African Art: The World Bank Collection
The initial idea for this catalogue took place two years ago, during a casual conversation with Philip Ravenhill about the World Bank's African Art Collection. With his usual enthusiasm about everything related to Africa, and his disposition to help, Philip became pivotal to this project. He advised us on many aspects of the catalogue and contributed a preface.

A scholar and an anthropologist, Philip played a central role in supporting the development of museums in Africa. He assisted African art specialists and museum directors in their efforts to preserve and promote the cultural patrimony of Africa. His broad views and varied interests, combined with his ability to express himself in many languages, made it a privilege to work with him. During his decade-long tenure as the chief curator of the National Museum of African Art, he not only contributed to the knowledge of traditional African art, but he was also instrumental in developing recognition of contemporary African art. To list all of his achievements would not necessarily convey the personality of this extraordinary man. Suffice it to say that his generosity, his incredible dynamism, and his charisma will be greatly missed. The art community and Africa have suffered a great loss with his death in Washington, D.C. in October 1997.
AFRICAN ART
The World Bank Collection

Edited by Alexandre Marc

The World Bank
Washington, D.C.
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Foreword

Since I joined the World Bank Group in 1995, I have traveled extensively to a number of our partner countries, and I have had the opportunity to exchange thoughts on development issues with many people, ranging from villagers to state leaders. I am now convinced that there can be no sustainable development without recognition and continuity of people’s history, values and beliefs, which are embedded in their culture. Art is one of the deepest, most primal expressions of culture and of the values that underlie a society. It seems natural but also important that anyone interested in the social and economic development of nations should be interested in the arts produced by the people of those nations. I therefore welcome this catalogue that presents the African Art Collection of the World Bank. I hope that these works of art, which have been created by African artists throughout the continent and reflect the richness and diversity of the cultures of Africa, will speak intimately to those who will see them.

JAMES D. WOLFENSOHN
PRESIDENT
WORLD BANK

Art has always been an important expression of the culture of the peoples of Africa. The textiles, sculptures, pottery, and paintings, as well as functional objects, such as door locks and currency, used in a daily context, confirm the integration of art and life in Africa. They embody religious beliefs, the execution of day-to-day tasks, important stages in the cycle of life, and also the emotions and the visions of many individual artists.

We feel that the creativity and originality of this art deserves to be seen more widely. The essays accompanying the photographs of the World Bank African Art Collection provide an interesting thread on how to interpret the historical, social, and religious meaning of these works of art. We hope that the readers of this book will enjoy discovering the collection, which we have the privilege and pleasure of seeing on our working premises every day.

CALLISTO MADAVO
Jean-Louis Sarbib
VICE-PRESIDENT AFRICA REGION
VICE-PRESIDENT AFRICA REGION
WORLD BANK
WORLD BANK
Acknowledgments

This catalogue is the very first publication dedicated to one of the World Bank’s art collections. Such an endeavor had never been considered before. We are extremely thankful to the President of the World Bank, James Wolfensohn, and to Ismail Serageldin, Vice President for Special Programs and Chairman of the World Bank Art Committee, for supporting the World Bank Staff Art Society in its efforts to present this collection to a greater audience.

As a true Renaissance man, Mr. Wolfensohn understands the important role that art plays in the life of every individual in the developing world and welcomed this project enthusiastically. Mr. Serageldin, a long-time advocate of the interdependency of culture, identity, and development, approved this initiative wholeheartedly and was a moving force behind the project. The Art Society is gifted with a priceless anchor and ally in the person of Elaine Wolfensohn. We are indebted to her enthusiasm and her earnest participation in our activities. Artemis Zenetou, the World Bank Curator, kindly enabled us to benefit from the expertise of her staff at the World Bank Art Program Unit.

I would like to express my deep gratitude to Alexandre Marc, Senior Human Resource Specialist in Eastern Europe and the Central Asia Region and Vice President of the Art Society, for conceiving and laying the groundwork for this project and coordinating its implementation superbly. To its fruition he applied professionalism, aesthetics, and dynamic leadership. Thanks to Alexandre, the catalogue also benefited from the invaluable contribution and advice of Philip Ravenhill, late Chief Curator of the National Museum of African Art of the Smithsonian Institution. Philip’s sudden death during the preparation of this catalogue was deeply felt by the entire team. His advice led to the collaboration of Ekpo Eyo, Professor of African Art History and Archaeology at the University of Maryland and former director general of the Nigerian National Commission for Museums and Monuments. Professor Eyo contributed a learned and insightful essay to the catalogue. Christa Clarke, an art historian specializing in African art, surveyed the collection, creating a cohesive review and presenting it in an approachable manner.

Creative Director Marina Djabbarzade should be congratulated for sealing the aesthetic destiny of this book with skilled inspiration. She was thoroughly dedicated and meticulous throughout a demanding process.

The photography of Angela Seckinger, assisted by Kevin Wilson, has provided a dazzling permanent record of the collection. Chonlada Sac-Hau gave us the original Ariadne’s thread to navigate through the collection, while registrars Douglas Robinson
and Laurie Carroll enabled us to find our way out of the labyrinth. Special thanks are due to Anne Hurst who ordered the massive information in a cognizant manner. Richard Sukhu, Adrian Carranza, and Tom McAuliffe, World Bank Art Handlers, graciously assisted us in locating and safely handling the objects. Grateful thanks go also to the World Bank Security Office, whose officers were always friendly and available.

I would also like to express my gratitude to Gregory Prakas and Hugh Fisher of the World Bank Cartography Department for their arduous task of creating a legible map. Boureima Diamitani, Fellow at the National Museum of African Art and former Director of Cultural Heritage in Burkina Faso, rescued us at the last minute by locating some of the ethnic groups. Special mention should be made of the unwavering assistance of Donna McGreevy, and Drew Williams of Communications Development, Inc. in implementing the design of the book. I would like to extend my sincere appreciation to Barbara Marc who joined forces with us to create an elegant and striking cover. Particular thanks go to Helen Meade, Contract Coordinator, who shared her invaluable experience with unique amiability, patience, and modesty. She helped us make the all-too-often invisible decisions that had the most visible consequences. My deepest gratitude to Ronald Dickens and the entire team at Master Print, Inc for executing our complex wishes so diligently.

I would especially like to acknowledge the unflagging assistance of our editor, Alicia Hetzner, who generously gave her time to polish the copy. The Art Society is indebted to Stephanie Gerard of the World Bank Office of the Publisher, who immediately understood the importance of integrating this Art Society document for the first time in the mainstream of official World Bank publications.

I feel special gratitude and affection to Praful Patel, Chief, Africa Regional Front Office, who helped present the project to, and obtain the enthusiastic support of the Vice Presidents of the Africa Region, Jean-Louis Sarbib and Callisto Madavo. Last, I would like to praise all the volunteers at the Art Society, whose efforts in the realization of our programs of the past four years brought about the experience that today allows us to produce this book.

The Art Society hopes that this publication will live up to the expectations of all and that it will be the beginning of a tradition of catalogues that will contribute to a crucial aspect of the World Bank’s development mission: the promotion of global social and cultural understanding.

RÉGINE S. BOUCARD
PRESIDENT
WORLD BANK STAFF ART SOCIETY
Preface

Invention and Appreciation

From the beginning of human time, men and women have made things. From the beginning of human time, women and men have collected things. They have selected and stored things with meaning, have chosen to keep near things that speak to them of the past, that speak to the present, and that perhaps, speak to an anticipated future.

When one speaks of African art, it is easy, all too easy, to think in the plural, to speak generically, to speak of the collectivity, to speak of “culture,” of “traditions,” and to forget that change, that creativity, that memory, that history is each an individual matter. One person experiences the received world and wants to add to it, to make something that has not yet been seen, not yet experienced, to make an object that will leave a mark. African art is very much about that particular individual, one woman or one man, young or old, who expresses the need to mark a moment, an event, an experience by creating a “thing.” She, or he, takes material and transforms it into something else, seeking thereby to make more permanent, more external, an experience, that was felt, personally and internally. This push to externalize—this recourse to the object—marks human experience universally. Whether “here” or “there,” whether for “us” or for “them.”

One of the essential commonalities of human experience is that in living we make things, we keep things, we experience life and remember lived experiences through things that, in their tangible concreteness, force us to confront other realities. The physicality of our existences obliges us to move beyond our inner selves, to examine our lives, to think about our itineraries and destinations in other ways. The object is there. It is something that imposes itself on our perception. It cannot be denied. It impinges upon us.

When one speaks of “African art,” it is easy to make of it something else. Something exotic, something different, something, finally, of little relevance to this moment of our existence. And yet, if we afford ourselves the time to examine one object, to seek out empathetically its moment of creation and invention, then perhaps we make its proper appreciation possible. The African object, the work of African art that has arrived in front of our eyes, whatever its complex and circuitous route, is most often something that was made, something that was created, by one person at one point in her, or his life. One woman or one man brought to her or his creative act all of her or his lived experience, an understanding of how things were and are, and how
they might otherwise be. How an object might be, at the same time, quite
similar to and yet profoundly different from other historical objects from that
place.

Complementing the impulse to create, the other impulse is to collect, to
establish a certain order, or to remember, through things. How does one
make it possible to discover other realities? How does one bring back to one's
hearth some semblance of other realities? The fifteenth or eighteenth, or even
mid-to late-twentieth century visitor to the terra incognita of Africa was con-
fronted with the reality of the narrative demanded on return. Words, it
seems, have never sufficed. And here, it seems to me, the acts of creating and
collecting—of inventing and acquiring—find common ground. As much as
one thinks, as one argues, as one speaks, there arrives a moment in which it
would be nice to have an external reality, a “thing,” to add a voice of witness
to what is said. Thus it is with things, with souvenirs of lived experience, that
they become props or witnesses to our recountings. They bear proof to our
knowledge of the world. It has been said that “the man with an experience
is never at the mercy of a man with an argument.” Objects are arguments.
They act independently of words. They incarnate other realities, other exis-
tences, and other ways of being.

The objects from Africa that have found their way to the World Bank,
that have been selected among others, are privileged objects—each created
by an individual, each collected by an individual. They are now being pre-
sented and published as witnesses to African creativity and as objects to be
appreciated. In Africa these works of art served to mark time, to mark life's
passages, to mark space, to mark identity, and to mark lived experience. In
Washington D.C., too, they mark a world made more human by their very
existence.

PHILIP RAVENHILL
CHIEF CURATOR
NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART
Introduction

We need... to constantly reinforce our awareness of the primacy of Source, and that source is the universal spring of Culture. It is nourished by its tributaries, which sink back into the earth, and thereby replenish that common source in an unending, creative cycle.

—Wole Soyinka, 1994

In 1996 the World Bank Staff Art Society suggested to the Chairman of the World Bank Art Committee, Ismail Serageldin, that the Society publish a catalogue of the World Bank's African art collection. This proposal was received with enthusiasm. This is the first catalogue to feature pieces from the Bank's permanent collection. The choice of the African collection for the first catalogue stems from the recognition by many African art experts that the World Bank is home to a rich and valuable collection that deserves to be better known by staff, representatives from our member countries, and the general public. There is, however, another important reason for selecting this particular collection: the theme of African art seems to be particularly appropriate in illustrating the integral part that artistic expression plays in constructing culture, forming social identity, and encouraging spiritual communication. The World Bank's mission and mandate are economic and social development, but if development is to be centered on human beings, art and culture should not be its forgotten dimension.

From the time centuries ago when European nations began to establish direct contacts with Sub-Saharan Africa, African art has fascinated the West, but some times this fascination was far from positive. Too often despised as the expression of obscure forces and beliefs, many Sub-Saharan objects were destroyed by Europeans. At the turn of the last century, however, African art became the subject of ethnographic investigation and intellectual interest, and respected museum curators, such as Felix von Luschan in Germany, preached the beauty and strength of African art. Then suddenly, at the beginning of this century, discovered by the avant-garde artists in quest of new modes of expression, African art found itself at the center of the Western modernist artistic revolution. According to one of the stories of this period, one day in 1905 fauvist painter Maurice de Vlaminck entered a bar in which, among the bottles, stood a couple of African figures. Vlaminck acquired them for the price of a round of drinks. He probably did not think of them
as a revelation in sculpture but as expressions of humanity and reflections of some universal symbolic language. His friend André Derain must also have seen them, and he later bought a now well-known Fang mask from Vlaminck. Other artists started collecting African art: Matisse, Picasso, Braque, Breton. Many art movements of the beginning of this century such as fauvism, cubism, surrealism, referred in one way or another to “primitive” art and in particular to Sub-Saharan art. Through sentences that remain famous, Picasso best illustrated the ambivalence of this new fascination: “I have felt my strongest emotions when suddenly confronted with the sublime beauty of sculptures executed by anonymous artists of Africa,” but also the famous: “African art? Never heard of it.” The encounter between African art and the founders of “modern” art may have been less a source of direct inspiration for the latter than the recognition that, by breaking the values and prejudices of the nineteenth century Western vision of art and life, they were rediscovering a dimension of art that had always been at the core of traditional non-Western art. This dimension was spiritual and psychological. It was the expression of universal human values, as well as the specific history, culture, and beliefs of the civilizations that produced the art. This encounter was fundamental in twentieth century art history. French writer André Malraux wrote: “The encounter of primitive, chiefly African art, with modern art represents one of the major metamorphoses of our epoch.”

Interest in African art began to radiate out to others beyond the avant-garde artists. Collectors of contemporary art were deeply affected by African and pre-Colombian art. European museums began to acquire important collections of African art. Expeditions such as the 1931 Paris-Djibouti scientific expedition, organized by Michel Leiris and Marcel Griaule, contributed to the discovery and in-depth studies of the arts, beliefs, and social organizations of groups such as the Dogon and the Bamana, now well known for the richness of their art.

Interest in African art was also related to discoveries in the field of psychology and the evolution of studies of symbolism and religion. As curator Douglas Newton wrote, “If primitive art is more than the latest of our resurrections, it is not only because of its freedom, or the variety of its forms. It is because it belongs to a psychological area of human experience.”

The appreciation of different forms of art across boundaries of culture and geographical areas is the recognition of the existence of a universal dimension inherent in all of us. One of the most important consequences of the recognition of the creative forces of African art by Western artists is the acknowledgment of the universality of beliefs, profound values, and spiritual quests that unite all human beings around what is ultimately a very similar destiny of birth, life, and death. Freud lived in a period in which the accept-
able mythological references for Western thinkers were those of ancient Greece. Today it is increasingly acknowledged that African, Asian, and Oceanic myths, among others, also reflect the human psychology and mind and—sometimes with even more accuracy. Scholars such as Mircea Eliade and Joseph Campbell have contributed greatly to the recognition of the universality of myths and beliefs.

Traditional African art is deeply connected to the lives of the people who made it and used it. It is the expression of the intricate relationships among aesthetic expression, religious beliefs, social structures, and individual feelings. In contrast to post-Renaissance Western art, African artistic expression was not, and for many Africans, still is not disconnected from other human activities. In traditional societies, art remains rooted in human experience. This connection reminds us that the separation of art from daily living in today’s modern societies contributes to the loneliness, isolation, anxiety, and loss of direction felt by many individuals in Western societies.

Art and culture are integral forces of development. We would like this catalogue to remind those who work in development, and inform those who may otherwise have appreciated these works only for their artistic merit, that art and culture are integral forces of development. If we are really working to improve the lives of human beings, we cannot dissociate the economic and social dimensions of development from the cultural dimension.

The World Bank’s African art collection was constituted, for the most part, in 1981, when the J Building of the World Bank was built to house the Africa Regional Vice Presidency of the World Bank. Most of the pieces were purchased from reputable African art galleries in Europe. Additional pieces were donated to the World Bank previously or have been acquired since. Most of the African art pieces are housed in the J Building, located at 701 18th Street, N.W., but a few pieces are also presented in the H Building, located at 600 19th Street, N.W. The collection is managed by the World Bank Art Program Unit.

ALEXANDRE MARC
VICE-PRESIDENT
WORLD BANK STAFF ART SOCIETY
1. African Art at the World Bank

Ismail Serageldin

In these days of electronic communications and economic insecurities, of companies and international institutions without boundaries, of globalization and individualism, what does a collection of African traditional art have to say to us—especially a collection transplanted into the heart of the World Bank Group, a multilateral international development institution? It has plenty to say. My essay seeks to underline three points. First, art is an essential part of the being of any society. It helps to define a society's identity and culture. Culture is an essential part of the development process, ignored at the peril of the development practitioners seeking to support these processes of transformation that we have come to call development. Second, due to the vigor of the African artistic impulse and the profound impact of African art on the transformations of twentieth-century art in the whole world, African art qualifies not just as regional art of great importance to Africans, but also as world art. Finally, the collection has relevance to the World Bank, an institution devoted to the promotion of development, with a special commitment to Sub-Saharan Africa.

The Centrality of Art

There can be no understanding of development without understanding society, which in turn requires understanding culture. Art is the fundamental expression of culture, in the broad sense, and is itself the content of culture, in the narrow sense.

The realm of culture is the realm of meanings, the effort in some imaginative form to make sense of the world through the expressiveness of art and ritual, particularly those "incomprehensions" such as tragedy and death that arise out of the existential predicaments which every self-conscious human being must confront at some point in his life.

-Daniel Bell, 1996
Art is the necessary expression of the human psyche, the mirror of civilization, and the voice of culture. Without it there can be no identity. There can be no understanding of the self and the other. Art defines the past and signifies the present.

In most developing countries, where societies are in the throes of rapid transformation, the search for identity is an important part of the definition of the self and the other. The boundaries that allow us to function and to interact with others are defined by that identity that we tend to take for granted, so much is it embedded into our subconscious selves. In this search, artists are the custodians of past traditions and the shapers of the heritage of tomorrow.

In these societies, the issue of historic ruptures in the evolution of their cultural identities is the leitmotif that returns again and again to the fore of almost all artistic expression. It is the loom on which many artists weave the texture of their contributions to the evolving cultural identity.

**The Meaning of African Art**

In Africa this history of cultural rupture is more accentuated. Nowhere has the history of colonialism been fiercer and nowhere has there been such a massive dislocation as has been experienced by that continent through the centuries of domination and the slave trade. That profound wound lies in much of the anguished cry for independence, an independence that has to be earned by dissociating oneself from the colonial regimes and also from the past, yet remaining authentic to the true spirit of being African.

African artists today can celebrate the exhilarating reality of a successful struggle to end colonialism and apartheid, to reclaim a past heritage and to forge a new future, to see some of the most eminent members of the African artistic and professional communities recognized for their contributions to the global culture of our times.

But the African artists of today also struggle with the less uplifting circumstances of the African condition—the agonizing reality of an African independence betrayed by its own, the tyrannies of dictatorships, the incomprehensible savageries of tribal conflict, the continued subjugation of women, the shattered expectations of a generation of youth for whom the colonial past is not a reality but the stuff of dusty ancient history, for whom the reality from their births to this day is one of expectations unfulfilled by despotic regimes. Of a future that holds no dream, and a present that satisfies no hungers.

It is in this multifaceted context that the art of contemporary Africa must be understood. For the artists are like the canaries that miners took into the mines or sailors took in the early submarines so that they could signal when
the air was losing oxygen. Artists are societies’ canaries, and their sensitive natures express an existential condition that cries out for change—but also for authenticity, a search for an authentic African expression that links to the past and its manifestations but sees it through contemporary eyes. These eyes reinterpret traditions and find in them the seeds for a new tomorrow. Thus, the works of art of the past are more than prologues to the future: they are, in a very real sense, the essential building blocks of a vocabulary and a mode of expression that inspire the present in its efforts to define the future. This is not surprising. In this period of obsession with the material successes of a hegemonic Western culture, the power of the African culture is not to be underestimated. The contemporary twentieth century of that Western culture owes much to African art. Whether in influencing the cubism of Picasso and Braque or in transforming Western music, the influence of African art—traditional art in one case, contemporary African-American artists in the other—was enormous. The understanding of the African art collection at the World Bank must be seen in this context. The debts of the international artistic tradition to the liberating influence of African art is among the aspects of the history of African art ably chronicled in Professor Ekpo Eyo’s learned essay, “African Art from Past to Present.”

The Collection at the World Bank

It is primarily the expression of traditional art, from ritual masks to the objects of everyday use, that is found in the collection at the World Bank. The essay by Christa Clarke, “Constructing Culture: African Art and Society,” gives a knowledgeable review of this collection. The collection is a sampling of the Sub-Saharan treasure trove of traditional cultural expressions, from the Yoruba beaded dance panel (cat. #55) to the Kanaga dance mask of the Dogon in Mali (cat. #10), from the dress and regalia of Cameroon (cat. #62) to the sheepskin skirts of Tanzanian women (cat. #140). This collection contains many examples of the basic material that is so essential to the African sense of identity but that also qualifies as world art by its enormous influence on all twentieth century art.

We must be aware that these objects, as in all collections, whether in developmental institutions or museums, have been decontextualized. They were created by artists who shared a code with the users or viewers of that object, whether in ritual, such as the kindombolo masks of Congo (cat. #67) used in initiation ceremonies for Pende boys, or in the decoration of the objects of everyday use, such as a headrest from Kenya (cat. #144) or a stool from Nigeria (cat. #25). The viewers of the current collection do not necessarily share this code.

Let me expand on a general point. When talking about art—about cultural expressions—we cannot take the work out of its societal context. It has to be
seen as part and parcel of a social context. Whatever the work or the visible manifestation that the society has produced—be it a legal code, or a piece of architecture, or a painting, or an artifact, or music, or dance—it has to be seen first within an immediate context that defines the discourse, the style, and the code within which people interpret the work; and the broader societal context that defines the way of life and the system of production. Any attempt to remove a cultural expression, such as taking a piece of art out of its society and context in Africa and putting it in a location in Washington, D.C., voids it of its social context. Interpretations based on such dislocated images tend to be shallow.

Nevertheless, despite these reservations, the World Bank is infinitely richer for having such a collection and for having located it primarily in the building in which most of the staff working on the problems of Africa are located. Here it serves as a constant reminder of the rich culture of the clients we seek to serve. The fecundity of the expressions, the powerful simplicity of the designs, or the bold colors and textures that were employed by these unknown artists of yore ignites the imagination. These works are not just pleasing decor; they are perpetual lessons of Africa's vibrancy and depth.

**To the future**

This collection has concentrated more on the traditional expressions of the past—from ceremonial weapons of hunting or war (cat. #98 and #99) that have been transformed into bridewealth payments (cat. #100-104) to the masks of ritual and dance (cat. #66), to the objects of everyday use (cat. #39-44). A future expansion of the collection should include the works of contemporary artists in Africa, those who define the legacy of the future by their works, those who create the signs and symbols of the age and charge them with meaning. Theirs is the contemporary African world with all its ambiguities and its uncertainties. It is a world of transition from a long bygone and mythical past through the centuries of deprivation and destruction caused by slavery and colonialism, through the recent past of incomplete independence and betrayed dreams. But it is also a past that bears witness to the successful fight for independence, to broad solidarity against apartheid, to artistic vigor, to a profound humanism that transcends the immediate. It challenges a world that has lost its will to really live the faith of caring and solidarity that so many of our universal declarations of common humanity proclaim. African artists today are forging out of that legacy of pain and sorrow, out of that legacy of exhilaration and self-assertion, a new cultural expression for an even richer African artistic future.

Their work is challenged by the artistic legacy of their forebears to be as good and as effective as the latter's. That artistic legacy of the past is the one captured in the collection at the World Bank.
That legacy is also a challenge for the development practitioners at the World Bank, and their colleagues from Africa and elsewhere who visit the collection. It is a challenge to be as imaginative, as decisive, as profound, as bold, as sensitive, as caring, and as effective in the work for the development of Africa as these unknown artists have been in their own work, which survives to enrich us all today. It is a challenge that should reinvigorate the dedication of us all, just as it enriches the eye and the mind, speaking of vibrant yesterdays and victorious tomorrows.

Ismail Serageldin is Vice President for Special Programs at the World Bank and Chairman of the World Bank Art Committee.
Art history in Africa has a long and distinguished past, one that scholars today are only just exploring. The earliest art found in Africa were the engravings and paintings done on the surfaces of rock shelters that likely served as ritual foci for prehistoric peoples. Located in both the Sahara region and in southern Africa, the beginnings of these evocative works date to roughly 10,000 years ago in the Sahara desert and 27,000 ago in southern Africa. The artists of southern Africa were the San people, the original inhabitants of a region extending from Zimbabwe to the tip of the southern coast. Their engravings and paintings depict the animals they hunted and scenes of their ritual activities. The Saharan rock art depicts archaic animals from the paleolithic or early stone period and cattle herded in later times.

The art of ancient Egypt, while too vast a subject to deal with in this book, should also be considered as part of Africa’s art history. Although there was significant interchange between Egypt and the Mediterranean and Asian worlds, Egypt is also a part of the African continent, both physically and culturally. It is pointless, however, to promote the arts of Africa on the back of Egypt, because within Sub-Saharan Africa, there exists enough works of art that she can justly be proud of: the exquisite and sophisticated Nok terra-cottas created between the second half of the last century B.C. and the third century A.D. in what is now Nigeria; the Djenne terracotta masterpieces, made between the eleventh and the fifteenth century in today’s Mali, represented in this catalog by the lovely pedestal bowl (cat. #5) probably used in ceremonials and the beautiful red painted terra-cotta vessels with long slender necks (figure 2.1). From the hoard of intricately cast and decorated bronzes excavated from Igbo Ukwu in eastern Nigeria, and dated to the ninth century A.D., we know that the Igbo people had a complete mastery of metalworking and a great sense of beauty. In Ile-Ife, the sacred city of the Yoruba people, which flourished between the eleventh and the fifteenth centuries, we find art whose serenity and reality was so impressive that the German ethnologist, Leo Frobenius, believed that the city was at one time colonized by the Greeks. And when the Benin bronzes and ivories that were plundered by the British marines in 1897 reached Europe, their beauty and technical excellence so impressed the German scholar, Felix
Figure 2.1
Bottles
Mali, Djenne
(Inland Niger Delta Region)
11th–15th century
(cat. # 6–9)
von Luschan, that he wrote of them: “Cellini himself could not have made better casts, nor anyone else before or since to the present day.” (Roth, 1903; von Luschan 1919).

These great masterpieces of antiquity are only a small part of African cultural achievement. Yet despite this impressive history of artistic expression, there was a time not long ago when Africans were regarded by Europeans as a people without a past, with neither history nor art. Europeans first learned of Africa through the Greeks who established a colony at Cyrenaica (today’s Libya) in the seventh century B.C., and later, when Alexander the Great conquered Egypt. The Greeks were followed by the seafaring Phoenicians from the coast of Tyre and Siddon who established several important trading posts, including Carthage, by the ninth century B.C. in the Maghreb (now Tunisia), Algeria, and Morocco. By the second century B.C. the Roman empire had spread beyond the imperial frontiers and absorbed Carthage along with other Phoenician posts. The Roman empire collapsed in the seventh century when North Africa was overrun by the Arabs who have remained there until today. These histories fit the northern part of Africa into the Mediterranean profile, while the rest of Africa remained a “dark continent” to Europe.

**Europeans “Discover” African Art**

Coastal Africa was explored in the fifteenth century, when the Portuguese spearheaded several voyages in search of a searoute to the Orient. They were followed in the next century by the Dutch, the British and the French who, along with the Portuguese, established trading posts on the African coasts along the Atlantic sea-board and the Indian Ocean. The European traders were interested in the gold, ivory and spices, which they found in abundance, and also sought to trade in human beings, transporting them to work on the “New World” plantations. While in Africa, European traders became interested in ivory objects carved for local use, and they commissioned artists in Sierra Leone and the Benin area of Nigeria to create carvings for them. These works, now known as the Afro-Portuguese ivories, consisting of saltcellars in the form of European prototypes, oliphants or hunting horns, spoons, and forks, were displayed in the “cabinets de curiosités” of the papal collections and royal castles of southern Europe. The painter Albrecht Durer is known to have bought two of these commissioned works in 1520/21, although their origins were misattributed to India and Turkey.

African material culture was not widely known in Europe and the Americas, however, until the second half of the nineteenth century. The birth of the Industrial Revolution created the need for the importation of raw materials for the factories in Europe and also the need for external
markets for the manufactured goods. The European powers were now forced to penetrate the interior of Africa to buy and sell. The scramble to secure spheres of influence led to the partitioning of Africa among the western powers in 1884/5. A by-product of this situation was that large numbers of African artifacts were collected by both traders and missionaries and exported to Europe.

The nineteenth century also witnessed the rise of anthropology as an academic discipline that treated human societies as having progressed through a series of evolutionary stages. For example, in his Ancient Society, the American lawyer-turned ethnologist, Lewis M. Morgan (1877), thought that human societies had progressed through three stages: savagery, barbarism, and civilization. Western societies were the civilized groups who occupied the top of this hierarchy, while the non-Western peoples were the savages at the base. With the spread of western education around the world, this classification of human societies gained a global dimension.

The taxonomic system that placed African societies at the lowest rung of human development was extended to the visual culture of the continent. Early anthropologists considered African artifacts, many of which had exaggerated proportions and curious combinations of human and animal forms, as “proof” of the primitive nature of human development. The artifacts were never considered as art because “primitive” people were believed to be incapable of the noble process of creativity. Such an attitude should not be surprising because the prevailing artistic taste in Europe at this time was realism, that is, the representation of forms as they actually appeared in nature. Thus, many, like the art historian Leonard Adam, believed that “primitive” African art was not so much an art, but an unsuccessful attempt to produce one (Adam 1940).

In truth, African artists often deliberately cast aside realism to relish the depiction of abstract images reflecting unknown and mythical worlds of their own. In addition, African artists employ certain conventions for the purpose of emphasis, suppressing what they believe to be unessential and exaggerating what they believe to be essential. For example, when an African artist depicts a human head out of proportion with the rest of the body, it is not because he does not know human anatomy. The deliberate exaggeration of the head reflects the artist's desire to underscore that it is the seat of reason. The African artist had this freedom to interpret the human body or object as he wished, a freedom that his European counterpart lacked. Yet, for most Europeans, the nonrepresentational nature of African sculpture was seen as “primitive.” Consequently, African art was placed at the lowest rung of artistic development, while Western art occupied its pinnacle.
Nonetheless, despite its given low status, it was this same strange "primitive" art that captured the imagination of European artists at the beginning of this century. Seeking an escape from their own rigid conventions, French artists like Maurice Vlaminck, André Derain, Pablo Picasso, Henri Matisse, Amedeo Modigliani, and others, began to collect and to copy African art forms. Meanwhile in Germany, new art groups such as Die Brücke in Dresden and Der Blaue Reiter in Munich were formed, greatly influenced by conceptions of the "primitive." The practices of those new movements were to change the course of world art during the twentieth century.

The liberating force of African sculpture was soon felt across Europe and in the United States. Sculptors like Jacob Epstein in England, Paul Klee in Switzerland, Constantin Brancusi in Romania, and Jacques Lipchitz in Lithuania, were now drawing inspiration for their creations from African art forms. In the United States, admirers of African art included Max Weber and John Graham, among others. Galleries that displayed African art, in addition to modern art, were opened by Robert Coady, Alfred Stieglitz, and Marius de Zayas. Because of the impact made by the African art exhibition at Stieglitz's "291" gallery in New York, The World magazine section of January 24, 1915, proclaimed: "African Savages: the First Futurists," a summation of the scenario of the time. Finally, there were collectors of African art like Albert Barnes and Alain Locke in the United States, who helped to popularize African art in their collections. Admirers of African art eschewed the context of African art and extolled its formal qualities. This attitude was clearly evident in Carl Einstein's *Negerplastik* of 1915, which maintained that seeking the meaning of African art was superfluous and constituted an impediment to its aesthetic appreciation.

**Exploring Art and Culture**

The proper study of African art began when anthropologists began to conduct field research to back up their theoretical frameworks. The American Melville Herskovits, for example, conducted field research among the Fon people of Dahomey (now the Republic of Benin) in 1931, paying attention to the relationship between art and culture. Herskovits (1938) was the first anthropologist to use the concept of "culture area" in the study of African art, in which he divided the continent into ten cultural units for this purpose; the French Marcel Griaule undertook a series of field trips to the Dogon country in western Sudan in 1931, 1935, and 1937 and made an intensive study of all the religions of the Dogon that he brought to bear on the interpretation of the arts; and the Belgian Frans Oloiechts (1959) studied the people and the arts of the peoples of the then Belgian Congo.
(now the Democratic Republic of the Congo) noting their stylistic differences. All these men encouraged their students to carry out fieldwork by direct observation and participation in the activities of the people whom they studied, a method that has proved invaluable and is yet to be replaced. What we know and do today in African art studies follow the basic tenets that those early scholars preached and practiced.

Although Western scholarship on African art has grown immensely in the post–World War II era, the description “primitive” that is applied to non-Western art has stuck in the minds of some people, irrespective of its objectionable connotation. Some scholars still defend its use, rather paternalistically extolling the term as noble and lofty, while others have argued frivolously for its retention because changing it after its long-time usage would create problems. In 1984 the Museum of Modern Art in New York City again organized an exhibition, curated by William Rubin “Primitivism in 20th Century Art,” that demonstrated the affinities between twentieth-century Western art and the arts of the non-Western world. This exhibition drew much criticism because of the use of the word “primitive”, a term Rubin justified as referring to a “movement” and not to African art. Yet it was freely used throughout the catalogue to refer directly to non-Western works. Susan Blier has pointed out that although the use of the term “primitive” is merely semantic, such use really lies at the heart of African art not being accepted within the field of art history. Furthermore, it was clear that the juxtaposition of some of the more aesthetically satisfying African works with their inferior European copies in Rubin’s show was designed to promote superior African art, not on its own merit comparatively speaking, but on the back of the inferior European copies.

Another misnomer commonly applied to African art is the word “tribal” a term William Fagg advocated in his influential publication: Tribes and Forms in African Art (1982). In the book, Fagg identified a particular art style with a particular “tribe,” yet the word “tribe” has yet to acquire universal definition by either anthropologists or art historians.

The tenet of “tribal art” is that each “tribe” is an artistic universe itself and that the work of one “tribe” is not understood or appreciated by another “tribe.” Faced with considerable criticism, Fagg affirmed, “What is not tribal is not African.” It is true, of course, that African artists worked within certain stylistic conventions that permit us to attribute their works to their groups or individuals within their group. This fact has led to the characterization of African art as stereotyped and unchanging, and this may have led Fagg to his conviction. This is incorrect, however, because, within these conventions, the African artist practices many innovations, so much so that no two works are ever exactly the same.
External Influences: Transgressing Boundaries

That African art is static is debunked by the nature of its eclecticism. For example, where the Islamic religion had penetrated an area, its influence is reflected in certain art works. The carved wooden screens from Morocco (figures 2.2 and 2.3) made in the nineteenth or twentieth century were traditionally used on the windows of Muslim residences to allow women within to view the events on the street without being seen themselves. It is carved in the Islamic tradition of geometric forms without any figurative content. Another example is the marabout or holy man prayer board (figure 2.4) that includes Koranic instructional texts in Arabic and nonfigurative designs. The widespread influence of Islam on African art is eloquently documented by the noted scholar René A. Bravman (1973) in his book *Open Frontiers: The Mobility of Art in Black Africa* where many more examples will be found.

Western influence may be seen on the two high-backed chairs made in European fashion, one by the Asante of Ghana and the other by the Chokwe of Angola. The Asante chair or asipim (figure 2.5) is made of wood, leather, and brass furniture tacks, probably during the nineteenth century, and would be used by a chief on state occasions. The Chokwe chair (figure 2.6) was also a prestige item made after a European model to which were added ancestral images and scenes from Chokwe daily life, in this case, the birth of a child (figure 2.6a).

The fact that African art consists of a great diversity of styles is generally known, but to assume that these styles are confined to particular groups is incorrect. African art styles vary between ethnic groups and within each group. Individual artists are known to have changed their styles within their lifetime. In the last three decades scholars have devoted a good deal of attention to this subject, so much so that the authoritative *African Arts* magazine devoted one of its issues to demonstrating that styles cut across the so-called tribal boundaries. It is, therefore, no longer necessary to maintain the epithet “tribal” when referring to African art, and to continue to do so is to insist on dividing the arts of humankind into arbitrary and prejudiced groups. Art is a universal phenomenon, a response by any creative individual to the stimulus provided by his or her environment no matter the race, color or creed of the artist.

Unfortunately this humanistic art is dying out because of the inevitable changes that began with colonialism and Western education. These influences have worked hard to eliminate traditional African beliefs and concepts that provided the need for these works to be created. For instance, the missionaries regarded African sculptures as idols that must be consigned to the bonfire, while the educators considered them the primitive products of a savage society. Consequently, the first generation of Western-educated
Figure 2.2
Screen
Morocco
19th century
(cat. # 2)

Figure 2.3
Screen
Morocco
19th century
(cat. #3)
Figure 2.4
Koranic prayer board
Maghreb
19th–20th century
(cat. # 4)

Left, Figure 2.5
Chair (Asipim)
Ghâni, Asante
19th century
(cat. # 47)

Right, Figure 2.6
Chair
Angola and D. R. Congo, Chokwe
20th century
(cat. # 68)

Figure 2.6a (detail)
Chair
Angola and D. R. Congo, Chokwe
20th century
(cat. # 68)
Africans were anxious to disassociate themselves from "idolatry" and their "primitive" past. Therefore they remained, even after the end of colonialism, oblivious or even hostile to their past, thus helping to perpetuate the colonial attitude. Happily, however, somewhere along the line, other Africans began to query the contradiction provided by the fact that these "primitive" and "idolatrous" objects are highly sought after in the Western world. One result of the query was the resurgence of interest in the African past for the purpose of reconstructing the African identity. But this task is enormous and requires a concerted effort through archaeological and ethnographic activities and the integration of culture into the educational system. The noted British archaeologist, Sir Mortimer Wheeler, once remarked on seeing the bronzes of Ife "When the new Africa finds the moment and the mood for the discovery of its own past, here are matters which, properly understood, will provide a new chapter to world-history." (quoted in Willett 1967). The reconstruction of the African past should therefore be of concern to the entire world.

A New Artistic Renaissance

The future of African art is bright because many institutions are establishing new museums dedicated to its study and enjoyment. The last decade has seen the birth of the National Museum of African Art in Washington D.C., the Museum for African Art in New York City, and the Dapper Museum in Paris. American universities are establishing new departments for the study and award of higher degrees, up to Ph.D. level in African art history, and professional bodies like the Art Council of the African Studies Association are promoting scholarly activities. More than ever before, very exquisite publications on African art are seeing the light of day. There seems to be excitement everywhere, yet there is still a long way to go before African art takes its proper place in the mainstream art world. If the trends observed above continue, it will not be too long before African art accomplishes its role in restoring human dignity in Africa.

We should not regret the past but should be happy that the present is witnessing a new period of artistic renaissance of the kind that takes cognizance of the past and looks to the future. Many contemporary artists are drawing upon their African cultural heritage by creating works in a range of media not seen in the traditional art of their forefathers. Bruce Onobrakpeya of the Zaria Art School in Nigeria has developed the technique of deep etching, which adds a sculptural quality to his two-dimensional prints that he employs in rendering works inspired by the culture of the Benin Kingdom and his urobe ancestry (figures 2.7 and 2.8). The Congolese artist Kolwesi Kanyemba, using acrylic on canvas, seeks inspiration in the everyday world, as demonstrated by his depiction of carved gourds and other African cooking utensils (figures 2.9
Figure 2.7
Bruce Onobrakpeya
Playtime, 1973
(cat. # 160)

Figure 2.8
Bruce Onobrakpeya
Landscape with Trees, 1973
(cat. # 161)
Figure 2.9
Kolwesi Kanyemba
Untitled, 1982
(cat. 155)

Figure 2.10
Kolwesi Kanyemba
Untitled, 1980
(cat. # 154)
Top left, Figure 2.11  
Kolwesi Kanyemba  
Untitled, 1985  
(cat. # 150)

Top right, Figure 2.13  
Kolwesi Kanyemba  
Untitled, 1985  
(cat. # 151)

Bottom left, Figure 2.12  
Kolwesi Kanyemba  
Birds and Antelope, 1982  
(cat. # 152)

Bottom right, Figure 2.14  
Kolwesi Kanyemba  
Crocodile with Heron, 1980  
(cat. # 153)
and 2.10) and the fauna of his environment (figures 2.11, 2.12, 2.13, and 2.14).

Artists such as Vumikosi Zulu (figure 2.15) and John Muafangejo (figures 2.16, 2.17, 2.18 and 2.19), both of whom were trained in the graphic arts at Rorke’s Drift in South Africa, have adopted the expressive medium of woodcut to portray scenes from daily life, some of which have subtle political undertones.

Although these new artists are experiencing a different world, it is one that has not completely broken from the tradition. It is good that they wear two faces like the Roman god Janus: one looking into the past, the other toward the present. In so doing they can build bridges both ways for us, so that we can preserve our identity, while participating in the present. A new gallery for African contemporary art opened at the National Museum of African Art in Washington D.C., in October 1997, in the same place as the better known ancient art that is on display. This is how it should be, and it augurs well for the future.

It is a pity that, today, when the African nations yearn for development aid they generally think about technology and invariably exclude culture or the development of the human being. Our educational system has become an unthinking routine and we are producing highly educated but depersonalized citizens. Technology should be the weft and culture the woof of the fabric of any society, for in a world troubled by fear, prejudice and bigotry, divided by wealth and poverty, and torn by ideology, racism, and infinite problems, we must seek a new meaningful consciousness in the sphere of culture that embraces the arts. We have to search for our roots and identify ourselves with our past achievements, convinced that we are rooted in a foundation that is solid and irrevocable, for culture, unlike technology, speaks to the soul and we should be ready for this dialogue.

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This catalogue features selected works from the collection of the World Bank. Presented here in a cultural context, African art is shown as not only reflecting societal concerns but also actively engaging in the creation and maintenance of religious, political, and social systems. The selected objects showcase a broad range of object types and media, from metal currency to beaded regalia and apparel. These works are arranged thematically to provide a deeper understanding of the meanings and functions of African art within the societies that produced them. Art may represent African systems of belief, for example, or may be directed to the spiritual realm, in the service of gods or ancestors. On a human level, objects may be used to effect both political and personal power. Societal standards and ideals also can be imparted to members of a community through artistic expression. And dress and objects for personal use may reflect the social position of an individual, serving to define the self. These categories, it should be noted, are fluid. Many of the objects could be grouped differently, a fact that in itself testifies to the close integration of art and society in Africa.

While this essay focuses on the cultural aspects of African art, we must remember that the works themselves were created by individuals whose names, while lost to us today, were known and remembered within their respective societies. In Africa artists may be male or female, though their spheres of production are usually separated along gender lines. Wood carving and metalworking are typically the province of men while pottery and basketweaving generally are in the realm of women's art. Textiles are woven by both sexes, although aspects of their manufacture may be differentiated by gender. These artists, vested with the responsibility of visually interpreting the beliefs and aspirations in their communities, have had profound effects on African cultures.

**Representing Belief**

Religious beliefs may vary considerably, both among and within African cultures. Most societies believe in a creator god, though this god is rarely...
approached directly by worshippers. Instead, it is the lesser deities and spirits who, as intercessors between the human and the divine, are an important locus for the concentration of artistic energies. Among the Yoruba peoples of Nigeria such deities are honored individually by devotees who proclaim their affiliation through dress and regalia. The beaded dance panel or *yata* (figure 3.1) would be worn by priestesses at the annual festival for Osun, the river goddess. While the use of blue and gold beads on the panel alludes to Osun, other elements of design are associated with the thunder god Sango, mythic fourth king of the Oyo dynasty. Known for his mercurial temper, Sango is said to punish transgressors by hurling thunderbolts from the sky. On the dance panel, Sango’s powerful force is alluded to by repeated triangles, symbolizing thunderbolts, in the beadwork and in the four attachments to the base.

In addition to specific deities, many Africans believe in protective spirits who can manipulate the forces of nature. In Burkina Faso the Bwa and Nuna pay tribute to the invisible spirits in their environment by the performance of masquerades at initiations and funerals. Plank masks, like this one identified as a butterfly (figure 3.2) and that representing an owl (figure 3.3) feature zoomorphic elements combined with geometric designs painted in red, black and white. The patterns are said to symbolize complex cosmological beliefs with multiple layers of meaning that can be fully revealed to the initiated only. The masks are owned and performed by dancers with their bodies concealed by raffia fiber, some of which may still be seen in figure 3.2.

Within the realm of the supernatural, ancestors are particularly revered. Spirits of the deceased are believed to have the ability to mediate between
Figure 3.2
Mask
Burkina Faso, Bwa or Nuna
20th century
(cat. # 18)

Figure 3.3
Mark
Burkina Faso, Bwa or Nuna
20th century
(cat. # 20)
the supernatural and human realms, maintaining balance and order within a community. The passage of the deceased to the realm of ancestors is often marked by the performance of masquerades. Among the Dogon of Mali, the men’s Awa society is responsible for funeral and death anniversary ceremonies called Dama that mark the end of the mourning period for the recently deceased. Over the course of several days, dancers appear wearing wooden masks, which are considered the material repository for the soul of the deceased. The masked dancers wind their way through the village, escorting the spirits of the dead from the community to the supernatural world. More than 70 different types of masks perform, including kanaga (figure 3.4). Kanaga masks appear in large numbers, danced by men additionally embellished with cowrie shell bodices, fiber skirts and ruffs around the wrists and elbows. The double-barred cross superstructure on the wooden mask has been interpreted as either a bird or, on a more esoteric level, as the creative force of god.

Once firmly ensconced in the spiritual world, ancestors may be praised and petitioned through yearly ceremonies. In Nigeria the Igbo honor their collective male and female ancestors by performing a masquerade called mmuo. Embodying beautiful maiden spirits, mmuo maskers wear colorfully appliqued full-body costumes with either a fiber mask (figure 3.5), or
a white-faced wooden mask. The linear patterns embellishing the costume replicate the female body decoration among the Igbo called ulti and convey standards of feminine beauty.

While collective ancestors are appealed to through regularly held ceremonies and frequent ritual acts, a specific ancestor may actually approach a living relative with a request for commemoration. Among the Giriama of Kenya, for example, a senior male of a household would commission a carved funerary post after being visited by the spirit of the deceased. These funerary posts (figure 3.6), called kigango (vigango, plural), are considered to be receptacles for the soul of the deceased and would have been erected in front of the family house. While intended to depict an individual, these posts are not meant to be realistic portraits. Instead, they are typically quite abstract with a circular, two-dimensional head and a rectangular body embellished only with incised geometric designs.

The tradition of carving monumental wooden grave posts to honor the dead is also found among the Sakalava on the island of Madagascar. A sculpted figure, such as figure 3.7, would typically be part of a larger sculptural program that includes other human figures, birds, and cattle. Set at the corners and midway points of a fence enclosing the tomb, the post’s weathered appearance reflects a past subjected to the elements of nature.
Since not all the deceased are awarded the privilege of visual representation, the commemoration of an ancestor through artistic expression typically signifies that that person was an important and contributing member of society.

Beyond paying tribute to a deceased individual, representing a specific ancestor can provide a sense of group identity among descendants of the deceased. In Democratic Republic of Congo clans of the Mbole each carry the totemic name of their founding ancestor. These ancestors are visually represented by the abstract emblems that are woven on fiber mats or losa (figure 3.8). Displayed during important ceremonies such as initiation and funerals, the mat would eventually be buried with elder members of the clan.

Effecting Power

While the spiritual realm of gods and ancestors may be a guiding force for artistic creation, human power and authority is made manifest through visual representation in a number of ways. In Burkina Faso Mossi rulers display male and female figural sculptures outside the entrance to their compound. The sculptures are intended as expressions of political power, solidifying the ruling prerogative of the nobles (nakomse) who founded the Mossi states in the fifteenth century by subjugating smaller ethnic groups in the region. Depicted with the sagittal crest worn by women in the Mossi region, this female figure (figure 3.9) may represent a chief’s wife.

In the numerous small kingdoms of the Cameroon Grassfields political identity is expressed through dress and regalia. The Bali tunic (figure 3.10) is an example of royal dress meant to be worn by a high-ranking...
Figure 3.9
Female figure
Burkina Faso, Mossi
late 19th century
(cat. # 22)
chief. The use of elaborate embroidery on tunics became popular in the nineteenth century, possibly inspired by the dress of Hausa traders who plied their wares throughout the region. The designs, however, are local in origin. This tunic features a number of animal motifs commonly seen in Grassfields iconography, such as a frog and a reptile. A reptile, possibly a chameleon, also figures as a motif in a beaded footrest (figure 3.11) used by a ruler among the neighboring Bamileke. The footrest makes lavish use of colorful beadwork, a luxury material typically found in leadership arts.

Blue and white resist-dyed cloth (figure 3.12) from the kingdom of Bamum in the Cameroon Grassfields has a dual function as political icon
and medium of exchange. Draped behind a Fon's throne to form a backdrop for the display of royal regalia, the tapestry's geometric designs are read as the ground plan of the palace. Such cloth began to be produced at the turn of the century in Fumban under the rule of Sultan Njoya and quickly became a popular exchange gift between chiefs.

Like the Bamum cloth, raffia cloth produced by the Kuba of Congo may also function as a medium of exchange. Woven by men and embellished by women, Kuba textiles demonstrate a range of techniques, including appliqué, patchwork, and embroidery. Small embroidered cloths (figure 3.13) are used as gifts and may also serve as compensation in legal settlements. The complex patterns on the cloths, woven by women using natural and dyed fibers, are named designs that may have philosophical, historical, or legendary significance.
An equally elaborate artistic tradition is found in the Asante kingdom in Ghana, where fine textiles woven of silk are a highly visible symbol of leadership. Prestige cloth typically includes silk threads in its manufacture and its use is rigidly controlled by the Asantehene, or king. Produced mainly in the city of Bonwire, narrow strips are woven by men and then sewn together to create large cloths. Design elements on the individual pieces are thus joined to create an overall pattern, such as the square decorative units that combine for a checkerboard effect (figure 3.14). These patterns may have complex cultural associations or specific historic references. The textile with a warp pattern of red, gold, and green stripes (figure 3.15), for example, refers to an eighteenth century civil war between two competing clans.
Throughout Africa metal currency is a tangible manifestation of economic power. The Nkutu manufacture U-shaped bars of copper called boloko (figure 3.16) used as currency among many peoples in the northcentral area of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Iron forged into spearheads (figures 3.17, 3.17a) are found in the Stanley Falls region of northern Congo where they are exchanged for cattle. Less portable but visually stunning are the large iron spearheads (figure 3.18) created by the Turumbu of the Democratic Republic of Congo for use as bridewealth payments and for the purchase of canoes.

*Figure 3.16*
Currency (Boloko)
D.R. of Congo, Nkutu
19th century
(cat. # 94)

*Figure 3.17 and 3.17a*
Spearhead currency
D.R. of Congo, Northcentral region
19th century
(cat. # 98 and 99)

*Figure 3.18*
Spearhead currency (Ngbele)
D.R. of Congo, Turumbu
19th century
(cat. # 100-04)
Structuring Society

In many African societies artistic expression is a vehicle through which societal standards and norms of behavior are imparted to members of the community. The arts of performance are particularly effective in this regard, allowing for the acting out of various social roles, both good and bad. Among the Bozo and neighboring groups in the Segou region of Mali, puppet theater employs satire and role recognition to extol traditional standards of social behavior. Members of male youth organizations called ton stage performances using puppets that represent a range of characters from farmers to foreigners. The long hair on this puppet (figure 3.19) may identify it as a water spirit, a commonly depicted figure.

A variety of social roles are also represented in the masking tradition called Goli that is found among a number of cultures in Côte d’Ivoire. Originating among the Wan, Goli masquerades were adopted by the neighboring Baule around the turn of the century. The Goli dance series is complex, involving as many as four different pairs of masks. The smaller face mask (figure 3.20), with its finely rendered features and sleek, curving horns, incorporates both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic elements. Such masks would be used to dramatize village life in their performances by presenting well-defined social roles.
Societal rules and ideals of comportment are often taught to young women and men through initiation ceremonies. In the Democratic Republic of Congo, Pende boys are initiated into society during *mukanda*, and their period of seclusion and education is enlivened by the performance of masquerades. Many of the masks portray village characters who impart moral lessons to the young initiates by enacting both positive and negative behavior. One such mask is *Kindombolo* (figure 3.21), identified by the perforations of the cheeks depicting smallpox scarring. *Kindombolo* is a trickster who introduces an antisocial element to the initiation ceremonies. Other masks used during *mukanda* may have more cosmological significance. The disk-shaped *Gitenga* mask (figure 3.22), for example, is said to refer to the sun, symbolizing both life and rebirth.
Some societies deliberately cultivate and sanction certain behavioral traits through the performance of masquerades. The Salampasu of the Democratic Republic of Congo use three different types of masks during the initiation of young men into society. These masks represent hunters, warriors and chiefs and may be constructed of fiber, wood, or as in these examples (figures 3.23 and 3.24) of copper-plated wood. The formal elements of such masks emphasize ferocity and aggressiveness, traits that are valued among men in that society. Here, the bulging forehead and bared teeth lends a war-like quality to the face that is enhanced by the addition of sheets of metal, considered to be an especially powerful media. The fierce characteristics of the mask however, are stylistically tempered by the carefully constructed balls of furled cane that form the coiffure.

The need to reinforce traditional values within a community may arise during a particularly difficult time. During the colonial period in Côte d’Ivoire the shifting social and political climate of the 1930s led to the introduction of the Bedu masking tradition among the Nafana in the Bondoukou region. The masquerade, which replaced an earlier masking tradition called Sakrobindi, asserts traditional values and is concerned with issues of human survival. Performed during a month-long ceremony, Bedu masks are danced in male-female pairs. While masks surmounted with disk shapes have been identified as female, those with horns, as seen in this example (figure 3.25), may be male.
Figure 3.23
Mask
D.R. of Congo, Salampasu
19th-20th century
(cat. # 69)

Figure 3.24
Mask
D.R. of Congo, Salampasu
19th-20th century
(cat. # 70)
Defining the Self

Reflecting social roles and standards, dress is an important vehicle for defining the individual. Clothes that serve to conceal the body may also reveal a multitude of information about the wearer. In northern Nigeria men's embroidered gowns often exhibit designs of Islamic derivation, the predominant religion in the area. The geometric embroidery on this Nupe gown (figure 3.26) has symbolic value. The attenuated triangular shapes, for example, are referred to as knives and the cluster of five squares represents five houses. In combination, these patterns are quite similar to those found on Koranic boards.

Among the Kuba of the Democratic Republic of Congo, social position is conveyed through the wearing of raffia cloth textiles. Long, wrap-around garments made of cut-pile cloth (figure 3.27), having a texture resembling velvet, are worn as prestige attire by both men and women for important ceremonies such as weddings and funerals. Other ritual attire include long appliquéd skirt panels constructed of individual panels of raffia cloth (figure 3.29). Royal women have the privilege of wearing a more elaborate overskirt featuring a delicately patterned cut-pile border with a flounced edge (figure 3.28). Given the communal production of such textiles, in which many women may contribute to its embroidery, one can determine not only the wearer's status in the community but also her or his social relations.

Figure 3.26
Gown
Nigeria, Nupe
19th century
(cat. #26)
Figure 3.27
Skirt panel
D. R. of Congo, Kuba
19th century
(cat. # 71)

Figure 3.28
Skirt panel
D. R. of Congo, Kuba
19th century
(cat. # 73)

Figure 3.29
Ceremonial Skirt panel
D. R. of Congo, Kuba
19th century
(cat. # 72)
In southern and eastern Africa beaded garments convey information about social status and also ethnic identity. Among the Maasai of Tanzania a bride would be given a sheepskin skirt embroidered with beaded designs (figure 3.31) on her wedding day. Worn wrapped around the waist with the scalloped edges hanging to the ankles in back, the skirt reveals a complex system of color theory in the seemingly decorative designs sewn to the hide. The Maasai assign specific values to individual colors and use "strong" and "weak" colors in alternating succession. While beads of red, black, and white were the typical choice in the past, the artist's repertoire has now expanded to a veritable rainbow of colors since the beginning of this century.

Ndebele women of South Africa began to create beadwork as a means of proclaiming their cultural identity after a forced resettlement in the late nineteenth century. These beaded garments with geometric designs are also used to signal the significant stages of a woman's life. A five-paned beaded apron called *jocolo* (figure 3.30) is an important part of a bride's attire on her wedding day and would be worn until the delivery of her first child. The cloak or *linaga* (figure 3.32) would also be worn by the bride on her wedding day. Subsequently, it would be part of a woman's attire for other celebratory occasions in her life, such as a son's initiation. While the geometric designs featured in Ndebele beadwork are believed to have symbolic value, specific meanings for the abstract patterns are unknown.

Objects associated with personal attire can reflect and reinforce an individual's identity and importance in society. Despite their utilitarian nature, they may also demonstrate a wide range of artistic invention. The Mangbetu headrest from Congo (figure 3.33), designed to protect an elaborate coiffure, features dual-toned wood that enhances its fluid lines. While the head would be cradled in the gentle curve of the headrest, it also functions as a box in which to store personal treasures. The simple yet elegant form of headrests
Figure 3.31
Married Woman's skirt
Tanzania and Kenya, Masaii
20th century
(cat. # 140)
Figure 3.32
Beaded cloak (linaga)
South Africa, Ndebele
19th-20th century
(cat. # 123)
from Kenya (figures 3.34 and 3.35) have a practical side as well: they are easily transported for use as pillows by the pastoral Pokot peoples. Combs are used mainly by women as implements for the complex art of hairdressing and as ornaments to adorn the hair. They may assume a simple form, like those crafted by the Mongo of northwestern Democratic Republic Congo (figure 3.36) be more elaborate, as in the rich repertoire of traditional iconography displayed by Akan combs from Ghana (figure 3.37).
Figure 3.37
Ornamental combs
Ghana, Akan
Mid-20th century
(cat. # 39–44)
Stools and chairs, while clearly functional, are also used to identify their owners as persons of rank. The low chair is found in many societies throughout Côte d'Ivoire and Liberia and is an important part of a man's personal property. Among the We of Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire, a low chair with a curved back (figure 3.38) would be owned by an elder male and borrowed by his granddaughters for their initiation ceremonies. A similar chair (figure 3.40) used by a Mano elder in Liberia signifies that the owner was a man highly respected and would be carried by an attendant. In Nigeria the eight-legged stool (figure 3.39) with incised geometric designs of Islamic derivation would identify its Nupe owner as a man of rank.

Containers, also serving a practical function, can reveal a wealth of information about identity and power through their production and use. In Democratic Republic of Congo carved wooden boxes (figure 3.41) are owned by Kuba men of achievement and used to store camwood powder. Geometric designs embellishing the boxes duplicate those found on Kuba textiles as well as the patterns of body scarification in the region. Among the Rotse in

Above left, Figure 3.38
Elder's chair
Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire, We
20th century
(cat. # 32)

Above center, Figure 3.40
Stool
Nigeria, Nupe
20th century
(cat. # 25)

Above right, Figure 3.39
Elder's chair
Liberia, Mano
20th century
(cat. # 30)

Left, Figure 3.41
Cosmetic Boxes
D. R. of Congo, Kuba
19th-20th century
(cat. # 84-86)
Zambia a lidded bowl with a handle of abstract design (figure 3.42) would be used to hold meat and vegetables. The serving implement also indirectly reinforces the ruling power in the region, as such bowls are carved by members of subjugated groups exclusively for use at the Rotse court. In Rwanda and Burundi the lidded baskets (figure 3.44) created by the Tutsi for storage reveal a different dynamic of power. Containers with delicate patterns in black are woven only by women of aristocracy: the complex and time-consuming nature of their manufacture indicates that the creators were women of leisure.

Figure 3.42
Bowl
Zambia, Rotse
19th century
(cat. #126)

Figure 3.43
Baskets
Rwanda & Burundi, Tutsi
19th century
(cat. #127-29)

Christa Clarke is an art historian specializing in African art.
Catalogue
NORTHERN AFRICA

1. **MOROCCO**
   Wall or tent hanging (*haiit*), 19th century
   Silk, silk damask
   111.8 x 523.1 cm.
   WB-151-07-86-C

2. **MOROCCO**
   Carved screen, 19th century
   Wood
   105.4 x 106.4 x 3.4 cm.
   WB-122-11-86-B

3. **MOROCCO**
   Carved screen, 19th century
   Wood
   104.8 x 104.6 x 5.6 cm.
   WB-123-11-86-B

4. **MAGHREB**
   Koranic prayer board, 19th-20th century
   Wood, ink
   48.9 x 27.8 x 1.9 cm.
   WB-191-16-86-C
SAHEL AND SAVANNAH

5  MALI, Djenne  
(Inland Niger Delta Region)  
Bowl with pedestal, 12th-15th century  
Fired clay  
H: 42.4 cm.; Ø 40 cm.  
WB-188-12-86-C

6  MALI, Djenne  
(Inland Niger Delta Region)  
Bottle, 11th-15th century  
Fired clay  
23.4 cm.; Ø 12.7 cm.  
WB-153-13-86-C

7  MALI, Djenne  
(Inland Niger Delta Region)  
Bottle, 11th-15th century  
Fired clay  
33.6 cm.; Ø 18.4 cm.  
WB-182-13-86-C

8  MALI, Djenne  
(Inland Niger Delta Region)  
Bottles, 11th-15th century  
Fired clay  
31.8 cm.; Ø 20.3 cm.  
WB-183-13-86-C

9  MALI, Djenne  
(Inland Niger Delta Region)  
Bottle, 11th-15th century  
Fired clay  
24.8 cm.; Ø 12.7 cm.  
WB-184-13-86-C
10 MALI, Dogon
Mask (Kanaga), 20th century
Wood, pigment, fiber
108.8 x 52.1 x 18 cm.
WB-125-10-86-C

11 MALI, Bamana
Doorlock, 19th century
Wood
39.6 x 40.6 x 6.4 cm.
WB-119-16-86-C

12 MALI, Bamana
Doorlock, 19th century
Wood
43.2 x 41.9 x 6.4 cm.
WB-120-16-86-C

13 MALI, Bozo
Pot, 19th or 20th century
Fired clay
H: 61 cm. Ø 41.9 cm.
WB-189-13-86C

14 MALI, Bozo
Puppet, late 19th-
early 20th century
Wood, metal, pigment,
fiber, cotton
78.7 x 30.5 x 13.9 cm.
WB-04-10-86-C
15 MALI, Malinke
Mask, 20th century
Wood, metal, pigment
60.5 x 21.6 x 13.3 cm.
PN # 300122

16 MALI, Malinke
Mask, 20th century
Wood, hair, metal, fiber, shells
100.8 x 34.2 x 15.2 cm.
PN # 206734

17 MALI, Malinke
Mask, 20th century
Wood, metal
48 x 18.2 x 11.9 cm.
PN# 345263

18 BURKINA FASO, Bwa or Nuna
Mask, probably 20th century
Wood, pigment, raffia
148.2 x 174.3 x 24.5 cm.
PN # 206738

19 BURKINA FASO, Bwa or Nuna
Mask, probably 20th century
Wood, pigment
36.8 x 124.4 x 19.1 cm.
PN # 201199

20 BURKINA FASO, Bwa or Nuna
Mask, probably 20th century
Wood, pigment
184.1 x 32.8 x 25.1 cm.
PN # 201200
21 BURKINA FASO, Bwa or Nuna
Antelope mask, 20th century
Wood, pigments
60.4 x 17.7 x 20.4 cm.
WB-126-10-86-C

22 BURKINA FASO, Mossi
Female figure, late 19th century
Wood
134.6 x 27.4 x 23.8 cm.
WB-73-03-86-B

23 BURKINA FASO, Lobi
Stool, 20th century
Wood
17.8 x 35.6 x 12.7 cm.
WB-186-11-86-C

24 BURKINA FASO
Shawl or wrapper, 20th century
Tie-dyed cotton, indigo dye
68.1 x 203.1 cm.
WB-134-15-86-C

25 NIGERIA, Nupe
Stool, 20th century
Wood
H: 25.7 cm; Ø 30.8 cm.
WB-185-11-86-C

26 NIGERIA, Nupe
Man’s gown, 19th century
Cotton, embroidery
129.6 x 243.8 cm.
WB-111-15-86-B
WEST AFRICA AND GUINEA COAST

27 GAMBIA
Necklace, early 20th century
Glass beads, fiber
L: 101.6 cm; Ø: 1.2 cm
WB 06-14-86-C

28 SIERRA LEONE, Mende
Blanket, 20th century (d: Cotton and wool
144.7 x 384.8 cm.
WB-14-07-86-B

29 SIERRA LEONE
Chief’s robe, early 20th century
Cotton, embroidery
160 x 217.1 cm.
WB-212-07-86-B

30 LIBERIA, Mano
Elder’s chair, 20th century
Wood
53 x 40.7 x 30.4 cm.
WB-187-11-86-C

31 LIBERIA and CÔTE D’IVOIRE,
Dan
Mask, 20th century
Wood, pigment, fiber, hair, bone
35 x 22.2 x 30.8 cm.
PN # 345369

32 LIBERIA and CÔTE D’IVOIRE,
We
Elder’s chair, 20th century
Wood
29.1 x 25.4 x 50.8 cm.
WB-130-11-86-C
33. **Côte d’Ivoire or Ghana**, Nafana Mask (Sakrobundi or Bedu), probably 20th century
Wood, pigment
123.4 x 50.2 x 8.1 cm.
PN # 206739

34. **Côte d’Ivoire**, Baule Mask, 20th century
Wood
33.3 x 13.2 x 9.6 cm.
WB-127-10-86-B

35. **Côte d’Ivoire**, Baule Part of a strip loom and loom beaters, 20th century
Wood, reed, fiber, cloth
54.6 x 27.9 x 7.5 cm.
WB-116-12-86-C

36. **Côte d’Ivoire**, Baule Part of a strip loom and loom beaters, 20th century
Wood, reed, fiber, cloth
22.2 x 18.4 x 5 cm.
WB-148-12-86-C

37. **Côte d’Ivoire**, Baule Part of a strip loom and loom beaters, 20th century
Wood, reed, fiber, cloth
19.1 x 20.3 x 5 cm.
WB-149-12-86-C

38. **Côte d’Ivoire**, Baule Part of a strip loom and loom beaters, 20th century
Wood, reed, fiber, cloth
24.8 x 25 x 5 cm.
WB-150-12-86-C
39 GHANA, Akan
Ornamental comb, mid-20th century
Wood
21.6 x 8.7 x 0.7 cm.
WB-27-12-86-C

40 GHANA, Akan
Ornamental comb, mid-20th century
Wood
23.9 x 7.4 x 1.1 cm.
WB-28-12-86-C

41 GHANA, Akan
Ornamental comb, mid-20th century
Wood
23.7 x 9.4 x 0.7 cm.
WB-29-12-86-C

42 GHANA, Akan
Ornamental comb, mid-20th century
Wood
22.1 x 10.3 x 1 cm.
WB-30-12-86-C

43 GHANA, Akan
Ornamental comb, mid-20th century
Wood
22.2 x 7.4 x 1 cm.
WB-31-12-86C

44 GHANA, Akan
Ornamental comb, mid-20th century
Wood
31.3 x 9.6 x 1 cm.
WB-32-12-86-C
45 GHANA, Asante
Ceremonial cloth (kente), late 19th century
Silk and cotton
193 x 297.2 cm.
WB-11-15-86-B

46 GHANA, Asante
Ceremonial cloth (kente), early 20th century
Silk and cotton
96.7 x 196.4 cm.
WB-12-15-86-C

47 GHANA, Asante
Chair (Asiwin), 19th century
Wood, leather, brass
71.7 x 40.4 x 39.4 cm.
WB-113-11-86-C

48 GHANA, Asante
Stool, 19th century
Wood
23.4 x 44.5 x 22.8 cm.
WB-114-11-86-C

49 GHANA, Fante
Figure (akuaba), early 20th century
Wood, beads
29.1 x 7.5 x 5 cm.
WB-10-10-86-C

50 GHANA, Ewe
Woman's ceremonial cloth
early 20th century
Cotton
120 x 178.4 cm.
WB-13-15-86-C
51 REPUBLIC of BENIN, Fon
Figure of a Rooster, late 19th-
20th century
Wood
30.4 x 14 x 45.7 cm.
WB-07-10-86-C

52 NIGERIA, Yoruba
Herbalist’s staff (Osanyin),
19th-20th century
Iron
48.3 cm.; Ø 43.2 cm.
W-50-10-86-B

53 NIGERIA, Yoruba
Herbalist’s staff (Osanyin),
19th-20th century
Iron
126.9 x 12.7 x 6.3 cm.
WB-05-10-86-C

54 NIGERIA, Yoruba
Beaded textile panels, la
19th-early 20th century
Cotton, beads
100.9 x 358.8 cm.
WB-160-07-86-C

55 NIGERIA, Yoruba
Beaded apron,
20th century
Glass beads on cotton
33.0 x 51.5 cm.
WB-24-15-86-B

56 NIGERIA, Igbo
Dance costume,
early 20th century
Cotton and wool
153.2 x 45.8 x 19.1 cm
WB-15-15-86-B
57 NIGERIA, Igbo (Akwete)
Narrow strip cloth, 20th century
Cotton
127 x 203.2 cm.
WB-138-07-86-C

58 CAMEROON, Grasslands
Beaded calabash with stopper,
early 20th century
Calabash, beads, cloth
H: 65.4; Ø: 22.8 cm.
WB-25-12-86-C

59 CAMEROON, Bamileke
Prestige stool, 19th century
Wood
41.9 x 39.4 x 35.6 cm.
WB-132-11-86-C

60 CAMEROON, Bamileke
Headdress, 20th century
Feathers, fabric, fiber, leather
Ø: 91.1 cm.; Depth: 45.6 cm.
WB-131-10-86-C

61 CAMEROON, Bali
Embroidered tunic, 20th century
Cotton, wool
113 x 87.6 cm.
WB-23-15-86-C

61 CAMEROON, Bamileke
Pair of animals, mid-20th century
Beads, cloth, wood
12.6 x 96.1 x 8.5 cm.
WB-26-16-86-C
63 a, b, c, d, e, f
CAMEROON, Bamum
Royal tapestry, early 20th c.
Cotton, indigo dyes
6 panels 82.6 x 146.4 cm. each
WB-147-07-86-C
64 CAMEROON, Mambila
Mask, 19th century
Wood, pigments
46 x 14.9 x 15.6 cm.
WB-128-10-86-B
CENTRAL AFRICA

65 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO, southwestern region
Hat, early 20th century
Beads, leather, fabric
H: 15.3 cm.; Ø: 20.3 cm.
WB-124-15-86-C

66 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO, Pende
Mask (gitenga), 20th century
Raffia, leather, wood, feathers
52.8 x 68 x 47 cm.
WB-83-10-86-C

67 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO, Pende
Mask (Kindombolo), 20th century
Wood, pigment, raffia
18 x 13.3 x 10.6 cm.
WB-84-10-86-C

68 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO, Chokwe
Chair, 20th century
Wood, leather
80.4 x 33 x 32.5 cm.
WB-85-11-86

69 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO AND ANGOLA,
Salampasu
Mask
Wood, fiber, copper
65 x 27.9 x 22.3 cm.
PN # 345366

70 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO AND ANGOLA,
Salampasu
Mask
Wood, fiber, copper
65.4 x 24.3 x 18 cm.
PN # 345368
71 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC of CONGO, Kuba
Skirt panel, 19th century
Raffia, velour cloth
75 x 149.8 cm.
WB-91-07-86-C

72 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC of CONGO, Kuba
Skirt panel, 19th century
Raffia, appliqué
77.4 x 450.8 cm.
WB-107-15-86-B

73 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC of CONGO, Kuba
Ceremonial skirt panel, 19th century
Raffia, velour cloth
68 x 161.2 x 8 cm.
WB-74-07-86-C

74 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC of CONGO, Kuba
Skirt panel, 19th century
Raffia
92.7 x 219.7 cm.
WB-75-07-86-C
75 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO, Kuba
Embroidered velour cloth, 19th century
Raffia
122 x 127 cm.
WB-93, 94, 95, 96-07-86-C

76 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO, Kuba
Embroidered velour cloth, 19th century
Raffia
47 x 61.6 cm.
WB-49-07-86-B

77 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO, Kuba
Skirt panel, 19th century
Bark cloth and raffia velour cloth
71.1 x 198 cm.
WB-92-07-86-C
78 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
of CONGO, Kuba
Beaded ornament, late 19th century
Beads, raffia, shells
15.8 x 8.8 x 5 cm.
WB-76-14-86-C

79 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
of CONGO, Kuba
Beaded ornament, late 19th century
Beads, raffia, shells
3.4 x 52 x 1.8 cm.
WB-77-14-86-C

80 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
of CONGO, Kuba
Beaded ornament, late 19th century
Beads, raffia, shells
7.6 x 55.9 x 3.8 cm.
WB-78-14-86-C

81 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
of CONGO, Kuba
Beaded ornament, late 19th century
Beads, raffia, shells
57.7 x 11.6 x 0.7 cm.
WB-79-14-86-C

82 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
of CONGO, Kuba
Beaded ornament, late 19th century
Beads, raffia, shells
45.7 x 14.1 x 1.7 cm.
WB-80-14-86-C

83 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
of CONGO, Kuba
Beaded ornament, late 19th century
Beads, raffia, shells
1.9 x 129.8 x 3.5 cm.
WB-81-14-86-C
84 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
of CONGO, Kuba
Cosmetic box, 19th and
20th century
Wood
6.3 x 31.2 x 13 cm.
WB-33-12-86-C

85 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
of CONGO, Kuba
Cosmetic box, 19th and
20th century
Wood
4.8 x 25.3 x 13.6 cm.
WB-34-12-86-C

86 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
of CONGO, Kuba
Cosmetic box, 19th and
20th century
Wood
6.7 x 32.7 x 14.3 cm.
WB-121-12-86-C
87 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO, Kuba
Fiber cap (laket), early 20th century
Raffia
H: 11.4 cm.; Ø 15.2 cm.
WB-16-15-86-C

88 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO, Kuba
Fiber cap (laket), early 20th century
Raffia
H: 10.2 cm.; Ø 15.2 cm.
WB-17-15-86-C

89 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO, Kuba
Fiber cap (laket), early 20th century
Raffia
H: 11.4 cm.; Ø 16.4 cm.
WB-18-15-86-C

90 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO, Kuba
Drum, 19th century
Wood, leather
H: 131.4 cm.; Ø 25.3 cm.
WB-48-17-86-C
91 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO, Mbole
Mat (losa), 19th century
Raffia, bark, vegetable dyes
54.6 x 34.3 x 1.8 cm.
WB-53-16-86-C

92 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO, Mbole
Mat (losa), 19th century
Raffia, bark, vegetable dyes
52.6 x 34.3 x 1.8 cm.
WB-54-16-86-C

93 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO, Mbole
Mat (losa), 19th century
Raffia, bark, vegetable dyes
55.8 x 34.3 x 1.8 cm.
WB-97-16-86-C

94 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO, Nkuru
Currency (boloko), 19th century
Copper
36.8 x 25.4 x 6.4 cm.
WB-106-12-86-C
95 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
of CONGO, Northcentral region
Metal currency, 19th century
Brass
8.3 x 17 x 3.2 cm.
WB-101-12-86-C

96 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
of CONGO, Northcentral region
Metal currency, 19th century
Brass
8 x 17.8 x 2.8 cm.
WB-102-12-86-C

97 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
of CONGO, Northcentral region
Metal currency, 19th century
Brass
4.5 x 32.5 x 4.4 cm.
WB-103-12-86-C
98 **DEVELOPMENT REPUBLIC OF CONGO, Stanley Falls region**
Spearhead currency, 19th century
Iron
41.6 x 16.6 x 6.6 cm.
WB-104-12-86-C

99 **DEVELOPMENT REPUBLIC OF CONGO, Stanley Falls region**
Spearhead currency, 19th century
Iron
54.6 x 14.9 x 6.7 cm.
WB-105-12-86-C

100 **DEVELOPMENT REPUBLIC OF CONGO, Turumbu**
Spearhead currency (ngbele), 20th century
Iron
165.6 x 39.4 cm.
WB-86-12-86-C

101 **DEVELOPMENT REPUBLIC OF CONGO, Turumbu**
Spearhead currency (ngbele), 20th century
Iron
176.4 x 39.4 cm.
WB-87-12-86-C

102 **DEVELOPMENT REPUBLIC OF CONGO, Turumbu**
Spearhead currency (ngbele), 20th century
Iron
176.4 x 41.9 cm.
WB-88-12-86-C

103 **DEVELOPMENT REPUBLIC OF CONGO, Turumbu**
Spearhead currency (ngbele), 20th century
Iron
174 x 41.2 cm.
WB 89-12-86-C
104 **DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC**

of CONGO, Turumbu

Spearhead currency (ngbele),

20th century

Iron

175.9 x 39.4 cm.

WB-90-12-86-C

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105 **DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC**

of CONGO, Mongo

Tip-stool, 19th century

Wood, metal, tiber

27.9 x 55.8 cm.

WB-98-11-86-C

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106 **DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC**

of CONGO, Mongo

Shield, 20th century

Raffia

133.8 x 45.7 x 7 cm.

WB-82-16-86-C
107 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO, Mongo Comb, 19th-20th century Wood, fiber 15.4 x 5.1 x 0.5 cm. WB-61-12-86-C

108 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO, Mongo Comb, 19th-20th century Wood, fiber 20.4 cm x 8.4 cm x 0.8 cm. WB-62-12-86-C

109 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO, Mongo Comb, 19th-20th century Wood, fiber 22.2 x 5.3 x 0.8 cm. WB-63-12-86-C

110 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO, Mongo Comb, 19th-20th century Wood, fiber 19.3 x 6.2 x 0.6 cm. WB-64-12-86-C

111 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO, Mongo Comb, 19th-20th century Wood, fiber 16.6 x 7.4 x 0.7 cm. WB-65-12-86-C
112 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
of CONGO, Mangbetu
Box, 19th century
Wood, metal
21.9 x 36.8 x 8.6 cm.
WB-67-12-86-C

113 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
of CONGO, Mangbetu
Knife, 19th century
Iron, ivory
36.8 x 5 x 1.8 cm.
WB-55-16-86-C

114 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
of CONGO, Mangbetu
Knife, 19th century
Iron, ivory
32.9 x 3.7 x 1.3 cm.
WB-56-16-86-C

115 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
of CONGO, Mangbetu
Flywhisk, 19th century
Ivory, goat hair
38 x 20.4 x 10 cm.
WB-57-12-86-C

116 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
of CONGO, Mangbetu
Dance rattle, 19th century
Wood, fiber, seeds
W: 33 cm.; Ø 8.9 cm.
WB-58-17-86-C
SOUTHERN AFRICA

117 SOUTH AFRICA, Sotho
Beaded apron, early 20th century
Glass beads on cotton
40.6 x 78.7 cm.
WB-19-15-86-C

118 SOUTH AFRICA,
Beaded apron, early 20th century
Beads, leather
7 x 38 cm.
WB-20-15-86-C

119 SOUTH AFRICA, Zulu
Beaded apron, early 20th century
Beads, leather
7 x 36 cm.
WB-21-15-86-C

120 SOUTH AFRICA, Zulu
Beaded apron, 19th century
Beads, leather, fiber
96.4 x 43.1 cm.
WB-117-15-86

121 SOUTH AFRICA, Zulu
Beaded bag, 19th century
Beads, leather, fiber
50.7 x 15.3 cm.
WB-118-15-86
122 SOUTH AFRICA, Ndebele
Beaded apron, 19th century
Beads, leather, raffia
71 x 67.2 cm.
WB-100-15-86-C

123 SOUTH AFRICA, Ndebele
Beaded cloak (linaga)
Leather, beads
110.2 x 156.6 cm.
PN # 201398
EAST AFRICA

124 MADAGASCAR, Sakalava
Gravestone, 19th century
Wood
76.8 x 20.6 x 16.5 cm.
WB-129-03-86-C

125 EAST AFRICA
Chair, 19th-20th century
Wood
60.9 x 25.6 x 24.3 cm.
WB-211-11-86C

126 ZAMBIA, Rotse
Bowl, 19th century
Wood
H: 23.2 cm.; Ø 29.6 cm.
WB-66-12-86-C

127 RWANDA AND BURUNDI, Tutsi
Lidded basket, late 19th century
Bamboo, reeds, straw
H: 20.1 cm.; Ø 5.4 cm.
WB-46-12-86-C

128 RWANDA AND BURUNDI, Tutsi
Lidded basket, late 19th century
Bamboo, reeds, straw
H: 33.6 cm.; Ø 17 cm.
WB-47-12-86-C

129 RWANDA AND BURUNDI, Tutsi
Lidded basket, late 19th century
Bamboo, reeds, straw
H: 73.5 cm.; Ø 48.6 cm.
WB-115-12-86-C
130 RWANDA AND BURUNDI, Tutsi
TANZANIA, Haya
Basket, late 19th century
Bamboo, reeds, straw
D: 0.1 cm.; Ø: 9.6 cm.
WB-35-12-86-C

131 RWANDA AND BURUNDI, Tutsi
TANZANIA, Haya
Basket, late 19th century
Bamboo, reeds, straw
H: 16.5 cm.; Ø: 29.1 cm.
WB-37-12-86-C
133 Rwanda and Burundi, Tutsi
Tanzania, Haya
Basket, late 19th century
Bamboo, reeds, straw
Ø: 10.2 cm.
WB-38-12-86-C

134 Rwanda and Burundi, Tutsi
Tanzania, Haya
Basket, late 19th century
Bamboo, reeds, straw
H: 0.3 cm.; Ø: 18 cm.
WB-39-12-86-C

135 Rwanda and Burundi, Tutsi
Tanzania, Haya
Basket, late 19th century
Bamboo, reeds, straw
H: 2.5 cm.; Ø: 15.5 cm.
WB-40-12-86-C
136 RWANDA AND BURUNDI, Tutsi
TANZANIA, Haya
Basket, late 19th century
Bamboo, reeds, straw
D: 4.2 cm.; Ø: 14.3 cm.
WB-41-12-86-C

137 RWANDA AND BURUNDI, Tutsi
TANZANIA, Haya
Basket, late 19th century
Bamboo, reeds, straw
3.1 x 11.4 x 7.6 cm.
WB-42-12-86-C

138 RWANDA AND BURUNDI, Tutsi
TANZANIA, Haya
Basket, late 19th century
Bamboo, reeds, straw
3.1 x 11.1 x 6.9 cm.
WB-43-12-86-C
139 RWANDA AND BURUNDI, Tutsi
TANZANIA, Haya
Basket, late 19th century
Bamboo, reeds, straw
10.1 x 60.3 x 26.6 cm.
WB-44-12-86-C

140 TANZANIA AND KENYA, Maasai
Married woman’s skirt, 20th century
Leather, glass beads
107.4 x 134.4 cm.
WB-181-15-86-C

141 KENYA, Giriama
Commemorative post,
19th century
Wood
164.4 x 11.9 x 9.5 cm.
WB-207-10-86-B
142 KENYA, Giriama
Commemorative post,
19th century
Wood
169.6 x 15.4 x 7.5 cm.
WB-208-10-86-B

143 KENYA, Giriama
Commemorative post,
19th century
Wood
173.9 x 12.3 x 5.3 cm.
WB-209-10-86-B

144 KENYA, Pokot
Headrest,
late 19th-early 20th century
Wood, leather, copper
19.5 x 10.6 x 6 cm.
WB-08-11-86-C

145 KENYA, Pokot
Headrest,
late 19th-early 20th century
Wood, leather, copper
21.2 x 10 x 5.4 cm.
WB-09-11-86-C
MODERN ART

146 Nii H. Abbey, Nigeria
*Man's World*, 1985
Scraperboard
24 x 29.8 cm.
WB-194-02-86-C

147 Nii H. Abbey, Nigeria
*Yenkor! Yenkor!*, 1984
Scraperboard
24 x 29.8 cm.
WB-194-02-86-C

148 Nii H. Abbey, Nigeria
*Pigs Will Be Pigs*, 1985
Scraperboard
24 x 29.8 cm.
WB-194-02-86-C

149 Nii H. Abbey, Nigeria
*A Child Is Born*, 1984
Scraperboard
24 x 29.8 cm.
WB-194-02-86-C
150 **Kolwes Kanyemba**, Democratic Republic of Congo
Untitled, 1985
Oil on canvas
61.6 x 84.4 cm.
WB-203-02-86C

151 **Kolwes Kanyemba**, Democratic Republic of Congo
Untitled, 1985
Oil on canvas
64.8 x 86.2 cm.
WB-204-02-86C

152 **Kolwes Kanyemba**, Democratic Republic of Congo
*Birds and Antelope*, 1982
Acrylic on canvas
59.7 x 83 cm.
PN # 201404
153 Kolwesi Kanyemba, Democratic Republic of Congo
Crocodile with Heron, 1980
Acrylic on canvas
63 x 85.5 cm.
PN # 201405

154 Kolwesi Kanyemba, Democratic Republic of Congo
Untitled, 1980
Acrylic on canvas
65.4 x 87.5 cm.
PN # 201406

155 Kolwesi Kanyemba, Democratic Republic of Congo
Untitled, 1982
Acrylic on canvas
42.3 x 77 cm.
PN # 201407
156 JOHN M. MUAFANGEJO,
NAMIBIA/ANGOLA
Shepherd in Forest, 1969/85
Woodblock, edition 1/150
66 x 50.8 cm.
WB-161-04-86-C

157 JOHN M. MUAFANGEJO,
NAMIBIA/ANGOLA
Preparing for the Flood, 1979
Woodblock, edition 32/150
66 x 50.2 cm.
WB-162-04-86-C

158 JOHN M. MUAFANGEJO,
NAMIBIA/ANGOLA
Rraal (Homestead), 1980
Woodblock, edition 56/150
64.8 x 53.2 cm.
WB-163-04-86-C

159 JOHN M. MUAFANGEJO,
NAMIBIA/ANGOLA
Holiday, 1983
Woodblock, edition 7/150
64.7 x 38 cm.
WB-164-04-86-C
160  BRUCE ONOBRAKPEYA,
NIGERIA
Play Time, 1973
Deep etching
60.3 x 45.6 cm.
PN # 201454

161  BRUCE ONOBRAKPEYA,
NIGERIA
Landscape with Trees, 1973
Deep etching
60.6 x 46 cm.
PN # 201455

162  VUMIKOSI ZULU,
SOUTH AFRICA
Rushing for the Train, 1974
Woodcut
63.2 x 46 cm.
PN # 201456

163  ANONYMOUS,
ETHIOPIA
Untitled.
Gouache on canvas
64.6 x 44.4 cm.
PN # 200815
164 ANONYMOUS, ETHIOPIA
Untitled
Gouache on canvas
69.8 x 59.4 cm.
PN # 345538

165 ANONYMOUS, ETHIOPIA
Untitled
Gouache on canvas
55.9 x 111.8 cm.
PN # 200814

166 ANONYMOUS, ETHIOPIA
Untitled
Gouache on canvas
71.3 x 124.8 cm.
PN # 202049

167 ANONYMOUS, ETHIOPIA
Untitled
Gouache on canvas
31.8 x 83.2 cm
PN # 345537
Bibliography


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