In June 1992, upon learning that I was interested in studying how rural Bamana-speaking people organize their farming activities, Aminata Koné, a resident of one of the suburbs of Mali's capital city of Bamako, encouraged me to consider conducting my studies in her natal village, Kuluduguni, on the Mande Plateau. She stressed that settlements in this rugged, hilly region of south-central Mali were “true farming villages.”

Aminata referred to the Bamana farmers of the Mande hills as “ciwara” (“farming animals,” or champion farmers; the ending w denotes the plural), explaining that they farm like wild animals: they work very hard and never seem to tire. I was well aware of the ciwara cultural complex, including the famous antelope headdress sculptures prized by collectors throughout the world (Figs. 1, 8, 14–16). Ironically, however, while this form has grown steadily in popularity outside the region, scholars have documented its decline on the west African savanna (Imperato 1970; Zahan 1980).

Aminata, however, claimed that from time to time in some villages on the Plateau, performers did, in fact, dance with ciwara kunku (“farming animal heads,” or antelope headdresses) to celebrate and encourage the success of their agricultural endeavors. She told me that unlike similar headdresses in other areas, some of those in the hills were associated with special ritual objects (bolitu or basitu)—things that I knew she and other practicing Muslims in Mali generally frowned upon. Aminata noted that the people of the hills also participated in other “old” things such as jou (initiation societies or associations; see descriptions in Zahan 1974; McNaughton 1979). I believe that it was in this sense that she referred to the Bamana of the Mande Plateau as “Bamana yëre yëre”—true Bamana—people who continue to work the land as many previous generations have before them and who engage in some of the traditional religious and cultural practices.

Ultimately I decided to conduct research for my doctoral study in Kuluduguni and several nearby communities. As it turned out, I observed three separate performances involving antelope headdresses on the Plateau. The presence of the ciwara complex in this region at this time

**Antelope Headdresses and Champion Farmers**

**Negotiating Meaning and Identity Through the Bamana Ciwara Complex**

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Ciwara (chivara, ti yi vara) headdresses are among the most recognizable and popular genres of African art, appearing in museum and private collections throughout the world.
Clockwise from top left:
2. Ciwara dancers. Djilounou region (Cercle of Bamako), Mali, 1969. Photo: Pascal James Imperato. Once prevalent among the Bamana, performances of antelope headdresses (ciwarakunwu, sing. ciwarakun) in rituals and festivities related to farming have been thought to be in decline. This photograph documents an interesting departure from the usual performance by a male-female pair. After one of their ciwarakunwu was stolen in the late 1950s, the village's youth association commissioned a replacement from a sculptor in another area; rather than attempting to match the other headdress, he made the pair seen at left. Despite the stylistic differences, the association's members decided to use all three together. This willingness to adapt is exhibited in ciwara performances seen recently on the Mande Plateau.


4. Drummers at a ciwara performance. Village of Falayoro, Mali, October 1993. Photo: Stephen Wooten. The drummers are accompanied by women singers. The performance was part of festivities at the end of a day of communal labor in the fields.

stands in marked contrast to the general trend of decline documented by Pascal James Imperato and Dominique Zahan.

In this essay I provide detailed descriptions and a close analysis of the three events and the ethnohistorical contexts in which they occurred, heeding recent calls (e.g., Hardin & Arnoldi 1996) for more sustained analysis of local dynamics, analysis that prioritizes culturally specific scenes over removed theoretical frameworks. Through this approach I seek to document the changing contours of the ciwara cultural complex in the late twentieth century and to explore how Bamana in this region use it to negotiate meaning and identity.

Village Life on the Mande Plateau
Kuluduguni is a small settlement of mud-and-thatch structures (pop. 184 in 1993–94) on the rugged Mande Plateau. Although the community lies within bicycle range (30–40 km) of Bamako, there are important differences in the character of life in these two areas of the contemporary Malian state. Socially, economically, and culturally, the Plateau seems to reflect a traditional orientation. Like most people in the villages to their immediate north and northwest, residents of Kuluduguni say that they consider themselves Bamana people. As in most Bamana communities, age and gender are important in the social and political realms of this patrilineal and patrilocal society; elders dominate juniors, and men typically hold more public power than women. Agriculture is the villagers’ livelihood. Each rainy season they work diligently to produce
enough sorghum, millet, corn, and various sauce crops for domestic consumption throughout the year. They use a fallow system, and all farming is done manually with short-handled iron and wood hoes (Fig. 3).

Although a few young men in the area gathered to pray on key Islamic holy days, for the most part the religious and ritual activity I observed in 1993–94 focused around traditional beliefs and practices. During suw sôn wuati (ancestor offering time) and Bamané sëli tuma (Bamané prayer time), men and women made ritual offerings and communicated with their ancestors. Members of the local branch of the Komó society undertook their seasonal activities. Several times during the year, I was cautioned against making trips to certain villages that were in the midst of a period of similar cekkôbàw baara (old men’s work).

However, as my research on agrarian change in the community suggests, villages such as Kuluduguni are not isolated from the modern world. For example, the people I lived with were actively engaged in commercial activities that linked them with urban markets and life in the capital (Wooten 1997). The negotiated character of their encounters in the economic realm bears on the way I understand and represent their performances involving ciwara~kúntu. These and other cultural activities are in constant dialogue with present-day concerns as well as past experiences.

**Anecdotal Antecedents**

During the rainy season in June 1993, I was with a group of women who were weeding a peanut field. As they gathered for their midday meal, two older women approached in an odd manner: bent over at the waist, each leaned on a pair of short sticks and uttered cries which provoked laughter from the group. One of the women explained, “They’re nammaw (fools).” Later, my designated host in the village, a young man named Jatigi Jara, told me, “They were imitating the ciwara.”

Jatigi went on to say that Kuluduguni shared a pair of ciwara~kúntu with its nearby sister village, Jiribugu. He suggested that I might see them during the dry season. Other communities in the area apparently had the headdresses as well. These were sometimes danced in the villages or in the fields, for example during a man’s work event at the opening of a new farming area. In fact, a few weeks later Jatigi told me about a work event that had taken place in a nearby village while I was away. Ciwara~kúntu had danced in the field, and young women had clapped and sung ciwara~dôntìkè (ciwara songs). According to Jatigi, the men enjoyed the performance and worked harder than usual throughout the day. I realized that Aminata’s comments about ciwara~kúntu on the Plateau were well founded: antelope headdresses and champion farmers were both present.

Shortly after my encounter with the women’s “imitation” of the ciwara~kúntu, the leader of a domestic group in a nearby village requested that the Kuluduguni-Jiribugu headdresses appear at a major labor event on his main field in order to encourage a large turnout and improve the quality of the work. However, Dugukolo Jara, a respected elder, explained that their ciwara~kúntu did not typically perform in such settings. He used the words cêkôôbàsôkèn (old men’s thing) and tulonkèn (playing thing) to distinguish between types of ciwara. The former had force, while the latter represented something that was broken or ruined. Playthings were used by children and young people for amusement and as incentives to labor. The elders declined their neighbor’s request.

I was told that some ciwara~kúntu were old men’s things associated with bolùn (thick). Such powerful ciwara~kúntu were able to undertake amazing feats. Apparently, certain of them had done such things as bathing in boiling water or having women pound grain on their chest. Some men in the village claimed that ciwara~kúntu could even dodge bullets. Dugukolo and the others stressed that this kind of ciwara was the real thing—“ciwara yëwè yëwè,” echoing the phrase Aminata had used in reference to the “true Bamané” of the Plateau.
Over the next few months, I observed and sometimes participated in many work events. On one occasion, approximately ninety men from Kuluduguni and its environs assembled to expand the boundaries of a distant field into the uncultivated bush. During the midday meal several men began to joke with me.

“Do you see that man over there?” they asked. “He can change into a wiara (a wild animal).” The man rose and approached me, putting his hands up in a feline-like scratching position and making some growling and screeching sounds. I joked back, “That’s great—when will I see you do it?” He and the others laughed and replied, “Later, during the dry season.” As I will discuss below, this man did indeed become a wiara—a ciwara in fact.

Although no ciwara came out at any of the work events I attended, I gained insight into one aspect of the ciwara performance. During one event, numerous pairs of laborers set a wicked pace through heavy vegetation, wildly pulling weeds from the earth and crying “wooo, wwww” with each lunge forward. After progressing through a 15-20-meter swath, pairs would call out and raise their hoes. I realized that they were competing with each other. When a team finished a section, an older man would respond, using the word “ciwara”! The vocalizations of these hard-working men were almost identical to the greetings used by performers I would see in ciwara performances.

As these observations indicate, discourses on and manifestations of the ciwara complex are certainly part of contemporary life in the area of the Plateau where I lived and worked. Moreover, they suggest that people draw important distinctions within the overall ciwara domain. Local commentary indicates a complex situation in which elements of ritual power, playful entertainment, and the promotion of productive labor are all at hand. The significance of these elements becomes clearer when we compare the details of the three performances I observed.8

Falayorola:
Celebrating a Day of Field Labor

One afternoon in late October 1993, Jatigi Jara and I traveled to the nearby community of Falayorola to attend the public celebration of a day of heavy labor in a resident’s bush field. The host had provided the workers with a midday meal in the field, followed with kola nuts and tobacco powder. Moreover, at the end of the day the workers were to receive another meal and be entertained by the community’s ciwara.

Once all the laborers had returned from the fields, subdued and, in many cases, exhausted, the women of the household appeared with numerous bowls of sorghum porridge with green leaf sauce. Afterward they served the liquid refreshments: beer for a small group of older men and, for a larger group of mostly younger men, hot water to be mixed with instant coffee, sugar, and sweetened condensed milk. While they drank, an elder rose and began to speak about the day’s events. He singled out one youth who had arrived at the field very early and had excelled in his labor throughout the day. The elder pronounced him the ciwara (champion farmer) of the day. Another older man then presented the worker with a chicken and a small can of instant Nescafe—luxury items for most rural Malians. The young man seemed honored and a bit embarrassed: he smiled broadly and sat down quickly. About thirty minutes later, as the drinks began to run dry, four drummers began to play (Fig. 4), joined by about five women who accompanied them with singing and clapping.

Then, from between two mud houses, two costumed figures emerged, each wearing a horizontal-style antelope headdress dressed with a wicker cap. They backed into the public space, then turned and crouched at the side of the performance circle. The headdresses were dark, almost black. The antelopes, one male and the other female, had the tail of a chameleon and the bill of a hornbill. The male headdress incorporated an anthropomorphic male figure with a gun slung over its back, while the female incorporated a female figure. A veil of fiber braids covered the faces of the performers, who wore long overskirts made of red-brown strip cloth decorated with long feathers of various birds of prey. They held a stick approximately 38 centimeters (15”) long in each hand at the forked end, the other end on the ground (Fig. 5). The dancers made four-point (feet and sticks) contact with the ground throughout the performance. These sticks, called wiara biria, showed signs of a recent sacrifice: fresh chicken feathers were stuck to what appeared to be fresh blood. Each performer was accompanied by a young girl approximately 10–12 years old (ciwara musoni). The girls wore matching green two-piece outfits and held fiber plates with which they would fan the dancers.

A middle-aged man dressed in everyday clothes led the crouching performers into the circle (Fig. 6): first the female ciwara dancer, then the male, each followed by its young attendant. The small procession made its way to the other side of the performance circle, where the older men were seated on cow hides. The two ciwara dancers began to swing their heads gently from side to side, uttering the same vocalizations I had heard in that bush field some weeks before: “wooo, wwww.” Jatigi told me they were “greeting” the old men. The pair proceeded completely around the perimeter and then made two more rapid passes around the circle, during which time the original leader was replaced by an older man. The performers moved in a sort of hop-skip walk, which has been described in the literature as mimicking the movements of an antelope. Returning to the entry point, they assumed crouched positions, remaining motionless while the drummers continued to play a rhythm and the women clapped and sang ciwara songs.9

After a brief conference between the host and the performers and drummers, the drumming, clapping, and singing


The dancers are identified as male and female ciwara by the imagery of their headcrests.
began again—this time at a quicker pace. The female headdress entered the circle, completed a rapid circuit, made a 360-degree turn, and exited the arena. The male followed and made two similar passes before departing in much the same fashion. The audience responded with clapping and shouting. The whole ciwara performance, including the pause for discussion, had lasted approximately fifteen minutes.

The drummers continued to keep up a rhythm. Various members of the audience entered the circle and danced freely, to the amusement of those on the sidelines. The mood had shifted from fairly quiet observation to more upbeat interaction. Soon, another pair of masked performers entered the circle, the namanikun dancers. They wore hyena-style masks and ankle rattles made from twine and bottle caps. One performer held a small gourd, the other an ear of corn. The audience was animated; their laughter increased steadily. Jatigi told me that these dancers were “thieves” and that they tried to make people laugh.10

The namanikun dancers were joined by an older woman wearing a cloth cap decorated with bits of fur, white feathers, what looked like nuts or seeds, and perhaps some amulets as well. She appeared dazed. She wandered about with a fixed gaze for a few moments and then began shuffling after the namanikun performers as they made their way around the circle. Eventually the masked performers stopped, apparently yielding the floor to the woman. The spectators were clearly amused. From the sidelines another older woman appeared carrying a cape or gown

similarly adorned with fur, feathers, and nuts or seeds. The female dancer seemed dull to this woman's approach, as well as to her efforts to put the cape on her. The woman did succeed, however, and the dancer, now bedecked, once again resumed her shuffling. She was joined for a brief period by another older woman, and both proceeded around the circle and exited to a burst of laughter and clapping. Jatigi told me these were "nalomnamusow" (foolish women). I remembered my encounter with the nalomnamaw in Kuluwuguni who were imitating the ciwara. The namarikus dancers then reappeared and made a series of passes around the arena before exiting. It seemed to me that their performance had been upstaged.

The drumming continued. Various audience members took the floor: a pair of young men performed hand-stand dances, several older men danced in the namarikus style, and other individuals simply ran about in the limelight. After the tempo wound down, a middle-aged man rose to make a few announcements, thank the workers and performers, and acknowledge my donation to the cost of the toara sım (toara offering).11

Afterward several men invited me to a nearby hangar where the headdresses and costumes were laid out on the ground (Fig. 7). The men who had danced the ciwara were present, as were the two young attendants. The sculptures appeared freshly oiled or blackened. Each stood about 25–30 centimeters (10"–11") tall and was composed of three basic pieces: the antelope head (approx. 50 cm/20" long, including the horns), the body (approx. 38 cm/15" long, including the tail), and the human figure. The head and horns were attached to the body at the neck with metal staples.12 Each headdress was a flowing and curvaceous rendition of an antelope, though with a backward-curving tail reminiscent of a chameleon's. The bodies were marked by several etched lines. The bent legs made the animal appear to be crouching. Both heads had relatively large lips and a visible tongue, as well as large ears which blended into the head and the long, horizontal horns. Each horn, the tip upturned, was carved to give a spiral effect. The male antelope had a visible penis.

The figurines on the headdresses, mounted on the horns right behind the head with heavy black rubber bands, were particularly intriguing. Each measured approximately 10–12 centimeters (4"–5") in height. They were rendered with arms at their sides and hands slightly upturned. The female had firm breasts, a crested hairstyle, and bracelets. The male figurine had a bald head, a visible penis, and a gun slung over his back. The arm band on his left arm is, in my experience, characteristic of hunters in the region. Each figurine also displayed scarification: on the female, sets of short parallel lines located just below the eyes and underarms, as well as a series of dots on her stomach; on the male, short parallel lines at the underarms and on the chest. In each instance there were four sets of paired lines.13

When I began to ask detailed questions about the sculptures and the performance itself, those who had gathered nearby became quiet. I switched to what I thought was a less charged question: Where had they obtained the sculptures? Their replies were rather imprecise: "From a blacksmith in the big city." In response to my query about ownership, I was told only: "They are ours." I gathered that my lines of inquiry were unwelcome—at that point, in that context, or perhaps they always would be. Respectfully, I moved away from this line of questioning, conveying instead my appreciation of the beautiful sculptures.
shade tree. The old men stood near them. A small group of young women moved behind the drummers and began singing and clapping. At about this time a man dressed in a mudcloth (bogolanfini) suit approached the dance circle. Called the ciwara tigi (ciwara leader), he was leading a pair of performers, each wearing a horizontal-style ciwaranke. The dancers, in resplendent costumes decorated with many bird feathers and flowing fiber strands, twisted 360 degrees as they entered the arena.

As in the Falayarola performance, one headdress was male and one was female (Fig. 9, 10). The male sported a large gun atop the antelope, and the female bore a small antelope on her horns. Throughout this performance, too, the dancers walked bent over so that the sticks they held touched the ground. As at Falayarola, each dancer was accompanied by a girl who waved a fan at her ciwara and generally shadowed its movements.

After pausing briefly at the entrance, the man in the mudcloth suit led the ciwara (the female first) and the girls into the circle. He carried a leather sack over one shoulder and had an iron bell in his hand, which he rang throughout the performance. The ciwara moved toward the musicians and then toward the male elders, all of whom they acknowledged with loud shrieks. The pair repeated the greeting to the old women before making a pass around the circle and then crouching together on the sidelines.

Eventually the pace of the drumming picked up and the female ciwara entered the circle alone. She moved quickly around it three times in a hop-skip fashion, ending up in front of the drummers; then she stopped dancing and returned to the opposite side. The male ciwara entered the space and danced much as the female had. Their performances were energetic, and the crowd registered their approval with shouts and clapping. After a brief pause, the music picked up again and the female ciwara took another set of turns around the circle. The pace of the music was a bit faster this time, and I noticed that interesting things were occurring.

An older man was wandering about the performance area with a needle and thread, which an attendant on the sidelines had just been using to attach loose feathers to the ciwara costumes. The man placed the point of the needle against his face, seemingly in an attempt to pass it through his cheek. He also had a knife, and a few minutes later he began to cut at his tongue. As this was going on the female ciwara finished her performance and the male entered the scene. Things became even more intense.

The male ciwara moved to the center of the area and motioned for something. An attendant then walked briskly around the circle showing everyone what looked like a small ticket. He delivered the item to the male ciwara, now joined by the female. The leader had taken off his leather sack and removed several items from it, placing them on the ground in the plain view: I realized that I was in the presence of three power objects. Two of the bolito looked like sections of hollow wood, each about 30 centimeters (12") long and 4 centimeters (1.5") in diameter. The other item looked like an animal horn, perhaps that of a bull. All three objects were a dark reddish color and were encrusted with what appeared to be sacrificial material. For the next several minutes the bolito remained on the ground.

The male ciwara then unwrapped the mysterious item, revealing a double-edged razor blade. He held it up and moved around the circle so that everyone could see it (Fig. 11). The ciwara then placed the blade into his mouth and chewed it. He requested another blade. After consuming it he became very animated and began an energized version of his previous dance. The ciwara made his way first to the drummers and then to the male elders, and spat what appeared to be blood on them. Returning to the center of the arena, he went into a very low form of his dance, cradling the sticks, his body so close to the ground that it caused dust to rise. His performance came to an end in front of the drummers, and the female ciwara prepared to take the stage.

An attendant presented the female ciwara, who was crouching on the periphery, with a piece of burning wood from a cooking fire. She examined it and returned it to the attendant. The ciwara then entered the circle and made a spirited pass around it before coming to a halt near the center. During her circuit, several men, including the ciwara tigi, carefully put the power objects back into the leather sack, which the leader slung onto his shoulder. The female ciwara assumed a crouched position in the center of the circle, joined by the male. She was given the burning ember; she chewed it up. Her subsequent turn around the arena was, like the male's last performance, quite energetic, and culminated in front of the drummers in a low, cradled dance. The ciwara reunited on the sidelines.

An older man who had been assisting with the performance took up the male ciwara's sticks and proceeded to dance in the style of the ciwara, ending with a low dance in front of the drummers. One of the young girls accompanied him, waving her fan energetically. The man returned the sticks to the costumed performer, and the ciwara pair rose to depart the performance sphere, twirling around until they exit as they had upon their entry.

Like the headdresses at Falayarola, the antelope sculptures were of the horizontal type. Rather than the flowing lines of the first pair, these ciwaranke were rendered in a block-like style. The body (from chest to tail) measured approximately 25 centimeters (10"), considerably smaller than in the Falayarola pair, especially in rela-
tion to the tail. The tails were more reminiscent of an antelope's: short and pointing up rather than long and circular like a chameleon's. The female's head (only about 5 cm/2" long, but approx. 50 cm/20" long with the horns) was particularly intriguing. It was human-like, with clearly identifiable facial features. It wore earrings and a nose ring, and its mouth was decorated with nail polish. Metal tacks represented the eyes. The horns had a spiral pattern and curved upward and back. The female carried a smaller antelope on her back. The smaller figure was very similar to the male sculpture, displaying an antelope-style head. Several colorful plastic bead necklaces were entwined on both pieces.17

The body of the male headdress was similar to the female's, except that the tail was slightly longer and it was rendered with a clearly visible penis, which itself was approximately an inch long. The head proper measured approximately 30 centimeters (12") and the horns were approximately 50 centimeters long. More typical of the horizontal-style ciwara, the head of the male headdress had long, narrow ears, and a mouth with defined lips and tongue. Its mouth area, too, was decorated with nail polish, and its eyes represented by metal tacks. Mounted atop the head of the ciwara was a large gun, which paralleled the lines of the horns.

As with the Falayorola pair, both sculptures were attached to a wicker basket draped with a fiber veil that covered the wearer's head and neck; a cloth tie fastened the basket to the head. The cloth costume was similar as well: a long reddish gown ornamented with numerous bird feathers. The sticks were a bit longer (approximately 16'-17") than the ones used in Falayorola. They forked on the hand end, but did not show evidence of sacrifice.

Jiribugu's ciwara dance was also followed by a performance of namanikun. The two tricksters danced well and met with resounding audience approval. Next came the cèhènlèkè: three performers decked out in mudcloth jumpsuits and with quills protruding from the top of their hooded heads (Fig. 12). The cèhènlèkè danced to the haliphone, while the namanikun danced to the drums.

Soon after the cèhènlèkè exited, a group of women entered the circle, two of them taking center stage; Jatigi said they were the women's ciwara. On their heads each sported a metal clothes hanger, mounted the long way from front to back and secured with cloth ties (Fig. 13). Holding sticks approximately twice as long as the men's, the women danced around in a small circle, using much the same choreography as their male counterparts. Each dancer was followed by a fan-waver, though these were adult women. In their midst was a woman wearing a namanikun-type mask. Like the namanikun performers I had seen, this character seemed to be a thief of sorts—she was grabbing at things on lookers' hands and held a package of cigarettes. The drummers kept up a beat and the women made several passes before dispersing into a knot of audience members who—young and old, male and female—laughed heartily at this spectacle.

Kuluduguni:
Ciwara across the Generations

Ten days after the Jiribugu performance, the villagers of Kuluduguni began their own suew sòrì waattì activities. On the evening of April 22, 1994, all the members of the three main Jara domestic groups ate a rather festive meal together. Dugukolo Jara made offerings of a goat and a chicken to their ancestors. With members of all the community's domestic groups watching, he cut each animal's throat and placed the open wound against either side of the doorway of his meeting hut. He uttered phrases, sometimes laughing to himself between them,18 and offered porridge and sorghum beer libations and threw kola nuts at the base of the doorway. Dugukolo


The neighboring villages of Jiribugu and Kuluduguni share ciwara headdresses. The face of this female headdress is notable for its human-like features.
told me later that this process was undertaken to honor Doseke, the village founder, and other deceased relatives and to see how they responded to his request for aid in the coming year. I heard him mention rainfall and grain harvests, asking for plentiful amounts of both. The next morning Bafin Jara, head of another Jara domestic group, sacrificed a chicken at the doorway of the community’s eldest woman, Dusu Kulibali, the widow of one of the Jara elders. The formula was the same. Dugukolo told me that this sacrifice was for the group’s mothers.

On the second day, similar sacrifices of chickens were made, first by the other Jara domestic groups, then by a Kulibali group. Around 4:00 PM, as at Falayorola and Jiribugu, Jatigi arrived at my house to tell me that it was “nyemije usahili” (entertainment time). This time four drummers led a procession of performers and their attendants into the public space. The drummers were followed by a man ringing a bell and carrying the same leather sack I had observed in Jiribugu (Fig. 17). The leader (ciwara tigi) was none other than Cefolo, the man who had performed the male headdress at the Jiribugu event; he was a full-time resident of Kuluduguni, however. The male ciwara entered first, the female second, each followed by her attendant (Figs. 18, 19). A group of women came next, singing and clapping. The leader monitored and even directed the performers’ movements very closely, as if they were novices.

After the drummers and women took up positions across the circle, the ciwara tigi guided the dancers on their first pass, making sure that they made a 360-degree twirl upon their formal entry into the circle. They greeted the drummers with the characteristic “woo, woo, woo” vocalization and then were shepherded further around to greet the community’s oldest woman and, next, the elder men.

The drumbeat picked up, and the female ciwara completed two spirited turns around the circle as the audience shouted, “Wara run, wara run.” The choreography was identical to that of the other performances: a hop-skip dance. Her dance ended, as in the other cases, with a fast-paced segment in front of the drummers. The two-pass dance was then repeated by the male ciwara.

The older men who had assisted with the performance in Jiribugu were involved in this event as well. In fact, the man who had danced the female headdress in Jiribugu entered the circle, though dressed in everyday clothes. At that point, one of the guides from Jiribugu relieved Cefolo of the sack and bell. Cefolo took a pair of ciwara sticks and performed the dance—without a headress or any of the other accoutrements: he seemed to be instructing the day’s performers. The older man now guiding Cefolo was the one who had danced after the ciwara tigi in Jiribugu. I realized that this cross-generational pattern had occurred on all three occasions. As he danced around the arena, Cefolo greeted the appropriate people in the process: the drummers, the old women, and the men—some of whom he seemed to single out for special attention. Perhaps
these were distinguished past performers. After two circuits around the arena, which met with much applause, Cefolo retrieved the bell and sack from the older man, who now took control of the sticks himself and made several turns around the circle to an approving audience. I had just witnessed a sequence involving three generations of ciwara dancers.

As this performance was taking place, the dancer of the female ciwaraakun from the Jiribugu event, Zan Jara, began to walk around in the center of the circle, muttering and pounding his chest with his fist. Eventually he motioned for Jatigi to join him and handed him a block of wood and an awl. The next thing I knew, Jatigi was using the block to hammer the awl into Zan’s upper chest. Zan then removed another leather sack from a cloth bag. As Cefolo danced, Zan wandered about the circle with the leather sack hanging by a strap from the awl.

After a few moments, Jatigi revealed a 1,000 FCFA note (about $3). He gave it to Zan, who held it up for all to see and then crouched in the center of the circle and began to chop the bill and a few tree leaves into bits. Meanwhile, several other older men took over the ciwara sticks and made passes through the arena. Zan began to mutter while folding the bill and leaf fragments into a piece of paper, seeming to speak to the package, sometimes looking up to the sky while uttering phrases. He slapped the packet between his hands and waved it over his right shoulder several times. The costumed ciwara performers joined him, crouching by his side. Zan handed the packet to Jatigi, who opened it to reveal about five or six bills! Jatigi moved around the circle to show the audience, who responded with laughter, cheers, and clapping. Zan then placed the bills back into the sheet of paper and commenced the same procedure: slapping, speaking, and waving the packet about. When Jatigi opened it, he revealed the leaves and the single bill. The audience erupted again.

With that feat of transformation accomplished, the ciwaraakun took center stage and made separate energetic passes, each ending with a low, cradling-style sequence in front of the drummers. They were coached throughout by Cefolo, who seemed determined to make them dance to their fullest potential. The ciwara performance ended when the male and female danced together in the low posture. After they exited, an older man rose to make a speech.19

The dance floor was then opened to the audience: men, women, and even some children. Some men danced a version of the namanikun choreography, and others executed dance steps from the kòleba (see Brink 1980). Shortly thereafter, the namanikun performers danced, much as they had at Jiribugu and Falayorola. Next came Kuluduguni’s own ntomonikun dancers, their headdresses typically associated with the Ntomo society (see Zahan 1960; Imperato 1980). The ntomonikun dancers made a very good showing, performing with energy and determination. Afterward people entered and exited at will, and a mood of festive confusion set in.

The ciwaraakun and namanikun were the same as those used in Jiribugu. As Jatigi and Dugukolo had suggested, the two villages apparently share these re-
sources. Although different individuals danced the forms, residents in both locations were able to use them to help celebrate their *saw sôn waawi*. 

**Negotiating Meaning**

While previous studies have described the steady decline of the *ciwara* complex in many areas of Mali (Imperato 1970; Zahan 1980), my experience indicates that this process is not uniform or entirely complete. My observations reveal a situation in which contemporary Bamana people mobilize *ciwara* to create meaning in their world and to forge various aspects of their identity.

All the *ciwara* performances I observed occurred in association with a sacrificial offering, a key aspect of Bamana religious dynamics (Dieterlen 1951; Henry 1910; McNaughton 1988; Zahan 1960). The performances in Jiribugu and Kuluduguni were clearly linked with *nyama*, or power, occurring within the context of a highly charged set of sacrifices to the ancestors and other forces in the community during *saw sôn waawi* or *Bamana sëlt tuma*. Even in a context of post-labor entertainment, the leaders of the Falayorola event insured that an appropriate sacrifice was offered via the *ciwara* sticks.

Furthermore, on two of the occasions, powerful acts occurred. In Jiribugu, the public consumption of razor blades and hot coals heightened the performance, and the startling use of a needle and a knife underscored the "special" nature of the event. In Kuluduguni, one of the performers from Jiribugu transformed leaves into money and then back again. In the 1960s, Imperato's informants attributed such feats to the ritual power of *ciwara jom*, or associations (1970). They can be likened to the snake-handling exhibitions described by Zahan (1980), said to reflect the tremendous efficacy of *ciwara* power. In our discussions about glorious *ciwara* of the past, Dugukolo Jara referred to amazing feats. Those undertaken by the *ciwara* I saw point to the manipulation or harnessing of *nyama*. They demonstrate the power of the individuals who undertook these acts and perhaps, by extension, the power of their community as a whole. Indeed, comments of this nature circulated widely in the Plateau communities.
Moreover, the association with *boliw* at the performances in Jiribugu and Kuluduguni signal a link to traditional power dynamics. In Jiribugu, the leader of the masquerade carried powerful objects in a bag during most of the performance and removed them for public display at a particularly dramatic point. They were apparently also present at Kuluduguni, although they were not revealed. These *boliw* are physical evidence of the religious orientation of the individuals and communities in question. Indeed, Zahan (1980) provides a detailed description of similar objects in his discussion of the altars of the *ciwara jo*. I suggest that the association of the *boliw* with these *ciwaraw*, explicit at Jiribugu and implicit at Kuluduguni, points to the strength of at least some aspects of what Imperato and Zahan have described for the *ciwara jo*.21

Even if the performances I have described are not connected to specific *ciwara jo*, elements of ritual power were clearly at hand. However, it is impossible to categorize them as *either* sacred or secular, powerful or playful. The perfor-
A common Bamana proverb declares, “The world began and so it will end with farming.” Indeed, oral tradition (presented first in de Ganay 1949) suggests that the original ciwara kumama were constructed and performed many generations ago to honor the mythic being, Chi Wara, who taught the people how to cultivate. Imperatoro’s informants portrayed the development of a ja from this origin myth, and he discussed the idea that a strong ciwara tradition and successful farming tended to overlap. Zahan noted that the ciwara society was not open to those whose main occupation lies outside the realm of agriculture (e.g., smiths).

Elsewhere I have shown that agriculture is the mainstay of life in Kuludugu and nearby hill communities: people depend on it for both food and income (Wooten 1997). These villages have strong reputations for excellence and diligence in farming. Their identity is apparently linked to their successful way of life, which is in turn may very well be linked to their adherence to a powerful agrarian rite and its connection to Bamana domains of power.

The people of the Plateau continue to farm using traditional implements, handheld hoes (dakho). This is an important point. In his account of the deterioration of the ciwara ja, Zahan identifies the shift from the hoe to the plow as a determining factor (1980:202), suggesting that in moving away from traditional agricultural methods, people move away from traditional religious and ritual worlds as well. The landscape in my study area, however, is not well suited to this mechanized activity. The slopes are typically too steep and the soil too rocky. In this sense, the devotion to farming and the ciwara complex is practical as well as religious or ideological.

In Fanaloro, the practice of naming a “ciwara of the day” encourages hard work and salutes the community’s agricultural heritage. The appearance of the ciwara during seasonal rites of affirmation aimed at insuring the livelihood and well-being of people in Jiribugu and Kuludugu supports the notion that the ciwara complex contributes to the ongoing construction of an agrarian identity.

Whether or not the actors or observers involved in the cases I have presented know the agricultural origin myth, make explicit connections to the mythic inventor of this way of life when they perform, or participate in a ciwara ja, their links to an agricultural way of life are affirmed and strengthened in the activities involving ciwara kumama. Farming is at the core of their identity.

Zahan (1980:144) discusses the role that annual ciwara sacrifices and performances play in celebrating the emergence of group life, which is said to have arisen with the invention of ironworking and the cultivation of grain. In his narrative, rites performed in the village setting com-memorate the transition from the more solitary life of food collection to the social life of food production. The performances I observed were linking community activities, bringing the men, women, and children of the villages together.

There was an element of rivalry that promoted intravillage cohesion as well. When people from one village heard about a performance in another, they always asked how theirs compared. They were interested in “their” ciwara’s image and reputation. My observations echo information presented by Imperatot on inter-village rivalry involved in past ciwara performances (1970). This community pride is probably linked to farming identity and prowess. Villages want to be known for their dances, but perhaps even more for the success of their farming activities. Today, when people on the Mande Plateau gather to watch their ciwara perform, they are celebrating and affirming their collective village identity and the social nature of their mode of subsistence.

Thus, for people in the communities described here, it seems that occupational and village identities are most important. How far does the ciwara complex go toward the construction of group identities? Do the performances represent an attempt to solidify an explicitly Bamana identity? I think not. Rather, I suggest that the performers and observers at the ciwara events described have a decidedly local orientation; identity politics seem to unfold at the village rather than the ethnic level. In their festivities, the villagers were not necessarily communicating their ethnicity to members of other ethnic groups; rather, they were communicating with each other with their ancestors, and with powerful forces in their community.

However, as Mary Jo Arnold has shown (1995, 1996), elements of the ciwara complex can play important roles in the articulation of Bamana ethnic identity in contemporary multiethnic contexts. She describes how Bamana residents of Segou use the ciwara form to assert their “Bamanayan,” or Bamana-ness, in a complex urban arena where other ethnic identities and symbols are in circulation. For these urban Bamana the ciwara complex provides a rallying point, an expression of their cultural heritage. For the performers and audience members on the Plateau, however, the ciwara complex is not simply a symbol of the past—a “spirit” of occupational heritage—but rather a reflection of their contemporary reality.

**Generation and Gender: Realms of Continuity and Contestation**

The performances I have documented offer important insights into issues of meaning and negotiation in the realms of generation and gender. In all three instances, members of at least two genera-
tions played important roles. In Falayorola, the leader of the masquerade was an older married man. After guiding the performers through their sequences, he performed himself. Likewise, male elders in Jiribugu assisted the performers with their costumes and with the preparation of the dance objects. Several took turns dancing, and at least one elder executed acts of power. The fact that novices danced the headresses in Kuluduguni shows an interest in passing on this tradition. Former ciwara dancers seemed to serve as guides, their performances a reminder of their prowess in the past. The deliberate and public actions of different generations help maintain a cross-generational continuity.

I also observed potential lines of change and conflict within the ciwara complex, especially with regard to gender constructs. According to received wisdom, the male-female pairing of the headresses suggests the theme of sexual interdependence and complementarity (Brink 1981; Zahan 1980). Human and agricultural reproduction depends on active participation from men and women. The sculptures described here support this interpretation. Each was a male-female pair, and the theme of successful reproduction was supported by the small figures incorporated into the female headresses. In this way, the sculptures carry forward key aspects of Bamana gender ideology.

However, there is also an interesting sculptural twist: in these cases the quintessential farming icon incorporated images of hunting. The male figure on the Falayorola headdress appeared to be a hunter. He carried a gun and wore a hunter’s magical armband. Where was his hoe? In Jiribugu and Kuluduguni, the male headdress was topped with a large gun. These elaborations on the basic symbolic structure reveal the dynamism of this complex.

Evidence of change and the active negotiation of gender identity go beyond sculptural symbolism. While the ciwara complex has typically been identified as male dominated, my observations reveal that women are active in its maintenance and ongoing reconfiguration. Recall that two girls always followed the ciwara. Moreover, women and girls were always present at the performances, as members of the audience and as singers of songs that encouraged the performers and glorified the hard work of farming. Yet, though women were definitely invested in the performance complex, they also seemed to contest it.

During the women’s field labor event, “foolish” old women “imitated” the ciwara dance. More significantly, in the Jiribugu case, women danced their own version of ciwara kutu. Such scenes have never been reported in the literature on the ciwara complex. Are they signs of women’s long-standing but largely invisible role in the tradition, or do they indicate a more contemporary negotiation of power between the sexes? Are they meant to signify women’s own heritage as “champion farmers” or to convey their claim of having always been involved? Or do they reflect women’s desire to gain a foothold in important new farming activities such as market gardening, a realm largely limited to men, but which women actively contest (see Wooten 1997)? One also wonders if male performers and sculptors are using the tradition to underscore what they see as more appropriate gender roles. Does the addition of the gun and the hunting imagery reinforce male power?

Rather than providing enlightening answers to such questions, my observations of women’s roles in these settings compel us to pay closer attention to gender dynamics in this and other performance arenas. If we explore women’s agency in such contexts more closely, we stand to
learn a great deal—about their role in the ciwara complex and about the wider field of Bamana gender relations. At this stage it seems that there is at least an element of gender contestation in this largely male-centered, intergenerational tradition.

By focusing on the ways in which people located in a particular social, cultural, and historical setting make use of one of Africa's most widely recognized forms of material culture, I have tried to shed light on the complex relationships between objects and spheres of meaning and identity—specifically, to gain a sense of how people on the Mande Plateau shape the meaning of ciwara headdresses and how ciwara headdresses shape the identities of the region's residents. More in-depth study can add much to this preliminary analysis of a contemporary manifestation of the ciwara complex, and I intend to expand my studies of antelope headdresses and champion farmers in the days ahead. However, important insights have been gained thus far.

Are the people of Falayorola, Jiribugu, Kuluduguni, and neighboring villages of the Plateau Bamana yeré yeré—farming champions with a strong orientation to traditional Bamana ways—as Aminata and her urban neighbors assert? By some criteria, the answer is yes. Residents of these areas do farm as if their lives depended on it (as they do), and some do indeed celebrate their agrarian heritage with performances involving ciwarakun. Many residents engage in traditional power-oriented activities which bring meaning to their worlds. However, the farming people of the Plateau are by no means conservative traditionalists. The champion farmers of the Mande Plateau live very much in the present. Their present certainly includes elements which some urban dwellers in contemporary Mali (and some people living outside the region) view as aspects of the past. However, the cultivation of the soil, the negotiation of cycles of abundance and scarcity, and the maintenance of healthy relations with traditional sources of power are still processes of immediate concern to the people whose worlds I have come to know.

The Bamana farmers whose actions I have described here use ciwarakun to bring meaning to their lives and to forge identities in a rapidly changing world. In this sense the ciwara complex is alive and well in at least one area of contemporary rural Mali. This is good news for distant aficionados of African art—and, more important, for the hard-working people of the Mande Plateau. Additional ethnographic research in the region and perhaps even further afield will go a long way toward clarifying other configurations of content, context, and creativity in this exceptional expression of Mande culture. Like the present work, such studies will contribute to the development of a more Africa-centered approach to the continent's material culture, as well as to the advancement of a theoretical framework in which human agency and dynamic change receive the attention they so clearly deserve.
ca; and the trade in African raw materials. In the next, he discusses the discovery of Kerma and the history of its study, including the excavations and other fieldwork; theories and interpretations of Kerma; and its identification as the capital of the empire of Kush. Chapter 3 concerns the development of Kerma civilization from its late prehistoric origins to its collapse owing to military raids and occupation by Egypt. It also examines the contacts with Egypt through time.

In the fourth and fifth chapters, Kendall looks at the urban environment and organization of Kerma, as revealed by social and historical information derived from excavations of the settlement area; the houses, palaces, and temples discovered in the excavations; and burial customs, the development of the cemetery, and funerary temples.

The last chapter concerns the collapse of the Kerma-Kush polity and the renaissance of the Nubian state after the end of the Egyptian empire. Here Kendall looks at the organization of the Egyptian province, Egyptian-Nubian cultural fusion, possible similarities between the Kerma and Napatan religions, and the rise of the Napatan kingdom and its presence at the site of Kerma. A catalogue of the exhibits in the exhibition, with short introductions to each class of object, and a bibliography complete the book.

The author’s approach—to start with the relationship between Kerma and Egypt—is effective: it links the discussion of the Kerma site and culture to a culture more familiar to nonspecialists. Nevertheless, considering the intention stressed in the foreword and in the introduction, to use Kerma to deepen our historical understanding of the African continent, it is strange that any reference to other African cultures contemporary with and linked to Kerma is almost completely absent. Only a few words are dedicated to Lower Nubian cultures (pp. 11–15), and the Sudanese Eastern Desert and the Butana and the Kassala area are for the most part ignored. The general public might erroneously conclude that the region south of Kerma, from which many raw materials were exported via Kerma to Egypt (see pp. 7–8, 10, 12), was a cultural void.

The omission is evident in the map of the Nyle Valley “illustrating the expansion of the Kerma culture and the early Kingdom of Kush” (p. xvi): the Kassala region and most of the Eastern Desert, the Butana, and the Atbara area are cut off. In addition, the “historical timeline showing the mercantile, political, and military interaction between Egypt and Nubia” (p. xv) omits any reference to these regions.

Yet Egyptian texts and archaeological evidence suggest not only that the regions south and southeast of the Kingdom of Kush-Kerma were densely populated in the third through second millennium B.C., but also that complex societies arose there (see, e.g., O’Connor 1987, 1991; Fattovich 1990) and intensively interacted with Kerma and Egypt in a trade network extending from the Ethiopian plateau to Arabia and, via the Red Sea and the Nile, to Egypt and the Mediterranean (e.g., Fattovich 1996a). In those regions one can confidently locate other place names mentioned in Egyptian texts, such as the widely known Punt (see Kitchen 1982, 1993; Fattovich 1996b) and Irem (e.g., see O’Connor 1987).

Of course, this omission may be attributed to the stated popularizing purpose of the book and to the still partial archaeological exploration of the regions south and southeast of Kerma. Nevertheless, it should be noted that most of these areas are outside the Nile Valley and therefore traditionally considered marginal to Nubiology, despite the important implications of the archaeological activities conducted there over the past two decades. A book that aims to introduce the general public to the earliest phases of African civilization would do well to discuss not only Kerma’s contacts with Egypt but also those with its southern partners.

Although the book is aimed at nonspecialist readers, it contains many noteworthy observations. Kendall argues that the two buildings at Kerma named Deffuла could have been a kind of flat-topped artificial mountain similar to the Jebel Barkal hill, where the Egyptians built an Amun temple. It may have taken over an earlier cult site, where the main funerary and religious center of the Napatan state arose in the eighth century B.C. (pp. 46–48, 78–79). Although it is difficult to prove any kind of ideological and religious continuity between Kerma-Kush and Napatan, the possibility should be noted. In any case, despite what is suggested by the “historical timeline,” which lists Kerma and Napatan rulers in the same column under the general label of “Kings of Kush,” any kind of direct relationship between the states and dynasties of Kerma and Napatan is very unlikely and in any case still unproved, as the author states in the text (p. 81).

Kendall is to be credited for attempting to provide a systematic outline of aspects of the religion of Kerma-Kush that we can infer from architectural monuments and other manuscripts. Though he cautiously stresses that “the outlined concepts are only speculations” (p. 78), he argues convincingly that the religion may have had cosmic, likely solar, aspects: rituals took place on the terraces of the temples (where at least in one case, a kind of obelisk—a typical solar symbol—was erected), the dead were always placed in their tombs with heads oriented toward the east, or the dawn, and the winged sun-disk appears on royal tombs and temples as architectural decoration (pp. 46–48, 65, 77–78). The solar deity may have been represented as a ram crowned with a spherical object (p. 76–78). This deity was identified with Amun by the Egyptians, and it was clearly connected with royal power, perhaps the legitimation of Kerma kings (pp. 77–78).

The possible Nubian origins of several aspects of the Egyptian Amun cult have already been stressed (e.g., Bonnet 1990, 1997), as has the basis of references in Egyptian texts (e.g., Koenig 1987), but Kendall rightly places everything in a complex system in which technologies, ideologies, and ways of life were exchanged between the Nubian and the Egyptian Bronze Age elites (pp. 41–42, 63–65).

Kendall mentions another noteworthy point about the control of trade in ancient Kerma-Kush. Basing his argument on the position of the royal residence and the presence of storerooms near it, Kendall believes that all important trade was a royal monop-oly (pp. 48–49). This hypothesis is probably accurate, but more data need to be collected to prove it and to allow us to learn more about the organization of trade in Kerma-Kush society.

The catalogue of the exhibited materials gives an effective overview of some Kerma crafts, like ceramics, carpentry, jewelry, and metalwork. Kendall offers interesting remarks on the technologies and on the sources of craftsmen’s raw materials.

In Kerma and the Kingdom of Kush, Timothy Kendall summarizes in a very effective way, and for the first time in English, our present knowledge of Kerma culture for a nonspecialist readership. Despite some omissions, his original observations and fresh perspective lead me to recommend this book as well to readers more directly concerned with Nubian and Egyptian history and archaeology.

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Notes

Wooten, Notes, from page 33

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1. I am following local usage patterns in referring to this diverse linguistic group as Bama. In much of the earlier literature the people are called Bambara. The spelling choices (frequently spelled chi wana, chi wana) follows the most recent Mandingo orthographic trend.

2. Out of respect and consideration for those whose words and activities I describe in this article, I have chosen to use pseudonyms for place and personal names.

3. I first met Aminata in 1987 when I was a trainee with the U.S. Peace Corps. I lived in her husband Moum’s compound for five months and was fortunate to get to know her as well as the other members of the Kone extended family. When I returned to Mali in 1992 to begin my doctoral research, I sought her guidance. Her son, Seydiou Kone, has been a constant source of support through my work in Mali.

4. James Britik uses this phrase in what I consider to be one of the best encapsulations of the charm phenomenon. His entry on the antelope-hooded man in the 1981 edition of the Etymological Dictionary of the Manding Languages is worth quoting at length here: "For the Bamana of Mali, chi wana refers to a constellation of meaning and value. On the one hand, it signifies the importance of agriculture in the society and, on the other, focuses human and spiritual energy on the realization of agricultural work. Numerous forms and personalities, each described as chi wana, . . ."
function as vehicles for this cultural substance and energy. The mythic "farming bear" who epitomizes the qualities of the ideal farmer and who gave agriculture to the Bamana, the cult group that preserves the knowledge of agricultural intricacy and agricultural practices. The bear is a cave, but it is also a bear-shaped songs, dances, costumes, and headdresses understood to motivate the young men's communal hoeing, planting, and cultivating; their hunting, fishing, and gathering. It is the bear-headed man, the bear-headed woman, and the bear-headed girl that are so often referred to in the myths and songs. Thirty years ago, in the pages of African Arts, Dr. F. J. Imperato provided what I consider the first sociologically, culturally, and ethnographically detailed and situational analysis of the content of the rural community. A decade later, Dominique Zahn contributed to our appreciation of this magnificent tradition that continues to thrive. Imperato has developed a deep interest in the symbolism and denotations of this rich and complex tradition of storytelling. In his 1991 article, "Les Tybélkonde," Journal de la Société des Africanistes 1, 228-43, Imperato, F. J. 1994. "Material Narratives and the Negotiation of Identities through Objects in Malian Theatre," in African Material Culture, eds. Mary Jo Arnoldi, Christraud M. Geary, and Kris L. Hardin, pp. 167-87. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press. Brink, James. 1983. "Organizing Satirical Comedy in Kote- bina: Drama as a Communication Strategy among the Bamana of Mali." Ph.D. dissertation. Indiana University, Bloomington.


ZAHAN: Notes from page 45

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1. As co-founder and co-director of PASALA, I asked Professor Zahan to write a paper making his stay at Iowa. He immediately produced a draft of a paper which he himself (definitely) written, as he learned to use a computer. As a rough draft, we must forgive Zahan if his prose is a bit clunky, some of his ideas remain incomplete, and a few of his ideas were omitted. For this reason, I have decided to publish, I have elected to delete redundancies and other superfluous, as a copy editor might have requested Prof. Zahan. The paper was prepared for publication, noting that some years before his death, I translated another of his articles in the same way, and Zahan was pleased with the results. In addition, I have added some editorial use of quotation marks for the most part. Because of confusion resulting from Zahan's illness and death, the paper was prepared for publication, without the signature of any of the contributors, with the early interest of readers in Zahan's life and work may wish to consult three collections collected the above: Emery 1992; Emery & Witt 1995; and Emery, Stamm & Witt 1996.

2. Although in the present paper the ethnographic grounding of Zahan's assertions is not documented, in Antilopes du sol (1980). I believe our inferences are unanimous in saying that the "oriental" antelope is the most significant species in the Antelope family, including the "roan." In other words, his argument is based upon the Bamana evidence he gathered in the 1950s, as he himself notes, "The roan antelope (the Taurida leucorrhoea) is a large antelope and a very beautiful species, not much known in the African wildlife."

3. A more detailed discussion of the Lievstii is the antelope of Zahan's more abundantly cited text, Antelopes du sol (1980), in which he notes that there are more than 100 species of antelope in the world. Without question, the "lamp sugar" refers to sugar in pieces of different form. In my opinion, "lamp sugar" does not refer to sugar in a shape of a small lamp (as the "Lampe du soleil" or "littelf act""). Personally, I think that in English it would be better to say "lump art" even though the word "lumpart" is a Haida word, as a "lump art" is a piece of a certain shape. However, I can note, for instance, that "lamp sugar" refers to sugar in pieces given distinct form. In my opinion, "lamp sugar" does not refer to sugar in the form of a small lamp (as the "Lamp du soleil" or "littelf act"). Actually, I think that Zahan's emphasis is on the "roan antelope," not on the "lamp sugar." Zahan's study of the "roan antelope" is based on a rather complex phrase in English, what Zahan seems to suggest is that while parts of animals or other referents may be "lump art," they may not be lump of sugar. However, this may grow into a complex whole that is more than the sum of its parts. "Burgeoning" seems to capture this sense.

4. The development of the French name for Vaunoueret sometimes as pistaches de le terre, or "ground pistachios." I extend sincere thanks to Raymond Silverman for contacting Professors Richard G. H. Waterhouse and John Staat of Michigan State University, who supplied me with information about the plant and its fruit that "look something like celery, but taste most like celery." The English term for Vaunoueret may be "Bambara groundnuts," a name that would clearly indicate the plant's local origin and use, but one that appears not to have wide current use among the Bamana. Given such unorthodoxy, it seems better to leave the name in Latin, as "Vaunoueret." Zahan discusses botanical literature in his work, and I have suggested that "Bambara" consider a herbamid plant because the "male" pistachio is "attributed to the seminateness of the earth by the Bamana" and is "characterizing the attraction of the sexes" (1980:55-57).

5. Here Zahan had intended to supply a slide and a caption identifying the tine antelope. It appears that Zahan's注释说明不全；需要译者补充说明。