among audiences and organizers of the influential exhibition.
Victor Sala, Commissioner of the Jury of the 2011 TDM Bienal, commented: “Normally for people outside of Maputo, it is difficult to access information [call for entries] and send work. This is another element. If [we] could do a bit more and think about other artists outside Maputo … then we would see variety. Almost everyone [represented in the Bienal] is from here [Maputo] …” Sala’s candor indicates awareness among organizers that the Bienal does not represent all of Mozambique because of the lack of entries from the artists living outside the capital city. Sala has suggested as a solution that the organizing committee target communication with artists outside of Maputo, through the Minister of Culture. For the first time, a debate was planned in 2011 to address critiques of the Bienal. Regarding the upcoming debate and specific issues to be tackled, Sala stated:

Some of the elements we will discuss include required criteria for giving awards, issues like reproducing someone else’s work using a different technique – art or something else, artist involvement in how to display pieces…understanding. Many art students will be there. Transparency is good.

I question whether this debate actually took place. Sala, who had previously asked me to speak at the debate, never contacted me to finalize the date and time the event would be held. Several artists I spoke with confirmed the event did not take place. The TDM Bienal occupies a fascinating position within the framework of developing and advancing the visual arts within Mozambique: A countrywide exhibit dedicated to promoting art in a country whose population is generally disinterested and unknowledgeable about art is a tremendous boon to cultivating a culture of art. Despite the criticisms, the presence of the TDM Bienal has largely benefitted and advanced accessibility to the arts in Mozambique by offering exposure to contemporary art.

**Tangible: Núcleo de Arte**

*A Associação Núcleo de Arte* (Association of the Nucleus of Art), founded in the 1920s/1930s, is dedicated to the development of the fine arts in Mozambique. *Núcleo de Arte*
is rooted in the colonial era and originally reflected the cultural sensibilities of its Portuguese founders. Early divisions of *Núcleo de Arte* included architecture, fine and decorative arts, music and choreography, theatre, literature and history of art, indigenous art and ethnography, and propaganda and publicity (Costa 2010, 29). Throughout its history, this institution has undergone ideological transformations, allowing it to withstand the political, social and cultural vicissitudes of the colonial and post-independence periods.

Mozambican art historian Alda Costa has stated, “The creation of the *Núcleo de Arte* was clearly the embodiment of imperial thinking and of the attempt to build closer relations between Portugal and its colonies… spreading aesthetic education and promoting the progress of art in the colony” (Ibid, 31). Costa further states the original statutes of *Núcleo de Arte* included aims to:

organize art courses, put on art exhibitions, create an art museum (with an indigenous art section), and organize visits by artists from Portugal, who could create works of art in the colony inspired by local subjects. It was also its job to organize art exhibitions dealing with Mozambican subjects in Portugal and contribute, in every possible way, to the artistic exchange between Mozambique and the *metrópole* (Ibid).

Clearly, in its earliest days, integration between *asimilados* and *indígenas* did not exist in this cultural space, as was widespread practice among African colonial societies. The Portuguese exerted tremendous control in the shaping of their colonies by creating distinct classes that tactically divided the extant societies by developing new races. Portuguese colonizers introduced “what is called the *asimilados*. These were a small class of indigenous people who were granted from the Portuguese by certain privileges, which turned them into a higher position than the other Africans …” (Abdel-Ati 2011, 6). Further instances of divisive tactics within colonies included creation of *mestizos*, individuals who comprised a mixture of African and European races, and *indígenas* who represented indigenous Africans. Another higher status included the *regulos*, indigenous chiefs or rulers in leadership roles. As a result of this strategy by Portuguese
colonizers, it was not until the 1950s/1960s that indigenous Mozambicans began to take more active roles in the cultural center of *Núcleo de Arte*.

An often-repeated myth-like story tells of how a young Mozambican, Malangatana Valente Ngwenya, broke through racial barriers and became involved in this arts organization and first exhibited paintings there in 1959. Other well-known Mozambican artists who became active members of *Núcleo de Arte* early on include Bertina Lopes and Alberto Chissano. These artists set the precedent for *Núcleo de Arte* to develop into the inclusive Mozambican artists’ collective association that exists today and promotes the development of a broad, yet distinctly Mozambican style of art. A third generation of artists began to reinvent the artists’ association in the 1990s, following the gradual acceptance of Mozambicans preceding independence (*Núcleo de Arte* n.d.).

The administrative infrastructure of *Núcleo de Arte* consists of a President, elected by general vote; (current - Arturo Vincente (Nongwhenye)), who holds office for two years with the possibility of holding two consecutive terms; Vice President; Council Fiscal, which comprises a group responsible for the Association’s buildings (three individuals selected by vote); and the Assembly, which represents the general population of artists, currently comprising over three hundred members. Financial support for *Núcleo de Arte* relies upon membership dues, contributions, grants, and governmental funding. Recent renovation work described below was achieved through corporate sponsorship of a Mozambican bank, Millenium Bim. The physical space of *Núcleo de Arte* is anchored by a large colonial-era Portuguese home on the corner of a residential neighborhood in the Polana District of Maputo (See Figure 2-9). The focal point and creative center of *Núcleo de Arte* however, is the large open-air covered workshop in the center of the artistic complex. The workshop, as well as its surrounding outdoor
courtyard, provides collaborative working studio space for members of the Association. In these shared areas, artists create, contemplate and engage collectively in intensive discussions related to art and art making. It is not uncommon to see close to ten artists communally working within these areas at Núcleo de Arte on a daily basis (See Figure 2-10, 2-11).

Artists at Núcleo de Arte engage with varied media and techniques as they paint, sculpt, make ceramics, and working with diverse recycled materials. The cohesive social environment of Núcleo de Arte fosters creativity and the development of ideas through camaraderie. The highly interactive social environment at Núcleo de Arte is consistent with Sidney Littlefield Kasfir and Till Förster’s emphasis on the social aspect in their analysis of African workshops:

A workshop is a social setting … it is a social space in which individuals cooperate … It is a sphere in which interpretive processes unfold … a social institution that fosters particular modes of reciprocal interpretation and in general, social interaction. Artists in the workshop learn through others, not from them (Kasfir and Förster 2013, 22).

Much like Kasfir and Förster’s workshop analyses, artists working collectively immerse themselves in the production of art, while relying upon a constant source of feedback and support – literally a nucleus of art.

Under renovation for over two years, the large home that previously served as the main exhibition space of Núcleo de Arte reopened with an inaugural members’ exhibition in late February 2013. Prior to renovations, this space maintained a permanent exhibition of artworks by members, with occasional interruptions of themed exhibitions for brief intervals. Recent construction on this building has impacted and facilitated the development of major goals for Núcleo de Arte that affect not only the physical infrastructure of this historical Mozambican artists’ association, but its goals for the presentation of the arts as well.

The impact of this construction affects Núcleo de Arte theoretically as it will devote greater focus on presenting an ongoing and tangible educational space designed for students,
visitors, and tourists. The house, now that its construction has been completed, will resume its role as the Association’s primary exhibition space.\textsuperscript{33} Vincente, further elaborating on current goals of \textit{Núcleo de Arte}, stated the organization seeks “to change the methodology – it will be different from before, where a permanent, continuing exhibition was previously displayed, now each artist will make a solo exhibit for fifteen days – to show the potential of art is our big goal.”\textsuperscript{34} Long-range plans for \textit{Núcleo de Arte} include opening additional locations in the provinces of Mozambique to reach out to represent artists beyond the capital city of Maputo. Vincente projected broader ideas surrounding \textit{Núcleo de Arte} as a cultural resource in Mozambique:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Núcleo} is an association for people in the community – a public space where everyone can see the art … so you see what’s happening here is contemporary art – new, innovative art is happening at \textit{Núcleo}. \textit{Núcleo} is a space to do research for artists. They come here from home and see different types of art – coming from their ateliers at home [they come to \textit{Núcleo}] to open their minds, get new ideas.\textsuperscript{35}
\end{quote}

\textit{Núcleo de Arte} promotes art through its focus on community projects. In October 2010, students and artists collaborated to create artworks from pre-used materials. This multi-week workshop culminated in an exhibition of student and artists’ work (See Figure 2-12). Vicente, responsible for developing the workshop, explained that he was inspired “because they [students] don’t know about art created from recycled materials, as well as to reduce garbage, because when we are reducing we can make something – an art piece.”\textsuperscript{36} Ana Vilankulos (Matswa) is one of the artists who participated in the recycling workshop. She and Zeferino instructed students, showing them how to create art from scavenged fabric and metal objects (Both of these artists and their works are discussed in chapters four and five).

Another exhibition held by \textit{Núcleo de Arte} also aimed at community outreach and focused on recycling. Intended to demonstrate the potency of art, this exhibit was created in collaboration with the \textit{Conselho Cristão de Moçambique} (Christian Council of Mozambique’s)
Transforming Arms into Plowshares (Transformação de Armas em Enxadas) (TAE) Project (See chapter three for a comprehensive discussion of the project and its artworks). The TAE project, created in 1995 by Bishop Dom Dinis Sengulane, is a countrywide project responsible for eradicating Mozambique of the millions of weapons believed to remain in the country after its past wars. TAE collects decommissioned weapons from Mozambican wars, renders them inoperable, and transforms them into art. TAE artists who create art from collected weapons use recyclia both literally and conceptually, creating evocative art while deconstructing Mozambican history. TAE’s purposeful destruction and transformation of recycled weapons of Mozambique’s wars enables these arms to make visible the invisible concept of peace – through the symbolism of powerful artworks composed of former tools of killing.

An exhibition held at Núcleo de Arte, entitled Fale, Não Temas, Deus tem muita gente nesta cidade, Fale de Paz/Speak, Don’t Fear, God is in this City, Speak the Peace commemorated the date (October 4, 1992), when the General Peace Agreement was reached in Rome, ending Mozambique’s extended conflict between RENAMO and FRELIMO. This exhibition’s convergence of many sculptures created from weapons of war evoked the power of the TAE artworks, engaging viewers to remember the violence and destruction of Mozambique’s protracted history of war (See Figure 2-13). Diverse in media and techniques, artists affiliated with Núcleo de Arte are embracing historical arts traditions as well as illustrating a strong desire to promote the development and expansion of new ideals of contemporary art in Mozambique.

Tangible: Kulungwana

The Associação Kulungwana (originally Kulungwana – Association for Cultural Development) originated in 2005. Kulungwana is a Shangaan word that refers to a sound people (mostly women) utter in ceremonies (weddings or parties) to show joy that all is progressing well. Executive Director Henny Matos describes the non-profit Association’s goal as
“the development of culture in broad terms,” conveying that its main activity is a music festival held each year in May. In 2008, Kulungwana began operating its art venue, Sala de Espera (Waiting Room), in the Baixa area of Maputo. The gallery occupies a renovated former waiting room in the Estação Central dos Caminhos de Ferro (CFM) Railroad Station on the train platform of this distinguished building that recently celebrated its one hundredth anniversary. Kulungwana’s gallery is augmented by the imposing architecture of the green and white Victorian style railroad station surrounding it, designed in the much duplicated late nineteenth/early twentieth century Eiffel Style of French architecture (See 2-14). During the colonial era, this grand, domed station served as the terminus of the most important railway line connecting the city Lourenço Marques with mines located in South Africa and Zimbabwe. Kulungwana’s Executive Director Matos explained that this space was specifically chosen for its striking architectural presence in order to effectively showcase Mozambican culture.

The high visibility location chosen for the site of Kulungwana’s gallery readily illustrates an eye for attracting both a local and international audience. The CFM Railway Station is one of Maputo’s top destinations, underscored by its prominent appearance in several Mozambican travel guides. Additionally, the railway station continues to operate with limited services, and directly outside its walls is a stop for many of Maputo’s local buses. One large room holds the art exhibitions, although much of the gallery activity takes place outside, on the platform of the railroad tracks. Kulungwana’s formal association and administrative infrastructure consists of a five member directive board, headed by an Executive Director (current - Matos) and four additional individuals, who meet regularly to discuss the Association’s plans; an Artistic Commission of five members sets the program for yearly exhibitions based on proposals; while the General Assembly, including the entire membership, is responsible for developing a yearly
financial plan. *Kulungwana* began with funds totaling just over $330,000.00 USD from donations, grants, bequests, legacies, and concessions. Yearly revenues include proceeds from annual membership dues, contributions, subsidies, and bequests (*Kulungwana*).

Five yearly exhibitions are carefully planned to balance diverse media and artists. One exhibit that illustrates *Kulungwana*’s goal to promote culture through the arts has evolved into a yearly exhibition. *Colecção Crescent* (Growing Collection), initially launched by *Kulungwana* in 2011, was inspired by a South African project, “*The Creative Block.*” According to Matos, *Growing Collection* has two specific goals, one intended to stimulate artistic creativity among the artists, while another promotes local patronage through affordable prices for these miniature artworks.\(^4\) Focused on attracting both a local and international audience, most of *Kulungwana*’s local patronage comes from middle and upper class Mozambicans interested in art, expats who travel in cultural circles, and artists who are more likely to attend exhibition openings than purchase works of art. Tourists comprise a healthy percentage of its audience as well.

*Kulungwana* selects both established and emerging artists who are invited to create an artwork for this event. Each of the artists is provided with three individual small MDF (medium-density fiberboard) blocks (18 x 18 cm.). This exhibition, ‘*Growing Collection,*’ parallels *Kulungwana*’s overall strategy, in allowing artists the freedom to submit diverse works for display in themed exhibitions. These blocks challenge artists to create on a relatively small scale, with the flexibility to use any style or additional media they choose. Many artists choose to paint the blocks, while some, such as the artist who is shown here (See Figure 2-15; Jorge José Munguambe (Makolwa)), has chosen to use multiple techniques to create his block. Makolwa is in the process of carving the block and adding recycled metal materials in his mixed media artwork (See Figures 2-16 – 2-17).
Broader goals of *Kulungwana* are realized through a grassroots technique that creates an ongoing dialogue between viewers and artists. On one level, *Kulungwana* focuses on promoting artists and their art, pushing artists to expand their creative vision, as Matos stated, “by using local means we can do things.”

*Parnasianos* (October 2011), a *Kulungwana* exhibition featuring Cuban artist Ulisses Gomes Oviedo and MUVART founder Gemuce, illustrates an exhibit in which both goals of *Kulungwana* are achieved, as well as demonstrating MUVART’s favored platform of using art exhibitions for presenting conceptually based art as a didactic tool to promote contemporary art. Based on positivist ideals, Gemuce and Ulisses utilized the *Parnassian* Movement as a foundation to explore artistic representations of realism without romanticism. The *Parnassian* Movement was based on *Parnassianism*, a French literary style that emerged in the second half of the nineteenth and represented a reaction against the popular overtly sentimental style of romanticism. Intended to “evoke art service to society or ‘art for art’s sake, [by] countering romanticism, excessive sentiment, and subjectivity,” Gemuce defined how this exhibit strove to replicate the *Parnassianism* Movement. The artists focused on achieving artistic standards of exactitude and impeccable workmanship, including classical subjects, rigidity of form, and emotional detachment (*Kulungwana* 2011, n.p.).

In the exhibition *Parnasianos*, Gemuce and Ulisses reopened an earlier agenda of artistic debate surrounding romanticism, by focusing on a presentation of realism. Speaking of revisiting the mid nineteenth century *Paranassian* Movement, Gemuce refers to how the “[*Paranassian*] debate fits perfectly in the artistic practices of our day, [it is] intrinsically connected to artistic practices, born of an academic debate about academic concepts and between academic art.” In a literal denouncement of romanticism, *Parnasianos* presented two divergent views (the artists’ interpretations) of realism explored through art. Gemuce’s stark black and
white pen and ink drawings presented graphic, realistic portrayals of dreamlike situations. His interpretation of realism consisted of “…black and white dashes in china ink, a rescue of human figures in their confrontation with states of consciousness, composing messages familiar to our collective unconscious.” Defining his artworks, Gemuce commented, “I’m memorializing this period [Parnassianism] right now. I am deconstructing art also, by only using black and white. I am creating a moment of provocation - let’s forget colors.”

As a counterpoint to Gemuce’s stark imagery, Ulisses presented a much more literal interpretation of realism, with colorful painterly landscape scenes framed by roughly hewn wooden recyclia. Parnasianos’ two dramatically different interpretations of realism, varied in approach, technique, media and representation, inspired contemplation on realism. The intensity of the exhibition emerged from how these two views, presented by Ulisses and Gemuce, presented an opposition to romanticism, as well as to each other – as if squared off in an artistic duel. The juxtaposition of Ulisse’s painterly mixed media landscapes and Gemuce’s stark black and white pen and ink drawings created a palpable tension in the gallery.

A symbolic figure added to this lively artistic debate: a moving and speaking artist’s model. Wholly painted white, he wore only white, tight fitting shorts and a white knitted tam to cover his hair. The figure evoked a spirit, or perhaps the spirit of realism (See Figure 2-18). He alternated between assuming classical sculptural poses of Michelangelo and Rodin, to melodramatic outbursts where he enthusiastically recited traditional poetry. This spiritual figure served as a conduit to the stark reality of Gemuce’s graphic works, while creating an abstract foil to the lush, variegated mixed media paintings of Ulisse’s interpreted reality. The Parnassian figure underscored a literal and conceptual representation of realism – as he immersed himself into the art, but then quickly rebounded back into real life. Through their conceptual and spirited
exploration of realism, Gemuce and Ulisses presented a striking commentary on the multilayered conceptualization between art and life. Speaking about *Parnasianos* and its aims, Gemuce commented,

> In general, this exhibition talks about realism. The theme was talking about how artists imitate real life. But it is imitating in a graphic way. Sculpture and painting imitate. This man [white spirit figure] does the inverse – he goes back into art – but then he comes back to life. My pieces and Ulisses’s are about confronting – about black and white and the guy in the middle.\(^{50}\)

Like the *Parnasianos* exhibition, *Kulungwana* strives to present the exploration of contemporary Mozambican art in its varied multi media exhibitions. By challenging artistic expression through diverse thematic exhibits, *Kulungwana* promotes the expression and ideals of contemporary art in Mozambique for artists as well as patrons of the arts.

**Conceptual, Temporal, and Tangible: MUVART, TDM Bienal, A Associação Núcleo de Arte, and Associação Kulungwana**

Contemporary art’s discursive spaces (MUUART, TDM Bienal, A Associação Núcleo de Arte, and Kulungwana Gallery) in Mozambique are conceptual, tangible, and temporal. At the same time, these spaces are also porous, permeable, and fluid. In this chapter I strived to illustrate the lack of boundaries between contemporary arts spaces and between artists in Maputo. Members of MUVART frequently exhibit their art at *Kulungwana’s* Gallery; artists associated with A Associação Núcleo de Arte create artworks that are both accepted into and awarded prizes in the TDM Bienal; members of MUVART are also members of A Associação Núcleo de Arte, where they frequently utilize workshop areas there in the creation of their art.

Similarly, there is much overlap in the goals set by these varied organizations, arts spaces, and movements in their quest to seek the development and proliferation of contemporary art in Mozambique. Each of these spaces, whether conceptual, temporal, or tangible, is focused on promoting contemporary art. This artistic advancement has been realized through the
mounting of workshops (*A Associação Núcleo de Arte*, MUVART); exhibitions (MUVART, *Kulungwana, A Associação Núcleo de Arte*, TDM Bienal); and cultural outreach projects (*A Associação Núcleo de Arte*, MUVART, *Kulungwana, TDM Bienal*). The artists and artworks that create these varied discursive spaces draw from individual identities, build from the past, and develop new media and techniques. Deficiencies in government support and its lack of patronage have been a major factor that has contributed to the currently underdeveloped scene in Mozambique. Despite this, diverse yet cohesive organizations have assumed leadership roles in promoting and supporting the expansion of contemporary art in Mozambique. Contemporary art and its practitioners find Maputo’s burgeoning arts community fertile ground for experimentation with new forms of expression and venues for collaboration in the further development and continuation of contemporary art aesthetics and diverse platforms for its display.

1 Pompilio Hilário (Gemuce), interview, Maputo, Mozambique, August 17, 2009.
2 Gilberto Cossa, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, August 18, 2009.
3 Otilia Aquino, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, November 14, 2010.
4 China and the republics that comprised the former U.S.S.R illustrate additional examples of how governmental uses of art to promote its ideals have led to similar struggles in the development of contemporary art.
5 Additional early MUVART members included Marcus Bonifacio (Muthewuye), Celestino Mondlane (Mudulaune), Luis Muiêngua (Muiêngua), Quentin Lambert, Anésia Manjate, Carmen Muianga, Titos Mabota, Ivan Serra, and Vânia Lemos.
7 Ibid.
8 Gemuce, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, July 24, 2008.
9 In 2003 MUVART held its first exhibition, with participation by its eleven founding artist-members and two new artists during the *Festival D’Agoso* at *Centro Cultural Franco-Moçambicano* in Maputo.
Initially exhibited in the first MUVART biennial of 2004, this artwork is now on permanent display in the collection of the National Museum of Mozambique.

I have not yet discovered the origin of the multiple names involved with the practice of taking artist names in Mozambique. I suspect this practice may be related to the Lusophone tradition of individuals having many different family names.


Ibid.

Ibid.


Jorg Dias, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, August 17, 2009.

Jorg Dias, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, August 17, 2009.


Gemuce, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, February 24, 2011.

Selected uses of calabashes in African contexts include regalia and royal prestige items (Cameroon Grasslands); Hausa and Fulani adornment and status objects (Niger); dye stamps for Adinkra cloth by Akan peopld (Ghana); household embellishment (Nigeria); as well as water and other storage containers throughout Africa.

Prize winnings are considerable. In the last TDM Bienal of 2011 the prize winnings were allocated as follows: 1st prize – 150,000.00 meticais ($5,000.00 USD); 2nd prize – 100,000.00 meticais ($3350.00 USD); 3rd prize – 50,000.00 meticais ($1695.00 USD).

In 2011 TDM Bienal budget reductions resulted in only one jury that was responsible for both selection into the exhibit and its prizewinners.

Since 1993, too many individuals to mention here have served on both initial selection and prize winning selection juries for the TDM Bienal.


I must thank Drew Thompson for pointing out the fact that Hunguana held important governmental positions before transitioning into the private world. These included National Director of Labor (1975), and subsequent appointments by former President Samora Machel: Minister of Justice (1978); Deputy Minister of the Interior (1983); and Minister of Information (1986).

Domingos, interview, Mozambique. October 6, 2011.
27 Ibid.

28 Domingos. Synopsis. *Vandalizadores de cabos de fibra óptica e a máscara do vigilante*.

29 Victor Sala, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, November 4, 2011.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid.

32 Alda Costa cites 1938 as the date *Núcleo de Arte* was founded. Unverified documents I have viewed at *Núcleo de Arte* suggest an earlier date of 1921.

33 Artur Vincente (Nongwenye), interview, Maputo, Mozambique, January 3, 2013.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

36 Nongwenye, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, March 15, 2011.

37 This exhibition took place on October 6, 2010, directly following Mozambique’s *Dia do Paz*/Day of Peace, celebrated annually on October 4.

38 I have written elsewhere on how the past lives of recycled materials (weapons) inscribe meaning as these objects are transformed into art: in *Dialogues with Mozambique. Interdisciplinary Reflections, Readings and Approaches on Mozambican Studies*. Paula Meneses and Bjørn Bertelsen, eds. 2013, and in *Representations of Reconciliation: Art and Trauma in Africa*. Lizelle Bisschoff and Stefanie Van de Peer, eds. I. B. Tauris Publishers, 2013, 91-109.

39 Shangaan/Shangana is an indigenous Mozambican language from the Bantu family with Tsonga roots. Shangana is predominantly spoken in Southern Mozambique, encompassing the capital of Maputo, in the Maputo region.

40 Henny Matos, interview, Maputo, Mozambique. March 1, 2011.

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid.

45 Theophile Gautier and Leconte de Lisle founded the *Parnassianism* literary movement.

46 Gemuce, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, October 15, 2011.

47 Ibid.

48 Ibid.
49 Ibid.
50 Ibid.
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Figure 2-18. Performance, *Parnasianos Exhibition Opening Reception, Kulungwana Gallery*, Maputo, October 2011. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
CHAPTER 3
MOZAMBIQUE’S TAE PROJECT: RECYCLING WEAPONS OF WAR INTO ART

In this chapter I explore the Transforming Arms into Plowshares/Transformação de Armas em Enxadas (TAE) project and its artists who use weapons from Mozambique’s past wars to create art.¹ The TAE project reveals the potency of recycling as an artistic tool in post-conflict resolution. This chapter focuses on the materiality of the weapons transformed by TAE artists and the crucial fact that these artistic media were originally artifacts of Mozambique’s protracted conflicts. A statement by António,² a former child soldier, vividly contextualizes the powerful presence of weaponry within Mozambique’s history of war: “I was warned by my commander that if I lose my weapon it is better to kill myself.”³

More than twenty years have passed since three decades of nearly continuous warfare ended in Mozambique in 1992. Today António brokers the collection of arms between individuals who retain or have knowledge of the location of automatic weapons, bazookas, rifles, pistols, and other weapons and the non-governmental organization Christian Council of Mozambique’s/Conselho Cristão de Moçambique (CCM) project, TAE. TAE collects decommissioned weapons from Mozambican wars, renders them inoperable, and transforms them into art. This chapter explores the TAE project and its artists who use recycling both literally and conceptually, creating evocative art while deconstructing Mozambican history. My research contextualizes how the past histories of recycled materials inscribe meaning as these objects are transformed into art. TAE’s purposeful destruction and transformation of recycled weapons of wars enables these arms to make visible the invisible concept of peace – through the compelling symbolism of artworks composed of former tools of killing. The sublime visual power of TAE artworks engages viewers to remember the violence and destruction of war.
Theoretical Framework/Deconstructing Weapons of War

Scholarship linking art and trauma studies is a fast developing field in the discipline of art history. Some scholars who link the arts and conflict resolution distinguish between process and product in the role of the arts (Liebman 1996; Epskamp 1999; Zeliger 2003; Cleveland 2008). Overall, scholars tend to agree in their focus on art as a therapeutic device, its role in remembrance of conflict, and how it contributes to the process of community building and reconciliation (Bennett 2005; Cleveland 2008; Kelly 1994; Liebmann 1996; and Samuels 2008). The TAE project is an innovative example of conflict resolution that disables weapons from killing again.

American artist, William Kelly, founded The Peace Project, a traveling installation focused on non-violence and humanist themes, begun in 1988. He stated, “It has been said that a painting can never stop a bullet, but a painting can stop a bullet from being fired” (Kelly, 1994, 117). The TAE project literally proves this through their sculptures that prevent further conflict - by ending the violent cycle of the life of weapons by transforming them into art forms that evoke the visceral symbolism of their former lives.

Post-conflict resolution has become a developing field of interdisciplinary scholarship following former United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali’s introduction of the concept “post-conflict peacebuilding” in his influential 1992 report An Agenda for Peace: Preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping. In this report, Boutros-Ghali identified post-conflict resolution as “action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict” (Boutros-Ghali 1992, 21). Recent scholarship indicates widespread interdisciplinary recognition of the important role of art in the field of post-conflict resolution and trauma studies. In a discussion about the TAE project, eminent Africanist political scientist Goran Hyden remarked: “the use of art as an alternative mechanism [in post-conflict resolution] is an innovation especially appropriate in the light of rapid
urbanization with its more concentrated and accessible audience. Hyden’s scholarship is best known for “Economy of Affection,” a theory he developed that addresses local communication networks in pursuit of group or community activities. I believe Hyden’s statement is noteworthy here, as it illustrates recognition among diverse disciplines that art is an effective tool in the processes of peacemaking, peacekeeping, trauma studies, and post-conflict resolution. TAE’s project is consistent with his views of Southern/Eastern African politics and the importance and effectiveness of grassroots approaches to policy making.

I draw upon an interdisciplinary framework that links social anthropology (Kopytoff 1986; Appadurai 1988), visual culture studies (Ben Amos 1989; Mirzoeff 1999; Costa 2005), and post-conflict resolution theories (Bhoutros-Ghali 1992; Sengulane 1994; Bartoli 1998; UNECA 2001; Nhema & Zeleza 2008) for this research. I focus on the materiality of TAE’s assemblage arts as an effective tool for remembrance, reconciliation, and peacekeeping in Mozambique and as a global paradigm. I draw connections between Mozambican artists who use recycled materials as tools for activism and interdisciplinary scholarship focused on grassroots foundations based in religious, political, and economic contexts (Anouilh 2006; Zuppi 1995; Hyden 1983).

The theoretical framework for investigating TAE draws largely from social anthropology and visual culture studies, specifically the writings of Igor Kopytoff and Nicholas Mirzoeff (Kopytoff 1986; Mirzoeff 1999). Kopytoff’s seminal essay, “The Cultural Biography of Things,” focuses on an object’s transformation from its initial use through its many lives. Centrally, as stated previously in chapter one, I argue that the life of an object such as a weapon does not end when it is decommissioned, destroyed, and recreated artistically. Rather, in its reincarnation as a recycled material it gains more expressive power as it is transformed into art. I focus on how Kopytoff’s emphasis on the object is rooted in the importance he gives to its original identity and
how this intrinsic meaning is maintained. I link this connection directly to the weapons collected, disabled, and transformed by TAE. Whereas the weapons are physically cut to prevent their further use, the recognizable shapes of the parts of the guns remain, reminding viewers of their original identity, or history, as I state in Object Frictions. These identities also evoke Kopytoff’s notion of objects’ “lives.” The iconic symbolism of the weapons as they are transformed is essential for understanding the meaning of the TAE arts.5

Mirzoeff’s assertion of “the visual as everyday life” (Mirzoeff 1999, 76), informs this exploration as I link how daily recycling in Africa extends to the practice of art making, through the widespread use of recycled materials in the creation of contemporary art in Mozambique. This dissertation demonstrates how recycling is integral to the everyday life of artists, through my presentation of many artists who purposely select diverse pre-used objects to recycle into art. Furthermore, the linking of art and post-conflict resolution as it is explored in this chapter contributes to the limited scholarship on this topic (Liebmann 1996; Bennett 2005, Samuels 2008), by incorporating the use of recycling as an effective tool for peacebuilding and peacekeeping in the arts of TAE.

History of TAE

TAE was initially established as Comissão do Justiça, Paz e Reconciliação/Department of Justice, Peace and Reconciliation (JPRC) within the Christian Council of Mozambique (CCM), founded in 1948 and motivated by a mandate of the church to bring peace. TAE, which is donor based, is CCM’s largest program and widely considered to be its most important and most successful. Although CCM is an NGO, it is more often considered a religious organization, comprised of at least twenty different denominations, including mainline churches brought to Mozambique by missionaries as well as indigenous local churches.
CCM President Bishop Dom Dinis Sengulane founded TAE in 1995 (See Figure 3-1). TAE began in the context of CCM/JPRC workshops aimed at establishing peace and democracy following FRELIMO/RENAMO negotiations and the General Peace Agreement signed in Rome in 1992. Mandates of JPRC included the following:

- Implement the Justice, Peace and Reconciliation Commission decisions;
- Provide spiritual assistance and counseling on how Mozambicans can embrace in a holistic manner the peace to come in close cooperation with the Evangelism Department;
- Work with demobilized soldiers and study ways for CCM to provide them means for their social integration or mobilize means to assist them;
- Start new program related with Peace Building, Conflict Resolution, Democratization, Human Rights;
- Mobilize national and international assistance and solidarity to fulfill those initiatives;
- Link Bible studies with social interventions and record those experiences to share them with interesting parties, nationally and internationally (Zita n.d.).

Bishop Sengulane and CCM’s intent for TAE was to facilitate community dialogue and civic education through workshops and seminars dealing with reconciliation, memory, healing, and forgiveness. A central focus of these workshops was the preparation of Mozambican people to return to their homes after many years of displacement caused by the post-independence conflict. Bishop Sengulane stated that the primary goal motivating TAE and CCM following the peace agreement was to come together after the war to reunite as a nation. This process included traveling to different provinces to find out what Mozambicans feared most after the war. Bishop Sengulane explained that a woman in the Nampula province (in northern Mozambique) asked him, “What are we going to do with so many guns in the hands of the people?” He said that he applied principles he found in the Old Testament verses of Micah 4-3 and Isaiah 2:2-4: “…and they shall beat their swords into plowshares. And their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation neither shall they learn war anymore” (King James Bible). This well
known verse reveals not only the desire to promote peace, but it also underscores a pervasive theme in the arts of Mozambique: recycling.

When I asked Bishop Sengulane and other religious figures in TAE leadership where they found inspiration for their development of the project, they stressed that their motivations came from the Bible. When probed whether specific theorists provided guidance in creating their successful program, they responded, “not only are we collecting weapons, we are awakening ideas in grassroots organizing. We don’t need fancy theories about conflict resolution ... academics want more. Bishop Tutu led programs, ... peace talks come from the church.”

Bishop Sengulane’s solution for the weapons problem included the completion of the disarmament program initiated by the government and the United Nations. Following this, CCM, through the establishment of TAE, would utilize the concept of transformation as a guiding principle in its program for peacebuilding.

TAE’s original cultural component included psychological transformation as well. Since the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) did not provide psychiatric or psychological treatments, there were no doctors prepared to deal with these types of wounds created by war, despite the obvious need for this type of specialized medical treatment. Military personnel on both sides of the conflict were traumatized and in need of treatment (Zita n.d.). TAE employed American Mennonite psychiatrist Alda Brubaker to administer to individuals who needed assistance reintegrating into Mozambican society.

Bishop Sengulane initially viewed TAE as a tripartite process: it consisted of collecting weapons, making them non-usable, and providing an instrument of production as an incentive in exchange for the collected weapons. Following TAE’s establishment, it has provided incentives to individuals referred to as “informants,” who hand over guns and other military hardware to the
organization in order for the weapons to be destroyed. Originally TAE incentives included such materials as bicycles, sewing machines, and plows. Over time TAE has become more flexible with incentives offered, focusing on confidence building and creating an honest living for individuals who turn in weapons. Diverse incentives such as farm implements, seeds, cement, zinc roofs and even tickets for trips to home villages are not unusual.

Bishop Sengulane and other TAE leaders stress that money is never offered as an incentive for turning weapons over to TAE because they do not wish to give the impression that they are buying the weapons. TAE policies stress anonymity and lack of involvement by the army or police when weapons are handed over, and names are never recorded. Weapons exchanged by demobilized soldiers, individual civilians, and eventually entire communities follow similar frameworks exchanging arms for products or services. Bishop Sengulane often repeats the following warning to convey the dangers of keeping the weapons: “to sleep with a gun in your bedroom is like sleeping with a poisonous snake in your room.” TAE representatives work to become integrated into provincial regions and gain access to areas where heavy fighting took place during the last war and weapons are believed to remain, such as the Zambézia and Nampula provinces. Admission into communities is achieved by focusing on grassroots ideals based on trust and the sharing of food, drinks, and eventually information. After gaining a community’s acceptance, TAE representatives are frequently led to weapons that have remained hidden since the war ended. Often this is a protracted process, contingent upon the level of trust informants have that no recriminations will be made against them after weapons are exchanged. TAE’s Security Expert João commented on this: “That’s why sometimes when people start to work with us they have fear. After [the exchange] in two months they want to see if a man is in jail or not.”
Promised exchanges of weapons may develop into an extended waiting game that ultimately does not succeed for fear of reprisals. A successful weapons exchange that took place in three communities in the Gorongosa and Buzi districts in October 2010 yielded the retrieval of 129 weapons and 389 ammunitions of different calibers (See Figures 3-2, 3-3). TAE National Coordinator Boaventura Zita has commented that while the response to the TAE project has been great so far, “the truth is that there are no numbers on how many weapons existed in the first place.” While TAE has reported collecting more than 600,000 weapons since its inception in 1995, many weapons continue to be discovered and turned over to TAE annually. TAE officials are extremely concerned about the unknown number of weapons that still remain in Mozambique and the great danger this poses for maintaining the country’s peace. As will become clear in the stories of the informants below, in many ways eradicating the unknown number of remaining weapons today is even more important to the preservation of peace than when the war ended in 1992.

Since founding TAE in 1995, Bishop Sengulane has served as its president. From the beginning, TAE leadership has undergone several personnel alterations, and functioned under the leadership of three different administrations. Jacinto Muthi first directed TAE, as National Coordinator, from 1995 until his death in 1999. Reverend Lucas Amosse Tivane served as Secretary General of CCM from 1982-2002. After Muthi’s sudden death, Reverend Alfiado Zunguze, a conflict-resolution specialist, replaced his position for a short time. At this time, Boaventura Zita was hired to help maintain civic education elements of the quickly expanding project, based on his background in journalism. Albino Forquilha was appointed TAE National Coordinator in 1999. An assistant, Tomas Guerra, who had previous experience with firearms collection and destruction with the Southern African Development Community, supports
Forquilha. During this period, Reverend Dinis Matsolo assumed the position of Secretary General. Following the departure of Forquilha in 2006, Boaventura Zita assumed the position of TAE National Coordinator, and continues to serve in this capacity to the present. An assistant, Nicolau Luís, who has worked within CCM since 2002, accompanies him. Current Secretary General Reverend Marcos Mancomo replaced Reverend Matsolo as Secretary General in 2009.

**TAE Donors: Providing Financial and Product Support**

TAE’s continued success depends on donors who provide financial support, partnerships, and/or products to the project. I have spoken with past and present donors, including founders and representatives from Diakonia, Church World Services, Ehime, and the Mennonite Community Center. Diakonia is a Swedish International faith-based NGO, which was founded in 1966 as a cooperative of five churches. This foundation was based on a global plan consisting of governance, human rights, peace and justice. Diakonia began to focus on conflict transformation in post-conflict Mozambique following the end of the war in 1992. Diakonia works with NGOs to provide institutional development through their financial support, and began supporting TAE in 2002. William Mulhovo, Diakonia representative for Mozambique, explained Diakonia’s interest in Mozambique, and CCM/TAE specifically:

> Amidst the goals for strong civil society and democratic development after the civil war, a lot of weapons were hidden. They provided a threat for peace and democracy. At any time, any moment, [people] could go back and use the weapons. We started providing funding, technical capacities, financial management and resources. CCM chose to be a partner of Diakonia because of the church and the people.

Diakonia is no longer connected to CCM and the TAE project. TAE did not submit required financial records to Diakonia in 2009, and subsequently did not qualify for funding.

*Water for Weapons* is a TAE initiative that is supported by Church World Services (CWS). Begun in 1946 following the Second World War, CWS is a donor based American NGO
comprised of seventeen religious denominations. Grassroots development ideals create the foundation of their core mission to “Feed the hungry, clothe the naked, heal the sick, comfort the aged, and shelter the homeless” (Church World Service n.d., 2). Inaugurated in 2008, the CWS program Water for Weapons focuses on building wells in areas with limited water supplies. Provisions necessary for well building are offered as incentives to encourage communities to help with the process of peacebuilding by collecting weapons left over from past wars. This program is based in areas such as the Niassa and Inhambane provinces, which experienced heavy military action during the last war, where many weapons are still believed to remain (Ibid.). Programs such as Water for Weapons exemplify TAE’s vision of community building, where incentives are offered to an entire community rather than an individual. Projects such as this are important for several reasons that extend beyond the realm of TAE’s focus on civic education and peace and reconciliation. In addition to eradicating weapons and providing safe water, this program achieved unexpected successes. Well building provides more time for women to attend to their daily activities, rather than spending hours each day acquiring water. Additionally, children gain more free time to attend school. All of these positive outcomes lend themselves to the overall goal of community building and post-conflict development. As of November 2010 this project continued to operate as a partnership between CWS and CCM/TAE (Church World Service 2010).

Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) is a bi-national Anabaptist religious organization based in Winnipeg, Manitoba and Akron, Pennsylvania. MCC was founded in 1917. MCC’s missionary activities are linked to the Russian Mennonites who were oppressed during the Bolshevik revolution. MCC conferences held at this time resulted in cooperative aid, which was sent in shipments of food (grain). This early survival aid has expanded to include relief, development, and peace work, which MCC focuses on today. Previously based in Swaziland,
MCC created an ecumenical partnership with CCM in Mozambique during the last war. At this time, their attention and administrative offices shifted from Swaziland to war stricken Mozambique. MCC intervention programs have included food and water security projects based in the provinces of Northern Gaza, Manica, Sofala, and Tete. These areas were particularly affected by the extensive droughts and flooding in 2000/2001. MCC’s largest project in the country is run through CCM. Titled *Agua Aid*, this project focuses on the restoration and maintenance of water, including education related to, and facilitation of sand dam building in dry riverbeds. Additional MCC programs include Anglican preschools in Sofala and Manica and widespread AIDS projects.

Because MCC embraces peacebuilding and post-conflict transformation, the mission knew of TAE’s project since its beginnings. Most recently, MCC and TAE negotiated the possibility of a partnership for Ten Thousand Villages, a non-profit trade organization that markets international crafts by disadvantaged artisans worldwide. MCC hoped TAE would provide the opportunity to expand the global reach of Ten Thousand Villages into previously unrepresented areas of Southern African countries. Because of quality standards and fair trade rules, Melanie Jones, the MCC country representative for Mozambique, related that many elements of the TAE project would need to be adapted in order for this partnership to exist:

…there would need to be a redesigned business model, production line model assembly, and quality standards based on international fair trade rules. These regulations would call for a non-damaging environment [for the artisans to work in], humane conditions, and the quality of welding needs to improve. We would need to send people here to train – to give us feedback on design…The current prices of the artworks are too high … the pieces are too large; they would need to create smaller pieces … Problems with international shipping, import/export costs would ultimately add to the price.

Since preliminary negotiations between MCC and TAE took place in the summer of 2011, no further progress has been made towards the creation of a partnership. The collaboration between
Ten Thousand Villages and TAE does not seem likely. Many issues stand in the way of aligning TAE to the production standards and requirements with international fair trade rules. I asked the MCC representatives Kempf and Jones how artists would be selected to participate in the proposed project. They suggested that a competition between artists would take place, based on a particular theme or image.\(^{35}\) Through discussions with Kempf and Jones, I learned that MCC provided TAE with a $15,000.00 grant in 2008. This grant was intended to fund a large public TAE sculpture. Cristóvão Estevão Canhavato (Kester) began construction of the sculpture at Robert Mugabe Square near the waterfront of the Bay of Catembe in 2008. According to Kempf and Jones, their funding “apparently never received necessary additional backing,”\(^ {36}\) and the money has never been accounted for by TAE. This sculpture will be discussed further below in conjunction with Kester’s individual TAE artworks.

Ehime Global Network was founded in 1998 by its president, Yoshiko Takeuchi. Ehime is a Japanese international non-profit NGO focused on educational sustainability development. Takeuchi founded Ehime based on her interests in peacebuilding, creating international understanding, and network building among local communities and NGOs. She stresses grassroots activism and cooperation within an international framework, which includes the environment, peace and human rights, and other global issues. Takeuchi explained her initial interest in Mozambique and TAE:

It [my interest] was based on the fact that I felt TAE had something different to offer. While many NGO’s support energy, education, and agriculture, [TAE] made me think of something different, because people who have guns must give up the guns. What will they receive? Because in exchange – a person has to submit weapons. I felt it is not just Japan giving – we are trying to promote peace in Mozambique together.\(^ {37}\)
She devised a plan that she could implement in Mozambique that not only incorporated her vision for her NGO, but also offered a sustainable and viable solution for an escalating Japanese problem. Additionally, Takeuchi’s plan promoted grassroots peacekeeping:

Partnership is a key issue at stake here. I like the idea of transforming weapons into art. Art is telling us to stop making weapons to destroy peoples’ lives – [this] creation out of guns is such a strong message. Maybe [we could] support sending bicycles to Mozambique. [Focus on] collecting bikes, not guns. It is dangerous because of so many increasing bicycles.38

Throughout Japan, abandoned bicycles are a growing problem. Matsuyama, Takeuchi’s city, is located in southwest Japan on the island of Shikoku. The population of 470,000 people own over 400,000 bicycles. She explained:

Each year, more than 13,000 bicycles are abandoned. [There is] no place to keep them: one third of the bicycles are returned to owners, one third are given to second hand bike shops, and the last one third are abandoned – scrap. I realized it was such a waste. I had to explain to city officials what was happening in Mozambique. Create peace and use bikes. No one knew anything about Mozambique. I was the only one who started to talk about it. They were amazed to hear, they didn’t know how to answer … finally my application was accepted by the mayor of the city.39

Citywide ordinances were passed in Matsuyama following the governmental acceptance of Takeuchi’s proposal and a public relations campaign was mounted. Signs were erected proclaiming how the abandoned bikes were going to be used to help other people.40 In 2000, 100 bicycles were sent to CCM. Takeuchi explained that she asked citizens of Matsuyama to write messages on the bicycles. She expanded on how this created a positive environment in the city: “Everyone was talking about the bicycles, [how we were] recycling bikes - not just giving them away. The atmosphere – even the homeless people would help to clean and polish [the bicycles]. This project made us unite and think about peace. Mozambique experienced big floods that year [2000]. Peace issues combined with floods – environmental issues combined.”41

Takeuchi explained that bicycles were sent to Mozambique until 2004.42 Asked to comment on her current support of TAE, Takeuchi responded: “Diakonia and us are [the only
ones] left to support TAE. I come to solve [the problems and decide] - whether we [renew our]
support or not." Takeuchi clarified that it is difficult to continue to support TAE. Despite the fact
that maintaining peace in Mozambique is important, yet she states “I will not give up,” although
there are definitely problems. CCM’s issue is its organizing problems - not peace problems. If
TAE dies or becomes abandoned who will talk about it? (But) it is difficult to keep supporting
them. Continued support is an issue. Transparency is necessary, more accountability, TAE and
CCM [have] problems."44

Because of critiques such as those identified here by donors such as Takeuchi and
Diakonia, TAE has been losing support. Criticisms of TAE including their lack of transparency
and accountability are most often cited, and TAE lost Diakonia’s support because of their inability
to present financial records and present access into their operations. TAE’s donor support has
dramatically declined over the years, and today only Ehime remains. In the beginning, large global
NGO’s such as Christian Aid, and those discussed here (Diakonia, CWS, MCC, and Ehime),
provided financial support and product donations, which seemed to ensure TAE’s continued
success in its mission of peace and transformation. At this point, the continuation of TAE is
directly contingent upon increased donor support. The importance of cash and product donations in
maintaining TAE will be shown in the discussion of informants below. There is a strong link
between expectations of incentives and TAE’s reliability in delivering these incentives in
determining whether this project will continue. Without incentives, there is literally no motivation
beyond morality for handing in weapons to TAE. This is a serious issue that I have discussed
extensively with Bishop Sengulane. In reality, the Bishop and other TAE religious leaders’
reliance on the bible is simply not enough of an incentive for people who can easily sell their
weapons on the streets and turn an immediate profit.
TAE Informants: Individual Narratives

Informants who exchange weapons to TAE for incentives have distinct histories that explain their possession of the weapons, as well as their motivations to turn them over to TAE. I had the opportunity to speak with several informants, each with a very different story to tell. A selection of these stories will be retold here to underscore the point that weapons TAE receives come from widely diverse areas and individuals from all sectors of society. Each of the narratives illustrates not only the diversity of TAE informants, but also underscores the continuing necessity and importance of this project in Mozambique. In my discussion of the informants I use pseudonyms to protect their identities.

Alex discovered an AK-47 buried in the ground as he was digging the foundation for the house he was building in Matola, an industrial suburb of Maputo, in mid October 2010. He explained he was looking for help to dispose of this weapon and the police did not respond to his calls. Coincidentally, Alex happened to view a television news segment reporting on a TAE art exhibition that commemorated the Mozambican Dia doPaz/Day of Peace, held at A Associação Núcleo de Arte. This was the first time Alex learned of TAE and its program of collecting and destroying weapons. Seeing this broadcast inspired Alex to contact TAE to collect the AK-47, which he had unearthed along with an ammunition box. I traveled to Matola with TAE Project Director Boaventura Zita and Assistant Project Director Nicolau Luís to retrieve these materials. Alex showed us where he had found the military artifacts. I saw Alex’s family, including his five children. One child stood out, wearing a makeshift wig of blue foil. An older woman was clearly overjoyed to have the weapon removed and she could not physically contain her happiness. Experiencing the distinct reaction of this woman’s joy emphasizes the power of weapons and the continuing danger they pose as they remain in the country. Alex asked to receive a bag of cement from TAE that enabled him to continue building his house.
Arlindo travels from his home in Matola, to Maputo several times a week to facilitate a community peace project; this fact is ironic in connection with his link to the weapons he exchanges. Arlindo explained why he chose to exchange weapons to TAE:

“I try to fight like a criminal in the street. I can go into the street to show it [a gun] and it is bad. That is harmful. We know it is dangerous and I give it [to TAE] without questioning it. It is good for me. As you know, I need something to help my life. I receive things [incentives] that can help my life and I [am] helping to save lives...my mind gives me peace [by handing over the weapons].” 48

Arlindo is building a cement-block house using building supplies that he has received as incentives from TAE in exchange for the weapons he has turned in. I traveled to Matola to see construction in October 2010 (See Figure 3-4). When I visited Arlindo again in December, he had just received five bags of cement as an incentive for guns he had turned over to TAE (See Figure 3-5). Arlindo told me that he has friends with weapons who are deciding whether or not they will turn them over to TAE. 49

Paulinho is a former member of the Mozambican military. He has been handing weapons over to TAE since 2001. He has not revealed his connections to TAE to his friends or neighbors, nor the fact that the construction of his home in Matendene was a result of this connection. In December 2010, Paulinho spoke of TAE in this way: “This project is coming to fight against the criminals and take out weapons from the population and through incentives the population [is able] to make agriculture, construction, and other kinds of work…it is a good project and it has good impact in Mozambique.” 50 When I visited Paulinho for the second time in January 2011, he was in the process of a weapons exchange with TAE. He was offering TAE seven pistols and ammunition in the form of bullets. He told me that for the exchange of four operational and three non-operational pistols and the bullets he would receive forty-five bags of cement from TAE 51 (See Figure 3-6).
Specific factors determine the type and value of incentives received by informants for handing weapons over to TAE. More value is given to an operational weapon than one that is non-operational, and weapons are generally more valuable than ammunitions. Nicolau Luís, TAE Assistant Project Director, relayed the following information:

There is a table of ‘rewards’ for individuals to choose from when they relinquish their weapons. The most one can receive for a working AK-47 is ten metal roofing pieces (or ten bags of cement, but the roofing is more expensive). If someone does not want ten bags of cement or roofing pieces they can choose something for the equivalent monetary value (currently 3750 meticais = $145 US +/- (with a quote) and TAE will pay for that item.²²

Whereas the wishes of the informant are taken into consideration, the determination of incentives is most often based on TAE’s financial stability. Since TAE is donor based, incentives are contingent upon the funding/donations TAE receives.²³

Several of the informants I spoke with shared their dissatisfaction with prolonged waiting periods for incentives. In most cases, informants expected to receive incentives directly when weapons exchanges took place. Despite this criticism of TAE, each of the informants praised the project’s mission overall and continue to work with TAE. One informant’s response to why he continues to broker weapons collection for TAE without always receiving payment is a testament to the objectives of the project, “Well, the project is very good – fighting against bandits who get weapons, robbing cars, assaulting people on the street. For me, I never stop dealing with them, even now. Most people say God exists – but who can pay me is God.”²⁴

Through conversations with Paulinho, I learned that many of the weapons remaining in Mozambique today are in the hands of former military combatants. Paulinho offered a revealing explanation for this: “During demobilization in Mozambique following the General Peace Agreement the armed forces were individually responsible for turning in one weapon each. Many turned in one weapon and kept the rest that they had.”²⁵ As previously stated, Paulinho built his
home entirely of materials he attained from TAE incentives received for turning in weapons of war. Many informants I spoke with seek building supplies to build homes for themselves and their families. Because these structures are often constructed wholly of materials exchanged in efforts to eradicate the remaining weapons from the country, I refer to them as *Casas do Paz/Houses of Peace*. These houses constructed of incentives are visible incarnations of peacekeeping in Mozambique (See Figure 3-7).

António, mentioned above, is a former child soldier who began fighting in Inhambane and Vilankulos for RENAMO when he was seven years old. Unlike many others, António was not forcibly recruited to become a child soldier. He recounts the origins of his involvement in the war: “I started to get in the war service because my mother and father were living with the [RENAMO] soldiers. I did not know what I was doing at that time…so I was not forced into it. They trained me how to deal with weapons and how to put landmines. They liked children because children have no fear to die.”

António now works with other ex-child soldiers, past military personnel, former combatants, and others to recover and exchange weapons to TAE. He, like Paulinho, has been working with TAE since 2001. António’s connection with TAE is ongoing; he told me at one of our final meetings that just two days earlier he had handed over thirty-three pistols, three AK-47s and three rockets to TAE, and that he planned to collect again the next day in Moamba.

António stated that weapons were considered more important than people during the war – soldiers were given explicit directions to retrieve weapons immediately from their victims. I asked António if soldiers received any remuneration for acquiring large numbers of weapons from their fallen enemies. He explained that he and other child soldiers were promised rewards if they retrieved weapons: “Not money, but if you bring four or five [weapons], you can be a commandant. You can organize six soldiers and be the leader.” António further relayed that often
so many killings took place that there were too many weapons for child soldiers to carry. RENAMO lacked a strong infrastructure with permanent bases so young soldiers were forced to rely on hiding retrieved weapons. In the course of the guerrilla warfare between FRELIMO and RENAMO troops, many caches of weapons were buried within heavily mined perimeters to protect and maintain these hiding spots for later re-arming should peace negotiations fail. António explained that in these cases he and his comrades removed the crucial firing mechanism of the weapons and left piles of weapons behind for later retrieval. As a result, António candidly commented, “If somebody wants to start a war in Mozambique now it is so easy because weapons are spread all over.”

**TAE Weapons Destruction**

TAE utilizes two different forms of weapons destruction, pyrotechnic and manual. The former are exploded in isolated areas and often include a memorial service that invites local residents living in the vicinity of the weapons collection to participate, as witnesses to the destruction of the weapons. This community involvement maintains the civic education goal of TAE’s multi-faceted peacekeeping process. In August of 2009 I was scheduled to meet with the TAE weapons destructions specialist and army engineers at TAE headquarters in Maputo to learn more about TAE’s process of destroying weapons. I received a phone call to find that plans had abruptly changed, as I learned that all of the destructionists had gone to Moamba, a community that lies outside Maputo province to the west, to destroy retrieved weapons and they hoped I would meet them there.

My journey was eventful. A two-hour *chapa* (local minibus taxi) ride was followed by thwarted attempts at bartering with taxi drivers in a small town at the end of the line, who were charging exorbitant rates to continue to Moamba. After several failed tries at hitchhiking, my assistant, Goba, and I eventually obtained a ride for a reasonable price with a tomato farmer
through his “short cut,” of rutted back paths created in response to the flooding of 2000. From the community center in Moamba, a TAE representative met us and drove us to our final destination. We drove in a small pickup truck at break neck speed through overgrown bush roads recently destroyed by elephants, simultaneously engulfed in flames from bush fires as we barreled through to our destination in an outlying area of the Maputo province. Billowing clouds of smoke upon our arrival announced we were moments too late to see the explosion of the weapons’ destruction. Despite missing the explosion, we observed prayers overseen by then TAE General Secretary Reverend Matsolo and a delegation from Ehime, the Japanese agency that donates bicycles to TAE (See Figure 3-8). The ditch where the weapons lay yielded a pile of rifles and two helmets beneath the exposed roots of a tree. The guns had long been hidden only by the leaves that covered them (See Figure 3-9). Less than a week later, Boaventura Zita told me that this collection had resulted in the revelation that three bombs had also been found near Moamba. Zita explained that once weapons have been turned in to TAE, it is not uncommon for more nearby caches to be discovered.65

Whereas pyrotechnically destroying weapons completely obliterates all reference to the weapons’ former existence, manual destruction involves physically cutting the weapons into pieces. I spoke with TAE’s destructionist, Afonso Muengwa. He explained that he was responsible for cutting weapons after they had been collected, and that he had worked in this capacity since 199966 (See Figure 3-10). The weapons TAE collects are housed at CCM in a large locked metal container supported by metal legs (See Figure 3-11). During our meeting Afonso remarked on TAE’s financial concerns: “As you see we have little budget for the artists’ project - it needs to have money. The big problem is money.”67
I spoke with TAE’s Security Expert, who asked not to be identified. I refer to him here as João. He has been working for CCM/TAE since 2003. His background is in security; he was a member of the police force in Mozambique. His task involves many different aspects of weapons security, from the negotiations to collect weapons, collection and retrieval, insuring safe transport of the weapons to CCM, and continued security of the weapons until they are destroyed. He explained:

Now I’m working with TAE and the police when they have an operation. I share information with the Minister of the Interior. We go to collect weapons. They allow me to collect. They know people come – we arrive and inform the local police. We inform them of how many [weapons]. They know these operations are from Beira to Maputo. I share the information when I go to inform them.\(^68\)

My conversation with João referring to a specific weapons collection that took place in Gorongosa (See Figure 3-1 and related discussion above) clarifies his position in TAE: “Nic [Nicolau Luís] and I went together to see where the people in Gorongosa are hiding [the weapons] …. they called us. We never go alone. [The exchange] is not finished. When they call us we will go again. [They are] becoming more confident and comfortable [with us in order] to come forward [with information about the weapons]. That’s why all the people share information.”\(^69\) Like Afonso, TAE’ destructionist, João also had comments regarding the status of TAE:

It’s my point of view that the project when it started was good. They [TAE] had weapons to collect. Now the donors have run away. We don’t have donors right now. From 2003 until now we don’t have the budget to support TAE. As you know the last budget did not come from TAE project.\(^70\)

In this section I have outlined the importance the destruction of the weapons plays in the framework of TAE’s process of collecting weapons for transformation. Both of the individuals I interviewed who work for TAE in the capacity of weapons destruction have shared their feelings questioning TAE’s continuation based on its financial situation.
TAE Arts

TAE’s initial plan, based on a literal interpretation of the Biblical verse, “…and they shall beat their swords into plowshares,” was to melt the weapons down and turn them into tools. Ultimately, this process proved too costly and was abandoned. Bishop Sengulane now views the change as “providential,” for it would have altered the visual outcome of the weapons’ transformation, by permanently disfiguring and erasing their former identities as dangerous killing tools. The process of transformation that Bishop Sengulane envisioned for TAE also included a plan for the future of the collected weapons. Bishop Sengulane’s reliance on the Biblical verse as a source for peace and reconciliation now becomes clear. TAE artists create artworks using the recognizable parts of the destroyed arms. TAE’s innovative approach to peacebuilding uses art as a visual reminder, a mnemonic device symbolizing the violence of war. By rendering the weapons unusable while maintaining a visual reference to what Kopytoff refers to as their “former lives,” weapons transformed now serve as iconic images. The destruction of weapons of war and their transformation into art is more than symbolic. These images reflect the church mandate and focus of TAE, “to bring peace and to forgive, not forget, and keep on touching the wound that is bleeding.” Thus, in the transformation of weapons into art, the peace-building ethos of the TAE project succeeds by disarming bodies as well as minds. Simply put, the TAE project strives not only to physically remove and destroy weapons from the landscape of Mozambique, but combines this with programs of civic education to perpetuate a culture of peace both physically and mentally. This process not only affects and impacts the individuals who are living among the remaining weapons, but also the artists, viewers, and patrons who are exposed to the TAE artworks as powerful reminders of the horror and violence of Mozambique’s past wars.

TAE’s artistic transformation of the recycled weapons began in 1997, two years after the project was established. Bishop Sengulane strives to glorify peace instead of war, and he believed
artists had always created these types of monuments.\textsuperscript{74} He forged a partnership with \textit{A Associação Núcleo de Arte} in Maputo. Initially fourteen artists participated in a workshop where Bishop Sengulane challenged them to transform weapons into symbols of peace.\textsuperscript{75} The TAE artists’ only restriction by the Bishop was that they use the weapons to create imagery associated with peace and avoid violent themes. TAE artists were given the freedom to create. Similar to TAE’s message of peace achieved through the collection, destruction, and recycling of weapons of war into art, the church played a major role in the grassroots mediation of the peace process for Mozambique. The General Peace Agreement of 1992 took place largely within the community of Sant’ Egidio\textsuperscript{76} in Rome, which provided a strong religious presence in the attainment of peace.\textsuperscript{77}

TAE’s grassroots approach to peacekeeping and reconciliation has inspired artists to memorialize the destruction of the Mozambican wars through the use of transformed weapons of those wars. TAE artists create sculptures designed to evoke the memory of their country’s long history of war as well as serving as a healing process for the artists, many of whom lived through the last war and are motivated to promote peace in the creation of their art. The impact of the artworks’ are largely rooted in the tension of their strong visual presence. The sculptures that are comprised of cut and dismembered weapons of war maintain the power of their original forms and challenge links between art and beauty. These sculptures are not beautiful in the conventional sense of art, by providing visual pleasure; they are constructed of weapons that have been used to kill. They are not easy to look at when the past use of the weapons is considered. These artworks transform weapons from tools for killing into tools for reconciliation and peacebuilding. Scholarship that links art and power is admittedly not as widespread as work on art and beauty. Select related themes include African arts, feminist art, and European political art under dictatorships (McNaughton 1993; Blier 1995; Broude and Garrard 1994; and Ades 1995).
A further innovation of TAE’s transformation and re-presentation of weapons is the construction of a visual language based on the materiality of the weapons used in their promotion of peace. TAE’s narrative based on the imagery of weapons transformed presents an alternative identity for weapons in contemporary Mozambique. TAE moves beyond the nation’s past reliance upon revolutionary imagery wherein the pristine, iconic form of the AK-47 is employed. See chapter two for a discussion of the Mozambican government’s use of social realist images as a political tool (See Figure 3-12). TAE artists offer a model of the glorification of peace rather than war symbolized through weapons that have been destroyed and transformed.

**Projects/Group Exhibitions**

One of the most well known TAE artworks, *Tree of Life* (See Figures 3-13 - 3-15), is based on the cooperative effort of four artists: Fiel dos Santos, Cristovao Estevao Canhavato (Kester), Adelino Serafim Mate (Mathe), and Hilario Nhatugueja. *Tree of Life* was commissioned by British Museum Sainsbury Curator of African art, Chris Spring, in conjunction with the British Museum and Africa05, celebrating African culture and heritage in London (Spring 2005).

International attention has been drawn to this work that has become both a symbol of peace and a symbol of Africa. *Tree of Life* is on display and part of the permanent collection of the British Museum in London. Kester’s TAE artwork, *Throne of Weapons* (See Figure 3-16), which is also in the collection of the British Museum, is an earlier TAE artwork that inspired Spring to contact TAE and ultimately commission *Tree of Life* for the British Museum. Spring initially viewed *Throne of Weapons* at London’s OXO Gallery, in an exhibition titled *Swords into Ploughshares: Transforming Arms into Art*. Supported by Christian Aid, a CCM donor at the time, this exhibition was held January 18-February 3, 2002. Seven TAE artists participated in this display of arts recycled from weapons in one of the earliest international exhibitions to address this genre. The four artists who would come to create *Tree of Life* participated in the exhibition, as well
as three additional artists: Nelson Augusto Carlos Ferreira (Pekiwa), Humberto Delgado and Gonçales Mabunda. In June of 2001 pieces from the OXO Gallery exhibition were displayed during the United Nations International Conference on the Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons in New York (OXO gallery 2002).

Kester’s *Throne of Weapons* has been incorporated into the British Museum’s Pentonville Prison Project, an outreach program aimed at creating a dialogue with prison populations on the subject of violence. Program Director Jane Samuels explained that the project focuses on prisoner interactions with Kester’s sculpture. *Throne of Weapons* travels to English prisons so that inmates may interact with, and touch the artwork that is constructed primarily from recycled AK-47’s. *Throne of Weapons*’s powerful visual presence is used to facilitate discussions on gun crime, violence, and peace with prison populations. Samuels referred to the *Throne of Weapons* as an “aggressive symbol,” to deal with “key objectives which are issues of rehabilitation and re-education (issues of peace reconciliation, community rebuilding, and amnesty).”

*Throne of Weapons* recently received worldwide attention for its selection as the ninety-eighth object in *A History of the World in 100 Objects*. A joint partnership between the British Museum and BBC Radio, this venture began as a radio series and culminated in a book of the same name. Presented by British Museum Director Neil MacGregor, the project incorporated diverse objects from antiquity to the present from the collection of the British Museum. MacGregor’s entry for *Throne of Weapons* includes a link to historical African utilitarian objects and its contemporary role conveying post-conflict resolution in Mozambique:

The throne was made by a Mozambican artist known as Kester. He chose to make a chair and call it a throne, which immediately makes a particular statement. Chairs, as distinct from stools, are rare in traditional African societies, reserved for tribal heads, princes and kings; they are thrones in the truest sense of the word. But this is a throne on which no one is meant to sit; it is not for an individual ruler but is intended as an expression of the governing spirit of the new Mozambique –
peaceful reconciliation … Kester made this throne as a means of conveying hope. Two rifle butts form the back of the chair. If you look closely at them it seems as though they have faces – two screw holes for eyes and a strap slot for the mouth. They almost seem to be smiling. It is a visual accident that Kester spotted and decided to exploit which denies the guns their central purpose and gives this work of art its fundamental meaning (MacGregor 2011, 664).

Each of the TAE sculptures in the British Museum collection underscores the broad diversity of meanings that are translated through the materiality (weapons) of these artworks, as well as the continuing global impact of TAE’s projects using recyclia in art. Another example of TAE’s global influence is Cambodia’s Peace Art Project Cambodia (PACP), which was initiated in 2003 by British artist Sasha Constable. PACP is often described as being loosely based on the TAE project, using decommissioned weapons from war to create art (Constable 2010).

Since 1997, when Bishop Sengulane introduced the arts component, the number of artists working for TAE has drastically declined over the years. One of the hopes of TAE has been to increase the number of artists working for them and to strengthen their relationship with A Associação Núcleo de Arte. A recent collaboration between the two organizations took place in the autumn of 2010 in an effort to install an exhibition commemorating Mozambique’s Day of Peace (Dia do Paz) The exhibition, entitled Fale, não temas, Deus tem muita gente nesta cidade; fale de Paz/ Speak, no fear, God has many people in this city; speak the peace, was designed to incorporate the ideals of TAE and encourage additional artists from A Associação Núcleo de Arte to participate in the project. Kester, discussed above, was responsible for supervising artists from A Associação Núcleo de Arte who were invited by TAE to create works for this exhibition. Commenting on the collaboration and goals of the exhibition, Kester noted: “I want to collect the people who want to know about the peace made by weapons [TAE sculptures] and bring peace into their minds and hearts and bring to their hearts what is good … [the exhibition will] bring good results, for it will bring people knowledge of the peace in Mozambique.”

Exhibitions such
as this one are essential in spreading the message of the TAE project through the visual power of the artworks created.

*O Abraço da Paz/The Embrace of Peace* (See Figure 3-17) was one of Kester’s artworks included in the exhibition. This ¾-life size sculpture depicts Joaquim Chissano and Afonso Dhlakama, the first president of Mozambique and leader of FRELIMO, and the second leader of the opposing RENAMO party respectively, shaking hands. This work represents an important moment for Mozambicans as it symbolizes the moment in 1992 when peace was achieved between the two opposing factions of the last war. Kester creates a powerful form with this artwork constructed of recycled weapons from that same war. The compelling messages of TAE are implicit within this artwork.

Artists newly recruited from *A Associação Núcleo de Arte* and TAE artists spent much time working together creating artworks from weapons in preparation for this exhibition. Artists worked at CCM where they shared tools, space, ideas, and electricity (See Figure 3-18). Jorge José Munguambe (Makolwa) is one of the artists from *A Associação Núcleo de Arte* who participated in this collaborative project. His involvement with TAE dates back to 2000, and he has intermittently created artworks for them during this time. Asked about the motivation for his involvement in this exhibition, he responded, “It’s a nice project to show people that weapons are not a nice thing for the world – they kill innocent people like children and old people and destroy everything.” We [artists] have different experiences. [You can] collect experiences between you and your friends and show young people not to use guns, [because] they are too dangerous. If you destroy the guns we’re going to stay in peace.”

In March 2011, British Museum Curator Chris Spring traveled to Maputo to lead a materials workshop for African curators and inspect artworks he had recently commissioned by
TAE artists. Spring explained:

I am in the midst of planning an ‘African touring blockbuster exhibition’ based on the British Museum’s African collection and I desired two figural sculptures to complement the Museum’s holdings; I wanted figural sculptures. We [British Museum] have a tree, animals, and a throne. I want to support the TAE project and the artists. That’s one way of doing it. It took a while to convince, because we’ve [already] got a few.¹⁸⁹

Spring initially contacted each of the four artists who created Tree of Life, Fiel, Kester, Mathe and Hilário, to gauge their interest in creating new works for the museum.⁹⁰ Fiel and Kester ultimately completed sculptures that were selected by Spring to become new additions to the British Museum’s growing collection of TAE artworks. Fiel’s artwork, O mesangeiro/The Messenger, portrays a man (See Figure 3-19). He is a powerful figure, exuding confidence and strength, as he delivers the message of peace. Kester’s work, A mulher e a vida/the woman and the life, (See Figure 3-20), is a nurse administering an injection to a young boy. Kester portrays an oversized needle, while the boy appears to run away to attempt to avoid the imminent shot, adding a comical element within this serious artwork. In his representation of what Kester refers to as an injection to prevent malaria, he confronts the ever-present dangers of this disease, which poses constant threats in Mozambique and many other African societies.⁹¹ Both of these works illustrate messages that are magnified through forms created of recycled weapons of war. In the case of Kester’s work, two dangers are illustrated: malaria and war.

While Spring was in Maputo in March 2011, CCM held a press conference at their headquarters to celebrate the publication of A History of the World in 100 Objects. Speakers included TAE Administrators Bishop Dom Dinis Sengulane, General Secretary Reverend Macomo, and Program Director and Assistant Program Director, Boaventura Zita and Nicolau Luís. Spring poignantly recalled his introduction to and collaboration with the TAE project:
For me the story started in 2002 in London. It started with this wonderful sculpture (Throne of Weapons), by my great friend Kester. I saw it in a small exhibition sponsored by Christian Aid. And I saw it first as a sculpture, not as an object that would begin to take me on this journey to Mozambique to understand the project that gave this sculpture life, and what it means not just for the people of Mozambique, but people of the world. Eight years later, Kester’s Throne of Weapons was selected by the British Museum Director Neil MacGregor as one of one hundred objects that tell the history of the world. When you consider how many millions and millions and millions of great artworks there are – it’s a wonderful achievement. I began to know more about the TAE works of art first through this exhibition and later to commission a work called Tree of Life. …Now in the British Museum’s African galleries, where it teaches people all over the world a message of peace but also a message of bravery – of the people who can stand up against a culture of violence to stand up for themselves and to disarm people who would kill them. Many, many people learned to appreciate this – of all ages. Young people even made a version of Kester’s throne from their own plastic toy guns.92

TAE projects discussed here begin and end with Kester’s emblematic Throne of Weapons. Kester’s work was one of the earliest examples of TAE art exhibited in London’s OXO Gallery, where British Museum Curator Chris Spring first experienced these Mozambican sculptures made of weapons. Since that time, Throne of Weapons inspired several British Museum commissions, facilitated a project aimed at prison populations, and motivated many more works of TAE art to be created.

TAE artists display distinct sensibilities in their approaches invoking the memory of war to move Mozambique and the world forward in peace through remembrance. Each of these individuals involved in TAE’s process of transforming weapons into art has a unique story that deeply personalizes what Kopytoff refers to as the “life” of the object (Kopytoff 1986). In my comprehensive investigation of the TAE project, I aimed to speak with all of the artists who had participated since the inception of its art component, which evolved in 1997. With few exceptions,93 I was fortunate to have interviews with the majority of artists who participated over the years. Specific concerns led to the selection of individual artists included in this chapter as representative of TAE. Although I will not present the art and histories of all of the participating
artists here, an inclusive list of the artists I have interviewed appears in the notes for this chapter. In order to historicize the art component of TAE, I have chosen to illustrate specific periods in the history of TAE artists/artworks. These include the earliest TAE artists (1997-98); the middle years (2000-05); and most recently (2010-13), to obtain the broadest comprehensive view of TAE artists’ general output.

**Earliest TAE Artists: 1997-1998**

Inácio Matsine was one of the earliest artists to create artworks from recycled weapons collected and destroyed by TAE. Curiously, Matsine remains largely absent from the often-repeated accounts of the development of the art component of TAE. As a result of this inconsistency, Matsine occupies a perplexing role in the development of TAE arts. Matsine spoke of his participation in the project:

> Jacinto Muthi, who was the first director of TAE, showed me a room with all of the weapons and materials. When I saw the weapons I asked what I should do. He told me that Bishop Sengulane wanted to transform them. I told Muthi I wanted to talk to the Bishop because I was with him in the Colonial War. I wanted to transform weapons into art for people.

Matsine’s comments regarding his early experiences creating art for TAE reveal critical issues and potential controversies within TAE:

> I was the first person to transform [weapons into art] in Mozambique. I found some weapons in good condition – I contacted the government to cut them. When I was seeing that weapons were usable – some people wanted to use them – it was [then] forbidden for them to be cut. I think all the problems I have now come from this. One group in TAE work(ing) with the project was taking weapons and selling them to be used again. I made a lot of pieces of art with weapons. An exhibition in Jacinto [Nampula province, was] the place they gave me to make an exhibition. It was a strange situation. I organized the pieces – and people were crying.

Since I began my investigation of TAE in 2008, I have encountered many inconsistencies that do not align with the official rhetoric that is publicly presented. In his statements above, Matsine refers to weapons that had not yet been cut and were being sold. Based on my own
experiences, on several occasions I have been exposed to complete and undestroyed weapons, which would have been enabled this type of incident to occur. The images that supplement this chapter reveal many examples of weapons prior to their destruction. A grand and imposing chair made of weapons is displayed on the veranda of the CCM offices in Maputo (See Figure 3-21). This chair has moved with the office, which has been relocated several times over the years TAE has transferred its headquarters within Maputo since its inception. Matsine told me this was one of the many pieces that he created for TAE.98

Kester, initially described above, was among the earliest artists who began to create art for TAE. He was one of the fourteen artists who participated in the first TAE workshop and inaugural exhibition at A Associação Núcleo de Arte in 1997, as well as the OXO exhibition that displayed his Throne of Weapons, which subsequently inspired the Tree of Life commission for the British Museum. Kester’s artistic approach is heavily based on his engineering background. His methodological determination in constructing his sculptures is apparent in his work. His expertise was specifically sought in the creation of the Tree of Life for the British Museum. In 2008, Kester began building a thirty-foot tall public sculpture of decommissioned weapons sited at a busy roundabout in Maputo. I viewed the development of O Pombo da Paz/The Dove of Peace from its early architectural plans to the preliminary construction of the monument. While I was in Maputo in August 2008 and 2009, I was able to spend time with Kester as he was working on the monument. Its design incorporated a large base with stairs on one side and imagery depicting global plate tectonics on the other (See Figures 3-22, 3-23.) The monument’s central image was a massive dove escaping from a box with a globe on its tail. Created from metal armature encrusted with weapons, these forms were meant to be an iconic symbol of peace memorializing the conflict in Mozambique and hope for the future. Unfortunately, funding for the continuation of the project
was not matched and construction of the sculpture ended. *The Dove of Peace*, perhaps one third completed at its termination, was disassembled to provide materials for other TAE projects. Today, all that remains of *The Dove of Peace* is Kester’s map of Mozambique (See Figure 3-24). Now on permanent display at *A Associação Núcleo de Arte*, this map was originally intended to embellish one side of the monument. The present whereabouts of the original model Kester created to seek additional funding for his monument is unknown (See Figure 3-25).

Kester explained that his initial engagement with TAE was based on the idea that “where there are weapons there is fear.”99 He described how he was fascinated by the possibility of creating artworks that expressed his creativity and emotions, while illustrating the transformation of instruments that used to kill.100 Kester revealed his personal connections to the war that inspired him to participate in TAE’s project:

During the war I was at Emille Dause Secondary School in Inhambane Province. In order to go from E.D. to my neighborhood where I was born, I [had to] get 3 trucks because at that time that was the only kind of car people were using as transport. So those three times they said ‘no you have to stop here.’ So the last time on my way to travel that car broke down when I was 30 km away. So we [had to] go by foot, walking awhile. So by the time we arrived we got information that the place we just were - RENAMO was bombing cars and killing people. That’s why I try to make it come alive - Connect artists making art with the project.101

Kester explained his family’s direct connection to the war and the widespread use of anti-personnel mines [landmines]: “I have one female cousin who had her legs amputated. [It was] caused by land mines during the war. It was accidental. She left from one place to go to another – not knowing the street was mined. So it happened. RENAMO strategy was to use landmines. To close the way that FRELIMO goes, to block them. After that they forget to remove.102

Kester’s personal experiences led to a discussion surrounding the dangers of working with weapons for TAE. Kester explained that because of the dangers of explosions TAE did not allow land mines to be used in the construction of artworks. In one instance he was given part of a
weapon to use in a sculpture that had a bullet remaining in it. Kester gave the destroyed firearm to
the TAE destructionist to be removed - otherwise it would have exploded. He further relayed how
a bazooka he was working with in the first TAE workshop exploded in 1998, “hitting him in the
leg and making a hole.”

“It happened when [I] hammered – shot it out. Well we can risk our
lives because the goals are that we want to reach people and that it is not good to use guns to
resolve problems. Wars in other countries – we want to tell about a good way to use weapons. Sit
down and talk with nobody getting killed.

Like Kester, Fiel dos Santos is one of the first artists to start working for the TAE project
when CCM approached A Associação Núcleo de Arte in 1997. Fiel is unlike many of the other
artists in TAE because he had previous experience welding. He participated in a workshop for
sculptors that took place in Durban, South Africa, in 1997. He now teaches other artists how to
weld. Fiel has maintained his connections with TAE, continuing to create works of art from
weapons. As with all of the artists who work with TAE I have interviewed, Fiel’s relationship to
the project is personal. He explained that when he was 12 or 13 years old, his brother was
kidnapped into service as a child soldier for six years. While one of Fiel’s brothers was forcibly
recruited to fight on the side of RENAMO, another brother chose to enlist on the government side
of FRELIMO to fight in the same war. Fiel’s situation was not unusual, as many Mozambican
families were divided as members served on opposing sides during the country’s last war. Further
elaborating on his personal connection to TAE, Fiel stated:

I grew up during the fighting. Now it’s my time to do something for society. I want
to volunteer to work on this project. I’m working here for my soul. Sometimes I
want to weld ALL the guns to finish them. I start to get tired. That’s why I started
painting. [After] ten years they keep bringing more weapons. They are not training
more artists. The TAE project would be more powerful. When we started there
were fourteen, now four, maybe three [artists involved with TAE]. [I am] teaching
people from outside who want to be involved – Brazil, Denmark. There are funding
problems. They continue to collect guns. Exchange is the good part and education,
but the artist part doesn’t develop. If they destroy two [weapons], fifty more come. It cannot be only me that must train."\textsuperscript{106} Fiel’s forms evoke his curiosity about nature. He is interested in the relationship of the parts to the whole, often revealing the intricacy of the individual weapons in his overall constructions. In his sculptures, Fiel focuses on carefully connecting bits of the recycled weapons to create the larger forms in representations of plant, animal, and human figures. Sensitive in his treatment of forms and their placement, his focus on the objecthood of the weapons is revealed as he carefully positions the weapons. His meticulous organization of arms transformed forces viewers to intimately connect to the meaning of the weapons and the intrinsic power of violence within each (See Figure 3-26).

Fiel has continued to create artworks for TAE, expanding beyond Mozambique. Since 2009 he has been working with Russian/American documentary filmmaker Irina Patkanian and American Chris Langer on a stop animation short film, \textit{Little Fiel}.\textsuperscript{107} \textit{Little Fiel} tells the story of how as a young boy, Fiel was left alone to fend for himself, and the experiences he dealt with as a result of the war. The principal characters of the film, Fiel and his family, are represented as animated TAE sculptures. Patkanian and Langer’s film literally brings to life the weapons used by TAE artists as a powerful remembrance of Mozambique’s last war and its far-reaching impact on Mozambicans and a global audience.

\textbf{TAE Artists: 2000-2005}

As stated above, Makolwa is an artist from \textit{A Associação Núcleo de Arte} whose involvement with TAE dates back to 2000. Makolwa’s personal connection to TAE differs from the other artists, as his family sent him out of the country to improve his chances to survive the war as a young man. He left his country in 1986 and spent seven years living in Apartheid era South Africa. He became a shoemaker while in South Africa in order to make money to eat and live.\textsuperscript{108}
Makolwa returned to Mozambique in 1993 following the end of the war. Makolwa’s motivations to create art for TAE are intrinsically linked to his connections to his country:

I began making art primarily to deal with my responses to the civil war. At this time I was creating art for myself as a means of catharsis. I started to realize this was also something I could do to give back to my country – an act of creation to counter the destruction that had taken place. As I realized that my art provided something for people other than myself, I knew that I could offer a visual means to share my experiences and emotions with others.\footnote{109}

One of Makolwa’s recent TAE artworks is particularly resonant of his personal connection to his country and the last war. His piece entitled *Olhando para a frente em direcção à paz, lembrando o passado/Looking Forward Towards Peace by Remembering the Past* (See Figure 3-27), represents a family devastated by war but moving ahead to survive. A mother and her young son are struggling to move forward, while the baby on the mother’s back looks at Mozambique’s past. Makolwa defined his aims with this artwork:

With this work I hope to show people the guns that were used during the war to remind them of the destruction of Mozambique’s struggle for independence and the civil war. By remembering the past, I hope to show Mozambicans and the world the power of peace through memories of what will never happen again.\footnote{110}

The visible gun parts are clearly shown in this detail image of the sculpture (See Figure 3-28). A closer view reveals that the head of the young boy in Makolwa’s sculpture is composed of the pistol grip of a destroyed weapon. Other recognizable weapon parts include a trigger and trigger guard, and a recoil spring from an AK-47. Closely examining the many different pieces of destroyed arms in sculptures such as this one underscores the materiality of these weapons’ original form and function. Kopytoff’s notion of the “lives” of objects is a useful tool for deconstructing these artworks composed of weapons and understanding their potent messages as viewers contemplate the former life of the weapons depicted in these artworks. The viewer cannot help but meditate on the former life of the trigger of the weapon that is prominently shown here. The fact that this specific mechanism of this individual gun was quite possibly responsible for
causing many deaths creates extremely powerful visual symbolism. The clarity of the recognizable gun parts resonates with their innate association with violence and death by the artists’ purposeful selection of this powerful element of the weapon here realized as the head and mid-section of the young boy. Makolwa’s focus on specific recognizable elements adds to the overall emotional power of his TAE artworks.

**TAE Artists: 2010-2013**

Silverio Salvador Sitoe (Sitoe) is an artist from *A Associação Núcleo de Arte* who began making TAE artworks for the first time in 2010 in conjunction with the 2010 exhibition *Speak, no fear, God has many people in this city; speak the peace* at *A Associação Núcleo de Arte*. Sitoe is a former child soldier. He created a work different from the others in the exhibition that was not welded together, *Dou-vos a minha Paz/I Give my Peace* (See Figures 3-29, 3-30). Sitoe explained his inspiration for the work, “In my mind we don’t even have money to buy bread - how are we able to buy supplies, machines to weld?” Sitoe’s choice not to weld the weapons together facilitates sustainability, such as the ability to create quick demonstrations for strong impact at the site of weapon retrieval, saving money by not using electricity, and the ability to recycle the weapons over and over.

Sitoe’s work draws powerful connections between his personal understandings of the peace of the present with the conflicts of the past, linking Mozambicans of the present to those who died in past wars. His work suggests the effectiveness of memorialization and remembrance in the continuation of peace keeping in Mozambique. Sitoe’s work evokes the necessity of appeasing the dead to insure living in peace, a growing source of scholarship on Mozambican conflicts (Honwana 1997; Muianda 2005; Granio 2009). Explaining *Dou-vos a minha Paz*, Sitoe stated: “Those weapons have killed people and these people are lying down now. They are bones. If you
look at my artwork (*Dou-vos a minha Paz*), it looks like people who have died but in a different way, with open arms – [they] embrace me although I’m dead. With these people I’m in peace.”

Nilton Piore da Trindade (Trindade) is also an artist from *A Associação Núcleo de Arte*. He accepted an invitation to make works of art from recycled weapons in conjunction with a planned but unrealized TAE exhibition in 2011. Trindade’s style is unique in an innovation he has applied to his approach to his TAE artworks. Trindade forcefully addresses the visceral materiality of the gun parts by adding carved designs to wooden sections like pistol grips. This is readily apparent in his work, *Percussionista/Percussionist*, 2011 (See Figure 3-31). Abstract designs add a graphic feature that reinforces the strong diagonal lines and curves of the gun parts he uses in his sculpture, such as the mouth of the bazooka that creates the head of his drumming man. Additionally, Trindade adds varnish to the wood and metal parts of the weapons, which results in a shiny finish. While this in itself is not unusual in TAE artworks, coupled with his innovatively carved pistol grip, Trindade’s sculpture blatantly announces its material presence to the viewer. The resulting glistening surface contributes a sense of preciousness to this form, seemingly at odds with the rough strength of the destroyed weapons. Overall these techniques by Trindade create a palpable tension in its entirety, contributing to its powerful presence.

**TAE Patrons: Financial Support through Sales**

Inasmuch as TAE is dependent upon donors for continued success of its project, patronage of its arts is essential to insure its continuation as well. As stated above, TAE artworks are complex and difficult to process visually and emotionally, as they are fraught with inherent memories of war-torn lives. As an expected result of their powerfully embedded emotional messages, individuals are often hesitant to commit to purchasing these artworks. A further factor in the difficulty of securing patrons for TAE artworks lies in the lack of widespread support of the arts in Mozambique, as is discussed more fully in chapter two. Although this is slowly beginning
to change, it has not yet developed among the Mozambican population. Finally, a fundamental critique of TAE that I have continually observed is the overall lack of visibility of the project and its art. This lack is most apparent within Mozambique. As I conducted interviews within all sectors of society pertaining artists who use recycled materials as media, I had a multiplicity of diverse questions. One question that remained standard was whether the individual was familiar with the TAE project. Surprisingly, most individuals who were not directly related to the TAE project were not aware of this project, its aims, or most importantly for this analysis, its artworks.\textsuperscript{115}

In a response to my queries surrounding its visibility, TAE National Coordinator Zita stated: ‘We should have more exhibits, more debates on issues of art as an instrument of peace to show pain, expectation, and hope.’\textsuperscript{116} As of yet, these goals have not been implemented.

Ironically, as illustrated in this investigation, most of the commissions for TAE arts originate outside of the country. Similarly, in terms of overall patronage, most individuals who purchase TAE arts are expats, foreigners, tourists and international museums. Within my examination of TAE, patronage of its artworks represented the most difficulty. Despite fundamental obstacles including a lack of visibility, TAE patrons do exist. Although diverse in background, educational levels, and ethnicity, each of the patrons discussed here are linked in their overall interest in the emotional impact of TAE artworks.

Tino, a young Mozambican professional, purchased \textit{Cão Vira-Lata/Mutt dog}, A TAE artwork by Makolwa in November 2009. He explained why he chose this artwork: “First of all I had to select art for a good place in my house. Big [artworks are] not useful for me. I saw the sculpture was suffering - it was a sad dog and I wanted to take it home. It was a good sculpture. After that he [Makolwa] told me the piece was in the calendar.”\textsuperscript{117} Tino refers to a calendar put out by Mozambican bank, Banco Pro Credit. The bank produced a calendar that featured artworks
from *Núcleo de Arte*. Makolwa’s *Dog* was included in the calendar. Tino to explained the evolution of his interest in art: “I learned to like art by myself. I didn’t know about art before I was twenty-two - Since I started to go to *Núcleo* and meet friends. Then I learned more. I used to live next to *Núcleo*. From there I know everybody.” As we spoke about his art purchase, Tino expressed his opinions about arts patronage in Mozambique:

I’m not making any art. I think I’m fine seeing how beauty is and teaching new people. For example, in my family. I introduced them. I put [the artworks] in the house. I think I’m doing something good with that. Some close friends understand my trying. Today they go with me. It’s just an idea of changing minds. It is not difficult to understand art. The big problem with art in Mozambique - No competition. What’s happening is some [artists] have connections to make more exhibitions in and out of the country. You couldn’t make it by yourself. A group. Something strong. Everybody can weld. We can change with the project. We can live with things without worry.”

Alexis is also patron of TAE arts. She is an American currently living in Maputo where she teaches at the American School. She explained her initial awareness of TAE occurred after she saw a chair made of weapons on display at the *Centro Cultural Franco Moçambicano* (French-Mozambican Cultural Center). In December 2009 she commissioned Fiel to create a drummer and a pangolin for her. Fiel agreed to create the sculptures as long as materials were available for him to use. Fiel created the artworks and was contacted again to create additional sculptures in August of 2010. The second request could not be completed due to lack of available materials. When asked why she specifically selected to commission works made from recycled weapons by the TAE project Alexis responded:

The idea of sculpture from guns is fascinating and meaningful – a way to close that chapter. It was like nothing I’d ever seen. Beautiful, but harsh as well … compelling. It is a bit macabre to have guns in your house … a great way to give meaningful presents - craft market art makes perfect gifts.
Chris Spring, discussed above, commissioned *Tree of Life*, as well as two more recent pieces of TAE art for the British Museum, both of which are discussed above in the TAE art projects section. The British Museum currently has nine TAE artworks in their collection.

**The Future of TAE**

TAE’s future is decidedly uncertain. Development plans for TAE previously included incorporating additional recycled materials such as metal, pottery and other objects into the creation of artworks, as well as addressing ecological concerns and tackling environmental issues. Additionally, TAE Coordinators envisioned a peace institute in the town of *Liberdade*, outside the city of Maputo. This plan originally included creating an international institute where scholars would convene to teach, learn, and develop ideas surrounding peace, conflict-resolution, and the use of art as a tool in this process.\(^{122}\) TAE’s plans for these developments remain unrealized. According to TAE National Coordinator Zita, “We still have some challenges…we have problems in terms of management, for example transparency and accountability. Small grants keep the project alive (CWS, Global Ministry in USA) and since the exhibition we have electricity.”\(^{123}\) Since Zita expressed these issues confronting TAE in October of 2010, the situation of TAE has worsened. In a seemingly unending cycle, weapons continue to remain uncollected as informants remain waiting for promised incentives. Incentives cannot be provided for weapons because financial support from donors who would ordinarily provide the means for these incentives has dried up. With no support, TAE is unable to collect weapons, which does not provide materials for its artists to create artworks that would help to improve its visibility.

Fortunately, in light of TAE’s indefinite future, Albino Forquilha, previous National Coordinator of TAE, has developed his own program, FOMICRES.\(^{124}\) FOMICRES is an acronym for *Força Moçambicana para Investigação de Crimes e Reinserção Social*/Mozambican Force for Crime Investigation and Social Reinsertion. FOMICRES, formally organized in 2007, originated
as FIC, The Force Intelligence Community. FIC was founded in 1995 by a group of young Mozambicans, comprised of former child soldiers and ex-members of the extinct Armed Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique (FPLM).\textsuperscript{125} Based on principles similar to TAE’s original aims, Forquilha, a former child soldier and veteran of the Mozambican military, established FOMICRES as a community strategy for crime and violence prevention in Mozambique. His project focuses on re-integration of former child soldiers into society, peace maintenance through civic education programs, and a program of collection and destruction of the weapons remaining in Mozambique. Unlike TAE’s current situation, FOMICRES thus far has received continuous funding and support from international donors, including United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and Center for Global Nonkilling, that indicate its continued success. While not yet in operation, Forquilha also envisions integrating an art component similar to TAE’s, to transform its collected and destroyed weapons into art. TAE artists Kester and Hilário relayed to me that they were very enthusiastic about participating in this new project.

**Conclusion**

Bishop Sengulane once explained to me how RENAMO President Afonso Dhlakama viewed one success of the TAE project as allowing individuals to see the end of a life of a gun.\textsuperscript{126} Recalling Kopytoff’s theorization calling for observation of the life of an object, “How does the thing’s use change with age and what happens to it when it reaches the end of its usefulness,” (Kopytoff 1986, 33). Mozambique’s TAE project represents a challenge to both Kopytoff and Dhlakama. Through the process of TAE’s project, destroyed weapons lives do not end; they become empowered in their transformation into art. Weapons are strengthened symbolically as they become incarnated into tools for peace keeping. Seemingly in contradiction to the original use of weapons as tools for destruction, the TAE project reveals the power of recycling through artistic transformation. TAE artists reveal and perpetuate the invisible concept of peace in their creation of
artworks of remembrance, reconciliation, memorialization, and peacekeeping not only for Mozambique, but also globally.

The TAE project illustrates the potency of recycling and art as tools of post-conflict resolution. Despite specific challenges facing TAE that include a lack of transparency, accountability, and visibility that I am currently investigating, TAE’s transformation of recycled weapons from Mozambican wars is clearly meaningful for those engaged in, as well as viewers of the purposeful collection, destruction, and transformation of these weapons into symbolic representations of Mozambique’s continuing peace through remembrance.

The Mozambican government commissioned a massive bronze statue by North Korean sculptors. The sculpture depicts former Mozambican president and defender of Mozambican independence, Samora Machel, and was erected in November 2011 in Maputo’s Praça Indépendencia to commemorate the anniversary of the tragic death of this hero on October 19, 1986. This new addition to the visual landscape captured much attention by Mozambicans and foreigners alike. In the days directly following the unveiling of the new sculpture the section of the traffic circle directly facing Machel was roped off to prevent many photographers with cameras and cellphones alike from being hit by fast moving traffic.

Many traffic circles now stand naked in Mozambique, denuded of their former colonial monuments. What a testament to the grassroots attainment of peace in Mozambique it would be to occupy such empty spaces with the evocative and powerful forms of the TAE. As Samora Machel represents a powerful emblem of Mozambique’s independence, so too the iconic forms of the TAE artworks symbolize the perpetuation of Mozambican peace. In the poignant words of one TAE informant, “Art is important because (the artworks) transmit a feeling to us - they have a connection with our lives.”

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See chapter 1 for a discussion of Mozambique’s extended history of war.

António is a pseudonym. The names of the informants discussed here have been changed to protect their identities. Other informants whose names have been changed include Alex, Arlindo, and Paulinho.

António, interview, Boane, Mozambique, October 12, 2010.


In connection with Object Frictions, the inherent meanings of the arts of the TAE project are directly based on the history of the object’s original use. This concept, object frictions, originally appears in chapter one, where it is introduced.

Before Bishop Sengulane agreed to be photographed he exchanged the crucifix he was wearing for this one, created from the gas pistons of AK-47s, which was made for him by a TAE artist.


CCM held seminars and workshops at this time in Mozambique as well as refugee settlement in neighboring countries, especially in Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi and Tanzania.

Bishop Dom Dinis Sengulane, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, August 28, 2009. This remark relates to the fact that many families were torn apart as members of the same family served on opposing sides of the last conflict. Evidence of this reality will be illustrated in the discussion of the personal motivations of the artists to work for TAE.

Ibid.

Reverend L. Ammos, Bishop Sengulane, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, August 20, 2009.

(United Nations Operations in Mozambique) ONUMOZ UN peace mission (1992-1994) was created to monitor implementation of Peace Accord signed in Rome establishing peace in Mozambique.


Ibid. These practices directly related to Mozambican (Bantu and Ngoni) traditions called Umbengululu. The traditions are based on strong beliefs that preparation for war included the need for magic potions to make warriors brave and not vulnerable to enemy weapons like spears and more recently, bullets. Furthermore, when these same warriors returned from war they were subjected to special ritual treatments aimed at redressing these powers in order to become gradually re-integrated into society. Sangoma “traditional healers,” largely administered such treatments, as well as Zion and/or Pentecostal churches and to a minor extent, mainline churches (Albino Forquilha, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, December 7, 2010).


Ibid.
Ibid. 600,000 is the magic number TAE administrators use repeatedly in response to questions related to its weapons collections. I have been told this same number as the overall total of weapons collected when asking for numbers of weapons collected by TAE each year since I began this research in 2008. Similarly, other individuals related to TAE, such as informants, donors and patrons have also quoted this same number when believing to be relaying accurate numbers of collected weapons. While I have been unsuccessful in my attempts following continued requests to look at annual reports or other data that would provide actual numbers of weapons collected, this number persists within TAE rhetoric by administrators, religious leaders and others mentioned previously. Critiques of disparities of numbers of collected weapons by TAE have been reported elsewhere (Tester 2006; Elmquist 2007).

Scholars in several different contexts have addressed the issue of problems of weapons in Mozambique (Tester 2006; Leão 2004, Knight 2004).

Many of the personnel changes within TAE/CCM have been attributed to charges of embezzlement, which I am in the process of substantiating before reporting in conjunction with this research. In the case of the tenure of Jacinto Muthi, his departure has been verified due to his unfortunate death by suicide in 1999.

Southern African Development Community (SADC), officially established in the 1980s, with origins in 1960s-1970s. Organized as an inter-governmental community of fifteen member African countries including Mozambique, focused on political and security issues. Particularly relevant here is the arm of the community dealing with the storage, collection, destruction, and disposal of firearms.

As of now, I have been unable to successfully contact past TAE donor Christian Aid, one of the earliest donors of TAE.

William Antonio Mulhovo, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, April 4, 2011.

Ibid.

Jenny Bishop Kempf, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, June 23, 2011.

Melanie Jones, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, July 8, 2011.

Jenny Bishop Kempf, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, June 23, 2011.

CCM hired Dr. Alda Brubaker, American Mennonite psychiatrist, at beginning of TAE workshops and seminars to deal with emotional and psychological problems experienced by Mozambicans after the war.
Edna Ruth Byler, a MCC worker in Puerto Rico founded Ten Thousand Villages, originally known as ‘SELFHELP Crafts,’ in 1946. Byler initiated the global fair trade movement with SELFHELP Crafts. MCC’s project was founded on the premise of creating sustainable economic opportunities geared towards eradicating poverty by creating viable marketplaces for third world artisans around the world.

Melanie Jones, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, July 8, 2011.

During this discussion of a proposed competition to determine artists who would be participating in the Ten Thousand Villages project, my assistant, Goba, leaned over to me, noting the irony in these planned competitions and stated, “I thought TAE was supposed to be about peace!”

Kempf and Jones, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, July 8, 2011.


Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid. Takeuchi’s lobbying led Japan (Chiba Prefecture) to change their preexisting laws that defined abandoned bikes as rubbish. These laws prevented bicycles from being sent to other countries because laws stipulated rubbish could not be sent out of Japan to other countries.

At this time Ehime could not wait for responses from TAE regarding a shipment of bicycles left at a seaport dock and not picked up. Takeuchi referred to big problems of TAE in 2004/5 because of accounting systems.


Ibid.

Alex, interview, Matola, Mozambique, October 12, 2010.

See discussion of this exhibition, and also in the context of Mozambican arts organizations in Maputo, Associação Núcleo de Arte (chapter two).

TAE is inconsistent with its incentives provided for weapons exchanged to them. This will become more apparent below when the value for an AK-47 weapon is specifically discussed here.

Arlindo, interview, Matola, Mozambique, October 1, 2010.

Arlindo, interview, Matola, Mozambique, December 13, 2010.

Paulinho, interview, Matendene, Mozambique, December 17, 2010.

Paulinho, interview, Matendene, Mozambique, January 22, 2011.

Nicolau Luís, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, November 10, 2011.
Albino Forquilha, Boaventura Zita’s predecessor as National Coordinator of TAE, provided me with this example of an incentives table (table of rewards). This table is used in his organization, FOMICRES, a project based on his experiences with TAE that focuses on the collection, destruction, and transformation of weapons into art with a component of civic education, which will be discussed in the conclusion above. I was unsuccessful after repeated requests to Nicolau Luís to obtain a current table of rewards purportedly used by TAE to determine value of incentives for exchanged weapons.

António, interview, Boane, Mozambique, July 7, 2011.

Paulinho, interview, Matendene, Mozambique, January 21, 2011.

António, interview, Boane, Mozambique, July 7, 2011. Similar arguments on the use of child soldiers in Mozambique and elsewhere have been put forth (Castanheira 1999; Honwana 2007).

I have been fascinated by the fact that many of the individuals connected with peacekeeping in Mozambique I have interviewed are former child soldiers. I have begun to investigate this phenomenon. My proposal, *Combatants of war/mediators of peace: the power of peacekeeping in the successful reintegration of Mozambican child soldiers*, was accepted to the international multidisciplinary conference, *Children and War: Past and Present*, Second International multidisciplinary conference, University of Salzburg, Austria, July 10-12, 2013. Unfortunately, due to time and financial restraints I was forced to decline the invitation to present my research.

António, interview, Boane, Mozambique, October 11, 2011.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Most often reserved for reference to state sponsored conflict, particularly in Latin America, several scholars consider atrocities committed by RENAMO as tactics consistent to those employed in a “dirty war” (Nordstrom 1997; Kassimeris 2006).

Ibid.

Ibid.

Nicolau Luís, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, November 1, 2010.

Boaventura Zita, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, August 18, 2009.

Afonso Muengwa, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, November 22, 2010.

Ibid.


Ibid.
Ibid. His mention of the last budget of TAE here refers to the fact that for the TAE/Núcleo exhibition of 2010, funds secured from two artists (Sitoe and Mabunda), largely supported the exhibition. I too contributed money for the exhibition opening, which has not yet been reimbursed.

71 Bishop Sengulane, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, August 21, 2009.

72 Ibid.

73 Boaventura Zita, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, August 1, 2008.

74 Bishop Sengulane, Maputo, Mozambique, August 21, 2009.

75 Artists who participated in the first TAE workshop and subsequent exhibition at Núcleo de Arte in 1998 included: Cristóvão Estevão Canhavato (Kester); Fiel dos Santos; Adelino Serafim Mate (Mathe); Hilário Nhatugueja; Humberto del Gado; Eugénio Saranga (Saranga); Gonçalo Mabunda; Idasse Ekson Malendza; Carlos S. Ferreira Simoes; João Paulo Queha; Bernardo Carrula*; Fernando Rosa da Silva Dudanisse*; Micas Pedro Nungo*; Sebastiao Armando Jonze*(an asterisk indicates TAE artists I have been unable to contact for this research).

76 Sant’ Egidio is a Christian community founded in 1968 by Roman high school students. They focus on spreading the gospel through the promotion of prayer and service to the poor. Largely concentrated on programs supporting AIDS awareness in Africa, Sant’ Egidio provided humanitarian support to Mozambique during the last war. Realizing the importance of peace in its humanitarian efforts, in 1990, the Community accepted its function as mediator by FRELIMO and RENAMO in Mozambique’s General Peace Accord in Rome where they played an important role. One of the guiding principles for Sant’ Egidio’s humanitarian efforts to promote peace includes their central belief that war is the "mother of every poverty” Eric Morrieu-Genoud. 2003. ‘Sant’ Egidio et la Paix,’ LFM: Le Fait Missionnaire: Social Sciences and Missions. No. 13, October, (119-145).

77 Several scholars have written on the links between the role of the church and Mozambique’s peace process (Anouilh 2006, 2010; Zuppi 1995).

78 The current Mozambican flag, adopted in 1983, clearly portrays the image of an AK-47 assault rifle fitted with a bayonet, crossed with a hoe to create the shape of an X. The Mozambican flag has included an AK-47 since 1975. Just following attainment of Independence in 1975 the FRELIMO flag was adopted, to which the cog, hoe, book and AK-47 have subsequently been added. (New York Times December 20, 2005).

79 Tree of Life, most often discussed singly, as it is installed in the subterranean Sainsbury African Galleries of the British museum actually comprises several TAE pieces, creating an assemblage artwork. Additional creatures incorporated with the tree include a monkey climbing its trunk, as well as several other animals (two birds, tortoise, lizard) that are displayed surrounding the tree.

80 Three of these four artists’ works will be discussed further. Fiel and Kester will be included in this chapter dealing with the TAE project. Mathe’s artwork will be discussed in regard to its materiality, which most recently includes diverse metal recycled materials, which will appear in chapter four. Whereas Hilário has had success in his completion of several monumental sculptures depicting Samora Machel for various Mozambican provinces, these artworks will not be discussed further here. I hope to integrate his sculptural works into a larger project on Mozambican artists after I complete this dissertation.
Much has been written about *Tree of Life* (Elmquist 2003; Spring 2005; Holden 2006; Mitchell 2013); I will not discuss this work in depth here, I will use this artwork here as a foundation for exploring specific artworks by individual TAE artists.

Jane Samuels, interview, October 28, 2009, London, England. Further British Museum initiatives that incorporate TAE artworks include a bird by Hilário. This sculpture, utilized in museum-based projects, is focused on object interactions with the blind.

Additional entries by Bishop Dom Dinis Sengulane and Kofi Annan accompanied MacGregor’s presentation of *Throne of Weapons* in the text.

In the future I hope to forge a connection between the TAE project and Constable’s PACP weapons project in Cambodia. I have discussed this other project with TAE artists who have expressed interest in contacting artists working for the PACP project and creating a workshop, in which they could work and create art from weapons together.

Fourteen artists originally participated in the first TAE workshop. In December 2013 no artists are working for TAE because no weapons have been recovered recently due to lack of funding for incentives to provide informants with.

Boaventura Zita/Nicolau Luís, interviews, Maputo, Mozambique, October 19, 2010.

Cristóvão Estevão Canhavato (Kester), interview, Maputo, Mozambique, October 10, 2010.

Jorge Jose’ Munguambe (Makolwa), interview, Maputo, Mozambique, October 9, 2010.

Chris Spring, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, March 22, 2011.

In 2011 Fiel and Kester agreed to create new artworks for the British Museum, while Mathe and Hilário were unable to contribute as they were both (individually) occupied with the construction of monumental Samora Machel statues for various provinces in Mozambique.

Malaria represents a widespread and continuing danger in Mozambique. To illustrate its personal connections, while I was in Mozambique in 2009, TAE Assistant Program Director Nicolau Luís lost his mother to the disease.

A few of the early TAE artists are believed deceased, living out of the country, or simply unable to be located after repeated attempts.

The artwork of Gonçalo Mabunda (Mabunda), frequently associated with TAE, will not be discussed here. Mabunda was a pivotal figure in my early TAE research with his innovative adaptions of weapons integrated into art. I have chosen not to include him because I am currently investigating allegations that he created art from weapons he obtained illegally, which were not originally collected by TAE. Additionally, after 2010 Mabunda would no longer speak with me for this research.

Matsine did not participate in the initial TAE workshop and exhibition. His tenure with TAE ended before the workshop took place in 1997.

Inácio Matsine, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, January 11, 2011.
Matsine told me that he carved his name into one of the weapons that comprise the structure of this chair. After many attempts, I have been unable to find any signature, which easily may have been obliterated over the decade and a half this sculpture has been exposed to the elements. So far, I have still been unsuccessful in verifying the authorship of this prominently displayed TAE sculpture.

Kester, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, September 29, 2011.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Kester, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, May 18, 2011.

Ibid. Other TAE artists (Saranga, Mabunda) have shared similar stories of accidents resulting from bullets discharged from weapons believed to be inopera-

Fiel dos Santos, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, October 5, 2010.

Fiel dos Santos, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, August 17, 2009.


Makolwa, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, September 18, 2010.

Makolwa, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, August 29, 2010.

Makolwa, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, August 1, 2011.

Silverio Salvador Sitoe (Sitoe), interview, Maputo, Mozambique, October 18, 2010.

Ibid.

Ibid.

In terms of patronage, TAE artists typically receive 55% payment on sales and TAE/CCM maintains 45% of the cost of the sculptures sold.

Based on structured questionnaires left at arts venues such as Núcleo de Arte, Kulungwana Gallery, and the National Museum for the TDM Bienal, I asked if respondents were familiar with the TAE project. I received overwhelming recognition affirming knowledge of TAE. This response was the opposite of interviews held with non-arts audiences.

Boaventura Zita, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, October 19, 2010.
Constantino De Silva (Tino), interview, Maputo, Mozambique, February 17, 2011. Tino refers to the fact that this TAE artwork appears in a yearly calendar produced by Banco Pro Credit for 2010. Makolwa’s Dog embellishes the page for October, 2010. Interestingly, this is the only TAE work and the only sculpture illustrated in the calendar. I spoke with the graphic designer who created this calendar and Director of Núcleo de Arte, Nongwenye regarding the placement. Nongwenye told me the designers approached him about creating a calendar based on artwork from Núcleo de Arte. Nongwenye stated he selected the sculpture by Makolwa among other artworks (paintings) based on artists that were highly visible at Núcleo de Arte, spending a lot of time working there.

Ibid.

Ibid.

The issue of materiality is at the core of this investigation on many levels. In this case, Fiel could not confirm that he could accept the commission without acknowledging the availability of materials (weapons) to use to create the sculptures. The cyclical nature of the project is further revealed here as well. In order to collect the weapons, incentives are required to exchange with the informants. Further, donations are necessary to insure the support financial/material in order to keep the project moving.

Alexis O’Meara, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, August 27, 2011. Particularly interesting among O’Meara’s comments is her reference to TAE art as “craft market” art.

Boaventura Zita, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, October 19, 2010.

Ibid.

While I will not embark on a lengthy discussion of Forquilha’s FOMICRES project here, I have discussed its development with Forquilha at great length, and hope to continue investigating his project in conjunction with TAE in future scholarship.

Albino Forquilha, interview, December 7, 2010, Maputo, Mozambique FPLM refers to the armed wing of the Frelimo political party, originated in the 1970s and 1980s.


Paulinho, interview, Matendene, Mozambique, December 17, 2010.
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Figure 3-31. Nilton Piore da Trindade (Trindade). *Percussionista/Percussionist*. mixed media (recycled weapons), October 2011. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
CHAPTER 4
RECYCLED WOOD AND METAL AS MEDIA

Artists discussed in this chapter use pre-used metal, natural wood waste, and recycled wooden materials as media. Artists who use recycled metal include Zeferino Chicuamba (Zeferino) and Adelino Serafim Mate (Mathe). Alexandria Simões Ferreira (Alexandria), Nelson Augusto Carlos Ferreira (Pekiwa), and Jorge José Munguambe (Makolwa) use wood and metal recyclia in the creation of their art. Examination of specific artworks made of recycled wood and metal, interviews, and direct observations shape the analysis of these artists. My investigation focuses on similarities and differences in these artists’ individual approaches to the recycled wood and metal materials they select as media. Object frictions, a theoretical framework I developed, defines inherent tension within objects. Discussed in the introduction (See chapter one), this analytical tool is valuable for determining distinctions between artists using similar media, by defining how and why artists select recycled materials based on their interest on an object’s utility, history, or a combination of both.

Recycled Metals

An enormous body of scholarship documents the widespread presence of artisans who work with metal in Africa. Many of these scholars focus on the liminal position these individuals occupy within their societies (Willett 1971; Herbert 1993; McNaughton 1998). Patrick McNaughton, who was an apprentice to a Mande blacksmith in the course of his research, and has written extensively on this topic, draws upon anthropologist Laura Makarius’ reference to a ‘blacksmith complex,’ as he states: “Blacksmiths in sub-Saharan Africa occupy confusing social spaces, as if they lived in two conflicting dimensions. They are at once glorified and shunned, feared and despised, afforded special privileges and bounded by special interdictions” (McNaughton 1998, xiii). Within the liminal state of blacksmiths, notions of power are often
associated with transformation, a process at the core of metalworking. Additionally, these individuals’ status may also connect them to nature spirits and deities. To name just one well-known example, blacksmiths and metalworkers in Yoruba culture are linked to Ogun, a natural deity associated with both the hearth and the forge (Visona, Poynor, et al. 2001, 251).

The artist Mathe, discussed in this chapter, cites American sculptor Alexander Calder as an important influence in the creation of his sculptures. Calder is recognized for expanding the boundaries of sculpture through the creation of his mobiles; both wind driven and motorized. An evocative quote of Calder’s resonates with the goals Mathe sets for himself with his own kinetic sculptures, ‘The basis of everything I do is the universe” (Baal-Teshuva 1999, 5). Much has been written connecting African weaving traditions to the artwork of African artist El Anatsui who creates cloth like forms from metal caps and tops from liquor bottles (Picton 1998; Binder 2011; Vogel 2012). One scholar links the materiality of Anatsui’s metal forms to the history of African blacksmiths and their legacies of metal working however (Ogbechie 2003,15).

Although the materials the artists included in this chapter utilize are similar, their predisposition for selecting pre-used metal to create their art differs dramatically. The motivations for how and why these artists use recycled metal to create art are revealed in specific examinations of each of the artists. These artists include Zeferino, who bases his creation of pots and pans with individual expressions on traditional Mozambican Makonde masking traditions; and Mathe, who covers his front yard with kinetic sculptures made of recycled metal objects to instruct neighbors and passers’ by about art made from recyclia.

**Zeferino: “The garbage is beautiful”**

To demonstrate the use of pre-used materials to students at A Associação Núcleo de Arte’s recycling workshop in October 2010, Zeferino created oversized spiders from pre-used fans and other scavenged metal objects. Zeferino’s spiders inhabited webs another Associação
Núcleo de Arte artist, Ana, and her students made from fabric scraps (See Figure 5-3). Shortly after the workshop, I met Zeferino at his studio in Xipamanine, a Maputo neighborhood noted for the diversity of offerings at its widely popular and extensive market. A tiny puppy, many chickens, and a gang of screaming children besieged my assistant Goba and I as we opened the gate leading to Zeferino’s studio. In stark contrast to expectations that an artist’s studio is a space of quiet tranquility, Zeferino was surrounded by chaos. Apparently stimulated by all the confusion around him, Zeferino immediately led us into a cement building bursting with wooden and stone sculptures, paintings and other artworks he had created (See Figure 4-1). Zeferino explained that this space was formerly his studio, but it had become so crowded with his artworks he had been forced to work outside.

Zeferino pointed out that he was finishing several sculptures in stone, recycled metal, and wood, in preparation for an upcoming solo exhibition. Both within and alongside Zeferino’s studio, many expressive faces in metal were displayed on the cement-block wall lining his property. Created from recycled pots and pans, each of these artworks exhibited a different demeanor or animated expression (See Figures 4-1, 4-2). As our attention shifted between these faces, Zeferino began to demonstrate the repoussé and chasing techniques he had used to create them. It became clear as Zeferino initiated his loud banging on the metal cookware that he and the surrounding cacophony of puppy, chickens, and children were in concert. As he hammered and pounded, Zeferino loudly explained how he obtained the pots and pans he used to create these artworks, and how this directly related to his preference for using recycled materials: “I use recycled materials to show people these materials are for us to use instead of throwing away. I have an interest in joining materials. The garbage is beautiful. We don’t think what we throw
away is valuable for us to use." At a later interview, Zeferino expanded upon his techniques of procuring recyclia for his art:

> Every time when I get it [recycled materials], I get it from people who are going to take it to the garbage and I buy it [from them] to recycle it. I buy it and sometimes go [to the garbage] myself to collect it. My preference is to join several kinds of materials: metal, plastic and other materials. For example, what I want to present this time [at my exhibition] are plastic masks. And other [metal] pieces … like at the Núcleo workshop.²

Zeferino explained the origins of his artistic development of these pots, establishing their connections to African Makonde masks:

> For me I use faces more because of their connection to masks. [I want to] show about the masks – identify – that they are like Makonde masks. The thing that I’m using [to create these faces] - we have to take care of the environment. I’m recycling. I’m using for the face the characteristics that [the] material has – [that] determines the form it takes.

Zeferino’s connection between his recycled cookware faces and Makonde masks becomes increasingly apparent after scrutinizing the various faces he creates. In the same way, Makonde masks display diverse expressive and individualized features, some of which include human hair. Makonde masks are distinct among African masks because of the uniqueness among them.

The many diverse pots in varied states of disrepair, discoloration, torn surfaces, and blackened edges, reveals the many different personalities Zeferino has given these faces. Each of the unique personalities Zeferino creates for these pots has been directly inspired by the materiality of its form. As Zeferino asserted, he relies upon the characteristics of the pot to determine how it becomes transformed into a face. To initiate this process, Zeferino carefully focuses on the surface condition of the metal. Relying on an organic process of creation, Zeferino is not concerned with the history, or former uses these pots may have served, sitting in wood fires, on stovetops, or electric ovens. He is concerned solely with the results of these uses
and their direct effect on the surface of the metal forms. Using my notion of object frictions as an analytical tool, Zeferino develops the uniqueness of these faces based on the object’s original materiality – the effects of wear on each individual pot. Specific features emerge based upon blackening, fissures, or dents.

Inspired by our discussion of his use of recycled materials, Zeferino began to describe how he first began to make art:

My grandfather was an artist. I learned from him since I was two years old. I started with elephants. My first idea was to transform teapots. I am still working on them (See Figures 4-3, 4-4). I’m so successful with my work because I have so many materials. I’m glad because I never stop my work with wood, and stone. I always receive good inspiration from my materials in the morning when I wake up.³

Zeferino’s elephants provide another example of his organic process of creation. In his transformation of teapots into elephants, Zeferino relies on the basic structure of the material to inform and direct his artistic process. Initially drawn to the teapot’s curving spout, Zeferino converts the spout into the trunk of the elephant. In the same manner, the pitted surface of the pot easily translates into the animal’s wrinkly skin. As both his expressive pots and elephants demonstrate, Zeferino uses the form of the materials he is using to dictate the process and direction of his art. As Zeferino continued to describe his early art experiences, he shared ideas about his techniques, as well as how the development of his artistic transformations was inherently visual, “I started using recycled materials a long, long time ago. Since I was a kid. I can show you how I can recycle things. With this coconut [for example], I can see a monkey. This is a monkey. I can add some things – this is a face you can see.”⁴

In addition to creating artwork, Zeferino devotes time to teaching children about using recycled materials to make art. One of his projects combines a coconut, a flip-flop sandal, and a
stick. Using these everyday disposable objects, Zeferino creates a man in a boat (See Figure 4-5).

He described his experiences with the children he teaches:

Every time I tell my students garbage is not garbage because we can transform it into good art pieces people will like by using bottles, several types of wood, and metal. So it’s good to join together [recycled materials]. Even in my free time I have some kids who want to learn this type of work and (I) show them recycled materials are to use. That’s why when you arrived there were some children here. My dream is to make a small school where I can teach kids. For example, (Zeferino indicates a specific boy playing in his studio area) this is a kid I teach. I am teaching him [how to make] boats with men. [I am not] wasting materials. If you don’t want to use it - I can recycle it. We can make more figures with flip-flop stripes.

While he spoke, Zeferino demonstrated the process he used to construct his men in boats. As he cut, slicing down the middle of the sandal, he extracted the simple shape of a figure made from the spongy, condensed bottom of the flip-flop. Through these art projects and their discarded materials, Zeferino asserts his message extolling the efficacy of recycling.

Zeferino has exhibited his art globally, and has been invited to participate in international workshops where he presents his work with recycled materials. He proudly referred to trips he made to Germany in 2004 and France in 2010. Zeferino spoke of his experiences:

I was in Germany working in Bremen. I went there to work with adults and children. They asked me to share my experiences with them. I worked with pots, recycled materials, and wood. I made African faces. German students made European faces …I don’t like the cold, it was very cold and they don’t have [good] materials to recycle. They don’t have quality materials to work with. In Mozambique we have a lot of litter.

Discussing the abundance of materials available to recycle in Mozambique, Zeferino expressed his viewpoints regarding differences in the reception of art made from recyclia by international patrons as opposed to local audiences:

We can sell more to the Colonials [Portuguese population/expats]. [It is] easy to sell [to them]. Now we haven’t opportunities. [There is a] problem with artists not being able to make [international] exhibitions outside of Mozambique. This collection I am making to sell - Mozambicans have a problem to buy art. $2000.00 is the U.S. price, now I’m in Mozambique it is $600.00 USD. I prefer
not to sell. So, [despite] these kinds of differences I never stop working. I find opportunities to sell my pieces and go on. So these stone pieces, if nobody comes to buy I will fix in my garden and it will be very beautiful. The problem is money and how I can make [it]. If we had opportunities to make exhibits outside Mozambique [it would be] a very good opportunity for us. We wait for a good time.\textsuperscript{7}

Since Zeferino has been directly exposed to international art markets he was well situated to offer opinions on the differences between how art is perceived in Mozambique and abroad.

Zeferino centrally focused on the greater opportunities he felt were available to artists outside Mozambique:

I have more examples of artists who do not make art for money, but for their love of doing art. That’s why I have a lot of [my art in my] collection. I hope that many journalists ask me why my pieces are not selling. Some are for my collection because I love art. I can’t sell because [the art] is part of my family. Some pieces I’ve had for twenty years. For my surviving I can’t say I’m suffering. I have some business outside of this – I make art because I love it. My option is to make art and connect to my art. Of course someone will not pay $2000.00 USD for my art.\textsuperscript{8}

Our conversation shifted to Zeferino’s interpretation of ongoing debates between fine art and craft art. In Mozambique I have observed that fine art is defined as ‘gallery art,’ while reproducible arts are described as ‘artisan art.’ Speaking about artisan art, which is often sold on the street, Zeferino pointed out his concern for maintaining his originality and expressed his fear of losing this individuality when his ideas are replicated and end up ‘on the street:’

My experience with my teachers has taught me that you never should create art for selling in the street. Yes, we have many [artworks], but we don’t want to sell them cheaply. I have to make what is in my imagination. I have experience. If I teach somebody else how to make materials and he takes it and sells it on the streets ... We have different ideas – it is not to sell on street – [then] everyone can see it and make a copy. [At] exhibitions people can see the artwork then. There are differences between artisan art and gallery art because in this zone (Xipamanime) we have a lot of artists making pieces to sell on the plaza or [the] beach, for tourists on the street, not in exhibitions. So, if they sell on the street, they see tourists [who will buy artwork] so you can make a copy and that is bad. So we are different. Each artist has his own ideas. Now Malangatana is gone, a lot of people copy his art.\textsuperscript{9}
Zeferino’s art is a valuable resource for considering art based on object materiality. The pieces he creates, cookware faces, elephants, and children’s coconut boats, provide a foundation for understanding how his artworks are intrinsically linked to the physical materiality of the recycled forms used to create it. Zeferino is not interested in the former lives of the objects as a contributing factor to the overall construction or meaning of his art. Furthermore, his use of common everyday materials that are recycled into art raises questions linked to art production. Specifically, ideas such as originality, authenticity, and value are raised by artworks that can easily be duplicated by others.

Mathe: “I use garbage, [so I’m] not polluting”

Mathe is one of the first artists I interviewed when I traveled to Mozambique in 2008. He and three other artists created Tree of Life, the large sculpture created from weapons commissioned by Chris Spring, Curator of African art at the British Museum from the Transforming Arms into Plowshares/Transformação de Armas em Enxadas (TAE) project. Most recently, Mathe has been interested in movement, creating kinetic sculptures made of diverse pre-used metal materials. Mathe’s recent moving sculptures illustrate the continued development of his artistic processes.

Mathe’s interest in sculpture began in childhood. He explained, “In the morning I would go to school, and then [I would] go to watch the master (Chissano).”10 Chissano’s influence on Mozambican art cannot be overstated. Former Director of Mozambique’s National Museum, Harun Harun, describes his influence,

The two important and best known names in the artistic arena of Mozambique were Malangatana for painting, drawing and ceramics and Chissano, for sculpture. They both played an important role, by becoming points of reference and sources of inspiration for younger artists. Malangatana lived in the airport area and Chissano in the area of Dlhavana. As these established artists lived in close proximity to other local artists and had both already set up studios in their homes, they were both easily accessible and open to dialogue (Harun 2007, 2).
During school holidays Mathe also went to the workshop of Alberto Chissano. He was among the young boys in the neighborhood Chissano invited to help in his Matola studio. Mathe began carving wood in 1990, and in addition to Chissano’s influence, he also cited the artist Ndlozy as a mentor. Ndlozy became a student of Chissano in 1988 and since that time has achieved great success as a sculptor himself. In an interview, Ndlozy stated that he "walked away" from his master (Chissano) and will begin to make works with more current and modern features (Costa 2008, 87-90). Mathe described Ndlozy as “a guy who started a revolution in sculpture … ugly with big eyes.”

Since participating in his first exhibition in 1994, Mathe has exhibited his sculpture in the important biennial art exhibition sponsored by Telecomunicações de Moçambique/Mozambique Telecommunications (TDM) Corporation, as well as numerous group and solo exhibitions. Focused primarily on wood in his early years, Mathe traveled to the United States in 1998 where he taught wood sculpting at the Kansas City Art Institute. At this time he gained his first exposure to bronze casting. After returning to Mozambique in 1999, Mathe created a proposal for a large bronze sculpture focusing on HIV-AIDS that he presented to several different NGOs and embassies for funding consideration. The Irish Embassy ultimately accepted his proposal. Mathe spoke about the project and his sculpture:

It was about my interventions fighting against HIV. A lot of people were talking about killing, suffering, and dying. So I created the Hope Monument for people living with AIDS. There are two kinds of people, infected and affected. I gave this project (proposal) to several NGO’s. When I showed my pieces to the embassy they thought it was more important for all people to see. The sculpture is in the plaza at the intersection of three big streets where there is access to a big market and the airport. It’s for people to see. When I was creating this HIV project, “if not infected, you are affected” I saw lot of posters saying “AIDS kills.” That message is not good. It’s strange to put about people dying. It’s more about living.
Mathe’s bronze sculpture, *Monumento Esperança /Hope Monument*, completed in 2003 (See Figure 4-6), underscores his view that messages related to AIDS should focus more on life than on death. His sculpture, sited in the busy Alta Mae neighborhood illustrates this, as he literally brings the recognizable AIDS ribbon to life in his depiction of an entwined male and female couple. The undulating figures emerge from the bronze monument, as their limbs expand from within the ribbon’s flattened surface and link. The three-dimensional sculpted heads of the man and woman further connect, as they converge to create the circular shape at the top of the ribbon. In this piece, Mathe’s interest in life and movement is apparent in his expressive interpretation of the AIDS ribbon as a living couple.

In 2008, the Mozambican government contacted Mathe. He was requested to create a monumental sculpture of Samora Machel, who led Mozambique to victory in its colonial war and served as its first president. The government decided that a heroic statue of Machel would be erected in each of the ten provinces. Ceramic artist Lourenço Abner Tsenane (Tsenane) assisted Mathe, and they began an intensive sculptural program. Mathe and Tsenane created multiple cast bronze statues for several different provinces, beginning with Nampula and Inhambane (See Figure 4-7). To date, the project to provide each of Mozambique’s ten provinces with a Samora Machel statue remains uncompleted. Relying on photographs and viewing footage of Machel, Mathe and Tsenane strived to create an accurate representation of Machel in bronze. Attempting to gain greater insight into his character, Mathe and Tsenane worked to create not only an image that was true to life, but also one that captured the essence of this heroic figure.¹³

Most recently, in preparation for an upcoming exhibition at *Centro Cultural Franco-Moçambicano*/Franco Mozambican Cultural Center, Mathe created movable figures from metal objects he had recycled (See Figures 4-8 – 4-12). Mathe explained this exhibition’s underlying
theme as movement, “the idea of the machine promotes movement. For me it is research for movement.”

Expanding on his exploration of movement in sculptures, he explained:

That’s why I open my mind with wood sculpture. Well, as you know, a large part [of the medium] was machines, bikes or cars. I am not putting out what it was before. I make it into a [new] machine. With life [the sculptures] change positions. Some will be easy with wire but I want to try others with electric systems so they move alone without hangers. With Alexander Calder [there is] always movement. I saw his works in the United States in 1998 when I was in Kansas City learning bronze casting.

Mathe defined his intentions with these moving sculptures:

I want to make people understand because this is a rural zone, they do not understand what art is – its meanings. So now when I put pieces here in my yard, people can understand. After they see them several times, they begin to understand. In the beginning, people thought I was joking, now [they] take it seriously and start to talk about the pieces ... The sculptures are alive. So, normally when you have an exhibition it is difficult to touch [the sculptures], because they [will] fall down. When they are hanging you can see movement. You can get in contact with them. The idea is you can touch it.

Basic themes Math focuses on include movement, transformation, and the facilitation of interaction between viewers and sculptures in order to raise awareness and understanding of art. These themes are readily seen in specific examples of his past artworks.

In his AIDS sculpture, Hope Monument, Mathe added life to the AIDS ribbon by transforming it into two expressive intertwined figural forms representing hope. Similarly, in his work with the TAE project, the process of transformation motivated him on many levels; not only were weapons transformed into artworks, these artworks function post-conflict memorials about peace. Mathe spoke of his desire to use discarded metal remnants from machinery and recreate them as new machines. Mathe’s view of the metal parts he uses directly connects to the history of the materials he uses. He is interested in the pieces of metal as part of something that moves – a machine. He buys these materials from metal scrapyards and the trova driving scrap dealers that traverse the streets with metal materials bought and sold. In the same way, he also
focuses on the utility of these machine made metal parts that so readily fit into a conceptualization of “machines.” Mathe utilizes both the history and the utility of the forms based on the recycled metal parts he disassembles, combines, reassembles, and transforms into new moving machines. Analyzing Mathe’s new artwork using object frictions illustrates his interest in both aspects of the object, its utility and its history.

Mathe characterized his desire to use recycled materials for the creation of his art as he focused on his creative and environmental concerns:

For me it is good because of the creative options. I’m not contributing towards polluting the environment. I use garbage, [so I’m] not polluting. It’s about creativity. Not much about money. You can make hundreds of sculptures no one buys. Art is more for creativity. What I’m concentrating on all human people sent by Jesus come and do something good for [the] environment. We are doing art for income. We are doing it for our culture. I’m trying to keep going with recycling. Not only recycled guns. Recycling should be for the environment. A lot of materials of waste are around. It is bad for the environment – it takes a long time to disappear, it is better to reuse it.  

Speaking of his use of recycled materials in his new sculptures, Mathe drew connections to his previous use of weapons in his TAE artworks, and its impact on his art process: “I found differences between TAE and other recycled materials because the meaning is different. TAE works against criminals and destroys weapons but the meaning is not about destruction.”

Linking ideas from the TAE project and its overall message of transformation, Mathe spoke about how recycled materials were not fully embraced overall as art media or truly understood yet in Mozambique by the general public: “I think it is because the people do not give value to culture. It’s not their fault - there needs to be an introduction to art in schools to introduce an understanding of art. Sometimes I receive local children from schools. Kids come here to learn, play …”

Although Mathe does not believe that art is widely understood in Mozambique, his recent kinetic sculptures made from recyclia illustrate how he strives to generate foundations of
understanding for art in Mozambique. From his earliest works, as he learned traditional Mozambican carving in the studio of Chissano, he began to develop his own style. The impact of his artistic experiences has led to his artistic transformations, both with the TAE project, his construction of the *Hope Monument*, and his accurate representations of Samora Machel. Finally, in his latest project he is focused not only on bringing movement to art created from detritus, but also to educate by allowing viewers to experience his art.

**Recycled Metals and Wood**

These artists are linked through their preference for using wood and metal, yet their individual motivations are diverse. Artists discussed here include Pekiwa, who replaces peoples’ deteriorating doors with new ones, so he may create an artwork using the old door as a foundation; Alexandria, who combines recycled metal with wood to balance his sculptures, but feels “adding wood is the most important and most fun aspect of his creation;” and Makolwa, whose transformed materials vibrate with tension, as he links sharp nails and spikes with the smooth surfaces of broken window frames.

**Pekiwa: “I give life to an object that doesn’t have life”**

Pekiwa was born into a family of artists. His father (Govane), uncle (Simões), and cousin (Alexandria), are all sculptors who work with diverse materials that include wood, stone, and mixed media. Pekiwa’s artworks are constructed from wooden objects that include windows, doors, and boats. Pekiwa explained that his preference for recycled materials was not originally limited to these particular items: “before I started to work with windows and doors [and boats], I began to work with anything I [could] find – I transformed whatever came into my mind. Lots of artists were doing the same thing - so I wanted to show my own style so I chose to work with doors and windows [and boats].”

He described this initial awareness:
I got interested in these kinds of objects when I went to the Island of Mozambique. I saw a lot of houses – broken; some old ones, and the windows and doors reflected their identity as being connected to a house because we can see the windows and the doors. My first idea when I saw these things was to give life to something that died and to protect the windows and the doors. When I say to protect it is not specifically for the actual broken doors and windows - but if we have something broken we can give it another life. That is my first message that I want to give people. Then I went to the Mozambican highlands to collect materials. This was my project. I went and stayed there two months. ..... I collected materials in urban areas where poor people live … I [also] went to the houses where people were making renovations on their houses and I asked them for materials they didn’t want to use – they gave me materials which I bring here to my studio to use.²¹

Pekiwa’s style developed as a result of his desire to create an individual identity for himself as a sculptor, by choosing to work with specific materials (such as doors, windows, and boats), with which he would be readily identified. After traveling to the Mozambican Highlands and the Island of Mozambique off the country’s northern coast, he witnessed both the poverty and the surplus of the inhabitants, by viewing dilapidated houses and homes undergoing renovations. Windows and doors became linked, not only to houses they belonged to, but also to the lives of the people who inhabited the homes and lived among these objects. Pekiwa began encountering deteriorating boats on the historic Island of Mozambique, which had served as both a port and a thriving boat building industry since the fifteenth century. He began to incorporate boats that had fallen into disrepair into his artwork.

As Pekiwa stated above, his view of protecting these objects was limited to his ability to provide new life through their transformation. In reality however, his protection of the objects extends to how he maintains the integrity of their original forms. Elements of Pekiwa’s artistic process focus directly on preserving the physicality of many of the objects he acquires through his innovative artistic techniques of conservation. Techniques Pekiwa utilizes are not restricted to preservation of objects he has scavenged, bartered, or bought however. In fact, in several instances, Pekiwa’s methods do not repair these objects at all. Pekiwa utilizes specific techniques
and materials to underscore his transformative process, which draws attention to worn and
damaged areas under his careful repair. Using both new and recycled metal wire, hinges, and
rivets, Pekiwa carefully stitches together cracks, encloses gaps, and draws attention to holes by
embellishing them. In this way, Pekiwa focuses attention on the materiality of these objects’
previous uses. Pekiwa’s embrace of these objects’ past lives both engages and challenges his
transformation of the forms. Specific examples illustrate how Pekiwa painstakingly mends the
ruptures in the physical forms both to fortify and embellish their structures.

One of Pekiwa’s largest artworks illustrates both forms of his object conservation. *Sem
Titulo/Untitled*, an extremely imposing structure, is a canoe that is at least twenty feet tall (See
Figures 4-13 – 4-16). Lacking a single visual narrative, the hull’s surface incorporates Pekiwa’s
carved, gouged and sculpted figural imagery and decorative patterns. Different figures appear
throughout its surface, and its most imposing figure is carved into the bow. These figures balance
the canoe, and are interspersed with floral and pattern designs that punctuate as well as puncture
the surfaces of the wood. Viewing the sculpture overall, it is clear where Pekiwa has relied upon
the extant cracks of the canoe’s surface to guide him in his placement of imagery. For example,
where gaping holes are altered into geometric eyes, or transformed into toothy screaming
mouths. Pekiwa’s inclusion of a row of rusted hinges creates a winding suture that climbs up the
surface of the canoe, and instead of actually repairing it, draws further attention to this old
canoe’s disrepair. Viewing the backside of the artwork and (literally the top) of the canoe
provides further evidence of Pekiwa’s mending and ultimately destructive embellishment of the
hull. Attended to with more rusted hinges and equally rusted metal reinforcement bar (rebar), the
fragile state of the canoe’s overall form is revealed. Pekiwa uses these metal braces as a
necessary conservation, to prevent the canoe from collapsing upon itself.
Providing his view of these repairs Pekiwa stated, “I’m trying to bring some context with the recycling …the part of the door hinges I put there [on the canoe] because my idea was to fix where it was broken. At the end I see it is good to use these materials because I’m recycling too.”

Another example of Pekiwa’s transformation can be seen in a much smaller example (See Figures 4-17, 4-18). Here again, Pekiwa begins with the structure of the boat in his construction of his artwork. He relies upon the basic shape as a guide, in addition to elements of deterioration providing inspiration for sculpting into larger open areas or sculptural forms.

Pekiwa enjoys working with different surfaces of the boat to create multiple views, and this is particularly true of figural representations. In this case, the frontal view reveals a figure near the base, where negative space opens above its head. In contrast, viewing the boat from the side, a winged form appears. In another example, a completely deteriorated canoe where the entire beam has disintegrated reveals whatever is behind it, serving solely as a framing device (See Figure 4-19). Intrinsically, Pekiwa maintains the materiality of the form’s original use, or history of the objects in the creation of his artworks as he integrates his designs to their recognizable forms. In order to provide a context, he focuses on connections to the social aspects of these materials. Pekiwa commented on these ideas:

I’m enjoying materials that were used before – domestic objects - materials that have some story. When I’m working with these pieces I’m not going to give up its meaning from before. So I respect the meaning, and its functions. But if I transform it, I keep its meaning – I give the art texture … Well even now I try to preserve [its meaning] because it has a social context. This is why it’s important for me is to try to preserve the object. If I find a doorframe is broken - I try to keep it the same in my art … its original function was to close something.

Each of the wooden materials Pekiwa obtains to recycle into his art becomes associated with their former use, creating a connection between these objects and a social history of Mozambique.

One of Pekiwa’s few titled pieces, O homem fumando um cachimbo/The Man Smoking a
Pipe, combines a recycled door as the base for intricate openwork metal imagery (See Figures 4-20 – 4-22). Pekiwa uses both the surface of the door and the metalwork to create this seemingly whimsical work. A smiling linear figure dominates the scene. Once focused on the work, other figures become apparent and a narrative develops. The largest smiling figure is smoking a pipe. He is a fisherman. A fish caught on a hook can be seen on the left hand side. A smaller figure is the man’s wife. Surrounding objects include a fish and recycled materials including a pipe, hinges, wrench, fishing hooks, and can opener. Pekiwa makes a statement here about the previous owner of the door, a fisherman. The door itself becomes part of the meaning of the artwork. Looking more closely, it is no longer a positive portrayal. Social problems affect the people – high priced utilities and a lack of resources result in deficiencies – light, water, and food. Pekiwa focuses the viewer’s attention on years’ worth of past written graffiti on the door by carving the letters of the individual words to create a permanent statement. In a detail section, “nao food,” or ‘no food’ appears.

Early in his practice of acquiring objects, Pekiwa developed a system of exchange in which he would provide new replacements or financial remuneration for the old doors, windows, and boats he acquired. Commenting on this practice, Pekiwa stated: “Even when I was learning I would buy a new one to change with the old one. Some old boats I bought so I helped people to survive because now they have money to survive.”24 In spite of these examples, Pekiwa does not view his artwork as political, or socially active:

In general, I want to say these sculptures bring love - I’m not political. For me, [my art] is not political. But it is not my objective to bring the political side of these sculptures. It is the true reality of the socio-economic situation of the poor people ... to preserve their history. My message is what I’m feeling in my heart, and with some pieces I’m talking about social intervention. Even now I try to preserve these objects because they have a social context. So it’s important for me to try to preserve these objects. If I find a doorframe that is broken I will try to keep it.25
One of Pekiwa’s central goals as an artist is to educate people about Mozambican culture, “Well I hope the people can see it in the same way. Art is to educate people. What I’m doing is trying to give my opinion and view to contribute to [their] education.” As Pekiwa and I discussed his goals to educate through his recyclia, our conversation turned to how he felt art made from recycled materials fit into the contemporary art scene in Mozambique. Pekiwa described the situation in this way:

Yes, I can tell you we have a lot to do with this kind of art. [The] biggest program is to transform weapons into art. Now we see contemporary arts - most artists used recycled things. Contemporary art here in Mozambique is large, an expressive group (of artists) have good ideas of defining [with recycled materials]. It is a big idea. I think there is support for contemporary art, but I think the first ones [to provide the support] were Núcleo and Malangatana. [He was] the first artist in Núcleo and museums to do something to promote [contemporary art]. The other problem with the budget is our government; it doesn’t support the arts in Mozambique.

Pekiwa’s artwork, incorporating pre-used windows, doors, and boats he scavenges, barters, and trades to obtain, creates a visual dialogue for viewers dealing with social issues in Mozambique.

**Alexandria: “I am connecting two worlds, the processes of metal and wood”**

Alexandria’s expressive sculptural style, in which he combines recycled metal with large carved wooden forms, evolved out of a discussion with his father, Simões:

In 1992 I won a contest and my father was telling me I could do something new - all people (at that time) were trying to create sculpture in the style of Chissano. This style was monotonous. I felt I could show people I am really creative and I could create art with other materials and change how people create art.

Alexandria and Pekiwa are cousins, from the same family of important sculptors in Mozambique. Alexandria explained how the traditional art of Makonde blackwood sculptors and more recently Alberto Chissano’s sculpting style, that had influenced many generations of Mozambican artists, had also inspired both his father and his uncle.
He started carving wood with his father in 1990, and together they began selling artwork at the popular art market held at the square of Avenida 25 Junho in Maputo. Alexandria became a member of A Associação Núcleo de Arte in 1996 and his sculptures have been widely exhibited in both group and solo exhibitions in Mozambique and abroad. In 2004 he traveled to the U.S. as part of the Vermont Studio Residency program. His sculptures are included among various international collections, including South Africa, Netherlands, Portugal, Denmark, USA, Nicaragua, Brazil, Finland, Norway, Spain, Germany, and Belgium. As he began developing his distinctive style, Alexandria experimented with different techniques. He felt that by “investigating materials (he could) give dynamic to his sculptures.”

Initially concentrating on the physicality of the wood, he began leaving his unfinished sculptures in the sun and rain to attain roughness, and achieve natural coloring from the various elements (See Figure 4-23). The addition of metal to the wood came last in Alexandria’s process. First, he would try to figure out what he needed in terms of metal to use. He would go to a large scrapyard where he could buy discarded metal that offered a great variety of choices. Finally, he combined the scrap metal with the wood, “as it (the wood) was waiting to be connected with the metal. That’s the fun and important part before I show them, the very fun part.”

In his methodical process, Alexandria often allowed long periods of time for artworks to develop. I noticed how he would create a chalk marking where he envisioned a further development (See Figure 4-24). Alexandria referred to these indications as “ideas to come.” Perhaps he was signifying an area where more carving would be done, or noting a specific part of the wood where metal would later be added. In the same way, he meticulously wrought the wood in his development of the final sculptural forms that would emerge. Using both electric and hand tools, such as a chisel and a mallet, Alexandria combined wood and metal, as he aimed to
create a balance within his sculptures. His association with the TAE project over several years had developed his interest in welding, an additional technique he included to his creative process.

Alexandria explained his sources for obtaining the pre-used metal that was necessary for him to complete his wooden sculptures: “Sometimes I collect from guys in the street. I’ll know one day I will need to use it. Sometime I will use it. I will use it for my sculpture. You never know when you’re going to use it.” Alexandria viewed his overall creative process as one that would:

connect two worlds, the processes of metal and wood. (I am) focused on the notion of preserving the environment by recycling. …I don't have limits on the kind of materials that I bring to the studio…. I buy most of the recycled materials but if I find something I don't mind. The combination of wood and metal balances the sculpture.  

One of my interviews with Alexandria took place at his group exhibition, Mulher e Integridade, Social/Women and Social Integrity, held at BCI Mediateca in the Baixa section of Maputo. The exhibition combined women artists (Carmen Muianga (Carmen) and Júlia Nachaque), and artists dealing with representations of women (Alexandria and Vovós).

Alexandria’s wooden artworks included recycled metal materials, objects he had fashioned from metal pieces, including shoes, bowties, and globes that defined his mixed media sculptures.

Homem com uma gravata/Man with a Tie (See Figures 4-25, 4-26), was displayed in a niche space that perfectly showed off this unusually tall and narrow wooden sculpture. Created from a long and thin piece of wood, his treatment of the length of the wooden form was not distinct. At the top of this elongated form was the face of a man with downturned eyes and a sombre expression. Dark areas of discoloration in the wood near the figure’s eyes created the appearance of drips, as if the man had been crying. The man’s shock of hair stood straight up on his head, as if it had been slicked into a mohawk style haircut. Alexandria’s metal additions further heightened the visual impact of this sculpture. The man was wearing a dark metal bow tie.
that extended from within the sculpted wood cleavage Alexandria had carved into the front of the wood, creating the lapels of the man’s jacket. A second tie, even more prominent than the first, hung from the figure’s neck. This tiny white tie, fashioned from recycled sheet metal, although chipped and revealing its silvery under surface, created a vibrant distraction from the bowtie.

Alexandria’s metal additions to the wooden sculpture raised visual questions – why were there two ties? who was this man? was he really crying? Layered angular pointed ribs surrounded the figure on both sides. The sharp angles echoed the carefully wrought pointed form of the man’s white tie. The jagged white edges on either side of the figure conjured the image of a torn tuxedo shirt that flapped in the wind. Commenting, Alexandria stated: “I wasn't sure what I was doing. I thought first I have to do a gentleman. I’m not sure yet. [I left the] wood in the sun and rain to transform into this color. See red … that is a car part. [From the] scrappyard.”

Another sculpture from this exhibition, *Eve* (See Figure 4-27), illustrates the interplay between wood and recycled materials. Here, a woman holds a carefully smoothed spherical form that has been carved into the wood. She has a metal gearshift on her right hand side. Perhaps this gear is a representation of technology or the modern world whispering to the woman. The figure stands upon a rusted openwork circular form, resembling a cage. As Alexandria explained, “I have to make the balance between metal and wood. It represents a globe. [It is] based on a story in the Bible, Eve with the apple. I think Eve is now standing upon the world. She’s my boss and in control.”

In *Sem Titulo/Untitled*, Alexandria presents a roughly hewn figure combining realistic and abstract imagery to create a woman (See Figure 4-28). This short, squat sculpture makes clear reference to its creation from the blocky wooden trunk it was carved from. Whereas this sculpture’s play with positive and negative space, and focused geometricity is not entirely
consistent with the much celebrated sculptor Chissano, generally, this sculpture is not
dramatically different from the same much copied, traditional Mozambican sculptural style that
Alexandria strived to move beyond.

Alexandria’s methodical inclusion of recycled metal shows how his innovative style
diverged from Mozambican sculptures in the style of Chissano. Alexandria’s unconventional
addition to this seemingly traditional sculpture is a pair of finely wrought metal shoes.
Painstakingly created in metal sections that have been stitched together, these detailed shoes also
include shoelaces created of wire. Alexandria creates a dissonance between the heavy wooden
form and meticulous craftmanship of his perfectly wrought metal shoes at its base. This wooden
sculpture wearing shoes illustrates the playful sense of humor with which Alexandria approaches
his art and its methodical process. Alexandria stated: “It’s about the shoes. To make balance I put
something else to stand on its own. It’s a play on words, a sense of art. It’s original form was
from metal. I made it myself. It was just a piece of metal.”38 This sculpture was among the early
examples of Alexandria’s artwork I viewed. Shown here on the left hand side, (See Figure 4-29),
the form is seen in the early progress of its development. The blocky sculpture has been
anchored to the stone on which it is standing. Alexandria’s later addition of shoes was not simply
a superficial addition – his sculpture could not stand upright on its own. The effects of
weathering become clear in the considerable changes apparent in the comparison of these two
views of the same sculpture. Begun in 2008, Alexandria did not complete this artwork until his
exhibition was held in 2011.

Alexandria died on August 18, 2013. He was the victim of a beating at the hands of a
gang known as G-20. This group of close to twenty criminals terrorized Matola for some time
this year (2013), committing robbery, rape, and murder. This was very sad news to receive. In
his tragically short life, Alexandria achieved his central goal of creating balance by linking recycled metal materials with wood in his sculptures. He focused on the metal additions as the final step in his creative process. Through these examples we view his eccentric play on the pre-used metal materials he used and how these carefully added elements altered the artworks’ outcome and meaning, creating more visual engaging forms. As he repeatedly stated, “That’s the fun and important part” (See Figure 4-30).

**Makolwa: “I noticed objects in the street and wondered what use they had served before”**

Makolwa became an artist a year after his return to Mozambique in 1993. Prior to this, in an effort to preserve his life, his family sent him to South Africa in the midst of the war in 1986. While living in Apartheid era South Africa, Makolwa became a shoemaker to make money to survive. In his words, when he returned to Mozambique:

> I saw all of the destruction caused by the many years of war in my country. I decided that I needed to do something that was the opposite of this destruction – I wanted to create, so I taught myself to be an artist. I realized that the best way for me to express my emotions and strong feelings about the war and give something back to my country would be to create art.  

Makolwa found that art provided him with a voice – the ability to communicate his feelings artistically. Initially his art dealt with his responses to the war and the years he spent in South Africa. Creating art at this time primarily served as a means of catharsis for him. Makolwa soon realized that his art also provided a way of giving something back to his country – an act to counter all of the destruction that had taken place. Because he was unemployed with limited resources, Makolwa became inspired to create art from materials found in the street. Wood was the first material he explored. He explained that wood was a simple choice, because it was readily available and could be acquired at no cost. Makolwa initially created sculptures from different types of wood he found in the debris of destroyed buildings, and from dead trees. His wooden sculptures initiated his interest in transformation, an investigation of environmental
processes on his sculptures. By exposing them to sun and rain, different exposures created variations – colors, shapes, and textures began to change. He left some of his sculptures outside for close to ten years (See Figure 4-31).

Makolwa articulated how the effects of environmental processes on his sculptures fascinated him:

For example, if I left my sculptures outside, they were exposed to elements such as sun and rain. These different exposures created changes in my sculptures – the color, the shapes of the forms began to change, to be transformed. The changes that took place in these wooden artworks fully transformed them – they were given a new life. These early wooden sculptural works affected my interest in my artwork dealing with the importance of transformation.40

Makolwa’s wooden sculpture, *Vida Nova/New Life* (See Figure 4-32), illustrates his exploration of transformation within a single material. The dissonant properties of wood are shown in this work where areas of uncarved wood with bark intact are aligned with carefully smoothed carved surfaces. Balance is achieved in his juxtaposition of this mixture of discordant surfaces.

In one of his early artworks incorporating recycled materials with wood, Makolwa explained how his combination of recycled metal and wood occurred by chance. Describing the figural work, *Mulher Crusificada/Crucified Woman* (See Figure 4-33), Makolwa articulated that the head had broken off. In order to repair it, he utilized recycled nails, which were transformed into the figure’s hair.41 I asked him about his use of nails and metal in his mixed media works and whether he was selecting these materials because they were readily available. He responded: “Now I’m using nails and metal parts. There is no reason, the reason is (because) people are using them and they throw them out. I make it usable. It is recycled. Some people take out nails because I like to use them.”42

After making wooden sculptures and observing the consequent effects of environmental exposure on them, Makolwa began to think about actually transforming the objects he recycled.
Remaining unemployed, he lacked resources to purchase art supplies such as paint and canvas.

He told me:

I began to notice objects in the street and wondered about what use they had served before – who had owned them and why had they been discarded? I thought that maybe I could continue their lives by using them to create art. I started to collect debris that interested me, predominantly metal objects such as nails and bits of scrap metal. My interest in wood continued to influence my collecting habits, in the way of broken furniture such as chairs, doorframes, and windows, which continues in my work to this day. I started constructing assemblages of mixed media materials, all recycled objects that I acquired from the streets of Mozambique.  

Makolwa’s exploration of the changes of wood in its exposure to natural elements affected his developing interest in transformation as a larger theme. Makolwa began constructing mixed media assemblages based on recycled objects he acquired from the streets. Creating artworks linking diverse materials further expanded Makolwa’s interest in transformation and his investigation of oppositions between materials. A lively early mixed recycled media piece provides an excellent example of his experimentations.

In *a futura prostitute/the future prostitute* (See Figure 4-34), Makolwa’s sculptural foundation is wood. The figure’s tilted head and outstretched legs support the form. Here, the wooden foundation is merely an armature to display the recyclia he has layered on the figure. Objects including broken jewellery, a belt inscribed with word KISS, a discarded change purse, natural debris from the trunk of a coconut tree, broken plastic sunglasses, hair extensions, and a cigarette butt in the prostitute’s mouth complete the persona of this figure. Created after he had begun experimenting with different recycled materials, this work illustrates his interest in diverse recyclia and transformation. Makolwa continues to collect discarded wood to use in the creation of his sculptures, which he combines with discordant objects such as sharp nails and bits of scrap metal. Speaking of the importance of wood in his constructions, Makolwa commented: “For any piece the basis is wood. When I’m building I can connect wood with other recycled materials.”
Each of the surfaces of a scavenged small wooden chair, Cadeira/Chair (See Figure 4-35), is covered in patches and swirls of brilliant red, blue, yellow, black white paint. Several of these painted surfaces are encrusted with hundreds of nails of various sizes. The relative uniformity of small nails clustered in specific areas creates the visual effect of a fuzzy texture. At the same time, other areas of the chair are punctured with much larger nails protruding from the wooden planes like antennas. The overall visual effect of this object is dizzying, as the colors and textures blend and collide, creating a sense of movement and vibrating tension in this static form.

A more recent untitled work, As Chaves/The Keys, further reveals Makolwa’s fascination linking recycled metal and recycled wooden forms in the same artwork. This sculpture combines discarded elements including a picture frame, sheet metal, nails, keys, and assorted wooden scraps (See Figure 4-36). One of his similar works was selected for exhibition in the 2009 TDM Bienal. In each of these artworks, Makolwa has taken into consideration the various material properties of the objects he is using. In the latter work for example, he pounds thin sheets of metal to adhere to the smooth wooden surfaces to which it is applied, creating a second skin. In contrast, the multiple concentrations of nails call to mind the bristling surface of minkisi figures.

Makolwa’s continuing interest in recycled materials is shown in his participation with Mozambikes Social Development. Mozambikes is a non-profit organization that seeks to provide rural Mozambicans with efficient transportation. They provide refurbished donated bicycles to needy individuals. Makolwa took part in a workshop where artists painted these recycled bicycles (See Figure 4-37). Makolwa’s use of recycled materials in his art underscores his broad interest in the process of transformation, both within single media constructions such as wood, as well as in relation to linking diverse objects such as wood and metal. The first experiences that led to Makolwa’s interest in transformation were through his observations of the natural
weathering of wood. Since that time, Makolwa’s process continues to focus through his experimentations with diverse recyclia to explore dissonance between forms in his artwork.

**Conclusion**

The link between these artists lies in their similar selection of metal and wood recycled materials. Despite these connections, the artists discussed here illustrate individual motivations regarding how and why these particular materials are selected. Using object frictions as an analytical tool elucidates individual artists’ use of recyclia, and whether their primary focus is on the history or utility of the materials they are using. For example, in Zeferino’s works, the materiality of the forms determines the final product, in addition to its process of construction. He has no concern for the previous meaning of the objects. Zeferino bases his art process solely on the utility of the objects he uses.

In the construction of his kinetic metal sculptures, Mathe relies on both elements of materiality defined by my conception of object frictions – the history and the utility. Creating forms that recreate machinery, he relies on the conceptual framework of a machine as a combination of multiple parts that are joined to create movement. Particularly focused on auto parts, Mathe’s moving sculptures use the fundamental idea of machines as working, moving constructions in his new interpretations of kinetic figural forms. Creating new machines from old ones, Mathe brings together elements that combine both the utility and the history of the recycled metal objects in his art.

Pekiwa, in his use of recycled wooden objects that include doors, windows, and boats, links these recognizable forms to everyday life in Mozambique. While he uses the deteriorating surface of these specific forms as a base for his permutations, he most closely focuses his attention on maintaining the integrity of the identity of the objects. In this way, Pekiwa makes
social statements about Mozambicans and poverty, such as a lack of money to pay for food, and utilities.

Alexandria’s process based artworks are the result of the physicality of the materials he uses to create them. From the lengthy process with which he transforms the wood by exposing it to the elements, to his final addition of recycled metal, his work identifies with the utility of the object’s materiality. Alexandria was not at all interested in the previous use of the metal he used to create a small necktie for a wooden figure. He focused exclusively on how he could adapt the material based upon its inherent physical form as he combined wood and metal in his sculptures. Purely based on the materials and how he created interesting combinations between forms, Alexandria was drawn to the intricacy of the physicality of the wood and metal he used to create his art.

Makolwa’s fascination with the process of transformation first began as he explored the affects of weather on wood. Later he began to investigate the disparate materiality of diverse objects such as sharp nails and smooth chair legs. Makolwa utilizes both elements of object frictions, both its history and its utility. He is interested in the previous life of the objects, and how they become transformed into new constructions. He also focuses on the process of the changes taking place and how these changes determine new meanings in his art. In the same way, it is the physicality of these objects that fascinates and inspires him to create these combinations. The smooth wood surfaces are juxtaposed with the sharpness of rusty nails to create a tension between these forms, which resonates in his artworks.

1 Zeferino Chicuamba (Zeferino), interview, Maputo, Mozambique, November 19, 2010.
2 Zeferino, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, March 8, 2011.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
Zeferino, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, March 8, 2011.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Zeferino, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, November 19, 2010.

Ibid.

Mathe, interview, Matola, Mozambique, August 18, 2009.

Ibid.

Adelino Serafim Mate (Mathe), interview, Matola, Mozambique, June 14, 2011.

Hilarió Nhatugueja, who worked with Mathe as one of the four artists to create Tree of Life also has been working on monumental Samora Machel sculptures for the remaining provinces in Mozambique.

Ibid.

Mathe’s concerns are similar to those of Matequenha in chapter two. Both artists seek to increase audience interactions with artworks by promoting touching art.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Nelson Augusto Carlos Ferreira (Pekiwa), interview, Matola, Mozambique, August 8, 2008.

Ibid.


Pekiwa, interview, Matola, Mozambique, August 8, 2008.


Pekiwa, interview, Matola, Mozambique, July 30, 2011. Many of the themes Pekiwa discusses here are discussed in chapter two, dealing with arts spaces and the development of contemporary art in Mozambique.

Alberto Chissano was previously discussed in the context of Mathe’s art training. He is a Mozambican sculptor famous for his wood carving who became associated with a widely popular and much copied “traditional” Mozambican style of art.


Ibid.

Alexandria, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, August 12, 2009.
32 Ibid.

33 Alexandria, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, August 12, 2009.

34 Alexandria, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, March 22, 2011.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid.

38 Alexandria, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, March 22, 2011.

39 Jorge José Munguambe (Makolwa), interview, Maputo, Mozambique, October 20, 2010.

40 Ibid.

41 Makolwa, interview, Matola, Mozambique, January 10, 2011.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid.

44 Makolwa, interview, Matola, Mozambique, January 10, 2011.
Figure 4-1. Zeferino’s Studio at Xipamanine, Maputo. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
Figure 4-2. Zeferino. Metal faces created from recycled cookware, 2011. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
Figure 4-3. Zeferino with Elephant in Xipamanine, Maputo, Mozambique. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
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Figure 4-12. Nelson Augusto Carlos Ferreira (Pekiwa). *Sem Titulo/Untitled*, canoe, recycled metal hardware, 2009-10. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
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Figure 4-16. Pekiwa. Frontal view. *Sem Titulo/Untitled*, canoe, paint remnants, c. 2008. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
Figure 4-17. Pekiwa. Profile view. *Sem Titulo/Untitled*, boat, paint remnants, c. 2008. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
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Figure 4-19. Pekiwa. *O Homem Fumando um Cachimbo/The Man Smoking a Pipe*, door, assorted metal, 2009. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
Figure 4-20. Metalwork detail. *O Homem Fumando um Cachimbo/The Man Smoking a Pipe*, door, assorted metal, 2009. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
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Figure 4-22. Alexandria’s wooden sculptures in progress, Matola, 2008. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
Figure 4-23. Alexandria’s chalk marking signifying ‘ideas to come,’ 2008. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
Figure 4-24. Alexandria. *Homem com uma Gravata/Man with a Tie*, wood, recycled metal, 2011, Photograph by A. Schwartzott
Figure 4-25. Alexandria. Detail. *Man with a Tie*, wood, recycled metal, 2011. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
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Figure 4-27. Alexandria. *Sem Titulo/Untitled*, wood, recycled metal, 2009-2011. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
Figure 4-28. View of early construction of Alexandria. *Sem Titulo/Untitled*, wood, recycled metal, 2009-2011. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
Figure 4-29. Alexandria, his daughter, and Carla Mamade, BCI Administrator. Photo by A. Schwartzott
Figure 4-30. Makolwa. wooden sculptures left outside for the elements, his home, Matola. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
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Figure 4-33. *a futura prostitute/the future prostitute*, wood, mixed media, n.d. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
Figure 4-34. Makolwa. *Cadeira/Chair*, mixed recycled wood, wire, and nails, 2007. Photograph by Makolwa
Figure 4-35. Makolwa. *as Chaves/The Keys*, recycled wood, metal, nails, keys, 2011. Photograph by Makolwa
Figure 4-36. Makolwa. Untitled. (Mozambikes). recycled bicycle, paint, 2013. Photograph by Alcina do luz photographers
CHAPTER 5
RECYCLED FABRIC AND PAPER AS MEDIA

In this chapter I focus on artists who use of pre-used fabric and paper products. These include João Paul Bias (João), Mussagy Narane Talaquichand (Falcão), and Matswa Vilankulos (Ana). Bono Mandlate (Bono), Cármén Maria Muianga (Carmen), and Henrique Vicente Calisto (Calisto) use paper products as their preferred medium. The structure for this analysis remains consistent with chapter four, including examination of specific artworks illustrating artists’ use of recycled fabrics and paper, synthesis of interviews, direct observations of the artists, and use of object frictions.

Recycled Fabric

In the West, artworks that incorporate fabric are most often associated with women artists. During the second wave of the Feminist Movement in the United States in the 1970s, several women artists utilized fabric (Faith Ringgold, Miriam Schapiro, Judy Kozloff, Judy Chicago and others). Ideological factors and shared concerns of this movement, including gender equality, reclaiming the past history of women, reproductive rights, and domestic violence became linked in a concurrent art movement known as the Pattern and Decoration Movement (Chadwick 364-366). Although the art movement attracted both men and women, it is most widely linked with women artists. Artists aligned with the Pattern and Decoration Movement “formalized the use of fabric and surface elaboration as an assault on the rhetoric of geometric abstraction and the gender based, and often pejorative use of the term ‘decorative’” (Ibid., 354).

Much scholarship devoted to feminist art has focused on artists, who shared common themes dealing with feminist issues (Lippard 1976; Wilding 1977; Pollock 1987; Raven 1988; Chicago 1989; Gouma Peterson 1997). Links between the use of fabrics and women’s art are exemplified in artist Miriam Schapiro’s ‘femmages,’ a combination of fabric collage and acrylic
painting in abstract paintings (Ibid., 364). Whitney Chadwick defines ‘femmage’ as “a term invented by us (women) to include all practices by women, using traditional women’s techniques to achieve their art – sewing, piecing, hooking, cutting, appliqueing, cooking, and the like (Ibid.). My observations suggest that among Mozambican artists overall, there is not a connection between the use of fabric and women artists. Both men and women artists incorporate recycled fabric into their art. Furthermore, fabric itself is generally not equated with inherent gender themes.

Yet, a particular fabric known as *capulana* is exceptional. *Capulananas* are brightly colored machine produced fabrics with bold designs, typically cut in lengths measuring six feet by three feet. Similar to African printed fabrics including *Kanga*, *Chitenge/Kitenge*, and Dutch Wax Cloths, they are primarily worn as wrappers by Mozambican women and used to secure babies to their mother’s backs. *Capulananas* elicit implicit meanings by artists. In the artwork of Ana, for example, this cloth is inherently charged with gendered meanings that associate it with women. Furthermore, when a male artist, Falcão uses this same fabric, it is not linked to gender, but is strongly connected to themes of cultural identity.

In the novella *História de Uma Capulana de Algodão/The Saga of a Cotton Capulana*, Mozambican author Luis Polanah creates a cultural framework for understanding contemporary artists’ uses of this cloth. The inherent meanings of the *capulana* are deftly conveyed in his 1958 publication, as Polanah foregrounds the life of the *capulana* directly, through its objecthood and materiality. The narrator is the *capulana*, whose own story unfolds as it connects to the larger account of Mozambique and its cotton plantations. Polanah presents a biting social commentary of colonial Mozambique. The novella focuses directly on Mozambique’s cotton industry and strained relations between imposed racially designated stratifications, the *assimilados, indígenas*,
and *regulos*¹ (See also related discussion in chapter two), and the colonizing Portuguese that controlled them. Focused on the impact of both capitalism and colonialism, Polanah provides an important critique of Mozambique’s colonial era. The story begins in this way, defining the end of the *capulana*’s life, as it has become a used object, literally a remnant of its former self:

> Today I am nothing more than a rag, which the kids have tied to the top of this long stick to use as the flag for the village where they, their parents, and their grandparents as far as seven generations back, were born. (In the beginning of my life as a brand new beautiful *capulana*) I was sold for a good price and worn by one of the most beautiful women of this village, whose kisses the shopkeepers coveted … I wasn’t anything like you see me now. When I was young I was taken to Europe and there changed completely. Who would have said that I came from the cotton field of a poor African woman with three children in her charge and a husband in the mines… (Polanah 1958, 28).

Thus, while in the West textiles are associated with women, in African traditions there are widespread examples linking both men and women to the production and use of this material, which is pervasive throughout African history. Traditions include men’s weaving in both West and Central Africa (Poynor 2003). In terms of masquerades, textiles figure prominently in several cultural traditions including the Yoruba (Gelede and Egungun) masquerades. In these masquerades, costumes constructed of textiles serve multiple purposes - to placate the “aja,” or witches – elder women believed to hold more power than the ruler himself, and for the living to make spiritual connections to the ancestors through performers wearing multilayered textile costumes (Drewal 1978). The Igbo Mmuo (Nigeria) also uses textiles incorporated into their mixed media constructed masks used for varied functions (Poynor 2003).

More recently, John Picton and Nancy Hynes have focused on the meanings of an individual cloth, in their investigation of Dutch Wax Cloth, used by British-Nigerian artist Yinka Shonibare. Picton and Hynes deconstruct Shonibare’s use of the multivalent meanings of the cloth based on its complicated history and themes, including identity and authenticity. Picton and Hynes define Shonibare’s use of Dutch Wax Cloth as a tool, “the cloth is an apt metaphor for the
entangled relationship between Africa and Europe and how the two continents invented each other, …” (Picton and Hynes 2001, 60).

Victoria Rovine also focuses on one textile in her investigation of bogolan, and its importance and multiplicity of meanings within a wide global framework. Rovine specifically focuses on “personalities this uniquely Malian textile projects from a chic fashion accessory to a carefully encoded repository of secret knowledge and power” (Rovine 2001, 1). Several scholars investigate fabric as a site of meaning, and tool for investigating materiality and identity in Africa (Barnes and Eicher 1993; Hendrickson 1996; Eicher 1999; Rabine 2002; Allman 2004; Rovine 2001). Finally, many scholars have explored the theme of clothing as material culture (Hansen 2000; Küchler and Miller 2005; Norris 2005). Hansen’s scholarship explores the global secondhand clothing trade, market scenes, and dress practices. Her examination, largely based in Zambia, focuses on “investigating how salaula (a Bemba word meaning ‘selecting from a pile’ or ‘to pick’) ‘reconstructs the west’s cast-off clothing into a desirable commodity’” (Hansen 2000, 3). Likewise, in an analysis of Indian recycled clothing, Lucy Norris sates:

It is not that people do not recognize that clothing is often transformed back into fibre and rags, but it is assumed that that constitutes the end of our concern for the social life of clothing. …there is a largely unacknowledged and invisible world in which the secondary transformation becomes productive… (Norris 2005, 83).

Artists in Mozambique who use fabric maintain individual incentives for selecting this medium. These artists include Ana, who creates art that concentrates on gender issues by using fabric scraps from capulanas; João, who requests people on Facebook to bring him jeans to use as a substitute for canvas to paint on; and Falcão, who stitches together twisted and tied bits of canvas to create his “modern stitched canvases.”
Ana: “capulana means so many things … it’s my story”

I met Ana on the way to the dump. Ana was among a truckload of artists and students headed to Maputo’s massive Hulene Dump to collect materials for a recycling workshop organized by A Associação Núcleo de Arte. At the workshop Ana twisted and tied fabric scraps from capulanas, teaching students to use recycled materials to make art (See Figures 5-1, 5-2). Ana made webs populated by spiders made by Zeferino, an artist who instructed students how to work with scavenged metal objects (See Figure 5-3). Ana explained her preference for using capulanas and the specific appeal these Mozambican cloths held for her:

I am interested in showing the different things they [capulanas] are used for, we can do more things [with them], not just to carry babies and cover our bodies – [these are] gender connections. It is traditional woman’s wear. As you know, capulanas are used for different purposes – to use them for an art piece is to use them in a different form. The capulana is a symbol of an African lady – a Mozambican lady. It reminds me of my mother because she wears capulanas. It is an African lady symbol. From when I was young our mothers used to carry us in capulanas, cover us. When you reach five years old, your first present is a capulana. We grew up giving capulanas as presents to our mothers. If you get married it is a symbol. The capulana is a symbol of the progression of life in Africa. The story of the capulana means so many things: lady of today, yesterday, and future lady.

Ana continued, defining the role capulanas play in her art. “I am someone explaining to them [viewers] the story of capulanas. I remind them of the story if they don’t know how to see capulanas. I don’t know if they know the meaning – it is my story.” Ana uses capulanas symbolically as a didactic tool in her art. She expands the diversity of their uses while instructing viewers about their meaning, as she focuses on implicit gender connections.

Ana, an autodidact, began painting in 2004. The first recycled material Ana integrated into her artwork five years later was capulanas. She began acquiring remnants from tailors. Capulanas inspire Ana’s art, directly through the integration of their scraps, and indirectly through their vibrant visual imagery. Ana’s mannequin figure, Untitled (See Figure 5-4, 2-12),
was created at A Associação Núcleo de Arte’s recycling workshop. She helped students cover the repurposed mannequin with cloth strips from pre-used capulanas. Although only bits and scraps, the bold colorful patterns identify these cloth remnants as former capulanas.

More recently, Ana began working on a new painting style that evolved from her use of capulana scraps. She explained the development of this new technique:

I was painting and one loose thread went into the canvas and stuck to the paint. I saw it and I said to myself, ‘what if I do this (I begin to unravel the edges of the canvas and integrate it into the surface of the painting?)’ Right now, I’m still painting. I unravel the canvas and then apply the threads to the surface and paint them.\(^5\)

In these works, Ana unravels the canvas and focuses on its individual threads by integrating them into the painting. As she incorporates threads, she paints them onto the surface of the painting (See Figure 5-5). This technique emphasizes the materiality of the canvas and its construction from woven threads, inspired by Ana’s work with capulana fragments.\(^6\) Another style of art Ana developed substitutes capulanas for canvas. Using a capulana as the support for paint, she creates imagery by following the patterns of the cloth’s design.\(^7\)

Most recently, Ana has stopped including actual capulanas into her artwork, relying solely on their vibrant patterns as inspiration. Ana’s painted canvases are loosely based on recreations of the bold, colorful designs of capulanas (See Figures 5-6, 5-7). She explained, “I’m still discovering myself in art. I just keep on doing it as long as I have ideas. I’ll keep creating … I think I found my own style. I will keep on…”\(^8\) In each of these artworks, the progression of Ana’s style and her inspiration by the capulana is apparent; from the earliest works that incorporate scraps of capulana to her most recent recreations of the colorful designs of these cloths. Perhaps most importantly, the capulana has provided Ana with self-confidence related to developing her own individual style.
João: “I ask people on Facebook to bring jeans here to Núcleo for me to use”

I met João at The Life of a Dress exhibition organized by Swedish designer Amanda Ericsson. Held at A Associação Núcleo de Arte in early December 2010, this exhibition was part of a continuing global project exploring second-hand clothing markets focused on teaching local people about ecology and sustainability. Ericsson dedicated one room of the exhibition to an ongoing workshop inviting visitors to create new fashions from pre-used clothing. João participated in the workshop and created a book bag for himself. The book bag João created inspired him to create art from recycled materials. João’s bag was distinct among the other designs because instead of utilizing pre-used clothing, he substituted discarded remnants of artist’s canvas. He explained his motivations for participating in The Life of a Dress project:

I wanted to do something for me. It was the weekend and I wanted to create a bag to put my books in – I needed one – I wanted to get involved in this project. They showed me the scraps of available fabrics but the colors didn’t fascinate me. I confess they were pink. I won’t wear a pink bag. I decided to come out of the Núcleo gallery and go over to the artists’ workshop and I found one canvas. I felt like I wanted to do something that day so I decided to use my canvas.

João created a bag from a canvas he abandoned. He selected a vividly painted canvas depicting acacia seedpods to construct the front and top flap of the bag. A monochrome green section composed the rear of the bag (See Figure 5-8). João used his own canvas to create this bag, but he uses other artists’ canvases in his continuation of this technique. João explained how he acquires them:

Sometimes I clean the workshop at Núcleo de Arte one or two times a week. I come and clean. When I find old canvases I ask artists whether I can use them. That’s how I did the bags. I wanted to make my own bags. I decided to reuse my own canvas. Many times it happens that artists are not happy with their works and I am known as a recycler and so it’s good.

João’s response to why he specifically selects recycled materials in his art illustrates his desire for expanding his creativity and his concerns about ecological sustainability:
Using recycled materials is a good means for learning – it’s a space for interaction between artists and the public. People don’t have to go to exhibitions or see magazines. One good thing of this art made from recycled materials – Maputo’s full of rubbish … I really hope to be able to work with these different materials… I don’t throw them away. I keep them to re-originate to give more quality … the mixed media mixture of paper, jeans, and canvas, old paintings from other artists and mine too for example. So whatever I do … I will always end up reusing it in a good way.\textsuperscript{12}

The next time I met João he was at \textit{A Associação Núcleo de Arte} working on a painting incorporating jeans as an alternative painting surface. He explained that jeans were the first recycled material he integrated into his art practice in 2004:\textsuperscript{13}

My first work in recycling was to transfer trousers – jeans into canvas. I was in Catembe – at the other side of the bay. I went out and didn’t have a canvas to paint on and I was looking in the rubbish for some material to paint on. I found the trousers. My creativity started to talk – how could I express myself using that material? I did a collage – I fragmented them. That was without anything behind to join them.\textsuperscript{14}

As João treats jeans as a substitute for canvas, he directly applies gesso as a base for oil or acrylic paint (See Figure 5-9). Describing his motivation for using jeans in this way, João stated:

Everybody is original and I didn’t do much with these recycled jeans but I feel like it’s my tool. I feel a little bit proud because as an artist maybe I seek to find an identity. And I see this recycling work as an open window … By recycling it’s an open window because you can join things – put then together and you could have them talk to each other. Because I’ve been putting some oil colors on paper and was not successful. I found a simple way of reusing paper but there is not a lot of color. Jeans have a lot of colors. Using jeans will bring different effects and expression. When I use mixed media I have new options and suggestions apart from the canvas.\textsuperscript{15}

The methods João uses to obtain jeans are more resourceful than how he gains discarded canvases. He explained that he acquires jeans, “… in the street and from my friends. [I use] my own and I ask people on Facebook to bring here to \textit{Núcleo} for me to use.”\textsuperscript{16}

Whereas João’s paintings were originally composed solely of jeans, recently he has begun adding scraps of recycled canvas. João varies between these two different styles. In the first, he overlaps sections of jeans patched together with canvas pieces to create a variegated
background (See Figure 5-10). Each distinct part of the jeans is emphasized, forcing the viewer to interrogate individual elements such as pocket, waistband, and crotch, as shown more closely in detail (See Figure 5-11). Painted outlines of individual sections accentuate specific parts. The haphazard organization of jeans defines the painting’s fragmented composition, an overall quilt-like surface. João’s second style creates a clear distinction between the jeans and the bits of canvas, emphasizing the jeans as a pictorial element through his placement of intact legs outlined with wide strokes of paint (See Figure 5-12). The mostly unpainted jeans reveal tears amid varying states of faded denim. The jeans appear as an object, commodified, and displayed, rather than a mere support for paint. Both of these painting styles illustrate how João relies upon recycled materials in the creation of his art. In both styles, he foregrounds the materiality of the jeans, used both as support and a pictorial element using different techniques. Similarly, João’s bags illustrate an innovative repurposing of unwanted canvases. In the transformation of his own and other artists’ rejected canvases into new objects, João provides a new life for the artworks. Reconfigured into new objects (school bags), Joao gives the discarded canvases a new identity and purpose. Additionally, Joao views jeans as his tool as an artist, in which he has forged a singular identity from using this recycled material in his artwork.

Falcão: “I had no canvas. I had to paint – so I started to join scraps”

Falcão stitches canvas remnants together with twisted and tied fabric scraps to create his “modern stitched canvases.” In these artworks, Falcão physically expands the limited surface area of canvas scraps he has access to, as well as dynamically altering the customary single surface of an artist’s canvas. Gaps reveal where fragmented surfaces are stitched together, forcing viewers to confront the materiality of Falcão’s canvases. Based on his use of recuperated materials, Falcão considers his art to be evocative of contemporary art sensibilities. Falcão described how the development of his stitched paintings was due to necessity, “I had no canvas. I
had to paint – so I started to join scraps. I used the waste of canvas. I sewed it and I connected it.”

The canvases Falcão creates are not merely cobbled together; they create multiple surfaces on which he portrays vivid imagery. *Sem Título/Untitled* of 2013 exemplifies his “modern stitched canvases,” portraying multiple images on faceted canvas planes. Here he presents abstract and figural forms. He incorporates figures within a cityscape to populate his urban environment. In this work as in many of his paintings, Falcão creates imagery that captures the “day to day of the Mozambican population, the everyday life of people in Mozambique” (See Figure 5-13).

Whereas the “modern stitched paintings” illustrate a recent direction in Falcão’s artistic production, canvas was not the first recycled material he worked with. Experimentation with diverse recyclia has shaped Falcão’s development as an artist. Beginning to paint in 1990 when he was sixteen years of age without instruction, Falcão started incorporating recyclia into his art at *A Associação Núcleo de Arte* five years later. Falcão credits Mozambican artist Titos Mabota for showing him how to work with recycled materials, “taking rubbish and making something of it.”

Falcão explained his admiration for how “Titos doesn’t choose which material he will work with. He can take all recycled materials and put them together and get something.”

Falcão’s preference for recycled materials is rooted in their important role in both sustaining the environment and increasing his creative options. He stressed that he is more interested in its creative benefits. The first recycled materials Falcão worked with were decommissioned weapons. Titos Mabota invited him to be his assistant in the first workshop of the TAE project held at *A Associação Núcleo de Arte* in 1997-98. Falcão explained that the pieces he and Titos created were unlike the others because they were not welded together. Pieces of weapons were attached to two large wire figures they created. This early project provided
Falcão with the skills to work with wire and the curiosity to explore additional recycled materials as media.

Falcão explained that for the next seven or eight years he continued to experiment with recyclia, working freely and inventing his own art. Specific materials he utilized included different types of cloth, primarily canvas and *capulanas*. Over time, Falcão developed a body of work using both of these materials. Falcão explained how he would go to the tailor and tell him not to throw away the cloth scraps because he wished to create something from them – to transform them into something. Utilizing his previous skills working with wire, he constructed figures of twisted wire that he wrapped with the remnants of *capulanas*.

One of these sculptures, *Dog*, appeared in a 2010 group exhibition at *A Associação Núcleo de Arte* honoring Mozambican artist Neto, *Bem Haja Neto/Well There Neto* (See Figure 5-14). Jorge Dias, (director of ENAV and curator of MUVART) purchased Falcão’s *Dog*. This vivid, whimsical creature displays the diverse patterns and vibrant colors of the *capulanas*. Despite the fact that only bits and scraps of *capulanas* are wrapped around the wire armature to create this form, its overall construction from this particular cloth is clearly identifiable. Another small sculpture made of *capulana* and wire depicts a common sight in Maputo, a child playing, as he pushes a tire with a stick (See Figure 5-15). Falcão defined his selection of *capulanas*:

> I want to show the world our *capulanas*. They are beautiful. They have a life. Originally when worn, *capulanas* are beautiful. It’s about the identity of Mozambique. You can find different kinds in the north, although they are all different, all these *capulanas* are one thing. A lot of people use this type of cloth in Africa. You can see people wearing *capulanas* all around – they are identifying with African culture.

Clearly, Falcão is making a strong connection between *capulanas* and identity. On a local level he is linking *capulanas* with Mozambican identity, and more broadly, he is connecting them with African culture. Expanding upon these connections, Falcão stated:
The meaning of *capulanas* has a lot to do with commemoration. One group buys all the same pattern and wears them for a ceremony [wedding, funeral]. This has big meaning ... a powerful meaning for us. It is a good representation of our culture. It symbolizes celebration. Not just in Mozambique. In Africa it has the same meanings, for each ceremony, participants must wear the same *capulana*. The *capulana* stands for Africa. This is the cloth of Africans. It is a symbol of African style. All people have their own style of how to wear the *capulana*. What it represents for us is typical African dress.26

Falcão used *capulanas* in the recycling workshop at *A Associação Núcleo de Arte*. Like Ana, he worked with students, helping them create artworks from scraps of *capulanas*. Both Falcão and Ana draw connections between this cloth and Mozambican and African identities. Whereas Ana additionally recognizes an implicit gender connection between women and *capulanas*, Falcão does not. He adamantly stated he used the cloth to create cultural connections, by identifying the cloth with Mozambique and Africa.27 By addressing these inherent links between *capulanas* and identity, he acknowledges pride in his cultural heritage, as well as the fact that he considers himself a contemporary artist with the development of his “modern stitched canvases.”

**Recycled Paper**

Western artworks comprised of combinations of paper fragments are often connected to Cubism, an Avant-Garde art movement of the early twentieth century. The development of Cubism and its widespread global influence defined the direction of Modern art, revolutionizing Western art. Artists Georges Braque and Pablo Picasso founded Cubism, although it was Picasso who ultimately became most widely connected with this artistic movement. Cubism focused on the analysis, destruction through fragmentation, and reassembly of objects to create abstracted forms. Analytic Cubism was the first phase of Cubism, relying wholly on paint to illustrate its fragmented forms. A second phase called Synthetic Cubism built upon the earlier Analytic Cubism. In this style, actual objects replaced those originally painted by the artist. Synthetic
Cubist artworks incorporating paper objects such as wallpaper, newspaper, paper scraps, and other objects became known as collages (to stick). Picasso’s *Still Life with Chair Caning* (1912) and *Glass and Bottle of Suze* (1912) represent seminal Cubist artworks that include additional objects such as recycled rope, wall paper, paper, cardboard, newspaper, sand, and metal. In these collages that incorporate recycled materials to the flatness of the painted canvas, Picasso introduced objects from life into the artwork. Among his large number of Synthetic works, Picasso created many versions of guitars using the Cubist style of collage, some of which he created as three-dimensional forms utilizing sheet metal. Picasso’s influence of both media (recycled paper) and subject matter (guitars) can be seen in the work of Carmen, whose artwork is discussed below.

Although more often associated with Western art, at the same time there are African uses of glued paper and textiles as well. Less widely known examples include *minkisi* masks used by Chokwe and related groups where paper is glued to fabric (Poynor 2003). The artists discussed here include Bono, who uses newspaper “to show how paper can do other things beyond (being used to) read and write;” Calisto, who uses pizza boxes as printmaking templates because “recycled materials allow more flexibility and force us to open our minds; and Carmen, who prefers using recycled materials and believes they are not more popularized only because “most people don’t have artists’ eyes and don’t see good garbage in the streets.”

**Bono: “using recycled materials you have to bend … you need to think more”**

Bono has achieved success as a painter, including a second prize award in the TDM *Bienal* of 2005. Despite this, he continually returns to recycled paper as media, and considers himself a multimedia artist (See Figure 5-16). For the past five years, each time I have traveled to Bono’s home in Zimpeto, a small village two hours north of Maputo, he was constructing paper mache sculptures. He explained how his brother, now deceased, had just returned home
from Cuba when Bono first began creating art in 1991. While he preferred drawing, his brother worked on making paper. A self-taught artist, Bono began to incorporate recycled materials into his art making in 1997. The first recycled material he used was newspaper.

Clarifying his preference for recyclia, Bono stated, “[It is about] showing people by spreading my experience, not polluting the environment, and advising Mozambican people not to put what they use in the dump. It’s not about economics.” Bono gave examples of how he has used his experiences to teach others the benefits of using recyclia. When I spoke with Bono in 2009, he had just begun to work on Arte positive: Mãos livres/Positive Art: free hands. This art therapy project took place in Maputo’s Central Hospital, sponsor of the project that focused on helping HIV-positive children create art from recyclia. Bono stated that creativity was his aim in this project, “creativity leads everyone to develop their work. I used recycled materials for developing the creativity of the children. By using recycled materials you have to bend. You need to think more.”

An environmental fair sponsored by the Fundo Nacional do Ambiente/National fund for the (Mozambican) environment (FUNAB) is another example of how Bono shared his experiences using recyclia to teach others. Each year, FUNAB holds a fair dedicated to the environment that is held in a different location of the country. Largely comprised of lectures devoted to environmental concerns, a venue is reserved for artists who work with recycled materials. The arts component is intended to showcase artistic innovations while offering artists an opportunity to sell their works to an interested audience. The fourth edition of the FUNAB fair took place in Nampula in March 2011. In early March, Bono prepared pulp from recycled newspapers to create his sculptures.
Bono models paper mache pulp to create both abstract and figural forms. He occasionally incorporates recycled objects such as coconuts and teapots (See Figure 5-17). While including recyclia in his sculptures creates visual interest, Bono remains transfixed by his transformation of paper, “because nobody imagines paper can do other things beyond being used to read and write!” Bono’s comments referring to paper and its use as material for reading and writing is not surprising, considering he is a member of the Associação dos Escritores Mocambicaos/Association of Mozambican Writers.

Another technique Bono works with combines newspaper with painted canvases. Bono explained its theme, “a group of my newspaper works often talks more about corruption, social life, social differences, but the main theme of this work is youth.” Expanding, he explained:

The youth are in a bad situation because 95% of them are unemployed. They are feeding prostitution, crime, and drugs. It is not only the fault of the youth, but also the lack of attention on the part of the government. I try to be in tune with society. So day after day frightens me … very little is good and much more is bad.

Works such as Sacrifício do Inocente Urbano/The Sacrifice of the Urban Innocent (See Figures 5-18, 5-19) illustrate Bono’s interest in using recycled materials and his concern for Mozambican youth. In this piece, imagery depicting children torn from a newspaper page is applied to canvas. The torn newspaper image depicts children playing in a heavily wooded area. The page is imposing in the foreground of the painted background he presents. A tension is created between the forested area of the children and the urban environment depicting buildings. The juxtaposed images create a view of contemporary urban reality and the toll it takes on youths. Bono defines this situation as “the innocent fruit of urban civilization marginalized within the society in which I live.”

When asked about public perceptions of art created from recyclia in Mozambique, Bono stated: “The people do not value recycled materials here, so few people give value to the art. It’s
a cultural problem. It is more international people who buy the art.\(^\text{37}\) He agreed that exhibitions presenting this type of art were important to increase public awareness and understanding of art made from recycled materials, “yes, but if we’re starting to have exhibitions they need to be conceptualized for the people so it [understanding recyclia as art] can change.”\(^\text{38}\) Bono is interested in exploring the use of recycled objects. This is especially apparent in his continual return to paper mache, and use of newspapers. His desire to expand his creative options, as well as exploring multiple uses of this material underscore his continued use of this particular recycled material.

**Calisto. “I use pizza boxes to create a printing plate”**

Prior to meeting Calisto I saw one of his artworks at *A Associação Núcleo de Arte*. The mixed media piece incorporated the primary recycled material Calisto continually returns to in the creation of his art: cardboard. Commenting on his preference for using cardboard as a tool to expand his creativity, Calisto explained:

> I use the technique [using recycled materials] to glue, to paint. For example, I use mostly cardboard to make maquettes to make art. It has been previously used for something – but now it’s rubbish. I save it and transform it into another thing. It gives more depth to my creativity. If I go to the rubbish and get it to take to my atelier and not use it - it will stay like rubbish. For me that rubbish I use to gives more power to my creativity.\(^\text{39}\)

Calisto explained his predilection for recycled materials and how he began using them in 1980:

> For a long time I used media materials (paint, wood). At times though, our market doesn’t have everything we need [media materials] and we do not have enough money to buy these media materials. I also want to use materials that can last a long time: sand, cardboard, paper. If I want to make a piece with wood it won’t even last five years. It’s because of insects. It’s because of the climate here in Mozambique. We have a lot of things around us we can use. I started to see that I was able to add recycled materials to media materials to give more visual effects. I started to think of how I could transform these materials. Ever since, I’ve been using mixed media techniques. Recycled materials allow more flexibility and force us to open our minds.\(^\text{40}\)
Calisto is among the first group of students to attend the newly opened government-sponsored Instituto Superior de Artes e Cultura/Institution of Higher Learning of Arts and Culture (ISArC) (2009). Currently he is also an instructor at the Escola Nacional de Artes Visuais/National School of Visual Arts (ENAV), where he previously studied graphic design, and now as an instructor has established workshops in graphics, ceramics, and textiles. Calisto has been an active member of A Associação Núcleo de Arte for many years, and served as its Vice President in the mid 1990s. Calisto also founded and served as director of a monthly newspaper, Arte Voz/Art Voice, dedicated to arts and culture in Mozambique. Unfortunately this was a short-lived venture, in which Calisto published nine editions between 2003 and 2004.

Calisto’s art is largely dependent on the recycled cardboard he uses as a tool in his printmaking. He uses cardboard as a matrix, replacing standard supports of silk, metal, or woodblocks to create prints. He explained how he obtains his materials: “I go to the community - like barracas [small shanty bars/restaurants] and to the garbage. Even at school - recycled paper. I use pizza boxes to create a printing plate. People save pizza boxes for me, such as my sister …” (See Figure 5-20). Calisto is distinct among artists I have interviewed because he utilizes cardboard as a tool for producing art, while other artists use recyclia as media to be included within a single artwork. Calisto uses cardboard as a printing device made from pre-used cardboard. He creates new art from cardboard he uses as a mechanism in his printmaking process. He creates a twist on the use of recycled materials as merely part of an artwork, as he relies on cardboard to develop several new artworks. In Calisto’s printmaking, the cardboard matrix creates the impression of the design. Its imagery is transferred onto the paper as a mirror image.
Calisto’s use of cardboard as a support is illustrated in several different series’ of posters he has created. In 1999, Calisto created posters to raise awareness of HIV-AIDS (See Figure 5-21). Imagery incorporating the recognizable AIDS ribbon with a stylized image of Eduardo Mondlane, first president of FRELIMO, from its beginning in 1962 until his assassination in 1969, was carved into the cardboard as a matrix for creating prints of the image. Calisto explained that he specifically included Mondlane because the Mozambican government declared 1999 the year of Mondlane. Mondlane was being honored in 1999 because it represented the thirty-year anniversary since his death in 1969. Calisto hoped to provoke dialogue among viewers who would question the association of FRELIMO’s first president with HIV-AIDS, which had not yet developed at this time.41

Much of the imagery Calisto creates focuses on social causes such as HIV-AIDS, incorporating heroic figures such as Eduardo Mondlane and Samora Machel to garner attention. Calisto also frequently experiments with his print matrices, creating further texture through the addition of sand and cloth to the cardboard (See Figure 5-22). A less serious side incorporates a population of insect-like alien creatures, in colorful and graphic styled designs. Even these antennaed figures become co-opted by Calisto into commentary on social causes such as domestic violence, alcohol abuse, and even putting an end to public urination (See Figures 5-23, 5-24). Calisto shared his opinions on the state of culture and the arts in Mozambique, in addition to the plight of being a professional artist:

Many people give up and stop being artists. There’s no money. Artists are forced to use their pocket money. Even me, it’s difficult. I’m still making art because I’m teaching. Maybe one day you’ll see me driving a chapa [local taxi]. Our government does not see … I believe artists’ give up because they cannot survive with only their art. Farmers can exist on a farm because they can sell what they produce. Kids on the street who sell phone credit, DVD’s, they make more money than artists. Even people cleaning cars in the street make more money than artists. So, artists can organize a solo exhibition with twenty or thirty works and not sell
any at all. So they make a sacrifice to organize materials, make art, and transport art. And still they are not selling anything. We have bad luck; no NGO’s come to help us. So you see how it is. What do you think?

After he relayed the bleak prospects for artists, Calisto shifted into a more positive state of mind as he began to describe how he has integrated recycled materials into his teaching at ENAV, the state funded visual arts school:

[Recycled materials] start to open their minds. With my students, I might say we have to draw with sand. At ENAV we do not give them recycled materials to use. We tell them to find simple materials and then they go to the streets and they bring to school to work with. Well, we enlighten them to the idea that recycled materials are transformed materials: So even traditional artists who use paint - if we go deeper we can find that these paints come from pre-used materials, recycled materials. So if we think we need media materials, they do not exist now. So even modern art is recycling traditional art. The number of recycled materials in TDM Bienal (increases) every year.

Calisto prefers recycled materials as media because he believes their use expands his creative options. He has brought the use of recyclia as media into the classes he teaches at ENAV as well as his own art. In his use of pre-used materials a tool to create multiple prints of images and didactically in his teaching, Calisto illustrates a great example of how the message of using recyclia is spread to multiple audiences and younger generations of Mozambican artists.

**Carmen. “People don’t have artists’ eyes. They don’t see good garbage in the streets”**

I have two distinct memories of Carmen; the first was from late December 2010 when we met at her home, in the neighborhood of Patrice Lumumba, outside of Maputo. I remember Carmen graciously offering cake she had made to me and my assistant, showing countless examples of her artwork, thoughtfully answering my long list of questions, demonstrating a marbleizing painting technique she learned in Cuba, successfully containing her lively three-year old son, and managing to remain unfazed by the overwhelming heat that day. The second memory was as I watched her from a distance among a crowd of thousands, as she gave a eulogy at the extravagant funeral of Malangatana in early January 2011.
Carmen received a formal education in the arts. She studied a course of graphic design at the Escola Nacional de Artes Visuais/ National School of Visual Arts (ENAV) in Maputo, where she currently teaches printmaking. Studying at ENAV until grade twelve, she continued her education at the National School of Plastic Arts of Havana. She remained in Cuba for five years. In addition to her current position at ENAV, she also was a professor at the School of Visual Arts Lopes Penha in Cuba and an instructor at the School Gallery Eugenio Lemos in Maputo. She is a founding member of MUVART, and like most of the artists discussed here is a member of A Associação Núcleo de Arte.

When I arrived at Carmen’s home, she pointed to a pile of rubbish in the corner of the living room and proclaimed, “these are my materials. People ask me why don’t I burn them outside” (See Figure 5-25). Carmen explained that she began to use recycled materials at ENAV. Her instructors, Mozambican artist Victor Sousa, as well as teachers from Cuba, Poland, Canada, and Portugal directed her towards using recycled materials. She described how at that time most of her teachers were from outside Mozambique.

Carmen contended, “Most people don’t have artists’ eyes. People don’t see good garbage in the streets.” Carmen named Pablo Picasso and German Renaissance artist Albrecht Dürer as artistic influences. She explained that Dürer introduced her to European printmaking techniques and that she had seen drawings by Picasso at the Centro Cultural Franco Moçambicano (French-Mozambican Cultural Center) in Maputo, Cuba, and in books. Picasso’s influence is clearly seen in artworks by Carmen, (See Figure 5-26) especially here, where not only does she mimic the collage, but the imagery of his often depicted guitars as well. In these constructions, Carmen utilizes scraps of paper she has recycled to create fragmented images representing guitars and other forms. Drawing on Picasso’s collages, she revisits his guitars in her new interpretations of
these abstract forms. Experimenting with painted imagery and diverse paper products including different types of paper and cardboard, Carmen creates vibrant artworks linking distinct patterns and designs in her art constructed of mixed recycled materials (See Figure 5-27).

When Carmen returned from Cuba and started teaching printmaking at ENAV she began making matrices from recyclia. She linked diverse objects to create textural effects from both manmade and natural materials she recycles. Carmen explained her decision for choosing pre-used objects, “I had media materials, but for me, using recycled materials was more expressive. I feel good using my mind when I use these materials.” 46 Since 2010, Carmen has begun to experiment with fabric. In these artworks she uses fabric scraps, particularly her own discarded dresses. She commented,

> these clothes are my old ones and I thought I would burn them but I decided to make them into something. Better to do something else with them - so I take the cloth and make a piece of art. My idea is to do the same types. No need for a budget. I will explore this kind of material more. 47

These hanging fabric pieces utilize light and capture shadows creating dissonance between light and dark (See Figures 5-28 - 5-30). The dresses’ outlines further develop in their silhouettes as they flow back and forth with the movement of air. I look forward to seeing more of these works made from dresses when she begins to devote more time to this project.

Carmen began to speak about culture and the arts in Mozambique:

> [There are] more recycled materials in sculptures. But our public is still ignorant– even the rich ignore it. Our hope for selling as artists is the international audience. Contemporary art takes more power to show. So the first art that is selected for purchase is by artists using media materials unfortunately. I think with time it can change - Now with new curriculum at school – especially visual arts education. Some books give information on Mozambican artists using recycled materials (levels six, seven, and eight). I think a lot of kids know Malangatana and his pieces. Now the idea is to give them opportunities to know about other artists. The books they get, some refer to old artists. It would be better to reference artists using recycled materials and talk about contemporary art in Mozambique. Attitudes are changing for the better. Where I teach at ENAV, I remember using
recycled materials, student made artwork with recycled materials, and going to the rubbish to look for materials. Defining the type of message she hoped viewers would take away from art composed of recycled materials Carmen stated:

My hope is with the youth because I want them to get inspiration to make other things. Another goal is that I want to give more incentive for people to like it [recycled materials] and love art. Most people want to start creating art but they have fear. More people think art is all about media materials. I want them to learn more.

Carmen’s use of recycled paper and fabric products is directly tied to expanding her creativity, based on the greater options she believes these objects provide. Influenced by the art of western artist Picasso, Carmen focuses on creating artworks out of unexpected objects as she strives to illustrate the creative power these materials possess.

**Conclusion**

The artists discussed in this chapter are linked in their preferences for using recycled fabric and paper as media in their art. Each of these artists displays individual motivations for how and why they use these particular materials, which may be defined through the use of object frictions as an analytical tool. For example, Ana’s works foreground gender identity and its connection with particular cloths, *capulanas*, which are largely used and worn by women in Mozambican society. She chronicles the embedded meanings of life’s progression through her use of the *capulanas*, in which female gender roles are stressed. Based on her use of the inherent meaning of the *capulana*, she is directly focused on the history of the cloth. In the new style Ana developed from the threads of the canvas, this is altered. In these artworks, she is not directly relying on the meaning of the canvas. In this example, she relies on the utility of the object and how it is used to literally construct her artwork.
João uses two different types of fabric: pre-used canvas to create book bags inspired him to begin to use jeans to create a support for paintings. In his use of these materials, he focuses not on their meaning or previous use per se. João selects these materials to serve a function in the construction of his new forms. In this case, João relies on the recyclia as a tool, focusing on the utility of their forms in his creative process. Falcão, like João, uses different types of recycled fabric in his creative processes. He uses *capulanas* in the construction of wire figures and pre-used canvas to expand the picture plane of insufficient canvases. In his use of the *capulanas*, he strongly identifies the cloth with an inherent link to Mozambican and African identity. In this instance, he focuses on the cloth’s history in his creation of these artworks. In the case of the canvas scraps however, his selection of this material is wholly one of utility, solving problems of expanding his painting surface.

Bono uses old newspapers to create paper mache he constructs into abstract and figural forms. Fascinated by his transformation of paper into a sculptural tool, Bono is most interested in the utility of the paper and its ability to be developed into something new. Calisto, also drawn to paper products, relies upon the characteristic density and thickness of cardboard. Using pizza boxes that have been collected for him, he creates a tool out of this recycled material. Using the cardboard as a matrix on which to print images, he uses recyclia to create multiple artworks from his cardboard supports. Carmen, similar to Calisto, also utilizes cardboard and other diverse recyclia in her printmaking processes. Drawn to an exploration of creativity, through expanded elements of shapes, forms, and textures, Carmen also relies principally on her recycled materials’ utility. Artists may be distinguished within their use of similar recycled materials based on their preference for the history or utility of the materials they use. These links and differences between
artists contribute to the development and widespread use of recycled materials throughout Mozambican contemporary art

1 *Assimilados* refers to colonized Mozambicans believed to have reached a complete level of civilization, implying equal status with the Portuguese colonizers. *Indígenas* refers to indigenous Mozambicans who were viewed as inferior to *assimilados*. *Regulos* refer to indigenous chiefs or rulers in a leadership position.

2 Matswa Vilankulos (Ana), Maputo, Mozambique, May 8, 2011.


4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

9 Amanda Erricson is a researcher at the Swedish School of Textiles and founder of the fashion brand *Dreamandawake*.

10 João Paul Bias (João), interview, Maputo, Mozambique, December 6, 2010.

11 João, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, October 18, 2011.

12 João, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, December 6, 2010.

13 João is currently studying marketing and publicity at *Universidade Eduardo Mondlane/University of Edward Mondlane* in Maputo.

14 João, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, December 6, 2010.

15 João, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, October 18, 2011.

16 Ibid.

17 Mussagy Narane Talaquichand (Falcão), interview, Maputo, Mozambique, June 22, 2011.

18 Ibid.

19 Falcão, personal correspondence, August 23, 2013.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid.

23 Falcão, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, June 22, 2011.

24 Falcão, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, May 19, 2011.

25 Ibid.

Bono Mandlate (Bono), interview, Zimpeto, Mozambique, August 17, 2008.

Bono, interview, Zimpeto, Mozambique, February 25, 2011.

Bono, interview, Zimpeto, Mozambique, August 5, 2009.

FUNAB is an autonomous public institution supervised by the Mozambican Ministry of the Environment.

Artists submit work for selection by FUNAB to be included in the yearly fair.

Bono, interview, Zimpeto, August 17, 2008.

Ibid.

Bono, personal correspondence, August 23, 2013.

Bono, interview, Zimpeto, Mozambique, August 17, 2008.

Bono, interview, Zimpeto, Mozambique, February 25, 2011.

Calisto, interview, November 8, 2010.

Calisto, interview, February 15, 2011.

Ibid.

Cármen Maria Muianga (Carmen), interview, Patrice Lumumba, December 30, 2010.

In a paper presented at the International Association of Art Critics Meeting Harun Harun explains that in the early years of ENAV most of the art teachers were from outside Mozambique. Harun Harun. 2007. The Fine Arts in Mozambique: Aspects of Arts Education and Art Criticism that have Contributed to the Development of Fine Arts in Mozambique. Johannesburg, South Africa.


Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.
Figure 5-1. Ana creating webs at *A Associação Núcleo de Arte* recycling workshop, October 2010. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
Figure 5-2. Student working on Mannequin. A Associação Núcleo de Arte Recycling Workshop, Oct. 2010. Photograph by Alcides Goba
Figure 5-3. Zeferino with Spiders and Ana’s Web. A Associação Núcleo de Arte Recycling Workshop, October 2010. Photograph by Alcides Goba
Figure 5-4. Matswa Vilankulos (Ana), May 2011. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
Figure 5-5. Ana. *Unraveled Canvas Painting*, oil, acrylic/canvas, May 2011. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
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Figure 5-16. Bono modeling a paper-mache form at his home in Zimpeto, February 2011. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
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Figure 5-20. Calisto’s pizza boxes, collected for printmaking templates. Photograph by Alcides Goba
Figure 5-21. Calisto. Cardboard Printmaking matrix and print. Evite HIV-SIDA/Avoid HIV-AIDS, 1999. Photograph by Alcides Goba
Figure 5-22. Calisto. Cardboard printmaking matrix with sand, n.d. Photo by Alcides Goba
Figure 5-23. *Calisto. Social Commentary on Alcohol and Aids*, ink, paint/paper, n.d. Photograph by Alcides Goba
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Figure 5-25. Pile of recycled materials (art tools) and Print Matrices at Carmen’s Home. Photo by A. Schwartzott
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Figure 5-27. Carmen. *Sem Titulo/Untitled*. mixed recycled paper materials, n.d. Photo by A. Schwartzott
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Figure 5-29. Carmen. _Untitled Dress Piece No. 2._ recycled fabric, n.d. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
CHAPTER 6
RECYCLED MATERIALS: A CASE STUDY OF TWO ARTISTS

In this chapter I discuss two artists who use diverse combinations of pre-used materials in their art, Domingos W. Comiche Mabongo (Domingos) and Moisés Ernesto Matsinhe Mafuiane (Butcheca). Both of these artists incorporate a wide range of recycled materials as media, by selecting objects that are diverse both in materiality and their original uses. Domingos and Butcheca diverge from my previous discussions of artists whose media includes a purposeful selection and continual return to particular materials such as decommissioned weapons, wood, metal, paper, and textiles they recycle into artworks.

My analysis is largely focused on divisions between these artists’ ideological approaches to selecting specific recycled materials. Object frictions, the theoretical framework I developed, which defines inherent tensions within objects (See chapter one), provides a useful analytical tool for determining how and why particular objects are used by these artists. Despite similarities in Domingos and Butcheca’s preference for diverse recyclia, they dramatically differ in regard to which aspect of the object is most desirable for their individual purposes: its utility or its history. Through an exploration of the binary aspects of object frictions in these artists’ works, I argue that the implicit dualities within objects inform the construction and meaning of artworks, thus defining artists’ styles.

Domingos and Butcheca both use diverse recyclia as a didactic tool. I will demonstrate patterns in their methodical approaches to create arts explicitly intended for educational purposes. The structure for the analysis of Domingos and Butcheca’s art in this chapter includes close examination of artworks illustrating their use of recyclia and transformative processes, synthesis of extensive interviews held with the artists, and discussion based on direct observations of the artists as they worked over the course of several years.
Domingos uses recycled materials to instruct viewers on widely varied social issues. By creating art from everyday materials people can relate to, he is able to reach his audiences, one of which includes uneducated individuals with messages intended specifically for them. A primary goal of Domingos is to create a universal appeal for art. Through his use of recyclia, Domingos aims to bring his art to all people, by breaking down hierarchical barriers. The recycled materials Domingos utilizes become symbols within the instructional commentary his art presents. His use of pre-used objects to symbolize larger concepts and ideas relates to Appadurai’s admonition that, “we have to follow the things themselves, for their meanings are inscribed in their forms, their uses, their trajectories (Appadurai 1986, 5).

Domingos collects bits and scraps of recycled materials that serve as potent symbols to bring awareness and highlight social problems such as drinking and driving, technological vandalism, and the importance of recycling to an audience he believes has been neglected in the world of art. Whereas Domingos focuses on the histories of the objects he uses, recalling Appadurai and Kopytoff, Butcheca’s interest lies in using the material form of the objects. According to Butcheca, an aluminum can of pop or a bottle cap is viewed simply as a tool in his process of creation, an object whose use is governed by utility – as it will be used to cover or support another, possibly non-recycled object.

Butcheca views the recycled materials he utilizes as a bridge, a link between materials. He emphatically denies any interest in possible meaning based upon their former purpose or use. Solely interested in the literal materiality of the recycled materials to aid his process of transformation, Butcheca combines diverse pre-used materials to construct art that is centrally focused on the process of its creation, as Rubin refers to the incorporation of materials “whose presence is primarily dictated by ‘engineering’ problems” (Rubin 1993, 6).
**Domingos: “I want to dispel the connection between elites and art”**

I conducted several interviews with Domingos throughout my fieldwork in Mozambique, and he became a seminal figure in my research. Most interviews with Domingos took place at his home, in an area of Maputo known as Aeroporto, in the vicinity of the Maputo International Airport. Reaching Domingos’ home necessitated taking two chapas (local taxis) and then winding through a busy market that had been built on a massive mountain of garbage.¹ Like Maputo’s current, immense municipal Hulene Dump, certain areas of this market’s elevated terrain revealed the hard packed stratification of many years’ layers of plastic bags and other debris, exposing its previous life as a dump.

Domingos’ property is located behind the cement block walls that frame the maze of dirt roadways. His home consists of four small multi-room buildings. Two of the buildings are of reed construction and the remaining two are composed of cement blocks. All of these buildings are covered with zinc roofs. We met in the cement block building set back the furthest on his property – a small three room building that served jointly as an art studio/storage/sleeping area. Domingos immediately began to discuss his art, pulling several paintings out of a storage area as he eagerly explained his inspiration to become an artist, “I have more to share … most people don’t want their kids to be painters – they want immediate results. Art is not like that – it is spread over time.”²

Domingos has won several prizes over the course of his career. These awards include first prize at Museu Nacional de Arte (National Art Museum of Mozambique) in 2003, participation in FUNDAC (government sponsored recycling art program) in 2006 and 2007, as well as the highest honor of first premium at the last TDM Bienal, held in 2009.³ Describing his art overall, Domingos stated, “It reflects the social and political because where I live they think when they see paintings that art is for elites. I am trying to bring communication for all people, to
try to show all people … I use everyday materials in my art that they can relate to. I want to dispel the connection between elites and art.”

This comprehensive statement is fundamental to understanding his motivations for creating art.

First, he believes his use of everyday materials allows a larger population to understand his art. He sees it as essential for his art to be viewed by a wider audience. Domingos believes that through his use of materials from everyday life, he enables viewers to easily relate to, and consequently understand the message of his artworks. He wishes to break down hierarchies of art by creating art for everyone. I asked Domingos how he makes his art accessible to his desired audience if they will not travel to the city for art exhibits. He explained: “in order to make my art accessible, one way is to invite people to my Atelier and by way of explaining I'll talk about the importance of recycling in our community taking into account the transformation of waste into something useful like a work of art in this case.”

Second, Domingos creates art for the people who are directly affected by the specific social issues he addresses. The didactic motivation of his art is geared towards an audience who understands the everyday objects he uses. He takes on the role of educating the population about varied social issues through his use of related recycled materials he uses as symbols. Domingos is deeply committed to creating art that will be understood by all. He explains how this has actually become a sacrifice: “My aim when I started to make art was to let people know what art is. I used my pocket money to teach kids about art. I bought all the materials: cardboard and paint. I had to stop because I didn’t have money to continue. It is difficult to help others because even I don’t have enough money to survive.” Domingos uses money he obtains from selling his art to buy art supplies he uses to create art to teach others. Often, such as his exhibition at BCI, no works are sold. This results in a loss of money on the part of the artist who has already
spent money to purchase supplies and arrange transportation. I have heard similar stories from several artists, particularly those who create art from recycled materials (See chapter two for a discussion of Mozambican receptions to art).

Synopses Domingos creates for his abstract artworks are essential tools in his process of art making. These detailed journalistic records provide a description and contextual background, creating his individual chronicle of artworks. These texts provide a clearly delineated framework for him, as they catalogue the inherent symbolism of artworks, along with their contextual development, as a record of his artworks’ meaning and methodology. Providing more than simply an explanation of the pieces, his synopses include carefully detailed backgrounds which include source material, technical and media concerns, as well as general ideas related to the physical and ideological construction of the piece and its meaning - all elements Domingos believes are necessary for viewers to understand his abstract artworks.

Discussing the importance of these written explanations, Domingos explained, “Here in Mozambique, abstract artists do not write a synopsis about their piece…if they forget it is important to make people understand better what you are doing too.” Domingos expressed deep dissatisfaction that the exhibition catalog accompanying the TDM Bienal of 2011 did not include the synopsis he had created to accompanied his entry, *Vandalizadores de cabos fibra óptica e a máscara do vigilante/Vandals of fiber optic wire and the masks of the vigilant* (See chapter two for a specific discussion of this work in the context of the *Bienal*)

**Compradores Ambulante de Ferro/Itinerant Iron Buyers. mixed media, 2008**

*Itinerant Iron Buyers* is a mixed media painting completed in 2008 (See Figure 6-1). The background depicts three small buildings, representations of homes similar to those typically found in urban, suburban and rural Mozambique, of timbered reed construction with thatched roofs. Domingos pointed out that these were similar to his own home, and meant to convey a
specific connection to his audiences, conforming to their own homes and socio-economic levels. The green building farthest to the left is the clearest and most brightly painted, whereas the other two buildings fade into the greyish background of sky and clouds. An open window in this building reveals a simply portrayed individual who is outlined in profile. Dots increasing in size lead from his right side towards a large exclamation point, ostensibly indicating the figure’s surprise. Undoubtedly the cause of his surprise is the scene portrayed in the foreground of the painting. A *trova*, a two-wheeled metal pushcart, is depicted, but a donkey has taken over the role of the man in calling for materials, while the man pulls the cart. The bulging calf muscle and straining arms of the barefoot man indicates his struggle with the weight of the cart he attempts to pull that would ordinarily fall to the task of the donkey.

Inside the *trova* are three objects, a grey teapot, a large cooking pot, and a rust colored car door. Domingos has affixed actual nails, scraps and bits of metal to the interior surface of the *trova*, adding three-dimensional texture to the painting. The use of these recycled materials adds a didactic element for the viewer, who is being visually instructed to recycle. A bubble directly above the man’s head indicates his thoughts, in Portuguese: “Who can think this is a theatre player (the donkey), but no! I want to show that this animal, when he is recycling can be used for many other purposes. The donkey is not as dumb as you think.” The donkey at the rear of the cart grasps the handle of the *trova* with his sixth leg while speaking into a megaphone, created from an affixed piece of recycled metal. His words are enclosed within an angular speech balloon, indicating the high volume of his voice as he speaks. He loudly proclaims in *Shangaan*: “We buy old metals! Pans, stoves, metal frames, we buy here.”

Despite swapping the principal characters, Domingos’ portrayal is a common sight in the streets of Maputo. Buyers of scrap metal pushing *trovas* loudly broadcast the fact they will buy
almost any type of metal, regardless of its size, large or small.\textsuperscript{11} The donkey indicates specific types of metal he is willing to buy as he traverses the streets attempting to forage scrap metal, noisily announcing this through his megaphone. These buyers form an integral part of Mozambique’s informal economy, conducting business on the streets through their purchase of scrap metal, which they sell at a profit to larger brokers of metal and junkyards.

Domingos’ objective with this artwork was to educate individuals about the positive aspects of recycling. To illustrate this point, he presented a familiar image of everyday life that anyone could relate to. As he described:

I bring a strong message about how to use recycled materials. In this piece I use metaphors – because people know what happens day by day. People buy recycled materials in the neighborhoods. I put the opposite – the man pushing the \textit{trova} and the burro calls for people who will buy these materials. What inspires me is what happens around. They are making noise around. In the morning we can hear the noise of them calling … Now we have an animal doing the job – he has the responsibility to think like a man … I want to show that when he is recycling he can use materials for another thing; so here you see the material the \textit{trova} is taking away can be recycled to use again.\textsuperscript{12}

Domingos creates artworks such as this to educate a population that has not been exposed to art. He uses materials to create images these people can relate to and be educated by. By utilizing recycled materials he clearly shows people how materials can be reused with a new purpose.

In this painting, as described above, Domingos has combined recycled materials within his oil on canvas support. The viewer can clearly identify the three-dimensional textural elements that the materials inside the \textit{trova} signify, as well as the fact that they (and the donkey’s megaphone) are created out of recycled materials. Domingos uses added recyclia to create more realistic depictions for viewers to relate to, as well as bringing the concept of recycling to life through his easily recognizable realistic representations. Domingos explained how he uses artworks such as this one as a didactic tool: “As you know, our community is so poor. There is no time. People have to make money and survive. There is no time to look at art to get ideas. I
want to show the community many ideas. When I produced my piece of art I did not plan to sell it – it is to give ideas about recycling. I included text to help people understand.”

Domingos selected different languages for his representation of the thoughts of the man and the voice of the donkey. The man thinks in Portuguese, while the donkey speaks in Shangaan. This seemingly minor point illustrates Domingos’ tremendous attention to detail to create a level of realism to appeal directly and powerfully to his audience. Domingos explained how language reinforces the realism in this artwork, “I try to portray exactly how the people who buy the metals speak in Shangaan … a typical trova driver speaks Shangaan because they haven’t had school. This is how they look to survive (buying and selling scrap metal).

Domingos has literally included source material he might provide in his explanatory synopsis directly within this painting, by embedding the text of the figures’ thoughts and speech to reflect ideas he wishes to communicate to viewers. Domingos views his lack of accessibility to audiences unfamiliar and disinterested in art as problematic. To promote one of his foremost goals, dispelling the belief that art is for elites, Domingos uses several techniques. He explained:

I have a good idea … I’m trying to revise what people living in rural areas think about the elites. It is difficult because there is no space for art in the communities. We make exhibits downtown. It would be different if we had cultural spaces in the community - if people go to the market they can pass by to see the piece. If we create art we can teach kids to open their brains.

Domingos feels strongly about the power of art and its ability to enact social change. He also has an intense need to bring art to the people with his mixed media works, because they are unable or unwilling to travel to the city to see artworks: “Even my last exhibition at BCI, I invited my neighbor to see. Some people say they have no money to go. Some people say we think if you make exhibitions in the city it is for the elite. When they think about art they think it involves money … people say that place is not for us. Domingos attempts to convince his uneducated audiences that although art may be linked with higher classes because it may be priced too high
for them to afford to buy it, they still may enjoy it by going to his atelier, the National Museum, and A Associação Núcleo de Arte to view art without charge purely for the joy of it. In many cases, for individuals who are unemployed or not financially stable, the thought of spending even the smallest amount of money to travel to see art makes no sense. The Mozambican population overall does not yet have an appreciation for art as a source of enjoyment (See chapter two for a discussion of Mozambique population reception of art).

Domingos explained how in the last few months he had been working on an art project with other artists to raise awareness in communities about important issues, such as HIV-AIDS. Projects such as this one illustrate how Domingos works towards bringing the art to the community and breaking the stereotype of art being restricted to an elite audience by showing it is for everyone.18 Further elaborating on how art may be used as an effective means of educating communities, Domingos stated, “I want to show contextually that art is good. That is why we go to see it. We want to try to teach communities how to use art…People do not see recycled materials as help for survival. If they have something that they do not use we can teach them how to use it again.”19 Clearly, Domingos is concerned with recycling, promoting its practice through his art, and using his art as a means to make connections to communities that are not familiar with art.

**Sinistro/Sinister. mixed media, 2009**

*Sinister* is a large, rectangular mixed media canvas, divided into two unequal sections (See Figure 6-2). The dominant section is wholly abstract with drips and violent swaths of paint in combinations of warm colors such as red, orange, and gold that contrast with the alternating blacks, greys, and whites they intermingle with. Overall, the colors and techniques of paint application create a sense of dissonant movement throughout the work. The addition of nails to the surface heightens the overall tension of the painting.
The placement of nails initially appears random, but upon closer inspection it becomes clear that their organization follows and enhances the outlines of several of the fluid, abstracted forms that splatter and pool like blood. The interplay of the rhythmic quality of the loose brushwork, dripping paint and textural surface of the nails contribute to the painting’s urgency, conveying a sense of violence to the viewer. The less dominant portion of the work creates a white “L” shape. Its white background clashes with the vibrant colors and erratic action depicted in the dominant space. The top frame is stark in its complete whiteness, whereas the side section on the right includes boot prints in grey and black that initially appears random; yet upon scrutiny indicate a downward thrust of movement, as if someone walked across this portion of the canvas from the top. Two of these boot prints have faint reddish highlights, suggesting these boots have walked through blood. In addition to the somewhat chaotic trail of boot prints, erratic sections of tire tracks appear, implying the unexpected swerve of an automobile – symbolizing an accident.

Domingos explained that his goal with Sinister was to bring art to life, as he previously did with Itinerant Iron Buyers. Intending to create a realistic portrayal, he used imagery people are able to relate to. Domingos explained his aim: “My idea is to take an accident on the street and bring it to my canvas … to represent the broken cars and glass on the street when an accident occurred. With the strong colors, hot colors, I’m trying to bring blood into that scene.” In his synopsis of Sinistro, Domingos indicates that his direct inspiration came from newspaper articles reporting on vehicular accidents. Notícias, a Maputo newspaper, reported that a mini bus had fallen into a river and killed five people, and two children from one family had died in another car accident. Both of these accidents were caused by excessive speed and alcohol (Noticias 2009, 15). Sinister clearly illustrates how Domingos uses his art as a platform to bring
attention to social issues. In this instance the abuse of alcohol and its dangers in conjunction with driving are highlighted, as he refers to actual stories taken directly from the local media to create art from life. Here again, as in *Itinerant Iron Buyers*, Domingos has relied on symbols and metaphors, using the theme and imagery of the automobile accidents to represent societal problems. In his synopsis of this piece, Domingos refers to how he “employed warm colors and strong techniques that included dripping paint on the canvas to give the sensation when faced with strange liquids (the mixture of blood and fuels) on the roads, and nails and iron oxide.” (Domingos 2009).

Nails are a recycled material used to great symbolic effect by Domingos in *Sinister*. He uses the nails metaphorically to represent automobiles. Referring to the conceptual process of transformation that he employed with his use of nails, Domingos commented: “Before, the nails were used by people for another reason (to drive into wood to connect it). When I use nails in my art piece I change their meaning. I’m trying to use the nail as a symbol. For example, when I put nails in my paintings, I’m trying to put motorcycles in the scene – metal vehicles on the street.” (Ibid). Another work by Domingos, *Vandalizadores de cabos de fibra óptica e a Mascara do Vigilante/Vandals of fiber optic wire and Masks of the Vigilant*, is included in chapter two as part of a discussion on artworks included in the TDM Bienal for which it was created.

Domingos is currently working on an artwork titled *Manifestação/The Manifestations –Bread Riots*. The assemblage of materials creates an odd still life juxtaposed with the pastel yarn tablecloth on which they are displayed. The visual effect is surreal, remnants of social unrest – specifically, riot gear, including incapacitating agents such as aerosols, grenades, bullet casings and cartridges from guns and grenade dischargers, against the innocent
backdrop of fuzzy crocheted pink, yellow and white florettes (See Figures 6-3, 6-4). These are materials Domingos has collected in anticipation of a new series of artworks.

These objects are discarded remnants of tools used by Mozambican police and armed forces. They were used to quell public demonstrations during what is popularly referred to as the Manifestação (Demonstrations) or Bread Riots. These events took place for three days in early September 2010, when public protests broke out in response to proposals to raise utility prices. Many people were injured and some deaths resulted from the ensuing events connected with these protests. The demonstrations during the Bread Riots effectively shut down Maputo. Traffic to and from the city was suspended, and those risking travel despite street closures were targets of hurled rocks and flames from fires, which were purposely set in the roadways to thwart travel. These events were referred to as bread riots because the demonstrations responded to proposed governmental hikes in the necessary utilities required among the ingredients to create bread: water and electricity.

Raising prices of these necessities would translate into higher prices for bread, a staple of most Mozambicans’ diets. During the demonstrations, the lines of people seeking bread from bakeries magnified, stretching far down the streets. Many bakeries ran out of bread during this time. Bakeries that did maintain bread in stock resorted to posting armed guards at their doors to dissuade violence. A key factor in the demonstrations is that the mode of contact used to rally and convene the people was SMS messaging via cell phones. After the government realized this was the mode of insurgents’ convergence, they shut down all cell phone networks, effectively curtailing communication networks within Maputo, wreaking further chaos within the already suffering city. Domingos stated his intentions for this artwork: “So I don’t have an exact conception yet, but what I’m doing now is collecting materials and talking about what kind of
support I will use for the foundation – not like paint, it will by heavy. I must read more newspapers, I bought a lot from that week...“24

Domingos commented on his projected artwork and the objects (riot gear) he has displayed: “Some I bought, some I collected myself. So, I’m organizing these materials because I want to make a piece to talk about social conflict and show how people react. It may take one year to collect more materials to mix and give real information about these social actions from the riots.”25 Domingos has not yet completed his Riot Series artwork. When I saw him last in January 2013 he had not finished collecting the materials or formalized a plan for their artwork.

**Butcheca: “to see the recycled materials wasted in the street hurts my heart”**

Over several years and many interviews, Butcheca has carefully described his use of recycled materials and how recyclia both informs and forms the didactic message of his art. Butcheca utilizes recycled materials for several reasons that address creative, financial, and environmental concerns. Butcheca deeply values recycled materials as a means of expanding his creative options, serving as a solution to preserve the environment, providing a financial boon by limiting the need to purchase media materials, as well as his unique vision of spiritual connections in his use of recyclia for ecological purposes. The designation “media material,” is widely used among Mozambican artists. General usage suggests a description of traditional Western media materials – including paint, canvas, wood, etc. that are used in the construction of artworks. Media materials specifically do not refer to recycled materials however, which are viewed as distinctly different and referred to as “recycled materials.” According to Butcheca, this is both a creative and financial option – pre-used materials allow for an expansion of creativity without relying solely on media materials, which must be purchased.

I met Butcheca through Mozambican artist Gonçales Mabunda (Mabunda). Near the end of one of our interviews, Mabunda called his friend Butcheca, explaining my interest in speaking
with artists who use recycled materials. I was immediately invited to meet Butcheca at his atelier. As he waited for me on the street, the abundance of white floral blossoms fallen from an overhanging tree had thickly carpeted cars and walkways outside of Butcheca’s building, creating a strikingly surreal scene as I approached. Reaching Butcheca’s atelier required descending a dimly lit staircase that led to a much darker hallway below. Turning left, Butcheca opened a door to reveal his atelier. The door was an assemblage of recycled materials. Constructed within a metal border, the recyclia included a bicycle frame and chain mechanism, various gears of miscellaneous sizes, an assortment of metal tools, motley metal scraps, and a broken shovelhead (see Figure 6-5). This great door revealed a tiny room that served not only as a studio, but living quarters as well. Butcheca’s loft-style sleeping area and diverse art objects packed within every bit of available space confirmed his economical use of space.

Butcheca immediately explained he had been an artist since 1996, and affiliated with Associação Núcleo de Arte since 1997, when he was eighteen or nineteen years old. An early piece created of wire, Volkswagen, is one of his first artworks. Butcheca is an “Artista autodidacta,” as self-taught artists are referred to in Mozambique. He expanded on this: “I taught myself art. I never learned it in school. It’s my feeling since I have been born – it comes in my heart. I love too much to make art.”

Recycled materials were among the first objects Butcheca used to create art: “When I was beginning to become an artist I was looking for how to do this, since for the first seven years the first material I was using was recycled materials - then I discovered I could paint.” Primarily utilizing wire and recycled wooden objects, Butcheca affirmed his use of pre-used materials; “I love it. I have the passion to transform old things to make new ones.” Butcheca expanded upon his view of the superiority of recycled materials: “I work with materials I have – what I haven’t
I can’t use.” Butcheca illustrated a didactic purpose: “One form is how to show people the materials they can use – if you don’t have money, you can’t continue. You have to stop if you don’t have materials. And those who like to create art pieces will not wait for money to buy media materials.

As stated above, Butcheca’s use of recyclia also reflects his concern for the environment: “By using garbage in the street it will save time to help clean our city. We can take advantage of garbage by taking it from the street and making decorations for our house. I am sure that all the things you can find in a shop - if you have materials you can make with what you have at your house.” Butcheca’s statement invites viewers to use recycled materials to create. Butcheca’s use of recyclia stems from his desire to combine pre-used and media materials, creating intersections based on their materiality. Butcheca claims that he prefers using recycled materials because they provide more creative options for him. Butcheca explained:

Recycled materials attract me more than media materials. For me, seeing the recycled materials wasted in the street hurts my heart. So my attitude is why not make art by using recycled materials that will be wasted in the street. I can explain to you that I’m feeling very comfortable using recycled materials. Because I can’t use another media … but I combine media materials with other materials that have been used before. I think if you want to use new materials there is a good reason to use this technique. For example, if I want to make one piece I mix it, the media materials to recycled materials. That’s why it’s going to give artistic life, that’s why I use it again. What I’m trying to find out is how to join paint and recycled materials to see how it can be - to give more visuals.

Both recycled materials and media materials are interchanged as supporting foundations or materials added later, that are more visible to the viewer. Butcheca stated that each time he creates an artwork it is different, sometimes the recycled materials come first - the process of creation informs the construction and development of the individual artwork.

The first artworks Butcheca showed me were paintings, a series of variously sized canvases illustrating a similar visual problems he was working out through a serial approach. He explained
that the paintings were part of the development of his artistic process. It became clear after I had been exposed to more of his artwork that Butcheca’s overall process is cyclical – he begins with paintings that serve as preparatory sketches for larger, three-dimensional works which are based on these painterly investigations, as he develops artistic solutions through this process. After the sculptures are realized, he returns to painting to explore new themes that may have developed from the creation of the sculptures or a new direction entirely. Butcheca defined his creative process in this way:

   My mind is my atelier. What I see and what I think – I learn to make art pieces … to paint and then see what I can do next. I’m doing what I can with sculptures – to bring out what my mind says to build pieces… each artwork is different but made in same way – I stop, get inspiration when I make installations, then I stop and paint. I’m trying to find new techniques with my artwork. In the future I want to build a house with recycled materials. Now I am trying, it’s a big challenge.34

In the realization of his artworks, shifting back and forth between his sculptural works and his paintings helps Butcheca to move forward within this cyclical process.

Butcheca is unique among the artists I have worked with in that he draws a spiritual link between recycling and God. Throughout the course of several years of interviews, many of Butcheca’s responses to questions about his use of recycled materials included specific references to God. Discussing his use of recyclia as addressing an environmental concern, Butchecca stated, “Yes, it’s connected with the environment because God tells people not to spend money to buy new things.”35 He also told me: “There is one person who knows how to manage recycled materials and his name is God.36

Butcheca envisions his use of recycled materials as imbued with a pervasive spirituality. A connection to God is achieved by using these pre-used materials as opposed to relying solely on media materials to create. A similar connection between art and spirituality exists in the El Anatsui’s ideology surrounding his artistic constructions, as he believes they are “imbued with
the spirituality of the people who used them” (Rovine forthcoming, 19). The importance Butcheca places on combining the media materials with recycled materials exemplifies his spiritual action of connecting old and new. An additional spiritual element is apparent in the didactic message Butcheca imparts through his use of recyclia is meant to instruct viewers to use recycled materials themselves. Effectively extending the transcendent notion of his artworks – Butcheca becomes the messenger or proselytizer of this ideal (recycling), as he spreads the word through his artworks constructed of recyclia. Butcheca subscribes to the basic ideals of Rastafari. His beliefs are linked to making universal connections, which can be seen in both his art and spiritual concerns.

The exhibition, *Ruinas do Passado* (Ruins of the Past), held at Centro Cultural Franco-Moçambicano (CCFM) in Maputo in August 2011 represents a watershed in the development of Butcheca’s oeuvre. The distinct steps in Butcheca’s creative process are starkly revealed in this exhibition, which foregrounds his strong reliance upon recycled materials. The exhibition comprises a combination of paintings and large multi-media sculptural works, each of which clearly reveal their indebtedness to the other’s creation and the underlying importance of the role of processual development in Butcheca’s artworks. The exhibition is anchored by a large work, *Rua Passada (Past Street)* (See Figure 6-6). This multilayered work invites the viewer into the space of the exhibition, *Ruinas do Passas (Ruins of the Past)*. In *Past Street*, Butcheca has combined a seemingly endless array of diverse recycled objects into a construction evoking a memorial or memento mori of past and possibly lost belongings and memories.

**Rua Passada/Past Street. mixed media, 2011**

*Past Street* is a large, complex multi-media assemblage comprised of variegated wooden elements including planks, boards, table legs, window frames, and assorted building materials. Additional objects include a wheel, palm and coconut fibers, auto parts, metal tools, hubcaps,
wire, string, and a glove. Many of these elements are encrusted with dripping and brushed paint and overlaid with additional pre-used materials, creating further stratum with inscribed text, images, symbols, designs, patterns, sketches, and drawings. I unknowingly began to observe the extended process of this work’s construction at A Associação Núcleo de Arte. Bit by bit, elements were added, subtracted, altered and re-affixed to create this large, multi-media piece.

The bulky form of Rua Passada sat outside of the artists’ workshop, leaning against a wall in the courtyard for weeks, until the threat of rain finally forced it to be dragged inside. One evening during its continued construction, Butcheca enlisted the aid of his artist-friend Taigga to assist him with this piece. As the two artists dripped white paint over selected areas of the assemblage a fat, black, slow-moving, hard-shelled caterpillar violated the space of the artwork. Without hesitation, Butcheca created a kinetic, mixed media piece out of the trespasser, dripping the white paint he had been applying to his assemblage directly on top of the creature. As the caterpillar crawled away, it created an undulating white line that indicated its path as it continued on across the floor of the workshop.

Describing his work, Butcheca proudly proclaimed, “About this piece I’m doing… the theme is Rua Passada … so what is making me feel well is to use this theme to join recycled materials and media materials!”37 In this work, Butcheca combined recuperated pre-used materials with purchased media materials to create a large multi-media installation piece. Parts of the overall work included earlier assemblages of mixed media pieces Butcheca had created. Butcheca did not have any further comments on an overall meaning of this piece, focusing wholly on his process, which included the use of a multiple recycled materials joined with media materials.38
Xibalakatsi/Slingshot. mixed media, 2011

Burned wooden timber creates a cross on which an assemblage of smashed and crushed aluminum cans (Coca-Cola, Fanta, Sprite) are joined and sculpted into the form of a voluptuous over life-size female figure. Rebar and wiring anchor the figure to the cross on which it lies. The burned cans create a blackened, smoky effect overall, dulling the colors of the once brightly colored cans. Single bottle caps attached with carefully stitched wiring delineate specific details, such as the nipples and navel of the figure\textsuperscript{39}\ (See Figures 6-8 – 6-10).

Xibalakatsi illustrates Butcheca’s favored technique of joining recycled and media materials within the same artwork. His comments on this union clarify his process,

As you can see I use what we can get in the street and the wire I bought. The wood is recycled. The base metal I bought. So I am mixing materials in this piece to have good support. If I use all recycled materials I have to mix with some media materials. For example, the piece is not finished, so I have some materials I need to buy. To finish, I have to put new media materials and cover them with recycled materials. As one man building his home – he must go to buy new materials to make it strong – different materials are mixed. What I want to show is all new media materials I buy will be behind so what people will see in front are recycled materials.\textsuperscript{40}

Butcheca’s comments imply that the recycled materials are given a place of prominence at the top, a higher visual placement of prestige, whereas the media materials below, serve merely as a support for them. While Butcheca finds it important to combine mixed media materials with recycled materials, I have observed that recycled materials are given higher priority and are foregrounded, based upon their heightened visibility and placement within his artworks. Butcheca’s discussion surrounding his selection of recycled materials as it relates to the overall message of the piece illustrates how and why recycled materials underpin his creative process, as well as his focus on object materiality:

For example, first, I’m using cans because I prefer to use them because I can cover wire and metal with them. That’s why I prefer to use cans. I burned them to make an effect with my painting – I bring black first to get the same effect with
my painting. Even when I burn I’m using different kinds of cans – Coca Cola, Fanta, etc. I bring the same color - black. I balance the color. Now I have discovered a new material to use, which is the can. So I will keep on using the can.  

Butcheca selects aluminum cans because of their physical form. He uses them to cover wire and metal. His use of cans is solely based on their utility in the construction of his art. Butcheca also likes the effect he achieves after he burns them – as they are transformed from color to black. Further evidence of Butcheca’s keen interest in materiality is illustrated in the link between the title of this work and the overall form he has created. Xibalakatsi, a Shangana/Shangaan word, translates into English as “slingshot.” Butcheca explained this connection:

Xibalakatsi (slingshot) was an object I used to play with in my childhood to kill sparrows, doves, and other birds. It was made out of rubber tube tire and was a toy. I named the work after the position and movement of the body of the figure that makes up the work that is similar to the slingshot, the way the body in the work has the “V” of the slingshot – and the head is like a bullet in the slingshot. The shape of the cross was the support that I found to better position the figure at the same time drawing attention by referring to the figure of Christ on the cross, which adds another meaning to the work.

Butcheca envisions this visually arresting work as a reminder of a childhood toy, based on its essential shape. Notwithstanding larger implicit connections to religious imagery (a crucified image of Jesus Christ), he focuses most intently on the materials and the shape of the overall form, seeming to disregard deeper overall meanings.

Butcheca’s selection of particular recycled materials is directly rooted in his use of those materials as a tool, and how they will facilitate the construction of his artworks. Butcheca commented on these ideas as they directly related to the development of Xibalakatsi and its form composed of burnt wood and crushed and burnt cans: “My first idea was to use only wood – to burn the bottom. But after that when I was riding my bicycle in the street I saw lots of cans broken by cars in the street. I was thinking about colors. I burn the cans to get the color that I love [black].”
Butcheca does not have any interest in the original meaning of the aluminum can based on its previous use. Solely interested in its materiality as a functional tool used to cover the wire, he explained that it is only the material he is interested in, not its former life or meaning. Butcheca’s interest in the use of the cans is limited to how they will aid in visually solving a problem. In this example and others, his selection of the can is based on a determination of which material is best suited to solve the specific construction problem: “I use all cans. I don’t have interest in the kind of food, beer, coke, etc. I am interested in the material of the can. The can expresses what I want, and its resistance. The material of the can provides long life.”\(^\text{44}\)

Beyond the materiality of Xibalakatsu’s construction of wood and cans, the viewer is confronted with the imagery of this artwork. Butcheca has replaced the traditional iconic image of Jesus Christ on a cross with a female figure. He explained his imagery: “What I’m doing with the cross is exploring more about Jesus. If you see Jesus on a cross, I’m bringing a new challenge. They think it is a man. What I’m bringing is a female. She’s not complete – she’s amputated. Jesus Christ is without any clothes. I’m trying to show people that in the times of Jesus Christ the women didn’t have the same rights. Times change – men and women have the same rights now. Bad things men do, women can do, and I use this to show how we can show art.”\(^\text{45}\)

As he could not provide a more profound statement on the meaning of his presentation of the crucified woman, Xibalakatsu, Butcheca explained the figure’s truncated arm in this way:

The amputated arm moves away from and tries to avoid the relationship with Christ crucified. This is because I don’t want this [crucified Christ] to be the primary interpretation of the work. At the same time, I felt no need to add an arm to the figure of the slingshot, which is the starting point of the work’s meaning. Without the arm this way the figure is closely linked to the form of the slingshot.\(^\text{46}\)
Butcheca is more interested in the materiality of the sculpture’s construction from wire, wood, and cans than the decidedly unorthodox imagery he displays. His commentary regarding the potentially incendiary and provocative nature of this sculpture is anticlimactic: “What I can tell you about religion with my piece – religion is about people. He who connects with the church is only one. I have nothing connecting the church and my sculpture.” 47

_Malabarista/Juggler - the Man who rides the Bicycle._ 48 mixed media, 2011

Suggested movement propels _Malabarista/Juggler - the Man who rides the Bicycle_ (See Figure 6-11 - 6-14). The English translation of the Portuguese word _Malabarista_ is a juggler. This designation is fitting in light of Butcheca’s concern for movement within this piece, as well as the figure’s one-handed riding of his bicycle. Motion is implied in the wheels of this bicycle, festooned with bottle cap spirals, as a sweeping arc extending behind its rider adds further velocity. This rider is composed of tens of thousands of bottle caps; each one painstakingly punched with holes, facilitating the wire stitching that has constructed this fantastical figure’s form. _Malabarista_ is an example of Butcheca’s many recycled multi-media assemblages that illustrate how recyclia fundamentally defines Butcheca’s artistic practice overall.

_Malabarista_ is a large sculpture constructed of a bicycle, wire, corks and bottle caps. The misshapen, over life-size figure has a wing-like arc that sweeps behind him, extending beyond the length of the bicycle. The original colors of the variegated bottle caps create the overall multicolored form. Central areas of the figure are blackened, an effect achieved by burning the bottle caps. The feet of the figure, firmly planted on the pedals of the bicycle, further imply forward motion as he holds onto the handlebar on his right side. The left hand of the figure rests atop his head as he stares directly forward. Whereas the form is multicolored and blackened overall, its face is conspicuously red, created through the concentration of Coca-Cola and Dos M 49 bottle caps, as well as others that have been painted red. An open mouth forming a slight
smile is composed of wire-stitched corks. The eyes of the figure are absent; empty eye sockets reveal the figure’s interior.

I observed Butcheca for weeks, as he laboriously punched holes into bottle caps, preparing them to be wired together in the creation of his multi-media assemblage piece for his upcoming exhibition, *Ruinas do Passado*, at Centro Franco-Moçambicano (CCFM) Butcheca has bags and bags of bottle caps he collected from the *barracas* (small shanty bars) near *Associação Núcleo de Arte*, and artists and friends have brought him more. He explained how he acquired these materials he would use to construct his work:

> Wire I didn’t get in the street and the metal I bought. The bicycle I bought to transform. Bottle caps I collected from restaurants, bars, and in the street. And corks I collected too. So to be completed I contracted guys who sell telephone credit in the street to collect bottle caps and we trade with money. And some friends help me to collect in bars and restaurants. So before I have all these people to help me I was collecting myself, so I say I need more so I contact people to help me.  

Despite its grotesque appearance, Butcheca confirms this figure represents a man: “It is a man. I created him with mixed materials - bottle caps, wire, bicycle, wine corks. It is a bearded man.”

Butcheca affirms that his portrayal of movement is an intended goal in this piece: “So for me what I’m doing is to get movement. On the street when I see people riding bicycles. Doing what he does - *malabarismos* (juggling) and riding the bicycle is transport.” There are many different references to movement throughout this mixed media sculpture: the spirals within the wheels, the extension or arc at the back of the figure. Butcheca affirms this: “So if you see circles created –you can see movement. The bicycle is starting not to be able to make movement. That’s why I represent tires with movement.” Because of Butcheca’s extensive construction and additions to this bicycle – it literally cannot move any longer. To continue its movement, he has resorted to suggesting this visually. Movement is implied through the use of the recycled
materials (bottle caps) that adorn the spirals on the wheels and the whoosh of an arc of implied movement at the rear of the rider.

In Malabarista, as with his other artworks, Butcheca does not rely on the former meaning of these recycled materials in any way. The bottle caps are simply used to cover the wire, as part of his working process. He explains: “To cover is the meaning of the recycling materials - so even to buy a zinc roof to cover is more like how I use recycled materials.”54 There is not a further meaning or purpose beyond the fact that he uses these materials as a preferred tool, in conjunction with the media materials, merely used as glue to hold the artwork together, for engineering (Rubin 1983).

Several paintings hanging nearby in Butcheca’s exhibition illustrate a figure on a cross and a bicycle similar to the one he has incorporated into this sculptural work. Butcheca confirms that these paintings were created prior to the construction of the three-dimensional works Xibalakatsi and Malabarista.

**Untitled Painting 1. oil and acrylic on canvas, 2011**

A skeletal figure of non-specified gender on a cross dominates the canvas (See Figure 6-15). A bicycle, vertically oriented downward, is overlaid upon the figure on the cross. Both forms are loosely constructed in black and white. The more solidly painted brown cross anchors the painting. An effect approaching striping, created with wide blocks of muted blocks of blue, orange, pink and gold envelope the images with pronounced dripping and spattered colored and white paint. Conspicuous flashes of red paint appear beneath the bicycle seat and on the chest of the figure.

This painting illustrates the cyclical process of Butcheca’s artistic techniques. His working methods discussed above can readily be seen in the juxtaposition of paintings such as this one and his completed sculptural forms. The central forms of a bicycle and a figure on a
cross depicted in this painting directly prefigure his multi-media assemblages, *Malabarista – the Man who rides the Bicycle* and Xibalakatsi/Slingshot. An unmistakable detail noted in this painting is the conspicuous bright red flash of red paint that appears directly below the bicycle seat. The small curve of red paint begins to take on the appearance of a tongue, becoming ever more sinister, as the bicycle seat begins to morph into a head depicted in profile with an eye and a mouth. Although I did not get confirmation from Butcheca, it is probable that this element of the painting developed into the large figure, *Malabarista*, who eventually consumed the bicycle with his overgrown form.

*Satellite. mixed media, 2011*

*Satellite* is a tall, freestanding kinetic sculpture composed of wood with wire additions (See Figures 6-16, 6-17). A circular wooden platform painted black anchors and supports the structure overall. Wires of varying thicknesses are wrapped around the base. From the base, thin wooden planks and tree branches create arms protruding in all directions. Each of these arms terminates in a thick, circular wooden disk near its end, the wooden plank or branch penetrating as a nub on the opposite end. *Satellite* is painted black, orange, and white. A large white X is painted on the black platform of the base. Several of the arrayed discs include details of abstract, geometric forms, one of which depicts a simply drawn face. *Satellite* is a kinetic form, which results in an uneven arced orbit of rotation when it is spun.

Butcheca explained that the base of *Satellite* represents land, as it splits apart. He envisions movement as the goal of *Satellite* – its purpose is to control the circulation of the world: “*Satellite* exists in space. My idea is to hang it. It is about movement – the movement of the piece.” Butcheca explains how Satellite is intended to be interactive, “if you go to an exhibition you have to pay if it’s [artworks are] broken.” Butcheca refers to art displayed in a gallery context and its inability to be touched by viewers. He wishes to create more interaction
with his art and its movement. This is an interesting thought that is shared by Matequenha in regard to his musical instrument/artworks. Butcheca’s final comment regarding his exhibition overall underscores how he links his didactic message to God, “So this is my big God and my realization my God was to show people they can reuse garbage we make to make exhibit.”

**Conclusion: Domingos and Butcheca**

Time spent viewing Domingos and Butcheca working and discussing their artistic practices has allowed me to understand the importance of recyclia in their distinct practices focused on educating viewers. Broadly speaking, in Mozambique, I have documented a significant trend among contemporary artists to utilize pre-used materials as media in the creation of their artworks. In this chapter I have specifically focused on two such artists who recycle mixed materials in the construction of their art. Both of these artists favor selecting diverse recyclia, which they often combine with traditional media materials. In as many ways as these artists are linked in their preference to combine an assorted mixture of unrelated materials, they differ in the juxtaposition of objects they choose to create their art.

Domingos and Butcheca both use diverse recyclia as a didactic tool. Domingos uses recycled materials to instruct viewers on widely varied social issues. By creating art from everyday materials people can relate to, he is able to reach his audiences, one of which includes uneducated individuals with messages intended specifically for them. Domingos views recycled materials as symbols that are transformed into larger meanings as they are incorporated in his work. In contrast, Butcheca views the recycled materials he utilizes as a bridge, a link between materials. Solely interested in the literal materiality of the recycled materials to aid his process of transformation, Butcheca combines diverse pre-used materials to construct art that is centrally focused on the process of its creation. Furthermore, Butcheca’s creative process is rooted in his
use of recycled materials as he develops forms based on a process, as he links diverse recycled materials and “media materials” to construct his large mixed media sculptures.

1 This area originally housed the Lourenço Marques city dump until the mid 1960s when it reached capacity. At this time the Hulene Dump was built and garbage disposal for Maputo was transferred there.

2 Domingos, interview, Maputo (Aeroporto), Mozambique, August 5, 2011.

3 See chapter two for a discussion of sponsorship of the arts related to specific museums, organizations, movements, businesses and the Mozambican government.

4 Domingos, interview, Maputo (Aeroporto), Mozambique. August 5, 2011.

5 Domingos, personal communication, August 14, 2013.

6 Ibid.

7 Domingos. interview, Maputo (Aeroporto), Mozambique. August 5, 2011.


9 I asked Domingos if there was significance in the fact that he had created this donkey with six legs. He responded that there was no significance – “Same like Picasso says – to bring myths to the head,” January 4, 2013.

10 Shangaan/Shangana is an indigenous Mozambican language from the Bantu family with Tsonga roots. Shangana is predominantly spoken in Southern Mozambique, encompassing the capital of Maputo, in the Maputo region.

11 To my pleasant surprise, I once observed a trova with the entire metal body of a Volkswagen beetle automobile balanced upon it.

12 Domingos, interview, Maputo (Aeroporto), Mozambique. September 1, 2011.

13 Domingos, interview, Maputo (Aeroporto), Mozambique, September 1, 2011.

14 Domingos, interview, Maputo (Aeroporto), Mozambique, January 4, 2013.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.

20 Domingos, interview, Maputo (Aeroporto), Mozambique. August 5, 2011.

Domingos, interview, Maputo (Aeroporto), Mozambique. August 5, 2011.


Ibid.

Ibid.

See chapter two for a discussion of A Associação Associação Núcleo de Arte included within an overview of Maputo’s arts organizations.

Ibid.


Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Butcheca, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, August 19, 2011.


Ibid.


Butcheca, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, November 18, 2010.


Butcheca’s curious disinterest in the symbolism, imagery and overall meaning of his artworks in deference to his greater interest in the process and technique of combining recycled and media materials will become increasingly apparent through my continued discussion of Butcheca and his artworks in this chapter.

The original burnt planks were later replaced with new, smooth wood planks embellished with circular cutouts on both arms of the cross.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Butcheca, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, January 10, 2013.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.
Dos M/2M is a popular beer in Mozambique, distinguished by its bright red label and bottle cap.

See chapter two for a discussion of Matequenha’s artwork and concepts surrounding touch in museums in the section of MUVART.
Figure 6-1. Domingos. *Compradores Ambulante de Ferro*/*Itinerant Iron Buyers*, mixed media on canvas, 2008. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
Figure 6-2. Domingos. *Sinistro/Sinister*. mixed media on canvas, 2009. Photograph by Alcides Goba
Figure 6-3. Domingos. Materials for anticipated artworks: Manifestação/Demonstrations – The Bread Riots. mixed media. unfinished. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
Figure 6-4. Domingos. Closer view of materials for anticipated artworks: Manifestação/Demonstrations –The Bread Riots. mixed media. unfinished. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
Figure 6-5. Butcheca. *Door*. mixed media. n.d. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
Figure 6-6. View 1: Butcheca working on *Rua Passada/Past Street*. mixed media, 2011. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
Figure 6-7. View 2: Butcheca working on *Rua Passada/Past Street*. mixed media, 2011. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
Figure 6-8. Butcheca. *Xibalakatsi/Slingshot*. work in progress. mixed media, 2011. Photograph by A. Schwartzot
Figure 6-9. Butcheca. Detail. *Xibalakatsi/Slingshot*. work in progress. mixed media, 2011. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
Figure 6-10. Butcheca. *Xibalakatsi/Slingshot* at *CCFM exhibit*, mixed media, 2011. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
Figure 6-11. Butcheca. *Malabarista/Juggler – the Man who rides the Bicycle.* mixed media, 2011. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
Figure 6-12. Butcheca. Detail of face. *Malabarista/Juggler – the Man who rides the Bicycle.* mixed media, 2011. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
Figure 6-13. Butcheca. Detail of bottlecap construction. *Malabarista/Juggler – the Man who rides the Bicycle.* mixed media, 2011. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
Figure 6-14. Butchca. View of works in situ: Malabarista in foreground and Xibalakatsi in the background, Ruinas do Passado/Past Ruins Exhibition, CCFM, August 2011. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
Figure 6-15. Butcheca. *Untitled 2.* oil and acrylic/canvas. 2011. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
Figure 6-16. Butcheca. *Satellite*. mixed media, 2011. Photograph by A. Schwartzott
Figure 6-17. Butcheca with his artwork *Satellite*. mixed media, 2011. Photograph by Alcides Goba
Recently, fear of war between FRELIMO and RENAMO has been exacerbated by RENAMO’s unilateral annulment of its 1992 Peace Accord with FRELIMO on October 22, 2013. RENAMO actions are a response to FRELIMO’s attack and seizure of its military base in Santunjira, near Gorongosa in the Sofala province. RENAMO leader Afonso Dhlakama remains missing after fleeing the scene (BBC 2013). Municipal elections scheduled to take place in Mozambique on November 20, 2013, underscore the politicized nature of recent conflicts. RENAMO alleges that FRELIMO (which has been in power since the democratic elections of 1992), has maintained a one sided fraudulent electoral system (Ibid.). RENAMO questions the fact that its party has never won a national election since the Peace Accord and challenges past election results, seeking greater political representation. FRELIMO aims to disarm RENAMO, which it views as a threat to the continuation of peace within the country.

Daily accounts by national and international news agencies report continuing violence between FRELIMO and RENAMO. Armed attacks have escalated since fall of 2013, resulting in loss of life on both sides of the conflict (Reuters 2013). Increasing tensions between FRELIMO and RENAMO indicate the return to war as a real possibility. War continues to influence the lives of Mozambican artists. A new sculpture by Makolwa, o medo de voltar a guerra/the fear of returning to war, is a vivid commentary of the precarious situation in his country at the present time (See Image 7-1). Constructed of recycled materials, the work combines a pan with plastic handles, kettle, the inner part of a spotlight, copper and aluminum wire, and nails. Makolwa described the sculpture, explaining how it expresses his fears that his country may soon return to war:

…and fear that I have to go back to war (me and the remaining young Mozambicans) because of the political situation in the country we live -
Mozambique and the world, between RENAMO and FRELIMO, because the war is something that has to exist in the world. She [war] leaves the poor without knowing what will happen and leaves the children with no future. I hate people who make war, especially those who make weapons.\(^1\)

Makolwa’s sculpture portrays a young and helpless individual who is especially vulnerable to the threat of impending war. The dull, dented surface combined with the wiry, stringy hair, and placid expression on its upturned face reveals inconsolable sadness. The combination of Makolwa’s artwork with his narrative defining his fear of renewed war is powerful. Together they underscore the continuing impact of war and its importance among Mozambicans.

I have found that war has contributed to the development of recycling as an artistic practice in Mozambique. I would like to return to this factor, as well as summarizing other elements that have contributed to a widespread use of recycled materials as media. Creative, environmental, and financial factors have also played a role influencing artists to consider using pre-used materials. Past wars and the development of the *Transforming Arms into Plowshares/Transformação de Armas em Enxadas* (TAE) project have also been influential in creating a particularly Mozambican style of art. The TAE project, developed by Bishop Sengulane as a tool for peacebuilding, peacekeeping, and post-conflict resolution, has made a great artistic contribution, beyond its aim to remove weapons from the landscape of Mozambique. This project has inspired an awareness of using recycled materials as art media and widely contributed to the use of recycled materials among many Mozambican artists. Artists have participated in the TAE project (See chapter three), since Bishop Sengulane introduced its art component in 1997 at *A Associação Núcleo de Arte*. TAE’s process is inextricably linked to Mozambican wars, aiming to eradicate the country of weapons left behind following these wars. Artists who transform tools of destruction into tools for peace, remembrance, and post-conflict resolution, are also recycling objects into art.
Artist Titos Mabota made an astute observation during one of our conversations about the TAE project and its popularity among artists. He explained that the project’s major appeal is the provision of materials. Artists who began working with TAE gained access to materials at no cost, as well as learning about the advantages of choosing recyclia as a medium. In addition to the project’s important message of peace, by taking part in TAE, artists receive first hand experience working with recycled materials. TAE has made a great impact in the artistic community of Maputo particularly, where its headquarters are based. Since working with TAE, many artists have been inspired to work with recycled materials and continue to utilize this type of media in the construction of their art.

Varied techniques used among artists working with recycled materials in this dissertation include unraveling canvas, tearing newspapers, and stitching together bottle caps. Other methods comprise welding destroyed weapons, gouging boat hulls, carving dead trees, and pounding pots and pans. Each of these different techniques facilitates the transformation of recycled materials into art. Through the voices and artworks of the artists included here I have shown a wide variety of recycled materials that are selected as media to facilitate these techniques. Object materiality has been a fundamental focus of my investigation, and elucidates the selection of specific media used by artists. This inquiry develops a greater understanding of artists’ conceptual methodologies, and individual styles. Object frictions, the theoretical framework I conceptualized, serves as a useful analytical tool for defining and understanding artists and their works. My analysis is strongly rooted in Igor Kopytoff’s biography of the object, which inspired my subsequent inquiry into the history of the objects and the artists who use them. Regardless of whether the object is significantly altered in its adaption to become part of an artwork, these objects all become disengaged from their past uses.
Artists have a range of motivations for using recycled materials including economic, ecological, and creative concerns. Most artists I have observed cite the possibility of expanding their creativity as their foremost motivation for selecting recycled materials to work with. Artists’ accounts of how they are able to develop creatively by using recyclia are linked to the diversity of materials they select. These include artists such as João, who substitutes jeans as a canvas support for painting; Bono, who uses newspaper to explore varied uses of paper; Makolwa, whose interest lies in transformations as he links metal objects with wooden forms; Carmen, who prefers using recycled materials because she is able to find good garbage in the streets; and Alexandria, who combined recycled metal with wood to balance his sculptures.

Other themes addressed in these artworks made from recycled materials include politics, social commentary, and cultural heritage. Examples include artists such as Domingos, who uses recycled materials as a didactic tool to instruct viewers on widely varied social issues; Mathe, who covers his front yard with kinetic sculptures made of recycled metal objects to instruct neighbors about art made from recyclia; Butcheca, who prefers using recyclia as a tool in his artworks to illustrate transformation and movement; and Falcão, who stitches together twisted and tied bits of canvas to create his “modern stitched canvases” as a solution to his lack of canvases for painting.

In this research I have linked a number of artists based on their use of pre-used materials, disparate motivations, and proposed outcomes for their artwork. Because of these connections, I believe I have been observing what can be defined as a contemporary art historical movement in Mozambique. The movement of artists using recycled materials has evolved and continues to attract artists based on the broad scale of its popularity. Furthermore, the widespread use of
recycled materials as media is supported, exhibited, and disseminated by the spaces of contemporary art in Maputo discussed here (See chapter two).

Through the presentation of diverse artists I have identified links that illustrate how their art may be defined as distinctly Mozambican. Not only are artists using objects from Mozambican society in their art (perhaps best exemplified by TAE’s art made from weapons), but this art focuses on defining a particularly Mozambican identity based both on media and themes. Several examples include Zeferino, who bases his creation of pots and pans with individual expressions on traditional Makonde masking traditions; Pekiwa, who selects damaged boats to define cultural histories and social issues of Mozambican fisherman; Ana, who uses capulanas to identify gender in connection with Mozambican identity; and Calisto, who appropriates Mozambican political heroes such as Eduardo Mondlane and Samora Machel in is graphic designs for posters promoting varied social causes.

By using recycled materials, these artists create art that is quintessentially Mozambican. Several of these artists equate their artwork with past histories or cultural remnants, linking their contemporary artwork with past narratives and identities. In these examples, the artists illustrate the strong tie of recycling as a practice of everyday life in Mozambique and also Africa. Contemporary artists in Mozambique are not only connected to past artistic traditions, but continue these traditions within contemporary contexts. By presenting these artists as a representative sample of the large number of artists who use recycled materials in Mozambique, I illustrate how recycling permeates all levels of society, including its expansion into art making on a widespread scale, and how the use of recycled materials by these artists inspires them and instills a sense of pride in their artistic practices.
Recently I received an email from the artist Domingos. I include it here because it underscores the current situation in Mozambique and it makes an important statement about its artists:

Are you all right? Here we are in a state of planning due to the confrontations of the army with the forces of RENAMO in the center of the country, particularly in Sofala. This stems from the stalemate in conversations there have been between FRELIMO and RENAMO and the result of the arrogance President Guebuza finds with the RENAMO leader Afonso Dhlakama. However life goes on and as artists we continue to produce our artwork. Good night.3

Domingos’s email included an image of the shell of a bus that was charred black and destroyed (See Image 7 -2). This bus represents one of the many attacks that have recently occurred as a result of the escalating violence between RENAMO and FRELIMO. This incident and others like it occurred on the main north-south highway between the Save River and the town of Muxungue in the central province of Sofala, roughly 380 miles from Maputo. Due to this violence, armed military convoys have been necessary to ensure safe passage through this section of the highway (Noticias 2013).

In this case, RENAMO gunmen stopped the bus, looted its passengers, killed the driver, and injured nine others (four seriously), and then set bus on fire. Supposedly the bus had been traveling without escorts (Noticias 2013; BBC News 2013). Linking the image with Domingos’s words creates a frightening idea of what life must be like right now in Mozambique. After Domingos’s email I had conflicted emotions. Despite feeling saddened, upset, and helpless about Mozambique’s unknown future, I was moved by the poignancy of the fact that he believes life will go on and artists will continue to create art. I hope this is true and the artists and others will remain safe. The artists addressed here tell the stories of their culture through bits and pieces of its discarded histories. Looking beyond the terror of recent events in Mozambique, it is necessary to recognize an important concept that resonates through this uncertainty. One of the most
important ideas these artists continue to demonstrate through their words and their artwork is their ability to recognize the power of art and its ability to inspire artists to create.

1 Makolwa, personal communication with author, September 12, 2013.

2 Titos Mabota, interview, Maputo, Mozambique, November 11, 2010.

3 Domingos, personal communication with author, November 1, 2013.
Figure 7-1. Makolwa. *o medo de voltar a guerra/the fear of returning to war* mixed recycled materials, 2013. Photograph by Makolwa
Figure 7-2. Burned bus, photograph sent by Domingos, photographer unknown, November, 2013.
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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Amy Schwartzott has been conducting research on African artists since 2007, and recently completed a Centre for Conflict Studies Fellowship (2011-2012). She received two Fulbright awards based on her research, one of which, the Fulbright-Hays DDRA, funded intensive research in Mozambique for 15 months in 2010-2011, and facilitated the completion of her dissertation. She previously received funding for a National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Institute exploring Native American arts and literature. Ms. Schwartzott has taught African, Non-Western, and Western art history at Coastal Carolina University, University of Florida, Canisius College, Buffalo State College, and the Wyoming Correctional Facility, where she taught Western art history survey classes to inmates.

Ms. Schwartzott has participated in several curatorial projects, including serving as a consultant for the U.S. Embassy in Mozambique’s exhibition, A Vitalidade da Arte Mocambicana/The Vitality of Mozambican Arts, exhibition curator of Senegalese Reverse Glass Paintings: Strength and Fragility: A Unique Vision, at the Center for African Studies at the University of Florida, as well as serving as Assistant Curator of Ceramics at the Everson Museum of Art. Ms. Schwartzott received her PhD from the University of Florida in May 2014 under the direction of Victoria Rovine and Robin Poynor. She attained her MA in Art History from the University at Buffalo, where she studied contemporary Native American arts with Jolene Rickard and Ancient art with L. Vance Watrous. She received her BA from Drew University, in Madison, New Jersey, where she first studied African Art with Phil Peek.