

# AFRICAN ART

## from the Paul and Ruth Tishman Collection



1. HUNTING HORN. SHERBRO-PORTUGUESE. SIERRA LEONE. IVORY. 63.5cm.

### PERKINS FOSS

In terms of both size and quality, the Paul and Ruth Tishman collection ranks high among private holdings of African art. For nearly a quarter century Mr. and Mrs. Tishman have acquired works originating from virtually all corners of sub-Saharan Africa. They began their efforts in the late 1950s, a time when the collecting of African art was pursued by only a few. This effort was not, however, their first foray into collecting. In prior years they had established substantial holdings in Pre-Columbian art and modern art. Their interest in African works arose largely out of the exposure given this relatively "new" field by public ethnographic collections in Paris, Brussels, and London.

In a recent interview, Paul Tishman spoke of their first African purchases, both from Benin: an ivory female figure and a bronze helmet mask for the Ododua cult. These two pieces, both widely published,<sup>1</sup> were seen by the collector as "a cautious beginning." He termed them rather "easy," and by this he meant that they could be readily appreciated by one inexperienced in African aesthetics. An understanding of the more highly stylized traditions took more time to develop, according to Tishman.

With the Benin works as a point of departure, the Tishmans gradually brought together their present collection. Their choices have often been based on the counsel of two persons, Roy Sieber and especially William Fagg. Indeed, throughout the collection the precisely tuned sensitivities of these scholars are readily apparent. Fagg's contribution deserves special mention on two counts: one defined by medium (works in ivory), another by geography (those from the Yoruba).

The Metropolitan Museum of Art recently mounted an exceptionally well-defined display of the Tishman collection, providing a particularly apt occasion to consider these important holdings.<sup>2</sup> Such a task became all the more pleasant in the light of the simultaneous publication of what must be considered as not just a catalogue but rather a major contribution to scholarship in the field of African art history. *For Spirits and Kings: African Art from the Paul and Ruth Tishman Collection* was compiled and edited by Susan Vogel, Curator of African Art at the Metropolitan and organizer of the exhibit. Vogel went to the sources: seventy-one scholars wrote entries on those pieces that fell within their particular realms of expertise, and in nearly every case their comments were based exclusively on their own field research. Such a comprehensive approach allowed Vogel to add substantially new levels of content to the forms themselves.<sup>3</sup>

The thirteen ivory pieces provide superb examples of major west and central African styles in the medium, and our first

2. SALTCELLAR. SHERBRO-PORTUGUESE. SIERRA LEONE. IVORY. 29.8cm.

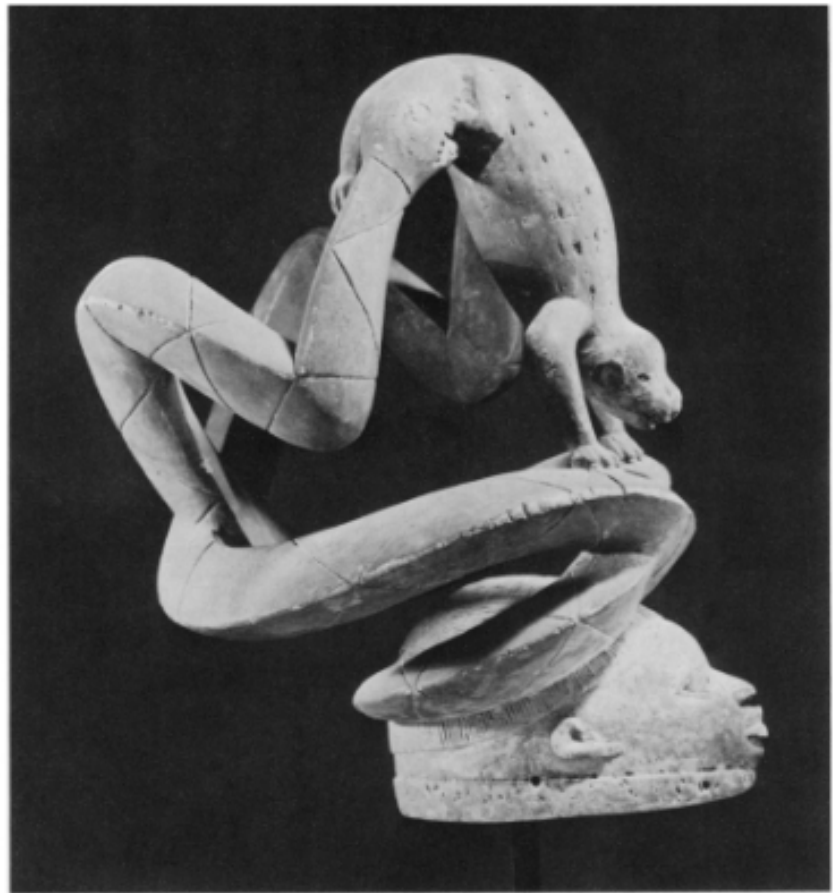




4. FRAGMENT OF AN IVORY SWORD (UDAMALORE). OWO YORUBA, NIGERIA. IVORY, 21.9cm. THE DRAWING AT TOP SHOWS THE FRAGMENT AS IT WOULD HAVE APPEARED IN AN INTACT UDAMALORE. DRAWING BY ROBIN POYNOR.



5. FIGURE OF AN EUROPEAN ATTIE. IVORY COAST. IVORY, 12.7cm.



3. GELEDE MASK. YORUBA, VICINITY OF KETU, BENIN. WOOD, 61cm.

consideration will be those within the Afro-Portuguese tradition. Both Sherbro as well as Benin connections to Portugal appear. The Sherbro trumpet (Fig. 1), emblazoned with the heraldry of Spanish 15th-century royalty, is a prime example of African artistry under European patronage. In his inimitable style, William Fagg has detailed these heraldic allusions, and his ultimate attribution isolates the date of manufacture to a three-year period, between 1497 and 1500 (cat. p. 67). Other Afro-Portuguese pieces of particular interest include two saltcellars, one of Sherbro-Portuguese origin (Fig. 2) and another, though less complete, having perhaps even greater aesthetic impact (Fig. 8): the middle section of a Bini-Portuguese saltcellar whose imagery includes a pair of frontally disposed, naked, winged male figures. Their form suggests an angel that has, in a sense, become Africanized.

One of the better known pieces in the Tishman collection is an ivory object that recently received a substantially expanded attribution. Robin Poynor reports that the Owo-Yoruba ivory figure brandishing a sword (Fig. 4) is a fragment of an *udamalore*, the ceremonial sword given to a senior chief by the Olowo, or king of Owo (p. 133). By means of a hypothetical but entirely convincing line drawing Poynor locates the fragment in a reconstruction of the entire sword.

A rather less well-known example of African ivory work is a small, carefully detailed figure of a European that comes from the Attie people of southeastern Ivory Coast (Fig. 5). Kate Ezra provides a brief but perceptive description, one that echoes the aesthetic mixture apparent in the Afro-Portuguese angel of Figure 8: "In a sense it is a double exposure, using imagery drawn from two cultures" (p. 77).

Close to one-fifth of the collection is Yoruba, a density appropriate to these artistically prolific people. Virtually all





6. BOWL, EKITI YORUBA, NIGERIA. OLOWE OF ISE  
WOOD, DIAMETER 33cm.



7. DIVINATION TRAY (OPON /FA).  
YORUBA, POSSIBLY OWO, NIGERIA. WOOD, DIAMETER 36.5cm.



8. SALTCELLAR (MIDDLE SECTION).  
BINI-PORTUGUESE, NIGERIA. IVORY, 8.3cm

9. CROWN, IKERE, EKITI YORUBA, NIGERIA.  
CLOTH, BEADS, 63.5cm.



10. HOUSEPOST WITH EQUESTRIAN FIGURE.  
IDANRE, EKITI YORUBA, NIGERIA. WOOD, PAINT, 157cm.

these works stand out as exemplary of either one substyle, one medium, one type, or one particularly ingenious formal solution. A beaded crown (Fig. 9) demonstrates just how elegant these royal images can be: a complex display of human and animal imagery is rendered in a series of precise diamond- and lozenge-shaped motifs, with a fineness of line and control of color (especially strong in the orange-to-red spectrum) suggesting the hand of a master artist.

Two Yoruba works by Olowe of Ise demonstrate the range of one hand: first an unusual bowl of undetermined function (Fig. 6) and the other an intricate group of figures who gather to support a bowl (Fig. 12). The shape of the former, with a miniature inner bowl suspended from one side, seems highly idiosyncratic. Fagg suggests an association with Ifa divination but admits that "this would be a unique contribution to Ifa technology" (p. 102). The work serves as a reminder of the breadth of Yoruba art, complete with myriad local variants and individual formal solutions.

The figural group with bowl is, by contrast, of a much better-known type, although it is by no means a common piece. Here is an early example of Olowe's hand, one we are particularly fortunate to have, since it can be compared to a later version of the same theme, now in the William Moore collection, which Fagg has described as "one of [Olowe's] finest and therefore one of the finest works made by the Yoruba in this century."<sup>4</sup> More than just a trial piece, the Tishman example sheds light on the development of the artist's hand and eye: here are the preliminary steps toward the more complex solution apparent in the later work.

12. FIGURE WITH BOWL. EKITI YORUBA, NIGERIA. OLOWE OF ISE. WOOD, PAINT, 54cm ▶



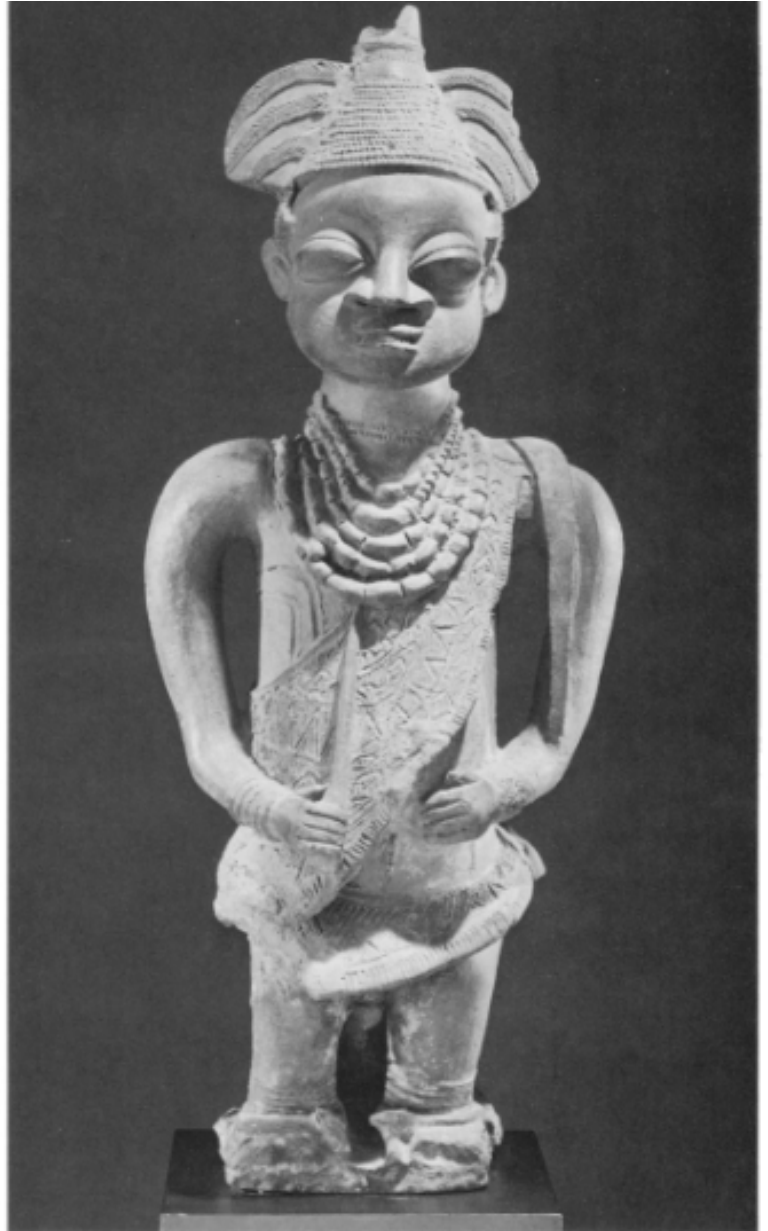




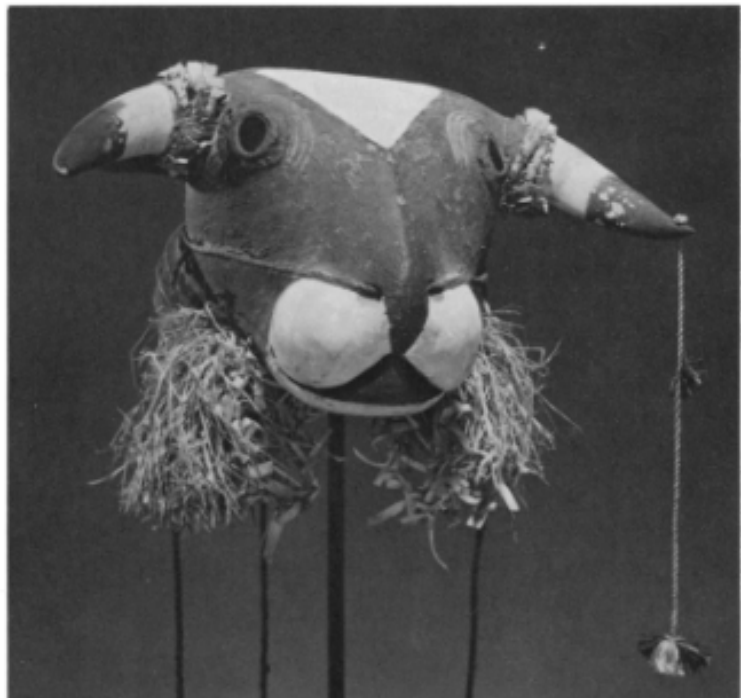


14. FEMALE FIGURE. BAULE, IVORY COAST.  
WOOD, BEADS, 43.8cm.

15. OX MASK (DUGN-RE) BIDJOGO, GUINEA-BISSAU.  
WOOD, GLASS, FIBER, PAINT, 50.8cm.



13. FIGURE OF AN OGBONI OR OSHUGBO CHIEF YORUBA, NIGERIA. POTTERY, 77.5cm



The works by Olowe do not exhaust the wealth of Yoruba material in the Tishman collection; rather, they serve to introduce it. There are a number of pieces that through previous publication have become exemplars of major types of Yoruba art. Included in this group are a subtly modulated divination tray (Fig. 7) and a Gelede mask (Fig. 3) crowned by dramatically entwined snakes attacking a precariously balanced quadruped, now identified by Henry Drewal as a porcupine (p. 94). Both these pieces are well known to connoisseurs of Yoruba art; they have been in the Tishman collection nearly since its inception, and they stand as testimony to the strength of the collection even in its early stages. Two other noteworthy works include an Ekiti housepost (Fig. 10) and an extremely rare and controversial ceramic figure (Fig. 13). The housepost embodies another significant departure from the mainstream of Yoruba art; indeed, Fagg suggests that this work "seemed like a masterly effort by a sculptor of another culture to carve in the Yoruba manner" (p. 113). In such a work of art, then, we gain a valuable perspective on an issue critical to the history of African art: the changes—in both form and content—resulting from the blending of styles across ethnic lines.

The ceramic figure introduces even more complex problems. As one of only two such figures known, its attribution can be presented only in the most tentative terms. Fagg's commentary deserves extensive mention: "It can be stated with the utmost confidence that the piece is genuine, though there is no scientific evidence. There is no suggestion that it is an archaeological piece. Its style is not derived either from other known Yoruba terra-cottas or from Ogoni bronzes, though it is of course related to these; a hypothetical forger would therefore have had to be a major creative artist and not merely a superlative craftsman, like the best forgers" (p. 104).

The artistically rich southern part of the Cameroon-Nigeria border is well represented in the Tishman collection. No less than seven such works appear; they hail from various related groups, including the Ekoi, Efik, Boki, Ejagham, and Akparabong. Two deserve special consideration. The first is a four-faced, skin-covered helmet mask that Keith Nicklin assigns to the hand of Takim Eyuk of Akparabong (cover). Exemplary of a most sophisticated technology, the skin has been applied precisely to the four faces, each of which is further embellished with distinct forehead patterns. As a result, the heads seem to depict four individuals. This treatment raises an important question: are skin-covered heads portraits in a generalized or even in a veristic sense? Perhaps even more true to life is another headdress that Nicklin attributes to the Boki (Fig. 11). In this case, a pair of dramatically upturned horns rise above a single visage. The face, complete with open mouth and inset eyes, has not been covered with skin; instead it has received dark red and yellow pigment. As Nicklin points out, except for the skin, this work has all the attributes of a skin-covered head (p. 168). The very lack of skin covering further distinguishes the form and creates an extraordinarily evocative image.

While Nigeria (and especially the Yoruba) may be the strongest section of the Tishman collection, there certainly are numerous important works from other areas. Two Baule works depict females, one standing (Fig. 14) and the other sitting (Fig. 16). Cool and serene, these figures radiate the composure and balance typical of good Baule art. Susan Vogel herself provides the documentation. She groups the standing figure with a number of works collected in the 1950s for the Museu de Etnologia do Ultramar in Lisbon and on the basis of documen-



16. MOTHER AND CHILD. BAULE. IVORY COAST WOOD, CLOTH, BEADS. 64.7cm





17. CHIEF'S STAFF (MVWALA AMFUMU) (DETAIL).  
KONGO, ZAIRE. IVORY, WOOD, WHOLE STAFF 78.7cm

tation accompanying these pieces suggests as a provenance (but not necessarily as a place of manufacture) the Ayaou Baule, "a marginal group who live on the extreme western edge of the Baule area bordering on the unrelated Yaure" (p. 73). Vogel places the seated figure into "one of the most prolific Baule workshops of this century," and she lists a half-dozen other published examples from this source. Such precise scholarship sharpens our view of Baule art, and while Vogel argues with reasonable caution that "the question of Baule regional styles is a thorny one" (p. 73), we now come substantially nearer the answers.

A number of significant works from central Africa appear in the collection. First to be considered is a chief's staff in ivory and wood, made by the Kongo people of Zaire (Fig. 17), which Robert Farris Thompson eloquently described as displaying "fundamental symbols of unity, discipline, and tradition" (p. 212). The piece was executed according to time-honored traditions of mixed media: an ivory figure is attached to a wooden staff with a band of probably copper or possibly brass. The interlace pattern seen prominently between the knob-like forms on the shaft seems to be echoed in the openwork design of the metal element above.

From a more southern site, namely the Ovimbundu of Angola, comes a pipe with a striking female figure carved into its stem (Fig. 19). The woman appears elegant and lean, with legs dramatically attenuated as far as the pipe bowl itself. Marie-Louise Bastin speaks of her as "the *nana yakama*, a young girl of the royal court who is guardian of the kingdom's sacred fire" (p. 222).

If one work in the Tishman collection were to be singled out for the most evocative characterization of human facial expression, it might well be the wooden statue from the Bafum area of Cameroon (Fig. 18). According to Pierre Harter, it depicts a king who is returning from victory. He sits on a fragment of an animal and holds a sword in his right hand. The aesthetic power of the work comes, however, from two other aspects: the expression on the face of the king and that on the face of the severed head held in the left hand. Here appears a most vivid contrast. The victor bears a wild countenance, one made especially dramatic by a slightly skewed, open-mouthed grin. By contrast, the face of the defeated opponent seems serene, nearly beatific. It, too, assumes a smile, but one of a very different type. Here the suggestion is of a balanced, self-assured man, one who in death attains a contentment that seems to have evaded the victor.<sup>5</sup>

A final mention should be given to one of the more extreme African zoomorphic masking traditions: a mask depicting an ox, made by the Bidjogo peoples of Guinea-Bissau (Fig. 15). This work departs substantially from the animal abstractions common to other Guinea coast styles; here we have a rather convincing bovine image, one whose role in performance is carefully described and illustrated by Danielle Gallois-Duquette (p. 57).<sup>6</sup>

This presentation can do little more than indicate the breadth and quality of these remarkable holdings. Philippe de Montebello, Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, says in his foreword to the catalogue, "Paul and Ruth Tishman's collection of African art, one of the finest in private hands, reflects these collectors' profound interest and involvement in the study of Africa's rich, complex, and extraordinarily diverse artistic heritage. The Tishmans are impassioned and adventuresome collectors whose acquisitive instinct has not waned; theirs is a living collection that they have never ceased to refine." □

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18. KING RETURNING FROM VICTORY. BAFUM AREA, CAMEROON.  
WOOD, HAIR, IVORY, BONE, BEAD, CLOTH, 115.9cm.

19. PIPE WITH FEMALE FIGURE. OVIMBUNDU, ANGOLA. WOOD, METAL, 29.2cm.



## NEW PUBLICATIONS

*Arts traditionnels et histoire au Zaïre* by François Neyt. Société d'Arts Primitifs, Brussels, 1981. Text in French and English. 336 pp., 185 b/w & 40 color photos, 15 maps. \$100.

*For Spirits and Kings: African Art from the Paul and Ruth Tishman Collection*, edited by Susan Vogel. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1981. 256 pp., 183 b/w & 45 color photos, 6 maps, bibliography. \$35 cloth, \$14.95 paper.

*Les Bobo: Nature et fonction des masques* by Guy Le Moal. Office de la Recherche Scientifique et Technique Outre-Mer, Paris, 1980. Text in French. 536 pp., 36 b/w photos, maps, drawings, charts, indexes. \$43 paper.

*Kunst und Religion der Lobi* by Piet Meyer. Museum Rietberg, Zurich, 1981. Text in German. 184 pp., 348 b/w & 19 color photos, maps, bibliography, glossary.

*Masterpieces from the People's Republic of the Congo* by Christian Duponcheel. The African-American Institute, New York, 1980. 58 pp., 69 b/w photos, bibliography. \$9.95.

*Masques d'Afrique dans les collections du Musée Barbier-Müller* by William Fagg. Editions Fernand Nathan/L.E.P., Geneva, 1980. 160 pp., 108 b/w & 32 color photos, bibliography, map. \$41.

*Exotische Kunst aus der Barbier-Müller Sammlung* by Julie Jones. Kunstmuseum Solothurn, 1981. Text in German. 180 pp., 15 b/w & 49 color photos.

*Cultural Atlas of Africa*, edited by Jocelyn Murray. Phaidon Press, Oxford, 1981. 240 pp., 85 b/w & 248 color photos, 96 maps. £17.95.

*The Soul of Mbira* by Paul F. Berliner. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1981. Rev. ed. 332 pp., 50 b/w photos, drawings, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$23.75 cloth, \$6.95 paper.

*Africa and the Caribbean: The Legacies of a Link*, edited by Margaret Crahan and Franklin Knight. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1979. 164 pp., bibliography. \$15.

*Dictionary of Afro-Latin American Civilization* by Benjamin Núñez. Greenwood Press, Westport, Conn., 1980. xxxv + 525 pp., figures, maps, illustrations. \$45.

*Sweat of the Sun, Tears of the Moon: Gold and Emerald Treasures of Colombia*, introduction by Luis Duque Gómez. Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History, 1981. 96 pp., 30 b/w & 54 color photos, maps, diagrams, bibliography. \$10.60 paper.

*Art of the Archaic Indonesians*, introduction by W. Stohr. Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva, 1981. 152 pp., 138 b/w & 7 color photos, maps.

*Ancient Peruvian Textiles* by Judith C. Riley. The Chrysler Museum, Norfolk, 1980. \$5.

*Stolen Art Alert 1980*. R. R. Bowker in association with the International Foundation for Art Research, New York, 1980. Monthly. \$48 per year.

*Pygmy Drawings* by Linda Einfeld. Linda Einfeld Gallery, Chicago, 1980. 16 pp., 18 b/w & 1 color photos. \$5.

## FOSS. Notes, from page 36

The following lists major exhibitions and accompanying publications of the Paul and Ruth Tishman collection: *Arts Conus et Arts Mecanus de l'Afrique Noire/Kacon and Little Karon Arts of Black Africa*. Musée de l'Homme, Paris, 1966; *Masterpieces of African Art*. The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, 1967; *Sculpture of Black Africa* (catalogue by Roy Sieber and Arnold Rubin), Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, 1968-69; "Sculpture of Black Africa" (traveling exhibition under the auspices of the International Exhibitions Foundation), 1970-73; High Museum of Art, Atlanta; Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond; University of Texas College of Fine Arts, Austin; Krannert Art Museum, University of Illinois, Champaign; City Art Museum, St. Louis; Des Moines Art Center, Des Moines; Huntington Galleries, Huntington, West Virginia; Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts, Columbus; Wite Memorial Museum, San Antonio; *Sculpture of Black Africa*, East Hampton, New York, 1974, Guild Hall.

1. Both pieces have appeared in all the major Tishman exhibitions and have been published on these occasions as well. For the female figure see *Arts Conus et Arts Mecanus de l'Afrique Noire*, Paris, 1966, no. 77; *Masterpieces of African Art*, Jerusalem, 1967, no. 112; *Sculpture of Black Africa*, Los Angeles, 1968, no. 80. For the Oduduwa helmet mask see *Arts Conus et Arts Mecanus de l'Afrique Noire*, no. 79; *Masterpieces of African Art*, no. 115; *Sculpture of Black Africa*, 1968, no. 79. Each is, of course, also published in the Metropolitan catalogue; see nos. 74 and 78.

2. See review in *African Arts*, vol. 14, no. 4, pp. 70-71.

3. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *For Spirits and Kings: African Art from the Paul and Ruth Tishman Collection*, edited by Susan Vogel, 1981. Throughout this essay references to this volume will be cited directly, within parentheses, in the text. The museum generously provided illustrations from the catalogue for use in this article.

4. William Fagg, "The African Artist," in *Tadatoshi and Coexistence in Tribal Art*, edited by D. Babcock, Berkeley, 1969, pt. 25, and p. 56.

5. Thanks go to Susan Vogel for pointing out this contrast. 6. There may well be one additional Bisagoo example in the collection, a figure of a European (no. 66 in the Metropolitan Museum catalogue). While identified by the present author as Ijo, it is also suggestive of Bisagoo style.

## CHAPPEL, Notes, from page 41

1. *African Arts* (4, 1972), review by Robin Poyner of "African Artistry: Techniques and Aesthetics in African Sculpture," The High Museum of Art, Atlanta, April 17-May 25, 1980. Since my writing of this article, the author of the catalogue, Henry Drewal, has kindly sent me a copy. The introductory essay alone makes this publication an outstanding contribution to Yoruba studies, while the presentation of material on the individual exhibits is a model of its kind. I would like to add my congratulations to the author to those of Mr. Poyner.

2. Frobenius illustrates a mask, part of the Lüderitz collection from Abeokuta, in the *Museum für Völkerkunde*, Berlin, attributed to "Angbologe, an Egbodo" (1899: 24, fig. 97, pl. 9). Bascom suggests that the reference is to "Adugbologe, an Egbodo" (1973: 78, n. 1).

3. Grateful acknowledgment is made to the Brighton Art Gallery and Museums for supplying the photograph of the carving and for permission to reproduce it. I would also like to thank Dr. George Bankes, Keeper of Ethnography, for kindly making the carving available for study purposes and also for providing information about a number of publications in which it is featured. The carving is on display in the Ethnography Gallery of the museum. I am also grateful to Dr. Ekpo Eyo, Director-General, National Commission for Museums and Monuments, Nigeria, for permission to publish some of the materials in this article, in particular Figures 3 and 4. I would also like to acknowledge with appreciation Henry and Margaret Drewal for many hours of stimulating discussion at a recent meeting in Lagos, and to extend to them, and all those involved, best wishes for the great work in hand.

4. Sadler 1935: pl. 1, top tier only; Fagg 1960: cat. no. 179, 1962: cat. no. 149, 1963: pl. 82, top tier only; S.M.A. 1964: cover drawing, selected figs. top tier; *Treasures from the Commonwealth Exhibition* catalogue 1965: cat. no. 415; "Treasures from the Commonwealth Exhibition at the Royal Academy 1965: 17; Ayandele 1966: cover ill. top tier only; Bankes 1975: pl. 8.

5. Since these details are clearly discernible in the illustration, I have not provided a detailed description of the piece (see Sadler 1935: 29-30 for such a description). Examination of the soft wood from which the piece is carved suggests that it is *iro* (*Distemonia distica*), the Lagos silk-rubber tree, commonly used for figure carvings in the Abeokuta area. Fagg suggests that the female figures adorning the frieze represent decapitated victims of human sacrifice (1963: pl. 82), and the central figure in the frieze shown in his illustration does, apparently, support this view. However, observation of the actual carving reveals that a wide split in the wood, through an accident of nature, has produced an effect that was clearly not part of the carver's intention, for the remaining six figures have their heads intact, having been spared a similar fate.

6. Facial markings (see Johnson 1921: 304-309) such as those featured on the supporting figures are not particularly helpful as a means of identification. As Carroll notes, these

marks, in theory, are linked with area and lineage, but in practice the situation is "somewhat confused" (1973: 175). 7. I am grateful to John Picton, former Deputy Keeper of the Department of Ethnography, British Museum, for supplying the photograph, and to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to reproduce it.

8. I am grateful to Frank Willett and Frank Speed for this information.

9. Background information on these two workshops may be found in Chappel 1972.

10. Drewal 1974: pl. 17; Ellis 1971: 18, 20; Fagg 1965: cat. nos. 29-31; W. Fagg 1951: pl. 28; 1960: cat. nos. 146-48, 157, pl. 17a, 162, 365, 179; 1962: cat. no. 149, 1963: pl. 82, 1964: 90; 1970: pl. 26; 1971: pl. 70; Henskovits 1945: 56; Leiris & Delange 1968: 302, pl. 347; Parrinder 1967: 53; Thompson 1973: ch. pl. 3; ch. 3 col. pl., pls. 10, 11, ch. 4 pl. 1, ch. 13 pls. 2c, 27, 28, ch. 15 col. pl., pls. 2-6, 8, 9, ch. 19 pl. 23, 1974: pl. 1; Willett 1960: pls. 41, 48, 53, 57, 59; 1971: 173, pl. 164.

11. To avoid confusion I shall refer to the individual as Ojende, limiting the use of the nickname Adigbologe to the workshop he founded and also to the loose attributions of local informants and other commentators.

12. Geometric incisions on the bases of some, but not all, twin images may also serve to distinguish the products of this workshop. They have been referred to as "carver's signatures" (Fagg 1960: cat. nos. 157, 162, 365), and it is true that certain marks may be associated, though not necessarily exclusively, with particular carvers. However, such marks are confined to twin images and it seems that their primary function is ritual: it is on this mark that the completed figure is treated with an herbal concoction intended to ensure its ritual efficacy and turn it from an ordinary piece of wood into a powerful *ere* (image). According to Ayo, these marks serve to distinguish the first-born of twins (Taiwo) from the second-born (Kehinde). For example, an X or an outlined triangle (if there is more than one set of twins in the household) signifies Taiwo, an arrow or a filled-in triangle Kehinde. Further marks, utilizing circles, may be used for additional sets.

13. The importance of the workshop context in the production of Yoruba sculpture has been emphasized by Willett and Picton (1967: 63, 65-67). Abeokuta must certainly be counted as one of the major carving centers in which the workshop principle flourishes. In other parts of Yorubaland—Egbadoland, for example, which consists largely of small rural communities where the demand for sculpture is less constant than in some urban areas—carving "co-operatives" are not much in evidence. Moreover, the scale of carving tends to be smaller than in such areas as Ekiti, making it more likely that commissions are accepted and carried out by one man.

14. Much depends on what is meant by the term master carver. Indeed, art historians and ethnographers may have something to answer for in their repeated use, or misuse, of "master" in relation to carvers, as it is not always clear whether the term is intended to convey some sort of qualitative judgment on the part of the author—this often seems to be its intention—or simply serve as a descriptive label: that is, a master carver is one who has assistants and/or apprentices working under him. The Yoruba term *ogun*, usually translated as "master," includes all types of employers and does not necessarily convey the meaning of "master craftsman" (Lloyd 1953: 38, n. 1). The closest equivalent to the latter is probably the official, or semi-official, position of *ofe ni ma*, head craftsman (cf. Chappel 1972: 299).

15. This comes out, perhaps, in the *oriki* (praise poem) and that of his lineage (cf. Babalola 1966: 25), but which contains only a few references to his work as a carver.

16. These figures represent Onyide's own twin-children, and genealogical evidence indicated that the carvings were (in 1964) at least 30 years old. They were cared for by Ayo's junior sister, Wazola, and had been carved before she was born. The fact that in many areas of Yorubaland carvers are expressly forbidden to carve images for the "rebirth" of their own twin-children serves to highlight the repeated assertions by lineage members that Onyide himself had carved these figures. According to Ayo, his father only carved footwear on the images of the children of his favorite wives. Ayo also suggested that in a carving household it was customary for the grandfather of deceased twins to carve the images, which is why Onyide had produced the figure for his (Ayo's) own dead twin-child (fig. 3). In the case of Onyide's twin-children, since his father, Ojende, was no longer alive, he himself had carved the figures, apparently with Ila's blessing.

17. For instance, one group may be distinguished from the other by such features as the sharpness of the nose bridge, the absence of sharply defined triangular cut at the corners of the mouth, the marked projection of the heel in relation to the ankle, and the absence of a smooth finish, the fine adze or knife marks of the final stage remaining visible.

18. Some carvers pride themselves on being able to make use of a range of different stylistic devices. Ojende's grandson Ayo, for instance, claimed to be able to carve eyes in at least twenty different ways.

19. It may also be noted that the Brighton piece is colored with the pastel shades characteristic of much Ketu carving, the result of mixing vegetable dyes and various powders with white to give different tones (Carroll 1967: 121).

20. I am grateful to Dr. George Bankes for this information.

21. I am most grateful to William Fagg for bringing the