

3

Spirit

Chiefly Authority, Soil, and Medium

The sovereign deals with a nature, or rather with the perpetual conjunction, the perpetual intrication of a geographical, climatic, and physical milieu with the human species insofar as it has a body and a soul, a physical and moral existence; and the sovereign will be someone who will have to exercise power at that point of connection where nature, in the sense of physical elements, interferes with nature in the sense of the nature of the human species, at that point of articulation where the milieu becomes the determining factor of nature.

Michel Foucault (2007 [2004]: 23)

This vision of sovereign power hovering above the relations between natural and human elements is relevant beyond genealogical analyses of biopower, pastoral power, and governmentality. If we go beyond Foucault's near exclusive context and subject of enquiry, Europe, these relations move to the forefront of social and political life. In Honde, crucial interconnections between polities of chiefly rule and traditional authority, cosmologies of land and the well-being of its inhabitants, and soil are present in a number of contexts. We have seen indications of this previously through Renamo's appropriation of the traditional field, in Ngungunyane's problematic relations with rainmaking capacities, or in the FAM soldiers' capture of the capacities of traditional healers to discipline its troops. Importantly, these relations are addressed and also man-

ifest themselves in everyday practices—what we may, perhaps glibly, call the sociality of bios.

Whereas the preceding chapter mapped historical patterns of statist dynamics of territory and capture of people, labor, and space, this chapter explores the rural-urban continuum of Honde and Chimoio to trace specific instances of deterritorialization. Based on analyses of notions and practices of *tchianhu wo atewe*, territory (*nhika*), as well as specifically mapping different types of spirits with varying capacities—*tchiphoko*, *pfukwa*, *tchawiwi*, and *mhondoro*—the chapter substantiates the virtuality of the traditional field by arguing these spirits to be powerful actualizations opposed to territorializing statist dynamics. But in order to provide such a genealogy of spirits in the context of the violent processes of state formation, we need first to turn to the soil of Honde and its vital capacities of crop growth—*ndimo*.

Autochthony, Rain, and an Enfeebled Soil

Honde's undulating hills are dotted by scattered household compounds surrounded by *machambas*, plots of cultivated land. In the wet streams or humid riverbeds, or in rivulets and crevices, there are a number of low-lying *matoro* plots crucially yielding crops during the so-called "months of hunger" (January to March) before the main *machambas* start producing. Households variously participate in cash crop economies where the most common produce is tobacco (sold predominantly to Zimbabwean and US companies) and tomatoes, lettuce, bananas, and mangoes sold in informal markets in and around Chimoio. Interspersed between and on compounds, *machambas*, and *matoros* are fruit trees, permanently uncultivated areas such as traditional graveyards, or plots that lay fallow or are deserted. Agricultural practice is characterized by significant ruptures, as during periods of warfare, and also has considerable intragenerational diversity and seasonal shift. These ruptures and cycles also reflect *longue durée* colonial and postcolonial systems of capture of populations, their labor, as well as urban and rural space.

Looming particularly large on people's horizon is the rupture entailed by civil war violence—impinging heavily on agricultural practices, perceptions of the soil, and the sociopolitical organization of territory. Effectively causing Honde to be vacated from the early 1980s onward (see also Bertelsen 2002 for further details), the civil war left the soil largely fallow and uncultivated for more or less a decade until in the 1990s. Then, individuals and families started recultivating after returning, more or less permanently, from Chimoio's *bairros*, from Renamo camps

to which many had been forcibly abducted, or from other locations to which the war had dislocated them.

According to local land tenure, one should then assume that as seeds again sprouted from the soil left fallow for such a long time, the earth should yield richly. This is, for instance, the case with crops like cassava (*mandioka*), where it is perceived that the *machamba* must be left uncultivated for a certain number of years to recuperate. Following this logic, the postwar soil should locally be seen as fertile and rich, especially around 1999 when I first started doing fieldwork.¹ Not so: there was constant talk of the frail and low maize stalks and, as time passed, how meager the harvested crops were. If it had not been for the explanations given, these complaints about low yields might merely have been meant to divert unwanted attention from one's own large produce—considering that the farmer having a larger crop than others might be suspected of being involved in dark economies of accumulation. Such nebulous economies involve the use of *uroi* (sorcery) or zombie slave labor (*kurima no zwiphoko*) to magically and illicitly augment one's yields and work capacity on the *machamba* and *matoro*.²



Illustration 3.1. The conspicuous red piece of corn within the otherwise ordinary (and well-ordered) cob is called an *acidente mágico* (magical accident) and for informants highlights the interconnectedness of soil, crops, and sociality. Honde, 2000.

Significantly, in Honde, instead of implicating *uroi*, it was alleged that prior to the war, the soil yielded more and induced the crops with *ndimo*—a term used for both the capacity to grow and to designate a concrete substance vital to this. Due to the civil war, however, significant aspects of *ndimo* were destroyed resulting in less produce postwar. That *ndimo* is imperative for success in growth was pointed out to me in 2000 in a conversation with an elderly man, the brother of the *tchirenge*:

The maize needs *ndimo* to grow. If there is none, it will grow very, very little and become very weak. This is good soil, not like in [a location with sandy soil some kilometers away]. Here we used to grow big cobs of maize [*magwere*], big cassava [*mandioka*], a lot. Now after the war, there is a problem with the soil. There is little *ndimo*. What we need now is fertilizer, you know, the kind you just take in your hand and throw on the ground. Before the war we did not need it. *Ndimu* is better, but there is little of it now because of the war.

As the latest rupture, the civil war and its upheavals incapacitated the soil and violently restructured people's relations to it. The powerful notion of *ndimo* captures this sense of how the past is inherent not merely to bodies, spirits, and narratives, but also in places, landscapes and the very soil itself. *Ndimu* highlights the vital relation between territory and people through informing and shaping the very productive capacity of the community. Moreover, it induces crop fertility with sociality where its productive and generative characteristics are seen to have been severed by the violence of the civil war. The enfeebled soil with its weakened *ndimo* may not only be viewed as a distinct casualty of civil war violence but rather as a materialization of the ongoing statist deterritorialization of the postcolonial period—hereunder Renamo's appropriation, feeding on, and thwarting of traditional leadership (e.g. the dislocation and relocation of *régulo* João mentioned previously) and the Frelimo state's reordering of the soil and people's relations to it with the formation of *aldeias comunais*.

Despite the feebleness of the soil postwar, however, distinct elements of territorial and social orders *do* endure, particularly land tenure arrangements, the production cycles, spatial arrangements, as well practices safeguarding conditions for the strengthening of *ndimo* and frequent and adequate amounts of rain. The former, *ndimo*, is ideally constantly regenerated through the engaging of the *aridzi wo nhika*—the term for the group of people who are recognized to be autochthonous and to hold sets of land-use rights. The *aridzi wo nhika*—which literally translates from chiTewe as “owners of the land” or “owners of the territory”—were dispersed during wartime as all others. However, most assumed their former positions upon return to Honde postwar without

anyone contesting their rights to their quite valuable lands close to Chimoio. The *aridzi wo nhika* of Honde belong to the same *mbizi mitupo* (zebra clan), with taboos against eating the meat of zebra and certain other animals and birds, while the majority of people in and around Chimoio belong to the *tchimoyo* (heart) *mitupo*.³

Henri Philippe Junod, son of the famous missionary and ethnographer Henri Alexandre Junod, argues in an early article (1934) that the *mbizi* clan's relationship to the zebra was central to a comprehensive system of patrilineal clan membership.⁴ Junod's (1934: 31) observations still have validity as the consequence of breaking the taboo of zebra meat consumption is similar to today's consequences. In one such Honde case, a man was given meat of unknown origins when he was working at TextAfrica in Chimoio in the 1970s. As this was, unfortunately, zebra meat, his front teeth rotted away shortly thereafter. In social settings he is still often ridiculed for not having taken greater care when he received the meat—a fact he, grudgingly, accepts. Importantly, his missing teeth display the violation of clan taboos to all.⁵

Nonetheless, there is one notable exception to the *mbizi* clan dynamics from Junod's period: the zebras that then provided protection and premonitive guidance in times of dangers no longer roam the *nhika*—the territory—of Honde. As all other game, the zebras were hunted and eaten by the Renamo, FAM forces, and the Zimbabwean *makomerede* (from “comrade”) during the civil war. The violence of the civil war thereby created a situation where the protective capacities of clan membership through the roaming of the zebra as well as the very capacity for life itself, *ndimo*, are targeted and weakened. Confronted with these challenges to sociospatial organization, the figure of the *tchirenge* again assumes importance and leads the *aridzi wo nhika* in questions of land, soil, and territorial spirits (*gombwa*), as well as in safeguarding rainfall.⁶ In annual ceremonies for rain usually held in *gumiguru* (November⁷ in chiTewe), the *tchirenge* organizes the brewing of *duro* beer made from maize bran or sorghum, as well as the necessary clearing of a ritual space in front of the *mudoe* tree where communal rituals are often held. During a period of ten days to a week before the ceremony, all family groups (*dzindza*) contribute bran, sorghum, or sugar to the beer brewing, materially underlining the communal effort involved in asking for sufficient amounts of rain and at correct times. Come the day of the ceremony, postmenopause women⁸ and middle-age to elderly men gather in the morning in a semicircle in front of the *mudoe*—women and men in opposite spots. During the ceremony, the *tchirenge* with an assistant will kneel in front of the *mudoe* and make appeals to the *gombwa*, pour libations of *nipa* (homemade liquor), *portugaro* (red wine of Portuguese

origins), and sometimes *duro* on the ground or where the trunk meets the soil. *Kuembera*—the ceremonial clapping of cupped hands—is done and the *tchirenge* or his assistant will also drink a cup often of *portugaro* and *nipa* mixed. Afterward, the *duro* is passed around and the ceremony's more informal and festive part gradually replaces the solemn plea for rain—a plea integral to maintaining good relations between people, soil, and ancestors, as well as between the *tchirenge* and the *aridzi wo nhika*. In a conversation with the *tchirenge* in November 2005 after having participated in the rainmaking ceremony, I asked him which spirits he addressed. He replied,

I ask all spirits here. The spirits of my family, the spirits of the *dzindza*, the spirits of Tanzania, Zimbabwe. These are all persons who died here and some did not receive ceremonies in their homes. It is important to ask them for help as well.

The spirits of the *tchirenge*'s own *dzindza* are integral to those of the *aridzi wo nhika*. This fact is unsurprising given the dominance of this group, which claims, and is related to by state agents and people in Chimoio alike, itself as autochthonous to Honde. However, the inclusion of spirits born of war and violence is more surprising. During the civil war, the great number of, first, ZANLA guerrillas and then Zimbabwean national soldiers aided FAM forces in the area as did some groups of Tanzanian soldiers—both nationalities known as *makomerede*. Especially many Zimbabwean *makomerede* were killed by either Renamo forces, FAM forces, or by desperate local people robbing them. As the untended corpses of the *makomerede* rotted away in the *mato* without family or kin securing their transition from human form to becoming revered spiritual beings, these concerns are instead belatedly addressed by the *aridzi wo nhika* in the figure of the *tchirenge*.

The *tchirenge*'s inclusive move of spirits of also nonautochthonous origins challenges the somewhat static connections often made between territory, spirits, and people in analyses. This view is found in Bourdillon's assertion, based on his Korekore Shona material, that there is an asymmetric relation between autochthony and allochthony in their perceived capacity to secure rain and fertility (1987: 258–60). This runs counter to the Honde example where nonterritorial spirits are ritually integrated at several levels. For one, these spirits of Zimbabwean and Tanzanian *makomerede* and others are addressed in general rituals which, crucially, acknowledging their existence. However, and more significantly, they are also integrated into the most central assertion of reproductive and productive capacities of the community—that which secures the vital resource of rain, good harvests, and the well-being of the living.⁹ The

tchirenge's inclusion of *makomerede* and other allochthonous spirits is therefore instructive for appreciating the flexible and dynamic nature of the traditional field. By invoking, recognizing, and including these spirits of allochthonous origins, their destructive potential is acknowledged and encompassed. This potency is born out of their violent death, which, as these were left unburied outside the domain of sociality (in the *mato*), can produce a *pfukwa*—the collective term for a range of malign, vengeful, and powerful spirits. Thus, from being relegated to the edges of sociality, harboring danger, and potentially wreaking havoc as *pfukwa*, the centripetal process of integration of the spirits inaugurated by ritual bring these into the heart of social, territorial, and practical regeneration and continuity.

As the dynamic of postwar rainmaking above shows, the very soil of Honde has been stained by the blood of the civil war and general postindependence social upheaval—a rupture testified to by postwar produce being poorer than that of prewar territory. Beyond the concerns with *ndimo*, changes are also expressed as seeing *tradição* having been forcibly weakened with disastrous disintegrative effects. As the *tchirenge* voiced in 2000:

T: Now there is a lack of *tradição*. This all happened before, you know, in the time of Samora [Machel] when they said there should be no *tradição*, no ceremony, no nothing! Before there would always be rain, no problem except in years of drought. No matter, it would fall on 15 November each year. But now, ah, there is no rain even on 16 November! Before there used to be always, always, a ceremony for the rain, wishing for it to come. Now, ah, people just want to make a ceremony when it is dry. This is wrong. ... When the new people [Frelimo Party secretaries] came they did not know anything; they were from Cabo Delgado and Zambézia, not from here. They did not know how to organize things because of this.

B: You were not allowed to make ceremonies?

T: Hell! No, no, no. No one was allowed. There were no *réculos*, no *tchirenge*, no nothing. It is only after the war of Dhlakama that we have started again. Because he said, "You can pray and do your ceremonies." He introduced democracy. But a lot of people forgot a lot while this was illegal. Like now, a girl may go down to the river to fetch water in a pot for *sadza* [maize-meal-based staple food], and she would not even now she is doing something wrong!

B: So *tchianhu wo atewe* has changed?

T: Yes, it has changed a lot. It continues but in another form. It is like with other things, like the church. Before there was the Catholic church and the Muslim church. Now, ah, there is Zione, Mapostore, Assembleia de Deus [charismatic or Pentecostal churches]. Only in [a nearby larger locality] there

are eight different! But it is all just a trick, they are all churches for eating [Igrejas de comer]! You make your own church and you say, “Everybody has to pay me MT 10,000” [USD 4]. After six months you have a church and a lot of money. Is this right?¹⁰

Evident in the *tchirenge*’s narrative is how he sees *tradição* itself as having suffered from the damages inflicted by the civil war and by Frelimo policy. For the *tchirenge*, imposing allochthonous party secretaries from the provinces of Cabo Delgado and Zambézia, Frelimo’s prohibitions of ceremonies, and the rise of a range of expansive charismatic and African independent churches are all signs of a weakened traditional field. Such framing of weakening within experiences and practices of the soil, land, and rain is commonplace. These sentiments were also voiced by Eduardo, a former soldier in the FAM during the civil war. When visiting his household, I asked him during conversation about *tradição* and its strength after the civil war. He said,

Here the *tchianhu wo atewe* is very strong. Before you could not cross a river before asking permission. You had to pick a leaf from a plant on the riverside and drink some of the water from the river. That is how you asked permission before you crossed. But now, ah, people just cross. There is no respect. But tradition is very strong so because of this lack of respect there are problems. This is why there is much more *uroi* now than before.

Eduardo’s and the *tchirenge*’s visions of *tchianhu wo atewe* converge in their emphasis on the troubled relations between people, ancestors, and soil in the absence, subsequent nonpractice, and erosion of knowledge and recollection of traditional ways. What I have seen as processes of deterritorialization related to subsequent state formations above is here expressed in terms of the fractured relations to the ancestors and the radical discontinuity especially entailed by the civil war. Such a context of fracture opens up for increased *uroi* and paves the way for those whom the *tchirenge* perceives to be charlatans of various churches. However, knowledge of and reverence for traditional ways of relating to work, soil, and territory—as in the breach committed by the young woman with the *sadza* pot or people crossing the river disrespectfully—is never universally socially distributed nor, of course, has it ever been.

This nonuniversal distribution of knowledge corresponds also to the feature of contestation and dynamicity inherent to the traditional field: influenced directly or indirectly by the larger Frelimo modernist project, this dimension has been seen in significant socioeconomic changes to organization of land tenure, household organization, and produce of a kind that came about after the civil war. Shortly after returning to Honde

postwar in 1996–97, several women told me that a meeting was held in which the problem of men drinking *nipa* (liquor) was discussed. *Nipa*, I was told, made the men “lazy” as they would drink instead of work the *machambas* each household tended together. Further, when harvest came, men would carry off substantial parts of the crops to Chimoio to sell and proceed to spend their profits on extensive drinking sprees. Collectively Honde women thus decided that this system of *machambas* tended to by households needed to be ended, and—to much protest from the men—they introduced a radical systemic change that divided plots within households, each *machamba* tended separately by the wife and husband.

A dimension highlighted by this shift was the control women have in the households over preparation and, sometimes, the buying of food-stuffs—aspects integral to the gendered control of substances of production and reproduction. By altering these aspects that are seen as integral to and engrained in *tradição*, women gained control over produce and increased access to income generated from the labor on the *machambas*. This again, one must perhaps assume, shifted the gendered balance within the household somewhat in the favor of women.¹¹

The reluctant postwar return included new forms of seasonal or sporadic relocations between Honde and Chimoio households that have also effected changes to the socioeconomic organization of labor on the *machambas*. However, these changes—which at least many women would subscribe to as positive—do not, of course, amount to gendered “emancipation” in any comprehensive sense. The basic patriarchal (and gerontocratic) structure of social organization in Honde in which female and male chores are spatially and hierarchically ordered prevails also postwar.¹² Also, despite sociospatial shifts and in the control with produce, the changes occurred within a dynamic understanding of *tradição* where crucial dimensions of the flow, circulation, and control of productive and reproductive substances, hereunder especially *magwere* (maize) from the *machambas*, is intimately and strongly related to the domain of women (see also Bertelsen 2014b).

Despite these gendered changes to land, however, by women and men alike, transformations of Honde society and the relations to and workings on the soil are predominantly understood in terms of a violation of relations to the ancestors through periods of nonveneration and nonpractice of rituals. The lack of *ndimo*, the infrequency of rain, and the people’s problematic engagement with the *nhika* itself are experienced as unsettled by past and ongoing violent events. However, the *nhika*, with its enfeebled soil, also harbors significant spirits of disorientation and vengeance and ghosts of past transgressions.

Deterritorialized Spirits and Spirits of Deterritorialization

The enfeebled soil, the depletion of the zebra impacting *mbizi* clan membership, the changes to rainmaking rituals, and the alterations to gendered socio-organizational land tenure have their corollaries in the powerful presence of deterritorialized spirits and spirits of deterritorialization. Evidenced also by the presence of *makomere*, the locations of Chimoio and Honde in the Beira corridor transformed these into heavily contested war zones during the civil war. Only in Southern Rhodesian soldiers' attacks on ZANLA bases on 23 December 1977 in what was officially called "Operation Dingo," two thousand guerrillas were killed (Flower 1987: 193).¹³

The presence of these past struggles and dead soldiers is still experienced in tangible ways—most notably in the form of *tchiphoko*, a form of ghost, and as *pfukwa*. In Honde the majority of both are seen to be born out of the war, but the *tchiphoko* differ from *pfukwa* or other spirits in the importance given to the particular bodily condition at the time of violent death. The majority of the *tchiphoko* of Honde and surroundings are former *makomere*, and being for the most part of Shona origin,¹⁴ the *makomere* are in what we may call an "ethno-territorial" sense seen to be endowed with considerable powerful magical knowledge as well significant spiritual power. Upon death and as we also have seen in the case of the *tchirenge*'s inclusion in rainmaking ceremonies, the spirits of the *makomere* are territorially and powerfully present in Honde. However, many of these are neither benign nor can they be placated through the social and cosmological mechanisms of inclusion represented by the *tchirenge* and others. For one, the deaths of many *makomere* were neither committed by Southern Rhodesian troops nor Renamo guerrillas but rather by local people in unclear circumstances of predation. When talking to people in Honde about these deaths that generated the *pfukwa* of *makomere*, I received responses often alluding to nefarious sorcery of the basest kind—the consumption of human flesh.¹⁵ A former Renamo guerrilla that had operated in the area during the civil war explained to me in 2005 the many and dangerous *pfukwa* in Honde:

During the war, there were many people who ate the flesh of the *makomere*. The war was very bad, you know. People did a lot of bad things. And because people ate the flesh of these, there are a lot of *pfukwa* from Zimbabwe here now.

This (bellicose) consumption of human flesh is central to the notion of *uroi*—and, in turn, *uroi* is central to the spirits' deterritorialized state of anger and destructive potential. The *pfukwa* born of a person having

been killed and robbed of goods—consumed in a social if not carnal sense—will potentially wander far and wide in search of his or her killers or their kin. Roaming the territory of Honde’s *aridzi wo nhika* are deterritorialized spirits, *pfukwa*, whose destructive capacity transcends the absorptive inclusionary practices of the *tchirenge*.¹⁶

However, there is also another presence making itself felt in the *nhika* of Honde—the *tchiphoko*. These are ghosts (and not spirits) generated often by wartime deaths, but where the potential transition to a spiritual state has been thwarted by the person’s use of *mutombo*—traditional medicine, often obtained from a *n’anga* (traditional healer, see also chapter 4). Usage of such *mutombo* in warfare has, of course, a long history in Mozambique as well as in other African contexts (Nicolini 2006) and more generally (Whitehead and Finnström 2013; Farrer 2014). However, this usage is often marked by transgression and its price: while it may protect you in battle and beyond, it might also make you vulnerable to dying under its influence as it hampers your normal moribund journey from body to spirit, instead transforming the nonbodied person into a ghost—a *tchiphoko*.

In the war zones of Honde, the Zimbabwean use of *mutombo* had a corollary in the prowess with which Renamo troops also tapped this magical resource. As we have also previously noted, Renamo guerrillas did not merely see themselves fighting an ordinary war but—in the words of their leader Afonso Dhlakama—a “war of the spirits” (see also Wilson 1992: 541). This war of spiritual and medicinal proportions was often waged between Renamo and ZANLA guerrillas prior to Zimbabwean independence in 1980, when Renamo to some degree was sustained from Salisbury (now Harare). Later, Renamo also engaged postindependence Zimbabwean troops put there to guard the precious Beira corridor as well as to aid embattled FAM troops.

This protracted period of warfare has generated numerous places recognized as sites of battles or massacres that host *tchiphoko*. One such place, a hilltop not far from Honde, is generally regarded as haunted and to be avoided. As one young man explained in 2008,

We have a lot of these *tchiphoko* here. A lot. Many of them are Zimbabweans. Those are much more dangerous than Mozambican ones, stronger. Haven’t you seen them at the mountain of ...? At night *tchiphoko* come out from there. There was an entire troop of Zimbabweans who were killed there by Renamo. Just like that. It is very dangerous there. You cannot go there, and especially not at night!

Knowledge about the presence of *tchiphoko* is widely distributed, and also children will know of haunted and perilous places. In a landscape inscribed by war’s violence and destruction, sites of *tchiphoko* together with

spots where massacres took place and compounds that were razed constitute points of particular sociospatial and cosmological import. These are spots bearing particular witness to the past and are largely avoided when moving through the landscape. *Gwanzas*, the paths between compounds and localities, therefore index not only the fastest route but are also patterns manifesting evasion of potentially dangerous spots. The *gwanza* least traveled, very visible due to high grass or little dirt exposed to the feet, therefore often passes through or close by areas with *tchiphoko*.

The *tchiphoko* and *gwanza* in different but similar ways reflect ambivalence toward the past and the unease with which knowledge of the violence is inscribed and embedded in the *nhika* of Honde. However, walking the *gwanza*, one may also come across another spirit—*tchawiwi*. *Tchawiwi* is a category of spirit that has strengthened itself in the post-war period and also has a significant presence in urban and peri-urban areas. Being a spirit of the territory, the *tchawiwi* is not ancestral in the term of belonging to any particular lineage or person. Its force is, however, distinct in the ferocity of its attack and its immediate effects—differentiating it from general ancestral spirits (*vadzimu*), territorial spirits (*gombwa*), the *pfukwa*, and the *tchiphoko*. Characteristically (and significantly) the afflicted is on the move—between two rural localities, between *bairros* in the city, or in transit between cities—when its presence is felt as a sudden and profound sense of disorientation and loss of general purpose. In a profoundly existential sense, the *tchawiwi* leaves one lost and displaced in—very often—settings that are quite familiar under normal circumstances. A typical experience was one recounted to me in 2005 by a young man living in Honde:

I was on my way one morning to [a nearby rural community] to drink *duro* when it happened. I was crossing a river and went into the forest. Going on the same *gwanza* I always use. Then, BAM! Chi! I did not know where I was anymore! I did not know what I was doing! I lost my way completely! I did not know what to do and I walked around aimlessly in the forest. The *tchawiwi* made me lose my way. Then, in the afternoon, I found a big tree. And I rested there a bit before I opened my bag of tobacco. I then knelt down, asked for my senses to come back to me, and did the *kuembera* [ceremonial clapping of hands]. And then it [the *gwanza*] came back to me! I knew where I was—the path was only ten meters away!

In this and other experiences, the force of the *tchawiwi* is undeniable, as is its characteristic movability and flexibility. Further, it is seen to cover great distances and travel at great speed. In almost nomadic fashion, it is beyond emplacement—contrary to the case of the *tchiphoko*. However, there is also another noteworthy dimension to the *tchawiwi* and that is how people perceive its purpose. An elderly woman in Honde, who is

the granddaughter of a chief from a formerly dominant lineage, underlined the *tchawiwi*'s significance in a conversation in 2008:

This spirit is movement. It is moving all the time—it may be here it may be there. You do not know! But it is there to protect *tradição*, to protect *tchianhu wo atewe*. When you encounter this spirit, you will think: “What is my plan? What am I about to do? What is good? What is bad?” *Tchawiwi* is not very dangerous but it is very, very important.

One dimension evident in this explanation of *tchawiwi* is that it is a de-territorialized spirit of *tchianhu wo atewe*, its roaming envoy, in a sense. It has the paradoxical capacity of appearing and disappearing abruptly when people are on the move, while at the same time posing fundamental questions regarding existential and social matters within a traditional framework. By decoupling your sensory system from the territory you are familiar with, the *tchawiwi*'s capacity is also one of reframing your understanding of self within the larger social and relational settings. In the attack, disorientation, and reframing, key concepts of morally right behavior are woven together with territorial and traditional dimensions of existence. This moral, social, and existential dimension is compounded by an additional comment frequently made that if attacked, “you will go uncontrolled” (*andar descontrolado*). In this context, “uncontrolled” is understood as purposeless movement and loss of direction. However, “uncontrolled” also suggests giving in to dark urges of criminal deeds, of being unfaithful (*andar fora*—“go outside”—again a territorial or spatial metaphor), or summoning the forces of *uroi*. Thus, a powerful creation or actualization of the traditional field, the *tchawiwi* forces onto its hapless victims a sense of self-comportment and self-reflection in regards to existential, social, and communal matters.¹⁷

Together, *tchawiwi* and *pfukwa*—spirits of deterritorialization and de-territorialized spirits respectively—are experienced as fundamental and often painful reminders of both past acts of violence and present transgressions. These experiences are compounded by the spatial presence of persons whose transition to spiritual existence was precluded by the double-edged capacity of *mutombo*, producing *tchiphoko*. The crucial dynamic of *nhika*—territory—involved in these three entities is also central to the capacities of the *mhondoro*.

The *Mhondoro* Deterritorialized and Reterritorialized

The term *mhondoro* in its basic Shona sense means “lion” but more commonly refers to “a spirit of a deceased person of eminence held to reside

in the body of a lion when not communicating from time to time with the living through an accredited human medium—socially recognized as a source of supernatural power, authority and sanctions,” as Abraham defined it (1966: 28).¹⁸ In more ways than one, the *mhondoro* is the supreme entity coalescing the various ways in which *nhika*, the traditional field, and its beings—both human and animal—are integrated. The *mhondoro* or “traditional lion” (*leão tradicional*), as people in Honde and Chimoio often call it, differs in terms of capacity and orientation from what people recognize as and call “natural lions.” Often called *shumba* or *leão natural* in Portuguese, this type of lion is seen to be dangerous and potentially lethal. However, the ferocity and predatory being of the *shumba* can always be resisted and evaded by eliciting the services of a traditional healer (*n’anga*) and engaging traditional ways of protecting one’s body and belongings. A critical distinction is made, however, between the *shumba* and two other capacities and shapes the lion may take—both of which are generally termed *mhondoro dwozutumua*. Both shapes comprise “traditional lions” in the sense of being nonnatural in origin and spirit if not in guise.

The significant differences between the two shapes dawned upon me during fieldwork in May 2008, just as a *mhondoro dwozutumua* ravaged a neighboring community to Honde. There it devoured three women who had been walking on a main *gwanza* in the daytime. The animal or animals (people disagreed whether it was a group or one single animal) had attacked and killed the women, bit off their heads, and dragged their bodies into the *mato* to consume. Following the attack,¹⁹ people speculated in conversations revolving around past and present contested political and social issues. A conversation I had with a young man who divided his time between tending his *machamba* and *matoro* in Honde and participating in *jumpaboda* (from the English “jump the border”)—the illicit practice of cross-border smuggling between Zimbabwe and Mozambique—was typical. As many others, he was certain of the nonlocal origins of the lions:

R: The lions were sent. That is what they say.

B: Who sent them?

R: They were sent by a country. They say it is Germany. The lions are here to create confusion [*confusão*].

B: Why Germany?

R: To kill and create trouble. Don’t you remember the case of eucalyptus trees and the way the Germans hunted our children? It is the same thing. They send bandits and they send lions and leopards.

B: But are they made?

R: They say they were raised in a park or perhaps outside the country. And there they were left with nothing to eat for two days. Then they were dropped off close to Gondola [a town near Chimoio].

B: Is it not possible to make a ceremony or protect oneself against these?

R: *Mano* [brother] Bjorn, if it had been a natural lion [*leão natural*], then you could make a ceremony to protect. But with this type that is made, you cannot. This type is called *mhondoro dwozutumua*. It is made to bite, to kill this one. The traditional type of *mhondoro dwozutumua* is to guard and roar only, not bite and maim like this. This type we have here is not new but it is different from the traditional lion. This one is very bad for the *machambas* here. No one wants to go. And the community police as well will not go.

B: Why do you not get arms?

R: Yes! But the government cannot do it—they have no power. You need special arms to do it. Renamo say that if it had been them in power, this could not have been possible. Renamo is more traditional. They could end this problem. But Frelimo are related to the bandits and want to fill their bellies only.

Evident in this case are several dimensions—one of which pertaining to a persistent preoccupation with international aid and transgression. In these popular conceptions, Germany and Germans are central to important accounts of abduction, killing, and consumption of children in Honde and beyond. In the account above, the young man mentions a specific project from the late 1990s wherein a German aid organization decided to use a swath of land close to Bengo (the prominent and traditionally important mountain overlooking Chimoio) to develop eucalyptus trees, supposedly as cash crops for surrounding communities. The project was apparently unsuccessful. The aid workers, however, made a more lasting impact as they stayed in Honde and other localities for some time, and a rumor developed that they hunted and devoured children. In many settings in Honde and beyond, therefore, “Germany” and “Germans” denote transgressive practices of *uroi*, such as the sorcerous consumption of human flesh. A second dimension relates to the divergent traditional capacities of Renamo and the Frelimo state: whereas Renamo’s past and present affinity with and embroilment in the dynamics of the traditional allocates them with considerable force, Frelimo is rendered impotent in relating to or confronting these threats—not even having appropriate weapons at their disposal.

Such aspects are largely absent in many analyses of the *mhondoro* phenomenon in Southern Africa—typically revolving around transformation of polities, the politics of mediumship, autochthony and allochthony, and issues of land.²⁰ In contrast, the present analysis of the contemporary *mhondoro* phenomenon will revolve around the crucial

and conspicuous *absence* of the protective variety of *mhondoro*. At one level, such absence is telling of the dynamics of territorialization and violence in which the assemblages of state and the traditional field are crucially present. Naturally, the absence of the traditional and protective *mhondoro dwozutumua* has been a recurrent theme during fieldwork, and the following conversation in 2005 with Soares, an elderly male member of *aridzi wo nhika* in Honde, is instructive in this regard. As so many others from *aridzi wo nhika*, he complained about the current situation. This prompted me to ask why he or others could not ask the ancestral spirits (*vadzimu*) for protection and help against external threats like thieves or other problems:

S: Ah, we are suffering! We are still not “in line” [*Ainda não estamos em linha*]. But it is all beginning anew. Bit by bit.

B: You could ask the spirits to help, no?

S: Yes, we could. And we do. But before we used to have the *mhondoro* here as well. If there was a thing that was not good, you would hear it roar. And everyone ... the *régulo*, his councilors, everyone would sit down and talk. We would resolve it there; understand why he roared.

Alfredo: [Interrupts and laughs] It was because I was sleeping around with other women!

S: [Laughs] Yes, it was like that. Today we have only the *vadzimu* [ancestral spirits] to ask for help. They will help. If it is this year or next, we do not know.

These firsthand glimpses from 2005 and 2008 both indicate the way in which the *mhondoro* is absent or transformed. Such an alteration is crucial as the *mhondoro* in Zimbabwean and Mozambican ethnographic analyses regularly is given prominence and is examined as a spirit of the “clan,” “tribe,” or family (Gelfand 1977), as a “national guardian spirit” of an ethnic group (Isaacman 1973), or in terms of control over land (Spiereburg 2004: 140–76). Further, for the context of Zambézia, Schoffeleers points out its plasticity in underlining that “in Zambézia famous persons, even missionaries and Portuguese traders, could become acknowledged territorial spirits (*mhondoro*)” (1992: 129). Thus, though it varies according to region and time, the *mhondoro* is one of the most powerful spirits that roams the land, and it is called forth in the context of possession to protect land, clan, and totem or to uphold cosmological and social order. However, there is also a crucial dimension of *nonautochthony* and *detrterritorialization* that profoundly shapes the *mhondoro*’s trajectory in time and space.²¹

In Garbett’s (1966) careful analyses of spirit mediums among the Korekore in Zimbabwe, this nonautochthonous and detrterritorializing

capacity is evident in his meticulous underlining of both lineal and territorial aspects of mediumship, on the one hand, and the formation of hierarchies of mediumships both integral to and independent of traditional polities and the colonial state administration on the other. A crucial claim in Garbett's analyses is how "the territorial boundaries of the chiefdoms do not necessarily coincide with the boundaries of the spirit provinces. One spirit province may have boundaries which overlap with two or more chiefdoms" (1966: 144). The Korekore term *mhondoro ye nyika* that Garbett (1969: 107) translates as "spirit province"—a term that one may also interpret as underlining the man-animality character of the *mhondoro* spiritual guardian being and its relation to soil and territory—is *nhika* in chiTewe. Thus, the territoriality of the *mhondoro* and the power of its mediumship constitute politico-religious potentialities of great importance in the Korekore cosmological and social order.

In a review article on mediums, spirits, and societal change during the Zimbabwean liberation war, Schoffeleers (1987) points out another crucial yet intricate dynamic: that of the tensions between *autochthony* and *conquest* in the historical formation and development of the *mhondoro* spirit cults organized around or by a medium. According to Schoffeleers and mirroring Garbett's analyses, the crucial dynamic of the *mhondoro* consists, on the one hand, of being embedded in the soil and territory—the *nhika*—and integral to the social and political formation of past and present autochthons. On the other, there is what one may call a *centripetal* orientation where it may attack the stability and order of its polity of origin. Such potentiality of attack may also be directed outward in the form of a capacity for expansion and in roaming beyond the territorial confines of the *nhika* and the sociopolitical formation of the *aridzi wo nhika*. This latter movement is *centrifugally* oriented toward conquest and expansionist modes of political strife involving processes of territorialization and deterritorialization. There is, thus, a double orientation in the *mhondoro* phenomenon where it is at once oriented toward *nhika*, or autochthony, and expansive conquest, or allochthony. This complex dynamic has led Garbett (quoted in Schoffeleers 1987: 148) to propose that the tense relationship between autochthony and conquest relating to the *mhondoro* "generates a contrapuntal process in which mediums act to weaken strong structures and strengthen weak structures, which gives to mediumship its characteristic movement between radical and conservative phases."

Even though there are significant differences between the particular sociopolitical context of the Korekore and the contemporary Honde context—Southern Rhodesian settler colonialism and the Mozambican turbulent postcolonial order, to mention one element—Garbett's anal-

ysis highlights dynamics of and tensions within the traditional field's territorial orientation that have great validity beyond the Korekore case. In addition, another distinction of great import between the Korekore context and the present Honde must be made. In the latter context the relationship between *nhika* and *mhondoro* has been severed. According to one source, the last *mhondoro* medium in Manica Province and among the chiManyika was a certain Muredzwa, daughter of Mutasa Tendai, who died in 1933 (Abraham 1966: 29n1). This corresponds to my findings during fieldwork in Honde where all concur that there are, at present, no active *mhondoro* spirit mediums in the vicinity. Some also allege that the "the traditional lion is dead" (see Bertelsen 2003). However, even though the 2008 case evidences that the death of the *mhondoro* must be seen as prematurely announced, both historical and contemporary analyses suggest that the modes of interaction between people and *mhondoro* as well as politics and practices of mediumship have been fundamentally transmogrified. Arguably, the transformations have been most crucially experienced through severing the relationship between *nhika* and *mhondoro*. I will here outline some consequences of this severing concerning a territorialized and deterritorialized dimension of potentiality and before analyzing continuities in novel and present contexts of man-animality shape-shifting.

First, in Manica Province the potentiality of the *mhondoro* operating within a spirit realm was one where the *mhondoro* spirit "becomes the source of the fertility of the land" (Sætersdal 2004: 181–82). However, this *mhondoro* was not of the centric and sedentary kind; rather, its character and orientation was one of *movement* and *speed*. It was simultaneously embedded in the landscape and the very texture of the *nhika*, but it also appeared in situations where the social and moral order was threatened. In such cases—as we saw in the 2005 case where the roars of the *mhondoro* effected a collective addressing of ills affecting the community—it intervened to rectify.

With the *mhondoro*'s capacity of embedded movement—suddenly appearing and disappearing—its territorial orientation contrasts sharply the demarcations of formal politics of the state kind characterized by lines, formal hierarchies, and comparatively unambiguous spatial entities. Within the apparatus of traditional politics, as Garbett points out, it may work to weaken strong structures and strengthen weak structures. Its mobility is crucially both *within* and *outside* these politics and entities, resembling the agility, speed, and potency of the assemblage of the war machine kind (Deleuze and Guattari 2002 [1980]). However, with the ferocious Mozambican civil war, the attacks on Honde by Renamo violently transferred the *mhondoro* to the outside of the formal politics—

polities that had already been targeted by the colonial encounter and Frelimo's postliberation social and political reordering. In the majority of accounts in Honde, the arrival of Renamo entailed the abduction of the *mhondoro* to the guerrilla movement's headquarters in the natural park of Gorongosa. The *mhondoro* was thereby deterritorialized, reterritorialized, and sedentarized in the nascent Renamo polity of Gorongosa. Put differently, in terms of the assemblage of war machine developing into state—a process that Renamo in both a theoretical and practical sense undertook—the *mhondoro* was one such constituent part.

The violent de- and reterritorialization of the Honde *mhondoro* into the assemblage of the Renamo war machine invigorated it in powerful ways. For one, the *mhondoro*'s transferal from Honde to Gorongosa illustrates how the relative autonomy of assemblage components unfolds in the context of the civil war. In the case of Renamo, the violent appropriation of traditional “components”—to use somewhat machinic and technical terms—contributed to deterritorialize *tchianhu wo atewe*. However, it also served to bolster Renamo's “war of the spirits” against the Frelimo state form—a war where the former's particular sociopolitical force was premised on its self-styled protective role vis-à-vis the traditional field. With the end of the civil war, Renamo's territorial domination of Gorongosa (at least in formal political terms) dwindled, and the *mhondoro* was again severed from its territory—this time from what we could call “the *nhika* of Renamo.” Its potency intact, its movement was again open to appropriation—and its force to reapplication.

For people in Honde, therefore, the reappearance of the malevolent and destructive *mhondoro dwozutumua* attacking, killing, and devouring three women in 2008 is conceived both as an effect of historical deterritorialization as well as in relation to the recent experience of German sorcerers. In this way the *mhondoro dwozutumua* emerges as the potent and malign version of the protective *mhondoro* that still has not reappeared after its violent deterritorialization at the hands of the colonial state, the Frelimo state, and the Renamo war machine. The 2008 trail of blood testifies to its lack of territory and mediumship, yes, but also to broader concerns of the traditional field as a whole where the protective apparatus of the state is seen as feeble. With a likewise enfeebled Renamo, Honde inhabitants were right to fear new attacks from forces of predation that have appropriated the *mhondoro*'s expansionist capacity and centrifugal orientation. On the other hand, the corresponding centripetal orientation, in other words its capacity to attack and weaken its polities of origin, may be actualized in future processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization where the *mhondoro* yet again may become integral to novel polities or sociopolitical forces of expansion or domination.

Man-Animality and the Deterritorializing Force of the *Mhondoro*

However, the *mhondoro* also exhibits what I choose to call “man-animality”—or what some early explorers to Africa called *lycanthropy* (Foran 1956): the transmogrification from human to animal form and back.²² The term “man-animality” seeks to analytically capture the continuum of transmogrification entailed by the dynamic shifts between different animal and human forms—a capacity of immense potentiality. Man-animality (or lycanthropic capacity) is well-documented in anthropological literature on Central and Southeastern Africa and to a large extent explored and understood solely in terms of sorcerers or witches.²³ Linking man-animality to *uroi* is also the prevailing understanding in Honde and Chimoio, where accounts abound of both sorcerous shape-shifting and the use of animals for violent attack, murders, and predation.

However, man-animality is also part of political trajectories and its cosmologies and, particularly, popularly attributed to Renamo’s Afonso Dhlakama’s wartime ability to evade capture by FAM forces. Frequently in these accounts—and often narrated by people claiming to have witnessed it—Afonso Dhlakama undertook such a shift during a siege of Renamo’s headquarters of Casa Banana in what is now the national park of Gorongosa in central Mozambique. After being cornered and militarily outwitted, Dhlakama transformed into a partridge, spread his wings, and flew away to escape capture or death. This lycanthropic capacity of Dhlakama is long-standing in popular knowledge, and in the attempted ambush on his motorcade to assassinate him on 25 September 2015—allegedly undertaken by Mozambican security forces—Dhlakama is again widely perceived to have become a partridge. Specifically, local leaders in the District of Gondola explain in an interview on 26 September 2015:

The association of Renamo with a partridge is not merely symbolic. Every time Dhlakama is involved in an ambush, he transforms himself into a bird and in this shape only with difficulty can someone identify Dhlakama in combat.²⁴

A striking feature of these powerful narratives from the civil war and from the increasingly violent tensions between the Renamo opposition and the government in 2015 is that Dhlakama in *becoming* (not being) a partridge in a decisive moment embodied or, perhaps better, *animated* the Renamo party’s symbol: the partridge (*a perdiz*). Dhlakama’s man-animalistic character and practice underscored the partridge as the *mitupo* of an imagined clan of the party. The vivid imagery of Dhlakama becoming animal may also be extended to his rain-bringing capacity—a feature whose social and political impact following the contested 1999 gen-

eral elections and the subsequent flooding I have elaborated elsewhere (see Bertelsen 2004). Rain and the capacity to control and direct water is integral to a region-wide perception linking power, sovereignty, and water, as Joost Fontein has also argued for Zimbabwe (2015a, 2015b). Both, Dhlakama's man-animalistic character and rain-bringing powers reflect an appreciation of his alleged chiefly chiNdau origins—origins that would endow him with these specific traditional potentialities.

In the case of Dhlakama, the affinity with *mitupo*, territory, and its beings carries even more weight as there is a seeming continuity between Renamo and the well-established chiefly power to command the *mato* and its animals in cosmo-ontological understandings of power's animalistic nature. Such continuities are not without precedent: as noted early by Earthy (1931b), there was in the 1800s a great chiNdau chief, Mafaringani, who refused to submit to the Nguni conquerors and their armies (see also chapter 2). At his command, Mafaringani kept wild animals like lions, leopards, and hyena that he had brought to his homestead and domesticated. The chief used the animals to hunt wild game for himself and his group. Mafaringani's domestication and ruling of nature—of taming the ferocious nature of *mato* itself—were seen as testifying to his control of the great power associated with chiefhood and territoriality. It was also a vital source Mafaringani tapped in his fight against the Nguni invaders. Several scholars have also documented how dominance over and affinity with animals are in keeping with sorcerous potentialities. Shropshire (1929: 62), for one, documents how every Báruè chief of the Mutasa dynasty “at the time of his old age [must] sit on a live crocodile caught by [the man] Sa Humani from the Hondi River.” Another example is given by Garbett (1966) when describing the succession of *mhondoro* “spirit guardians” (mediums). Upon the death of such a spirit guardian, his spirit will live for some time with a lion host in the forest. Thereafter, the spirit will exit the lion host and the forest and find a man that it will trouble and make to act strangely, “making him wander through the forest and eat raw meat like an animal” (1966: 146).

The capacities to tap, rule, and accommodate the animalistic potentialities are also, then, crucial capacities of sorcerous shape-shifting, as we will also see in subsequent chapters. In this context, however, the transformative capacity of Dhlakama underlined not so much sorcery as the multiple and intimate connections between political formations, territory, and human-animal interaction and transmogrification. First, Dhlakama's chiefly capacity is underscored by the transcendence of his human form into the *mitupo* of an imagined clan.²⁵ Second, and more theoretically informed, Dhlakama's actions may be understood as an instance of Garbett's argument of the *mhondoro* cult's capacity to weaken strong state orders

(and vice versa): by becoming animal and by employing the territorial potencies of the traditional field—a fact substantiated by the capacity to transmogrify into a partridge—Dhlakama's man-animality embodies *flight* and *mobility* as powerful capacities in defiance of state apparatuses of capture. Both transmogrification and flight are contrapuntal elements, to use Garbett's terms, to political formations of the state order type—the Frelimo state. Thus, Dhlakama's lycanthropic shifting into a partridge and Renamo's de-/reterritorialization of the *mhondoro* to Mozambique's epicenter of spiritual power, Gorongosa, represent formations of political and social order that attack the formal state apparatus.

However, the reterritorialization of the captured Honde *mhondoro* at Gorongosa was not too successful as the case from 2008 also testifies: the resurfacing in Honde of *mhondoro dwozutumua* that are reared for malevolent uses by (agents of) foreign powers (Germany) also signaled the dwindling power and capacity of Dhlakama (and, perhaps, also being indicative of the disintegration of the Renamo party as such, see Cahen 2010). Further, it also supports—yet in a novel setting—Garbett's initial thesis about the complex relationship between *mhondoro* cults and political formation steeped in the logic of autochthony and conquest. For Dhlakama and the Renamo movement—in the 2000s often sedentarized in Maputo, the Mozambican territorial heart of political power—the relationships between soil, ancestors, and polities that were violently forged during the civil war and epitomized by the capacity of the party's figurehead to transform himself into a partridge and to control *mhondoro* have been challenged by reterritorializing capacities of alternative (and destructive) formations of political and social order originating from outside Mozambique but bred in Gorongosa.²⁶

In both its capacity for protection and destruction, the *mhondoro* thereby continues to reterritorialize through its flexibility, mobility, and rapacious appetite to maim and maul. These dynamics confirm the key ambivalent role of mediumship and its guise in the form of lion, on the one hand, and territorially in the form of spirit realms on the other, as argued by Garbett and others. However, in the recent contexts of upheaval—including the colonial state apparatus's embroiling of traditional polities and cosmological order, Frelimo's attack on what it saw as *tradição*, and Renamo's bellicose appropriation of the same—a crucial trajectory of deterritorialization and reterritorialization can be identified.

First, it is clear from the previous cases that the structures governing the *nhika* and its traditional polities in Honde and beyond are characterized by flexibility, durability, and adaptability. This point was, of course, recognized by Garbett's insistence on the contrapuntal dynamic of the *mhondoro* mediumship's capacity vis-à-vis strong and weak structures.

In this dynamic of, for lack of a better term, counteracting practice, one may find the mechanism of a check on the pervasiveness of power in politics of chiefly rule. Empirically, this interpretation resonates with the mythical origins of the *mhondoro* cults in Zimbabwe and Malawi. One example is provided by Schoffeleers's (1987: 148) critique of David Lan's argument that the mythical origins in so-called "Guruswa"—meaning "long grass"—of the *mhondoro* cult of Mutota from Zimbabwe should be understood as a directional indication of lineage and home area (rather than a specific geographic area), as well as harboring all life. In contrast, Schoffeleers makes a comparative note and points out that "Chipeta," the mythical place of origin related to the Mang'anja *mhondoro* cult in Malawi, is likewise cast as an originary source of life and, furthermore, "is also invariably described as a stateless society" (ibid.). This leads Schoffeleers to argue that the "Guruswa" in Lan's case may also be associated with a chiefless society—an orientation that is, of course, also compatible with the contrapuntal dynamic insisted on and described by Garbett.

If we were to take the ideal of the chiefless society argued by Schoffeleers and the contrapuntal dynamic of Garbett together, an argument along Pierre Clastres's (1998 [1974]) line of thought emerges. To recall from this book's introduction, for Clastres the order of any state formation is inimical to multiplicity and the instating of sovereignty and hierarchy—the creation of what he calls "the One"—implies a wider antagonist relationship between society/sociality and the formation of state orders. Based on fieldwork in the Amazon, Clastres identified a number of practices that short-circuited and prevented potential and nascent hierarchical formations—especially the formation of strong chiefs and headmen (1994 [1980], 1998 [1974]). In his work, Clastres distinguishes how these social mechanisms work to prevent and attack hierarchy and the formation of the state order.

In similar fashion and informed by Schoffeleers, Garbett, and Clastres, one could argue for the *mhondoro* phenomenon exemplifying the ways in which the traditional field may serve as a repository of capacities for critique, attack and subversion of hierarchical and extractive politics. As should be clear from preceding chapters as well as subsequent chapters, there has been no lack in Honde of colonial, postcolonial, and wartime political formations directed at the extraction of resources, capture (of people, territory, labor power), production, and control. If held together by what I have argued is both a *centripetal* and *centrifugal* orientation of the *mhondoro*—i.e. both directed toward autochthony/its own polity of origin and allochthony/conquest of other polities and territories—both the mythical ideal of the chiefless society and its contrapun-

tal dynamic constitute features conforming to that of the war machine: it is both inside the state apparatus and tentatively controlled by it—i.e. the traditional polities among the Korekore, the Renamo abduction, and tentative control in Renamo's Casa Banana headquarters in Gorongosa—as well as outside attacking polities and society, as in the most recent attacks by the *mhondoro dwozutumua*.

Despite its periods of absence, the *mhondoro* is vital to animating and socializing landscapes in terms of collective meaning, delineation, and productive capacities. In other words, the *mhondoro* and the *longue durée* popular recognition of its productive and protective capacities comprise a perpetual dynamic of territorialization and reterritorialization of landscape and space in the face of the colonial state, the violent forces of the colonial army, the liberation army, or the postcolonial state. The powerful and shifting spatial and territorial cosmologies and arrangements associated with the *mhondoro* may, therefore, be seen as a form of symbolic and practical sovereignty in its own right. As such it counters that of the formal, secular, and order-inducing state form.²⁷

In countries outside Mozambique, it seems that the position of *mhondoro*-mediumship was a more long-standing practice than in the colony. This does not mean, however, that the view of *mhondoro* and the force of the lion in relation to *tchianhu wo atewe* faded away, but rather that the setting of this force and guardian spirit constantly seems to have been dislocated (see also Bertelsen 2003). As Abraham (1966) also argues, so-called *mhondoro* cults were repositories of what he calls “historical consciousness,” and they were crucial to intra- and intergroup conflict resolution. In addition, these cults also served as a dynamic protecting people against the potentially self-serving interests of a king or chief. With the coming of the colonial state in the guise of Portuguese settlers—often prospecting for gold and seeking control of territories—the *mhondoro* cults seem to have served, argues Abraham (*ibid.*), mediatory or resisting purposes vis-à-vis the colonial enterprise. Abraham (*ibid.*) cites an example during the Bárúè rebellion in 1917 in which local *mhondoro* mediums attempted to intervene (presumably because they thought the rebellion would result in a devastating defeat, which it did). Much more recently, Schuetze (2015) analyzes how the *mhondoro* was seen to intervene directly in Gorongosa in 2006 when a British man serving as “community liaison” in a context of heavily contested natural park development transgressed a sacred mountain site. As the Brit returned from the visit, his brand new car mysteriously caught fire. This was interpreted clearly as an instantiation of the *mhondoro* intervening to protect the territory by undercutting the business-driven, state-led natural park development project.²⁸

As a territorial spirit, the *mhondoro* thus represents a larger sociopolitico-cosmological dynamic with a mediative and flexible telos.²⁹ With the Portuguese, the deterritorialization of the territorial *mhondoro* serves to exemplify the effects of colonialism as it was experienced in the province of Manica. Thus, the *mhondoro* is a practical example of the dislocating forces of violence and the encroaching colonial state, as well as testifying to the *de-/reterritorializing* potentialities inherent to the traditional field.

This does not mean, however, that the cases of the *mhondoro* merit the construction of an analytical narrative with the rhetorical chain being one of primary and pristine territory and order, followed by disorder and deterritorialization, and ending in a novel order and reterritorialization. This linear mode of representation and, indeed, the linearity of conventional history obfuscates the particularities of the crucial dynamics here: the centripetal, ordering, and territorializing aspects of state (here: colonial state politics) and the deterritorializing, reordering, and centrifugal aspects of the traditional field (here: mediumships and *mhondoro*). This is also evident, for example, in the case of precolonial states, as for Shaka Zulu: “In other cases conquerors have been powerful enough to wipe out the religious establishment and install their own functionaries, a prime example of this being Shaka, who upon rising to power, chased all ‘rainmakers’ from his kingdom” (Schoffeleers 1987: 148). Thus, in order to demonstrate political as well as cosmological supremacy, Shaka had all rainmakers killed in order to create the impetus for the new, well-ordered state and military machinery—a strategy resonating also with Ngungunyane’s killing of rainmakers. This example can also be mirrored in Samora Machel’s vision of a state and nation cleansed of superstition, colonial artifacts, and mindsets and rejuvenated and re-ordered in the image of scientific socialism. The juxtaposition of the two final examples, Samora and Shaka, demonstrates at a very basic level the dynamics and frictions between the state and its Other.

Machel’s and Frelimo’s deterritorializing attack on what they construed as *tradição* and what people in Honde and Chimoio saw as an attack on *tradição* or *tchianhu wo atewe* also meant inhabitants experienced themselves as vulnerable to the ferociousness of *mhondoro dwozutumua*: no longer embedded in polities deemed traditional nor controlled by Dhlakama, the *mhondoro dwozutumua* is now beyond perceptions of *autochthony*. Rather, it has been appropriated and reapplied by foreign agents of destruction and *conquest* in the form of external forces (i.e. Germans are seen to have also reterritorialized the former Renamo territory of Gorongosa). The subsequent forms of deterritorialization entailed by consecutive state formations in Manica Province—the most recent being

the postindependence state—has not, therefore, simultaneously engendered protective measures. The case of the *mhondoro* of 2008 exemplifies the last in a long line of effects of deterritorializing processes of state formation in Manica Province and Mozambique.

Animal, Violence, and Deterritorialization

Sociopolitical practices of the soil form crucial parts of experiences and perceptions of the traditional field. Nonetheless, these practices and understandings have been constantly attacked by different state formations and threatened by upheavals of war and violence. As an effect, the very soil itself is seen as enfeebled by the lack of *ndimo*, and the very relations between *nhika*, *vadzimu*, and people are weakened. A central feature of this situation is the creation of wild, deterritorialized spirits or spiritual beings—such as *pfukwa*, *tchawiwi*, *tchiphoko*, and the *mhondoro*. Such beings point to the fact that as an assemblage, the traditional field constitutes a force that is somewhat unbound, mutating into novel forms and, thus, dangerous to the sedentary state formation. From the tentative, violent, and ultimately failed inclusion of the rainmaker under Ngungunyane to Frelimo's unsettling of relations between soil, ancestors, and people runs a line of deterritorialization challenging the state and asserting itself as a part of an assemblage other than the state—that of the traditional field. Further, the urban territory is also the subject of constant renegotiation both historically and contemporarily. This was evident both by the reinscription of Ngungunyane into the urban landscape of Chimoio and the prior purging of the urban landscape of unproductive elements. For Honde, the profound violence of the past century has entailed a sense of loss and deterritorialization of *nhika*.

Overall, this chapter has shown that becoming of state in Manica Province does not conform to a linear process ending with the formation of the colonial or postcolonial state but as permanently being in the process of emergence. Territorially based—as all assemblages—the violent capture and territorialization of this becoming has entailed that crucial aspects of *tchianhu wo atewe* are experienced as unsettled and deterritorialized. However, this does not mean that the urban landscape—the predominant focus of the next chapter—is devoid of dangerous spirits or their interlocutors, or that the potentialities inherent to its assemblage have been muted, neutralized, or immobilized. As we shall see, the situation is rather the opposite, wherein the state is, yet again, engaged in a battle to control the unruly field of spirits, bodies, and their potencies.

Notes

1. The soil fertility of Manica Province is subject to comparatively high levels of depletion due to erosion and intensive farming (Folmer et al. 1998; Jansen et al. 2008). Generally, Mozambique's soil belongs to the broad category of luvisols, which are sandy and nitrogen deficient, although regional and local variations make "any generalizations about 'African soils' highly problematic" (Scoones 2001: 19).
2. Chapters 5 and 6 deal with *uroi* and economies respectively.
3. For some early analyses of *mitupo* (also spelled *mutupo* or *mutupu*) rich in ethnographic detail, see Burbridge (1924), R. Baker (1925), Bullock (1927, 1931a, 1931b), and Earthy (1931a). See also Bannerman (2009) for a rough overview of *mitupo* in Manica Province.
4. H. P. Junod (1934) relates the *mbizi* clan to the ethnic category of Ndau, which, he claims, also dominates areas around Chimoio (then Vila Pery). This definition is problematic as it presupposes *chiTewe* as a category subordinate to Ndau—a hierarchy for which it is difficult to find an empirical basis. For another highly interesting but not wholly unproblematic construction of Ndau-ness projecting a sense of ethnic identity backward in time, see MacGonagle (2007). See also Sacaduro (1928a, 1928b, 1928c, 1928d) and Suana (1999) for works constructing contemporary and historical *chiTewe* as an ethnic category. For an analysis of H. P. Junod's work more generally, see Macagno (2009).
5. See also Earthy (1931a: 78; 1931b: 101). In addition to the physical consumption of (parts of) the animal, Jacobson-Widding interprets *mitupo* prohibitions to encompass male-female sexual relationships: if these share a *mitupo*, they will effectively "eat their totem" by having sex and may suffer by losing their teeth, breaking their legs, or enduring cracks and sores on their bodies (1999: 297).
6. Hannan (1984 [1959]: 191) spells this spirit *gombwe* and lists it as a "hereditary name (especially chieftainship)," "a guardian spirit," and a "medium of tribal spirit." In contrast, in Honde it is predominantly related to as territorial and as denoting guardian spirits in the plural.
7. This term for "November" is noted as early as 1796 by the Sofala governor, Carlos José dos Reis e Gama, in his famous *Reposta das questoens sobre os cafres* ("Reply to the questions about the Kaffirs"), reprinted in Liesegang (1966 [1796]: 23). Interestingly and in contrast, Hannan (1984 [1959]: 199) lists *Gumiguru* as "October."
8. In these rituals, women of a child-bearing age were never included. The importance of women that are either prepubertal or postmenopausal has been explored in terms of rainmaking by Sætersdal in the more complex elaborate rainmaking rituals among *chiManyika* close to the Zimbabwean border (2004: 178–94). Vijlhuizen (1997), likewise, interprets rainmaking in a Zimbabwean context to the importance of women in the rituals. In one of her influential works on Shona material, Jacobson-Widding (1999: 184) relates the participation of postmenopausal women in rainmaking ceremonies to gendered hot or cold distinctions. Although the aspect has not been studied in any detail in Honde, it is likely that the inclusion of this category of infertile women bear

similarities to dynamics identified by Sætersdal, Vijfhuizen, and Jacobson-Widding respectively.

9. Interestingly, while these spirits are “de-allochthonized” by the autochthonous rainmaker, the *forcing* of rainmakers’ capacities by state formations that are seen as externally created or imposed by conquest is problematic. This we have seen in the case of the Nguni head Ngungunyane who summoned the rainmaker Munjakanja but was unable to control and contain his forces, which flooded the lands, underlining what I argued was the barrenness of externally imposed rule in general or allochthony more specifically (see also Bertelsen 2004 for an argument of postwar political cosmologies involving such capacities).
10. The connotations of the term *comer* (“eat”), as in “Churches for eating,” is a significant aspect of responses to the vast array of Pentecostal and charismatic churches in Mozambique’s rural and urban areas. The conflicts between these congregations’ so-called *profetes* and traditional healers, *n’angas*, will be dealt with in chapter 4.
11. But for an argument about the marginalization of women from land, see Kaarhus and Dondeyne (2015). More generally, the Mozambican literature on gender, war, and social change is substantial. However, there is little agreement on whether Frelimo’s liberation war and postindependence project, the civil war, and the ensuing post-civil war liberalization with a proliferation of informal markets has entailed improved economic, political, or social positions for women (see Urdang 1989; Waterhouse and Vijfhuizen 2001; Sheldon 2002; Bonate 2003; Chapman 2010; Arnfred 2011; and Katto 2014 for some positions within this debate). Interestingly, using material from wartime Chimoio, Chingono (1994, 2015) argues convincingly that the urban experience of (also many originally rural) women during the civil war created spaces for entrepreneurship that shaped the broader social organization and also, consequently, gender roles. If Chingono is right, however, it might also be these experiences that induced Honde women to shift their traditionally recognized responsibilities in terms of productive and reproductive capacities to what they saw as their advantage.
12. Visualizations of such gendered separation and a general overview of a compound are provided in figures 4.1 and 4.2 in chapter 4.
13. This figure is contested and for instance Mubaya et al. (2016) reports more than three thousand were killed. Generally, this so-called “Chimoio massacre”—as it is widely documented that many of those killed were children and other non-guerrillas—has a prominent role in the postcolonial memory politics of both Zimbabwe and Mozambique with, for instance, a memorial erected at the site near Chimoio (see also Werbner 1998a, 1998c).
14. Roughly, ZANLA (Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army), the forces of ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union), dominated the Shona-speaking areas and also the Mozambican areas of operation while ZIPRA (Zimbabwe People’s Revolutionary Army), the forces of ZAPU (Zimbabwe African People’s Union), dominated Ndebele-speaking areas of the west and southwest of Zimbabwe. There has been tension during the liberation war and beyond between these parties as well as, evidently, between Ndebele and Shona in general.

15. While *makomerede* guerrillas were normally under strict guidance from so-called *mhondoro* mediums in Zimbabwe in terms of conduct, when crossing into Mozambique they saw themselves as free from these as they also then had crossed into another “spirit province” where they no longer were autochthonous. This led many to have unrestrained sex, consume taboo foods, and generally behave wildly (Lan 1985:218). See also Garbett (1966, 1969) for politico-religious aspects of spirit provinces and spirit realms.
16. A number of works exist on the different spirits across Mozambican regions. See, for example, A. Honwana (1996), Igreja (2003), Luedke (2005, 2006), Marlin (2001), and Schuetze (2010).
17. The *tchawiwi* resonates with other moving spirits, especially those associated with wind. In an early travel diary, Eckersley (1895: 42) notes that it is curious how “the Manyika” he encounters in his travels in the vicinity of Chimoio are perturbed and hide when they are met by winds. These winds were perhaps perceived as *mhupo* and thus dangerous to the travelers. *Mhupo*, literally meaning “wind” or “air,” is the name of a particular spirit whose foremost capacity is to disarrange and complicate a household in a material, relational, matrimonial, and wider social sense. The similarities to the likewise territorial *tchawiwi* is evident in its destructive effects, although greater capacity is normally ascribed to the *tchawiwi* and the *pfukwa* than *mhupo* (see also Suana 1999: 115). *Mhupo* in Gelfand’s classic analysis of what he calls the “tribal tutelary spirits” is seen as connected to *Mwari*—the supreme being whose ubiquitous presence is likened to that of air that passes in and out as breath in the form of *mhupo* (Gelfand 1959: 13). Friedson’s (1996) work on the Tumbuka healing practices in Malawi also devotes ample space to *mphepo*, which he translates as “spiritwind.” Also D. Moore in his rich ethnographic work from Zimbabwe notes how wind in the case of a prophet from a charismatic church is related to her capacities when she climbs a mountain ridge, as she explains, to “be where there is more wind. We go where there is more power (*simba*)” (2005: 234). However, winds may also be destructive, and they are the sign of armies of witches, an aspect H. A. Junod noted in his studies of Thonga society (1962 [1912]b: 510): “If a tempest has uprooted trees and broken branches, people are sure to say that the ‘army (yimpi) of the baloyi [witches]’ has passed in the shape of a terrific storm during the night.”
18. Even though some Portuguese-language texts and sources refer to the term as *mphondolo* (Oliveira 1976: 103) and *pondoro* (Sacaduro 1928c: 379), and other English language works spell it *mondoro* (Burbridge 1924: 18ff), *mpondolo* (Marwick 1965: 90), or even *mpondoro* (Claudio 2006: 55f), in keeping with the chiTewe pronunciation this text will use the term and spelling *mhondoro*.
19. I made several attempts to locate the families or households of the three women, establish their names, search for news in the Beira-based regional newspaper *Diário de Moçambique*, as well as talk to a wide network of people in Chimoio to establish additional facts concerning the case, which happened a few days prior to my arrival. Only some non-Honde-based people supported the story, while others doubted it. However, the unanimity that characterized the fear of the *mhondoro dwozutumua* in Honde testifies to its significant impact.

20. For some classic studies, see Burbridge (1924, 1925), Morkel (1930), Holleman (1953), Abraham (1966), Garbett (1967), and Isaacman (1973). More recent studies, such as Lan (1985), Schoffeleers (1987, 1992, 1999 [1979]), Spierenburg (2004), and Israel (2009, 2014), analyze more directly the integration of the *mhondoro* in political strife, colonial encounters, and forced migration.
21. See, in particular, Garbett (1966, 1969, 1977), as well as Abraham (1966), Werbner (1977), Lan (1985), and Schoffeleers (1999 [1979]).
22. But also see for example Ruel (1970) on “were-animals” in Banyang communities in Cameroon. Further, a well-known variety of this man-animal relationship is the so-called “sorcerer’s familiars,” that is, animals that are the sorcerers’ servants, messengers, spies, harm-doers, or thieves. Examples include the owl or the hyena among the Cewa (Marwick 1965) or the sending of leopards, lions, snakes, or oxen to “inflict bodily injury upon him,” as Schapera describes with the Tswana (1970 [1952]: 113). Such pan-African accounts are also reflected in Manica Province where a rich depository of stories on man-animal relations in Manica Province is documented by Artur (2013).
23. See, for instance, H. A. Junod (1962 [1912]a, 1962 [1912]b) and Shropshire (1938: 177ff). The limitation of examples to this geographic-ethnographic context does in no way preclude comparisons with other historical periods or regions of the world—although this is beyond the limits of this text. See, for example, sources as disparate as Viveiros de Castro (1998, 1992 [1986]) and Fausto (2004, 2012) on the transformative capacity of shamans into jaguars in Amazonia, M. A. Murray’s (1918) early anthropological analysis of witches shape-shifting in Great Britain and France, or Stewart and Strathern (2004: 148f) who point out that lycanthropy was the subject of a Papal Bull of 1409 attacking the problem of men and women that in the guise of wolves devoured children. Based on archaeological, ethnographic, and historical data, T. Taylor (2002: 241) also argues that shape-shifting is global, being “bears in Scandinavia, wolves and dogs in Greece and Rome, tigers in Malaya, hyenas and leopards in parts of Africa, jaguars in South America, and so on.” Taylor’s argument is supported by Behringer’s (2004: 12–13) generalizing and universalizing argument that transmutation or shape-shifting is a universal characteristic of the witch.
24. My translation of the quote “A associação da Renamo com a perdiz não é mera simbologia. Sempre que Dhlakama é envolvido numa emboscada, ele se transforma em uma ave, de tal forma que dificilmente alguém pode identificar Dhlakama em combate,” taken from Cuna 2015.
25. Comparatively interesting, also Jacobson-Widding documents how, for instance, the current Chief Mutasa in the Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe is approached by women who “crawl slowly towards the king on their knees, with their gaze fixed to the ground, pretending to growl like a lion,” thus underlining the king’s lion (*shumba*) potential (1990: 50). These intimate links between sovereignty, the forest/bush and its animals, and chiefly or kingly authority and power are, however, not confined to the larger Shona areas as Luc de Heusch has shown based on Central African and other material (Heusch 1991).

26. For an excellent comprehensive analysis of war and postwar realities in Gorongosa, see Wiegink (2014).
27. There is, of course, a great difference between the colonial state formations of the Portuguese and the formations of the Gaza state in this respect, as seen in the preceding chapter. The Gaza state, although sharing a number of features of statehood with the colonial state—and in many respects sharing *more* features with a conventional nation-state than the fragile colonial state—was also predicated upon an orientation toward integration with notions of land, its ownership, and spiritual protection and order. Nevertheless, as argued above, it was largely experienced as inimical and external for the majority of non-Nguni inhabitants in Manica Province.
28. Matema and Andersson (2015) also present a comparable case of *mhondoro* attacks in the context of contested conservation developments in northern Zimbabwe. Also in that case the *mhondoro* is seen to act violently, unpredictably, and autonomously on behalf of the territory.
29. In Honde terms, the *mhondoro* could, thus, be seen as a *midzimu ye nhika* in contrast to the spirits of the domestic sphere and relevance—the *midzimu ye pamusha*.