THE PRODUCTION OF LOCAL ART FOR A GLOBAL CULTURAL MARKET IN CONTEMPORARY MOZAMBIQUE

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A dissertation submitted to the Anthropology and Sociology Department, University of the Western Cape, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree: Masters in Anthropology.

Supervisor: Dr. Emile Boonzaier
Declaration

I declare that this research paper entitled *The Production of Local Art for a Global Cultural Market in Contemporary Mozambique* is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other institution of higher education, and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Sebastião Filipe Matsinhe
February 2012

Signed:.................................................
Dedication

To my dear mother, Luísa Laíta Humbane, to Aunts Enera and Andrieta Quibine Matsinhe, to my uncle Paz Jamisse Humbane and to my brother Arão Filipe Matsinhe for their support, patience and determination in helping me come to University and complete this work. May God keep their soul in eternal peace!

To my son, Samson Matsinhe, for all the inspiring ideas and comfort through his knowledge; May God continually blessing and illuminate his future.
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Abstract

This thesis examines the production of commercial art in contemporary Mozambique. It explores the power relationship between local artists – painters and sculptors – and their patrons and brokers in the art market. This means, on one hand, that it looks at the artworks that have been produced during the late colonial period (1962 – 1974) and the post-colonial periods (June 1975 - 2010) and relates this to the changing political landscape in Mozambique. On the other hand, the aim is to explore the artists’ life histories, especially how their talent was first recognized, their art training (formal or otherwise), previous work experience, and the reasons for their current success (or lack thereof). This is done in order to see how and to what extent their artistic works have been influenced by external forces or actors.

The power relationship existing between the art producers and their customers in the art markets in Mozambique is then related to the issue of globalisation. In this process, the study critically analyses who the actual art patrons of Mozambique art are and the extent to which Mozambican art is influenced by global forces. The focus is on a number of artists and the thesis examines their life histories specific to their art production in order to highlight the themes and trends of their art works.

It was found that local art produced in Mozambique is not simply responding to local influences but also to global forces, of which the latter dominates. However, the study further reveals that while the art producers are influenced externally by their buyers, they (the art producers) have their own ways of manipulating their buyers in order to be able to sell their products. In other words, the artists have the power of mediating between local, personal influence and that of the patrons.
# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>ii</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Declaration</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedication</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contents</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Rationale/Background ........................................................................... 1

1.2 Aims/ Research Problem/ Research Hypothesis ..................................... 11

1.3 A Brief Introduction to Mozambique .................................................. 12

1.4 Research Methodology .......................................................................... 14

1.5 Ethical Considerations ........................................................................ 15

1.6 Chapter Outline .................................................................................... 16

## CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 The basic terms used in this study ........................................................ 20

2.2 Anthropological approaches to the study of Art .................................... 21

2.3 Art in global world .............................................................................. 22

2.3.1 Art in the colonial period ............................................................... 23

2.3.2 Art in the post-colonial period ......................................................... 25

2.4 Academics approach to the study of art ............................................... 30

2.5 How anthropologists have addressed the study of art ............................ 34


3.1 Introduction .......................................................................................... 43

3.2 A brief history of the Mozambican governments and its involvement in the arts ..... 44
3.2.1 The pre-independence period: culture during the liberation struggle (1962 – 1974) ............................................................................................................................................. 45
3.2.2 Samora Machel: socialist initiatives (1975 – 1986) ............................................................................................................................................. 47
3.2.3 Joaquim Chissano: Democracy and freedom of expression (1986 – 1992) ............................................................................................................................................. 56
3.2.4 Joaquim Chissano: all cultures up lifted (1994 – 2004) ............................................................................................................................................. 58
3.2.5 Armando Guebuza’s leadership: neglecting of culture (2004 – 2010) ............................................................................................................................................. 60

3.3 Conclusion ................................................................................................................................................................................................................. 62

CHAPTER IV: ARTISTS’ LIFE HISTORIES

4.1 Introduction ............................................................................................................................................................................................................. 64
4.2 Artists’ formal education in their early life ............................................................................................................................................................................................................. 65
4.3 Formal education ............................................................................................................................................................................................................. 67
4.4 Influences and support to become an artist ............................................................................................................................................................................................................. 73
4.5 Artist’s current lives ............................................................................................................................................................................................................. 77
4.6 Conclusion ............................................................................................................................................................................................................. 79

CHAPTER V: ART PATRONS AND THEIR NETWORKS

5.1 Introduction ............................................................................................................................................................................................................. 80
5.2 Who are the patrons and brokers of Mozambique art? ............................................................................................................................................................................................................. 86
5.3 Patrons and their networks ............................................................................................................................................................................................................. 88
5.4 How the patrons influence artists ............................................................................................................................................................................................................. 92
5.5 Why particular artists are successful ............................................................................................................................................................................................................. 104
5.6 Conclusion ............................................................................................................................................................................................................. 106

CHAPTER VI: CHANGING ARTS ‘FASHIONS’: THEMES AND TRENDS

6.1 Introduction ............................................................................................................................................................................................................. 107
6.2 Types of art themes produced for sale in Mozambique ............................................................................................................................................................................................................. 108
   6.2.1 Pre-independence (1962 – 1974) ............................................................................................................................................................................................................. 110
   6.2.2 Transition from colonial to post-independence Mozambique and Samora Machel’s leadership period (1975 – 1986) ............................................................................................................................................................................................................. 116
6.2.3 Joaquim Chissano’s leadership (continuation of Mache’s leadership) (1986 – 1992) ........................................................................................................................................... 121
6.2.4 Joaquim Chissano’s leadership (Democratic Period) (1994 – 2004) ................ 126
6.2.5 Armando Guebuza’s leadership (2004 – 2010;) ............................................... 128
6.3 Foreigners and Local art Patrons ............................................................................. 136
   6.3.1 Foreigner .............................................................................................................. 136
   6.3.2 Mozambican Art Patrons (Institutions, Government and Private Buyers) .......................................................... 140

CHAPTER VII: TRENDS OF PATRONS’ TASTE
7.1 Introduction .............................................................................................................. 142
7.2 Trends of Patrons’ taste: ........................................................................................ 142
7.3 Artists mediation of patron’s influence ..................................................................... 143
7.4 Conclusion .................................................................................................................. 147

CHAPTER VIII: CONCLUSION
8.1 INDEPENDENCE OR CULTURAL IMPERIALISM? ................................................ 151
   8.1.2 Findings ................................................................................................................. 157

BIBLIOGRAPHY .............................................................................................................. 164
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

Culture is not what one is but what one has, or, rather what one has become.

Global interest in African art seems to be on the increase. More artists from Africa are selling their work to both European and American buyers; they are invited to hold exhibitions abroad and to submit works for international art shows. They are also receiving publicity in international media.

African art, in its current form, is a result of much cultural transformation due to various external forces, such as colonialism. During the pre-colonial period, artists were producing products mainly as utilitarian objects for their daily use. They did, however, also produce some work for ritual and religious purposes (such as masks). Only rarely were artistic products such as paintings they produced. For instance, the San (Bushmen) of southern Africa became renowned for their rock art. The bushmen, in addition, used rock art to record things that occurred in their lives (Dowson, 1994), and also to express spiritual ideas (Lewis-Williams, 1981). As nomadic people living as ‘hunter-gatherers’, it has been argued that they used paintings on rocks and ‘caves walls’ as a way of communicating with other cultural groups (Lewis-Williams, 1983: 13, 75-76). Nonetheless, it does show that the Africans knew how to produce paintings and to work on stone with presentable aesthetics even before the Europeans arrived in Africa.

After colonisers arrived in Africa, the artistic merit from various indigenous items was recognised, but readily labelled as ‘primitive art’, since they were made by people who were regarded as ‘primitive’ by the Europeans (Graburn, 1976: 414). A variety of objects, deemed to be of some worth, were taken to Europe. Scientists (including ethnographers) and other collectors took any item – plates, pots, hand-bags, weapons, masks, musical instruments, chairs

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2 In newspapers and magazines and, on television; See, for example: http://www.mitpressjournals.org/loi/afar 23/08/2011.
that represented local cultures\(^3\) or that was seen as having artistic merit. Some items were traded for European ‘trinkets’, but many were just taken.

This is not new. Since many years ago African art was ‘stolen’ by European countries because of the value they (Europeans) attached to it. For instance, Said (1993: 16) cites the work of Martin Bernal when he notes that Greek civilization owes its roots to, among others, Egyptian culture. Moreover, the Semitic and African roots of Greek civilization ‘were either actively purged or hidden from view’. Hannerz (1989: 39-40) also talks about the process in which the circulations of goods, such as artworks, have long been stolen and previously taken in one particular direction, which was the western European countries. In recent decades, however, the process of globalisation has witnessed increasing demands that some of those artworks be returned.

Fraser (1962: 13) points out that ‘primitive man’, not having a word for ‘art’ as such, would not bother to distinguish ‘art’ from other efforts. But in his daily life he was able to differentiate between objects produced by slow, repetitive processes, such as weaving or making and firing pottery (crafts), and other objects of paramount significance for his culture. It is clear that such objects were mostly items to help in people’s daily routines. They were distributed through a barter system of exchange.

With the rise of ‘Modern art’ in Europe, artists such as Picasso and Matisse, ‘discovered’ African art\(^4\) - primarily painting and sculpture (Fraser, 1962: 12). This resulted in a more passionate and positive reaction toward African art. Modern artists consciously imitated ‘primitive art’ and hailed its outspoken visual freedom (Enwezor and Oguibe, 1999: 10). Today, those same objects, once considered as primarily utilitarian by the local people, have suddenly acquired significant monetary and aesthetic value. The dramatic swing of people’s tastes and preferences, especially in the West, has vested on it so much value. The pots, the chairs, the bows and arrows which were once used for daily activities are now traded for astronomical amounts and can only be purchased by the rich – such as dealers or foreign tourists (see Badenhorst and Minnaar, 2007:114). In other words, due to these changes in perception and taste over time, these objects

\(^3\) Including, notoriously, humans and human remains; See for example, the case of Sara Baartman (Boonzaier at all, 1996: 98 – 99).

\(^4\) As an earlier generation of artists, such as Vlaminck, Monet and Van Gogh had recognised the worth of Japanese wood-cut prints.
have seen a gradual shift in their use or function. The growing demand for these objects has presented a unique business opportunity for many local ‘craftsmen’ or ‘artists’.

In many African countries, some ‘craftsmen’ and ‘artists’ are now able to replicate artistic objects to sell to the ever-growing foreign market. However, as far as I have observed, the mass production of artworks and curios within the context of the contemporary Mozambican art scene is not common. This is probably because of the absence of a vibrant tourism industry and the result of a shortage of buyers for such mass-produced objects.

Despite the many problems encountered by Mozambican artists, even after independence, they have managed to continue expressing their artistic creativity through a variety of mediums. For instance, weapons of war, such as guns, were for a time commonly used in artworks. Therefore, these war instruments have been useful for the artists as material resources for their artistic creations. In addition to this range of mediums, there has also been a proliferation of themes expressed in artworks produced. Nowadays, regular art themes in Mozambique include the war against colonialists, the resistance war between Frelimo and Renamo, and natural calamities such as the 2000 and 2007 floods, droughts, hunger, and pervasive diseases including the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

Since independence there have been ongoing changes in the production of art in Mozambique. These changes are a result of social and political change. The artworks below illustrate how some of the contemporary Mozambican artists have been expressing their creativity in various forms of painting and sculpting; this from the period of struggle against colonialism (1962 – 1974) and after independence (1975 – 2010). However, in order to make a clear distinction and to understand the production of art themes and artworks during each of these periods, I have identified five periods as follows:

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5 The shortage of material resources within the country for artistic creativity such as ink, canvas, brush, spatula, oil and acrylic paint within the country might partly explain this trend.

The above pictures, taken from the residence of an art collector Mr. Machado da Graça, he is shown in Fig. 2. Fig. 1: Shows a wooden sculpture, an AK 47 on the top and below a painting of unknown artists. In Fig. 2: Mr. Machado da Graça shows Mapico Mask, which is a part of his art collection. The mask was created by an unknown artist from Cabo Delgado province, in the north of Mozambique. These images are some examples of the types of artworks produced by Mozambican artists during the period of struggle against Portuguese colonialist before independence in 1975.

Fig. 3: Ngwenya, Malangatana. *Without Inscription*. 1978/79. Maputo.

Fig. 4: Maconde Art Assoc. *Maconde Masks*. 1970s. Pemba.

Fig. 3: The Malangatana *Without Inscription* 1978 / 9, drawing, is a portrayal of people who seem to have lost everything including their husbands and children during the struggle for independence in Mozambique. The artwork portrays their thinking on how to start rebuilding their country. Fig. 4: The *Maconde Masks*, 1970s, by an unknown artist, illustrates a white European man, an African man and an Indian man’s faces, respectively.
PERIOD 3: JOAQUIM CHISSANO: DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION
(1986 - 1992)

Fig. 5: Mankeu. Luto (Mourning). 1988. Museu Nacional de Arte. Maputo.
In Fig. 5: Painting by Mankeu, *Luto* (Mourning), 1988. Standing by the painting, is the Director of Mozambican National Museum of Arts, Ms. Júlieta Massimbe explains the content of the artwork. Fig. 6: Sculpture by Simões, *Desfile Feminino* (Feminine Parade), 1998. This is a female sandalwood sculpture portraying the beauty of Mozambican women soldiers. The paintings and sculptures show us the types of artworks produced after independence in Mozambique.

**PART 4: AFTER THE CIVIL WAR: JOAQUIM CHISSANO; ALL CULTURES LIFTED**


![Image of a colorful painting](image)

**Fig. 7: Ngwenya, Malangatana. Without Inscription. 2001. Maputo.**

The painting by Malangatana Ngwenya, illustrates Mozambicans society looking passionately into their future after obtaining its independence.
PERIOD 5: ARMANDO GUEBUZA’S LEADERSHIP: NEGLECTS OF CULTURE
(2004 - 2010)

Fig. 8: Mabunda, Gonçalo. *Chair of the African King*. 2004.
Images: www.africaserver.nlncleoeng.

The Fig. 8: Sculpture by Gonçalo Mabunda, *Chair of the African King*, 2004. Artistically represents the use of weaponry for artists after the war.
Fig. 9: Maconde Art Association. *Working Maidens*. 2010. Maputo.

Fig.9: These are wooden statuettes by the Maconde Art Association sculptors, portraying African maidens carrying utilitarian objects on their heads. These are some examples of the types of artwork produced for sale during period of 2004 to 2010. Photograph taken inside the Maconde Arts Association by: Mario Checo/ 2009.

Mozambique is an impoverished nation with a very low per capita GDP of 7% (www.indexmundi.com). It is therefore not surprising that the local art market itself is extremely limited. However, during the 1990s, the government actively promoted and supported local artists, but such support has largely disappeared and today the state now does little more than allow artists to exhibit and sell their work during election campaigns. More significantly, local works of art can be seen in government buildings such as ministries, provincial institutions, and other public institutions like provincial city halls, especially in the capital city, Maputo.
Private Citizens buy very little artworks in Mozambique. This is in contrast to a small but steady stream of foreign visitors who have a keen interest in artworks and represent a significant market for Mozambican art. They include tourists, art patrons and brokers (dealers). The international media are particularly significant as promoters of local art and artists. We see, therefore, that art in Mozambique is for the most part an export commodity, and like all export commodities, it has to satisfy the demands and specifications of international consumers. This raises important questions regarding the demands of foreign consumers and their ability to influence the artists and their artworks.

1.2 AIMS OF THE RESEARCH

This study looks at the production of artworks for the commercialisation within the art market in Mozambique. It explores the power relationship between local artists – painters and sculptors – and their buyers (patrons and dealers) from 1962 into the present.

The main aim is to detail and analyze the various factors that influence local art production in Mozambique. This involves three aspects: the changing political and social landscape, the individual life histories of the artists, and the relationship (and negotiations) between artists and buyers.

The study aims to give an overview of how Mozambican art has changed during the period 1962 up to 2010 in terms of subject matter and medium. In particular, it looks at the medium such as size, (techniques, whether oil paint, water colour, wood, cardboard and other various art materials) and, importantly, subject matter.

The study also focuses on the artists’ life histories. I do this in order to identify the various influences that have induced them to become artists in the first place, and that shape the type of works they produce.

Finally, I examine the relationships that exist between artists and their buyers/brokers. It is here that I expect to find the most direct evidence of the expectations of buyers and the influence that
they have over the artists. This will also involve an attempt to make sense of the buyers’ artistic ‘gaze’.

1.3 A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO MOZAMBIQUE

Mozambique is officially named Republica de Moçambique (The Republic of Mozambique), and it is situated in the southern Africa region with a population of 20 million people. It is bordered (see Fig. 10 above), by the Indian Ocean to the East; Tanzania to the north; Malawi and Zambia to the Northwest; Zimbabwe and Swaziland to the West; and South Africa to the Southwest. Maputo, which is the capital city of Mozambique, was known as Lourenço Marques, before independence.
The country became independent from the Portuguese colonial domination system on 25th June 1975. The Mozambican political landscape includes ‘the scene of an intense civil war lasting from 1977 to 1992’. The country's economy is based largely on agriculture and its main industries are food and beverages, chemical manufacturing, aluminium, and the growing fast petroleum production. The country's tourism sector is also growing (www.africa.com).

The official language of Mozambique is Portuguese, which is spoken by roughly half of the population as a second language but by relatively few as a first language. The native languages widely spoken include Swahili, Makuwa, Changana, Tswa and Sena. A number of educated Mozambicans can speak English fluently as their second or third language. The largest religion in Mozambique is Christianity, with significant Muslim and traditional African minorities. Mozambique is a member of the African Union, Commonwealth of Nations, the Community of Portuguese Language Countries, the Latin Union, Organisation of Islamic Cooperation and Southern African Development Community (www.en.wikipedia.org).

In addition, Mozambique's economic growth is continuing to perform well lately even last year and the year before. For instance, in 2009 the growth was estimated at 8.1%, despite the facts that was a drop of the aluminium prices. Therefore the country aims to lower its dependence on the western donors by carefully engaging with emerging partners through foreign direct investment (FDI). Exports are therefore likely to increase in the near future, although the contemporary account balance will linger structurally negative due to the country’s dependence on imports of food, oil and manufactured products.

Politically Mozambique today seems stable and the government has been led by Frelimo party since 1975, June 25th.

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6 Between armed Renamo and Frelimo.
1.4 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

I have been a professional artist for the past fifteen years. This has meant that I have informally been communicating and interacting with a range of other artists and art buyers and patrons (in Mozambique, South Africa and Portugal). I have also been a keen observer, for many years, of art trends in Mozambique and have followed media and publicity coverage of this art.

For this dissertation I have drawn on this experience, but I have also been engaged in more focused research. Here I have employed qualitative research methods of in-depth interviews, participant observation and textual analysis of media coverage of art in Mozambique. I selected 22 Mozambican artists – 12 painters and 10 sculptors. This sample included established, emerging and aspirant (unknown and unsuccessful at present) artists and they were the focus of my research. They included a reasonable mix of young and old artists. Women were slightly underrepresented, but this is characteristic of the sex distribution of artists in the country. I conducted in-depth interviews with all of these participants – in their studios, at galleries, or in public venues (such as restaurants). Where interviews were conducted in their studios, I was also able to observe more of their art and the environment in which they worked. The interviews were unstructured, but focused on their life histories, including discussions of how their ‘talent’ was first recognized, any art training, previous work experience, and their understanding of the reasons for their current success (or lack thereof).

I also conducted interviews with art collectors, art dealers, art brokers, government officials (for example, museum directors), art journalists and teachers, and some tourists. Here I tried to compile a profile of art buyers and brokers, as well as trying to obtain some understanding of the types of art that they buy or promote. I also collected a photographic record of sold and unsold artworks along with prices fetched.
1.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The written permission and ethical clearance to conduct the study was obtained from the Senate Research Grants and Study Leave Committee at the University of the Western Cape, the Ministry of Home Affairs, who are the custodians of people entering in Mozambique, and the Ministry of Education and Culture (Ministerio de Educação e Cultura) of the Republic of Mozambique. The aim of the study was explained to the participants in order to avoid unrealistic expectations, and permission to carry out the interviews with participants such as art dealers, buyers, brokers, and artists – painters & sculptors – was requested. Their participation in the interviews was on a voluntary basis and they were free to withdraw at anytime. In order to observe, inspect, take photographs or make copies of the artists’ work, consent was requested and their rights were acknowledged. Where the participants requested anonymity, their rights were covered by the use of pseudonyms. Furthermore, all gathered information was treated with care and confidentiality.

In the course of the interviews, artists were able to raise several issues relating to ethics. One of the things the artists told me was that they can make works of art look old by burying them under the ground. However, there are various other techniques for making newly produced artworks look old as though they were produced by the previous generations, in order to give them antique attraction. I am prepared to mention this issue here because most people in the know seem to be aware of this – it is common knowledge within the curio market. Nevertheless, there are other things that artists told me which I am not prepared to mention because they are not common knowledge. In the cases where artists asked me not to mention their ‘secrets’, I have refrained from doing so. Furthermore, where the information is sensitive, even their technique will not be disclosed in this study and therefore I will talk about it vaguely.

As is customary in anthropology, I initially thought of not keeping the real names of the artists and using pseudonymous instead. I raised this issue with all the artists that I interviewed but, interestingly, many of them said that they would be happy for me to use their real names. As a result I only used a few real names when referring to the artists and the rest remained as pseudonymous. The use of real names was brought up by some artists I interviewed as a
complaint because previous researchers who conducted their research in this same place had failed to recognize these artists. Perhaps this is an indication of the artists’ eagerness to get some publicity.

Being a Mozambican artist, I have some intimate knowledge of the local art scene. This made it difficult for me to distance myself and to be ‘objective’. However, this firsthand experience of meeting people has contributed to my ability to identify and convene the necessary people who gave me the information I needed to write in this thesis. Furthermore, I have strong networks of colleagues who are also artists and I embarked on this study a long time ago. Hence, I have many accounts of the issues I have tackled which put me at an advantageous position.

As an artist myself I am close to other artists and to their endeavours. I am very concerned about the quality of art. As a social scientist, on the other hand, I have tried to distance myself from that perspective and have tried to look at artwork from a different angle. The approach adopted in this thesis tends to reduce art to mere commercial products. I am still not totally comfortable with this approach: it does not consider the merit and beauty of artworks. The anthropological analysis of art production adopted in this thesis is inclined to reduce the art to a commercial commodity, which I still believe to be ignoring the crucial aesthetic value of it. To have included an exploration of aesthetics would have been beyond the scope of this master’s thesis. There is, however, increasing interest in aesthetics within the discipline of Anthropology (Svašek, 2007).

1.6 CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter II: Literature review.
This chapter briefly discusses the two main terms used in the study: art and commercialization of art. It argues that in anthropology the terms art and culture are interlinked, and that this is reflected in the changing anthropological approaches to culture (and art). After discussing the impact of colonisation of African art, I then focus on the process of globalisation and how it results in the commercialisation of art.
Here I document the major political changes in Mozambique over the past five decades. I focus, in particular, on the significance of art for different political parties and governments, and the how this was reflected in their policies. This provides the context for the discussion of the different phases of art that can be discerned.

Chapter IV: Artists’ life histories.
Here I trace the lives artists. This chapter discusses their personal histories and tries to focus on the ways in which broader factors – colonial history, wars, natural disasters, government policies and patrons – have influenced them and their work.

Chapter V: Art patrons and their networks.
This chapter looks at the art patrons and brokers. It identifies who they are, how they negotiate with artists, and what type of artworks they are looking for.

Chapter VI: Changing art ‘fashions’: themes and trends.
Here I focus on the artworks themselves. I try to show how trends have changed over time, and relate this to the influences that have produced these changes.

Chapter VII: Agency of the artist.
In this chapter I try to show that, although artists are significantly affected by outside influences, they do have some power in this process. They are, in fact, able not only to mitigate outside influences, but also to circumvent or subvert these. I use illustrative examples and case studies to demonstrate this.

Chapter VII: Conclusion: Cultural imperialism or independence?
This thesis began with the notion that artists are not autonomous, original creators of artworks. I have therefore tried to demonstrate to what extent they are subject to outside influences. But it has also become evident that artists, because they are able to engage with these influences, do have a certain degree of power. This whole process can best be understood in the context of general discussions of globalisation, where authors such as Hannerz have indicated that the periphery does indeed have the ability to ‘talk back’. Mozambican art does not simply conform
to that of the ‘West’; it retains its distinctive character – partly imposed from the outside, but also very much a product of local historical, social and physical realities.
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

“No doubt, the breaking of rules is confused with the ‘absence of rules’ which, according to Levi-Strauss (1969), ‘seems to provide the surest criteria for distinguishing a natural from a cultural process’”
Dick Hebdige (1979: 92).

This chapter draws on available literature relevant to my thesis. In particular, it focuses on the various approaches to the study of art (in anthropology and academia in general) and on theoretical discussions of the process of globalization and, specifically, the commercialization of art. There is also a brief discussion of two basic terms used in this thesis.

2.1 THE BASIC TERMS USED IN THIS STUDY

Before embarking on a more substantive discussion of the literature, it is necessary to briefly explore two basic concepts used in this study. These are: art and commercialization of artworks.

There are many ways to define the term ‘art’. Pearsall (1999: 75) defines art as:

[t]he expression or application of creative skill and imagination, especially through a visual medium such as painting or sculpture.

While addressing the definition of art, Layton (1991: 4) points out that:

…painting and sculpture must adopt a style [even aesthetically] to represent their subjects.

However, Layton (1991: 4) also recognizes that:

…artistic traditions are so diverse [to the extent that] the definition of what is, or is not, art, is more of a problem.
Nevertheless, traditionally, the term *art* was used to refer to any skill or mastery. This conception changed during the Romantic period [1850 – 1920 C.E]\(^7\), when art came to be seen as:

…a special faculty of the human mind to be classified with religion and science. Generally, art is made with the intention of stimulating thoughts and emotions (Gombrich, 2005).

In this context, Layton (1991: 4 - 5) highlights two approaches to the definition of art which, he says:

…are applicable across cultural boundaries, even if neither seems to have quite universal application. One deals in terms of aesthetics, the other treats art as communication distinguished by a particularly apt use of images (Layton 1991: 4 - 5).

The view above can be appropriately summarised as follows:

Art is the product or process of deliberately arranging items (often with symbolic significance) in a way that influences and affects one or more of the senses, emotions, and intellect. It encompasses a diverse range of human activities, creations, and modes of expression, including music, literature, film, photography, sculpture, and paintings. The meaning of art is explored in a branch of philosophy known as aesthetics, and even disciplines such as history and psychology analyze its relationship with humans and generations (Gombrich, 2005).

A common theme in these conceptions of ‘art’ is that it is a product of the artist’s creativity and imagination. Also, that it refers to a whole range of products besides painting and sculpture: music, literature, film, photography, and so forth. Finally, there is a sense in which art products are assumed to be associated with particular cultures or societies.

This thesis selects to focus only on painting and sculpture, and thus the terms ‘art’ or ‘artworks’ are used in this restricted sense. Also, it is a central theme of the thesis that art is not merely the product of the artist’s creative imagination, but influenced a range of social,

\(^7\)The Romantic era was a period of great change and emancipation. While the Classical era had strict laws of balance and restraint, the Romantic era moved away from that by allowing artistic freedom, experimentation, and creativity.
political and commercial interactions. Finally, art today is very much part of global processes and not confined to particular cultural or social locations.

The word *commercial* is derived from the term ‘commerce’. Anything considered to be ‘commercial’ is produced for the purpose of selling or reselling. However, the phrase ‘commercial art’ has generally come to have a very particular meaning, referring specifically to ‘art used in advertising and selling’ (Pearsall 1999: 286). This thesis does not address ‘commercial art’ in this sense. Instead, it focuses on artworks that are produced for a commercial market by artists who do so primarily in order to gain money not only for their own subsistence but also to earn profit for the continuity of their art ‘business’ and careers as artists. I therefore use the phrase ‘commercialization of art (works)’ to refer to this phenomenon (and to differentiate it from ‘commercial art’). The commercialization of art highlights not only that, such art is produced for market, but also that it is a process involving a range of participants which include the artists themselves, patrons, brokers and various individual art buyers who are somehow engaged in the art market.

2.2 ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF ART

Anthropologists’ conceptions of ‘art’ and ‘culture’ have long been closely connected. In fact, many definitions of ‘culture’ included specific reference to ‘art’. See, for example, Edward Tylor’s often cited definition:

> That complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired my man as a member of society (Tylor, 1871).

As changing notions of culture emerged, art came to be viewed in different ways. Early evolutionists, as one might expect, saw different peoples or races as possessing different amounts of culture, with the so-called ‘civilised’ people possessing the most. In this way the only ‘art’ that was worthy of serious consideration was that produced by ‘Western’ man. This gave rise to terms such as ‘high’ or ‘fine’ art and the initial notion that ‘high culture’ referred specifically to
‘civilised’ Westerners. By contrast, those lower on the assumed evolutionary scale produced ‘primitive’ art. Nonetheless, as Svašek (2007:20-21) points out, certain early ‘golden civilizations’ (such as the African Kuba) did produce superior art.

Like the evolutionists, diffusionists also saw culture and art as the property of exclusive local groups. Although they might have rejected the notion of mental inferiority, they did little to challenge the assumption of ‘primitive’ cultures or art. Instead, they focused on the diffusion of certain designs and styles within particular ‘culture areas’ (Svašek, 2007:21). The diffusionists did at least recognize that art products cross cultural boundaries, but they still maintained the notion that this occurred in relatively circumscribed geographical (regional) areas.

Boas accepted ‘the regional distribution of folklore elements’ (Stocking, 1995: 12), he focused on the way in which artefacts were used and given meaning in particular cultural settings (Svašek, 2007:24). This approach was closely related to that of the structural functionalists, who began to realize that ‘primitive art could not be understood without systematic examination of the structure of social relationships and concepts of the specific societies in which it was produced’ (Firth, 1973: v).

Notwithstanding the differences, all of these approaches seem to rely on the idea that art is the product of particular cultural settings. They are therefore not particularly useful in the analysis of art in trans-cultural or global settings. I turn my attention to this in the next section.

2.3 ART IN A GLOBAL WORLD

The contemporary production of art differs fundamentally from that during the pre-colonial period. It might therefore be useful to consider some observations regarding pre-colonial art in order to demonstrate to what extent contemporary art production represents a new process involving new actors and power relationships. This is because it is vital to understand that before Western colonization the continent (at least south of the Sahara) was free from external domination from the West, in particular.

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8 I return to the notion of ‘primitive’ art below.
2.3.1 Art in the colonial period

Although my study focuses on the period of Mozambique between 1962 and 2010, it is useful to understand that since the Western colonialists first settled in Africa in the 15th century\(^9\) they started to rule the countries which they colonised. There is little evidence that local art was significantly influenced during the early period of colonization, although we know that many artworks were bartered or merely taken for museums or private collections in Europe. This was, of course, part of a more general and on-going process of what Edward Said (1993) refers to as cultural imperialism. This implies that, ‘imperialism means the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre [or even a country] ruling a distant territory’ (Said 1993: 8). During the later colonial period, however, there is evidence that African artistic tradition began to gradually change. This was due to the contact with European influence through religion institutions, cultural institutions (cinema), educational institutions or even with exposure to graphic or industrial design.

Schneider (1976) adds that:

Part of the vitality of African art is its ability to absorb these outside influences within the artistic tradition and make them work toward their own ends... The contemporary African artist adjusts to tradition in many different ways. He sculpts in wood of course, but he feels free to select new materials as well. For instance, Mozambique's interesting artistic personality Massinguitana uses cement (1976: 24).

Massinguitana’s works is a reflection of his daily interaction in society. This means that his artworks are a result of his perception and imaginary creativity from his ‘dream world’ which makes his works appears as exotic, special and distinctive, among others.

Pearsall defines *artistic tradition* as;

A long-established custom..., an artistic or literary method or style established by an artist, writer, or movement and subsequently followed by others (1999: 1519).

‘Artistic tradition’ preserves the most important beliefs that art should be concerned with creation, that is to say it deals with interpreting aspects of reality which up to the time had been ignored, excluded or inadequately treated. The imagination course of action is fundamental to consider when we look at ‘artistic tradition’ situation. This means that with the process of colonization in Africa, the colonialists brought with them their own experience and knowledge of how to classify alien objects produced by the natives, albeit with some European influences. Their ways of classifying utilitarian objects brought about new cultural dynamics of creation and innovation, particularly on how objects were produced by the African natives. Graburn (1976: 414) states that most of the ‘utilitarian objects’ commonly known and used by ‘the natives’ came to be classified by the colonialists as ‘art objects’ because of their perceived exotic beauty. These ‘art objects’, however, were still utilitarian objects but in a different context but now with more invested value.

Considering the presence of European cultural influence in Africa, Appadurai notes;

> [t]he idea of culture as involving the naturalized organization of certain differences in the interests of group identity, through and in the historical process, and through and in the tensions between agents and structures, comes closer to what has been called the instrumental conception of ethnicity, as opposed to the primordial one (2005: 14).

The presence of the Western colonisers in Africa and the effects thereof brought certain cultural tension between citizens and the new comers. The forms of artworks (utilitarian objects) found in the African art market after the Europeans arrived illustrate this tension. The themes and trends of artworks that were being produced in Africa were mainly linked to the natives’ need and use in their daily lives. However, with the presence of the western colonizers, the artistic dynamics started to change due to the influence coming from the new rulers.

As I was saying previously, the presence of colonialists on the African continent brought certain new dynamics and influences on the way natives produced their own works called ‘primitive art’ by the new comers. Fraser (1962: 13) points out that ‘[p]rimitive art may be defined most succinctly as the high art of low cultures’ because most, if not all, primitive art producers belong to the ‘pure culture’ communities since they never suffered any external influence previously.
The concept of ‘primitive art’ is well discussed by Nelson Graburn (1996) in the article *Arts of the Fourth World*. His central theme here is the ‘study of changing arts’, specifically of emerging ethnicities, modifying identities, commercial and colonial stimuli, as well as repressive actions. Graburn’s (1996) ideas rationalise the facts of the presence of colonialism in Africa in which the colonisers’ attitude towards what they perceived as ‘primitive art’ shaped the perceptions of the African artists to the extent that the effects are reflected in their artworks and social life. Where two different cultural backgrounds are ‘emerging’, it is obvious that the weaker one will be more influenced by the stronger; in the process, the ‘modification’ of its identity will occur. This is exactly what happened during the colonial era in Mozambique.

2.3.2 Art in the post-colonial period

Artworks are cultural products and, as in the case of ritual, clothing, food, or gender relationships, the particular manifestations in colonial and post-colonial settings are likely to demonstrate themes associated with the localization of global cultural influences. This can be seen in books, media and consumerism within our contemporary societies (McLuchan and Powers 1989). Appadurai refers to India as:

a site for the examination of how locality emerges in a globalizing world, of how colonial processes underwrite contemporary politics, of how history and genealogy inflect one another, and of how global facts take local form (2005: 18).

My study captures a similar theme in that it is not only about the process in which contemporary artworks are produced but also how the artworks are emerging into the global world. African cultural manifestations nowadays are increasingly influenced by the winds of change brought about by the globalization process whose subjectivism on one hand, emerges in global technology and enriches culture, while on the other it dilutes the original quality of the production of African art. After obtaining independence things started to shift in another direction: locals (such as Mozambicans) were less under the control of colonial masters and potentially able to exercise more ownership and control over the artworks they produced.

Vansina (1983) makes a strong case for the contemporary significance of art for the reconstruction of African history and its own identity which was disrupted by the Western
colonialists. And today, this aspect is evident in many post-independence African countries. The citizens in these African countries, in particular the artists, are coming together to re-build the new nation by expressing their thoughts and feelings through their art (www.earlychildhoodnews.com). With the changing political landscape in various countries in Africa, the production of new techniques, themes and trends in artworks have witnessed a new change. This change has been widely recognized, as evidenced in a picture of one of Fiel dos Santos’s works (Fig. 11) reproduced on the internet with the caption:

Joao Paulo Queha [Fiel dos Santos and Gonçalo Mabunda] creates sculptures out of automatic weapons and defused land mines at the Núcleo de Arte gallery and workshop. Queha is one of fifteen artists who took part in the "Arms into Art" exhibition. Since the end of Mozambique's sixteen-year civil war, more than 72,000 [seventh two thousands], weapons and explosives have been collected from the country's landscape.¹⁰

![Fig.11: Fiel dos Santos. Passáro da Paz (Peace Bird). 2008. Maputo.](image)

The artist is seated next to his new sculpture created from war weapons as material resources. However, even though nowadays most African countries, including Mozambique, seem to be ‘free and independent’ from the Western ‘domination’, its influence on art production still

lingers on. For example, we see that the war for liberation, the resistance war between Renamo and Frelimo, the HIV/AIDS pandemic, natural calamities and the endless poverty and hunger, are all issues that are represented through artworks. Such political and social issues represent artists’ attempts to engage with locally relevant realities. At the same time, these various themes have come to constitute key elements in outsiders’ ‘gaze’ as Foucault (2003) terms it, and, more pertinent here, as Urry (1990) has applied the notion to the tourists’ ‘gaze’. Not surprisingly, as I will show below, this gaze is common to many brokers and patrons, and centres on images of Mozambique as primitive, war-torn, underdeveloped and diseased\(^{11}\).

This apparent contradiction between the freedom associated with independence and the continued Western influence of cultural imperialism is, as I see it, the underlying theme of art production (and various other cultural products and performances) in Africa today. However, it is perhaps not appropriate to see this as a ‘contradiction’, for both are part of the same ongoing process of cultural production in postcolonial settings.

Graburn’s (1976) work on changing art is also relevant here. He points out that contemporary art in newly independent contexts can be viewed as a measure of modernity: art may now be created as a measure of modernity, both to express new national identities and as resistance to cultural appropriation. Dark (1978) comments:

Graburn... hopes that his book may provide the reader with a somewhat more coherent framework for evaluating not only the art and artisans but, perhaps more importantly, the peculiar ethnoaesthetic context in which both creator and consumer come to evaluate each other.\(^{12}\)

Graburn’s work is important to my study because it focuses on the effects of colonialism, commercialization of art, and the process of ‘changing identities’ which is the result of colonial domination and is reflected in the contemporary Mozambican art producers’ lives through their artworks in the present times. For example, the murals painted by the prominent art producers such as Naguib (see Fig. n.12) at AV. Da Marginal, in Maputo City and Walter Zand (see

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\(^{11}\) One could go further and refer to the view that HIV is associated with unbridled sexual behavior.  
Fig. 13), in Matola area in Maputo Province, and the sculptures (see Fig. 14) produced by the artists from various Art Maconde Associations in Cabo Delgado province, in the north of Mozambique, which are also found throughout the various local institutions, might serve as illustrations of Graburn’s points of view.

Fig. 12: Naguib. Av. Marginal. 2008. Maputo.
2.4 ACADEMICS APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF ART

How academics have addressed the issue of art could be deemed complex since they had different lines of thought. I mention some of them in this study. For instance, to Myburgh:

[a]rt serves the purpose of gratifying the human urge to offer and willingness to accept skilful and imaginative expressions of emotion or thought or both. We shall refer to the relationships between artists and persons paying attention to their work as relationships of art (1981: 159).

This means that, art is the result of what artists produce. From the product arise an expression of the art producers’ idea, and the content of its main message by which they (the artists)
communicate to the rest of the ‘persons paying attention to their work’. Therefore, art is the instrument by which artists express their inner ideas and feelings.

Myburgh’s book, entitled *Anthropology for Southern Africa* talks about, among other things, ‘art and cultural style, preference, and impressionism’. To the author of the above mentioned book, the

[s]tyle reflects the fixed form of an artistic work that results from experience within cultural context. Line, colour, shades of light and dark, texture, area, mass, volume, space, sound, and movement may be used as means to create a style, which emerges from the structure of the work as the combination of all or some of the means referred to by relating these to one another in some particular way (Gardner n. d. 2 – 4) and is of interest here if it is typical of the artist’s culture (Myburgh, 1981: 160 – 161).

All these various terms are introduced in the artists’ life in order to allow him to have a choice to ‘acculturate’ his own background which depends mostly of his ‘adaptation environmental settings’. The artist’s ‘style’ will depend, however, on his own experience obtained through the surrounding of his cultural background. According to Myburgh’s viewpoint, this is how the ‘style’ comes about within the people who produce art.

Meanwhile, Mike Featherstone in his book *Undoing Culture; Globalization, Postmodernism and Identity*, aims,

… [t]o investigate the processes both inside and outside the academy and wider field of cultural producers, which form our sense of culture as something unified or fragmented. In one sense we are all cultural producers in that we engage in practices which not only reproduce the cultural repertories we are provided with and need as we move through social life, but are to some extent able to modify and shape them as they are passed down the unbroken chain of generations which constitutes human life… (1995: 3).

What Featherstone means is that since as human beings we live and work together to survive within the process of socialization, we producing things (art and curio objects) of our own need in the same sphere which is the planet earth. Some of the objects are aesthetically good while others are not depending on the angle from which you look at them. So through our actions
within the process of socialization we are all ‘cultural producers’ because ‘we engage’ ourselves in creating, practicing and producing things which somehow contribute to the cultural development of our social and intellectual life. This includes various types of art such as paintings and sculptures.

Art, as emphasized by Vansina (1984: 204), ‘is a direct source, emanating from the community itself, not from foreign people’ as it is seemed to be in some countries in sub-Saharan Africa in the pre-colonial times. Before the Europeans arrived in Africa, unadulterated art and culture existed and had not suffered from any external influence at all. The term ‘art’ was new in Africa but the objects already existed since they were produced by native African artists. As a consequence of the presence of Western colonizers in Africa, the lives of these native artists and their people changed. The natives’ art form, the ways artworks were produced, and the commercialization process were all influenced. At that time the natives exchanged their works for the goods they needed but now they are doing so for money. It is from this fact that new modern ways on how to commercialize art originated within the African art market.

The ’rise of modern art’ (Fraser 1962: 12) is a more passionate reaction towards the style developed from European artworks. ‘Modern’ artists consciously imitated primitive art and hailed its outspoken ‘visual freedom’. This practice of Western artists became a model to most African artists in the post-colonial era; for instance, the style of dressing, the techniques used to produce an artwork or curios such as paintings were also experienced elsewhere in Africa, including within the circles of Mozambican artists. In other words, the artworks of Western painters inspired the ways in which most Mozambican artists produced and sold artworks in the past and continues to do so today. In this context, the term art had travelled from Europe to Africa to stay.

Academics have approached the issues of Art and African artists from different angles. Nettleton and Hammond-Tooke (1989: 8), in their book African Art in Southern Africa, highlighted the notion of ‘genius’ in the production of art in Europe from the sixteenth century onwards. This formed the basis for their distinction between ‘craft’ and ‘art’. In this regard, Nettleton and Hammond-Tooke, during their modern sense of denoting painting and sculpture, classified the
term ‘craftsman’ as making reference to one who practiced a ‘handcraft’. However, these terms were first used in 1876. This factually proved that the term ‘art’ and ‘craft’ were brought to Africa by the European colonialists. According to Morphy and Perkins (2006: 127), ‘[i]t could be argued that since in many cases there is no direct equivalent in the ’art-markers’ own language to the English word ‘art’, the intentional production of a work to fit in with the category ‘art’ is the result of the imposition of Western terms and values on another cultural system.’ This is confirmation that the term ‘art’ never existed amongst the African producers of the utilitarian objects.

In keeping with the above theme Bourdieu (1984) ‘talks about an aristocracy of culture, based partly on a tradition of academic learning’ of the Shona people in Zimbabwe. In this ‘aristocracy culture’, the upper class appears to control and govern the system of cultural productivity for its commercialisation within the Zimbabwean art market. However, ‘[t]here is a little academic learning among the sculptors and what criticism and commentary there is on Zimbabwean sculpture has come from Whites who are outside the growing tradition of sculpting’ Bourdillon (1998). Besides considering the existence of ‘little academic learning’ amongst the Shona sculptors, Bourdillon (1998: 1) also explains that ‘[t]he emergence of stone carving in Zimbabwe as a world force is the result of a curious meeting between Africa and Europe.’ In the course of the existence of these two different cultural backgrounds of art and artists, from the European and African continents, new aspects have emerged – the techniques and the style.

Within the mixture of European and African cultural backgrounds ‘criticism’ of each other’s artworks has become crucial. In this regard Berger (1967: 09) notes that, ‘[c]riticism is always a form of intervention; intervention between the work of art and its public’. In most cases, very little depends upon this intervention, not so much by virtue of its quality of perception as by virtue of the circumstances upon which it may act. This means that ‘criticism can be creative’ and can be represented in diverse forms of artworks such as painting or sculpture. The prominent Mozambican painter, Malangatana, when interviewed by Schneider (1988: 62), illustrates the need for ‘intervention’ by stating that, ’I will always use my paintings, my colours, and my images, to criticize the things with which I don't agree.’ Artists’ are critical of issues they disagree with through portrayals of hunger, violence, war protest, and many other evils existing
all over the world. Painters and sculptors use art as a form of ‘intervention’ in order to reveal and show their criticism. The issue of art and ‘criticism’ noted by Berger (1967) is relevant to my study because it is pertinent when exploring the driving forces behind the artist’s themes and trends of their artworks. By looking at this issue, it is easier to see the importance of criticism on artists’ work in Mozambique.

The issue above – art and criticism – explored by Berger (1967), shows us that because of the existence of various kinds of ‘art’, ‘criticism’ is crucial in our lives for a better understanding of it. In other words, Svašek explains that:

...art exist in all societies, it constitutes a universal category that can be used not only to explain what art is, but can also be used as an analytical tool to explore similar types of behaviour involved in the production, use, and consumption of objects and artefacts in different parts of the word (2007:3).

Thus for the better ‘production, use, and consumption’ of art, criticism is required in order to allow a good and better understanding and hence a healthy improvement.

2.5 HOW ANTHROPOLOGISTS HAVE ADDRESSED THE STUDY OF ART

For many years anthropologists conducted their research work by recording visible cultural facts within their social interaction. Many African artists have used the same methods through which they gaze on culture and represent it using artistic ways. The notion of ‘gaze’ was formulated by Foucault (2003) and usefully employed by John Urry in The Tourist Gaze. In this regard of gazing on cultural facts, Svašek, when looking and;

[d]efining art as a form of universal behaviour, they sought to describe and understand how art was shaped in different cultural contexts by making cross-cultural comparisons (2007: 9).

For instance, anthropologists have explored and discussed how ‘the tourists’ used to exercise their influence over the African commercial art market. Mozambican artists – painters and sculptors – also had their own artistic ways of representing what they gazed upon and felt from
colonial influence and so forth until today. This fact of examining the tourist’s behaviour, helped to give a better understanding of how the colonial influence “damaged” the original form of culture and art production in Mozambique. In this context, the facts discussed on chapter VI of the present study, justifies this reason.

Anthropologists have addressed various issues regarding art. The anthropologist Charlotte Otten, while talking about art, asks:

What can be said about primitive (“ethnographic”) art which has not already been said by art critics and historians’ writings of the arts of the great civilizations? Do we, as anthropologists, find the arts of non-literate peoples really different in character, in content, and in function from our own? (Otten 1971: xi).

I do believe that anthropologists are always looking for aspects that constitute or appear as a result of social interaction of human kind. Culture is always dynamic, and therefore the aspects of it are not permanently statics, they change over time to time. They need recognize the existence of its similarities in many social cultural backgrounds, as well as the differences which exist in the different cultural behaviours. They are all different when looking at their behaviours. Within this context, in attempting to answer Otten’s questions, it is crucial for the author/reader to know and understand the origin and consequences of art because of its complexity.

Enwezor suggests that:

[t]hese questions are urgent, for we must be able to account for new diasporic formations that have become part of the postcolonial experience of African artists and intellectuals (1998: 33).

Perhaps by exploring the effects of ‘the postcolonial experience’ we might understand where we come from, how and where to go from the present contemporary period.

As we could see from Otten’s inquisition, art is a crucial part of any society. Therefore, art can be considered as an important influence in our lives and its existence is justified in any society that wants to keep developing its cultural background. However, in order to define this
phenomenon of art, one needs to understand that it is complex. Regarding this complexity, Svašek (2007), in defining art as a social process, argues that, an anthropological approach that links the production and consumption of artefacts to political, religious and other cultural dynamics is necessary. This is because ‘...political, religious and other cultural dynamics’ are the main foundation that guide and control the functionality of art in any society in today’s world. However it’s crucial to recognise that education help us to learn and teach on how to question, appreciate, analyse, give value, understand and preserve artefacts, in our society.

Thus Svašek (2007) demonstrates that while some artefacts are intentionally produced as artworks, others are not originally intended for that purpose but are actively appropriated and transformed into art by art dealers, curators and anthropologists. It also offers us a demonstration of facts and manipulations to consider some artefacts more valuable than others existing within the art market. This proves that art is imposed within the art market and ’appear’ as an instrument that stimulates people and their minds; which is the reason for its existence inside of social interaction. This means that in order for art to move and be exchanged or sold, people need to be the main ’instrument’ of socialisation.

If we take a look at art from another perspective, we can see that “[c]ultural reference in art media may be the result of the natural environment” (Myburgh, 1981: 161). Perhaps, this is because art in the media is reported as it is found in the art market but is never modified by the media itself.

Appadurai’s (1996) identification of five global cultural ‘flows’ draws attention to the various dimensions of transnational interaction associated with art: the transfer of money (financescape), the imported materials used (technoscape), outside buyers and tourists (ethnoscape), outsiders’ ‘gaze’ (ideoscape), and publicity in the press, radio and TV, and the internet (mediascape).

Analysing the socio-political landscape’s context of objects when they are produced, the networks and power relations that characterize the behaviour of the different agents inhabiting that background, and scrutinizing the anthropologist’s own ethnographic role, are central to their approach. In this regard, there are different ways in which art or artefacts are moving from one
place to another and, can at the same time be valued for instance in religious, political, artistic, cultural and financial terms. Within the network process, the art movement influences others such as art patrons and brokers, the art producers, tourists, and all people who are able to appreciate and buy the work of others. Therefore, the ‘five dimensions of global cultural flows’ mentioned above by Featherstone (1990: 7), are the key that allows us to comprehend how culture functions in society.

These aspects became more understood after independence from colonial domination in Africa because people, including artists, can now compare the past and the present in a way that clearly shows the distinction between the two. Appadurai (2005: 31) explains that ‘[t]he image, the imagined, [and] the imaginary’ are all terms that direct us to something critical and new in global cultural processes: ‘the imagination as a social practice’ in modern societies. Furthermore, Appadurai states that:

\[
\text{[t]he imagination is now central to all forms of agency, is itself a social fact, and is a key component of the new global order (2005: 31).}
\]

It is through the ‘imagination’ that the artist visualises the ideas of his artistic creativity. The ‘imagination’ is fundamental within the artist’s activities during the production of artworks. In this regard, ‘the image, the imagined, the imaginary’ are norms existing and praised specifically within the social world of cultural art market.

Having attained independence, the African continent has since been trying to rebuild its economy including its art and culture. In this context, Michael Chapman (2006) offers in his book entitled *Art Talk, Politics Talk*, perspectives on a single endeavour on how society can learn to relate issues of its own environment. In this regard art and culture appear as the main source within the process of national building. Therefore, it is important to learn and know ‘how to talk about art in a politically demanding milieu’ (Chapman 2006: 1), art appears as the common language amongst human kind, in our planet of earth. When artefacts are shifted from one place to another as part of the process of transit, or when the values of the society where these arts are located undergo transition, the art can become entangled with national and international political or
religious issues. For instance former British colonies continue ‘to demand the return of the artefacts’ which are considered to have national importance.

The Elgin Marbles, for instance, sculptures that once adorned the Athens Parthenon, were taken to Britain by Lord Elgin in the nineteenth century and continue to be a source of contention between Greece and the United Kingdom. Similarly, one of Ethiopia’s most sacred monuments, the Axum obelisk, which was taken to Rome by Italian soldiers in the 1930s, has recently been returned, ending decades of dispute (Svašek 2007: 6).

However, although some of these objects are taken back to their original owners some still remain in the hands of former colonial owners. These artefacts are symbols of domination or resistance and the art language is the main link between different nations or states. This is perhaps the main reason why tourists, art patrons and brokers travel to buy artworks from different African countries such as Mozambique and others. Michael Chapman shows us the problems that exist within the political world and the contemporary African art market. One of the main problems is that politician’s use of art does not include supporting the art producers and even looking after them or creating more infrastructures for the better functioning of art production. For instance in most African countries the relationship between political and art issues is not visible at all. This issue is only mentioned when it suits mainly the political leadership.

Art talk, or politics talk, in Africa, more generally in the South, cannot proceed in isolation of art talk, politics talk in a conception of modernity; or, pressingly for aesthetic understanding, without considering the impact and influence of the major twentieth-century art movement in the West: modernism (Chapman 2006: 3).

‘Modernism is a term that recurs’ in his argument. However ‘modernism’ is a movement in the arts or religion that aims to break with traditional forms or ideas. The comparative method is central to the present task of the study because it talks about the colonial facts and looks into the present African art market. In other words, to understand the contemporary African art market, we have to look at its historical and political landscape. By doing so, it allows us to visualize the differences and similarities existing in the art developments between the modern and the traditional world and also in the art market which the author classifies as ‘Modernism and Africanicity’.
Barringer and Flynn (1998) offer insights into the art world. The approaches offered are three major disciplinary areas: the intersection between colonialism, museums and objects unities; three substantial bodies of contemporary theory; post-colonial theory, museum studies and material culture studies or design theory. These areas examine the influence of colonialism, its ideologies and power relations, on the ways in which objects are understood and interpreted. The aim of these intensive analyses of museum objects and their contents provides us with an understanding into how objects such as artworks – paintings and sculptures – are produced and reveals the diverse manifestation from the past colonialism. These are timely and substantive understandings into issues of global importance. The volume includes case studies of objects from India, Pakistan, New Zealand, China, and Africa. Such objects give us a new understanding on how to define objects that can be taught to the new generation within contemporary Mozambique for instance. The contribution of the art Maconde’s sculptures from the north of Mozambique, and the paintings produced by various artists in the south, are some examples that will be explored to provide us with an understanding of the cultural artworks in the country.

Mozambican authors, Duarte and Da Graça (1992) have written a lot about ‘Mapico (plural) Lipico (singular)’ masks; which ‘constitute the essence of Makonde sculpture’. The Mapico masks are originally from Maconde community in Cabo Delgado province, in the north of Mozambique. The authors emphasize that:

[t]he collectors’ interest in it dates long back, and there are very ancient examples in several museums in Europe and in Mozambique (Duarte and Da Graça, 1992: 9).

This on one hand confirms that the African natives had been producing sculptures long before Europeans arrived in Mozambique. This enlightens us that Africans have always known how to express their mind in artistic ways from the time that escape the memory of human kind. Their experiences were added to during the presence of the European colonialists in Africa. On the other hand, it is from museums that academics and anthropologists learn about artefacts produced in the past such as ‘the Mapico sculptures’ for instance, by comparing these old art works found then with the contemporary cultural artefacts.
To illustrate the example above, Becker (1982) would argue that ‘one should study the interaction of all actors in art worlds, including producers, critics, distributors and consumers.’ This is perhaps because ‘all actors’ in line completes one another within the process of creating, analyzing, distributing and to the point of reaching the art patrons and brokers. The Museums hold contents in literature and variety of artworks that also helps to teach the significance of ‘the Mapico masks’ and other types of sculptures to the upcoming new generations. My hope is that the use of museums as repositories of historical information will continue for many generations to come.

One of the very important aspects cited by Barringer and Flynn (1998) from the book of Edward Said (1993) entitled Culture and Imperialism in which his (Said) analyses bring us discourse about art that ‘preserve its unique endowment.’ Said demonstrates how culture and politics can co-operate, knowingly and unknowingly, how to produce a ‘system of domination that involved more than cannons and soldiers…’ however, the main point demonstrated by Edward Said’s argument is the fact that the Western imperial powers always met resistance against the empire. Therefore, Said offered amongst the most powerful and ‘the co-existed’ influential analyses of colonialism’s effects on the culture of the colonizer and that of the colonised, which is reflected in African artists’ lives. Therefore I explore most ‘influential’ cultural aspect which was left by colonialism in Africa, more concretely within the contemporary art market. African culture still depends on the West as the main art buyers including tourists from European and American countries. Said reflects on this issue in his book called Culture and Imperialism, which is justified by the artworks produced in the post-independence period in Mozambique. The author also explains that:

…today writers and scholars from the formerly colonized world have imposed their diverse histories on, have mapped their local geographies in, the great canonical texts of the European centre (Said 1993: 62).

The explanation given here by Edward Said, within the spirit of national building today, is that every African nation ‘has imposed’ its own rules in order to write or re-write its own histories but is still dependent on the rules left by colonialism. Although the main aspects imposed by the colonial regime were such as – ‘geographical maps’ and ‘canonical texts,’ colonialism still has
an influence in shaping the education system of our children today. This includes mainly the ways and forms in which the artists produce and present their artworks, within the contemporary African art market.

Vogel, S in Morphy & Perkins (2006: 209-218), encourage readers to appreciate the art of various cultures of different times. Their ideas help to explore the contribution that the analysis of art can make to human societies. Morphy & Perkins’ theories, which helped me to understand and interpret my findings, enlighten that,

[a]rt in the first sense is associated with bodies of knowledge, technologies, and representational practices that provide a deeper perspective” [into the cultural life of the general society. In their view], “art objects have become tokens or repositories of symbolic meaning in which the ruling class invests its money to create value, and by which it reinforces its elite status (2006: 2).

It is an interesting topic in the study of class based Western societies, but not necessarily as relevant in the rest of the world; although the Western art serves as an example for the African artists in the countries which they colonized.

The Mozambican art producers and the process of commercialising artworks with their art patrons and brokers is well discussed in this study because of the similarities contained in the book by Morphy & Perkins (2006). Hence this book and other literatures helped me to discuss and build up my ethnographic study; this goes without forgetting the responses of my interviewees in relation to the life of Mozambican artists and their artworks.

Nevertheless, talking about these artists in this way does not give us a full picture of what it is to be an African artist in the age of globalization, all it says and repeats is what has always been known – that Africa is made up of multiple and disparate identities, cultures, territories (Enwezor 1998: 34).

Thus what more can be said is that although Africa is free from being ruled by European colonialism it is still dependent on the West because it lives in the era of imperialism and globalisation which is the continuation of the western process of colonizing the mind of the rest of the world. The following chapters demonstrate how African artists, in particular the
contemporary Mozambican art producers, interact with their customers in the art market. The chapters explore how their life experiences influence their artworks and the challenges faced in order to be able to sell in the art market. But firstly, we have to look at how the changing political landscape in Mozambique have been influencing on artists’ lives and their art, which is developed in the next chapter three.
CHAPTER III: THE CHANGING POLITICAL LANDSCAPE IN MOZAMBIQUE (1962 - 2010)

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to give the reader an insight into the historical background of the Mozambican artists’ lives. It looks at their life histories and how pre and post colonial governments and their involvement in arts influenced them (artists). The chapter focuses on how the main changes in the country’s political leadership influenced the lives of the artists and subsequently their work. Irrespective of these changes, though, art remained the voice and the way of expression for the artists. The ensuing discussion will allow us to clearly see and understand the artists’ life histories with respect to the contemporary art production in Mozambique. However, in-depth discussions on the artists’ life experiences (histories) will only be provided in chapter five (v).

For one to undertake discussions on African art, it is important to note that although generalisations may allow for introductory comparisons of artistic production from different countries on the continent, it is a limiting approach. Homogenised views of whole continents are criticised for their disregard of the different histories, cultures and specific events which have in turn affected art and artists alike (Enwezor 1998:34). Only looking at the contemporary art production of Mozambique would make this research study inadequate in its aim because on closer inspection the term ‘contemporary’ can be viewed as problematic. Reason for this, for instance, is that in Portugal there are galleries that exhibit ‘contemporary Mozambican art’ with some of their “recent” paintings dated 1972. If the contributions of post colonialism on ‘contemporary’ art are to be explored, they must be contextualised in order to preserve the originality of the history of the country. This, in Mozambique, is especially important because other neighbouring countries such as South Africa underwent a similar political transformation which was also brought about by colonialism. However, even though their events are similar to those of Mozambique, when it comes to art production, their experiences are different and they influenced the people of those countries differently from Mozambique.

In order to overcome the dangers of such generalisations it is important that I consider the term ‘contemporary’ under five (5) distinct periods in the Mozambican context. These periods are:
1. The pre-independence period (1962 – 1975), focusing on art during the liberation struggle;
2. Samora Machel’s leadership (1975 – 1986), highlighting his socialist initiatives for cultural developments during the first stage of the Mozambican independence;
3. The Joaquin Chissano’s leadership (1986 – 1992), which brought democracy and freedom of expression on culture;
4. Chissano’s Democratic leadership (1992 - 2004), starting with its neglecting of culture;
5. Armando Guebuza’s leadership (2004 - 2009) in which virtually all cultural activities received renewed attention were uplifted.

I have divided the periods above in this way in order to show that as government regimes were changing in Mozambique, their influence on many aspects of culture also changed partly because culture is always dynamic. All the periods above convey the state’s involvement in arts as understanding its influence on art is important for the work that follows because throughout these periods, the government of the time had different attitudes on the role of art in society. In terms of their life histories, attempting to find out which period the art producers were most actively improving as artists is of paramount importance since it can serve as a proxy measure of government involvement during those times. The answer will be found within the discussion of these five periods below. My emphasis to reconstruct the history of art in Mozambique during these periods is based on what I have read; experienced\textsuperscript{13}; and discussed with fellow Mozambican artists and politicians and I have given references to support my assertions.

3.2 A BRIF HISTORY OF MOZAMBICAN GOVERNMENTS AND THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN ARTS

The discussion below on the five distinct periods endeavours to give a clear picture about the state of affairs regarding cultural activities and the historical background of the artists’ lives and the Mozambican governments’ involvements in arts. I divided them in chronological order to

\textsuperscript{13} Experienced: what I mean is how, as a researcher during my data collection, I saw the facts in terms of the way the artists spoke to me, the environment at their workplaces, and the art material resources they used to produce their art.
easily distinguish the different circumstances of each period. In other words, the divisions give an image of the unique aspects of how the Mozambican art producers were then compared to now. These are:

3.2.1 The pre-independence period: culture during the liberation struggle (1962 – 1974)

The cultural aspects of the pre-independence period (the last stage of colonialism) in Mozambique will not be considered in great detail in this section. According to most people I spoke to, this era can be characterised as stifling to the citizens because artists in particular did not have freedom of expression at all. The rule of colonialism to a large extent controls the citizens, including the artists. At this distinct period of colonialism, art played a significant role for Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Mozambique Liberation Front) also known as “FRELIMO” in the liberation struggle. Immediately before Mozambique’s independence, and throughout the war for the liberation of Mozambique, some pamphlets, slogans and the Frelimo’s flag were shown in the liberated zones. This flag, which could be considered as a work of art, was shown by soldiers for a certain purpose – to show their identity – during the war and specifically in the so-called Zonas Libertadas (liberated zones). About the use of the flag during the period of war, the art collector Mr. Mussagy Zeichand, who was a soldier at that time (1962 up to 1975), explained that:

…the aspect of identity existed in our society before the arrival of colonialism in Mozambique. We had to use our Frelimo’s flag as our identity to show who we were during the war epoch and in the free conquered zones. This fact reinforced my liking for objects created by man’ hands; in particular art, because my mother used to explain to us about our families’ (ethnic group) identity. Our flag is a symbol which brings me a lot of memories when I look at it, and reminds me where we Mozambicans came from.

This was one of the ways to communicate with the population as well as with the Portuguese antagonists. At the time preceding independence, according to Mr. Zeichand, the concept of ‘art’ was there but was not emphasised much amongst the revolutionists. It was also evident during this period of liberation in Mozambique that the soldiers used to sing revolutionary songs, dancing and expressing their happiness for the victories they were obtaining from the war. The dancing, particularly the Mapico dance, in the northern side of Mozambique, for example, in Niaassa and Cabo Delgado provinces was ‘a very powerful instrument for social
education amongst Maconde ethnicity at the time’. Furthermore, “[d]uring the armed struggle for national liberation, and after independence, the habit [of buying and retaining the Mapiko masks and sculptures] began of depicting political leaders, specifically to praise them” (Duarte & da Graça 1992: 11). There is strong evidence that the Frelimo leadership from the beginning of its foundation in 1962 was very keen on arts as well as on its artists. This was clearly demonstrated in my visits to two art collectors who previously had been senior members of Frelimo, Mr. Mussagy Zeichand who was a soldier, diplomat, and Mozambican ambassador in many countries, and Mr. Machado da Graça, a journalist and film maker. Having been art collectors in their own right as individuals, they also tried to promote appreciation of artistic creativity within Frelimo organisation by preserving memories via keeping pieces of art which they got from various places in Mozambique since the war period, and from other places outside the country where they had been before their retirement, after independence.

**This is how art was viewed:**

During the period of struggle the Mozambican citizens (artists) were not free to express themselves artistically. However, throughout the war period, art played a very important role within Frelimo organisation because art was used as a way of communicating with the population and the Portuguese antagonists, above all as a form of identity.

Art was promoted within the general population and used as an instrument to communicate, to educate the ‘illiterate’ population within the liberated zones (*zonas libertadas*) and to instruct them about the importance of conquering their freedom. The communication was via the use of metaphoric meaning in order to deceive the antagonist. This was done through the use of the dance of Mapiko (Lipico, in singular) which was connected with the use of sculpted masks. The Lipico mask ‘is made of light wood (wild kapok)’. The practice of Mapiko dance was also done metaphorically, by using body movement in skilful and artistic forms during the act of dancing, to deceive the antagonist while communicating with citizens. This is how the lack of freedom was challenged in the North of Mozambique. Artists were required by ritual elders to convey secret messages through certain artistic portrayals – paintings and sculptures (masks) – in order to express their feelings of resistance amongst the citizens.
There was no visible funding from the state at this point in time but the support seems to have come from every ethnic group, because most of them took part in the war struggle.

### 3.2.2 The Samora Machel era: socialist initiatives (1975 – 1986)

The preamble of the Constitution of Mozambique (1990) states that,

> At zero hours on 25 June 1975, the Central Committee of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) solemnly proclaimed the total and complete independence of Mozambique and its establishment as the People’s Republic of Mozambique.

This was the culmination of a century’s long process of resistance to colonial rule. It was the unforgettable victory of the armed national liberation struggle, led by FRELIMO, which united patriots from all levels of Mozambican society, under the same ideals of freedom, unity, justice and progress.

Samora Moisés Machel was the first President of post independence Mozambique. Machel became head of the state at a very difficult moment because it was the transition period from colonial era to post independence Mozambique when the majority of the citizenry was still uneducated and came from colonial oppression. He came with new socialist initiatives which gave new dynamics into the Mozambican culture.

The artists I interviewed seemed to be of the same views that they were keen about arts under Samora Machel’s leadership because most of the younger artists at the time were happy with the government’s support for their creative work. The artists expressed satisfaction with the government’s support given to them like sending them to school in and outside of the country. It gave them the opportunity to learn from and showcase their works at cultural festivals in Mozambique and abroad as a reward for their work. Local artists demonstrated their happiness by participating in projects such as national and international cultural festivals and cultural competitions amongst schools introduced at the time. Primary and high school teachers played a very important role in guiding, educating and influencing the youth, particularly artists, to follow their talents during the whole process until they reached the national cultural festivals and later on, international ones.
Life before independence was disorganised for all Mozambican citizens. However, with the rise of independence in Mozambique, the first new government implemented in all the provinces, the production of murals as medium to give revolutionary messages to uneducated and educated people which came to influence most artists in the cities. Almost all the interviewees in my sample (11 out of 12 interviewees) recall, with a certain enthusiasm, the leadership of the first post independence government’s involvement in arts. The painter Dito, who took part in various programs implemented by the Samora Machel’s government at that time, recollects how:

the leadership of Samora Machel, the Ministry of Culture together with the Ministry of education was considered as one of the most relevant weapons to complement the principles of Socialism in Mozambique as well as other vital big State Departments like mainly the Ministries of Defence, Justice and Education. The government had been centralised and strongly interconnected to support the political system of that time. For example, one of the tasks of the Ministry of Culture was to teach the people that Mozambique is independent. This period of independence starts exactly in 1975; and artists like Malangatana, Mankew, Jacob Macambaco, Agostinho Mutemba, Ramadane, Zicale and other artists were invited to paint, and they did and amongst their paintings were big political murals including canvas of huge sizes to substitute white men’s art stuff in the State Departments, by drawing images of peace.14

The State Departments were the ones who used to work directly with artists in order to implement the educative task through their artistic creativity within Mozambican society.

Dito also remembers other forms in which artists expressed themselves like the so-called ‘Jornal do Povo’ (public wall news) displayed in the form of a mural or black-board ‘on which important information from the state was displayed’. It was found in various public places such as bus terminals, train stations, markets, hospitals, schools and all places where crowds of people often pass. He went on to say that “I remember the word Xiconhoca15 which was a famous cartoon picture of a big bellied black man carrying a bottle of beer and a green leaf in his pocket, and with a cigar in his mouth”. In order to visualise the image of Xiconhoca, mentioned by the

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14 Interview with Dito, place: his studio in Maputo – Province, 30th January 2010.
15 The best-known cartoon figure from post-independence Mozambique is undoubtedly Xiconhoca, ”the enemy”. The inspired and derogatory nickname was borrowed from a notoriously brutal Mozambican PIDE prison guard, Francisco Langa [aka Francisco or Xico Malhanana, ”Francisco the Snake”], who was one of the few PIDE agents in Maputo who had actually been detained by August 1974. A stylised Xiconhoca figure, often dressed in flip-flops and shorts, waving Frelimo flags while still owing allegiance to PIDE and the GE’s is shown in colour below.
painter Dito, (see the figures Fig.15. and Fig.16.) below. The picture symbolises black people who go into power and tend to forget that they are there to do good and serve their fellow citizens. Instead, they become disloyal and misuse the resources allocated for the betterment of the people and only pursue their own purposes and advantage, in the end destroying the country’s economy. This means, according to Machel’s government, that ‘socialism does not tolerate disobedient people,’ in the new Mozambique.

![Fig.15: Xiconhoca o Inimigo (Xiconhoca the enemy), is pretty much anybody who is lazy, a drunkard, a follower of European fashion, bourgeois, or, in essence, anti-Frelimo. (www.mozambiquehistory.net).](image)

In Fig. 16: below, which shows him asleep at his workbench surrounded by cigarette butts and an empty bottle, the caption in Portuguese reads: “... he’s a saboteur of the national economy,
he’s got no class consciousness, he’s a dead weight in the workshop, to sum up, and he’s a XICONHOCA?” (www.mozambiquehistory.net). The reason of the creation of Xiconhoca, was to serve as instrument to show the society about the existence of the presence of the enemy which was supported by ‘bourgeois’ to sabotage the new consciousness brought up by Frelimo, in the new Mozambique.

Fig.16: Xiconhoca o Inimigo (Xiconhoca the enemy), sleeping during work time because “he is saboteur of national economy, does not have class conscience, he is a waste at the office, in summary he is the Xiconhoca.” www.mozambiquehistory.net).

To add to Dito’s opinion, another interviewee named Walter Zand, who is also a painter, expressed of the festivals introduced two years after independence that “the cultural festivals
introduced in 1978 by Samora Machel, helped the Mozambicans to heal the sorrows originated by colonialism in many ways.” From those festivals the citizens were then able to recognise and know each other’s ethnic groups better despite their cultural differences.

The cultural festivals introduced by the first government after independence worked as an instrument to exhibit and control what Mozambican ethnic groups have culturally. These festivals also allowed the local artists to exchange their artistic experiences amongst themselves. The festivals demonstrated that in Mozambique, artists were free from then on without any ethnic divisions or racial discriminations but only to interact. The art producers from different parts of the country could now bring their artistic creativities together. Dito’s opinion thus suggests that “Machel’s supremacy focused also on the implementation of new cultural rules and the youth were always ready to take action, involving themselves in the government’s program. The paintings of murals with revolutionary meanings, dancing of timbila \(^{16}\) or other traditional rhythms such as Mapico” and the production of sculptures from black, yellow and pink wood and masks made of light wood were activities in which the youth were involved, and was also part of their actions, particularly in schools.

Dito, John Forna, Zand, Simões and others were members of the same association of art named *Núcleo de Arte* (Nucleus of Art), which represents the government’s support for Visual Arts, especially in the capital-city, Maputo. Being a member of the art association, Dito clearly recalls this aspect by saying that:

we used to meet every Wednesday at the *Núcleo de Arte* (Nucleus of Art) at 6pm, an average of about 30 artists attended the meeting, because there, it was really nice to be told by the President of Nucleus that we were very important people as artists and that our pictures – art works - could now go to countries like Russia, Bulgaria, East Germany, Cuba, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and to many others. We also used to receive material resources donated from these Socialist European countries and of course, we hang our pictures – artworks - in these countries; and I also remember everybody was looking for a chance to go to Europe to present their exhibition and know Europe for the first time. Importantly we neither felt that art was centralised because you could not easily act out of this ring – communist – nor spoke a word against the Regime.

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\(^{16}\) **Timbila**: traditional musical instrument originally from the shop ethnic group and name of the traditional dance from Timbila instrument from Zavala District, Inhambane province in the South of Mozambique.
The involvement of government in art saw the creation of art associations such as *Núcleo de Artes, in Maputo, and Associação Artes Makonde in Pemba and Maputo-City*. To avoid mismanagement, the government distributed art material to the associations and cooperatives of art. After the art production was finalised, the best work was presented in the form of an exhibition at the National Cultural Festivals within the country.

Fig.17: Group of sculptors working at the Association of Arts Makonde, in Maputo/ Photography by: Sebastião Matsinhe/ 2009.

In Mozambique there are numerous ethnic groups. In fact in all the ten provinces there are at least two ethnic groups represented. The notion of a 'national identity' and loyalty to nation is, according to Mathews (2000:7), a relatively new notion in human history. This view suggests that the notion of mass loyalty existed towards one's immediate community rather than to a 'nation' (Mathews 2000:7). Thus, with the advent of independence in the country, the government of the day, under the leadership of Samora Machel was very keen to develop a sense of 'national identity' which would override the individual ethnic divisions in the country.
- from the Rovuma River, at the north, to the centre, all the way down to the south of Maputo River. Therefore, Samora built up the ‘notion' of common sense by involving artists from all ethnic groups in cultural activities (...). There was an introduction of slogans such – Unidade; Trabalho; e Vigilância (Unity; Work; and Vigilance). These slogans meant that all ‘Mozambican people’ should be ‘united’ to ‘work’ together while being ‘vigilante’ or ‘watching out’ against the actions of the enemy, commonly known as Xiconhoca (see above figures n.3 and n.4), in order to preserve the national independence in Mozambique. According to my interviewees, the first National Cultural Festival was introduced in 1978 and it paved a way for the local artists to interact in Mozambique.

Samora Machel desired all Mozambicans should be treated equally without racial discrimination in order to promote ‘unity’ because they are all children of the same ‘nation’, called Mozambique. Unity was an important aspect because Mozambicans had fought against colonial oppression to free the country so that all citizens including artists could work and live in harmony. The constitution of Mozambique (1990) in its Basic Principles, outlines in Article 6 that, ‘the affirmation of the Mozambican character, its traditions and other social and cultural values’; are recognized by the law. This is because every ethnic group has its value that must be respected and preserved within the citizenry. Those ethnic values are important for the cultural development of the country itself.

In the post independence period, most of the youth in Mozambique moved from the rural areas to live in the cities with their knowledge of producing curios. The move of the youth was due to the friction (civil war) between Frelimo and Renamo, all national parties. Renamo was opposing the socialist system implemented by Samora Machel who was from the Frelimo party.

However, the young artists who were already living in the cities seem to be the ones who produced art because they had facilities to access environments of learning around them such as schools and art associations – such as Nucléo de Artes, in Maputo City - allowed them to learn and produce while competing among themselves. Within this context, seven (7) of my interviewees were unanimous to say that ‘their teachers or instructors are the ones who influenced and helped’ them ‘to learn and understand how to distinguish between art and curios.
Art was created for galleries, art collectors and tourists while curios are found in common places such as street markets and are usually cheaper than art works. Galleries and art patrons such as collectors and tourists were the principal buyers of art pieces produced by the young artists and “the money from the sale of art, was for the public schools – institutions directed by the government - where the art works were produced from”, explains Dito. The money helped to pay for electricity, water and security of the infrastructures. Painters such as Dito; Zand and Gilberto Cossa, are some examples of the artists who have learnt from those institutions in the early days of independence and, they added on saying that, ‘the money from the sale was for the maintenance of the art associations, schools and to buy art material for the institutions.’ Their exposure to people linked them to “the museums, schools, tourists, art collectors and galleries and, not forgetting the art teachers who played an important role in their development, influenced their talent and career by showing appreciation in buying what they produced. As art in the cities was more expensive than curios, most artists preferred to produce art instead of curios in order to gain more money”, emphasizes Mr. Gilberto Cossa.

Of particular significance, in this case where there is no time to explaining long details in terms of governments’ involvement in the promotion of arts, was the proliferation of murals, large public murals everybody was invited to see the ‘government provide space, material support and prizes.’ This attracted a lot of people into the art market, creating awareness and highlighting the few artists who can win prizes. This provided a lucrative opportunity to make money. These types of campaigns did not only attract many people to start asking whether these arts in fact had talent, but they also provided an incentive for more people to try to engage in art activities. At the same time it meant that the general public was exposed to those murals which were all over the place and became much more synthesized to the role of art in their lives.

The painter Gilberto Cossa, who was the national director of visual arts since 1999 – 2010 at the Ministry of Education and Culture, at the time of this study highlighted the government’s and the youth’s involvement in art activities:

…after independence in 1975 most artists use to do what I call popular art. This consisted of creating murals which were supported by the local government in each provincial capital city. The government’s support was concerned by facilitating
space, art material support and prizes for the best talented\textsuperscript{17} artists. The young artists’ involvements were enormous because the material resources were freely available and provided by the state.

The government’s financial support for the production of these murals, allowed artists without means, to practice their artistic talent by producing art and helping to produce ‘popular art’ which was included in the production of ‘murals’. The inspired artists in the cities such as Nampula, Beira, Maputo city, and Maputo province (Matola city) were able to present their artworks publicly in national cultural festivals organized by the government every two years. Thus some of those young artists received recognition for their work and they were the ones who won prizes within the country. A few – not more than 10 - of those, whose potential was recognized by the judges, indicated by the organizers for competitions in the National Festivals, were granted scholarships to go and study abroad. This cost the state a lot of money but was an indication of how the Samora Machel leadership viewed art and nurtured the development of art in the country. However, what they were simply saying is that art is not natural and, talent is not natural either; art had to be developed along the lines of the countries in which the scholarship winners were going to study. The scholarship incentives were local government’s way of giving these young arts opportunities to not only develop art skills in the context of Mozambique, but also to expand internationally. They were sent to study in countries such as Cuba, Russia, Portugal, East Germany, Yugoslavia, Romania, Poland, Hungary and so forth.

The Machel leadership tried to send artists abroad in order to familiarise them with other forms of art. As a form of recognition of Machel’s work, the sculptor Simões recalls that, “some of the prizes were even handed over by the president Samora Machel himself. As far as I remember, an example of this fact is the musical instruments handed by him to the band Yophuro, in Nampula province”. Such happenings came to give more motivation to the new generation of artists – painters and sculptors – to paint and sculpt images of what was happening in society at the time. The young artists were working with the hope of seeing themselves recognized one day in the near future, however, the succession governments showed the opposite.

\textsuperscript{17} Talented: Possibly better translated as “inspiring”. 
This is how art was viewed:
The Machel regime focused on the implementation of new cultural rules and the youth was always ready to take action to support the government’s programs. Art was viewed as the most relevant weapon to complement the principles of Socialism in Mozambique as well as other vital big state departments such as the Ministry of Defence, Justice and Education. Thus art was incorporated within the Ministry of Education where Machel’s wife – Graça Machel – was the Minister of Culture and Education who did her best to introduce a cultural movement in the whole country. This is how ‘freedom of speech’ was implemented and spread to the new generation in the new Mozambique and also brought a new education system. Artists were shifted to do different art works such as painting of murals including canvas of huge sizes with revolutionary meaning (images of peace). These art works were used to replace colonial sculptures and paintings which had been in many public places. Statues with colonial meanings in public places were also removed and replace with new ones which carried revolutionary meanings.

Changing to funding:
The support from the government reached the artists in many ways. The National Cultural Festivals served as support to the artists to develop their talent. Most infrastructures were created by Samora Machel’s government. Artists in their art Cooperatives and art Associations used to receive art materials resources donated from the Socialist European countries and of course, artists were sent and allowed to have some of their artworks exhibited in those countries. This kind of support made most inspiring artists dream of developing their artistic skills in order to increase their opportunity to take part in European exhibitions; and consequently, see the development of the Mozambican art market.

3.2.3 Joaquim Chissano: Democracy and freedom of expression (1986 - 1992)
After the death of Samora Machel who was the first President of the independent Mozambique, civil war between Frelimo and Renamo was still going on. The second leadership in the “free” Mozambique was led by Joaquim Alberto Chissano between 1986 until 2004. His term was divided in two different periods. The first one was the period from 1986 up to 1992, which continued after Machel’s death until the end of the civil war in 1992. Chissano firstly started to introduce the liberalization of Mozambican economy system, in 1987. Before this period the economy was managed and controlled

18 The civil of 1977 was still going on when Chissano took power until 1992.
under socialist-type regime and the economy was not guided by proper market policies. The general opinion of participants in sample is that Chissano’s government brought two dramatic changes into the lives of artists. The first point touches the government’s focus which was on the implementation of the market economy in the country. Secondly and consequently, the cultural festivals implemented by Samora Machel’s leadership, were not viewed as priority by the new government. Thus artists from various categories saw their recognition by the government starting to decease.

The second aspect was the democratic way of expression, however, with strong demand of respect for the Frelimo government leadership. This aspect seemed to limit most artists because they could not criticise the government and therefore had limited freedom of expression. The consequence of the latter is that artists were and are only visible during important ceremonies such as Independence Day celebrations, other commemorative dates and elections times. This last fact only happens once every five years. All my samples demonstrated agreement in relation to this regard. As an example of this fact, the painter John Forna expressed that:

Artists are invited to take part in the campaigns in order to support the political party and its presidential candidate. But after the end of the whole campaign and when the elections are over, the new elected government usually does not support those artists or even remember them.

The recognition of the importance of the art producers and culture for its social contribution within the country seemed invisible. This type of government behaviour exists even today in Mozambique, which is completely different from that of Samora Machel’s government.

Looking back at the first government’s behaviour towards art post independence, and comparing it with the second government of Chissano, it is evident that there has been a change towards increasing freedom of expression of the arts in Mozambique, however limited.
How art was viewed:
Art and culture was separated from the Education Ministry, to form its own Ministry of Culture, together with departments of Youth and Sports. Its dynamic decreased considerably as compared to the previous government of Machel. The government’s support of art started show through state companies’ support of artists in terms of funding and other resources. However, freedom of expression was still restricted. Although artists were supported by government business companies, there were always limitations as compared with the previous leadership because the government was focusing on other “pressing” priorities such as the liberalization of the Mozambican economy, which were implemented nationwide from 1987.

It is important to mention that throughout Chissano’s regime there was an increase of the art market as artists were moving from one town to another to spread and exchange art skills with other artists. This was influenced by the artists’ opportunity to show case their creativity during election campaigns. The travelling of the art producers to exhibit in Europe reduced substantially. The financial support from government companies could reach the artists sufficiently due to corruption and this is substantiated by the painter John Forna through the following words: ’the only difference is that in the Samora Machel’s leaderships there was no much robbery of money located to arts association than the contemporary situation’.

3.2.4 Joaquim Chissano: all cultures up lifted (1994 – 2004)
The leadership of Joaquim Chissano, as I mentioned above, started after Samora Machel’s death in 1986. From 1994, an agreement pact was signed in Rome in 1992 a period, which symbolised the end of war conflict between Frelimo and Renamo. Chissano was seen as the man who brought the birth of democracy in Mozambique. As I stated before, Chissano’s government focused more on ‘the market economy’ implementation which had been initiated in 1987. This period brought a new perspective of arts, culture and artists. There was an increasing freedom of expression within the new Republic of Mozambique. Culture was not Chissano’s priority because the work started by Samora Machel which focused on socialist system and the implementation of cultural infrastructures while art producers were still organized in Cooperatives and Associations of art, was no longer visible nationwide. However, as I
said before, the support given by the government could not reach the art producers in their Cooperatives and Associations. Artists were allowed to express their creativity with no fear of repression, provided they did not criticise the party in power or Frelimo – who was the leader of the government. As I mentioned above, the attitude (or demand) of ‘respect of government’ limited the artists by restricting their criticism of its leadership. Artists could not artistic input to the leadership’s cultural development. But without financial support, the artists could not develop their creativity easily. Some artists started to leave the country to work outside.

**How art was viewed:**

From the socialist initiative of Samora Machel’s leadership, to Chissano’s leadership there has been very little improvement toward increasing freedom of expression in arts and culture, in the contemporary Mozambique. The consequence of the implementation of the program of market economy brought new dynamics in the contemporary art market. Everyone was struggling to make a living through business or any other kind of work. Thus art buyers were mainly foreigners such as diplomats working officially in Mozambique and tourists visiting the country. As most of my interviewees explaining that, ‘[f]ew Mozambicans use to buy local art because they were not in the habit of doing so, but would rather buy fake paintings or even photocopies of paintings from outside the country.’ This is commonly seen in local hotels, public sector offices, and private institutions.

During the Chissano’s leadership art and culture was removed from Education Ministry and incorporated with the sports and youth Ministry. Art became the government’s last focus. Consequently art profits decreased nationally and internationally as compared to the time of Samora Machel’s leadership. The Government’s limitations on increasing the freedom of expression of artists, made it difficult for them to express themselves as they feared being rebuked by the government. With this lack of freedom of expression in the county, most artists ended up only producing only certain types of artworks which the government approved of particularly during the election campaigns. The types of artworks produced during the campaigns had themes and trends such as: sacred art, political art, romanticized art which could have reflected love and peace and promoted ‘a better future’ of Mozambique.
Funding:
The department of art and culture was then a Ministry of Culture which was eventually separated from the Education Ministry. Funds allocated towards arts were not visible as it used to be in the past under Samora’s leadership. Money and art material were no longer reaching the art producers in their own art cooperatives and Associations nationwide. However all the government support towards the art market and its artists were then given by the state companies or institutions to individual artists. All artists had to submit a letter of request for sponsorship that would enable exhibitions of individual artworks. However, most of these letters were often rejected. This new arrangement was introduced during Chissano’s leadership.

3.2.5 Armando Guebuza’s leadership: the neglecting of culture (2004 - 2010)
Guebuza’s leadership came to give continuity of democracy after Chissano’s leadership from the year 2004. Society was now able to use the emblem of the republic and the Mozambican flag freely in cultural and sport events. For example people could have the flag printed on T-Shirts, banners, stickers, and so forth, this was not possible before. Support was still not visible in all spheres of art, except during election periods as compared to the previous government.

How art was viewed:
Art, Culture and Youth, were incorporated back into the Education Ministry as it was under Machel’s leadership but the success is still far from visibility. Guebuza’s government only acknowledges arts and its artists during electoral campaign just as it was during his predecessor.

Funding:
Government support existed, but was not reaching the artists in the co-operatives of art and arts associations due to long term financial support absence owing to government’s lack of involvement on arts. Government support through its institutions and companies was not sufficient for artists to knock at the door for sponsorship, and most of the time with no success. Therefore most artists could not succeed to present or even to exhibit their artworks. To exhibit outside the country as it was in the previous leaderships, is no longer common and is only possible for those with government connections. Cultural facilities such as theatres in the
provinces became almost non-existent due to lack of leadership in the arts and culture fields. The example below shows the condition of the Art Maconde Association after being removed from *Parque do Campismo* (Camping Park), in Maputo – City.

![Fig. 18: This is the physical gallery of Art Maconde Association in the Capital Maputo. Photography by: Mario Checo/ 2009.](image)

The state of affairs for infrastructure without government support and resources degraded to the level depicted above in Fig. 18. During Machel’s government galleries known as ‘Houses of Culture’ with material support were provided to artists. Currently artists are left to their own devises.
The appreciation of art from foreign people in Mozambique is still visible because there are a lot of tourists visiting and purchasing local art. The example on the (Fig.19) above, illustrates this fact, were it shows a group of Tourists purchasing local Mozambican art at the Art Makonde Association, in Maputo However there is no law yet that controls the circulation of art, and the importing and exporting of artworks in Mozambique.

3.3 CONCLUSION

In the pre-independence period, Mozambique did not have freedom of expression under Portuguese colonial rule. Artists were limited in the form of expression and could not criticize the colonial leadership. However, they never stopped producing art in its variable forms because culture has always been dynamic and there was a need for Cultural Revolution to promote a better future, in Mozambique.
After Mozambique had obtained its independence, in 1975 with its own democratic government headed by Samora Machel, things within the country started to flourish in favour of local citizens. This was because new rules to benefit the population and its art producers was introduced and were implemented successfully. However, looking at the five stages of leadership in Mozambique, I can say that all political landscape brought significant development within the lives of the artists. But Samora Machel’s leadership, as confirmed by most local art producers, seems to be the better than the rest of the governments which followed. This is the period in which artists developed more artistic skills because they had access to art material. Therefore, Machel’s supremacy still remains in the memory of most of the local artists because of the ways in which the government contributed to the well-being of local artists. This was the period in which most local artists started to visit foreign countries with the help of Machel’s government.

Chissano and Guebuza’s leaderships brought different attitudes in the forms of lack of contribution towards Mozambican culture. These governments’ support was not evident as that seen during Machel’s mandate. As a result as these new attitudes, artists started to work for themselves and trying to hold exhibitions and selling their artworks within the country and abroad. These periods were very crucial moments in the lives of Mozambican art producers as they managed to become more competitive. The following chapter explores the discussion of Mozambican artists: past and present life experiences.
CHAPTER IV: ARTISTS’ LIFE HISTORIES

Yesterday was the past; the future is today, not tomorrow!

(Sebastião Matsinke)

4.1 INTRODUCTION

There is a tendency from artists to deny the training and influences that they have received because they want to promote the idea that their individual talent is a natural God given organic kind of aptitude that manifests spontaneously. During my field research in the south of Mozambique, I could observe from the way they were talking, that there is a trend to deny the influence of mentors and teachers. According to the artists, their talent is ‘natural and God given’, however, the book by Henry Adams ’Tom and Jack: The Intertwined Lives of Thomas Hart Benton and Jackson Pollock’s life’, actually documents ‘the role of mentors’ or an art trainer. Benton’s influence is depicted in Pollock’s painting ’Man and Master’. This fact is very similar to the way in which traditional healers (Hammond-Tooke 1989; Reynolds 1981; and Flint 2008) in the south of Mozambique present themselves.

The majority of the contemporary art producers in Mozambique are relatively young and they display their works in public spaces (often alongside curio producers). The aim of this chapter is to give the reader an insight into the past and contemporary life experiences of the artists in Mozambique. Hence, in order to understand the whole process, one has to look at how the contemporary Mozambican artists have been brought up by their relatives, parents, guardians; and also look at how society has influenced their art. Therefore, in this section, I discuss my observations on their formal education working career: influence and support they got to become an artist; Artists’ current lives. Their recognition as artists I will be discussing within the following chapter five (5). But before I explore the itemized objectives above, firstly, it is important to look at the artists’ formal education in their (artists) early life, in order to better comprehend the logic of facts.
4.2 ARTISTS’ FORMAL EDUCATION IN THEIR EARLY LIFE

The early life refers to the period between the moments the artists were born until the time when they reach the secondary school age (i.e. age of zero up to eighteen). At this stage, for the most part of the contemporary artists (today’s senior artists) in Mozambique, their parents and relatives lived in the colonial epoch. Most of the contemporary artists were born before independence. That was the era when Mozambican people were under domination of the Portuguese colonialists. Most of the artists grew up under the colonial education system which was not affordable to the citizens. Thus, because of the colonial system at the time, local people were not able to attend school including those who where painters and sculptors. Those artists (parents and relatives of today’s’ artists) were “forced” to teach their children the work and experience they knew. This was the only way they had to transmit their knowledge to their children. However, contemporarily the group of the artists of the new generation was born a little before and after independence period (1975).

During my research interviews most of the twelve artists – painters and sculptors - which I had a conversation with, expressed that ‘their nuclear families comprised of their parents, siblings and extended relations making up their households.’ These families lived in the country side. Nine of the artists express that their mothers used to make a living with agricultural subsistence, while their fathers worked as carpenters or as sculptors. Three out of twelve, live in the cities, to be more precise, in the poorer areas (townships), since they did not have status and money enough to live in the inner cities. Their fathers used to work in Maputo and in the mines in Johannesburg South Africa, respectively. Their wages was not enough to cover school fees for their children. However, for this group of people, their wives worked in the cities as maids and from those in the rural regions by agricultural subsistence or commercial tasks, in this way enabling their children to attend school. Because of the colonial ruling system of the time, most part of the citizens in Mozambique was not allowed to live in the inner cities. The painter Mario Tique (40 years old, today 2009) expressed that ‘since I was born in Cabo Delgado province, my relatives came to live with me in Lourenço Marques, today known as Maputo City, till this very day’. However, because of the reasons I mentioned above, most artists started to go to school at a very late stage.
Thus Mário Tique highlights that ‘several young contemporary Mozambican artists do not know anything at all about the cultural history of their own fathers and grand-fathers’ because the colonial system did not teach the young citizen their cultural background at schools. They (artists) ‘remember’ only what they have learned from their mentors during their early life stage. This was because Mozambique had suffered from the colonial domination and also suffered 16 years of civil war between the Frelimo and Renamo factions, which came to cut out the dreams brought by Mozambique independence. Fitzpatrick (2007), emphases that;

The ongoing civil war that resulted [to the disruption], of Mozambique's economy, caused tens of thousands of deaths, and forced large numbers of people out of their homes and villages.

This war destroyed infrastructures, houses, families and many children were kidnapped to be soldiers or go into forced labour because the Portuguese colonialists and the Smith regime (from Zimbabwe) wanted to sabotage the Mozambican independence. Some of the children had to run from the rural areas in the provinces for refuge in the provincial capitals of Mozambique. Within all the war process, many aspiring young artists were lost (presumably killed during the war epoch) without having the opportunity to reveal their own artistic talent publicly. Some of the artists, who were kidnapped, ironically enriched themselves artistically because today they can reveal through their artistic creativity their sad experiences. As a matter of fact, there’s a young artist called Artur Vicente artistically known as Nhongwene, was kidnapped in 1985 in his own province, Zambeze. He lived with Renamo soldiers in the bush for five years without any contact with his family and friends. According to him, ‘it was complete trauma to be there’. Nowadays, he remembers the experience with a glow of sadness on his face. Nhongwene is one of many examples I could speak with while researching my thesis in today’s Mozambique.

The war of resistance, as it is well known, came to an end with the signed general Peace Agreement for Mozambique in 1992, 4th October (www.c-r.org) with a peace agreement signed between the two sides – Renamo and Frelimo - in Rome, Italy. Consequently, this war brought trauma to most of the Mozambican people and their children, particularly artists with whom I could talk to and whose experiences I could hear. Within this group of children, who presently
have grown, some living their lives as artists depicting experiences of their past as reflected on their artworks (e.g. paintings and sculptures).

Thus the other group of young Mozambican artists learned their art through hard work by helping the elders during their early lives. Some of them learned during their childhood by observing their parent’s work while playing nearby at home. This fact was explained to me by Mr. Daniel, the sculptor from Pemba, in Cabo Delgado province. He used to see his father working everyday while playing in the yard. He explained that, after some years of observing and playing in the yard:

I was sometimes called to help my father to carry the wood and do this and that at his carpentry. This fact helped me to experiment closely on how to work with wood. Thus after many years, my father passed on, I had to carry on his work because I am the eldest son at home. So there was a need to help my mother to take care of the house and to provide money for my younger brothers in case of illness and for them to be able to go school.

The lack of schools – Secondary Schools and Universities - ‘forced’ the children to become artists by acquiring the skills from the elders. The example of young Daniel in the region of Cabo Delgado province is similar to other adolescents. They started to familiarize themselves with wood and other types of material resources to produce sculptures in a very early stage in life. As a result, most young adolescents in Mozambique, after some years, became carpenters and at a later stage, skilled sculptors. Other children had to establish themselves in the cities, seeking a better life. However the present government is trying to increase the number of schools within the country. Daniels’ example is just one of many artist found within in Mozambique.

4.3 FORMAL EDUCATION

Mozambique itself is a very poor country but prosperous culturally. Most Mozambican artists come from poor family backgrounds with no formal schooling during the colonial period because of the ruling system at the time, which was not in favour of educating the citizens. Thus, most local artists, although not all, did not have formal education in their artistic formation/
career. Taking a look on the *artists' formal education*, firstly I have to agree with Bourdillon (1998), when he says that ‘there is a little academic learning among the sculptors’, in Zimbabwe which is Mozambique’s neighbour. Similarly in the [neighbouring] Mozambique the same situation arises with artists’ life experiences, such as in sculptors and painters' lives. Bourdillon’s point of view focuses on the artists in addition to their artworks. In clearer terms, he focuses on the artists and has some ideas about what makes some artists, artists and other artist craftsmen. However, the fact has to do with their artistic ‘training’ and ‘influence’ they had as junior artists. This means that the skills they have, were acquired from their daily life experiences of helping the elders at home, playing with neighbourhood friends or even at work in some cases.

![Fig. 20: The lack of art schools force Mozambican children to work in such situation where kids draw with coloured sand on the floor, from Malangatana’s Escolinha; Photography by: unknown.](image-url)
Some renowned artists like the famous Malangatana mentioned by the painter Dito, established Escolinha\(^\text{19}\) in order to help children to learn to discover and develop their talent. However, this act in my opinion, is futile, a ‘drop in the ocean’ because this unique ‘Escolinha’ opened by an artist, cannot benefit a country with more than 21 million people. However, looking at the other angle, serve as an example of someone who believes that from nothing, a nation like Mozambique for instance, can initiate a plan which can benefit the whole country in future and renowned artists as well.

Thus on the other hand, (Schneider, 1977: 63) explains on her studies that;

…Malangatana started a little school in his neighbourhood for children. For four hours each Sunday morning they gather with the artist on a vacant sandy stretch of land bordered with old tires. At the Escolinha, as he calls it, the children recite their own poetry, make up songs, hear tales, and are encouraged to make pictures of whatever they want. No materials? What’s wrong with brown sand for a drawing surface, and handfuls of special red and gray sand to fill in the lines or spaces? Why not use snuff boxes for wheels on that drawing of a car? Try outlining the sunflower with tiny pebbles - it makes it look brighter.

This it is just an illustration of the facts in the ‘Escolinha’ and, of what could be done in a place where there is no art school or material resources for art production because where there is poverty; creativity exists to sustain men’s life. Thus the Malangatana’s ‘Escolinha’ comes as a solution to the lack of material resources in the lives of younger artists. The main problem being is the conservation of artworks produced by those young artists in such conditions. Perhaps there are only two ways, in which I think are useful; first: the Escolinha allows the young artists to exercise their artistic skills and their mind by learning and expressing new things. The other form is to keep or to register those artworks for memories by taking photographic records of their work (see example above of fig.20), in order to allow other generation to see their works. This perhaps is a lesson for other artists to learn from; and why not the government as well.

However, at some stage of my field research, I questioned one of my interviewees amongst many of the sculptors I met, how could a man live his life as sculptor, without formal education; how

\(^{19}\) **Escolinha**: designation of school for children in Portuguese, here illustrates a not official school but private.
could you as Mozambican artist (sculptor) make a living with art? On this regard, the sculptor Nampoca, D. (April, 2009) answered by explaining that:

To make living with art in Mozambique it is a difficult thing to do, but with suffering no one can get used to it, but people live. That’s why all artists are struggling/fighting to produce and sell their artworks in whatever cost, in order to express ourselves as art producers and try to make living from art too.

Art production became a new way for Mozambican artists, inspiring them to make a living from it. For those who did not have a formal education, this was the best way to make a honest living. As a result of lack of education in certain art associations we may find art and curio mixed all together. This fact happens because most art producers do not know the differences between the two (art and curios) because as they have not had formal education, in the art field. The art critics are not visible in the art associations and elsewhere in Mozambique to help or guide them in this regard.

Throughout my field research in Maputo (South of Mozambique), while researching artists’ life histories, I met Gonçalo Mabunda, one of the most significant artists today. Gonçalo Mabunda is a sculptor of the new generation. His medium of work is wood and metal. I found him at his House gallery\(^{20}\) next to his artworks in the company of his invited guests. I had made an appointment to see him four days prior, he surprised with an opening exhibition of his latest creations. During our conversation, he told me that, he was born and raised in Maputo city. He started working at an early age at ‘Núcleo de Arte’\(^{21}\) as a delivery man. ‘Núcleo de Arte’ is situated in the inner city of the Mozambican capital, Maputo- at an area named ‘Bairro da Polana Cimento - A’. I asked him where he got the passion for being a sculptor. His prompt response was: “at work!” He then explained that he was exposed to many variable artists such as painters, ceramists and sculptors. He added to this by explaining that:

\[T\]he passion of creating sculptures, mainly started while I was working at the ‘Núcleo de Arte’ because I would observe my colleagues at work on what they were doing. One day I started to help them on sculpting wood and after some years, I was

\(^{20}\) House Gallery; it is a flat gallery created by the artist Gonçalo Mabunda as a solution of the lack of galleries in Maputo Gonçalo Mabunda.

\(^{21}\) ‘Núcleo de Arte’; is the centre of art - house - where most member artists of the nucleus meet in order to work creating their artworks.
also creating my own artworks. I never had a chance to go to an academic formal school because my relatives never got money to send me to. To be exposed to many artists ‘at Núcleo’, was practically my ‘school’ of art. This was because at Núcleo artists they work and help each other with same grounds. Thus all these facts, motivated my emotions artistically.

But Gonçalo’s main problem as any other artist face in contemporary Mozambique is the lack of material resources to create artworks. Thus, it’s obvious that when means are few creativity increases in our skulls. So artists use whatever kind of material resources that exist around them as means to create new objects, which are of course, works of art. Within this context, Gonçalo explained that, when the war between Frelimo and Renamo ended in 1992, the Conselho Cristão de Moçambique - CCM (Mozambique Christian Council), started the project of exchanging guns for working tools such as bicycles, sewing machines, hoes and so forth. A lot of weapons were confiscated and destroyed by the CCM. In this context:

I contacted them (CCM) in order to buy the destroyed guns. They accepted and I began to use these objects as material resources for my artistic creativity. Later on, I started to create sculptures made with these weapon materials (as art resources), of which I started to sell. Today, prominent people are still requesting me to do more this type of art.

This fact of using weapons as material resources to create art seems common amongst the lives of sculptures in contemporary Mozambique. This fact is supported by prominent people like Dr Daleep Mukarji, director of Christian Aid, when he says that: 'It's amazing to see how Mozambican artists build a culture of peace through creating fascinating sculptures from dismantled killing machines’ ([www.africafocus.org](http://www.africafocus.org)). This project encouraged people from rural areas in particular to exchange tools of death (weapons) with tools for living because they realized that now was the time to think about recovering what they have lost in the times of war.

The artists ‘enjoy’ using and experimenting mixed techniques and material resources on their production of artworks. Perhaps this is because Mozambican artists seem to be ‘exclusive’ in the use or choice of the material resources for the production of art. This may be as a result of the fact that Mozambicans were colonized by Portugal, whereas the neighbouring countries were not. Their life experiences are different in this regard. The use of guns as
material resources to produce sculptures by the sculptor Mabunda justifies this fact. However, similarities might exist in the way art is produced and treated.

When we are poor we do not care about complexities in our lives, we use all means close to us, to produce art-works in order to make money. So the whole process to make money, I call it art, because of the use of complex skills to obtain the end product, called artwork/s. I express through the metal artworks. Within this process, money substitutes as an “oil” because it is from this money that the artist can manage to buy the material resource for his art production. It allows him to buy food to eat. Thus without this ‘oil’ called money, I don’t think art and its artists could exist, they all walk hand in hand in our life;

Mabunda explained it during my visit at his studio which is his own house. He converted his own flat into a gallery, in Maputo-City. This came about as a solution to a shortage of galleries, since the Municipality does not create facilities and spaces for artists to own galleries or exhibit their art-works, especially in Maputo.

At some stage of my conversation with Mabunda, I asked him who motivated him to be and to continue living life as a sculptor. He firstly stared at me for a little while – perhaps because he knew that I am an artist as well – he shook his head (from left to right and vice-versa) as if to say no. Hence he answered by saying that:

My social condition to be born in a poor family background, made me learn things and grow up quickly in a very challenging way. I believe that my suffering led me to think about money at a very young age. The fact is that on my first job, I was exposed to various artists, which illuminated me into the world of art. This fact motivated me to learn to work and do art in a practical way because that was the only way I could manage to get more money to help myself, and in particular for my younger brothers, to send them to school. I did not learn art at any school because my father did not have money to send me to school at the time.

This fact is common in the lives of many Mozambican artists, because the colonial past did not provide artists with opportunities to have their formal education or even artistically. As a matter of fact, one of the painters, who asked to be anonymous, told me that ‘we are rich in creativity so much that we turn our poverty into something beneficial, mind you; soon people out there will give value to what Mozambique has generated, keep that in mind, sir’, he stated very enthusiastically. This positive attitude I could also observe on the faces of some Mozambican
artists, when they face a buyer of particular sculptors and paintings. They (artists) look ready to learn something new in their lives through their working career; e.g. the English language is one of the examples they have to learn through their art sale.

4.4 INFLUENCES AND SUPPORT TO BECOME AN ARTIST

In contemporary Mozambique, art and “culture has become a great public issue” (Kuper 2006: 186). This is because all members of Mozambican society constitute one culture which is recognized through its own behaviours, customs and habits. As I have mentioned before, the Mozambican art producers, during the Samora Machel’s leadership received a huge amount of ‘educational’ support, material resources and learned to work in cooperatives or associations right from the birth of Mozambican independence, in 1975. Most of my interviewees’ recall that they had at secondary schools a subject called ‘hand labour’ (trabalhos manuais). The ‘hand labour’, as the sculptor Nhampoka recalls, “was the foundation for the learners’ to learn the basics skills in order to express themselves artistically. This subject was the major influence into the learner’s life for those who had an opportunity to be sent to school at that period in time. Learners at those schools were receiving support directly from the government by the education Ministry. This fact did allow the young and poor artists to learn and develop their skills more quickly because at school all had the same right and opportunity to learn. Today those learners became recognized sculptors, painters or ceramist.

It could be argued that, in a country without ‘art and culture’ there is no life. Culture lives within people in the society and it’s revealed through interaction of individuals differing in relation to other societies. This is because art is currently reflected from the lives of the citizens, through the way in which most artists – painters and sculptors – perceive and live artistically. As I have mentioned before, the majority of those Mozambican artists come from a poor family background and they are reflexively aware of that. I mentioned in the previous section, that some artists practice art because they were influenced by their fathers, grandfathers, relatives, colleagues and neighbours artistically. Most of their art productions have certain links with their ‘teachers’ and ‘mentors.’ Their artistic differences however are what make cultures attractive
because Mozambican culture – art – is also beautiful and different (and exotic) in many ways. This aspect will be discussed in details within next chapter V.

Looking at support they received during their careers in order to become part of the contemporary art producers, it’s evident that artist produce their art for the sole purpose of a sale, while some are inspired produce works in order to convey a message. This could be in both cases their primary objective. However, the young artists in post Mozambique independence learned to work in cooperatives and associations. The institutions were introduced during the Samora Machel’s leadership epoch. It’s also important to understand that before the artists became skilled and professional art producers, they had received certain influences from their mentors and teachers. Some they received from their parents, people in their neighbourhood and friends. About this context, when I asked my interviewees what the main influences that made them aware of their artistic talent were. In order to answer this question, the sculptor Daniel recognizes the influences he gained from his mentor. This person recollects very strongly the influence that his father had on his future career when he expressed that, ‘my father was major influence in my life, without him I would not be an artist’. Even though the fact that I mentioned in the introduction of this section, not all artists recognize (accept) the helping hand that they received within their early age of their artistic career. The explanation for this fact is mentioned in section 4.1 above.

For those who had a chance to go to school, their life experiences are apparent through their art works. However most of the artists still do not recognize their teacher’s influence on their artistic career with the same reasons I mentioned above.

Thus as their art production is for sale, people buy their art-works because they see a certain beauty that carries a certain meaning which appeals to their taste. In this context, governmental and non governmental institutions, tourists and individuals who appreciate and purchase the artists’ work are the ones who give them more support. This is because the money they (artists) got from the sale, allowed them to buy material resources to continue to produce their artworks. This fact gives the artist the continuity to produce more art pieces allowing their patrons to appreciate their work and artworks.
The way Mozambican art is organized is not uniform as in other countries. As mentioned above, some artists in Mozambique are organised in art associations where they work in groups and they sell their artworks in those institutions (see below Fig. 21 and Fig. 22). Art producers working in associations, have control of; what they produce and sell, because they share in buying their art materials, income tax, water and electricity.

Fig. 21: Artists polishing his artwork, in the Arts Makonde Association, in Maputo. Photograph by; Sebastião Matsinhe/ 2009.
Despite all the facts Mozambique does not own any factory of material resources. Thus painters’ and sculptors live artistically depending on its neighbouring country, South Africa and other countries in Western Europe, where artists travel always to buy their material resources. In all provinces of Mozambique, there is at-least one House for Culture well known as *Casa da Cultura*. Those *Casa da Cultura* are neglected nowadays because the actual government does not look at them as was in the days of their implementation. Some local artists are making use of these houses as a form of valorise to their cultural heritage but using their own resources. They produce and sell their art productivity in those *Casa da Cultura* because they do not have other
alternatives, they do not own or have galleries in the provinces. The Mozambican Capital, Maputo owns amongst private and state 7 galleries.

4.5 ARTIST’S CURRENT LIVES

It is known that Mozambique is one of the poorest countries in the world with more than three quarters of the population living on less than $2 a day (www.africafocus.org). Therefore to be born in such a country and be an artist is a great challenge. Artists survive without having good management and material resources for their art production. In these prevalent conditions success will evade them. Artist without a good management system find it very difficult to go anywhere in the world of art. Mozambican artists encounter, shortages of material resources, galleries and shops from where they can buy the necessary material in their daily lives. As a consequence, the art producers do not have money to outlast their lives with success, financially.

Thus the artist’s life in present Mozambique is complex for all art producers in many ways. The first main obstacle is being a lack of schools of art in the provinces. This however excludes the capital Maputo, which has one school called Escola de Artes Visual (Visual Arts School), which is the foundation for education for the new generation of artists in Mozambique. Most art producers have grown up without formal education because of the problems of colonialism and war between Frelimo and Renamo. Today most young inspired artists face the lack of schools to develop their artistic creativity. This is because the leaders of the country do not see that education as a key instrument for any artist in society.

Thus the only source for most artists (painters) regarding art material in the south of the country is Johannesburg and Durban, in South Africa. That being said, it is not easy to bring art material from the South African Republic because of the taxes charged at Mozambican border/ frontier when entering in the territory. This fact is recognized by almost all my subjects, in particular painters. In this regard, during my interviews, the painter Chalucuane, on the current situation of the Mozambican art producers, explained that “the state of the Mozambican artists (painters) and

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22 Núcleo de arte; Instituto Camões; Associação Moçambicana de Fotografia; Instituto dos Brasileiros; BCI-Fomento; NEBA e Casa da Cultura do Alto Maé.
sculptors nowadays is the extreme struggle.’ This is because art in Mozambique is not valorised, so this fact explains the lack of its evolution and the follow up of its artistic creativity.

To illustrate the consequences of lack of better management on arts and material resources, some artists took initiative when the CCM introduced the ‘[a] project called Transforming Arms into Tools, which has collected more than 600,000 weapons in nine years, gets people to hand in old guns in exchange for goods such as sewing machines, building materials and tools. These weapons are then chopped up and used to build works of art’ (www.africafocus.org). Many producers of curios found that they could earn more money as artists and tried to establish themselves as such. The length of time taken to achieve a certificate or degree at school was not practical for them because they have grown and have family members to take care of.

Thus the most difficult thing seen happening is the success of the contemporary Mozambique art producers. Artists need to have a ‘god-father’ in order to receive any help from sponsorship. In this regard, some artists when discussing the issue of art and artist in Mozambique today, commented that art to ones success as artist depends to a large extent on your visible political affiliation; e.g. one of the artist named John Forna said that ’…if you are a Mozambican artist supported by Frelimo, you are a good artist, but if you are not, pity on you!’ This shows how the artist life is in today’s Mozambique. Thus as we could see in this section, most artists in post independence Mozambique had discovered ‘new’ ways and forms to make money in their lives because of the neglecting leadership.

Amongst other great challenges they (artists) face is the lack of legislation that defends and protects the art producers in Mozambique. However, the struggles have to continue in order to make this need happen. Most of my interviewees commented that ‘the largest part of our patrons and tourists ’steal our rights’ without our permission, by buying, taking photographs and selling them elsewhere’. This is because the art management and the government have other focuses which is not benefitting and protecting the work of the art producers in Mozambique.
4.6 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, most Mozambican artists did not have any formal education in their early life. This was due the fact of the colonial system at the time, did not give facilities to the citizens to go to school. However, most artists (the senior artists) did have their own ways of learning and developing their artistic skills and teach to their children. In this context, I could say that, the artists’ life experiences were harsh because of the colonial system which did not allow the art producers to work and express themselves freely. The war against colonialism regime, the civil war after independence between Frelimo and Renamo, natural calamities and now the HIV/AIDS pandemic also influenced their life. These factors culminated and inspired these artists to express their sentiment artistically. Some artists confirmed that they have learned from their parents, neighbours, and friends and through work experiences with colleagues during the process of having a helping hand at home. All these aspects show us that through suffering, artist/s have learned to be curatives, inventing new ways to bring forth what is buried within his/their soul and mindset.

The changing political landscape in Mozambique influenced the art producers in many ways. For instance, through the leadership of Samora Machel, the country had its first School of Art in 1983, which is named Escola de Artes Visuais (Visual Arts School). It is located by the road named: Rua do Bagamoio n.165 CP. 130 in the capital of Mozambique – at the inner part of Maputo City; The Eduardo Mondlane University, which opened the faculty of art only in 2006 – after 31 years of independence in Mozambique. Until the conclusion of the present study, there are no art schools in high school level in all the provinces of the country. This and other facts elucidate the lack of the Mozambican art producer’s evolution (academically) and the follow up of its artistic creativity. There is a need for more art education – both at matric level and at art colleges. Hopefully this will facilitate more young people to pursue careers in art.
CHAPTER V: ART PATRONS AND THEIR NETWORKS

To show appreciation, respect and understanding of other culture(s) does not require you to disown your own (Sebastião Matsinhe/2010).

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The overall aim of the thesis is to examine the process by which, artists in Mozambique produce artworks for the global market. Very few artists ever have a face to face encounter with the ultimate consumers of their art. A crucial element in the process of Mozambican art production and artworks for global markets is the presence and role of intermediaries. Intermediaries are very common in Mozambique, not only in arts but in other fields as well.

The role of intermediaries is widely expressed, and a course in a whole range of different fields. A comparison will be drawn on the use of different intermediaries to highlight the contextual relevance to art production and dissemination. Intermediaries in art come in the form of patrons and brokers among other things. In examining the aforementioned process a more focused look on the characteristics, ethos and negotiation prowess of the intermediaries will be examined as well the type of art they seek in our context.

In order to understand the popular role of general ‘intermediaries’ in Mozambique, three aspects are important:

a) Housing:

If a person is looking for a house to lease, rent, buy or even sell, the services of an ‘intermediary’ are solicited in order to give instructions on the terms of ownership or lease agreement to the owner or tenant. On the other hand, the seller contacts the ‘intermediary’ in order to find a customer for him/her to rent or even purchase his or her house. In this context, the intermediary is the individual who introduces the seller to the buyer and vice-versa. At the end of the negotiation, the ‘intermediary’ receives a certain amount of financial reward as commission for his or her services.
b) Travelling:

When a person needs to travel to a certain destination on vacation or business, a ‘mediator’ or an ‘intermediary’ will be asked to indicate the right mode of transport to reach the specific place. The ‘intermediary’ gains a commission for his services from the owner of the transportation (in some instances drivers).

c) Food purchase:

This is a vast and complex area where most intermediaries are operating, because, perhaps most people want to buy food for cheap, consequently the demand from the ultimate consumers is huge. An intermediary would be a principal key to indicate to the buyers (stock holders) the farms with the lowest prices. In this case most buyers are from bazaars or wholesalers, which buy products in order to re-sell to the eventual consumer. The intermediary at the end gets a commission from the buyer or from the farmer, depending on the elicitor.

In all the cases given above and presumable others, a mediator or intermediary carries certain special attributes, as Bochner (1981: 307) describes that a mediator or intermediary ‘as an individual who has systematic knowledge of more than one culture; as one who has skills that enable him to overcome the barriers to communication between actors who come from different cultural backgrounds; as a person who has a humanitarian concern for the well-being of the people he is mediating between; as one who respects the indigenous values of the societies he is operating in; and as a person who is concerned with preserving the core aspects of cultural systems undergoing social change’. All these attributes possessed by the mediator or intermediary constitute ‘personal qualifications’ that permit him/her to perform his/her ‘role effectively’, allowing him/her to make a living out of this skill.

Nevertheless, when we look at the world of art in particular, we can also notice that the role of such intermediaries is well recognized. And those intermediaries take on various different roles and/or positions. My focus is on the world of arts – paintings and sculptures - more specifically on the artists’ productivity and commercialisation of their artworks.
In order to understand what this chapter is all about, it’s important firstly to define the differences between patrons and brokers. According to Judy Pearsall (1999:1046), in the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* a Patron is ‘a person who gives financial or other support to a person, organisation, cause, etc’. This means that a patron is the supporter (sponsor) or investor of any project or cause, because he/she is the one who gives what is needed to get the project going. The (www.dictionary.reference.com), explains that a patron is a person who is a customer, client, or paying guest especially a regular one, of a store, hotel, or the like. It can also be an individual who supports an artist, writer, museum, cause, charity, institution, special event, or the like with money, gifts, efforts, or endorsements.

Thus looking at the phrase ‘broker’, Pearsall (1999: 177) describes the term, broker, as ‘a person who buys and sells goods or assets for others.’ It is also someone who arranges or negotiates a deal or plan. What Pearsall means is that, a broker is someone who is in between one party and another (e.g. artist and ‘the primary buyer’). This broker serves the interests of the ‘primary buyer’ and the interest of the sellers too. However, there are countless definitions of broker in this world we live in. In the en.wikipedia.org; for example: ‘broker’, is the ‘[p]urchaser of secondary materials who sells the materials to manufacturers. So brokers typically do not process raw materials for resale’ (www.edf.org). This means that, a broker can buy ‘raw material’ from a farmer and sell to the ‘manufacturers’ without ‘processing’ or modifying it. On the other hand, a broker can buy from the manufacturers to the supermarkets, e.g. the Pick n-Pay company, in South Africa, or a gallery owner is a dealer who works as a broker too. If we take a look at the context of transportation, a broker can be “[a]n intermediary between the shipper and the carrier. The broker arranges transportation for shippers and represents carriers” (en.logisticsplatform.com). To use another example to elaborate, we can give an example of a person who does service as delivery, which can be found in those who sell art and own galleries. Thus a broker can be a securities firm or an investment advisor associated with a firm. When acting as a broker for the purchase or sale of listed stock, the investment advisor does not own the securities, but acts as an agent for the buyer and seller and charges a commission for the

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23 The primary buyer; is the person or institutions who buys from the broker because he is the motive of the broker’s existence.
services.

In order to conclude, a broker, as we could see above, is a party that ‘mediates between a buyer and a seller.’ A broker who also acts as a seller or as a buyer becomes a principal party to the deal. A salesperson working for a security or commodity brokerage firm is popularly (but incorrectly) called a "broker." A broker in that context is, strictly speaking, an exchange member who is actually executing the purchase or sales order in the 'pit', on the exchange, as a service to the client of the firm for which that salesman works (O’Sullivan, and Sheffrin, 2003). Thus a broker as an agent: is a businessman who buys or sells for another in exchange for a commission which serves as remuneration for his work.

There are also other terms that I will be dealing with in my study which are: Dealer; Guide and Mediator also Intermediary which I have given examples of in the beginning of this section. According to Pearsall (1999: 368), a Dealer, is a person who buys and sells goods; a person who buys and sells shares or other financial assets as a principal (rather than as a broker or agent). Pearsall also defines Guide, as I explained above, as ‘a person who advises or shows the way to others’. A Guide knows the local situations and makes that knowledge available to the outsiders, he has expertise.

The other terms which Pearsall (1999), gives as his definitions are mediator and intermediary. A Mediator is a person who acts as a go-between two parts in dispute to bring about an agreement or reconciliation; it implies a dispute. In this regard, the term Intermediary carries the same significance as mediator. Within this context, Stephen Bochner (1981: 297) explains a mediator/s (or intermediaries) as someone (people) who can form ‘bridges over cultural gaps. Each person must walk across the bridge for himself/herself,’’ because ‘mediator/s or intermediaries are there as facilitators between a seller and consumer.

The artists in Mozambique refer to those characters as mediador or intermediario. In Mozambique these words are now common terms and apply in a whole range of different contexts. They seem to take on in a pronounced way in artworks like in markets such as
housing, food purchase and other areas such as art (commercialisation of art), which is in the context of the present theme.

To illustrate this fact, we can see in the following examples how intermediaries operate:

a) A person or a dealer in Europe which lives and works for instance in countries such as Portugal, France, England, Italy or Germany, travels to Mozambique with a clear knowledge of the type of artwork that is being preferred in those European countries. In Mozambique he/she will search and find the artwork of certain art producers and will decide to buy and go for good. The artist will never see him again. This means that he/she (the dealer or intermediary) decides where to buy and sell the artworks, but after purchasing, the art producer will never see him/her again:

b) The **intermediaries** who might play a very different role than maybe somebody who goes to a particular artist whose work that he/she likes. [For purposes of simplification I will use he to refer to the intermediary and to the artist in this instance.] Thus he ‘proposes’ to the artist that he will ‘promote’ him artistically and he will pay for ten or more of his artworks (not yet produced), he also promises to assess his artwork in order to promote him elsewhere. Then he suggests that the artist gives him some tips, but the artist will never be at the place/s from where his artworks will be traded.

c) The other **intermediary** or mediator is the guide, which is ‘a person who advises or shows the way to others’ to reach certain places to buy artworks from specific artists, perhaps in order to re-sell them. This is because a guide has expertise of the local situations (and makes that knowledge available to the outsiders).

d) The other **intermediary** or mediator, is the one who knows the art producers, and where to find good art material within the country (for sculptors) and internationally (for painters). This is because there are no formal shops for material resources within the cities but informal. Thus there is a need for existence of intermediaries to facilitate the artists to find and buy the material resources on one hand, and on the other hand, for the sellers to be able to sell because in these contexts, intermediaries work to benefit both sides.

This chapter focuses on *art patrons, brokers and dealers and their networking* mainly on their complex ways/ forms to reach/look for the art producers to purchase their art in Mozambique.
The discussion of the complex ways used by the artist’s patrons and brokers when they are operating to purchase artworks and influences they ‘give’ to the art producers, will give light of the hard work existing within the process; this part will also include the type of patrons they are looking for in particular. This means observing and discussing the concerns regarding the art patrons’ taste and their networks, in relation to their behaviour, when they are purchasing artworks from sculptors and painters in Mozambique. The discussion will start by asking who the patrons of Mozambique are.

In this chapter, I am going to try to show that although there are many, many artists – painters and sculptors - in Mozambique, only a few actually become well known and this is primarily due to the influence of various kinds of patrons. On one hand these patrons are influenced by the various Medias including internet which promote artists’ names nationally and/or worldwide. The media, particularly, the internet these days circumvents the patrons. On the other hand, some patrons are influenced by foreign people who used to work and live in Mozambique e.g. people such as ONU (in 1992-94) soldiers, foreign government co-operators and people working from Non-Gov. Organizations and so forth. However the tourists or the art patrons are the principal buyers; which include art dealers, brokers, gallery owners, museums, non-governmental and governmental institutions (art and culture), and singular individuals who buy art. My personal experiences as an artist and all these aspects above, hope to bring to the fore valuable contribution to the study.

Thus, in order to give sense to the aim of this chapter, the discussion will go around questions such as: how do patrons operate; how do the patrons influence artists? Why choose particular artists? But before focusing on all the questions above, it would be useful to look at discussing primarily who the patrons of Mozambican art are? The answers to these questions will allow us to see and understand how the patrons/brokers are influencing the Mozambican artists and their work nowadays. And at last, in this context of my doing research on this study and in my encounters as an artist, I will be discussing the role of art dealers in various perspectives.

24 Patrons; it includes Brokers, dealers and mediators or intermediary.
5.2 WHO ARE THE PATRONS AND BROKERS OF MOZAMBIQUE ART?

The world of the contemporary art market is an instrument that contributes to the cultural development of any society. “Contemporary art is bought in two main ways that appeal to quite different kinds of temperament” (Rocco and Thornton 2009: 6). This means that ‘the two main ways’ existing in the ‘contemporary art’ market is the principal method of movement of artworks [paintings and sculptures] from the art producer/s to perhaps ultimate consumer/s. According to Fiammetta Rocco and Sarah Thornton (2009: 6) the principal ‘way’ [within the two] is ‘the primary market’ because it offers the work that emerges from arts’ studios [directly from the artist’s studio] and often is displayed in a carefully curated gallery for exhibitions. They also explain that the ‘second way’, which is ‘the secondary market’, involves the resale of artworks, either throughout private dealers or art patrons and brokers. These people are, in most cases, the ones who make the artworks reach ‘ultimate consumers’.

In Mozambique nowadays, one can identify several different types of patrons and brokers. Hence local artists, sell their work to various types of buyers. Essentially, there are two main types of buyers: those who are once-off buyer/s (those who buy once and the artist will never see him/her again). These are mainly tourists and few local Mozambican private buyers. The other buyers are those who buy repetitively (they buy more than one time); these buyers are the key players with whom artists have direct contact. The artists’ claim that the once-off buyers are the most important because without them, they cannot ‘imagine’ what would happen to their career. Therefore most artist and cultural journalists I spoke to during my data collection emphasised that, ‘there is no doubt that tourists visiting Mozambique nowadays, are the principal art patrons and brokers buying local paintings and sculptures.’ Perhaps this is because the tourists’ action allows the art producers to buy more art/material resources to continue with their activities. This does not mean that tourists are the only ones supporting the artists, the citizens also support, local artists because they purchase their artworks but not as much as the tourists, comparatively. However, it is likely that those buyers who come time and again exercise the most influence over the kind of art that artists produce. I will discuss this point of influence later in the section 5.4.
In accordance to the context above, I will discuss in greater detail who these art patrons and brokers are. However, I am not going to talk about them all at the same time because in order to make it comprehensible, I have divided them (the art buyers) into categories. The categories are based upon the ways they are operating within Mozambique:

a) **Local institutional buyers** (local individual buyers, Government [Ministries], etc);

b) **Tourists buyers** (embassies and individuals);

c) **Dealers** (local and foreign dealers and Non-Governmental Organizations);

d) **Local Agencies** (they help the tourists and institutions to mediate e.g.: mediators or intermediaries).

These are people who buy local artworks...they are the most important ones because they have the most influence on what kind of art is produced in contemporary Mozambique. Most of these art dealers’, art patrons and brokers coming from various parts outside Mozambique, since the minor number are citizens living within the country, comparatively. The last group of art patrons and brokers, in particular, are the art collectors working as Local Agencies. These Agencies are people which, as McLeod stated by (Bochner, S. (1981:3) that their ‘mediating role is institutionalised’. These agencies are well connected with various artists and local institutions such as banks, companies, embassies, NGOs, and so forth. This last group (art patrons and brokers); operate with certain well connected “guides” which are individualities, more renowned in Mozambique as *intermediarios* or *mediadores* (intermediaries or mediators) as explained in chapter III.
5.3 PATRONS AND THEIR NETWORKS

In suggesting ways to read contemporary African artworks, Okwui Enwezor (1998:33) looking at the past, critiques approaches, of racial differentiation of art producers on the African continent, suggested that one should instead question how diasporic migrations have affected artists and art-making in Africa. Accordingly, Enwezor (1998:33) suggests that this condition of displacement can serve as a metaphor for what today's African artists represent. This displacement is further understood as affecting contemporary cultural practice as African artists are seen to bring about “different attitudes and experiences to the zones where they trade” (Enwezor 1998:34). Within this regard, Mozambique is not an exception to Enwezor’s viewpoint because Mozambican artists do experience various things as mentioned earlier during the process of commercialisation of their artworks.

Mozambican art is well recognized worldwide and creates a centre of attention for most people, particularly the foreigners who visit the country. In light of the foregoing, Mozambique has since been affirmed as the cultural pole with increasing interest on the international front due to its cultural diversity such as archaeology, painting, sculpture (mapiko mask), music (Marabenta, Tufu dance e Timbila sound), food (Mathapa, Cacana, Xima, Sea food), and so forth. Thus historically, Mozambique is known as Terra da Boa Gente [Land of Good People] (www.mga-plmj.com); on one hand because of the warm and charming way in which its people welcomes visitors into the country and on the other, the extensive reach within its diverse cultural background. Of the many visitors to Mozambique, it is usually the tourists who seem to be the main patrons and brokers of the Mozambican art. The tourists’ attitude towards local art demonstrates their love for it as they are willing to pay any quoted price for paintings and sculptures in order to take these artworks to their home countries. Consequently Mozambique owns various exotic art, produced by local artists despite the fact that there are no formal art-training schools provided for art production within the country.

Mozambique does not have a proper law to control the commercialisation of local art. This is the case, as I have mentioned before and emphasised by Mr. Gilberto Cossa who is the National Director of Arts, in the Ministry of Education, because in Mozambique there is a ‘lack of
knowledge between curios and art’. Therefore, most art patrons and brokers do their work in a clandestine way. In this regard, the network used by the art patrons is widely not inspected by the state leaders or Government. Some tourists do as they please’, principally those who are the potential buyers of paintings and sculptures, which are the patrons and brokers of contemporary Mozambican art. Most of these art patrons and brokers enter Mozambique using tourist and other kind of visitors’ visa, but what they solely do is business. This is because while visiting the country they use certain local mediators or intermediaries to contact certain recognised artists, whose details they know through the media prior to their arrival in Mozambique. Hence it is clear that the tourists’ intention - particularly the art patrons - is to purchase many local artworks as possible in order to take them back with them to their native countries or required destinations.

With regard to the preceding issue, during my research study in Mozambique, I asked some of my interviewees (tourists and journalists) this question: what types of networks are used by the art patrons and brokers to buy local paintings or sculptures in contemporary Mozambique? The answers I found were all similar. However, to give an idea of what I found, the journalist António Sala explained that “few institutions like Mozambique Telecommunications (TDM), Art National Museum in Maputo, Banco Comercial Investimentos (BCI) and of course some embassies and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), to mention but a few, own ‘galleries’ through which they buy and are continuing to purchase Mozambican paintings and sculptures.” Some of these institutions have drawn certain projects which serve as a strategy to ‘promote’ Mozambican art producers. The strategy, on one hand, consists of allowing their institutions to own a space called ‘gallery’ in which the organisation gives opportunity to certain artists to exhibit their artworks – sculptures and/or paintings - and permitting them to sell. Within this process, some ask for a commission for each artwork sold, and others don’t charge. On the other hand, however, in some of these institutions various art patrons and brokers (from abroad) are well connected to purchase local arts from artists. Therefore under certain protocols signed between these local institutions and those from abroad, the art patrons and brokers use these institutions as a vehicle to get and buy artworks from Mozambique without payment of any tax.

25 Journalists; they know and own a lot of information regarding commercialisation of artworks within the country because they cover almost all the relevant aspects of such happenings in Mozambique.
26 Certain; those artists well connected and who can get a sponsor to create his own artworks to exhibit.
Perhaps these local institutions get their profits in the process. This kind of art network is very confidential and is the preferred one by foreign art patrons and brokers probably because it’s the “officialised” system.

Another network used by the art patrons and brokers includes the private and state ‘galleries’. Most of these ‘galleries’ do not have proper facilities such as lighting and air condition. Those galleries that have these facilities are dysfunctional. To illustrate this fact, during my research study, I visited the Núcleo de Art, in Maputo city; which is not an exception to such problems (see Fig.23 below). However it is the most famous and preferred gallery for art patrons in general, because artists are members of Núcleo de Art, which maintains an association function for artists and allows them to be seen live at work. Thus it allows the art buyers to see how paintings and sculptures are produced.

Fig. 23: The Núcleo de Art’s gallery, in Maputo. Photograph by: Sebastião Matsinhe/2009.
The above figure, illustrates the interior of the *Núcleo de Art’s Gallery* giving us an idea about the lamps that are off and in this case nonexistent as is depicted above in Fig. 23.

In the capital city of Maputo, there are less than ten (10) known galleries for art exhibitions. Amongst them, it is only the ‘Associação Moçambicana de Fotográfía’ (Mozambican Association of Photography) which is a unique gallery where an artist pays the amount of 1,500.00MTs (an equivalent of R375.00) per day in order to be able to exhibit his/ her own artworks. Furthermore the artists have to bring along to the exhibition their own catalogues/leaflets; posters; invitations; nibbles; and a person to work in the exhibition (as a salesman). All this serves as an attraction for the art patrons and brokers to buy. Other institutions such as Instituto Camões (from the Portuguese Embassy) and Mediateca do BCI – Fomento (From the Investment Comercial Bank), offer everything except posters and the artist’s performing fee. However, their leaflets are very poor with lack of the artists’ information such as biography. They spend less money to host an exhibition because they are not the exclusive ultimate consumers. They always have their secondary consumer (buyer) who goes to re-sell those artworks elsewhere from where they gain the profits. Those galleries are the main official “network” for the art patrons in the capital of Mozambique, in Maputo because they are recognised and well advertised in local media and in Mozambican embassies abroad. They are a good spot for local and foreign art patrons to purchase paintings and sculptures from.

The system existing within the networks does not allow the art patrons and brokers to tell the art producers if they are the ultimate consumers or if's they are going to re-sell them (sculptures and paintings). As we could see above, the concern of Mozambican institutions in relation to paintings and sculptors, there also exist a few singular citizens who are considered art brokers using the same networks. Some are even art collectors whose collections are appreciated by the visiting art patrons and brokers. It is also from the art collectors where some art patrons and brokers receive better information about the life history, artworks, artist’s origin, and present location of specific local art producers. This is one of the very secure networks for the art patrons

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27 Galleries; *Núcleo de Arte; Instituto Camões (at Portuguese Embassy); Associação dos Brasileiros (at Brazilian Embassy); Espaço Joaquim Chissano; Associação Moçambicana de Fotográfía (Private); Museu Nacional de Arte (State); Casa da Cultura do Alto Maé; Fortaleza do Maputo (Eduardo Mondlane University) and Kaphumo dos CFM (Company).
and brokers, because they meet the artist after obtaining good information about the artist’s background and his work.

In conclusion, according to the sources, and my encounter as an artist who lived and studied in the south of Mozambique – in Inhambane province and Maputo City - can say that there are three (3) main networks used by the art patrons and brokers to purchase artworks: (a) galleries linked to institutions; (b) the mediators or intermediaries from the Agencies who indicate the ways to reach the artists’ workplaces, as Mozambican painters and sculptors do not own galleries, they work from their homes (artists’ studios), (c) and the art-collectors. These 3 types of networks exist and can be found operating from the North Rovuma to the South of the Maputo River. However, they’re centred largely in the capital of the country, Maputo.

5.4 HOW THE PATRONS INFLUENCE ARTISTS

Art is a form of expression; therefore culture is a combination of various forms of expressions of a particular nation, people or group (Sebastião Matsinhe/2011).

Mozambique is recognized for the traditional weaponry sculpture, in the south, and wood carving produced by the Makonde group in the north. Talking about Mozambican tradition Fitzpatrick explains that:

[using] hardwoods (primarily mahogany, ebony, and ironwood), the Makonde fashion masks and sculptures known as family ‘trees’, large depictions of various figures that tell stories of generations. Mozambique also has produced several well renowned contemporary artists, including Malangatana Gwenha Valente, whose large canvases depict conflict between colonial culture and native culture. Two contemporary sculptors are Nkatunga and Alberto Chissano²⁸ (M. 2007: 20).

However, today (year 2010) after 35 years of independence, countless painters and sculptors are producing and revealing in this way, various messages from their past and future ideal thoughts, by the artists of this Terra da Boa Gente (Land of Good people), named Mozambique. Thus Mozambican citizens and its artists portray these cultures through their art, which is then bought by its art patrons and brokers in various ways.

²⁸ Alberto Chissano; (1935-1994)
Gordon Mathews (2000:1) suggests that using the different terms of the word, 'culture', is problematic. Mathews (2000:1) and Alexander, and Seidman, (1990:211), elaborate, suggesting that “culture can't easily be thought of as something that people in a certain place on the globe have or are in common, as opposed to other peoples elsewhere” due to the “massive global flows of people, capital and ideas” today (Mathews 2000:2). This is because the globalized world we live in today allows these flows of ‘capital and ideas’ to move from one culture to another permitting exchanging of their experiences and differences.

Discussions on the 'roots' or 'routes' of an artist, idea and perhaps even technique and style can hence be seen to add to the complexities of categorizing Mozambican artists and their artistic production in the context of postcolonial, independent Mozambique. The notion of a “national identity”, unity and loyalty to nation is, according to Mathews (2000:7), a relatively new notion in human history. In fact, Mozambique after achieving its own independence has shown that it is no exception to other African countries in particular, in relation to this view of the ‘new notion’. This view suggests that the notion of mass loyalty existed towards one's immediate community rather than to a 'nation' (Mathews 2000:7). This is because a ‘nation’ is constituted by various ‘communities’ which are the core in their own specific cultures but those same ‘communities’ together, are the ones that constitute a ‘nation’ as a whole as being referred to in this case study, being Mozambique.

In contemporary Mozambique, as I have mentioned before, despite lack of factories producing art material resources, there is in addition no legislation that regulates the movement of art within the country. There is a lack of art schools in the provinces; a lack of artists’ own galleries within provincial cities (even in the Capital Maputo) and so forth, where the art producers continue to create their own artworks to sell. Thus talking about the lack of legislation regulating art, which perhaps could allow a better circulation concerning art commercialisation within the contemporary art producers, Carol Pearce (1993) pointed out that the policy of not providing formal training, or any kind of art criticism, resulted in much repetition in themes and style in the art. This fact makes the local artists vulnerable to the various desires from their art patrons and brokers.
In response to Pearce’s complaint of repetition and a lack of creativity, we might notice that art is always a product of circumstances and the creativity of artists is always constrained by their social contexts (see Wolff 1974: 137f.). A meeting between Zimbabwean sculptors and international markets is a social context that produces a particular type of art (Bourdillon: 1998:02). The types of art images can be represented in various forms. Likewise, Mozambican artists have the same positive experiences as their neighbours, the Zimbabweans. Thus the Mozambican local and international institutional buyers such as, tourists’ buyers, dealers and Agencies are the main art patrons and brokers of those images of art, in contemporary Mozambique. These buyers are crucial because they have the most influence on what kind of art is produced by the Mozambican artists. This is because the artists produce artworks in order to be able to sell and gain some remuneration from it.

However, during my research study, in order to find out how the art patrons and brokers influence Mozambican artists, I explored amongst (artists) to see those who are able to sell and those who do not, by trying to find the answers to these questions:

- Does the art patron favour paintings or sculptures?
- What kind of medium do they seek to favour?

In regard to these questions, the general answer I found from my interviewees is that, the art patrons and brokers favour both – sculptures and paintings. However, five workers from the Mavalane International Airport, in Maputo, a frontier from where most tourists enter and exit after visiting the country, confirmed that ‘most tourists, on their way out from the country, are seen carrying Mozambican art objects such as paintings and sculptures’. After I confirmed that tourists buy and take the artworks to their home countries, I posed the same questions to other sources such as art producers and cultural journalist.
Sculptures:

Though, talking specifically in relation to sculptures, the answers I found from the artists and journalists I spoke to was that ‘the art patrons and brokers have a preference on buying artworks made from *Pau Preto* (black wood) from the north of Mozambique and also from *Pau Rosa* (pink wood). Artists, however use other means such as wooden, stones, ivory sculptures (see fig. 8) from different types of material resources they put together (claw shells, gums) to create artwork which is found within the country. They purchase these artworks in small sizes’ because of the cost of weight to pay for those who need to take out from the Mozambican Republic (air travel). Mr. Gil Filipe, who is the Mozambican cultural journalist of the daily *Notícias* newspaper, answered in the following way: “it’s obvious that most tourists favour to buy the small sculptures but they also purchase oil paintings (on canvas) just because it’s easier for the traveller to carry them [the artworks] in rollup”. It is not easy to distinguish which type of artworks buyers seem to buy more of. Black wood sculptures are bought a lot more prevalently and second to that is ivory according to the artists who were interviewed.

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Fig. 24: A Makonde sculptor creating his ivory statuette.
The art patrons and brokers operating in Mozambique are known as *Países Baixos* (countries such as Holland, Denmark, Finland ...). Art patrons from this group of countries are preferred by the local art producers mainly because they have been known to buy much more art since the time of Samora Machel’s leadership (from 1975 - 1986) and they continue to do so today but relatively not as much as before perhaps because the Mozambican political system has changed (see Chapter II). Moreover, many artists seem to like ‘the art patrons and brokers from these countries of *Países Baixos* because they do not ask for discount prices when they purchase artworks in Mozambique. The people from these countries were also the ones who visited Mozambique more frequently after independence. Therefore, their direct links with Mozambican artists still persist today because their patronage of local art persuades the art producers to be willing to work harder on their art activity.

Nevertheless, what these art patrons and brokers mostly buy is oil canvas and small sculptures in variable sizes (from 10cm to 45cm high x 3cm to 20cm large); and their weight varies depending on the type of material resources used to create the artwork. It’s also important to remember that the involvement of these countries in purchasing Mozambican art offers great support to the local art producers in Mozambique.

In the north of Mozambique, the art Makonde29 sculptor Mr. Atanázião Daniel who is also a speaker of the Associação de Artes Makonde (Arts Makonde Association) said that “most of us sculptors are able to sell more *Pau Preto’s* (black wood) sculptures. This is perhaps because the tourists see certain beauty on the artworks made of this type of resources.” Therefore, talking about the quotation prices used in their art association, Mr. Daniel explained that “our prices as an association and even my own, in particular, vary from 250-00 Meticais up to 3,000-00 Meticais (equivalent to R62-50 up to R750-00) because we stay and work here in the province and it is close to where we get material resources”. He also clarified that if they were living and working in the capital city of the country, it is obvious that the prices could be much higher because of the cost of transportation, material resources and tax.

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29 Art Makonde; it is from Associação Artes Makonde (Arts Makonde Association), in Cabo Delgado Province.
Regarding art patrons and brokers another sculptor, also coincidentally called Daniel from a different Art Association, explained that:

There are some foreign people who come to buy my sculptures every four or six months. They buy 12 up to 20 sculptures from our Art Association every time they come, but they never tell us what they are going to do with such an amount of artworks. However, my colleagues and I suspect that they own galleries where they go to resell them.
When I interrogated him further on whether he ever asks his patrons what they do with the art they buy from him, he quickly answered by saying, “we don’t want to lose our customers and I think if we ask them they will stop purchasing our sculptures”. This actually confirms that indeed artists are influenced by their patrons.

The sculptor Mabunda\(^\text{30}\) pointed out that ‘the American tourists mostly buy more weaponry art or metal iron sculptures’ (see example Fig.26 below) from the project named *Transformação de Armas em Objectos de Arte* (Transformation of Weapons in Art Objects), maybe because they are the world leaders in weaponry production.

\[\text{Fig. 2: Mabunda, Without Inscription. 2009. Maputo.}
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\[\text{Photography by: Amâncio Miguel/ 2009.} \]

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\(^{30}\) Mabunda; he is a sculptor working basically with metal and weaponry material confiscated by the Mozambique Christian Consul (CCM) project.
However, when asked about the arts that art patrons favour most, the sculptor Fiel dos Santos, 37, who is a member of Núcleo de Arte in Maputo, said:

…the artist lives in the moment and this means many African artists get lost in trying to sell their work to the West. It is an illness. I think art should be innovative, not only for consumption. So much African art is just made to be sold. I don't appreciate this, and I don't get involved in it. Art and creativity should bring a spiritual feeling of well-being which is not in relation to consumption. Art should become someone's livelihood. It should sit alongside other aspects of your life. Its benefits aren't just to do with making money.

Fiel dos Santos and Mabunda are extremely able artists, with the ability to produce remarkable visual elements that permit us to share their points of view. We are particularly fortunate to find a Mozambican artist who can portray inspirations and impressions with such force and excitement, and who still retains his cultural identity and also integrity. This fact came out as phenomenal amongst the Mozambican art creators because the local sculptors have now found or added a new innovated way of expression, after the civil war in the 1990s. As we can see in the examples below (see Fig.27 and Fig.28 below), it is possible to observe that the sculptures of Fernando Rosa and Gonçalo Mabunda, respectively, tell a fascinating story.

![Fig.27: Mabunda. Gonçalo. *Without Inscription*, 2009. Maputo.](image1)

![Fig. 28: Motociclista (Motorbike). 2006. Maputo.](image2)

\(^{31}\) Timbileiro. Male dancer of traditional sound made or created by Timbila instruments.
Fig. 30. Fiel dos Santos. _Dançarino (Dancer). 2009. Maputo._
Images taken: [www.africaserver.nlnuncleloeng](http://www.africaserver.nlnuncleloeng).

The Figs. 27; 28; 29; and 30 are some examples of weaponry artworks of Mozambique which most art patrons and brokers like to buy in small sizes to take to their countries.
PAINTINGS:
As I have mentioned before, the art patrons and brokers prefer paintings and sculptors when they meet Mozambican art. Therefore taking a close look at the commercialisation of paintings, art producers and journalists told me that tourists are more inclined towards buying the oil canvas, because they can take the artworks bought without the frame unlike the water colours and acrylic. In this context, the painter Dito said, “I like to work using oil on canvas because it is the only way I can satisfy my customers”. Then he continued to explain that his art patrons like to buy small size paintings. Therefore “the maximum size I paint is 55cm x 60cm” because it allows the art patrons and brokers to remove from the stretch and rollover to travel with securely”, he explained. He shared also that he works on massive canvas, murals and other materials.

Fig. 31: Dito, in action working at studio of a Museum, in Maputo. Photography by: Mario Checo/ March 2009.
The painter Dito, who was busy creating his artwork at international workshop behind the National Art Museum – in Maputo, explained that the painting he was working on when I met him (see picture on the Fig. 31), would cost USD 1500-00 (one thousand five hundred American dollars). He did not explain why that exact picture has to cost that amount.

Thus the prices vary from artist to artist depending on where they get the material resources from. Different artists sell differently in accordance to their exposure. Those with more exposure are the ones who are able to sell more and the price does not count as much. It can be ‘expensive’ or not but if the painting is from or has a renowned background and recognition from the media, the art patrons and brokers will buy with satisfaction. Those with no exposure will encounter difficulties to sell; they won’t be able to sell much of their artworks. However, when I asked the painter Walter Zand to comment on this issue, that is, if he sells because he is well known by the media and tourists and he responded by saying, “I think I sell because of the titles I give to my artworks, not because I am renowned.” He answered in this manner to show that he does not believe in exposure but in how he does his work, which is the effort he puts into it. From preceding articulations it is clear that while other art producers think that their sales depend on their own effort, others believe that exposure is very necessary in this regard.

So one might ask, what makes the work of those who sell, different to those who don’t sell? In trying to address this question I would not say the artworks of those who are able to sell are more beautiful, because there are countless good and beautiful artworks of various art producers in the whole of Mozambique. As stated by Henry Adams (2009)\textsuperscript{32} ‘....the media needed not just art but a story about art’. This perhaps is the point, but I believe that, what makes the differences are the ways in which media promotes local artists and their art as well.

In conclusion, looking specifically at the contemporary commercialisation of the Mozambican art (paintings and sculptures), all twenty informants agreed that ‘the tourists are the principal patrons and brokers of the Mozambican art’ of modern times. Therefore, the art producers tend to produce art (in small sizes) that satisfy their art patrons and brokers. This is the only way they can be able to sell. As the tourists favour small sculptures, the artists produce that type of

statuettes. This demonstrates that artists in general do appreciate the foreign customers more but they’re “forced” to satisfy their buyers’ demands because tourists never discuss the price of the artwork they buy. This excludes the Portuguese brokers and the Mozambican buyers because of the reasons I explained above.

However besides all the influences existing within the art producers’ process, “[a]rtists often resent the huge profits those collectors can make by reselling their work” (Thornton, 2009: 7) elsewhere. This is because art producers always ‘suspect’ and other artists know about the existence of brokers who are buying Mozambican art in order to resell expensively outside the country while they themselves remain poor. This reality is faced by almost all contemporary art producers, in Mozambique.

The sad aspect in this regard, is that the local art patrons and brokers (which are the institutions and individual buyers), when negotiating any local artwork from the artist, in order to be able to buy, are always asking for discounted prices. This influences the artists to valorise their work only to sell for the tourists. However, one of the artists I interviewed questioned, “how can local institutional buyers ask for discount price to buy a painting or sculpture and most foreigners never ask?” It’s a question with no immediate answer. However, the questions allow us to see and reflect about the existence of a “mystery” behind the visible exploitation which is perhaps that the art patrons and brokers buy artworks elsewhere to resell them thus making it virtually impossible to point out who the ultimate consumer will be all the more while the artists wallow in poverty.

5.5 WHY PARTICULAR ARTISTS ARE SUCCESSFUL

The life of an artist in the art market is very complex work. In order to explore and discuss the reason/s why particular artists, initially I have to acknowledge with Brian Larkin, when he states that “media is a figure prominently in creating interconnections between different peoples who can now consider alternative lives based not on experiences in their own locality but on a range of experiences brought to them through [national and] international mass media. As more people throughout the world see their reality through the prisms of possible lives offered by the mass
media,” Appadurai in Larkin (1997: 410) argues that contemporary ethnography must now expand to find ways of understanding the social reality of imagination. This is because the ‘media’ have been giving a lot of coverage towards a smaller number of artists and not the rest.

One of the major obstacles for the better interaction amongst the art producers in contemporary Mozambique is the lack of infrastructures such as roads and public transport from rural areas to the cities and vice-versa, and art galleries in the provinces. The few means of transport existing are very expensive to transport lots of artworks and goods. The money the artists get from the selling of their individual sculptures and paintings in the provinces is for their own subsistence. In this context, the art producer Idasse Tembe during my in-depth conversation with him said that ‘the Mozambican folks are an adult people – with more than three decades (today 35 years) – of being independent from European colonisation. So artists produce art themes that dignify their daily cultural life but we do not gain much due to travel expenses. Hence some tourists and Mozambican art buyers come to us to purchase our artworks’. This fact is an obstacle for the art development amongst artists in the country because of the lack of political will of those ruling Mozambique. Therefore, there is no easy existence of interaction amongst local artists living in the capital Maputo and those in the provinces.

Thus those artists living in the cities, in particular, mostly are the ones privileged to be given/receive sponsors by the local companies to exhibit their artworks and hence to be promoted by the media. Media is a powerful instrument/way to help the artists gain exposure for their work. So, those artists promoted by the media, mostly are the ones visited by the art buyers, in particular tourists into their work places (studios) because their names are exposed in newspapers, magazines, TV, radio and most importantly, on the internet travelling far through those means. Therefore people, who are in contact with media, comment about what they see, read and hear from those various channels concerning artists’ names and their artworks. Thus the consumers of the media while talking about those artists’ names; they advertise them and their artworks. Unfortunately, this fact does not happen to those artists living and working in the provinces because the media rarely visit them. This is the principal fact that brings the artists’ differences, but not their artworks. This is because all artists’ work is beautiful for the art buyers but not all artworks are being given or have the same opportunity to be promoted by the media.
Hence, this is a great challenge for this group of art producers living and working in the provinces trying to sell.

5.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter focuses on art patrons, brokers, dealers and their networks to meet the art producers and their artworks. In this context, there are two markets to take into consideration. Primary market which offers us the product from the art studio directly from the artist’s hands and; the secondary market, which involves the re-sale of the artworks throughout the private dealers, art patrons or even brokers. So these two parties are the ones who make the artworks reach the ultimate consumer/s.

In the Mozambican context, artists in the provinces have less opportunity to be visited by the buyers because of the access which is not favourable due to the bad condition of roads. In that regard, there are not able to sell comparing with those living in the cities. In this context, intermediaries and mediators are very influential between the art producers and the ultimate consumer. Looking at Pershal’s explanation, I can conclude that the term Intermediary carries the same significance as mediator because both help the seller and the ultimate buyer. However, the influence of the media including the internet appears in between the buyer and the artist as the principal “instrument” that promote artists and their artworks. The media is the one who make some artists to appear more successful than others. This is because media is a more influential instrument into people’s lives.

The reasons why some artists are able to succeed more than others, is due to the use of intermediaries, mediators, and the media. The media, promote the art producer and their artworks, therefore, they are able to sell more or less, however they do sell. Other artists who do not use intermediaries find creative ways to sell their artwork such as going to potential buyers.
CHAPTER VI: CHANGING ART FASHIONS, THEMES AND TRENDS.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

“The world we live in today is characterized by a new role for the imagination in social life. To grasp this new role, we need to bring together the old idea of images...” (Appadurai, 1996: 31) and see how they are presented in the contemporary art world. It is by bringing up the ‘images’ of the ‘old ideas’ into the contemporary art world that is needed to contextualise the themes and trends in the artworks produced by the artists today for a better understanding for the future generations about the past history of their country.

It is obvious that Themes and Trend in the Artworks of the contemporary Mozambique have been changing through time because culture is also dynamic in our societies. I mean societies as Pearsall (1999: 1362) explains that society is the aggregate of people living together in a more or less ordered community. Within this regard, Mozambique as a country owns or it’s constituted by various local ‘communities’ owning different cultural backgrounds. Thus the Mozambican art producers’ have been producing variable artworks in accordance with the effects of what society is offering them. E.g. if there is war, new governance system, new fashion around certain community or natural calamities in the country, the artworks produced will reflect those facts and calamities, therefore their themes will also be related. If society suffers from deprivation of peace caused by governance system, political reasons, and hunger, the art will reflect it too; if it is love, the themes and trends will be centred on peace, harmony and so forth. All the themes and trends exist as result of social facts or interaction and imaginaries which are brought up by the artist in form of artwork – sculpture and painting. The types or forms in which artworks are produced, is the way of expression of variable facts happening within the society/community in a form of artwork/s because the artist is there as the “vehicle” to bring up those themes and trends to the society [or societies] in general.

This chapter focuses and discusses on the artworks produced by local art producers. It explores how different themes and trends have been influencing the artists’ lives and hence their artistic
products since the pre-independence times, particularly from 1962 up to the birth of Mozambique independence in 1975, all the way until 2010. Therefore, the focus in chapter (VI) is the themes and trends driving Mozambican art. This chapter is constituted by four main sections in which I discuss various aspects concerning with types of themes produced. The final section of the chapter draws the conclusion of the chapter six. However, in order to understand the whole content of the chapter, it would be better to begin by looking at and exploring the types of art themes produced for sale in Mozambique. Thus the five sub-sections contained in the chapter start from the year 1962 until the year 2010 where the themes and trends of products for sale in these distinct time periods of the contemporary commercial art are explored and discussed.

6.2 TYPES OF ART THEMES PRODUCED FOR SALE IN MOZAMBIQUE

The aim of this section is to show how the social changes in Mozambique are reflected in artworks. These changes are quite apparent through the history of how Mozambique produces art for itself. However, during the contemporary period, we have to acknowledge the buyers’ preference of the particular things they want with respect to artworks. However, we all know [through books, art objects and music] that Mozambique has been visited by Asian traders, Portuguese colonisers and today, as we live in a globalised world which is rich in technology, people continue to visit the country, particularly foreigners and tourists who buy artworks. As a result, many of the artists in Mozambique have been exposed to European influences through the various church missions, or through exposure to graphic or industrial design, [clothing fashion] and cinema. In this context, Betty Schneider (1976: 24-26), explains that while people were accepting the new western fashion influence in their lives:

Some artists reject these outside influences while others accept them as they accept any symbols of a language - simply as a useful means of expression. As with any artist, African or European, communication is extremely important and if he needs to borrow from another culture to make his point he doesn't hesitate to do so (Schneider, 1976).33

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Thus in this globalised world we find ‘multiple hybrid cultures’ that are created because of experiences obtained during the socialisation and commercialisation of art amongst different cultures. All the artists’ experiences are expressed through their art in various forms, in the context of the study, specifically paintings and sculptures. The picture by the painter Sebastião Matsinhe, entitled The Technology and Hunger in the (Fig.32) illustrates how the artist sees the influence of outside power, of experimenting with things and its consequences on human life.

What is found is that the ‘themes and trends’ are not all originally from Mozambique. Although all paintings and sculptures, are created or produced as a result of social interaction where people’s experiences are ‘obtained’ by the local artists during the different stages of their socialisation as citizens (artists) of Mozambique.

However, it is important to remember that before Mozambique become independent, it was governed by the Portuguese colonialists until 1975. In 1962 the citizens organised themselves better and fought against foreign Portuguese colonialists and the struggle culminated with victory in September 1974 and the proclamation of the Independence of Mozambique was achieved on
June 25th 1975. After attaining independence, Mozambique has been governed by three (3) different presidents (see chapter III) all of the same political leadership party – Frelimo.

As a consequence of the birth of Mozambican independence, lots of visitors including foreigners started to come to Mozambique with different purposes. The number of art patrons and brokers visiting the country increased considerably. Most of these visitors purchased artworks [paintings and sculptures] of the new independent Mozambique in various provinces. In order to get a clear understanding of how the art themes and trends were created, I looked at the art literature (art books) that was written about art and its artists in the 20th century. However, since there are very few art books, which I have consulted, concerning Mozambican art and its artists, I chose to interview ten (10) sculptors and twelve (12) painters of those that seemed to have gained some recognition during that period. I needed to hear from them (art producers) about their own experiences in various periods since 1962 up to 2010. I was also able to see and take photographs of some of the types of artworks created by them at the time, as they were explaining to me, some of which I will be showing as I discuss my findings below.

In this chapter, I explore and show how different themes and trends have changed or emerged into the artists’ life since 1962 up to the present 2010. However the revolutionary art which is the political art themes which were produced before and in post independence Mozambique, served as a way of emphasizing the ‘new’ cultural and political situation within the country. The following steps discuss the themes and trends produced for sale during the pre – independence phase by the contemporary Mozambican artists:

6.2.1 Pre-independence (1962 – 1974)

These are the years of struggle for Mozambique sovereignty against the Portuguese colonisers. Looking at the 20th century more concretely in regard to the Mozambican situation, there is very few of Mozambican art books regarding this period of struggle, which I have consulted. Thus it is not easy to describe what kind of style, or themes and trends were produced for sale. However, some literature points out those aspects of ‘fashion’ such as,
the notion of style and such concepts as ‘movement’ and ‘trend’ need to be used with even greater care (if possible) with respect to 20th century art than referring to earlier periods. During the 20th century, artistic forms evolved towards an essentially reductive globalization (Laneyrie-Dagen 2004: 254).

If we look at the artworks available in the interior of the National Art Museum, historical buildings, public institutions such as Casas de Cultura (Houses of Culture) and Ministries in Mozambique, it is notable that the artworks produced at the time carry more aspects of the western influence because the line, style and ‘trends’ are similar to the most European renown art producers. It is possible to see and understand that most artworks produced at the time were very realistic, because it was like portrayal of colonial public figures and copies of artworks of famous European artists like Pablo Picasso, Michelangelo, Vincent Van Gogh, Jacques Louis David and so forth. There are also pictures representing nature or landscapes and flowers. The picture below (see Fig. 33) shows one of the sides of the interiors’ of the National Art Museum, in Maputo. In the same picture, it’s possible to see the visible lack of light for some pictures exhibited.

Fig. 33: The National Art Museum from inside, in Maputo. 
Therefore, according to the Mozambican art collector Mr. Mussagy Zeichand, who was a soldier for Frelimo during this pre-independence epoch, explained that ‘most Mozambican art producers’ used to work, producing their daily utilitarian objects such as wooden plates, bowls, spoons, masks, chairs and so forth, including artworks (sculptures and paintings) respecting the coloniser’s will because of the colonial circumstances at the time (ruling) in Mozambique. The majority of the artworks produced at the time were controlled by the colonial government’. All these art objects, or perhaps the majority of them are what Graburn (1976: 414) describes as ‘primitive art’. This includes the types of themes and trends of artworks produced by Mozambican artists in which the messages were not supposed to go against to colonisers’ will.

Taking a look at the Mozambique art I was able to see that the themes and trends produced before independence are variable. In this context, the sculptor Frank Ntaluma, talking about the themes of artworks produced before independence in Mozambique explained that, ‘one of the most prominent themes was the sacred art. These types of art were influenced by the colonial regime in which religion was used as an “instrument” to dominate and control the citizens. The production of sacred sculpture was indeed, and continues to be practised nowadays, mostly in the north of Mozambique perhaps because this type of art is the common sense and therefore easy to commercialise’. In general, the art patrons continue to purchase sacred art until today, since most people have links with religion. The pictures below (see Fig. 34 and Fig.35), illustrates this fact of production of sacred art.
The Maconde sculptor Nhampoka, showing his new sacred artwork which was bought by fifty thousand Meticals, which the equivalent to R15, 625 (fifteen thousands and six hundred and twenty five rands), European man, before he concluded to produce it.
During the years of revolution, the movement and control of the citizens and their goods, was not easy because of the colonial system within Mozambique. ‘It was a very difficult moment for all the citizens, artists and even for the foreigners particularly for the art patrons and brokers because they were not free to buy all kinds of artworks and take them home. All these facts hugely influenced the artists’ themes
and trends. This was particular to artworks reflecting or expressing themes and trends of revolution of Mozambican citizens and tastes’ emphasised Mr. Mussagy. Almost all paintings and sculptures purchased by foreign art patrons and brokers were supposed to respect the Portuguese colonialists’ rules. Nothing was supposed to be in favour of Frelimo if you wished to produce or buy any artworks. This means that, artists were not free at all, to produce and sell artworks that were reflecting their own ideas of hope to accomplish freedom but the Portuguese colonialists.

The sacred art themes and trends brought by the Portuguese colonialists into the Mozambican and artists’ lives were a new way of expression. Some art producers were now seen as the new ‘adversary’ or even enemies against the colonisers since it were used as metaphor in the beginning of the Mozambican revolution. However, the revolutionary themes and trends never stopped to come out. These new revolutionary art themes and trends brought innovativeness into the art producers’ form of representation of artworks. One of the most prominent living artists of this period, who was still with us during effectiveness of the present study, is the Mozambican painter, Malangatana Ngwenya 34, who was born in 1936.

In Mozambique most of the themes and trends preferred by the white colonialists, who were principal buyers at the time, as the Mozambican sculptor Frank Ntaluma who today lives and works in Portugal (Lisbon), re-calls and explained:

Were mostly dominated by art sacra or sacred art in which the themes and trends were related to the social facts of the time such as hunger, natural disasters and poverty or Mozambican culture in its diversity.

The journalist Machado da Graça (1992: 5) highlights that the ‘Mapiko and Nyau masks, represent the essence of Makonde sculpture which constitute a remarkable artistic patrimony of Mozambique’ art. Makonde sculpture was one of the most favoured types of artworks preferred by the most art patrons and brokers in the Cabo Delgado province – in the north of Mozambique. This was because of their exotic

34 Here took part on this study and unfortunately died (passed on) in January 4th, 2011.
quality of art. Most of these art themes and trends were sculptures made by various types of wood such as light wood (wild kapok) and black wood. Machado da Graça also explained that “[t]he collectors’ interest in it, [the Makonde sculpture], dates long back and there are very ancient examples in several museums in Europe and Mozambique”. German buyers and the Portuguese art patrons and brokers constitute the major group who in the past has bought lots of these artworks.

6.2.2 Transition from colonial to post-independence Mozambique and Samora Machel’s leadership period (1975 – 1986)

This period of post-independence Mozambique carries two main important aspects which came to somehow influence the themes and trends of the artworks produced by the artists as was mentioned by most of my informants:

1. Machel’s leadership, generally in order to provide material resources as culture support, encouraged the art producers to ‘learn’ to work in groups in the system organised in art cooperatives and art associations known as Casas de Cultura (Houses of Culture) within all the provinces.

2. The eruption of a brutal sixteen-year civil war, between Frelimo and Renamo, two years after independence (1977) painfully brought sad experiences into the life of the all Mozambican people, including artists since it came to cut off the dreams of a unified national community amongst the citizens. Within the war period, the system or the project of cooperatives and art association was sabotaged.

Various studies have been done with respect to the effects of colonialism on the post-independence African culture. For instance, Enwezor (2003:58) states that the ‘postcolonial matrix’ came to shape the ethics of creativity which is defined by changes and transitions of “new forms of governmentality and institutions, new domains of living and belonging as people and citizens, cultures and communities”. These changes and transitions may further be seen as complex and somewhat inevitable due to specific events such as the achievement of independence by
previously colonised countries. Furthermore, individuals are also suggested to experience change as a result of their own physical and geographical displacement, rather than as a drastic change within their immediate surroundings. Thus, theories relating to migration and globalisation may be seen as related due to the element of migrancy itself. Their importance and relevance in discussing themes and trends of art created in Africa is accordingly maintained: “...the very act of moving [from the colonial period to the postcolonial era] generates new forms of identity as groups come into contact with one another and multiple hybrid cultures are created” (Zack-Williams & Mohan 2002:207). This is because all people, in particular citizens of Africa, can now move from one place to another and settle without any enforcement. The quotation from Zack-Williams & Mohan above suggests that the change from the assimilated European culture has returned to an ‘original’ Mozambican one. As a matter of fact, this was faced by the Mozambicans, principally by its art producers, in whose case the effects of European culture influenced the themes and trends of their artworks. Thus far, there are diverse opinions regarding the way in which the Mozambican independence came into the lives of the art producers.

As I mentioned in chapter two, the post-independence period in Mozambique began with Samora Machel’s leadership which came with new rules consisting of socialist initiatives. The main key was to organise and allow the citizens of Mozambique to learn to live and work in groups. In this regard, places such as art associations, cooperatives, Casas de Cultura35 (Houses of Culture) located in every capital provincial cities of Mozambique became centres of presenting (to exhibit) and performing their art activities as Mozambican citizens were ‘free’ and able to move from rural areas to the cities and vice-versa. Therefore artists were now able to exchange their art themes and trends amongst themselves, produced in their new art cooperatives. As a consequence of this new displacement of people and its artists, the themes and trends produced were changing in accordance with the art market’s need. This was due to the art patrons and brokers’ demands, particularly from the foreign buyers.

35 Casas de Cultura; Houses of Culture where all cultural activities were held by the local artists (sort of studio).
The art producers were now able to exhibit their artworks in the provincial capitals and in the capital of the country – Maputo. In these new places, the art producers were now able to display their own artworks publicly but as a group because this was the way in which Samora Machel’s leadership encouraged them to do it. The art patrons and brokers were the Europeans who bought a lot of artworks from the Mozambican artists. On this aspect of the commercialisation of art, the painter Dito explained that:

After 1975 cooperates, which was foreigners sent by their governments and non-governmental organisations to work in Mozambique [art patrons], bought much more sculptures not because of high perfection but in view of the fact that African art was a little bit new for many European countries (although some white people had already seen it in big Art European Museums) but actually it was new for Eastern Europe countries such as Russians, Swedish, East Germany, Norwegian, Romania, Bulgaria, Poland, and so forth. However it was not new for Western countries like UK, USA, Spain, Netherlands, and Portugal.

Perhaps because these Western countries had participated in the process of discovery and they had seen it, they bought it and they owned the best museums with a diversity of African artworks, particularly Mozambican art.

The citizens’ concern on what was happening and expected within Mozambique at the time, was confusion because the conservative people (elders) did not accept the change easily and the more liberal youth accepted. This was because while the youthful artists’ artworks were willing to accept to paint and sculpt human parts such as naked breasts, thighs or eventually the whole naked body of people; while the older artists did not accept this change easily. Hence, Mario Tique explained that the themes such as:

Sacred art, love, peace and revolution demonstrating new forms of life were mostly the ones that art producers preferred to produce and present publicly. Paintings and sculptures presenting nude figures of people symbolised nature, love and peace because there is no more war or social conflicts in Mozambique. The art buyers [in particular the foreigners] generally liked to buy more of these types of artworks.
Mario Tique’s talent was reviled during the beginning of 1980s. The most preferred themes and trends to be purchased by the art patrons in the post independence was the sacred art and revolutionary art which consisted of works reflecting peace, love and other social issues. About sacred art, Mario Tique said that ‘I recall when President Samora declared 25th December, as Family Day, I painted a picture which was related to Jesus’ birth and was bought by one white gentleman. That was a good moment of my youth’. This was because most art artists use to valorise the states decisions by drawing or sculpting something related to such aspect. Thus people were already familiar to it and when they see artwork related to it, was easy to sell.

One of the major ‘buyers’ of the artworks created by the artists in art cooperatives was the government. The government supported the art cooperatives by supplying material resources and consequently, the art themes and trends were related in favour of the political leadership and its system. But after the artworks were produced, the governmental management took the best artworks and sent them to Europe to sell. However, the art producers never received the money from the sales of their own artworks but more material resources were given to them. This influenced the skills of the artists and the willingness to work on learning new ways to produce art. Therefore, through their art, the art producers brought up what was happening in the ‘new’ Mozambique in various ways to show how they perceived the facts surrounding their own people. In some of the artists’ paintings were representing the ways in which the art producers sees his fellow folks looking at the new birth of Mozambique. The folks’ eyes in the painter Malangatana’s artworks, illustrates that they are all hopping or even expecting something better to come from the new implementation of the independence. The example below (see Fig. 36), clearly demonstrate one of the images on the ways in which the new revolutionary art themes was represented by Malangatana, showing his Mozambican folks presents at one of the president’s speech at the time of post-independence Mozambique.
Fig. 36: The Malangatana’s artwork portraying the people’s hope and anticipation whilst listening to the new president of newly liberated Mozambique.

The other relevant issue supported by Machel’s government to the artists, which was mentioned by most of my interviewees, was the production of murals (see chapter II). However, about the production of murals, the established painter Neto, born in 1960, recalls that, “Machel’s leadership used to supply material resources like paint and brushes to our art cooperatives and art associations in order for us to produce (paint) murals with revolutionary and educative themes. The main objective of these themes and trends was to educate people to preserve their identity and promote Unidade, Trabalho e Vigilância (Unity, Work and Vigilance) amongst the Mozambican citizens”. Most of the themes and trends of the mural’s task were around these three basic terms from the state. Since it was not easy work to do individually, these tasks involved many people, amongst them, artists and their own

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36 *Unidade, Trabalho e Vigilância*: These were three main key statements of Samora Machel’s leadership.
assistants. Tourists and other visitors enjoyed to take photographs of these murals because they were exotic art to most of them. The image created by Mr. João Craverinha below (see Fig. 37) is one of the most renowned murals that still existing today at the heroes’ square, in the capital Maputo.

![Image of Craverinha mural](image)

Fig. 37: Craverinha. *The Mural of Revolution. 1975. at the Heroes’ Square, in Maputo/ Photographed by: Sebastião Matsinhe/ 2009.

6.2.3 Joaquim Chissano’s leadership (1986 – 1992)

This was a stage where art producers had started to engage themselves in working individually since it was now being introduced by the new government leadership. The new structure was based on the establishment of the liberalisation of Mozambican economy system, introduced in 1987.

After Samora Machel’s death, there was a change from socialist initiatives to the market economy system. Regarding the new leadership or political system implemented by Joaquim Chissano, the art producers John Forna, Dito, Neto,
Nhonguane and Walter Zand explained that “at beginning of Chissano’s government, there was not much change on the artists’ life artistically. The themes and trends were the same consisting on revolutionary art, peace, love and social issues related to education, nation building and so forth. However, at this stage emphasis on people with a mind to sabotage the national economy (which is today called corrupted people or simply the act of, corruption) was also expressed trough art since the name Xiconhoca was the term and figure used metaphorically to illustrate such people with dishonesty in the Mozambican economy. As a result, our art themes and trends were more ‘universalised’ and academic art started to emerge”. The fig. 38 and Fig. 39 below by Walter Zand illustrates the types or style of academic artworks emerging, in Mozambique. New types of themes and trends, of the Mozambican art producers started to appear to their art patrons. Art buyers from other origins of the globe now tasted new art themes from the Terra da Boa Gente (The Land of Good People).
Fig. 38: Walter Zand. 2009. *Without Inscription*. Abstract acrylic painting on cardboard. Maputo.
The artist portrays a satirical depiction of the environment as consequence of the lack of maintenance of Maputo provincial roads neglected by the Municipality. Nevertheless, because of the changes emerging, the government slowly ‘reduced’ the support they were offering to the art cooperatives and art associations and so forth. The production of murals and revolutionary art at some stage begins to take other focus and gradually the themes and trends as well.
6.2.4 Joaquim Chissano’s leadership – Democratic Period (1994 up to 2005)\textsuperscript{37}

This is the period in which the civil war between Frelimo and Renamo came to an end and consequently a new political system was introduced in Mozambique (see chapter II). With the end of the civil war, a lot of changes started to take place within Mozambique. Hence, artists were now able to travel, to school and work more independently expressing their ideas freely with no fear. Consequently, the new art forms (style, shape and also techniques) started to emerge into their art production and their art themes and trends developed in a way that these facts were visible in the art market. ‘Mozambican artists did not depend on foreign patronage, and because they shared the experiences of war and political struggle, one might argue that a national identity, even a national style, began to evolve. According to Rhandzarte, there is a certain "Mozambicanicity" not isolating and provincial, but affirmative and distinctive’ (www.sil.si.edu). This suggests that, ‘distinctive’ and recognisable indigenous way of being and doing emerged, even though it has been able to incorporate outside influences. The Mozambican government supported them and artists have leaned through their sufferings which brought to their life style a way of being in the contemporary independent Mozambique. This fact of their experiences brings to art creators and to their patrons, new art themes and trends. These art themes and trends fascinate and also persuade the art buyers to purchase.

This is the period when the art producers then start to show their art skills with their new forms of artworks. It was during this epoch where Gonçalo Mabunda and Fiel introduced the steel sculptures made basically in weaponry material resources. The weaponry artworks came to offer new dynamic on the contemporary art market in Mozambique because now art patrons from the west, purchase this type of art with good taste. The figures (see Fig. 40 and Fig.41) below are some examples of the weaponry sculptures produced to portray contemporary artworks of peace after the civil war, in Mozambique.

\textsuperscript{37} 1994 up to 1999; new democratic period - first elected term;
1999 up to 2005; second elected term.
This was evidently the sculptures’ revolution, in Mozambique. Within this perspective, the local art patrons and brokers, in particular from the public institutions such as local municipalities; national banks in the country; also companies such as Electricidade de Mozambique (EDM); Telecomunicações de Moçambique (TDM), Caminhos de Ferro de Moçambique (CFM); and some private institutions were now the main art patrons of Mozambique art, however, the foreign art buyers continued their support. The main themes and trends preferred, as confirmed by Gonçalo Mabunda are the sculptures that
were “the artworks related to peace, love and since I am able to relate the message with sacred words I am also able to produce sacred artworks”. In addition to it, “I sell a lot of abstract (mostly without inscriptions) as well”. All these art patrons were now focused on common and universal art themes such as art related with peace and innovative metal sculptures.

Democracy and the liberalisation of Mozambican economic system came to offer new dynamics on artwork production and also to the artists. Most of my informants expressed that the Chissano’s leadership came to give opportunity to art producers to work individually and to learn to valorise its own artworks the government could not do everything.

6.2.5 Armando Guebuza’s leadership (2004 up to 2010)

This period was completely different to all past leadership in Mozambique. Some cultural analysts and writers such as in The Economist (2009) state that “[i]n countries where the state shows little interest in contemporary art, the financial support of collectors is vital.”

Under Guebuza’s leadership, during this stage, artists were unanimous to affirm that the present government does not support its artists as did the predecessor in the past. The fact of reducing the focus on its art producers is sad. To be more precise, the sculptor Alberto lamented this aspect by saying that:

Our government does not know us as artists and hence they don’t know our art and the art themes and trends we produce. I say this because I never see our Minister of Culture visiting mine or other artists’ art studio or even an opening art exhibition. It is inconceivable the way in which our governors are neglecting the intellects of its own country.

The government sees art and culture as the last priority. Although this is a “Ministry of Culture” it seems to do little for the arts. This has created a space for art patrons and brokers, who have influence on what art is to be produced.

The image below (see Fig. 42) illustrates some foreigners visiting the Arts Makonde gallery near Mercado do Peixe (Fish Market), in Maputo – City.
This neglect on the part of the government has also meant that it had little information on, or control of art leaving the country. It is argued that the West buys almost all types of artworks produced by Mozambican art producer however; the government does not see how many art works are being exported. There is no art legislation, which could help to control the movement of art in and out of the country. In regard of the absence of this important ‘instrument’ named art legislation, most of the art producers are unanimous in saying that ‘the art patrons and brokers do as they please and some exploit the art producers by buying lots of art with variable art themes and trends in order to export but the country does not benefit from it, by way of taxes. Such sentiments expressed by artists in most regions of Mozambique.
In order to illustrate the consequences of the neglect by the government, included are several pictures below to demonstrate the conditions under which many artists work in contemporary Mozambique.
Fig. 44 The Maconde sculptor working.
Fig. 45: The Maconde sculptor working on small statuette while listening to the radio
(See the radio on the medley right in the picture)/
Fig. 46: The artist preparing a meal outside without electricity or running water.

Fig. 47: The artists’ kitchen table fixed outside the studio in Maputo
Because of lack of infrastructure.
Photographed by: Mario Checo/ 2009.
Fig. 48: Starting to prepare to cook by cutting tomato and onion sitting on wood which soon will be turned into a sculpture.

Fig. 49: The Maconde sculptor having a meal during lunch time with his toolbox close by.
Then after all the efforts of creating artworks, their works are kept or stored in spaces such as the pictures demonstrated below:

Fig. 50: The venue where the colonial artworks are stored by the Maputo-City Municipality. This is the archive where artworks are kept (paintings and sculptures) by the Municipality. Photographed by: Mário Checo/2009.
6.3 FOREIGNERS AND LOCAL ART PATRONS

In this context, this section focuses mainly on what product (themes and trends of sculptures and paintings) is being produced which satisfies a need or a demand or even the taste of the local art patrons and those from the outside world (art patrons and brokers). In the following two sections I first discuss the foreigners’ preferences in terms of art themes and trends, as well as the demands they have on it; secondly, the Mozambican art patrons’ (buyers) situation with respect to their preferences and attitude in the art themes and trends of Mozambique artworks. It also explores the artists’ reaction to the patrons’ demands. This will allow us to understand the organic, self-initiated and creative edge of the art producer; and how their product, which is the themes and trends of the artworks, influences the art buyers.

6.3.1 Foreigners:

In general the foreign art patrons and brokers mostly prefer to buy art themes and trends that are linked to the Mozambican culture and history. This means that they like to buy artworks that are related to the life of Mozambican people and their struggle for independence, such as revolution art which is related to political art (or issues), sacred art which is connected to love of humankind, peace and reconciliation after the struggle against colonialism and the armed conflict between Renamo and Frelimo, in the post independence period and above all, Christianity art (sacred art). Furthermore, other themes embrace problems such as natural calamities and diseases since they also affect people’s lives. However, people are connected to God through religions such as Christianity; and sacred art constitutes their preference on the Mozambique contemporary art market. Therefore sacred artworks appear as one of the most purchased themes in Mozambique. This is because the art patrons and brokers visiting the country are mostly people from the Western Europe, Australia and American continent. Most of the people (tourists) from Asia do not buy art but curios. One of the journalists interviewed explained that “the subject is not the most important element to foreign art buyers”. They are looking for exotic Mozambican artworks and this includes artworks with political art themes. These are issues and
attitudes linked with foreign art patrons’ behaviour in relation to the history and tradition of the Mozambican cultural art market.

Most of the art patrons and brokers visiting the Mozambican art market in the north of the country appreciate and purchase the Maconde sculptures, particularly the famous masks and the black wooden sculptures. The themes and trends of these wooden masks and black wooden sculptures are the sacred art and they show that in the Maconde culture most artists and society are linked. In relation to the sacred art, the sculptor Daniel expressed that “most art buyers like to purchase black wooden sacred art sculptures in small sizes and the masks”. The wooden masks are seen by the art patrons as something exotic which belongs to the Maconde society. And the black wooden sculptures are bought mainly by both western and eastern art patrons and brokers since they see this type of art as beautiful.

In recent times, after the civil war in Mozambique, with the introduction and materialisation of weaponry art – sculptures - the western art patrons and brokers seem to prefer this type of artworks which I classify as ‘political artworks’. This political art, which is more practiced in the south of the country, emerges out of the Mozambican art market as an expensive artefact. Notwithstanding this, the art patrons still buy them perhaps due to their perceived exotic nature. Rocco and Thornton (2009: 4) state that ‘dealers now sell more post–war and contemporary art than anything else’. In Mozambique after the civil war the art producers had found a new way of producing sculptures. Now they turned weapons into material resources to create beautiful and valuable artworks. Perhaps this is the main reason why the Mozambican art market appears as the centre of attention to most art patrons and brokers since the production of weaponry artworks is fresh. This enriches the Mozambican art market in various ways.

According to the sculptor Gonçalo Mabunda:

Most of my art patrons usually request certain weaponry art pieces like chairs, statues in the form of a dancing person or even anything that represents love, peace, harmony amongst humankind, and so forth, but
they never ask to rectify a work that is already produced. This is because their request is centred on size since the weaponry is heavy especially for those who wish to travel long distances with the artworks purchased on their way homes.

Thus most the art patrons succeed with their requests for small sized artworks but not in their demands for extra additions to the work already produced. However, some art patrons do succeed when they are dealing with art producers who produce wooden sculptures but not with those who work with iron or metal sculptures. Most of the art patrons do struggle when they ‘force’ the art producers to introduce or add their desires on the artworks they buy. Thus the painter Walter Zand, talking about this aspect of ‘editing’ their artworks in order to respect their patrons’ demands or desires expressed that “I don’t accept because all artworks I produce are my children”. Then he continues to explain, “Why should I cut off my son’s hand in order to be able to sell? I just tell such a buyer to go and ask other artists to do what he wants, not on my artworks”. Other artists also said they do not accommodate the art patrons and brokers demands because of other similar reasons. In order to elucidate, Dito, Nhampoka, John Forna and Atanážio Daniel, said that ‘we are not producing curios but art’. This is because they produce one unique type of artwork each time unlike the curios of which you may find many repetitive works on every corner of Mozambique.

Some art patrons, however, do succeed in their demands over some artists’ works. Of this group, one of the art producers, when I asked him what he does if a buyer asks him to add some of the buyers’ thoughts on his artwork, answered by saying that, “yes, I do accept if that is the only way he can buy my artwork. Why should I lose a customer because of such a small addition? I don’t have problem with that”, he emphasised. In relation to this, I asked what types of art themes the art patrons ask for additions to his artworks. He answered by saying “it depends on the work they want to purchase; for instance, if they want to buy an artwork that represents our African ubuntu such as love, they mostly ask to add a flower or white bird. This may be because they are unfamiliar with the African signs that express these kinds of
themes. However, on one hand, some art patrons forget that “it has no longer been appropriate to categorize paintings into separate genres” (Laneyrie-Dagen, 2002: 57), because most of the art producers are living and working in a globalised world where knowledge and experience run together. Although, on the other hand, as Laneyrie-Dagen, (2002: 57) describes, ‘some artists continue to paint mythological scenes’ in order perhaps to express the reality of their own tradition because they work knowing that ‘they have to respond to contemporary events by producing work that follows in the tradition of history painting’.

In general, most of the art patrons love to buy Mozambican sculptures and paintings mainly in small sizes because after purchasing they need to take and travel with them to their home countries. Looking at aspects of the patron’s demands of paintings and sculptures as I mentioned earlier, some art patrons and brokers succeed and others do not. In this regard, it is a mistake to forget that the “[d]ifferences between approaches to culture must be respected because culture and society are complex affairs” (Alexander, 1982: 26). What Alexander suggests is that ‘culture’ cannot be looked at from the above (Western perspective) excluding the rest. “Culture” must/should be looked from below… or ‘studied within the framework of a particular school, or even within the broader limitations of a particular discipline.’ This is because different disciplines – such as “[a]nthropology, history, political science, sociology, philosophy, linguistics, literary analysis – each have made distinctively different contributions” (Alexander, 1982: 26). The demands ‘enforced’ by the art patrons and brokers on the Mozambican art market are the main conditions for them to buy because they are imposed by themselves. Because of the acceptance of some art producers to satisfying the art buyers’ demands, I have to believe that the behaviour of these art patrons on the Mozambican art market will one day also become part of the country’s art history. Since we are living in a globalized world where the media, including the internet, has become the “vehicle” of information and advertisement, this is one way the art producers are being influenced by the art patrons.
6.3.2 Mozambican art patrons (institutions, government and private buyers)

The Mozambican art market is also visited by the local art patrons and brokers. They buy local artworks such as sculptures and paintings. However, most art buyers within Mozambique are the local institutions mainly the public institutions. One of the Mozambican journalist commented that ‘most of the local art buyers are banks such like Banco de Moçambique (Mozambique Bank); Banco Comercial e Investimentos – [BCI- Fomento] (Commercial Investment Bank – BCI – Fomento); Ministries; and public institutions like Telecomunicações de Moçambique (TDM); Electricidade de Moçambique (EDM); and singular private buyers like Hotels, the Mozambican Germany company Briton Michcoma, embassies, and so forth. What they like to buy most is artworks with themes related to peace, love, and political issues perhaps because most of the institutions are ruled by the government.’ These institutions or local art patrons mainly buy large paintings on canvas and huge sculptures. The themes and trends are mostly political art, romantic art and various arts expressing women’s duty. The preference for these themes and trends may be to show support to the leadership of these institutions as the majority of them are Frelimo supporters. Therefore they (art patrons and brokers) have to recognise and satisfy the government’s leadership for what they have done for the country.

Most art themes and trends are produced by the artists primarily to influence the art buyers to purchase their artworks. Hence the art patrons look at the artists’ works and discover that the artworks are mostly exotic art because the style and the themes are unique. This attracts the taste of the art patrons and brokers. However, talking about the Mozambican art patrons and brokers, most of the artists with whom I had the opportunity to talk to have one point in common: the local art buyers like to ask for discounts for any artwork they purchase. When I asked them why they have to satisfy their patrons’ demands, the painter Walter Zand and the sculptor Atanázio Daniel answered that ‘we do not want to lose our customers. They are the main supporters of our art. Therefore, we accept to give them discounts in order to allow ourselves to get money to acquire more art resources to produce more artworks’. Other artists do not accept to give discounts on their artworks.
The painter Estevão Mucavele explained that:

If buyers do not want to buy my artwork because it is expensive, or because I do not accept to add something on my paintings, I recommend them to go and try to other artists. I cannot give discount because I am not selling tomato, this is art and one day my children will be able to sell for themselves. There is no rush on selling what I produce.

Then he added by explaining that ‘for those art patrons asking to include any extra thing on my artworks, I do not accept because my art are my children. Thus how could I agree to change on my child members,’ he questioned. The art patrons and brokers within this context of artists refusing to adhere to sell or on to add other things on the artworks, they use money to convince or ‘to corrupt’ the art producers weakness. Thus the art patrons and brokers end succeeding and other do not. ‘A crucial factor is that Africans, I mean rich Africans, refuse to buy art’. The concept of “putting money on the wall” is alien to them (www.museum-security.org). The African council of Museums (Africom) analysed the behaviour of the African art patrons, collectors and brokers and they noticed that ‘they do not invest ‘money’ on the walls’. This is the main issue in the Republic of Mozambique. Individual Mozambican art buyers are very few but institutions are buying more, comparatively. Those are the main supporters of the local art market in Mozambique.

The major themes the local art patrons and brokers are most likely to buy are the large oil canvas, and medium acrylic paintings on which the art themes and trends are concerning with romantic art, exotic art, and political art. These types of art are more produced and sold in the south of Mozambique. While the sacred art are mainly produced and sold in the north of the country where the population are Muslim and Christian. This is the main reason that the sacred art exist in this region of the country.

In the next chapter, trends of patrons’ taste are explored, looking at different ways in which artists mediate patrons’ influence by looking at their agency.
CHAPTER VII: AGENCY OF THE ARTIST

7.1 AGENCY:

In order to define the term ‘agency’, I will say “[t]he concept of agent and agency, perhaps related most closely to that of power, are usually deployed in debates over the relationship between individuals and social structure. They also pertain, however, to the nature of individual consciousness, its ability to constitute and reconstitute itself and, ultimately, the extent of its freedom from exterior determination” (Rapport, and Overing, 2000:1).

7.2 TRENDS OF PATRONS’ TASTE

This chapter looks at the art themes and trends preferred by foreign buyers and it also explores Mozambican art patrons’ tastes. Mozambique art creates a centre of attention for many people, in particular art patrons and brokers. These people (art patrons and brokers) are the main supporters of the Mozambican art market because they are the ones who buy artworks from the local art producers. In order to understand the situation of the commercial art in Mozambique it is important to see how the art patrons interact with artists to acquire their art themes of the artworks. Looking at this aspect in such a country without proper art legislation raises a question, how are the art patrons and brokers of Mozambique art able to purchase their preferred art themes and trends? In order to find out the answers, we firstly have to look at the attitude of the art producers of the contemporary Mozambique. By doing so, it will allow us to see and understand what type of themes and trends interest the art patrons and brokers of the contemporary Mozambique art are.

There is no doubt that all types of artworks produced in contemporary Mozambique are a reflection of what is going on in society and in the minds of the art producers, but:

People often assume, mistakenly, that the arts are truly universal, that ‘music is the universal language,’ and that “great art” will naturally be appreciated by all, no matter which culture is exposed to it. They forget that the arts, and design, are also
part of a person’s set of cultural understandings of the world and reality; a reality structure so profound that it blinds us to certain dimensions of the universe even as it fixates us solidly on others (Steiner, H. and Haas, K. 1995: vi).

The point made by Steiner and Haas, makes it obvious that ‘arts and design’ such as paintings and sculptures, are part of the art patrons and brokers’ taste because they understand the value of these types of artworks. Thus the Mozambican paintings and sculptures also show how a person understands the world and reality since the local and foreign art buyers are happy to purchase them and take them to their homes. This is an indication that the Mozambique paintings and sculptures own certain themes and trends that satisfy the art patrons and brokers tastes because they perhaps understand the messages on those artworks since they relate to it.

7.3 ARTISTS MEDIATION OF PATRON’S INFLUENCE

Artists are motivated by diverse forms of life circumstances to face their destiny or their own careers. For example, mankind faces his problem/s in many ways. Thus mankind’s problems are “not confined but can be the result of accident, disease, the inevitable natural process of aging” (Hans, 2003: 11), of any individual in society, natural calamities, war, and so forth. The art producers of the contemporary Mozambique obviously do face such kind of problems of which the major one is hunger and deprivation of financial support. Most Mozambican art producers do dual jobs within the art market as they produce and sell their artworks. In spite of all the difficulties they encounter, some artists succeed at their own risk and others do not. For those with success, the media seems to play a very important role to promote them (the artists) and their work.

For the most part, the foreigners visiting Mozambique buy arts to take back to their homes. Amongst most of the objects, they purchase, are painting/s and sculpture/s produced by local art producers. In most cases however, before these art patrons and brokers buy any kind of artworks, during negotiations, they demand additions or rectifications of certain things on the paintings or sculptures they intend to purchase. This process is not well received by the local art producers because to add or rectify something, whatsoever it is; on the artwork produced changes the original meaning of the painting or sculpture. In this regard, when I asked my interviewees their
opinion about the art patrons and brokers’ request or demands on the artworks they sell, the majority of them indicated that they are not happy with the buyers’ attitude because “it changes the meaning expressed on the artwork besides, the artist spends more time on what is already produced. Thus I think it is not correct because I believe people should respect another person’s work,” said one of the sculptors. The art patrons and brokers attitude in the art market makes the Mozambican artists become more creative in the ways in which they are practicing their (artists’) art business. The local art producers however, had to find ways to deviate from the buyers’ behaviour or requests and demands.

In this regard, the painter Walter Zand when asked to explain his opinion said that, “I don’t amuse the patron’s demands because I use a very good strategy which is based on giving good titles to my artworks. As such, the title is a good excuse I give to them (art buyers) since the name of the painting is related to the content of the artwork and therefore convinces the buyers to like it and purchase my paintings. I just make the buyers focus more on the title which they will relate to the painting, and I make it clear enough for them to acquire it with no questions. I always find a way to convince them since to be an artist you have to be creative”, he emphasised. As a result Walter Zand, like other similar skilled artists using such strategies, seems to be a successful seller in the contemporary Mozambican art market. In this context of artists’ mediation of patron’s influence we also find other ways of the art producers ‘manipulating’ their art patrons and brokers. Some artists focus on what the art patrons and brokers opinionated about the artwork/s he or she intends to buy. One painter, explained that, ‘when a buyer enters in the venue where the exhibition is held, I follow his movements from a distance and when he comes to ask something regarding to the artwork, such: e.g.:”is this a reflection of an African (Mozambican) woman...?” – Thus I start to explain from his thoughts, on what I say: “Yes, it is a Mozambican woman in times of struggle where most women were helping the soldiers...,” and so forth. I do this explanation while I am looking at artwork, pointing out some relevant aspects and also looking at him (the buyer) to make sure he understands what I am telling him. I explain to him in very nice way in order to convince him to buy’, he emphasised. The artist, said that after the explanation, the buyer will look at the painting or sculpture exposed and he will walk around the exhibition and at the end, he come to me and say that, ‘I will take that artwork, how much does it cost, please’. Then he purchases it with no questions.
The other strategy used by the art producers is related to the way they price their artworks. Many artists discover that most of the local buyers in particular, when negotiating to acquire artwork, usually ask for discount price. They do not stipulate the exact price from the beginning and they add a bit of mark-up percentage above the original price. The sculptor Daniel explains that “when I have finished a sculpture, I give a price that covers the material resource, production, idea, and the main value of the artwork, not forgetting the profit as well. Thus if the artwork is calculated in $1000, 00 (one thousand American dollars), I will add $500, 00 (five hundred American dollars). If the buyer wants to purchase it, and he asks for discount price I will give it to him by discounting $100, 00 (one hundred American dollars) until he is satisfied but I will not go below the original price which is $1000, 00 (one thousand American dollars). This criterion makes the art buyer feel happy because he thinks that he bought it at a lower price”. The art patrons and brokers have their preference of buying from these kinds of art sellers and perhaps even tell other customers to go to them since they always will receive ‘discount’ price. This system was created in order to win over the art patrons and brokers - in particular over the Mozambican buyers - who often like to ask for discount price.

Other artists use media in particular the press media, radio, TV and internet. Using this type of strategy is not easy since it is expensive to advertise through these channels. However, some artists have to be socially connected and use the influences they have to get exposure on the Mozambican media and hence internationally. One of the artists said that “when I present an exhibition and the media interviews me, I answer the questions while I am trying to talk about my artworks, convincing those who are listening to go to my shows and buy them [the artworks]. This is the only way poor artists like me have to market the artworks we produce,” he emphasised.

This strategy of using the media is consummated by the time the art patrons are visiting the gallery where the exhibition is held or even at art studio of the art producer. It is at these places where the artist demonstrates his performance upon speaking to the art buyers. About this aspect, Mario Tique explained that “once the art buyer comes to me asking about the specific artwork, my reaction must be a smile while I use good terms trying to make him understand that this is the
best offer he can get from me. While the buyer is observing the artwork, I must keep myself in silence because he is reading what I told him on the painting or sculpture. If I notice that he is indecisive, I have to try to say something to convince him to purchase the piece of art he wants.”

The art buyers like to buy directly from the artists since they can ask any question related to the artwork they intend to buy and they can receive the autograph from the art producer himself. These facts fascinate the art patrons and brokers in many ways.

In regards to selling art in the art galleries, for those artists feeling that they do not have selling skills, they hire someone who can do the job for them. The artist will continue producing the artworks while the hired individual, will sell the paintings or the sculptures. This seller will gain a commission of each artwork he is able to sell, which will be given by the owner artist, besides the wages in some other cases where employment is full time.

The other new example used by the Mozambican artists in the contemporary art market is the production of artworks for the gallery or exhibitions which are sold as art because they are art. These artworks are obviously very expensive comparing with the other type of artworks which are produced by the same author (artist) but is sold on the streets as curios. About this aspect, some painters emphasised that ‘because of lack of buyers of art, income is needed, I produce artworks not signed and let someone sell it on the street as curios. Thus because some people do not look on the authenticity (signature) of the painting, they easily buy it. In this regard, we survive as artists’. Most art producers find these ways as an optional form of obtaining money for their survival while their signed artworks are waiting for the art buyer. This form of practicing the commercial art helps on one hand the local art buyers because most of them like to ask for discount price. Thus when they see the almost the same hand of art with lower price, they are able to purchase them. This in fact shows us that where poverty exists, new forms of imagination and creativity arise in order to support mankind.

The prospects of the art producers on using all their strategies above, are not just to manipulate and be able to convince the buyers to purchase their paintings; it is also to obtain success in the art market. In the artist’s lives, there are a many reasons to make them act the way they do. The primary reason is to be able to produce and sell in order to create more and more artworks. The
other reason is the competition amongst artists in the art market since everyone struggles to make a name in order to be recognised as such a prominent artist. The primary and the secondary reason however have one main common objective, which is to be able to make a living (to make money) out of what they produce. In this respect, all of artworks existing in the Mozambican art market are for sale.

7.4 CONCLUSION

The artists produce their art and they go to the art market and ‘twist,’ convincing the buyers to purchase their products. Thus in the contemporary art market in Mozambique, media have been one of the preferred instruments used by certain artists for success within the country. However not all art producers use media for their success since it is expensive to advertise using media. For those artists able to be seen on the media, with their artworks, they do with immense difficulties in view of the fact that it is not easy for all. Not all artists have same lucky to obtain sponsorship to put on advert on the media even to set an exhibition in the contemporary Mozambique. So for those artists, who make their names on the media, are the ones able to market themselves and therefore sell more their artworks with success comparing with others who do not. As a result, most of the art patrons and brokers visiting the art market, in Mozambique, they do while they knew their preference artist/s and its artworks. This is because the media is a very powerful instrument that busts some of these Mozambican painters and sculptors. Dito, one of the painters who struggle to put his artworks on the media; I interviewed him, in March 2010, few days before he had his collective exhibition at BCI-Fomento, in Maputo. About it (the promotion of his artworks on the media), he explained that, “In fact, our exhibition at BCI was very good in terms of publicity comparing with past presentation I had”. This painter was not able to do well before but now, Dito was exposed in April 2010 with the painters Malangatana and Idasse Tembe, some of the most outstanding Mozambican visual artists which the media have made their names well known worldwide. It is a fact to say that Dito, as he said before, this time at BCI, he was supported by his famous colleagues in art. This fact, allowed him effortlessly to appear on the media and be able to sell. This reality offers an idea of how the media contributes on the art development of the contemporary Mozambique.
The sculptor Ntaluma, residing in Lisbon – Portugal, believes that art it is something that one has to learn/ apply from school. This is because there is a need to investigate/ to do survey more in relation to techniques and the history about art in order to allow the artist to understand what and how to express. After creating the artwork, “it is vital to know, learn, understand and practise the trade rules in the contemporary Mozambican art market. The artist needs to know the tricks in the art market in order to be able to sell”, he explained. This is because the art market is very complex since there are no enough art galleries and no good art management in the country. Therefore, the art producers struggle to promote and sell their artworks. However, within this problem of the art producers struggling on the art market, it is visible that “[t]he world we live in today is characterized by a new role for the imagination in social life” (Appadurai, 1996: 31). To grasp this ‘new role’, artists need to bring together their ‘imagination’ and creativity in order promote their own work or even use other means to convince the buyer to purchase the artworks.

Thus, Alexander (1990:10) says that ‘each of the contemporary approaches to the study of culture can be related to the archetypical variations’. It is known that in the Mozambican art market not all themes and trends are originated in Mozambique because there is more art produced by Mozambican artists but reflecting the western culture which is demanded by the patrons’ influences. In this context, most artists use the skills and opportunities they have to be able to promote and sell their artworks when they meet their art patrons and brokers in order to be able to sell. Some art producers discover that by giving good titles – exotics names - to their artworks, their art patrons and brokers will appreciate to buy. The art patrons and brokers look at title because “[a] title supplies precious information, its choice of words relating to considerations of which we have completely lost sight” (Laneyrie-Dagen, 2004: 7). The ‘title’ is the starting point which helps the observer to read or to communicate with an art work such as painting or even a sculpture in order to understand its contents message. This is the way in which most artists use to conquer their customers to purchase the artworks they produce.

Artists produce artworks from their own imagination according to the ways in which they perceive things in the environment they live in. Then they put these artworks into Mozambican art market from where the art patrons come and purchase them. In the process, the art patrons come with their demands before they buy the artworks. This is because these demands are
‘condition’ requested or to make it clear, the art patrons and brokers impose certain amendment on the artwork/s produced which are primary conditions to be able to buy them. However, the sculptor Daniel, about this attitude of the art patrons and brokers, says that ‘when a buyer asks to do alteration on my artworks, I satisfy them only by making other sculpture adding what he or she is requesting but never on the artwork that I have concluded. The one I had concluded have/ carry a specific message on it and what he asks have different message’, he explained. Daniel’s explanation shows us that there is some resistance to change or to add on the artworks they have produced directly, but also are willing to satisfy their patrons’ requests or demands in the ways they think is better without changing on the works they have already finished to produce. This is the way in which most sculptors and even painters perceive and satisfy their art patrons’ requests or demands. However, some few sculptors do accept easily with no hesitation.

In order to give emphasis on findings regarding discussions or requests or even demands from the art patron’s side, one example is employed to illustrate the facts above. The picture below (see Fig. 51) shows one of the art patrons and art collector Mr. Mussagy Zeichand, who has identified the value of art and has acquired certain tastes for certain kind of art through his global travels, since he worked as a diplomat. He goes on to explain how the artwork was before he bought it and after:

I had to convince the sculptor who produced and sold me this artwork to add the eye at the back of the sculpture in order to make sense on what I was seeing on this piece. He did satisfy my request because I promised him to buy it. Because he wanted money, he respected my request. However, I had to guide him to do in the way I wanted. Now you can see how beautiful it is!

Yes, it is beautiful, because it has the patron’s idea on it, but not from the original art producer’s message. Thus demonstrate how money, sometimes, can really change the artist’s point of view on what he does well. The explanation of the Mozambican art collector Mussagy Zeichand speaks lauder by itself. Against all the gimmicks (tricks) practiced by art producers to convince the art buyers to purchase their artworks, the art patrons and brokers also show that they are still powerful to “rule” the African artists, because they own what the artists are fighting to get – money.
For the most part of the artists are reluctant to resist since money implies power. This is just an illustration of what the artists are facing in their profession within the contemporary Mozambican art market.
CHAPTER VIII: CONCLUSION

Anthropology will survive in a changing world by allowing itself to perish in order to be born again under a new guise.

8.1 INDEPENDENCE OR CULTURAL IMPERIALISM?

The initial chapters of this study, The production of Local Art for the Global Cultural Art Market in the Contemporary Mozambique, are divided primarily in two main parts. The first part deals with an era in which Mozambique was previously dominated and governed by the Portuguese colonizers between 1962 and 1975. It captures the pre-independence times of Mozambique when artists produced their artworks in accordance with the rules of the colonizers. This was the period where artists from both sides — colonizers and colonized — were not free to express their mind because of the conflicting war. The second part starts right from the first decade of post independence Mozambique where socialist initiatives were implemented during Machel’s leadership from 1975 up to 1986, which allowed the local artists to experience new dynamics in the art markets and customs. This period of study, extends until the year of 2010. The effects of this new change in the lives of the art producers were then visible through their paintings and sculptures.

"Art is the language and peace is hope, so we express our hope through art," said Bangladeshi Dr. S. Murad, the exhibit's curator and the CEO of Presidentvilla, a global art and design website. The Mozambican painter Sebastião Coana expressed that, "[a]n artist is the messenger of peace, explaining society's problems in the beautiful language of art" (www.chinafrica.cn). In order to make his own (Sebastião Coana) theory clear, he explained that ‘peace isn't only an absence of war. It also means understanding and accepting people of different cultures. Art has a role in promoting cultural exchanges and [it] helps us understand each other. It's a must’, he emphasized. This was perhaps the main reason why Frelimo’s Party used art for their mission of mobilization and propaganda during the struggle for independence. The Frelimo’s attitude of
using art was also a form of appreciation and valorisation of the voice of those who could not be heard out there.

From observation and experience, it can be said that the ‘creativity’ of people has been able to boost their will and expectation to live. They are able to achieve their freedom through this sense of hope. According to Ossemane (2003), art played a very important role for the citizens of Mozambique during their struggle for independence in the pre-independence years of 1964 – 1975. During this period, there was a diversity of art themes and trends produced. The art producers produced artworks mostly according to their domestic needs and partly for sale. Moreover, artworks were also used as means of communication. Frelimo served as a very important “instrument” during the struggle for independence in Mozambique because it facilitated communication amongst citizens – illiterate or not – using art despite the fact that they spoke in different local tongues. Another case in point, as most artists I interviewed indicated, is the incarceration of the painter Malangatana in 1968 because the content of his artworks was suspected to be relaying some information against the authorities to the resistance soldiers. Malangatana’s example shows how the colonial leadership was disturbed by the artworks produced such as paintings.

Regarding the themes and trends of artworks produced for sale, art patrons and brokers usually preferred to buy more sacred and exotic art such as the Maconde sculptures (Duarte and da Graça 1992: 8). Mozambican artworks, particularly the Maconde sculptures, were alien to the foreign art patrons and brokers since African art was quite different from the European artworks style. According to some journalists and the literature consulted such as Duarte and Da Graça (1992: 9), ‘[t]he Macondes [sculptors], have been sculpting for the Mapico ritual since times which escape the memory of men, an interesting helmet-type mask’. Consequently, because of their exotic form, most of foreign art buyers preferred to purchase these types of artworks.

“At the centre of the inquiry is the mediating person, defined as an individual who serves as a link between diverse cultural systems” (Bochner 1981: ix) in this context, art thus emerged as a form of language that united the citizens of Mozambique after attaining their independence because they could understand the meaning of unity through the messages embedded in the
images of art. For example, the Mozambique flag (see Fig. 52) is a symbol that unites all the citizens as one nation; and on Xiconhoca which represents (bourgeois) people (see fig. ) on chapter two) with corrupted mind to sabotage all the Frelimo’s implementations for the national buildings, in the free and new Popular Republic Mozambique (today Republic of Mozambique).

Fig. 52: The Mozambique flag which represents the unity of the citizens. 2011. Mozambique.

The new government in Mozambique facilitated cultural protocols with other countries. In this regard, art producers were now exploring and exchanging their art experiences with people amongst art patrons and brokers from the Eastern Europe and vice-versa. The exchange allowed the citizens to learn to use other different art techniques and resources. The socialization amongst other nations allowed the Mozambican art producers to work with different material resources. Consequently, new different art material resources were imported into Mozambique since the country did not own industry of this type of art resources. Mozambique was mainly visited by people from countries such as Russia, Bulgaria, East Germany, Cuba, Romania, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia, Poland, Korea, Hungary and including Portugal.
Internally, the government was organised through the use of art associations and cooperatives. It was through these institutions that the government controlled its artists because each of them was able to know and understand how many members they have. These institutions also facilitated the implementation of the National Cultural Festivals within the country which allowed the local artists to move freely and exchange their artistic experiences. Undoubtedly, this form of organisation allowed the local art producers to know each other and to work in groups but paintings and sculptures were not considered relevant to the other cultural activities involved including, amongst other things, traditional dancing of Mapico, Makwaela, and Timbila music. About the relevant comparison of paintings and sculptures in the National Cultural Festivals the painter Dito emphasized that, paintings were appreciated in the second place but:

It is important to remember that many artists were not academic or highly educated. Artists did not have a good paradigm, many art producers painted like Malangatana or like Mankeu, who were the elders and well known at times of independence. There were small varieties of painting with neither style nor techniques to show. However, the art themes and trends were about hunger, war, natural disasters, poverty and the very bad\textsuperscript{38} economic situation in Mozambique at that time. With people facing all these challenges, it was much easy to show [represent] them through painting. The sculptures seemed to be much more beautiful and happy than paintings.

\textsuperscript{38} Bad; because of the eruption of a brutal fifteen year civil war between Frelimo and Renamo two years after independence. It painfully demonstrated how precarious the dream of a unified national community can be.
Fig. 53: *Djhaman*[^39]: by anonymous artist from the north Mozambique, sculpture showing people doing their daily activities.

This was because in the south of Mozambique the term *cultura* (in Portuguese), which in English is ‘culture’, is seen as entertainment; in all vernacular languages (local languages spoken in this area) the term culture translated literally as *brincadeiras* which signifies *jokes*. So during the cultural festivals, the spectators’ focus was on songs and dancing, perhaps because most people in Mozambique are familiar with the activities of singing and dancing at their work places, churches, funeral ceremonies, weddings, night clubs, radio, TV, schools and during the cultural and traditional ceremonies. Despite the lack of appreciation for paintings and sculptures from the

[^39]: *Djhaman* is a type of sculpture produced in Nampula province, which represents a lot of people in one. In other words it is a sculpture which is representing *Unity*. 
spectators’ side, Machel’s socialist implementations brought new and better dynamics of art productivity in Mozambique, particularly within the local art market.

After Samora Machel’s death in 1986, Joaquim Chissano assumed the leadership of Mozambique, (1986 – 1992 and 1994 – 2004). Chissano introduced the Liberalisation of the Mozambican Economy system in 1987; this was the continuity of Machel’s leadership. However; this new system gradually changed the previous structure within the art market because artists were obliged to learn new operational ways which consisted of working individually instead of working in groups as it was in the past. Under Chissano’s new system, not all local artists immediately understood the importance of this changing political landscape within the contemporary Mozambican art market at the time. The results of this new system came to be known in the Chissano’s second term.

Armando Guebuza succeeded Chissano and is currently the president of Mozambique. President Guebuza came with other “pressing” priorities which did not include art and culture. For example his main focus became agriculture and poverty alleviation. Local art producers have expressed their concerns in terms of art and culture being “neglected” by the current leadership but artists say that nothing was done. Despite the fact that local artists feel neglected by the current government, individual artists have remained focused on their art activities owing to various reasons. For example the artists need to continue making a living through their art work and maintain their art creativity, this in order to sustain their families. Within this process of artists’ survival, artists continue to face many obstacles in order to succeed artistically.

The changing political landscape in Mozambique affected the art producers and their success in many ways within the art market. Maruska Svašek (2007) emphasised that:

Even though artists’ activities cannot be understood by economics alone, their market involvement and impact of dealers’, critics’ and collectors’ financial strategies must be studied if we want to understand why some artists are more successful than others (see also Moulin 1987; White and White 1965).
First, as we might know, since the art producer/s is a part of society, this gives us a lot of aspects to consider. The changing of social and political landscape – which happens during the five and five year’s time – plays an important role in artist’s life and on their artworks. Second, as the activities in which artists are involved – looking for art material resources, producing artworks, the marketing and the selling process, and their own lifestyle – are parts of their cultural background. So there is a need to look carefully in analyzing and evaluating these aspects above with relevant focus before making any judgment or assumption/s about the state of the contemporary art production of the Mozambican art market.

Apart from the fact that the artists themselves were influenced by the buyers and brokers, it is also a point that the media play an important role. This has been argued by various writers (see Badenhorst and Minnaar, 2007: 15). Therefore, although this thesis is unable to cover this, it would be significant for the discipline of Anthropology’s future research to focus its theme on the media and their influence on the artist.

8.2 Finding:
The findings of the present study, shows that besides the obstacles faced by most art producers within the contemporary Mozambican art market, artists find their own ways to live and produce their art works. They also use their own strategies to manipulate their art patrons and brokers in order to be able to sell. On the other hand, the media – also – play an important role on promoting some of these artists – painters and sculptors – and their work. The art buyers, since most of them live outside Mozambique, depend mostly on the media to know and locate some of the art producers. Then, after these art buyers and brokers have accessed relevant information through the media (via newspapers, TV, radio or even internet) they see how to locate, where to go, when to meet, who is producing and which artist to buy artworks from, in the Mozambican art market. In this context, the media will guide some of the art buyers indicating some of the “best” artists, so that the artists are able to sell their art sooner and by so doing selling more artworks. This group of artists that is able to sell more artworks is the one considered famous or is have successful, artistically.
On the later stage, after death, they are called or treated as ‘geniuses’. The works of those deceased artists will be then increasingly expensive. Those artists who succeed to be in the media are the ones who sell their artworks better compared with those who don’t. Consequently, their names will remain post death for future generations to know. Hence the whole process is part of the artist’s cultural background. The example of the death of the prominent Mozambican painter Malangatana Ngwenya, who died during the progress of this study in Portugal (Lisbon), on January the 4th, 2011, and buried in Mozambique (Maputo), illustrates better what I have mentioned above. After his death, the governments of Portugal and Mozambique came together to support his goal, a gesture which never happened while he was alive.

During the research, I found out about artists working with no legislated rules that could protect their work and themselves as artists. In the pre-independence period for instance, artists worked under certain rules which were controlled by the colonial regime. Their artworks – paintings and sculptures – respected certain criteria or rules of that colonial period. This means that, the colonial rules were supposed to be respected by the citizens and the art producers could not express anything artistically that could go against the colonial rules. In that regard, most of the artists produced art with themes such as sacred art, social issues such as love, women and children, the famous Makonde masks, and nature (animals’ world in its variety) and landscapes. As the researcher could understand during the research that:

The artists of the colonial period in Mozambique shared an historical consciousness, which is expressed unequivocally in their art. Symbols of colonial domination and the superior even mystical power attributed to Europeans are reflected in art forms, such as the Makonde Mapico (mapiko) masquerade or machinamu ancestor figures (www.sil.si.edu).

This example of ‘the Makonde Mapico (mapiko) masquerade or machinamu’ it is still visible, culturally, in the north of Mozambique (its Origin).

The reality demonstrated that the country is now free of colonial rules and artists can move with and produce their art from one place to another in better ways than before. Thus art producers from the North of the country, started to spread to the South of the country, after independence. However, the Makonde mask is still being produced by its people, the Makonde artists. During
the post independence period, they were told that they were free even though they could not criticize the government, artistically.

One of the most relevant aspect of the time is that, “[i]n the period after independence in 1975, the new government encouraged revolutionary art, an official popular art, now seen as supporting the transformation of the society” (www.sil.si.edu). Mozambique within its process of the new governance, introduced new art themes which consisted mainly in the production of ‘revolutionary art, an official popular art’. This process occurred as a way to give a new perspective on life of the art producers to think on rebuilt their own identity and freedom of expression amongst the citizens. President Samora Machel was the pioneer of the project and created various exchanging programs for its artists with various east European and Asian countries.

The main cultural objective created by the Samora Machel’s leadership was to offer most of the Mozambican artists, an opportunity to lean and improve their skills of their art productivity. Today’s times, most of those artists who benefited from Machel’s leadership, are living their life as professionals on the field and some are even teaching art Escola de Artes Visual (Visual Art School), in Maputo – City, others are making living as artists and others live out site Mozambique. The art works of these periods (colonial and post – colonial period), can be found in the Museu Nacional de Artes (National Museum of Art’s).

The Samora Machel’s leadership, as confirmed by the most local art producers, seems to be better comparing with the rest of the governments that followed. This is the period in which artists have developed more artistically since they had access to art material however with certain limitations because they could not criticize the government artistically (openly). Therefore, the Machel’s supremacy still remaining in the memory of the most part of the local artists because of the ways in which the government contributed to the betterment of Mozambican culture and its artists. This was the period where by most local artists started to gain more experience and visiting foreign countries with help of Machel’s government. The figures below (see Fig. 54 left and Fig.55 right), are metal sculpture produced by Hilário, and a painting by Toni Paco,
respectively. These artworks are just some examples of the type of artworks which most art buyers prefer to purchase in today’s Mozambique art market.

Anthropologists are the ones who can take a stand and evaluate the main facts in order to facilitate better understanding (of analyses) in the future studies within the discipline. Recognizing that the best art producers are not only those who appear on the media, but those who work hard producing exotic artworks, however are not seen by those who write and work on the media. This is because most of these artists live in the rural areas, far from the main cities. In the contemporary art market’s situation still a gap between the discipline of Anthropology in order to bring a clue understanding of the success or not, of the art producers.\textsuperscript{40}

On another level, for a comparison of different analytical perspectives on the production of art and aesthetics in local, national and global art worlds, see Danto (1964, 1981, 1988), De Coppel \textsuperscript{40} However, one must recognise the contributions of Taylor (1871); Bourdillon (1987) and Appadurai (1996).
and Jones (1984), Dickie (1975), Frey and Pommerehne (1989), Morphy (1995) and Steiner (1995), which show us the existence of distinct ability on the ways in which artworks are produced by artists but, with existence of similarities. These authors offer us a better ‘analytical’ viewpoint concerning the production of art and their movement within various perspective of our earth. However, still not showing/ giving the main reason that makes other artists to succeed than others. But as I could find out during my study, the media appears as the one which helps to promote the artists for their “success” by using the manipulation of words within the art market. People within society believe in what is written and in what the media says with regards to art producers and their artworks, in particular. This reality comes to prove that imagination is stronger than to observe (to see). The media’s words induce the buyer/s that such artist’s work is the best, therefore with impressions that are the best artworks, they buy them. Despite the fact that those who work hard and not connected to the media will continue to produce artworks without been able to sell as much comparing to those who are connected.

To conclude, I would say that during my research, I have tried to explore and discuss various aspects relating to production and commercialisation of artworks process; against all the facts from which the art producers encounter to be able to produce, and find customers to buy their artwork/s successfully; and then, the artwork will carry all kinds of ‘appreciation’ of the artists’ effort and more. I also came to conclude that action speaks louder than words, because of the ways in which some artworks are valorised by some institutions (or people). The pictures below (see figures 56; 57 and 58) justify, the fact that some people they talk more than what they do, in order to contribute for better cultural development, in our societies.
Fig. 56: Above: the original caption read: “this 1986 photograph is not particularly well-known, but is interesting. It shows the Frelimo Central Committee gathered on the steps of the **Conselho Executivo** [city hall] of Maputo in early November 1986, having just ceremonially deposited flowers on the grave of Samora Machel, killed a few weeks earlier on 19 October at Mbuzini. Again, the picture models order and continuity to legitimise Joaquim Chissano as Machel’s successor. The Central Committee is standing in neat rows under an enormous portrait of Machel, and the formal architecture of the building lends gravitas to the occasion.”

Fig. 57: The archive where the works (paintings) are dumped by the Maputo Municipality. One of the workers showing a part of the Samora Machel portrait this was at the front of the Maputo Municipality after it received a lot of rain fall. Photographed by: Mario Checo/2009.

Fig. 58: Remaining pieces of canvas of a portrait of Samora Machel which used to be at Maputo City Hall. Photograph by: Sebastião Matsinhe/2009.

Culturally a lot still needs to be done in Mozambique in order to offer better opportunities to the local art producers to be able to work and preserve their thoughts (artworks) in a safe condition in order to allow future generations to see how the past contemporary situation of our culture was. This will allow them to see how to develop for themselves a better future of their culture.
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