

SENUFO MASK CLASSIFICATION

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A great deal of error and misinformation exists in the literature concerned with Senufo craftsmen and the nomenclature and origins of Senufo masks. Because it has not been completely understood that the Senufo consist of numerous subgroups, and that Dyula, who originated north and west of Senufoland, are found in significant numbers throughout the area, terms concerned with Senufo art and artists have unfortunately been drawn from several dialect areas and from another language family. Further misunderstandings have arisen because of the varying origins of craftsmen groups. In addition, the sources of Senufo woodcarvings have not been made clear, nor have the users been properly identified. The purpose of this paper is to point out the complexities of classifying Senufo art and to provide a basic, though admittedly incomplete, foundation for further classification and understanding. Aside from the literary sources that are cited, the information upon which this paper is based was collected in

northern Ivory Coast from July 1973 to December 1975. Senari words used in the text are Dalir, the dialect of the Dalebele in the central Senufo area.¹

Senufo is a term that has been used in the literature to designate approximately one million people occupying an extended area in northern Ivory Coast, southern Mali and western Upper Volta. Delafosse notes ten "tribes" of Senufo (1912, vol. 1:115) and twenty-seven "sub-tribes" (1908:23-24). Holas indicates fifteen geographically different subgroups (1966:15-16) and four occupational "castes" (1966:70) scattered among the geographical groupings. Welmers recognizes the Senufo as speaking two different languages, Senari in the south and Sup'ide in the north (1950); both belong to the Gur language family. He further breaks Senari down into twelve dialects (1957), while Holas claims thirty different dialects for all Senufo (1966:35-39). The following information is concerned with Senari speakers.

Historical events have determined habitation patterns of the various subgroups of Senufo. In those areas least affected by past indigenous wars and away from well-traveled trade routes, villages are often small. In areas affected by wars and in the path of trade caravans, settlements are often large for reasons of defense and commerce. Larger villages also contain Dyula and Fulani. The Dyula are Mande-speaking Muslims, many of whom engage in commerce. They are also farmers, craftsmen

and religious teachers. The Fulani are pastoral nomads, but those who have settled among Senufo may care for Senufo cattle, or work as tradesmen and weavers.

Ethnic groups engaged in non-farming occupations are called *fijembele* (sing., *fijio*), which are commonly referred to as "castes" in the literature.² It has been claimed that *fijembele* are of lower status than farming groups, but this is disputed by Holas (1966:127), though he maintains that *fijembele* are restricted to marrying within their own group. Glaze has questioned whether the term "caste" is appropriate (personal communication, 1972), and, indeed, it would not seem to be even if Berreman's less rigid criteria are applied, namely, hierarchical arrangement, endogamy, ascription and permanency (1960:120-127). There is no evidence that hierarchical arrangement of *fijembele* and farmer groups exists, and the evidence in the literature for hierarchical arrangement is the result of an incomplete understanding about the sanctions that *fijembele* employ to keep farmers at a distance. Also, marriage restrictions are not as rigid as the literature suggests. An analysis of genealogies collected in the field indicates that exogamy has been practiced for at least one hundred years, which is long before the impact of French occupation was felt. Exogamy is thus not the result of Western contact. Nor is occupation as rigidly prescribed as is noted in the literature. While most *fijembele* are associated with a particular occupation, members of any



1. GBÖGURUGI, BOUNDIALI-KOLIA AREA, USED BY THE KASEMBELE AS AN ENTERTAINMENT MASK.

2. WAVUGU/ HELMET MASK WITH DOWEL-TYPE TEETH, CARVED BY NGOLO COULIBALY IN LATE 1973





3. KULEBELE KPÉLIE WITH BOMBAX THORN CREST, CARVED BY LIYEREGE AND DANCED BY THE DABAKAHA KULEBELE PORO FROM THE EARLY 1940s UNTIL 1975.



4. KPATOBELE PORÓ KPÉLIE WITH BOMBAX THORN CREST, CARVED BY KLANA COULIBALY IN THE LATE 1950s FOR A KPATOBELE PORÓ IN OUEZOUJON.



5. KULEBELE KPÉLIE WITH BOMBAX THORN CREST, COMMISSIONED BY THE AUTHOR AND CARVED BY NGOLO COULIBALY IN 1976.

fijiö may farm as well, and in some cases, they may do so to the exclusion of engaging in their craft. *Fijembele* do, however, make a strong effort to keep the secrets of their craft, utilizing supernatural sanctions against inquisitive non-*fijiö*. On the other hand, members of one *fijiö* may be accepted as apprentices by members of another *fijiö*, though this is not common.

The number, occupation and nomenclature of the various *fijembele* are not clear in the literature, which is the result of confusing Dyula craft groups and Senufo *fijembele*. Discussions of craft groups in Senufoland can be found in Delafosse (1908:263), Vendeix (1934:627), Maesen (1948:139), Knops (1959:86), Himmelheber (1963:87), Goldwater (1964:12-13), Bochet (1965:638), Holas (1966:70-71), Glaze (1976:22-51) and Scheinberg (1977:5); however, most of these are incorrect in one way or another. It is necessary to differentiate between Senufo and Dyula artisan groups and to separate Senufo and Dyula nomenclature, as does Glaze. Dyula generally lump all artisans, with the exception of the Djelebele and Lorho, under the rubric Numu. Numu are of Mande origin and may be found as far east as western Ghana (Bravmann 1974) and as far south as Agnibilikrou in the southeastern corner of Ivory Coast. Although they are generally associated with blacksmithing, they often carve as well. There are sev-

eral references to Numu in early French records housed in the Archive National de la Côte d'Ivoire in Abidjan (1908; 1914), where they are described as occupying themselves with blacksmithing, carving, weaving, commercial trading and farming, but there is no way of knowing if the Numu so described were, in fact, Numu, or whether they were members of other craft groups. The possibility exists that they were Senufo *fijembele* described as Numu by Dyula informants.

In the central and western areas of Senufoland, Senufo differentiate between five major artisan groups. One is the Kulebele (sing., Guleo), who also call themselves Dalebele (sing., Daleo). The men are woodcarvers and the women mend calabashes. Dalebele is the term used on the north-south axis from Mbengue to the Dikodougou area, while Kulebele is in more common usage on the north-south axis from San to Ouezoumon. Non-Kulebele in the latter area are not familiar with the term Dalebele, though Kulebele are. To the east (Mbengue to Dikodougou), non-Kulebele are familiar with both terms. Dalebele state that they speak Dalir, a dialect of Senari unique to them. Kulebele in the west speak the dialect of the farming groups in the area and claim they have difficulty understanding Dalir when they initially encounter it. De-

lafosse states that "koule" is a Mande term for woodcarvers (1912, vol. 3:118), and the word has found current usage in much of the literature. However, since it is not used by the woodcarvers themselves, it seems more appropriate to use Kulebele, which is more widely recognized throughout Senufoland than is Dalebele.

Dalebele and Kulebele recognize a common progenetrix and claim they originated in what is now Mali. There is evidence that the most recent migration occurred at the end of the eighteenth century, when a male ancestor of the San Kulebele migrated from Segou. Kulebele in the northern part of the western axis still have contact with Kulebele in Mali, and the style of western Kulebele shows a great similarity to Bamana and even Dogon carvings. Scheinberg (1977:5) states that Senufo carvings in the north have been influenced by Bamana and Bobo work, but in the case of western Kulebele, it appears that they brought their style with them when they migrated. In contrast, Dalebele have lost contact with carvers in Mali and were apparently already in Ivory Coast when the Segou-to-San migration occurred, a hypothesis supported by their distinctive dialect and carving style. Kulebele and Dalebele recognize kinship to Fonombele, the blacksmith group, with whom their reciprocal term of address is



6 KODALI, A KULEBELE PORO MASQUERADE REPRESENTING A LION
SEEN NOVEMBER 29, 1973



7 KODALI, A DJELEBELE PORO MASQUERADE AFTER BOCHET 1959:96

8 KODOLI-YEME WITH CARVED WOOD FACE MASK, USED BY THE FONOMBELE PORO
IN THE KUFULO AREA. PHOTOGRAPHED BY GLAZE IN SONZORISSO, 1970

fononyene. They do not, however, call themselves Fonombele and consider anyone who does to be extremely unknowledgeable. They also insist that they are not Senufo. Both woodcarving groups have Poro societies, though those in the west are largely inoperative because of lack of personnel. All woodcarver Poro dance the same types of masks (with a few exceptions) and use the same costumes, dances, orchestras, and music, which are unique to them.

Fonombele (sing., Fonon), blacksmiths, form another major artisan group. Where there are Kulebele in the neighborhood, Fonombele carving activities are restricted to wooden parts of basically iron tools (e.g., hoe handles, knife handles) (cf. Glaze 1976:31). In areas where Kulebele are not found, however, they also carve masks and statues. The women weave baskets and funeral mats. Fonombele also claim to have originated in Mali, but there is no evidence of direct links to Malian smiths among the Fonombele in the Korhogo area. They claim a common female ancestor with Kulebele, with whom they use the reciprocal term of address, *fononyene*, but they do not call woodcarvers Fonombele. Glaze notes a group of blacksmiths south of the Dikodougou area who are called Sungboro (1976:24), but their origins, whether or not they carve, and the craft speciality of Sungboro women, if they have one, are not discussed.

A third group is Kpeembele (sing., Kpeo), which is the Senufo term for Lorho, who are brasscasters. Lorho is the Manding word for Kpeembele, who are not woodcarvers as Holas states (1966:70). Rather, the men cast masks, jewelry and charms using the *cire perdue* method. While Scheinberg states that they work with copper (1977:15), the major part of their work is in brass. The women are potters. According to Glaze (1976:16), the Kpeembele speak the language of their



neighbors and originally had Poro, but in the Korhogo area they speak Dyula and are Muslims.

Another craft group is Djelebele (sing., Tcheo), who are leatherworkers of unknown origin who speak a language unique to their own group. Djelebele women grow tobacco and greens. Traditionally, Djelebele had Poro, but they are rapidly becoming Muslimized, with the exception of those in a few isolated villages.

Tchedumbele, who are also called Fahabele, Sindumbele and Shagibele, depending upon the dialect area, is the last artisan group. In the Korhogo area and south, they are gunsmiths and blacksmiths. North of Korhogo, they are weavers and carvers, and to the west, they are engaged in weaving, gunsmithing, goldsmithing, carving and trading. The women are potters. The origins of the Tchedumbele are unknown, but they were in the western area before Kulebele migrated there. Indeed, they were hosts to Kulebele when the latter first migrated to Kolia and Zanguinasso.

These five *fijembele* are the largest artisan groups in the central Senufo area and are recognized by the general Senufo population. Numerous smaller *fijembele* exist, but they are often not known beyond a small area.

There are four sources of Senufo carvings: Kulebele/Dalebele, Fonombele, Tchedumbele and individual farmers in areas where none of the three *fijembele* is found. The style of the Kulebele is similar to that of the Fonombele, while that of the Dalebele, which will be dealt with in a future paper, is distinctly different. Presumably the carvings in collections and publications that are identifiable as Senufo, but are not in the style of the Kulebele, Dalebele or Fonombele, have been executed by Tchedumbele or farmers, but there are no data on the last two sources of carvings.

Masks and statues are used in Senufoland in several different contexts. The most important users, in terms of volume and variety, are the secret societies, of which there are at least three different Senufo types, as well as Dyula societies. Only Senufo societies will be discussed here. The secret society complex that is the most universal throughout the area is the Poro. The term Lo, rather than Poro, has been used in some of the literature (Vendeix 1934:640; Lem 1949:24; Himmelheber 1960:98; Goldwater 1964; Lewis 1968; Scheinberg 1977:5), but the people in the central and western portions of Senufoland use the term Poro, as do Clamens (1951; 1955), Kulaseli (1955), Bochet (1959; 1965), Holas (1964; 1966:146; 1967:78; 1969:26), Thiam (1966:26) and Jamin (1973). Glaze notes that the term Pondo is used by the Fodombele, a farmer group south and east of Korhogo, but she otherwise uses the word Poro (1975; 1976:123). Knops uses the term *gpo-oro* (1959:94), which is curious because there is no *gp* phoneme in Senari (cf. Welmers 1950:128). Lem notes that Lo and Do are interchangeable terms (1949:24); Bravmann discusses a Do masking tradition in western Ghana (1974), but this society is clearly very different from the Senufo Poro. Segy is the only writer to separate Poro from Lo, and he attributes some Senufo art forms to Lo and others to Poro, though the basis for his discrimination is not known (1969:171-175). Glaze states that Lo is the Dyula equivalent of Poro (1976:185); thus it is altogether possible that there are Lo societies in some parts of Senufoland, but it is doubtful that they function in the same manner as Poro.

Not all groups living in Senufoland have Poro, but among those who do, the organization and purposes are very much the same even though the ritual paraphernalia and ceremonies vary from group to group. Membership in Poro is obligatory for all male members, and women are excluded until they are post-menopausal, though young women and girls participate



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in some of the public ceremonies sponsored by Poro (cf. Glaze 1976:75). Poro are headed by the chiefs of maximal lineages and are structurally important in the political and economic organization of lineages. The purpose of Poro is not to integrate members of several lineages, or ethnic groups, within a village. Indeed, most villages have more than one Poro, and as Glaze states, they "are direct expressions of ethnic identity" (1976:104, 181). It is not unusual for political and economic conflicts between lineages to be manifested by conflicts between their Poro (Richter 1977:77-80).

Among the various subgroups of Senufo and *fijembele* who have Poro, each has its own ceremonial complex, which includes masks, statues, costumes, musical instruments and orchestras, music, dances, protocol and rituals. Further, within the Poro of any one subgroup or *fijiw*, there are numerous sections, each of which is basically similar to the other, but variations may exist between sections of the same subgroup (cf. Glaze 1976:291). For example there are twelve active sections in the Kulebele Poro, each of which is headed by the chief of a maximal lineage. All Kulebele Poro sections dance two types of face masks, but they differ in detail from one section to the other. One section also dances a fiber mask, called *ködali*, of the type illustrated in Glaze (1976, pl. 32, right), and another section uses a fiber lion mask, also called *ködali* (Fig. 6), as well as a very large wood face mask, which will be discussed here in more detail.

When a Poro mask is carved, a second, identical one is often commissioned so that if the first, and ritually consecrated, mask suffers a mishap or is stolen, the Poro will have an immediate replacement. Spare masks are often never danced and may not even have holes around the edges of the face for the

attachment of head cloths. Neither face nor helmet masks of this type may show evidence of use. These masks do not contain any supernatural forces because they are not sanctified unless it is necessary to use them.

Another context in which masks are used in Senufoland is women's societies. Glaze notes that among the Fodonon, the women have a secret society called Tyekpa, which, she states, is the "counterpart to the men's society (Pondo) in Fodonon culture" (1976:111-113), but it is not clear how this society articulates with the politico-economic structure of the lineage.³ Glaze does not mention that the Tyekpa society uses carved wood masks. She does note that Fodonon women may "own" masks, which are danced by Pondo initiates (Glaze 1976:169), but says that these masks are "Sandogo-related." Thus, it appears that the Tyekpa society does not use masks, but Fodonon women who belong to the Sandogo may be mask owners.

Sandogo is a further context in which masks are used, but it is very different from Poro. Sandogo is "concerned with safeguarding the purity of the matrilineage" and with divination (Glaze 1976:82). Only women may belong to the first category of Sandogo, but men may become members of the divinatory category. Glaze notes that in the Kufulo area, where she did her research, Sandogo membership "is either through kin group succession . . . or through the direct intervention of the python-messenger or the bushspirits" (1976:83). However, Sandogo is not universal among Senufo groups. Kulebele in the central area do not have Sandogo, though in the western area they do. There is evidence from the areas north and west of the area in which Glaze worked that individuals may contract with *ndebele* (sing., *ndao*), bush spirits,⁴ from whom they learn the secrets of healing and divining, without becoming

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members of Sandogo. There is also evidence that some of these persons learn dances that are imbued with supernatural powers from the *ndao* with whom they have entered into a reciprocal relationship, and some male healers and diviners wear masks as a part of their dance paraphernalia. To date, there are no data on the types of masks that are used in this context, but we are apparently dealing with two categories of personnel: those who are members of Sandogo, are diviners and may "own" masks that are danced by Poro initiates; and diviners and healers who are not members of Sandogo and who, if they are male, sometimes dance masks.

A fourth type of secret society among Senufo has voluntary membership and an organization independent from the political and economic organization of any lineage. The only example of this type of society is the Wambele, though it is possible that there are others. The Wambele is found primarily among the Nafara (also called Nafana), who are located east and southeast of Korhogo. Wambele is a "sorcerer's" society whose members are greatly feared. Men and women are equally active in Wambele, and both own the helmet mask associated with it, although only male members dance the masks. According to Kulebele, women have been chiefs of Wambele in the past. Wambele is not limited in membership to Nafara; anyone who is willing to pay the initiation fees and undertake the training may join. The Wambele dance two types of helmet masks, both of which are zoomorphic and are called *wamugu* (*wā*, to sting, pierce; *hugu*, head). One mask is janus-faced and the other has a single face with long antelope horns extending behind it (Fig. 2). Both masks have small containers on the crest, often flanked by a pair of chameleons.

A final type of masking tradition in Senufoland is not associated with any of the organized societies I have noted.

These are masks used solely for entertainment purposes, though they often perform at ritual funerals. Many are indistinguishable from those with ritual content when they are removed from their traditional context. Entertainment masks may be face masks or zoomorphic helmet masks, but they are not accompanied by the elaborate appurtenances of ritual masks. Masks-for-fun are paraded and danced by small boys, whose efforts are rewarded by small gifts of money and encouragement by onlookers. They may also be danced or paraded by women in the privacy of small gatherings of kinsmen and friends for entertainment purposes. Thus far, there is nothing in the literature concerning this type of Senufo mask, nor can any of the published pieces be identified as such. Figure 1 illustrates a mask of this type, which is a *gböguRugi* (*gbö*, baboon; *guRugi*, stumble, stagger—i.e., "go stumble with the baboons"). Children are called *gbömbele* (baboons), and it is considered particularly suitable that they be given a *gböguRugi* for entertainment purposes. This particular mask is used only by the Kasembele, a farmer group in the Boundiali-Kolia area.

Forms and protocols of masquerades diffuse from one Poro to another, sometimes as a single entity and sometimes independent of each other. As a result, two different forms may be called by the same term, or two similar forms may be given different names. For example, the *koRobla* mask and protocol originated with the Djelebele, both of which were adopted by the Senambele (also known as Tchebabele, Tchebara and Tiembara), a farmer group in the central area.⁶ Bochet places the origin of the *koRobla* in the Gbato area, which is southwest of Korhogo and includes Linguedougou (1965:660). Thiam claims that the *koRobla*, which is recognized as a zoomorphic helmet mask in the literature, is also used by blacksmiths (whom he calls Founoug), jewelers (whom he calls Fabele?)

and Kulebele (1966:26). However, Kulebele do not have a zoomorphic helmet mask masquerade, and the mask of this type used by the blacksmiths in Glaze's 1976 study is called *kunughaha*. Indeed, Glaze does not note any mask called *koRobla* in the Kufulo area. She does record three zoomorphic helmet masks, each used by a different group (Fodonon, Fonon and Kufulo), and each called by a different name (*ghon*, *kunughaha* and *kponyungu*) (Glaze 1976:310-311). The function of these three masks is very much the same, but variations occur in the appurtenances, and there are differences in detail in the form of the three masks (cf. Glaze 1976:308, pls. 44, 45; 319, pl. 22; 324, pl. 46). Other names occur in conjunction with zoomorphic helmet masks. Kulebele note a *ghogho*, which they claim is a Kpeembele mask, and Bochet illustrates a *ghodiugu*, a *ghlige* and a *wanugu* (1965). It is probable that Bochet's *ghodiugu* is a contraction of *ghon* and *nyugu* (head). Thus, the name is the same as Glaze's *ghon*, but the mask forms are different. Himmelheber notes a *gbelegle*, a *mundiala* and a *korobla*, all of which are from the Boundiali area (1960:103-104.) Bochet's *ghlige* and *ghelige* and Himmelheber's *gbelegle* are undoubtedly the same name, but these masks also differ in form. An analysis of mask components in Table 1 (see p. 94) makes it clear that helmet masks cannot be identified by form alone.

Senufo helmet masks have been referred to as "firespitters" in the literature (cf. Goldwater 1964:17; Lewis 1968; Segy 1969:173), which, in most cases, is incorrect. Kientz reports a Fonomele zoomorphic helmet mask south of Korhogo that "spits" fire (personal communication, 1975), but Glaze does not note firespitting as a feature of zoomorphic helmet masks in the Kufulo area. One Senambele *koRobla* (see no. 1 in Table 1, p. 94) in Korhogo walks through fire and extinguishes small

fires with its hands. It also does splits over small fires and extinguishes them with its crotch. The other Senambele *koRobla* were not seen manipulating fire in this manner. Djelebele claim that their *koRobla* walks through fire, and indeed, this ability resulted in conflict between a Djelebele Poro and a Senambele Poro. According to Djelebele informants, they had lived peaceably with the Senambele in the village of WayiRi since time immemorial, but when the Djelebele *koRobla* performed its firewalking feat at a Senambele funeral, the farmers became jealous. The Djelebele Poro refused to divulge the secret of firewalking to the Senambele, and the farmers chased them out of the village and across the river, where they have lived ever since.

Clearly, "firespitter" is not an accurate generic term for Senufo helmet masks. Kulebele maintain that *kponyungu* is a term that encompasses all zoomorphic helmet masks, a taxonomic device supported by Bochet (1965:648). Perhaps *kponyungu* would be a better term in spite of the fact that the Kufulo use it as the name for a specific masquerade (Glaze 1976:324).⁹

Not all *kponyungu* manipulate fire, and neither are the various specific names by which they are called unique to helmet masks. For example, a Kulebele chief has introduced a *koRobla* into the mask inventory of his Poro, but the form is not related to the Djelebele and Senambele *koRobla*. The only feature the Senambele and Kulebele *koRobla* share is a bulging, prominent forehead. The Kulebele example is an anthropomorphic face mask, approximately 45-50 centimeters in height, with large ears, beneath which are carved wood antelope horns in bas-relief. On top of the mask is a carved wood container, which is also adorned with antelope horns.⁹ The costume, dance and addition of freshly cut foliage are similar to some of the behaviors and appurtenances of zoomorphic helmet masks danced by other groups. The Kulebele *koRobla* was considered such a success by other Kulebele Poro sections that two of them have commissioned the carver of the first Kulebele *koRobla* to carve a similar mask for them.

The difficulty of classifying Senufo face masks is much the same as that encountered when attempting to classify helmet masks. *Kpelie* is the term most commonly used in the literature though Glaze objects to it on the grounds that it is the French version of *kpeli-yehé*, which is interpreted as a carved wood face mask. As Glaze points out, *kpeli-yehé* is not a masquerade type but is the component of several different masquerades, all of which have different names. However, since identification of the specific masquerade of which a face mask is the component is not possible once the mask is out of context, perhaps *kpelié* is useful as a generic term, as Bochet suggests (1965:667).¹⁰ Indeed, while Kulebele use the name of the masquerade when a face mask is in context, they use a dialectical variant of *kpelié* to note a face mask out of context.

Glaze records three different masquerades in which a carved wood face mask is a component: *kodli-yehé*, which is Fonomele (Fig. 8); *pooro*, which is Fodonon; and *kolopitya*, which is a "Sandogo-related" Fodonon masquerade. The face masks used in these three masquerades share the following formal features (Glaze 1976:167): an oval human face, often slightly smaller than life-size; geometric projections that flank the face symmetrically, which Kulebele call *yafahafai* ("something that is made"); a pair of tubular shapes flanking the face below the *yafahafai*, which Kulebele call *gotchegele* ("chicken thighs"); and a crest that surmounts the forehead and is sometimes flanked by horns. Masks meeting these criteria are also used by Senambele in the Korhogo area and by all Kulebele Poro. The Senambele masquerade that includes a wood face mask is

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called *köröhko*, and the mask is worn on top of the head rather than over the face. The Senambebe *köröhko* is a Poro mask that is used within the funeral and initiation context and should not be confused with a similar face mask used by Senambebe as an entertainment mask (Bochet 1965:668; Glaze 1976:185). The Kpatobebe, farmers in the Ouezoumon-Gbemou area, also use the same type of *kpelie* (Fig. 4), but it is worn over the face rather than on top of the head.

Thus, six different groups in Senufoland have been recorded as using the same type of *kpelie*, and there are undoubtedly others. It has been claimed in the literature that the crest on face masks is specific to the group that uses the mask, but this is inaccurate (cf. Glaze 1976:168). The crest that has been identified as "palm nuts" (Goldwater 1964:15), and which, in fact, represents the thorns of the bombax (*kapok*) tree,¹¹ is found on all Kulebebe *kpelie* (Figs. 3, 5), on at least one Fonombebe *kodöli-yehe* (Fig. 8) and one Fodonon *pojoro* in the Kufulo area (cf. Glaze 1976:340), and on Kpatobebe *kpelie* (Fig. 4). The female figure or head as a crest is used by such diverse groups as Fonombebe and Fodonon (Glaze 1976:340), Senambebe and Kpatobebe. The female motif as a crest is also found on a Kulebebe *koRobla* (see note 9).

Table 2 (see p. 94) illustrates the problems inherent in determining the provenance and nomenclature of Senufo carved wood face masks. Bochet states that wood face masks are either *korriogo* or *koddalu* and can be identified by the type of head cloth worn by the masker (1965:668-669). However, Glaze discusses a *kodöli-yehe* (*yehe*, "face") and a *kwöbele-kodöli* (1976:169-170), and although the term *kodöli* appears in both of the masquerade names, one has a wood face mask and the other has a fiber mask. Indeed, several fiber masquerades are called dialectical variants of *ködali*, such as the Fonombebe *kwöbele-kodöli*, the Djelebebe *koddali* (Fig. 7) and two Kulebebe *ködali*, one representing a lion (Fig. 6) and the other resembling the *kurutaha* fiber masquerade described by Glaze (1976:297-298, pl. 32).

A final problem in classifying Senufo masks arises from the fact that the forms of masks are not immutable, and when they are replaced it is possible that there will be stylistic and featural differences between the old mask and the new. Stylistic differences occur between carvers, and the features deemed necessary for a mask to be effective can be represented by a variety of symbols. For example, single-faced *kpelie* are currently being danced by all Kulebebe Poro, but prior to the early 1950s at least two of their Poro used double-faced masks. A similar situation exists among the Kpatobebe, who have used both single- and double-faced *kpelie*.

Thus, the difficulties inherent in categorizing Senufo masks embrace several areas. First is the ethnic identity of the creator of the object. Second is the ethnic identity of the users, which should provide a clue to answering the third question, which is concerned with nomenclature. Also, more work is needed concerning the symbolism of the mask iconography and the process by which symbols are selected, which is determined by the users, not the carvers. At this point, it is not possible to accurately identify most of the Senufo masks in collections where there are no data on the original collection point.

It is necessary to document each mask individually rather than to accept general statements and terms that may very well prove false for any given mask. I suspect that attempts to classify Senufo masks on the basis of form will prove futile, and that classification can be realized only after content is understood. The key to classification, therefore, is function, not form. Indeed, even Kulebebe are often unable to identify masks out of context. □

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16. Henry Meredith, *An Account of the Gold Coast of Africa* (London, 1812), pp. 221-2; see also the map.

17. See J. K. Fynn, *Asante and Its Neighbours 1700-1807* (London, Evanston, 1971), p. 92.

18. See Georg Norregård, *Danish Settlements in West Africa 1658-1850* (Boston, 1946), p. 117; Ole Justesen, "Aspects of Eighteenth Century Ghanaian History as Revealed by Danish Sources," *Ghana Notes and Queries*, 12 (June, 1972), p. 12.

19. Paul Erdmann Isert, *Reise nach Guinea* (Copenhagen, 1789), pp. 300-301.

20. In Fynn, *Asante and Its Neighbours* [note 17], p. 92.

21. Isert, *Reise nach Guinea* [note 19], p. 300.

22. Isert, *Reise nach Guinea*, p. 300.

23. Meredith, *Account of the Gold Coast* [note 16], p. 221.

24. Meredith, *Account of the Gold Coast*, p. 221. See also Isert, *Reise nach Guinea* [note 19], pp. 300-01; H. E. Monrad, *Gemälde der Küste von Guinea und der Einwohner derselben, wie auch der ästhetischen Künste auf dieser Küste* . . . in . . . 1805-9 (Weimar, 1824), p. 115.

25. Boehm, *Ghana* [note 11], p. 13.

26. Hugo Huber, *The Krobo*, *Studia Instituti Anthropos*, 16 (St. Augustin near Bonn, 1963), pp. 15-20, 32-40.

27. Huber, *The Krobo*, p. 68.

28. Nene Adu Mate Kole, "The Historical Background of Krobo Customs," *Transactions of the Gold Coast and Togoland Historical Society*, 1, 4 (1959).

29. Huber, *The Krobo* [note 26], pp. 190-2.

30. See J. K. Opoku-Ampomah, "Introducing an Ashanti Girl into Womanhood," *Ghana News and Queries*, 2 (May-August, 1961).

31. See Christaller, *Dictionary* [note 7], p. 171.

32. Augustus Sordinas, "Modern Koli Beads in Ghana," *Man*, 64, 90 (May-June, 1964), p. 75.

33. For some analogies see Wertheimer, *Historische Beschreibung des geselligen Culturlebens Kleingrunder Guinea* . . . (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1803), p. 15; B. H. Dicke, "An Approach to the Problem of the Migrations of the Bantu," *South African Journal of Science*, 26 (December, 1929), p. 804; G. P. Lestrade, "Ethnological Investigations," *Mapungubue, Ancient Bantu Civilization on the Limpopo*, edited by Leo Fouche (Cambridge, 1937), pp. 122-3; J. F. Schafeld, "A Preliminary Study of the Prehistoric Beads of the Northern Transvaal and Natal," *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Africa*, 26, 4 (November, 1936), p. 350; M. D. W. Jeffreys, "Some Beads From Awka," *The Nigerian Field*, 19, 1 (January, 1949), p. 43; F. I. Amen d'Aby, *Croniques religieuses et coutumes juridiques des Agni de la Côte d'Ivoire* (Paris, 1960), p. 43; Jean-Paul Lebeut, *Archéologie Achaémène* (Paris, 1962), p. 117; Huber, *The Krobo* [note 26], p. 176; Vilma Szepanowicz, "Die Ijo (Iwa). Ein Kulturbild vom Beginn des 16. bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Wiener Ethnologische Blätter*, 7 (1973), pp. 83-4; Jean-Paul and Annie Lebeut, *Les arts de Sen, Gambia, Tébé, Nigeria* (Paris, 1977), p. 83. Excellent photos of northern Ghanaian boys and babies wearing beads and other charms are in Jörg Klages, *Narreme* (Zürich, 1953).

34. Richard Austin Freeman, *Travels and Life in Ashanti and Jamba* (London, 1898), p. 403.

35. In contrast, around 1710 a slave could be bought in Senegal for 10,000 imported European beads (*The Slave Trade's Attempt for a Discovery of the Lake of Kuyar in 1714, in a New General Collection of Voyages and Travels* . . . collected by Thomas Astley, 1 (London, 1743), p. 123).

36. George Schwab, *Tribes of the Liberian Hinterland*, Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 31 (Cambridge, Mass., 1947), p. 112. See also George Way Harley, *Native African Medicine* (London, 1941), p. 31.

37. For example, see Monrad, *Gemälde der Küste von Guinea* [note 24], pp. 197-8; John Duncan, *Reisen in Westafrika . . . 1845 und 1846* (Dresden, Leipzig, 1848), pp. 105-6; Frederick E. Forbes, *Dahomey and the Dahomans* . . . 1849 and 1850 (reprint London, 1966), 1 (of 2 vols.), pp. 28-9; J. Steinemann, "Mittheilungen über die Sklavenküste von West-Afrika," *Mittheilungen der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Geographischen Gesellschaft* (Abhandlungen), 7 (1863), pp. 38-9; George Macdonald, *The Gold Coast Past and Present* (London, New York, Bombay, 1898), pp. 58-60; Rudolf Plehn, *Beiträge zur Völkerkunde des Togo-Gebietes* (Halle, 1898), pp. 12-13; Graf v. Zech, "Vermischte Notizen über Togo und das Togo-Innenland," *Mittheilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten*, 9, 2 (1898), pp. 41-2; Heinrich Klöse, *Togo unter deutscher Flagge* (Berlin, 1899), pp. 320, 494; *Catalogue raisonné de l'Exposition de la Côte d'Ivoire à l'Exposition Universelle de 1900*, p. 41; Maurice Delafosse, "Sur des traces probables de civilisation égyptienne et d'homme de race blanche à la Côte d'Ivoire," *L'Anthropologie*, 11 (1900), pp. 677-82; L. Desplagnes, "Études sur les hamuli du Kili dans la région de Goundam," *L'Anthropologie*, 14 (1903), pp. 165-6; Raymond Mauny, "Fabrication de perles de verre en Mauritanie," *Notes Africaines*, 4 (October, 1949), p. 118; Henri Moseley, *Assise et le Royaume de Kruahie, histoire et coutumes* (Paris, 1953), pp. 20-1; Jacques Miege, "Notes de toponymie boule," *Études Ethnologues*, 3 (1954), p. 137; Raymond Mauny, *Tafelau géographique de l'Afrique Africaine* . . . (Ivan, Dakar, 1961), p. 179; Jack Goody, "Archaeological Sites in the Northern Ivory Coast," *The West African Archaeologist Newsletter*, 9 (1968), p. 59; Mechthildis Jungwirth, *Reise nach Jama* (1485-1700 (Vienna, 1968), pp. 237-8. It should perhaps be emphasized here that the preceding items refer only to the local people's findings of the "groundbeads"—not to modern, or even older, archaeological studies, which, if included, would considerably lengthen the list. The most outstanding phenomenon in the latter category, previously totally un-

known to the local people, is Igbo Likwu, where about 160,000 glass and stone beads were found. He holds a special position in that both local people's and modern archaeologists' discoveries of old glass beads have been reported there. (Be references are not included in the above bibliography.)

38. Maresnky, "Ueber die alten Schmuckkorallen" [note 7], p. 543. See also M. Bartels, "Kostbare Perlen der Basutho in Transvaal," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (Verhandlungen), 23 (1891), pp. 400-1.

39. Ludwig Ferdinand Römer, *Nachrichten von der Küste Guinea* (Copenhagen, Leipzig, 1799), pp. 16-17.

40. Isert, *Reise nach Guinea* [note 19], p. 177.

41. See Milan Kalous, "A Contribution to the Problem of Akori Beads," *Journal of African History*, 7, 1 (1966), pp. 61-2.

42. T. Edward Bowditch, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashante*, edited by W. E. F. Ward (London, 1966), pp. 266-68.

43. Freeman, *Travels and Life* [note 34], pp. 403-5. "Mystic fires indicate the burial place of aggrey beads" (A. W. Cardinall, *Tales Told in Togoland* (Oxford, London, 1931), p. 40).

44. See instead Milan Kalous, "Akori Beads," *Besseler Archiv*, 16 (1968), pp. 89-97. A new, much longer study is being completed.

45. A. Lamb, in David Calvocoressi, "Report on the Third Conference of West African Archaeologists," *The West African Archaeologist Newsletter*, 12 (March, 1970), p. 85.

46. Cardinall, *Tales Told in Togoland* [note 43], p. 53.

47. Rattray, *Religion and Art in Ashanti* [note 5], p. 22.

48. Bowditch, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle* [note 42], p. 268.

49. Macdonald, *The Gold Coast Past and Present* [note 37], p. 60.

50. Bowditch, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle* [note 42], pp. 266-7.

51. Rattray, *Religion and Art in Ashanti* [note 5], p. 22.

52. For example, see J. D. Fage, "Some Remarks on Beads and Trade in Lower Guinea in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Journal of African History*, 3, 2 (1962).

53. Regarding this, see Kalous, "Akori Beads" [note 41], pp. 89-90.

54. "The natives assert that they find them in the ground . . . in the western part of the Colony, where the best-known gold-producing districts have always been" (W. Walton Clendage, *A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti* (London, 1915), vol. 1 of 2 vols., p. 27).

55. "It is now clear that the . . . was the centre of a considerable glass bead industry, and its products were probably exported" (Ade Obayemi, "The Yoruba and Edo-speaking Peoples and Their Neighbours before 1800," *History of West Africa*, edited by J. F. A. Ajayi and Michael Crowder (London, 1976), vol. 1 of 2 vols., p. 259. "Among the major (Portuguese) exports to the Gold Coast were toruba cloth, beads (some possibly from life, which manufactured glass at this time . . ." (J. D. Fage, *A History of Africa* (London, 1978), p. 109). The theory of the life origin of akori beads (for these are clearly meant, even if not named in this quotation) was first suggested by Frobenius and developed in my four articles dealing with the problem (namely, in "A Contribution to the Problem" [note 41]; "Akori Beads" [note 44]; "Frobenius, Wilton and Ie," *Journal of African History*, 9, 4 [1968], p. 462; "Leo Frobenius' Atlantic Theory: A Reconsideration," *Pulsatula*, 16 [1970], p. 35). Fage does not mention them in his bibliography.

56. See Christaller, *Dictionary* [note 7], p. 171.

57. See R. F. Wild, "A Method of Bead-making Practised in the Gold Coast," *Man*, 37, 115 (June, 1937), pp. 96-7; G. E. Sinclair, "A Method of Bead-making in Ashanti," *Man*, 39, 111 (August, 1939), p. 128.

58. J. Spieth, *Die Religion der Ewea in Togo* (Leipzig, 1911), p. 33. Much more has been written about the rainbow-serpent beads. See, for example, Forbes, *Dahomey and the Dahomans* [note 37], p. 7-13; Zech, "Vermischte Notizen" [note 37], pp. 41-2; Jakob Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme* (Berlin, 1906), pp. 353-4; Johannes Dahse, "Ein zweites Goldland Salomo, Vorstudien zur Geschichte Westafrikas," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 43 (1911), pp. 48-8; Maximilien Quémener, *Arjays des Fous* (Paris, 1938), p. 71; Douglas, "Perles anciennes" [note 4], p. 432.

59. Delafosse, "Sur des traces probables" [note 37], pp. 679-80; Melville J. and Frances S. Henkovits, *Dahomean Narratives* (Evanston, 1956), p. 136.

60. For a summary of this version see Maurice Delafosse, *Les Noirs de l'Afrique* (Paris, 1941), p. 28-31.

61. Here, it obviously means from a neighboring country, not from Europe. Forty years later we are told that "there is a possibility that the process was introduced from the neighbouring Ivory Coast" (Wild, "A Method of Bead-making" [note 57], p. 96).

62. Macdonald, *The Gold Coast Past and Present* [note 37], p. 60.

63. Wild, "A Method of Bead-making" [note 57], p. 97.

64. Meyerowitz, *The Sacred State* [note 2], p. 90. Emphasis mine.

65. For some interesting facts concerning the trade and fate of European beads in West Africa, see *Insular Orientalia pars IV. Verum et insularum descriptionem antequam regerit Guinea, ad Africam pertinetur* . . . (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1606), pp. 18, 25, 29, 30, 32; Michael Heilmann, *Reise nach Guinea und Brasilien 1639-1645, in Reisebeschreibungen von deutschen Boamen und Kriegsknechten* . . . herausgegeben von S. P. L'Honoré Naber, 1 (The Hague, 1930), p. 54; Monrad, *Gemälde der Küste von Guinea* [note 24], pp. 197-8. "Extract of the Returns Made

to Parliament of the West African Imports and Exports," in Richard F. Burton, *Abissinia and the Comoros Mountains* (London, 1863), vol. 1 of 2 vols., pp. 314-5; Kwame Yeboe Daaku, *Trade and Politics in the Gold Coast 1600-1720* (Oxford, 1970), p. 25. Needless to say, not only Jablonce and Venice produced glass beads (see Lamb, "Krobo Powder-Glass Beads," p. 34). For example, in 1925, Germany exported to Sierra Leone: mineral water and beer, light clothing, sacks for palm kernels, and "Glassperlenwaren" (Bundesarchiv [Coblenz], RW 1245).

66. Sordinas, "Modern Koli Beads in Ghana" [note 32], p. 75.

67. In *De Nuntiusbeide Schifffahrt Inhaftend Fünf Schifffahrten Samuel Bruns . . . in Africam* . . . (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1626), p. 36; Isert, *Reise nach Guinea* [note 19], p. 177; Robert Hartmann, *Die Völker Afrikas* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 214; Staudinger, "Halskette von Glasperlen vom Nyassa-See und die dortige Bevölkerung," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (Verhandlungen), 25 (1893), p. 613; Freeman, *Travels and Life* [note 34], p. 403; Dicke, "An Approach to the Problem" [note 33], pp. 804-5; C. Ariens, "Die Schmuck- und Handelsperlen Afrikas," *Koloniale Rundschau*, 25, 5-7 (1933), p. 188; Harley, *Native African Medicine* [note 36], p. 31; H. A. Wieschhoff, "Primitive Money," *University of Pennsylvania Museum Bulletin*, 11, 3 (December, 1945), p. 34; Schwab, *Tribes of the Liberian Hinterland* [note 36], p. 112; A. F. C. Ryder, "An Early Portuguese Trading Voyage to the Forcados River," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 1, 4 (December, 1959), p. 307; Meyerowitz, *At the Court of an African King* [note 2], p. 85; J.-G. Gauthier, *Les Fals Hwa et Talo, royaumes du Nord-Cameroun* (Doussard, 1969), p. 77; Raymond Mauny, "A propos de perles anciennes (aigres) recueillies par Maurice Delafosse avant 1914 en Côte d'Ivoire," *Notes Africaines*, 154 (April, 1977).

GALLOIS-DUQUETTE, *Notes*, from page 34

This article was translated from the French by Lisa Barthelme.

1. Bidjogo is the Creole designation for the people of the archipelago.
2. These terms vary, but those found in this article are in general usage.
3. Only three men have the right to intervene during the women's ceremonies: the king, the drummer, who speaks the coded language of his instruments, and *arar*, the "captive" kidnaped by the women because of his reputation for honesty and discretion, who helps them during their retreat.
4. The Bidjogo are divided into four clans of matrilineal descent.
5. The sacred periods of *defunts* can be set in motion by events such as a death, calamity, or the installation of a king.
6. The *fanajo* initiation cycle varies among the islands. For example, *fanajo* takes place every six years on Bubaque (in the past, every twelve years), every ten years on Orango, and every eleven years on Uno. Moreover, within an island the *fanajo* cycles for different villages may not coincide.

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RICHTER, *Notes*, from page 73

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1. Consonants and consonant clusters have been Anglicized in the text. Final vowels are articulated. The orthography for vowels is as follows: *a* as in *at*, *e* as in *bet*, *i* as in *fish*, *o* as in *so*, *y* as in *ought*, *u* as in *boot*. *i* is a glottal stop and *h* is flapped as in the Spanish *jam*. For technical reasons, *African Arts* has substituted *h* for the *ap* or *ap* symbol, and *R* for the *rij* or *rij* symbol; these are the nearest equivalents in standard type. Tones and nasalization are not indicated. It will be noted that there are differences between Senari words in Glaze's work

and mine, which are due to the fact that we worked in different dialect areas. Further, though I was primarily in the Kiembsa dialect area, my principal informants were Dalebele, whose dialect differs from Kiembsa.

2. Cf. Delafosse 1908:263-266; 1912, vol. 1:115-118; Vendris 1934:67; Maesen 1948:139; Lem 1949:17; Knops 1959:36; Himmelheber 1960:94, 1963:87; Goldwater 1966:12; Person 1968:57; Gardi 1969:125; Scheinberg 1977:5.

3. It is difficult to see how the women of any matrilineage could cooperate as a corporate group since the Fodonon are virilocal. This problem is overcome, in part, in Poro by the practice of sending some male children to live with the mother's brother. Ideally, all male matriline should be members of the same Poro section.

4. *Mafo* and *mafofo* in Glaze (1976:95), who notes that *mafofo* is also a generic term for all figurative sculpture among the people in the Kufulo area south of Korhogo. The Dalebele generic term is *tafo*, which simply means 'statue.'

5. Senoulo believe that Wambele members use bees as messengers to deliver death, which is accomplished when the bee stings the victim.

6. Albert Kieritz, who did his research south of Korhogo, collected this same oral tradition (personal communication, 1975). It appears that the term *koRobis* has a deeper meaning than has been realized in the literature and is more than simply the name of a specific type of mask and masquerade. At a Senembale funeral near Korhogo in 1975, a *kufo*-type mask (cf. Glaze 1976:279-302; pls. 22a, 31, 34) performed what was called *koRobis* by Senembale elders. At the same funeral a zoomorphic helmet mask also performed, which was also called *koRobis*.

7. Kulebele state that the *Fababele* is another term for *Tchadambele*.

8. The Kufulo term is *kyawungo*. The difference between *kyawungo* and *kyungungo* is dialectical. The etymology is the same for both terms.

9. Two Kulebele *koRobis* were stolen from Korhogo in the late 1960s and presumably have found their way into private Western collections. I saw this mask perform only twice and was not permitted to photograph it; therefore it would be very much appreciated if any reader who knows where one of these masks might be would write to me. It is not my intention to try to have them returned. Kulebele have replaced them. The forehead of the mask has a prominent bulge and may or may not be covered with fine-line incising in a parquet pattern (see drawing a). The nose is large and possibly hooked. The mouth protrudes noticeably. There may or may not be a labret carved in the lower lip. Teeth are probably a prominent feature, and the eyes are bulging. The ears are large, high on the head, and almost surrealistically portrayed. Below each ear is a wood antelope horn carved so that the twists are apparent (see drawing b). A small bowl-shaped container surmounts the mask. The container is incised vertically and is decorated with antelope horns (see drawing c). There may be a human head or figure (or some other feature?)

on top of the container. The mask may not have much patination because one of them was a spare mask. It is possible that these masks have not been identified as Senoulo.



10. Bochet uses the term *grefie* (pl., *grefie*) and points out that it should not be confused with *grefie*, which is a helmet mask (see Table 1). Again, the use of *grefie* consonant cluster is peculiar.

11. Bembax thorns are represented on zoomorphic helmet masks in the form of conical, vertically oriented teeth. The palm nut, when represented, is the small ovoid nub on the forehead.

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I. Douglas is best known for his two series of publications, the Indian Leaflet series and Material Culture Notes. Republished numerous times by the museum, these guides to material and technique are distributed internationally. With René

TABLE 1 Zoomorphic Helmet Masks

	Large Mask	Small Mask	Bochet (Senoulo)	Maesen (Senoulo)	Delafosse (Senoulo)	Goldwater (Senoulo)	Himmelheber (Senoulo)	Person (Senoulo)	Welmers (Senoulo)	Other
KOROBLA										
Dalebele	x	?	-	x	?	?	Senoulo	Senoulo	-	?
*Senembale #1	x	x	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	Senoulo (Senoulo)
* #2	x	x	-	x	?	-	-	-	-	Senoulo (Senoulo)
* #3	x	x	-	x	?	-	-	-	-	Senoulo (Senoulo)
* #4	x	x	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	Senoulo (Senoulo)
* #5	x	x	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	Senoulo (Senoulo)
Boundiali Area (Himmelheber 1963:103)	x	?	?	?	?	?	?	x	?	?
Maesen 1948:628	x	-	Maesen	Senoulo	-	?	-	-	-	-
KUNUGBANA										
Fodonon (Glaze 1976:313)	x	-	Maesen	Senoulo (Senoulo)	Senoulo (Senoulo)	-	Maesen	x	x	-
KOFONYUNGO										
Kufulo (Glaze 1976:324)	x	-	-	Senoulo (Senoulo)	Senoulo (Senoulo)	x	Maesen	x	x	Senoulo
QRON										
Fodonon (Glaze 1976:308)	x	-	-	Senoulo (Senoulo)	Senoulo (Senoulo)	-	Maesen	-	-	x
QBODUGU										
Maesen 1948:628	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
QELIGE										
Maesen 1948:628	x	-	-	Senoulo (Senoulo)	Senoulo (Senoulo)	-	Maesen	-	-	-
QRELIGE										
Maesen 1948:628	x	-	-	Senoulo (Senoulo)	Senoulo (Senoulo)	-	Maesen	x	-	-
QBELEOLE										
Fodonon (Maesen 1948:628)	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	x	?	?
QREGO										
Kienembale (Maesen 1948:628)	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	x	?	?
MUNEKALI										
Fodonon (Maesen 1948:628)	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
WANUGU										
*Wambale #1	x	-	-	x	?	-	Senoulo (Senoulo)	x	x	x
* #2	x	-	-	x	-	-	Senoulo (Senoulo)	x	x	x
* #3	x	-	-	x	-	-	Senoulo (Senoulo)	x	x	x
* #4	x	-	-	x	-	-	Senoulo (Senoulo)	x	x	x
* #5	x	-	-	x	-	-	Senoulo (Senoulo)	x	x	x
Maesen 1948:640	x	-	-	x	-	-	Senoulo (Senoulo)	x	x	x
Maesen 1948:640	x	-	-	x	-	-	Senoulo (Senoulo)	x	x	x
Maesen 1948:640	x	-	-	x	-	-	Senoulo (Senoulo)	x	x	x

* Documented in context.

TABLE 2 Face Masks

	Wood	Plaster	Bombax Thorns	Grid Marks	Other
KODOLI-YEHE					
*Fodonon (Glaze 1976:308)	x	-	-	-	x
*Fodonon (Glaze 1976:308)	x	-	-	-	-
*Fodonon (Glaze 1976:340)	x	-	-	-	x
*Fodonon (Glaze 1976:340)	x	-	-	-	-
KODALI					
*Kulebele (Maesen 1948:628)	-	x	-	-	-
*Kulebele (Maesen 1948:628)	-	x	-	-	-
KODALU					
Kulebele (Bochet 1965:648)	x	-	-	-	-
Fodonon (Bochet 1965:648)	x	-	-	-	-
Kienembale (Senembale?) (Bochet 1965:648)	x	-	-	-	-
KODALI					
Dalebele (Maesen 1948:628)	-	x	-	-	-
KWOBLE-KODOLI					
*Fodonon (Glaze 1976:341)	-	x	-	-	-
KORRIGO					
Ethnic Group? (Bochet 1965:670)	x	-	-	-	-
KOROOGO					
Dalebele	-	x	-	-	-
KOROHKO					
*Senembale #1	x	-	-	-	-
* #2	x	-	-	-	-
POYORO					
*Fodonon (Glaze 1976:340)	x	-	-	-	-
KOTOPITYA					
*Fodonon (Glaze 1976:340)	x	-	-	-	-
*Kulebele <i>kyefo</i>	x	-	-	-	-
*Kulebele #1	x	-	-	-	-
* #2	x	-	-	-	-
* #3	x	-	-	-	-
* #4	x	-	-	-	-
* #5	x	-	-	-	-