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Economy

Substance, Production, and Accumulation

In *After Kinship* (2004), Janet Carsten employs “substance” to delineate important dimensions of classical understandings of kinship and personhood. She does so by reinterpreting Schneider’s (1980) studies on American kinship and revisiting Marilyn Strathern’s (1988) analyses of Trobriand kinship and in/dividuality. Based on these reinterpretations and, more generally, extensive comparisons between Indian, Melanesian, British, and American cases, Carsten specifically recontextualizes and questions the components of kinship as *code* and *substance* as argued by Schneider. Concentrating on substance, she argues that the term has a range of different connotations but is used in diverse ways, ranging from the stuff of relations to body tissue. Importantly, Carsten highlights problematic notions of metaphorization in this regard, and her work is a contribution to grounding and, literally, substantializing the debate on kinship components.

Informed by Carsten and others, this chapter will analytically revolve around the *substance* of kinship in two ways. First, it will see substance in relation to life’s beginning and end in terms of reproductive capacities, bodily potentialities, and liminal states of households and their members. Second, by focusing on substance and the first domain, it will broaden an understanding of economics by grounding such terms as exchange, commodification, production, and accumulation.

Through analyzing these two aspects, the chapter develops material that, directly and indirectly, relates to a protracted history of violent state intervention, control, and extraction of labor—as identified especially in chapter 3. Complementing and strengthening the argument of chapter 3

by using contemporary material, this chapter argues that state intervention, control, and reordering constitute violent intrusions intimately related to commodification and the market. Such an analysis also supports a central claim of this book, namely, that approaches to “state” are irreducible to examining formal bureaucracies, spatial domains of control, or societal functions—although these are also central aspects of the Mozambican postcolonial state. The state must instead be understood in terms of wider societal orders as well as in terms of social imaginaries as seen from particular localities.

Regulating and ordering flows of substance are central to the domains of production and reproduction, and this argument will be thoroughly developed in the context of *kubatidzana*, a household ritual following death. Thereafter, the gendered dimensions of such ordering will be explored in the domain of women and their relation to markets and accumulation—in particular the phenomenon of so-called *zwidoma*.

Kubatidzana and *zwidoma* crucially capture dimensions of production and reproduction beyond reductively economic terms, and these phenomena will be related to technologies of dark accumulation, especially the tapping of live and dead bodies. Such draining goes beyond the satiation of the lust for human meat (*kurha nhama io munhu*), which was analyzed in chapter 5. The tapping of bodies of labor power as well as the extraction of liquids from corpses are integral to both popular critiques against the state elite as well as *muroi*. In sum, the chapter therefore asks: In what ways are the regulation and tapping of various forms of productive and reproductive cycles—so integral to the traditional field—antagonistically related to the domains of state, accumulation, and commodification?

Approaching Economies, Capital, and the State

Much of what is written about economy in Mozambique and, indeed, Sub-Saharan Africa and elsewhere may be divided into two camps. The first genre of literature is econometrically or statistically inclined, geared toward accumulating, analyzing, and presenting quantitative data based on samples, national statistics, estimates, and macroeconomic indicators (Clément and Peiris 2008; Cunguara and Hanlon 2012). Often generated by the development industry as part of what one may call *developmentalia*, this discourse is prevalent in academic analyses and beyond on countries such as Mozambique.

However, while important, this vein of literature will not be touched upon to any great extent here. Rather, a second vein of literature revolves

around issues seemingly more at the heart of the matter to the discussion on “economy” in relation to state formation and the field of the traditional. In anthropology, a large number of works address neoliberalism and globalization and the shifts this recent development of the capitalist trajectory has implied (see, e.g., West and Sanders 2003; J. Ferguson 2006; Ong 2006; Han 2012; Carrier 2016). A significant attempt at capturing anthropologically these transnational flows of capital, the formation of novel fiscal and monetary technologies, the (alleged) downsizing of state and capital, etc., have been launched by the Comaroffs in the term occult economies (J. Comaroff and J.L. Comaroff 1999, 2001; see also McNally 2011). A central thrust of the argument of the Comaroffs is that the seemingly intertwined—or twinned—trajectories of the occult and neoliberalism/capitalism have reached a particular stage—usually denoted “late capitalism.” Further, in South Africa, for example, this idea is represented in terms of “an explosion of occult-related activity—much of it violent, arising out of accusations of ritual killing, witchcraft, and zombie conjuring—since the late apartheid years” (J. Comaroff and J. L. Comaroff 2001: 20). At one level, the development of capitalism has been argued to have progressed thus far as to elucidate what one might understand as the spectral foundation of finance capital and profit in general, dimensions that feed into the cosmologies and practices of the occult.

The aim here is more modest, namely to contrast this oft-professed vision of an “explosion of occult-related activity” in the context of my material from Mozambique. For it is not only the Comaroffs who argue for such a connection, as was clear from the preceding chapter: in different guises, the argument of witch hunts, magical potions, *muti* murders, etc., is represented as being related or in opposition to “capitalism,” “modernity,” or “globalization” (but see Gulbrandsen 2002 for a critique of such a view). However, anthropologists like Pfeiffer (2006) and Chapman (2004), basing themselves on Manica Province material, raise a similar “spirituality in response to capitalism-induced poverty” argument.

For Pfeiffer and Chapman, the practices of *profetes* and *n’angas* represent different responses to the poverty and insecurity created by neoliberalism or capitalist development in general—implying, then, that this situation is novel and that there is a direct relation or causality between the domains. Further, Chapman and Pfeiffer may in their analysis be seen to categorize such popular practices of healing as being merely *reactive* (i.e. interpreting people’s spirituality as flight), *resisting* (politically), or being *subdued* (turned subaltern, marginalized, down-trodden under the iron wheels of an ever more expanding and, in a social sense, perverse capitalism in its “late stage”—as some hopefuls would have

it). Historically and factually problematic, this approach disregards both the *autonomy* of the social and the *creativity* of the human faculty and practice. Let us recapitulate before presenting some alternative modes of understanding.

As seen in chapters 4 and 5, the transnational, translocal, and what we may call “transtemporal” dimensions to accumulation and well-being are reflected in cases of disease, *uroi*, and poverty. Within this horizon, some particular powerful loci are Southern Rhodesia/Zimbabwe and South Africa, which is unsurprising given the region’s political economy and history of labor migration.¹ Further, detailing the Companhia’s operations in Manica in chapter 2 revealed historical migration patterns from and to especially Southern Rhodesia/Zimbabwe for seeking work, evading often brutal and depraving conditions of the colonial state and its companies or farmers, or simply fleeing the violence of war and repression. Historically forged, the ties between groups of people in Manica and contemporary Zimbabwe are strong—solidified also by kinship ties and the transborder characteristics of chieftaincies informing popular experiences of sovereignty and authority. However, illicit and transgressive forms of empowerment and accumulation penetrate or transmute *tradição* and are seen to both emanate from and be contained by the geopolitical space of Zimbabwe. These experiences with and visions of Zimbabwe in Manica Province reflect long-standing antagonisms inherent to the formation of forces of labor, extraction of productive and reproductive resources, and accumulation of material goods (see also chapter 2). Arguably, in current Mozambique processes of extraction, accumulation, and the reformation of labor are processes still impeding heavily on everyday life in the rural-urban continuum of Honde and Chimoio.

A nonformal approach to economies, initially sketched earlier, implies analytically recognizing sociality or “community,” as argued by Stephen Gudeman (2005), for example. Contrasting universal models of economy—the domain of *homo economicus* and econometrics—Gudeman sees local models as open-ended and without inherent structure, informed by metaphor as well as “means-to-ends-calculation.” Importantly, “local models are always in the making, and malleable. . . . Consisting of practices and narratives, they may be written, oral, or sketched in earth” (Gudeman 2005: 114).

Such an inclusive reading of economy is also retained here, although the term “local model” to some extent subordinates and provincializes certain conceptions, experiences, and practices in the economic domain. While such are undoubtedly locally and socially embedded, these may also be seen as “social imaginaries” (Castoriadis 1987 [1975]; Charles Taylor 2002). Complementing and expanding Gudeman’s open-endedness

in a radical fashion, Castoriadis, for instance, argues that the social cannot be reduced to coexistence or mechanistic approaches to institutions and relations, but must be seen instead as “a *magma*, and even as a *magma of magmas*—by which I mean not chaos but the mode of organization belonging to a nonensemblizable diversity, as exemplified by the social, the imaginary, or the unconscious” (Castoriadis 1987 [1975]: 182).

Recognizing the force of the social and cosmological—also aspects drawn from previous chapters—a concrete analytical approach to the economic domain is needed to probe the imaginaries of bodily, reproductive, and accumulative dimensions, asking how these conflict with the economies of the state, i.e. its networks, elite, and money-making practices. As will be made clear and which qualify Gudeman’s and Castoriadis’s positions especially, these social imaginaries should be seen *not* merely as reflections of or as reactions to global processes of capitalist expansion and transformation (cf. Hardt and Negri 2000); rather, they should be seen as points of potential for transformation as well as alternatives to state-dominated discourses and practices of business, economic growth, and production. To extend this, instead of presuming and applying universalizing templates of capitalism onto diverse social and political realities, a recentering of the social and the state as a way to uncover historical and contemporary trajectories, as well as a demonstration of their potentialities, will be undertaken.

Such localization and recentering also makes sense in a context as aid-saturated as Mozambique—a country whose international patronage is constantly changing, currently from Euro-American superpowers (humanitarian and otherwise) to, especially, China.² Very concretely, the nation-state’s imbrication in decades of shifting international constellations and orientations has meant the rhetoric of “development” (*desenvolvimento*) is ubiquitous in Mozambican society.

Honde and Chimoio is no exception, and crucially *desenvolvimento* was related to ambiguously or negatively. A frequently voiced opinion was also repeatedly expressed to me by Younas. He is the second oldest son in António’s and Ana’s house—a person who operates as a petty trader among other minor businesses in an informal market in Chimoio. Having had a stall at the (now defunct) Chimoio market *Magara-rafa*, Younas questioned if development had occurred at all in postwar Mozambique: “Development [*desenvolvimento*]? Ah, it is not true! Development only means that everything is becoming more expensive,” he frequently complained. He often followed up by claiming that the fruits of his labor—the surplus he gained from his dealing and the general work he put in—was accumulated by others, sucking away both his labor power and his resources. A similar understanding was expressed

during one of the brutal forced labor regimes in Manica in the 1930s. Laborers who were caught and inserted into the regimes of picking maize or other agricultural work developed songs depicting their life. In one of these, *Tapera*, the chorus goes, “We are all finished,” having led Neves (1998: 182) to claim that “the workers may have felt their very life force slipping away from them.”

These two snapshots from different historical periods both point to processes of extraction, how these are of a corporal nature and imbricated in wider power structures. In Younas’s case this was related to the forces of “development”—a term invariably connoting the Frelimo party elite, the rich, and the Maputo-based higher echelons of state power. In the case of the maize pickers of the 1930s, the life force and labor power was sapped away by regimes facilitated by the colonial state machinery. Both point to the inherent conflict between the state and the social, premised upon the state as organizing the very conditions for the extraction of capital and labor, as also identified by Deleuze and Guattari (2002 [1980], 2004 [1972]).³

This antagonistic relationship between capital (the market) and the community also informed Stephen Gudeman’s analysis (see, e.g., 2001). His take on economic anthropology is one that recognizes the profound importance of the distribution of both models of economy—for example, the idea of *desenvolvimento*—to nonmetropolitan peripheries and models of transaction, accumulation and production (see also Löfving 2008). The shift in emphasis from *market* in terms of commodified exchange and as a sole source of value to a focus on *production* and other noncommodified domains of value is one in which this text is in agreement.

Gudeman’s and Deleuze and Guattari’s general observations about state, capital, and commodification thereby seem relevant to the Honde and Chimoio context of agricultural production, the past and present violence of the state and sociopolitical transformations. But one may also go deeper into these relations—by drawing on notions of exchange as presented by David Lan (2000 [1989]). Based on long-term fieldwork in the Dande section of the Zambezi valley, Lan analyzes shifts in the power relations between chiefs and *mhondoro* mediums in the context of colonial transformations involving the loss of land, the imposition of taxation, and the remolding of chiefly authority by the colonial state. He found that to people’s minds, the integration of chiefs within the state apparatus demonstrated the institution’s antagonism toward ancestors and its protection of witches. Paradoxically, it thus shifted power from chiefs and their polities toward mediums—also as the impact of colonialism affected a number of cycles of exchange. At one level, Lan’s analysis reflects the basically antagonistic relationship between domains

of chiefhood and spirit mediums—and more broadly statehood and the traditional field—as demonstrated also in chapter 2. However, I will also argue that the conflict Lan identifies may be used to analyze the cycles of exchange in relation to understanding economic processes and the role of the state—also in Honde and Chimoio

Death, Gendered Reproduction, and Substance: The Ritual of *Kubatidzana*

As shown in chapters 3 to 5, in Honde and Chimoio, production and labor at the center of this domain is thoroughly corporeal—as both Younas and the *Tapera* labor song from the 1930s indicated. While both these empirical snippets do express antagonism toward both capital and state, one cannot, however, thereby assume that there is a nascent class consciousness or other collective emancipatory aspirations or projects at work. Such a perspective—and following a classic Marxist understanding of social process, revolt and transformation—would superimpose a default politico-analytical process onto a complex relationship. Rather, the state's intrusion into the cycles and flows of substance, bodies, and (re)productive labor casts the state as a usurper of life forces themselves. In doing so, the state is frequently cast as a *muroi* also in the context of Honde and Chimoio. Moreover, anthropology has asserted as much—the production, distribution and consumption of food is intimately related to both gendered reproductive capacities of kinship and household as well as wider social dimensions of community (for two classic analyses, see Goody 1976; Meillassoux 1981 [1975]). The relations between the preparation, distribution, and consumption of food is crucially also related to imagery, control, and practices of sexuality (Arnfred 2007).

In the everyday life in the rural community of Honde and in the peri-urban *bairros* of Chimoio, the preparation of food and its distribution is highly gendered and age-differentiated: the oldest woman (or elder women) in the household prepare all meals, often aided by younger female members.⁴ The symbolic dimensions and intimate relations between reproduction, food, and gender are particularly evident in ritual contexts—as that of *kubatidzana*.

As mentioned already in chapter 1, from my first fieldwork in 1999 in Honde I have for the majority of the time stayed in the household of Ana and António. António is a man of much renown in Honde and has earlier been affiliated with Frelimo, as well as has been counted as part of the *aridzi wo nhika*. The civil war in Mozambique and the economic

problems of the country, however, had transformed him from working in the 1960s and 1970s as a mechanic at TextAfrica in Chimoio to becoming a peasant again post-civil war. His wife Ana comes from a locality quite far from Honde and has been married to António since the early 1980s—the marriage conforming to the exogamous rules as defined by marrying outside one's clan, in António's case being the *mbizi mitupo* (zebra clan). During the almost ten years I knew him, António's health deteriorated gradually, and while in Norway in mid-April 2008, I received a phone call from one of his sons informing me that his father was terminally ill—neither *n'anga*, *profete*, nor hospital could restore his health. In late April António died in the house of his oldest son, Francisco. Coincidentally, I was going to undertake some fieldwork at that time and arrived, unfortunately, in Chimoio two days after António had died. I was, however, able to partake in mortuary rites, ceremonies, the burial, and preparations for these.

The transition from embodied person to ancestral spirit is crucial, as touched upon in previous chapters. On 3 May, before being buried, the body of António was therefore brought from the mortuary in Chimoio by truck to his Honde home. The task of taking particular care of the body falls on the *nharumbi*—a role usually immediately given to a male or female affine or neighbor after death has occurred (see also H. P. Junod 1936: 309). The *nharumbi*'s task is emotionally intense and includes, crucially, washing and tending to the corpse, organizing mortuary rites, and aiding the widow. In sum, the *nharumbi* will spend almost all of his or her waking hours tending to, guarding and supporting the successful transition of the deceased.

In this case, the task fell upon the husband of António's oldest daughter, as he had also been present when António died. Arriving at his house, the *nharumbi* laid António out under a raised maize granary, and all those who wanted to see the body could—some expressed grief by crying. After some time, the coffin was draped in its black and white cloth and the funeral procession of about sixty people walked to the shady, cool grove that is the burial ground for Honde's *aridzi wo nhika*. While there, all men took turns in participating with digging the grave while the women sung songs both to the praise of António as well as songs to mock, warn, and ward off potential *muroi*. All were relieved when the *nharumbi* and the *tchirenge* together decided that the grave was deep enough and that no big rocks had been uncovered when digging. Rocks or pebbles in this context would signify that the very soil or territory itself—the *nhika*—refuses to host the body. This would, then, have meant that the *vadzimu* were inimical to António's transition to become one of them: an ancestral spirit.⁵



Illustration 6.1. Digging Antônio's grave together. Honde, 2008.

After the coffin had been lowered by lianas onto a base of four pieces of wood, the *bonde* (sleeping mat) was cut with a machete and thrown into the grave, as were most of Antônio's clothes. Significantly, the *tchirenge* emptied onto the coffin a plastic bottle containing ash, *ufu* (ground maize flour), and water from his home, all collected by Ana. With the immediate mortuary rites taken care of, the grave closed, and flowers planted and watered, the funeral procession returned to the home of Antônio and Ana. There, the washing of hands to confine death and *tchikume* (danger) was undertaken, followed by the serving of food, and general conversation and remembrance into the night with songs, drinking, and dancing. This day ended the public part of mortuary rites. For the family, however, and for the theme of this chapter, the equally important ritual of *kubatidzana* took place two days after the burial.

The spatial context for the *kubatidzana* ritual was Ana's and Antônio's home, and Ana and all Antônio's children were present, as was Antônio's half-sister Maria. Sitting in the courtyard early in the morning, we all observed how Maria and Ana killed and slaughtered a hen. The intestines, head, and feathers were put on a large leaf of a plant (*gwenahamba*). Thereafter, the dry, crushed husks and casks of maize, *bhutu*, were put on the leaves of the plant *mussekessa* (Lat. *Piliostigma thonningii*)—a tree Francisco told me is important “for *tradição*.”



Illustration 6.2. *Bhutu* on *mussekessa* leaves while the hen is slaughtered in the background. The faces of the participants have been obscured to retain their anonymity. Honde, 2008.



Illustration 6.3. Salt and the flesh of the hen put into the *pendekari*, the *sadza* pot. Honde, 2008.

After the *bhutu* had been laid out on the *mussekessa* leaves, all Ant3nio's children, including me, were called forth one by one. All knelt down behind a dry stalk of maize laid out on the ground and pinched some *bhutu* off the individually prepared *mussekessa* leaf. Everyone then dipped their *bhutu* into water held by a large shard from a broken *pendekari* (*sadza* pot) and returned to the leaf and kneaded the *bhutu* with the wet fingers. While doing this, all were instructed to say in *chiTewe*,

Father, I come here as your [son or daughter] to touch this *bhutu* since we are together. I will dip into this water for my father so that he will stay fresh and not become dry.

Sitting behind the dry maize stalk was important, several people told me, so that "we will not bring *tchikume* to the maize in the *machambas*." Notably, there were two exceptions to touching the *bhutu* directly—two of Ant3nio's daughters with babies were not permitted to. As these women had not yet attended a ceremony entitled *kupindamadzwadhe*⁶ for resuming sexual relations with their husbands after partition and for protecting the baby, they were in danger of ruining the maize produce by touching the *bhutu* directly. These two women, with the babies on their backs, sat hunched and held the maize stalk from Ant3nio's sister who touched the *bhutu* and water—effectively carrying out a ceremony by proxy in lieu of the taboo on their direct participation.

Now mid-morning and with the sun burning, this part was followed by one in which all again gathered around Ana and Maria, and this time all washed their hands in the same broken *pendekari*, which had been

filled with fresh water. Thereafter, everyone took a piece of meat from the hen, a pinch of salt, and *mutombo*—in that order—and put the items in a pan for cooking. While doing this, all repeated in chiTewe, one after the other, “Father, today we are touching your body with this salt and this *mutombo*.”

Younas explained to me immediately afterward, “It is for all of us to be able to eat meat again. You need salt to eat meat. Always. And the *muotombo* cleans everything.” I asked him, “But why do you need to eat and kill a hen?” He answered, “The hen does not breathe? Is it not like a person? The hen has blood, it breathes—it is like our father. For this it is important.” What is evident here is the importance of the family’s ritual consumption of the deceased’s flesh—safeguarded by the potency of salt which is often used to ward off *muroi* or, as we saw in chapter 4, integral to the liquid *mutombo* of the *profete*.

After everyone had put in their share of meat, salt, and *mutombo*, all gathered around the pan and together lifted it onto the three stones that make up the outdoor hearth. After placing the pot on the three stones, everyone walked in different directions away from the hearth to the perimeter of the swept area and beyond, collecting firewood. When Ana and Maria had organized the firewood, the *nharumbi* was called forth to light the wood with some matchsticks. Again, some elements were explained to me, this time by Felicidade, one of Antônio’s daughters, after which I asked why charcoal was not used (which was kept a few meters away) and why they did not ask for fire at the neighbors (as is usually done by sending a child over to obtain a smoldering piece). She explained that it could be dangerous to get a piece of charcoal that is bought as “no one knows what might have been done to it and by



Illustration 6.4. The production of charcoal. Honde, 2004.

whom.” For the same fear of contamination by *tchikume*—spreading or receiving—other households are not asked for fire until at least seven days following death.⁷

When the meat, salt, and *mutombo* have been well-cooked, all of António’s children are again called forth to the hearth where the meat is served on one plate, and the *sadza* (also cooked on the hearth) is served on another. One after another, we pinched one piece of *sadza*, lifted it to our face, smelled it and threw it on top of the intestines, head, and feathers from the hen still laying beside the hearth. Felicidade explained: “When you do this as part of *kubatidzana*, if someone would like to poison you their *uroi* will not work. You do this to prevent an attack. You do it to finish *tchikume*.”

Taking care with food given to you also extends to precautions when visiting the home of someone you mistrust or suspect might be a *muroi*. However, it would be insulting to directly smell and discard a piece of offered food. What is quite common instead is to follow one (or both) of two strategies: First, you refrain from taking your piece of *sadza* and relish until you see where the owner of the house takes his or her pieces from. Following this lead, you will then dig your fingers into more or less the same spot so that you will not be tricked into consuming *sadza drogado*—drugged *sadza*—that may have been put on another side of the plate.⁸ Second, you could take a piece of *sadza* and, instead of throwing it away, you could drop it on the floor, feigning that it slipped out of your grip. By excusing yourself for your mistake, you will defuse the potential *mutombo* in the remaining *sadza*, and you will not be socially exposed to the much more dramatic and potentially damaging act of intentionally smelling and throwing away food.

In the context of the *kubatidzana*, however, following the discarding of *sadza*, all were again called forth to pinch a new piece of *sadza*. This time, all dipped the *sadza* into the *pendekari*, took a piece of meat there, and ate both. It is imperative here that all consume a piece of meat but that the chicken bones remain unbroken—contrary to the breaking of the bones for eating the coveted marrow which is always done otherwise. “You cannot break the bones of your father,” as Younas commented to me. Gradually, however, the carefully sequenced sampling of meat and *sadza* gave way to a form of inversion: Everyone, irrespective of age, gender and status, quickly and simultaneously gorged on the remaining *sadza* and meat, stuffing ourselves with the food. This, of course, contrasts sharply with the normally highly structured distribution of meat, sequence of eating, and gendered spatial separation of eating places that structure all social gatherings and family meals. When the meat and *sadza* had all been devoured, the *pendekari* with the broth and the *mu-*

tombo was jointly lifted by all, and we took turns sipping right from the pan. “It is like father’s blood. You cannot leave it,” Younas commented.

Meat, *sadza*, and broth now consumed, Maria collected *all* utensils and material items that pertained to the ritual, among them the piece of wood used to stir the *sadza*, the knife used to kill and cut the hen, the *pendekari*, and the intestines of the hen. While she collected these things, all others brought various items (wooden benches, chairs, machetes, etc.) that they wanted to keep from the cleansing that would ensue and deposited them outside the perimeter of the courtyard. Subsequently, the *nharumbi* initiated the courtyard sweeping, followed by all others, both men and women, joining in a few minutes after. A visual sign of upheaval and cosmological disorder, a courtyard remains unswept after death until the *kubatidzana* is carried out. The considerable amount of debris (twigs, husks, etc.) that had accumulated was now carried away by the *nharumbi* and an elderly female neighbor.

The courtyard now again swept clean, *portugaro* and *nipa* were brought forth and mixed in a tin cup. As in rituals explored in chapter 3 and 4, the two liquids also likely signify blood and sweat in this context—here, António’s. Before the liquids were consumed, however, the *nharumbi* was presented with gifts for his services, including a liter of *nipa* reserved only for him, a small hen, and, significantly, a large plate of so-called *konde* maize meal. The value of *konde* resides in the fact that it is pounded at home and *not* in commercial maize mills, which are highly ambiguous and commonly feared as sites of *uroi* (see Bertelsen 2014b). At all future annual ceremonies for António, the *nharumbi* will also be given *konde*, *nipa*, and a hen. The presentation of the *nharumbi*’s gifts and the drinking of blood and sweat in the late afternoon marked the end of *kubatidzana*, and neighbors and visiting relatives now moved into the compound to socialize and drink.

To compare, it seems that the ritual of *kubatidzana* was both more elaborate and common in the region in the early twentieth century. However, some central elements of structure and sequence continue to hold sway—as the quote by H. P. Junod (1936: 309) illustrates, based on research in nearby Sofala province, “A special hen is killed, and everyone in the village has to eat a part of it. If any one is absent at the time of the burial, a bone of the sacrificed hen is left hanging at his door, and he must touch it before entering the house.” Similarly, in the case of the *kubatidzana* following António’s death, an unbroken bone from the hen was kept in Ana’s house and given to kin that were absent from the funeral. Upon visiting, these kin are presented with the bone, which they must bite—the hard part of the corporal substance of the diseased. Arguably, the bone, unbroken, kept, and bitten, is but one of several

examples of *substances* in different forms and shape that are at the center of the ritual. As Carsten (2004: 125) notes, building on Roy Wagner, substance as a term may be seen to be *transmitted* by way of having a relational quality, be characterized by *substitutability* (or analogizing capacity), and to provide contents to form. These dimensions of substance are to varying degrees present in the following elements of *kubatidzana*.

For one, a central component is the *consumption* of all parts of the deceased's physical body (the flesh of the hen) and blood (the broth from the hen and the *portugaro*)—but not the bones that remain unbroken. *Death* and *fertility*, in terms of the slaughtering of the hen, and food being the antithesis to death, are also central dimensions. The control, reordering, and reinitiation of *sexual relations* post-death is also another feature, as none of António's sons or daughters can have sex after death has occurred before *kubatidzana* is undertaken. To *not* undertake measures to reorder entails attracting and fomenting *tchikume*, as the widow's sexuality is then potentially lethal for both her future sex partners and her children—contaminated by and radiating death, so to speak.⁹

Another crucial dimension pertains to the opposites of *wet* and *dry*—characterized by *bhutu/konde* and water, bone/maize stalk and broth/meat. This ritual juxtaposition of wet and dry alludes to fertility and infertility, as well as corresponds with the resting ground of the bodily remains in the fertile, rockless, humid ground into which António's body was placed—a resting place wherein he was also given ash, *ufu*, and water from the household to underline the link of *substance* between death and life, dry and wet, infertility and fertility. Yet other dimensions pertain to the disorder brought forth by death—symbolized strongly by the broken *pendekari*, which, as Gosselain argues (1999), is a symbol of sexuality and matrimony. Breaking it and serving from it underlines—again—the relation between substance and its vessels, bodies, and reproductive capacities.

The dimensions that I have here merely hinted at may all be understood in terms of substitutability, relationality, or contents to form and may all inform full-fledged analyses of the bodily, sexual, relational, and reproductive forces at play in *kubatidzana*. However, for the purpose of this chapter, the central point here is more limited: to underline that it is imperative for Ana and all other close kin to execute *kubatidzana* in order to both resolve a dangerous situation post-death as well as to contribute to António's smooth transition from embodied person to ancestor. Moreover, the many aspects of *kubatidzana* also point to a number of potent aspects regarding wider connections between production and reproduction—relations that are important for the continuing of

productive and reproductive cycles in terms of offspring, fertility, and food. These gendered relations concerning reproduction and the control of substances are not only central for warding off *tchikume* within the household—aspects that crucially come into play during *kubatidzana*—but they also comprise a central context for understanding the intrusive nature of commodification.

***Ufu* and *Zwidoma*: Actualizations of Female Capacities and Accumulation**

António's death, burial, and *kubatidzana* ritual showed the centrality of foodstuffs to productive and reproductive dynamics—life and death. *Magwere* (maize) is chief among these foods, as it is stored in the center of the household in granaries close to or within the *muturica*. *Ufu*, *konde*, and *bhutu* as instances of *magwere* are central not just to rituals such as *kubatidzana* or burials and mortuary rites but also to communal rituals. It is also the staple food consumed within the household each day. In controlling the production of *ufu* from sowing the seeds to pounding in the heart of the household in a *dhuli* (mortar), the reproductive ethos of sociality is ensured, especially by its female members. Further, the relations between *ufu* and women's bodies are also one of intimacy—affirmed when hunching over their cooking pots. As described ethnographically and analytically elsewhere (Bertelsen 2014b), women, when cooking, are seen to be able to employ, one could say deploy, their vaginas to thicken the *sadza* through the smoke and fumes circulating between body and the *pendekari* where the *sadza* is made.¹⁰

However, the ingestion and consumption of foodstuffs are also potentially dangerous occasions, as the gates to the body are opened to possibly penetrative and malign forces of *uroi* or other harmful *mutombo*. As we have seen in earlier chapters and as Jacobson-Widding has pointed out based on her study of Manyika ritual and gendered cosmologies, the orifices are of central concern: “By letting other people ‘enter’ through these gates or by letting them enter symbolically by sharing the same food, you let them become part of what is located inside your own body, that is, your ‘self’” (Jacobson-Widding 1999: 305). Hence, it is through ingestion of *mutumbo* by respiring its fumes, both elements seen in chapter 4, that renewed protection against *tchikume* is ensured. *Ufu*, therefore, in terms of both origins, production and circulation and in ritual as well as everyday settings of consumption, may be seen as a manifestation of dimensions of sociality and of gendered reproductive capabilities, while at the same time being a shared substance.

At another level, *ufu* and *magwere* may also be seen as central in the gendered transformative potential that came to fore in the alterations in terms of *machamba* and land in which women assumed a more central role in the production and control of the sociopolitical and socio-economic space of the *nhika*, as developed in chapter 3. These may be viewed *not* necessarily as a movement informed by the emancipatory politics of Frelimo state politics and its women's organization, the OMM. Rather, it may be seen as a reassertion of the centrality of control of production, consumption, and circulation of the most vital ingredient of a household—its *magwere* that is to become *ufu*. This assertive move by the Honde women can, thus, be seen as one made against the commodification entailed by, first, the early postcolonial modernist state or, secondly, the economic opportunities brought by war and upheaval in which many sought to make money off sale. Gendered entrepreneurship as occasioned by war is argued by Chingono (1996, 2015), for example, on the basis of material from Chimoio, who contends that women seized economic opportunities laid bare, so to speak, by the onslaught of war by establishing themselves as, e.g., traders.¹¹

Contrarily, my material from Honde and Chimoio indicates processes that reassert the control by women of productive and reproductive forces in ways that are oriented *against* the gendered subjection of maize to the market. This point also underlines the nonstatic dimensions of relations between nurturing, production, and sociality—a fluidity crucial to analyses of rural and peri-urban society in Mozambique and beyond. With Deleuze (2006 [1977]) one might conceive of such a gendered transformation of control over *machambas* in terms of an “actualization” in the domain of the real of the potencies inherent in “the virtual” of the traditional field. To recall, albeit irreducible to notions of “potential,” the virtual may nevertheless induce or bring about processes of becoming in the form of actualization. In this particular context, the virtual of the social imaginaries centering around food, reproduction, flow of substances, and the body was actualized in circumstances that transformed the gendered social order of production and land use.

Such an interpretation of the extension of female control over *nhika* and produce may also inform historical analysis of the struggle against a range of state dynamics threatening the basic reproductive and consumptive logic outlined in earlier chapters. For one, there is the line from tributary regimes to local chiefs and other often far more hierarchical regimes: from the distant chiefs of Nguni domination to the colonial machinations of the early colonial regime, these different regimes operated various forms of politics of tribute and taxation in food. Sec-



Illustration 6.5. A *pendekari*, pot for cooking *sadza*, lit by old and dry cobs of maize. Honde, 1999.

ond, the production of food was curtailed at several historical intervals. For instance, this was done through allocation of large tracts of land to farmers of German, British, Portuguese, and French origin on which *tchibalo*—the forced labor regime—was systematically imposed, deviating productive capabilities from the household systems of reproduction. Further, the system of communal villages and collective farms—experiments effectively destroyed by the war machine of Renamo—were also, in this optic, state order mechanisms that deviated and rerouted foodstuffs and their labor, as well as comprised violent deterritorializing systems of reorganization, as detailed in chapter 3.

This brief revisiting of historical dimensions serves to underline the long-term trajectories of struggle against the violence of the state order—especially being antagonistically oriented toward colonial systems of extraction, postcolonial high modernism in collective farms, and (post)war state-sponsored capitalist expansion (Geffray 1990; Bowen 2000). However, the frequently violent tensions between processes of state formation and the potentialities of sociality—hereunder the traditional field, and a key argument of this book—may be located also in the intimate and gendered practices and perspectives on the production, circulation, and consumption of foodstuffs.

It is, as also argued earlier, commonplace to both identify and analyze women as related to food and cooking in African households, often emphasizing the gendered role as related to foodstuffs and nurture within the household.¹² But this gendered practice of nurturing the immediate needs of household members goes beyond the household's confines—it extends into the surrounding society. Women visit each other with foodstuffs, borrow utensils for cooking, make and distribute pottery for making food, borrow *ufu* from each other. And very importantly, when harvest of the *magwere* is done, women gather at each other's households to help peel it—to prepare foodstuffs. In relation to the earlier argument about death brought by the poisoning of food, the very act of preparing this basic nurturing component, the *ufu* that will be made into *sadza* twice a day, is an act of social intimacy that effectively links households. This is also evident in the way women (or, sometimes, men) will upon departure provide the guest with a number of foodstuffs to bring home with him or her—signaling an extension of the nurturing capacity of the household.

Women's practices thereby transcend or, at least, challenge the boundaries of the household (so often imagined by the analyst) and underline how women embody the generative potential of the social and of community as such. In no way merely relegated to a biological reproductive ethos, this socially productive dimension of women highlights how



Illustration 6.6. Women walking with maize to the mill in Chimoio. Honde, 2000.

women nurture society and how they, simultaneously, are nurtured by society. Women are, in this sense, both social and relational, and their practices are public in that meetings go on in the households and on the *gwanzas* that cut through *mato* or *machamba* where people socialize, meet, and talk. Walking the *gwanzas* often with foodstuffs en route to urban markets or homebound with goods, women embody and energize the important circuits that *gwanzas* represent and at the same time exchange pieces of *masoko* (news) and stop to visit familiars and friends.

In such a way women assume the positions not only of nurturers but also of key practitioners of the domains of the social. Perhaps one may argue that the social practices of women—in terms of hospitality, changes to land tenure and the *nhika*, the moving of *ufu* through the landscape—exhibit expansionist, centrifugal, and rhizomic movements that are opposed to forms of striation characteristic of the state order as well as patriarchal structures.¹³

Nevertheless, the productive, reproductive, and generative social capacities of women are also circumscribed by social imaginaries of the female *muroi*—often instantiated through the figure of the *zwidoma* (plural, *tchidoma* singular). *Zwidoma*¹⁴ are, in most instances, related both to women and to increasing wealth. This excerpt from a 2007 interview in Chimoio with José—a prominent member of AMETRAMO as well as a *n'anga*—indicates some of these dimensions:

J: *Zwidoma* are a tiny couple which may be used in maneuvers to get rich. They are people that are around forty centimeters tall. They may be used to take money out of the houses of peoples. One may use them to get rich in five years. After five years, you may die or become very ill but rich. They are people of *uroi*, right?

B: Yes ...

J: Therefore, they need to be treated well as it is they who do all the work. They do not eat anything but meat. The only thing they cannot eat, are vegetables. They need meat only! The mother of the family who does this maneuver [i.e., controls and creates the *zwidoma*] needs to cook a large pot of meat each day because they eat a lot.

B: Are there many who have these in Chimoio?

J: *Chi!* Plenty of people have this.

B: And when you die after five years, what happens to the *zwidoma*?

J: They disappear. Another thing with this richness. A man called _____ here became very ill when he became rich. I told him, "Let's go to the hospital," but he never wanted to go. He refused, really. And each time after he had finished being ill, a new car or minibus [for his transport company] came to him. Each time!

B: So, you need to become ill to become rich?

J: Yes, it demands a lot [*custa muito*].

B: But these *zwidoma*, are they dangerous?

J: Yes, they might be. They may kill your children. It is dangerous to play with them. There was this man here who did that. He was in the traffic police in Chimoio and called _____. You have heard, haven't you? [Calls out to the woman running the bar]

Woman: Yes, I have. [He] became very rich.

J: Yes, yes. Only when you do this maneuver, you cannot be unfaithful [literally "go outside," *andar fora*]. It is dangerous.

B: And he did this? Was unfaithful?

J: Yes! He was unfaithful and died. But his mother still has all the money.

B: So, the money does not disappear when you die?

J: No. Your family may be left with a lot of money.

Many characteristics of the *zwidoma* resemble two other prominent sacrificial logics in Honde and Chimoio. One is *cuchekera*, a form of blood sacrifice seen to be undertaken for economic gain, and understood as often involving the death or disease of kin, workers, or other intimates. Allegations of having undertaken *cuchekera* are frequently made against local successful businessmen. The other sacrificial logic, also previously

analyzed, is zombification, where one's own or others' physical body and energy are slowly sucked dry through (here complicit) engagement with *uroi*—a sacrifice of either self or others inherent to the perennially double-edged character of sorcery.

The *zwidoma* also reflect these sacrificial logics, and their transgressive character is amplified by their minuscule size as well as their grotesque diet of meat. In her Zimbabwe material, however, Jacobson-Widding also points out another distinguishing feature of the *zwidoma*: they are directly related to women, cooking, and sorcery, and she describes the *zwidoma* as the female witch's familiar. These witches are "recognized by her dripping or ulcerous nipples. [They are] constantly suckling small creatures, ... who are called *zwidoma*" (1990: 57). Further, the *zwidoma* are "dwarfish" and are thought to inhabit "the ground under a woman's cooking hut" (1999: 303). Jacobson-Widding's characteristics of the *zwidoma* complement mine: the important gendered dimensions in allocating agency and control to women and mothers, the relations to cooking and food (i.e. cooking hut and meat lust), the extractive capacities (milk from "ulcerous nipples" and illness), and the relation to *uroi*.

The characteristics of the *zwidoma* constitute another empirical instance of how the practices and capacities of *uroi* must be emplaced centrally within the household and among its members. Further, inverting the productive and assertive aspects of substance, nurture and reproduction evident in *kubatidzana*, the *zwidoma* nevertheless also indicate the intimate relationships between production, circulation, and consumption of food, gendered notions of "enriching," and the illicit yet productive inclusion of direct female reproductive capacities in food preparation (see also Geschiere 2013). The reproductive and nurturing female capacity as central to household food production is, then, expressed and underlined in the case of the *zwidoma*—accounts of which are readily shared by both men and women. However, the ability to deviate these flows of productive and reproductive resources and capacities are not only central to domains of the living, female body, and food but also in the potentials of the bodies of the dead.

Tapping Dead Bodies: Corporeal Potentialities

There are multiple significant connections between the materiality of the body, death's occurrence, and the power and potentialities occasioned by the corpse.¹⁵ Generally, in Honde and Chimoio death is potentially regarded as bodily and socially contaminating, and children are therefore normally prevented from being in contact with its circumstances.

But this goes further: children are commonly not often exposed to even knowing about death having occurred. Instead, they will be told that the person was lost and will only circumstantially know of his or her death, or they will find out later (see also Suana 1999).¹⁶

The ritual of *kubatidzana* also shows that burials and its rites comprise events of potential dangerous contamination. Similarly, after the burial, the family will check back on the grave every day or so to check to see that it has not been opened or tampered with—they will often sweep the area around the grave so that the footprints of evildoers may be seen (see also Bourdillon 1987: 203).¹⁷ This practice is related to the potentialities inherent in the body even after the spirit has left: the soft tissue, liquids, and vital organs of the body can be very powerful and sinister components used by *muroi* and others—especially in terms of the meat lust (*kurha nhama io munhu*) that we saw in chapter 5. However, corpses may also be exploited by the immediate family, a possibility made clear in a February 2007 case.

Over a period of several weeks in 2007 I accompanied António, the man who passed away in 2008, and often one of his oldest sons on several visits to a *n'anga*. During these trips, it came to the fore that António had once attempted to tap his father's corpse. It also became clear that this was done under extremely difficult economic and social circumstances of poverty and hunger during the civil war around the year 1989, and António wished to obtain *tchitumwa*, a form of *mutumbo*, from a *n'anga* to ameliorate the situation. Upon his father's death and at the *n'anga*, he was given a little ball made of string to be put under the corpse of his father lying in their home which would "drink [*chupar*] his liquids." If filled with liquid, the *tchitumwa* drug has the capacity to attract money and resources to its bearer: "Everything becomes very close," as one of his sons put it, expressing a vision where riches seemingly condense around (apparently unproductive) owners.¹⁸

António's plan was foiled, however, as the *tchitumwa* ball was discovered when mourners led by the *nharumbi* came somewhat early to wash the body. Upon intercepting the *tchitumwa*, no one voiced their suspicions and it was merely discarded. Still, following the burial, António's persistent accidents with a motorbike, his loss of material items, and his bad luck with money illustrated to all involved that the spirit of the father had become a *tchikwambo*, pursuing his son for his greed. In the decade or so that I have known the family of António and Ana, much monetary and other resources have been devoted to becoming reconciled especially with the *tchikwambo* spirit of António's father, including creating a *gotokoto*, holding *kutenda adzimu edu*, and seeking the help of *n'angas* and *profetes* (see also chapter 4).

António's heinous act may be understood in terms of how corpses are perceived. After death has occurred, the liquid produced within a corpse is treated as doubly extremely dangerous and immensely empowering. This liquid is, then, in a very tangible way, *the potent stuff of life*, extracted from the body of the once alive to be consumed by the potent to be. For this reason, as well as for that of *kurha nhama io munhu*, a fresh grave is always watched over or protected by magical plants or observers, as was done in António's case where also we visited each day looking for footprints. Prior to burial, a corpse is also always carefully treated and regularly inspected for signs of illicit and nebulous extraction of liquid or other body parts. In watching both the grave and the corpse, people attempt to ward off potential *muroi*—nocturnal witches that not only exhume the corpses to sate their appetite for human flesh but also extract the liquid to use in nebulous ceremonies of empowerment.¹⁹

Corpses and graves as nebulous sources of power are also reflected in urban contexts. In Chimoio, for instance, several break-ins in 2000 were reported at the provincial morgue (*Casa Mortuária do Hospital Provincial de Chimoio*), from which the body of a baby, an urn, and several liters of water used to wash corpses were stolen or sold (see *Megajornal* 2000: 2). Allegedly, the liquids obtained directly from bodies or used to wash them have the capacity to endow their user with invisibility as well as the capacity to attract riches—much like the *tchitumwa*.

Empowerment by morbid liquids within this particular context is, again, not a modern-day novelty and arguably reflects a long-term concern with the body and its potentialities—an aspect that was also discussed in chapter 6 in terms of the sovereign's body and the body of the *muroi*. Thus, a Portuguese account from 1609 (Santos 1964 [1609]: 289) also evidences such relations and concerns:

It is related of this [king] Monomotapa [Mwene Mutapa] that he has a house where he commands bodies of men who have died at the hands of the law to be hung up, and where thus hanging all the humidity of their bodies falls into vases placed underneath, and when all has dropped from them and they shrink and dry up he commands them to be taken down and buried, and with the fat and moisture in the vases they make ointments with which he anoints himself in order to enjoy long life—which is his belief—and also to be proof against receiving harm from sorcerers. Others say that with the moisture he makes charms.

There are clear analogies here to other practices related to the importance of both the particular tissue of the body and watching the body itself. A long-standing practice relating to the drying of the bodies of

chiefs' and other important figures is central to this—as evidenced by the description from 1796 by the Portuguese governor of Sofala, Carlos José dos Reis e Gama, who sent a letter in the form of an “ethnographic questionnaire” to the colonial administration (Liesegang 1966 [1796]: 18–19): The body of the king, surrounded by important women and men, is left to decompose on a wooden platform in his home. The liquid and soft tissue falling down is collected by different vessels and guarded.²⁰ When the process has completed, the remains of the body on the platform, bones for the most part, are then wrapped in a skin and buried as part of subsequent ceremonies.

Both historical accounts illustrate some of the rationale for the empowerment by morbid liquids from the morgue or, allegedly, at the court. But the case of Mwene Mutapa especially adds a further dimension to power as integral to imaginaries of statehood, sorcery, and transgression—a theme also developed in chapter 5. As the general practice of watching both grave and body shows, the body should be unblemished, as any disturbance could enrage the deceased's spirit, as in the case of António's father's spirit transforming into a *tchikwambo*. Moreover, the body is a desirable object for witches or sorcerers craving flesh and empowerment through access to human bodies—living or dead.

Interestingly, the use of bodily liquids for nefarious purposes is neither limited to the Mozambican context nor to the Southern African one. For instance, a central concept informing Whitehead's work from Amazonia is that of *kanaimã*—a notion denoting sorcery linked to shamanic practices with wide circulation in the region (Whitehead 2002, 2004). Victims are violently attacked by this form of dark sorcery, their orifices and bodies mutilated precisely and extensively, their bodies implanted with magical substances, and the products thereof exploited by the sorcerers. Whitehead analyzes this phenomenon widely in historical and ethnographic terms, but the aspect of what he calls “violent hunger” seems to connote imaginaries of human destructive potential that are somewhat similar to those evident in the *kurha nhama io munhu* (Whitehead 2002; see also Fausto 2007).

The potential to usurp the force or flesh of other is also contained in Andean images of the process of transferring body fat, the life force and the corporeal essence of others. The Andean figure of the *kharisiri* or *pishtaco*—a dreaded nocturnal figure with white skin—appropriates the body fat of his hapless victims by ripping them open, sucking the healthy fat out their bodies, and stitching them together again before dawn (Weismantel 2005; Blaisdell and Ødegaard 2014).²¹ Similarly, the figure of the white Portuguese as vampire and blood-sucker, a so-called *chupa-sangue*, is also present in many popular perceptions of the *ma-*

Tuga—the name given to colonial Portuguese—in Mozambique (Teixeira 2003; see also Bowen 2001).²²

Exchange, Substance, and the Sorcerous Sovereign

The imaginary of Mwene Mutapa's usurpation of the tissue of slain corpses immediately resonates with the narrative of Guebuza not only bringing the *muroi* to Maputo but also, ambiguously, both neutralizing and feeding on his potentiality, as described in chapter 5. In addition, it points to exchange, the appropriation of (vital) substance, and the hierarchies inherent to polities or any social order.

As argued by Rio and Smedal (2008: 240), an important dimension in social and political order revolves around notions of “finite pools of life substances” and the political economies associated with these. Such finitude of substance seems appropriate as a dimension of *kubatidzana* also as it may be seen as a ritual of *both* reinscription of novel routes and capacities for (finite) life substances inherent to the household's reproductive capacities *and* regulation of which forms are inimical to the formation of commodities, a realm beyond the finite pool. A breach or, better, contamination of the circulatory logic in the finiteness of these “life substances” would be represented by, for instance, the insertion



Illustration 6.7. Theft of food is seen as a dramatic tapping of resources. Here you see the traces after a case of nocturnal theft of *mandioka* (cassava) from a *machamba* in Honde, 2005.

of food products into the ritual domain as well as, conversely, the extraction of specific foodstuffs, such as *konde*, from the domain of the ritual, the household, and the *nhika*.

Similarly, Lan (2000 [1989]) points to an antagonism toward certain commodities in Dande, Zimbabwe, one expressed by the so-called *mhondoro* mediums (see also chapter 3). In an analysis of the mediums' antagonism toward the state and its paraphernalia, Lan shows, for instance, how samples of crops meant for the market cannot be part of ancestral offerings. Such a division finds clear resonance with the distinction between *konde* and *ufu*—where the former would be given to *nharumbi*—indicating an antagonism toward markets and commercial maize mills, sometimes also expressed when discussing *zwidoma*. However, what is crucial in this context is that basic notions of cycles of exchange, which are challenged, lie underneath such antagonism. Lan posits four cycles of exchange: First, between people and ancestors, epitomized by the offering of beer on the ground for ancestors (see also chapter 2 on *nhika*)—a plea where rain (water) and plentiful crops (grain) is asked for in return. Second, within the lineage there are ongoing cycles of exchange in terms of a redistributive ethos of sharing food and resources. Third, an exchange “between lineages at marriage” in which men often work for their fathers-in-law for a number of years. Fourth and directly relevant is an exchange between chief and his subjects in terms of labor on the chief's fields. Lan describes this cycle as consisting of “labour in exchange for economic security either in direct exchange for access to land or grain, or in indirect exchange for rain” (Lan 2000 [1989]: 201). In a context similar to the one identified in Manica Province, Lan argues for processes that thwarted these cycles of exchange where chiefs became loyal to the state in a context of super-exploitation, loss of land, and violence. Thus, Lan argues that the Dande ancestors, through the *mhondoro* mediums, demonstrated an opposition to state by denouncing the commodities around which it seemed centered.

What is crucial about Lan's work is that it exposes the ritual and everyday practice of containment within a finite pool of life substances seen as pivotal for securing the well-being and socio-moral order of the community. However, these practices are also oriented toward preventing these cycles from being siphoned off to nefarious purposes. In this context, the work of the sorcerer is the work of individual empowerment through the appropriation of these substances in two ways. First, the life substances appropriated may be inserted into novel settings. This may be understood in the context of the hunger for meat in general and especially human meat. It may also be seen in the context of siphoning off life forces through zombification or bloodsucking (by the feared

chupa-sangue). Second, there is a fear of the sorcerer expanding, by illicit means through *mutombo*, the finite pool of life substances and its socially sanctioned closed system of circulation. An expansion and siphoning off of substances may destabilize the system and throw off balance its circulatory logic. The machinic imagery of balance and circulation used in this interpretation is *not* intended to launch a (crypto)functionalist argument of systemic self-containment or units in perfect balance but, rather, to indicate the social practices of control that grapple with substantial forces threatening the socio-moral order.

Informed by this potential for thwarting systems of exchange, the state in the context of Manica similarly emerges, historically and presently, as a locus for diverting productive cycles—as the entity blocking meaningful exchange in Lan’s understanding of the term. Instead, substance, in terms of food especially, is usurped by machinations of the market and the *muroi*—both understood as integral to state formation. As a consequence, therefore, the cycles of exchange in Honde that control the circulation and containment of the finite pool of life sources—often intimately related to female reproductive and productive capabilities—is constantly challenged by processes of state formation and commodification. In this way, the transformations of exchange, flow of substance, and dynamics of reproductive capacities thereby resonate directly with the imaginaries of violent appropriation and death. Put differently, these are fundamentally experienced as oriented antagonistically toward the social order of productive, reproductive, and bodily capacities, as ritually expressed in *kubatidzana*. Such an analysis seems more adequate than a conceptualization in which economy becomes spectral, ghostly (and ghastly) in its present excess—both in spiritual and monetary terms.

As in many other African postcolonies, the state order is experienced as comprising different repressive, extractive, and violent entities and practices (Mbembe 2001, 2003, 2006). As we saw in chapter 5, the order’s head, the figure of the sovereign, is ultimately ambivalent in his dual appropriation *and* neutralization of *uroi*, testifying to his own sorcerous powers. Such an interpretation, wherein the work of the *muroi* siphoning off and illicitly expanding vital and destructive substances, bears resemblance to the overt and covert practices of the state. Overtly, the state order wields various apparatuses of capture of labor, as argued extensively earlier. Further, and covertly, through state elite’s entrepreneurial collusion with businessmen of foreign provenance (Indian, Chinese, Brazilian, South African, Pakistani), it is also understood to be an apparatus feeding not only on commanding the regular market and its commodities but also as woven into criminal economies of violent extraction and sorcerous predation (see also Sumich 2013).

Thus, the entrepreneurial class, the Frelimo party, and the state apparatus coalesce in imaginaries of accumulation of wealth and transgression for economic purposes. However, similar understandings of connections between class, capital, and state are also widely supported by critical analysts of the Mozambican state formation and its class of beneficiaries (Shabangu 2012). This post-war development of asset-stripping, the blending of legal and illegal businesses, and the widespread use of the state apparatus for purposes of amassing wealth has led Cramer in a sobering analysis to term Mozambique as a “gangster democracy characterized by sharp inequalities” (2007: 269). Supporting Cramer’s bleak assessment, perhaps one can also, once again, invoke Gramsci’s claim: “The historical unity of the ruling classes is realised in the State, and their history is essentially the history of States and of groups of States” (1996 [1973]: 52).²³

The Mozambican postcolonial state is, of course, not unique in being experienced and envisioned in terms of its sorcerous doings and practices. In an analysis of the Nigerian economy, Apter (1993: 126n13) argues that it is characterized by what he terms “alienated production” in which the Nigerian ruling class is a “state class” whose political economy is “based less on the exploitation of wage labor and more on the exploitation of state power, wealth and resources.” As such, Apter continues (ibid.), “the state has become the ultimate witch, appearing to grow rich at the expense of its ‘children.’” Similarly in Mozambique, the comparatively amazing wealth that seems to condense around both the Frelimo elite as well as the predominantly party-connected business class eludes both conventional economic analysis of legal economies as well as popular imaginaries of enrichment from Honde and Chimoio (Jones 2005; Sumich 2008; Castel-Branco 2014). Such visions of what one might term dark accumulation on a local and national scale is corroborated by the state’s failed redistribution of resources, its corruption, and its entanglement with international legal and illegal business activities, including its standing as a regional hub for illegal drugs (Hanlon 2004; Reisman and Lalá 2014). Commodities, money, and wealth condense around party figures and elite, and the state protrudes as a machinery to thwart and tap cycles of exchange and extract life substances from living and dead bodies—the state emerges as a *muroi* similar to persons harboring *zwidoma* in their households.

In seeing the postcolonial state formation of Mozambique as lacking redistributive elements, the sorcerous sovereign needs to be understood in terms of its rhizomic orientation—its capacities for indulging in *uroi*, commodification, and nebulous economies. By sorcerously mining bodies and including these substances in nefarious economies of accumula-

tion, the state order exposes its antagonism toward the social as well as its deterritorializing orientation.²⁴ Such mined and dissected bodies and, in general, lines of flight are antagonistic to the state's formation and stability and work in a deterritorializing fashion. Sorcery, in terms of both being at the heart of the state in the figure of the sorcerous sovereign and seen to fuel economies integral to the state elite as well as *muroi* (such as *zwidoma*) are reflected directly in concerns with substance, exchange, and reproductive and productive capacities within the domain of the households in Honde. Life and death and the substances and rituals of circumscription and regulation, such as *kubatidzana*, are thereby directly oriented against such predatory destabilization and commodification.

More broadly, such destabilization—in this chapter approached through moving from productive and reproductive economies and cycles of life and death in the household through processes of commodification, thwarting the cycles of exchange, and *uroi*—point toward the continuous creation of a postcolonial state formation that is noncomposite in sovereign terms. In the next chapter I will pursue these dynamics of deterritorialization further in the context of law in the peri-urban settings of the *bairros* of Chimoio, arguing that these processes may be seen as the formation of multiple sovereignties.

Notes

1. While the porosity of the African colonial and postcolonial state does not only apply to Mozambique, some good case studies exist, such as Englund (2002) on the Mozambique-Malawi borderland, Lunstrum (2007) on the tri-country Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park, and, finally, Roque (2013) on the country's historically contested southern border to South Africa. Needless to say, people not living in the immediate vicinity of a border area are integrated into social, economic, and political dynamics transcending national territory—the ubiquitous black market trade only being one example. Hughes's (1999) important work on the Mozambique-Zimbabwe borderland in the Chimanimani area exemplifies these deep connections beyond the immediate border area itself, as does the important work of Allina-Pisano (2003), D. Moore (2005), and Dube (2015).
2. For some relevant critical overviews of aid, development, and its politics and impacts—Euro-American and Chinese—see, for example, Hanlon and Smart (2008), Brautigam and Ekman (2012), Chichava and Alden (2012), and de Brito (2015).
3. Or as Surin puts it in a reinterpretation (2005: 265): “As a result, there is a constitutive antagonistic relation between State and labour, especially since the State supplies capital with its models of realisation, and so there is also necessarily an antagonism between capital and labour.”

4. See also Sheldon (2002) and Penvenne (2015) for two contrasting but equally brilliant overviews of women's work historically and contemporarily in rural and urban contexts in Mozambique—in Beira and Maputo respectively.
5. Based on material from Zimbabwean evangelical church movements, Engelke (2005; see also 2007) has argued that rocks and pebbles (as well as water) by definition are empty of signification and symbolic value. For this reason, Engelke argues, these material forms are embraced by the Christian charismatic movement of Friday Masowe Apostolics in their aspirations to liberate themselves from the Scripture. The case of the burial above indicates, perhaps, that Engelke's bold statement about the universal "cultural neutrality" of rocks or pebbles is not without exception.
6. Retold by several male and female interlocutors, the ritual of *kupindamadzwadhe* is said to normally take place around six months after birth. It is initiated by the father, who returns home to the mother and presents her with razor blades. Both then lay down inside their house with the baby between them. If they both agree that it is time, the husband first shaves off and discards the pubic hair of the wife, and then the wife does the same to the man. The couple then proceeds to have sex. The following day, early in the morning, the husband with an erect penis will gently use this to massage the baby's back for a few minutes, the mother often being present. The purpose of this "tapping" is to secure a strong and well-developed back of the baby. The different elements together signify a return to normal sexual relations between wife and husband, as well as securing the baby's benevolent development.
7. As a great range of ethnographical and ethno-archaeological works in the area and beyond has established, fire—*muriro*—is central (see, e.g., Sætersdal 2004 for an ethno-archaeological exploration of fire's importance to early rainmaking practices). Also, the ash from burned charcoal is, of course, associated with a number of issues, such as sexuality (linked to fire), *uroi*, dangerous debris, and death, and was therefore included in António's grave (see also Aschwanden 1982 [1976]; Jacobson-Widding 1999).
8. H. A. Junod (1962 [1912]b: 512f) also points out the dangers of eating food and how the potential poison contained in it might transform itself into a destructive animal that kills and consumes you. For a contemporary exploration of ensorcelled food within a prison context and beyond, see Bertelsen (2011).
9. Contrary to that of widowers, the sexuality of widows is commonly the subject of *kupinda kufa*—a practice implying that the widow has sexual intercourse with the brother-in-law or another male relative of the deceased thirty days following death, if the widow is of the age that she may remarry, i.e. can have more children. The ritual sexual intercourse is surveilled by elder relatives of the deceased, and the widow and the brother-in-law are asked a great number of detailed questions following the act in order to ensure all is carried out correctly.
10. See also Bagnol and Mariano (2008, 2012) for an overview of a wide range of vaginal practices in Mozambique.
11. Whether market liberalization, commodification, or deregulation is analyzed as beneficial or detrimental to women often reflects whether the analyst identifies

these processes as either emancipatory of structural constraints inherent to social organization or sees them as a further marginalization or entailing a loss position. For three positions based on Mozambican material, see Monteiro (2002) arguing for further marginalization of Mozambican urban women, Sheldon (2002) and Sender et al. (2006) arguing for these processes having differentiated outcomes, and the previously mentioned Chingono, contrarily, arguing for new opportunities given Mozambican women by war and deregulation (1994, 1996, 2015).

12. This is, of course, not restricted to African contexts. T. Taylor (2002: 241) cites a work by Agnes Murgoci in 1926 that presents an ethnographic example of a Romanian woman whose bread was so delicious that a large part of the village consumed it: "The rumour spread that she knew how to take bread-making power away from other women and she was accordingly considered a vampire, sucking vitality from others."
13. For a similar argument from Ambrym, Vanuatu, see also Eriksen (2008: 55–81).
14. The notion of *anapatch*, a chiSena term describing a phenomenon nearly identical to *zwidoma*, is often also used in Chimoio. Its Chimoio use indexes how terms as well as different understandings of relations and processes related to *uroi* (and other dimensions) migrate and are constantly relocalized and appropriated—features central to the openness of the traditional field, as Carmeliza made clear in the introduction to this book.
15. Conflicting understandings of death also make it a controversial issue in the hyper-rational contexts of biomedical organ transplants, where seeing death as an open-ended process and not a clear-cut event, for example, is contentious but supported by biomedical considerations (Lock 2002). Thus, the bodily potencies of not only the dead per se but also the "becoming-dead" (to reiterate Deleuze and Guattari) are not merely confined to the world outside hyper-rational biomedics but speak instead to such human issues as vitality and death. As Oestigaard (2002: 23) writes, "A corpse has certain human attributes but it lacks the most vital characteristic—life.... It is not living but still organic. It does not have the physical properties that characterise stable man-made artefacts or natural objects and yet it is not inorganic. It is not a human being but still among us in a human form."
16. The potential contamination of death and the practice of allowing children to remain ignorant of a person's death are also mentioned by MacGonagle (2007: 65) in her work on the maNdau—an ethnic group conventionally seen as territorially neighboring the maTewe. From Bourdillon's (1987: 202) work on the maShona, one may also learn that children also were earlier shut away in a hut or granary, as the sight of the corpse would make them blind.
17. See also Gelfand (1968: 135) noting this practice for the maShona in general.
18. As with almost all types of *mutumbo*, this also has a wide specter of effects and capacities. Some report it also to be made from lion's skin. In this context, however, it is used by thieves to instill fear in people and avoid being caught.
19. Bullock (1927: 318) notes that the fear of "necromancers" commonly induced people to nocturnally watch graves. This habit had dangerous consequences

- for travelers who might unknowingly be in the vicinity of a grave, and Bullock warns that “one straying by accident in the vicinity of such a watched sepulchre might meet his death before he could show that he was no necromancer.”
20. Bourdillon (1987: 201) argues that in some instances this was done to chiefs’ bodies and that “pots were placed under the corpse to collect the body fluids, and any maggots falling from the body were carefully collected to be buried with the corpse since they may contain the spirit of the dead chief.”
 21. See also Taussig (1987: 237–41) who in a historically informed approach toward the colonial origins of the use of Indian body fat—leading back to the treatment of wounds for the conquistadors—terms *nakaq*. This figure, *nakaq*, also operated in the southern highlands of Peru and was identified to likewise be of either white or mestizo origins.
 22. In other African contexts, similar figures in various guises, from different origins, and who participate in similar practices are known in historical cases from Zimbabwe (Burbridge 1925) or from instances such as White’s (2000) broad comparative approach. Outside Africa, figures attacking to drink blood or take out other fluids or substances, “vampires,” are known from places as far away as Amazonia (Wilbert 2004: 34) and, of course, in Europe (Behringer 2004: 154).
 23. This is not to say that capitalism assumes and effects uniform social formations. As Deleuze and Guattari (2002 [1980]: 436f) comment, “When international organization becomes the capitalist axiomatic, it continues to imply a heterogeneity of social formations, it gives rise to and organizes its ‘Third World’.”
 24. In Deleuze’s sense, a “body without an organ” “is not the origin of the social but its limit, its delirium, its ‘tangent of deterritorialization, the ultimate residue’” (Albertain and Diken 2006: 233, quoting Deleuze and Guattari 2004 [1972]).