

Warren L. d'Azevedo, Editor

THE TRADITIONAL
ARTIST IN AFRICAN
SOCIETIES

*Indiana University Press | Bloomington & London
for International Affairs Center*

SECOND PRINTING 1974

Copyright © 1973 by Indiana University Press

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

No part of this book may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying and recording, or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher. The Association of American University Presses Resolution on Permissions constitutes the only exception to this prohibition.

PUBLISHED IN CANADA BY FITZHENRY & WHITESIDE LIMITED,
DON MILLS, ONTARIO

Library of Congress catalog card number: 79-160126 | ISBN: 0-253-39901-7

Manufactured in the United States of America

TO MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS

*for whom individual creativity was the essence of
humanity, and who persistently urged his students
and colleagues to discover the art in culture.*

the best performers—the top artists in Akan society—are those who can bring their own individual artistic contribution into what they are doing. Ability in handling these uncodified structural procedures enables the creative performer to create and recreate pieces in appropriate contexts.

Summary and Conclusions

In this paper, we have examined the role and functions of the musician in Akan society, the structural relations in which he is involved, the sources of his artistic experience and modes of expression. We have looked briefly at the musical usages which guide his creative performances and have suggested that since music occurs as an *event*, its study must also be considered from the point of view of the musician and that it should include the structural *procedures* which provide the basis for creative-performances, and which form part of the “dynamics” of a musical situation.

As an artist his function is not only to reproduce the traditional pieces that he knows. It is part of his role to recreate them or to make creative additions to them. It is his privilege to express himself in song, to sing about his own life or about the lives of those with whom he is in active contact by virtue of his art. It is his privilege to use music as a means of social action as well as an avenue for expressing his own emotions.

The society in which the musician lives makes the arts an important focus of social life. Together with dancers and other artists, therefore, he is able to make a contribution to the artistic content of ceremonies and rites and so enhance the meaning of such occasions for those who participate in the activities. Hence he will always find an appreciative audience who would identify themselves with his sentiments or comment even on the quality of his performance. If he is able to satisfy them, they will say to him: *w'agorɔ yi ye de*, literally, your play is sweet, or *w'agorɔ yi ye fe*, literally, your play is beautiful, depending on whether the source of appeal is largely auditory or visual (taking into account the total spectacle including movement). But above all, the audience will endeavor to understand the meaning or message of his art, for artistic statements are, in Akan society, manifestations of the impulse to express, represent, or symbolize thoughts, beliefs, and feelings in culturally defined forms through a plastic medium, musical sounds, bodily movement, or by verbal means.

John C. Messenger

THE CARVER IN ANANG SOCIETY

In 1951 and 1952, my wife and I spent over a year in southeastern Nigeria studying Anang religious acculturation. The data reported in this paper were collected in the course of ascertaining the religious implications of wood carving.¹ Our personal interests and curiosity led us to record as much about the traditional craft as time permitted, to visit a “carving village” of past fame, to observe the mass production techniques of a modern urban guild, to photograph the several stages of manufacture of a human figurine and a mask, and to collect numerous carved pieces from artisans of exceptional talent.

The Anang are located mostly in Ikot Ekpene and Abak Counties of Calabar Province and make up the second largest of the six Ibibio-speaking groups, with a population of 375,000. They occupy an 850-square-mile territory, bounded on the east and south by the Eastern Ibibio, on the north by the Isuorgu Ibo, and on the west by the Ngwa and Ndokki Ibo. A “middle range society,” the Anang lack centralized government but are formed into 28 village clusters (*iman*), each of which is delineated by a food taboo and other distinct cultural traits, as well as a consciousness of unity shared by its members and the territory its contiguous communities occupy. Ikot Ekpene County subsumes 16 such groups, among which eight are Anang, five Eastern Ibibio, two Enyong Ibibio, and one of Aro Ibo derivation; the Anang *iman* are the Abiakpo, Adiasim, Afaha, Ebom, Ekpui, Nyama, Ukana, and Utu. Although my wife and I worked in over 50 communities among eight of the northern and central Anang village groups, all of our wood carving information was procured from six craftsmen living in four Afaha settlements. The Afaha group of 30 villages is situated in the southwestern portion of Ikot Ekpene County, bordering the Ngwa Ibo, and its inhabitants are known as “the people who live between the Acaca and Kwa Ibo Rivers who do not eat squirrel.”

Each Anang *iman* is ruled to a limited degree by a hereditary chief (*okuku*) who resides in its paramount village. While the village group

is the broadest political unit, the individual community (*obio*) is the most important one, and a hereditary leader (*obon ison*) and council of elders direct its political as well as many of its religious and social affairs. We lived for nine months in the Afaha paramount settlement, Ikot Ebak, and two carvers from neighboring Ikot Ese—the village head, also a famous oath giver, and one of his sons—were our principal informants. The patrilineage (*ekpuk*), four to 19 generations in depth, is the largest kinship unit. It is composed of both nuclear and extended families whose members reside in compounds surrounded by forest, bush, palm tree groves, and farm land. Every patrilineage commands a segment of land within the community, and each family a tract within this segment. Central to the village is a clearing, or square, containing the court building, shrines, funeral monuments, and an area set aside for local marketing and performances of drama associations during the dry season. The *ekpuk* also possess squares on a smaller scale, while the paramount settlement has a subsidiary one in which once a year *iman* marriage ceremonies are conducted.²

Carving and raffia weaving are the major Anang crafts, and the objects produced by local artisans are widely renowned in West Africa and have found their way into museum and private collections the world over. Among other indigenous crafts (*usa*) practiced by the Anang are drum making, carpentry, pottery making, iron working, rope making, and the appliquéing of funeral cloths. The last mentioned skill is almost lost, and the painting of funeral murals to serve the same purpose (which preceded, and for a time was practiced concurrently with, appliquéing) has disappeared altogether. Iron working is also very nearly a lost art, but at one time craftsmen, working with scrap obtained from Aro Ibo traders, manufactured carving tools, machetes, knives, nails, "cap guns," and agricultural implements. Most of the carving and weaving prior to the age of the tourist and the export market was done for members of the 19 Anang voluntary associations. Four of the groups utilize wooden masks, four, raffia masks and costumes, and two, wooden puppets; all employ an assortment of minor carved and woven articles produced by professional artisans. One of the main reasons why the individual carver no longer thrives as he once did is that associations which required his services are dying out for lack of recruits.

Carving as an Occupation

Until the establishment of carving guilds in Anang towns during recent years, carvers (*okwai nkwai*) plied their craft independently and

did not form associations as do workers of magic, diviners, actors, and musicians. Nor do raffia weavers, iron workers, or other artisans join together as is common in many West African societies. Among Anang craftsmen, the highest prestige ranking is ascribed to the carver. One of the major prestige symbols is the possession of wealth, measured in terms of property, money, and other attributes, and the skilled carver earns far more than his nearest competitor, the accomplished weaver. Moreover, the carver who excels is thought to do so, in part, because he is imbued with supernatural power, the possession of which also brings him prestige. (Elders, by virtue of having achieved old-age status, are held in esteem because their longevity proclaims spiritual approval.) The carver obtains additional prestige for being able to create objects which are aesthetically pleasing to his customers, a reflection of the high value the Anang place on artistic talent wherever it may be expressed: in singing, dancing, acting, or narrating folklore.

One measure of the prestige afforded the carver is the extent to which he must protect himself from poisoning, witchcraft, and evil magic perpetrated by jealous neighbors. All persons of exalted position in Anang society take magical precautions to guard against the malevolent actions of witches, sorcerers, and ghosts, especially those who are not religious practitioners and thus are not protected by powerful guardian spirits. The carver, more than any other craftsman, must seek out the worker of magic and bear the expense of his prescriptions. Our informant, who is also an oath giver (even though one of the most famous of Anang carvers), was little concerned with these malignant forces, as he believed that the oath spirit provided him with sufficient protection. But another informant was compelled to discontinue carving for us as the result of almost nightly attacks by female witches, who forced him to copulate continuously and scratched his body during orgasm. We often dressed wounds inflicted on him by these beings, and he and others suffering from their assaults came to us for medicines to alleviate the various illnesses visited on them.

Although ranked highest among Anang craftsmen, the carver does not necessarily rank high in the community at large by virtue of his profession alone. Other occupations, such as divining and practicing magic, are more prestigious than carving; prestige is also conferred by political office, kinship position, titles, association membership, skill in warfare, as well as by possession of wealth and supernatural power and the ability to create beauty. The Anang carver does not occupy the unique status position his Western counterpart ordinarily does; his occupation is regarded as an ordinary one, and his personality traits do not deviate from the range found in his community.

Training

The art of carving usually is passed on from father to son or sons in a family, but it is possible for a youth who is not the son of a carver to attach himself as an apprentice to an artisan and learn the craft. A father chooses one or more of his offspring to perpetuate the family tradition on the basis of personal affection, a predilection or marked talent for carving displayed by the youth, or supernatural designation. It is customary for diviners, workers of magic, and members of the women's fattening association to be called to membership in their groups through violent headaches instigated by the deity (*abassi*) to make his wishes known. A diviner is able to determine whether the chronic headaches suffered by a client is a call to join a particular association. Sometimes the deity wills that a man become a carver in much the same manner. He designates his choice by instilling a dream in the person or subjecting him to an unusual experience—such as having millipeds seek him out—which can be interpreted by a diviner. A youth who is not a member of a family with carvers may also be called by the deity, but more often than not he comes to pursue the craft out of a quest for prestige and for monetary considerations, or because he has artistic inclinations by nature.

Not all carvers will accept outside apprentices, but some will instruct as many as a half dozen sons and outsiders. Most youths who learn the craft do so between the time of puberty and age 18, and they must serve as apprentices for at least a year. The young man who has selected a carver as his tutor must present him with a goat and a large calabash filled with palm wine, and then answer questions put to him concerning why he chose this profession, what talent he possesses, and related matters. If the carver decides to accept the youth, a stipend for teaching services to be rendered and the terms of payment are agreed on. The amount paid for a year's apprenticeship varies according to the reputation of the craftsman, but in 1952 the average was 6 pounds and 5 shillings. It may be paid before instruction commences, or in several installments over the course of the year; but the obligation must be met by the end of the period. If payments are halted at any time, the trainee is dismissed, and should he withdraw after the stipend is paid, he forfeits the entire amount.

Each day the carver-to-be visits the house in which his tutor works. He provides for his own meals. During the first week of the new regime, he merely observes the actions of the craftsman and asks questions; then he purchases all of the tools that he will need in the future. He is

The Carver in Anang Society

now ready to undergo formal instruction. The teaching process involves constant interplay between carver and apprentice, the former giving verbal and manipulative directions and making criticisms, and the latter imitating and posing queries. If the artisan leaves his compound to carve at his customer's place of residence for weeks or even months, he is accompanied by his apprentice, who may have to arrange his own room and board while there. Once the pupil develops sufficient skill, he is allowed to carve simple parts of a larger piece or the initial stages of a more complex object, which will be worked further by his tutor. He is not paid for this contribution, nor for other pieces he may carve in their entirety later on, which may be sold by the carver with little or no retouching.

Rare indeed is the apprentice who does not develop the requisite abilities to become a professional carver, although another or even a third year of training may be deemed necessary. But one who fails to master the craft is not advised to abandon his training; rather, he is driven away by the ridicule directed against his efforts by the audience which invariably assembles to observe the artisan. In addition to verbal responses which either praise or damn the finished product of a carver, gestural responses are employed to express admiration, such as snapping the fingers in front of the chest, crying "yes" repeatedly in a shrill voice while lifting the head, and manipulating lightly a piece being examined. The first two responses are also used when reacting to aesthetically pleasing raffia objects, songs, dances, plays, and the like.

Religious Aspects of Carving

Only the carver among Anang craftsmen is guided and protected by a guardian spirit, and this entity is one of but seven assigned to occupational groups.³ The Anang are monotheistic and worship a sky deity, who is assisted in his task of governing the universe and mankind by spirits (*mem*) residing on earth in shrines (*idem*) and by souls of the dead (*ekpo*) awaiting reincarnation in the underworld. Of the 26 *mem* recognized by the Anang, eight perform functions which are primarily economic in nature, seven religious functions, six social, and five political; in addition to these, every *iman* has a protective spirit living in a shrine served by the *okuku* in the square of the paramount village. Only three of the *mem* are female, and all possess normal human figures (which they can alter in size instantaneously), visible only to religious specialists in a state of possession. Most shrines are diminutive replicas of the Anang house, constructed of woven palm

mats supported by boughs; but particular trees, groves, pools, rocks, and ant hills, as well as carved stakes and figurines, may serve to house spirits. Praise utterances, prayers, and sacrifices are offered at the *idem* and are carried by the *nnem* to the deity, who sends power (*odudu*) to aid the suppliant if his past behavior warrants it. Although *abassi* is considered both omniscient and omnipresent, he lacks ultimate omnipotence, for witches (*ifot*), ghosts (*ekpo anyo*), and the spirit of evil magic (*idiok ibok*) manipulate power over which he sometimes exerts no control. It is not known where these malevolent forces originate, and they must be combated with good magic (*ibok*) and appeals for protection to *abassi* and the ancestors.

The guardian spirit of carvers (*obot uso*) is a male who inhabits a shrine (*iso uso*)⁴ placed in the corner of the house in which the craftsman works. It is composed of a tortoise impaled on the end of a foot-long stake (*akwa*) at the base of which stands a small clay pot (*mkpakpa*) to receive sacrifices. Shielding the *idem* is a woven palm mat (*odoy*), two feet in height, attached to the walls on either side of the corner. The *iso uso* is constructed when the apprentice completes his training, and the young man cannot embark on his professional career until the shrine has been built and a ceremony performed which calls the spirit into residence.

My wife and I discovered only one Anang myth, and the only legends that we recorded deal with the migrations of various village groups into the regions that they presently inhabit, and the origins of some *iman* food taboos. The myth describes the formation of the universe by *abassi*: first the sun, moon, and stars; next the land, forests, rivers, sea, wind, rain, night, thunder, and lightning; and, finally, humanity and the spirits. All of mankind was created in the image of the deity at a single stroke, and half the human population was assigned to the surface of the earth and half to the village of souls (*obio ekpo*) beneath the earth. The order of creation of *nnem* is not known beyond the fact that the female fertility (*eka nnem*) and earth (*ikpa isoy*) spirits, both female, were first formed, followed by the soul (*nsukho ntie*) and fate (*emana*) *nnem*. Corporeal and "bush" souls (*ekpo* and *ekpo ikot*) for every human being were installed by *nsukho ntie* and a fate assigned to each by *emana*, after which *ikpa isoy* taught mankind to fashion shrines and worship the deity in appropriate ways. The explanation given for why women do not carve is that *abassi* wills it and has instructed the fate spirit not to assign the craft to a female.

Anang *nnem* are ranked according to the amount of power that they are given by the deity, and persons who have guardian spirits also differ in the amount of *odudu* that they can handle. The capacity of a person

to manipulate power depends on many factors over and above the *odudu* inherent in his *nnem*, such as his fate, his moral behavior within the narrow sphere free will is operative, his mastery of religious rituals, and the intervention of malignant forces operating independently of *abassi*. Our informant, who is an oath giver as well as a carver, does not fear witches because the oath spirit (*mbiam*) is far more powerful than the carving *nnem*, so powerful, in fact, that slight ritual imperfections can cause the death of an oath giver. Better protection can also be obtained from the magic spirit than from *obot uso*. Success at carving is measured, for the most part, by the amount of *odudu* that the artisan is able to command. His *nnem* guides his hands and tools, protects him, and affords him other benefits.

The carver calls on additional spirits and his ancestors from the underworld to aid him at shrines that he has erected in his compound and house. These *idem* are in the public domain and may be built by any man of prominence, given certain conditions. Below are listed the spirits, their respective shrines, and the functions that they perform for the craftsman:

SPIRITS	SHRINES	FUNCTIONS
<i>emana</i>	<i>iso essien emana</i>	provides a good fate
<i>nsukho ntie</i>	<i>iso ukoy</i>	assures longevity
<i>ikpa isoy</i>	<i>iso ikpa isoy</i>	affords protection, prosperity, success and longevity (built only if carver is patrilineage head)
<i>idaha nda</i>	<i>iso idaha nda</i>	guards compound against ghosts, witches, and sorcerers
<i>isoy uyo</i>	<i>iso isoy uyo</i>	helps carver speak the truth
<i>iwok</i>	<i>iso iwok</i>	prevents false rumors about carver from spreading

Before one shrine, *iso abassi*, the artisan can appeal directly to the deity for protection, prosperity, success, and longevity for himself and members of his family; he can pray for the same benefits from the ancestors at his *iso ekpo* house *idem* and *iso nkuku ekpo* at the entrance to his compound.

Each day before setting to work, the craftsman worships before the *iso uso*, as he also does after receiving an important order; and when he visits another compound to carve, he carries the shrine in a special bag to be implanted in the house placed at his disposal. Worship involves first praising *abassi*, and then *obot uso*, with common phrases employed by any suppliant before any shrine, after which a prayer is uttered naming both deity and spirit. A typical prayer is, "*abassi, obot*

uso, let whatever I touch prosper. Let me have many wives and children. Let my life be long. Let people come to me often for carvings." This is followed by a sacrifice of one or more objects, including yams, palm wine, dried fish, fowl, and a substance known as *nsei*. The yam (*iboro*) has been cooked in water with dried peppers, oil, and salt, and afterwards pounded in a mortar; it is broken into small pieces and sprinkled on the ground and in the clay pot near the stake, after which palm wine may be poured on it. Dried fish are placed in the *mkpakpa* or leaned against the *akwa*, and the throat of the fowl is cut and blood allowed to drip on the shrine and floor around it. Made from a root beaten to a pulp in water and then formed into small sticks, *nsei* is pulverized in the hand and the powder sprinkled over the *iboro*.

On special occasions, a goat or other livestock may be sacrificed, but animals are always butchered, cooked, and eaten following the ritual. Sacrifices at *idem* are made with the right hand, and the throat of an animal is cut with the machete held in this hand. In fact, all manual acts, including carving, which can be accomplished with a single arm, are done with the right one in order to honor the deity. When sacrifices to ghosts and witches are performed, they are proffered with the left hand to outwit them. To give a guest food or drink with this hand is a gross insult.

An elaborate ritual marks the end of a youth's apprenticeship after his carving shrine has been constructed. He gives to his tutor a goat, a hen, a cock, a quart of "illicit gin" (distilled from palm wine), a calabash of palm wine, several dried fish, two yards of cloth, and a machete. After a long prayer offered by the artisan, the young man holds first the goat and then the two fowl while their throats are cut by the tutor with his gift machete. Gin and palm wine are poured before the *idem* and one dried fish placed in the clay pot. The left foreleg of the goat is removed and given to the apprentice. A final prayer calls the *nnem* into the shrine, and the youth then receives lengthy instructions on how the deity is to be worshiped. It is obvious from the stipend paid by the trainee and the objects he must offer his instructor as gifts and for sacrifice that becoming a carver is an expensive endeavor.

Process of Carving

In general, successful carvers devote most of their time to carving, while those of little reputation may spend more time at other activities than in practicing their craft. An artisan of eminence will carve as many as six hours a day for five or six days of the Anang eight-day week

The Carver in Anang Society

and will refrain from farming and trading. His only respite from carving will be time spent in court or performing religious or association duties. On the other hand, a young craftsman just commencing his career may spend days or even weeks away from his carving, engaged in farming, trading, or some other economic pursuit. An artisan commences work after his morning meal served at dawn and labors until noon or early afternoon, when the heat of the day becomes enervating. No Anang person works on the day of the week that he was born, out of respect for *abassi*. The carver rests on this day, and he may be interrupted another day or two during the week by commitments that he cannot avoid. Sometimes his work will be further impeded by excess of sexual activity, as too many acts of intercourse is thought to weaken him for a day or two, inhibit his desire to carve and his creative impulse, cause him to shape his pieces poorly, and lead him to cut himself. He never engages in sexual intercourse on the night before he starts carving a major order. The craftsman greatly fears wounding himself, and should he carve on the day of the week that he was born, or neglect to perform religious rituals or do them imperfectly, *obot uso* will drive a knife or chisel into his body or cause a slight cut to become seriously infected.

Some artisans are so versatile that they can carve any piece requested of them, and often they prefer to shift from making one type of object to another regularly in order to alleviate boredom. But most limit themselves to carving related kinds of pieces such as figurines, masks, or puppets. Those craftsmen without apprentices work alone, and those with trainees utilize them according to their abilities. A carver may discover that his student does especially well with a certain type of piece or can paint or fashion hair better than he can manage other assignments, in which case he will take advantage of these special talents by having the youth devote more time to such skills than to others. Most carving is done on order, with clients visiting the artisan to place their requests; however, a few carvers, particularly those of lesser reputation, sell their wares in the markets or display them for sale before their compounds. Anang markets have special areas set aside for the sale of palm wine, livestock, butchered meat, and each craft commodity. In the carving villages all of the craftsmen exhibit what they have produced at their compound entrances.

Types of Carvings

The objects most often carved by Anang artisans are masks for the adult ancestor association (*ekpo*), its counterpart among children

(*ekpo ntok eyen*), and the two drama associations (*ekɔŋ* and *ɔffɔŋ*); puppets for the drama groups; and small human figurines for the shrines of diviners, workers of magic, oath givers, and members of several other associations. Human figurines also are sold for house decorations and toys, as are figures of small animals—leopards, dogs, cats, cocks, and camels.

At one time, carvers also produced dugout canoes and huge drums of the slit gong genre, but we were unable to examine a canoe and saw only one of the drums, which was in a ruinous condition with its relief carving almost completely destroyed by termites. We were told that once every village owned a drum (*iso ikorok*), located in the square and protected by a roof of woven palm mats supported by four posts. It was sounded only on *nkai* festival day and the night that an important man in the community died. It housed a spirit (*ikorok*) who served the villagers, and a person escaping persecution (witchcraft, debt, or a feud) in another settlement could, by reaching it, claim adoption in a village *ekpuk*. The drum we examined in Idung Esimuk was six feet in diameter and twelve feet long, and was carved from the trunk of an *anyan* tree. Such a drum took the craftsman a year to manufacture and was considered as consequential a project as carving the puppets and masks of a drama group, or the masks for an ancestor association. When the *iso ikorok* was completed, it was customary for the carver to play it and run away quickly, for if he was captured while escaping, he was adopted into the kin group of the *ɔɔŋ isɔŋ*.

Materials and Tools

The favorite wood of the Anang craftsman is *ukot*, which is heavy with sap when first cut but dries to a remarkable lightness, and thus is ideal for the construction of pieces which must be worn or carried for long periods without rest. When a carver needs wood, he seeks a man owning an *ukot* tree and purchases it from him for between ten shillings and a pound, as well as the gift of a cock. The tree must be more than five years old to be suitable, and a large one will last the most prolific artisan for six months, after which it is useless for carving. It is the responsibility of the craftsman to cut down the tree and transport it or its parts to his compound, but if he is to work on a major order at the home of his client, the latter may be called on to furnish the needed amount of *ukot*.

Today, most carvers buy imported tools as iron workers no longer produce them, and modern tools have a larger variety of shapes and capacities, last longer, and can be brought to a sharper edge than the

The Carver in Anang Society

indigenous ones. The basic implements are the knife (*onuk usɔ*) with four inch blade, and the machete (*eka ikwa usɔ*) that has been shortened, made more narrow, and given a razor sharpness near its tip. Three chisels are employed, one of which (*ɔkɔrɔ*) has a wide head and is used as a plane (called a "scraper" in English); the other two have narrow heads and differ only in length—one of six inches (*ekikarak*) and the other a foot long (*nduoho*). A hand axe (*ekut*) completes the array of cutting tools, and all are sharpened by the imported file (*aban idan*). Before the file was introduced, stone age celts (*itiat edim*), called "thunder stones" because they are thought to have been cast down by *abassi* from the sky during storms, were employed for sharpening. To burn holes for the attachment of raffia to carvings, a pointed metal bore (*etip*) a foot in length and a quarter-inch in diameter is used, and completed pieces are "sandpapered" with the rough underside of the *ukuok* leaf. The only other tool among the traditional assortment is the wooden mallet (*ama*) for striking chisels, but some carvers prefer a heavy stick of wood for this task.

Just as carvers are coming to employ imported rather than indigenous tools, they also are abandoning paints manufactured from local ingredients and instead are purchasing those sold in the shops. Modern paints are preferred because they are brighter, last longer, can be applied more evenly, offer better protection against termites, and come in a greater variety of colors than traditional ones. Only five paint colors were known in the past: black, white, red, yellow, and brown. The technique of making these was widely known, and individual artisans did not try to develop new colors or experiment with shades which could be produced by mixing the basic five. Paints are manufactured in coconut shells and applied with brushes, one for each color, formed by chewing the end of a stick to spread its fibers. Two coats of paint are applied, following which palm oil is rubbed into the *ukot* to make it less susceptible to termite attacks. The ingredients which make up each color are: black—charcoal mixed with the sap of the *ukpa* tree; white—the ground up and burned periwinkle shell mixed with water; red—the sap of the *uye* tree; yellow—water mixed with ground up *nsay itiat* stone; and brown—the sap of the *ukpa* tree. We did not wish to pay the sum requested of us for further knowledge of the mixing of indigenous paints.

The Making of a Mask

Space does not permit me to describe the carving of more than one piece, so I have chosen to discuss the stages in the production of an

ekpo mask. The ancestor association is organized on the patrilineage level and includes most of the adult men of the *ekpuk*. A carver may on occasion be hired to live in the compound of the kin group head for several weeks and produce masks (*mbɔp*) for the entire membership, but more often individual customers visit the artisan and place their orders. Masks come in four sizes, two of which are large, one medium, and the other small; the medium-sized one is worn by ordinary *ekpo* members, the small *mbɔp* by children in *ekpo ntok eyen*, and the two large ones (including four varieties) by senior men who appear masked only on special occasions. The large *mbɔp* are two to three feet high and a foot to one-and-a-half feet wide, and it is the fashioning of one of these, called *akpan ekpo*, that I will describe presently.

A mask, if cared for properly, will last 20 years, but it must be repainted and spread with oil every year and kept suspended where termites cannot reach it. Young men hang their *mbɔp*, when they are not in use, in the meeting house of the association, while elders place them on their *iso ekpo* with faces hidden. Although most men own their masks, some rent or borrow them for the "ekpo season," and it is unheard of for a person to buy a second-hand *mbɔp*. Many youth prefer to have a new mask made each year with different features, and one who has suffered bad luck during one season, such as falling or losing his *mbɔp* while dancing, invariably will substitute masks the next and probably seek out another carver. However, if a man continues to have good fortune year after year and admires the design of a particular *mbɔp*, he will have replacements constructed with the same features.

The price of a mask depends on its size and shape, the reputation of the carver, and the excellence of its manufacture as to technique and design. In 1952, traditional carvers charged between 14 and 30 shillings for the large varieties of *ekpo* masks, 6 to 12 shillings for the ordinary *mbɔp*, and between 2 and 6 shillings for the one worn by children. Added to these costs were 7 shillings for the processing of the raffia to be used (including dyeing), 4 shillings for its attachment to the mask, and possibly 3 shillings for having the features painted; thus, an *mbɔp* could cost its purchaser as much as 2 pounds and 4 shillings. The buyer places his order with the craftsman and returns when instructed to, at which time a price is agreed on, usually after heated bargaining, and paid by the customer. If the mask is a large type, the buyer must present the artisan with a fowl when the order is placed. The animal is sacrificed at the *iso usɔ* after being rubbed across the face of the completed *mbɔp* when its owner has paid for it, and the carver, as he

spills blood on the shrine, prays that the wearer will have good luck and return to him for another mask, and that his own future offspring will not have the ugly features that he has given the *mbɔp*.

In the past, carvers were able to process and attach raffia to the masks that they produced and paint them as well, but now four specialists may be called on at the main stages of construction, and often the customer must himself carry the piece from one artisan to the next. The carvers whom my wife and I employed all were able to carve and paint, but each of them was visited by a man skilled in attaching raffia, who in turn had purchased from a processor raffia that he carried with him to the house of the carver. On completion of the *mbɔp*, we paid the carver for his combined services and the other man for his services and costs. We were told that long ago some carvers excelled at painting, and sometimes customers would come to them with completed but unpainted masks to have the painting done by the experts.

Once the *ukot* tree is carried to the compound of the craftsman, it is allowed to dry for a week before being used. The size of the *mbɔp* to be carved determines which portion of the trunk or large branches will be selected, since the mask is shaped from a segment of the tree which has been split in half to furnish wood for two such pieces. Thus, the height of the *mbɔp* is the length of the segment, and its width the diameter of the trunk or branch; the face is carved from the rounded portion of the block after the bark has been removed, and the back of the block is hollowed out to accommodate the face of the wearer. Before commencing to carve, the artisan pictures in his mind the precise form that the mask is to have, guided in some cases by an old *mbɔp* whose owner wishes it duplicated or a verbal description by the customer of what features he wants the piece to have (or a photograph, in our case). Outstanding carvers are able to complete a mask without drawing guide lines, which ability seems extraordinary to the outsider in light of the fact that carving is done with great rapidity, although the artisan halts occasionally to appraise what he has thus far formed and to plan his future moves.

An *mbɔp* is carved in two stages, separated by a two day drying period when the piece is hung over a low fire. During the three hours of the first stage, the craftsman, using only machete and chisels, roughs out the features of the mask and completes its back. He crouches on his heels most of the time while working, and rests the block against a flat segment of a tree trunk placed on the ground to serve as a worktable of sorts. Using the end of the machete within two inches of its tip, he first rounds the top of the block to form the forehead of the

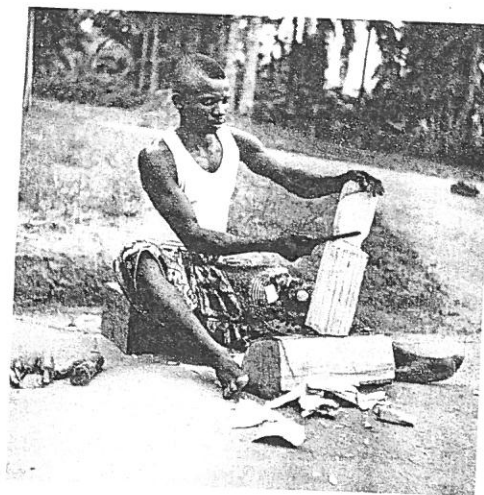
face, then with mallet and chisels he outlines the forehead design, if any, and shapes the eyes and nose. The chin is fashioned next with rapid strokes of the machete, and the mouth and cheeks are formed with a chisel. Finally, the sides of the mask are shaped with the machete and scraper, and the carver is ready to turn his attention to the back of the piece.

A brace two inches in width is allowed to stand across the back, above and below which the *mbop* is hollowed out. The brace is used to attach the headgear, made of woven plantain stalks, and gives structural strength to the carving; the hollowed out portion below the brace, with the headgear, encases the face of the wearer, who steadies the mask when it is worn by gripping between his teeth a *piassava* rope stretched taut across the inside. Most of the wood is removed with the machete, but for this task a portion of the blade four to six inches from its tip is used, and harder blows struck. The carver constantly checks with his fingers the thickness of the piece, not allowing it to get under an inch, and he once again employs mallet and chisels to put on the finishing touches. His final job is to turn over the *mbop* and rough out teeth and tongue, which might have broken off when the piece was turned face down had he fashioned them earlier.

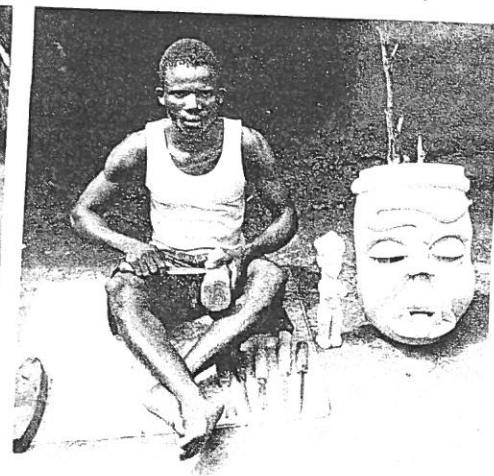
The mask is dried slowly to prevent it from cracking later on and to make its surface more receptive to smoothing with the *ukuok* leaf. When the process is completed, the second stage of carving is undertaken with the knife and hand-pushed scraper. This takes two hours longer than the initial stage. The carver sits on the ground and holds the *mbop* between his legs, and he works more slowly and takes more time to appraise his progress than he did before. Now he carves the face, feature by feature, from top to bottom, seldom retouching a feature once it has been formed and another one undertaken. After the carving is completed to his satisfaction, triangular-shaped eye holes are driven through the *mbop* on either side of the nose with a chisel, and the piece sanded. It is now ready for a headgear and raffia to be attached, and for painting.

Use of Carved Objects

I have already mentioned that human figurines are carved for shrines and for use by members of several associations, as well as for house decorations and toys. They vary in height from six inches to three feet, as do animal figurines which also serve as ornaments and toys, and they are painted and may be composed of joined parts. Before turning



Preparation of the block for carving a figurine.



Finishing the figurine. Also a *nyama* figurine (center), to be carried by fattening girls, and an *ekpo*, ancestral cult mask (right).



A "beautiful" and an "ugly" *ekpo*.



An Anang carver's tools, inherited from his father

to the more important subject of the use of puppets and masks by the *ekəŋ* drama and ancestor associations, I will present two examples of the use of figurines, although many more might be given.

One form of shrine popular among workers of magic, diviners, and oath givers is the human figurine placed within the larger *idem* which houses the guardian spirit of the practitioner. For example, a worker of magic (*abia ibək*) who served as one of our major informants possesses an *iso ibək* along one whole wall which comprises numerous objects, including five identical figurines (*igwe ibək*, the first word, an Ibo one, meaning beauty); the magic spirit lives in the *iso ibək* where he inspires the prescription of charms, medicines, and incantations by the specialist, but he also resides in the figurines and performs a different function in each: in the "entrance" *igwe ibək* he helps the worker of magic come and go freely through the doorway; in the "praise" one he brings adulation from past customers for the excellence of his pieces; in the "permanence" one he gives him a long life; in the "roaming" one he seeks out new customers for him; and, in the "unity" one he urges *abassi*, all the *məm*, and the ancestors from the underworld to unite in his aid. This worker of magic also has seven (the Anang sacred number) small wooden canoes fashioned by a carver, placed in various positions along the wall, which pitch and roll as in a rough sea when a client enters who is a witch or threatens sorcery.

Members of the almost extinct women's association, *nyama*, supervise the fattening of prospective wives, impart to them sexual knowledge, and perform clitoridectomy to enhance their child bearing propensities. During May, *iman* girls who are to be married that year in a mass ceremony in the paramount village square fatten themselves for a three month period (once a three year period). The bride-to-be lives in a special house in her compound and remains in bed most of the time while fed rich foods provided by her future spouse. Obesity in a woman is admired not only for aesthetic reasons, but because it is believed to ensure health, longevity, and the bearing of many offspring. A figurine (*udeŋ nyama*), given to her by an *nyama* sponsor and which symbolizes the child it is hoped that she will bear within a year, is carried by the girl during her internment. In a foot square cradle constructed of bamboo sticks, placed at the entrance of the compound, lies another figurine, smaller and usually cruder in construction, which represents the fattening girl within. Ghosts are urged verbally and through sacrifice to attack the statue rather than the girl herself, a subterfuge which is considered as effective a protector as preventive magic.

The Carver in Anang Society

A carver must work from four to eight weeks to manufacture the puppets, masks, and other pieces used by an *ekəŋ* association, and usually he goes to live in the compound of the group leader where he labors daily. Before he departs from his own residence, he is presented with the same items given to him by an apprentice at the time the *iso usə* is built. He will wear the cloth and machete during the weeks that he is away carving, and before he sacrifices the objects proffered by the *ekəŋ* head he prays, "*abassi, obot usə*, let me go to carve for these people freely and without trouble. Let me return in good health. Let no one poison me while I am away." While he resides in the alien village, no quarreling may be done by its inhabitants, for if they do, the actors will not perform successfully later on. Should a quarrel break out, the guilty party, as determined by the village court, must present the craftsman with a cock for sacrifice. A circle is drawn on the ground and a figurine placed in its center, over which the fowl's throat is cut by the carver; the guardian spirit of the association (*ekəŋ*) enters the statue, and the artisan prays to him to prevent the actors from forgetting their lines and their masks from cracking and to protect them from harm. Payment is made to the craftsman after he has completed the order, and until the group performs publicly, he is called on yearly to inspect and repair the pieces.

Few *ekəŋ* associations exist today among the Anang, but at one time almost every village had a troupe, sponsored by one or more patrilineages within the community, headed by the *əbəŋ isəŋ*, with a membership of over a hundred males between ages 12 and 30.⁵ The purpose of the group is to amuse audiences with songs, dances, and plays which mostly ridicule the motives and behavior of well known persons and organizations in the *iman*. The members practice one day a week for six years, and then during the dry season of the seventh year perform publicly in communities of the *iman* and in bordering settlements of other village groups. A complicated seven hour routine is originated and mastered to perfection by the troupe, which includes music played by a percussion orchestra, dancing by a costumed chorus, songs of ridicule sung by the orchestra and dance chorus and masked soloists, plays enacted by puppets and an entourage of actors (some playing female parts) dancing on stilts, and the mystifying movement of a life-sized wooden figurine. When presented, the routine focuses on the plays, first those of the actors and then those of the puppets, and each skit is separated from the next by a dance, a song, or the antics of a mummer. The performance usually ends when the figurine is carried to the center of the square, where, over a period of 15 minutes, it turns slowly at the waist from side to side. Although the services of the

troupe are paid for by the village in which it performs, the audience comes from miles around and may number several thousand.

To be called a mask, an object must be worn on the head and hide the face. I have already described the construction of one kind of *mbɔp*, but there are two others: the raffia headgear woven to resemble a wasp, which covers the face of a member of the children's *atat* association, and the figurine that the *ekɔŋ* dancer wears atop his head, which is mounted on a platform with cloths hung from it to disguise his face. A mask resembling the *akpan ekpo*, but painted differently, is worn by soloists who entertain between *ekɔŋ* skits. The masked entertainer impersonates a local person whose motor habits he mimics and whose past actions he mocks in songs and in conversations with an accompanying "straight man." Between plays, other soloists appear with figurine masks, some of which have platforms three feet square supporting objects in addition to the statues, with cloths hanging to the hips of the wearers. The player with such a mask alternately runs and dances about the square performing feats of strength, agility, and endurance while singing humorous songs concerning the individual the figurine represents. An *mbɔp* that my wife and I observed had a resplendent King of England sitting on his throne surrounded by symbols of office; the enshrouded entertainer spoke for the monarch who warned men in the audience to be wary of sexually promiscuous women and asked everyone to take advantage of local government, which had just been introduced.

Many wooden pieces are used in the various plays, all of them carved by the artisan serving the association. One of the most amusing skits we viewed, which satirized a nativist denomination—the Christ Army Church—active in Ikot Ekpene County, depended on several carved objects for much of its humor. Actors, dressed to resemble church dignitaries, met in the square to cure the ills of their communicants through soul possession by the "Holy Spirit." The teacher wore a pair of large wooden spectacles with dark lenses; an evangelist wore wooden earrings which dangled to her shoulders with matching necklace of wooden beads four inches in diameter; and the minister carried on his head an immense open wooden Bible, with carved inscriptions on the revealed pages, and wore on his chest a foot long wooden crucifix. One of the several members of the congregation who came to be helped was a poor hunter who held under his arm a life-sized wooden dog. Possession was induced in the animal and the promise made that it would now become a skilled seeker of game and make its master prosperous. The last person to be healed was a humpback, who, while

possessed, was surrounded by the church officials; his cure was almost immediate, and he sprang from the group wearing a long, red, wooden penis in place of the deformity and ran through the hysterical audience thrusting it at retreating women. He was followed by the hunter who caused his dog to bite men in the crowd with its hinged jaw.

During the last phase of the *ekɔŋ* performance, several puppet plays are presented by specially trained artists. The stage, backed against the bush at the edge of the square, is a roofless enclosure formed by bamboo poles driven into the earth and lashed together to support blankets and palm tree branches. The height of the gaily colored structure is seven feet, and thus allows the performers to stand erect and extend the figures above the stage level. Puppets are carved to represent males and females, children and adults, and range in size from one to three feet. Their arms are moveable and their hands shaped to clasp objects, such as umbrellas, machetes, and fans. A puppet is carved so that a handle projects a foot or two below the feet of the figure, and this handle is grasped by the man who manipulates the piece. Speech for the wooden actors is provided by artists who talk through reeds to disguise their voices, for the identity of mask wearers and puppeteers, those whose satire is most bitter and personal, is carefully guarded.

The figurine whose bewildering movement climaxes the *ekɔŋ* performance represents the female fertility spirit who resides in a number of abodes including shrines, ant hills, and streams. In this context, she is portrayed as river *mɛm* with a python wrapped around her arms, waist, and neck, and she is known as "Marmee Water" (mother—*eka*—in the water). She also wears a Western dress and shoes, and her face is carved in the manner of the *mfon ekpo* mask that I will describe shortly. We were unable to learn how the movement of the figurine is achieved, but we suspect that a child is lodged within; a joint at the waist of the statue allows the upper part to pivot from side to side, and may also permit the piece to be lifted apart to reveal a hollowed out interior. Sometimes the display of Marmee Water does not end the *ekɔŋ* routine, but is followed by acrobats and tumblers, tightrope walkers, and sleight-of-hand magicians.

The Anang believe that at death a person's corporeal soul (*ekpo*), which is immortal (the bush soul [*ekpo ikot*] perishes at death), either transmigrates to the land beneath the earth to await reincarnation or is transformed into an evil ghost. Fate as ordained by *abassi*, and the consequences of immoral behavior within the realm of free will, condemn one to ghosthood, and an *ekpo ɔnyɔŋ* is unable to regain human

status but must wander the world homeless throughout eternity. In his frustration, he continually attempts to wreak vengeance on more fortunate human beings, even on relatives, and his attacks are countered with magic; sometimes, however, the deity will order a ghost to punish a person who has transgressed against his moral strictures. The *ekpo* in the underworld can return to patrilineage and family *idem* to aid their kin when appealed to, but they remain in the village of souls most of the time.

Once each year for a two to three week period in October, both *ekpo* and *ekpo* *onyonyi* visit their *ekpuk* and *are* impersonated with masks worn by members of the ancestor association. A special drum (*obodum* *onyonyi*) is mounted on a platform high in a sacred tree near the square of the paramount village, and beaten without pause to allow souls of *iman* members passing by to dance on their way to their rendezvous. The members of *ekpo* convene every other day in a meeting house near the patrilineage square to sing and dance special association songs and dances, to initiate new members, and to venture out while masked to beg food and drink at compounds in the village. On the first and last day of the *ekpo* season, marked by the festivals *nkai* and *ndok*, the several associations of the community meet together to visit a nearby market and participate in a ceremony featuring the only appearance of special large masks: *ete ekpo* worn by the *onyonyi*, *eka ekpo* worn by the next most senior man in the village, *akpan ekpo* by each of the patrilineage leaders, and several *mfon ekpo* whose masks represent souls from the underworld. The other men wear ordinary masks which represent evil ghosts (*idiok ekpo*), and it is these which are worn at other times.

In the past it was thought that when an *mbop* was donned, the soul of the ancestor possessed the soul of the wearer, and the latter was not responsible for his own actions, even if they resulted in the destruction of valuable property or the death of others. The *mfon ekpo* moves slowly and gracefully and carries brightly colored cloths in his hands while possessed by an *ekpo*, but the *idiok ekpo*, whose soul is controlled by an *ekpo* *onyonyi*, shakes his shoulders and arms, speaks in an unintelligible jargon, runs through the settlement climbing houses and palm trees, and shoots arrows at women and nonmembers. The reason why the association does not meet daily is to give women a chance to come out of hiding and farm and trade as usual; several times we dressed arrow wounds of unfortunate women who had ventured out on the days *ekpo* were abroad.

The *mfon ekpo* and *idiok ekpo* Masks

I will discuss only the *mfon ekpo* and *idiok ekpo* in some detail, for once again the matter of limited space intrudes, and it is these forms about which my wife and I collected the most extensive data, especially concerning styles, symbolic and decorative elements, and aesthetic evaluation. The word *mfon* means both "beautiful" and "good" and the term *idiok* "ugly" as well as "evil"; thus, a deceased person who had led a "good" moral life will be represented by a "beautiful mask" when he visits his *ekpuk*, and one whose "evil" deeds have caused him to become a ghost will be impersonated by an "ugly mask." Costumes and *mbop* worn by *mfon ekpo* are fashioned to embody elements of beauty, and the behavior of the wearers, as I have indicated, reflects the good character of the departed ancestors. The opposite is true of the costumes, masks, and actions of *idiok ekpo*, where ugliness and violence predominate.

The costume of an *mfon ekpo* features a raffia belt of short bristles from which hang foot-long, vividly colored cloths, knee bands of raffia, and rattles attached to the ankles. Sometimes an undershirt is worn to prevent the mask and its accouterments from chafing the wearer, but the sleeves and material below the chest may be cut off to make the outfit cooler. The *mbop* is backed with cloth or undyed raffia which covers the shoulders and upper back and chest. Instead of cloths, the masked man may carry in his hands a flashlight, fan, umbrella, or bell, among other objects of a pacific nature. The *idiok ekpo*, on the other hand, rubs his body with yam charcoal to blacken it and wears a vest of raffia with long bristles, in addition to knee bands, ankle rattles, and a raffia belt larger than that of the *mfon ekpo*. Dark cloths may be hung from the belt, but more often only a loin cloth is worn under it, and a machete in its scabbard is thrust through the belt on the left side of the wearer. The black dyed raffia which is attached to the *mbop* and covers its back merges with the vest, so that only the darkened arms and legs are bared.

The Anang evaluate colors as *mfon* and *idiok*; red, green (imported), yellow, and white are good colors, while black, brown, and blue (also imported) are evil ones. The face of a beautiful mask is painted either white or yellow to signify the good deeds of the *ekpo* and also the fact that he is abroad only during the daytime. Ordinarily, a ghost travels at night, but during the two weeks that he is visiting his kin group he will enter the body of a mask wearer day or night. The *mbop* repre-

senting him is painted black to symbolize both the darkness which surrounds him and his evil ways. Good and evil masks never intermingle, because souls from *obio ekpo* and ghosts roam the earth at different times and do not encounter one another. At the time the village ancestor associations visit the market together, the men who wear *mfɔn ekpo* dance first and then retire before the ugly *mbɔp* appear, and going to and from the market the two groups of mask wearers are kept separated so as not to affront the ancestors.

The face of an *mfɔn ekpo* is oval-shaped and a foot in diameter. Its features are Caucasoid with a narrow high-bridged nose, thin lips, pointed chin, and high forehead. The wearer peers through the eyes of the *mbɔp* rather than through openings beside the nose as in the case of most ghost masks, and thin black eyebrows are traced above the eyes. Carved open as if smiling, the mouth is colored red and reveals white evenly-spaced teeth pressed together. Sometimes vertical black lines are drawn on the chin and other small decorative designs on cheeks and forehead. The *mbɔp* is given a woman's black hair, parted in the middle, with six-inch braids on either side, and often two or more additional braids stand vertically from the top of the head and curl forward. What makes this mask compare in size to an *akpan ekpo* are six or eight six-inch, square framed mirrors which ring the face, attached to wooden projections from the sides of the *mbɔp*, which may be elaborately carved. In style, the face resembles that of puppets and human figurines, and its Caucasoid elements may well reflect acculturative influences. Elders claim that the style has remained virtually unchanged for at least a century, and that the features embody an ancient ideal of human beauty. Light colored skin is an Anang status symbol, and on several occasions I was asked by men to have sexual relations with their wives so that their offspring might have Caucasoid physical characteristics. The masks of *ekpo ntok eyen* resemble those of *mfɔn ekpo*, without mirrors, and the bodies of the children are painted white because of the belief that the souls they impersonate did not live long enough to commit grievous sins.

In portraying the features of a ghost mask, a carver is permitted more freedom of expression than he is in fashioning any other piece. Over two dozen symbols of ugliness are recognized by the Anang, and a craftsman may combine as many as eight from among them, and also include one or two decorative elements. Below are listed the features of the face and the ways that each can be distorted to depict ugliness:

FEATURES DEFORMITIES

forehead	wrinkled, bulbous, or pointed in the middle
eyes	bulging, small and depressed, or with flaps to signify blindness
ears	long or pointed at the top
nose	long, flat with wide nostrils, or curved to right or left
cheeks	puffed or hollowed
mouth	thick lips, turned down mouth, protruding tongue, long canines, large incisors with gaps between them, or mouth out of line to right or left
chin	cleft

Leprosy and yaws sores often are carved on the forehead, or the tongue is made to protrude through the upper lip which has been eaten away by leprosy. A snake, lizard, or spider (common witch familiars) also may be shaped on the forehead, although some men favor the revered tortoise, which is a decorative device rather than a symbol of evil in this case.

Colors other than black seldom are employed, but the teeth and eyes may be painted white, the inside of the mouth and tongue and leprosy sores red, the cheeks dark blue, and decorative elements several colors. The most often used decorative designs are raised ridges—rounded or squared and with or without relief carving—along the top of the *mbɔp*, down the center of its forehead, or from side to side above its eyes. Young men are prone to challenge tradition, and their masks sometimes deviate from the pattern that I have described; for example, their *idiok ekpo* may display regular features, utilize many colors and even emphasize good colors, and have natural rather than black dyed raffia attached to them. It should be mentioned that both *mfɔn ekpo* and *idiok ekpo* occasionally have animal instead of human faces—of cows, goats, and antelopes—but some carvers insist that these are creatures of beauty and ought not to portray evil ghosts.

Aesthetic Evaluation

The Anang conception of art has four dimensions: art embraces both artifacts and behavior, tangible carvings as well as intangible melodies; it is produced by both craftsmen and laymen, but primarily carvers, weavers, appliqué cloth makers, singers, dancers, musicians, actors, and narrators; it is mostly nonutilitarian—the creation of form for its own sake—and thus is not produced by iron workers, carpenters, rope

makers, drum fashioners, and pottery shapers; and, most importantly, it arouses both in its creators and in audiences what might be called a pleasurable "aesthetic feeling tone." This psychological state is termed *mfɔn*, which we have noted also signifies beauty and moral goodness. Of course, additional dimensions of art can be imputed, but the above are the components manifest to the Anang and do not include those latent to Western aestheticians.

Although the Anang admit that most carvings serve utilitarian ends, they nevertheless recognize that human and animal figurines, when used as house decorations, are nonutilitarian and that other pieces have, in addition to utilitarian elements, symbolic and decorative ones which serve aesthetic ends. An informant, in discussing this matter with my wife and me, after turning over a newly carved ghost mask to us, pointed to the eye holes as utilitarian, the spider that he had formed in the middle of the forehead as symbolic of evil, and the two rounded ridges at the top of the mask as decorative. Carvers hold iron workers and carpenters in low esteem because the products of the latter are strictly utilitarian; they lack *mfɔn* which the carver, by various devices, imparts to his pieces.

As an experiment, we exhibited an *idiok ekpo* and a human figurine (*udej nyama*), created by the same artisan, to three carvers and eight male laymen and asked them for their evaluations. All eleven pronounced the mask and statue excellently constructed and of great beauty, but they differed substantially in the criteria that they employed to form their judgments. The craftsmen stressed the smoothness of the pieces, the brightness of the paint and the evenness of its application, the combinations of colors chosen, the balance of features and impact of ugliness of the *mbɔp*, and the fact that the wood was not cracked. However, unanimity of opinion was lacking, for one criticized the artisan for using imported rather than indigenous paint; another thought that smoothness did not add to the beauty of the objects; and the third complained that the mask did not display enough originality.

The same criteria were mentioned by the laymen, but among them opinion was more varied and contradictory, and other standards of judgment were stressed. They were most concerned with the devices used to symbolize ugliness on the ghost mask, but were almost equally concerned with the high reputation of the carver (they invariably inquired about the identity of the carver, which the specialists did not), the amount of supernatural power that he controls, the good fortune that the *mbɔp* might bring its owner, and the cost of the pieces. It

appears that beauty as conceived by the Anang is an amalgam of aesthetic, economic, and religious factors. To illustrate that this conception is also shared among artists, I am reminded of a famous carver who stood at the edge of the hill on which our Ikot Ebak rest house was located and extolled the beauty of the valley; on questioning him, I learned that his evaluation was based on the abundance of oil palm trees below and the amount of wealth that they represented. Another artist, in this case a raffia weaver whose talents were widely lauded, declared a woman beautiful mainly because her breasts were long, signifying that she had suckled many offspring. (The primary status symbol among women is the number of children that they have borne.)

Our informants agreed with us that most Anang carving is rigidly circumscribed as to form by tradition, and that experimentation and innovation are most easily exercised in the making of *idiok ekpo*. However, we differed in our estimations as to the amount of freedom of expression allowed in the carving of even this object. After traveling throughout Ikot Ekpene County during the *ekpo* season of 1951 and photographing dozens of masks for analysis, we concluded that the variation of form is not nearly so great as imagined by our informants. Most carvers believe that they are innovators as well as reproducers, and many customers, especially young men who want to commission ghost *mbɔp*, will seek out an artisan who is known to stress originality. The ability to create original forms is believed to depend on both free will and the beneficence of the carving spirit. The craftsman who is fashioning a piece may be guided by a model, by a verbal description, by a desire to reduplicate nature (as in human and animal figurines and puppets), and in a few cases by a divinely inspired dream or the directions of a diviner (as in shrine figurines), but the mental image of the object to be formed may arise out of the psyche of the artisan and embody nontraditional elements. Generally speaking, innovation is less highly valued, if at all, by laymen than by carvers.

I called attention earlier to the fact that rarely does an apprentice fail to develop the requisite skills to pursue a professional career. This is so because the Anang entertain a different view of aesthetic talent than is common in the Western world. They assume that under ordinary circumstances any person can learn to sing, dance, act, weave, carve, play musical instruments, and recite folklore in a manner considered exceptional by unbiased Western aestheticians, and Anang culture rewards in numerous ways the acquisition of these abilities. In the Western world, artistic talent is believed to be relatively rare, the product of genetic forces or the possession of some mysterious spirit

or soul; but among the Anang it is thought to be a normal human capacity which is nurtured by cultural experiences. A wealth of evidence might be brought to bear to support a speculation that the Anang view of talent produces a greater amount of creativity and larger numbers of creative individuals than does the Western conception.

Several local communities once were known as carving villages in which most of the adult males practiced the profession. Anang, Eastern Ibibio, and even Ibo used to travel long distances to buy the pieces exhibited in the streets before almost every compound. My wife and I visited such a village of former renown—Ikot Abia—and talked about its past with a group of elders. They asserted that carving was so vital a concern to the inhabitants that there was no record of failure among apprentices for as long as they could remember. In fact, my question concerning the ratio of learners to nonlearners aroused bewilderment; they assumed that we held their view of aesthetic talent and that no alternative conceptions exist. They did reveal, however, the occasional appearance of one who might be considered a genius, but such a person, they explained, was fated by *abassi* to excel.

Modern Guilds

In 1940, a group of young men from Ikot Abia established the first carving guild in Ikot Ekpene town. Each carver of the organization specializes in fashioning a particular part of a particular piece or is skilled in painting or assembling a composite object, or in some other process associated with production. Customers visit the guild to purchase carvings, but most of the pieces turned out are sold to middlemen, who resell them in markets as far away as Calabar. The money earned is shared among the members of the group according to seniority, output, and the difficulty of the assembly line job performed. From time to time apprentices, who must pay a fee and spend at least three months learning the trade, are accepted. The carvings are poorly done—from the point of view of independent carvers, "sophisticated" buyers, as well as guild members themselves—but they sell for prices far below those charged by traditional craftsmen, and allow many Anang, who in the past could not afford them, to own pieces. We discovered that no matter how much money the guild is offered for a commissioned carving, the quality of the finished object remains the same.

Independent artisans bemoan the dissolution of indigenous associa-

The Carver in Anang Society

tions which once supplied them with most of their work, and the growth of urban guilds whose mass production techniques are flooding the market with cheap, inferior carvings. They predict that their own days are numbered, and more of them are abandoning the craft and turning to other income pursuits. Not only are they bitter about economic competition from the guilds, but about the poorness of quality of Anang carvings today and the lack of taste of the ordinary African customer (not to mention the tourist here and the buyer abroad). My wife and I talked with old carvers who expressed ethnic pride in Anang carving, and criticized its debasement as they criticized the breakdown of Anang institutions and morality—all victims of an alien system of values.

NOTES

Linguistic Note

CONSONANTS: b, d, f, h, k, kp (labio-velar plosive with no English equivalent), m, n, ŋ (as ng in English *sing*), ny (as gn in French *agneau*), p, r, s, t, w, y
VOWELS: a (as o in English "hot"), ε (as e in English "met"), e, i, o (as au in English "author"), o, u

Long vowels and consonants: shown by doubling the letter: aa, ss, etc.
Tone not indicated

1. Our project was supported by the Social Science Research Council and the Program of African Studies at Northwestern University. A grant from the Indiana University Ford International Program in 1964 provided time for the analysis and presentation of the material, which in part appears in this chapter.
2. A broad ethnographic survey of Anang culture is found in Messenger (1957).
3. Other spirits aid oath givers, workers of magic, diviners, hunters, and the members of one drama and one music association. Anang religion and religious acculturation are dealt with specifically in Messenger (1959).
4. Anang shrines are referred to as *iso*, meaning "the face of" (the spirit within), followed by the name of the *mem* or by his or her function.
5. Messenger (1962 and 1971) discusses at length the *ekoj* association.

- Creative Thinking. H. E. Gruber, G. Terrell, and M. Wertheimer, eds. Pp. 1-30.
- CANE, MELVILLE 1953 *Making a Poem*. New York: Harcourt-Brace.
- CANINO SALGADO, MARCELLINO J. 1968 *La Copla y el Romance Popular en la Tradición Oral de Puerto Rico*. Puerto Rico: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña.
- FRIED, EDRIKA 1964 *Artistic Productivity and Mental Health*. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas.
- GARRISON, VIVIAN 1968 *Convergences in Psychotherapeutic Methods for Low-Income Populations: Folk Psychotherapy and Psychodrama*. Paper read at the Twenty-seventh Annual Conference of the American Society of Group Psychotherapy and Psychodrama, New York, March 28-30.
- GOODALE, JANE C., and JOAN D. KOSS 1967 *The Cultural Context of Creativity Among Tiwi*. In June Helm, ed., *Essays on the Verbal and Visual Arts*. Proceedings of the 1967 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society. Seattle: University of Washington. Pp. 175-191.
- HOMAR, LORENZO, and RAFAEL TUFÍÑO 1955 *Ple-nas*. San Juan: Caribe.
- KIEV, ARI 1972 *Transcultural Psychiatry*. New York: Free Press.
- KOSS, JOAN D. 1970 *Aspectos Terapéuticos de una Secta Puertorriqueña*. *Revista de Ciencias Sociales* 14:259-278.
- 1972 *The Therapeutic Effects of Puerto Rican Cult Practices*. Unpublished manuscript.
- SEDA BONILLA, EDWIN 1964 *Interacción Social y Personalidad en una Comunidad de Puerto Rico*. Puerto Rico: Ed. Edil.
- WALLACE, ANTHONY F. C. 1966 *Religion: An Anthropological Approach*. New York: Random House.
- WELLS, HENRY 1969 *The Modernization of Puerto Rico*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

BAULE STATUARY ART: MEANING AND MODERNIZATION

Philip L. Ravenhill

With an undergraduate degree in philosophy, Philip L. Ravenhill pursued graduate studies in anthropology (M.A., Ph.D.) at the New School for Social Research. He has published extensively on the arts of West Africa, drawing upon many years of fieldwork in Mali and the Ivory Coast. As chief curator at the National Museum of African Art, he has coordinated more than a dozen exhibitions of African art since the museum's opening in 1987.

Ravenhill says, "I first went to Africa to undertake fieldwork for my Ph.D. in social anthropology. Only there did I become interested in art and its importance in the creation of social meaning. Upon finishing my degree, I returned to Côte d'Ivoire to do research on the Goli masks of the Wan. It was while I was doing this research (and while my wife, Judith Timyan, was continuing her research on the Baule language) that I became fully aware of the importance of the 'other-world' in Baule thought—due, largely, to Albert Koffi Kouadio, who continually shared with us his dreams of his girlfriend's 'other-world man.' This dialogue led me to a wider investigation of Baule beliefs and practices regarding figurative art.

"I recently re-read my article on 'other-world lovers' and was quite pleased. Since writing it I have gone on to explore the issue of gender differentiation in Baule art, and am currently working on a book manuscript that would include the initial article and expand on recent unpublished papers."

... dress always characterizes certain social strata as belonging together; and it seems to fulfill this function best when it is imported from abroad. To dress as one dresses in Paris, means to have a close and exclusive association with a certain social stratum in other countries—already the prophet Zephaniah speaks of noblemen as wearing foreign clothes.—George Simmel, *Conflict*

It is only through a study of emulation, and of the effect of revolutionary crises upon the emulative process, that we can understand fashion in its stages of critical development.—Quentin Bell, *On Human Finery*

There is a competitive element in art which aims at drawing attention to the artist or his patron.—E. H. Gombrich, *The Logic of Vanity Fair*¹

¹ Philip L. Ravenhill, 1980. *Baule Statuary Art: Meaning and Modernization*. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, Working Paper #5. Reprinted courtesy Philip Ravenhill.

INTRODUCTION

This essay explores the development of an African art form. In it I examine the meaning inherent in Baule statuary art and I attempt to demonstrate that the modernization of this art by the incorporation of Western elements of dress is a logical application of the Baule idea that statuary form be judged by the same aesthetic criteria as human form.

The approach which I use as an anthropologist studying art and aesthetics is exegetical: I examine the intentional aspects of the art (cf. Dutton 1977) and I seek to elucidate the conceptual framework from which the art derives its meaning. I thus make extensive use of indigenous terms and concepts, and while I excuse myself in advance should this make the reader's task more difficult, I would nonetheless stress the necessity of this method if anthropological studies of art are to advance. I feel strongly that the initial examination of a traditional art form must be devoted to the ideas of its creators and users. It is only when this essential task is completed that one can go on to develop other, more objective or universalistic, theories. Otherwise one sees in art something other than its creators intended.

It is not, however, sufficient to see an art form as a "reflection" of a culture since art is more often dynamic than static and creates culture just as much as it is created by culture. My examination of Baule statuary art therefore looks at the productive process, the interactive process between the user, the art, and the spirit represented, and the process of male/female dialogue in which the art functions.

Since I will ultimately be talking of an African art form which makes extensive use of elements of dress imported from Europe (see figures following; see original publication for additional map and photographs), a few comments are in order as to what this art is *not*. Although it is a European influenced art form, it is not intended as critical caricature of the White man (cf. Lips 1937).

Nor can one assume that European dress is used in order to depict Europeans (cf. Crownover 1960). Nor, finally, does the use of European dress mean that the art was conceived for a European market or that it panders to foreign clients. The use of these motifs is rather related to fashion—fashion as an emulative process which has affected and continues to affect Baule society.

THE MEANING OF BAULE STATUES

Although Baule statues have often been referred to as "ancestor figures," Susan Vogel (1973; 1977) has pointed out that these "wooden people" (*waka sran*²) are in reality carved as representatives of either "nature spirits" (*asie usu*) or of "other-world men" or "women" (*blɔɔ bian* and *blɔɔ bla* respectively; see Figs. 22-1, 22-2, and 22-3).³ While nature spirits are of various types having varying roles, they have in common abnormal effects upon the people with whom they establish contact. The effect may be detrimental or beneficial—bringing about, for example, mental troubles, increased luck in hunting, or the power of clairvoyance—and the contact is thus either controlled or continued by the offering of sacrifices. Statues representing nature spirits often become encrusted with blood for they are "fetishes" (*amuen*) and it is "with blood that fetishes become powerful" (*mnoja ye man amuen ɔ yo nna*); their form may be minimal, demonstrating a general human form but without detail, for like the earth spirits which they represent they are "dwarf-like" (*angbe*).⁴ In contradistinction to the statues of these nature spirits, which often require a plural form, are the individual statues that are carved to represent a man's "other-world woman" or a woman's "other-world man." It is to these carefully looked after statues representing other-world people that this paper is devoted.



FIGURE 22-1 Male figure. 31.5 cm.; red and black dye; kaolin.

The *Blɔɔ* or "Other-World"

In Baule thought the *blɔɔ*, or "other-world," is a world that exists in contrast to the world of physical reality. Etymologically *blɔɔ* is derived from *blɔ* meaning "to claim, to praise, to vaunt" and *ɔ*, a locational noun⁵ which can be glossed as "there."⁶ Thus the sense of the word is "the place that is vaunted," with the implicit idea that although it is a place that is spoken well of, in fact no confirmation of its desirable attributes has ever been found. The locational component of *blɔɔ* (*ɔ*, "there") makes explicit the contrast with life "on-the-earth-here" (*asie'n su wa*): the *blɔɔ* is a world that exists parallel to the world experienced by man, and is considered to be the world of

the dead. Yet the *blɔɔ* is not restricted to the abode of the departed dead for it is also the place of origin for the spirits of the newborn. Thus a newborn is seen as originating from his "other-world mother" (*blɔɔ nin*);⁷ his meconium, or first bowel movement, is referred to as "other-world faeces" (*blɔɔ bi*); and in the event of an untimely early death an explanation is provided by saying "his other-world mother took him back" (*i blɔɔ*

FIGURE 22-2 Female figure. 33 cm.; natural wood, black dye. Both of these statues, found on widely separate occasions and thus probably not intended to be a "couple," appear to be by the same hand. The male figure sports a hairstyle commonly called *mode Ghanéen*, and a jacket with epaulets, but from what remains of the feet it seems he did not wear shoes. The female figure has a traditional tressed hair-do, a *cache-sexe* supported by beads, and, like the male, facial scarification. (Cf. discussion of "clothed men and unclothed women.")





FIGURE 22-3 Woman with underwear and slippers. This woman, with her elongated ringed neck, wears a black bra, white underwear, and black slippers. 32 cm.; red and black dye; kaolin.

nim ye ɔ fe ɔ). It is also in this other-world *blɔɔ* that each person "on-this-earth-here" (*asie'n su wa*) has a person of the opposite sex to whom he is inexorably linked: for a man this person is referred to as his "other-world woman" (*blɔɔ bla*) and for a woman as her "other-world man" (*blɔɔ bian*).

Other-World Lovers

Initial knowledge of one's "other-world man" or "woman" usually proceeds from a particular crisis of young adult life such as sterility, and as Vogel (1973:25) points out these crises are almost always of a sexual nature. In consultation with a diviner (*wum-zueyifue*) one may find that the problem results from the unhappiness or jealousy of

one's other-world sexual opposite who feels spurned or neglected. In such a case divination may reveal that it is necessary both to represent this other-world person by a statue carved in human form to which offerings of food or money can be made on a regular basis and to consecrate one night of the week to this *blɔɔ* person by sleeping alone.⁸ Additional knowledge of one's other-world sexual partner is gained by the dreams (*lalie*) which one has on nights set aside for him. Two important points must be made in relation to these dreams: 1) there is an implicit encouragement of such dreams as well as an expectation that they will be sexual in nature; and 2) this expectation of regular nocturnal dream visits by an other-world lover leads to a certain continuity in the contents of such dreams—a continuity that can be referred to as an ongoing interpersonal relationship.

In dream visits one's other-world lover has no fixed form, being able to assume the form of any person of the opposite sex, whether real or imaginary, with the exception of one's spouse. Thus in the concept of an other-world lover there is an implicit contrast between one's actual spouse and all other possible sexual (not marital) partners. In the discussion thus far I have used various glosses for the translation of the terms *blɔɔ bian* and *blɔɔ bla* but I have studiously refrained from translating these terms by "other-world husband" or "other-world wife." This is because the use of "woman" (*bla*) and "man" (*bian*) is significant, I think, in indicating that the relation is not with a "spouse" (*wun*, "husband," or *yi*, "wife"), i.e., a social relation, but with a male (*bian*) or female (*bla*) with whom it is possible to have a sexual relationship. While the term *bian* may be used in the context of matrimonial relations (Carteron 1972)—in contrast to the term *yasua* (also glossed as "male") which is only used as a component of kinship terms designating "people with whom it is inconceivable that a female Ego can entertain sexual relations" (Etienne 1972:66–67)—I believe that its in-

herent emphasis is on sexual availability and thus that it stands in contrast to the word for husband. The word *bla*, which can be glossed as "woman" or "female," "marks simultaneously the sexual characteristic and the social dimension including marital, and corresponds to the two masculine terms *yasua* and *bian*" (Carteron 1972). I would thus reaffirm the essentially sexual nature of the relation with one's *blɔɔ bian* or *blɔɔ bla* which stands in marked contrast to the polyvalent relation to a real world spouse.

The relationship with one's other-world man or woman must also be seen as a relationship with an isolated individual and not a relationship with a social actor embedded in turn in a nexus of relationships with various social groups. Thus, for example, although one's other-world lover is an individual with a specific name (usually revealed in divination), it is significant that the name is limited to a personal name without a patronymic (*si dunman*); a *blɔɔ bla*, for instance, may have the name Akisi (given to a girl born on Monday) but could never have the name Kuaku Akisi, i.e., Akisi the daughter of Kuaku. Similarly it would appear that a *blɔɔ bla* or *bian* never has a name such as Big Kuadyo (Kuadyo Dan) or Little Amlan (Amlan Kan) since such names result from the need to contrast their holders with other same-named kin.

But if the relationship between a man and his other-world woman or between a woman and her other-world man is a dyadic sexual relationship between individuals this is not to say that the relationship has no effect on relationships in the real world. As might be expected, the existence of the other-world lover is of particular importance to one's real-world spouse. The relations between a man and the *blɔɔ bian* of his wife and between a woman and the *blɔɔ bla* of her husband are both relations characterized by a basic jealousy (*kwolan*). In Baule kinship terminology co-wives refer to each other as "rival" (*wla*), as do two men who are linked by being married to sisters. In the same way one's spouse and one's other-world lover are

considered to be "rivals" competing for the attentions of the person by whom they are linked. This relation, however, is not a symmetric relation between equals because a basic dissymmetry exists in that the other-world paramour necessarily precedes the real world spouse chronologically. Thus a man's *blɔɔ bla* can be considered his "first woman" (*bla kpenngben*) with the rights and privileges—especially permanence—which accrue to that position, and his actual spouse can be seen as being in the inferior position of his "later woman" (*bla sien*). Jealousy, however, is not incompatible with a relatively higher social position and the *blɔɔ bla*, for example, may prove to be particularly pestering or mischief making due to her envy of a man's real-world sexual partner, whether wife or not. A young married man told me that once when sleeping with a young woman on the night supposedly reserved for his *blɔɔ bla* he was awakened by the insistent tugs of his sexual partner who said she had just dreamed of his other-world woman who fought with her in order to chase her from his side. It would appear to be a relatively common experience to dream of the other-world lover of one's spouse: another young man reported that he frequently dreams of fighting with his fiancée's *blɔɔ bian* who is an *ancien combattant* (see below) and thus, significantly, older than himself. Furthermore, the perception of competition between a person and his spouse's other-world sexual partner is reinforced when one experiences the rivalry not only in reported activities but also in participatory dreams.

The Differences Between Other-World Men and Women

Although the difference between the notions of *blɔɔ bla* and *blɔɔ bian* would at first glance appear to be mainly a matter of gender, as indicated lexically, attention must be drawn to a fundamental dissymmetry of ideas concerning their respective attributes and characters. Etienne, the foremost recent student of the Baule, has stated that:

... the *blɔɔ bla* is much less worrisome than the *blɔɔ bian*. It is above all he who renders a wife sterile, makes her give birth to still-born babies, or causes her children to die at an early age, and it is necessary to appease his jealousy regarding the terrestrial husband. We thus have a classic case of the inversion of relations between the here-below (*ici-bas*, P.R.) and the here-after (*au-delà*). Here-below it is above all women who are jealous among themselves; but in the hereafter this sexual jealousy is projected onto the relations between men. (1974:219, n.33)⁹

This dissymmetry of attributes—the *blɔɔ bian* being *inherently* more bothersome and jealous than the *blɔɔ bla*—is reflected in a numerical disproportion between male and female statues. From four years' observation of the art market in the town of Bouaké I am led to believe that all other things being equal male statues outnumber female statues by a ratio of at least five to one.¹⁰

How can one explain the difference between male and female other-world lovers and the fact that male lovers are more often represented by statues than female lovers? Given that other-world men or women only receive formal representation in wood *after* it has been found that they are the cause of problems afflicting their partners in the real world, we are confronted with the need to explain the fact that *other-world lovers are more problematic for women than for men*. A woman's higher likelihood of requiring a statue for her spirit lover is perhaps due to the fact that for her the problem of sterility, if it exists, is inescapable whereas a man's sterility may not be publicly apparent thanks to his wife's "arrangements." Whether factually true or not, the common Baule attitude is that sterility affects women more often than men, and if one of the common reasons for having an other-world man carved is sterility (cf. Vogel 1973:25; 1977:159) then this may partially explain the higher incidence of male figures.

Further insight into the more problematic character of other-world men as opposed to other-world women can be gained from an examination of the polygynous nature of Baule society.¹¹ With polygyny there is a

profound difference between the legitimated status of a man linked to two (or more) women and the "illegitimate" status of a woman linked to two men; from the Baule point of view the former is seen as a question of an *additional* partner whereas the latter is seen as a question of an *alternate* partner. Should a Baule man decide to acquire an additional wife there are certain social rules (concerning, for example, the equality of rights for co-wives) that must be respected, but should he abide by the normal social conventions the second marriage is not unduly difficult. For a woman, however, the question of another sexual partner can never be one of "both/and" but rather one of "either/or"; there is absolutely *no* question of a woman having simultaneously two socially recognized sexual partners¹²—as the popular saying goes: "Since the Eternal One created day, no one has ever said that a woman could marry two men!" (*ke anannganman a bo alie'n, be sãa ke bla ja bian nyɔn.*) Pierre Etienne has only half-facetiously stated that "a prudent Baule man without being polygynous has available in different degree three women: one with whom he is parting company, a second with whom he is fully married, and a third whom he is trying to marry" (1972:20). Even if such serial monogamy is possible it is of a different order for men and women in that for the former the chronological overlap of partners is socially condoned whereas for the latter it is socially prohibited.

Since the relation between a person and his other-world lover necessarily *pre-dates* any real-world sexual relationship which he engages in, one can see that this other-world relationship is endowed with a definite primacy with attendant rights and obligations. The other-world lover of a man can be thought of as his "first woman" (*bla kpenngben*), and as in the case of a real-world "first woman" her pardon (*yaci*) must be demanded before a "later woman" (*bla sien*) is taken to wife.¹³ For a man the asking of pardon is a rather *informal* matter which does not require public ceremony, perhaps be-

cause of the previously noted fact that for a man simultaneity of sexual partners is not a problem. For a woman, however, it is very likely that the transition from an unmarried to a married state must be effected by a *formal* public ceremony which has as its goal the transferral of rights from an other-world sexual partner to a real-world husband. The ceremony that is thus performed is called *atɔnɔle*, a term which can be etymologized as *a-tɔ-nɔle* or "the fall of change" and whose basic meaning would appear to be approximately equivalent to "changeover" in English.¹⁴ *Atɔnɔle* ceremonies are also performed for a number of other purposes, depending in part, it appears, upon regional cultural differences: Carteron (1972) and Guerry (1970:40) indicate that it may be done as a *rite de passage* for a girl at her menarche; the Etiennes (1964:153; 1971:172f) and Weiskel (1976:44f) discuss *atɔnɔle* marriage in which rights to a woman are definitively transferred from a woman's own family to that of her husband; and my own research indicates that these ceremonies may be performed for first pregnancies, for the ending of mourning for a widow(er), and even to reintegrate or "cleanse" a person who has fallen into a deep latrine (*bian*) of the sort usually dug in the bush near one's fields. Each of these ceremonies can be seen as a transitional rite in which normal time is suspended in order to effect a status change (cf. Leach 1961); the formality of the occasion is marked by the special dress of the participants, a woman being dressed in finery with obligatory gold jewelry and a man wearing a formal dress robe.

The special ceremony which is undertaken to change the relation between a woman and her other-world man (*blɔɔ bian*) takes place on the day *after* a night reserved for his dream visits. Having thus refrained from sexual relations she is not "used" (*nyuɛn*) as she would be had she just slept with a man, and she is thus ready to formally approach her *blɔɔ bian*. The woman for whom the ceremony is performed (the *atɔnɔle bla* or "atɔnɔle woman") cooks a cock,

provided by her future husband, and a hen, provided by herself, with which offerings she formally asks the pardon (*yaci*) of her other-world man that she may enter into a permanent relation with a real world spouse. The food, although offered to the *blɔɔ bian*, is actually eaten by the *atɔnɔle bla* and the *atɔnɔle yasua* ("atɔnɔle male")¹⁵ who is a young man chosen to be a stand-in (*ijannɔfue*) for the *blɔɔ bian*. The *atɔnɔle bla* and the *atɔnɔle yasua*, both formally attired, spend the time from mid-morning to mid-afternoon (or later) enclosed alone in a house where they eat the sacrificial meal and sleep; thus one of the main components of the ceremony is a period of suspended animation which ruptures the normal flow of time and serves as a line of demarcation between two different—"before" and "after"—periods of time. The ceremony regulates a woman's sexual involvement with two men, one of the real world and one of the other-world; thus, *simultaneity* of sexual involvement is avoided by an assertion of *sequentiality*.

The Meaning of Form in Baule Statuary

Each Baule statue which represents, and thus appeases, an other-world lover results from two processes: divination and sculpting. In Baule divination, conclusions are reached by an extended dialogue between diviner and client, a dialogue which is directed by the divining instrument's confirmation or denial of various propositions put forth by one or the other party. The role of the diviner is to probe, that of the client to talk freely, and that of the divining tool¹⁶ to channel the flow of discourse. Conclusions are not fiat put forth by the diviner but flow directly from the past and present activities of the client. In the case where the problem under discussion is finally interpreted as resulting from the influence of one's other-world lover, divination may also reveal that the problem may be resolved by the carving of a statuary stand-in which can receive placating offerings. Thus it becomes necessary

to initiate the carving process—and I use the term “carving process” advisedly for it is held that a carver should not rush a carving but should rather allow time for the other-world lover to manifest his desires concerning his physical representation. It appears that information concerning the other-world person’s “physical” form can be acquired in many ways: it may result from the client-diviner dialogue, from the person’s dreams of his spirit lover, or it may even be that the other-world person reveals himself directly to the carver in dream visits. But whatever the source of the information the goal of the carving is to represent the other-world lover in a way which will please him.

Once the carving is finished it is sacralized by a “lodging” (*sike*) ceremony in which the other-world lover is informed that he now has a statuary stand-in which will henceforth receive small offerings of food or money on his behalf. In time the surface of the statue may be modified by the attention which it receives during offerings: it may be cleaned, rubbed with oil, wiped with kaolin, even dyed or painted. It may also come about that as the relationship between a person and his other-world lover develops, the spirit partner may ask for a new statuary representation to replace one with which he has become dissatisfied. Thus a statue comes into being and continues to exist as a physical stand-in for a partner of the invisible other world. Given that this other-world mirrors and exists parallel to the real world, it is not surprising that the aesthetic considerations which govern the carving of a statue representing an other-world sexual partner are largely influenced by Baule cultural canons of human beauty.

In the Baule aesthetic of both human and statuary form, the principle criterion is one of the golden mean; a given physical attribute should ideally be “just so” (*seve*), being neither too pronounced nor too diminutive. The idea of a happy medium is, however, culturally determined; although members of different cultures may express the opinion that ideally a person’s posterior must be

“just so,” the exact combination of characteristics which result in the “perfect posterior” differ from culture to culture. Thus what is perceived as a perfect expression of *natural* beauty—“that is physical perfection”—is a selection of the cultural eye. When the Baule say that a neck should not be too long (“like a camel”), nor too short (“like a cricket”), nor too thick, they do not mean thereby that a neck should be average, rather it should approach the *ideal* of an elegant or beautiful (*klanman*) neck—one slightly longer and finer than average, and, if possible, one with the highly desirable feature of “beauty-lines” (*komin nglelie*).¹⁷ These lines, or rings, around the neck are not folds of fat but rather slight creases horizontally aligned; such natural striation is culturally recognized as inherently beautiful, a natural endowment complementing a neck already pleasing by its correct dimensions.¹⁸ In statuary art carvers often emphasize the neck by an unnatural length—as though they were expressing Brancusi’s notion that in art the human neck can never be too long—and often idealize the neck rings by making them exceedingly regular and by making them entirely encircle the neck. This artistic idealization may serve in turn as a standard of comparison, as when it is said of a person “his neck is creased as though it were carved” (*i komin nglelie’n bubu ke b’a se i sa*).

The happy medium is also the operative aesthetic principle in relation to the dimensions of a person’s (or a statue’s) buttocks (*boudre*). They should neither be too developed (“like a northern woman”) nor too flat (“like a frog”) rather they should exhibit a correct roundness and firmness. The development of a girl’s posterior during pubescence, like the development of her breasts, serves as a sign of her sexual maturity; her breasts and buttocks may now be squeezed in public flirting or caressed in private love-making (cf. Etienne 1972:70–71). The importance of the posterior may well be related to the definite association in Baule thought between buttocks and genitalia; the Baule word *bo* which can be glossed as “bottom,

fundament, or lower parts” includes those parts of the body which are referred to in English by the words “hip,” “haunch,” “rump,” and “groin.” *Bo* is thus the lower terminus of the trunk (*afien*), just as *ti*, “head,” is the upper terminus, and the two terms form a contrastive pair as in the proverb “a woman’s ‘bottom’ is more pleasing than her ‘head’” (*bla bo yo fe tre i ti*).¹⁹

In terms of mass and volume the head and bottom are linked to the torso (*afien*, “middle”) but set off from it; the head is set off from the body by the neck (*komin*) and the “bottom” is set off by the pelvic circle (*bo nenglen*).²⁰ In translating this term by pelvic circle I mean to indicate thereby that this line of demarcation is one that passes immediately over the buttocks and follows the downward slope of the haunches toward the groin; i.e., it is the natural line formed by the narrowing of the lower trunk and the bulge of the haunches (see Figs. 22–4 and 22–5). In traditional dress this line is emphasized by the beads and leather belts that men and women use respectively as cinctures to which to attach their *cache-sexes*. The ensemble of the *cache-sexe* and the supporting girdle emphasizes the discontinuity between trunk and “bottom,” and also brings attention to the form of the buttocks since the *cache-sexe* in passing between the buttocks makes obvious the fact that the posterior is made up of two separable masses.²¹ Thus although the essential role of the *cache-sexe* is to cover the genitalia, nonetheless it also functions to reveal the human form. In terms of traditional attitudes to dress a distinction must be made between the *cache-sexe* or loin cloth and the clothes worn by men and women as robes and wraps. The loin cloth is of such importance that it is not considered to be fashion so much as the minimum requirement of modesty and, consequently, an unchanging given. The woven fabric is used for robes or wraps which range from workaday practical dress to ceremonial formal finery; but even this dress, although governed by definite ideas of fashion, seems to be viewed as something added to the

FIGURE 22-4 Woman with traditional coiffure, a *cache-sexe*, and neck scarification. 31 cm.; dark patina.



human body rather than as something used to *transform* it. There is a basic feeling that clothes, although used to cover, should not be used to hide; the proverb which states “one never knows when a northern woman is pregnant” (*be si’a kanga bla unze fue*) reveals the disapprobation with which the Baule view voluminous dress. Traditionally the revelation of a person’s physique was critically important during the years of adolescence, the years in which a person approached adulthood, in which his character and abilities were made known, and in which his social identity started to crystallize. A maiden’s beauty was (and still is) important for her marriageability, and a youth’s form, particularly his musculature, could be seen as an indication of his adult potential.

This last point concerning male physique



FIGURE 22-5 Figure in traditional style with *bo neglen*. 21 cm.; natural wood; black dye.

raises another aesthetic idea: rather than quality—as revealed in the notion of the golden mean—there is also a very definite idea of quantity. When it comes to a young man's muscles, for example, it would seem that there is no such thing as excess, for muscles are seen both as sign of character, in that they are developed from physical labor, and as a sure sign of future success. Thus the well developed pectoral muscles found on male Baule statues indicate, as it were, a "social" beauty that is different from the "natural" beauty of the gluteal muscles. The beauty of a well-developed male chest is related to function in a way that a developed posterior is not. The muscular development of the thighs and calves (especially on statues) is also seen in terms of physical splendor and strength. The shapeliness of muscular legs is appreciated not only for form but also for force; a typical appreciative comment regarding a man's legs is "his stance is good" (*i*

jan sue ɔ ti kpa), i.e., he manifests stamina and solidity. Thus a comment on form is couched in terms of function.

The understanding of the aesthetic of traditional statuary art among the Baule can only be achieved, I believe, by an appreciation of the cultural eye with which human aesthetics are judged. My purpose in this rapid overview of the meaning of form in traditional Baule art has been to indicate the interrelations of these aesthetic frames of reference. Statuary art derives from an idealization of human form, but in turn the creation of wooden ideals has a feedback effect which affects the appreciation of human beauty, as, for example, when one says "his nose is as straight as though it were sculpted" (*i bue tinge ke: b'a se i sa*).

THE EFFECT OF FASHION ON FORM²²

The modernization of statuary form by the introduction of Western clothes and the attendant accessories of shoes, hats, watches, and the like has distressed some art critics in the same way that the use of Western clothes by the younger generation has distressed some Baule elders. The facile criticism of modern Baule statuary in pejorative terms of degeneration finds an echo in the attitudes of some irascible old men who assume that young men, for example, wear modern dress simply to hide their physical faults, saying of them "they take their skinny scrawny legs and put them in pants" (*be fa be ja fiaka fiaka be wlei pantalɔn non*). Both these attitudes—of the art critic and of the social critic—demonstrate a basic conservatism which would deny innovation and changing social realities; but the similarity of views points out the relation between the aesthetics of art and the aesthetics of the artist's patrons. As Baxandall states in his book on fifteenth-century Italian painting, certain artistic developments cannot be accounted for simply within the history of art; thus he ex-

plains the lessening preoccupation with the precious pigments throughout the fifteenth century as "part of a general movement in Western Europe at this time towards a kind of selective inhibition about display" (1972:14). It is my contention that the development of Baule statuary art throughout this century shows an increasing preoccupation with modern fashions that is part of a wider social movement towards the exploitation of new cultural and technical forms introduced by the crisis of colonization—in brief, that Baule art exhibits the same emulative processes as the wider society.

Before discussing the significance of fashion items on Baule statues let us recapitulate certain notions about the relation between a person and his other-world lover. We have seen previously that an other-world lover is in a relation of opposition to real-world spouses or lovers, and that the relation is characterized by mutual jealousy. Furthermore we have seen that the carving of a statue is undertaken for the purpose of appeasement and that the statuary form is governed by aesthetic canons directly related to those by which human beauty is judged. Thus our search for the meaning of modern accoutrements in Baule art needs to take into account both the social significance of the cultural code of clothing and the use of this code in the sculptural representation of an other-world lover opposed to an actual (or potential) real-world spouse.

The Dynamics of Fashion

The ethnographic study of clothing, like the structural analysis of phonology, investigates those elements in the system which carry meaning. The anthropologist looks at the differences in dress which follow "conventionally established forms" and thus serve to indicate marital status or to differentiate age classes, socio-cultural classes, vocational groups, or townsmen from peasants (Trubetzkoy 1949:19). But in our present discussion we need to take into account the additional factor of fashion dynamics: how

does one explain the introduction of new fashions into a traditional art form? The answer to this question lies in an understanding of the nature of the colonial society from which later Baule art derives its meaning, for as Quentin Bell has stated: "In the history of man few things can be more important and few things will be found more characteristic of an age than the outward aspect of man himself" (1976:100).

It is important to understand colonial society holistically: to see the rulers and the ruled as parts of a whole rather than as two mutually opposed camps. The crisis of colonization introduced the Baule to a new society, hierarchically ordered. The highest level of this society was composed of the urban-dwelling expatriate military and bureaucratic masters, the lowest level of the rural peasant masses, and between these two levels was interposed a burgeoning stratum of urban-oriented "fortune-hunters" who sought a livelihood as entrepreneurs or salaried workers, bureaucratic or military, to the foreign rulers. This society was in turn linked to an international network centered on metropolitan France—a network which irrevocably changed Baule society by the communication of new technology and new knowledge. But this new order was controlled by armed power; innovation was the result of imperialism; and change came about by the introduction of a class system.

The imposition of a class system brought about a revolutionary crisis in the realm of dress; dress became linked to fashion whose mainspring is "the emulative process whereby the members of one class imitate those of another" (Bell 1976:113). Since fashion is "above all concerned with status" and its mechanisms "dependent upon the class structure of the society in which they operate" (Bell 1976:117), we must look at the dress used in Baule statuary art as symbolic of a changing status system. The emulation which brought about a change in Baule fashion, with attendant changes in sculptural aesthetics, was an emulation, I would maintain, of the new urban African

Thus a Baule statue in modern garb is neither a replica of a European nor the expression of a wish for a European other-world lover, but rather a desire that the "Baule" other-world lover exhibit those signs of success or status that characterize a White-oriented or -dominated world. A partial confirmation of this thesis is to be found in the fact that although the artistic ideal begins to change by the introduction of new elements, especially of urban dress or the dress of "conspicuous leisure" (Bell 1976), nonetheless the facial aesthetics of Baule statues remain relatively unchanged as indeed does the musculature of the limbs. However, rather than continuing a general discussion of the nature of that fashion which originated in a colonial class system, let us turn to a more specific examination of the significance of statuary dress in relation to the triad of a person, his spouse, and his other-world lover.

Statuary Fashion and Conjugal Dynamics

An insight into the dynamics of this triad—or perhaps one should say double triad since there is a triad centering on each spouse—can be gained from a reading of Quentin Bell's discussion of "vicarious consumption" or "the display of sumptuousness through the agency of a third person" (1976:138–154). Bell uses this notion to discuss, for example, a wife's role of vicarious consumer for her husband, demonstrating on social or public occasions his ability to earn money and provide (Bell 1976:139–140). No matter what individual psychological drives affect the lady's desire to dress up, there is a social effect derived from the intent to demonstrate financial well-being. Similarly in relation to statues, while not denying the reality of certain psychological phenomena, such as compensation, we can nonetheless examine the social effects of status-laden dress. A good place to start this examination is with an actual case which forced me to investigate the real-world ef-

fects of an other-world man having the identity of an *ancien combattant*, i.e., a veteran of foreign wars.

In francophone West Africa the image of the *ancien combattant* is one of a now middle-aged man who after being forcibly conscripted to fight in the Second World War²³ returned to his village with a pension and a boastful knowledge of the wider world.²⁴ Often a veteran feels superior to others and in the case of conflict with younger or less experienced people, especially youths, asserts that respect is due him for his age and experience—his typical refrain being "*moi, je connais . . .*" with the sense of "I know the wider world." His experiences have often made him marginal to his natal group and consequently somewhat irascible and obstreperous, above all when he is taken lightly by a younger person. It was this image which came to mind when a young man told me that his fiancée's (*blɔɔ bian*) was an *ancien combattant* with a particularly quarrelsome nature. The young man, just starting his adult life after finding a job in town, was in the betwixt-and-between situation of "engagement" (*soman*), i.e., the transitional period in which a man and a woman are official lovers, whether living together or not, but the relationship of marriage is not yet definitively established. This period is seen as a test of compatibility and a time of acquaintanceship during which inter-personal problems may be resolved. Thus when my young friend told me that his teen-age fiancée had an other-world man who was an *ancien combattant*, I was forced to reflect upon the significance of an age differential of approximately 25 years between two men competing, as it were, for one unmarried girl. Given the adversary, or at least contrastive, relation which exists between an other-world person and the spouse to whom he is linked, one can see that the imputation of a soldierly identification on one's other-world man, especially when he is basically truculent, necessarily affects the relation between husband and wife. The very existence of an other-world lover has the effect for a

woman of maintaining a certain individual identification; her identity can never be totally subsumed under that of her husband for he is not the only male who desires her. If, in addition, the spirit lover of a woman exhibits qualities not to be found in her actual spouse, then this too serves as an inhibiting factor to his domineering tendencies, as well as a demonstration of her independence. Conversely the attributes of an other-world woman, whether physically manifest in a statue or only talked about by her real-world man, have an effect on the real-world husband-wife relationship; the representation, for example, of her husband's other-world woman as noticeably pregnant or suckling a child would undoubtedly create anxiety in a barren wife. Thus what I am arguing for is an interpretation of the attributes of other-world lovers in relation to the dynamics of the conjugal dyad. My point of departure for the analysis of the motifs found in Baule statuary art is that their meanings—just as linguistic meanings—derive from contrast. What is important is the *relational identity* of a statue, i.e., the identity with which it is endowed in contrastive relation to the real world spouse with whom it is linked. Let us now take up a more general discussion of the artistic elements which express such identities.

The Significance of Sculptural Elements

An inventory of the attributes of Baule statues which represent other-world lovers can be loosely organized by four general themes, those of age, status, power, and individuality.

AGE. If one were to find a recently carved statue which represented a war veteran, one could surmise that the other-world man which it represented was approximately fifty years old, although should one locate a similar statue carved in the forties or fifties one could not draw the same conclusion. Thus without knowing the social background of particular statues one must be careful about

interpreting such signs of relative age. There are, however, certain motifs which may be used to infer an intended absolute age in the representation of spirit lovers. Take, for example, the use of a beard on a statue, whether traditional or modern. Since beards are in theory limited to old men (*kpenngben*) and since a statue is supposed to be a faithful representation of the characteristics of an other-world lover, one is justified in drawing the conclusion that the other-world man is not just an adult but also a doyen.²⁵ Another indicator of absolute age may be the relative positioning or form of breasts on female statues. High firm breasts may indicate that the other-world woman is a maiden (*talua*) who has not born children; fuller or more sagging breasts may indicate a woman of child-bearing age; and flattened sagged breasts may be a sign that the other-world woman thus represented has already born numerous children. My point is that the perceived age of an other-world lover may well be indicated in its statuary representative.

STATUS. It is especially in transitional figures that social position may be made manifest. The dress of a gendarme, a bureaucrat, or a town-dweller gives an unambiguous indication that the spirit person that it represents is a participant in the modern world. The use of shoes, suits, ties, and other fashion items creates a social identity of success, either the success of urban employment or the success of a farmer who is sufficiently rich to use urban dress for his leisure. Bearing in mind that this identity is relational, one may easily imagine the dynamics between a woman and her poor farmer husband who is confronted with an other-world competitor exhibiting signs of urban material success. Likewise one may imagine the psychological position of a sterile woman when the *blɔɔ bla* of her husband is physically represented with a child. The possible statuary indicators of social status are almost limitless: a rifle may signal the highly coveted role of hunter, a ceremonial cane may indicate chiefly status, or—and this is an ex-

ample based on an actual statue which brought great renown to its carver—a typewriter may demonstrate the secretarial vocation of an other-world woman.

POWERS. Some indicators of personal power—easily perceived by the cultural eye but somewhat less evident to the outsider—are the various amulets such as armbands (*banzre*), bracelets (*blenga*), rings (*nga*), necklaces and waistbands (*sebe*) or “leg-bands” (*ja nyama*) which may be carved on statues. Each of these amulets indicates that the wearer possesses a special power derived from a spiritual agency, but in addition to being the repository of this power the amulet also serves as a signal to others to be careful in their actions to the bearer. It is as though the implicit message of an amulet were “let sleeping dogs lie!” The amassing of amulets (cf. Fig. 22-6) signals an additional hazard in that it is often thought a difficult task to harmonize their talismanic powers. Furthermore, since each amulet entails specific taboos, the accumulation of amulets means at the same time an accumulation of taboos and thus an increasing difficulty in respecting these taboos and avoiding madness. Once again we see the social effect of costume and again we are forced to reflect on the effect of such a motif when found on the statuary representative of a “third party” to a marriage. It should also be noted briefly that a statue may express other powers, whether physical, political, or fecund, and it is interesting to note in this regard that while modern dress is increasingly important the emphasis on physique is still evident; in fact, dress may be purposely revealing, as when a shirt is almost “painted on” over an imposing chest (cf. Fig. 22-7).

INDIVIDUALITY. One of the primary requirements of a statue representing an other-world lover is that it exhibit his peculiar characteristics and attributes, i.e., that it manifest his particular individuality. Notwithstanding the similarities of style which result from the cultural artistic tradition, nor those which are due to the hand of the artist, a statue should ideally portray a unique en-

semble of features. Given this necessary demonstration of individuation, one can see that the introduction of new fashion items enlarges the corpus of identificational criteria which the artist uses to particularize a statue. If one takes several examples of a single artist's work, one can observe unique combinations of elements even though certain similarities of artistic interpretation remain. While the basic forms of the sculptures may be comparable—exhibiting the carver's characteristic touch—idiosyncrasy is introduced by the presence, absence, or modification of such features as headgear, coiffure, clothing, scarification, ornamentation, or footwear. The use of dyes or other coloring agents such as kaolin, not to mention the



FIGURE 22-6 Man with neck amulet. This man would appear to have much magical power, derived from his neck amulet (*sebe*), armband amulets (*banzre*), and bracelet amulet (*blenga*). 30.5 cm.; red and black dye; kaolin.



FIGURE 22-7 Profiled figure. This figure has particularly well-rounded calves and buttocks, and in spite of his shirt, he has pronounced nipples and umbilicus. 24 cm.; red and black dye; kaolin.

current use of commercial paints, also allows greater variety of presentation. In sum, one can state that a Baule carver of statues is somewhat like a portraitist in the Western tradition of art in that his task is to present a faithful portrayal of the character of an individual (cf. Read 1931:33f), and to the end of realizing “the personality of his subject in its uniqueness” (Read 1931:34) he makes full use of the motifs and features discussed above.

The Evolution of Sculpture

Implicit in the above discussion is the idea of the continuity of an artistic tradition, i.e., there has been an attempt to examine the

dynamics of the tradition's evolution. We have looked not only at some of the dynamics of marital relationships in which this art finds meaning, but also at the societal development which has transformed the art. My concern has been to avoid that “static definition of social life” which is “one of the dangers constantly threatening a sociology of art” (Duvignaud 1972:142). Thus rather than looking at traditional art as one stage of development which is to be contrasted to a later stage of modernism, I have attempted to view recent innovations in terms of amplification and perdurability. The art has changed, as has the society in which it is produced, but the new has not replaced the old but rather transformed it. Let us now look at several changes of sculptural form from a more specifically art theory point of view.

One significant difference between clothed and non-clothed Baule statues is to be found in the interpretation of the trunk of the body. Traditionally the trunk (*afien*, “middle”) is interpreted artistically as a single unit, bounded by the neck and the *bo nenglen* (“pelvic circle”), i.e., as the total middle mass between the head (*ti*) and the “bottom” (*bo*) (cf. Fig. 22-8).²⁶ With the introduction of clothing, however, the interpretation of the trunk often emphasizes the division of the trunk into chest (*we*) and belly (*ku*) by making explicit the *waist* (although there is no Baule word for “waist,” as such). In traditional thought, it would appear, the chest and belly are seen as the upper and lower parts of the trunk but with no particular line of division between the two. Unlike the Western notion of “waist” which seems to have the sense of a circular narrowing of the trunk on a horizontal plane—and thus a construction of the torso whether seen from the front or the side—the Baule notion of *bo nenglen* or “the thinness of the base,” as it were, does not refer to the trunk at all but rather to a line *between* the trunk and the “bottom” (in the composite sense of “hips,” “haunches,” “groin”). This line, when seen from the side, descends at an approximately 30 degree angle from the horizontal (cf. Fig.

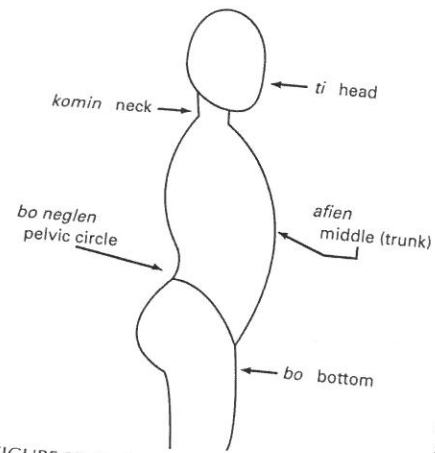
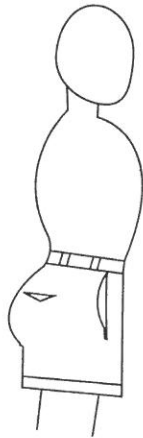


FIGURE 22-8 Baule terms for certain body parts.

22-8). The carving of a waist not only does away with the *bo neglen* but also drastically changes the profile by a horizontal division of the body (cf. Fig. 22-9). This division of the body owes more to fashion than phy-

FIGURE 22-9 The waist.



sique, that is to say the idea of a "waist" must be seen as *cultural* rather than *natural*. The waist has only a tenuous relation to physical form as is only too evident when one reads Quentin Bell's treatise *On Human Finery* where in describing various eras of fashion he refers to "waists" which are pinched-in (p. 66), thick (p. 66), broad (p. 83), non-existent (p. 158), natural (pp. 156, 163, 175), distorted (p. 166), or even "a few inches below the arm pits" (p. 214). Thus the introduction of the Western notion of "waist" into Baule statuary art had the immediate effect of transforming the idea of bodily volume—demonstrating the maxim that clothes do indeed make the man.

Some of the other elements developed in recent Baule statuary art have more direct antecedents in traditional forms. Take, for example, the positioning of the arms and hands. With traditional Baule statues there is a general tendency for the arms either to closely follow the form of the trunk or to be sculpted directly on it in low relief, and concurrently for the hands to be minimal and in a position of rest on either side of the navel (cf. Figs. 22-5 and 22-10). In the more recent clothed statues, the arms are often in the same relative position—the upper arms hanging more or less straight down by the sides, and the forearms coming toward the front of the body—but the hands *tend* to be placed, or perhaps one should say hidden, in pockets (cf. Figs. 22-11-22-15). Thus the idea continues in a modified form; arms which formerly terminated in diminutive hands now end in pockets, as though the Baule artist had decided that the final solution to the problem of hands was to do away with them entirely.

The importance of the head is a constant in old and newer forms of Baule art. For example, there is virtually no difference in the proportion of the head to the body; both forms manifest a disproportionate emphasis on the head, due, perhaps, to the importance of facial aesthetics in the overall consideration of human beauty. One seemingly major contrast between traditional and modern statues is that of coiffure versus head-

of culturally ordained aesthetic criteria to demonstrate the *humanness* of the spirit lover. Given that the "head is always a most sensitive index of fashionable change" (Bell 1976:123) it is not surprising that sculptural innovation makes ready use of imported headgear and new tonsorial fashions. The colonial pith helmet, one of the most important symbols of the colonial era, became one of the most common accoutrements represented in Baule art of this period. More recently the representation of headgear seems to be decreasing in importance in direct relation to the increasing importance of the new hair styles which have originated in the urban context. The new styles—publicized

FIGURE 22-11 *Ancien combattant*. The anchor insignia on the forage cap indicates membership in the French *troupes coloniales*. The meaning of the cross pendant is unclear; it may simply be intended as a decorative item of the wider world. 29 cm.; red and black dye.



FIGURE 22-10 Man rendered very traditionally. This figure, the exception of the helmet, is in a very traditional style and thus marks one of the early steps in the development of modern Baule sculpture. (It should be noted that although the genitals are minimal, they are not broken). 32.5 cm.; dark patina; kaolin.

gear, but the similarities of purpose are, I would maintain, greater than any superficial differences. One of the most important functions of human hair is as a social indicator; the coiffing or shaving of hair is undertaken for such social ends as the marking of change in status, as in bereavement, or the demonstration of social proprieties (cf. Hallpike 1969). Coiffure makes manifest, as it were, tonsorial morality—the person who is "properly" coiffed implicitly acknowledges his allegiance to prevalent social standards. Similarly in statuary art coiffure indicates the *social* character of the other-world person who is represented; the artist makes use

by barbershop signs (cf. Fig. 22-16) and bearing such exotic names as *Ghana*, *Pélé* (after the Brazilian football star), *Babyface*, *Azazou*, *Yéyé*, *Santiago*, or even *Ordinaire*—are symbols par excellence of the developing urban aesthetic in the post colonial nation-state. The incorporation of these new hair styles into Baule art demonstrates the dynamism of the artistic tradition and, once again, the continual interrelation of human and sculptural aesthetics.

A final item that deserves comment is scarification, both facial and corporal. Traditionally scarification was above all associated with the age period of youth, considered by the Baule as the time between child-

FIGURE 22-12 *Gendarme*. This figure, with pronounced neck-lines, strikes the pose of the ubiquitous *gendarme* with his holstered pistol and white knee socks. As is typical of modern statues, the hands are in a position of rest in the pockets. 30 cm.; yellow, white, red, grey, and blue paint.



FIGURE 22-13 Figure with parted hair in modern style. This figure has a modern parted hairstyle, a tank top, and shorts, but has traditional scarification on his face and the back of his neck. 27.5 cm.; bluish and black dye; kaolin.

hood and adulthood during which it is expected that youths will "do their young man thing" (*di gbanflen*) and maidens will "do their young woman thing" (*di talua*)—in brief, that they will enjoy their physical maturity before accepting the constraints of adulthood and social maturity. This time of life, as noted previously, is critical for the presentation of self, since it is at this time that one forms one's social identity and that one's public character becomes known. Just as it is possible to take or be given a "youth name" (*gbanflen dunman* or *talua dunman* for males and females respectively) which characterizes this incipient social identity, and if self-imposed attempts to enhance it, so scari-



FIGURE 22-14 Traditional figure with atypical concavity of the body. Although the facial aesthetics of this figure are very traditional, the concavity of the body is quite unusual in Baule statuary art. It is unclear whether his hair is styled in a "Ghana-cut" or whether it is rendered abstractly in no particular style. 34.5 cm.; black and red dye; kaolin.

fication was undertaken to affect one's image by the permanent addition of signs of beauty.²⁷ The modern equivalent of scarification is dandification; clothes now function for image-building in the same way that scars once did, albeit clothes are a more flexible means of social transformation.

This brief discussion of the continuity of artistic interpretations and ideas was undertaken in order to demonstrate that the similarities between traditional and modern Baule art are more significant than the differences. There has been no radical disjunction in the art's evolution; the new flows nat-



FIGURE 22-15 Man in plaid cap. One is tempted to say this a man of ease or leisure. He wears a plaid cap, a shirt with cravat, creased shorts, and a kind of saddle shoe. 24.5 cm.; red and black dye; kaolin.

urally from the old with the function remaining the same even though the form takes advantage of new elements, especially those of dress.

Clothed Men and Unclothed Women

Before closing the discussion of the effect of fashion upon sculptural form I would like to speculate judiciously on the problem of the depiction of males and females in modern Baule art, i.e., to examine what seems to be a current difference between clothed male statues and unclothed female statues. I mentioned previously that according to my observations of the art market in the town of Bouaké there would seem to be a significant



FIGURE 22-16 Barbershop sign (in the town of Bouake) showing current hairstyles.

disproportion in the ratio of male to female statues. A similar disproportion apparently exists in the incidence of clothing on male and female statues; based on personal observations I would state that a male statue has a much higher probability of being clothed than a female. If one can safely assume that my observations in the art market accurately reflect the reality of statue and motif distribution, then we are faced with the problem of explaining why male statues demonstrate modernism more frequently than female statues.

A possible partial explanation of this disparity could be found in the idea that modern female dress shows less difference from traditional dress than does modern male dress, and thus that there is no significant change in female fashion to capitalize on in statuary art. Or one might assume that modern roles for women show significantly less difference from traditional roles than do modern roles for men, and thus that the modern artistic interpretation of women has more limited possibilities. Another way of looking at this problem, however, would be to examine basic differences between the social positions of the two sexes. One very sig-

nificant sex-based difference in Baule society is the fact that it is indisputably easier for a woman to get a husband than it is for a man to get a wife. No matter what her problems may be, even if aesthetic, it is exceedingly rare for a woman who desires marriage to remain unmarried; such is not the case for a man, and many men spend years of difficulty before finding a wife. A woman has more choice in acquiring a marital partner than a man; whereas she can usually choose among many suitors, he may virtually be forced to accept the single alternative imposed upon him by factors beyond his control. Thus I think that it would not be far-fetched to say that in the contemporary situation of a spouse are *more social than physical*, whereas for a man the criteria are *more physical than social*. In other words for a man the importance is on the physical potential of the woman he chooses for his wife, since above all he needs her for child-bearing. It is perhaps this difference of expected roles—social versus natural—that is echoed in the differential use of clothing on male and female statues.²⁸

The difference between clothed male statues and unclothed female statues could also be due, however, to the differential impact which towns had on Baule men and women during the colonial era, for, as the Etiennes (1964) point out, towns, as the seat of colonial power, functioned as a pole of repulsion for men but as a pole of attraction, or refuge, for women. Thus the orientation or openness of women toward urban existence finds an echo in the urban image of their other-world men, whereas men's other-world women preserve in their statuary form the appearance of the more traditional rural sector.

CONCLUSIONS

The present essay has been written for the purpose of exegesis; my intent has been to explain critically a particular art genre and

its modernization by a close examination of the explicit and implicit ideas which imbue it with meaning. My exposition of this meaning has been based on the assumption that art forms are cultural and therefore that their explanation must be derived from their particular social contexts. The exegesis has thus been directed to an examination of Baule social knowledge and social reality.

It is tempting to consider psychological explanations for Baule statuary art, but on the whole I have avoided this approach for two reasons. One reason is quite simply the lack of data; to investigate the psychological motivations of the art's patrons would require a significant number of complete case histories. Only then would one be in a position to discuss intelligently such psychologically interesting topics as the common denominators of the crises which precipitate the carving of statues, the kinds of characters and identities attributed to other-world lovers, and the evolution of these relationships during adult life. The major reason for avoiding psychological explanation, however, has been a conviction that the psychological drives and factors which may influence the art form must first be understood within the social tradition of the art. One cannot deny that the psychology of individual art patrons is both interesting and worthy of study, but until the pre-existent social format of the art is understood psychology can only provide a very incomplete explanation.

Similarly an analysis which concentrates overly on the object neglects the sociological and cultural contexts of the art, as well as the effect of the art on the particular audience of man and wife. It is in this respect that I think Vogel's approach (1973; 1977) is limited in only discussing the one-to-one relationship between a person and his other-world sexual partner. Her explanation is incomplete for it does not take into account either the intrusion of the relationship into conjugal dynamics (see above) or the significant gender-based differences of other-world lovers which exist in Baule thought (see

above). My analysis has stressed the *relational* identity of the other-world lover—an identity which derives from the fundamental opposition of other-world lover to actual spouse—in order to discuss the notion at the social level and thus to talk of social reality. The idea of other-world lovers goes beyond the individual level because it has a *social effect*, especially within marriage. This is demonstrated by the fact that the relationship between one's other-world lover and one's spouse is characterized by the Baule themselves as one of reciprocal competition or jealousy (*kwalan*) between two rivals (*wela*) for a sexual partner.

What I am arguing for then is an analytic method that deals seriously with the viewpoints of the culture under study, whether the viewpoints are explicit statements or implicit ideas systematized by the investigator. In the above essay I have presented in an expository manner the salient Baule ideas concerning the other-world and the sexual partners who live there, and have discussed the aesthetics of the statuary art which represents them. My stress has been on the social nature of these ideas, such as the social character of aesthetic canons in relation to both human and statuary form. My concern has been to present as completely as possible the social significance of the art form, for I would state that it is only through an understanding of the social significance that one can fully appreciate it as art.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The data for this article were collected in 1976-77 while I was engaged in research on a project entitled "The Borrowing and Transmutation of Ritual Drama: The Goli Cult of Central Ivory Coast." This research was supported by grants from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research and the Institut d'histoire, d'art, et d'archéologie Africains of the Université Nationale de Côte d'Ivoire, whose assistance is hereby gratefully acknowledged. Most of the research upon which this essay is based was conducted among the Saa sub-group of the Baule with supporting data from the Warebo sub-group. It was only after writing the initial draft of the essay that I was able to consult Susan Vogel's

dissertation (1977) on Baule art; thus I duplicate some information found therein without, however, making explicit cross-reference to this most important contribution to our understanding of Baule art.

I would like to express my thanks to Susan Vogel for her detailed criticisms and comments on a previous draft, and I acknowledge my debt to her research which preceded my own and surpassed it in scope.

NOTES

1. In *The Philosophy of Karl Popper*, ed. Arthur Schlipp (*Library of Living Philosophers* Vol. XIV, Bk. II), Vol. II, p. 929. Quoted by Quentin Bell 1976:193.
2. My transcription of Baule follows the orthographic conventions established by the *Institut de Linguistique Appliquée de l'Université Nationale de Côte d'Ivoire*, in which the International Phonetic Alphabet is used with the exception of the palatal nasal (*ny*) and nasalized vowels which are written as vowel followed by *n*. I would like to express my thanks to my wife, Judith Timyan, for her help in the discussion of Baule terms as well as their interpretation and transcription.
3. Cf. Vogel (1973; 1977:Chap. VI) for a general discussion of Baule figure sculpture.
4. The literal translation of *asie usu* is "earth-spirit," but since it functions as a generic term in the taxonomy of spirits I shall use the term "nature-spirit."
5. On locational nouns see Timyan 1977:92-105.
6. To correct the ethnographic record it must be noted that Etienne commits an egregious error in stating that *bls* designates the non-human world, the un-of-the-bush, . . . as well as the hereafter in which live supernatural beings" (Etienne 1966:368). Nature or the bush is referred to in Baule as *bo* (rather than *bls*) and bush-spirits are *bla nenge*. Thus Etienne purely and simply makes a mistaken attribution.
7. It would appear that each person also has an other-world father (*bls bls si*), although other-world fathers are discussed less often than mothers—perhaps because the latter function above all as explanatory agents of infant death.
8. Another (more common) solution revealed in divination may be to erect a small mound (*lo fannin*) of clay, kaolin, and leaves surmounted by a cowry shell. There is a feeling that this white clay stand-in is more "cooling" than a staturary representative which may well be more difficult to live with.
9. Etienne terminates this footnote by saying "this is one more reason to consider that in Baule society masculine sexual jealousy is strongly repressed."
10. My observations appear to be confirmed by Etienne's statement that "the *bls bla* is rarely the object of a cult" (1966:368). Furthermore it may well be the preponderance of male statues that has given rise to

the erroneous notion that Baule statues are "ancestor figures." Cf. Vogel (1973:23), who states that her observation in the field contradict "the widely held assumption that Baule figures were ancestor portraits."

Susan Vogel has pointed out to me that this sample probably also contained *asie usu* figures, although using the criteria she advances (1973:25; 1977:168) concerning the different surfaces of statues representing nature spirits and spirit lovers I would maintain that virtually all which I saw had the smooth patination associated with statues of spirit lovers. For our understanding of Baule ideas concerning male and female roles it would be interesting to know whether *asie usu* are more often represented as male or as female.

11. Frède (1964:184) states that the average number of wives per married man is 1.24 among the Baule.

12. This is not to say, of course, that a woman only finds another man after she is divorced. It is often said that "a woman is like a cluster of palm-nuts, when she falls she takes the leaves with her" (*bla ti ke ae betre, s'e to o fa nnya*); i.e., when a woman "falls" from her husband, she "lands" with another.

13. In general, pardon is asked either to excuse oneself or to demand a favor; the one asking pardon temporarily assumes an inferior position in order to receive dispensation.

14. The prefix *a-* is a nominalizing agent which changes the verb *to*, "to fall," into the substantive "fall"; *nle*, according to Olsen (1977), has the sense of "change, augmentation, enlarging of affairs or goods" and gives rise to the greeting *nlele* "which is given to one who has been away and has supposedly had a change in his situation."

I have definite information that the *atnlele* ceremony for other-world men occurs among the Saa and Wareho sub-groups of the Baule, although Vogel (1977:157) states that it does not occur among the Akwe.

15. On the use of *yasa* see above, p. 3. Again it would appear that the term is used in order to designate a male with whom sexual relations are impossible.

16. The most common method of divination among the Baule makes use of nine leather thongs (called *ngob*)—each carrying a specific symbol—that are jumbled together and then drawn out in "message-unit" lots of three thongs at a time.

17. Literally this should be translated as "neck lines," but since such lines are inherently beautiful I prefer the translation "beauty-lines."

18. This is similar to the idea that black gums complement an already beautiful face and smile.

19. In relation to food and drink *yofe* can be glossed as "tastes good"; there may thus be a play on the verb "cat," *di*, which also serves as a euphemism for sexual relations.

20. *Nenglen* can be glossed as either "thin" or "thinness"; thus *bo nenglen* can be translated as the "thinness of the base" or the "thinnest part of the *bo*."

21. Cf. Bell (1976:51) on fashion's interpretation of the bosom as a united mass or as separable breasts.

22. My understanding and discussion of fashion owes much to Quentin Bell's *On Human Finery*, and this debt is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

23. Veterans may also be of the First World War, though few are still alive.

24. A popular West African record of recent years has been "*Petit N'imprudent*," which describes the actions and speech of an *ancien combattant* who is moved to anger by the actions of a neighbor's disrespectful child (cf. Retord 1977).

25. In Baule society relative age is one of the most important social distinctions; as a general rule one's social importance increases in direct proportion to one's age.

26. Compare the following forms: *waka ti* "tree top," *waka aksen* "tree trunk/middle," *waka bo* "tree base."

27. Scarification among the Baule was undertaken for individual aesthetic reasons rather than ethnic identification. Some scarification, however, may indicate the application of "medicine" used to augment one's spiritual powers.

28. Cf. Ortner 1974 and Ravenhill 1978 for discussions of woman as closer to nature than man. For an illustration of a clothed female figure see Vogel 1973:23.

REFERENCES

- BAXANDALL, MICHAEL 1972 *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy*. London: Oxford University Press.
- BELL, QUENTIN 1976 *On Human Finery*. London: The Hogarth Press.
- CARTERON, MICHAEL R. P. 1972 *Petit Lexique Baoulé-Français*. Livrets 3-6, Etude de la Langue Baoulé. Bocanda: Mission Catholique. Mimeo.
- CROWNOVER, DAVID 1960 *The Pink People. Expedition* (Pennsylvania University Museum Bulletin) 2(3):33-35.
- DUTTON, DENIS 1977 *Art, Behavior, and the Anthropologists*. *Current Anthropology* 18(3):387-407.
- DUVIGNAUD, JEAN 1972 *The Sociology of Art*. New York: Harper & Row.
- ETIENNE, PIERRE 1966 *Phénomènes religieux et Facteurs Socio-économiques dans un Village de la Région de Bouaké (Côte d'Ivoire)*. *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* 6(3):367-401.
- 1972 *Les Interdictions de Mariage chez les Baoulé*. Abidjan: ORSTOM. Mimeo.
- 1974 *Essai d'Analyse des Interdictions de Mariage Baoulé*. In *Les Populations Communales de la Côte d'Ivoire et du Ghana*. Proceedings of the Colloque Inter-Universitaire Ghana-Côte d'Ivoire, Bondoukou, January 1974. Pp. 195-229.
- ETIENNE, PIERRE, and MONA ETIENNE 1964 *L'Organisation Sociale des Baoulé*. In *Etude Régionale de Bouaké*. Abidjan: Ministère de Plan (Gouvernement de Côte d'Ivoire). Pp. 125-195.
- 1971 *A Qui Mieux Mieux ou le Mariage chez les Baoulé*. *Cahiers ORSTOM: Série Sciences Humaines* 8(2):165-186.
- FRIDE, B. 1964 *L'analyse Démographique de la Population Actuelle*. In *Etude Régionale de Bouaké*. Abidjan: Ministère du Plan (Gouvernement de Côte d'Ivoire).
- GUERRY, VINCENT R. P. 1970 *La Vie Quotidienne dans un Village Baoulé*. Abidjan: INADES.
- HALLPIKE, C. R. 1969 *Social Hair*. *Man (N.S.)* 4(2):256-264.
- LEACH, EDMUND 1961 *Time and False Noses*. In *E. Leach, Rethinking Anthropology*. London: Athlone Press. Pp. 132-136.
- LIPS, JULIUS E. 1937 *The Savage Hits Back*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- OLSEN, GENE 1977 *Baule-English Dictionary*. Bouaké: Mission Protestante. Unpublished manuscript.
- ORTNER, SHERRY 1974 *Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture?* In M. Z. Rosaldo and L. Lamphere, eds., *Woman, Culture, and Society*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- RAVENHILL, PHILIP L. 1978 *The Interpretation of Symbolism in Wan Female Initiation*. *Africa* 48(1):66-78.
- READ, HERBERT 1931 *The Meaning of Art*. Baltimore: Penguin Books.
- RETORD, GEORGES 1977 *Petit N'imprudent*. *Recherche, Pédagogie et Culture* 5(29-30):35-43.
- SIMMEL, GEORG 1955 *Conflict*. Translated by Kurt H. Wolff. New York: Free Press.
- 1955 *The Web of Group Affiliations*. Translated by Reinhard Bendix. New York: Free Press.

TIMYAN, JUDITH 1977 A Discourse-based Grammar of Baule: The Kode Dialect. Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York.

TRUBETSKOY, N. S. 1949 Principes de Phonologie. Paris: Klincksieck.

VOGEL, SUSAN M. 1973 People of Wood: Baule Figure Sculpture. *Art Journal* 33(1):23-26.

——— 1977 Baule Art as an Expression of a Worldview. Ph.D. dissertation, New York University.

WEISKEL, TIMOTHY C. 1976 French Colonial Rule and the Baule Peoples: Resistance and Collaboration, 1889-1911. D.Phil. dissertation, Oxford University.

RADIANCE FROM THE WATERS: MENDE FEMININE BEAUTY

Sylvia Ardyn Boone

After receiving a B.A. degree in comparative literature, Sylvia Ardyn Boone pursued graduate studies in art history at Yale University, where she got her doctorate in 1979. She remains at Yale as an associate professor in History of Art and African and Afro-American Studies.

Describing her introduction to African aesthetics, Boone writes, "In the seventies I was enrolled in graduate seminars offered by Robert Farris Thompson. One week he sent a sculpture student and me to interview a resident West African couple (from Ghana, the husband a student in the Divinity School) about their preferences, standards, and tastes in matters of dress and decorum. Our conversations lasted for hours: such pleasure and high spirits! The two of them were cooperative and kindly; they seemed to love talking about beauty and fine form in self-presentation. The information they gave so freely was a revelation, a look into an aesthetic value system and its meaning in another culture.

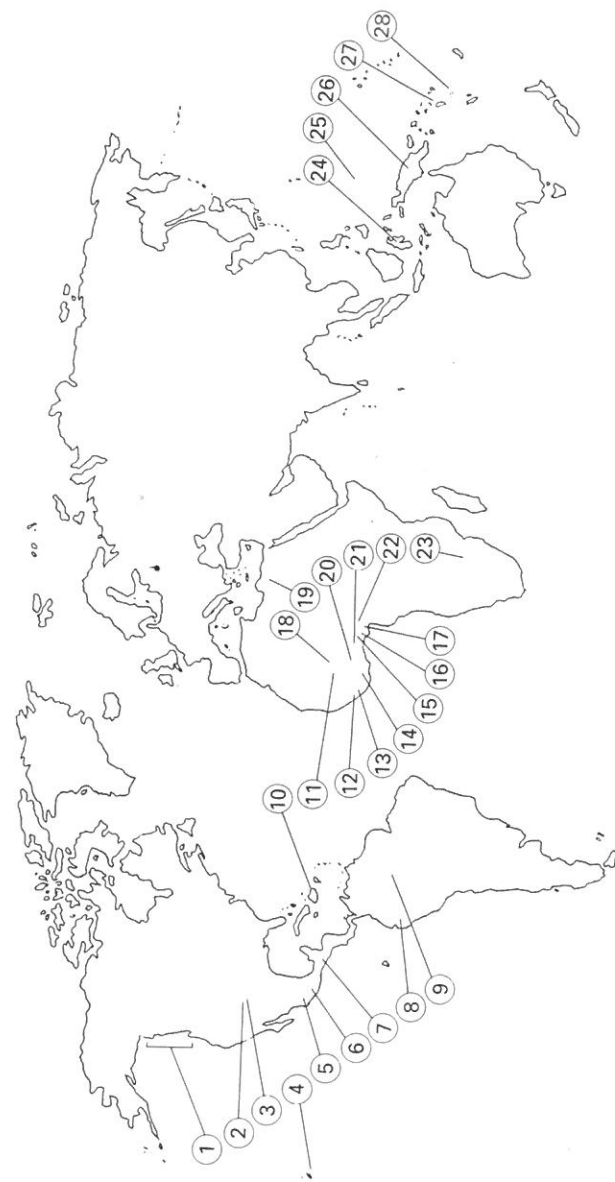
"Much of my research since then has repeated that initial, exciting encounter and has been a variation on that simple method of inquiry. By now my notebooks record hundreds of interviews with Mende, Akan, Wolof, and other West Africans, as well as Afro-Americans and Euro-Americans of this hemisphere. I still look at persons as though they were works of art; I still ask questions about the beauty of the hand, eyes, hair, mouth, breast, buttocks; the appropriateness in dress of the cloth, color, cut; the importance in motion of grace, gesture, pose.

"The answers I receive lead me from the concrete to the conceptual, from the physical to the metaphysical, providing the data from which I develop my lectures and writings."

Boone continues, "Like most researchers, I am indelibly marked by my first field experiences: hardly a day goes by that I do not remember some event from these periods, trying always to rethink its meaning or significance. Yet as I reread the excerpt reprinted here, I feel again my calm certainty and conviction. Over the years my admiration has steadily grown for the creativity and intelligence of the senior Mende women of the Sande Society.

"By now I have subjected my thoughts about Mende aesthetics to all the contemporary critical modes. As

From Sylvia Ardyn Boone, 1986, *Radiance from the Waters: Ideals of Feminine Beauty in Mende Art*. New Haven: Yale University Press. (Pp. 138-143 reprinted here.) Reprinted courtesy Yale University Press; photographs courtesy Rebecca Busselle.



Locations of societies discussed in the text and the corresponding authors.

- | | | |
|---|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Northwest Coast, including
Tlingit, Haida, and Kwakiutl
(Jonaitis, Blackman) | 14. Baule (Ravenhill) | 21. Dahomey (Blier) |
| 2. Navajo (Parezo, Witherspoon) | 15. Yoruba (Lawal) | 22. Bamum and Bali-Nyonga (Geary) |
| 3. Hopi (Kaliinohomoku, Brody) | 16. Benin (Ben-Amos) | 23. Shona (Berliner) |
| 4. Hawaii (Kealiinohomoku) | 17. Tiv (Keil) | 24. Toraja (Volkman) |
| 5. Huichol (Schaefer) | 18. Dogon (DeMott) | 25. Fais Island (Rubinstein) |
| 6. Mexicans of Acatlan (Lackey) | 19. Awlad 'Ali Bedouin (Abu-
Lughod) | 26. Kwoma (Kaufmann) |
| 7. Mayans of Santiago
Sacatepéquez (Smith) | 20. Dagomba (Chernoff) | 27. Malaita (Baumann) |
| 8. Shipibo (Roe) | | 28. Star Harbour (Mead) |
| 9. Yekuana (Guss) | | |
| 10. Puerto Rico (Koss) | | |
| 11. Mande (McNaughton) | | |
| 12. Mende (Boone) | | |
| 13. Gola (Field) | | |



PRENTICE HALL, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 07632

ART IN SMALL-SCALE SOCIETIES

Contemporary Readings

Richard L. Anderson, Editor
Kansas City Art Institute

Karen L. Field, Editor
Washburn University

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Art in small-scale societies : contemporary readings / Richard L. Anderson, editor, Karen L. Field, editor.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references.
ISBN 0-13-045451-6
1. Art, Primitive--Themes, motives. I. Anderson, Richard L.
1944- . II. Field, Karen L.
N5310.A69 1993
709'.01'1--dc20

92-14754
CIP

Editorial/production supervision and
interior design: Shelly Kupperman
Acquisitions editor: Nancy Roberts
Copy editor: Nancy Savio-Marcello
Prepress buyer: Kelly Behr
Manufacturing buyer: Mary Ann Gloriande
Editorial assistant: Pat Naturale
Cover designer: Kim Anderson
Cover art: Photograph of Yekuana basket of the type called *wanadi motai*.
Courtesy of Fowler Museum of Cultural History, UCLA (accession #X65-
7765).



©1993 by Prentice-Hall, Inc.
a Simon & Schuster Company
Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 07632

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be
reproduced, in any form or by any means,
without permission in writing from the publisher.

Printed in the United States of America
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

ISBN 0-13-045451-6

PRENTICE-HALL INTERNATIONAL (UK) LIMITED, London
PRENTICE-HALL OF AUSTRALIA PTY. LIMITED, Sydney
PRENTICE-HALL CANADA INC., Toronto
PRENTICE-HALL HISPANOAMERICANA, S.A., Mexico
PRENTICE-HALL OF INDIA PRIVATE LIMITED, New Delhi
PRENTICE-HALL OF JAPAN, INC., Tokyo
SIMON & SCHUSTER ASIA PTE. LTD., Singapore
EDITOR: PRENTICE-HALL DO BRASIL, LTDA., Rio de Janeiro