

african arts

Regents of the University of California

Chokwe!: Art and Initiation among Chokwe and Related Peoples

Author(s): Manuel Jordán

Source: *African Arts*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (Summer, 1999), pp. 18-35+90

Published by: UCLA James S. Coleman African Studies Center

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3337600>

Accessed: 27-10-2016 14:51 UTC

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://about.jstor.org/terms>



Regents of the University of California, UCLA James S. Coleman African Studies Center are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *African Arts*

CHOKWE!

Art and Initiation Among Chokwe and Related Peoples

MANUEL JORDÁN

This exhibition, curated by Manuel Jordán and organized by the Birmingham Museum of Art, includes more than 150 works of art selected from prominent museum and private collections in the United States, Canada, Europe, and South America.¹ It opened in Birmingham, Alabama (November 1, 1998–January 3, 1999), and will travel to the Baltimore Museum of Art (June 13–September 5, 1999) and the Minneapolis Institute of Arts (October 24, 1999–January 16, 2000). “Chokwe!” was made possible through the generous sponsorship of the Rockefeller Foundation and the National Endowment for the Arts.

Video footage, filmed in Zambia in 1997 specifically for “Chokwe!,” provides a contextual backdrop for the objects on display as well as for the themes and ideas illustrated through other didactic components such as photo murals and text panels. A half-hour television documentary, *Chishimo: A Lunda Story*, directed by Ramón Rivera Moret, was also produced in conjunction with the exhibition.² *Chishimo* tells the story of a Zambian Lunda family, in their own voices, to represent the realities, hopes, and aspirations of Chokwe-related peoples in present-day rural societies.

The exhibition is accompanied by a publication (*Chokwe!*) that includes interpretative essays by the Belgian art historian Marie-Louise Bastin, to whom the volume is dedicated, and by Niangi Batulukisi, Elisabeth L. Cameron, Manuel Jordán, Manuela Palmeirim, Boris Wastiau, and Sonia Silva.³ *Chokwe!* (edited by Jordán, 192 pp., 124 b/w & 100 color photos) is available in softcover (\$32.40) from the Birmingham Museum of Art and in hardcover (\$65) from Prestel-Verlag, Munich, London, and New York.

“Chokwe!” celebrates the rich cultural and artistic heritage of Chokwe and related peoples such as the Lwena (Luvale), Lunda, Luchazi, Mbunda, and Ovimbundu of Angola, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Zambia. It takes a thematic approach,⁴ considering the role of a variety of formally rich and semantically complex art forms used in male and female initiation, institutions that transmit knowledge from one generation to the next. The exhibition includes ancestral figures, masks, thrones, scepters, divination implements, ceramics, and basketry. Many of these art forms are symbolic, dramatically presenting concepts of history, morality, religion, and politics.⁵

Following the theme of initiation, the exhibition (and its publication) is subdivided into three sections titled “Royal Arts: Role Models,” “Initiation Arts: Potential Fathers and Mothers,” and “Art and Life: Fulfilled Adults.” The three sections serve to highlight local models of achievement and social responsibility, the educational processes designed to prepare boys and girls for adult life, and the roles fulfilled in society after initiation.

Royal Arts: Role Models

Chiefs of Chokwe and related peoples of central Africa (Fig. 2) share a common ancestry that can be traced to Lunda migrations in the sixteenth century.⁶ The concept of sacred kingship,

1. Mask representing a male ancestor. Chokwe, Angola, 19th/early 20th century. Wood, fibers, burlap, feathers, pigment; 55.3cm (21.8") including feathers. Collection of John and Barbara Buxton, Dallas.

This representation of Chihongo, the male counterpart of Pwo (see Fig. 10), still retains a striking feathered headdress that formally complements the mask's broad and well-defined facial features. A small pouch containing ingredients of a supernatural nature is concealed behind the lower section of the headdress.





2. Southern Lunda female chief Nyakulenga carried by members of her court at the annual confirmatory ceremony, Lubanza, for senior chief Ishinde. Chiefs among Chokwe and related peoples such as the Lunda share a common ancestry. Mukandankunda, northwestern Zambia, 1991. Photo: Manuel Jordán.

originally introduced to the Lunda by Chibinda Ilunga, a foreign (Luba) hunter of royal blood, is at the core of chiefs' central position in society. Chiefs are therefore representatives of God (Kalunga-Nzambi) on earth and intermediaries between the world of humans and that of ancestral and wilderness spirits that may affect people's lives and environment.⁷ The chief, or *mwanangana*, is also the "owner/overseer of the land" and the individual ultimately responsible for the well-being, success, fertility, and continuity of his or her people.

Nineteenth-century representations of chiefs and historical characters (see Bastin 1978) emphasize attributes and principles of royalty, social organization, history, and religion. Among these, figures of Chibinda Ilunga, honored as a culture hero and civilizing force, introduce the idea of a role model for Chokwe men.⁸ Figures of female chiefs, queen mothers, and Lweji, who, toward the end of the sixteenth century, was the first Lunda woman to become a paramount chief, reflect a traditional

model of accomplishment for women. Male and female royal or historical figures together illustrate traditional models of gender interdependence.

Royal ancestral figures also stand for the responsibility of chiefs to maintain a balance with the spiritual world to secure the well-being of their communities. Remembering and honoring the ancestors ensure fertility, success, and continuity. Neglecting one's predecessors (grandparents, great-grandparents) results in chaos, confusion, and calamity. As representatives of God on earth and mediators between the natural and supernatural realms, chiefs conduct propitiatory ceremonies commemorating the achievements of the founders of their lineages: the past fuses with the present to work in harmony toward an auspicious future.

Other objects included in the Royal Arts section—such as beaded crowns, figurative scepters, staffs, ceremonial spears, tobacco mortars, pipes, whistles, pendants, combs, hairpins, figurative thrones, and other insignia of rank (illustrated in *Chokwe!*, pp. 30–65)—stress concepts of social status and the principles that support the political and religious centrality of chiefs.

Initiation Arts: Potential Fathers and Mothers

Male initiation (*mukanda*) and female initiation (*ukule*) seeks to develop the potential of boys and girls so that they may become fulfilled and socially accomplished adult members of society as husbands and wives, and eventually fathers and mothers.⁹ Principles of cosmology, history, religion, morality, and social responsibility are transmitted to new generations at initiation camps, where parents, grandparents, and guardians also impart specialized knowledge regarding sexuality and a variety of gender-specific skills (see E. Cameron 1998a, b for female initiation; Jordán 1998a, b for male initiation).

Initiations require a period of seclusion away from village life. For boys, that period may last from a few months to more than a year; for girls, from a few weeks up to four months. *Mukanda* and *ukule* mark a symbolic death for the novices as children. At graduation they are reborn as adults and reintroduced into society. Eventually, as accomplished fathers and mothers, they will convey the knowledge of past generations to those who follow.

Mukanda initiation includes the participation of masked performers who "bring to life" concepts of ancestral influence. There are more than one hundred types of masked ancestral characters, each with different physical and behavioral attributes.¹⁰ Ancestral masks, *akishi*, instruct novices within *mukanda* camps and theatrically represent aspects of Chokwe cosmology in their village performances. As tutelary spirits they also bring their positive influence to villages and facilitate the transitions young boys undergo to acquire privileged knowledge and prepare for adult life (Jordán 1988a, b). These masks illustrate the extraordinary ability of Chokwe artists to create complex art



DIRK BAKKER

Left:

3. Female figure. Chokwe, Angola, 19th century. Wood, 41.9cm (16.5"). The Detroit Institute of Arts, gift of Frederick Stearns, 68.191.

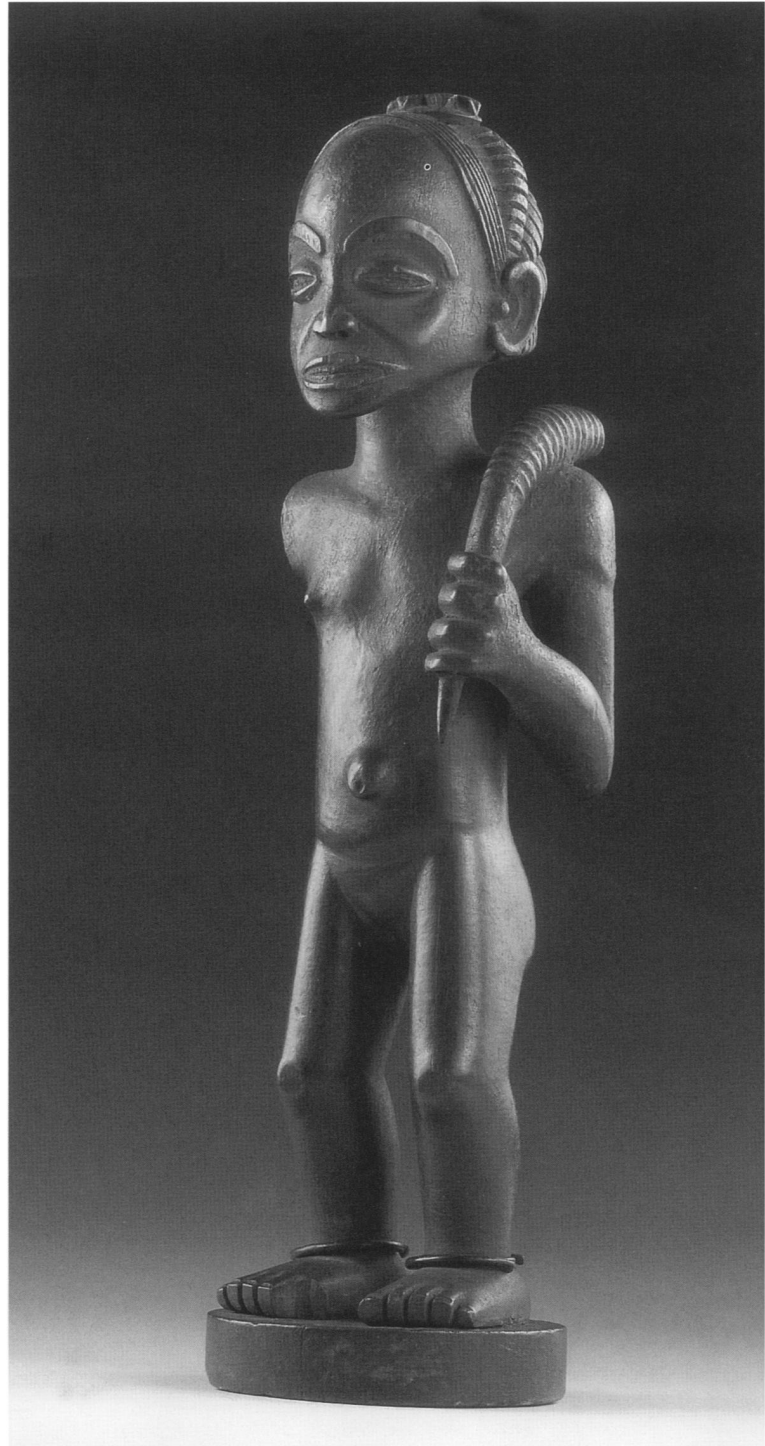
Images of women holding cooking implements may represent chiefs' wives (*mukwakuhiko*). This example would originally have worn a clay-packed wig made from human hair.

Right:

4. Female figure holding a horn. Chokwe, Angola, 19th century. Wood, metal; 31.1cm (12.3"). The Brooklyn Museum, gift of Mr. and Mrs. John A. Friede, 74.89.

The antelope horn held over the left shoulder is usually a container for potent substances. The figure may represent the tutelary spirit of an important Chokwe diviner.

summer 1999 · african arts



MANU SASSOONIAN

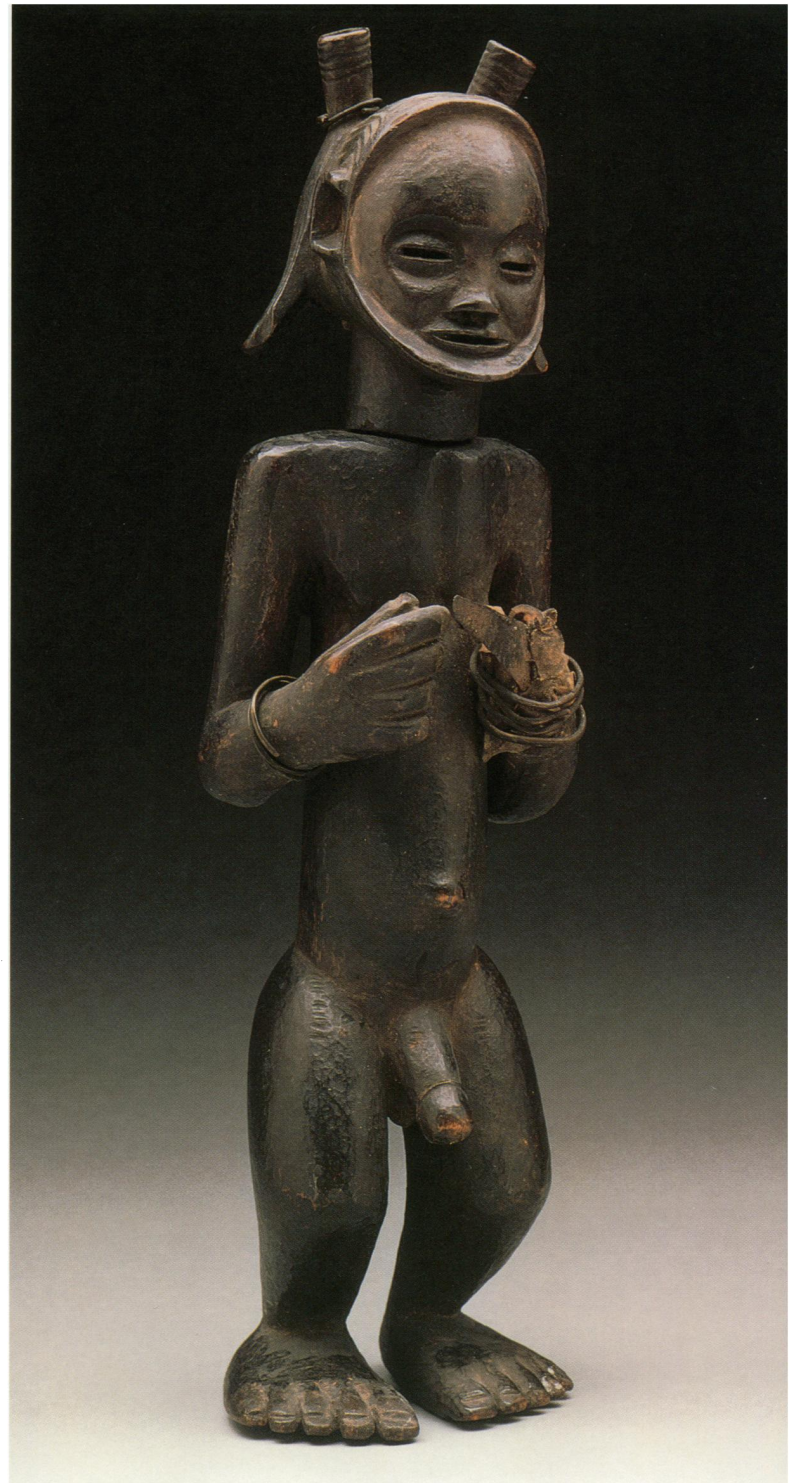
forms meant to represent and re-enact aspects of a rich and sophisticated cosmology.

Art and Life: Fulfilled Adults

The basic social, cultural, and religious and cosmological principles introduced during initiation are developed and implemented through the skills and activities people choose to pursue as adults. Success in adult life is partially related to the individual's efforts to achieve personal goals as well as those that benefit the com-



MICHAEL BODYCOMB



munity. To be “fulfilled” one must maintain a sense of balance with the spiritual world.¹¹ Chokwe and related peoples create a variety of art forms to give a concrete configuration to the abstract concepts that constitute their religious and cosmological views.

Sculptural representations of family or personal ancestors honor tutelary spirits who are engaged by humans to ensure prosperity in life. Diviners and healers have supernatural abilities granted to them by powerful ancestors.²⁰ These ritual experts utilize divination instruments to resolve problems presented to them by individuals or the community as a whole. One form of divination includes a basket with an array of symbolic figurines, objects, and artifacts that relate to all aspects of

Left:

5. Chief figure. Chokwe, Angola, mid-19th century. Wood, hair; 40.6cm (16"). Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, AP 1978.05.

This figure commemorates Chibinda Ilunga, the royal Luba hunter who revitalized Lunda notions of royalty and introduced the concept of sacred kingship. The culture hero holds a staff and a horn containing substances that supernaturally assist the hunt.

Right:

6. Chief figure. Chokwe, Angola, 19th century. Wood, fibers, metal; 35.6cm (14"). The Dallas Museum of Art, Clark and Frances Stillman Collection of Congo Sculpture, gift of Eugene and Margaret McDermott, 1969.S8 A-B.

Conceived as a container for ritual substances, this figure once held medicines to activate the supernatural powers of the chiefly ancestor during times of ominous transition in the community.



MANU SASSOONIAN

7. Stool with female figure. Chokwe, Angola, 19th century. Wood, metal; 22.9cm (9"). Collection of Corice and Armand Arman.

This chief's stool features a female figure seated with elbows on knees and hands cradling her head—a pose commonly used to represent ancestral spirits in the artistic vocabulary of Chokwe and related peoples.

life.¹² A diviner will toss the objects within the basket to activate Chokwe cosmological principles and find the cause of and solution to problems ranging from infertility to theft.

Chokwe and related peoples create other art forms—including pottery and basketry as well as combs, hairpins, staffs, and pipes—that relate to daily-life activities and concepts of beauty,

dress, and well-being. Most of these works of art also incorporate images of tutelary ancestral spirits that symbolically support ideas about wealth, fertility, and social status.

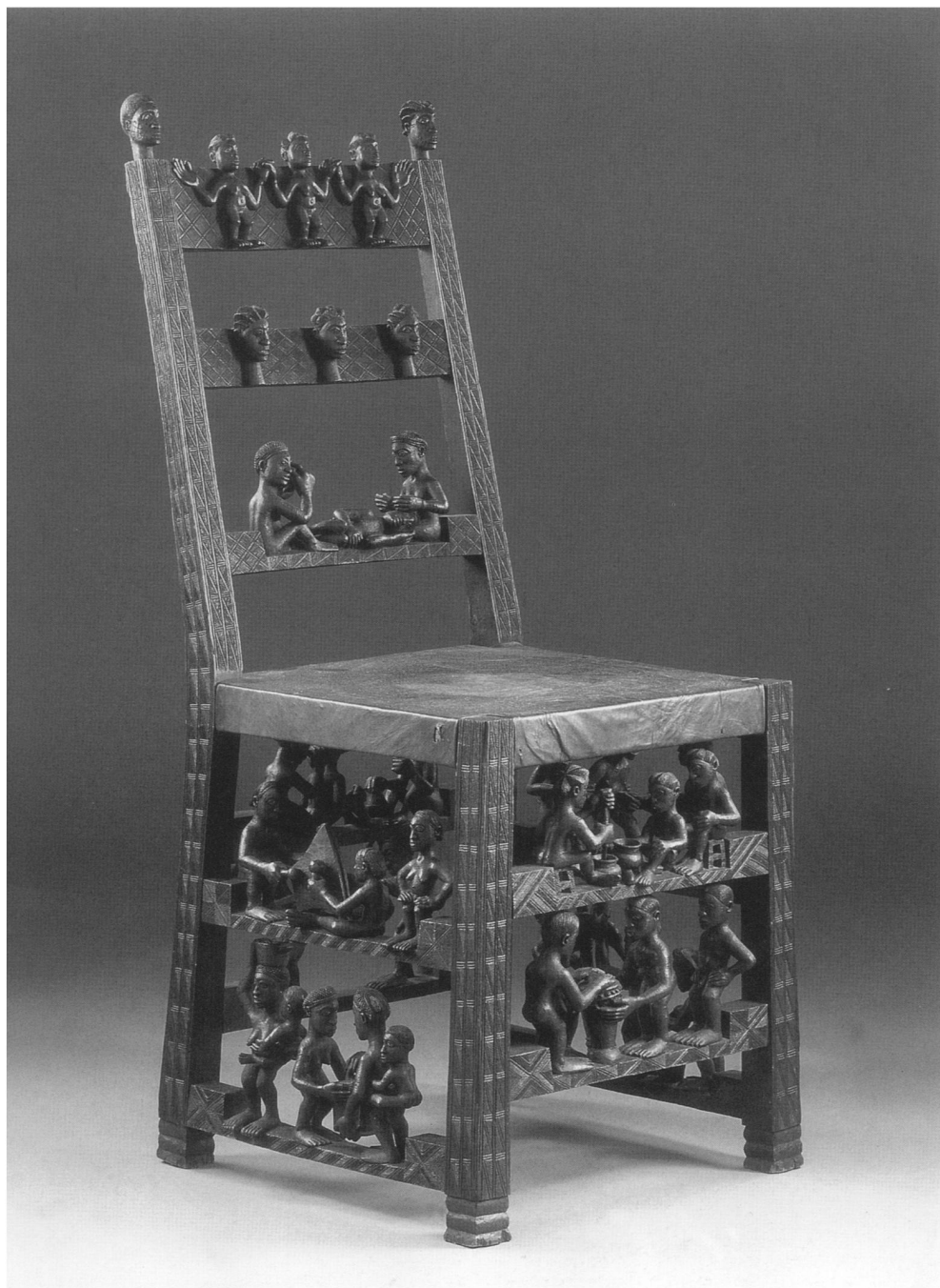
Exhibition Highlights

Among the numerous works of art included in "Chokwe!," the Kimbell Art Museum's figure of a chief (Fig. 5), in the Royal Arts section, is one of the best known and most celebrated. The piece has been featured in several publications and exhibitions as an example of royal art made during the height of Chokwe political and cultural achievements in the second half of the

nineteenth century (Bastin 1982a:150–51; 1988:74–75, cover; Kerchache et al. 1988:342). As documented by Marie-Louise Bastin (1982a:150–51), the sculpture commemorates Chibinda Ilunga, the royal Luba hunter who revitalized Lunda notions of royalty and introduced the concept of sacred kingship. It extols Chibinda Ilunga as a hunter-culture hero and male role model for the Chokwe.

8. Chief's throne with figurative scenes. Ndembu (Southern Lunda), Zambia, Mwinilunga area. Carved by Chamudenda Ntembu, mid-20th century. Wood, restored leather seat; 106cm (41.8"). Chang Trust Collection.

This throne is carved with elaborate scenes of ritual and domestic life. A leg rung at the front represents a ritual or ceremonial scene that includes two drummers and a dancer.



The elaborate crown indicates high political status. Its arching elements imply cosmogonic and cosmological precepts that place the wearer at the center of creation and the Chokwe universe. The figure holds a horn that would have contained supernatural substances and a staff that is also rich in symbolic associations. The staff once had a forked top (Bastin 1982a:141), from which hung an actual pouch filled with substances to assist in the hunt, and possibly a hunter's bow and arrows.

The staff also works as a walking stick.¹³ In the case of male initiation, walking sticks are carried by mask characters and *mukanda* graduates to signify their long and arduous travel from the world of the dead to the world of the living (Jordán 1998a:99). *Akishi* begin their journey at the grave, arriving at the village from the west, where the sun sets. That is the place of origin for ancestral spirits. For

mukanda graduates the trip begins in the initiation camp, the place of their symbolic death as children. The walking sticks provide support in their journey back to the village and to their adult lives. Chibinda's walking stick similarly implies a symbolic passage from the ancestral past and his ability to travel through generations, through history. For some Chokwe people this journey signals endurance, achievement, and the continuity of life (Jordán 1998:9–12).

The Kimbell figure's raised arms, flexed legs, and exaggerated hands and feet convey a sense of agency, an implied readiness for action. This formal stance is still assumed by chiefs, *mukanda* graduates, *akishi*, and diviners in dances that mark important transitions in life. The sculpture was probably conceived as a status symbol to validate the claims to power of an important Chokwe chief. It remains today as a testament of the ability of Chokwe carvers to create highly refined works of art worthy of paramount chiefs claiming the same lineage as those who left the Lunda court at the beginning of the seventeenth century.¹⁴

The Dallas Museum of Art's figure of a chief (Fig. 6) presents a different approach to the treatment of a royal character.¹⁵ The royal attributes are evident but subtler compared with the dramatic crown and the symbolic implements seen in the Kimbell example. The style of beard, decorated headband or diadem, and elegant coiffure indicate chiefly status, and the copper bracelets may similarly relate to those called *lukano*, which are inherited by chiefs. The figure also retains the Chokwe formal stance, but here the pose has a more fluid and human-like quality.

The Dallas figure seems to have been intended not to reinforce ideas related to royalty and history, as a status symbol, but rather to play on the concept of a

MANU SASSOONIAN

royal ancestor as a spiritual entity that may be approached during important occasions. This idea is supported by the fact that the sculpture was conceived as a container for ritual substances. It probably held medicines to activate the supernatural powers of the chiefly ancestor during times of ominous transition for a Chokwe community. The right hand, which was accidentally broken and then replaced with a blade, reveals aspects of ritual

This page:

9. Snuff mortar with chief's head. Chokwe, Angola, 19th century. Wood, ivory, leather; 20cm (7.9"). Private collection.

The four legs supporting the bowl of this mortar are the framework for delicate triangular and lozenge motifs. The lid is conceived as a chief's head, the crown defined with sinuous lines.

Page 26:

10. Mask representing a female ancestor. Chokwe, Democratic Republic of the Congo, early 20th century. Wood, fiber, metal, pigment; 39.2cm (15.4"). National Museum of African Art, Museum purchase, 85-15-20.

This mask, called Pwo, represents Chokwe ideals of feminine beauty. The mask's idealized features, subtle contours, and refined lines formally convey the elegance and poise of a celebrated female ancestor.

Page 27:

11. Mask representing an aggressive ancestor. Chokwe, Angola/Democratic Republic of the Congo, early 20th century. Barkcloth, cloth, wood, fibers, pigment; 81.9cm (32.3"). Birmingham Museum of Art, Museum purchase, 1998.5.

This mask, called Kalelwa, falls within a category of masks whose main role is to protect the *mukanda* initiation camp both physically and supernaturally from the uninitiated and practitioners of witchcraft. When Kalelwa performs in the village during the *mukanda*, it chases women to dramatize gender tensions.



DICK BEAULIEUX





modification and emphasizes the regenerative abilities of chiefs and ancestors. In my opinion the Dallas figure shows evidence of active ritual use as an ancestor that was frequently called upon by its owners or the community to act on their behalf.

For Chokwe and related peoples these figures often become the locus of powerful spiritual beings; activated by medicines and invocations, these beings move in invisible ways to defeat a perceived enemy or work against personal or social afflictions.¹⁶ Significantly, many of these figures were still in use by the Chokwe at the end of the nineteenth century, a time of territorial expansion that inevitably resulted in wars with their neighbors as well as occasional fighting with the Portuguese. During this period, trade caravans crossing Chokwe territories on their way from the coast to the African interi-

or were a source of wealth, but they also created all sorts of social conflicts. The Dallas figure, like others of its type, should be considered a strategic device employed to resolve such problems.

A number of female figures in the exhibition also fall within the category of royal characters. The elaborate crowns and strong presence of some examples suggest that they represent women of the same social stature as the male chiefs. Some of these sculptures do indeed represent chiefs, although others were meant to portray the wife (Fig. 3) in a royal couple (Bastin 1982a:172-73). Female figures like the one in the collection of the Brooklyn Museum of Art (Fig. 4) are somewhat smaller but retain the formal integrity and elegance of more elaborate sculptures of women.¹⁷ The Brooklyn example seems to be a portrait of a more intimate, personal ances-

Left:

12. Mask representing a pig. Chokwe, Democratic Republic of the Congo, early 20th century. Wood, metal, fiber, beads; 24.1cm (9.5"). The University of Iowa Museum of Art, The Stanley Collection, 1990.705.

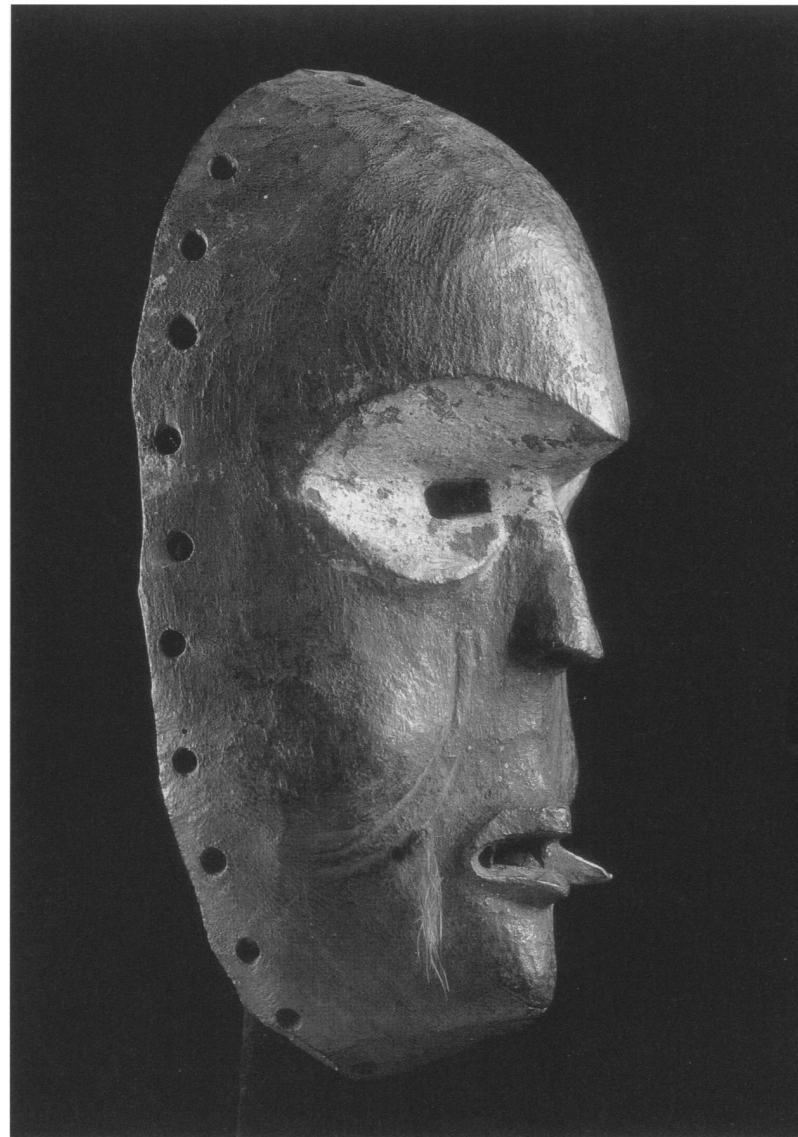
Mask performances that include Ngulu, the domestic pig, are highly entertaining. Ngulu either dances erect or performs on all fours to dramatize the erratic and uncontrollable nature of these animals.

Right:

13. Mask representing a foreigner. Chokwe, Angola/Democratic Republic of the Congo, 19th century. Wood, pigment, hair, metal; 25cm (9.9"). Private collection. Katoyo is an ancestor with attributes associated with the foreigner. Here his image is characterized by a large, pointed metal "tooth," facial hair, and white clay around his eyes. White is associated with the bones of ancestors, and white chalk placed around the eyes refers to the sharp and penetrating glances of the ancestors.



ECCO WANG



DICK BEAULIEUX

tor. Its diadem, delicate coiffure, and added metal anklets imply royal associations, and the horn, a container for powerful substances, implies supernatural abilities. The figure may represent the tutelary spirit of a chief or a powerful diviner. The quality of the sculpture suggests that it was used in a royal court.

"Chokwe!" also features a number of figurative stools and chairs owned by Chokwe sovereigns as symbols of prestige and power. A stool from the collection of Corice and Armand Arman (Fig. 7) is an excellent example of the type (see also Bastin 1982a:258–60; Roberts & Roberts 1997:124). The caryatid figure depicts a female ancestor with an elegant coiffure and intricate body scarification. The character is treated as a fulfilled woman and the keeper of a royal lineage. She sits firmly on the ground, above the realm of the ancestors, and her head extends to become the seat of a chief. By sitting on the stool a chief would remain connected with his royal bloodline and secure protection from the female ancestor. In the Chokwe artistic vocabulary, the figure's seated pose, with elbows on her knees and head cradled in her hands, is commonly used to represent ancestors. This pose is also associated with elders, with people deep in thought, and with the burial position of chiefs and other important people.¹⁸

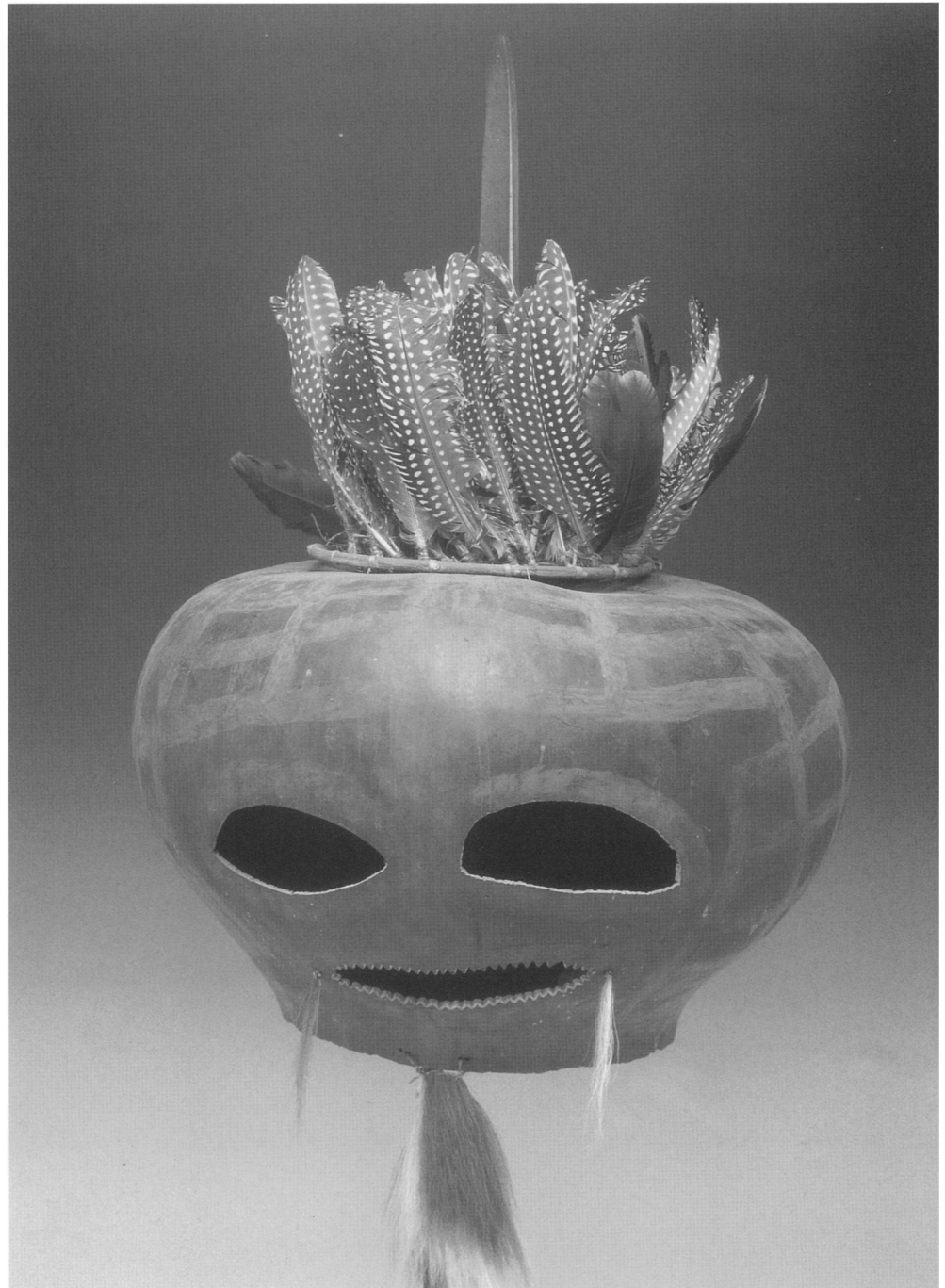
A few recent exhibitions and publications have been dedicated to African artists whose work has been identified by name or hand (LaGamma 1998; M. Roberts 1998; Walker 1998a, b). Such attribution remains a rarity in African art: the majority of pieces now in private and museum collections left Africa without enough information or proper documentation. A throne with figurative scenes, probably made in the 1950s, is included in the exhibition as the creation of a Lunda-Ndembu carver called Chamudenda Ntembu (Fig. 8).¹⁹ The throne, from the Chang Trust Collection, is significant not only because we recognize its carver but also because it is an example of a Lunda and Zambian style of carving. The fact that it dates from the middle of the twentieth century is also evidence that chiefs were still commissioning elaborate works of art for their courts at the time (Holy 1971:22).

Carved heads and full figures on the throne back may represent the chief's ancestors and other royal characters. The bottom rung on the back displays a harmonious scene of women fixing their hair. Leg rungs at the front and sides include other scenes: of women preparing food, taking care of their babies, and carrying various containers; of two ritual or ceremonial performances led by men playing different drums; and of two men dancing in front of a leader holding a ceremonial

axe. In addition to these portraits of ritual and domestic life, the two leg rungs at the back of the throne show a diviner-healer treating a patient afflicted by an evil person and, below it, two men carrying a corpse to the grave, one hand over the head in a gesture of lamentation.²⁰ The overall figurative program on this throne follows that found on examples dating back to the last century.

14. Mask for *mungonge* association. Luchazi, Zambia, Chikenge area. Made by Samanana Kachaku, kept by Samba Kayeye, mid-20th century. Gourd, pigment, fibers, feathers, goat fur; 63.5cm (25"). Birmingham Museum of Art, Museum purchase, 1997.89.

Kalyangu, seen here, is the senior mask character of *mungonge*, a secret association for adult males who choose to be initiated into specialized forms of communication with the supernatural realm.



CATHERINE CARDARELLI



15. Mbunda mask representing an ancestor with extraordinary physical attributes and supernatural powers. Mize palace for Luvale chief Ndungu. Northwestern Zambia, 1997. Photo: Manuel Jordán.

The Royal Arts section presents a variety of other object types. Some of the most refined pieces on display are smaller works made with careful attention to detail. A snuff mortar from a private collection (Fig. 9) was carved with great sensitivity to form and function. The bowl of the mortar is raised on four legs that have become a framework for delicate triangular and lozenge motifs. The mortar's lid is conceived as a chief's head, the crown

defined with sinuous lines. A pestle and two miniature pieces of carved ivory are attached to the mortar, adding formal and material complexity to this finely composed work of art. According to Marie-Louise Bastin (1998:18), it is a classic example of the Chokwe Muzamba school.

Chokwe female initiation arts mainly encompass choreographed performances, including dances and body painting, that announce an initiate's sexual maturity.²¹ Evidence that figurative sculpture was used in *ukule* exists, but it is rather scarce (see Kubik 1995:317). I believe that some sculptural representations now in private and museum collections were created for that purpose, although poor field collection data make it almost impossible to make that kind of attribution today. As a result, the exhibition treats female initiation mainly through video and other didactic components. Nonetheless, three figures appear in the Initiation Arts section to illustrate stages in the development of the female body according to Chokwe ideals. One of these (cat. no. 110), possibly used in *ukule*, depicts a female character in an "undeveloped" form. Her body is devoid of scarification marks, and her anatomy generally reflects that of a young woman. A second figure represents a mature woman whose extensive scarification marks obtained at different levels of initiation relate her social identity and status (cat. no. 112). The third sculpture is of a similarly mature woman carrying her child (cat. no. 113). Mother-and-child figures are relatively rare in Chokwe art. This finely carved example, from a private collection, celebrates the image of a fulfilled woman (see E. Cameron 1995).

Male initiation also recognizes the fulfilled woman in different ways, but it is probably in the men's masquerade of Pwo, the feminine ideal, that women find their closest ally. Unlike other mask types that are generally aggressive toward

women, Pwo always rejoices and celebrates by dancing with the grandmothers, mothers, and sisters of the initiates. In a way Pwo is their symbolic emissary into the secretive realm of *mukanda*.²² Although danced by men, Pwo is ultimately the embodiment of a female ancestor.

"Chokwe!" includes a dozen examples of Pwo created by Chokwe, Songo, Lwena, and Luchazi carvers for use in *mukanda*. These illustrate different but equally significant stylistic approaches to the mask type. The Pwo mask in the National Museum of African Art (Fig. 10) is one of the finest examples of these masks in the exhibition. Its idealized features, subtle contours, and refined lines formally convey the elegance and poise of a celebrated female



RALPH KOCH

Above:

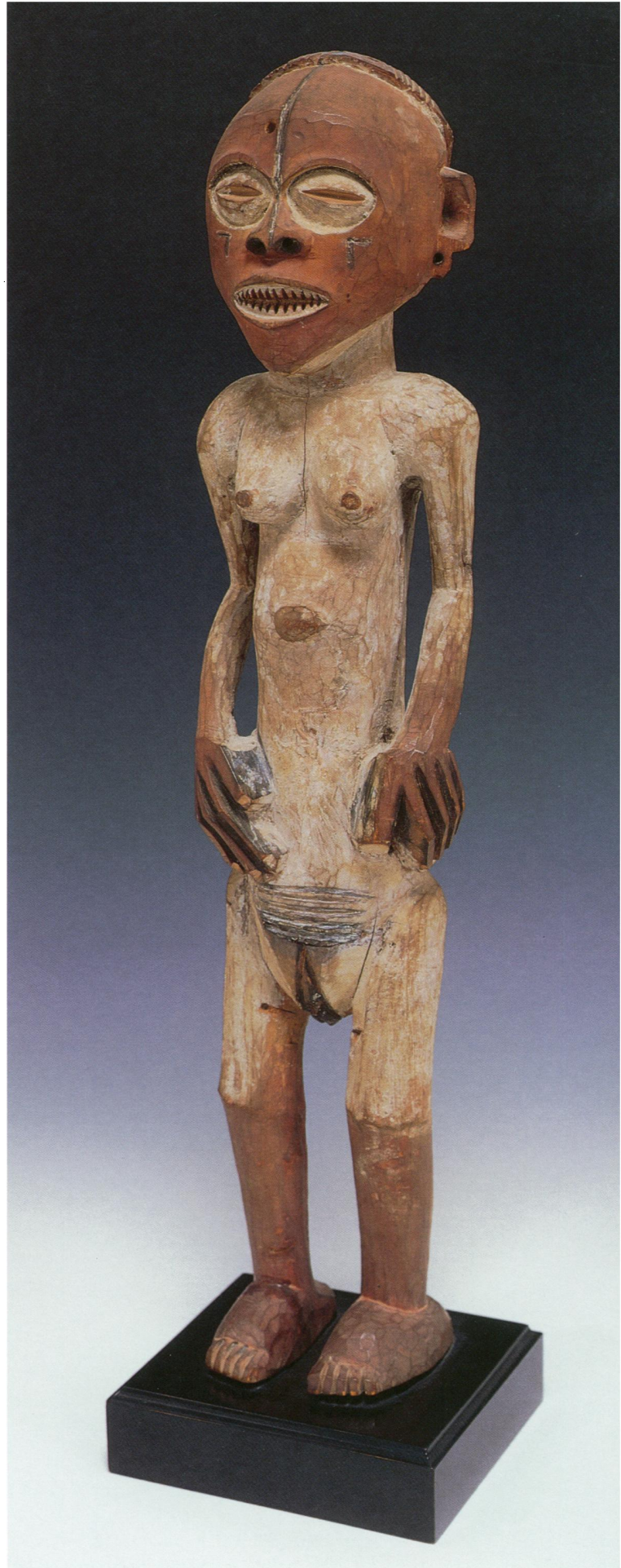
16. Female figure. Songo, Angola, early 20th century. Wood, 50.8cm (20"). Collection of Louise and Jonathan Franklin.

This figure's hands appear to be bound behind its back, possibly to indicate that the character represented was once a prisoner of war or a captive for the slave trade. That the face is conceived as a mask suggests both that the figure was intended to honor a noble female ancestor and that the character was duplicated in masquerade form.

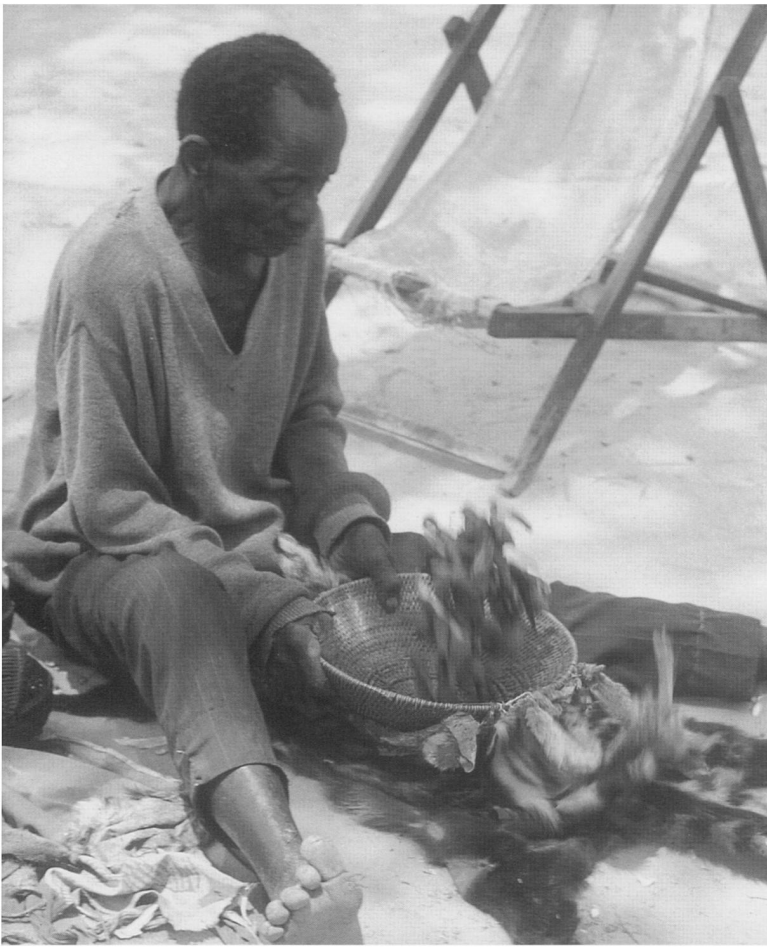
Right:

17. Female figure. Chokwe, Angola/Zambia, early 20th century. Wood, pigments; 50.2cm (19.8"). Collection of Ruth and Marc Franklin.

The white and red pigments symbolize the dualistic nature of ancestors: if they are honored they bring blessings to their living kin (white), but if neglected they inflict misfortune (red).



RALPH KOCH



ancestor. The mask was certainly created by a Chokwe master carver, although one sees hints of stylistic traits of the neighboring Bindji (Mbangani). The tightly knitted coiffure adds to its grace and sublime, expressive features. A repair down one side of the face (not evident in the photograph) speaks of how extensively the mask was used and how carefully it was maintained. Because of its great quality and because it illustrates the artistic dialogue between Chokwe and neighboring groups in areas of

This page:

Left: 18. Chokwe/Luchazi diviner Mr. Chipoya with his divination basket (*ngombo ya chisuka*) including numerous symbolic objects that relate to all aspects of human experience. Zambia, Chifwe South area, 1992. Photo: Manuel Jordán.

Below: 19. Divination basket and rattle. Chokwe, Angola, 19th/early 20th century. Fiber, wood, various materials; diameter 35.6cm (14"). Collection of Cecilia and Irwin Smiley.

This divination basket includes miniature carved representations of the Chihongo and Pwo masks, a "crying hypocrite" figure, male and female ancestors, a child, two figures on a journey, a dog, a bird, a canoe, and a mortar. The substances on the basket rim enhanced the diviner's extraordinary vision.

Opposite page:

20. Snuff mortar with figure riding an ox. Chokwe, Angola, 19th century. Wood, metal tacks; 17.1cm (6.8"). Private collection.

The great attention to detail in this delicately carved work extends to the facial expressions and the dignified bearing of the rider, represented as a trader.



the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the mask was selected as the cover for the exhibition book, even though it had already appeared on the covers of a couple of publications on African art (e.g., Kerchache et al. 1988).

Pwo's male counterpart is Chihongo, the Chokwe spirit of wealth and power that is associated with chiefs. One of the Chihongo masks featured in the exhibition (Fig. 1), from the collection of John and Barbara Buxton, retains its characteristic arching crown of feathers. The mask has broad and well-defined facial features, among them a horizontal disc-shaped element that protrudes from the chin and represents a chiefly beard. A small pouch containing supernatural ingredients is concealed behind the lower section of the crown. It was probably attached there by a person who inherited the mask, in order to appease the powerful spirit of a former dancer or predecessor.²³

Other masks in the exhibition include a number of animal characters (Fig. 12) and different versions of Katoyo, an ancestor with attributes associated with the "white man," European or foreigner. One such example from a private collection (Fig. 13) exhibits a rich surface patina that indicates extensive use in the field. This Katoyo has a large, pointed metal tooth, facial hair, and white clay around its eyes. White is associated with the bones of the ancestors, and its use here may refer to the sharp and penetrating glance of these spirits. The "awkward" facial features are meant to caricature the foreigner.²⁴ In public performances Katoyo helped Chokwe communities cope with the presence of outsiders and their new forms of political influence.

An example of a mask character called Kalelwa (Fig. 11), from the collection of the Birmingham Museum of Art, belongs to a category of masks whose main role is to protect the *mukanda* camp both physically and supernaturally. These masks are generally aggressive in character and often feature large headdresses and over-proportioned facial features (Fig. 15). When Kalelwa performs in the village during *mukanda*, it chases women to dramatize gender tensions. As the graduation of the initiates approaches, Kalelwa accordingly relaxes its aggressive behavior to collaborate with women in preparation for the important event.

Mask types totally different from those used in *mukanda*, and extremely rare in



CATHERINE CARDARELLI



DICK BEAULIEUX

museum collections, are employed in the initiation rituals of adult men. One such example, called Kalyangu (Fig. 14), is the senior mask character of *mungonge*, a secret association for men who choose to be initiated into specialized forms of communication with the supernatural realm. During these initiations, rarely practiced today, initiates endure physically trying and psychologically challenging conditions to prove their courage and moral fortitude. This particular mask is made from a gourd decorated with red pigment and topped with a crown of feathers. It was made by a Zambian Luchazi man named Samanana Kachaku, a *mungonge* leader who died in the 1950s. Mr. Samba Kayeye kept it secretly as a surviving symbol of the association. It was collected in the field in 1997 for the Birmingham Museum of Art.

Besides the figurative representations of royal characters kept by chiefs as part of their treasuries or in rooms dedicated to their lineage ancestors, Chokwe and related peoples create images of their familial or tutelary ancestral spirits to guide them through life. These tutelary ancestors, *hamba*, are often honored through prayers and invocations that commemorate their achievements in life and as spiritual entities (Fig. 16).

A figure from the collection of Ruth and Marc Franklin (Fig. 17), displayed in the Art and Life section, is carved in a Chokwe

21. Pendant with figurines. Chokwe, Angola, early/mid-20th century. Wood, string, beads; 6.4cm (2.5). Private collection.

Diviners prescribe this type of pendant, called *jinga*, for women who are infertile. The pendant includes representations of two sisters, Jinga and Chisola, who had many children because they were nurtured and well raised first by their parents, then by their grandfather, and later by their entire community.

style that is most common in areas of easternmost Angola and parts of northwestern Zambia. The figure is characterized by a tall, slim body, its long arms ending in hands that rest on the abdomen. The arch of the head sharply angles down to a pointed chin to outline an expressive face with well-defined eyes, nose, and ears and an open mouth showing filed teeth. Stylistically this sculpture fits within the category of *hamba* figures normally associated with diviners (Lima 1971; Wastiau 1998). The white and red surface symbolizes the dual nature of ancestors: if they are honored they bring blessings to their living kin (white), but if neglected they inflict misfortune (red).

One of the best-known forms of divination employed by Chokwe and related peoples, called *ngombo ya chisuka*, involves the use of a basket and numerous carved symbolic objects (Rodriguez de Areia 1988; Jordán 1996). Using a rattle to invoke the powers of

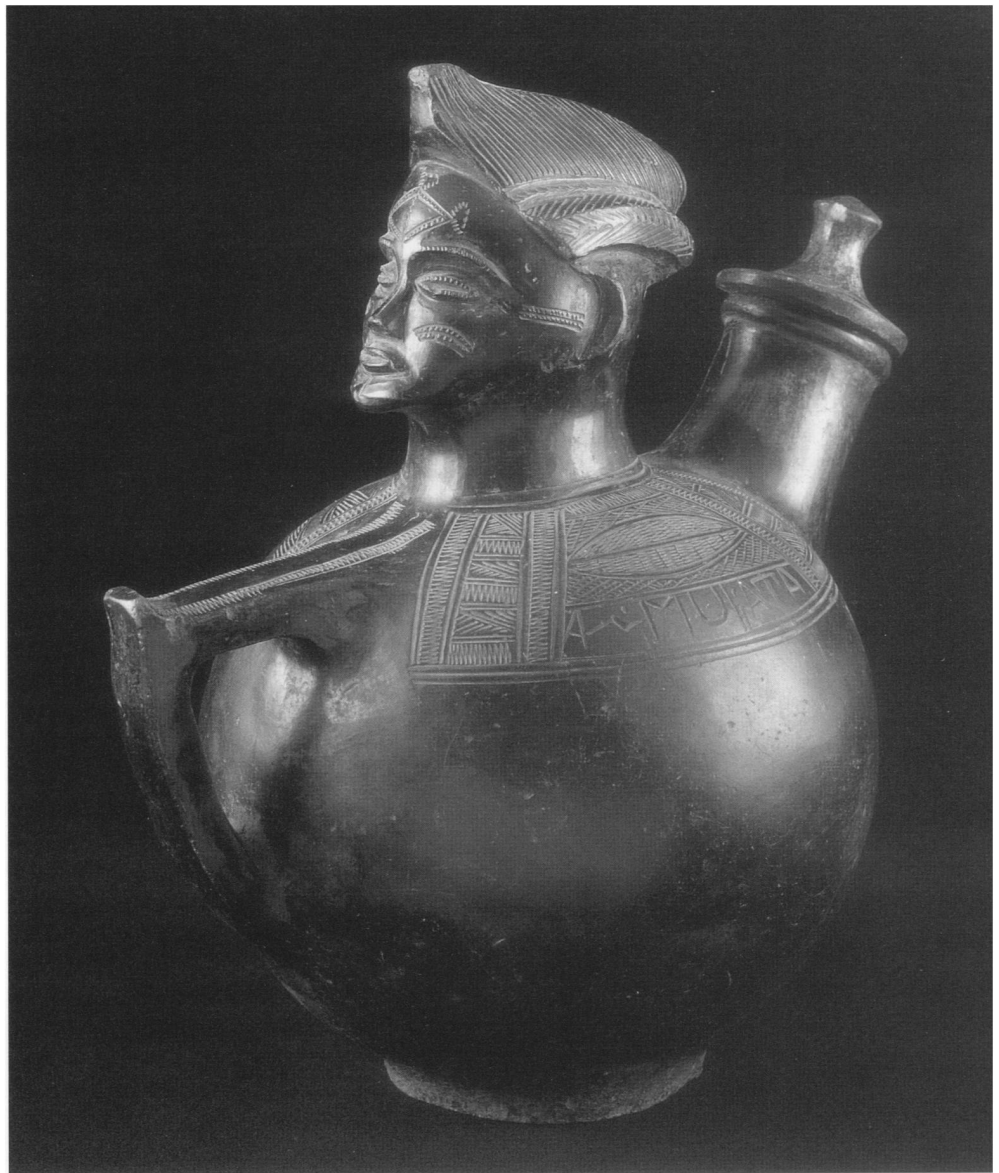
his tutelary ancestor, or *hamba kayongo*, a diviner tosses the objects within the basket (Fig. 18) to symbolically activate the cosmos. The configuration of objects at the rim are “read” to diagnose a particular form of affliction or to resolve the conflicts of individuals or a community as a whole. A divination basket from the collection of Cecilia and Irwin Smiley (Fig. 19) is one of the finest examples of this genre. The symbolic objects include miniature carved representations of the Chihongo and Pwo masks, a “crying hypocrite” figurine (see note 20), male and female ancestors, a child, two figures on a journey, a dog, a bird, a canoe, and a miniature mortar or drum. The substances placed on the rim would have enhanced the diviner’s extraordinary vision. The ritually empowered double horn was once set on the ground as a “screen of truth” to filter out false information received from clients.

A necklace with a carved figurative pendant, called *jinga*, is of the type prescribed by diviners for infertile women (Fig. 21). Zambian diviners interpret this type of pendant as representing two sisters, known as Jinga (with white beads) and Chisola, together with their parents and a grandfather who was honored as an accomplished mask performer (figure with conical head). Jinga and Chisola had many children because they were nurtured and well raised, first by their parents, then by their grandfather, and later by the entire community. A version of *jinga* may also be found inside divination baskets.²⁵

Among the implements that people hold dear as items of pride and prestige are wooden combs, whistles, stools, staffs, pipes, and snuff mortars. One fine example of a figurative mortar (Fig. 20), from a private collection, is delicately carved to represent a trader riding an ox. The attention to detail extends to the facial expressions and the trader’s dignified bearing. This piece may well have belonged to a Chokwe chief, but the image of the trader evokes the new wealth and status that many individuals achieved through their participation in the Portuguese-sponsored trade between the coast and the Angolan interior.²⁶

Some baskets²⁷ and pottery incorporate figurative elements that also serve to reflect class or social status. A vessel representing a female ancestor (Fig. 22) is among a group of ceramics that concludes the exhibition. This black-polished water jar, from a private collection, represents a Chokwe or Lwena style of pottery that is made exclusively by men. The jar features the modeled head of a fulfilled woman, including incised facial scarification details and a beautifully conceived hairstyle. Women also create ceramic forms with intricate patterns and motifs, but only men make figurative pieces.²⁸

“Chokwe!,” with its exclamation point, denotes the proud excitement a Chokwe person verbalizes when expressing his or



DICK BEAULIEUX

22. Ceramic vessel representing a female ancestor. Lwena/Chokwe, Angola/Democratic Republic of the Congo. Signed “A. Muliata,” early 20th century. Ceramic, 35.6cm (14”). Private collection.

This fine black-polished ceramic vessel is of a type produced by Lunda, Lwena, and Chokwe. The delicately modeled head includes facial scarification details and a beautifully conceived hairstyle.

her ethnic identity, although all the other Chokwe-related peoples represented in the exhibition would similarly proclaim their pride in being part of a rich cultural and artistic heritage. That name alone was adopted for the exhibition and its publication because the Chokwe were the most influential in creating art styles and diffusing them, together with other aspects of their culture, through a vast portion of central Africa. The principal goal of the exhibition is to contribute to the understanding of the social, cultural, and historical principles that support the transmission of collective knowledge in African societies. By providing the opportunity for visitors to experience the wealth of form and symbolic complexity of these artworks, “Chokwe!” aims to elicit their reflections on how we devise our own systems of knowledge, and define or construct our own sense of identity, society, and culture. □

Notes, page 90

14. Though there is a considerable disparity between the resources available in the U.S. and Africa, a good deal of Web-based activity has been going on in Africa. For instance, a number of fine Web sites are maintained by African museums. See, for example, Tanzania's Sukuma Museum site located at <http://photo.net/sukuma/>
15. Such "mirror sites" are exact copies of the data maintained on the H-Net servers (computers) located at Michigan State University. The physical presence of this data on computers strategically situated in Africa makes the information delivered via H-Net much easier and less expensive to access in Africa.
16. To subscribe to the H-AfrArts discussion list, complete the subscription form found on the H-AfrArts WWW site, <http://h-net2.msu.edu/~artswb/welcome/subscribe.html>.

JORDÁN: Notes, from page 35

1. Academic consultants to the *Chokwe!* project include Marie-Louise Bastin (University of Porto, Portugal); Allen Roberts, William Dewey, and Christopher Roy (The University of Iowa); Elisabeth Cameron (Los Angeles County Museum of Art); Manuela Palmeirim (Minho University, Portugal); Frederick Lamp (The Baltimore Museum of Art); Roy Sieber (Indiana University); and Gary van Wyk (independent scholar).
2. Appreciation is extended to the Chitofu family for their participation in the documentary and to Melanie Agee Jordán, who served as field producer.
3. Two additional publications, *Chokwe* (Rosen Publishing Group, New York) and *Makishi Lya Zambia* (Fred Jahn Publications, Munich) accompany the exhibition.
4. Elisabeth Cameron's 1995 Ph.D. dissertation, "Negotiating Gender: Initiation Arts of Mwali and Mukanda among the Lunda and Luvale, Kabompo District, North-Western Province, Zambia," served as a model for the thematic approach adopted in *Chokwe!*
5. See Bastin (1961, 1982a, 1988) for typological and stylistic analyses of these varied art forms.
6. For different accounts of the history of the Lunda and issues related to myth vs. historical fact see Turner (1955), Heusch (1972), Bastin (1978), and Palmeirim (1994).
7. See Palmeirim (1998:21-27) for an essay on the "ideology of kingship" among the Lunda (Aruwund). The political and "sacred" position of chiefs is today challenged by national governmental institutions/policies, war-related circumstances, and the intolerance of some missionary churches.
8. This is the basis for the thematic approach to the exhibition, where Chibinda Ilunga, the Luba culture hero, is treated as an accomplished or fulfilled male historical character. Role models today range from successful businessmen and -women to musicians and athletes.
9. For studies on male and female initiation among Chokwe-related peoples, see Turner (1967), Bastin (1986), White (1953), Spring (1976), E. Cameron (1995, 1998a, b), and Jordán (1998a, b). 10. Bastin (1961, 1982a), Crowley (1972), Kubik (1993), Felix & Jordán (1998), Jordán (1993, 1998b), and Batulukisi (1998) document information about specific characters and their attributes. For early and brief commentaries on a few Angolan mask types see Capello & Ivens (1881) and V. L. Cameron (1877).
11. See Wastiau (1998) and Silva (1998) for case studies related to adult life and concepts of spirituality.
12. M. L. Rodrigues de Areia (1985) published an extensive study of basket divination among the Chokwe. For a more recent account on basket divination among Zambian peoples see Jordán (1996). Silva (1998) provides field documentation on the "birth of a divination basket."
13. For the use and symbolism of staffs and scepters in central Africa see A. Roberts (1994), M. N. Roberts (1994), and Jordán (1994). Bastin (1982b) and Rodrigues de Areia (1992) have published books on Angolan staffs and scepters. For a typological and stylistic consideration of central African staffs and weapons, including Chokwe-related examples, see Eisen et al. (1992).
14. See Palmeirim (1994, 1998) for the "making" of hierarchy among the Lunda and the maintenance of historical lineage ties.
15. A closely related figure, published by Bastin (1982a:153), may have been carved by the same Chokwe artist.
16. Figurative and nonfigurative objects that are inherited, such as pipes, combs, and particularly stools and chairs/thrones, may temporarily be "animated" by the spirits of honored spirits (personal communications, Mr. Bernard Mukuta Samukinjii, Mr. Chitofu Sampoko, and others, 1991-1993). Figures in particular served as commemorative sculptures, but they also functioned as agencies that ensured the success of Chokwe communities by "moving" on their behalf as "supernatural weapons" (Samukinjii, personal communication, 1991) against perceived enemies. For an account of the active and supernatural qualities of objects see Jordán (1994:19-23).
17. A similar figure is part of the collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin (Krieger 1978: fig. 255). The figure was collected by H. Baumann in Angola in 1938.
18. See Rodrigues de Areia (1985:185-89) for an interpretation of this particular pose in the context of divination.
19. Two pieces attributed to this carver are documented by Holy (1971:22-23).
20. In basket divination, a figurine with two arms up over the head (*katuambimbini*) represents a hypocrite who is actually guilty of the death of the person he pretends to mourn. The

- figurines on the throne raise one arm in lamentation, a gesture that avoids implications of guilt.
21. For detailed studies of female initiation arts among Chokwe-related peoples of Zambia see E. Cameron (1995, 1998a,b).
 22. The *mukanda* initiation camp is the secretive realm of men. Uninitiated males and women are not allowed to approach the *mukanda* enclosure.
 23. These "medicine" bundles are evident in very few masks in museum and private collections. I believe they are generally removed from the masks before they are field collected. In some examples, the bundles or other ritual materials are attached as part of headdresses or fiber coiffures.
 24. Ironically, different European explorers documented Katoyo by name, and in photos or illustrations without apparently realizing that the character was a caricature of themselves.
 25. For the long version of the Jinga story, as told by diviner Samusevu, see Jordán (1998c:43-44).
 26. See *Chokwe!* catalogue (figs. 134, 146, 147) for related pieces.
 27. Silva (1998) elaborates on different basket types, their use, and symbolic associations.
 28. Documentation on Chokwe-related ceramics is rather scarce. These art forms are generally treated as part of surveys of the material culture of particular areas. For Ovimbundu pottery examples see Hamby (1934: pl. XIV), for the Lwimbi see Heintze (1988:52-53), for ceramics by other Chokwe-related peoples see Heintze (1995:70-74) and Polfiet (1987:34-41).

References cited

- Bastin, Marie-Louise. 1961. *Art decoratif tshokwe*. Lisbon: Museu do Dundo.
- Bastin, Marie-Louise. 1978. *Statuettes tshokwe du héros civilisateur "Tshibinda Ilunga."* Arnoville: Arts d'Afrique Noire Publications.
- Bastin, Marie-Louise. 1982a. *La sculpture tshokwe*. Meudon: Alain et Françoise Chaffin.
- Bastin, Marie-Louise. 1982b. *Sculptures angolaises: Cannes et bâtons d'apparat spatule-massue de la Collection Barbier Müller*. Arnoville: Arts d'Afrique Noire Publications.
- Bastin, Marie-Louise. 1986. "Ukule, Initiation des adolescentes chez les Tshokwe (Angola)," *Arts d'Afrique Noire*, 57:15-30.
- Bastin, Marie-Louise. 1988. *Art et mythologie: Figures tshokwe*. Paris: Editions Dapper.
- Bastin, Marie-Louise. 1996. "Figure of Chibinda Ilunga," in *Africa: The Art of a Continent*, pp. 114-15. New York: Guggenheim Museum.
- Bastin, Marie-Louise. 1998. "Chokwe Arts: Wealth of Symbolism and Artistic Expression," in *Chokwe! Art and Initiation Among Chokwe and Related Peoples*, pp. 13-19. Munich: Prestel Publications for the Birmingham Museum of Art.
- Batulukisi, Niangi. 1998. "Ngidi and Mukanda Initiation Rites: Forces of Social Cohesion among the Holo," in *Chokwe! Art and Initiation Among Chokwe and Related Peoples*, pp. 85-91. Munich: Prestel Publications for the Birmingham Museum of Art.
- Cameron, Elisabeth L. 1995. "Negotiating Gender: Initiation Arts of Mwali and Mukanda among the Lunda and Luvale, Kabompo District, North-Western Province, Zambia." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Cameron, Elisabeth L. 1998a. "Women-Masks: Initiation Arts in North-Western Province, Zambia," *African Arts* 31, 2:50-61.
- Cameron, Elisabeth L. 1998b. "Potential and Fulfilled Woman: Initiations, Sculpture, and Masquerades in Kabompo District, Zambia," in *Chokwe! Art and Initiation Among Chokwe and Related Peoples*, pp. 77-83. Munich: Prestel Publications for the Birmingham Museum of Art.
- Cameron, Verney L. 1877. *Across Africa*. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Capello, H. and R. Ivens. 1881. *De Benguella ás Terras de Iacca*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional.
- Crowley, Daniel. 1972. "Chokwe Political Art in a Plebeian Society," in *African Art and Leadership*, ed. Douglas Fraser and Herbert Cole, pp. 12-39. Madison.
- Eisen, Jan et al. 1992. *Dodelijk Mooi: Wapens uit Centraal-Afrika*. Brussels: Gemeentekrediet.
- Felix, Marc L. and Manuel Jordán. 1998. *Makishi Lya Zambia: Mask Characters of the Upper Zambezi Peoples*. Munich: Fred Jahn Publications.
- Hamby, Wilfrid D. 1934. *The Ovimbundu of Angola*. Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History.
- Heintze, Beatrix. 1988. *Ethnographische Zeichnungen der Lwimbi/Nganga (Zentral Angola)*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Publications.
- Heusch, Luc de. 1972. *Le roi ivre ou l'origine de l'état*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Holy, Ladislav. 1971. *Zambian Traditional Art*. Zambia: Falcon Press.
- Jordán, Manuel. 1993. "Le masque comme processus ironique: Les makishi du Nord-ouest de la Zambie," *Anthropologie et Sociétés*, 17, 3:41-46.
- Jordán, Manuel. 1994. "Heavy Stuff and Heavy Staffs from Chokwe and Related Peoples of Angola, Zaire, and Zambia," in *Staffs of Life: Rods, Staffs, Scepters and Wands from the Coudron Collection of African Art*, ed. Allen F. Roberts, pp. 14-23. Iowa City: The Project for Advanced Study of Art and Life in Africa, and The University of Iowa Museum of Art.
- Jordán, Manuel. 1996. "Tossing Life in a Basket: Art and Divination among Chokwe, Lunda, Luvale and Related Peoples of Northwestern Zambia." Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Iowa, Iowa City.

- Jordán, Manuel. 1998a. "Mukanda and Makishi: Male Initiation and the Context for Masks in Zambia," in *Makishi Lya Zambia: Mask Characters of the Upper Zambezi Peoples*, pp. 85-125. Munich: Fred Jahn Publications.
- Jordán, Manuel. 1998b. "Engaging the Ancestors: Makishi Masquerades and the Transmission of Knowledge Among Chokwe and Related Peoples," in *Chokwe! Art and Initiation Among Chokwe and Related Peoples*, pp. 67-75. Munich: Prestel Publications for the Birmingham Museum of Art.
- Jordán, Manuel. 1998c. *Chokwe*. New York: Rosen Publishing Group.
- Krieger, Kurt. 1978. *Westafrikanische Plastik I*. Berlin: Museum für Völkerkunde.
- Kubik, Gerhard. 1993. *Makisi, Nyau, Mapiko*. Munich: Trickster Publications.
- Kubik, Gerhard. 1995. "Female Figure," in *Treasures from the Africa-Museum Tervuren*, ed. Gustaaf Verswijver et al., p. 317. Tervuren: Royal Museum for Central Africa.
- Kerchache, Jacques et al. 1988. *L'art africain*. Paris: Mazenod.
- LaGamma, Alisa. 1998. "Beyond Master Hands: The Lives of the Artists," *African Arts* 31, 4 (Autumn).
- Lima, Mesquitela. 1971. *Fonctions sociologiques des figurines de culte hamba dans la société et dans la culture tshokwe (Angola)*. Luanda: Instituto de Investigação Científica de Angola.
- Palmeirim, Manuela. 1994. "Of Alien Kings and Ancestral Chiefs: An Essay on the Ideology of Kingship Among the Aruwund." Ph.D. dissertation, The School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
- Palmeirim, Manuela. 1998. "The King's Crowns: Hierarchy in the Making Among the Aruwund (Lunda)," in *Chokwe! Art and Initiation Among Chokwe and Related Peoples*, pp. 21-27. Munich: Prestel Publications for the Birmingham Museum of Art.
- Polfiet, Leo. 1987. *Traditionelle Gefäßkeramik aus Zaire*. Munich: Fred Jahn Publications.
- Roberts, Allen F. (ed.) 1994. *Staffs of Life: Rods, Staffs, Scepters and Wands from the Coudron Collection of African Art*. Iowa City: The Project for Advanced Study of Art and Life in Africa, and The University of Iowa Museum of Art.
- Roberts, Mary Nooter. 1994. "The Sculpted Narratives of Luba Staffs of Office," in *Staffs of Life: Rods, Staffs, Scepters and Wands from the Coudron Collection of African Art*, ed. Allen F. Roberts, pp. 24-32. Iowa City: The Project for Advanced Study of Art and Life in Africa, and The University of Iowa Museum of Art.
- Roberts, Mary Nooter. 1998. "The Naming Game: Ideologies of Luba Artistic Identity," *African Arts* 31, 4 (Autumn).
- Roberts, Mary Nooter and Allen F. Roberts. 1997. *A Sense of Wonder: African Art from the Faletti Family Collection*. Phoenix: Phoenix Art Museum.
- Rodrigues de Areia, Manuel L. 1985. *Les symboles divinatoires: Analyse socio-culturelle d'une technique de divination des Chokwe de l'Angola*. Coimbra, Portugal: Centro de Estudos Africanos.
- Rodrigues de Areia, Manuel L. and Roland Kaehr. 1992. *Collections d'Angola: Les signes du pouvoir*. Neuchâtel: Musée d'Ethnographie.
- Silva, Sonia. 1998. "The Birth of a Divination Basket," in *Chokwe! Art and Initiation Among Chokwe and Related Peoples*, pp. 141-51. Munich: Prestel Publications for the Birmingham Museum of Art.
- Spring, Anita. 1976. "Women's Rituals and Natality among the Luvale of Zambia." Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University.
- Turner, Victor. 1955. "A Lunda Love Story and Its Consequences," *Rhodes Livingstone Journal* 19, 1-26.
- Turner, Victor. 1967. *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Walker, Roslyn A. 1998a. *Olowe of Ise: A Yoruba Sculptor to Kings*. Washington, DC: National Museum of African Art.
- Walker, Roslyn A. 1998b. "Olowe of Ise: 'Anonymous' Has a Name," *African Arts* 31, 4 (Autumn).
- Wastiau, Boris. 1997. "Mahamba: The Transforming Arts of Spirit Possession among the Luvale-speaking People of the Upper Zambezi." Ph.D. dissertation, University of East Anglia.
- Wastiau, Boris. 1998. "Art, God, and Spirit Possession in the Interpretation of Illness among the Luvale and Related Peoples," in *Chokwe! Art and Initiation Among Chokwe and Related Peoples*, pp. 129-39. Munich: Prestel Publications for the Birmingham Museum of Art.
- White, C.M.N. 1953. "Conservatism and Modern Adaptation in Luvale Puberty Ritual," *Africa* 23:15-24.

PARSONS: Notes, from page 45

[This article was accepted for publication in March 1998.]

This essay has its origins in a seminar on Yoruba art led by Skip Cole at the University of California at Santa Barbara in the fall of 1996. I thank Skip, my fellow seminar participants (especially Carol Magee-Curtis), and other readers for their thoughtful questions and helpful criticism of this project.

1. An informal survey of fifteen prominent Western catalogues of African and Yoruba art revealed that when Esu figures have the phallic hairstyle, there is a remarkable consistency in its flaccid form.
2. Wescott equally falls into this trap of interpreting Yoruba gender categories through simplified Western terms, as indicated by her identification of "self-assertion and masculine striving" as phallic qualities (Wescott & Morton-Williams 1962:31).
3. Margaret Drewal (1992), Judith Hoch-Smith (1978), and Niara Sudarkasa (1987) are among those who have made this assessment.
4. The caption to one Sango cult figure illustrated in *Yoruba:*