

REVOLUTIONS:

A century of Makonde Masquerade in Mozambique



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A century of Makonde Masquerade in Mozambique

by Alexander Ives Bortolot

MIRIAM AND IRA D. WALLACH ART GALLERY
Columbia University in the City of New York · 2007

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This publication is issued in conjunction with the exhibition *Revolutions: A Century of Makonde Masquerade in Mozambique*, held at the Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Art Gallery, Columbia University in the City of New York, 18 September through 18 December 2007.

The exhibition and publication have been made possible through an endowment established by Miriam and Ira D. Wallach.

PHOTO CREDITS: Alexander Bortolot pp. xxxxxx; Dwight Primiano pp. xxxxxx; John Bigelow Taylor [Ross loans] pp. ; MAG

FRONTISPIECE: *Mapiko* dancer entering the performance space accompanied by a *lipalipanda* player. Matambalale Village, Cabo Delgado Province, Mozambique. Photograph by Alexander Bortolot, 2004

Published by the Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Art Gallery, Columbia University in the City of New York
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Library of Congress Control Number:

ISBN: 1-884919-20-0

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FOREWORD

More than twenty years ago, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach made the prescient gift that established the first art gallery at Columbia University. The gallery, operating under the auspices of the Department of Art History and Archaeology, was given a specific and special mission. It would serve to complement and extend the educational goals of the university by providing a forum for graduate students and faculty to organize exhibitions growing out of their research. Over the years it has been my great pleasure as director of the gallery to witness fresh, innovative scholarship be brought to life in exhibitions that can be shared with a broad public. It is with tremendous delight and pride that the gallery presents *Revolutions: A Century of Makonde Masquerade in Mozambique*, which exemplifies our mission. The project emerges from the archival research and fieldwork that Alexander Bortolot undertook in conjunction with preparations for his doctoral dissertation on the evolution of Makonde masks and dances in relation to Portuguese colonialism and the Marxist ideologies of the postcolonial state.

Alexander Bortolot spent 2004 living in various small villages in northern Mozambique, staying with a number of different Makonde families. In addition to his extensive research in state and institutional archives, he conducted interviews with dancers, sculptors, ritual specialists, and political authorities and observed at first hand the masquerades and their preparations. The photographs and video documentation that he made in the course of his research is drawn upon throughout the exhibition to contextualize the cultural artifacts on display.

Some of his research findings have been distilled into the essay in this catalogue and into the exhibition at the Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Art Gallery. Together they represent the first major contribution to the study of Makonde art in more than twenty-five years and provide a rare opportunity for an in-depth look at material that will be unfamiliar to most viewers. Gratitude is extended to Alexander Bortolot for his scholarly contributions as well as for his attention to all details of the project. Special thanks go to the lenders for letting us borrow

works from their collections: the American Museum of Natural History, the Memorial Art Gallery at the University of Rochester, Drs. Jean and Noble Endicott, Amyas Naegele and Eve Glasberg, Laura and James J. Ross, and Stewart J. Warkow, as well as several private collectors. We remain deeply appreciative of the endowment established by Miriam and Ira D. Wal-lach, which made this project possible.

Sarah Elliston Weiner

The research for this exhibition, and for the doctoral dissertation upon which it is based, would not have been possible without the generosity, patience, and goodwill of multiple individuals, communities, and institutions. I am profoundly indebted to my friends and research assistants in Mozambique—Vicente Mwanga, Atanasio Nyussi, Kalu, and Jo-Jó—without whom this project could never have happened. I also especially wish to thank Sabina Bissali and her daughter Vitoria, who accepted me into their family and took care of me during the rough spots. My research was supported by the Museu Nacional de Arte, Maputo, and its director Julietta Massimbe; the Mozambican Ministry of Culture; the Direcção Provincial da Cultura, Cabo Delgado Province; and the Arquivo do Patrimônio Cultural (ARPAC), Maputo. All fieldwork was funded by a C.V. Starr Dissertation Research Grant. Several individuals have helped me to develop my ideas for the exhibition or have read drafts of the catalogue essay, among them Professors Susan Vogel and Natalie Kampen of Columbia University, Dr. Enid Schildkrout of the Museum for African Art in New York, and Dr. Frederick Lamp and Amanda Maples of the Yale University Art Gallery. The American Museum of Natural History, the Memorial Art Gallery at the University of Rochester, Stewart J. Warkow, Drs. Jean and Noble Endicott, Laura and James J. Ross, Amyas Naegele and Eve Glasberg, as well as a number of other private collectors, have all graciously opened their collections to me. Finally, I would like to thank Jeanne, Victor, and Zachary Bortolot, as well as Anne Thompson, for their unflagging support and encouragement.

Alexander Ives Bortolot

MAPIKO MASQUERADE, A LANGUAGE FOR CHANGE

This is a story about the continuity of a single aesthetic tradition during a century marked by tremendous social, political, and economic upheaval. The Makonde people, who occupy the remote Mueda Plateau in northern Mozambique, have experienced colonial subjugation, religious conversion, mass labor migration, a devastating war for national independence, the imposition of socialism, a divisive civil war, and, most recently, the emergence of a free market capitalism in which only the swift and the smart succeed. Throughout this ruptured history, Makondes have continued to create wooden masks and perform with them in masquerades called *mapiko*, and it appears that more masks, and more types of masquerade, exist now than ever before.

What accounts for *mapiko*'s sustained, central role within the lives of so many Makonde generations? Although changing times may both help to keep old traditions alive and engender new ones, *mapiko*'s continued importance to Makonde experience derives neither from a nostalgic desire for the past nor a reactive need for ethnic self-definition. Instead, the art form has provided succeeding generations of Makondes with an essential language with which to assess changing realities and articulate their positions within them.

At *mapiko*'s core lies a confounding paradox: in Makonde thought the masked dancer, or *lipiko*, is simultaneously a man in a mask, the dramatic depiction of a character, and the incarnation of an ancestral spirit, or *lihoka*. Built upon these competing and contradictory concepts, *mapiko* is an unstable and restless art form, separately and simultaneously claimed by multiple players with diverse desires and ambitions. The art form's essential, and essentially conflicting, qualities speak to the very heart of Makonde identity and reveal broader concerns that have persistently arisen over the course of time.

Within Makonde society, *mapiko*'s tripartite quality has enormous importance, largely because the art form is enveloped in issues of gender and social structure. *Mapiko* is above all

a masculine medium that has until very recently excluded women. Men create and perform with the masks, and historically have asserted authority over the genre by developing the spiritual associations of the dance, claiming that only they can bring forth and control the *lihoka* that the *lipiko* embodies. Makonde men discourage public acknowledgment of the dancer's human status by enforcing certain protocols of behavior and speech: for instance, sculptors carve their masks alone in hidden forest workshops, and talk of masks is banished from public discourse.

Nonetheless, the “secret” of the dancer's human identity is an empty one. Men are fully aware that women know all about *mapiko*, and the anxiety that this knowledge creates has served as a fulcrum on which various visions of *mapiko* have pivoted. Conservative practitioners who seek to express the spiritual basis for the mask's authority have often sought to reduce the mask and masked dancer to a static icon by limiting and formalizing appearance, subject matter, and choreography. Many other men, especially younger generations who consider the spiritual emphasis of the genre outmoded, have strategically undercut the spiritual quality through new masquerades that embrace *mapiko*'s representational and narrative potential, pushing the bounds of the medium with masks, characters, and dance steps that reflect contemporary social issues.

In this sense, *mapiko* presents a logic and grammar of expression that is not only conceptual and aesthetic but also historically contingent. Over time, the full constellation of *mapiko*'s components and behaviors have carried shifting connotations of tradition, authority, cosmopolitanism, and modernity. This essay traces how Makonde sculptors and performers have employed the language of *mapiko* masks and choreographies to conceptualize their world and find places for themselves within it.

MAKONDE SCULPTURAL ARTS

Before and during the era of Portuguese colonialism (for the Makonde, effectively 1920 to 1974), the Makonde lived in small-scale, clan-based settlements. They have no tradition of chiefdom beyond a lineage head and village elders. Arts of leadership indicating wealth and



Fig. 1 Makonde woman with geometric facial tattoos (*dinembu*). Photograph by A. Bortolot, 2004

influence, such as the familiar stools and large-scale figures of central Africa and parts of Tanzania, are extremely rare. Until the 1950s, when some carvers began to support themselves by producing commercial art for Western patrons, no specific social role existed for sculptors of wood in Makonde society. All men received instruction in carving and other traditionally masculine activities at the time of their initiation into adulthood. Those interested in honing their artistic abilities generally developed their skills alone or with their peers but not, as in some other African societies, under the tutelage of master carvers. It is therefore not surprising that much Makonde art is characterized by its diminutive, personal, and utilitarian nature. Makonde sculptors have never been indifferent artists, however: their snuff boxes, cooking utensils, small human figures, and elaborate canes often exhibit a vivacious interest in linear, geometric design and the sculptural interrogation of the human form (see cat. 1–4, 8–11, 13–14, 24–28).

Despite the absence of chiefly figures, sculptors do have cause to create large-scale sculpture meant for a public audience: the masquerades performed by men's dance groups. In the Shimakonde language, the term *lipiko* (plural. *mapiko*) refers to both the mask and the masked dancer (cat. 7). Masquerades themselves are generically known as *mapiko*. Fundamentally, the *lipiko* is a carved wooden mask representing a human face. Made from a soft, lightweight wood called *ntene*, *mapiko* are most frequently helmetlike in form and fit over the upper half of the wearer's head, covering his ears, eyes, and nose, so that he looks out through the mask's mouth.



Fig. 2 During *mapiko* masquerades, the performer closely coordinates his dance steps with the lead drummer's rhythms and gives them greater emphasis by carrying colorful kerkchiefs or other items in his hands. Photograph by A. Bortolot, 2004



Fig. 3 The masquerade genre *mapiko mang'anyamu* is distinguished from other *mapiko* styles through the inclusion of metal hoe blades in its percussion section. Photograph by A. Bortolot, 2004

Mapiko may depict any human or animal subject, but historically the most common are Makonde men and women, recognizable by their ethnically distinct facial ornamentation such as tattoos, lip plugs, and chipped teeth (fig. 1). In the past, tattoos were rendered in appliquéd strips of blackened wax; today, they are more generally painted on or incised into the wood. Coiffures are created with actual human hair or, less frequently, with animal fur. Masks are colored with naturally occurring pigments that produce a range of blacks, browns, reds and yellows. Some artists experiment with synthetic paints. Although no specific rules govern coloration, male masks tend to be painted black or brown and female masks are often red or yellow. Masks depicting light-skinned non-Africans tend to be red, yellow, or gray.

THE ANATOMY OF PERFORMANCE: COMPETITION, ORIGINALITY, AND INVENTION

Every Makonde village contains a large, open space carpeted with sand and protected from the sun and the rain by the dense foliage and spreading limbs of enormous mango trees. Swept clean of thorns, leaves, and litter, the hard-packed sand provides an ideal surface for dancing, while the trees and the shadows they cast create an impression of structured space that engulfs both performers and audience and fosters a palpable sense of intimacy and connection between the two. Excited crowds of men, women, and children converge on these spots to watch *mapiko* groups perform in celebration of national holidays or in recognition of momentous occasions within the community. These events frequently involve multiple *mapiko* groups from several different villages.¹ As they perform consecutively or simultaneously throughout the day, working to draw the largest audiences and the highest accolades through beautiful masks and feats of physical and musical skill, they also give form to intense rivalries among different communities.

Both the performers and audience members know that *mapiko* is a competition, and it is this sensibility that drives innovation within the art form. Those who seek glory for themselves and their communities know that the surest way to electrify the entire region is to create an astonishing new *mapiko* genre. Great masquerades, however, do not result simply from a new mask type or different choreography but are the products of intense creative collaboration among specialists in the areas of dancing, drumming, singing, and sculpture. Indeed, *mapiko* aficionados have a Shimakonde word for the quality that distinguishes excellent performances, and excellent new genres, from merely good ones: *udagwa*, or the smooth synchrony of independent but complementary parts.² In the context of *mapiko* performance, the concept of *udagwa* encompasses not only the drumming, singing, and dancing routines, but also the quality of accoutrements such as masks, instruments, and costumes (fig. 2).

Overall, a dancer's performance is conceived as the visual and kinetic counterpart to the rhythms of the drums, and the two components are tightly coordinated. The dancer himself

represents a union of sound and movement through the addition of small percussive instruments to his costume, the type and location of which determine to some extent the nature of the choreography he performs. Dancers who wear strands of small iron bells (*dinjugwa*) on their chests tend to concentrate motion in their upper bodies by shaking their torsos from side to side or spinning rapidly. Those with seedpod rattles (*meve*) affixed to their calves engage in frenetic shuffles and forceful stomping. These movements form a standard repertoire that provides the basis for nearly all forms of *mapiko*. While most groups draw upon this basic vocabulary, they distinguish themselves from others by cultivating a unique, signature “style” known as *shikuvo* (pl. *vikuvo*). *Vikuvo* may be narrative or dramatic passages that set everyday actions to a rhythm, movements devised around novel new props, or even a new way of entering the dance space.

The drumming that accompanies the dance has a polyrhythmic structure produced through the simultaneous use of several types of wooden drums. High-pitched drums, including the small chalice-shaped *singanga* and *likuti*, and the tall slender *neya*, provide rapid background rhythms. A larger bass drum, usually the short broad *ligoma* or the barrel-shaped *ntoji*, is played at variable tempos in coordination with the dancer’s movements (cat. 16–19). Performances are also punctuated by blasts from the *lipalipanda*, a side-blown trumpet made from a goat or antelope horn (cat. 21–23). Of all these instruments, the most important are the bass drums, which require exceptionally skilled musicians to play them. As they both direct and follow the dancer through complex rhythmic sequences, master drummers use their fingers, palms, and even elbows to control an astonishing variety of tones.

Drums as much as masks communicate a group’s identity to its public. Expensive objects, drums are signifiers of financial success and artistic prestige, and their quality and beauty elicit admiration from audience and rivals alike. Their type and number, as well as the way they are played, are important elements through which *mapiko* groups differentiate themselves and their style of performance. Drum arrangements have changed greatly over time, the result of new groups’ putting their own marks upon the art form. For example, several newer versions of *mapiko* incorporate a variety of alternative percussive instruments, such as hoe blades, iron piping, and even rattles made from twenty-ounce aluminum beer cans. These new instruments not only distinguish younger dance groups from their more established competitors but also have the advantage of being cheaper to obtain and more durable than wooden drums with skin membranes (fig. 3).

Much like the mask and drums, the costume a dancer wears can incorporate simple changes that signify important differences in a group’s self-image and perspective on tradition. Photographs of a dancer taken in 1940 indicate that the “standard” *mapiko* costume in use today has changed little in the past sixty-five years. The entire body is covered, leaving only the feet and hands exposed: the dancer’s arms and legs are encased within tight-fitting



Fig. 4 *Mapiko* dancers are dressed away from public view in tight-fitting costumes that cover their entire bodies. In the foreground, a member of the group attaches a fabric ruff to the mask. Photograph by A. Bortolot, 2004



Fig. 5 In performances that incorporate wooden pectoral masks depicting a woman's breasts and pregnant stomach, dancers initially cover the mask with a cloth mantle, then offer the audience titillating glimpses before finally revealing the mask in its entirety. Photograph by A. Bortolot, 2004

sleeves and leggings made from narrow lengths of cloth wrapped lengthwise around the limbs and secured with a column of knots. A loincloth with a pleated ruffle running along the hips covers the pelvic region, while the torso is wrapped in cloth and then enclosed within a snug jerkin or corset made from interwoven lengths of plaited rope. A cloth ruff, cinched around the flared base of the wooden mask, covers the neck and the lower third of the face (fig. 4). Other groups have updated this formula by replacing the tight-fitting costume with store-bought pants and shirts, or by affixing rags and strips of fiber to the torso to accentuate the kinetic qualities of the performance.

MAPIKO IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

Absent written accounts or photographic documentation of precolonial *mapiko* performance, knowledge of the genre from this era necessarily relies upon the subjective recollections of the living. This poses a problem, for, not unexpectedly, attitudes concerning contemporary *mapiko* color views of past practices. Today, disapproving Makonde elders try to discredit modern *mapiko* by portraying it as “untraditional” and often present a picture of early twentieth-century masquerade that is perhaps more conservative, static, and rule-bound than it actually was. Younger practitioners attempt to buttress the legitimacy of their new forms of *mapiko* by linking them to past traditions, or by presenting the idea of innovation as itself

fundamental to *mapiko* practice. Based on what little information is available, any examination of early *mapiko* is necessarily limited.

The evolution of *mapiko* styles during the first four decades of the twentieth century can be traced through changes in drum arrangements and choreography. According to the oldest living Makonde generations, who were children in the 1910s and 1920s, *mapiko* employed one or more *mileya* (sing. *neya*) as lead drums and was called *mapiko wamileya*, or “*mapiko* of neyas.” The dancer’s performance was extremely fast-paced and punctuated by aggressive and unpredictable behavior directed toward the audience. In the late 1930s, *mapiko walikuti*, a new style that utilized a large *likuti* as its lead drum, gained popularity and largely replaced *mapiko wamileya*. *Mapiko walikuti* deemphasized the dancer’s interactions with the audience and instead, focusing on the formal qualities of the choreography itself, developed performances composed of extended and complex sequences of movement. The spread of *mapiko walikuti* led to the greater elaboration and codification of dance steps within the *mapiko* medium, and much of the choreographic vocabulary that *mapiko* dancers draw upon today originated at this time.

Makonde masks made at the height of *mapiko walikuti*’s popularity—a period spanning the late 1930s through the mid-1950s—are very distinctive. Almost all are depictions of Makonde men and women whose faces have been reinterpreted as the interplay of polygonal forms (cat. 7). On these masks, the chin is reduced to a three-sided pyramid, while the wide mouth is a diamond formed by the convergence of triangular lips. The nose, described merely by incised lines that indicate the curvature of the nostrils, projects only slightly from the facial plane, and the extensively undercut eyes are little more than shelflike wedges above flattened cheeks. In some masks, the ears are denoted by simple rectangles or spirals. Line and angle are exuberantly explored in the treatment of facial tattoos and hairstyles. The zigzags and chevrons that play over the surface of the face are larger in scale than actual facial tattoos and frequently augmented with additional lines, asterisks, and crescents. Coiffures are complex geometric compositions of interlocking polygons and arabesques (cat. 5).

Today, Makondes both young and old recall this style with great admiration. Clearly, the beauty of its intricate, chiseled forms is a major reason for its enduring popularity. But what originally motivated the impulse toward abstraction? One possible answer is that Makonde sculptors were responding to the aesthetic requirements of spiritual presentation. Most contemporary sources agree that *mapiko* during this period was preoccupied with enforcing sharply delineated gender roles within Makonde society by presenting the masked dancer as an incarnated ancestral spirit that, as discussed above, only men could control. Women were forced to watch *mapiko* performances from a distance, and all parts of the dancer’s body were covered, including his hands and feet, to avoid recognition. In line with these priorities, mask carvers may have reasoned that the masked dancer could be better conceived as a discrete icon of the spiritual if associations with the earthly were suppressed. To this end, they reduced the

mask's subject to essential human forms, imposing varying degrees of stylization. This impetus is also reflected in *mapiko walikuti's* dance choreographies, which, while greatly expanded from *mapiko wamileya*, were nonetheless limited to formalized, nonrepresentational, and non-narrative movements. All this changed dramatically during the era of Portuguese colonialism, however, in which newly empowered younger practitioners advanced a vision of *mapiko* that was very much invested in social changes and new perspectives.

COLONIAL-ERA MAPIKO: AGENCY WITHIN NEW STRUCTURES OF AUTHORITY

Portuguese colonialism came late to the Mueda Plateau. Itself a poor and underindustrialized nation, Portugal effectively occupied the Plateau area only in 1920, but when it did the repercussions for Makonde society, and for *mapiko*, were profound. Humanitarian concerns were largely absent from Portugal's brand of colonialism. Rather, the government viewed Mozambique as a source of cheap labor and raw materials, especially cotton for Portugal's textile industry. Most significantly for Makondes, at the same time that the Portuguese administration forced them into the colonial economy as laborers and cash croppers it also absorbed their traditional authority figures into its administrative structure. Whereas Makondes had previously looked to their elders for protection from enemies and for land on which to grow food, their former benefactors now represented the interests of the state and were responsible for enforcing the cultivation of commercial crops, collecting taxes, and providing laborers for state projects among their own peoples.

Trapped within a coercive and predatory system of compulsory labor and taxation, and with no recourse to traditional systems of patronage, many Makondes developed their own means to navigate the shifting currents of colonial-era society. They looked for ways to minimize the most onerous aspects of colonialism while maximizing their potential to benefit from its economic and social opportunities. Numerous Makondes simply opted out of the Portuguese colonial system by seeking better wages and working conditions in neighboring Tanganyika (now southern Tanzania). In the 1950s, growing demand for plant fibers on the global market led to a boom in the Tanganyikan sisal industry and ever-increasing calls for workers. Each year as many as eight thousand young Mozambican Makonde men took up short-term residence there,³ earning enough money to buy items emblematic of modernity, such as radios, sewing machines, bicycles, and European-style clothes, which they could show off back home.

For those who stayed in Mozambique, protection from the state could also be gained through conversion to Christianity. The four Roman Catholic missions on the Mueda Plateau, which were staffed and administered by the predominantly Dutch and French Montfortan order, operated independently from the Portuguese colonial government but nonethe-

less held considerable influence within it. Association with missions shielded Makonde Christians from the worst abuses of the colonial labor, taxation, and penal systems, and provided advantages within the colonial economy through instruction in reading, writing, mathematics, and trades such as carpentry and bricklaying. By the 1960s, Christian Makondes numbered in the thousands, forming a new middle class of educated and comparatively well-to-do Africans who settled in communities close to the Plateau missions.⁴

Enterprising Makonde artists successfully developed the colonial market for commercial sculpture. By catering to the values and tastes of European clients and soliciting the patronage of influential colonial officials, Makonde sculptors created a new professional identity and for the first time were able to fully support themselves and their families through sculptural work. Carvers developed a wide variety of art works for their foreign clients, including small-scale figures in tropical hardwoods, chess sets in ebony and ivory, and furniture embellished with human figures and geometric designs (cat. 46). During the 1940s and 1950s, the Makonde artist Nampyopyo Kulombanungu (ca. 1925–1967) introduced a new sculptural genre called *mashinamu*, consisting of brightly painted wooden figures portraying contemporary subjects such as “modern” Makonde men in shorts, shirts, and ties; colonial administrators in uniform; and exotic Makua women from the coast. (cat. 47).⁵ Demand was high enough that Kulombanungu was able to position himself as an impresario of the art form, not only creating sculptures himself but also acting as a middleman or agent who oversaw the distribution of commissions among his colleagues.

Those Makondes who engaged in migratory labor, converted to Christianity, or defined themselves as professional sculptors had empowered themselves by effectively navigating the shifting political, social, and economic currents of colonial Mozambique. Participants in a larger world marked by a multiplicity of peoples and ideas, they regarded themselves as sophisticated and cosmopolitan actors in changing times, with an outsider’s perspective on their own cultural traditions. Migrants to ethnically diverse southern Tanganyika had encountered new forms of masquerade practiced by other African peoples, while Christian converts adopted new codes of ethics and symbols of worship. Professional artists came to see sculptures as commodities and naturalism as an aesthetic ideal. *Mapiko* provided a language through which to articulate these positions. Free from the constraining conservatism of the elder generations, many young Makonde men could afford to form their own *mapiko* groups and pursue new visions of *mapiko* that depicted new and exotic subjects, appropriated elements foreign masquerade genres, and incorporated different choreographies.

This new spirit of aesthetic freedom and innovation is apparent in the rejection of previous concerns over spiritual incarnation. If earlier generations had sought to reduce the mask’s subject matter to essential Makonde types that could be imagined as ancestors and to limit choreographies to iconic nonrepresentational movements, ambitious young Makonde men devel-

oped masquerades featuring dramatic characters in narratives firmly rooted in the contemporary. In the 1950s, many young Makonde men began dancing a new style of *mapiko* called *mapiko wanshesho*, also known as *washinemba*. *Wanshesho* stems from the Shimakonde root *nsheshe*, meaning “fourth” or “of four,” and denotes the distinctly slower four-beat rhythm that accompanies much of the masquerade’s choreography. *Washinemba* is derived from the word *nnemba*, meaning a young man who has recently graduated from initiation, and refers to the type of Makonde individual who originated the masquerade form.

Breaking with their elders who danced *mapiko walikuti*, young Makonde men developed choreographies for *mapiko wanshesho* around *shikuvo*, theatrical passages that set everyday actions, such as hunting or cooking, to rhythm. These more complex dance sequences called for more intricate rhythms, so the lead drummer played a combination of a *ligoma* and a small *likuti* in place of one *likuti*. *Mapiko wanshesho* performances also incorporated the quotidian through new masks that engaged a broadened, more contemporary subject matter. Although many of these masks retained the geometric style favored by *mapiko walikuti* groups, they depicted “modern” people such as young Makonde men who lacked tattoos, wore moustaches and European caps, or parted their hair on the side (cat. 35, 37). Within the mission communities, *mapiko wanshesho* groups created masks that represented the pope, priests, and nuns to demonstrate their affiliation to Christianity, or even wrote their names on their masks to advertise their mission educations (cat. 38–39). One believer created a mask of Christ: during his performance he “gave communion” by distributing thin slices of fresh manioc, a bright white root vegetable, to members of the chorus.⁶

The sculptor Nampyopyo Kulombanungu himself created a famous and widely admired version of *mapiko* that reconceived *mapiko wamileya* as a sequence of performances depicting characters drawn from colonial life. What made his *mapiko* especially distinctive was the realism of its masks and performances: Kulombanungu, who not only carved the masks but also developed the costumes and choreography for his dancers, took an almost ethnographic interest in observing and recreating the look and behavior of the subjects they represented. First to appear during the performance were an African colonial policeman and a fellow sculptor named Nembe, followed by their two “wives.” Once they had retired, the dancers returned as a European couple, wearing yellow masks with long straight noses and broad smiles; Western pants, shirts, and jackets; and real hats on top of their masks (cat. 40). They began their performance seated on chairs and carefully removed their headgear before starting to dance, two stereotypical aspects of “European” behavior—imperiously sitting down in a standing crowd and fastidiously doffing their hats before exerting themselves—that rang true and delighted the audience. The masquerade ended with the appearance of two beautiful women belonging to the neighboring Makua ethnic group (cat. 41). For these characters and the “wives” who appeared earlier, Kulombanungu made use of a distinctly foreign type of

mask from southern Tanzania: the pectoral or “belly” mask (cat. 43–44). This wooden appendage, largely unknown in the Plateau region except to those who had been abroad, depicted a pregnant woman’s full breasts and bulging stomach (fig. 5).⁷

The new forms of *mapiko* created by this generation presented characters who shared the same time and space as the people in the audience, not incarnated ancestral spirits covered from head to toe who danced at a distance from women and children. If some were generalized stereotypes or portraits of famous foreigners, others were easily recognizable local figures, such as Kulombanungu’s personal friend Nembe the sculptor, who was very much alive and residing in a nearby village. Through detailed and accurate naturalism, subjects drawn from everyday life, and the importation of exotic mask types, this generation demonstrated its modernity and knowledge of a larger world by distancing itself from the more parochial and outdated versions of *mapiko* practiced by their forebears.

MAPIKO AND MOZAMBIKAN SOCIALISM

Today, the Makonde homeland holds a near-mythic status in the history of postcolonial Mozambique, for it was there that the war for national independence commenced in 1964. One of the first areas cleared of Portuguese colonialism, the Mueda Plateau area became a semi-autonomous territory under the administration and protection of the Mozambican Liberation Front, or FRELIMO, a self-declared Marxist-Leninist vanguard party. Within the “liberated zones” of northern Mozambique, Makonde populations and FRELIMO leaders jointly embarked on a project of social reinvention informed by their own vision of Marxism in East Africa. After independence was achieved in 1975 and FRELIMO ascended to national power under President Samora Machel, the ideas honed within this community served as models for the social, political, and economic development of the entire country.

FRELIMO’s leaders were aware of the dangers that lay in simply mapping a socialist modernity based in Western models, or an “African” socialism derived from a utopian understanding of precolonial society, upon a country emerging from the rubble of the Portuguese imperial project. While the shared experience of struggle against colonialism served to unite Mozambique’s disparate peoples, party leaders understood that for lasting change to occur they would need a rigorous and fully formed ideology that took into account the very real social barriers thrown up against such change. FRELIMO framed the challenge of establishing socialism as a question of culture. Although the party held that a true socialism could emerge only through the engagement of socialist praxis, the embodiment of socialist values in every aspect of life, they understood that a Mozambican socialism would have to be based on the preexisting lifeways of its citizens. In this respect, the task for the new government lay in re-orienting or reframing existing cultural practices so that they fit within and reinforced social-

ist ideology. Aesthetic traditions such as *mapiko* were ultimately placed within a dialectic between what the party termed “obscurantism” and “scientific socialism.”

In the party's view, “obscurantism” was born from a “metaphysical rationale where man is seen as subject to hostile nature from which he can gain favors only through the mediation of the spirits of God.”⁸ Glossed as ignorance and superstition, “obscurantism” was thought to promote conditions through which traditional leaders opportunistically positioned themselves as arbiters between human society and the supernatural, serving their own interests by exploiting the irrational belief systems of their dependents. “Scientific socialism,” a positivist and materialist logic for understanding the natural world and human society, would provide a philosophical orientation with which to overcome these conditions.

Mapiko fit neatly within FRELIMO's analytical framework. While it was understood to be “obscurantist,” because Makonde men used “superstition”—the idea that the masked dancer is an incarnated spirit that a man alone can call forth and control—to promote themselves at the expense of women, *mapiko* was also recognized as a form of cultural communication that projected and reified social values. The task for FRELIMO, then, was to retain *mapiko*'s structure and societal centrality but to replace the underlying worldview that animated it with one based in socialist practice and ideas. Demythologized as a form of indigenous popular theater, *mapiko* was reformulated as an instrument of ideological articulation that, by virtue of its openness to contemporary subjects and the participation of women, would exemplify an ideal of socialist process and collective action.

The FRELIMO government was heavily involved in cultivating genres of *mapiko* that embodied this realignment. Within four years of Mozambican independence, the national directorate of culture had established a curriculum for training “cultural facilitators,” governmental representatives stationed at district-level “houses of culture” who guided the development of popular theater pieces meant to help local communities conform more thoroughly to socialist ideals of thought and behavior.⁹ Individual government officials stationed throughout Mozambique also played this role. In the Mueda Plateau area, Makonde men and women who had participated in the war for independence had largely internalized these ideas, and some invented new “socialist” *mapiko* genres in coordination with party representatives.

Mapiko nijale, for example, emerged amid a governmental campaign to encourage cooperative production through the organization of communal villages. By the time of *nijale*'s creation, in 1977, the progress of socialist development within Mozambique had been crippled by chronic shortfalls in tools and materials. In keeping with its rhetoric of “scientific socialism,” the party called upon Mozambicans to find solutions to present-day problems by employing preexisting technologies and materials from within their own indigenous societies. The work of Makonde blacksmiths, who had long made use of scrap iron to create tools and firearms, received governmental encouragement. As pointed out in the popular press at the time,

Any piece of iron can be used as a primary material. A fragment of a grenade, thrown by the enemy during war, can be transformed into a hoe to . . . produce food and riches for the people. The blacksmiths of Matambalale [a village near Mueda] explained to us how during the struggle for national liberation they made guns to defend themselves against the aggression of Portuguese colonists . . . With them we learn how to take advantage of the inherited technologies of our ancestors to solve common problems; deepen the creativity of the popular artisans to solve the problems of national reconstruction.¹⁰

In the village of Mapate, the dancer Mario Nchilombo developed *mapiko nijale* with his friends to embody the messages of self-reliance and home-grown ingenuity emanating from the government. Their dance literally portrayed the role of indigenous African industry in the development of the modern Mozambican state. They conceived new masks meant as benign caricatures of a precolonial Makonde father, mother, and son, all with enormous ears, sunken toothless mouths, and pointy protruding chins, and choreographed a recreation of the types of domestic and commercial industries that Makonde ancestors had themselves developed (cat. 51–53). While the father and son demonstrated the practice of forging iron with anvil and bellows, the mother prepared cornmeal porridge, a staple of the Makonde diet.¹¹ The level of state support and approval was such that the group received an invitation to perform for President Samora Machel in 1978 during his tour of northern Mozambique. A photograph later published in the FRELIMO military periodical *Vinte-cinco de Setembro*¹² documents the Mozambican president in the audience as a dancer, perhaps Nchilombo himself, performs with an anvil, hammer, and open fire to demonstrate how to forge tools from scrap metal pulled from abandoned Portuguese military equipment (fig. 6).

The socialist era of Mozambican history also witnessed the first women's version of *mapiko*, called *lingundumbwe*. Makonde women, through their active participation in the war effort as political mobilizers and soldiers in the special Women's Detachment, could rightly assert that they had worked as hard as men to liberate their country, and they were heavily invested in promoting their own cause in Makonde society. To them, a female version of *mapiko* would indicate their equality within a modern Mozambique. Mindful that such a genre would constitute a significant transgression of Makonde tradition, these women found ways to pursue their vision by skillfully navigating two symbolic languages: those of *mapiko* and political authority in socialist Mozambique.

Women actually have their own venerable tradition of masquerade, which they perform in the highly secret context of women's initiation while wearing pottery masks called *vitengamatu* (sing. *shitengamatu*) (cat. 50). Clay, unlike wood, is a medium that is socially accessible to women, and many Makonde women who are regarded as expert mask sculptors have also distinguished themselves in ceramics (cat. 49). Women's familiarity with masquerade appears to have been tacitly acknowledged during the colonial era, as in the 1940s and '50s women be-



Fig. 6 This photograph documents a performance of *mapiko nijale* attended by Mozambican president Samora Machel, bearded and with a military cap, who stands behind and to the right of the dancer. Photograph from FRELIMO, *Commissariado Político das F.P.L.M., Vinte-cinco de Setembro* 8 no. 89 (1979), 18



Fig. 7 Invented by women around 1974 to demonstrate their social equality within the post-colonial state, *mapiko lingundumbwe* employs a mask made from cloth and cardboard. Photograph by A. Bortolot, 2004

gan to participate more directly in men's *mapiko* as members of the chorus. Nonetheless, when *lingundumbwe* was invented in the 1970s, women were still bound by social protocols from actually coming into contact with men's masks. Unwilling either to anger Makonde men or publicly reveal their own pottery masks, the women who originated *lingundumbwe* hit upon a novel solution: they created a new mask type made from cloth (fig. 7). This mask incorporated lengths of the same brightly patterned cotton material that they wore every day as skirts and head wraps: a cylindrical crown of cloth-covered cardboard sat on the dancer's head, with a veil of the same fabric obscuring the face and neck. The rest of the costume and some of the dance steps closely mirrored men's *mapiko*, although the strands of bells that are typically affixed to the dancer's chest were relocated to the waist, indicating the gendered dimension of the choreography. As in other types of women's dances, movement in *lingundumbwe* is concentrated on the hips and buttocks rather than the spine, legs, and shoulders.

Although at least one man, a drummer, was involved in the invention of a new masquerade, the women who created *lingundumbwe* recognized its potential to spark furious indignation among the majority of Makonde men. Indeed, one *lingundumbwe* group in the village of Muatide had been forced to disband when its members were put under house arrest by angry male relatives.¹³ To insulate themselves from such a response, founders of the *lingundumbwe* group in Mueda cannily engaged independent Mozambique's networks of social prestige and political affiliation by promoting their status as ex-soldiers of the Female Detachment. Veterans of Mozambique's war of national liberation on the whole had the respect of society and the support of the national government. Whenever possible, Mueda's *lingundumbwe* group forged an explic-

it connection between their personal military histories and their masquerade, recruiting additional members through the Center for War Veterans and developing props and choreographies with military themes.¹⁴ For its part, the national government counted *lingundumbwe* as an early victory in the socialist struggle to promote class awareness and erase gender divisions. The *lingundumbwe* group in Mueda ultimately performed for President Samora Machel in 1985 and was subsequently sent on a government-funded tour of Tanzania and northern Mozambique.¹⁵

MAPIKO MASKS, BLACKWOOD SCULPTURE, AND SOCIALIST REALISM

While the FRELIMO government was sponsoring “socialist” versions of *mapiko*, it was also cultivating other forms of visual art that conformed to and communicated the ideals and benefits of socialist practice. Like many other newly independent African states during these decades, Mozambique was enfolded within the global politics of the cold war and considered itself an ally of socialist governments in the USSR and Asia. As in many of these states, FRELIMO came to view socialist realism, in both painting and sculpture, as the artistic style best suited to its own society.

Behind the Iron Curtain, socialist realism provided the state-sanctioned arts a visual means of communicating socialist values. Both documentary and visionary in its intentions, socialist realism demonstrated the path to an idealized existence through critical engagement of contemporary realities. In Mozambique, socialist realism was “the true representation of reality”: an “instrument of combat and education of the great masses” in its potential both “to reflect upon reality, with veracity; [and] to reflect reality, with veracity.”¹⁶ For FRELIMO, the value of socialist realism stemmed from a conservative perspective that held naturalism as the most accurate form of representation and the most straightforward means of communicating to the public. Because of the immediate connection that realism fostered between the image and the viewer, the state’s ideological position would be more effectively expressed and absorbed.¹⁷

Makonde artists were intimately involved in the development of a distinctly Mozambican socialist realism, and their participation in this effort had profound effects on their work in the mask medium. During the war for independence, FRELIMO organized sixty-two Makonde soldiers into sculptural cooperatives. Working closely with the political wing of the party, these artists adapted a genre of commercial sculpture made from African blackwood. A very hard and fine-grained material, blackwood lent itself to minute detail and open multfigured compositions, ideal for the naturalistic message-laden compositions that the aesthetics of socialist realism required.¹⁸ Makonde artists had originally developed the blackwood genre for European patrons in Mozambique and Tanzania, carving innocuous subjects such as animals and pastoral scenes drawn from traditional African life. FRELIMO soldiers put the medi-

um to a very different use. These artists created portrait busts of Mao and Lenin, based on photographs, as well as heartbreaking images of Africans suffering at the hands of the colonial regime (cat. 59–60).¹⁹ More optimistic carvings called *ujamaa*²⁰ evoked the unity of class struggle by stacking and interweaving Mozambican soldiers and villagers into dense multi-tiered compositions that suggested mutual support and protection through collective action.

After independence, images of colonial abuse, war, and Mozambican unity against a common enemy were replaced with scenes of agricultural and industrial development, health care, and education. Makonde artists from the cooperatives participated in this process by creating wooden sculptures as components of larger monuments to Mozambican socialism, which were built throughout northern Mozambique. The most significant of these is the *Emolação Socialista* (“Socialist Emulation”) in Pemba, the provincial capitol. This monument, erected in 1978 just outside the city center, represents a complete synthesis of architecture, painting, and sculpture in the service of FRELIMO’s socialist ideals. A two-story concrete cone, the monument was decorated with scenes of Mozambican progress. Colorful murals portrayed workers rigging telephone wires and constructing houses, farmers working in fields under cashew trees, and athletes running in foot races; on the surrounding circular grounds were wooden sculptures that depicted agricultural *cooperativistas*, blacksmiths, and fishermen playing their part in the creation of a socialist nation (figs. 8–9).

Through government work, many Makonde artists began to view the purpose of sculpture as promoting the concepts of socialist realism: their art should be socially responsive and responsible, showing the way to correct behavior through idealized imagery that spoke to all. This translated into a greater emphasis on historical events, national leaders, and quotidian subjects that embodied ideals of socialist praxis; the observation and evocation of human emotion; and the more accurate and detailed representation of visual models. Many of these artists transferred this social orientation to their work in the mask medium and produced masks that combined political awareness with mimetic sensitivity. Some masks portrayed President Samora Machel, while others depicted Portuguese soldiers and commandos from Rhodesia, who during the 1970s had begun to actively support anti-FRELIMO Mozambican rebels (cat. 54–56). Above all, artists created masks that represented “modern” Makondes.²¹

What did it mean to be “modern” in 1970s Mozambique? In the rhetoric of Mozambican socialism, modernity signified the embrace of science and the national collective through a renunciation of illogical traditions and outdated ethnic distinctions. This perspective was easily translated visually: masks were cleansed of the marks of ethnic differentiation (cat. 57–58). Facial tattoos, lip plugs, or chipped teeth became synecdochical symbols of small-minded tribalism that could infect the socialist state.²² Smiling mouths framing natural teeth and smooth skin stretched over plump youthful faces signified the opposite. Much like the monument “Socialist Emulation” in Pemba, these masks engage a socialist realism in which

ordinary people are portrayed as idealized happy participants in collective development and beneficiaries of the higher quality of life that it created.

These “modern” masks represent the full effect of the socialist project upon a traditional art form. Not only had the practices of artistic creation become more collective and unified around themes cultivated by the national government, but the very concept of art, and art’s social purpose, had changed. Artists did not see themselves as singular individuals pursuing unique creative visions, but as collaborative producers of images promoting socialism. They had embraced, whether consciously or not, an art of social progress and an aesthetic that linked them to a global political vision.

CONTEMPORARY MAPIKO: CREATION, APPROPRIATION, AND CITATION

The era of FRELIMO socialism and the party’s overtly ideological sponsorship of Makonde artists and dance groups concluded in 1990, after a drawn-out and destructive civil war that ushered in a new national constitution accommodating multiparty democracy. *Mapiko* genres that have emerged since the 1990s have abandoned the socialist bent of their predecessors, but the freedom to reassess both *mapiko*’s underlying beliefs and its position in society left an enduring legacy that informs contemporary *mapiko* in intriguing ways. Today, there is a palpable sense among many Makondes that *mapiko* is in flux: some groups argue for a return to a presocialist paradigm, promoting conservative attitudes about the status of the masked dancer and women’s roles in masquerade, while others take the opposite approach, interpreting the loos-

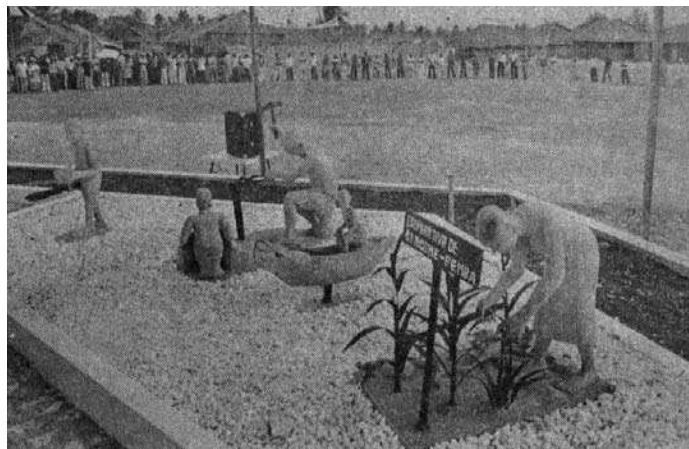


Fig. 8 The monument to socialist emulation, erected in 1978, employed the style of socialist realism to illustrate scenes of industrial and agricultural progress. Murals on the walls depicted farmers hoeing their fields and workers erecting telephone wires, while wooden sculptures on the grounds portray a man carrying a bowl, a blacksmith and his assistant, a fisherman in his boat, and a member of an agricultural cooperative tending crops. Photographs by C. Alberto, published in Narciso Castanheira, “25 de Junho em Cabo Delgado: Encerramento da companhia de Emulação Socialista,” *Tempo* no. 456, 11, 13

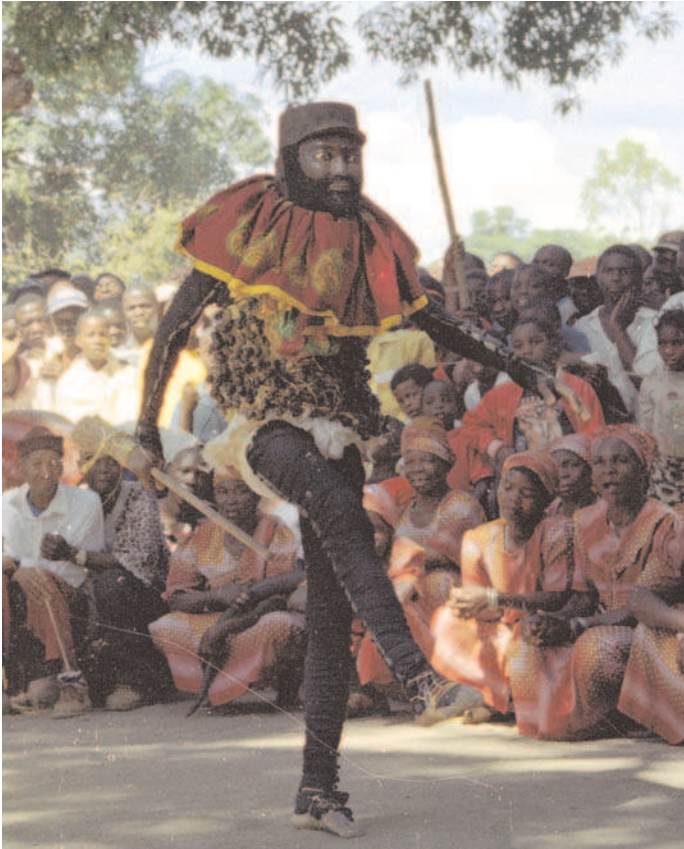


Fig. 9 Portrait masks that depict national heroes as well as performances that commemorate historical events are an artistic legacy of Mozambican socialism. This masquerade employing a mask of Mozambican president Samora Machel was danced by a group of war veterans to commemorate the Mueda Massacre of 16 June 1960, in which Portuguese soldiers opened fire upon assembled Makonde demonstrators seeking the release of political prisoners. Photograph by A. Bortolot, 2004

ening of social strictures as an invitation to play with its forms and conventions.

The latter approach does not indicate a move toward an empty formalism. Rather, these groups acknowledge the symbolically loaded language of *mapiko* and strategically transgress or appropriate its codes to articulate new visions of the art form, thereby claiming their own positions as innovators within the genre. These groups sometimes make references to older forms of *mapiko* yet render them fresh and relevant through surprising additions and substitutions.

A good example of this impulse is *mapiko naupanga*, a version of which was created by youths in the village of Mbau in 2001 (fig. 10).²³ This group developed a wholly new masquerade by creative recycling, recombining preexisting elements. In the late 1970s, a local Mbau man named Balidi Albert had been caught in an affair with another man's wife, and the angry cuckold dispensed with the interloper with a machete blow to the head. The episode became a local legend, and over time songs were composed to tell the story. The young men adopted these songs and created a character and choreography around them: they costumed their dancer in a second-hand mask that depicted an elderly Makonde man, found a discarded machete for him to carry, and devised dance steps befitting a drunken, lascivious adulterer. The machete doubled as a reference to his demise and a sign of his occupation as a farmer, with the



Fig. 10 Makonde youths invented *mapiko naupanga* in 2001 to criticize older generations of men. In this version from Mbau village, the dancer wears a mask with a wooden machete stuck in the crown of its head. He hacks at tree branches to dramatize the clearing of fields for planting. Photograph by A. Bortolot, 2004



Fig. 11 *Mapiko mang'anyamu* presents dancers who, impersonating ferocious animals, wear realistic masks incorporating actual animal fur. The performers create an increased sense of danger by dancing wildly with sharp hand scythes close to the audience. Photograph by A. Bortolot, 2004

implication that his drinking made him largely ineffectual and neglectful. In another break with tradition, they kept rhythm with an old iron pipe and costumed the dancer in factory-made nylon track pants. The masquerade was immediately popular, in part because the audience was familiar with the story and the songs. Later, the group commissioned its own mask, of a Makonde man with an enormous wooden machete stuck in the crown of his head.²⁴

Naupanga indicates the degree to which the language of *mapiko* is used by younger generations to position themselves within a changing society. The dance can be characterized as a critical commentary on the older male generation, and *naupanga* masks, which represent elders, are universally described as ugly: "the uglier the better!" as one *naupanga* dancer ex-

pressed it.²⁵ With their big ears, toothless mouths, and jutting chins, these masks tend to resemble nothing so much as those used for *nijale*, a genre that presents elders in a markedly more positive light (cat. 61). The resemblance can be understood as the ultimate critique of the older generation. Men who once celebrated hard work and initiative through *nijale* are now crotchety old grandfathers and great-uncles, holding all the family authority but doing little work, instead preferring to spend their time drinking with their friends in the village while leaving the younger generation to tend the fields. If *naupanga*'s choreography lampoons the elders' drunken behavior, its *nijale*-like mask bitinglly exposes their hypocrisy and criticizes their lost socialist ideals, now defunct in a capitalist society.

Mang'anyamu, Shimakonde for "animals," is another recent genre that revitalizes old traditions for new purposes. In *mang'anyamu*, as many as five dancers perform simultaneously with masks depicting leopards, rhinoceroses, crocodiles, lions, and monkeys (fig. 11). Attired in baggy pants and shirts covered in strips of cloth, and with scythes and kerchiefs in their hands, the dancers arrange themselves in a row and perform precisely coordinated steps and arm movements, punctuating them with spins and pratfalls. At other times, the performers act out the behaviors of the animals they represent: the lion and leopard "hunt" audience members, stalking them and pouncing only inches away, while the monkey may climb a tree or mimic the behaviors of those around him, including "filming" foreign researchers.

Mang'anyamu, which was invented in 1994 by the sculptor Martins Jackson, is the first *mapiko* genre to focus solely on the presentation of animals. His early training as a black-wood carver is apparent in his approach to sculptural composition, which emphasizes the interplay of positive and negative space through the elongation of the animals' heads and the bulges and voids that create their flaring nostrils, leaf-shaped ears, and open mouths (cat. 62–64). Jackson, a descendent of Nampyopyo Kulombanungu, acknowledges that he shares the deceased master's interest in mimetic accuracy through sculptural naturalism and dramatic movement. Preoccupied with imparting the ferocity of the animals to the audience, his *mapiko* group has gone beyond realistic masks and representational choreographies to achieve this sense of danger: while the dance presents subjects that could not be considered ancestral spirits, the group promotes a menacing aura nonetheless by reinvigorating many of the old protocols meant to convey that terrifying impression.²⁶ Curious spectators are chased away before the men remove their masks, and the dancers' aggressive behavior during performance creates a sense of dangerous unpredictability.

AFTER THE PRESENT

Where is *mapiko* heading? The words of one young sculptor, Ernesto Nampunde, may provide some clues. Speaking about the old, "geometric" style of *mapiko* masks associated with

mapiko walikuti, Nampunde remarked:

In the past, the elders said that the *lipiko* was a *lihoka*, an ancestral spirit. So, since it was a spirit, the masks stuck to this style to be more dangerous and for the women and children to be more frightened and convinced that it was in fact this *lihoka*. Masks today are so beautiful that they rival actual human beings, and since the concept of the *lihoka* doesn't exist now, [the function of *mapiko*] is to show off and attract people to watch and appreciate. I haven't tried to carve this ["geometric"] style yet, but I hope to because now I am more interested in older styles. I just started carving masks with tattoos!²⁷

Mapiko is here to stay. New artists like Nampunde are the keepers of its history, and they feel free to revisit the past to push the medium into the future. Makonde dancers and sculptors will continue to shuffle the multiple, conflicting concepts and shifting meanings that constitute this dynamic aesthetic language, always keeping it relevant to their own times.

NOTES

1. In the past, *mapiko* groups were composed of men from the same matrilineal clan, or *likola*; today, members are drawn from the same village or village neighborhood.
2. Marcelino Shipanda Nkupa and Patricio Batuti, interview by author, Pemba, 20 May 2004.
3. Edward A. Alpers. 1984. "To Seek a Better Life:" The Implications of Migration from Mozambique to Tanganyika for Class Formation and Political Behavior," in *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 18, no. 2 (1984), 367–88; see table, 378.
4. Rosa Carla Cazzaniga. *Missão de Nangololo: Actos dos Apóstolos do Século XX*. (Maputo: EdiBosco, 1994), 157.
5. *Mashinamu*, sing. *shinamu*, is a Shimakonde term adapted from a Swahili word meaning "figural sculpture." In the literature, *mashinamu* usually refers to *all* figural sculpture, but Mozambican artists who practiced at this time used the term specifically in regard to this particular genre. For interviews with Makonde artists concerning Kulombanungu and commercial sculpture of this era, see Ricardo Teixeira Duarte, *Escultura Maconde* (Maputo: Núcleo Editorial e Departamento de Arqueologia e Antropologia da Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, 1987).
6. Paolo Israel, "Irony, Ambiguity and the Art of Recycling: Reflections on Contemporary Rural African Art and 'Africa Remix,'" in *Third Text* 20 no. 5 (September, 2006), 595.
7. Rachide Shivelenamyaka, interview by author, Nang'unde Village, 2 November 2004.
8. FRELIMO, Department of Information, "The Growth of a New Culture," *Mozambique Revolution* 49 (October–December, 1971), 10.
9. Anna Fresu and Mendes de Oliveira, "Curso de Quadros Para Teatro Popular: Uma Proposta para uma Reflexão sobre Desenvolvimento da Cultura Popular," *Tempo* no. 461 (12 August 1979), 58–60.
10. Arlindo Lopes, "Os Ferreiros de Matambalale," in *Tempo* no. 433 (21 January 1979), 33. See also FRELIMO, Department of Information, "Production and Trade," in *Mozambique Revolution* 51 (April–June 1972), 20, for an earlier expression of this opinion.
11. Faustino Kabo, interview by author, Lyautua Village, 9 August 2004; Mario Nchilombo, interview by author, Mutatide Village, 10 August 2004.
12. FRELIMO, Commissariado Politico das FPLM, "Resolução sobre Cultura," *Vinte-cinco de Setembro* 8 no. 89 (January 1979), 18.

13. Rufina Saidi, Tereza Joaquina José, and Tereza Paulo, interview by author, Muatide Village, 29 July 2004.
14. Katarina Balanga, Juliana Tomas, and Joaquina Francisco, interview by author, Mueda Village, 10 December 2004.
15. See n. 14.
16. “Javali-Javalismo: Teatro ao Serviço da Crítica,” in *Tempo* no. 281 (22 February 1976), 19.
17. In Mozambique, the preference for naturalism over abstraction also derived from a mistrust of professional artist in capitalist societies. Considering them beholden to bourgeois tastes, FRELIMO accused capitalist artists of denying their own class interests by producing formal exercises in abstraction that held no meaning beyond the elite and insular discourse of art itself.
18. In a forthcoming article, I argue that FRELIMO understood the blackwood sculpture created in these cooperatives as inherently socialist owing to the cooperative context of its production—an example of a socialist process of manufacture producing an art with an intrinsically socialist content.
19. Matias Ntundu, interview by the author, Namande Village, 26 November 2004.
20. The term *ujamaa* was drawn from Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere’s rhetoric of African Socialism and holds connotations of togetherness, nationhood, and family.
21. Ignacio Nampiko, interview by the author, Imbuho Village, 3 June 2004.
22. Among Mozambican nationalists before, during, and after the war for independence, “tribal” marks were used as a metaphor for colonial exploitation. See, for example, Noémia de Souza’s poem of the 1950s, “Se me quiseses conhecer” (“If you want to know me”), in which she compares herself to a blackwood figure of a Makonde woman: “body tattooed with visible and invisible scars / by the hard whips of slavery. . . .” In FRELIMO’s rhetoric also, ethnic tattoos were often linked conceptually with the scars—actual and mental—left by Portuguese violence upon the indigenous Mozambican populace.
23. The origins of *mapiko naupanga* are contested, with at least one other group, in Muatide village, claiming to have invented it. In all likelihood, the two forms are unrelated, although they may be considered part of the same genre because they use similar equipment, address similar issues, and were created by the same generation of young men.
24. Fabrino Tangasi, Secario Nankunyata, interview by the author, João José, Mbau Village, 29 May 2004.
25. Caruth Bernardo, interview by the author, Lyautua Village, 9 August 2004.
26. Martins Manjibula Jackson, interview by the author, Matambalale Village, 29 July 2004.
27. Ernesto Gaspar Nampunde, interview by the author, Matambalale Village, 18 July 2004.

PLATES



CAT. I
Figure of Makonde
woman with tattoos
on face and body, ca.
1870–1900
Unknown Makonde
artist, Mozambique
*Collection Laura
and James J. Ross*

CAT. 2

Figure of Makonde
woman with tattoos
on face and body, ca.

1870–1900

Unknown Makonde
artist, Mozambique

*Collection Drs. Jean
and Noble Endicott*





CAT. 3
Head of Makonde
matrilineal clan leader
(*humu*) with raised
scarification marks and
circular hair patch
(*chichungi*), ca. 1920–40
Unknown Makonde artist,
Mozambique
Collection Drs. Jean and
Noble Endicott

CAT. 4
Head of Makonde
woman with facial
tattoos, lip plug
(*ndona*), and linear
designs in coiffure,
ca. 1900–20
Unknown Makonde
artist, Mozambique
Collection Drs. Jean
and Noble Endicott





CAT. 5
Mask (*lipiko*) of
Makonde woman
with lip plug
(*ndona*), wax
tattoos, and
polygonal coiffure,
ca. 1940–53
Unknown Makonde
artist, Mozambique
Collection
American Museum
of Natural History,
90.2/529

CAT. 6
Mask (*lipiko*) of
Makonde man
with incised
tattoos and
polygonal
coiffure, ca.
1935–40
Unknown
Makonde artist,
Mozambique
*Collection Laura
and James J. Ross*





CAT. 7
Mask (*lipiko*) of
Makonde man
with incised
tattoos, ca.
1950–60
Unknown
Makonde artist,
Mozambique
*Collection
Memorial Art
Gallery,
University of
Rochester*

CAT. 8, 9
 Figural cap for medicine or snuff container (*inumba* or *mitete*) in the form of a rabbit head on cylindrical base with incised geometric patterns, ca. 1890–1910
 Figural cap for medicine or snuff container (*inumba* or *mitete*) in the form of an elephant shrew head on cylindrical base with incised geometric patterns, ca. 1890–1910

Unknown Makonde artists, Mozambique
 Collection Drs. Jean and Noble Endicott



CAT. 10
 Figural stopper (*vidiu*) for vessel in form of a half-figure of Makonde man with chameleon on dorsal side, with cylindrical plug, ca. 1940–53
 Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
 Collection American Museum of Natural History, 90.2/1599



CAT. 12 Medicine (*ntela*) container, with stopper (*vidiu*) in the form of a human head, ca. 1940–60
 Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
 Collection Drs. Jean and Noble Endicott



CAT. 13
Spatula (*ndala*), with
zigzag handle and
head of Makonde
woman with lip plug
(*ndona*) at finial, ca.
1900–30
Unknown Makonde
artist, Mozambique
Private collection



CAT. I 4

Coconut grater (*imbushy*), with folding X-shaped bench and chip-carved geometric designs on top, ca. 1945–50

Unknown Makonde artist, Tanzania

Private collection



CAT. 16
Tall, tapering drum (*neya*) with
flared base, ca. 1980–2000
Unknown Makonde artist,
Mozambique
*Collection Amyas Naegele and
Eve Glasberg*

CAT. 17
Cylindrical drum
(*ligoma*) with
chip-carved
zigzag motif and
triangular
cutouts at base,
ca. 1980–2000
Unknown
Makonde artist,
Mozambique
Private collection

CAT. 18, 19
Two chalice-
shaped drums
(*likuti* and
singanga) with
turned stems, ca.
1990–2000
Damasio
Namembe,
Muatide Village,
Cabo Delgado
Province,
Mozambique
*Private
collection*



CAT. 21, 23
Three trumpets
(*lipalipanda*), ca.
1990–2000
Unknown
Makonde artist,
Mozambique
Private collection





CAT. 24
Scepter (*fimbo* or *isimbo*), with head
of Makonde man with incised facial
tattoos at finial, ca. 1900–40
Unknown Makonde artist,
Mozambique
*Collection Drs. Jean and Noble
Endicott*

CAT. 26, 28
Three scepters (*fimbo* or
isimbo), ca. 1950–80
Unknown Makonde artist,
Mozambique
Collection Amyas Naegele
and Eve Glasberg





CAT. 29
Staff (*fimbo* or *isimbo*), with
hexagonal base, spiraling,
ascendant serpent, and loop
with human head wearing
fez at finial, ca. 1920–50
*Collection Amyas Naegele
and Eve Glasberg*

CAT. 30
Pair of articulated
marionettes:
Makonde man
with lip plug
(*ndona*) and
Makonde woman,
both wearing
cloth wrappers,
ca. 1960–80
Private collection



CAT. 31, 32, 33





CAT. 35
Mask (*lipiko*) of
young Makonde
man with no
tattoos, ca. 1945–55
Unknown Makonde
artist, Mozambique
Private collection

CAT. 37
Mask (*lipiko*) of
young African
man with
moustache and
green cap, ca.
1945–55
Unknown
Makonde artist,
Mozambique
Collection
Stewart J. Warkow



CAT. 38
Mask (*lipiko*)
of Italian nun
of the
Congregation
of the
Consolata, ca.
1945–55
Unknown
Makonde artist,
Mozambique
Collection
Stewart J.
Warkow



CAT. 39
Mask (*lipiko*) of
Roman Catholic
priest with skull
cap, ca. 1945–55
Unknown
Makonde artist,
Mozambique
Collection
Stewart J. Warkow



CAT. 40
Mask (*lipiko*)
of Portuguese
man with
moustache,
ca. 1945–55
Unknown
Makonde artist,
Mozambique
Collection
Stewart J.
Warkow





CAT. 41
Mask (*lipiko*) of
a Makua or
Andonde
woman with lip-
plug (*ndona*),
1945–53
Unknown
Makonde artist,
Mozambique
Collection
American
Museum of
Natural History,
90.2/1578

CAT. 42
Mask (*lipiko*) of a
sorcerer with
deformed face,
enflamed eye, and
wide mouth, ca.
1950-65
Unknown
Makonde artist,
Mozambique
Collection
Stewart J.
Warkow





CAT. 43
Facemask (*likomba*) of
Makonde woman with
headwrap, ca. 1960–80
Unknown Makonde artist,
Mozambique
*Collection Amyas Naegele
and Eve Glasberg*

CAT. 44
Pectoral mask of pregnant
female torso with painted
abdominal tattoos and
herniated umbilicus, ca.
1990–2000
Unknown Makonde artist,
Mozambique
Private collection

CAT. 45
Circular stool
with two
Makonde men in
European clothes
and two
Makonde women
in wrappers,
1945-53
Unknown
Makonde artist,
Mozambique
*Collection
American
Museum of
Natural History,
90.2/1565*





CAT. 46
Two entwined table
legs with human
(Makonde) heads
and feet, ca.
1940–60
Unknown Makonde
artist, Mozambique
*Collection Amyas
Naegele and Eve
Glasberg*

CAT. 47
Figure of Makonde youth in
shirt, tie, and shorts, ca.
1940–60
Unknown Makonde artist,
Mozambique
*Collection Amyas Naegele
and Eve Glasberg*





CAT. 49
Water vessel (*shilongo shakumuto*), bulb-shaped, with incised and whitened geometric patterns, ca. 1950–80
Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
Collection Amyas Naegele and Eve Glasberg



CAT. 50
Facemask (*shitengamatu*) depicting a human face, 2004
Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
Private collection

CAT. 51
Mask (*lipiko*) of
old man with
long ears and
beard, ca.
1970–80
Unknown
Makonde artist,
Mozambique
Collection Drs.
Jean and Nobel
Endicott



CAT. 52
Mask (*lipiko*)
of old man
with large ears
and knotted
head covering,
ca. 1975–85
Unknown
Makonde
artist,
Mozambique
Collection
Stewart J.
Warkow



CAT. 53
Mask (*lipiko*) of
old woman with
large ears and lip
plug (*ndona*),
ca. 1975–85
Unknown
Makonde artist,
Mozambique
Collection
Stuart J.
Warkow



CAT. 54
Mask (*lipiko*) of
Portuguese
soldier
wearing
helmet, ca.
1975–85
Unknown
Makonde
artist,



CAT. 55
Mask (*lipiko*)
of White
Rhodesian
soldier with
military cap,
ca. 1975–85
Unknown
Makonde
artist,
Mozambique
Collection
Stuart J.
Warkow



CAT. 56 Mask
(*lipiko*) of
Mozambican
President
Samora Machel,
ca. 1975–85
Unknown
Makonde artist,
Mozambique
Collection
Stuart J.
Warkow



CAT. 57
Mask (*lipiko*)
of young
African man,
ca. 1975–80
Unknown
Makonde
artist,
Mozambique
Private
collection



CAT. 58 Mask
(*lipiko*) of
young African
woman with
headwrap, ca.
1975–85
Unknown
Makonde artist,
Mozambique
Collection
Amyas Naegele
and Eve
Glasberg



CAT. 59
Figure of
Makonde man
carrying boy and
suitcase, ca.
1970–80
Unknown
Makonde artist,
Mozambique
Private collection

CAT. 60
Figure of
Makonde man
carrying water
pipe (*inyungwa*),
skin bag, and
spear, ca. 1970–80
Unknown
Makonde artist,
Mozambique
Private collection





CAT. 61
Mask (*lipiko*) of
old man with large
nose and ears, 2001
Linolo Pilipo,
Lyautua Village,
Cabo Delgado
Province,
Mozambique
Private collection

CAT. 62
Mask (*lipiko*) of
crocodile, ca.
1995–2000
Martins Jackson,
Matambalale
Village, Cabo
Delgado
Province,
Mozambique
*Private
collection*





CAT. 63
Mask (*lipiko*) of
leopard, ca.
1995–2000
Martins Jackson,
Matambalale
Village, Cabo
Delgado
Province,
Mozambique
*Private
collection*

CAT. 64
Mask (*lipiko*) of
rhinoceros, ca.
1995–2000
Martins Jackson,
Matambalale
Village, Cabo
Delgado
Province,
Mozambique
*Private
collection*



CATALOGUE OF THE EXHIBITION

Dimensions are in inches, height before width before depth.

MAKONDE SCULPTURE AT THE DAWN OF THE COLONIAL ERA, CA. 1870–1940

1. Figure of Makonde woman with tattoos on face and body, ca. 1870–1900
Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
Wood, 22 x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 4 in. *Collection Laura and James J. Ross* ILL. P. XX
2. Figure of Makonde woman with tattoos on face and body, ca. 1870–1900
Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
Wood, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 2 in. *Collection Drs. Jean and Noble Endicott* ILL. P. XX
3. Head of Makonde matrilineal clan leader (*humu*) with raised scarification marks and circular hair patch (*chichungi*), ca. 1920–40
Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
Wood and human hair, with traces of red pigment, 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.
Collection Drs. Jean and Noble Endicott ILL. P. XX
4. Head of Makonde woman with facial tattoos, lip plug (*ndona*), and linear designs in coiffure, ca. 1900–20
Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
Wood with pokerwork, 3 x 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. *Collection Drs. Jean and Noble Endicott* ILL. P. XX
5. Mask (*lipiko*) of Makonde woman with lip plug (*ndona*), wax tattoos, and polygonal coiffure, ca. 1940–53
Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
Wood, blackened beeswax, human hair, and yellow pigment, 12 x 10 x 10 in.
Performed in *mapiko walikuti* or *wanshesho*. *Collection American Museum of Natural History, 90.2/529*
ILL. P. XX
6. Mask (*lipiko*) of Makonde man with incised tattoos and polygonal coiffure, ca. 1935–40
Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
Wood, human hair, and black pigment, 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.
Performed in *mapiko walikuti* or *wanshesho*. *Collection Laura and James J. Ross* ILL. P. XX
7. Mask (*lipiko*) of Makonde man with incised tattoos, ca. 1950–60
Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
Wood, human hair, and orange pigment, 12 x 10 x 11 in.
Performed in *mapiko walikuti* or *wanshesho*. *Collection Memorial Art Gallery, University of Rochester*
ILL. P. XX

MAKONDE ARTS OF THE EVERYDAY

8. Figural cap for medicine or snuff container (*inumba or mitete*) in the form of a rabbit head on cylindrical base with incised geometric patterns, ca. 1890–1910

Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique

Wood, 2 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Collected by Franz Vernon Beste in northern Mozambique ca. 1900–10.

Collection Drs. Jean and Noble Endicott ILL. P. XX

9. Figural cap for medicine or snuff container (*inumba or mitete*) in the form of an elephant shrew head on cylindrical base with incised geometric patterns, ca. 1890–1910

Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique

Wood, 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ x $\frac{7}{8}$ x 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Collected by Franz Vernon Beste in northern Mozambique ca. 1900–10.

Collection Drs. Jean and Noble Endicott ILL. P. XX

10. Figural stopper (*vidiu*) for vessel in form of a half-figure of Makonde man with chameleon on dorsal side, with cylindrical plug, ca. 1940–1953

Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique

Wood, pigment, glass beads, cloth, and string; 6 x 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Collected in 1953 by Waclaw Korabiewicz in the Makonde Administrative District,
Northern Mozambique.

Collection American Museum of Natural History, 90.2/1599

ILL. P. XX

11. Medicine (*ntela*) container, with stopper (*vidiu*) in the form of the head of a Makonde woman with lip plug (*ndona*) and raised tattoos, ca. 1940–60

Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique

Gourd, wood, glass beads, string, and metal, 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 3 in. diam.

Collection Drs. Jean and Noble Endicott ILL. P. XX

12. Medicine (*ntela*) container, with stopper (*vidiu*) in the form of a human head, ca. 1940–60

Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique

Gourd, wood, string, glass beads, animal hide, metal bell, and braided fiber cord, 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 5 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. diam.

Collection Drs. Jean and Noble Endicott ILL. P. XX

13. Spatula (*ndala*), with zigzag handle and head of Makonde woman with lip plug (*ndona*) at finial, ca. 1900–30

Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique

Wood with pokerwork, 24 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 2 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.

Private collection

ILL. P. XX

14. Coconut Grater (*imbushy*), with folding X-shaped bench and chip-carved geometric designs on top, ca. 1945–50

Unknown Makonde artist, Tanzania

Wood, 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 19 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Made in Tanga Province, Tanzania for a family of Mozambican Makonde migrants.

Private collection

ILL. P. XX

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AND PERFORMANCE ACCESSORIES FOR MAPIKO

15. Pair of leg rattles (*meve*), 1981

Nwesi Padimbile, Lyautua Village, Cabo Delgado Province, Mozambique

Seed pods, pebbles, wood, fabric, and string, (1) 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ in., (2) 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.

Private collection

ILL. P. XX

16. Tall, tapering drum (*neya*) with flared base, ca. 1980–2000

Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique

Wood and leather, with raffia and string, 48 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. diam. at top

Collection Amyas Naegele and Eve Glasberg ILL. P. XX

Cylindrical drum (*ligoma*) with chip-carved zigzag motif and triangular cutouts at base, ca. 1980–2000

Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique

Wood, leather, and plant fiber, 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. diam.

The name "Filipe" is incised on the side.

Private collection

ILL. P. XX

18. Chalice-shaped drum (*likuti*) with turned stem and circular designs on bowl, ca. 1990–2000

Damasio Namembe, Muatide Village, Cabo Delgado Province, Mozambique

Wood and reptile skin, 13 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. diam.

Private collection

ILL. P. XX

19. Chalice-shaped drum (*singanga*) with turned stem and base, ca. 1990–2000

Damasio Namembe, Muatide Village, Cabo Delgado Province, Mozambique

Wood and reptile skin, 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 5 x 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.

Private collection

ILL. P. XX

20. Chalice-shaped drum (*singanga*) with faceted stem and round base, ca. 1990–2000

Damasio Namembe, Muatide Village, Cabo Delgado Province, Mozambique

Wood and reptile skin, 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.

Private collection

ILL. P. XX

21. Trumpet (*lipalipanda*), ca. 1990–2000

Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique

Animal horn, 26 in. long

Private collection

ILL. P. XX

22. Trumpet (*lipalipanda*), 1990–2000

Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique

Animal horn, 36 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. long

Private collection

ILL. P. XX

Trumpet (*lipalipanda*), ca. 1990–2000

Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique

Animal horn, 11 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. long

Private collection

ILL. P. XX

24. Scepter (*fimbo* or *isimbo*), with head of Makonde man with incised facial tattoos at finial, ca. 1900–40

Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique

Wood, 27 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. long

Carried by a member of a *mapiko* group during performance.

Collection Drs. Jean and Noble Endicott

ILL. P. XX

25. Scepter (*fimbo* or *isimbo*), with pentagonal base, and head of tattooed Makonde man with a fez at finial, ca. 1900–40

Wood and pokerwork, 33 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. long

Carried by a member of a *mapiko* group during performance.

Private collection

26. Scepter (*fimbo* or *isimbo*), with spiraling ascendant serpent eating a frog, ca. 1950–80
 Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
 African blackwood, 25¼ in. long
 Carried by a member of a *mapiko* group during performance.
Collection Amyas Naegele and Eve Glasberg ILL. P. XX
27. Scepter (*fimbo* or *isimbo*), with diamond-shaped eyelet at finial, ca. 1950–80
 Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
 African blackwood, 25½ in. long
 Carried by a member of a *mapiko* group during performance.
Collection Amyas Naegele and Eve Glasberg ILL. P. XX
28. Scepter (*fimbo* or *isimbo*), with open-work knob at finial, ca. 1950–80
 Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
 African blackwood, 22¾ in. long
 Carried by a member of a *mapiko* group during performance.
Collection Amyas Naegele and Eve Glasberg ILL. P. XX
29. Staff (*fimbo* or *isimbo*), with hexagonal base, spiraling, ascendant serpent, and loop with human head wearing fez at finial, ca. 1920–50
 Wood with pokerwork, 34¼ x 7 x 2 in.
 Carried by a member of a *mapiko* group during performance.
Collection Amyas Naegele and Eve Glasberg ILL. P. XX
30. Pair of articulated marionettes: Makonde man with lip plug (*ndona*) and Makonde woman, both wearing cloth wrappers, ca. 1960–80
 Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique or Tanzania
 Wood, cloth, rubber, pigment, nails, and string, 12¼ x 16 x 3¾ in.
 Wooden puppets may be manipulated to accompany performers during *mapiko* and other dances, and also to provide a visual counterpoint to oral narratives.
Private collection ILL. P. XX
31. Woman's bracelet (*likomela*), with engraved geometric designs, ca. 1930–50
 Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
 Brass, 1¼ x 2¾ in. diam. *Private collection* ILL. P. XX
32. Woman's bracelet (*likomela*) with engraved geometric designs, ca. 1930–50
 Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
 Brass, 1½ x 2½ in. diam. *Private collection* ILL. P. XX
33. Woman's bracelet (*likomela*), with engraved geometric designs, ca. 1930–50
 Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
 Brass, 1¼ x 2½ in. diam. *Private collection* ILL. P. XX
34. Man's bracelet (*likomela*), with openwork, repoussé, and engraved designs, ca. 1930–50
 Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
 Brass, ½ x 3¼ in. diam. *Private collection* ILL. P. XX

MAKONDE ARTS OF THE COLONIAL ERA, 1940–1960

35. Mask (*lipiko*) of young Makonde man with no tattoos, ca. 1945–55
 Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
 Wood, human hair, brass, and black pigment, 9¾ x 7 x 10¼ in.
 Performed in *mapiko wanshesho*. *Private collection* ILL. P. XX

36. Mask (*lipiko*) of old Makonde man with lip plug (*ndona*), ca. 1945–53
 Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
 Wood, black pigment, and human hair, 10 x 10 x 11 in.
 Performed in *mapiko wanshesho*. Collected in 1953 by Wacław Korabiewicz in Peyanda Village, Makonde Administrative District, Northern Mozambique. *Collection American Museum of Natural History*, 90.2/1589
 ILL. P. XX
37. Mask (*lipiko*) of young African man with moustache and green cap, ca. 1945–55
 Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
 Wood, black and green pigments, human hair, and fiber cord, 9¼ x 8½ x 10½ in.
 Performed in *mapiko wanshesho*. *Collection Stewart J. Warkow* ILL. P. XX
38. Mask (*lipiko*) of Italian nun of the Congregation of the *Consolata*, with wimple and cross, ca. 1945–55
 Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
 Wood and brown and white pigments, 9½ x 11½ x 8¾ in.
 Performed in *mapiko wanshesho*. *Collection Stewart J. Warkow* ILL. P. XX
39. Mask (*lipiko*) of Roman Catholic priest with skull cap, ca. 1945–55
 Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
 Wood, with graphite, yellow and red pigments, and string, 9½ x 7¼ x 8½ in.
 Performed in *mapiko wanshesho*. *Collection Stewart J. Warkow* ILL. P. XX
40. Mask (*lipiko*) of Portuguese man with moustache, ca. 1945–55
 Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
 Wood, brown and white pigments, brass, human hair, and ivory and/or bone, 10 3/8 x 8 5/8 x 11 1/4 in.
 Performed in either *mapiko wanshesho* or in a masquerade style similar to that invented by Nampyopyo Kulombanungu. *Collection Stewart J. Warkow* ILL. P. XX
41. Mask (*lipiko*) of a Makua or Andonde woman with lip-plug (*ndona*), 1945–53
 Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
 Wood, brown pigment, and human hair, 10 x 10 x 11 in.
 Performed in either *mapiko wanshesho* or in a masquerade style similar to that invented by Nampyopyo Kulombanungu. Collected in 1953 by Wacław Korabiewicz in Muidumbe Village, Makonde Administrative District, Northern Mozambique. *Collection American Museum of Natural History*, 90.2/1578
 ILL. P. XX
42. Mask (*lipiko*) of a sorcerer with deformed face, enflamed eye, and wide mouth, ca. 1950–65
 Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
 Wood, with black, red, and white pigments, 10 x 8½ x 12½ in.
 Used in performance as one in a series of characters demonstrating the practice of destructive sorcery (*uwavi*). Developed in the 1950s by the *mapiko* artist Lipato in response to a wave of witchcraft accusations in the Mueda Plateau region resulting from jealousies inflamed by the return of wealthy labor migrants. The performance was meant to expose sorcerers and their antisocial behavior.
Collection Stuart J. Warkow ILL. P. XX
43. Facemask (*likomba*) of Makonde woman with headwrap, ca. 1960–80
 Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
 Wood and yellow, red, and blue pigments, 11 x 7¼ x 5¼ in.
 Facemasks are performed in a separate genre of masquerade called *makomba* that Makondes generally attribute to ethnic groups in southern Tanzania. Facemasks increased in popularity in the Mueda Plateau area in the 1950s when returning labor migrants, who had seen them performed in Tanzania, danced with them in Mozambique. *Collection Amyas Naegele and Eve Glasberg* ILL. P. XX
44. Pectoral mask of pregnant female torso with painted abdominal tattoos and herniated umbili-

cus, ca. 1990–2000

Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique

Wood, yellow and black pigment, and rubber straps, 16⅜ x 8¾ x 4¾ in.

Pectoral masks are also a Tanzanian import widely adopted in Mozambique during the 1950s. Nampy-opyo Kulombanungu appears to have been a major contributor to its popularity within the Mueda Plateau area when he employed it in his updated recreation of *mapiko wamileya*.

Private collection

ILL. P. XX

45. Circular stool with two Makonde men in European clothes and two Makonde women in wrappers, 1945–53

Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique

Wood and pokerwork, 14⅝ x 15⅝ in.

Collected in 1953 by Waclaw Korabiewicz in the Makonde Administrative District, Northern Mozambique. Makonde stools with human caryatids were carved for European patrons who admired stools of leadership collected in Central Africa, many of which feature female caryatids.

Collection American Museum of Natural History, 90.2/1565

ILL. P. XX

46. Two entwined table legs with human (Makonde) heads and feet, ca. 1940–60

Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique

Wood, pokerwork, and ivory, 16 x 10 x 5 in.

Originally part of a three-legged table with circular tray.

Collection Amyas Naegele and Eve Glasberg ILL. P. XX

47. Figure of Makonde youth in shirt, tie, and shorts, ca. 1940–60

Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique

Wood, 19⅞ x 5½ x 4½ in.

Collection Amyas Naegele and Eve Glasberg ILL. P. XX

48. Corpus of Christ, ca. 1960–70

Unknown Makonde artist, Tanzania

African blackwood, 14¾ x 14 x 2⅝ in.

During the colonial era, Catholic missions on the Mueda Plateau employed Makonde carvers to transcribe religious images from books into wood and ivory sculptures. This piece was made by a Mozambican Makonde carver in a mission near Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

Private collection

ILL. P. XX

ARTS OF MAKONDE WOMEN

49. Water vessel (*shilongo shakumuto*), bulb-shaped, with incised and whitened geometric patterns, ca. 1950–80

Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique

Clay, graphite, and white chalk, 15 x 17⅞ diam.

Collection Amyas Naegele and Eve Glasberg ILL. P. XX

50. Facemask (*shitengamatu*) depicting a human face, 2004

Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique

Clay, yellow pigment, red nail polish, cloth, and string, 10 x 10 x 5 in.

Women perform masquerades during Makonde girls' initiation into adulthood (*ing'oma*). In the past, they made their own masks out of clay, but since the 1970s women have begun to borrow or buy wooden masks from men because of their lighter weight and greater durability.

Private collection

ILL. P. XX

MAKONDE ARTS OF THE SOCIALIST ERA, 1964–90

51. Mask (*lipiko*) of old man with long ears and beard, ca. 1970–80
 Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
 Wood, black pigment, human hair, and brass, 11¼ x 11½ x 13½ in.
Collection Drs. Jean and Nobel Endicott ILL. P. XX

52. Mask (*lipiko*) of old man with large ears and knotted head covering, ca. 1975–85
 Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
 Wood, with black and white pigments, human hair, and plant fiber, 13¾ x 11¼ x 9¾ in.
 Performed in *mapiko nijale*. *Collection Stewart J. Warkow* ILL. P. XX

53. Mask (*lipiko*) of old woman with large ears and lip plug (*ndona*), ca. 1975–85
 Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
 Wood, with black and white pigments, human hair, and fabric tie, 12 x 9 x 9¾ in.
 Performed in *mapiko nijale*. *Collection Stuart J. Warkow* ILL. P. XX

54. Mask (*lipiko*) of Portuguese soldier wearing helmet, ca. 1975–85
 Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
 Wood, with yellow and green pigments, 8 x 7¾ x 9¾ in.
 Performed in *mapiko wanshesho*. *Collection Stewart J. Warkow* ILL. P. XX

55. Mask (*lipiko*) of White Rhodesian soldier with military cap, ca. 1975–85
 Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
 Wood, with brown, white, and green pigments and human hair, 10¼ x 8 x 10¾ in.
 Performed in *mapiko wanshesho*. *Collection Stewart J. Warkow* ILL. P. XX

56. Mask (*lipiko*) of Mozambican President Samora Machel, ca. 1975–85
 Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
 Wood, with blue, pink, black, and yellow enamel paints, brass, and human hair, 10¾ x 10¾ x 11¾ in.
 Performed in *mapiko wanshesho*. *Collection Stewart J. Warkow* ILL. P. XX

57. Mask (*lipiko*) of young African man, ca. 1975–80
 Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
 Wood, with black pigment and human hair, 8½ x 7½ x 9¾ in.
 Performed in *mapiko wanshesho*. *Private collection* ILL. P. XX

58. Mask (*lipiko*) of young African woman with headwrap, ca. 1975–85
 Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
 Wood, with black, green, red, and white pigments, 11¾ x 7½ x 10¾ in.
 Performed in *mapiko wanshesho*. *Collection Amyas Naegele and Eve Glasberg* ILL. P. XX

59. Figure of Makonde man carrying boy and suitcase, ca. 1970–80
 Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
 African blackwood, 9½ x 4¾ x 2¾ in.
 Depicts Mozambican refugees on their way to Tanzania during the Mozambican war for independence.
Private collection ILL. P. XX

60. Figure of Makonde man carrying water pipe (*inyungwa*), skin bag, and spear, ca. 1970–80
 Unknown Makonde artist, Mozambique
 African blackwood, 8½ x 3¾ x 3¼ in.
 Depicts a Mozambican refugee on his way to Tanzania during the Mozambican war for independence.
Private collection ILL. P. XX

CONTEMPORARY MAKONDE MASQUERADES

61. Mask (*lipiko*) of old man with large nose and ears, 2001

Linolo Pilipo, Lyautua Village, Cabo Delgado Province, Mozambique

Wood, with graphite, white pigment, and string, 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 12 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.

Performed in *mapiko naupanga*.

Private collection

ILL. P. XX

62. Mask (*lipiko*) of crocodile, ca. 1995–2000

Martins Jackson, Matambalale Village, Cabo Delgado Province, Mozambique

Wood, reptile skin, and white pigment, 8 x 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Performed in *mapiko mang'anyamu*.

Private collection

ILL. P. XX

63. Mask (*lipiko*) of leopard, ca. 1995–2000

Martins Jackson, Matambalale Village, Cabo Delgado Province, Mozambique

Wood, animal fur, red, white, and black pigments, and string, 12 x 14 x 10 in.

Performed in *mapiko mang'anyamu*.

Private collection

ILL. P. XX

64. Mask (*lipiko*) of rhinoceros, ca. 1995–2000

Martins Jackson, Matambalale Village, Cabo Delgado Province, Mozambique

Wood, animal fur, red, white, and black pigments, tar, string, and nails, 14 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 15 in.

Performed in *mapiko mang'anyamu*.

Private collection

ILL. P. XX

65. Printed textile, 2004

Manufactured by MBS Grupo, pattern no. 13632

Pigment-dyed cotton, 42 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 70 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.

Printed in support of the FRELIMO party during the 2004 presidential elections, depicting Frelimo party president Eduardo Mondlane, and Mozambican presidents Samora Machel, Joaquim Chissano as well as presidential candidate Armando Guebuza. *Private collection*

Printed on Accent Opaque paper by Capital Offset Company.

Set in Trump Mediaeval and Lithos types.

Designed by Jerry Kelly.