Mauritania
Niger River
Senegal
BAMBARA
DOGON
Mali
Gambia
Upper Volta
BOBO
MOSI
KURUMBA
Portuguese Guinea
LANDUMA
NALU
BAGA
SENUFO
LOBI
Guinea
MENDE
LOMA
KONO
Sierra Leone
KPELLE
DAN
GURO
BAULE
ANYI
ASHANTI
BASSA
KRAN
ATYE
FANTI
Liberia
BETE
Tog
Ghana
Ivory Coast

Niger
Chad
Lake Chad
Sudan
YORUBA
City of Ife
Benin City
BENUE VALLEY
IDOMA
MATAKAM
BA-BANKI
BA-MUN
IGBO
EKOI
IBIBIO
BA-MILEKE
Central African Republic
A-ZANDE
MANGBETU
MA-BUDU
Nigeria
Cameroon
Rio Muni
Congo River
BA-KWELE
FANG
BA-MBOLE
BA-SANGU
A-MBETE
KUYU
BANYA-METOKO
Gabon
BA-LUMBU
BA-TEKE
BA-LEGA
BA-BEMBE
BA-KUBA
Congo
Cabinda
BA-BWENDE
BA-SONGYE
BA-WONGO
BA-KETE
BA-PENDE
BENA-LULUA
Great Lakes District
BA-KONGO
BA-SUKU
BA-YAKA
BA-SALAMPASU
TU-CHOKWE
BA-LUBA
Angola
OVI-MBUNDU

COVER: 88. Yoruba: Royal twin figures.

AFRICAN ARTS

An Exhibition at the
Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology
of the University of California, Berkeley
April 6/ October 22, 1967

presented with the support of the
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Committee for Arts and Lectures

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The Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago
The Harry A. Franklin Gallery, Beverly Hills
The Furman Gallery, New York City
The Howard University Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
The Museum and Laboratories of Ethnic Arts and Technology, University of California, Los Angeles
The Museum of Primitive Art, New York City
The Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University
The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto
The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania
The M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco

An Orthographic Note

For the benefit of non-anthropologists, prefixes of the names of ethnic groups have been restored. For some time it has been customary—and for good reasons—for anthropologists to drop all prefixes (A-, Ama-, Ba-, Bakwa-, Banya-, Bashi-, Bena-, Bi-, Bo-, Ma-, Ova-, Ovi-, Tu-, Wa-) of Bantu names in East and South Africa, and Zulu is now more familiar to most people than Ama-Zulu. However, this has not been done consistently, particularly in the Cameroons, and it has been done so recently in the Congo that the new usage is not familiar. The root following the hyphen is the name currently used in anthropological circles.

There is considerable inconsistency in usage, to be sure, and great variability in the spelling of some names, with over forty ways of rendering the name of the Tu-Chokwe; alternative spellings are occasionally given in parentheses. We have attempted to follow current usage here, taking as our authorities in most cases Westermann and Bryan's *Languages of West Africa*, Guthrie's *The Bantu Languages of Western Equatorial Africa*, and Boone's "Carte Ethnique du Congo Belge et du Ruanda-Urundi." Where sub-groups are designated by distinct names, we have used the group name as a surname, as in Mafa Matakam.

African Arts: An Introduction

In approaching the arts of Africa, whether for the first or the hundredth time, it is well to keep three salient characteristics in mind. These traits, which are by no means unique to African arts, are stylization, diversity, and consistency.

The arts of Africa are characterized, above all else, by stylization. African artists have felt no need to represent humans or animals with anything like photographic realism; the idea is so alien to them that the rare exceptions are striking. Most African sculpture is representational, but the subjects are frequently mythical or supernatural, sometimes fantastic, and often combining human and animal features. Moreover, African artists have freely exercised an artistic license in varying dimensional scales and body proportions and in employing simplification, exaggeration, and other distortions of reality.

Because of their pronounced stylization, African arts were not appreciated outside Africa—except by a very few explorers, anthropologists, and museum employees—until early in this century; for the departure from the realistic portrayal of nature, which is taken so much for granted today, was in direct opposition to the Western aesthetic canons of the nineteenth century. Yet it was this very departure from naturalism that appealed to the artists of Europe, who were already seeking to escape from the stereotyped standards of the naturalism of the Academy of France.

Maurice Vlaminck has described the depth of his experience when, in 1905, he first *saw* the latent power of three statuettes from Dahomey and the Ivory Coast. He also tells how he showed a white mask[1] to Derain, who was speechless and seemed stunned when he saw it, and to Picasso and Matisse, who were "bowled over by it in just the same way." Similarly, Matisse has recorded how he was moved by the purity of line and strangeness of some African statuettes he saw in Paris; and he describes Picasso's reaction to them: "He at once became enthusiastic, and from then on everyone began to look for Negro statues, which in those days were not difficult to find." (Rachewiltz, 1966, pp. 139–141).

The extent to which these and other European artists copied African arts may still be subject to debate, but there can be no doubt that they were greatly inspired and influenced by them. One can see in them not only the beginnings of Picasso's "Negro" period and Matisse's *fauve* period, but also the foreshadowings of cubism, expressionism, surrealism, and other post-impressionist developments in Western art. In the end, all this led to revolutionary changes in the canons of Western aesthetics and to an appreciation of African arts by the general public that has grown at a truly breathtaking pace.

By now it is realized that, despite their great contribution to our own art tradition, the arts of Africa are to be recognized first and foremost in their own right. African sculpture is now represented in a rapidly increasing number of private collections, despite skyrocketing prices, as well as in anthropological and art museums; and a swelling stream of books on the arts of Africa is flowing off the presses in America and abroad. African sculpture is ranked by some authorities with the arts of Egypt, Greece, and the Renaissance; and it may well come to be acknowledged as the greatest contribution of Africa, and of Africans, to the world's cultural heritage.

Although it is fashionable to speak of the discovery of African art by the artists of Europe, they were not the first to appreciate it as art. Leo Frobenius' *Die Masken und Geheimbünde Afrikas* appeared in 1899; and a number of books and articles on the art of Benin were published in 1898–1900 by O. M. Dalton, A. H. Lane Fox Pitt-Rivers, Charles Herbert Read, and Henry Ling Roth.[2] In fact, the Benin bronzes and ivories were the first African sculptures to gain public recognition as art. Brought back by members of the British military expedition which sacked the city of Benin in 1897 in reprisal for murder, they found their way into British private collections and museums, German museums which had agents buying for them at the docks of Liverpool, and eventually many other collections. The Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago, which has the largest Benin collection in this hemisphere, acquired its first pieces in 1899.

The Ife bronzes were first made known to the world by Leo Frobenius in 1912. With their sensitive naturalism, these bronze heads from the Yoruba city of Ife in Nigeria are the most striking exception to the rule of African stylization (Nigerian Museum, n.d., p. 9 ff.).

[1] This mask is attributed to the Fang of Gabon. See Fagg & Plass, 1964, p. 11; and Robbins, 1966, plate 235. (For titles see References Cited).

[2] In this connection it is worth noting that ten of the pieces included in this exhibit were collected before 1900.

Even the lines on the face, which from a sculptural point of view so effectively emphasize the flowing curves of the forehead, cheeks, and chin, may have been realistic representations of scarification or some other means of decoration. Yet even the master sculptors who cast the Ife bronzes and from whom, according to Benin traditions, the Benin artists learned bronze-casting, were not completely free from stylization. In their full figures (Fraser, 1962: 50) they portrayed the human body as composed of three parts of approximately equal size—head, torso, and legs—a stylistic convention still to be found in recent Yoruba woodcarvings.

We do not know why this particular convention first developed, but it is probably related to the idea that the head is the most important part of the body and the Yoruba belief that it is the seat of one's destiny or luck. In a similar manner Yoruba carvers commonly emphasize the importance of a principal figure in a group by reducing the scale of subordinate figures or by making a man larger than the horse he rides (95). The emphasis on the head is by no means confined to the Yoruba, nor is the use of stylistic conventions to serve artistic purposes; both simplification and exaggeration are widely employed in Africa for the purpose of emphasis (Illustrations 1, 69, 76, 80, 124, 185).

Stylization is so striking a characteristic of African arts that the naturalistic treatment of some details is likely to be overlooked. Yoruba carvings are often painted to represent the three shades of color (black, red, and yellowish-brown) which they distinguish linguistically in describing themselves; and their facial scarifications, which designate lineage affiliations, are correctly indicated by incisions on the cheeks and forehead (95). Bodily scarifications may also be shown realistically; and ritual paraphernalia, when included, is portrayed accurately enough to be identifiable. Hairdress, to which careful attention is paid in African sculpture, is often far less fanciful and far more realistic than it might seem (102, 119); this has been demonstrated perhaps most strikingly for the Senufo (Himmelheber, 1960, p. 65). Yet it is stylization which underlies the emotional impact which African arts convey.

A second characteristic of the arts of Africa is their stylistic diversity. The number and variety of styles make any generalizations both difficult and suspect. They are also one reason why we speak here of African Arts and why this catalogue and exhibit differ in some ways from those the Lowie Museum has produced previously. This diversity may seem bewildering at first, but with continued exposure one can readily learn to distinguish a Dogon mask from a mask from the neighboring Mosi (20, 21) and in time to recognize sub-styles within a single society. Experts can sometimes identify the town in which a piece was produced and, as in European art, even recognize the hand of a particular artist.

The problem is complicated by the fact that within the same society may exist different styles, as distinct from each other, for example, as Yoruba woodcarving (90–91) is from Yoruba forged iron sculpture (97). Several distinct styles may be associated with different craft groups within a society, as in this case; in other cases similar themes and motifs are repeated in different media. Adding to the initial confusion are the great number of art-producing societies in Africa, the inconsistent and changing usages in and spellings of the names of ethnic groups and sub-groups, and the renaming of the cities and new nations of Africa.

However, with increasing familiarity, this stylistic diversity adds excitement to the adventure of experiencing African arts, as new styles and new genres are encountered; and indeed they are still being discovered, and we can expect that some surprises may still await us. The "discovery" of African art has continued throughout this century as new genres have been made known and less realistic styles accepted.

Initially, only a few African styles which did not depart too radically from the established Western standards of beauty were accepted, particularly Benin, Fang, Baule, and perhaps Yoruba (known at that time and for decades afterwards in France as "Dahomean"); but as the Western canons were liberalized, particularly after the acceptance of German expressionism, other more forceful African art styles became fashionable.

Examples of well known genres are, of course, included here, but along with them are some which will not be familiar to some students of African arts, including a Landuma comb (5), a Senufo helmet mask (34), an Idoma figure (111), a pair of unidentified figures from the Benue Valley in Nigeria (112), a Mafa Matakam pot (113), a Banya-Metoko figure (180), a pair of Ma-Budu figures (188), and a number of pieces which could not be illustrated.

Not all of the arts of Africa are great art; and certainly not all are beautiful in the sense of being pretty. We know that some Baule figures (58) and some Tu-Chokwe (163) and Igbo (102) masks were intended to represent beautiful women, but, as among the Igbo, some masks were humorous and others were deliber-

ately grotesque or imposing and intended to inspire awe among both believers and nonbelievers (103–104). Some Westerners have difficulty in appreciating the African sculptures they consider "ugly" because of the continuing influence of nineteenth-century European canons; but not all art is beautiful, and not all that is beautiful is art.

Because of their stylistic diversity and their varying modes of humor, beauty, fantasy, and fearsomeness, African arts should offer something for everyone; individual preferences will differ, but anyone who can leave prejudice behind should be able to find something to appreciate and enjoy. There have been fads in African arts as our standards have changed, and some pieces are prized for characteristics which have nothing to do with either sculptural quality or stylistic fidelity: age, rarity, size, patination or encrustation, heavy weathering, "mint" condition, or media (e.g., gold, ivory, bronze).

If stylistic diversity adds excitement to the exploration of African arts, stylistic consistency provides a sense of satisfaction, as when one recognizes a recurring theme in a symphony or a familiar face in a crowd. We recognize an upturned nose on a Ba-Yaka figure and comb (144, 145), a Guro or Baule mask on a loom pulley (55, 65), or an Ashanti fertility doll on a comb (78). This is not simple repetition, as in the case of a series of Baga *Nimba* helmet masks (1), all of which are similar in form, but the imaginative adaption of a familiar motif to a new setting.

One's ability to distinguish one art style from another depends upon the recognition of this adaptive repetition and upon consistency in body proportions, in the rendering of the face, or in such details as treatment of the ear or mouth, as well as upon a knowledge of the inventory of genres produced in a given society. Some styles have identifying features which serve almost as hallmarks, such as the scarifications of the Yoruba (96) and the Bena-Lulua (167–169), the elegantly simplified heart-shaped face of the Ba-Kwele (124), the prominent bulbous forehead of the Ba-Salampasu (164–166), the large oval eye sockets of the Ba-Bembe (186–187), or the upturned nose of the Ba-Yaka. These are helpful in learning to recognize art styles, but they are not always conclusive in determining the origin of individual pieces, since stylistic conventions and art styles may be shared by several societies. The upturned Ba-Yaka nose is found on some Ba-Suku carvings, and the whitened masks of the Ba-Lumbu (129) are used by several groups in the Ogowe River area of Gabon.

Attribution remains a problem for scholars as well as collectors, not only because styles and conventions are shared or because illustrations of some genres have never been published, but also because, as sometimes happens, an artist deviates from the canons of the local style or a style is relatively naturalistic or undefined. Nevertheless, considerable progress has been made since the publication of Carl Einstein's *Negerplastik* in 1915, a work which included a number of Oceanic pieces even in its second edition. The origin of many pieces collected in the early days was recorded only by country or even simply as African, but as similar pieces have been collected and published it has been possible to identify a considerable proportion of the earlier ones. However, the problem remains, and several excellent pieces have been omitted here simply because no reasonably reliable attribution could be established.

Far more serious are the gaps in our knowledge of the contexts and functions of African arts, particularly those associated with religion. The anthropologists who have studied African rituals often did not illustrate the sculptures involved or describe them in sufficient detail to permit their identification. And in their books on African art, the art historians, who have worked almost entirely outside Africa, have sometimes ascribed meanings and contexts which cannot be reconciled with the anthropological record. We have gone first to the anthropological literature, but at times have had to turn to other sources for information on the pieces included here. As will be seen, all too often almost nothing can be said with certainty; and the tragedy is that, with the rapid changes taking place in Africa, we may never really know the meaning of some of the masterpieces of African sculpture.

Although the Baule of the Ivory Coast were one of the first African groups to gain international recognition for their sculpture, there is still considerable uncertainty about the significance of their human figures (58–60). These are usually described as ancestor figures, which were kept at the family shrine as intermediaries and were supplicated to secure the aid of the ancestors in curing disease or exerting a general protective influence over the family. It is also reported that, at least in recent times, similar figures were added to the shrines to represent absent family members who lived elsewhere as teachers, clerks, students in school, and members of the armed forces. Himmelheber (1960, pp. 210–216) reports that some were carved at the instruction of a diviner when one was troubled by an elf-like forest spirit trying to twist off one's head, sliding down the

thatch of the roof, or dirtying the palm wine, and that the smaller statuettes served as dolls, which were played with by children and young married women.

Philippe de Salverte-Marmier, who has studied among the Baule for several years, has told me that these figures represent a spiritual double or "soul mate" of the opposite sex which each child is believed to have from birth and who would make his or her ideal wife or husband. A figure was carved, for example, when a man was ill, had bad luck, or dreamed of a woman and was told by a diviner that his wife of the spirit world (*brolo-bla*) was angry because he had not carved such a figure to represent her, because he had not asked her permission before he married, or because she did not like the woman he married. Other figures, portraying a mother and child, are abstract representations of maternity which were carved before childbirth to appease the ancestors. Fortunately, Baule art has been studied in the field, and we can look forward to the publication of the results of this research to resolve the apparent contradictions in these assertions, not all of which need be inaccurate.

We know that generalizations about African arts are dangerous and that we cannot ascribe a single context or function to a form such as the mask. Masks were frequently associated with initiation into societies or cults which encompassed only a small segment of the community or all the adults of the same sex; and they were used in funeral rites, agricultural or hunting rituals, the adjudication of disputes, the detection of bad magic, the apprehension or the propitiation of witches, or simply for amusement. Some masks could be seen only by initiates and some appeared in public. Some appeared singly, some in sequence, some in pairs, and some in groups, either mixed or of a single kind. Some mask forms were carried rather than worn, as with the miniature masks of the Dan, Ba-Pende, and Ba-Lega; and others were worn on the body rather than on the head, as at Benin. The distinctions between the mask, which was worn in front of the face, the headpiece, which was worn on top of the head, and the helmet mask, which covered both the head and face, are irrelevant from a functional point of view. Each was usually part of a costume which concealed the identity or even the entire body of the wearer, and some costumes which had no carvings at all were of equal ritual importance.

We will, however, attempt some generalizations about African religions. With varying emphasis in different societies they stressed the ancestors, nature deities, magic or "medicine," and divination as means of controlling the malevolent forces in the world in order to secure the general well being of the society. The malevolent forces were manipulated by living individuals through witchcraft and magic, by unfriendly ghosts, and by spirits who had neither lived nor died. They could be counteracted by the benevolent forces; but there was nothing completely black or white about these forces, as the malevolent ones could be manipulated to one's own advantage and the benevolent ones could be used to overcome an enemy. Ancestor worship and the cults for the deities, both of which were means of exercising this control, have been described as based on a belief in a dynamic "vital force" (Tempels, 1959, *passim*) or as "increase cults, that is, cults devoted to the increase of the life force available to the tribe, the community and the individual" (Fagg & Plass, 1964, p. 152). There is validity in both of these characterizations, but I would say that they had as their purpose general well being, including wealth and contentment, good health and long life, and often especially children as the means of continuing the lineage.

Among the Fon of Dahomey, the Yoruba of Nigeria, and some of their neighbors, there were pantheons of gods which were worshipped by separate cults. During their initiation, members were trained in the songs, dances, sacrifices, and taboos appropriate to their particular deity. The Yoruba deities, which are said to number 401, included *Shango*, the God of Thunder; *Ogun*, the God of Iron and the patron of war and of occupations using iron tools; *Ifa*, the God of Divination; *Shopona* or *Obaluaiye*, the God of Smallpox; and the River Goddesses *Yemoja*, *Oya*, *Oshun*, and *Oba*—all of which are still worshipped by descendants of Yoruba slaves in Brazil and Cuba. All African groups recognized a High God and many recognized nature gods as well, but elaborate cults and pantheons of deities of this kind were not common.

These cults performed annual festivals in honor of the gods they worshipped, during which members offered their thanks for having lived through the past year, prayed for general well-being and for special favors, and prayed that they might live to perform the festival again next year. Few of these cults used masks, but they employed a variety of insignia and paraphernalia, including symbols of the deity to which their sacrifices were offered, figures and other ornamental pieces for their shrines, stools used in initiation, dance staffs, fans, lamps, drums, bells, and rattles. Yoruba cult members sometimes gave carved figures as votive

offerings to decorate the shrine of their deity. These and other anthropomorphic carvings for the Yoruba cults represented the worshipper, not the deity, and could be recognized by the sex, skin color, and facial markings of his or her lineage. An eighty-year-old priest once pointed out a figure on his shrine for *Yemoja*, depicting his mother carrying him as a baby on her back, which his mother had given in thanks when he was born.

Ancestor worship was practiced in nearly all African societies, with carved figures sometimes used to portray individual ancestors or to represent the ancestors in general. Sacrifices were offered to these figures or at the shrine where they were kept. The Fang reliquary figures (121) and the more abstract brass-covered reliquaries of the Ba-Kuta (127) and Ba-Sangu (128) were set as guardian figures in baskets or bark boxes containing ancestral bones. The ancestors, like the deities, could influence the affairs of the living, causing difficulties for those who neglected them and aiding those who offered them sacrifices.

Magic, an important element in all African religions, was usually specific in its aims: insuring pregnancy or a successful delivery, protecting individuals against witches or farms against thieves, or curing a particular disease; but some African charms served also to secure well-being. The Fon and Yoruba set carved figures in the ground with herbs and other magical ingredients buried beneath them to protect the general well-being of a household or a village, and they tied charms of a more specific nature to other figures. Many peoples in the Congo stuffed magical substance into holes carved into wooden figures (132–135, 171–172) or placed it in horns attached to them (175–176). These charm figures usually had to be activated or renewed by incantations, sacrificial offerings, the addition of magical substance (which was often removed before they were sold), or by nails or other sharp objects driven into them (135–136).

Divination took many different forms and played varied roles: identifying witches, recovering lost or stolen property, choosing a propitious day for a journey, deciding between candidates for office, selecting the site for a new house, or determining the correct religious means of insuring offspring, wealth, or recovery from illness. The diviners, some of whom made charms and medicines themselves, also referred their clients to other "medicine men," to the ancestral cult, or to the cult of a particular deity. Among the Baule the wooden vessels of the mouse oracle were sometimes decorated; the most famous piece of this kind is in the Musée de l'Homme (Elisofon & Fagg, 1958: 132). Among the Ba-Kuba a wetted nut was rubbed back and forth on the back of a carved animal figure (159) while a series of alternatives was stated; the correct statement was indicated when the nut stuck and could not be moved. The system of *Ifa* divination, based on 256 figures and a set of fixed rules too complex to describe here, involved tappers or bells (93), carved trays on which the figures were marked in wood dust, and several kinds of containers. The wooden or brass cups (94–95) in which the diviner's sixteen palm nuts were kept were perhaps the most versatile of Yoruba art forms, permitting the artist the greatest freedom for creative expression.

In Africa, as in many other parts of the world, the transitions in status associated with birth, puberty, marriage, and death were marked by rituals which are generally considered religious in nature. The most important and elaborate of these *rites de passage* in Africa, and those most closely related to art, were those associated with puberty and death. The Mende and many neighboring groups in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Guinea, and the Ivory Coast used masks in initiations into the male (*Poro*) and female (*Bundu, Sande*) societies, which included nearly all adults. Boys and girls were isolated in separate groups for several years in secret initiation schools, in which they were trained for their future roles as adult men and women. Group initiations of this kind were lacking in some societies, such as the Yoruba, but were also common in the Congo and parts of southern Africa with masks again assuming a prominent role. The *Poro* society also controlled the periods of fishing and harvest, regulated trading, and judged important disputes in its secret tribunal. In addition, the Mende had smaller societies which specialized in such activities as the cure of certain mental conditions, the propagation of agricultural fertility, military training, and the regulation of sexual conduct.

It has sometimes been maintained that although Africans respected their sculptures as religious objects, they did not regard them as art or evaluate them in aesthetic terms, perhaps because many mission-educated Africans have been taught to reject them on both grounds as evidence of the ignorant superstitions of their forefathers. The primary purpose of these carvings was, of course, religious, and many were hidden from public view most of the year in dark shrines which few could enter. Many were venerated as sacred objects and were also in a very real sense symbols of the individual's identification with society.

Nevertheless, I can refute this view on the basis of my own research among the Yoruba. The carved stools, the *Shango* dance staffs, the carved figures given as votive offerings for the shrine of *Yemoja,* and the *Ifa* cups and bells were recognized as contributing aesthetically to the shrines and rituals, and they were not essential to the worship of these gods. The indispensable objects were those through which the blood of sacrificial animals and other offerings were fed to the gods: the thunderstones of *Shango,* the water-washed river pebbles of *Yemoja* and *Oshun,* and the sixteen palm nuts of *Ifa.* Except for the thunderstones, which were prehistoric stone celts found in the fields when farming, these objects were not man-made, and thus not even art. Although I did not pursue the point in any detail, my Yoruba informants often expressed their admiration of a carver's work in convincing, if not eloquent terms.

Recently, in a very important paper entitled "Yoruba Artistic Criticism,"[3] Robert Farris Thompson has demonstrated beyond any possible doubt that the Yoruba had standards of aesthetic quality. In a lengthy and detailed investigation, he isolated nineteen different factors, including symmetry, delicacy, and skill, by which Yoruba woodcarvings were judged. His critics preferred figures which portrayed people at the prime of life and whose details were readily visible, while criticising others because the nose was placed too high on the face or the thighs were too thick. Thompson found that both carvers and owners were reluctant to evaluate their own pieces, but that "Yoruba critics surpass in terms of fluency and speed of verbalization all but the more polished Western observers. . . . To reach the level of competence with which a Yoruba cultivator esteems artistic quality, it was necessary to seek the opinion of Western specialists."

Religion was a pervasive force in Africa, permeating almost all aspects of daily life, and the arts were no exception. The line between the sacred and the secular is sometimes difficult to draw, but there are many forms of African art which were not primarily religious in nature and whose functions are more readily apparent.

Decorated stools and spoons were used in secular affairs as well as in rituals; and drums and drumsticks (66), gongs and gong sticks (67), trumpets, whistles, harps, and other musical instruments were similarly employed. The weaver's loom pulley (65) and loom sticks (39) and the spinner's ginning block (Robbins, 1966: 60) were secular objects, as were the brass weights used by the Baule and Ashanti to weigh gold dust and the brass boxes in which it was stored. Axes (173), adzes, and knives were sometimes decorated; and there were carved hooks (130), cups (157), drinking horns (120), food bowls, calabashes, pestles (72) and mortars, containers for camwood (158), ointment pots (70), cosmetic pallets, mirror cases, combs (78), hairpins, headrests, beds, pipes (82), game boards (98), locks and granary doors, shields (179), canoes, paddles, and toys. These secular objects were decorated both for the aesthetic satisfaction they provided and for the prestige they brought to their owners.

Of equal importance were the art forms associated with chieftainship, which served as an indication of status. These insignia varied considerably from society to society, but they included dress, crowns, cushions, umbrellas, staffs, swords, stools, and other regalia. The chief's house was sometimes distinguished by special architectural features and decorated with carved doors and houseposts, although carved doors and houseposts are also found on some religous shrines. Bronze snakes and plaques once adorned the palace of the King of Benin; the Fon palaces in Abomey were decorated with polychrome bas-reliefs in clay; and the palace of Njoya, King of the Ba-Mun in the Cameroons, has been described as a veritable museum with workplaces for beadworkers, brass-casters, weavers, and dyers. These and other African rulers were patrons of the arts, employing artists as retainers and displaying their works in their palaces.

Our discussion has centered primarily on sculpture, but we must not forget the importance or the wealth of African music, dance, drama, and verbal art. These cannot be adequately treated here, nor can many forms of graphic and plastic arts, including pottery, basketry, matting, weaving, dyeing, appliqué, leatherwork, beadwork, architecture, murals, body decoration, hairdressing, and the manufacture of stone, coral, and glass beads. Sculpture is unquestionably important, but it is only one of the many African arts.

Wood was the principal medium for sculpture and the one in which the effect of three dimensions was usually most fully achieved; but there was also carving in bone, ivory, and stone, and calabashes were decorated with carved and pyrographic designs. The most important tools in carving were the adze and the knife. The Nok and Ife terra-cottas (Fagg & List, 1963: 1–4) and the Anyi figures from Krinjabo (74) have received the most attention, but sculpture in clay was fairly

[3] *Mss.,* forthcoming in the proceedings of the *Conference on The Artist in Traditional African Society* at Lake Tahoe, May, 1965.

widespread. Ironwork was often utilitarian in nature; but the iron axes and throwing knives from the Congo deserve consideration as art forms, and forged iron sculpture was produced at least by the Bambara (13), Dogon, Fon, and Yoruba (97).

Sculpture in metal was also produced by the *cire perdue* or "lost-wax" process of casting, which was practiced widely in West Africa from Senegal eastward to the Cameroons, both inland and along the coast. In this process, the form is first modeled in beeswax and then coated with clay. Two or more wax stems are usually left extending from the wax figure to the outer edge of the clay. When the clay has dried, it is heated and the melted wax is poured out through the vent formed by one of the stems. It is then reheated to volatilize all the wax. Molten metal is then poured through the vent into the hollow mold left by the wax figure. Each object is produced from a separate wax original, as the mold is destroyed when the clay coating is broken away after the metal has cooled. In principle the method is simple; but in practice it requires great skill.

Brass was the metal most commonly cast in this manner, but bronze, copper, lead, and gold were sometimes used. Although the ancient pieces, like those from Ife and Benin, are usually spoken of as bronzes, some have proved upon analysis to be brass. It is difficult, however, to avoid this usage, because so many pieces have not been analyzed. Metals were also hammered into personal ornaments, dishes, or thin sheets which were applied to masks, figures, sword and flywhisk handles, and other wooden objects. Metalwork was sometimes decorated in repoussé and punchwork; and filigree jewelry in gold and silver was also produced.

By and large, men were the sculptors and women the potters, but the division of other crafts by sex varied from region to region. Training in the arts was usually by a system of apprenticeship, often, but not always, within the lineage. Metalworking was generally controlled by a guild or caste of part-time specialists who supplemented their income by other economic activities and whose techniques and associated rituals were carefully guarded as trade secrets. Carving was often done by part-time specialists, as among the Yoruba; but it was sometimes done by the blacksmiths, as among the Bambara; or each initiate carved his own mask, as among the Dogon.

In art, as in many other things, North Africa is closer to Europe and the Middle East than to sub-Saharan Africa. Ethiopian, Islamic, and ancient Egyptian arts do not have much in common with those we are considering here, except where Islamic geometric motifs have crossed the Saraha. Islam takes literally the prohibition of the First Commandment: "Thou shalt not carve thyself images, or fashion the likeness of anything in heaven above, or on earth beneath, or in the waters at the roots of the earth . . . ," although there have been exceptions, such as the Ba-Mun brass-casters who continued to produce masks and figures in human form after their conversion to Islam. It seems probable that many of the West African societies which have adopted Islam once shared the tradition of sculpture with their neighbors. A great number of African works of art have been deliberately destroyed at the command of Muslim missionaries, as well as by Christian missionaries and their converts, and by members of the new nativistic and syncretistic cults which have appeared in Africa.

Whereas some African arts, such as verbal art, music, dance, and bodily decoration, were found throughout Africa, sculpture was by no means a universal found in all African cultures. With a few recognized exceptions, such as the masks and figures of the Wa-Makonde of coastal Tanzania, it was long accepted that sculpture was confined to the area roughly defined as south of the Sahara, west of the African Great Lakes, and north of the Kalahari Desert. By and large, this is an area of sedentary farming societies and tropical rain forests; but there was considerable variability in religious beliefs, centralization of political authority, and the availability of wood for sculptural purposes. This is indeed the region where the most famous of African art styles are to be found, but it does not accurately indicate the extent of African graphic and plastic arts.

Some of the sculptures from east and south of this region have recently been illustrated by William Fagg (1965: 112–122), and others are to be found in the literature. Carved spoons, headrests, and beadwork were common here; the painted house walls of the Ama-Ndebele of the Transvaal are of exceptional interest; and fiber initiation masks were used as far south as the Ama-Xhosa of the Cape Province of South Africa. Although they have not been made for centuries, the famous rock paintings of South and East Africa and those of North Africa also lie beyond this area.

A second major gap in our knowledge of African arts concerns their histories; but there is at least some hope that archaeology, which is still in its infancy as far as West Africa and the Congo are concerned, may be able to answer some of the questions about origins and

development. We may be able to determine whether lost-wax casting was derived from Egypt, as seems likely, or whether it was invented independently, as was almost certainly the case in Peru. We may be able to substantiate what is now only a hypothesis: that the bronzes of Benin (*ca.* 14th to 19th century A.D.) derived initially from those of Ife (*ca.* 13th to 14th century A.D.), where they were preceded by terra-cottas which derived from the ancient Nok culture in northern Nigeria (*ca.* 500 B.C. to A.D. 200). We may also, although this is perhaps a forlorn hope, be able to bridge the gap between these Nok sculptures and the rock paintings of North and South Africa, for which Carbon 14 dates indicate an age going back to 5000 or 6000 B.C.

A serious handicap, of course, is the fact that wood, which serves as the principal medium for African sculpture, and even iron do not survive long in the tropical rain forests. Some people, for example the Igbo, protected their wooden masks against termites by storing them above the hearth, where they became blackened by smoke, but this did not preserve them long enough to answer many historical questions even if they could be dated accurately. The Igbo and many other African peoples repainted their carvings before they were reused, making it difficult to judge the age of a piece from the condition of the paint. The dating of African woodcarvings is almost impossible; the most reliable evidence, when it is available, is the date when a piece was collected.

Change is nothing new to African arts, which have been quick to adapt imported brass and brass tacks, glass beads, mirrors, cotton cloth, silk thread, paints, dyes, and other materials to their own purposes. They have also been quick to reflect the changing scene by depicting guns, bicycles, pith helmets, wristwatches, teakettles, and gin bottles in traditional genres. This practice goes back to the earliest days of European contact, as indicated by the representation in the Benin bronzes of Portuguese officials and soldiers, who reached Nigeria before Columbus discovered America.

Today, however, there is reason to fear that the rapid changes which have been taking place in Africa in recent decades may bring about the end of many arts, and this has actually happened in some societies. In many parts of the world, locally made vessels are giving way to plastic ones, and Africa is no exception, even in areas where local pottery has withstood the competition of imported chinaware. Yoruba weavers and blacksmiths have also been able to withstand the competition of Manchester and Birmingham, but their crafts have already disappeared in some African societies. The Nupe of Nigeria are still producing glass beads, although they now use beer bottles and deodorant jars and make glass beads for sale to tourists.

The greatest concern is for African sculpture. Not all of it was religious art, as we have seen; but as Africans have been converted to Islam or Christianity or the new nativistic cults, or as they have left their religious practices as a result of education, the carvers and casters have lost many of their customers. With the rapid political changes that have taken place, royal patronage has also declined. Carving and casting have ceased to be lucrative; and apprentices have become harder to find as young men have been attracted to jobs in business and government.

In some villages the master carvers are dying off, leaving only poorly trained apprentices to carry on. In criticizing the work of his son in 1960, at the time of Nigeria's independence, a Yoruba carver in the city of Oyo commented that although he was anxious for his son to have an education, it was difficult to teach him how to carve, since he was away at school so much of the time. Ironically, this is happening just when African sculpture is so rapidly gaining public recognition.

Some carvers and casters have found an entrée into the tourist market and are now producing a variety of items which will never be used by Africans. Some have continued to produce traditional forms, like the Bambara, who are still carving antelope headpieces, often very well executed. Some are creating new forms derived from traditional ones, as the Senufo carvers are doing, often in a most imaginative way. Some have taken to making European household objects, as the Benin carvers at Lagos began to do some years ago, producing carved tables, ebony letter openers and bookends as well as ebony busts, which were mass-produced in their workshops during World War II, under contract for sale in American PXs in Africa. Some groups, like the Wa-Kamba in Kenya, who had no ancient tradition of carving, have begun to carve for the tourist trade; their human and animal figures have been copied by other groups as far south as Zambia. The Ashanti began to carve naturalistic human figures at the suggestion of R. S. Rattray (1927, p. 274), who commissioned them for the British Empire Exhibition in 1924. To take a final example, while traditional woodcarving has been declining, Yoruba schoolboys have taken to making miniature thorncarvings for the tourists; and in recent years the traditional Yoruba

carvers at Abeokuta have also entered the tourist market.

What happens to the arts varies from case to case. Some pieces of excellent sculptural quality are produced—and, indeed, not all old pieces are good—but the export market calls for volume, and the result is often shoddy workmanship. There is also a tendency toward naturalism, in animal figures for example, that is out of keeping with the canons of traditional African art. Just as European artists, inspired in part by traditional African sculpture, denied their heritage of naturalism at the turn of the century, African artists of this century, as the result of European contact, have denied their own heritage in adopting naturalism. Carvers have found that their pieces sell better if tourists like them, so that Western tastes (not always highly cultivated) are having their influence on African sculpture. A third effect, apparently a heritage of German expressionism, is an increasing emphasis on the grotesque—not to inspire awe, but to attract customers and bring higher prices. A fourth trend is toward gigantism, such as Yoruba tourist pieces presumably meant to be the bells or tappers used in *Ifa* divination (93) but which are over two feet long—again probably because the larger the piece the higher the price.

Nevertheless, the problem of distinguishing old pieces from new ones is becoming increasingly difficult for museums and private collectors. It is complicated in some cases by deliberate faking, which has allegedly been practiced in Europe for some time; and now carvings are being artifically "aged" in Africa by being buried in termite hills. Yet whatever we think of the ethics of this practice, or whatever we think of the quality of tourist art, its continuation is economically important to the carvers, to the traders who sell their products, and, in varying degrees, to the national economy. Apparently it is also of some importance to the tourists, who desire to bring back something "typically African."

Other Africans are learning to do sculpture and painting in schools in Africa and abroad. Some of these maintain that they should not be expected to draw upon an African heritage or background and that their work should be evaluated in the same terms as that of any other artist. However much we may regret the decline of the traditional African arts which have made Africa famous, this is certainly a legitimate position to take; but we need not concern ourselves here with the nature or the merits of their work, because, as they say, it is not African art but art in an international tradition.

There are some who bemoan the fact that African arts have not been left in their original setting—"where they belong." This attitude is wholly unrealistic, in view of the rapid changes which have been taking place in Africa itself. Had they not been collected and preserved in museums and private collections, many more African masterpieces would have been destroyed by the ravages of time and termites, or by converts to Christianity, Islam, or the new nativistic cults. Fortunately, Africa's new nations are establishing their own museums. Besides collecting locally, Nigeria, for one, has been buying back its art from Europe. In many cases this would have been impossible if the pieces had not been collected and preserved outside Africa, and the establishment of museums would have been unlikely had it not been for the recognition which African arts had won in Europe and America. Indeed, if it had not been for the non-African collectors, the very magnitude of Africa's contribution to the world's cultural heritage through its sculpture would have been considerably diminished.

There is one final point to bear in mind when approaching African arts, and masks in particular. As they are presented in books and exhibits, they are torn out of their context, which encompasses costume, dance, music, human beings, and the fabric of belief into which they are woven in their native environment.[4] Bereft of motion and the drama of the rituals in which they were employed, they lie lifeless on the printed page and hang silently in the exhibit case. Since many rituals were performed after dark, the masks were meant to be seen in the shadows and by the flickering light of oil lamps. The visualization of the effect of a mask in the setting of an unfamiliar ritual unfortunately must be left to the reader's imagination.

[4] This is partially overcome by photographs showing masks in use, as in Huet & Fodeba, 1954; Paulme & Brosse, 1956; and Paulme, 1956.

1. *Nimba* helmet mask: 41 inches *(left)*.
2. Bird head: 28½ inches *(below)*.

3. NALU. Headpiece: 51½ inches *(center)*.
4. LANDUMA. Headpiece: 26 inches *(right)*.
5. LANDUMA. Comb: 11¾ inches *(left)*.

6. *N'domo* society mask: 18½ inches *(left)*.
7. *N'domo* society mask: 25 inches *(right)*.

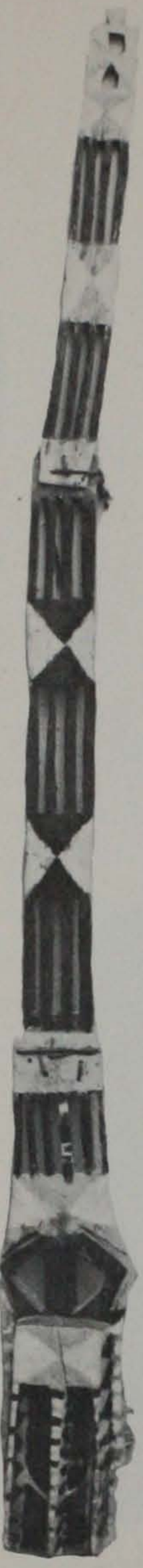
8. Female antelope headpiece: 25⅝ inches *(left, above)*.
9. Male antelope headpiece: 35½ inches *(right)*.
10. Male antelope headpiece: 21 inches *(left, below)*.

LOAN

LOAN

11. *Kono* society mask: 36¼ inches *(left)*.
12. Abstract headpiece: 20 inches *(above)*.
13. Iron equestrian figure: 9 inches *(below)*.

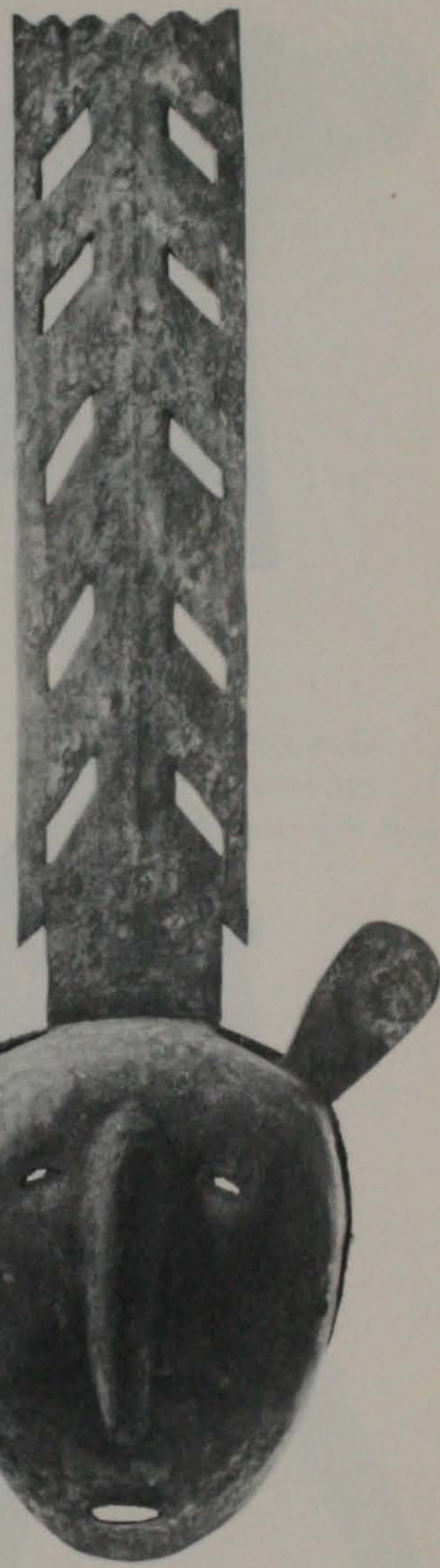
LOAN



20. DOGON. Mask: 96 inches.

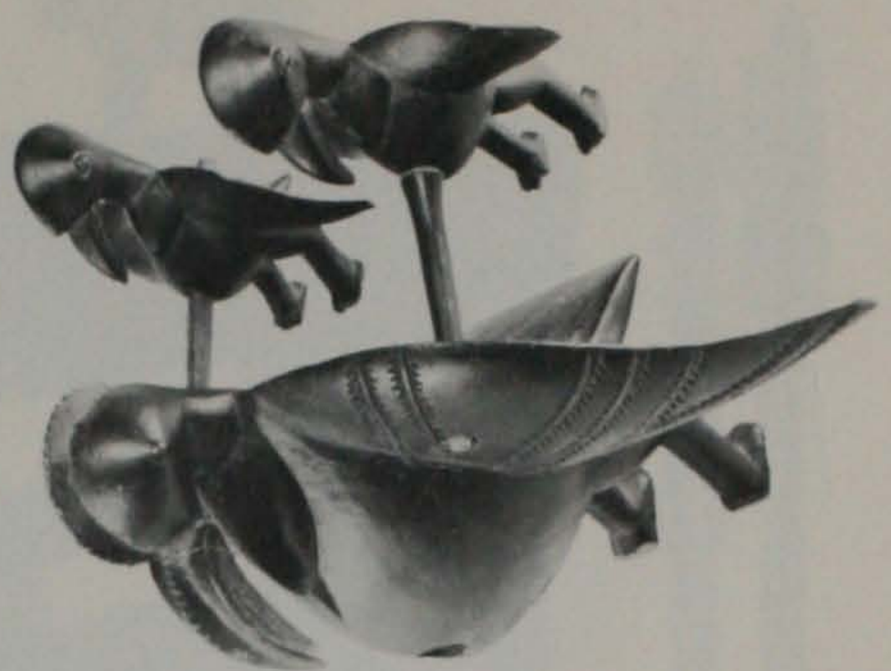
23. BOBO. Mask: 66½ inches.

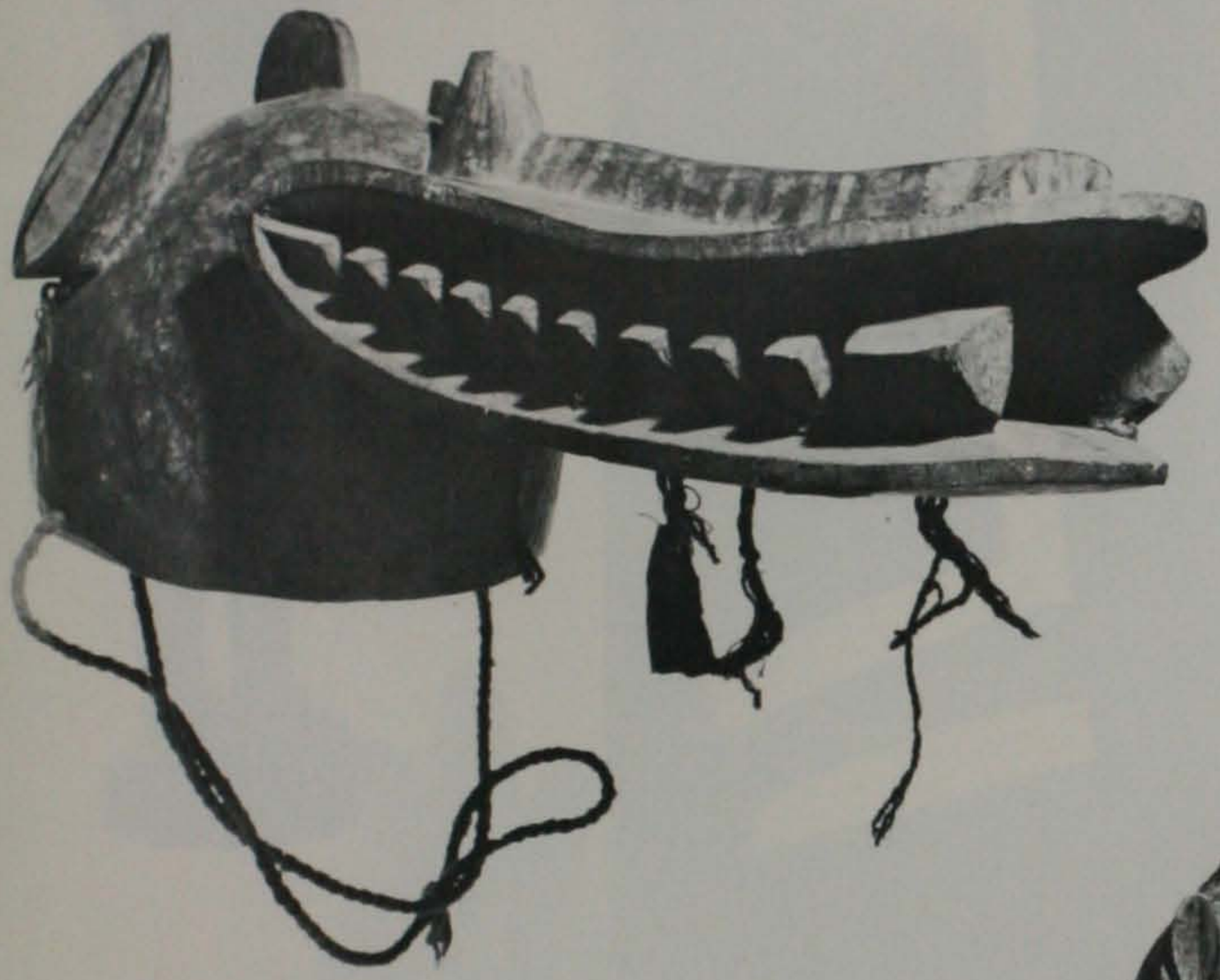
21. MOSI. Mask: 89 inches.



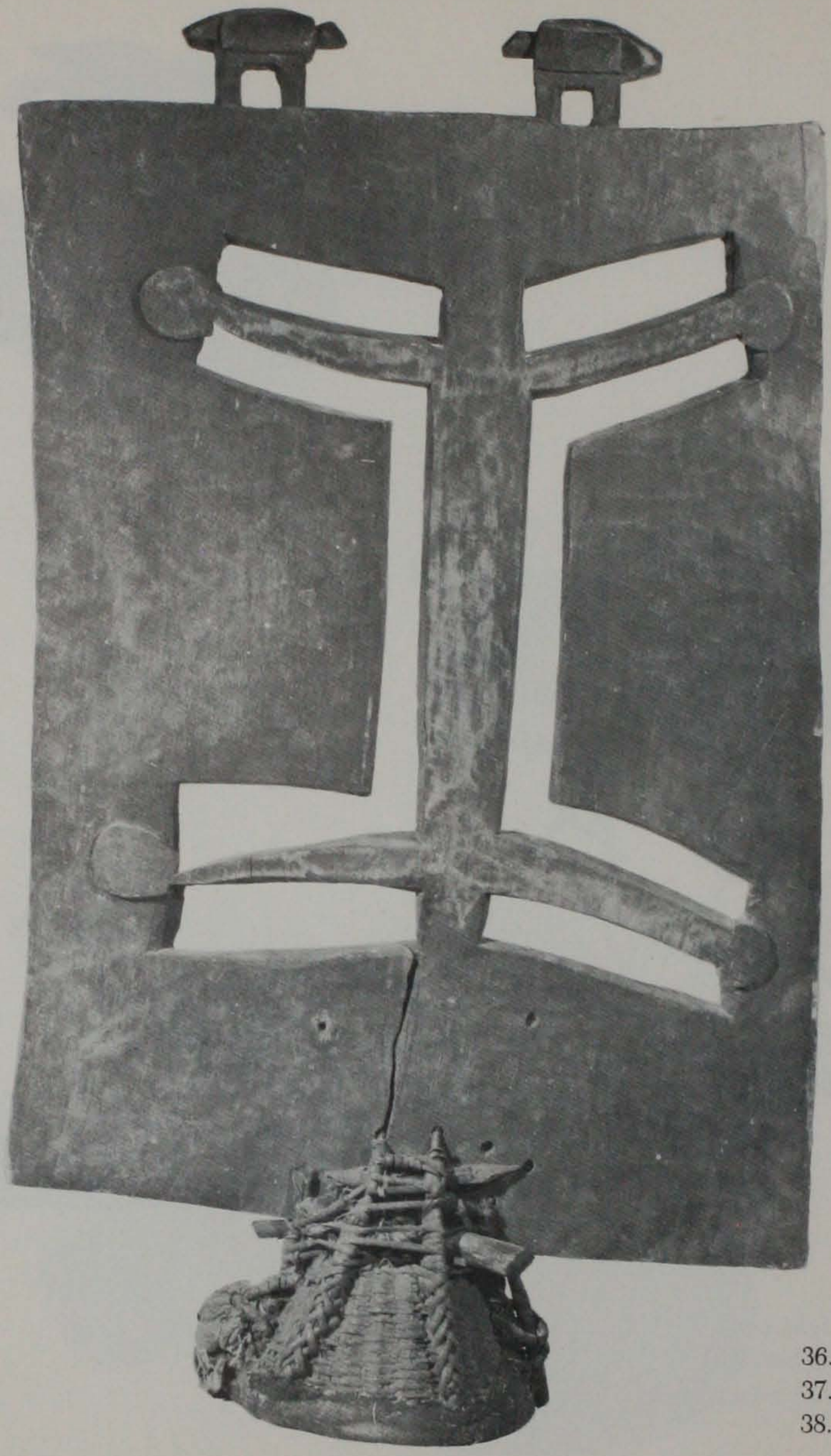
22. MOSI. Iron mask: 37½ inches *(right)*.
24. BOBO. Bird helmet mask: 16 inches *(left, above)*.
25. BOBO. Scorpion headpiece: 15 inches *(left, below)*.

31. "Firespitter" helmet mask: 28 inches *(below)*.
32. Mask: 14 inches *(above)*.





33. Birds: 14 inches *(right, above).*
34. Helmet mask: 20 inches *(left).*
35. Equestrian figure: 15 inches *(right, below).*



36. Staff: 57 inches *(left)*.
37. Headpiece: 37½ inches *(center)*.
38. Rhythm pounder: 23½ inches *(right)*.

39. Pair of loom sticks: 14 inches each *(right)*.
40. Female figure: 18½ inches *(center)*.
41. Helmet mask: 15 inches *(left)*.

48. Baboon mask: 10 inches *(right)*.
49. Bird mask: 12 inches without fringe *(left, below)*.
50. Brass figure: 7¾ inches *(left, above)*.

51. Mask: 12½ inches *(left)*.
52. Mask: 10½ inches *(right, above)*.
53. Mask: 14½ inches *(right, below)*.

61. Portrait mask: 8¾ inches *(left)*.
62. Portrait mask: 10½ inches (*right, below*).
63. Portrait mask: 14½inches *(right, above)*.

64. Buffalo helmet mask: 21½ inches *(left)*.
65. Loom pulley: 7½ inches *(right, above)*.
66. Drumstick: 12 inches *(right, below)*.
67. Gong stick: 11¾ inches *(right, center)*.

68. Antelope helmet mask: 27 inches *(right)*.
69. Mask: 17½ inches *(left, below)*.
70. Ointment pot: 16 inches *(left, above)*.

71. Figure: 15¾ inches *(left)*.
72. Pestle for mashing baby food: 6¾ inches *(right)*.

73. Mother and child: 19 inches *(left)*.
74. Clay commemorative figure: 14¾ inches *(right)*.

75. FANTI. Fertility doll: 13¼ inches *(left, above)*.
76. ASHANTI. Fertility doll: 13 inches *(left, below)*.
77. ASHANTI. Fertility doll: 11 inches *(right, above)*.
78. ASHANTI. Comb: 10 inches *(right, below)*.

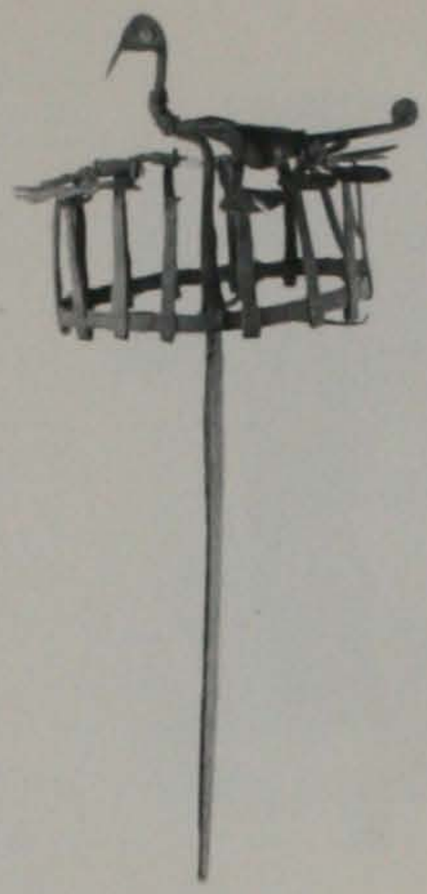
79. Chief and attendants, bronze: 5½ inches *(right, above)*.
80. Lion and hunter, bronze: 7 inches *(left)*.
81. Brass ceremonial vessel: 4¾ inches *(right, below)*.
82. Clay pipe bowl: 4¼ inches *(right, center)*.

83. Drum: 31 inches *(left)*.
84. Tops of two linguist's staffs: 63 and 60½ inches *(right)*.

85. Two brass hoers: 3½ inches each *(above, right)*.
86. Brass wrestlers: 4½ inches *(above, left)*.
87. Chief and attendants, brass: 21½ inches long *(below)*.

89. Ram's head: 15 inches *(left, above)*.
90. Dance staff: 13 inches *(right)*.
91. Mask: 10 inches *(left, below)*.

92. Bronze *Ogboni* society symbols: 6¼ inches each *(left, above)*.
93. Ivory *Ifa* bell or tapper: 10½ inches *(right, above)*.
94. Brass *Ifa* cup: 12 inches *(left, below)*.
95. *Ifa* cup: 10¾ inches *(right, below)*.



96. Cult stool: 13¾ inches *(left)*.
97. Iron *Osanyin* symbol: 13½ inches *(above)*.
98. Game board: 28 inches long *(below)*.

99. Tops of two ivory equestrian figures: 11 inches each *(left, above)*.
100. Bronze plaque: 20 inches *(right)*.
101. Two bronze bells: 6 and 7¼ inches (*left, below*).

102. Mask from near Udi, Nigeria: 18 inches *(left, above)*.
103. *Ibid:* 12½ inches *(right)*.
104. *Ibid*: 18 inches *(left, below)*.

105. Mask from Bende, Nigeria: 12 inches *(right, above).*
106. *Ibid:* 8 inches *(left).*
107. *Ibid:* 14 inches *(right, below).*

108. Mask from Afikpo, Nigeria: 19 inches *(left)*.
109. *Ibid:* 17 inches *(right, above)*.
110. *Ibid:* 13¼ inches *(right, below)*.

111. IDOMA. Female figure: 24 inches *(left, below)*.
112. BENUE VALLEY. Pair of figures: 25½ and 26½ inches *(right)*.
113. MATAKAM. Ancestral effigy pot: 9 inches *(left, above)*.

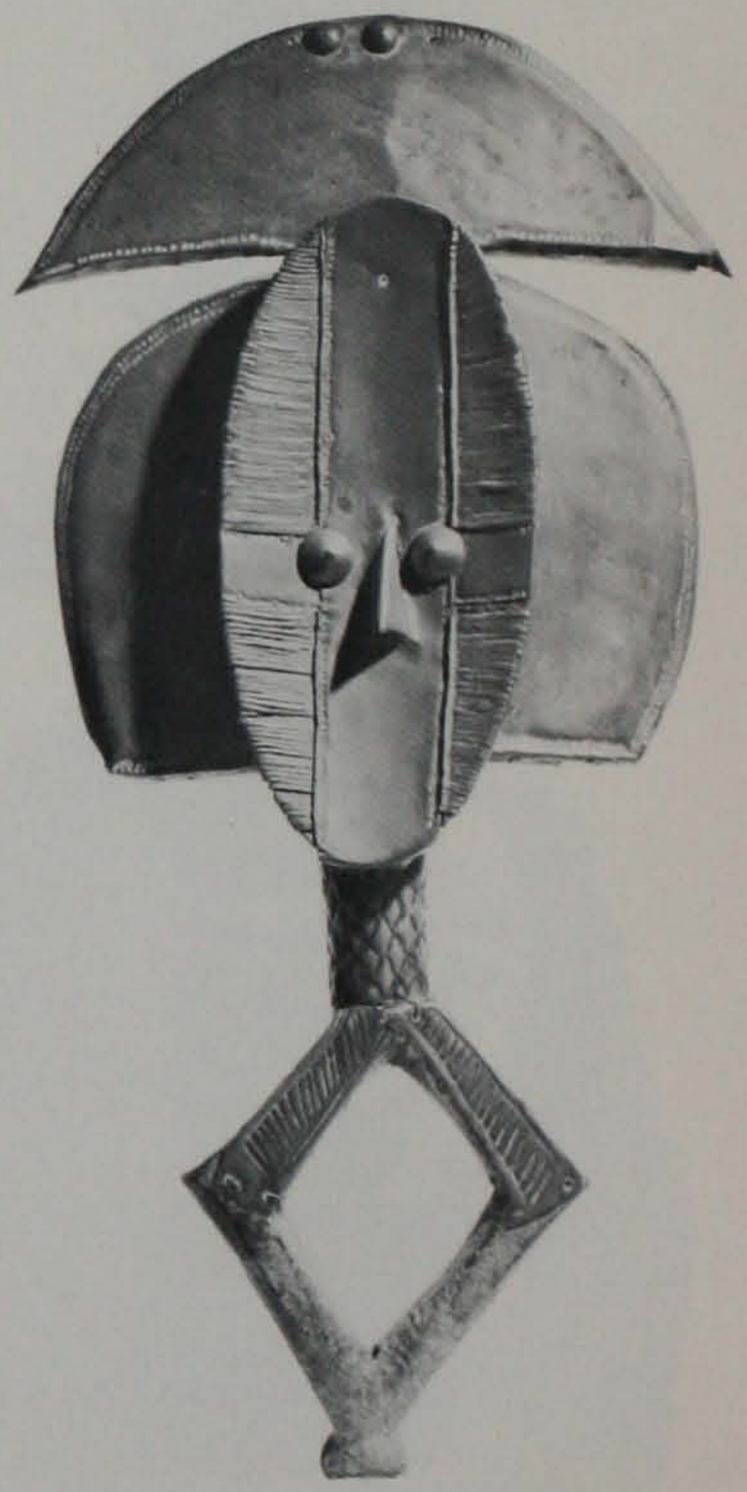
114. Puppet: 32 inches *(left)*.
115. Mask: 10¼ inches *(right)*.
116. Mask: 8½ inches *(center)*.

117. Puppet playing a metallophone: 13½ inches *(left)*.
118. Pair of figures from a complex headpiece: 21 and 22 inches *(right)*.

119. EKOI. Hide covered headpiece: 31½ inches *(left)*.
120. BA-BANKI. Drinking horn: 10¼ inches *(right)*.

121. Reliquary figure: 15¼ inches *(left)*.
122. Mask: 19 inches *(right, above)*.
123. Mask: 8 inches ear to ear *(right, below)*.

124. BA-KWELE. Mask: 10¼ inches *(right)*.
125. BA-KWELE. Mask: 12 inches *(left, above)*.
126. KUYU. Serpent head: 20 inches *(left, below)*.

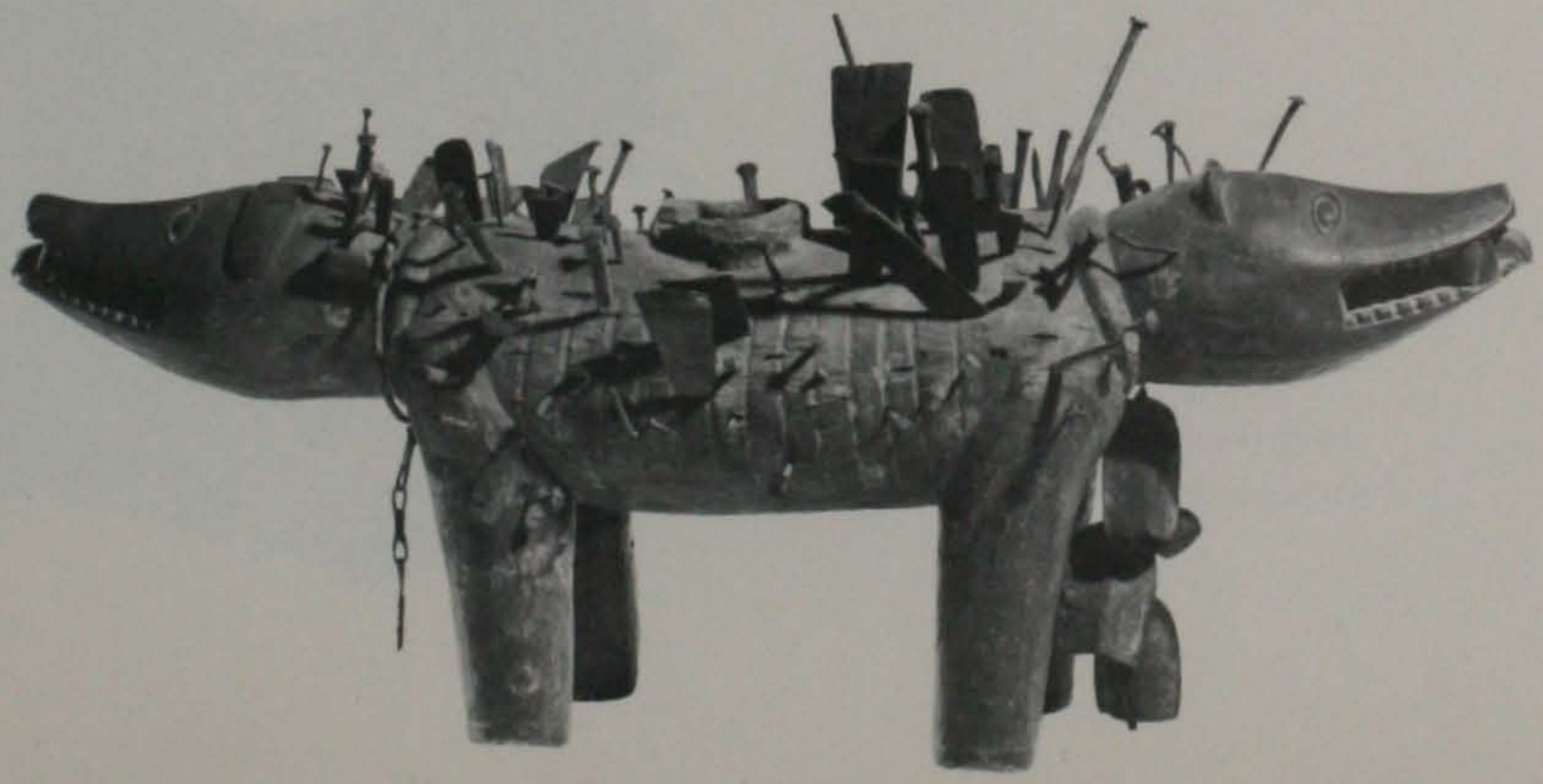


127. BA-KUTA. Reliquary figure with brass and copper: 22¼ inches *(right)*.
128. BA-SANGU. Reliquary figure and bone basket: 16½ inches *(left)*.

129. Mask: 14¼ inches (*left, above*).
130. Hook: 5⅞ inches *(right)*.
131. Figure: 14¼ inches *(left, below)*.

132. Magical figure: 18 inches *(below)*.
133. *Ibid:* 8½ inches *(above, right)*.
134. *Ibid:* 6 inches *(above, left)*.

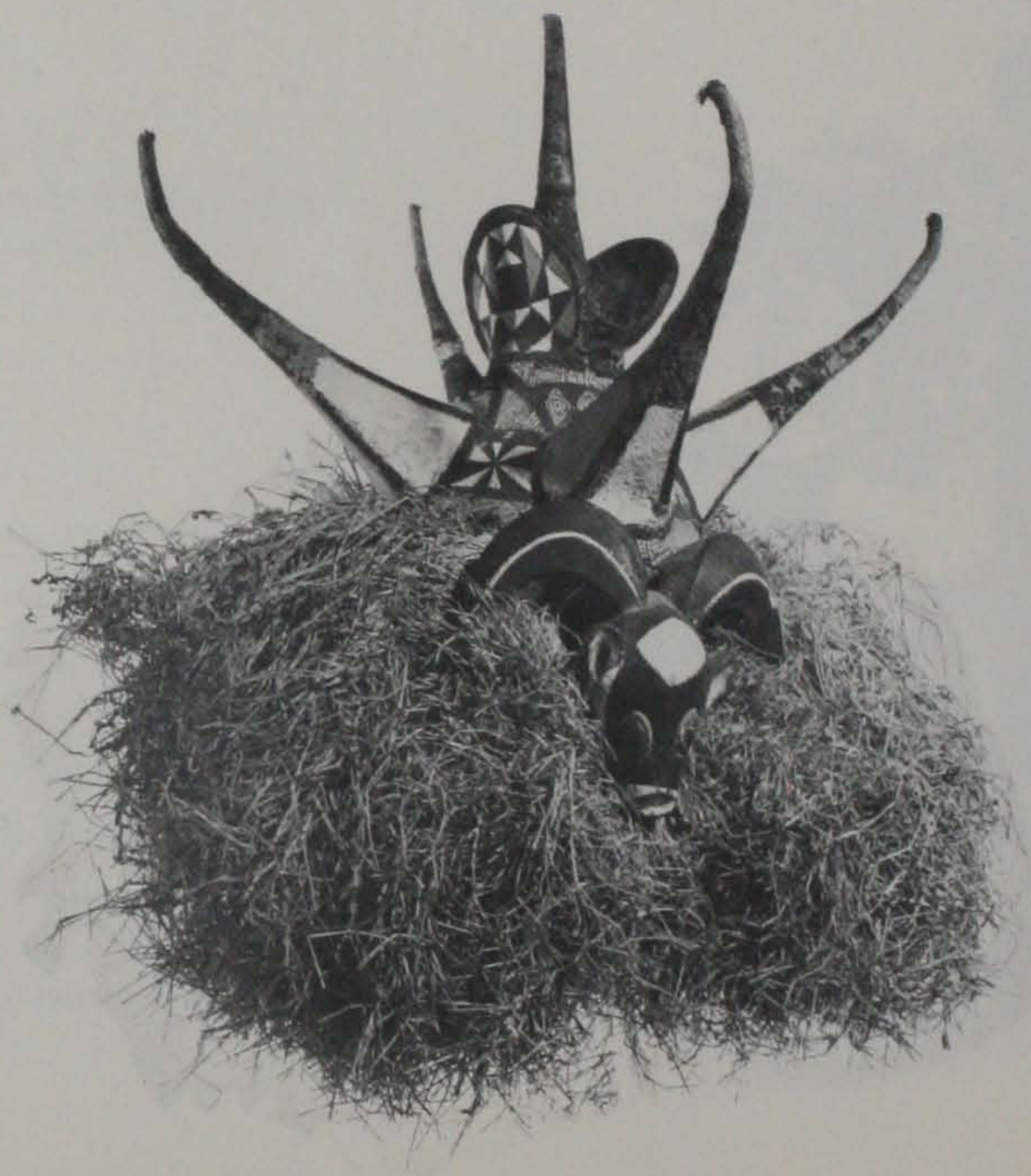
135. Nail and mirror figure: 22 inches *(above, left)*.
136. Animal nail figure: 26 inches *(below)*.
137. Mother and child: 12¾ inches *(above, center)*.
138. Charm figure: 9½ inches *(above, right)*.



139. Charm figure: 8½ inches *(left)*.
140. Gourd and fiber mask: 18 inches *(right, below)*.
141. Cup: 4 inches wide *(right, above)*.

142. Slit-gong: 21¾ inches (*left*).
143. Charm figure: 5½ inches (*right*).
144. Charm figure: 11¾ inches (*center*).

145. Comb: 6¾ inches (*left*).
146. Mask: 21 inches with fringe (*center*).
147. Handle mask: 10¼ inches (*right*).



148. Mask: 10½ inches (*left, above*).
149. Mask: 19 inches with fringe (*right*).
150. Stool: 13 inches (*left, below*).

151. BA-KETE. Helmet mask: 21 inches (*below*).
152. BA-WONGO. Cup: 7½ inches (*above, left*).
153. BA-WONGO. Cup: 8¾ inches (*above, right*).

154. Memorial figure: 26¾ inches (*left*).
155. Mask: 15 inches (*right, above*).
156. Mask: 18 inches with fringe (*center*).

157. Cup: 9 inches (*above, right*).
158. Cosmetic box: 6⅜ inches square (*above, center*).
159. Animal divination figure: 14 inches long (*below*).
160. Hand: 6 inches (*above, left*).

161. Male ancestral figure: 23 inches (*left*).
162. Comb: 5½ inches (*right, below*).
163. Young Girl mask: 10 inches (*right, above*).

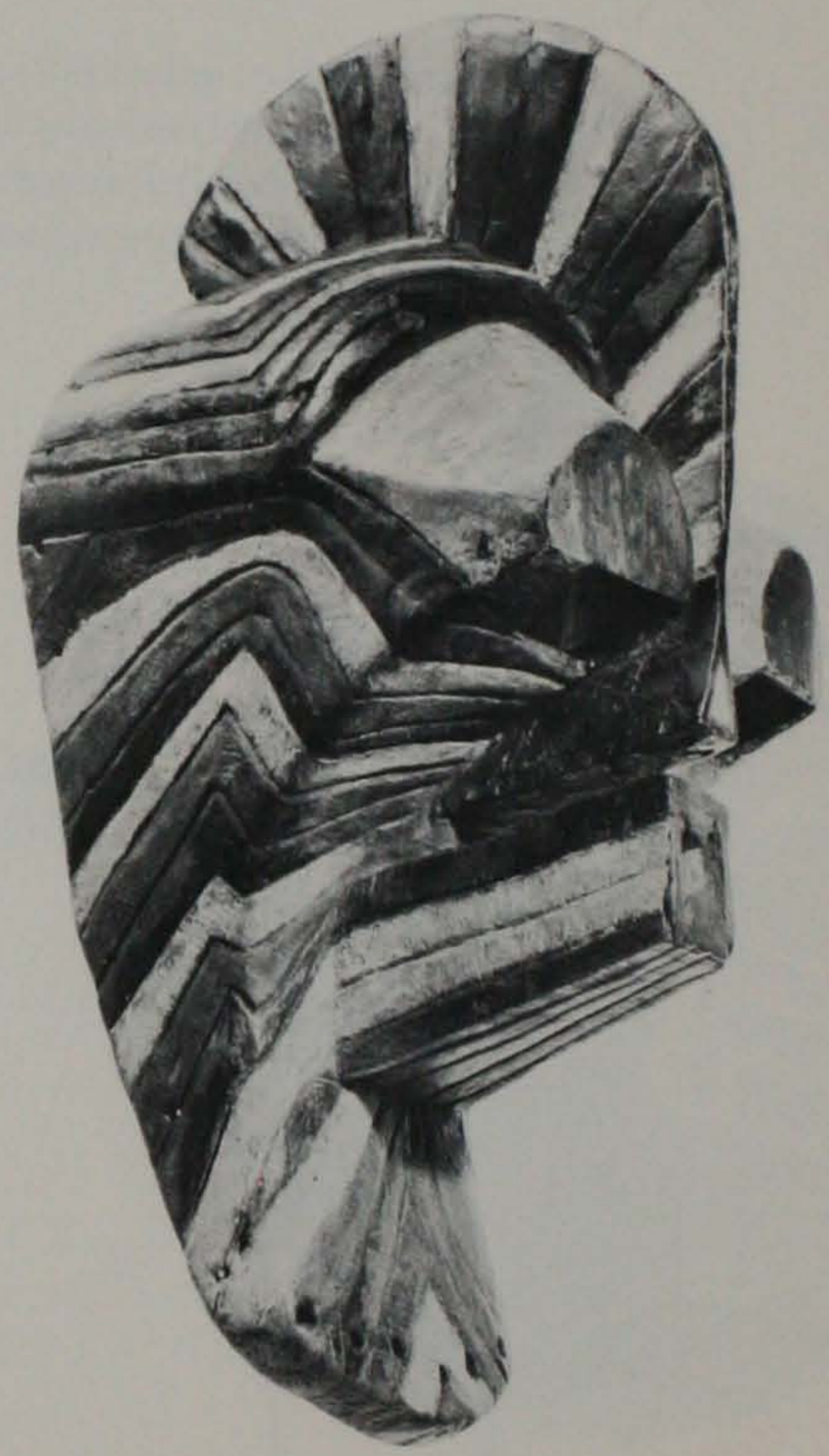
164. Mask: 12 inches (*left, above*).
165. Cord netting mask: 27½ inches (*left, below*).
166. Copper-covered mask: 15 inches (*right*).

167. Figure: 17 inches (*below*).
168. Figure: 10½ inches (*above, left*).
169. Figure: 10⅜ inches (*above, center*).
170. Tobacco mortar: 5⅝ inches (*above, right*).

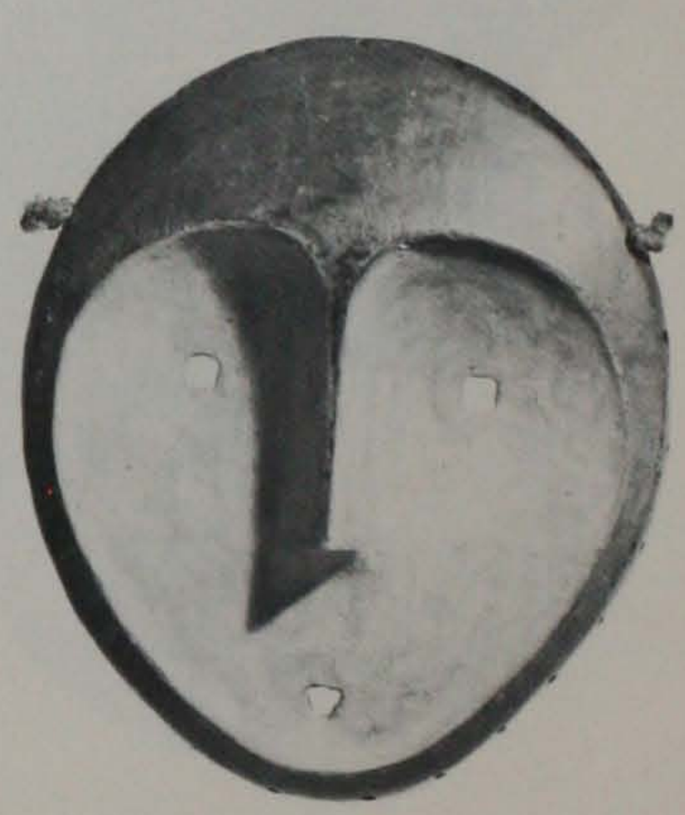
171. Half figure: 7½ inches (*right, above*).
172. Half figure: 9 inches (*left, above*).
173. Axe: 18¾ inches (*left, below*).
174. Mask: 16 inches (*right, below*).

175. Horn figure: 21½ inches with horn (*left*).
176. Horn figure: 9 inches with horn (*right*).

177. Mask: 13¼ inches (*left, above*).
178. Mask: 22¾ inches (*right*).
179. Shield: 19½ inches (*left, below*).



180. BANYA-METOKO. Initiation figure: 24 inches *(left.)*
181. BA-MBOLE. Initiation figure: 12¼ inches (*right*).



182. Four-faced dance staff: 13 inches (*above, left*).
183. Two figures: 5¾ and 4 inches (*center*).
184. Bone figure: 7 inches (*above, right*).
185. Mask: 11 inches (*below*).

186. Mask: 22 inches (*left*).
187. Janus-faced headpiece: 19¾ inches (*right*).

188. MA-BUDU. Pair of figures: 27 inches each (*right*).
189. MANGBETU. Male figure: 11¾ inches (*center*).
190. A-ZANDE. Anthropomorphic figure: 6 inches (*left*).

Register

The selection of pieces always presents problems because of the limitations of space and budget. Important pieces have been brought from the East for exhibition, but preference has generally been given to those in local collections which have not received the recognition they deserve. In selecting pieces for illustration, preference has often been given, for scholarly reasons, to those which have not previously been published.

The numbered pieces in the following listing are illustrated in this catalogue. Those marked by an asterisk have previously been illustrated in the publications cited. The listing includes only those pieces which are illustrated here or elsewhere, and is thus only a partial record of the exhibition.

Unless otherwise noted, all pieces designated as UCLMA were collected for the University of California's Lowie Museum of Anthropology by William Bascom in 1962, 1963, and 1965.

Population figures, when given, are to be taken only as rough estimates.

BAGA, 35,000, Guinea. The Baga, Nalu, and Landuma share common institutions such as the *Simo* society, their equivalent of the *Poro*, and art forms, some of which have been identified with all three groups, so that precise attribution is difficult.

1. Helmet mask, representing a Goddess of Fertility (*Nimba*), used in the *Simo* society. Darkened wood: 41 inches. Despite its weight, this great bust was worn over the head during rituals performed after the rice harvest to insure the fertility of the fields and of the people. Beneath the pendulous breasts are two holes out of which the member who wears it can see. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Erle Loran.
2. Bird head (known as *elek*) with human features. Blackened wood, brass tacks: 28½ inches long. These wooden heads with attached horn or shell receptacles containing magical substance were kept in the houses of lineage heads as protectors of their relatives, particularly against sorcery. They also played a part in agrarian rituals and in the funerals of important men. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Erle Loran.

NALU, 10,000, Guinea and Portuguese Guinea.

3. Headpiece (*banda*), interpreted as representing a being which is part human, part crocodile, part antelope, part serpent, and part bird. Wood, raphia, fiber; red, white, black, blue paint: 51½ inches without fringe. Lent anonymously.

LANDUMA, 25,000, Guinea.

4. Headpiece, interpreted as representing the African buffalo or "bush cow." Weathered wood: 26 inches. Lent by E. J. Arnold.
5. Comb, representing the headpiece above. Brown wood: 11¾ inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom.

° Pair of serpents (*kalikambe*), used in initiation rites of the *Basundi* society and identified as the python associated with the rainbow. Wood; red, white, black paint: 68½ and 54½ inches. Lent by The Museum of Primitive Art, New York, 58.335 and 58.336. *Illustrated:* Museum of Primitive Art, 1959: cover, 7, 8; *ibid.*, 1961: 20; Robbins, 1966: 48.

BAMBARA, 1,000,000, Mali, Guinea, and Senegal. From the seventeenth to the nineteenth century the Bambara controlled a large area in the Western Sudan under two separate empires with their capitals at Karta and Segu, but later they split into many independent units. Most Bambara have resisted Islam, to which many of their neighbors were converted centuries ago. Boys belonged to the *N'domo* society, which organized much of their activities prior to circumcision, after which they were initiated into the *Tyiwara, Kono, Kore,* and other cults or religious societies. Bambara carvers belong to the blacksmith caste.

6. Mask, representing man as God first created him, used in the *N'domo* society. It was worn in dances at the time of millet threshing while soliciting gifts of food to be used by the boys at the first feast of the annual winter ceremonial cycle. Blackened wood, aluminum, brass earrings: 18⅛ inches. UCLMA 5-3339.
7. *N'domo* society mask. Blackened wood, cowries, wax; red string tassel: 25 inches. When wearing masks the members beat each other ritually on the legs with sticks, symbolizing that one who can be beaten without crying is master of his tongue, and thus master of himself. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Pete Steffens.
8. Headpiece, female antelope with a baby on her back. Blackened wood: 25⅝ inches. The antelope symbolizes *Tyiwara,* a legendary being who taught mankind to cultivate the earth with a digging stick. Male and female antelopes appear in pairs. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Erle Loran.
9. Antelope headpiece used in the *Tyiwara* society, representing a male antelope. Wood, plate brass, brass bells: 35⅛ inches. Younger members of the *Tyiwara* society, wearing these headpieces and leaning on digging sticks, imitated the play of young male and female antelopes. UCLMA 5-4044. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Victor K. Zurcher.
10. Male antelope headpiece, worn in rituals performed by the *Tyiwara* society when a new field was cleared or just before the beginning of the rainy season to propitiate the spirits of the earth disturbed by agricultural activities and to insure the fertility of the fields. Blackened wood, basketry, cord: 21 inches long. UCLMA 5-5299. Purchase.
11. Animal mask, used in the *Kono* society, which was concerned with questions of civic morality and good relations among the families in a village. Although sometimes interpreted as an "elephant" mask because of the large ears and snout, this identification is doubtful. Blackened wood: 36¼ inches long. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Roy Sieber.
12. Abstract headpiece. Blackened wood, basketry, cord, cowries, metal eyes: 20 inches. Lent by the Museum and Laboratories of Ethnic Arts and Technology, UCLA, X64-112.
13. Equestrian figure. Iron: 9 inches long. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Erle Loran.
14. Spatula. Wood; black paint: 10¾ inches. UCLMA 5-3341.
15. Antelope head, possibly from a puppet. Wood, tin, brass tacks, green fiber cloth; black, red, yellow paint: 19 inches long. Lent anonymously.

16. Puppet head, from an articulated and costumed puppet used by young men in performances of burlesques and comedies. Wood; white, black, blue paint: 14½ inches. UCLMA 5-3340.

° Mule head, attached to a long pole and used in *Kore* society dances performed to bring rain. Blackened wood, metal strips, cord: 13¾ inches long. Lent by the Art Institute of Chicago, 64.229. *Illustrated:* Art Institute of Chicago, 1965: 60.

° Water Buffalo, possibly worn as a headpiece. Blackened wood, metal staples, animal hair, cord: 31½ inches long. Lent by the Art Institute of Chicago, 61.557. *Illustrated: The Art Institute of Chicago Quarterly,* Vol. 56:1, 1962, p. 2; Denver Art Museum, 1964, p. 14; Art Institute of Chicago, 1965: 58.

DOGON (Habbe), 200,000, Mali and Upper Volta.

17. Figure, carved as an abode for the life-force (*nyama*) and soul (*kikunu say*) of a deceased person. Wood: 21½ inches. The figure and an earthenware pot for libations were placed on the flat roof of the house so that for a while the soul of the dead person would remain close to its relatives. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Erle Loran.

18. Two-headed hippopotamus figure. Wood: 7½ inches long. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Pete Steffens.

19. Mask, known as *sirige,* meaning that it represents a house of several stories (Griaule, 1938: 160–161). Wood, cord, projecting mask bit; white, red, black paint: 42 inches. A multiple-storied house was formerly the special prerogative of the highest religious and political leader and thus a symbol of power suitable for frightening away the souls of the dead. UCLMA 5-5303.

20. Mask, another representation of a house of several stories. Wood, cord; black, white, red paint: 96 inches. Most Dogon masks were used in a funerary rite (*dama*) consisting of a masked fight against invisible antagonists whose purpose is to persuade the souls of the dead residing near the altars on the roof top to start upon the long journey to the afterworld. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. John C. Haley.

° Rabbit mask. Wood; red, white, blue paint: 13¼ inches. Dogon masks represent a variety of animals, persons, and objects. Lent by The Museum of Primitive Art, New York, 56.257. *Illustrated:* Museum of Primitive Art, 1957: 16; *ibid.,* 1959, fig. 3.

° Granary door. Wood, metal: 35 inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Baker. *Illustrated:* Nelson Gallery–Atkins Museum, 1966: 47A.

° Equestrian figure. Wood: 36 inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Jay C. Leff. *Illustrated:* Carnegie Institute, 1959: 198; Robbins, 1966: 21.

° Musician. Wood: 26¼ inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Jay C. Leff. *Illustrated:* Carnegie Institute, 1959: 196; Museum of Primitive Art, 1964: 8.

MOSI (Mossi, Moshi), 2,200,000, Upper Volta.

21. Antelope mask, used by members of the *Wango* society at funerals of important persons and, according to Tauxier, while guarding the ripening fruit of certain wild trees. Wood; red, white paint: 89 inches. Lent anonymously.

22. Mask. Iron, cloth; traces of red, white paint: 37½ inches. UCLMA 5-5310.

BOBO, 300,000, Upper Volta and Mali.

23. Owl mask. Wood; red, white, black paint: 66½ inches. A variety of zoomorphic masks were used in invoking the Bobo deity (*Do*) in ceremonies for rain and fertility of the fields after planting, and again after the harvest. Lent anonymously.

24. Bird helmet mask. Wood, cord; red, white, black paint: 16 inches. Masks were also used during the funeral rites for important men and women. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. S. I. Hayakawa.

25. Scorpion headpiece. Wood; red, white, black paint: 15 inches long. UCLMA 5-3362.

° Butterfly mask. Wood; red, white, black paint: 51¼ inches wide. Butterflies, which appear in swarms after the first rains, are associated with the planting season. Similar masks are carved by the neighboring Nunuma, who have adopted the associated rituals from the Bobo. Lent by The Museum of Primitive Art, New York, 60.167. *Illustrated:* Museum of Primitive Art, 1961: 13.

° Anthropomorphic helmet mask. Blackened wood, fiber, cord; white paint: 17 inches. Lent by the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 958.181.2. *Illustrated:* Royal Ontario Museum, 1959: D5.

KURUMBA (Fulse), 800,000, Upper Volta. Regarded as the prior inhabitants of their territory by the Mosi, the Kurumba provided the earth priests who offered sacrifices to the earth on behalf of the Mosi rulers and settled village boundary disputes.

26. Abstract headpiece, symbolizing the power and wealth of the generalized ancestors. Wood, black and red seeds, metal staples, cord; black, red, yellow, white paint: 25½ inches. UCLMA 5-5307.

27. Antelope headpiece. Wood; black, white, red, blue paint: 53 inches. The Kurumba also made a third type of headpiece representing a crocodile and used all three in funeral ceremonies for an important person to insure the departure of his soul. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom.

LOBI, 200,000, Upper Volta and Ivory Coast.

28. Male figure, probably from an ancestral shrine. Grey wood, chicken feathers; black paint: 38½ inches. UCLMA 5-3378.

29. Three-legged stool with a human head. Brown wood: 20½ inches long. Each male initiate had a special stool with which he pounded the ground when the elders appeared. Lent anonymously.

30. Three-legged stool with an antelope head. Wood; black and white paint: 32 inches long. Men often carried their stools on the shoulder when travelling. Lent anonymously.

° Female figure. Brown wood, snake vertebrae; black paint: 15¼ inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom. *Illustrated:* Robbins, 1966: 37.

SENUFO (Siena), 500,000 to 800,000, Mali, Ivory Coast, and Upper Volta.

31. Helmet mask (*kponiugo*), representing a mythical being who protected the community from sorcerers and soul-stealers. Blackened wood: 28 inches long. It is interpreted as a combination of antelope (horns), wart hog (tusks), and hyena (mouth), surmounted by a chameleon. Before it was used the small "cup" carved on top of the head was filled with magical substance to insure the mask's success. It is said to have been worn by a man who ran through the outskirts of the village emitting sparks and small flames from resin-smeared grass contained in its muzzle, and hence has become known as a "fire-spitter." UCLMA 5-5342.
32. Mask (*kpelie*), used in the *Lo* society, the Senufo equivalent of *Poro*. Blackened wood: 14 inches. Its particular function was to remind the initiates of human imperfection and the prophetic outcome of the mythical first adultery. The sex of the character impersonated by the wearer of the mask was indicated by the costume to which it belonged. UCLMA 5-3255.
33. Birds, used in the rituals associated with planting. Blackened wood: 14 inches. It is reported that these figures were mounted on staffs set at the end of the field as the goal which the young hoers tried to be the first to reach, and that they were sometimes awarded to the winner. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William Pearson.
34. Helmet mask, interpreted as representing a crocodile. Blackened wood, cord; red, white paint: 20 inches long. This may be another representation of the mythical being that drove sorcerers from the village. UCLMA 5-5343.
35. Equestrian figure, used in divination. Blackened wood: 15 inches long. Diviners performed their rituals in front of equestrian or standing figures of wood or metal. UCLMA 5-3274.
36. Staff (*daleu*), used in agricultural and other rituals. Blackened wood, iron tip; black, white, pink and shell beads: 57 inches. This staff was the insignia of a high grade (*Kafo*) in the *Lo* society. UCLMA 5-3297.
37. Headpiece, worn by initiates into the intermediate grade (*Kwonro*) of the *Lo* society during the ceremonies which were believed to transform them into adult males. Blackened wood, basketry cap, cloth: 37½ inches. UCLMA 5-5348.
38. Rhythm pounder (*deble*), used by young initiates during commemorative rites for important members of the *Lo* society. Brown wood: 23½ inches. A single file of dancers pounded the earth in a slow rhythm accompanied by drums, rattles, and funeral chants amplified by a wooden megaphone. The pounding was believed to supplicate the souls of deceased ancestors to participate in the ceremony and to purify the earth and render it fertile. UCLMA 5-3281.

° Seated female figure and bird, probably used in *Lo* society ceremonies as a symbol of the living forces of the universe. Wood: 63 inches. The hornbill (*sedien*) was believed to be one of five original creatures and the first to be killed for food. It was a symbol of human fertility and thus of the continuity of the community. It was often portrayed with a large stomach—suggesting pregnancy—joined to a long beak, which sometimes suggested a phallus. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Harry A. Franklin. *Illustrated:* Goldwater, 1964: 149.

° Ceremonial drum (*pliewo*). Wood, hide: 48⅝ inches. It was put on the ground in front of a hut only on the occasion of burials and memorial rituals and then could not be touched. It was carried on the head of a young girl, a custom reflected in the figure supporting this drum. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Harry A. Franklin. Ex-collection: Charles Ratton. *Illustrated:* Museum of Primitive Art, 1964: 165.

° Lock. Wood, metal: 21⅝ inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Baker. *Illustrated:* Nelson Gallery–Atkins Museum, 1966: 67.

MENDE, 600,000, Sierra Leone and Liberia.

39. Pair of loom sticks, used in weaving on the men's loom. Blackened wood: 14 inches each. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Ralph C. Altman.
40. Female figure (*minsere*), used in divination by a healing society. After having been charged with power by the application of magical substances, these figures were said to indicate the will of the spirits by nodding. Blackened wood: 18½ inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Pete Steffens.
41. Helmet mask, worn during initiations by a member who impersonated the tutelary spirit of the *Sande* society. Blackened wood: 15 inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. S. I. Hayakawa.

KONO (Konor), 110,000, Liberia, Guinea, and Ivory Coast.

42. Mask (*nyomu kpman hine*), to which sacrifices were offered before and after each military expedition, and which presided over the division of the spoils of war. Wood, braided fiber, animal teeth and hair, aluminum eyes; brown paint: 11 inches without fringe. Masks of a similar form have also been reported for the Dan and Kran. UCLMA 5-3316.

LOMA (Toma, Buzi) 260,000, Liberia and Guinea.

43. Mask, representing *Nianwei*, one of a group spirits (*Afwi*) which symbolically devoured the young boys at the beginning of their training in the *Poro* initiation school. Wood with heavy patina: 19½ inches. This excellent example of the Loma mouthless mask was purchased in Paris about the time of World War I. UCLMA 5-3855. Gift of Mrs. George M. Foster and Mrs. Eugene E. Jurs in memory of Mr. and Mrs. James D. Le Cron. *Also illustrated:* Robbins, 1966: 70.

KPELLE (Guerze, Gbese, Pessy), 500,000, Liberia and Guinea.

° Horned mask, used in the Kpelle equivalent of the *Poro* society (*Polon*). Wood, fur, cloth, animal hair; black, brown, white paint: 15½ inches. Lent by Titian Spencer. *Illustrated:* "The Titian Spencer Collection of African Art," *The Fine Arts Gallery of San Diego*, Vol. 5:2, 1966: 52.

BASSA, 150,000, Liberia.

° Replica of a sacred female figure, carved for George W. Harley in 1933. Blackened wood, metal, cloth, hair; white paint: 26¼ inches. Lent by the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 33-55-50/134. *Illustrated:* Schwab, 1947: 72b; Robbins, 1966: 68.

BETE, 150,000, Ivory Coast.

44. Mask. Blackened wood: 10¼ inches. UCLMA 5-3365.

DAN (Gio), 150,000, Liberia and Ivory Coast.

45. Mask (*deaboa*), representing a female face. Blackened wood: 8¾ inches. Once found in every Dan village and usually inherited in the family line, such masks were worn by the male custodians who supervised the daily activities of the young boys being trained in the initiation school of the *Poro* society. Lent anonymously. Collected at Seupleu, Ivory Coast, by Hugo Zemp in 1962.

46. Miniature mask (*ma*). Blackened wood: 4½ inches. Men ordinarily carried miniature replicas of the larger masks owned by their family and thus could benefit from the sacred power of the family mask. The miniature masks also had their own inherent magical properties, such as warding off illness, and were used when divining with sections of kola nuts, which were touched to the mask before they were tossed on the ground. UCLMA 5-3309.

47. Judgment or avenger mask (*gowa*) with movable jaw, used when carrying out punitive measures in the village. Wood, aluminum, fur, iron, cord; black, red, white paint: 15½ inches. Small antelope horns filled with magical substance were attached to masks of this type. All Dan masks were believed to have been created by the supreme being to enable man to contact him on the one hand, and as a means of keeping indirect control over man on the other. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. John C. Haley.

48. Mask with movable jaw, representing a baboon. Blackened wood, monkey fur, cord: 10 inches. Baboon masks were worn by clowns who provided a demonstration by absurdity of what humans, and particularly the young initiates, should not do. UCLMA 5-3315.

49. Bird mask. Wood, fiber, metal hook; black, orange, white, blue paint: 12 inches without fringe. The older a mask was and the more sacrifices that had been offered to it, the greater was its power. Regardless of its form, the amount of power determined the rank of a mask within the *Poro* society and whether it was feared or regarded as a means of entertainment. UCLMA 5-3306.

50. Figure of a man with an axe. Brass: 7¾ inches. Similar figures are reported from the neighboring Kran. Lent by the Howard University Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., from the Alain Locke collection.

° Figure of a mother and child. Brass: 9 inches. Lent by the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 29-76-50/H1006. Collected by George Schwab in 1927. *Illustrated:* Schwab, 1947: 68b; Museum of African Art, 1966: 44.

° Mask (*kagle*). Brown wood, brass ends of shotgun shells, rubber insets in eyes and as teeth; red paint: 9 inches. UCLMA 5-3363. *Illustrated:* University Art Gallery, 1966: 2.

° Spoon (*wunkirmian*) with legs, for serving rice at feasts held at funerals, births, and other important occasions. Wood, glass beads: 27¾ inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Baker. *Illustrated:* Lake Forest College, 1962: 9/9a; Nelson Gallery–Atkins Museum, 1966: 60A.

° Spoon with head. Blackened wood, string, beads, metal teeth; white paint: 27 inches. Lent by the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 29-76-50/H1086. Collected by George Schwab in 1927. *Illustrated:* Schwab, 1947: 70c/d.

KRAN, 100,000, Liberia and Ivory Coast, including the Ngere (Guere) or Eastern Kran and the Tien (Shien).

51. Mask. Wood, fiber, cord, cloth, metal teeth; black, white, brown paint: 12½ inches. The many masks personifying the spirit of the forest have characteristics of strong animals, such as the leopard, wart hog, or boar. UCLMA 5-3350.

52. Mask. Wood, shotgun shells, fiber, cloth, animal hair, metal teeth; red, white, black paint: 10½ inches. Fiber has been replaced by shotgun cartridges of French manufacture in this forest-spirit mask. UCLMA 5-3372.

53. Mask with movable jaw. Wood, fur, cloth, cord netting; black, white, red paint: 14½ inches. Each of the many types of Kran masks is said to have its own specific function, but these functions have not been recorded. UCLMA 5-5466. Gift of Mrs. Julia Roth.

GURO (Kweni), 80,000, Ivory Coast.

54. Antelope mask, used in the *Zamle* society. Wood; black, red, white, blue paint: 15 inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Victor K. Zurcher.

55. Loom pulley frame, decorated with an antelope mask (*cf.* 54). Wood, cord; black, red, blue, green paint: 6 inches. The string supporting the heddles which separated the warp threads in the men's loom passed over a pulley, which was often decorated with a miniature mask or a human or animal head. UCLMA 5-3332.

56. Loom pulley frame. Blackened wood, plastic beads: 5½ inches. Lent anonymously.

57. Figure. Brown wood, blue beads; white paint: 15¾ inches. Attribution is tentative because, being rare, few Guro figures have been illustrated. UCLMA 5-3366.

BAULE (Baoule), 400,000, Ivory Coast. Historically, the Baule and the neighboring Anyi are related to the Fanti, Ashanti, and other members of a large group of peoples known as the Akan. Baule stools and gold weights are similar to those of the Ashanti and their figures to those of the Anyi, but their human masks resemble those of the Guro, near whom they settled.

58. Female figure. Brown wood, red beads: 16¾ inches. UCLMA 5-3182. *Also illustrated:* Robert H. Lowie Museum, *Annual Report for the year ending June 30, 1964:* frontispiece; University Art Museum, 1966: 6.

59. Male figure. Wood, cord, cloth; red, white, black paint: 16 inches. UCLMA 5-3197.

60. Male figure. Blackened wood, string, white beads, metal: 14 inches. This figure is interpreted as portraying the son of a chief because of the distinctive tuft of hair on the left side of the beard, and the miniature representation of a gold pendant worn on the chest. UCLMA 5-3221.

61. Portrait mask, used in commemorative ceremonies for the dead. Brown wood: 8¾ inches long. In these portrait masks aesthetic considerations were secondary to the representation of a particular individual, recognizable by the facial

scarifications and form of hairdress. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Harry A. Franklin.

62. Portrait mask. Weathered wood: 10⅝ inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. David E. Apter.

63. Portrait mask in the sub-style of the Yaure Baule. Blackened wood, brass: 14½ inches. The Baule say that visible teeth convey cheerfulness and a pout conveys sadness. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Henry Schaefer-Simmern.

64. Buffalo helmet mask (*dje*),representing the African buffalo or "bush cow." Wood; black, white, red paint: 21⅛ inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom.

65. Loom pulley, decorated with a buffalo mask (*cf.* 64). Wood, spool, cord, iron nails; black, white paint: 7⅛ inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom.

66. Drumstick. Wood, cord netting; black, white paint: 12 inches. UCLMA 5-3209.

67. Gong stick (*dawle*), used to beat an iron gong. Darkened wood, cloth: 11¾ inches. UCLMA 5-3214.

68. Antelope helmet mask. Wood; black, white, pink paint: 27 inches. Summoned by singers who danced through the village with calabash rattles, the impersonators of the antelope spirits acted out a drama of refusal and conciliation before they finally consented to dance. According to Leuzinger (1960, plate 18), who calls it a buffalo mask, it represents the spirit of the dead. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom.

69. Mask (*kplekple*), used in the *Won* dance of the *Goli* cult. Wood; black, white, red paint: 17⅛ inches. Representing the black sheep or disobedient child of the family and acting like the clown kachinas of the Pueblo Indians, these masks appeared with another representing the handsome son (*Goli kpon*) and two larger masks representing the *Goli* father (*Goli glan*) and mother (*Goli bla*). UCLMA 5-2438.

70. Ointment pot. Blackened wood: 16 inches. UCLMA 5-5365.

° Figure. Blackened wood, cloth: 29 inches. Interpreted as representing a half-human, half-baboon deity who protects the family of the owner and through possession gives advice and makes predictions. (We are also indebted to Philippe de Salverte-Marmier for information on this piece and number 69). UCLMA 5-3228. *Illustrated:* Robbins, 1966: 94.

ATÝE (Akye, Attie), 55,000, Ivory Coast.

71. Figure. Blackened wood, iron nails: 15¾ inches. Lent by the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, 29-12-82.

72. Pestle for mashing baby food. Blackened wood: 6¾ inches. UCLMA 5-3358.

ANYI (Agni), 80,000, Ivory Coast and Ghana.

73. Mother and child. Blackened wood, white beads: 19 inches. Lent by Robert P. Armstrong.

74. Commemorative figure (*mma*), made by a potter who had known the deceased. Terra-cotta; traces of red, black paint: 14¾ inches. The wealth and social rank of the deceased were indicated by the modeling of beards, hats, canes, and, in this case, a stool. The figures associated with each family were placed together in a special location in the forest distant from the cemetery and near the edge of a path leading out of town. UCLMA 5-5287. Ex-collection: Helena Rubinstein. Collected at Krinjabo by Lheureux.

FANTI (Fante), 200,000, Ghana. Both the Fanti and the related Ashanti used a fertility doll, known as *akua-ba*, which was similar in many ways despite the marked contrast in its outer form. These dolls were not toys, but were treated with magic and were carried on their backs by women who wished to have children.

75. Fertility doll. Wood: 13¼ inches. UCLMA 5-3810. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. J. J. Klejman.

ASHANTI (Asante), 700,000, Ghana. Under the leadership of Osei Tutu, the Ashanti threw off the rule of the Denkyira about 1701 and established a powerful kingdom of their own with its capital at Kumasi. The Ashanti King (*Asante Hene*) controlled the trade in gold dust, which served as currency in his realm.

76. Fertility doll (*cf.* 75). Blackened wood: 13 inches. These figures were also carried by pregnant women who wished their children to have beautiful heads and long necks like these figures. UCLMA 5-2194. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom. Collected at Awhiaa, near Kumasi, in 1943. *Also illustrated:* Robert H. Lowie Museum brochure, 1966: cover.

77. Fertility doll. Blackened wood, red, white, blue, green beads: 11 inches. The Ashanti believed that a pregnant woman should not look upon any deformity, even a badly carved figure, lest she give birth to a child like it. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom. Collected in 1944.

78. Comb, decorated with a fertility doll. Blackened wood: 10 inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William F. Kaiser.

79. Procession with a chief being carried in a palanquin, surrounded by his bearers, umbrella-carrier, drummers and drum-bearer, trumpeter, gong-beater, sword-bearers, and stool-bearer. Bronze: 5½ inches long. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom. Collected in 1944.

80. Lion, which has taken the gun from the hunter at his feet. Bronze: 7 inches long. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom. Collected in 1944.

81. Ceremonial vessel (*kuduo*) used to hold offerings at funerals, female puberty rites, and other rituals and to store gold dust, precious beads, and other valuables. Brass: 4¾ inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Victor K. Zurcher.

82. Pipe bowl, representing a tortoise. Clay: 4¼ inches. Women ordinarily were potters among the Ashanti, but pipes and pots in anthropomorphic or zoomorphic forms were made only by men. UCLMA 5-772. Early nineteenth century. Gift of Miss Mary Winship Kingsley.

83. Drum. Wood, cord, hide: 31 inches. Lowie Museum 5-5323.

84. Two linguist's staffs (*akyeame poma*), which served as the symbol of office of the chief's official spokesman (*okyeame*). Wood, nails; silver paint: 63 and 60⅝ inches. All communications on official occasions were conducted through the linguists, who were repositories of traditional law and custom and served as chiefs of protocol and negotiators of treaties. UCLMA 5-5321, 5-5322.

° Ceremonial vessel, representing a leopard attacking a goat. Bronze: 8¾ inches. *Kuduo* were sometimes placed on the graves of their owners, but more often they were inherited

as highly valued family heirlooms. Lent by William J. Moore. *Illustrated:* Wingert, 1948: 30; *idem.,* 1950: 30; Art Center, 1960: 34; Robbins, 1966: 118.

FON (Dahomeans), 400,000, Dahomey. The Fon developed a highly centralized kingdom with its capital at Abomey. After having stopped paying tribute to the Yoruba kingdom of Oyo about 1827, they began a series of annual slave wars against the Yoruba and other neighboring peoples which continued throughout most of the nineteenth century.

85. Two hoers. The guild of brass-casters in Abomey had as their patron the King, who commissioned pieces to commemorate events of his reign, to ornament the tombs of his ancestors, or merely to be placed in his palace for their decorative value. Brass: both 3½ inches. UCLMA 5-5829 and 5-5827. Gifts of Robert P. Armstrong and Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom.

86. Wrestlers. Brass: 4½ inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. David W. Ames.

87. Procession with a chief being carried in a palanquin, surrounded by his bearers, umbrella-carriers, flag-bearer, chest- and stool-bearers, bowl- and dish-carriers, drummers and drum-bearers, gong-beater, bell- and rattle-carriers, and other attendants. Brass, wood: 21½ inches long. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. David W. Ames.

° Cult initiates dancing for the Sky Gods, *Mawu* and *Lisa.* Brass, copper, wood, hide, raphia: 12 inches long. Lent by the Herskovits family. Collected at Abomey by Melville J. Herskovits in 1930. *Illustrated:* Herskovits, 1938: 61.

° Elephant and hunter. Brass: 10¾ inches long. Lent by the Herskovits family. Collected at Abomey by Melville J. Herskovits in 1930. *Illustrated:* Herskovits, 1934, p. 76; *idem.,* 1938: 91a; University gallery, 1940: 1; Herskovits, 1948: 9b; idem., 1955: 9.

° Ritual axe for the God of Thunder (*Xevioso*), used as a dance staff. Wood, brass: 21 inches long. Lent by the Herskovits family. Collected at Abomey by Melville J. Herskovits in 1930. *Illustrated:* Herskovits, 1938: 68.

° Elephant hunt. Appliquéd cloth; black, red, white, grey, gold on yellow: 42¼ inches by 69¾ inches long. Made by a single guild in the capital, appliquéd panels of this kind were hung in the houses of chiefs, commemorating incidents in their lives or illustrating proverbs. Lent by the Herskovits family. Collected at Abomey by Melville J. Herskovits in 1930. *Illustrated:* Herskovits, 1938: 7.

° Cooperative work group (*dokpwe*) hoeing, with the chief of the work group seated near food and drink provided by the host. Appliquéd cloth; black, red, gold on yellow: 38½ inches by 70½ inches long. Lent by the Herskovits family. Collected at Abomey by Melville J. Herskovits in 1930. *Illustrated:* Herskovits, 1938: 15.

° Two banners used by mutual aid insurance societies *(Gbe)* with designs indicative of the occupations and talents of the members. Appliquéd cloth; yellow, red, black, grey, green on white: both 33 inches by 68 inches long. Lent by the Herskovits family. Collected at Abomey by Melville J. Herskovits in 1930. *Illustrated:* Herskovits, 1934, pp. 73, 74; *idem.,* 1938: 39; Altman, 1962: AF57d.

YORUBA 10,000,000, Nigeria, Dahomey, and Togo. The Yoruba, who have a long tradition of urbanism, have been called "the largest and most prolific of the art-producing tribes of Africa" (Fagg & List, 1963, p. 9). After having successfully withstood the attacks of Muslim armies from the north throughout the nineteenth century, they have been converted in large numbers to Islam and to Christianity.

88. (Cover). Pair of royal twin figures *(ibeji).* Brown wood, cowries, cloth, iron insets in eyes; black, white, blue, red, pink, yellow, green, clear beads: 14½ and 13¾ inches. One figure was carved when a twin died and it was fed as long as the parents or the other twin lived; a pair indicates that neither twin survived childhood. The use of beaded garments was reserved to the Yoruba Kings *(Oba),* and the facial marks are those of the lineage of the Alafin, King of Oyo, the capital of the largest and most powerful Yoruba kingdom. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom. Collected at Oyo, Nigeria, in 1951. Photograph by Alfred A. Blaker.

89. Ram's head *(osamasinmi),* for the ancestral shrine of the royal lineage where sacrifices were made at the cutting of the first yams each year. Brown wood: 15 inches. Probably from Owo, Nigeria. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William F. Kaiser.

90. Dance staff (*oshe Shango*), used in the cult for the God of Thunder *(Shango).* Wood, metal bracelets: red, blue beads: 13 inches. It portrays a female worshipper holding a similar dance staff in one hand and a gourd rattle *(shere Shango)* in the other. The double projections at the top, decorated with facial markings, represent ancient stone celts, which were believed to be thunderstones thrown by *Shango,* and which were his symbols. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom. Collected at Oyo, Nigeria, in 1951.

91. Mask, representing a woman, used in the *Gelede* cult, whose dances were performed for the purpose of propitiating witches. Wood: black, blue, red paint: 10 inches. *Gelede* cult masks appeared in pairs. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom. Carved by Duga, master carver of Meko, Nigeria; collected in 1950.

92. Pair of symbols *(edan Ogboni)* of the *Ogboni* society which in Ife served as the next-to-the-highest court of law, in addition to performing rituals in the worship of the Earth. Bronze: 6¼ inches each without the connecting chain. Nineteenth century or possibly earlier. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom. Collected at Ife, Nigeria, in 1938.

93. *Ifa* bell or tapper *(iro Ifa),* used to call the attention of the God of Divination *(Ifa)* before beginning to divine. Ivory: 10½ inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom.

94. *Ifa* cup *(agere Ifa)* in which were stored the sixteen palmnuts used in divination and as symbols of *Ifa.* Brass: 12 inches. Lent by the Denver Art Museum, 347-QA.

95. *Ifa* cup. Wood; red, white, blue paint: 10¾ inches. The group of figures represents a chief on horseback, surrounded by his drummers and attendants; the bowl carried by the woman on his right has a hinged lid. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William F. Kaiser.

96. Stool on which novitiates were seated during their initiation into the cult of *Iroko,* the deity of the tree of the same name. It portrays a priestess holding the knife used in the *Iroko* cult and her assistant, a drummer, and two pythons which support the seat. Wood; red, black, blue, white paint: 13¾

inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom. Carved by Duga of Meko, Nigeria; collected in 1950.

97. Symbol for the God of Medicine *(Osanyin)* set into the ground at his shrine. Iron: 13½ inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom. Collected at Oyo, Nigeria, in 1951.

98. Game board for playing the seed game *(ayo,* known elsewhere as *ware* and *mancala).* Wood; black, red, yellow paint: 28 inches long. The Yoruba game is played by two people using 48 seeds and a board hollowed out into two parallel rows of six cups; the object is to capture more than half of the seeds. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom. Gift of the Akarigbo of Ijebu-Remo, Nigeria, in 1951.

° Mask, known as Warrior (*Jagunjagun*) used in the cult for the deity *Epa.* Wood, carved in one piece; polychrome: 54 inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Vincent Price. Ex-collection: Leon Underwood. Carved by Bamgboye, master carver of Odo-Owa, Nigeria, about 1925. *Illustrated:* Underwood, 1948: 27; Brooklyn Museum, 1954: 102; Elisofon & Fagg, 1958: 144; Price, 1959, pp. 148–149; Robbins, 1966: 164.

° Mask, representing a woman with cloth head-tie, used in the *Gelde* cult (*cf.* 91). Wood: 15¼ inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom. Collected at Sabe, Dahomey, in 1943. *Illustrated:* Herskovits, 1948: 8c; *idem.,* 1955: 7c.

° *Gelede* cult mask, representing a man climbing an oil palm tree to harvest its fruit. Wood, iron nails; black, red paint: 31 inches. When worn, palm fronds were inserted into holes carved into the top of the tree (which is detachable), making the mask six to eight feet tall. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom. Collected at Sabe, Dahomey, in 1943. *Illustrated:* Bascom & Gebauer, 1953: 16.

° Dance staff, often worn hooked over the shoulder, used in the cult for *Eshu,* the Messenger God and Divine Trickster. Blackened wood, cowries, bone, brass bell, seeds, leather: 19¼ inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Wielgus. Collected at Oyo, Nigeria, by Roy Sieber in 1958. *Illustrated:* Plass, 1959: 83; Fagg & List, 1961: 48; *idem.,* 1963: 97; Dräyer & Lommel, 1962: 26.

° Mask, representing an *Eshu* worshipper, used in the *Egungun* cult. Wood, iron nails; black, blue paint: 10 inches. This type of mask was worn during the annual festival; other *Egungun* wore massive bloodsmeared headpieces of clay and medicines, used when apprehending witches, or maskless cloth costumes, used when honoring the recent dead, or other costumes, used in performing tricks for simple amusement. Lent by the Herskovits family. Collected at Abeokuta, Nigeria, by Melville J. Herskovits in 1930. *Illustrated:* Herskovits, 1945, p. 56.

° Model for the *Egungun* cult mask above. Brown wood: 5 inches. Few African carvers used models of this kind, but this was only one of a number of such miniatures which a carver in Abeokuta, Nigeria, had on display for the benefit of his clients in placing their orders. Lent by the Herskovits family. Collected by Melville J. Herskovits in 1930. *Illustrated:* Herskovits, 1934, p. 130; *idem.,* 1945, p. 56.

° Replica of a dance staff for the cult of the God of Thunder *(Shango),* carved for William Bascom by Duga, master carver of Meko, Nigeria, in 1950. Wood, iron staple; tan, black, brown, red, blue, pink, white paint: 20¾ inches. The central figure represents a priest of *Shango* holding a similar dance staff in one hand and with the other blessing a female worshipper of *Oya,* the wife of *Shango* and Goddess of the Niger River, who is giving her special greeting for *Shango* while a drummer is beating *Shango's* drum *(bata).* The double projections at the top, derived from representations of thunderstones *(cf.* 90), frame a dog, sacred to *Shango,* and a ram, his favorite sacrificial animal. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom. *Illustrated:* Bascom & Gebauer, 1953: 4–6.

° *Ifa* cup *(cf.* 94), representing a female worshipper, with her baby on her back, carrying a bowl which is supported by four male figures; between them is a loose wooden head which was carved in place; four maidens stand on the removable lid. Wood: 25 inches. Lent by William J. Moore. Carved by Olowe, master carver of Ise, Nigeria, about 1925. *Illustrated:* Wingert, 1948: 36; *idem.,* 1950: 36; Brooklyn Museum, 1954: 105; Dräyer & Lommel, 1962: 28; Robbins, 1966: 159.

° *Ifa* cup, representing a female worshipper offering a rooster whose back forms a removable lid. Brown wood; traces of blue paint: 14½ inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom. Collected at Efon-Alaiye, Nigeria in 1938. *Illustrated:* University Gallery, 1940: 3; *Oakland Tribune,* 4 November 1962, "Eldorado" section, cover; Robbins, 1966: 162.

° Sword. Brass: 22¾ inches. Lent by the Museum and Laboratories of Ethnic Arts and Technology, UCLA, X65-3613, from the Sir Henry Wellcome Collection. *Illustrated:* UCLA, 1966: 174.

° Pair of twin figures (*cf.* 88). Brown wood, iron eyes, aluminum bracelet; black, blue, red, white beads; traces of camwood: 12 and 11 inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom. Collected at Oyo, Nigeria, in 1951. *Illustrated:* Robbins, 1966: 153–154.

° Pair of twin figures. Brown wood: 9⅞ inches. Lent by the Herskovits family. Carved by Ayo, son of Adugbologe, master carver of Abeokuta, Nigeria; collected by Melville J. Herskovits in 1930. *Illustrated:* Herskovits, 1934, p. 131; University Gallery, 1940: 3; Plass, 1959: 70–71.

° Shrine piece for *Yemoja,* Goddess of the River Ogun, representing her priestess with her baby and four worshippers carrying pots of water from the river. Wood; black, red, yellow, white paint: 24¾ inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom. Collected at Abeokuta, Nigeria, in 1944. *Illustrated:* Bascom & Gebauer, 1953: 20.

BENIN, Nigeria, was the capital city of the Bini empire, which once controlled a large area along the coast, including parts of Yoruba territory. The Bini are one of a number of related peoples who belong to the grouping known as Edo, which numbers over 500,000. The court style, represented here, differs from that of the Bini in rural areas.

99. Pair of equestrian figures, probably used as scepters, tops of staffs, or flywhisk handles. Ivory: 11 inches each. Equestrian figures were a typical handle motif in Benin ivory carving, which retained its vigor throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. UCLMA 5-4628 and 5-4629. Gift of Jay T. Last.

100. Plaque, from a wooden post in the palace of the King (*Oba*). Bronze: 20 inches. Sixteenth or seventeenth century. The making of plaques may have derived from Portuguese

contact, but the style and method of bronze-casting are distinctly Benin. The plaques recorded the deeds of past kings and warriors as well as various ritual activities. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William F. Kaiser.

101. Two bells. Bronze, iron clappers: 6 and 7¼ inches. Nineteenth century. Pyramidal bells were used while praying and were worn hanging on the chest as part of the costume of many dignitaries. UCLMA 5-3360, 5-3361.

° Head of a King wearing a cap and high collar of coral beads. Bronze: 11½ inches. A bronze head, sometimes with an ivory tusk carved in low relief inserted in the hole at the top, was placed on an ancestral shrine in memory of the deceased king by his successor. Lent by William J. Moore. *Illustrated:* Art Center, 1960: 33.

° Head of a Queen Mother wearing a high collar and a conical cap of coral beads. Bronze, iron: 16¾ inches. Behind the conical cap is an opening for the insertion of a carved ivory tusk. Lent by the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, CNHM 8262. *Illustrated: WFMT Fine Arts Guide,* Vol. 8:3, 1959, p. 51; Dark, 1962: 130.

° Figure of a King holding a ceremonial sword *(ebe)* in his right hand and a scepter or a gong in his left. Solid bronze: 26¾ inches. The forward protuberances on each side of the cheeks and the winged cap are features of memorial heads made after 1820. Lent by the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, CNHM 8260. Purchased through H. O. Forbes, Director of the Free Public Museums, Liverpool, in 1899. *Illustrated:* Roth, 1903: 70a, 71; *WFMT Fine Arts Guide,* Vol. 8:3, 1959, p. 111; Dark, 1962: 103.

° Figure of a Portuguese warrior. Bronze: 17½ inches. The Portuguese, who first made contact with the kingdom of Benin in 1472, provided many motifs for Benin court art. From details of the costume the figure can be dated as late seventeenth century. From the D. and J. de Menil collection. Ex-collection: Beasley; Cranmore Ethnographical Museum. *Illustrated:* Museum of Primitive Art, 1962: 39.

IGBO (*Ibo*), 7,000,000, Nigeria. The Igbo formed no large kingdoms but were divided into hundreds of independent units. This is reflected in their arts, which show marked stylistic diversity from one area to another, as illustrated here in masks from the regions of Udi, Bende, Afikpo, and Achi.

102. Maiden mask *(agbo mmaung),* portraying an ancestral spirit *(mmo)* according to traditional ideas of beauty and feminine character. Blackened wood: 18 inches. Worn by young men in the third age grade, masks representing beautiful young women appeared early in the dry season during the main annual festival or later in the dry season in the feast of the Earth spirit *(ane).* Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom. Carved by Ugbozo Ozooha-Agu; collected at Obioma, near Udi, Nigeria, in 1945.

103. Mask. Wood; black, white, yellow, red paint: 12½ inches. Igbo masks were used in initiations and other rituals of the *Mmaung* society, which included all adult males. Initiates might be told that the masked figures *(mmaung)* would kill them and cut their bodies to pieces, but that spiders would sew the pieces together again and their bodies would return to life. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Willliam Bascom. Carved by Ugbozo Ozooha-Agu; collected at Obioma, near Udi, Nigeria, in 1945.

104. Mask. Wood; black, white paint: 18 inches. Some Igbo masks are used to perform comic burlesques, parodying diviners, inventing tall tales, or reciting tongue-twisters to the amusement of the audience. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom. Carved by Ugbozo Ozooha-Agu; collected at Obioma, near Udi, Nigeria, in 1945.

105. Mask, with movable jaw. Blackened wood, fiber: 12 inches. Among the southern Igbo subgroups, masked dancers appeared during the second burials and enacted the departure of the spirit of the deceased ancestor from the community. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom. From Bende, Nigeria, but collected at Ozuitem in 1945.

106. Mask. Blackened wood: 8 inches. Simple small masks were worn by children when other masks were appearing, but they were not allowed to interfere with the main performance. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom. Collected at Bende, Nigeria, in 1945.

107. Mask, with two faces. Blackened wood: 14 inches. The jaw of the lower face is missing. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom. Collected at Bende, Nigeria, in 1945.

108. Replica of a mask, carved at Afikpo, Nigeria, for Simon Ottenberg in 1952. Wood, basketry; black, white, brown paint: 19 inches. UCLMA 5-1950.

109. Replica of a mask, carved at Afikpo, Nigeria, for Simon Ottenberg in 1952. Wood, fiber, cord; black, white, orange paint: 17 inches. Known as *maji,* this mask has a curved portion at the top which resembles the ceremonial knife used to slice yams. Lent by Simon Ottenberg.

110. Replica of a mask, made at Afikpo, Nigeria, for Simon Ottenberg in 1952. Gourd, basketry; black, white, red, yellow paint: 13¾ inches. UCLMA 5-1951.

° Mask. Blackened wood: 10¾ inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom. Collected at Bende, Nigeria, in 1945. *Illustrated: Chicago Natural History Museum Bulletin,* Vol. 29:1, 1958, p. 4.

° Mask. Wood; black, white paint: 14 inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom. Collected at Achi, Nigeria, in 1945. *Illustrated: Chicago Natural History Museum Bulletin,* Vol. 29:1, 1958, p. 3; *WFMT Fine Arts Guide,* Vol. 8:3, 1959, p. 80.

° Anthropomorphic staff *(ofo ndicie),* used by a chief to protect himself and his followers or to attack those who refused to abide by his decisions. Wood, iron: 36 inches. A simpler form *(ofo),* symbolizing the heritable essence of fatherhood, was owned by every man who had established his own household; it was held in the right hand while oaths were uttered and beaten upon the ground to convey these oaths to the land of the dead. Lent by the Museum and Laboratories of Ethnic Arts and Technology, UCLA, Sir Henry Wellcome collection, X65-3856. Collected by M. D. W. Jeffreys at Aguleri, Nigeria, in 1930. *Illustrated: South African Journal of Science,* Vol. 52:10, 1956, p. 228; *Nigerian Field,* 1956, p. 174; UCLA, 1966: 195.

IDOMA, 250,000,Nigeria.

111. Female figure (*Ekwotame*), placed near the corpse at the funerals of old men. Blackened wood: 24 inches. This rare piece, probably the only one of its kind in this country,

came to California by an unlikely route, via Australia. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Ted D. Johnston.

- Replica of a "scratching grass" (*agahama*) mask, worn in funeral rites and showing the influence of northern Igbo style. Wood, cord; black, white paint: 9 inches. Carved by Oba, master carver of Otobi, Nigeria, for Roy Sieber in 1958. UCLMA 5-3808. *Illustrated:* Sieber, 1961: 40.

BENUE VALLEY, Nigeria.

112. Pair of figures. Wood, metal and glass earrings: 25⅛ inches; crested figure 26⅝ inches. Nothing is known of these striking figures except that they undoubtedly come from the valley of the Benue River, and that they probably are not Chamba as originally attributed. The faces are distinctive, but the posture suggests a relationship to the Goemai and Montol (*cf.* Sieber, 1961: 29, 34). Lent by Mr. and Mrs. S. I. Hayakawa.

MATAKAM, 80,000, Cameroon.

113. Ancestral effigy pot (*vray*), kept in the house or granary as the abode of the soul of a deceased parent or grandparent. Clay, quartz-pebble teeth: 9 inches. In return for regular offerings of food and drink these ancestors protected the house and the health and fortune of the family. In the third generation the pot of the great-grandparent was broken, freeing the soul, which lived on in the form of a mountain bird, no longer able to help or harm. UCLMA 5-4366. Collected near Mokolo among the Mafa Matakam by Paul Hinderling in 1964.

IBIBIO, 1,500,000, Nigeria.

114. Puppet, with movable arms and jaw. Wood, string, cloth fragments, brass tack eyes; red, black paint: 32 inches. Public puppet plays, performed by various societies on festive occasions, were satiric commentaries on current topics and matters of everyday interest. Lent by the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 959.237.3.

115. Mask, used in the ceremonies of the *Ekpo* (spirit) society, which was devoted to promoting the increase of mankind and the crops and the general well-being of the community. Wood, mask bit, feathers, eggshells, egg yolk; black, red, white paint: 10¼ inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. David W. Ames.

116. Mask. Wood; yellow, black, red paint: 8½ inches. *Ekpo* society ceremonies were held at the time of planting and harvest, at the funerals of its members, and on other important occasions. Lent anonymously. Collected at Ikot Ekpene, Nigeria, in 1945.

117. Puppet with movable arms, playing a metallophone. Wood, fiber, cloth; yellow, black, red paint: 13½ inches. Puppets were assigned traditionally standardized roles and names which indicated family and social tensions and community rivalries and jealousies. Lent by Mrs. Herbert Jaffe.

118. Male and female figure from a complex headpiece. Wood; white, black, yellow, green, red paint: female 21 inches; male 22 inches. Lent anonymously. Collected at Ikot Ekpene, Nigeria, in 1945.

- Mask. Wood; black paint: 12 inches. UCLMA 5-5962. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. William Bascom. Collected at Ikot Ekpene, Nigeria, in 1945. *Illustrated: Chicago Natural History Museum Bulletin*, Vol. 29:1, 1958, p. 3; *WFMT Fine Arts Guide*, Vol. 8:3, 1959, p. 21.

IJO (Ijaw), 350,000, Nigeria. The Ijo, who are primarily fishermen, live in small villages in the mangrove swamps along the creeks in the delta of the Niger River.

- Headpiece combining a hippopotamus jaw with human facial features and portraying *Otobo*, a water spirit conceived as part man, part hippopotamus. Blackened wood, iron staples: 18⅛ inches. This was one of many masks and headpieces used by the *Ekine* society, also known as "The Dancing People" (*Sekiapu*), in soliciting the help of the water spirits. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Wielgus. Ex-collection: Webster Plass. Collected in the Degema area, Nigeria, by P. Amaury Talbot about 1916. *Illustrated:* Allen Memorial Art Museum, 1955–56: 40; Paulme, 1956: 16; Plass, 1956A: 17 A; Elisofon & Fagg, 1958: 177; Fagg & List, 1961: 56; *idem.*, 1963: 109; Dräyer & Lommel, 1962: 35.
- Personal guardian figure, portraying the owner about to pour a libation while seated on an animal-like figure. Brown wood; traces of black, white paint: 25⅛ inches. The animal, interpreted as a feline, represents the guardian spirit (*ejiri*) which insured general well-being and in earlier times protection and success in war. Lent by The Museum of Primitive Art, New York, 60.128. Gift of The Matthew T. Mellon Foundation. Collected by R. Allman during the Ekuri expedition in 1897. *Illustrated:* Museum of Primitive Art, 1961: 58; *ibid.*, 1963: 21; *ibid.*, 1965: 22; Monti, 1964, p. 1374.

EKOI, 100,000, Nigeria.

119. Headpiece, representing a woman with an elaborate hairdress. Wood, hide, basketry, aluminum eyes, ivory teeth; black paint: 31⅛ inches high. Such headpieces were worn in rituals intended to renew the vitality and life forces of humans, animals, and the fields. The hide covering may have replaced an earlier use of human skin, and it has been suggested that the use of the headpiece derived from an earlier custom of carrying the heads of vanquished enemies during the victory dance. Lent by the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 935.10.1. *Also Illustrated:* Bascom & Gebauer, 1953: 30; Royal Ontario Museum, 1959: D36.

BA-BANKI, 10,000, Cameroon.

120. Drinking horn, used by elders and chiefs for drinking palm wine. Horn, camwood inside: 10¼ inches long. Such horns were transmitted by a chief to his successor to maintain the continuity of authority. Lent anonymously. Collected by Paul Gebauer.

- Mask. Wood: 24 inches. Lent by the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, CNHM 175596. *Illustrated:* Plass, 1956*b:* cover.
- Animal figure. Wood: 15¾ inches long. Lent by the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, CNHM 175702. *Illustrated:* Plass, 1956*b:* [7].

BA-MUN (Bamum), 75,000, Cameroon.

- Mask. Red, blue cloth; black, blue, white beads: 28 inches. Lent by the Denver Art Museum, 13-BA. Ex-collection:

Frederick Wolff. *Illustrated:* Christensen, 1955: 34; Fraser, 1962: 1; Robbins, 1966: 209.

BA-MILEKE, 500,000, Cameroon.

° Female figure with rattle. Ba-Ngwa Ba-Mileke. Brown wood; 33½ inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Harry A. Franklin. Ex-collection: Helena Rubinstein, Charles Ratton, and the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin. *Illustrated:* von Sydow, 1923, p. 115; Museum of Modern Art, 1935: 319; Kjersmeier, 1935–38; IV: 8; Brooklyn Museum, 1954: 43; von Sydow [1954]: 38A; Radin & Sweeney, 1952: 65; Elisofon & Fagg, 1958: 194; Adam, 1954: 2B; Fagg, 1964: 54; *idem.*, 1965: 66; Parke-Bernet Galleries, 1966: 189.

FANG, 150,000, Gabon and Cameroon. Attributions are somewhat doubtful for many pieces collected in the first half of this century because Fang has been used as the name of a group of related peoples, numbering about 800,000, now known as the Pangwe or Pahouin.

121. Reliquary figure (*bieri*), set in a bark box containing magical substance and the skull and bones of prominent individuals. Blackened wood: 15¼ inches. It was not meant to represent a particular individual, but rather the ancestors in general, and was brought out during initiation ceremonies so that the ancestors might participate in the celebration. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Hans Popper. Photograph by O. E. Nelson.
122. Mask. Wood, nails; black, red, white paint: 19 inches. Lent anonymously.
123. Mask (*ngu ebibi*) representing a forest spirit, used in secular dances for amusement. Wood, colored feathers, mirror (covering protective magical substance), fiber; red, white, black paint: 8 inches ear to ear. UCLMA 5-1785. Carved by Eyé Munge of Etom village, Oyem District, Gabon, in the early 1950's. Collected by James W. Fernandez in 1960.

° Mask. Wood, fiber; white, black paint: 21½ inches. Lent by the Denver Art Museum, 7-QA. Gift of Fred H. Ribling. Collected by A. L. Bennett in the 1890's. *Illustrated: Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 29, 1899, plate 14:1; Christensen 1955: 38; Elisofon & Fagg, 1958: 216; Denver Art Museum, 1964, p. 15; Robbins, 1966: 232.

° Janus-faced helmet mask (*ngu mven*), used in a recent dance (*Ngwan ntangan*). Wood, horns, feathers, fiber, iron nails; red, white, black paint: 26¼ inches. UCLMA 5-1788. Collected in Minvoul District, Gabon, by James W. Fernandez in 1960. *Illustrated:* Robbins, 1966: 234.

BA-KWELE, 15,000, Congo (Brazzaville).

124. Mask. Blackened wood; brown, white paint: 10¼ inches. Little has been published on the significance of Ba-Kwele masks, except that they were used in a major ritual complex performed at irregular intervals, perhaps every other year on the average, which was probably abandoned during the 1920's. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Jay C. Leff.
125. Mask. Blackened wood; white paint: 12 inches. Lent by the Harry A. Franklin Gallery.

KUYU, Congo (Brazzaville).

126. Male serpent head (*juku*) used in the initiation rites of the *Kebe-kebe* or Serpent Society, and representing the mythical half-human, half-serpent ancestor born from the great serpent deity (*Ebongo*). Wood; black, yellow, white, red, blue paint: 20 inches. Enveloped in a long sack-like costume of raphia cloth known as "serpent skin," the "serpent-man" dancer held the wooden head above his own while stretching, turning, and undulating in imitation of a serpent's movements. UCLMA 5-5325. Purchase.

BA-KUTA (Bakota), 28,000, Gabon and Congo (Brazzaville). The Ba-Kuta are best known for their reliquary figures, known as *mbulu-ngulu* but often referred to in the literature as *osyeba*. As similar reliquary figures have been reported for the A-Duma, O-Ndumbo, O-Kande, and A-Mbete, it is difficult to make exact attributions with certainty.

127. Reliquary figures were set into baskets or cylindrical bark boxes (*kobo*) containing the skull and other bones of an ancestor, plus small bones, brass rings, and red pigment (*nkula*). Wood, brass, copper: 22¼ inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. John C. Haley.

° Reliquary figure. Wood, brass: 22 inches. Offerings of food were made to the ancestors through these figures, which were regarded as the representatives and guardians of the ancestors in general. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Wielgus. Ex-collection: Musée de l'Homme. *Illustrated: Le Musée Vivant*, 1948, pp. 36–37; Radin & Sweeney, 1952: 142; Sieber, 1956: 102; *Think* (IBM), Vol. 23:4, 1957, p. 18; Museum of Primitive Art, 1960: 1.

BA-SANGU (Mashango, Asango), 18,000, Gabon.

128. Reliquary, used like those of the Ba-Kuta. Wood, brass, bead eyes, palm fiber, basketry, human and animal bones: 16½ inches. Similar reliquary figures have also been reported for the O-Ndumbo. Lent by the Furman Gallery.

BA-LUMBU (Balumbo), 12,000, Gabon and Congo (Brazzaville). White faced masks and figures in this style were originally called Mpongwe or simply Gabon, later Ogowe River style, and more recently Ba-Lumbu. Attribution is uncertain because they have been reported for a number of ethnic groups living near the Ogowe River in Gabon, including the Ba-Lumbu, Mpongwe, Ba-Sangu, A-Sira, Ba-Punu, Ba-Nzebi, Ba-Lali, and Galwa.

129. Mask, worn by stilt dancers in the ceremonies of the *Mukui* society. Wood; black, white, red paint: 14¼ inches. The dancers are reported to represent spirits of the dead, who were invoked to benefit the living. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Erle Loran.
130. Hook with drummer, for hanging baskets and other objects. Wood: 5⅞ inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. E. Clark Stillman. Photograph by Elisabeth Little.
131. Figure, probably a reliquary figure. Wood; black, white paint: 14¼ inches. Lent anonymously.

A-MBETE, 15,000, Congo (Brazzaville).

° Reliquary figure, differing in style but similar in function to those of the Fang, Ba-Kuta, and Ba-Sangu. Wood; black, white paint: 24 inches. Lent by the Furman Gallery. *Illustrated:* Ravinia Festival Art Exhibit, 1966: 85.

BA-TEKE, 80,000, Congo (Brazzaville).

132. Magical figure, representing a particular male ancestor or a renowned chief. Brown wood: 18 inches. When its abdominal cavity was filled with a magical substance which gave it its power, the figure was known as *butti;* when it lacked the magical substance, as in this case, it was called *tege*. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Pete Steffens.

133. Magical figure. Brown wood, magical substance including an animal tooth: 8½ inches. Each figure had a specific function, depending upon the nature of the magical substance: counteracting sorcery, insuring success in hunting or trade, or curing a specific disease having visible external symptoms. Lent anonymously.

134. Magical figure. Brown wood, magical substance: 6 inches. When a figure lost its power through countermagic, the magical substance was removed and the abdominal cavity was refilled with fresh "medicine" for a new client. Lent anonymously.

BA-BWENDE (Babembe), Congo (Brazzaville).

° Magical figure. Brown wood, shell eyes; black paint: 6½ inches. Ba-Bwende figures are generally characterized by their small size and by the placement of the magical substance in the anal orifice rather than on the head or in an abdominal cavity. UCLMA 5-5291. Ex-collection: Helena Rubinstein. *Illustrated:* Parke-Bernet Galleries, 1966: 236.

BA-KONGO, 1,200,000, Congo (Kinshasa, formerly Belgian Congo), Angola, and Congo (Brazzaville). For simplicity the Ma-Yombe, Ba-Vili, Ba-Sundi, and other "Lower Congo" peoples are grouped here with the Ba-Kongo, whose empire once dominated a large area near the mouth of the Congo River.

135. Nail and mirror figure (*konde*), the abode of a spirit (*Ndoki*) which caused suffering and death. Wood, iron, mirror glass, cloth; red, white paint: 22 inches. This figure formerly held a knife or spear in its upraised hand. By driving a sharp object into the figure, the spirit was set into action in retaliation against those who had committed a crime, caused illness, or given serious offense. Other figures with peaceful rather than menacing expressions embodied ancestral spirits (*Nkisi*) which could counteract the *Ndoki* spirits and restore health. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William Pearson.

136. Animal nail figure (*konde*) in the form of a two-headed dog. Wood, iron; black, red paint: 26 inches long. Animal figures, reportedly used by women, were employed like human ones in retaliation for serious offenses. Lent anonymously.

137. Mother and child. Ma-Yombe. Yellow wood: 12¾ inches. Memorial or allegorical figures, lacking nails and magical substance, were placed on the tombs of honored relatives, protected by a shelter and surrounded by offerings. They served as intermediaries between the living and the ancestors. Lent by the Buffalo Museum of Science, C12775. Ex-collection G. Dehondt.

138. Charm figure. Brown wood, antelope horn, cord tassel, monkey's paw: 9½ inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Chaim Gross. *Also illustrated:* Plass, 1959: 142.

° Nail and mirror figure (*konde*). Ba-Vili. Wood, iron, mirror glass: 19½ inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Baker. *Illustrated:* Lake Forest College, 1962: 18; Rockford College, 1965: 8; Nelson Gallery–Atkins Museum, 1966: 97E.

° Mirror figure, probably of the *konde* type, but activated by rubbing the nose or forehead. Brown wood, ivory, (mirror glass missing): 20¾ inches. Such figures were powerless without the addition of magical substances in the abdominal cavity, which was covered with mirror glass or, in earlier times, polished shell. UCLMA 5-5290. Ex-collection: Helena Rubinstein. *Illustrated:* Parke-Bernet Galleries, 1966: 234.

° Staff. Wood, iron tip: 55½ inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. E. Clark Stillman. *Illustrated:* Allen Memorial Art Museum 1955–56: 61.

BA-SUKU, 800,000, Congo (Kinshasa).

139. Charm figure, for curing seizures and other symptoms. Brown wood, nails; black paint: 8½ inches. Horns containing magical substances were formerly attached by cords passing through holes in the shoulder, and magical substance was stuffed into holes in the ears and the top of the head. Lent by Igor Kopytoff. Collected near Kingunji, Kwango District, in 1959.

140. Mask (*Mwela*), used in dances at circumcision ceremonies. Netting, raphia fiber, feathers, gourds; white paint: 18 inches. *Mwela* dancers were professionals who traveled from village to village during the dry season with medicines to prevent bleeding and to insure successful circumcision. UCLMA 5-1649. Collected by Igor Kopytoff in 1959.

141. Cup, used for drinking palm wine. Brown wood: 4 inches wide. Two-mouthed cups were more expensive than cups with one mouth, because they were carved by specialists and their use by young men was regarded as somewhat presumptious. UCLMA 5-1563. Collected by Igor Kopytoff in 1959.

BA-YAKA, 80,000, Congo (Kinshasa)

142. Slit-gong (*mukake*), used by a diviner to announce his entry into a village. Brown wood; traces of black, white, red paint: 21¾ inches. Lent by William J. Moore.

143. Charm figure. Wood, cloth trousers and medicine bags, cord: 5½ inches. Like the Ba-Suku, the Ba-Yaka employed a variety of "medicines," with or without carved figures, composed of herbs, blood, and other substances. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Chaim Gross.

144. Charm figure. Brown wood; black paint: 11¾ inches. Ba-Yaka charms were believed to act mechanically in accordance with well defined rules and to cause specific kinds of harm or cure specific types of ailments. Lent by Jay T. Last.

145. Comb. Brown wood: 6¾ inches. An informant once told Hans Himmelheber that the upturned nose suggested a sacred bird. Lent by the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 948.2.47.

146. Mask, worn by initiates in the secret initiation school (*Nkanda*). Wood, cloth, raphia fringe; blue, white, black paint: 21 inches with fringe. Following circumcision and the dances which marked graduation from the initiation school, the best dancers received prizes and the carver of the finest masks was awarded an honorary title. Lent by William J. Moore.

147. Handle mask, worn by initiates in front of the face as part of a raphia costume. Wood; blue, white, black paint: 10¼ inches. Traditional variations in the form and decoration of the superstructure (missing here) indicated to which of the three grades within the initiation group the wearer belonged. Lent by the Buffalo Museum of Science, C12615. Purchased in 1938.

° Whistle. Brown wood, string; 8 inches. Lent by the Buffalo Museum of Science, C12622. Purchased in 1938. *Illustrated:* Clawson, 1941, p. 199; Wingert, 1948: 82; *idem.*, 1950: 82.

° Headrest with two faces. Brown wood, brass tacks: 5¾ inches high. Lent by the Buffalo Museum of Science, C12781, Purchased in 1938. Ex-collection: G. Dehondt. *Illustrated:* Clawson, 1941, p. 199; Wingert 1948: 82; *idem.*, 1950: 82; Plass, 1959: 147.

BA-PENDE, 250,000, Congo (Kinshasa).

148. Mask (*giphogo*), worn in dances performed to cure illness, particularly that of the chief. Wood: red, black, blue, white paint: 10½ inches. The *giphogo* mask, which was unique to the Ba-Pende of Kasai, also functioned with two other masks in rituals designed to insure fertility and in general was associated with the health and fertility of the community. It was part of the chief's treasure and was always stored in his house; reproductions of it and other masks were carved on the tops of stakes set around the chief's house and also appeared as roof ornaments. Lent by the Harry A. Franklin Gallery.

149. Mask. Wood, raphia; black, red, white paint: 19 inches with fringe. This is probably a *giphogo* mask of lesser importance and power than that above; it was worn by the chief's successors. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd L. Morain.

150. Stool, carved in the style of Patshi, a sculptor in Idiofa territory. Wood: 13 inches. UCLMA 5-4087. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Victor K. Zurcher.

• Mask. Wood, raphia, raphia cloth; brown, white paint; 12½ inches. Lent by Mrs. Lydia Gans Moore. *Illustrated:* Einstein [1921]: 45.

BA-KETE, 35,000, Congo (Kinshasa).

151. Helmet mask, used in the initiation rites of one of the male societies. Wood: yellow, red, black, white paint: 21 inches. Lent anonymously. Collected near Mweka, Kasai Province.

BA-WONGO, 10,000, Congo (Kinshasa). The Ba-Wongo and the neighboring Bashi-Lele are related to the Ba-Kuba and are technically Ba-Kuba subgroups, but they did not recognize the suzerainty of the Ba-Kuba king.

152. Effigy cup, used in the men's clubs for drinking palm wine. Brown wood: 7½ inches. Lent by the Buffalo Museum of Science, C15571. Ex-collection: G. Dehondt.

153. Effigy cup. Blackened wood: 8¾ inches. Both of these cups are attributed by the lenders to the Ba-Kuba, but are of a distinctive style identified as Ba-Wongo (*cf.* Fagg, 1965: 94). Lent by the Museum and Laboratories of Ethnic Arts and Technology, UCLA, Sir Henry Wellcome collection, X65-3763.

BA-KUBA (Bushongo), 75,000, Congo (Kinshasa).

154. Memorial figure, representing a King (*Nyimi*) of the Ba-Kuba empire. Brown wood: 26¾ inches. He can be identified, by the seed-game board in front of him, as King Shamba Bolongongo, renowned as an innovator, philosopher, and patron of the arts, who is believed to have reigned (*ca.* 1600–1620) as the ninety-third Ba-Kuba king. The evidence suggests that this may have been the replacement for a similar figure which was given to Emil Torday for the British Museum in 1909. Lent anonymously. Collected at Mushenge, Kasai Province.

155. Mask (*shene malula*) used during initiations into the *Babende* society, which served as the King's secret police. Wood, cowries, raphia cloth, cotton cloth, red, white, black, blue beads; black, white, red paint: 15 inches. Wooden ears carved separately. Lent by the Harry A. Franklin Gallery.

156. Mask. Wood, raphia, rattan, gunny sack; red, black, white paint: 18 inches with fringe. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Jay C. Leff.

157. Janus-faced cup, used for the ceremonial drinking of palm wine and formerly for the poison ordeal. Brown wood: 9 inches. Lent by Jay T. Last.

158. Box, used for storing camwood (*tukula*) mixed with oil, which was used by men and women as a cosmetic to paint the body. Brown wood, camwood inside: 6⅜ inches square. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Erle Loran.

159. Animal divination figure (*itombwa*) interpreted as a crocodile (see introduction). Blackened wood, nut, cord, blue beads, rattan: 14 inches long. Lent by Jay T. Last. Collected at Zabete, Kasai Province.

160. Hand. Brown wood: 6 inches. Used as the insignia of a military society (*Yolo*), which required from its members the hand of a slain enemy as proof of their courage. Lent by the Buffalo Museum of Science, C15570. Purchased in 1946. Ex-collection: G. Dehondt.

° Palmwine cup with *Yolo* hand. Brown wood, shell inlay, metal staples: 8½ inches. UCLMA 5-5289. Ex-collection: Helena Rubinstein. *Illustrated:* Parke-Bernet Galleries, 1966: 230.

TU-CHOKWE (Batshioko, Badjok, Kiokue, etc.), 600,000, Angola and Congo (Kinshasa).

161. Male figure (*kaponya*), kept in the house in memory of a deceased ancestor and fed offerings of manioc and meat in times of misfortune or illness. Blackened wood: 23 inches. It portrays a man wearing a mask of *Chirongo,* a character representing an aged chief in the initiation rites of the *Mukanda,* a society which included all circumcised males. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William F. Kaiser.

162. Comb, decorated with a *Chirongo* mask. Brown wood: 5½ inches. Lent by the Buffalo Museum of Science, C15576.

163. Mask, representing *Mwana Pwo* or Young Girl. Wood, cord netting, red earth (*ngula*): 10 inches. This type of mask, which was used in the secular dances and performances of folk satires as well as in the *Mukanda* initiation rites, was worn by men clothed in a net costume with false breasts. It was carved by professional artists, who copied the hairstyle fashionable at the time, using living women noted for

their beauty as models. The *Mwana Pwo* was a symbol of beauty, and young girls were admonished to emulate her bearing. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Daniel J. Crowley. Collected near Dundo, Angola, in 1960.

° Ancestor figure. Wood: 4½ inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Jay C. Leff. *Illustrated:* Museum of Primitive Art, 1964:22.

° Effigy staff. Wood: 32½ inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Erle Loran. *Illustrated:* Robbins, 1966: 326.

OVI-MBUNDU, 1,350,000, Angola.

° Tobacco pipe, used by both men and women. Wood: 13¾ inches. A chief's pipe was kept after his death in a special small house with other personal relics. Lent by the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, 208709. Collected at Elende, Angola, by Wilfrid D. Hambly in 1929–30. *Illustrated:* Hambly, 1934: XV: 2.

° Snuffbox. Wood: 9 inches. The Ovi-Mbundu had professional wood-carvers who specialized in making small objects. Lent by the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, 208708. Collected at Elende, Angola, by Wilfrid D. Hambly in 1929–30. *Illustrated:* Hambly, 1934: XV: 4.

BA-SALAMPASU, 60,000, Congo (Kinshasa).

164. Mask. Wood, cord netting; red, white, black paint: 12 inches. As in many African societies, only men were permitted to wear masks. They were worn at circumcisions, mourning rituals for prominent people, several types of women's dances, and the ceremonies connected with various aspects of headhunting. Lent by the Furman Gallery.

165. Mask. Cord netting, raphia fiber, basketry; black, red, white paint: 27½ inches. The most important occasion on which masks were used was at a ceremony (*Matambu*) intended to protect a headhunter against the avenging spirits of his victims; its dances were pantomimes of fights with invisible enemies. Headhunters who could not afford this ceremony performed a less expensive and less dramatic ritual with the same objective. UCLMA 5-5324. Purchase.

166. Mask. Copper-covered wood, rattan, fiber cords; white paint: 15 inches. Sons of headhunters could wear the masks of their deceased fathers, but the right to wear a mask was usually acquired by initiation into the group privileged to wear it. It is said that when the wooden portion of the mask needed replacement, the old copper was applied to the newly carved mask. Lent by the Furman Gallery.

BENA-LULUA, 300,000, Congo (Kinshasa).

167. Figure (*pfingu*). Blackened wood: 17 inches. The significance of most of these figures, which have been interpreted as ancestral and as magical, is uncertain. It has been reported that they can cure and prevent illness and give protection and insure success in hunting. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Wielgus. Collected at Luluabourg, Lulua District, by Henri Lassaux before 1898. *Also illustrated:* Museum of Primitive Art, 1960: 20; Arts Club of Chicago, 1966: 19.

168. Figure. Brown wood: 10½ inches. Lent by the Furman Gallery.

169. Figure. Blackened wood: 10⅝ inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Erle Loran.

170. Tobacco mortar. Brown wood: 5⅝ inches. Lent by the Buffalo Museum of Science, C12621. *Also illustrated:* Wingert, 1948: 91; *idem.*, 1950: 91.

° Staff. Wood: 14 inches. Mother and child figures or figures of pregnant women were an expression of maternity and fertility and used in a cult (*Tshibola*) whose purpose was to secure successful delivery. A woman who had lost several children in infancy or through stillbirth or abortion was advised by a diviner to be initiated into this cult. Lent by the Brooklyn Museum, 50.124. Ex-collection: Raoul Blondiau. *Illustrated:* Kjersmeier, 1935–38, Vol. III: 18; Olbrechts, 1946: 94; *idem.*, 1959: 94; Radin & Sweeney, 1952: 86–87; Brooklyn Museum, 1954, cover, 196; Plass, 1956*a:* 35B; Elisofon & Fagg, 1958: 278; Leuzinger, 1959, fig. 114; *idem.*, 1960, fig. 114.

BA-LUBA, 550,000, Congo (Kinshasa).

171. Half figure. Brown wood, white glass bead eyes: 7⅛ inches. Magical substance was stuffed into the hole in the top of the head. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Michael Kan.

172. Half figure. Brown wood: 9 inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. E. Clark Stillman. Photograph by Elisabeth Little.

173. Axe. Brown wood, iron blade; black paint: 18¾ inches. Every Ba-Luba chief had certain objects which were venerated as symbols of the community and of his authority. These symbols varied from area to area, but the three most common were a stool, an axe, and a staff. Lent anonymously.

174. Mask (*kifwebe*), worn in a "masked dance" (*makaye a kifwebe*) held when a chief or other village dignitary died, when a notable visitor arrived, or when a new representative of a chief or village head was to be appointed. Wood: black, white paint: 16 inches. The masked dancers usually carried large clubs and appeared in a male-female pair. Lent by the Buffalo Museum of Science, C13728. *Also illustrated:* Wingert, 1948: 98; *idem.*, 1950: 98.

° Stool. Brown wood: 15½ inches. UCLMA 5-5288. Ex-collection: Helena Rubinstein. *Illustrated:* Parke-Bernet Galleries, 1966: 224.

° Staff. Wood, copper strips, iron point; black paint: 61 inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. E. Clark Stillman. *Illustrated:* Allen Memorial Art Museum, 1955–56: 62.

° Bow and arrow rest, which, like the stool, axe, and staff, sometimes served as a symbol of the chief's authority. Brown wood: 29 inches. Lent by the Museum and Laboratories of Ethnic Arts and Technology, UCLA, Sir Henry Wellcome collection, X65-7489. Collected before 1907. *Illustrated:* UCLA, 1966: 291.

° Seated female figure (*kabila*) with lidded bowl, placed in front of the house by a pregnant woman a few days before delivery when she could no longer work in the fields. Blackened wood: 17 inches. Small gifts were placed in the bowl by passers-by, and the pregnant woman distributed them among her companions in exchange for work and produce. Lent by the Museum and Laboratories of Ethnic Arts and Technology, UCLA, Sir Henry Wellcome collec-

tion, X65-9117a/b. *Illustrated:* UCLA, 1966: 290; *UCLA Alumni Magazine,* Vol. 40:4, p. 11.

° Amulet. Ivory: 3⅝ inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Baker. *Illustrated:* Nelson Gallery–Atkins Museum, 1966: 101.

BA-SONGYE, 100,000, Congo (Kinshasa).

175. Horn figure. Wood, three horns, cord; white paint: 21½ inches with horn. The Ba-Songye used numerous magical figures charged with magical substance, which was inserted into horns affixed to the head or tied to the body. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. William F. Kaiser.

176. Horn figure. Brown wood, horn, nail, brass tack eyes: 9 inches with horn. Other magical figures had large numbers of charms tied to them or wore quantities of colored beads, and the faces of some were partially covered with copper sheet. UCLMA 5-2578. Purchase.

177. Mask. Wood; black, white paint: 13¼ inches. The meaning of Ba-Songye masks is not well documented, but some of those used in initiation rites apparently represented spirits of the dead. Lent by the Harry A. Franklin Gallery.

178. Mask, used in the initiation ceremonies of the *Kifwebe* society. Wood; red, white, black paint: 22¾ inches. Masked *Kifwebe* members appeared before military campaigns, following the death of a king, and when a village was stricken by plague. Lent anonymously. Collected at Kibata, Kasai Province.

179. Shield, decorated with a miniature mask (*cf.* 177). Wood; black, white paint: 19½ inches. The Ba-Songye were renowned warriors who participated actively in the founding of the Ba-Luba kingdom, probably in the fifteenth century. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Baker. *Also illustrated:* Nelson Gallery–Atkins Museum, 1966: cover. Photograph by Hahn-Millard.

BANYA-METOKO (Banyamituku), Congo (Kinshasa). The Banya-Metoko are related to the Ba-Lega, but they have been influenced by the Ba-Mbole, Ba-Lengola, and Ba-Komo, among whom they have settled.

180. Figure, used in the initiation rites of the *Bukota* society. Blackened wood, feathers: 24 inches. Although less elaborate, the *Bukota* society is similar in structure and function to the *Bwami* society of the Ba-Lega. Lent anonymously. Collected by John Canaday about 1944.

BA-MBOLE, Congo (Kinshasa).

181. Figure, paraded on a litter before the new initiates into the *Lilwa* society to impress upon them the importance of not revealing the secrets of the initiation rites. Blackened wood; yellow paint: 12¼ inches. The figure represents a person executed by hanging for having revealed the society's secrets. UCLMA 5-5828. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. William F. Kaiser.

BA-LEGA (Warega), 100,000, Congo (Kinshasa).

182. Four-faced dance staff used by members of the next-to-the-highest grade of the *Bwami* society. Wood; black, white paint: 13 inches. Multiple faces symbolized the all-seeing, all-knowing power of an elder in the topmost grade of the *Bwami* society. This motif was repeated during initiation ceremonies, when the leader appeared wearing masks on his face and on the back of his head and two small masks on his temples. Lent by Jay T. Last.

183. Two figures. Brown wood; white paint: 5¾ and 4 inches. Nearly all Ba-Lega art, including these figures, is associated with the *Bwami* society, which included all adult males and their wives. Lent by Jay T. Last.

184. Figure. Bone, asphalt on head: 7 inches. Specific data on the significance of most Ba-Lega figures is lacking, but they did not represent particular individuals. Lent by Jay T. Last.

185. Mask, worn during initiation into the different grades of the *Bwami* society. Wood; white paint: 11 inches. Other masks without eyeholes were kept with sacred *Bwami* materials in baskets and were held on the hand or displayed on the ground or on poles when the secret contents of these baskets were revealed to those being initiated into the next-to-the-highest grade of the association. Lent anonymously.

BA-BEMBE (Wabembe), 45,000, Congo (Kinshasa).

186. Mask. Wood; brown, white paint: 22 inches long. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. John C. Haley.

187. Janus-faced headpiece, used in the rituals of the graded men's *Alunga* society. Wood, feathers, fiber; white, black paint: 19¾ inches without feathers. The wearer of the headpiece and raphia costume impersonated *Kalunga,* who is described as a powerful forest spirit. Lent by the Museum and Laboratories of Ethnic Arts and Technology, UCLA, 414-6.

MA-BUDU, 175,000, Congo (Kinshasa).

188. Pair of figures. Blackened wood, bark cloth, cord, fiber: 27 inches each. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Frank D. Lambrecht. Collected near Paulis, Orientale Province.

MANGBETU, 1,500,000, Congo (Kinshasa).

189. Figure. Blackened wood; white paint: 11¾ inches. Because old free-standing figures are rare, the Mangbetu are best known for the sculptured decorations of their pottery, harps, and knife handles. The elongated head, resulting from head-binding in infancy, was a sign of noble birth. Lent anonymously. Ex-collection: J. Van der Straete. *Also illustrated:* Burssens, 1962: 433.

A-ZANDE, 2,000,000, Congo (Kinshasa), Sudan, and Central African Republic.

190. Anthropomorphic figure (*yanda*), used in the *Mani,* a graded society which included men and women. Brown wood: 6 inches. The purposes of the *Mani* society and its rituals were to insure the well being of its members, their success in economic and social ventures, favorable treatment by A-Zande chiefs and European authorities, and protection against witchcraft. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Michael Kan.

AMA-MPONDO (Pondo), 260,000, Republic of South Africa.

° Toy buffalo. Cow's stomach: 4½ inches. Lent by the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, 11-52-50/83783. Gift of Mrs. E. M. Cram. Collected before 1911. *Illustrated:* Museum of African Art, 1966: 140.

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Mauritania
Niger River
Senegal
BAMBARA
DOGON
Mali
Gambia
Upper Volta
BOBO
MOSI
KURUMBA
Portuguese Guinea
LANDUMA
NALU
BAGA
SENUFO
LOBI
Guinea
MENDE
LOMA
KONO
Sierra Leone
KPELLE
DAN
GURO
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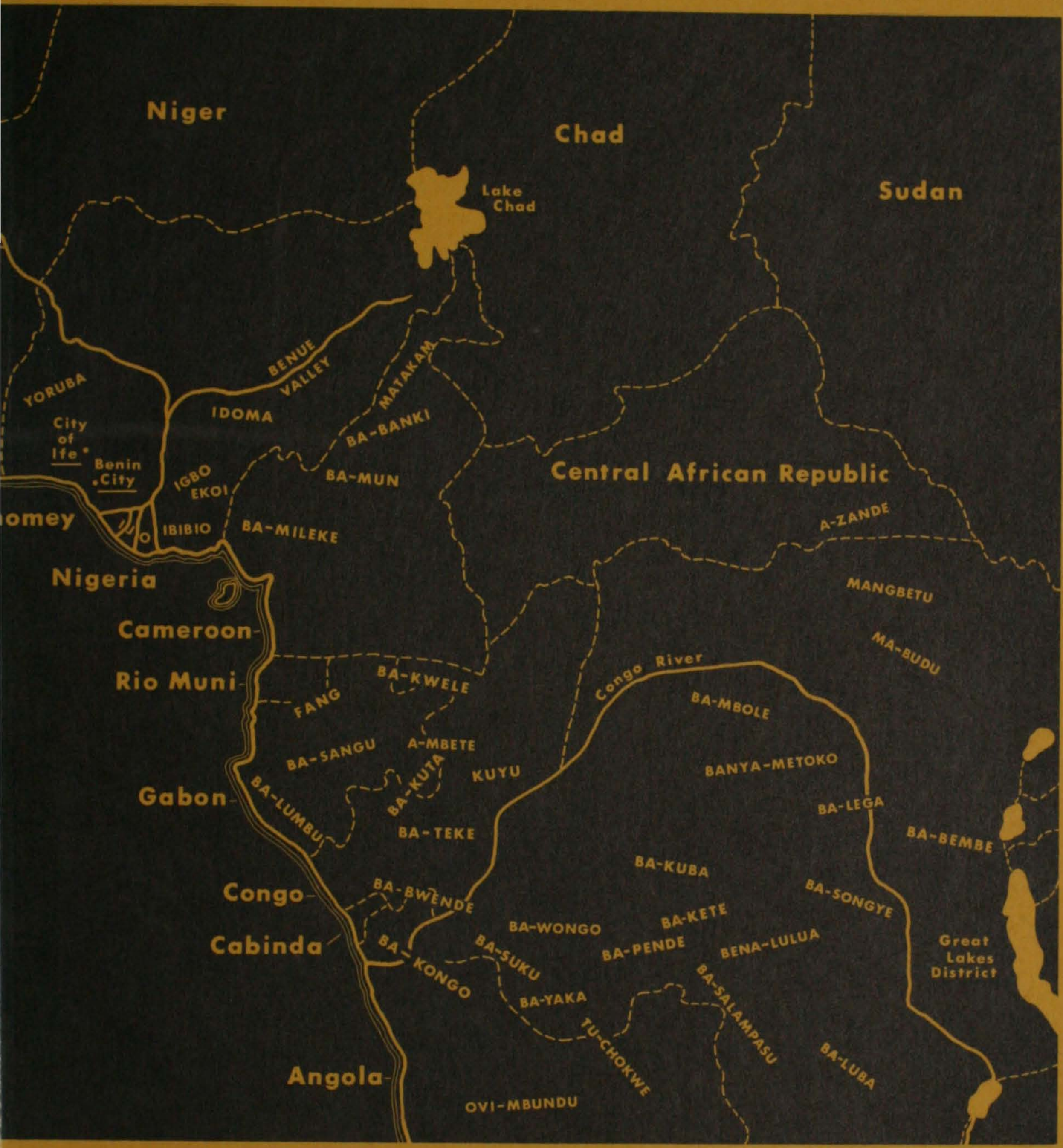
Niger
Chad
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Sudan
YORUBA
City of Ife
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BENUE VALLEY
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IGBO EKOI
IBIBIO
BA-MILEKE
Central African Republic
A-ZANDE
MANGBETU
MA-BUDU
Nigeria
Cameroon
Rio Muni
Congo River
BA-MBOLE
FANG
BA-KWELE
BA-SANGU
A-MBETE
BANYA-METOKO
Gabon
BA-KUTA
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BA-BWENDE
BA-KETE
BA-WONGO
Cabinda
BA-PENDE
BENA-LULUA
BA-SUKU
Great Lakes District
BA-KONGO
BA-YAKA
BA-SALAMPASU
TU-CHOKWE
BA-LUBA
Angola
OVI-MBUNDU