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The Artistic Heritage of Somalia

MARY JO ARNOLDI

Somalia, situated on the Horn of Africa, stands at the crossroads of Africa and Asia within a region of great cultural diversity. Today the Somali people number about five million. Although the majority live in the Somali Democratic Republic, substantial numbers can be found in the neighboring countries of Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Kenya.

Somalis have a rich tradition of verbal and visual art forms. The exhibition "Somalia in Word and Image," organized by the Foundation for Cross Cultural Understanding, Washington, D.C., and the African Studies Program, Indiana University, demonstrates the range of artistic expression among these people and explores both specific regional forms and shared forms and ideologies that are spread through the agency of Islam and longstanding trade networks.[1]

Since antiquity Somalia has maintained commercial and cultural relationships with North Africa and the Arab peninsula. From 3700 to 350 B.C. Egypt imported frankincense and myrrh from the northeastern region of Somalia, the Biblical "Land of Punt" (Castagno 1975: 48, 128). Pre-Islamic Arabs and Persians founded trading entrepôts at Zeila on the Gulf of Aden and Mogadishu on the east coast. In the seventh century Islamized Arabs strengthened these trading centers and introduced Islam to Somalia. Al Yaqubi, an Arab geographer writing in the ninth century, mentioned both Zeila and Mogadishu as important commercial cities (Castagno 1975: 14). These centers exported ivory, hides, aromatic gums, slaves, spices, and cattle from the hinterlands, and imported and redistributed textiles, metal, pepper, tobacco, coffee, sugar, and manufactured goods.

PORTE KORAN NECKLACE, SILVER. COLLECTION OF THE FOUNDATION FOR CROSS CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING (F.C.C.U.), WASHINGTON, D.C.

A ninth-century Chinese document mentioned Po-pa-li (Berbera), as the Horn of Africa was called during this period (Cassanelli 1982: 9). Chinese Sung dynasty pottery (A.D. 960-1279) has been found at Mogadishu and was probably traded into the area from the Arabian peninsula (Mathew 1956: 52). In the tenth century Arabs established the commercial cities of Merca and Brava on the east coast, which soon began to rival Zeila and Mogadishu in the international trade network. Ibn Battuta visited the trading entrepôts of Zeila and Mogadishu in 1331 (Ibn Battuta 1962: 373-75). According to Ming dynasty records, in 1422 envoys from China were sent to Mu ku tu su (Mogadishu) and to Chu pu, a city near Mogadishu. Subsequently envoys from these cities visited the court of Yeng Lo in A.D. 1427. Precious stones, coral, and amber as well as giraffes, lions, zebras, leopards, ostriches, and white pigeons were mentioned as being traded to the Chinese (Yule 1966: 87, fn. 1). The nineteenth century saw a commercial boom for the east coast of Africa, with European, American, and Zanzibarian merchants trading along the coast. During this period the Somalis exported ivory, textiles, ostrich feathers, hides, vegetable dyes, and oils (Cassanelli 1982: 152).

From the tenth century onward the Somali pastoralists expanded southward into their present-day territory through a series of gradual migrations. By the time of Ibn Battuta's visit in the fourteenth century, the original Arab populations of Zeila and Mogadishu were already Somalized. Ibn Battuta referred to the two cities' inhabitants as "Barbara," or Berbers, to distinguish them from the Zinj, or Zengi, the blacks, who inhabited the coast and hinterlands south of the Shebelle River: "I traveled from the city of Adan by sea for four days at the city of Zaila, the city of the Barbara . . . Their country is a desert extending for two

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months' journey, beginning at Zaila and ending at Maqdashaw. Their cattle are camels, and they also have sheep which are famed for their fat. The inhabitants of Zaila are black in colour and the majority of them are Rafidis [Shi'ites, probably the Zaidi sect] . . . We sailed on from there for fifteen nights and came to Maqdashaw which is a town of enormous size . . . The sultan of Maqdashaw is, as we have mentioned, called only by the title of the Shaikh. His name is Abu Bakr, son of shaikh Omar; he is by origin of the Barbara and he speaks in Maqdishi, but knows the Arabic language" (Ibn Battuta 1962: 373-75).

Sometime before the sixteenth century, most of the Zinj (Bantu-speaking peoples?) living south of the Shebelle River in present-day Somalia were displaced into Kenya by the Oromo (Galla) expansion. The continual expansion of the Somali pastoralists southward eventually pushed the Oromo into Ethiopia (Lewis 1969: 46).

Because of the complex historical migrations and the longstanding international trade networks in which Somalia played an important role, the world of everyday experience in Somalia is not monolithic but made up of several broad socio-economic complexes. The country can be divided into three zones. Pastoral nomads live in the northern and central rangelands, where they herd camels, goats, and sheep. The population here is fairly homogeneous, with the northern pastoralists, known as Samaals, constituting over fifty percent of the population of Somalia. In the second zone, the southern arable lands between the Juuba and Shebelle rivers, sedentary and semisedentary farmers produce grain, cotton, and fruit. The population is more mixed. One important group includes the two major sedentary-herding clans, known collectively as the Saab. There are also sedentary agriculturalists who claim descent from the original inhabitants of the land, the groups that lived in the area prior to the sixteenth century. These include the Kabole, Reercissa, Makanne, and Shabelle, who live along the Shebelle River; and the Wa Gosha, Boni, and Gobawein, who live along the Juuba River (Lewis 1969: 41). In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when antislavery campaigns along the Benaadir coast began in earnest, these river settlements were augmented by groups of runaway slaves who established themselves along the lower Juuba and Shebelle (Cassanelli 1982: 191-92). The heterogeneous populations of the coastal cities, for centuries the centers for internal and international trade, constitute the third zone. The term "Benaadir" was first used by the Arabs for the commercial ports along the southern Somali coast from Cadale to Baraawe (Cassanelli

KOHL POT WITH LID AND STICK, WITH BANGLE BELLS AND SADDLEBAG DESIGN. 18TH CENTURY. 14cm. GIVEN TO A BRIDE BY HER MOTHER OR GRANDMOTHER. NORTHERN SOMALIA. F.C.C.U.

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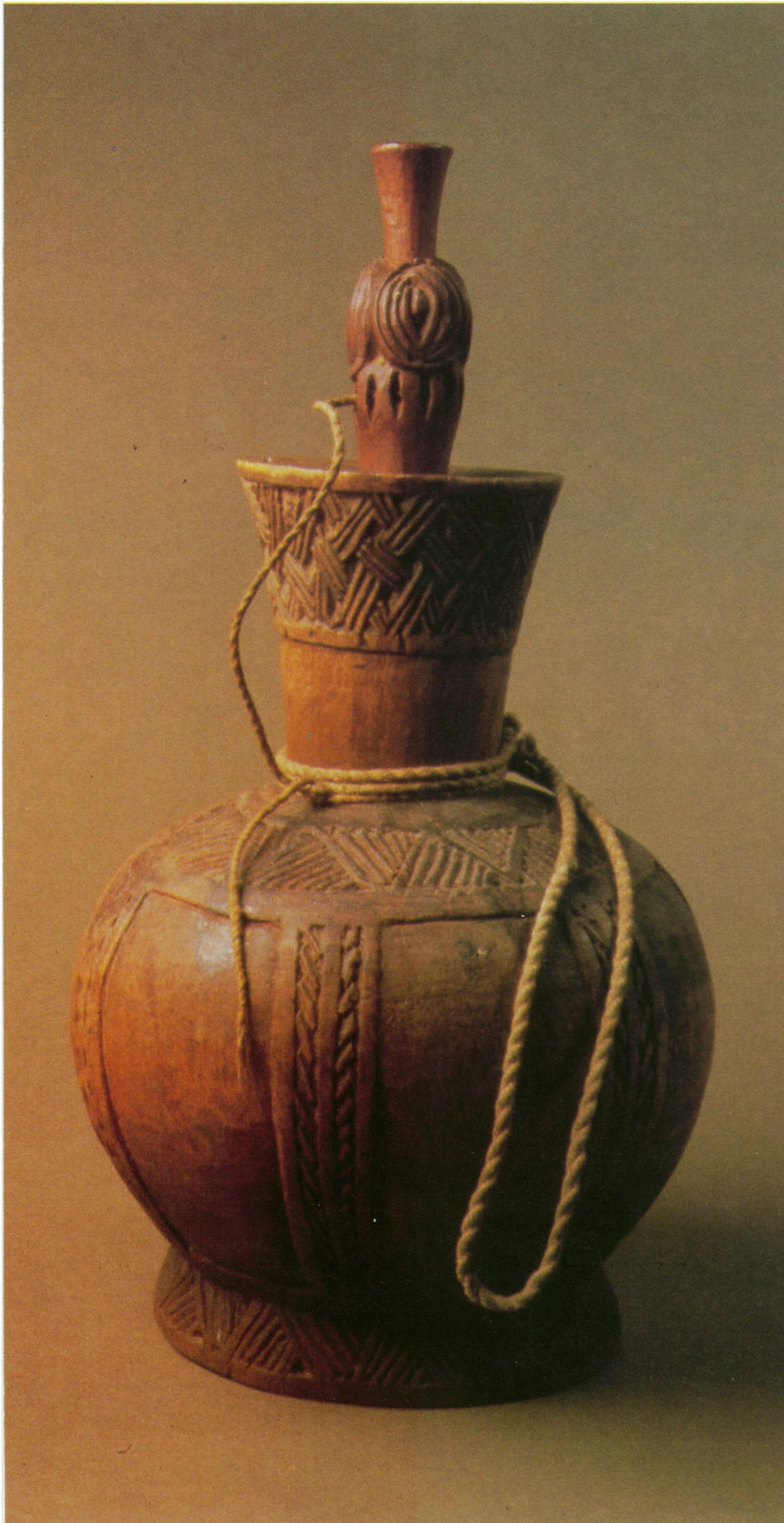
CARVED WOODEN WATER CONTAINER WITH ROPE HANDLES. 35cm. COLLECTION OF ABBY THOMAS.

1982: 148, fn. 2). These cities have strong historical ties to the coastal mercantile centers that extend from Somalia to Mozambique.

Cutting across the three regions are groups of people who have been historically attached to both northern, inter-river, and coastal populations in a client relationship. These are the Sab groups, the professional artisans in metal and leather, which include the Tumal, Yibir, and Midgan. The Tumal, blacksmiths, engage in the production of arms and domestic tools. The Yibir are leather-workers, fashioning amulets, shields, sandals, and other leather products. The Midgan, a term now prohibited by law in Somalia, are hunters, medical practitioners, barbers, and hairdressers (Cerulli 1969, vol. 2: 1-18).

The northern pastoral culture is clearly dominant, and it is not surprising in studies of Somali arts that an emphasis has always been placed on the artistic expression of this northern majority. Furthermore, because of the important place poetry holds in the nomadic culture, scholarship has naturally focused on an exegesis of their verbal arts. In 1854 the English Arabist and explorer Richard Burton traveled through Somalia. He commented on the pervasiveness of the poetic traditions: "The country teems with 'poets, poetasters, poetitos, poetaccios': every man has his recognized position in literature as accurately defined as though he had been reviewed in a century of magazines—the fine ear of this people causing them to take the greatest pleasure in harmonious sounds and poetical expressions, whereas a false quantity or a prosaic phrase excite their violent indignation" (Burton 1966: 93).

The verbal arts of the north include a number of poetic genres. *Gabay, jiifto,* and *geeraar* are classical verse composed by men, *gabay* and *jiifto* addressing serious political, philosophical, and religious issues and the *geeraar* being poems about war that were chanted to raise the morale of warriors and ridicule one's adversaries. *Buraambur* poetry is a women's art form. These poems explore themes relating to marriage, death, friendship, and other serious life concerns. Unlike men's classical poetry, *buraambur* poems are generally recited to musical accompaniment. *Heello* is a relatively recent genre that was first introduced in 1954. Ostensibly love poems, they also address sensitive contemporary political topics in veiled speech (Johnson 1974).

Among the northern nomads, the classical men's poetry not only is an important form of artistic expression, but it also figures heavily in the political arena. Poetry is the primary medium whereby an individual or a group of people can

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WOMAN'S PORTE KORAN WITH BELLS AND BANGLES. SILVER. 114cm. SOUTHERN SOMALIA. F.C.C.U.

present a case most persuasively. The Somali pastoral poet composes verse on all major clan occasions, through it expressing and formalizing the important issues of the age. When a poem composed in the past is recited today, it is often accompanied by an introductory prose segment that explains the historical events the poet recorded in his verse.

In addition to poetry's function as a chronicle of events and attitudes of a specific age, people perceive that poetry has the power to affect social relationships. It can be used to move people to undertake a vendetta or to sustain an existing feud, or it may be employed to bring a feud under control. Poetry thus affects in a very direct way the process of social interaction (Samatar 1982).

Authors of these classical genres have never been anonymous. Andrzejewski notes: "It was indicative of the high position held by poets of the public forum that their oral poems enjoyed the protection of an unwritten copyright law. Anyone who memorized someone else's poem and wanted to recite it afterwards was under a strict obligation to remember the text accurately to the best of his ability and to reproduce it faithfully at each recital, for he was considered to be a channel of communication and in no way a co-author with the original poet . . . Another provision of this copyright law was the reciter had to give the name of the poet at each recital, and its omission or a knowing misappropriation was treated as a serious breach of the ethical code" (Andrzejewski, forthcoming). This is a particularly important point to emphasize, as much of the early scholarship on the African artist presumed that the artist remained anonymous in his own culture. The classical poetry tradition of Somalia offers a clear example of specific authorship in African oral arts.

Among pastoral peoples the richness and variety of the oral arts overshadow their visual art production. Their material objects display an economy of form that is appropriate to peoples who move frequently and over long distances. These functional objects of everyday life—the milk jugs, woven mats, weapons, camel bells, and nomadic houses—are all carefully crafted.

The nomadic house, the *aqal*, is beehive-shaped and is composed of a wooden skeletal armature covered with layers of mats. The interior height is generally between 1.2 and 2 meters. Two beds lie on either side of the entrance, and on the floor are various containers for water and milk. Other small utensils are stored in the framework of the house (Puccioni 1960: 4-5). Water and milk vessels are often woven from fiber and then waterproofed with wax, fat, or ox dung

EARLY PORTE KORAN ON A NECKLACE OF AMBER WITH SILVER BEADS. 18TH CENTURY. 50cm. F.C.C.U.

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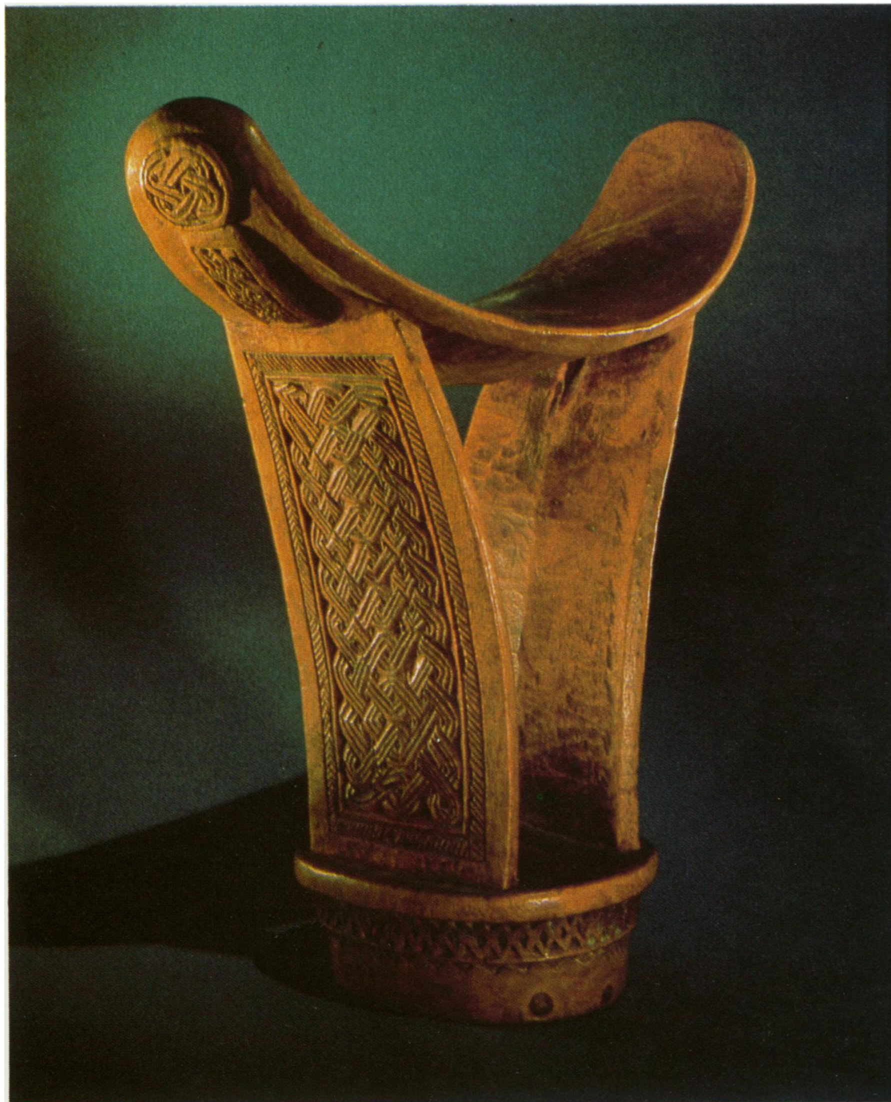
and steeped in an infusion of acacia bark. Finely carved wooden beakers for serving coffee, milk, or water, and wooden milk jugs are standard equipment in the nomadic household. Engraved ostrich egg containers decorated with leather straps are also used as water containers (Puccioni 1960: 36).

Women weave a variety of mats that are used as camel blankets, as exterior coverings for the nomadic house, and as carpets and mattresses for the interior. This last category is generally more finely woven and often elaborately decorated with multicolored designs. The mats are constructed of five or more individually fashioned strips that are sewn together (Puccioni 1960: 50-51).

Headrests *(barkin)* are used as pillows. According to Puccioni there are two different types, one used by men and a second used by women. The men's headrest is generally narrower at the bottom

PORTE KORAN ON A NECKLACE OF AMBER, AGATE, AND SILVER BEADS. EARLY 19TH CENTURY. 42cm. NORTHERN SOMALIA. F.C.C.U.



HEADREST. WOOD. 17cm. F.C.C.U.

and consequently is rather unstable. The type used by women is square and sits firmly on the ground. Both are ornamented with engravings (Puccioni 1960: 22-24).

Pastoralists are known as great warriors. In the male ethos a warrior's spears, knives, shields, and horse gear are his most important possessions. They are made by professional ironworkers and leatherworkers who trade with the pastoralists in exchange for milk, butter, and other goods.

A domestic object can take on meanings beyond its purely utilitarian function. Headrests, for example, are also seen as having a protective function, popular belief being that if a person's head is elevated above the ground during sleep, scorpions and snakes will not attack him.[2] Men's headrests also function as symbols. Because its instability prevents a man who guards the herds at night from falling into a deep sleep, the headrest itself has become the tangible symbol of vigilance.[3] Cerulli noted that this object also plays a role in nuptial ceremonies. It is under the bride's headrest that the groom places the *tusbah*, the defloration price. The morning after the marriage is consummated, women enter the bride's *aqal* to confirm the evidence of her virginity. The bride then lifts the headrest from the marriage bed and takes the money, which she uses to purchase an amber necklace, the symbol of her new status (Cerulli 1969, vol. 2: 92-93).

Poetry illuminates the social and political worlds of the nomad while drawing on everyday objects and experiences for its imagery. It is a reflective activity from

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AMBER NECKLACE WITH SILVER PENDANT DECORATED WITH BELLS AND AGATE STONES. 18TH CENTURY. 60cm. NORTHERN SOMALIA. PRIVATE COLLECTION.

completion of one of the elaborately decorated mats, the women perform it. They hold the weaving aloft and dance it while singing the praises of it and its creators. One of the songs associated with this performance reads: "O weaving reeds, may you never be poverty stricken./May you never be taken for sale in the market./May none be ignorant of your maker./May no unworthy man ever tread on you."[5] In the performance attention is drawn to the mat as an artistic product, and recognition is given the artist-weavers who act as the dancers of the mat. Thus the authorship of the object is publicly proclaimed, and this recognition, though less formal and less enduring than that given the classical poet, echoes the pastoralists' concern for recognizing the creative person within their society.

In contrast to the nomadic north, the quantity and quality of the visual arts in the coastal cities are immediately apparent. Multistoried Arabian-style houses of coral stone dot the horizon. These houses often have intricately carved lintels, doors, and windows, and the interiors are furnished with elaborately decorated storage chests, chairs, and beds.

The style of Somali coastal carving forms the northern extension of the Azanian style complex, which extends from Cape Guardafui in Somalia to Sofala in Mozambique (Grottanelli 1968). Grottanelli noted that certain motifs—the twelve-petal rosette and four-petal "aster" encased in a quadrangular frame— appear frequently on Somali architectural members and household furniture. Carved wooden combs and spoons for serving roasted coffee beans carry similar motifs. These same motifs frequently appear on the architecture of Lamu island and on architectural monuments in southern Tanzania. This Azanian style is part of an old artistic tradition that has persisted for centuries

which a larger truth can be created. To understand the allusions in pastoral poetry, it is crucial to know about the everyday world of the nomad and the material objects in it. For example, the milk vessel, whether of basketry or wood, is a standard container in the nomadic household. An excerpt from a poem by Gabai Shinni uses the image of a vessel brimming with milk as a metaphor for a proud man: "When fortune places a man even on the mere hem of her robe/He quickly becomes overbearing./A small milking vessel when filled to the brim soon overflows."[4]

The production of certain household objects can also become an occasion for performance in which both the objects and songs play a crucial role. Upon the

PORTE KORAN WITH OPENWORK. GOLD, 18TH CENTURY. F.C.C.U.

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COFFEE POT (F.C.C.U.), PLATE, BOWL (PRIVATE COLLECTION). INCISED BRASS, COFFEE POT 26cm.

HEADRESTS. WOOD, 19 AND 20cm. F.C.C.U.

on the coast of East Africa (Grottanelli 1968: 9).

The furnishings in the urban household can also take on added significance in certain ritual contexts. Among some groups in the cities, when a newborn child is first introduced into the household a special ritual is performed. During this ritual the child is carried through each room, and the objects usually thought of as furniture become symbols of kinship relationships. For example, pointing to a chair, the elder says, "Child, this is the chair of your grandfather." Thus the abstract principles of kinship are given material form.

Most of the silver and gold work is done on the coast, and there is a guild of silver- and goldsmiths who are considered an artisan caste (Lewis 1969: 78). But little has been published about the identity of the jewelers and the history of the tradition. Like the woodcarving motifs, jewelry designs seem to have had their original inspiration from Arabian and Indian prototypes. Necklaces, bracelets, earrings, armlets, silver-covered sandals, earpicks, and cosmetic containers are made in the urban centers and traded to groups throughout Somalia.

On ceremonial occasions women wear silver bracelets and anklets, as well as gold and silver earrings and necklaces. This jewelry symbolizes the wealth of the family, and particular types such as the wedding necklaces indicate a woman's marital status. Both men and women also wear elaborately wrought gold, amber, and silver *xersi*. More than just symbols of wealth, the *xersi* function as protective amulets that contain appropriate verses from the Koran.

Cloth production is an important industry in the coastal areas. In 1330 Ibn Battuta made reference to a thriving cloth industry at Mogadishu: "In this place are manufactured the woven fabrics called after it [Mogadishu] which are unequalled and exported from it to Egypt and elsewhere" (Ibn Battuta 1962: 374). The cotton fabric known commercially as Benaadir cloth is woven by men. It measures thirteen meters in length and is generally brightly colored and often striped, with reds, yellows and blues predominating (Lewis 1969: 84).

Prior to the nineteenth century, raw cotton was imported from India. In the early nineteenth century American merchants introduced an inexpensive mass-produced cotton fabric into Somalia. Somali producers responded to this threat to the local cloth industry by starting cotton plantations in the area between the Juuba and Shebelle rivers,

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WINDOW. HAMARWEYN, MOGADISHU. WOOD, 70cm. ONE SIDE OF THE FRAME HAS BEEN RESTORED.
COLLECTION OF ANITA AND SULEIMAN ADAM.

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COMB, EARLY 18TH CENTURY. SILVER, 25cm. F.C.C.U.

thus creating a viable local source for the raw material and meeting the challenge from the imported cloth (Cassanelli 1982: 167).

In this interriver region the verbal and visual arts have developed differently from those in the north, and they demonstrate a symbiotic mingling of pastoral and agricultural traditions. The social structure of this area is more hierarchical than that of the northern pastoralists. One verbal art form that is more expressive of this pattern and is associated exclusively with the semisedentary agriculturalists is formulaic praise singing performed by professionals, the *laashin*. The songs embody the history of the lineage and are performed at public festivals and at weddings. In form they are reminiscent of genealogical singing in other areas of Sub-Saharan Africa.

The *Is-tun* stick fight is performed during the celebration of the Somali solar New Year, which generally falls at the beginning of August. At Afgoye-Geledi the organization of this festival is based on the traditional moiety division of the clan that founded the town in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. Each moiety holds a *shir,* or procession of adult males who sing its history. Following the procession two teams of young men drawn from the two moieties engage in mock battles, the stick fights. Young men and women sing pithy couplets praising their own team and chiding the opposition. In the formal organization of this festival, in the songs, and in the stylized dance gestures, the performance makes explicit the history of the town and its alliances and divisions (Luling 1971).

The material culture of the south is the least studied in Somalia, and we are almost entirely dependent on Puccioni's brief descriptions for any information on the traditions of this area. The architecture of the agricultural communities differs from both the nomadic houses and the Arabian-style coral stone houses on the coast. The southern houses, *mundille,* are single-room circular buildings constructed of mud and wattle. The structure of the conical roof resembles an umbrella, with a center pole up to almost three meters tall supporting a roundel. Roof beams fan out from the center pole like the spokes of an umbrella. Poles, beams, the roundel, and doors are often carved with geometric patterns in the coastal Azanian style. Occasionally the poles and beams also carry representations of household objects and animals.[6]

Ceramic vessels are manufactured in the interriver area and on the coast. Puccioni made a distinction between the coastal pottery and the interriver forms. He felt that the coastal pottery had an Arabian origin, while the southern pot-

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tery was indigenous to the area, and he attributed its development to the Bantu-related groups. Storage jars, incense burners, lamps, and charcoal burners are typical terracotta products. Puccioni's descriptions of the pottery traditions are vague. He said that the vessels are thrown on a wheel by men and fired in shallow pits, women sometimes helping in the firing process (Puccioni 1960: 61-65). It is not clear, however, whether his statements about the division of labor and the technology were accurate for both coastal and southern pottery manufacture.

Wooden stools, wooden drums, and flutes are associated almost exclusively with the southern region. Based on his observations of the woodworking tools and technology, Puccioni hypothesized that the southern woodcarving tradition owed more to the former Zinj inhabitants of the region than to any outside influences (Puccioni 1960: 49).

Masking traditions, unknown on the coast and among the northern pastoralists, have also been reported in the south. Clark published notes on a hunter's association among the Eile in the interriver area that uses goatskin face masks. The Eile are part of the semisedentary Rahaweyn clan. During one ceremony two dancers appeared, each wearing a mask daubed with white paint around the eyes and nose and having a moustache of goat hair fastened to the chin. They wore red headbands to which black features were attached and necklaces of dried camel dung. The dancers were accompanied by a drummer and a women's chorus that chanted and clapped the rhythms (Clark 1953: 49-51).

The Wa Gosha, who live on the Juuba River, also have carved wooden face masks. They are painted black with additions of shells to indicate teeth and eyes. Fiber is added for hair and beards. These masks are used in rainmaking and curing rites (Clark 1953: 51).

Many questions remain unanswered about the arts of Somalia. Although nomadic poetry is well documented, there is a lacuna in the scholarship on coastal and southern verbal art forms. But more critically, little research has been conducted on the visual arts, although there are substantial collections of Somali materials in museums and private collections. The range of forms, their regional distribution and context, the identity and role of the artisans, the technology of manufacture, and the stylistic and formal relationships between Somali arts and those produced in Ethiopia and Kenya are questions that need to be addressed. The exhibition "Somalia in Word and Image" can only be a beginning, and one hopes it will whet scholars' interest in the arts of Somalia. □

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PAIR OF KOHL POTS, WITH STICKS, BALL AND TUBE, AND REPOUSSE WORK. 19TH CENTURY. SILVER, 14cm. HAMARWEYN, MOGADISHU. F.C.C.U.

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female infertility, diagnosed by a diviner (Bourgeois 1981a: 32,33,36,37,39,46).

The *Hemba* mask of the Suku is a wooden helmet with white-enhanced facial features carved slightly in relief. The pupils are lowered toward the crescent-shaped slit that allows the wearer to see out, the nose is often pointed, and the open mouth usually contains sculpted teeth. Suku works often have a stylized zigzag hairline, indented above the forehead and temples. The helmet is almost always topped with a sculpted human or animal figure (Bourgeois 1981b: 32-34).

According to Bourgeois (1981b), this mask type is worn by the most qualified initiates during the closing ceremonies of the *nkanda* initiation and in particular circumstances in connection with the deceased. *Hemba* corresponds to the Suku's collective image of their ancestors, the power of which is embodied by a Manichean vision: "powerful charm with both dangerous and benevolent properties." The latter includes curing gynecological problems and providing luck to hunters (Bourgeois 1981b: 32,34,37,38).

The Kongo of the Kasai, related to the Dinga and Lwalwa in Zaire, live near the Chokwe in northwest Angola, but their culture is completely different. They possess a *Ngongo munene* mask of hammered brass (Bastin 1961b: figs. 4-6), worn by the chief during his investiture. It is also brought out for secret funeral ceremonies. The structure of this mask is very simple. The example I saw was imposing in the nobility of its austere facial features, portrayed in slight relief on the laterally curved metal leaf. *Ngongo munene,* like the Chokwe *Cikungu,* represents the chief's ancestors who watch over their descendants. The mask is donned in a ritual ceremony to counter an epidemic or any other disaster striking the community. When not in use it is carefully housed in a small straw shelter, placed in the fork of a large tree, and watched by a guard who keeps away women and children (Bastin 1961b: fig. 7).

We have seen, then, that among the Chokwe, certain illnesses are believed to be "possession-sicknesses" (Heusch 1981: 175), attributed to a *hamba* spirit angered by the neglect of his cult. The Chokwe *mukishi* is a spirit incarnated by a mask. Its role is benevolent, often involving a kind of social control. Later it was learned that if the *mukishi* was not regularly honored by the donning of its mask, like the *hamba* it would cause illness that was curable only by a ritual of atonement. *Cikunza,* for example, has long been known to possess this mystical power of being simultaneously *mukishi* and *hamba,* probably because it is represented in carved amulets or symbols visible in *mahamba* sanctuaries. Neighboring peoples also have such masks. However, it was only recently that aged informants, recalling a distant past, revealed to me that the *akishi Cikungu, Cihongo* and *Pwo* once had this dual function in the religious beliefs and practices of the Chokwe.[10] This new information considerably enriches our knowledge of these prestigious masks. □

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NEW PUBLICATIONS

The Art of Cameroon by Tamara Northern. Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service, 1984. 208 pp., 35 color and 78 b/w photos, 2 maps. $15.00 paper.

Ekoi by Karl-Ferdinand Schaedler. Panterra, Munich, 1984. Text in English. 40 pp., 16 b/w and 7 color photos, map, bibliography. $9.00 paper.

Magic with Images by Karl-Ferdinand Schaedler. Panterra, Munich, 1984. 50 pp., 6 b/w and 1 color photos, bibliography. $9.00 paper.

The Rock Art of Africa by A.R. Willcox. Africana Publishing Co., New York, 1984. 288 pp., 67 color and 71 b/w illustrations, 27 maps, bibliography, index. $69.50 cloth.

African Myth and Black Reality in Bahian Carnaval by Daniel J. Crowley. Museum of Cultural History, UCLA, 1984. Monograph Series no. 25. 47 pp., 37 b/w and 6 color photos, bibliography, map. $10.00 paper.

The Art and Ritual of Bahian Candomble by Mikelle Smith Omari. Museum of Cultural History, UCLA, 1984. Monograph series no. 24. 63 pp., 31 b/w and 6 color photos, map, bibliography. $12.00 paper.

Costumes and Featherwork of the Lords of Chimor: Textiles from Peru's North Coast by Ann Pollard Rowe. Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., 1984. 190 pp., 242 b/w and 37 color illustrations, map, bibliography. $35.00 paper.

African Folktales by Roger D. Abrahams. Pantheon Books, New York, 1983. 356 pp., bibliography. $19.95 cloth, $10.95 paper.

Luba Hemba: Werke unbekannter Meister by Johanna Agthe. Museum für Völkerkunde, Frankfurt, 1983. Text in German, summary and catalogue-texts in English. 162 pp., 114 b/w and 2 color illustrations. DM 15 paper.

A Treasury of African Art from the Harrison Eiteljorg Collection by Theodore Celenko. Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1983. 248 pp., 169 b/w and 60 color photos, 9 maps, bibliography.

ARNOLDI, notes, from page 33

1. The exhibition "Somalia in Word and Image" is funded by a grant from the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education of the Somali Democratic Republic, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and private grants to the Foundation for Cross Cultural Understanding. The show is tentatively scheduled to travel to the National Museum of African Art in Washington, D.C.; the Lowe Museum, University of Miami; the University of Florida, Gainesville; the University of Missouri, Kansas City; the Museum of Cultural History, UCLA; and the Museo Pigorini.
2. Personal communication, John William Johnson, 1984.
3. Personal communication, John William Johnson, 1984.
4. Translation by B.W. Andrzejewski, 1982.
5. Translation by B.W. Andrzejewski, 1982.
6. Puccioni 1960: 5; personal communication, Virginia Luling, 1983.

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PATTON, notes, from page 73

Data for this article, obtained in Kumase in 1975-1976 and 1977, pertain to the traditional Asante capital and imply similar interpretations for metropolitan Asante (Kumase and the major territorial divisions) rather than greater Asante (Kumase, the major territorial divisions, and the peripheral territories). For further information about the traditional political structure and the Golden Stool, see Wilks 1967, 1975.

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1. For technical reasons it is not possible to employ the *epsilon* symbol occurring in certain words in this article. *African Arts* has substituted ĕ, the nearest equivalent in standard type. Similarly, ŏ has been substituted for the *open o* symbol.
2. Armitage 1901; Boyle 1874; Brackenbury 1874; Dupuis 1824; Ellis 1887; T.B. Freeman 1843; R.A. Freeman 1898; Hutton 1821; Ramseyer and Kühne 1875; Reindorf 1895.
3. Bowdich 1819: 33; T.B. Freeman 1843: 42; Ellis 1887: 271; R.A. Freeman 1898: 57; Armitage 1901: 2.
4. Kyerematen simply states that the form is derived from the use of suspended leaves and predates the European-made umbrella (1964: 89). Ludewig Römer's comments of 1760 lend credence to the use of leaves as a symbolic shelter for the Asantehene when he describes the Asantehene as seated "under a big tree made of gold with many branches and leaves" (1965: 33). The context of Römer's or later 19th-century (McLeod 1981: 107) observations is unknown, but it may refer to a funeral celebration when members of the deceased's lineage sit under a canopy of suspended heavy cloth (urban areas) or leaves (rural areas).
5. Personal communication, Joseph Sarpong, Jan. 1976.
6. Richard A. Freeman describes the umbrella's construction (1898: 94), followed by R.S. Rattray (1927: 270; figs. 154,155). According to Rattray the same woodcarving tools are used except for a piece of spokeshave. Today the set of tools differs from those used in other woodcarvings; Joseph Sarpong, an umbrella artisan, identified eleven tools that include scissors (Kumase, Jan. 1976).
7. They existed among earlier Akan states such as Denkyira and date from at least the sixteenth century. Craft specialty groups indicate the influence of northern, Sudanic culture (Patton 1980: 123-24; Laundy 1972).
8. A chief alone or with his elders commissions an umbrella. In 1976 a large umbrella cost 400-500 cedis; a medium one, 300 cedis; and a small one, 100 cedis. Umbrella craftsmen do not carve the finials.
9. Bowdich observed one covered in animal skin and a "small black image with rusty hair" (1819: 276-77). The former belonged to the Adumhene, Nana Adum Ata, and the latter to the Asafohene, Nana Kwaakye Kofi. Quarcoo cites an image of a mourning chief (1975: 55). Doran Ross observed painted finials for the Dwabenhene.
10. In 1977, Herbert Cole and Doran Ross recorded at least 100 linguist staff motifs. Ross states that subsequent research indicates 200 motifs (personal communication, 1983), and he believes there are probably 70 or 80 Asante *ntuatire* motifs. Over 40 finial motifs are identified in the literature and in Asante, from Mampon, Nsuta, Kumase, Dwaben, Ejisu, Bekwae, Offinso, Denyaase, and Assumegya. They are listed as follows, with their Twi name if known: chicken (*akŏkŏtan*), elephant (*ĕsono*), war horn (*akŏben*), two birds, palm tree (*abĕ*), bird turned toward back (*sankŏfa*), stool (*dwa*), human head (*tiri*), fragrant plant (*prĕkĕsĕ*), one stool

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