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## MUEDA, MEMÓRIA E MASSACRE BY RUY GUERRA AND THE CULTURAL FORMS OF THE MAKONDE PLATEAU

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### Abstract

Considered to be Mozambique's first fiction feature film, Ruy Guerra's *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* (1979-1980) (Mueda, Memory and Massacre) is an extemporaneous work, which belatedly formalises the assumptions that underpinned FRELIMO's revolutionary project. A film of transition, it marks the passage from the period of the institution (1975/1976-1979) to the period of destitution of the Aesthetics of Liberation (1975/1976-1984) of the National Film Institute (INC). *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* was censored, partially re-shot and re-edited, without Guerra's direct supervision. These operations announced a normative deviation from FRELIMO's political-cultural project and the aesthetic canonization of the 1980s. The mutilated version, that won the awards "Peoples' Friendship Union" and "Film Culture" at the Tashkent Film Festival in 1980, responds to the "Liberation Script," an epistemological and historiographical apparatus that aims to organize and codify the country's history. This article assesses the presence of elements of the cinema collectivisation programme in *Mueda, Memória e Massacre*. In parallel, it considers the influence of Makonde culture — in particular, of the Mapiko masquerade — on the film's aesthetic and narrative forms.

### Keywords

Cinema of Mozambique; Ruy Guerra; *Mueda, Memória e Massacre*; cinema and revolution; Makonde culture

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### INTRODUCTION

The modern meaning of the word *revolution* appears in the 18th century, clarified by the French Revolution during a period in which formal structures were being re-ordered. The original etymological meaning of the term comes from the Latin verb, *revolvere*, meaning to impart a rotational movement to an object, or the revolving motion of the celestial bodies. Reinhart Koselleck (Koselleck, 2004) points out the various meanings the word acquired during the *Neuzeit*: revolutions ceased to solely denote geometrical movements or ineluctable astronomical rotations, and began to indicate transformations that affect human life in all its dimensions: the "disordered movements of human destiny" (Arendt, 2012, p. 60). The semantic variation has etched the term into history. Since then, revolution, triggered by human action, forms part of the historical and phenomenological experience of time. Political revolution is accompanied by technological, epistemological and aesthetic revolutions. Certain revolutions seek to combine all these notions, as is the case of the anti-colonial revolution.

*Mueda, Memória e Massacre* (Mueda, Memory and Massacre) is considered to be the first "*fiction* feature film of the People's Republic of Mozambique". This classification

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appears in its official poster, designed by the Mozambican National Department of Propaganda and Publicity in 1980 (Figure 1). Yet, *Mueda, Memória e Massacre*'s complex *récit* cannot be reduced to a unique system of representation. Born in Lourenço Marques in 1931, Guerra was at the time one of the most important filmmakers of Brazilian *Cinema Novo*. Shot in June 1979 in the Makonde Plateau, *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* documents a collective reenactment, autonomous from the film, of one of the twentieth century's most symbolic events of resistance against Portuguese colonialism, the Mueda Massacre. In 1960, four years before the beginning of the War of Liberation in the Mozambican territory, a peaceful proto-nationalist act of resistance by the Makonde society was brutally repressed by the colonial authorities. From 1970 onwards, the date of publication of Alberto Joaquim Chipande's testimony of the massacre in the English language magazine, *Mozambique Revolution* (Chipande, 1970), one of the Mozambique Liberation Front's (FRELIMO) communication media, the Mueda Massacre became one of the founding events of the history of the young nation. According to João Paulo Borges Coelho, the history of the country was codified as a script - the "Liberation Script" (Borges Coelho, 2013) - transforming itself into an instrument to legitimise FRELIMO's authority and render it unquestionable. The "Liberation Script" is an epistemological apparatus that aims to order and codify the history of the country, in particular the history of the liberation struggle.

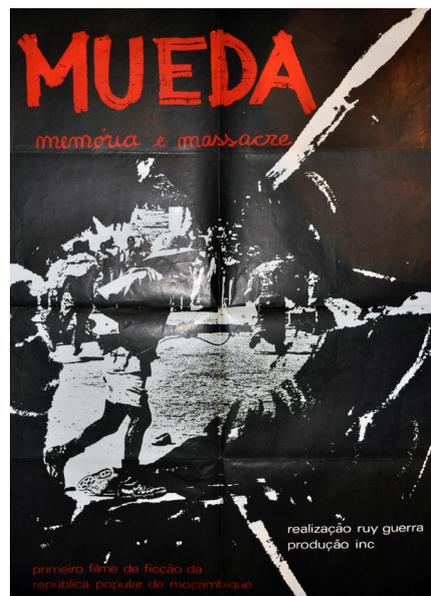


Figure 1: *Mueda, Memória e Massacre*'s official poster (National Department of Propaganda and Publicity, 1980)  
Credit: Raquel Schefer

Inasmuch as it documents a collective and carnivalesque reenactment of the Mueda Massacre, that since 1976 has been staged annually in memory of the event, *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* constitutes a *sensitive* reenactment, deeply linked to the cultural forms of the Makonde Plateau, rather than a *historical* reenactment of the event. By not placing the massacre into a historical perspective, the film brings into question the monopoly over the interpretation of the past practised by FRELIMO and, in particular, the authority

of the “Liberation Script” as a “strategic discourse located at the intersection of power relations and relations of knowledge” (Borges Coelho, 2013, p. 21). Despite not moving away from the theoretical framework of the Mozambican film programme, nor from the major aesthetic and political premises of the country’s revolutionary cinema, Guerra’s film is a dissensual object. In line with the national film programme, *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* disrupts, through its historical and formal conception, the “coloniality” (Quijano, 2000) of power and knowledge relations, assuming decolonization as a political, aesthetic and epistemological process. In other words, the filmic discourse opposes colonial forms of knowledge and representation, from the political, historical, aesthetic, and cognitive perspectives. Yet, *Mueda, Memória e Massacre*’s narrative construction and material history provide a glimpse of the close overlaps and contradictory and tense relations between the three main strands of the Mozambican film programme — collective cinema (the *Mobile Cinema* and *Cinema in the Villages* programmes; the film collectivisation projects, a topic that we will come back to later), State cinema (represented by productions that gives precedence to the information dimension, such as *Kuxa Kanema*), and auteur cinema (targeted by the training workshops for filmmakers and technicians, in which Guerra participated, in which the aesthetic dimension is an important factor) —, as well as certain ambivalences of the country’s politico-cultural programme.



Figure 2: Mapiko, Mwambula village (Mozambique). Samora with bow.  
Credit: Rui Assubuji, 2009  
Courtesy of Rui Assubuji and Paolo Israel

Certain principles of the state’s programme for the collectivisation of cinema find formal expression in the modes of dialogic enunciation, the aesthetic system and the

centrality of elements of Makonde culture in *Mueda, Memória e Massacre*. Nevertheless, it must be regarded as a belated work, since, when the shooting began, the collectivisation of cinema had become predominantly a theoretical project. Therefore, *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* is an extemporaneous work, made out of time, that belatedly formalises the principal assumptions — political, cultural, aesthetic and epistemological — of the Mozambican revolutionary project. It is also a film of transition. According to the operative chronology proposed in this article, Mozambican revolutionary cinema has three phases: pre-cinema (1966-1974/1975), prior to the country's independence, a category which is simultaneously temporal and material, linked to the affirmation of an aesthetics of contingency or an “aesthetics of the possible”, according to Guerra (Simão & Schefer, 2011); the Aesthetics of Liberation (1975/1976-1984) of the National Film Institute (INC), the organisation set up in 1976, spanning its two stages — the period of institution (1975/1976-1979), and the period of destitution (1979/1980-1984) of cinematic language —; Socialist Realism (1984/1985-1987). In accordance with this chronology, *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* would mark, respectively, via its aesthetic system and its material history, the transition from the period of institution — insofar as it has an influence on the cinematic language under development — to the period of destitution — inasmuch as it announces canonization and state control of the film production — of the INC's Aesthetics of Liberation.

The turning point in the disciplinary outlook of FRELIMO'S project took place in 1979. The theoretical discourse on the collectivisation of cinema coexisted for some time with the increasingly important state regulation of the film production, and of society as a whole. During a period marked by major inconsistencies between political theory and praxis, the processes of autonomisation of the State and the automatising of aesthetic forms developed in parallel.

The director's cut of *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* was refused in 1979 by Jorge Rebelo, then Minister of Information (1975-1980).<sup>2</sup> Following a meeting between Guerra and the minister (Schefer, 2013), the film was censored, partially re-shot and reedited without the filmmaker's direct supervision. Unlike Guerra's cut, the film's official mutilated version, that won the awards “Peoples' Friendship Union” and “Film Culture” at the Tashkent Film Festival in 1980, and screened in other international events as an exemplary piece of Mozambican revolutionary cinema, responded to the “Liberation Script” (Borges Coelho, 2013), a fundamental apparatus of FRELIMO's politics of representation and political representation. The nature and the extent of the material interventions reveal the normative deviation from Mozambique's politico-cultural project and announce the process of aesthetic canonization of the Socialist Realist tendency, which was later extended to the sphere of cinema in the early 1980s (1984/1985-1987).

The objective of this article is not to analyse *Mueda, Memória e Massacre*'s censorship, re-shooting and reediting, nor to painstakingly analyse the political, historiographical, and aesthetic reasons underlying those material interventions. Assuming the risk of

<sup>2</sup> It is important to note that the INC operated under the aegis of the Ministry of Information and not the Ministry of Education and Culture, a very significant organigramme, from the political and juridical points of view.

some important historico-political dimensions of the Mozambican revolutionary programme being neglected, due to their indirect approach, the aim is rather to consider to what extent elements of the programme for the collectivisation of cinema are present in *Mueda, Memória e Massacre*, and to examine how its narrative and aesthetic forms were influenced by Makonde culture. As regards the final point, this article will address with particular attention the dynamic and mutable masquerade, Mapiko, one of the central figures of the Makonde Plateau's culture, which was studied by colonial anthropology (Dias, Dias & Viegas Guerreiro, 1964-1970)<sup>3</sup>, and by Anna Fresu and Mendes de Oliveira (Fresu & Mendes de Oliveira, 1982) after Mozambique's independence in 1975 (Figure 2). *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* is one of the few Mozambican revolutionary films which problematises and formalises the cultural field in mutation in the aftermath of independence. Its filmic language is rooted in the languages which constitute the world of the Makonde Plateau. The circular and the semi-circular panning shots, as well as the optical superposition of different points of view are deeply linked to the cosmology and cultural modes of expression of Makonde culture.

In the wake of Amílcar Cabral's theory of culture (Cabral, 2011), according to FRELIMO, the cultural and aesthetic forms of the young nation should synthesise the formal elements of the ideal of modernity and modernization of Samora Machel and the traditional modes of cultural expression (Guebuza & Vieira, 1971; Machel, 1974, 1978). Inscribed in the Marxist conception of modernity, FRELIMO's cultural project is based on the careful selection of a set of traditional cultural forms and the consequent exclusion of others, essentially of ritual acts and practices, such as initiation ceremonies. By expressively documenting the de-structuring and structuring of the Makonde rituals after independence, *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* conciliates the country's changing traditional and modern culture. In this manner it achieves the desired cultural synthesis, situating Mozambican culture between ritual and modernity, without, however, adopting the system of inclusions and exclusions set up by FRELIMO,



Figure 3 : *Claro's* rotations (Glauber Rocha, 1975)

<sup>3</sup> The films that Margot Schmidt Dias shot at the Makonde Plateau during the ethnographic missions of Dias' team should be mentioned as one of the first filmic representations of the Makondes and the earliest systematic attempt to collect moving images within Portuguese anthropology.

Photogram from the film  
Credit: Glauber Rocha

Creating a climate of distrust with regard to the Makonde's political loyalty and their own nationalist claims, the dissidence of the Makonde leader Lázaro N'Kavandame in 1968<sup>4</sup> explains both the application of the system of inclusions and exclusions to local culture, and the insertion of the Mueda Massacre in the "Liberation Script" (Borges Coelho, 2013). By means of this insertion, the event ceases to be understood as a *Makonde* revolt and is instead considered as a *Mozambican* act of resistance. These elements also help clarify the material history of *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* (its censorship, re-shooting and reediting), reinforcing the hypothesis that the film is an extemporaneous project, that ran in counter-current to FRELIMO's project in 1979.

### CIRCLES AND ROTATIONS

The circular and semi-circular panning shots of *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* link the original etymological meaning of the term *revolution* to its modern meaning. The circular panning shot is one of the key film forms of Third Cinema and the New Latin-American Cinema.<sup>5</sup> In the framework of the culture of transnational liberation of the 1960s and 1970s, political decolonisation was perceived as being inseparable from decolonisation of culture, art and knowledge. In the tri-continental aesthetics formalised in films and in their paratext (García Espinosa, 2013; Getino & Solanas, 2010; Gutiérrez Alea, 1997; Rocha, 2004, 2006; Sanjinés, 1979, 1989; ), decolonisation of perception and of the representative forms is intertwined with the notion of *cognitive decolonisation*.

In the cinema of Glauber Rocha, Guerra and Jorge Sanjinés, among others, the geometry of the circular panning shot, detached from the value that circularity assumes in the panoptical disciplinary device, constitutes the formal expression of this enlarged understanding of decolonisation. Perceived as an emancipatory film form, the circular panning shot would be the vector of a rotation of the gaze, in two senses: of the subject of representation in relation to the world and in relation to himself; of the observed towards the observer. The culture of transnational liberation is itself crossed by different movements of rotation and reversal, such as reversal of the determination of the superstructure by the infrastructure, in the theory of Cabral (Cabral, 2011), which is also suggested by Armando Guebuza and Sérgio Vieira's in their speech in Dar Es Salam, in 1971

<sup>4</sup> In 1957, Lázaro N'Kavandame founded the "Sociedade Agrícola Voluntária dos Africanos de Moçambique" (Voluntary Agricultural Society of the Africans of Mozambique), a cooperative of cotton production and commercialisation, inspired by the associative movement of the future Tanzania. Independence aspirations arose within the cooperative, a vehicle for the politicization of the Makonde Plateau's peasants. The MANU ("Makonde African National Union" or "Mozambique African National Union"), one of the three movements from which FRELIMO was formed in 1962, was created under the aegis of N'Kavandame, following the Mueda Massacre. Thanks to its position of strength *vis-à-vis* the Makondes and the Government of Tanganyika (later, Tanzania), N'Kavandame was one of the main leaders of FRELIMO until 1968, when the Makonde leader contested FRELIMO's programmatic lines and boycotted its II Congress. Accused of traditionalism, tribalism (in the sense of aiming at Makonde independence and not national autonomy) and corruption, N'Kavandame was dismissed from all his political positions. The alleged involvement of N'Kavandame in the assassination of Eduardo Mondlane in 1969 and his supposed death sentence between 1977 and 1980 remain hazy episodes in the history of Mozambique.

<sup>5</sup> Despite its many overlaps, we consider the "New Latin American Cinema" as a specifically aesthetic category, while "Third Cinema" is mostly linked to a political praxis of cinema.

(Guebuza & Vieira, 1971). An anti-mimetic procedure *par excellence* and a dialogical mode in the highest degree, in *Mueda, Memória e Massacre*, the circular panning shot is also, in the same way as the rotating full sequence-shot in Sanjinés and Grupo Ukamau's *El Coraje del Pueblo (The Night of San Juan, 1971)*, the mode of expression of a non-Western cosmology, which operates, as in Rocha's *A Idade da Terra (The Age of the Earth, 1980)* a synthesis between ritual and politics, myth and history, and redefining in a self-referential manner, the separation between the observer and the observed, in a manner almost as radical as in Rocha's *Claro (1975, Figure 3)*.

The historical and geographical hubs of the culture of transnational liberation make it possible not only to overcome the notion of *national cinema*, but also to examine cinema as a form of thinking that is capable of linking the fields of cultural theory and the anthropology of representation. *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* is united by these hubs, without however revealing singular connecting space. The hubs interlink some of the major issues of transnational cinema of this period, such as the attempt to develop horizontal modes of cinema production, distribution and reception, redefinition of the notion of the *filmic work*,<sup>6</sup> and the proposal for “tropicalisation” (García Espinosa, 2013; Simão & Schefer, 2011) of the devices of representation<sup>7</sup>. In this sense, *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* was shot in black and white 16 mm film, a “tropical” and “national format” in Guerra's opinion (Simão & Schefer, 2011)<sup>8</sup>.

The connecting spaces reveal the concrete presence of elements of the Makonde culture. The Makonde people is not a contemplative or passive element in the film. On the contrary, the film is to a great extent a result of the mythical re-ordering of the historical event by the community. In this line, *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* adopts a multi-temporal conception of the historical event. The film not only represents commemoration of the massacre by the Makonde community in 1979. Instead, it reactivates the perceptive situations and emotional conditions of the colonial past, a colonial policy of bodies and minds, which persists in the enunciative present day. The sensitive reenactment takes place as a retrospective operation, a reversal, breaking the time horizon. *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* traces the phenomenology of colonialism.

In the same way as the above mentioned films, *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* explores

<sup>6</sup> The notion of the *work* was redefined from the denial of its historical constitutive features: beyond an individual construction, it also constitutes a collective relational practice.

<sup>7</sup> As art, language and technique, cinema involves political, social, aesthetic, and technological factors. The political, aesthetic, and also technological dimension of the Mozambican film programme makes it inevitable to consider the materiality and the ideology of cinema as a representation device. FRELIMO's positions in relation to cinema technology constitute another possible level of reading of that programme's history. From the usage of “tropicalised” (Simão & Schefer, 2011) cinema technology, an idea which presupposes a cartography of technological intensities, in the implementation of the programme for the collectivisation of cinema to the strict control of the production techniques, the history of the splendour and the death of Mozambique's revolution and revolutionary cinema looms on the horizon.

<sup>8</sup> In the framework of the Mozambican film programme's *technological tropicalism*, a concept that is going to be developed in the following pages, black and white 16 mm and Super 8 film were seen as “tropical” and “national” film formats. Both could be developed and edited in Mozambique. *Mueda, Memória e Massacre's* technical operations were entirely carried out at the INC, in an “improvised and precarious laboratory” (Schefer, 2013a) set up by the Canadian cinematographer Ron Hallis and by his wife, the editor Ophera Hallis, international “cooperants” (development volunteers) in Mozambique between 1978 and 1979.

a rotation of the gaze<sup>9</sup>. The circular and semi-circular panning shots, among other filmic forms, question the separation between the subjective and the objective elements. Guerra highlights the “circularity of motion” and “decentering” (Avellar, Sanz, & Sarno, 2006, pp. 16-17) as the main forms of his filmic oeuvre. In *Mueda, Memória e Massacre*, the circular form constitutes a figuration of the multiplicity of perspectives. In turn, the free indirect subjective perspective redefines the position of the observer and of the observed, and by displacing the dominant perceptual and cognitive modes, it transforms the image into a place of dialectical legibility, and contributes to the emergence of the collective discourse as a *counterpoint* (Ferro, 1993, p. 13) to the history of colonialism.

Since his first short film, *Cais Gorjão (Gorjão Pier, 1947/1948)*, a documentary on the dock workers in the Port of Lourenço Marques, Guerra has always represented the people in his cinema. However, *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* is possibly the film in which such figuration goes furthest. Guerra does not speak on behalf of the people, nor gives them a voice, as in the direct interviews of *A Queda (The Fall, 1977)*. The camera engages in a performative dialogue with it, following a principle of action-reaction. *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* puts the collective word into circulation, more precisely, the collective word-image.

The agencement of enunciation of the Mapiko has a decisive impact on the narrative and formal models of *Mueda, Memória e Massacre*. Without losing sight of the Mozambican reality in transformation, the film embraces the economy of representation of the Mapiko: a system of intersections between myth and history, the symbolical and the ideological. Embedded in this economy of representation, *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* produces a specific kind of anthropological knowledge. To the extent that it examines itself as a device that produces knowledge effects, it pertains to a « cinema-épistémê » liable to produce anthropological fractures.

### THE THREE STRANDS OF THE MOZAMBICAN FILM PROGRAMME AND THEIR PRESENCE IN *MUEDA, MEMÓRIA E MASSACRE*

As previously introduced, the Mozambican film programme primarily consisted of three strands: collective cinema, State cinema, and auteur cinema. Without any demarcated borders, nor precisely delineated fields of actions, the three strands are connected by a permanent and tensional interpenetration. Collective cinema, State cinema and auteur cinema coexist, sustaining themselves through a system of dynamic and contradictory relationships. From the theoretical point of view, the film representations of the independent country would tend to re-situate the relationship between art and politics, thus transforming the sensitive experience and symbolic production. It should also be noted that, in the Mozambican revolutionary context, film policy is inseparable from the general process of collectivisation of the means of production, and the contradictions associated to this process. The attempt to move towards a new representation paradigm

<sup>9</sup> The notion of a *rotation of the gaze* evokes Jean-Paul Sartre's call to action in 1961 in the foreword to Frantz Fanon's *Les Damnés de la terre* — “Let us look at ourselves, if we can bear to, and see what is becoming of us” —, echoed by Fredric Jameson — “a radical inversion of the colonial Gaze [sic] via a violent replica” (Jameson, 1998, p. 106; Sartre, 2002, p. 31).

by extending the collectivisation process to the sphere of symbolic production is even one of the most unique aspects of FRELIMO's politico-cultural project.

The attempt to reinterpret the political and aesthetic foundations of modernity together with their critique is one of the most singular aspects of the Mozambican film policy. The foundation of the INC and the first measures adopted by the institute should be examined in this light. INC's theoretical framework presupposes that cinema's social function (and that of art in general) coexists with the premise that a film is only political subject to the condition that it critiques the dominant forms of representation and the hegemonic means of production. In this sense, from the theoretical point of view, the aim was to counteract art's autonomy and art's canonisation by establishing dialectical interdependencies between content, form, and function (understood as a final goal and not in its functional role) of filmic objects. Cinema's political dimension would therefore be based on experimental working of form as the expression of an emancipatory content, and aiming at a goal that would also be emancipatory. This theoretical framework explains, on the one hand, the admiration and enthusiasm that the Mozambican programme generated in the 1970s and even today. On the other hand, from the intentional perspective, there would be no rupture between the collective cinema, State cinema, and auteur cinema in this initial context. The collectivisation of cinema (in its three spheres: the *Mobile Cinema* and *Cinema in the Villages*, and the collective cinema projects) resulted from the work of film *auteurs* (Guerra, Jean-Luc Godard, Jean Rouch, etc.; the INC generation), a category under review at the time, via state structures such as the INC, the future Mozambican Experimental Television, and the Centre for Communication Studies (CEC) of the University of Eduardo Mondlane.

The Mozambican film programme has a major contradiction from its earliest formulations and achievements. The pre-cinema (1966-1974/1975), the film production prior to the country's independence that "signals the reality to come" (Einstein, 2003, p. 38) from historical and formal perspectives, aims to lay the foundations of a popular cinema. As happened in literature, in particular with the poems of Mutimati Barbané João (João, 2008), António Quadro's heteronym, published in 1975, popular cinema should emanate the collective voice of the nation. After independence, this goal became the Trojan Horse of the Mozambican film programme. Incapable of taking over cinema's means of production by itself, the collectivity is almost invariably represented by foreign directors, often from the core countries, such as the British filmmaker Margaret Dickinson, but also from Brazil, as, for instance, José Celso Martinez Corrêa and Celso Luccas (*Vinte e cinco*, 1975-1977). Dickinson's *Behind the Lines* (1971), part of the pre-cinema *corpus*, is paradigmatic with respect to the forms of "disciplined" militant cinema (Brenez, 2011). As a step towards filling this gap - the programme for the collectivisation of cinema - the training workshops (Dickinson and Rouch, among others), and Guerra's work at the INC (he had lived in Lourenço Marques until 1951) aimed to universalise, nationalise, and de-hierarchise the film production of the internationalist State.

In the field of cinema, as in the communication sphere in general, an attempt was made to transcend the principle of specialisation of technical functions in order to overthrow the limits and break down the pyramidal hierarchy of film production. The figure of

the spectator-“producer” (Benjamin, 1992) of images embodies the goal of unifying the spheres of production, distribution, and reception. Through its organisation in horizontal communication systems, the Mozambican people would become responsible for the production, distribution, and exchange of visual information. The failed project designed by Godard for the future Mozambican television station, as well as Rouch’s workshops at the CEC are part of this programmatic line, which was closely linked to the technological debate concerning the most appropriate film format [the Super 8, a *tropical* technology, according to Guerra and Rouch, or video, a “non-tropicalised machine” (Simão & Schefer, 2011), from the point of view of the Swiss filmmaker] “in order to enter into a perspective of popular communication” (Schefer, 2015b). Technological tropicalism presents itself as a principle of de-hierarchisation of the categories of the image within a broader movement of disintegration of the structures of domination.



Figure 4 : The geometries of *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* (Ruy Guerra, 1979-1980): physical, optical, perceptive, cognitive, and mnemonic displacements. Visual interaction and exchange of glances  
 Courtesy of Ruy Guerra.

However, the politics of representation and the political representation of FRELIMO as the State-party<sup>10</sup> were incompatible with the effective universalisation of the production of information. This factor along with the function of the epistemological device of the “Liberation Script” (Borges Coelho, 2013) in the construction of Mozambique’s history, opened up a gap between collective cinema, State cinema and auteur cinema that would thenceforth characterise the film production and the different programmes of the INC. FRELIMO sought a cinema of national unification capable of developing a new political body, the Mozambican people, united by a common history of resistance.<sup>11</sup> Although the theoretical discourse in favour of cinema’s collectivisation would prevail until the beginning of the 1980s, there is, among other aspects, growing state control of film production, the abrupt, and unexpected cancellation of the *Cinema in the Villages* project in 1979, in which Guerra was directly involved, the retreat of the aesthetic dimension against the advance of the informative dimension of film production, and the consequent progressive codification of filmic narratives, thus commencing, as stated above, the period of destitution of the INC’s Aesthetics of Liberation.

The history of the Mozambican revolutionary cinema is organised around the State’s tendency to instrumentalise the cinema, both in a positive sense — its collectivisation, affirming the cinema as a mechanism of emancipation —, and in a negative sense — its conversion into an ideological device, affirming it as a mechanism of domination, and highlighting the rupture between the political sphere and society. Through films like *Mueda, Memória e Massacre*, auteur cinema resists the inflexion of the film programme. It opposes the unification of history, in other words, the codification of the War of Liberation in a single, causal, and sequential historical narrative. *Mueda, Memória e Massacre*, and Guerra’s path in his country of birth, express the opposition, already evident in 1979, between collective cinema, State cinema, and auteur cinema.

The aesthetic and narrative forms of *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* retrospectively project the collective development of auteur cinema. Cinema’s process of collectivisation is, in fact, crystallised in Guerra’s film as a formal and enunciative principle. The optical superposition of points of view, a dialogical enunciative form, based on the juxtaposition of different observation points, the circular and semi-circular panning shots and the frontal (forward and reverse) and lateral tracking shots, among other procedures, suggest the dissolution of the authorial point of view in a collective perspective. These forms provide the enunciation with the density of a collectively experienced duration. The camera focuses on the characters and on the spectators of the performance-based re-enactment of the massacre. A geometrical surface is traversed whose perimeter is permanently displaced (Figure 4): physical and optical displacement, interaction and exchange of glances, sensations, and memories, synaesthetic intensities.

<sup>10</sup> In February 1977, during the Third Congress of FRELIMO, the Frelimo Party is founded and Marxism-Leninism is adopted as the official ideology of Mozambique.

<sup>11</sup> According to FRELIMO, the history of the Mozambican people was essentially a history of colonial oppression, but also a history of resistance culminating in the War of Liberation. The people, in union with FRELIMO, would have produced a new political order: “it produced the liberated areas, i.e. an alternative State... in the context of the armed struggle” (*Não Vamos Esquecer!*, 1983, p. 7).

*Mueda, Memória e Massacre* is not just a film about the memory of the Mueda Massacre. It is a film about the sensitive experience and cognitive processes of colonialism. The interplay and the visual linkages between the camera, characters and spectators, and the way that they are edited, reconstitute the historical perceptive and cognitive conditions of the colonial subject (the demonstrators of 1960) in the film's enunciative present. The sensitive reenactment operates directly on the body of that which may and may not be represented, in the fields of perception and cognition.

The sensitive reenactment is structured by a double movement: it results from the decolonisation process in a broad sense, but the factors related to the cultural forms of the Makonde Plateau must not be neglected. Ceasing to be an object of desirable and ethnographic representation, the former colonised person is an active subject of desire and of representation in the performance-based reenactment. If the programme for the collectivisation of cinema had not been paralysed, the self-representation of the former colonised would have been pursued with *tropicalised* devices, as suggested in the film. *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* carries out a double rotation: a relational rotation (displacement of the relationship between the subject and the object of representation and knowledge) and a retroactive rotation (restitution of the perceptive and the cognitive conditions of the former colonised through a multi-temporal conception of the historical and narrative temporalities with effects on the collective memory and on the history of colonialism) and thereby highlights the suspended passage from auteur cinema to collective cinema.

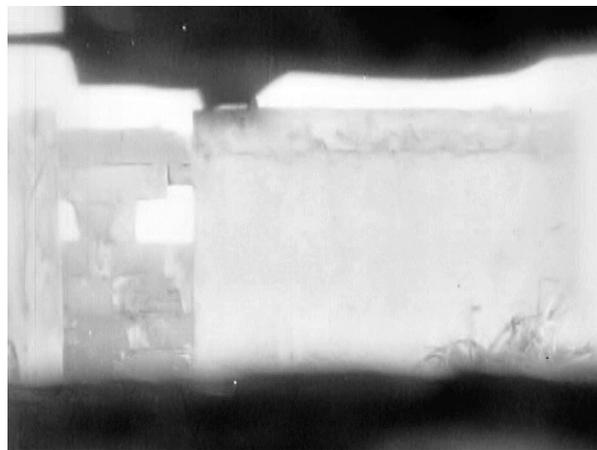


Figure 5: The prefigurative force of ruins in *Memória e Massacre* (Ruy Guerra, 1979-1980)  
Courtesy of Ruy Guerra

*Mueda, Memória e Massacre* is structured by a dialectic between the interior and exterior, effect and reflex, terms that are conciliated through the passageways between the elements which are immanent to the filmic discourse and the exterior elements, such as the sensitive experience of the film to come or the historical and utopian off-camera, which are exterior to it and only suggested. Through the specific dynamics of the sensitive reenactment, these passageways converge in the formation of a new gaze: a rotating

gaze, different modes of perception and representation, and other ways of glimpsing history and the world through a common perspective, in order to show the decolonisation process in the broadest sense of the term. It is an inverted gaze that destructures the established categories, namely the hierarchies of representation and the hierarchies of images, through an *an-image*, an inverted image, an opposite image, in rotation, invoking the Greek meaning of the prefix *ana-*, as well as the process of anamnesis, i.e. the reconstitution of a pathological history (in this case, a collective history).

In line with Third Cinema and in proximity to the prevailing theoretical framework of the INC's first years of operation, *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* offers a singular vision of political cinema. The issue at stake wasn't to transform the viewer or lead him to a new state of consciousness, the finality of the militant forms of the pre-cinema of the War of Liberation. Nor does the film contribute to the constitution of the people as the *natural* historical subject of Mozambican revolutionary cinema. On the contrary, the rotational movement of the gaze — from the observed to the observer and from the latter to itself as the enunciative instance — suspending the mechanism of identification of the spectator with the character and with the cinematic device, establishes a complex dialectic between the film to come and the projected film. Attempts are made to produce a radical and complete rotation. This is not just a question of inverting the representational axes, but also of redefining the values of position, destituting the dominant perspective through the emergence of an active and critical spectator, a potential producer. This process has important political and epistemological consequences, in particular with regard to the politics of history and memory and deconstructs the fiction of the resisting and homogeneous people, which paradoxically strips it of its political autonomy.



Figure 6: Nshindo, Litamanda village (Macomia). Ng'avang'a (dog)  
Credit: Rui Assubuji, 2009  
Courtesy of Rui Assubuji and Paolo Israel

These reasons highlight the unique position of *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* in the history of Mozambican revolutionary cinema. The film articulates the three main strands

of the Mozambican film programme. Produced by the INC and later censored, partially re-shot and reedited in the institute, Guerra's film belatedly formalises the premises of the project of collective cinema through its filmic forms and enunciation modes. Although in line with the theoretical positions of the INC in relation to aesthetics and politics, *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* is produced at a turning point in FRELIMO's politico-cultural programme. An extemporaneous film since it exposes and formalises a theoretical framework that had already fallen into disuse, making the invisible — the contradictions of the Mozambican revolutionary project — emerge from a work concerning visible elements — of a system of representation that at first glance is a “documentary” depiction of the Revolution —, *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* is a film that is simultaneously retrospective (the sensitive reenactment) and forward-looking (the ruin as a prefigurative force, Figure 5).

Constituting a critique of the dominant forms of representation and using non-standardised means of production, *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* is one of the most eloquent objects of Mozambican revolutionary cinema. If the political dimension of a film is not purely immanent or formal, if it does not reside solely in its function, nor does it solely constitute a reflection of reality or an effect of the content in its relation with a given exteriority, *Mueda, Memória e Massacre*, in line with INC's programmatic lines, treats “reality” as a problem, and as a sphere to be transformed. However, *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* is far from being the epic film desired by the Ministry of Information. This goal, demonstrates by itself, to what extent the political praxis had been separated from the institute's theoretical positions. Yet, that which primarily makes *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* a disturbing film, determining its material history is Guerra's understanding that Mozambican cinema (just as the country's political project), should necessarily articulate, at risk of disappearing or bifurcating, the ritual and politics, and give formal expression, beyond the content itself, to this articulation. According to this perspective, which was already evident in *Os Deuses e os Mortos* (*The Gods and the Dead*, 1970), Guerra's film closest to the *Cinema Novo* trends, the collectivity would only be present through the process of aesthetic absorption of its cultural forms by the fabric of the film. In addition to the appropriation of the means of production and collectivism of the dialogic form (Bakhtin, 1992), the collectivisation process assumes this other dimension. In Guerra's film, this dimension is linked to the assertion, so contrary to the unity of the “Liberation Script” (Borges Coelho, 2013), of history's perspectivism and memory's pluralism, as well as to the recognition of Mozambique's ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity against attempts to create a national folklore and canon.

#### **ON FISH AND MONKEYS: THE CULTURAL FORMS OF THE MAKONDE PLATEAU IN *MUEDA, MEMÓRIA E MASSACRE***

An old tale from the Ancuabe District retrieved by Jorge Dias and Manuel Viegas Guerreiro recounts the mythic origin of colonialism:

In days of old, white people were fish. One day, a black man took a fishhook and went fishing. When he took it from the water, a fish came and became a

white man. The black people took care of him until he grew up. He acquired good things and, once he had them in his possession, he started to make us suffer very much. Since then, they have never stopped treating us badly. (Dias & Viegas Guerreiro, 1966, p. 309)

This tale summarises the Makonde perspective on the white man. According to the myth, the humanity of the black man is older than that of the white man. The black man has prior knowledge of technique: he fishes and he makes hooks. The white man only acquires an anthropomorphic form after his first contact with the black man. Learning makes him human. The narrative presupposes a process of metamorphosis, a magic mimicry, and a separation of form and substance. Physical resemblance produces dissimilarity and incommunicability, oppression and violence.

The tale shows the variations of history in the oral tradition. It demonstrates a complete reversal of the colonial teleology and ideology of the civilising mission. The transmission of knowledge is made from the colonised to the coloniser. The shift may reflect the phenomena of *calibanisation* which characterises Portuguese colonialism, distinguishing it from the hegemonic colonial model represented by the British system, as argued by Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2003). Through this process of *cafrealisation*, as defined by António Ennes in 1873 (Ennes, 1946, p. 192) as “a kind of reversion of the civilised man to the primitive state,” the Portuguese colonisers often abandoned the European cultural practices to adopt the local ones, especially in Southern Africa. This overwhelming perspective on colonial history, and the mythical reading of *inter-identity* (Sousa Santos, 2003) as one of the most important characteristics of Portuguese colonialism weaves through the performance-based reenactment of the Mueda Massacre documented by Guerra. Exemplifying cinema as a cultural practice, *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* lies at the intersection of history and myth.

Guerra’s work produced in Brazil prior to his return to Mozambique in 1977 constitutes a sophisticated filmic re-elaboration of the intersections between mythical messianism and revolutionary ideology (namely, the War of Canudos) in the history of Brazil, a principle which also shapes Rocha’s filmography. Ismail Xavier considers that an anthropological dimension gains significance in *Os Deuses e os Mortos*, “crystallised in the attention to the syncretic representations of the Brazilian rural world” (Xavier, 2003, p. 132). In the same way as the 1970 film, *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* has an undeniable anthropological dimension, without showing any effort to understand the phenomenon or provide any anthropological explanation.

In *Os Macondes de Moçambique* (Dias, Dias & Viegas Guerreiro, 1964-1970), the monographic study resulting from the ethnographic missions conducted by Dias and his team in the Mozambican territory from 1957 to 1961, the Makondes are theoretically constructed as an anthropological object beyond (or outside) the historical processes. Portuguese colonial anthropology describes traditional societies as homogeneous and stable units, which would have remained intact and unchanged despite the existence of a colonial system based on power and race relations. During the first half of the twentieth century, Portuguese colonial anthropology is characterised by an anthropobiological

orientation. It is in this framework that, between 1937 and 1956, over the course of six campaigns, the Anthropological Mission of Mozambique, headed by Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos Junior, performs an anthropometric survey of the African population of the territory. From the mid-1950s, in a context in which, following the Second World War, the concept of race is strongly discredited, “a new direction of Ethnology as an independent science from Physical Anthropology” begins to take shape in Portugal, according to Rui M. Pereira (Pereira, 2005, p. 233). Physical Anthropology was thus replaced by Colonial Ethnology as the anthropological paradigm, gathering around the figure of Dias. Pereira considers that it was “a brief transitional period,” since, in the 1960s, the separation between Physical Anthropology and Ethnology as independent applied sciences was definitively established” (Pereira, 2005, p. 235).

Despite the impact of the rupture in the new orientation for anthropology under the impetus of the figure and work of Dias concerning the Portuguese situation of the 1950s, in *Os Macondes de Moçambique*, the Makondes are described as the worthy representatives of a traditional culture. The Makondes have an anthropological interest for Dias’ team because they retain the traditions of their ancestors and not because their society is changing. Harry G. West considers that Dias made of the Makonde “‘monuments’ [sic] of their own ‘tradition’” (West, 2004, p. 56), and highlights the discrepancy between Dias’ theoretical and methodological basis and the anthropological research of his time. In the words of the anthropologist,

It came as a surprise to me that the Dias team, conducting field research in the late 1950s and publishing their works in the following decade, would produce ethnography of this genre. Anthropologists of other nationalities had long since begun to focus on the impact of colonialism on the peoples they studied, and to produce ethnographic works that portrayed social change through process-oriented analysis. (West, 2004, p. 56)

West cites as examples of the anthropological paradigm’s shift the research on the economic development and migrant labour — pressing problems at the Makonde Plateau at the time of Dias’ research trips — conducted between the 1940s and the early 1960s by anthropologists such as Max Gluckman, Isaac Schapera, Audrey Richards, Arnold L. Epstein and Aidan Southall, near the Mozambique border, in collaboration with the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute of Northern Rhodesia. These issues, addressed in the performance-based reenactment of the Mueda Massacre and considered as one of the causes of the emergence of the proto-nationalist movement, were, according to West, “emergent interests within the discipline at that time” (West, 2004, p. 56). The anthropologist concludes that “Dias and his colleagues did not ignore contemporary events and processes in their ethnographic works so much as they circumvented them” (West, 2004, p. 56). While recognizing the importance of Dias’ monograph, in *In Step with the Times: Mapiko Masquerades of Mozambique*, an anthropological study of the Mapiko and its formal dynamic between 1920 and 2010, Paolo Israel shares West’s perspective. In the words of the anthropologist, “the Dias’ interpretation of the Mapiko reflects the backwardness

of Portuguese ethnology — enthralled by functionalism when it was already on the wane — rather than the primitive mentality of the Makonde (Israel, 2014, p. 29).

Dias' vision of Makonde society would prevail until the early works of Mozambican anthropology. *Mueda, Memória e Massacre's* representation of Makonde society stands in sharp contrast to Dias' static depiction. Makonde society appears as a changing rather than as a static society in the film. The Makonde's cultural forms are shown as dynamic forms, affected by the War of Liberation, the independence process and the collectivisation of the economy. Insofar as Guerra's film is one of the few intermediate representations of the Makonde Plateau between Dias' study and the research conducted in the 1980s, it may be regarded as an important historical and anthropological document of a rapidly changing society, in particular from the point of view of the anthropology of representation. Nevertheless, it is necessary to highlight that the film does not postulate any anthropological model of representation, not even the model of shared anthropology.

The Mapiko masquerade, accompanied by music and choreography, plays a crucial role in Makonde social life and ritual, especially in initiation rites (Figure 6). The masks are considered sacred objects, embodying the spirit of the dead. The ritual presupposes the adoption of certain codes of conduct, such as the expression of fear on the part of children and women. These behavioural codes underlie Dias' interpretation of the ritual: for the anthropologist, the masquerade is a strategy to perpetuate male dominance in a matrilineal society. Dias' reading would be contradicted by the Mapiko's historical structuration, namely by the emergence of female Mapikos as the *Lingundumbwe*, studied by Israel. According to Israel, this dynamic cultural form “marked by a double inclination to naturalistic perfection and grotesque exaggeration” (Israel, 2014, p. 2), reflects and represents the great social transformations from the colonial period to nowadays. According to the anthropologist, the aesthetic transformations of the Mapiko are specially intensified during the War of Liberation and after the independence through singular intersections between ritual and politics (Figure 2). In the words of Israel, “permeated by political symbolism as none of the other song-and-dance Mozambican traditions were” (Israel, 2014, p. 10). However, for the anthropologist, the transformation of the masquerade over the course of the twentieth century results mainly from “a principle internal to this institution itself: ritual rivalry” (Israel, 2014, p. 2). This factor is considered by the anthropologist as “the motor that stimulated masquerading creativity” (Israel, 2014, p. 7). In this respect, if, according to Israel, the political change of the Mapiko “reveals a collective investment in a socialist utopian collectivity” (Israel, 2014, p. 11). The performers of the masquerade used “the symbols and aesthetics of socialism as weapons of competitive rivalry, to bolster specific local identities” (Israel, 2014, p. 11).

*Mueda, Memória e Massacre* depicts this dynamic between ritual and politics, the collective and the individual. The film does not invent a people through fabulation, in the Deleuzian sense (Deleuze, 1985), nor does it represent a people “condemned to disappear” (Didi-Huberman, 2013, p. 108). On the contrary, it documents a popular process of self-representation through the performance-based re-enactment of the massacre. It depicts the Makonde's perspective of the historical event by impregnating the filmic discourse

with the cultural forms of the Makonde Plateau. It aims to intersect this perspective with the points of view of the witnesses of the massacre, conducting interviews with them.

In the process of self-representation, expressive of an emancipatory kind of mimicry (Bhabha, 1984), the transformed dynamic forms of the Mapiko play a central role. These propagate the film's aesthetic forms (the sequence-shot, the circular panning shots, the optical superimposition of points of view, the tracking shots), and narrative forms (dialogism). The camera's rhythmical, constant, and sometimes circular motion, recalls the cadence of the Mapiko, pointing to the body's semiotic value in the definition of Makonde identity. The body retains colonial memory, being set as the starting point of the sensitive re-enactment of the massacre. Corporeal metamorphosis, suggested in the theatrical re-enactment through the assumption of colonial identities, is central in Makonde culture. Israel (Israel, 2014) indicates that at the end of the nineteenth century the Mapiko masks were already linked to the representation of otherness. The representation of otherness marks the passage from the individual to the collective, since the body does not ever let itself to be seen in its absolute uniqueness in the Makonde culture. The assumption of otherness is followed by the perspectivation of sameness from the point of view of otherness, as it happens when the characters hesitate about the colour of their skin. The film seeks therefore to provide a dual and simultaneous perspective – the gaze of the colonised in relation to the coloniser and vice-versa – whose performative representation depends on the coexistence of enunciative forms which correspond to spaces of experience from the present and from the past (the discourses of the coloniser and the colonised in different languages, Portuguese and Shimakonde; the anti-colonial discourse) within the time of enunciation. This co-existence is achieved via dialogism (Bakhtin, 1992), of the interlinking between subjective and collective perspectives, interior and exterior, and of a “double becoming” (Deleuze, 1985): of the author/narrator toward the characters, and from the characters towards the author/narrator. *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* also explores a second crossing point: the transitions between the visible and the invisible, which structure Makonde cosmology, another possible reading of the system of visibilities and invisibilities discussed earlier.

In *Kupilikula. Governance and the Invisible Realm in Mozambique*, West focuses on the Makonde cosmology, studying the *uwavi*, the practices of sorcery,<sup>12</sup> as one of the languages of power of the Makonde Plateau (West, 2005). West does not refer directly to the Makonde, but to the Muedans, considering that the inhabitants of the plateau are impregnated, in their relative ethnic diversity, with local cosmologies. According to the local cosmologies, power operates on two fronts, one of them visible, the other invisible. In this perspective, “power is the exceptional ability to transcend the world most people know in a realm beyond the visible world” (West, 2005, p. 4). According to West, it is therefore necessary to take into account the existence of this invisible sphere, a territory of witchcraft and sorcery, to understand the political conception of the inhabitants of the plateau. Inspired by Bakhtinian dialogism (Bakhtin, 1992), West considers that *uwavi* was

<sup>12</sup> Israel emphasises the broad meaning of the shimakonde term, *mapiko*: the word refers not only to the masks, but also, through its connection to the verb *kupika*, to the transformation of the sorcerer into a magical beast (Israel, 2014, p. 2).

historically transformed through its contact with other languages, including the language of colonialism, and the language of revolutionary nationalism. Dialogism also opens the possibility that the *uwavi* can be learned : *I argue, one may approximate uwavi (it)'s ways of seeing and understanding the world in another language, although something is inevitably lost in translation* (West, 2005, p. 4). On the other hand, through the reproduction of *uwavi* discourse, Muedans reproduce “their world” (West, 2005, p. 4).

The contiguity between the visible realm and the invisible realm is based on a performative conception of language (Austin, 1975): sorcerers have the ability to enter the invisible world to transform the visible world. However, according to West, throughout its successive temporal horizons, *uwavi* was less a form of resistance against the other languages of power — colonialism, socialism or currently neoliberalism — than the possibility of apprehending differently the visible world and of remaking it from the invisible world. West uses Ernst Cassirer’s (Boehm, 1980; West, 2005, p. 8) concept of *Sinnesorgan* (“sensitive or sensible organ”) to describe this sensitive faculty, close to the notion previously developed of “sensitive reenactment”. It is suggested not only the possibility of counter-perspectives on the sensitive world being forged by a different kind of rationality, but also the hypothesis that the visible realm can be transformed from the invisible realm. This conception crosses *Mueda, Memória e Massacre*’s performance-based reenactment as the expression of a sensitive reinterpretation of the colonial past aiming to transform Muedans’ relationship to the history of colonialism and the experience of the revolutionary present. However, to what extent does it not incarnate cinema, a visual technology that is based upon singular configurations between the visible and the invisible, and upon particular articulations between reason and emotion [“pre-logical” thinking, in a metaphorical sense, as the model of cinema, an image of thought, according to Eisenstein (Eisenstein, 1976)], through its specific means of fabulation, the continuity between the two realms and the possibility of moving from one to another? Apprehending cinema and Guerra’s film according to a Makonde perspective does not therefore imply reflecting upon the way the film medium conjugates by itself the relationship between the visible and the invisible, and how it breaks the barrier between thought and emotion? The gaze of the participants of the stage play in relation to the cinematographic device (Figure 4) can then be seen as an attempt to observe the invisible sphere, from the visible sphere, and thus as an attempt of “empowerment.” The film image, in the process of becoming, is thus assumed as a techno-sensory manifestation of thought.

In *Mueda, Memória e Massacre*, among the discussed film forms, the dialectic between the interior and exterior, cited above, determines the permanent transition between systems of representation — the re-staging, on the following day, of the sequences shot inside the former colonial administrative building (Schefer, 2013); cinema-performance and the camera choreography, close to Direct Cinema, in the exterior scenes. The dialectic between the interior and exterior also points to the gap between the internalisation (as an internal position of thought) of the colonial experience and its externalisation (through language). In this sense, it might constitute a non-conscious expression, given the short duration of the shoot and Guerra’s relative ignorance of Makonde culture and

of the plateau's cosmology. It is worth pointing out the "African imaginary and sensibility" (Simão & Schefer, 2011) which, according to Guerra, would have indelibly marked his poetry and cinema. Though coming from the white colonial elite, Guerra's identity would oscillate between modernity and ritual, content-forms that structure his literary and cinematographic production. In his filmography, this tension is especially relevant with regard to the indetermination between the systems of representation of documentary, and fiction, a central operating principle in his work since *Os Cafajestes (The Unscrupulous Ones, 1962)*, which reaches its culmination in *Mueda, Memória e Massacre*. West's reading not only makes it possible to review the dualistic structures that historically guided the anthropological and cinematographic discourses (for example, certain conceptions that tend to affirm the opposition between "fiction" and "documentary", an opposition which is exceeded in *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* through generic indeterminacy), but also suggests the possibility of surpassing the separation between objectivity and subjectivity in the knowledge construction process, and overcoming Western epistemology in the terms it was historically formulated and imposed. In line with Achille Mbembe (Mbembe, 2001), the anthropologist considers that the process of "democratisation" (West, 2005, p. 2) of contemporary Africa does not depend on the application of a Western model of power, but on the usage of specifically African languages of power, including *uwavi*.

During the first years of independence, *uwavi* was forced to retreat to the invisible sphere, due to FRELIMO's condemnation of sorcery. At the same time, an effort was being made to operate an epistemological shift, in particular in the field of anthropology, which was essentially based on the emergence of a counter-perspective of history and on the overcoming of the rigid separation between the subject and the object of knowledge.

The refounding of anthropology - as, indeed, of the whole scientific field and especially the social sciences, was indeed one of the pillars of the Mozambican project. The goal was to achieve an epistemological rupture between the social and human sciences of the independent country and colonial epistemology. With regard to anthropology, it was thought its refounding would bring new elements to the problem of the political figuration of the people. As noted by Catherine Russell, anthropology can assume a "role as a counterpoint to the linear historiography of the colonial period" (Russell, 1999, p. 271).

In this context, Mozambican social and human sciences reconsider Mapiko in the light of Marxism. In a study of 1982, Anna Fresu and Mendes de Oliveira (Fresu & Mendes de Oliveira, 1982) theorise the evolution of the masquerade from the point of view of a transition from primitive tribal ritual to theatre. From this point of view, which reiterates the system of inclusions and exclusions applied to the Mozambican traditional cultures by FRELIMO, the massacre's performance-based reenactment shot by Guerra would be seen as a theatrical expression of the masquerade, adapted to the historical context of the building of socialism. As in the cinema and the arts, after the rupture of the first years of independence, the 1980s constitute a turning point in the scientific field. Israel indeed considers that colonial anthropology and Fresu and Mendes de Oliveira's study share a functionalist conception of the Mapiko (Israel, 2014).

*Mueda, Memória e Massacre*'s new perspective not only intends to affirm the unity between myth and history, ritual and politics at that precise space-time, it also crystallises the theoretical premises of the programme for the collectivisation of cinema. The film proposes unity between the subject and the object of representation, in accordance with the methodologies of Mozambican social and human sciences, which oppose the rigid separation between the subject and the object of knowledge, one of the consequences of the emergence of modern rationality. The aesthetic and narrative forms uphold the dissolution of the representative and cognitive positions based on the dichotomy of the subject-object paradigm and, by extension, of the dualism of the coloniser-colonised. If Sousa Santos refers to the "chaotic disjunction" (Sousa Santos, 2003) between the subject and the object of colonial representation as one of the specificities of the complex field of representations and self-representations of Portuguese colonialism, in *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* those who were, historically speaking, observed persons became observers. In its collective-becoming, there are no longer privileged perspectives, but only multiplied perspectives, in proximity to certain theories, such as Viveiros de Castro's Amerindian perspectivism (Viveiros de Castro, 2002), in which the opposition between subjectivism and objectivism is surpassed. The film also suggests the possibility of cinema, besides representing ritual, becoming itself a ritual (as exemplified by Rocha's cinema-trance), a cinema-ritual, by suppressing the clear separation between the material and the ritual spheres.

The filmic discourse shifts, finally, the historical perception of the different phases of the decolonisation process. It interweaves two conceptions of time — one cyclical; the other, progressive —, and two events — the colonial massacre and the anti-colonial Marxist revolution, the political and economic changes that shook the Makonde world in the post-independence era, when social utopia replaced tradition, and economy and history took the place of myth. *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* leads an extraordinary reflection on the necessary coexistence of the cyclical time of myth with a political project inscribed in the Marxist narrative of modernity. The film dialectises the transformation of Makonde society. At the same time, opposing the sensitive reenactment of the Mueda Massacre to its stabilised historical narration in the "Liberation Script" (Borges Coelho, 2013), *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* also testifies to a representative and methodological self-reflexivity of cinema as it reviews itself as a medium producing effects of knowledge. Besides revealing the complex fabric of relationships between the filmic representation and the general epistemological framework, Guerra assumes cinema as a device that produces a different type of historical, anthropological and sociological knowledge, while the camera is asserted as an epistemological device. //

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