The Visual Arts

World Anthropology

General Editor

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The Visual Arts

Plastic and Graphic

Editor

JUSTINE M. CORDWELL

General Editor's Preface

In human culture, which comprises the practical arts (which surely existed before we were human) as well as the fine arts, the "aesthetic" is something extra. It has a life of its own and in our species is as complex and varied as life itself. To deal with, on behalf of a coming world Congress, the deep and pervasive aspects of human capacities implied in these terms, Justine Cordwell reached for an even broader concept—affective response in man—to encompass not only all of the arts but also religion, ritual, and all symbolism. As described in her brilliant Introduction the result was itself a drama which has led to — and is fully reported in — this unique book. It was her own affective, and effective, response to the challenge of a Congress which engaged the broadest spectrum of scholars from many cultures.

Like most contemporary sciences, anthropology is a product of the European tradition. Some argue that it is a product of colonialism, with one small and self-interested part of the species dominating the study of the whole. If we are to understand the species, our science needs substantial input from scholars who represent a variety of the world's cultures. It was a deliberate purpose of the IXth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences to provide impetus in this direction. The *World Anthropology* volumes, therefore, offer a first glimpse of a human science in which members from all societies have played an active role. Each of the books is designed to be self-contained; each is an attempt to update its particular sector of scientific knowledge and is written by specialists from all parts of the world. Each volume should be read and reviewed individually as a separate volume on its own given subject. The set as a whole will indicate what changes are in store for anthropology as scholars from the developing countries join in studying the species of which we are all a part.

The IXth Congress was planned from the beginning not only to include as many of the scholars from every part of the world as possible, but also with a view toward the eventual publication of the papers in high-quality volumes. At previous Congresses scholars were invited to bring papers which were then read out loud. They were necessarily limited in length; many were only summarized; there was little time for discussion; and the sparse discussion could only be in one language. The IXth Congress was an experiment aimed at changing this. Papers were written with the intention of exchanging them before the Congress, particularly in extensive pre-Congress sessions; they were not intended to be read aloud at the Congress, that time being devoted to discussions — discussions which were simultaneously and professionally translated into five languages. The method for eliciting the papers was structured to make as representative a sample as was allowable when scholarly creativity — hence self-selection — was critically important. Scholars were asked both to propose papers of their own to suggest topics for sessions of the Congress which they might edit into volumes. All were then informed of the suggestions and encouraged to re-think their own papers and the topics. The process, therefore, was a continuous one of feedback and exchange and it has continued to be so even after the Congress. The some two thousand papers comprising *World Anthropology* certainly then offer a substantial sample of world anthropology. It has been said that anthropology is at a turning point; if this is so, these volumes will be the historical direction-markers.

As might have been foreseen in the first post-colonial generation, the large majority of the Congress papers (83 percent) are the work of scholars identified with the industrialized world which fathered our traditional discipline and the institution of the Congress itself: Eastern Europe (15 percent); Western Europe (16 percent); North America (47 percent); Japan, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand (4 percent). Only 18 percent of the papers are from developing areas: Africa (4 percent); Asia-Oceania (9 percent); Latin America (5 percent). Aside from the substantial representation from the U.S.S.R. and the nations of Eastern Europe, a significant difference between this corpus of written material and that of other Congresses is the addition of the large proportion of contributions from Africa, Asia, and Latin America. "Only 18 percent" is two to four times as great a proportion as that of other Congresses; moreover, 18 percent of 2,000 papers is 360 papers, 10 times the number of "Third World" papers presented at previous Congresses. In fact, these 360 papers are more than the total of *all* papers published after the last International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences which was held in the United States (Philadelphia, 1956).

The significance of the increase is not simply quantitative. The input of scholars from areas which have until recently been no more than subject

matter for anthropology represents both feedback and also long-awaited theoretical contributions from the perspectives of very different cultural, social, and historical traditions. Many who attended the IXth Congress were convinced that anthropology would not be the same in the future. The fact that the Xth Congress (India, 1978) was our first in the "Third World" may be symbolic of the change. Meanwhile, sober consideration of the present set of books will show how much, and just where and how, our discipline is being revolutionized.

In this series of books are many which will interest the reader of the present volume. They include accounts of the human response reflected in religion and thought, in language and literature, in music, dance and drama, in ritual and belief, and in all the manifestations of symbolic and aesthetic impulses from the earliest beginnings of our species to the present time in all parts of the world.

Chicago, Illinois   SOL TAX
April 20, 1979

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Introduction

JUSTINE M. CORDWELL

This book is concerned with the plastic and graphic arts in cross-cultural context, and is part of a group of volumes dealing with affective response in man in the *World Anthropology* series. Composed of original papers submitted to the IXth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences held in Chicago in September 1973, these volumes encompass worldviews and cosmology, religion, shamanism, myth and folklore, the performing arts of music, dance, and theater, and the visual arts.

The unifying concept which has grouped these books together is the uniquely human process of symbolizing experience; in these collections of papers are found analyses of the symbolic constructions which are the evidence of affective response. More than the need to create an orderly construction in a symbol or a number of symbols, there appears to be a need to re-create an aesthetic feeling; thus we might term these particular forms artistic compositions and nonverbal symbols of feeling. The attempts by man to freeze in time an emotional experience for future re-call probably developed simultaneously with cognitive thought. Evidence for this exists from great antiquity, from such tenuous attempts as Dart's pebble with four "faces" found with australopithecine remains, to more concrete ones such as the cave paintings of animals in Europe and the "sorcerer" of Trois Frères or the poignant remnants of self-decoration by necklaces found in ancient burial sites. The ritualizing of dance forms and of creation myths, the traditional standards of appropriately structured behavior and forms of plastic and graphic art, all reflect the cultural channeling of the symbolizing need. In the *World Anthropology* volume entitled *Principles of visual anthropology*, edited by Paul Hockings, is discussed the contemporary symbolizing tool, the film, which is capable of being either the symbol in itself (affective or cognitive) or the medium

for illustrating a series of symbols. In the hands of an anthropologist, a film can be a powerful recorder of experience. But as Hockings points out, the social scientist might run the considerable risk of obliterating a cultural tradition in recording the ritual ceremony of a less complex society, as happened in one instance when members of a tribe saw themselves performing a ritual on film and, with obvious relief, announced that since the film-maker had recorded it so well, they would never again have to go through that considerable effort.

There are problems concerning the nature of both contemplative and creative experience and the isolation of aesthetic emotion that are basic to the development of methodology in studying affective response. First, it should be recognized that the aesthetic feeling involved in creating artistic forms is not the same as the feeling involved in contemplating them. Second, the extraction of evidence proving that aesthetic emotion can exist without reference to cultural form or cultural content can be a futile exercise, without sufficient understanding of either cultural processes or the methodology borrowed from philosophical analysis in aesthetics. This second problem leads us directly to the search for universals in art as well, in which some artistic forms from other cultures seem to communicate a feeling to us across time, space, and cultural barriers. It has been suggested by Suzanne Langer in a number of her works that the virtual experience thus obtained by us from such a form is also a reaction to the successful symbolizing of an experience by the artist, so that we see in form, line, movement, color, and texture some tensions and resolutions of tensions inherent in the life process shared by all humans. A modest attempt at defining such universals in art may be found in the article on the subject by this editor in the *Encyclopedia of anthropology* (Hunter and Whitten 1976:396).

There is a small, but growing, number of social scientists and art historians who have become increasingly aware of the importance of the responses of their informants in the field as these pertain to rules of appropriateness and of aesthetic tastes. When an anthropologist compares the unique sense of order in these responses with a model of the society and culture under investigation, he or she often finds tangible proof of the repetition of aesthetic patterning in the institutions and material culture of that society. Those readers who are interested in this approach will find an example of it in the paper on the Fang by James Fernandez in this volume and in the papers by Henry Drewal and Marilyn Houlberg on the Yoruba in the forthcoming volume of the *World Anthropology* series entitled *Fabrics of culture: the anthropology of clothing and adornment*, edited by Justine Cordwell and Ronald Schwarz.

A pre-Congress conference on art and anthropology, organized by Justine Cordwell and John Blacking, took place in late August 1973 to

explore existing methodologies and new directions of research. Though unfunded by any but small private contributions, this conference was attended by thirty-five international scholars and interested laymen who wished to exchange ideas and debate the validity and potential of their own and other existing hypotheses and methodologies for the study of the visual and performing arts. The results of this three and a half-day conference were carried to the four-hour session on the performing and visual arts at the week-long Congress in September 1973. This was done not so much to affirm the efforts of the conference members as to plead for additional consideration of all the methodological problems inherent in the study of forms of aesthetic expression and their role in culture and society. Old premises were examined, some discarded, some reconsidered and retained as still valid, and new approaches introduced.

The papers contained in this volume demonstrate only the methodological approaches of the individuals who contributed them to the Congress. The numerical count under any particular heading indicates only an arbitrary distinction by the editor, and not any broad, significant, international trend. The papers seemed to cluster naturally into categories, which were given titles by the editor, but the variation within these groupings seems to demonstrate a range of approaches that can give the reader fresh perspectives on areas of their interest.

The first six papers have been grouped under the heading of theory and methodology, the lead paper being Stoller and Cauvel's provocative and honest inquiry into the nature of teaching comparative art and aesthetics. Fernandez' paper, as mentioned earlier, illustrates a methodologically rewarding exploration of the architectonic form permeating Fang culture. Jon Muller's paper is definitive in its exposition of the application of structural analysis to plastic and graphic art forms, particularly in the museum context. Joshi analyzes the interrelationship of the spoken word in folklore to the graphic art displayed at the same time in a performance situation in India. Newcomer indicates the possibilities of a more pragmatic methodology in the study of aesthetics with a Marxist approach. Peacock's paper is concerned with a specific sociologist, Parson, and his studies of aesthetics.

There are six papers on the meaning of art forms in their cultural context. Siroto's work on the relation between witchcraft belief and art forms in explanations of African iconography will be invaluable to both ethnologists and art historians. Bassing's paper on the grave sculptures of the Dakakari is an elaboration of an earlier work published in *African Arts* and is illustrated with photographs from that article as well as new ones. (The importance of African grave sculpture and grave containers is also dealt with in the article by Ausbra Ford in the section concerned with culture change.) Vogel has made a significant contribution with her comparison of the aesthetic standards of two of the most artistically

sophisticated West African societies, the Baule and the Yoruba. Battesti, using the art of murals in Iranian tea houses, has developed an analysis of style and content and given a cultural setting for the role of this art. Spiegel, in her paper on the chalk figures of the Gazelle Peninsula, points out some previously overlooked disparities of art forms and behavior which would seem to indicate the need for additional study and reevaluation of the art of this peninsula. Jelínek's short but excellent article on an Australian bark shelter is an example of the necessity for the immediate recording of passing art forms. The literature is full of references to ceremonies or artistic expression of one form or another that are known only by vague references or oral tradition. Lost opportunities are legion, but in this instance we are given not only a written description but documentary photographs as well.

The section heading "Art and Change in Form, Content, and Meaning" gives coherence to a group of papers concerned with both internal and external forces of change in the creation of art forms. Koss' work on individual creativity and change in ritual through art forms is made richer by the contributions of the preceding section, which familiarize the reader with African cultural patterns that are found in the Caribbean settings in which Koss works. Ewer's article gives us some psychological perspectives in the changing content of traditional Plains Indian representational art. Ritzenthaler examines the phenomenon of the "name" artist in the American Southwest. (Africanists are becoming aware of a similar phenomenon occurring in some West African nations and Zaire.) Young, Becker-Donner and Vasil'eva are concerned with historical change within traditional form. Vasil'eva has studied the elements of art among Turkmenians as indications of ethnic origins. Cordwell's paper is concerned with the unpredictability of the sources of change, whether these arise within creative individuals or their clients, or come from influences outside the indigenous culture. Ford's paper reflects not only his own development as a black American sculptor searching for origins of style in the art forms of Africa, but the influence of these styles on other African-American artists. Delange-Fry carries this concept in another direction as she exemplifies the problems of anthropology and education in the preparation of an exhibit of African art, and in teaching from this exhibit in a Canadian city of frontier traditions. Borgatti's paper demonstrates how the existence of multiple art styles and forms, coexisting in use within a large ethnic group, should become a signal for the need to examine more closely, not only these cultural symbols, but general oral tradition as well; using these two means of communication to re-examine and possibly restructure the orthodox history of such a society.

Although the papers on art and archeology are only four in number, they illustrate a wide range of approaches, from the purely descriptive of Strukelj to theoretical work from other disciplines, such as Elliott's paper

on pre-Columbian art using linguistic methodology. Quirarte's paper demonstrates a combination of objective formulas with observation of design in his analysis of evidence of exchanges of both aesthetic and cognitive concepts in Petén ceramic materials. Ho demonstrates in his paper the use of traditional history and extant historical documents in the Chinese culture to augment personal observation and ethnological analysis of artifacts.

The section on anthropology and art in contemporary society is introduced by Rubin's article on one of the most publicized folk art forms in the United States, the parade, specifically the Pasadena Tournament of Roses Parade. There are many possible methodological approaches to this art form and its variations, but the one chosen by Rubin is as enlightening as it is entertaining. The paper of Dunare offers a more general, rather than specific, standard for the analysis of popular or folk art; on the other hand, the papers of Rozhdestvenskaya of Russia, Cobelj of Yugoslavia, Orel of Czechoslovakia, and Kunczynska-Iracka of Poland yield a broad range of approaches to the analysis and interpretation of the present-day usage of the rich, traditional folk arts of their cultures. Since the section begins with Rubin's illustration of a folk art form that is part of America's relatively short span of tradition, the editor felt it appropriate and fitting to end this section and the volume with the evidence of the great time depth and survivals of the rich and lively folk arts of Russia that still ebulliently and colorfully enrich the lives of their contemporary society in an age of industrialization and space exploration.

It is to be hoped that future volumes on affective response in man will have an increasing number of analyses of the artistic complexes that combine both the plastic and graphic arts and the performing arts of music, dance, theater, and folklore, analyses such as those attempted by Robert Farris Thompson in *African arts in motion* (1974) and Herbert Cole in *African arts of transformation*. Far from reaching dead ends in methodology, theory, and investigative techniques, it is beginning to look as if we have been skirting the problems and that we can now begin to investigate in earnest the products of affective response in man with techniques borrowed from many disciplines: exact sciences, social sciences, philosophy, and the humanities.

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Proceedings of the Pre-Congress Conference on Art and Anthropology

INTRODUCTION

The pre-Congress conference on art and anthropology was held in Chicago from August 28 to August 31, 1973. The three-day meeting was planned by Justine Cordwell and John Blacking. When Professor Blacking (editor of the volume on the performing arts) had the misfortune to miss connections with the Congress charter flight from Europe, Joann Kealiinohomoku graciously took his place at the conference, moderating the sections on music and dance.

The original purpose of the conference was to bring together scholars who had demonstrated particular interest in theory and methodology in the visual and performing arts; to provide a congenial atmosphere for intellectual stimulation of each other; and to examine in particular, not so much where we have been in comparative aesthetics, but the possible avenues of future research in the visual and performing arts. It was hoped that there could be fostered an awareness of new research in allied fields of psychology and biology that might bear upon aesthetic, affective response in man, and in philosophy, ranging from philosophy of science (methods) to aesthetics (affective response and virtual experience). Specifically, also, we wished to examine some of the methodological

approaches to such diverse fields of specialized interest as museology and folklore.

The first letter of invitation to participate in such a conference specifically stated that one of the purposes of such a gathering would be to explore the feasibility of producing a volume on theory and methodology in the arts that would be useful to students in anthropology, and also to those in art, psychology, and philosophy of aesthetics. There was an enthusiastic response from approximately forty-five scholars. After a year and a half of planning and searching for funding, some twenty-five had to drop out, some from lack of time to prepare a paper for the Congress, others because of previous commitments, or lack of funds. Two weeks before the beginning of the conference it became obvious that any arrangements would have to be made without benefit of outside financial help. We were able to have our plenary dinner and our first day under the kind auspices of the American Hospital Association. Our meeting places for the second and third day were on the Chicago campus of Northwestern University, since it was a between-session period. Our profound gratitude goes to Dean Martha Luck and Mrs. Donath of the Evening Division for making this possible. A very special thanks goes to Patrick and Joanne Shaw for seeing to our social needs, in helping us get better acquainted through a buffet dinner at their home, an opportunity welcomed by our overseas participants, since it was held in a Mies van der Rohe apartment high above Lincoln Park, overlooking Lake Michigan with its sailboats. Fifteen new participants came, who had arrived early at the Congress and heard of the art and anthropology conference, which brought our total number to thirty-five.

There were a number of scholars who, by special invitation, had prepared papers to stimulate discussion in certain areas mentioned earlier. These people were Jon Muller (University of Illinois, Carbondale), William R. Bascom and Berta Bascom (University of California, Berkeley), and Joseph G. Moore (Middleton College, Massachusetts). We are deeply indebted to to them for their support and efforts, and particularly to Dr. Kealiinohomoku, who took over for Professor Blacking during the conference, just as Dr. Elkin Sithole did during the Congress session on the visual and performing arts. Our special thanks also go to Drs. Judith Hanna, Morris Freilich, and Ronald Schwarz who helped synthesize the work of the conference for that Congress session (see next Section). Without the professional and technical skills of former TV and radio writer-director, Ruth Moore, we would not have had the quality of cassette tape that enabled us to have a transcript typed of the two and a half days of discussion. She has the profound gratitude of all of us. Michelle Treiman and Maude Wahlman were generous with their suggestions of names of possible participants, and in general most supportive. They too have our gratitude.

There is not one transcriber of long conferences that has not at some point considered the tape recorder a mixed blessing. Days of excited debate, new directions to consider, and papers to be discussed are remembered by participants who can visualize voice intonations, personalities with idiosyncracies and the breaks with explosive laughter. The cold typed pages that go on and on are gray and interminable as one searches frantically for remembered flashes of inspiration and even rarer moments of general agreement. Our pre-Congress conference on art and anthropology was no exception. Knowing the task that faced me, I requested the thirty-five participants to allow me to capsulize our three days into more readable form. We had already decided to briefly summarize our findings for the Congress session on the performing and visual arts. With the permission of those who were on our transcribed tape, I am giving to the reader the papers solicited for the conference to stimulate discussion in a number of theoretical directions (edited by the speakers) and a shortened form of the discussion that followed each paper, as well as the interruptions in the form of questions from the participants.

The original purpose in structuring the first day and second day around three completely different types of papers was not only to stimulate discussion about them, but to remind the participants of the potentially broad spectrum to which we should address ourselves. I personally would have liked to have included more work on the physiological, neurological and psychological aspects of affect-response in man, but that will have to wait for another conference. Simply the exposure to the fact that we still must rely on so many other disciplines; that so many of the methodologies with which we were becoming comfortable are inadequate to explain the creativity of mankind; and the seemingly unending need for and quest for aesthetic satisfaction gave our participants enough material to reexamine their own thinking. There was not one individual who could remain completely untouched by what he heard and saw. Our future view of aesthetics has been broadened and enriched by each other's insights.

Our first paper is that of Jon Muller on structural analysis and art forms, the second is that of William R. Bascom on the special problems of selecting and displaying art forms of other cultures, and the third paper given by Joseph G. Moore is one that brought us back from discussion of theory and methodology of affective response and creativity to a more solid, objective world of the analysis of visual data from motion picture film and video tape, and auditory data from taped recording of music and the folklore of songs.

On the afternoon of the second day, we split into two groups: one for musicology and dance and one for the graphic and plastic arts. It became very apparent as we entered these discussions how divergent was the way we viewed each other's specialities. Perhaps this was due primarily to the different virtual experience found in the "temporal" arts of music and

dance, compared to that of the more concrete nonverbal symbolism of two- and three-dimensional forms found in the graphic and plastic arts. Dr. Kealiinohomoku discovered that the tape recorder was not working for the performing arts group, but a summary of their work may be found in the Section on the Congress session. At the direction of my colleagues in the graphic and plastic arts I have summarized our work, rather than leaving it in verbatim transcription.

Since our original plans for collaborating on a book of theory and methodology for our students could not be fulfilled (because of many factors, such as absence of scholars needed to give a more rounded picture of the field), much of the transcription concerning this subject has been omitted, though some of it is in the final summary.

A discussion of the paper by Jon Muller begins our reporting of the conference.

JON MULLER: I'm going to try to lay out some guidelines for this study of aesthetics. I suspect that before I'm done, quite a few of you are going to be objecting pretty strongly to some of the things I have to say. What I'm concerned with here is style. All of us are aware that this has been a persistent problem in aesthetics. I deal in style, as I understand it, particularly as an anthropologist. I look on style as a cultural system or subsystem. I look upon culture as being a total human behavioral system, and *style* is just a restrictive term for one subsystem or portion of this system. Basically, my view on this material follows from two assumptions. The first is that culture is a system which is composed of subsystems that vary in content and organization, but which have the same basic principles of organization. That is, that though different cultural systems, say language and style, may differ considerably in content and in form of organization, they will operate, nevertheless, on the same *principles* of organization. Now this is certainly not established by any kind of experimental evidence. In fact, it is something that should be investigated by psychologists and anthropologists. The second assumption is that it is possible to construct formal and logical modes of these subsystems and systems. In effect then, what I'm taking here is basically a Cartesian view of the nature of human culture. There are a series of very obscure Cartesian aestheticians, but the character of their studies of art is predominantly prescriptive. They try to describe ways in which people *should* do art, rather than the ways in which people *actually* do art. The influence of Cartesian thought may be seen in Wilhelm von Humboldt, who in turn influenced Croce, but I'm not going into a history. The important thing, I think, in this group of scholars is an emphasis on human creativity in some way — the ability of human beings to develop novel combinations of materials and concepts.

There are also, in more recent times, a number of so-called structural

studies of art by Frederick Matz and Guido Kaschnitz von Weinberg. But these studies are structural more in the sense that this term is used in linguistics, than in the sense indicated here. They tend to concentrate more on form in the artistic sense than they do upon style or structure in a narrow, specialized way. Much of the structures with which they are concerned occur on a relatively shallow level, they do not give any kind of deep structural analysis.

Among American anthropologists, Boas himself, of course, has been cited as being an incipient structuralist in some sense, and certainly some of his students' work will stand out as structural in character; most notably that of Haeberlin, Teit, Robert's study of Salish basketry and Ruth Bunzel's study of Pueblo potters. Kroeber, too, was very much interested in art, and a number of his students and associates have been involved with studies of art styles in an archeological sense. For example, John Rowe with his students has been studying pottery in archeological contexts in South America. Roark, an associate of Rowe's published what I consider to be one of the best formal-logical descriptions of art in archeology, a study of Nazca pottery styles published in *Nawpa Pacha* 3. Roark's descriptions of materials are essentially analogous to the kinds of rules that linguists use in morpho-phonemics. There are procedures for going from an artistic representation, in this case an alternating series of bands painted on Nazca pots, to the analysis of the underlying structure. By following these rules you can go from either a structural analysis to an actual visual realization, or the other way around. In fact, these structures are still predominantly surface structures, and an examination of Roark's study shows that there are many kinds of structural continuities and regularities in his material that are not accounted for. Nevertheless, I think it stands out as an important example. Certainly there are anthropologists, as well as archeologists, who are concerned with art styles. The latter have been more concerned, however, because of the nature of their material. Lomax's study of song, the work of Gerbrands and Dark, Holm's study of Northwest Coast carving are good examples of other kinds of similar analyses. Again in archeology Gardin of France should be mentioned for his system of categorizing and describing structures of archeological materials.

Of course, in any discussion of structuralism in the arts, we have to mention the field of ethnoscience, which has accomplished much in trying to formalize the study of cultural systems in general. The early ethnoscience approaches were predominantly rather like those of linguistic structuralism, leaning heavily on a field approach in an "emic — etic" sort of business. This early ethnoscience was fairly criticized for its great emphasis on discovery procedures. Perhaps too little attention was paid to the question of what kinds of results were necessary for what purposes. Nonetheless, Goodenough, Lounsbury, and many others in the last few

years have concerned themselves more and more with models of deeper kinds of structures. I think it is very encouraging to see what has happened in ethnoscience in the last ten years. Of course, ethnoscience has had the same disillusionment common to linguistics and other fields with various systems of description (as discussed in Keesing's "Paradigms lost").

There is a small but obscure group concerned with graphic systems, who take inspiration from the work of Russell Kirsch at the National Bureau of Standards. In a 1964 paper on picture grammars, Kirsch proposed an approach by which people interested in computer science could deal with problems of pattern recognition. One of the persistent problems in computer work has been to somehow program a computer so that it can consistently recognize patterns of a particular kind. Kirsch's paper stimulated work by B. K. Rankin, who published a short paper in 1965 on Chinese characters. Later in the same year his dissertation at the University of Pennsylvania was finished, also dealing with Chinese characters. The initial "grammar" for the characters was basically a phrase-structure grammar for the formation of Chinese characters. The earlier study was somewhat similar to the traditional analysis of Chinese characters into the radicals, but also provided rules for the combination of these radical-like elements into characters. The initial study accounted for a substantial percentage of actual Chinese characters. The later grammar is more sophisticated and accounts for a much higher percentage. Other studies in the same tradition are W. C. Watts' work with Nevada cattle-brands and my own studies of Southeastern shell gorgets.

The major problem in art is that of creativity; the ability to create new and novel combinations of materials within a style. Now, this is a different kind of problem than the questions of how new styles originate. That problem is important, but it is not what I am concerned with here. Instead, I am talking about the fact that an individual artist can conceive of a potentially infinite number of works, all in the same art style. Without ever leaving the boundaries of the style, he can still produce a broad series of different works. In the same way, all of us use our language in ways that are generally novel. Some sentences, obviously, are used over and over again — "you know," "how're you," "whatcha doing?" But most other human utterances are novel, therefore, some kind of statistical way of dealing with languages has not proved to be very fruitful. In any event, creativity *within* a particular style is something that needs to be explained. Too often styles have been defined in terms of some sort of ideal or mean. The variation that occurs within an art style is treated as the result of bad copying — a platonic idea that art works are just bad copies of one single ideal piece. This approach really explains nothing, since it simply defers the question of creativity. Also, there seems no reason to believe that any

real art style, in fact generally no art style of any complexity at all, can be exhausted in a mathematical sense.

PARTICIPANT: Wouldn't you run into some problems with your definition of culture, if you are mainly concerned with creativity? With cultures, everything is the way you present it. When we learn culture, creativity disappears. Unless you limit your definition of cultures, you're going to get stuck with your creativity.

MULLER: What I think people "learn" when they learn their culture in general, is a series of rules, exactly that. I don't think this limits creativity at all, because take the example of the English language . . .

PARTICIPANT: I don't think that that is a definition of culture to begin with — as far as a definition of rules, I'll go along with you there. Then the term "systems" . . .

MULLER: Well, I said culture was a system, and I would now amend that and say rules, a system of rules.

PARTICIPANT: When you started talking about style and culture, the word *behavior* occurred a number of times, and now you're talking about something called rules?

MULLER: I'm going to go on and talk about behavior, too, in terms of a performance and competence distinctions. Some of these things I will be coming back to. I'm sorry the paper isn't available for you people to have, since it discusses some of the things I've been saying. But there are problems, and I'm using behavior here in a very broad sense; not only physical movement of the body, but other behavior.

PARTICIPANT: But when you leave behavior out of culture, then I think 90 percent of your problems disappear.

MULLER: Except that I include mental activity here. That is behavior to me. So I realize I'm using these things here in a very peculiar way.

PARTICIPANT: Can you explain where the boundary might be? Where would the non-behavior begin? Is there any cutoff?

MULLER: Well, I don't know that there is a cutoff — I'll admit the problem is crucial, but I don't think it is as important as what I'm trying to do right here. I'll make some distinctions later on into realms of behavior that I think are rather important. In any rate, one of the things that concerns us here is the fact that styles are not exhaustible. I think a lot of theories of culture change, and art changes. Talk about a style being exhausted, people may get tired of a style, but I don't think that's because the limit of the style itself has been exhausted. I think that it has much more to do with other kinds of events taking place in the culture. Like language, I think art styles are, generally speaking, infinite. In the case of languages, it can be mathematically demonstrated that language is an infinite system. To some extent, this may be trivial, but you can always say "and" and go on to something else. And as to the number of combinations possible of words and meaning elements in a language . . . and I

think most art styles have essentially the same range of verbal definition
. . . are such that it's always possible to go just a little further.

This is not necessarily true of all art styles. I think there are some finite
art styles, in which the combination possibilities are limited. I think that
these kinds of simple styles are perhaps very interesting for aestheticians
to begin to study, rather than dealing directly with impressionist painting
or some other very complex style.

At any rate, none of you, I dare say, have ever heard before this
sentence "Wilbur is a demented pollywog," and yet anybody who knows
the meaning of the words is capable of understanding this sentence. It is
recognizable as an English sentence. In the same way, novel works within
art styles can be recognized as being part of the style and yet somehow
different from other works. Certainly Western traditions have tended to
overemphasize the idea of novelty. We often use the criteria of novelty to
determine whether or not a work of art is good. A person who can paint a
beautiful, impressionist painting today is not taken very seriously. The
emphasis on novelty colors our view of non-Western arts. We tend to look
upon novelty in terms of innovation of new styles, particularly, as being
artistic activity and much more important than the fine expression of an
art style that already exists. In any event, I think that the important thing
here is to explain the ability of the artist to create novel works within a
style. Obviously there are basic limitations on performance. There's no
point in going into these things — we've got two hands, rather than four;
we have hands instead of tentacles. Our arts are what they are at least
partly because of the nature of our bodies. There are some indications
(along the same lines as Lenneberg's treatment of the biological basis of
language) that there are some universals in our perception of the world.
We see the world in certain ways because we are genetically humans
instead of chimpanzees. Studies, such as those of Berlin and Kay's of
color perception, are very interesting in that they show that perception of
colors seems to be fairly uniform. This has great implications for anybody
dealing with color in art. Piaget's study of children's learning has also
tended to show that there are universals. Lenneberg's and Carol
Chomsky's work on the acquisition of language also suggests that there
are some kinds of built-in devices for acquiring culture. We ultimately are
going to have to come to grips with this, but it is not crucial, perhaps, for
the particular model that I am presenting here. I would certainly be very
careful of taking a strict stimulus-response view of the psychology of art.

In any event, we have to make a distinction here between competence,
on the one hand, and performance on the other. By competence I mean
the ability of artists to form concepts; in the case of art styles, the ability of
the artist to come up with these novel combinations. By performance, I
mean the ability to actually carry out these things in physical behavior.
This distinction is similar to that made between *langue* and *parole* and is

widely recognized in linguistics. Competence, as the ability to form new kinds of concepts can be "viewed" by the student of art only through the filter of performance. All kinds of performance limitations make it very difficult to get at competence; for example, there are certain limitations on short-term memory. Only so many items can be held in short-term memory storage, and this leads to certain problems in the actual execution of behavior. This means that in a general theory of art any model *ultimately* has to account for this ability to use and form concepts. This is a problem that has to be solved in relation to biology and psychology in addition to limits of traditional anthropology. Secondly, concept formation and use is based on developed rules and/or decision-making processes. What I am talking about in this paper is a way of describing these developed rules in dealing with art styles. Thirdly, the stimuli for concept formation and use come from both external and internal environments. Finally, there are genetic limitations on human concept formation. Also, just by way of a warning, I think it is only rarely that the conscious models held by people of their own behavior (and of their artistic behavior as well) have much to do with the actual operation of the cultural system. When Bunzel was studying Pueblo potters she found many differences between the potters' conscious models and actual behavior.

PARTICIPANT: . . . [speaking of questioning creative people] . . . I think it is dangerous, you see — we ask them how do you do it? We ask them what is the proper way to do it — that is what we ask. And then they give us an answer. If we have to solicit, [then there is] no difference, whether you're talking about style in art or you're talking about [customs], if you ask them the proper way to marry, they may tell you . . . mothers, brothers and daughter. If you ask them is there a smart way to marry . . . I don't mean by this that people don't know what to do — people definitely know what to do in a culture, but they have conscious models that predict concisely what they do . . . but we haven't gotten to that.

MULLER: But, for example, I think it would be very difficult to elicit a complete grammar for English as a conscious formulation held by any speaker of the language. I think that people have these models; I think they use them; I think they know what to do, but I don't think they sit down and do what the anthropologist is trying to do, formulate this thing as a conscious model.

PARTICIPANT: In some areas they do and in some areas they don't.

MULLER: Well, in language they probably don't.

PARTICIPANT: . . . sometimes it's more comfortable [in the anthropologist-subject situation] to not be able to say what you're doing . . .

PARTICIPANT: Why don't you ask some of these people . . . What's the way to decorate a pot that would sell well? Which is a subquestion of my general question, what's the smart way to decorate a pot?

MULLER: I think Bunzel asked the potter something like "How do you achieve proper balance of design in painting the pot?," rather than how to make it sell. The same way that you talk to Americans about drawing anything and you get two sets of answers — it depends on how you phrase the question.

PARTICIPANT: This leads us into the problem of verbal symbols and nonverbal symbols. The work of art of the creative person is a nonverbal symbol. Though it is nonverbal, you accept and note everything he says about it. These are secondary rationalizations. What he felt, all the decisions he made in creating have already been done, and he can't tell you that feeling he had in making the decision to make a line here or change one there. He can rationalize it, going around and around it, and you can analyze the rationalizations for content and patterns, but you are still not getting at the heart of the matter which is creativity in response to affective emotion, and which is intuitively felt.

MULLER: I will say that the analysis of folk models, regardless of their fit to actual behavior or not, is in itself a valuable and productive area of anthropology. I think it is important to study the folk models or the worldview of people. It can tell you just as much about a culture as studying their pottery or art styles.

PARTICIPANT: [Within a culture] you've got different sorts of people, if you want to call them subcultures . . . but you don't even have to do that. [In my own work I found] . . . the women will tell you one thing and the potters will tell you the other thing. They're both right; they both have different models, different rationales. . . . There's more than one right answer. Another way to try is if you find a system relating to that, for example, a system of aesthetic standards or a vocabulary of this. The amount of the vocabulary can show an interest in this aspect. Frequently though, you find a people who are unable to describe their feeling about art forms because there are not enough words in their language for more complete description . . . or perhaps because the subject is not important to them.

MULLER: I'm just saying that I don't think that it is necessarily true that these conscious views are going to be very useful in doing the sort of thing I'm talking about here. Also I would suggest, as Pike and a lot of other people have suggested earlier, that the structures of different human behavioral systems and subsystems are homologous rather than analogous. I suppose this is an article of faith rather than something to be demonstrated from any present psychological and biological information. But it seems to me that they are more likely to have the same basic principles of organization, though perhaps to be utilized in quite different ways; just as the flipper of a whale and my hand are homologous, but in fact function in quite different ways.

The next question is whether the theory is appropriate or not, and this

leads to the question of adequacy of descriptions. The simplest kind of adequacy is simply somehow to describe the data. Probably the simplest way of doing this is to list the materials. In this sense, an adequate description of materials is a list of everything that occurs in a sample. I think that all of us recognize that while this may have certain uses for a catalog, it doesn't take us very far towards understanding human behavior. That is, such description fails by a second condition of adequacy, since it fails to make significant generalizations about the material being studied. A condition should be made that any theory has to make some kinds of significant generalizations. Now, defining *significant* is the crucial problem, and depends on what is being done. What is significant may be quite different for different studies. For the archeologist, who is simply interested in distinguishing one art style from another, significant generalizations may be very simple. However, if human behavior is to be understood, immediately there are problems with typological and taxonomic approaches. These approaches fail to account for the kind of variation in human behavior that we observe, and most of them have tended to be either the sort of platonic view that I mentioned earlier, or otherwise to be some form of descriptions of sets. Again for certain kinds of purposes — for recognition of membership in classes, etc., this may be sufficient. I don't mean to say that this is not a valuable and important way of operating for certain kinds of problems. But this approach allows really no real way of explaining variation within a style. To me this kind of explanation is very unsatisfactory, because it does not really account for the data. In some sense the description of material has to predict what is possible or not possible within the limit of the structure. A set of rules of some kind can present this predicting capacity. Rules can take many different forms of notation; there are many different ways of writing grammars. These vary from flow chart presentation all the way through formal logical statements with different kinds of notational systems employed. There are people who spend a great deal of time dealing with this question of what kinds of notational systems are best and whether or not we need rules of a different kind or not. I'll come back to this a little later on. Unfortunately, and this I think is one of the more important things that Chomsky pointed out, we must do more than just come up with a set of significant generalizations in the form of rules. The problem is that there is more than one set of significant generalizations that can account for the same material. It is possible to write, in the case of language for example, more than one grammar. This problem takes us into the realm of mental theory in general philosophy of science. How does one decide which of the broad number of different possible models is to be preferred? We choose the simplest explanation that accounts for the material, and I think that if we're interested in something more than model-building, we also have to take human psychology into account, since this

must ultimately set certain limitations on the kinds of rules that are allowable. However, this is no particular limitation on the present state of the theory; because, quite frankly, so little is known about human psychology.

What is the nature of this grammar? First of all, there is a list of the basic elements of a style. Then there is a set of rules which accounts for regularities in these elements. Third, we have a context-free phrase-structure grammar which is "ordered" — the rules are in a particular order, and the grammar must be gone through in that order. Finally, a set of transformational rules which take the output of this context-free, phrase-structure grammar and map these into surface level representations. The justification really for having such transformational rules is essentially that they allow us to make certain kinds of generalizations that are difficult or inelegant in other formats. This is a model aimed at describing competence. The output of such a grammar is not an art work. It is a statement about the structure of the art work. It is not a set of instructions for making an art work. In fact, were you to make such an art work, you would ultimately have to proceed in considerably different ways than a grammar outlines. Such a set of rules of actual construction would be more properly a part of a performance model, and would detail how to go from a competence model to performance. Also, the performance model would have to take into account a broad range of problems here, whether or not the artist has physical disabilities, and so on. It would have to take into account human limitations of the sort that do not have to be written into competence grammar. In competence grammar we really don't have to worry about limitations on human memory, for example, to construct concepts. Furthermore, at this time I state that I am making no claims whatsoever for the psychological reality of the competence model. I do not claim that a competence model involving this kind of grammar represents the actual operations of the mind. As Chomsky has put it, it is rather more a metaphor of what goes on in the human mind. It is an attempt to formalize what happens without saying that this is *actually* the way that it happens.

Validation of such a grammar is another problem. First, and most importantly, it must meet the basic criteria of adequacy and elegance. It must be as simple as it can be. It must account for the material. As previously mentioned, some studies have used this kind of model; in my own case with fifteenth- and sixteenth-century shell gorgets from eastern Tennessee. Working with archeological material has some advantages as well as disadvantages. The advantage is that there are no informants to worry about and the disadvantage is that there are no informants to worry about. It is impossible in an archeological context to check the output of a grammar with an informant. However, the acceptability of a thing is not an absolute test as to whether or not an object in art is in fact properly

conceived. Other examples of this approach include Wall's study of Nevada cattle brands and Faris' grammar of the Nuba body paintings. Both Wall and Faris employ a notational system which is based ultimately on a Mitre Corporation computer program for transformational grammars and looks quite different from my own grammars.

What is the use of such a system of description? First of all, it is an attempt to get at the theoretical problem of describing behavioral systems. But it has practical utility as well. For one thing, it allows much closer and more meaningful comparison of styles. As I indicated in a paper in *Man across the sea*, there are cases of people who propose diffusion and contact on the basis of what may be superficial resemblance, when underlying structures may be quite different. In addition, a formal-logical description allows a more rigorous treatment of change through time. In the material I've studied, for example, forms can be seen to change earlier than structure.

PARTICIPANT: [We know that] . . . some are very concerned with ethnicity as it applies to art and so-called evolution of origin. You have come to this conclusion already. . . . It's just that you are handing us a tool to give students that makes this much more precise.

MULLER: Many anthropologists, of course, have pointed out that in a change in religious system, for example, forms tend to change earlier than structure. This is no novel discovery. It's just that in this case you can specify much more explicitly how the forms and the structures change. It is not "impression" but a matter of some kind of formal statement of these changes. Also — and perhaps Margaret Hardin Friederich may have something more to say about this than I do — I think that in many cases a formal statement will allow a much clearer understanding of the relationship of these artistic subsystems to other portions of the culture. I haven't had a chance to talk with Margaret recently about it, but at one point I remember that she had what looked like very interesting parallels between structures in different areas of the culture. This kind of study, I repeat, is not necessary for all purposes. There are lots of reasons why people study art. If you are engaged in the kind of study that calls for this formalization, and for a rigorous treatment of differences between styles, then I suggest that this is at least one way of doing it. If you are interested in other kinds of problems, this approach might be handy, but is by no means necessary. I'll be happy to answer questions at this point.

PARTICIPANT: Structural analysis seems to be a useful tool, but as you say, you are still hung up on some of its limitations. I can see that there are things here in your analysis of change in structure and form that have to do with meaning, but that still leaves us with problems of meanings and creativity. Your methodology provides us with a useful tool, however; one in which I should like to be trained. There are series of art forms in museums I could have analyzed but avoided because I didn't have the

time to develop the complicated methodology and notation that I felt necessary for it.

MULLER: My own use of it was in an archeological context. I think this kind of formalization is very handy for archeological purposes.

PARTICIPANT: As you say, or imply, there can be confusion when we cannot get into the human mind and observe affective response and creativity taking place on many levels and locations in the brain. You're dealing here with the analysis of the end product, which, like language, is the symbol of the thoughts, and a means of communication. Those of us who have worked in the field with informants of another culture have difficulty enough without the existing barriers of meaning in language. When we get to this nonverbal symbol of art form that is also communication, it seems to me that we need many methodologies with which to deal not only with the created art form, but with the creative act itself. Your methodology will be a great aid to those with an ethnohistorical approach to art, as well. I think we should be cautious, too, as we examine universality. We need to examine more closely the need to communicate that we seem to share with other animals.

MULLER: I should say something here, too, that the phrase-structure portion of this grammar that I've written for Tennessee shell gorgets is on a much more suface level than Berlyne has been trying to get at with his psychobiological base. The "base component" is supposed to be universal statement, but I cannot claim that my phrase-structure grammar is universal. In some ways, the grammar, taken as a whole, is more like morpho-phonemic rules in linguistics.

PARTICIPANT: But are art styles sufficiently like language?

MULLER: Well, I like to think that there could be similarity, but this is something that rests upon one's basic outlook on human culture, rather than on any kind of proof that presently exists.

PARTICIPANT: The examples you have given, there are two. They seem to be flat objects without color. I'd like to know whether color comes into your analysis.

MULLER: I've tried this with two other kinds of things. In a seminar we worked with modern international trademarks. I also tried it on wheel covers for American automobiles. The form was much more complex than a purely two-dimensional art form. Obviously a good place to start is a simple style. How this applies to such traditions as sculpture is a real problem and I would frankly hesitate to approach sculpture in any situation where I didn't have live informants.

PARTICIPANT: You are actually introducing more variables from which you must construct a model?

MULLER: We did play around with some sculpture, but didn't get very far with it.

PARTICIPANT: This is a very similar kind of model to the one presented in

linguistics by Chomsky back in 1965, which was pretty well thrown out of a window. In terms of sculpture the kinds of models with which some of the semantic community tried to work may be much more interesting.

JUSTINE CORDWELL: We are grateful to Jon Muller for sharing his exploration of structural analysis as a contribution to methodologies in the study of art by anthropologists. At this time I would like to introduce Professor William R. Bascom, Director of the Lowie Museum of Anthropology at the University of California at Berkeley. I have asked Dr. Bascom to talk to our conference on the educational role of the university museums in displaying non-Western art and on those problems encountered when there is conflict between selection for aesthetic qualities and for teaching anthropology. Museum personnel with the extensive art experience possessed by Dr. Bascom and Dr. Phillip Lewis of the Field Museum, who are participating in this conference, are not easy to find. No matter how much they would love to dwell on the aesthetics of the forms with which they deal, they are primarily anthropologists, and therefore educators. Behind the scenes they have factors with which they must deal, such as exhibit personnel, trustees, limited funds, and a demanding public, all of which carry them far from their first interest, which is to display in the best light the art they love, but through which they wish to open a door of understanding to the public.

WILLIAM BASCOM: Regardless of the backgrounds of the people responsible for displaying the art of other cultures, whether it be so-called primitive or not, there is also a basic difference in the type of museum that's involved. The art museums will take African art and display it in one way, focusing strictly on the forms and the lighting and color; but in anthropological museums we feel an obligation to tie each piece into the cultural setting as best we can. I hope Phil Lewis will speak from the point of a public museum later.

At the Lowie Museum we also have the special position of being a university museum. This means that we have a primary obligation and duty to educate and inform and, to a certain extent, entertain, the students and the university community as a whole. I should note also that we have a very small exhibit hall, so that we have to rely on a series of changing exhibitions — with the exception of two teaching exhibitions on the development of man and the development of culture, which are way in the back of our one small hall and are used for Anthropology 1 and 2 by the teaching assistants. But this changing exhibition program means that people cannot come back to the museum and see pieces of which they are especially fond. It also means that for each exhibit we have to do a great deal of background research. Many of the larger museums, of course, have programs of changing exhibits in addition to their more or less permanent or semipermanent displays; and they face the same problems in dealing with this question. The treatment given to exhibits varies

markedly depending on the museum, the objectives of the museum itself, and its audience. Our primary intention has been to make each of our exhibits a teaching and learning experience. This means we're trying to show our audience as much as we can of the cultural context of the pieces, what they meant in the daily life of the people and what the feelings of the people toward them were. All this is, of course, dependent on the nature of the data that are available. When an exhibit is approved and gets past the initial planning stages, there are two or three staff members — all of them anthropologists, one with a Ph.D and others with MA's — whose responsibility it is to go to the library and research it. They hunt down all of the material on the society with which we're dealing and try to identify the pieces that we're planning to include. It is then determined, if possible, what their functions were, what their uses were, what the native terms for them were, etc. At times, after the available information has been gathered we find that there is no information on our particular pieces, and that of those pieces on which information can be found, none are available in the San Francisco Bay Area. When this happens we have either to borrow from other museums or change our plans.

Eventually the pieces are laid out — usually twice as many as we can possibly accomodate — and a selection is made both in terms of what data are available and in terms of the aesthetics of the pieces themselves. This and the final stage of the work is a cooperative effort between the Ph.D in Anthropology, his assistants who do the research, and the museum artist; and it is even more difficult.

There is a basic conflict between the anthropologist and the artist that makes for an ongoing dialogue, which is lively from the very beginning; from the conception of an exhibition to the final placement of the pieces in the cases. These two individuals, the anthropologist and the artist, see the pieces from quite different points of view. They would like to select different pieces; they would like to include greater or smaller numbers. Usually the anthropolgist wants to put more pieces into a case than the artist is happy with, and the artist would like to take out pieces that the anthropologist feels are essential to the exhibit. It is always a matter of argumentation and, eventually, some sort of a compromise. In our case, after the pieces have finally been selected and the texts have been written, it is left up to the artist to decide the color of the cases, to place the pieces in the cases, and to arrange for the installation of the lighting — all of which are, of course, very important to a successful exhibit.

We also differ from some other museums in that we believe that the text or label is as important as the pieces themselves or their installation. This is quite different from what we've done across the street in the new University Art Museum where a few of our pieces are set up — usually large ones in prominent places — but only inconspicuous labels that may simply say "Yoruba" and perhaps add the word "mask" or "statue," with

a note as to who the loaner or donor was. Our own texts are meant to be informative, but the question is, how much information can you put into them? You could write a whole essay on some of the pieces, but nobody would read it all. Nevertheless, we want to have enough information there so that anyone who is interested in knowing about a piece can find out about it, at least the bare essentials.

That brings us to the differences within the audience, regardless of whether you're dealing with the general public or a university community. Our museum aims its exhibits at the university student level. We try to make our information such that it is not insulting to a graduate student or a faculty member, but is understandable to a freshman. If high school and grade school students have difficulty in understanding our texts, and we hope that in most cases they don't, then they should be explained by their teacher who escorts them through the exhibits. And school groups do come through, although we do not aim our exhibits at them. Also, many of the exhibits attract people from the general public around the Bay Area, some more successfully than others. Even on this level, there are many kinds of people who come into the museum, with great individual differences. Some will stop and read everything, word for word, and spend several hours before they get through our small exhibit hall; others just walk right through them, in and out as fast as they can.

That has left me without my train of thought, so maybe I should stop here. In summary, it makes a great deal of difference in how you're going to deal with exhibitions, depending on your audience and on the purpose of your museum. Maybe we can call upon Phil for some comment.

PHILLIP LEWIS: What about the argument between the artist and the anthropologist?

BASCOM: I found that a common ground is that you both agree on the need for a catalog.

LEWIS: Everybody agrees on the need for a catalog, but nobody provides the money. We published our first catalog without any publication funds at all. We just went ahead and published it. We scraped the money from everywhere in the budget we could find it. Then we sold the catalog and we're still selling it, so it's paid for itself. But you need capital to begin with.

PARTICIPANT: I was wondering if there were dances [presented] or film, say, of an artist at work — where you push a button and you hear it or you see it. You spoke of labeling problems, particularly the fact that young people are essentially stimulated and motivated by television these days, film media, sound and all that. To what extent are they [museums] using tape cassettes which help us teach, so that it's not just a visual [process]?

BASCOM: Museums are doing it more and more. We've found that slides are great. Again it's a question of budget, and also of available materials. We have had slides that repeat themselves or can be activated by the

visitor. We have had a movie setup where groups of people come in at every half hour and we run through the film for them. But we are more successful in giving films outside of the museum in one of the teaching rooms in the same building; here you can seat 160 people instead of 20, there is a real projection booth and room for all the equipment. We have had to improvise. However, over the country it's becoming more and more important and common to use audio-visual supplements. Of course you also have audio guides which you carry with you and which tell you what you're seeing, so you don't have to read labels. I think that in some cases in Europe they're using these guides with several different languages.

LEWIS: The exhibition department of the Field Museum has a very fine idea for multimedia presentation. I recently sat in on a full-dress exhibition called "Man and his environment," which has nothing to do with art, but they use a lot of multimedia material now. The cost of this will give anyone pause. If you think it's difficult to finance a catalog, the cost of financing multimedia presentations is much worse. They range from $1,000 (1973) a minute for finished presentation to as high as $7,000 a minute. Then, fortunately you find a tendency for people not to stay for too many minutes to watch anything. That gives one a limit of perhaps ten minutes to fifteen or twenty. Of course there are still hundreds of people who would like to see an hour to an hour-and-a-half show. Multimedia, of course, goes far beyond slides or even a simple film, we deal with multiple factors — slides, cinema, tape presentation and the like. I personally take a somewhat dim view of this since I have the responsibility at the Field Museum for attempting to display and deal with large masses of specimens of art. I might say that every multimedia presentation wipes out a certain number of square feet of a hall where ordinary presentation of specimens [would be] when that space must be taken up for all that machinery. A certain amount of this is very good, as you suggest . . . we could certainly bring in context and explanation in a way that you really can't do with texts or any other way. . . . You can bring in very elaborate materials . . . artists at work and all that sort of thing.

It is really good, but it is a double-edged affair, and too much of it really begins to change the nature of the exhibit and to change the nature of the museum . . . exhibition people . . . have already moved from one position to the other. It very well may be that it will wipe out conventional museum approaches if not watched.

PARTICIPANT: One of the things that I found interesting was the kind of things that are attracting young people, and the kind of things that motivate them. In order to educate them, the schools are now being forced to use similar kinds of techniques. . . .

There was discussion of showing films in conjunction with specimen

display: problems of back-projection and blocking out light from windows. Some felt that too many films explaining techniques in art from graphic material were geared to an elementary level for children, so that the showing of these to university students is a matter of embarrassment.

The point was brought up that often a really good exhibition in a museum gets inadequate advertising.

BASCOM: I would say this. We have a special problem because we're located in Berkeley, and Berkeley has a very small population. Most people subscribe to a San Franciso newspaper, and San Francisco can be pretty snooty about anything that goes on outside of the city limits — unless it's university football or professional athletics, and then they send their reporters. We have difficulty in getting our publicity to the Bay Area people. I have always felt that it's not the university's place to start advertising, beyond putting out exhibit posters and news releases. Moreover, again it's a question of budget. We just don't have the money for a big advertizing campaign, and yet we manage to get some publicity in unexpected places. Recently an art critic from Honolulu went through all the big museums in the Bay Area including the new University Art Museum, and then devoted three quarters of a whole-page article in his newspaper to our exhibit on folk arts from India. This gave us a great deal of satisfaction, I might say, but not publicity where we needed it.

There was discussion of the cost of an instrument after it has been collected and finally exhibited. It must be replaced now and then, and if it is used for demonstrations there is the question of whether or not this might ruin the specimen. Some participants had stories of exhibits where such instruments are played in concerts, which give people an idea of how they sound in orchestra. Others told of tape recordings that could be played at the site of musical instrument in the museum. Dr. Sithole pointed out that this is cheaper than importing a native orchestra, and that at least the museum visitor is getting an association between the instrument in the museum and a live performance. Other participants brought out experiences with inner-city children of various minority groups who had wonderful learning experiences with live performances of exotic musical instruments, particularly those indigenous to their own cultures. The children themselves want to demonstrate, rather than having demonstrations all the time. This however, is not getting them into the museums except in specific teaching field trips. Now, however, the museums are beginning to reach out to the people with the arts of other cultures, and the people in turn are reaching out to the museums.

BASCOM: One of the things that I've noticed in certain museums is that they are tending to get away from being a museum and become somewhat

of a theater, something of a television station or a movie house. But I think we're all accustomed to knowing that if you're going to the theater you have a certain time for an evening performance, or maybe there's a matinee; but we don't expect to see it at 9:00 A.M. And if it's a television program, you may have to wait for a month to see what you're waiting for; you may not get what you want every day. There's a difference in what the theater and what the movie and what the television do and what the museum does, and there's also a different expectation of what you're going to get. And again all this comes back to budget and how much you can spend. We had a group of students playing Indian music for the formal opening of our folk arts of India exhibit, but we could not hope to get them back every day. They were students, going to classes; they had other commitments and nobody else was available.

LEWIS: For the past few years the Field Museum has staged what we've been calling festivals, trying to stage with an appropriate exhibit various live performances. This has been telescoped into two or three in a month's period, where we have brought appropriate performers. However, even though everyone is supposed to know that they are there, they still are not very well attended. Maude Wahlman is having a contemporary African art exhibition, and she intends to have similar performances.

MAUDE WAHLMAN: The exhibit is on the role of the African artist in Africa today. But there are a lot of art forms you can't show, such as emphatic rhythm, so we are having a festival to demonstrate these in cultural context. Some will occur only once, but there will be events on constantly over six months: dance, music, drama, and demonstrations of techniques by artists. Another feature is the same shop where you sell rather minor things . . . some not so minor. This will be similar to the Mexican market we had once.

CORDWELL: This contemporary African show has the purpose of bringing more of the black community into the museum to see it as a living, learning experience. The education department is going out into the community and the schools with traveling exhibits so that the children can handle African art, seeing, feeling, and hearing the music.

BASCOM: I wish you could come to Berkeley and see our exhibit of Indian folk art, because we have toys and household implements and things of this sort, along with Kashmir shawls and beautiful musical instruments.

Recently we had a student in Japan. We gave him $200 or $300 and he collected for us old Japanese farming implements, because these are just going out now, and in a few years they'll be gone.

PARTICIPANT: You spoke about the functions of the museum in the university community, and special activities that respond to different groups or ethnic [minorities] as part of your educational function. I

wonder if those of you who are involved in museum work have felt any of these pressures of different ethnic groups demanding materials of their culture to be given back to them in effect. What is a museum person's attitude toward this?

PARTICIPANT: Well, there has been a series of very interesting exchanges on this in the AAA journal. The pressure has been strongest in New York State. The situation of the treaty wampum, because of the various specimens in museums. These were objects made to celebrate a treaty, and the Indians wanted them back, apparently not paying any attention to all the other stuff in the museum. How did that come out? Did they give it back?

LEWIS: It [the wampum] was found in the New York State Museum, and I think they wanted to see a receiving institution [rather than a group or individual get it]. We have thought about this problem, and it's certainly going to rise more and more in future years. One of the [prime] considerations I should think is that if you're going to give something back, who do you give it back to? The person who asks may not really be the appropriate person to have it. If there is a national museum, could it be enjoyed by the whole nation from which it came? That sort of thing. Many of us would feel better if it went to a kind of museum, certainly a national one.

PARTICIPANT: Let me present you with a particular case, for I wonder what your response would be. There is a particular community college which is attempting to make a collection of Navajo art and material culture for a variety of purposes; but most particularly in order to have this material available on the reservation. There it will be seen by far more Navajos than it would be in a museum. Also they have very active art programs in the college. I was just wondering what your own response would be to their appeals.

BASCOM: Well, I can't speak for all museums or even for most of them. My personal feelings, and I think they're shared by a good number of people in the field, are that we should give great consideration to such requests and try to get the people who are requesting to refine their request so that it's feasible. If, on the other hand, a militant group comes forward and says we want everything back, we can't accept that demand. But if it's a reasonable request, if they're talking about specific objects of historic or other kinds of significance, there's a reason; and if it's a situation where we feel these objects will be taken care of on a continuing basis, I should think their request would merit serious consideration. This is a discussion that could go on and on and I'm afraid my time has elapsed.

One of the aspects of art and anthropology on which we had hoped to develop some new questions and directions was that of folklore; but not the study of folklore in the traditional sense. We were hoping to develop a dialogue between folklorists and those of us interested in new

methodologies developing in our respective fields of dance, drama, musicology, and the plastic and graphic arts. The approach in which we were interested was a holistic one, where the total scene of the story-telling situation was to be involved. This would include the variation in creativity of the storytellers, the audience-storyteller interaction, gestures of every kind, setting, and the "unseen structure" aesthetic in composition, created in the minds of the listener by the artist; in other words, the total artistic success or even partial success of the storyteller as evaluated by himself and by members of his audience. However, although five well-known folklorists attended the conference, each had developed his or her own approach within traditional ones. Two participants, Dr. Heda Jason, who had her own conference in Denmark before arriving in Chicago for the Congress, came with another participant to describe the work in structural analysis that they had done at that gathering. Mme. Comisel entered into the discussions through the translations made most kindly by Henry Drewal. William R. Bascom, editor of the *Journal of Folklore* for many years, and O. P. Joshi of Surat, India, were those present who were most sympathetic to holistic studies of the storytelling situation and to the implications for research in this direction.

MADAME COMISEL (as translated by Dr. Drewal): It was [some time ago] when we first realized that the direct question or the use of question-naires in trying to get at people's attitude towards folklore was not adequate, and that some other method had to be used. So we based the theory of this particular method on direct observation of what occurred, a method which was very difficult. Then on the assumption that there is a lot of thorough documentation for this method. . . .

The method begins with the use of a questionnaire, which tries to find out what people think about what they are doing. Here it comes back to the question that was raised earlier about the differences between what people say and what people do. But this method does begin with a kind of questionnaire. What do people say about a particular type of music or story? I can't go into a detailed description of the method here but there are some specific principles which come from this method, which I want to explain now. Within the folkloric system there are certain sections, and this method tries to divine the rule for the principles that are the basis of these various [divisions].[1]

I have found, as a result of these studies [above], that within the systems there is a change; that there are different rules that apply, but that there are things that change later on. Here, the function of the dance; the reason for the dance does change, but the dance remains the same. As an example, a ritual dance within a religious ceremony, now still continues in

[1]   Mme. Comisel has published a number of volumes, which seek to describe and analyze certain folkloric systems, such as the sound system, and also the rhythmic system. —*Editor*.

the same form, but its function is different. Certain of these things remain constant, but the immediate function of it changes. The changes occur in the structure of the folklore, and these changes don't all occur at one time; they occur in any period of time. They don't occur spontaneously, but they occur in one small region, a little bit at a time. They reach a certain level and then they may change again another time. There are certain systems which seem to be universal, and others that are not. For example, there are some universal systems that involve rhythm. They involve the total pattern; they involve the rhythm and also the gesture of the dance. I believe that the universality of certain of these systems within the folkloric tradition comes as a result of universality in the human conscience. After a hundred years of research, it seems as though cultures around the world have used certain basic forms and folkloric structures which they then interpret to enrich, refine, and define for their own particular social development or historic content. But on the other hand, there are universal conflicts. For example, there is a child's rhythm which seems to occur in all countries around the world.

Now we are trying to apply these methods at the Folkloric Institute and the Institute for South European Studies in order to see how they apply to the actual situation. This is of course, just a brief outline of the things that we are doing that I have been able to tell you here.

The afternoon of the first day of conference discussion was spent in debating the pitfalls and merits of attempting to create some kind of text for students from the cooperative efforts of all the scholars present, as originally conceived by the conveners. Although it had been repeatedly emphasized that the real thrust of such a volume would be to examine the present state of our own knowledge of the field and to suggest new directions of research and new ways of following cross-disciplinary work that concerned perception, creativity and the arts, the participants rightly felt that we did not represent as broad a cross section of interdisciplinary scholars as would be needed for such a text.

One participant expressed it very well in pointing out that we should be thinking not of the mythical student to whom a text might be directed, but of recording simply our communication with each other. Our dialogue, in itself, as we questioned and challenged each other would demonstrate the on-going need for exchange of dialectic. As another conferee pointed out, we needed to broaden our own viewpoint as much as that of a student.

Many of the questions that were brought up on this afternoon were to remain with us for the next day and a half, and on into the Congress session itself. For example, does the term aesthetic make any sense cross-culturally? What are the boundaries of aesthetic events? And are they really ours or "theirs?" If we adopt the approach of analyzing both temporal and spatial dimensions of such an "event," must we consistently

use the holistic approach in every analysis we do? How far can we go in pointing out difficulty of separating the affective and the cognitive in the creative act or appreciation of an artistic form? To what extent can we determine how aesthetic principles reflect the necessities of social structure and vice versa? Can creativity be measured in the field of aesthetics? We also weighed whether any bibliography we had put together from our own teaching experience would help a student any more than the bibliographies to be found at the end of each of the papers on folklore, music, dance and the visual arts. Time and space precluded our working on any extensive additional bibliography. Certainly, as one person put it, we were in no position to create a five-hundred-entry one.

The area in which we encountered the most difficulty was in attempting to resolve the confusion over the meaning of certain terms, particularly that of "affective response." This term had been selected by the planning committee of the Congress to denote those areas of culture whose genesis was based in emotion. Other aspects of culture such as social institutions came under the heading of "cognitive response." That both of these responses involve the creation of communicative symbols goes without saying. The confusion came about when some members alternated the use of "affective response" with "aesthetic response." Religious experience, it was pointed out, is primarily affective in nature, but not necessarily aesthetic. Therefore, we began to use the term "aesthetic affective response," which could occur in the act of contemplation of color, line, form, sound and movement as it is found in nature, or as it is deliberately created in organized, aesthetic compositions made by man, to which we gave the name of "artistic forms in the visual and performing arts." In the case of the latter, a dance movement or an entire ballet or ceremony could become a nonverbal symbol of communication, while the cognitive and verbal analysis of it is a secondary rationalization after the primary symbol is produced.

The morning of the second day began with the third paper that had been prepared in order to stimulate discussion. It was concerned with the analysis of complicated visual data involving a number of art forms, coupled with religious experience. We resume our presentation of taped transcript, but lamentably without the superb films that gave visual impact and the stirring tapes of the music accompanying the Jamaican dances and ceremonies from which our third lecturer spoke.

CORDWELL: At this time I take great personal pleasure in introducing an old friend and former classmate of mine at Northwestern University, Dr. Joseph G. Moore, now of St. Croix, but also professor of anthropology at Bridgewater State College in Massachusetts. He has the unique distinction of having worked with three generations of informants in Morant Bay, Jamaica over the last thirty years.

Some of this transcription was lost in changing tapes. Dr. Moore went to great pains to put together film and tapes of music that would show change over the years in religious ceremonies participated in by his informants. There is a degree of creativity in the change; as Dr. Moore says, a whole progression of development of a culture. At this point in the conference, when we were awash in theory and debate, this analysis of visual and auditory data gave us something concrete to hold onto . . . that joy of fieldworkers, visible measurable data. We were soon to find that the anthropologist-Episcopalian priest, so in love with people of the Caribbean and their worldview, had led us all unsuspecting up the garden path with his films of ceremonies, descriptions of *obeah* men and possessions by deities, and pervasive, hypnotic drumming tapes. As participants questioned why he bothered with this and that, or they leaned forward eagerly to grasp something for analysis, it melted before them and they found themselves right back where they were the day before, forced to come face to face with change, virtual experience, inexplicable creativity constantly carried forward in time. This meticulous scholar, in admitting fumbled informant-scientist sessions led us back to question our own approaches to our materials and data.

JOSEPH G. MOORE: [Ongoing description of film.] [This was taken] right after World War II, there are just three drummers, as you will see. There is a large drum, a smaller one, the plain one, and a little scraper. There are five instruments in all. You'll also see George Simpson, who was with me this time, an *obeah* man, who has just retired. You'll see him coming out the door, because he had to be purified, or something similar. He was with me once or twice, but not too often.

What I am doing now is identifying the dances and dance music. So far I have about a hundred gods, with access to maybe a 160 or 170 earth-bound, skybound-earthbound and ancestral deities. I hope to take the dance forms I have on film so they can be isolated for use in graduate study or groups such as this, with the beats and rhythmic structure also. You know, after twenty-five or thirty years of study, I am learning that there are so many things you can learn, and different ways of saying it. You can go through the structure over and over again. My informants say that every god is greeted uniquely in his own way by dance and by beat. However, this isn't exactly true. There are unique differences in the thing. What I'm also discovering is that you can see the whole progression of development of a culture. For example, you can see this through the dance and sound for Minuka — Minuka Vola. Minuka Vola, a strong slave leader, died about a hundred years ago. He comes and possesses [worshipers or dancers], and he came and possessed one William Bailey years ago. William Bailey dances differently from Minuka Vola, but you can see Minuka Vola in William Bailey. William Bailey died about 1910.

And so it goes from one generation to another. Aaron Gordon, a young drummer, when he dances to William Bailey, he also dances to Minuka, and you can see the structure going back a hundred years in dance genus and sound genus, just through this one particular pattern. So I think that someday, not in my generation, but in your generation, (some of the younger ones here) you will have a lot more access to understanding the processes of culture than we did just after World War II and our years at Northwestern University and the beginnings of the African Program.

Some of the discussion was lost at this point as we changed tapes. Dr. Moore is describing a young woman informant he had questioned many years ago.

. . . She said a few words to me, in the middle of something else we were talking about. I said "What did you say?" She said it again. I couldn't understand her, so I just went on. Fifteen years later I got from the tape finally what she had said. It was "Doc, I love you and I'll give you a baby." And I kept saying, "What did you say?" (Laughter).

PARTICIPANT: But you're talking about a situation which is purely a descriptive one, and I assume the discussion here is an analytical one — I don't understand the connection.

MOORE: I'm beginning to learn more and more analytical kinds of things now, as I look at film and listen to the sound of even years ago. I'm finding that I hear the language better. I thought I knew a lot of this "Congo-type" of language (as they said in England), but now I hear the words more. There are all kinds of nuances of sound. I hear the little differences in the drum that they told me about at the time, the differences I really couldn't hear then.[2]

PARTICIPANT: The trouble with that is, if you don't ask the right question when you are in the field, you can listen to your tapes endlessly, and you won't know whether it has aesthetic values for the informant or not.

MOORE: Yes, but if you don't leave it entirely to the asking of questions, if you are interested for instance in dance and music, you aren't quite so limited. It's not either–or, I agree with you. You are also limited by asking stupid questions on the tape. I learned this by listening to myself on the tapes, trying not to ask such stupid questions the next time . . . but I still do. Even now when we sit around down there (St. Croix), we get people from all the islands. We get to talking about language and culture, etc. Sometimes on our deck we have eight or nine different islands repre-

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[2]   Dr. Moore was the first anthropologist to prove, with his first sixty hours of tape from fieldwork in Morant Bay in I believe 1950 or 1951, that the Jamaicans of this rural area in eastern Jamaica were learning a working Congo language before they learned English. — *Editor*.

sented that are talking; guys that I know, friends of mine, and gals. There are still things I should have known, I just didn't know the right questions.

JOANN KEALIINOHOMOKU: Yesterday you were talking about the issue of affective response in art. If one assumed, just for an issue of discussion, that this [the film sequence] was an affective response, people seeming to be involved, there seemed to be an immediacy of presence and sensuousness and development, and so on. My question is, how would that affective response, just from what we saw in that film, the way they responded, differ from the way they would respond in other kinds of situations? What is the affective response in art? I think to most people there seems to be a visual cue of involvement in this. And I'm just wondering, if we assume that music and dance are, in terms of discussions, how would this differ from other affective response or emotional response in other common situations? In work, in games, in babbling, sitting in a bar and drinking?

MOORE: Dan Gordon, that fine drummer, at that time was fisherman and a chain cutter, but he lived for his weekends when he drummed ceremonials. His whole person came alive after eight or nine hours of this. Of course, this goes on all night long. Cinderella, the little gal who did the twirls in the film that you saw so much of, had an artistry. In her own right, she was a maid. Sometimes she lost her job and just lived with guys. But Cinderella was appreciated by oh! dozens of families in Jamaica, when they had an interment or any kind of ceremony, just for her dancing and singing ability. When she turned on, there was an affective difference in her personality. I think you can feel this in her eyes and in her voice. I think this is at least one part of the affective response, as I listened yesterday. I think this is a rather good definition of certain different kinds of art. There is a spark of affection that is deep inside that doesn't need language to translate.

CORDWELL: For those of you who are familiar with West African patterns, this is a mixture; there is some West African, but it is primarily Congolese. In my work I was very naive at first, because I had been a professional artist. I was trying to develop some way of finding out what aesthetic standards people had; what made an art form "fine." They didn't have a word for "beautiful" or a concept of beauty as an abstract quality. I would ask, "What makes this 'fine' for you?" And they would say, we know what we like and what makes us feel good. But sometimes when we have a ritual (such as Moore showed) there is another set of rules we use. Maybe we don't always feel that it's fine; it doesn't always make us feel as if we are doing something that would please us, but the gods like it a certain way. It dawned on me that some of what I had observed was not done for the preferences of individuals but those of deities. These preferences from another world had been ascertained by the process of divination at the request of a worshiper anxious to please the super-

natural being. I bring this up because Joe's speaking about somewhat the same thing.

PARTICIPANT: When you are talking about dance or art styles of a country or anything else, we always have to ask, I would say, at least two questions. One, what is the purpose of it as they understand it, what is their goal; and secondly, what are the rules they know and follow? In other words, what is the ideal rule as against the rule that they manipulate and apply?

MOORE: The aesthetic question in philosophy and psychology, and anthropology, for a number of years has come back. It's become cleansed, as we now realize that all human beings create aesthetic forms.

PARTICIPANT: Can these things be analyzed? Are there many ways we can bring this to the [social science] community? We are finally forced to say, this is what human life is. We make it arbitrary, and we set up an arbitrary model. In my arbitrary model, purpose is fundamental. [I ask]: what is the goal of this behavior; what are the rules it is governed by?

MOORE: The goal in this particular thing was to find out whether the gods would permit us to do this filming of the *Kuma*. They invoked about forty, or maybe fifty, gods to find out. Those dancing postures were petitioning for either that or possession by those gods. The answer was that it was okay. So we went on that next weekend, and did the filming. This way if you ever want to see *Kuma*, I have the film — because it is quite different. This was one dance after another, and a lot of it wasn't in possession. In *Kuma*, it's all possession. After the first hour or two, all the gods will come in under possession, with the glazed eye, etc. But that was the purpose. The purpose of every one of these postures was to petition a certain [spirit] done in that way. I've checked and back-checked this with the performance. I could listen for a beat of William Bailey, and if I wanted to see William Bailey again just to check it. At nights I used to walk around with my friends and we would go to a *Kuma* and watch William Bailey possess over here, and maybe at two o'clock in the morning watch William Bailey possess over somewhere else. And he was the same William Bailey in possession in one case as he was in another.

ALAN MERRIAM: You said that there were more or less equal ways in which you could approach this. You have "purpose" as the first one to be concerned with. On the one hand there are a number of ways. I don't quite understand what we should be doing here. We could try and give a listing of a number of equal ways, but that would take a great deal of time. The other possibility is to say, although there are an infinite number of ways, they are not equally useful; and there, it seems to me, we would have to rely on some theoretical framework in order to judge the [efficacy of each]. Since we do not have an infinite amount of time, the other possibility would be to ask, are there any theoretical frameworks floating

around these days, which could cut to some manageable proportions the number of questions one might want to ask?

PARTICIPANT: I think it was first stated very forceably that in a certain social structure, human behavior is purposeful, it's goal-directed. Almost everybody who is anybody believes that now. I think we have been talking here, with the object of what we've been talking about being that human behavior is goal-oriented. I think we got confused for a while when the function led us around in circles. Functions are quite different from purposes. Functions are consequences of action. And purpose is what the human being is trying to do. That's why I think it is important that we get that. . . . Then we have to know what the rules are that constrain them.

HENRY DREWAL: Joe, Madame Comisel wants to know whether in your research with this *obeah* man you interviewed or talked with, the people who participated in it, believed in it, and what their feelings were toward the ritual, toward what occurred there. Maybe this approach is something of the question of whether it was aesthetic for them, ritual, or what, I don't know.

MOORE: I was doing the same general study of their life and culture in the area. I didn't even expect to pick up language, because at that time it was thought that Jamaica had very little African language left. When I heard these words, and it was no longer dialect to me, I began to work on language. So I was led into this. I always used informants to check on one another, and also to check on what they considered the *obeah* man. Cecil was only one of the *obeah* men I worked with, and I discussed with the others what they thought of Cecil as an *obeah* man, and of his power and so on. All these people that you saw dancing here were people of professional level. They were like graduate students around a professor, so I think you would probably get less disagreement about their boss. Nevertheless, from the outside, they were people who were afraid of Cecil and his power, etc. And I got some cross-information about Cecil from outside his inner group. There he had such great power for them and in part of the training he was a great drummer, but outside in one [ceremony] he disrupted it, becuase they were afraid of him. They finally got me to take him home at two o'clock in the morning, that is the family did, and the ceremony went on without him. So he was not universally liked, but his power was respected.

I brought a present from Africa to the man, and he just loved it, used it, because it was African. I think the kind of thing I'm doing here — I want to do a good job for dancers and others, so that in cross-cultural things and processial things we discussed yesterday, they can be usefully used in the future. And I think that the more carefully we do our ethnographical material, that will relate itself to various segments of say, art and anthropology and other things like that. I didn't even have it in mind then, in the beginning, though I had always liked music and art. I can see now, in my

later years, that I could never have done it in ten years and worked through this material and the other material. I want to get out there a few more times to cross-check. This can be a valuable asset to graduate students and postgraduate students as they collate material for a whole, running process that wasn't available to us, say, thirty years ago. I don't see this as a final thing, but as a certain building up of good material, at least for treatment later on.

DREWAL: Of the people who were there that were in the film, there were some participating in the dance, there were others apparently from the compound who were there. Madame is wondering what their feeling was toward it. Did they consider it theater in any sense of that word?

MOORE: I shouldn't think so. The one was one of his wives, and she considered it a bore to have this going on. He had one wife there, one wife in Kingston, and one wife somewhere else. But I don't think they considered it theater — no, Madame. Although a girl like Cinderella in a dance scene, practicing as she would do, I could never really be sure that Cinderella, that girl that was dancing in whirls, was not doing it for show lots of times. She liked to do this.

MADAME COMISEL: In our country, in Rumania, when there is a folklore performance similar to what was shown here, they always do it before a public, and it is more as a performance. And we also inquire to see how the people who are regarding the rituals feel. The appreciator here is the god. There is an appreciator, it's just that in this case it is supernatural.

PARTICIPANT: I think we answered this in the first question. [If] the definition of aesthetics involves mainly the professionalism and the qualities relating to the public in the case of dance, then "no." I think that if it involves doing things meticulously and well and beautifully and enjoying them, then "yes." The second part of your question is interesting. What's really happening in the Caribbean now is interesting, and I guess it hasn't happened in Jamaica, but I think it will. At least I haven't seen a dance troupe in Jamaica. I have asked them to bring in more of this material. This [present] Jamaica stuff is still Western-oriented. But in Trinidad and Haiti they're breaking into modern dance, things that are Afro-American in their backgrounds — these beautiful black cult ceremonies that no longer are done so much for the gods, as they are for artistic qualities, and this, of course, then has the aesthetic qualities of a dance to Trinidad and Haiti.

CORDWELL: That raises an interesting point. If a group performs alone without appreciators in the form of an audience . . . I used to play in a quartet, and the feeling that you got of performing so that you are really blending and creating mood. But you are creating and performing for one another and yourself and you are part of a whole. I can still see the faces of the others, the laughter, the knowing smile and nod when they know they had done something well that transcended each of us. I see Cinderella —

"we did it" — "that was a good one!" Then you get this in jazz combos, too.

We have time for one more comment before adjourning for the noon break.

PARTICIPANT: I'm trying to understand the idea of motivation and connecting it with [its role in] aesthetics. There are many people who will have the same motivation and will not turn out aesthetically competent work. The ingredients involved in motivation, whether it be with an audience, with oneself, or with a group, seem to have little correlation with whether the result is truly aesthetic or not, even when going cross-culturally to study it as you are doing now. In my understanding of aesthetics, what we seem to seek is an understanding of how other cultures arrive at or measure the same values we seek to measure. We might misinterpret, perhaps, what they are measuring, but it is usually the same basis that we are attempting to measure in our own culture.[3]

It strikes me that there have been many artists of all kinds whom we have discovered after they died. Here we do not know their motivation, do not know their lives and circumstances . . . all we are presented with is their work, and we somehow find very high regard for this work, though we may be very wrong in assuming we know its motivation. We don't feel very wrong in our evaluation of their work on an aesthetic basis. Isn't this in a sense similar to that which you've been talking about? Does this make sense?

At this point we broke for lunch. In returning, we broke up into two groups. For the first time the dance and music scholars worked on their own. As mentioned above, the tape recorder used by them was faulty so we are deeply indebted to their perseverance and collaboration in note taking so that they were able to report as fully as possible to the Congress session on the visual and performing arts. Approximately eighteen of us in the field of graphic and plastic arts elected to spend the afternoon of the second day in a give and take session ringed around the microphone of a tape recorder.

The ease with which we settled into a working discussion was quickly noted, and we laid it to a number of factors among which were the familiarity with concepts in the media we had been familiar with and a shared vocabulary that is different from that used by dance and music scholars. It was also pointed out that the virtual experience, the affective response to two-dimensional and three-dimensional art forms which generally fall into our category are very different from those involved in the temporal sequences of dance movements and sound in music or theater and pageantry.

[3]   This participant is a professional artist, working in advertising, and interested in exploring his own motivation and aesthetic feelings. — *Editor*.

The afternoon of the second day of the conference, we had arrived at the point where we were more than ready to get down to a discussion of goals and methods, and even more basic concepts. We found ourselves going back to fundamental issues concerning the nature of man, of which our field of aesthetics is only a part. We re-examined the directions in which the study of the human animal were going. We decided that it did not matter if we were talking about dance, pottery, or painting; it all related back to the fact that humans do it. To go forward, we felt we had to go back to explore fundamentals.

As far back as 1917 Kroeber raised the question — is culture behavior, or ideas that result in behavior? It is a comforting thought that many independently came to the same conclusion over the ensuing years. We learn ideas, not necessarily behavior, and these are transmitted from generation to generation. These ideas are passed on in many ways, including such means as dance, art, folktales, etc. Animals can communicate through body language, behavior, and sound, but humans have ideas about how communication should take place that go far beyond that of which an animal is capable. Man seems to have a compulsion to organize and ritualize. The arts became a means of expressing aesthetic, affective response that could not be verbalized; a nonverbal, aesthetic, organized artistic form then is created to symbolically express this feeling. Any description of it in verbal form may be said to be a secondary rationalization concerning the original feeling and the resulting nonverbal symbol.

We compared notes on how much of a temptation it had become for students to want to go out and do something completely new; invent a new methodology that "measures" the arts more precisely or discover a new angle from which to examine them. As one participant said ". . . but let us say to them, do not forget the work that has gone on before yours. The work we have been doing is not yet complete. There is much meat left on the old bones . . ."

The anthropology of art has failed to treat it as a system. We are dealing with that which people make, as opposed to that which people say or verbalize, and, on the other hand that which people do, or behavior. We have three systems, then, and aesthetics deals with part of these things that people make.

What people make has a system. It has a system of principle, of communication structure, of situations wherein that which people make do certain things in certain types of social situations. In the latter, for example, it can become even more, for it can be behavior, can verbalize, but at the same time have organized form which communicates at a nonverbal level. It is in the culturally organized form or organization of the elements in an artistic form that we see evidence of a system, and it is to this system we should be addressing ourselves.

Though some of us wished to plunge into the task of searching for such

a system, quite a few of the participants expressed the wish to start from an analysis of the art form itself, something observable and measurable. From the point of the symbol of communication, they wanted to analyze everything about that symbol. The criticism was raised, however, that in using this approach exclusively, one could end up like linguists. The vantage point would be from a disassociation from content, and looking at it as art. It was pointed out, however, that this could not be the whole story, but a component that has unrealistically been elevated above the rest. Linguists have finally agreed that the semantic component of language cannot be separated from the rest of the analysis of language. We do not understand a sentence as it is said, but our own recreation of that sentence. In face-to-face communication we also are adding the component of body language and tone of voice. In a way, this falls into line with the concept in psychology of perception of schemata in subject and form recognition in the visual arts.

When we had settled on understanding aesthetics as a system, and also the phenomenon of pattern recognition, we found that we would have to get into the problems of creativity and the creative person, whether innovator or follower. The one type of individual who pushes against the confines of his culture to bring about either slow increments of change or sudden revelations of new ways of doing things. But we felt we were not ready to mount his problems of creativity until we could deal with the artistic form, for too often, as Jon Muller had pointed out, we are left with only the latter, either in archeological discoveries or in museum collections.

We began by saying that we could start the study of basic structure by analyzing what the elements basically are, the units of analysis. By using a feedback system, it was suggested, it would be possible to simultaneously define what the elements are, see how that works in terms of structures, and see how we can simplify the structure. One sees what this does to the definition of elements and design, and, going back and forth, until one reaches something that seems the basic elegant unit that can be broken down no further without loss of meaning.

The term "elegance" is equated with the ultimate, simplest element of form, kept reoccurring in our discussions, and at this point in time we came back to it. It was pointed out by those more familiar with structural analysis just how unbelievably difficult it had been for linguists to reach the simplest unit in a set. We might be setting the same problem for ourselves if we were to give credence to the idea that art forms, as nonverbal symbols, existed of and for themselves, just as some linguists treat language as if it existed without people.

We began discussing the general configuration of form in an artistic creation. Several suggested that we should follow the methodology of early linguists, in which the minimal unit is the total work. However, for

the purpose of breaking down into a grammar of style, it is necessary to go from the total work of, say, a dance, down to the costume, the mask, the face design, the parts (eye, nose, mouth — then, which eye —) right down to the "atoms" of the curves under or over the eye and the irregularities of these. In the latter, one begins to find basic, regularly-occurring irregularities which become the grammar. This is, in essence, then the structuralist's method. This is *one* approach, and excellent diachronic methodology, perhaps a powerful one.

Another possible method might be the development of helpful, exact, historical studies, along the line of what might be called style ecology. Then there is conditional and processual data. We talked of the development of structural grids that could simplify the work of incorporating this data into comparative studies. Perhaps then the aesthetic processes could be seen in terms of two main components: the productive or creative, and the contemplative and appreciated work.

The aesthetic component may or may not be present in a created work, but if it is present it will rarely be the dominant one, unless culture and society emphasize it. We fall into a trap of our own making when we look for concepts of beauty. We felt that as anthropologists in art we should have more training in the history of aesthetics of our own culture. Concepts of beauty are missing in many societies, because of the reality that it is not thought of as abstracted from other qualities. We agreed that the aesthetic is a pervasive and universal phenomenon, which is dominant only in terms of a work of art, but which can exist as a subdominate feature in every other aspect of human life. This, incidently, is stated very clearly in the aesthetic period of structuralism by Lévi-Strauss, as one example. Dewey spoke of aesthetics, for example, as something people do or people make, which has formal principles of organization that gives a structure of communication and a meaning in aesthetics. We continued to discuss at length human life and to attempt some definition of the aesthetic component.

We had all been struck at one time or another by the fact that there is an avoidance of philosophy by anthropologists who deal with art. Perhaps they are unsure of themselves in those methodologies beyond "the long-tilled fields and well-trodden paths." They are unsure when faced with terms that infer qualities and feelings; in other words, the elusive affective response we were pursuing. Then, as one participant said, who taught with philosophers, the latter, too, have a difficult time dealing with anthropological material and all that cross-cultural data. Someone then pointed out that one of the simple reasons that structuralism offers a potentiality of a method to anthropology for a study is that this equates with the view that the present and positive thing about the work of art is to see what is going on — that is the immediate. The immediacy is the thing that transcends time, that makes a work of art which has diatonic dimensions.

It is this immediacy that some have equated with the "Truth" about aesthetic works of art, which is even more acceptable if one leaves out the "Morality" which some structuralists also brought into the equation.

The sense of immediacy in the work of art, which has drawn structural analysts to examination of the form before addressing the problem of creativity, brought us to the point of discussing the communication that takes place once the nonverbal symbol is created. One of the participants pointed out that even aestheticians have been guilty of emphasizing language as communication, so that they speak of art forms as expression. This would appear to have created a kind of schism, in which many aestheticians have emphasized the art form as the end product of a need to express an emotional feeling tied to cultural symbols and materials, while other aestheticians have reasoned that the created art form communicates far more, on many levels, as a nonverbal symbol. Communication was expression, when one had a common understanding of what was being expressed. For some, it seemed as if art did not always have this. This would occur because the artist does not always communicate his meaning through his expression in form to an audience or perceiver. The emotional response of the latter has nothing to do with the intent of the former.

Language helps us communicate certain ideas if we hold rational thinking to be of high value. However, culture contains the nonrational and irrational as well. The expressed form of communication in the arts is essentially nonverbal, but the successful organization of design principles communicates by style. This is appreciated as one aspect seen in the art form. On the other hand, the immediacy, the timeless communication that defies boundaries of cultural familiarity is synthesized in the virtual experience of the perceiver. Each type of art form, in dance, music, two-dimensional design, or plastic arts gives us a different virtual experience of tensions and resolution of tensions based on human life and experience whether that experience comes from immediate visual or temporal auditory sensations. The elusive universals that we seek to define in art forms would seem to be a combination of successful style (cultural tradition) coupled with the immediacy imparted by the successful imitation of the tensions and resolutions of tensions of life that are universally part of human experience.

Our cultural learning also has a great deal to do with the way we respond to certain principles of arrangements, whether these are line, form, color, movement, gesture or sound. Some of us pointed out that we have not trusted our informants in the field enough in this matter. Even though they may not know or experience all their culture, we still are not giving them credit for being intelligent enough to act as philosopher–interpreters for us, guiding us into their culture's expressive world. By combining responses of informants with a grammar gained by

structural analysis suggested earlier, it might be possible to unveil heretofore hidden relationships between what appear to be disparate art forms. One might then possibly find the philosophical links between, say, Yoruba tie-die designs and types of Yoruba masks, finally relating these to choreographed movement through a restricted dance space.

It was surprising to many of us how much we were in agreement concerning any attempts to isolate concepts of beauty. By working cross-culturally we had found practically no instances of such abstract concepts as Beauty, Truth and others that are so much a part of our own cultural, historical heritage. In the field we had found the aesthetic quality so intertwined with social and economic elements that it was inextricable. Everything in artistic form was related to some other system or cultural value, such as rank, status, wealth, taste, etc. Informants would term objects or performances as weak or powerful, fine or inferior, in value judgments. Some participants told us that when they thought they had discovered a term for some abstract concept, sooner or later they would discover that the word or phrase in reality would refer to something quite concrete or to another quality. It was found that missionary zeal of the 19th century would have reached the society under study long before the anthropologist's "objectivity." In their enthusiasm to help, missionaries wrote dictionaries of nonwritten languages, the native speakers would eagerly equate the terms for concrete objects or observable actions for the abstract terms of quality, such as Truth, Beauty, Honesty and other concepts so dear to philosophers of that century. This, of course, has been disastrous for the students tied to library research, unable to avail themselves of the realities of field work.

The possibility of exploring the extents of universes of artistic experience and the knowledge of uses of forms known to our informants is an intriguing one. We were not without methodology in this matter, but were interested in pooling our experiences in drawing out such information from informants, as well as perhaps developing some new techniques for gaining more data in the field. Having discovered the creative person as an invaluable source of information, had we neglected perhaps to explore the universe of art known to his clients and audience? One participant with experience in working with long time depths in the serial production of a certain type of Melanesian memorial sculpture brought up this point. He suggested the use of some sort of construct developed from games (on style identification), photo identification, museum material and literature. This might produce the extent of remembered change or continuity in style, material, ritual and other usage such as storage. Another participant told of the use of tape recorder in getting responses to photos; "what do you like, and why do you like it." She found a close correspondence to the grid that Kenneth Clark suggests in *Looking at pictures*. This grid, or framework, and those designed by ethnologists, she felt

would make possible some comparison between certain variables in the arts, such as extent of knowledge of an aesthetic system, taste, rationalizations of preference, and other cogent areas.

The problem arose of dealing with the interlocking processes involved in creator–client relationships. In tribal societies this variable constantly generates difficulties in analyzing creative, symbolic intention on one hand and on the other the client's purpose in ordering a form and the function to which it is intended. This is something with which the archeologist and the analyzer of museum collections must contend as well. In the latter instance, what appears to be mass production may be produced serially over time, and the dictates of cultural need may be deduced. Blacking, in *Man the music maker*, points out that culture limits the potentials that can be reached by the creative person. He maintains that this variable is basic to any study of art and culture. We spoke earlier of the artist as innovator, but with clients and their beliefs curtailing artistic invention, and economics playing a strong role as well, there is a bowing to necessity by the artist. Most creators of graphic and plastic art will copy art forms at the request of clients, as in the case of renewal of old and damaged masks of secret societies. On the other hand, the need for figures that are produced serially over a long time span (as mentioned above) eventually give the superficial appearance of copying. Phil Lewis pointed out that in the case of New Ireland carvers, they had seen a similar carved figure perhaps once or twice in their lifetime, usually many years ago. The ability of one artist or group of artists to change the tastes in style, color, form, and materials of art forms so that there is acceptance of this by his clients and audience requires a strength of personality and belief in one's own creativity and innovation, coupled with talent and a canny insight into cultural focus and areas of acceptance of the new. One could picture the analogy about such innovators, likening them to the internal cells of a gelatinous ameba, pushing at the outer edge in a new direction, with the rest of the cells following along, with the outer parameter in a slightly different shape as it arrives in a new position.

Of course, the concept of innovation must take into consideration the reality of fortuitous happenings that may change tastes as well: the introduction of an intriguing, aesthetic element from the outside, that becomes adopted out of novelty — usually from prestige motives as well as aesthetic ones.

Much of our continuing discussion about creativity was based on our analysis of observable behavior of artists and on the responses we could elicit from the concerning their work. However, there were at least eight or ten participants in the conference who were either professional artists or performers at some time in their life. These individuals contributed their personal experience with aesthetic, affective response and with the intimate, nonverbal decisions involved in the creation of artistic forms.

They were able to discuss with the other participants the universality of nonverbal decisions in creative design, decisions that seemed to arise from subliminal cues. They admitted that they were influenced by idiosyncratic and cultural preferences, but that they believed the universality of aesthetic, affective response was a reality experienced by most human beings at some point in their lives. Though the nonverbal decisions were understood, there was certainly not a corresponding matter of obtaining other insights cross-culturally by even the most profoundly felt empathy.

Although we felt that we could have spent much more time discussing the creative act and the contemplative act of the audience, lack of time dictated that we move on to methods of extracting aesthetic criteria. Some felt that if it were possible to rank individuals socially, perhaps one could arrive at some way of ranking art forms on a scale selected by a group of informants from the society under study. The participants shared experiences concerning their own attempts to accomplish this end, and the varying results they achieved. As one put it, " . . . it seems such a dumb, obvious question to ask. But when we do ask it, we find out that perhaps our informants are so polite that they don't want to seem as if they are criticizing the work of others." One participant pointed out that the Mende carvers of West Africa seemed to like all of their own work indiscriminately. Another said that his New Ireland men were sharp, precise and, articulate about art forms, but not in any specific sense. Sometimes informants would carry criteria from one creative activity, say weaving, over to another, such as judging carvings of figures and masks in photographs. This again brought up the question of whether there are principles that apply to different types of art forms in diverse media within the same culture; that is, are there underlying principles known to people in that society that are applicable across the board? One participant brought up the fact that computer people were generating a mathematical grammar that could produce squares, cubes, pyramids, spheres, and polygons. Perhaps with appropriate coding of diverse art forms within a culture this technique could be applied to find underlying principles of form and criteria for ranking them.

The paragraph above represents a summary of the last part of the second day of the conference. On the following morning, of the third day, we met to hammer out the questions and the directions for future research that we felt most relevant for students. These were to be brought before those attending the Congress Session on the Performing and Visual Arts. Due mostly to our hearing each other's views for two days, and finding that we shared many of the same doubts about our own abilities to approach and delineate the areas of art experience, we reached some degree of unanimity in an agreement on nine questions which we thought would synthesize not only directions we should take,

but also reflect our honest efforts to confront the most basic problems in methodology that face anthropologists in the study of art. These nine questions are to be found in the first few pages of the next section of this volume: the edited transcription from tapes of that session.

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Proceedings of the Congress Session on the Visual and Performing Arts

JUSTINE CORDWELL: A year and a half ago the Planning Committee of the IXth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences had a meeting at which we got our first glimpse of the volunteered papers and abstracts; in sorting the ones falling under the heading of any affective response, we found all of six papers having to do with the visual and performing arts. Getting angry about this, I began to formulate some way of soliciting more papers so that we could have some kind of internationally representative volumes on music and dance and on the visual arts. Out of the year of soliciting papers plus the volunteered papers that began coming in, this Congress session came into being. It seems that enthusiasm for the arts is shared by a great many of us, for this is probably the largest, single session on art that has ever been included in a congress or convention; some eight hundred or more tickets were originally requested for it, and looking around, I would estimate that there are easily five hundred in our audience. Because of our size, too, we have simultaneous translation in five languages for the participants and those wishing to join in discussions from the floor microphones. Complete tape recordings of the four-hour meeting will be available in all five languages on request.

There were a number of problems in organizing this session, not physical ones, but the delimitation of the area in the realm of art and anthropology that would be emphasized. Certainly we would want to know the theoretical assumptions on which we are basing our work and we would want to know the directions in which we should be going in the next five years before the next Congress meetings. So at our pre-Congress conference on art and anthropology held last week in Chicago, we put down on paper some of the basic assumptions on which we wanted to work and which we wish to share with you in this session.

1. What is affective response? We are getting into a profound area here, one over which philosophers agonized for centuries. Since it is within man's experience, we feel that we too may legitimately wrestle with it. We are dealing with the unseen, the felt, the unmeasurable. What then *are* the limits of our discipline? We are more accustomed to analyzing observable behavior, since in affective response behavior we have only the nonverbal symbol that someone has produced perhaps as an art form to which other people respond. We know there *is* such a response. We know there *is* this feeling. In what way is it different from religious experience? When is it aesthetic? What is there in our animal behavior background that is part of this, and what is uniquely human?

2. What are the boundaries of an affective event? How do you delineate it? What is its *context* and what is the *synthesis* that you make from this as an anthropologist?

3. What is the nature of the communication of the creative person in his or her nonverbal symbol and what is the nature of the stimulus provided to the affectee or audience?

4. What must we *know* or *do* to appreciate art cross-culturally? What are the inferences of this? (We've been struggling with this one for years, some more successfully than others!)

5. What is the difference between creative and appreciative activities, or the contemplative and the creative?

6. What is the relation between aesthetics and social structure? One thing that most of us who have worked in this field for a long time have found is that they cannot be separated.

7. What are the limits of our measurements? In other words, when do we use philosophical analysis and when are we within social science?

8. In what direction should we be going to open up new ways of examining affective response in man?

9. What is the relationship between the structure and the function of the structure, and what new methods are we going to develop for the study of this?

We hope that you will help contribute to our tenth point, that which is still unknown to us, by letting any of us up here on the dias know of any exciting new approaches or materials from students or researchers which are as yet unpublished and which you feel we should know and include in the Congress volumes on the performing and visual arts.

Without further ado, I would like to introduce our specialists who are reporting to you on the different areas of art. On your far right is Professor William R. Bascom, Director of the Lowie Museum of Anthropology at the University of California in Berkeley. Next to him on his right is Dr. Joseph G. Moore of the Bridgeport branch of the Massachusetts State University, who is now doing research in the Virgin Islands. Next to him on my immediate left is Dr. Elkin Sithole, a Zulu,

who is working in the Center for Inner-City Studies of Northeastern Illinois University in Chicago. On my immediate right is Dr. Ronald Schwarz of the Instituto Norte Andeno de los Ciencas Sociales in Colombia, South America. On his right is Judith Lynn Hanna of Columbia University, New York. On her right is Professor Morris Freilich of Northeastern University in Boston.

I would like to first call on Judith Hanna, who is our dance expert.

JUDITH HANNA: I'm speaking first not because some people believe dance is the basic or primordial "art," but rather because I have to leave early. I want to thank Justine for bringing together some of the dance anthropologists and, because of her bringing people here, encouraging other dance anthropologists to come to meet those originally assembled for the pre-Congress meeting. Some of the discussions stimulated by that meeting have continued into successive days, and so my discussion and summary of the pre-Congress meeting will include some of the issues that carried over beyond that provocative setting.

Given the relatively recent emergence of dance anthropology as a focus in our discipline, it is important to point out that dance is a relevant phenomenon for anthropological study. The relevance derives, first, from dance's near universality, and its possible biological and evolutionary significance as innate behavior with survival value. (Edward Norbeck, in his ICAES paper, categorizes dance within play and would argue along these lines.) The relevance of dance as a phenomenon for anthropological study is also related to its stylistic endurance, its episodic nature, which is in some sense repeated by other actors, its malleability, its apparent record in antiquity, its interrelation with other behavioral phenomena, and its accessibility to empirical observation, film recording, and some form of notation.

In spite of this, the study of dance has been seriously hampered by the fact that anthropologists in the past were not acquainted with dance — its elements (space, rhythm, dynamics) and the instrument of dance (the human body in motion). Because dance appeared to be more complex than words and music, and often combined with both, it seemed too difficult to study. A second handicap was that anthropologists, particularly in the Western world, tended to have ethnocentric concepts of dance. In other words, if a people did not dance like the observer's people did, the behavior was not recognized as dance. Third, in the West, there has been a puritanical dislike of the body or feelings of shame toward it. It was Malinowski who argued that many people went to other parts of the world because they were looking for the exciting body behavior they could not find at home. Fourth, the fact that dance was rarely studied by men in Anglo-Saxon culture in the twentieth century is also related to male dancing being considered effeminate or homosexual; most students of an expressive form usually have at least some minimal experience in it.

To these reasons why the anthropological study of dance has been hampered, I think we can add a fifth — the fact that anthropology has felt the need to be scientific, whereas the "arts" to many were inappropriate for this approach. Verbal speech was considered the primary key to human behavior, and it is only recently that there has been an increasing concern with nonverbal communication. There had also been a rather underdeveloped state of portable field recording equipment (motion picture cameras and tape recorders) and movement notation systems.

Despite the lack of understanding of dance per se (as opposed to its context) and prevailing scholarly attitudes and skills, some useful dance descriptions appear in the literature. I refer you to the 1974 volume, *New dimensions in dance research: anthropology and dance* (CORD), in which Alan P. Merriam and Anya Peterson Royce assess what has been done.

In this work, and other research are found examples of dance viewed synchronically (concern with a complex of events existing in a limited time, ignoring historical antecedents) and diachronically (relating to phenomena as they change over time), emically (specific information about reality as an indigene sees it) and etically (information about reality as observed by the analyst; a comparative perspective is involved, and considerations external to the dance phenomena themselves are taken into account). Thus Kealiinohomoku, Lomax, Royce, and I are among those attempting to test hypotheses cross-culturally about conditions under which dance elements, symbolism, functions, and accoutrements change in societies, and about the various relationships between dance and other societal elements and processes. These studies seem to involve attempts to demonstrate conditioning relationships between antecedent causes and consequent effects. On the other hand, a structuralist approach is illustrated by Kaeppler, who has attempted to apply a linguistic model to the study of Tongan dance.

One of the prime discussions of the pre-Congress dance section focused on criteria applicable cross-culturally for distinguishing between dance and nondance. The question was posed: Can we find characteristics in common about the kinds of phenomena different people call dance (or what Westerners would generally categorize as dance)? Kealiinohomoku has worked among the Hopi and has been concerned with American Indian and Polynesian dance; Joe Moore is interested in Jamaican dance; Suna is interested in Baltic dance; Royce studied dance in Mexico; and I have been studying dance in Africa and urban areas. And we are familiar with the dance literature and various other designations of dance. Thus our discussion has drawn upon this data.

It seems to me that in examining dance cross-culturally in order to formulate general hypotheses, establish the range of variation of dance phenomena, and demonstrate relationships among different aspects of culture or social organization, one is forced to develop an overarching

analytic definition, one that transcends participants' concepts (which undoubtedly include some criteria that other groups exclude, and vice versa) and includes behavior which has the appearance of what is generally considered dance but which, for the participants involved, is not "dance" because they have no such word.

Dance, in my opinion, can be most usefully defined as human behavior composed — from the dancer's perspective — of (a) purposefully, (b) intentionally rhythmical, and (c) culturally patterned sequences of (d) nonverbal body movement and gesture which are not ordinary motor activities, the motion having inherent, and "aesthetic" value. (Aesthetic refers to notions of appropriateness and competency.) Behavior must meet each of the four criteria in order to be classified as "dance." That is to say, each behavioral characteristic is necessary and the set of four constitutes sufficiency; the combination of all these factors must exist.

A second concern of dance anthropologists is where dance anthropology should go, what needs must be met, and what questions should be explored. Perhaps of greatest importance is that there must be more dance studies, or ethnographies which incorporate dance and are theoretically informed. Dance should be studied as social, cultural (concerned with values, beliefs, and attitudes), and physical behavior. Anthropologists should become familiar with body movement, dance vocabulary, analysis, and experience, so that they can study dance primarily or in conjunction with other interests. Without a developed corpus of dance studies, it is difficult to develop cross-cultural perspectives to discover what is universal about dance.

Here are some other suggestions which were made. (1) We should explore why dance is chosen from among alternative linguistic, paralinguistic, and nonverbal modes of affective and cognitive communication. What are the mechanisms that make it a special phenomenon? What is actually communicated? How can we find out? What are the symbolic devices employed in dance? What symbolic levels or domains are involved? What is the nature of the dance–audience transaction? (2) In addition to asking who, what, where, why, how, Kealiinohomoku points out that we should ask what must (requirement), should (preference), could (permitted), and would (change dynamics). These questions point to aesthetics, notions of appropriateness and competency. How do the dancers and various spectators perceive dance? (3) To what extent can dance be viewed as a system *sui generis*, meaning deriving from the internal relations between parts of the system rather than by reference to some external source? To what extent can it relate to the beholder not as a mere manifestation of some other order of cultural fact such as mythology or religion, but as dance per se? Kaeppler and Williams suggest we examine how the same basics are combined to produce different styles. (4) To what extent do social structure and dance reflect the same underly-

ing aesthetic principles? (5) What are the relationships of different styles and structures and dancers' roles, etc, to such factors as economy, polity, community structure, stratification systems, urban/rural distinctions, religious qualities, images of the universe, value orientations, etc.? What are the manifest and latent functions for the individual and group? (6) How does a society or an analyst measure "viability" and creativity in dance? What are the conditions under which they flourish? How does style develop? What is the nature of choreographic creation?

On the basis of the status and needs of dance anthropology, dialogues are needed in which one "expert" constructively indicates where another expert may need to refine hypotheses, develop further supportive arguments, consult other fields, etc. The semi-annual publication of the Committee on Research in Dance, *CORD News*,[1] has begun to carry such exchanges.

ELKIN SITHOLE: I'll just be brief, mainly because music and dance are one and the same thing. We have a series of papers that we wanted to look at in relation to folklore, dance, and music, but as musicologists, we are attracted by those aspects which reflect music in them. Language is as musical as music itself. If I could just illustrate here by selecting an example from my culture, I would take just one element of African oral literature where an African would be reciting a poem and then there would be a lot of music within it. [King Dingane's praises were recited.] Some may say, "Well, it's very rhythmical," others may say that it's musical, and still others may say that I have some alliteration of *ca, ce, ci, co, cu* (a click using the front part of the tongue). Each one will select, according to his cultural aesthetic, what is appreciable to him. Then if they want alliteration, I could quickly move on to say *Ugaga olwehla ogageni waganggatheka*. Somebody will say, "Oh, no, that alliteration is too difficult and we don't need it here. Here is a better one, *Sing a song of six pence*."

Therefore, we are faced here with things that we *all* know but that we *interpret* differently because either our definitions are narrow or too wide. Ethnomusicology is simply a study of music, a science of studying music. Certainly if you are going to study music, you have to study it *live* where it is performed. Unfortunately for us here, we are dealing with the performing arts without the performing. But what is important for us is that the moment the arts are *performed,* scientists are already synthesizing. The audience is the synthesizer, using the ear, or sometimes the IBM or whatever, but we are likely to come to the same conclusion — that music is culturally based. If I were an Indian perhaps, I would appreciate certain sounds, e.g. quarter notes. Since I am an African, I would appreciate others, such as the scream, etc. Somebody from the Western cultural

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[1] This publication is available from New York University, 35 West Fourth Street, Room 675D, New York, N.Y. 10003.

world would be appreciating other sounds, e.g. Italian operatic sound. But all of these people belong to one community and have similarities. They share the *same physiological make-up*, although they may use the tongue and throat differently. Somebody will say, "I like that tone" or "I don't like that scream," simply because they have been brought up in a particular way. Because of this knowledge of music, we have now in the United States ethnomusicologists who study not only sound and the *scale* but the *entire musical setting* of a people. Of course, the diatonic scale can lead us to a very scientific method of defining music, but if we are going to concentrate on the scale, we might ignore what the black musician in Chicago would call "soul" in the performance. When he starts with hand-clapping and says, "Everybody! Yeah! Everybody!" a social scientist or even a musicologist might tell him, "We don't need hand-clapping here. We don't need jumping about there. Instead, stand up straight and raise your arms and go ahead" [demonstrating the waltz rhythm]. In that context, the black musician might say, "I don't want to be part of that." And yet we need him as an informant. We say to him, "Because you are an informant, we want you to come in and show us what you do, and then go. We will analyze when you are gone." "How are you going to analyze, when I'm gone, what I have been doing here?" so he says. It is time for us to bring the informants back into the scientific room and analyze the music with them. Certainly there are many scientific assumptions that can be codified and scientifically interpreted if we know more about them, i.e. if we keep the informant in the scientific room all the time.

Now we have music conservatories and universities which offer Ph.D. degrees in ethnomusicology. First we had only anthropology departments offering Ph.D. degrees in anthropology with emphasis in ethnomusicology. But now the music schools, including the universities of Illinois, Northwestern, Indiana, and others, have realized that knowledge, even if initially fragmented, can be utilized effectively only when we combine all pieces of knowledge and begin to understand man as a whole. In every monograph on the Zulu people, for instance, I have had to turn to the last but one chapter for their music. Usually it is three, four, or five pages, as if music were not important in the life of the Zulu people. The music that has heretofore been neglected should prompt us to produce more books and increase our knowledge, which is what this conference is all about. Every informant present and every musician or scholar here should make it his priority to disseminate every piece of knowledge of the arts to all humanity, not just to a "happy, happy few." Because we have too many papers, we cannot discuss all of them today. I have decided to give my colleague, Professor Joseph Moore, an opportunity to deal with Professor John Blacking's paper. Others you will order, others you will have read, or they will be sent to you, but questions that come from this one paper, the John Blacking paper, "The study of man as music-maker,"

will probably answer some or many of the questions concerning the performing arts today. Thank you.

CORDWELL: I should add that Dr. Blacking for some days was sitting in the Belfast airport when they scrubbed the London flight. He couldn't get to Paris and I got frantic telegrams saying he just couldn't come. So this is practically in memoriam.

JOSEPH MOORE: I must tell you that I have just read this paper and find it extremely interesting. I wish that I could have more time for this review, but with excuses to good old John Blacking in Northern Ireland from the Caribbean, I will discuss some of the things he talks about.

First of all, in the study of man, the music-maker, Blacking says that music is based on the capabilities that are biological and specific. This is very interesting and an accurate assumption. Because of the physiology of our bodies, we have music in our voices and we have the capability for vocal and sound development. He makes the point that exercise of these capabilities may be a central stage in the development of conceptual thought and even language itself — a very interesting assumption and quite possible. While it might be difficult to establish an evolutionary sequence, we can formulate hypotheses, and test them along the lines of biological foundations of both dance and music and their relation to conceptual thought. As we were listening to our dance expert here this afternoon, I was thinking of Blacking's assumption and how movement and sound are woven together and interlocked all the time. The idea that collective aesthetic consciousness may be the key to the emergence of man, hence, the reason that most societies value aesthetic activities above their immediate usefulness, is an interesting statement. If dancing and music are extensions of biological species-specific capabilities, they are at once intelligible and untranslatable, only if we think of them as language alone. If the essence of music is derived from man's own nature and generated by varieties of conceptualization, it is a mystery of the science of man and of the central interest of us anthropologists. He says that music must be analyzed and understood as tonal expression of human experience, in different kinds of socio-cultural organization. He also makes the point that musical intervals, as our friend here just said, are not universal facts, are not founded on laws of acoustics, hence incidental acoustical facts, but, fundamentally, *social* facts. Dancing and music might be called mediators between nature and the culture of man. Thus dancing and music constitute an irreducible domain of human social activity that may be related to other domains like kinship or language, etc. and can exist in its own right. Music combines elements of universal and particular structures, too, and allows us to freeze them for observation.

When I was working the past month on some cult film from Jamaica, I was visually and audibly going back thirty years, then twenty years, and then ten years with music and dance, preparing a program so that we

might see and develop understanding of the depth of culture in process with psychological and sociological elements. I've been working now in Jamaica with material that has to do with cult ceremonies, etc., music and dance and those ceremonies and the worship of the gods for the last thirty years. And even now, as I was preparing some film for this conference last week, I was learning new things, new understandings, and learning how to identify more of the gods of these cult groups. I think that's what Blacking means when he says that music combines elements of universal and particular structures and freezes them for observation. He says that if we accept that there is a basic psychic unity in man and that music is a part of a unitary system of culture, we can be more confident of discovering the depth of structures of a particular society rather than our own ethnocentric projections of them. And I was thinking, as I hurriedly prepared this brief statement, how much of the feel of the culture of the Caribbean, particularly Jamaica, comes from understanding the music and dance of social groups and analyzing what it means to them. This, then, is one of the great values of careful comparative ethnomusicological documentation.

Professor Blacking finishes up his article by saying, "By studying man as a music-maker, we may better understand the interaction of structure and sentiment in all human activities. If it can be shown that a special gift is in fact a common attribute of the human species, we shall have yet more facts with which to challenge the myth of human inequality used to justify social, political and economic exploitations." It's a very thoughtful paper. I commend it to you and am very pleased that I had a chance to present this for John. Thank you.

CORDWELL: Once man discovered the tool of language to transmit feeling, folklore became one of the elements of expression in culture. I'm not a folklore specialist, but I have had a feeling for one aspect of it for a long time, and I had hoped that we would be able to deal with it either in the pre-Congress conference or in this session. This concerns the teller of folktales as a performing artist, the aesthetic affect he creates through the unseen structure that comes about through his use of body language, the way he embroiders and creates surprise elements, offbeat characters, everything that arouses in his audience an aesthetic affective response. It is this unseen structure in which I was interested. My friend and teacher, Bill Bascom, I think, has much of this same feeling; since he is an authority on folklore, I've asked him to tell us some of the directions we should be going in folklore, and particularly in this part of folklore.

WILLIAM BASCOM: My report will be the briefest of all. I would like to begin by noting, however, that in using folklore in this sense, we are perpetuating the division between the professional folklorist and the anthropologist, because for the professional folklorist, music, the dance, and even the visual arts are considered part of folklore. What Justine was

thinking of has been referred to as oral literature. In another section this afternoon, I spoke of it as verbal art, to get away from this confusing use of the term folklore. But I should like to point out that the interest in the narrator and in folklore and oral literature as performance is one of the new directions. This is very evident in the recent studies of professional folklorists and of anthropologists of similar persuasions and interests. However it is not entirely new because it has been known for some years that in Africa, for example, the introduction of songs and even dances into a tale may interrupt the narration. But what Justine was thinking of is something which is very much on the forefront of interests of the folklorist today. It's just unfortunate that there were no papers directly related to it.

One of the problems, of course, is the fact that folklore in the sense of verbal art or oral literature runs through four out of the five sessions that are to be held this afternoon. We find it in the first session which we are attending now; we find it in Heda Jason's session which deals with the structural analysis of folklore; we find it again in Richard Dorson's section having to do with folklore in the modern world; and finally there is another section on folklore which deals with narratives and narrator. So it's not surprising that the people who were interested in this problem were divided into separate sessions and different pre-Congress meetings.

The result was that when I came to the pre-Congress meetings I was the only invited participant present at this particular session who was interested in narratives, who was interested in storytelling, who was interested in narrative folklore at all. Heda Jason, who joined us, found herself in the same spot. Since there was no chance for a pre-Congress meeting on narrative folklore, I decided to join the session on the visual arts; and since I feel that this is supposed to be a report on the pre-Congress meeting rather than a personal presentation of my own ideas, I make the briefest report of all this afternoon.

I think my role here on this platform today is primarily to participate when we come to the discussion of individual papers, because there are several in the proceedings here which do deal with narratives, their recording, and their analysis. Thank you.

CORDWELL: Thank you, Dr. Bascom. Because the graphic and plastic arts have always been my special concern, I will give a summary of some of the main points of our conference discussion in this area. Of the thirty-three scholars at our conference, the largest percentage were actively involved in graphic and plastic arts on a comparative basis. As Dr. Bascom has pointed out, the imbalance hampered our desire to more fully explore the virtual experience of each expression in aesthetic forms. It would have been nice to have had a substantial grant to aid in ensuring a more representative attendance in the performing arts. On the last afternoon of the conference, these performing arts scholars spent several

hours together, as already reported by Ms. Hanna and Dr. Moore, and those of us in graphic and plastic arts gathered around a tape recorder in another room.

Many of us had already come to the conclusion that we knew far too little about the present state of research in the discipline of psychobiology regarding the perception and response to stimuli of color and form. It was felt that this was an area which should be investigated by our students when feasible, so that future fieldwork would yield enriched material through their interests and cross-disciplinary training. We felt that those using structural analysis on other materials in anthropology should train students in this methodology for use on art forms, but that we should at the same time emphasize the limited usefulness of structural analysis as a tool. We found that it seemed most useful in the analysis of discrete objects in a series, for example, but inappropriate for the analysis of an aesthetic complex such as a masked dance or parade, as found in Reinhardt's, Weiner's and Ottenberg's papers, for example.

We felt that too many of us at the conference were not competent enough in philosophical analysis to do justice to that discipline when attempting the analysis of affective response. Yet, in a spirit of acknowledged debt to philosophy for the development of scientific thought, we felt that our students should be encouraged to seek out philosophers in aesthetics to explore systems of ideas which would help them understand how our own culture has handled phenomena derived from emotional sources that are by their nature nonverbal. All the information of psychologists and biologists with their present knowledge of the limbic system and related cortical areas as seats of emotional response cannot help us if we do not recognize our limitations in the study of aesthetic emotion.

In our analysis of that nonverbal symbol, the created art form, we felt that the creative act had too long been described as a technological process. Future students, we felt, should be encouraged to note down a more complete protocol, aided by film and tape recorder, so that decisions of design, which are ultimately those of personal taste as well as cultural training, can be preserved for later analysis; though these are first and basically nonverbal, they can later be compared with the secondary rationalizations of the artist. There have been too few collections of both aesthetic standards and aesthetic vocabulary. Students of art history working in comparative art of non-Western societies are now doing this, so anthropology students in comparative art should be interested in this as well, though their analysis may be different and on a broader base. Extent of vocabulary, as well as verbal responses, can lead us to what the members of a society may feel are the most important forms of aesthetic expression. One might find, as I did, that clothing and personal adornment can be the ultimate artistic expression, or that the volume design of

architecture is more important than the smaller artistic forms that furnish it. Taste and a feeling for the appropriate can emerge from aesthetic standards, but it is only in the aesthetically sensitive that one finds the expression of this lovingly carried into adornment of self or a feeling for the appropriate design of negative space in which one must live or worship. I might note, at this point, that because Ron Schwarz came to me with the idea of a volume of papers on clothing and adornment, there will now be such a book from the Congress papers.

We felt that volume design, as it is expressed in architecture and the design of villages and cities, should be explored by students. As Fernandez has pointed out, so often these are reflections of the worldview or specific sets of beliefs, that a reexamination of this type of design can reveal much of other aspects of a culture. A good case in point is the ten-year gap between Griaule's original fieldwork with the Dogon and his final enlightment by a tribal elder on the relation of the house design to the worldview of those people. The use of streets and open spaces for parades and flow of dancers and their audience are good examples of why the planning of spaces and design of volume should be of valid concern to students of aesthetics.

Though much of what we explored had to do with areas we felt were either neglected or not fully understood in terms of their aesthetic implications, we came back again and again to the admission that we are most comfortable with the observable and the measurable. There was not one of us, however, who did not come away with the feeling that, in the future, we should make sure that our students have a sounder grasp of the extent to which we can and cannot measure. There was also the realization that we must broaden our understanding of research and methodologies used in allied disciplines in order to deal more effectively with the phenomenon of affective response in man.

RONALD SCHWARZ: My getting up to talk about some of the philosophical aspects of art after already having given five presentations is rather like having a beef stew just after finishing a five-course meal. Thus I will try to keep my summary brief and just touch on a few highlights, hoping that questions from the floor will bring out some of the issues that we have been presenting so far.

I think that one of the major problems we face when looking through many books on anthropology and aesthetics, or anthropology of art, is the often implicit assumption of what a work of art is. Often the actual definition isn't even included. It is part of what we would assume to be the conventional wisdom, which is a reflection of our own particular cultural heritage. I think, therefore, that some of the major questions which face us are the following. Where do we divide it? What isn't art? What do we leave out? Can we make any attempt to leave aside something at this particular point? In various ways, the definitions were implicit, or in some

cases actually explicit. We find some of the following components. One is that art — in this case, the anthropology of art — deals with certain types of art products, things that have high intensity in terms of a quality of experience. Then, we can go through into various ranges of formal definitions and criteria used to examine a particular art product.

Another element in much of the anthropology of aesthetics includes reference to the artist's intentions. What are his purposes? Are they for stimulation, etc., focusing on and/or referring back to the artist on motivational pattern? Another approach, representing what I would call the opposite of the previous approach, is the one which tries to isolate certain art products, that is, the art-as-experience approach; it was John Dewey's position and was taken up by people both before and after him. This position says that aesthetics, or art, is really an aspect of any situation; any particular movement of people, any particular product, has potential to enter into a person's experience in an aesthetic sense; it is a matter, then, of defining a certain arrangement of properties, or elements, which give rise to that type of experience.

As I mentioned earlier, normally the basic problem is that we are left with music, folklore, sculpture, etc., and we assume that this is the art to which people refer in aesthetics, or with which the anthropology of aesthetics should be dealing. Actually, all we have really done is arrive at these simply because we have avoided the basic assumption and philosophical discussion of what an art product really *is*.

In the discussions that we had in the pre-Congress session, we began to ferret out a variety of approaches to this, leaning heavily on that of structural analysis. As reflected in the distribution of papers, I think we could come to the conclusion that, by and large, insofar as art is even represented in this conference, we lean very heavily on statements, verbal art, narrative, and folktales. Insofar as we have developed models for looking at other forms of art, it has very often been through what has been done in linguistics and semiotics, in terms of some conceptual framework and perhaps communication theory. What I would like to suggest, going along with some of Justine's statements, is that first, at this particular point, I think it is perhaps less fruitful to make any particular judgment as to what an art product *is* than it is to leave it mentioned as a potential within any kind of experience, as a way of treating that particular behavior or product. This is particularly necessary, it would seem, given the very nature of the variety of cultures with which anthropologists concern themselves. This could be further divided by looking first at the verbal art forms for folktales, proverbs, and languages in terms of modes of judgment; then ways in which human beings produce in the world and make nonverbal statements, which would not necessarily have the connotation of verbal statements. On the one hand, then, we have a mode of judgment, a way of behaving in the world which is verbal or *saying*. On

the other hand, we have *doing*, for example, dancing, the actual processes of weaving, carving, people doing things with their bodies as another category which, as element, has relationship and the potential for interpretation. The third category, to mention it but briefly, is that of *making*, with regard to music, painting, architecture, craft, sculpture; an alternative form of man defining his relationship to the world, and again having the potential for, in the context of other aspects of culture, interpretation. Thus, if elements are defined, and if systems and principles of relationship are defined, we can begin to make some sort of statement about what it is, i.e. what a particular sequence of movements, a particular style of house, a type of statement represent in terms of the culture with which we are dealing.

Other people have mentioned, and I think it is worth underscoring, that the models that are generated from a systematic treatment of what people make, do, and say, can be very, very fruitful in an analysis of other aspects of culture. I've found, for example, in the clothing of people with whom I have been working, a variety of models which reflect not only a set of conscious norms, but rather the *opposite*, even within the formal elements and formal property of clothing, taking into account who makes them, where they are worn, etc. I might add that this is without reference to verbal statement, because people don't interpret their own clothing in this way. Thus we have the potential of utilizing this kind of analysis for understanding other aspects of social structure.

As a final statement, I'd like to add the thought that, as anthropologists, we are very concerned with the understanding of human nature, man in the evolutionary context; but in our search for this understanding, probably as a reflection of our own cultural heritage, we have focused on language and tools as the defining properties of this human nature. I'd like to suggest that in our analysis of who we are and other such philosophical questions about man, the cultured animal, we stop regarding the qualities in music, clothing, painting, and dance as simply "add-on" qualities, and instead regard them as elements that have a very intimate and integral relationship in the evolution of culture and society, elements that have played a very dynamic role in making human society what it is. Thank you.

MORRIS FREILICH: Like all good systems, this one up here has considerable redundancy. Redundancy was increased when Ron just finished saying all the things that I had wanted to say. But, like all people who work in universities these days, I'm also a politician, hence, rarely at a loss for words. I recently developed a professional interest in the arts due, in part, to a couple of experiences that I had which explain why I stand up while speaking. I found out, when speaking to a group of students about this size in introductory anthropology, that if I didn't stand up, everybody went to sleep. And the more I stood up and the more I danced around and

the more I moved around and did various things with my body, the more people stayed awake. So that's why I stand up and talk.

I went to a conference in Canada a few years ago and one night when we had nothing to do except drink and talk, somebody had a great idea and brought in a Punch and Judy show. We found that our drinking was much nicer with a Punch and Judy show and that everybody was really integrated by sharing feelings about this show. I wondered, "What can I learn from all this as an anthropologist? What can I learn from Punch and Judy?" The first thing that I did learn, when I went back to teaching introductory anthropology at Northeastern in Boston, was that I could get my students more excited by treating the course as a Punch and Judy show. I encouraged students to do what you normally do in a good old-fashioned Punch and Judy show. When I said things that they liked, they raved and clapped; when I said things they didn't like, they hissed. When the deans found out about this, they quickly packed me off on a sabbatical, from which I have just returned.

Now, everybody here is a specialist in the arts. As I mentioned to Justine, I don't know exactly why I'm here. I'm a generalist; and the difference between me and everybody else here is that these specialists know almost everything about something, whereas I as a generalist know nothing about everything. I'm up here really to try to show you that there is a definite function for this kind of ignorance. I was reminded, as I was thinking of this, of the child in the story, "The emperor has no clothes" — it frequently takes the ignorant child who knows very little to see certain things and to ask certain kinds of questions. So I'm going to ask certain kinds of questions and if some people here get upset, just remember I'm still in culture shock, having recently returned from the field.

I would like to know from all of you, and not at the same time, what is the difference between an anthropologist enjoying the arts, enjoying music, enjoying dance, enjoying these various things, enjoying weaving, really enjoying these experiences, and the man on the street, untrained in anthropology, having these same kinds of enjoyment? Where and how (precisely) are we different? And if we are not different, what are we doing? Are we just the man in the street enjoying ourselves? Although I was raised in the WASP tradition, I've recently gotten around to enjoying myself. But I think it's very important for us to ask ourselves: Are we doing anything more in this room than enjoying ourselves? I mean, if we are enjoying ourselves, it has a lot to do with our moderator and chairman who has helped us do so, but shouldn't we want to do more? And what is the meaning of "more"? What are the things that we have to contribute to the arts that are unique? Special? Valuable? I recently wrote a little article called "Manufacturing culture: man the scientist"[2] and one of my

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[2] In *The meaning of culture*. Edited by M. Freilich. Lexington, Mass.: Xerox College Publishers.

points there was that the man in the street is a scientist. The informant has been very badly treated in anthropology. He is often thought of as a bit of a fool and we pretend to make something out of him by letting him work with us. We go to the field and we help him. We teach him a little anthropology and he becomes a better person, etc. I think this approach to the informant was encouraged by Lévi-Strauss' early article on social structure. He starts up by saying yes, the informant knows much about his culture, but in the end, he says the anthropologist knows more than the informant. But it's a segregating statement about the man in the street.

BASCOM: Morris, can I make a start at an answer? I would say that the man on the street says, "I know what I like." For myself, I say I want to know what they like — that's one difference.

FREILICH: What does the musicologist or anybody else interested in the arts have to communicate with other people in anthropology? What do they have to communicate to the archeologist, to the people in political anthropology, to the people in economic anthropology? I almost don't believe I am going to say this, because five years ago I never would have said this, but I do think it's very important for anthropology to remain one so that we can all talk to each other, because if we don't, we do silly things like talk to sociologists.

If we say that what we are doing is human, as I've heard some people up here say — it is human to enjoy the dance, it is human to enjoy this, it has a biological base — I don't necessarily doubt that. But if that is true, how is it that we notice that animals enjoy some of these things also? It is even true that plants fare better, I hear, under certain conditions of music; we might even say, in a sort of way-out way, that some plants seem to have a taste for the arts.

How do we analyze this stuff? It's been brought up and one of our participants (I think very wisely) mentioned that we should use the performer to help us in the analysis and I think this is a step forward. However, there are numerous ways to analyze anything. There are too many ways to analyze any data. What way should we use and why one way rather than another? Is there any way out? One problem is how to deal with our belief that the data is holy and that the more data we have about anything (it doesn't really matter what) the more hallowed we ourselves are. And we want to be holy even if we're atheists. What do we do with all the data as we keep getting more and more and more? Justine mentioned that we should go into sculpture, and collect a variety of kinds of data in that area. And I agree, fine, the more data, the merrier. But from another point of view, we already have too much data. As a cultural anthropologist, I am literally up to my ears in data. I am so swimming in data that everytime I get away from the office, I feel great — just to get away from all that data. I've still got data that I collected on the Mohawk Indians back in 1957 and I'm still collecting data — I'm in this holy data bit even

though I talk against it — it just shows you how you can't escape belief systems.

I think — I'm not sure — I think I'm leaning toward something else. I was also struck by Blacking's really excellent paper. I really enjoyed getting various information from the paper but I was struck by a curious phrase in that paper, namely, that music is a sort of mediator between nature and culture. We have to be rather careful with that kind of phrase because that seems to indicate that music is not culture. "Mediation" is a useful idea: a mediator exists that "sits" in the middle — what does this mean? I think we must really ask ourselves fairly strict operational questions.

What am I saying? I'm suggesting that it is time for us to make some basic statements about a complex reality called "humanness." What does it mean to be human? I don't think we can answer the question by looking at more art and more music and more architecture and more this and more that. We have to start answering that question by making propositions about being human. I'll just give you a few examples and then sit down.

The First Proposition I would present is: To be human is to be lonely. This proposition helps me to understand a lot of the things that we have been talking about. The lonely human gains comfort (minimally speaking) and relationship (maximally speaking) by sharing: dance is sharing, music is sharing, art is sharing. There's a sharing nature to all these things that we enjoy. When we share we reduce loneliness, at least temporarily. Proposition Two: To be human is to be in conflict. And I think when involved with the arts (directly as performers, artists, etc., or indirectly as observers, listeners, etc.) we are able to "act out," to resolve (at least temporarily) some of the paradoxes and dilemmas which pervade our lives. There is a catharsis in all the arts, not just in tragedy. Proposition Three (taken from De Ropp's *The master game* and from Koestler's *The ghost in the machine*): Humans have a tendency toward mental imbalance. The Church Fathers spoke of humans falling prey to *accidie* due to a sickness of the soul. *Accidie* is now considered more a state of the spirit. It's a situation in which people feel, "I just don't care about anything. Oh, how stale is this life that I'm in." I think humans have a strong tendency toward *accidie*. The arts can (and do) save us from it. The arts help to keep us sane!

CORDWELL: Now, would the audience like to address questions to the panelists? It would be appropriate to ask questions about dance first.

COMMENT FROM FLOOR: From all the collected information about human motion and projection through movement, are there any universals surfacing? And has anyone written very broadly and well on this? Where can this information be found?

HANNA: At a very general level, there is a recognition of dance being

functional and interrelated with other aspects of society, The "why," and "how," and "conditions under which dance performs specific functions" remain to be explored. Dance apparently reflects universal structures of the body and may reflect universal experiences. This remains to be investigated. Dance anthropology is an emerging field of inquiry. The general statements made in the past by Curt Sachs, for example, have been rejected on the basis of developments in theory and data collection. Most scholars are working on case studies. Drid Williams at Oxford is examining dance structure, searching for universal "deep structure," using a linguistic model. I am examining the interrelation of dance and the urban ecosystem cross-culturally. Current information about what is being done in dance anthropology, as well as evaluations of past and present work, appear in *CORD News*. Volume 6(2), for example, includes critiques of Sachs, Lomax, Gardner, Rust, d'Azevedo and Firth. Volume 6(1) has a dance research guide relevant to data collection and analysis so that we can develop valid generalizations

COMMENT FROM FLOOR: I was very interested in your comments that we have a great tendency to study dance in terms of everything except the work of art itself — in other words, the dance expresses this, the dance expresses that. I've even got a new one. N. E. Doma and his organizing principles of the police force — the dance skills enforce the law. But it is a kind of tightrope walk or a walk down a razor's edge, isn't it, to study the work of art itself? It seems to me that this is one thing we do need to do. On the question of getting new data — I'm aiming this at two or three people on the panel — a lot of the data we've collected on this subject seem to me to be rather amateurishly collected, in fact. One thing that we need to do is to deepen the collection, make sure we're collecting material from the best dancers, the really great dancers, the really great story-tellers, the really great musicians, and make sure that we're making worthy recordings, worthy studies. But I'm still aiming at the question that Ms. Hanna brought up. How do we get on that razor's edge and how do we stay there? Is there something we can do to make sure that we are studying the work of art in itself and not just a social context?

HANNA: Yes, there are things we can do. First, it would be useful for anthropologists to have experience in the "art" form they are studying or for which they are collecting data to salvage a dying tradition or to provide data for someone else to study. Such experience could be obtained by taking what is offered in American colleges as "introduction to movement analysis," "creative movement," "choreography," or movement analysis courses such as those offered by the Dance Notation Bureau in New York City. It is necessary to be able to see, kinesthetically feel, and have a vocabulary for discussing dance in terms of its elements. Discussing space involves more than diagramming directional ground patterns and sketching groups. Attention must be given to the spatial

level of the body and its parts, size and shape of movement. The elements of dynamics and rhythm, the body parts articulated, and the locomotion patterns — all need to be isolated and analyzed so that we can determine the style and structure of dance.

Second, filming is essential for movement analysis, for purposes of validity and reliability. A film does not capture everything, but is highly useful in conjunction with on-the-spot notations. One must be a trained dance viewer and a trained anthropologist to identify and capture the performance of the "great" dancer. There may be a marked distinction between what members of the host culture think is "great" and what the outside analyst perceives as excellence. Having analyzed dance films from my own fieldwork, I would argue for two cameras filming simultaneously, one to get a panorama for the total progression and spatial pattern, and another to focus on the movements of specific dancers performing distinct patterns. Collier's book on visual anthropology and the ICAES papers by Sorenson, Jablonko, and Prost are useful guidelines to filming.

Third, there are several systems of notation. Labanotation and Benesh are essentially based on the same principles as music scores. Musicians recognize that a score does not capture everything; it captures some basic organizing principles. Similarly, these systems, which are as yet imperfect, do the same. There is also effort shape analysis and adaptations of Laban analysis. These different systems are still developing. Having evolved from the analysis of Western dance forms, they often need to be adapted to apply to other cultural dance forms. For some purposes, our verbal language is rich enough and can be used systematically to capture what is recorded by systems of notation. And at this stage, verbal language is the cross-cultural, interdisciplinary communication. For those individuals who do not want to develop the skills for movement analysis (we cannot all become experts in everything), the anthropologist can collect dance film for analysis and provide good description and contextual information.

In sum, I think we can familiarize ourselves with an expressive form and use film and movement analysis as ways of capturing the process and product of dance per se, its intrinsic properties, rather than just the social context. But, it is the interrelationship that is important!

MOORE: I have a comment on that. Not every anthropologist can become a good film person, a cameraman, but I've often found that among the many people in the culture that you work with, as well as others who are interested in coming along, you can sometimes recruit people right within the culture to provide the experienced kind of photography or sound projections that you need without disturbing the culture. This is just a little added note.

ALAN LOMAX: I'm director of the Cantometrics and Choreometrics

project at Columbia University, Department of Anthropology, where for ten years we've been studying performance style, first with song from tape and, during the last five years, dance and movement in general from film. We found ways by making concensus-rating systems for the main qualities that run all the way through the performance; we can get extremely reliable concensus-high profiles for movement and performance styles directly from the film. So this means that we can use data as long as it is identified properly at the source, as an item in ethnographic mapping. The parameters that we use are simple, easily learned parameters which, as a matter of fact, we're going to soon incorporate into training tapes for sound and training loops for film; and we hope that they can be learned by school children as well as anthropologists. The profiles turn out to be extremely stable because they apparently have to do with style patterns that the child learns very early in the culture in order to identify himself to his culture as a member — how the trunk is held, how much energy is used, how wide the feet are apart when you walk, etc. We can make models of these sets, which are culturally unique. It turns out then that clusters of them form very good replicas of the nonculture areas of anthropology and the areas cluster into large regions which correspond very accurately to the general ideas that we have about culture history. As a matter of fact, here we can already make some contributions. We have style traces, for example, that run through the whole of the circum-Pacific across Siberia and through the New World, tracing the dispersal of one of the very earliest kinds of human tides of culture through still-living materials from film and tapes made by people in living cultures. In the other side of the effort, we have used the Murdoch ethnographic atlas as our source of information about culture data since it was the only one that was large enough.

The organizing, typifying, melodic patterns come from the rest of the culture and the reason that they make people excited is because they remind one of things that they wish they could have said if they had been bold enough in some normal part of the intercourse. Melody permits you to say things that you can't say otherwise. But until we know what the systems are in the speech patterns and in the phatic patterns, we can never understand melody, and out along that line lies about a thousand years of interesting research. But if we don't get busy with it, we're never going to find out anything about it and music will always be something suggested by heaven.

CORDWELL: This is exactly what we were talking about when we said that we must stop talking about language and start talking about communication, and art is communication but with nonverbal symbols. But you have reminded us of this again and shown us a direction in which we can go.

SCHWARZ: I would just like to underscore what Dr. Lomax has said in

relation to music and other types of art forms. We can talk about that in regard to architecture or clothing, or in regard to dance. The first problem that we have to face, as opposed to what many of us have traditionally done, is that of taking a particular work of art, a single product, a single costume, and then dealing with it in relation to social structure or cosmology, instead of looking at it initially in terms of itself as a single piece, say a piece of music or a single costume. But more than that, we must go on to deal with it as an entire system of communication. In clothing, which is my interest, for example, we can look at everyday clothing — men's clothing, women's clothing — the clothing that is used in ritual situations such as in death, for example. In other words, we look at the entire range of products that more or less fall into what human beings do to their body, what music or what sounds they make, etc. Then we analyze the system into principles of relationship. After that is done, after we get some internal understanding of all the elements within that system because they are part of a system of communication, then we move from there on to an examination, whether at the structural level or functional level, of the relationship of the items of the system to the social structure, cosmology, or whatever we are interested in. But I think that the principle of looking at these things as an entire system in relation to one another is really a challenge, and I agree that it is something that, in spite of Morris here, requires getting more data. It really does mean that we've got to go out and get a lot more data because we simply have not raised the question about those particular elements in a society.

SITHOLE: I was just going to respond to the question of introducing animals. We know a lot about animal sounds when they're trying to communicate with us but we also have been able to force our communication on them. As a young boy in Zululand, we had a clear-cut classification of song and bird-catching sounds, and those bird-catching sounds enabled us to catch birds. We had no difficulty because they ran in [sings to illustrate]. One type of bird would listen to this theme until we would catch it right by the hand — no difficulty. And yet they also communicate with other sounds [illustrates]. We didn't care about analyzing them except that we gave them our interpretative meaning. The dove, for instance, was like this [sings]. In Zulu, it is simply meant that the dove is looking at you and is saying you are foolish, stop what you are doing now, try something else. In that context we interpret what their sound is. We have not investigated thoroughly what they are trying to communicate to us.

FREILICH: I just wanted to clarify one point in response to Al Lomax' statement and Ron Schwarz' statement. I'm not against data. It would be very hard for me to be against data and call myself a scientist. I'm against collecting data for its own sake. I want to know *why* you're collecting data. I want to know what is the *purpose* of a particular kind of data, why

that data rather than other data. We're up to our ears in data. I'm very happy that you've told us why you want certain kinds of data, because underneath it, obviously, there is some general theory and certain hypotheses that you have in mind, so you're not going to collect anything that comes your way, right? And I'm just trying to push this careful collection of data for specific purposes.

KAMINA KAPRISAROVA: I wanted to say a few words about a special thing concerning folk music, dance, and language. In Poland, we are also doing research on a certain professional group, namely, the fishermen on our seashores and lakes. As far as I know the literature, there is not very much research or publications concerning the music, folklore, dance, and language of fishermen; as there are now great changes in their social life and economy, etc., we must hurry to get all the materials in our archives just to have them, not only their material culture, but also their spiritual and social culture. I think that it is very important that we know that in France, Italy, and some other countries, there are many volumes of folklore, music, and dance concerning fishermen. It is a special professional group. As you know, their life is quite different from those of other cultures and I think that it is very important to pay special attention to their special language, the everyday language used during fishing, their calls, which are like songs, and also their dances, performed at certain festivals concerning the fishing life. These are special festivals; they still exist in Poland. We try to collect materials on language, dance, music, and, of course, material culture, although not as well as we want to or should. And I think that maybe we should succeed in founding, somewhere in the world, a museum for traditional fishing as it now exists, a specialized branch of agriculture; it would be a museum to which we could send all pamphlets concerning the music, dance, language, and magic — everything — concerning fishermen. There are many changes taking place and the fishermen are dying out; I think this problem is of great importance. I know that in this Congress, there are more than thirty papers offered concerning fishing. I would like to meet some of those researchers and know them personally, because perhaps we may be able to help each other in some way.

CORDWELL: I don't mean this facetiously, but I have the man for you! George Quimby is here. He has organized a whole session on maritime anthropology and he wants to hear from you. Be sure to look him up.

OM PRAKASH JOSHI: Methodologically speaking, when we are studying the dance or any other aspect of performing art, it is very difficult to neglect the other part of art. That is, if we are studying the dance, it would be difficult not to study the music and plastic arts. My meaning is that we have to study all three aspects — dance, music, and the plastic arts — together. In isolation, one cannot understand this thing or that thing; while we are studying the folklore which is being performed by the

musicians, they are showing the paintings and performing the dances; they are also telling the folklore, and in this form, they do the whole structure of the arts — it becomes a whole unit for an anthropologist to study. If somebody is only studying the music, or another is only studying the dance — it is not possible, I believe, it will not be possible, it would be rather difficult to study only one part of the plastic arts.

Another point is: who performs art? And who receives it? Scholars in India studying Hindustani music, explain that when the folk music and folk dance came to the temple and slowly went to the coast, they became the elite guard or elite music, classical music. The folk music was very simple in contrast to the classical music, because the coastal kings had a long time to play and the musicians played for long periods, resulting in a vocal gymnastics which has become established as classical music or classical dance.

CORDWELL: Thank you, Mr. Joshi. He brought back a point. He was part of our conference and he contributed much to it. The very important point he made is one that slipped my mind; in fact, all of us had meant to bring it forward and he has filled in very beautifully here. The point is that we can't put these divisions in — they're all interlocked. If we continue our artificial division of folklore from costume and from acting; if we take our dance and forget the costume and the color and movement in masses; if we forget all this and take only discrete parts, then we've already killed it because we are being ethnocentric in our study of it.

BASCOM: Justine, this was one of the reasons for your calling this conference in this way.

CORDWELL: Right, the interlocking of the disciplines, as well.

ADA NAVOSKA: I've heard you speak much about the importance of studying music, for instance, when it's done at a ritual, or whatever, and all this about dancing and movement, but I do think that there should be more emphasis on the importance or the appropriateness of the silence and the quietness of the culture, as well as the stillness in the dance, so that when you do study the music or the movement or whatever you're studying, it is in relief, it makes an effect within each culture. Then you know that this culture is very active compared to some other culture; but within itself, it is an important comparison too.

CORDWELL: That's a very good point, very good indeed. The silences are important.

LOMAX: Forgive me for coming on this microphone three times in a row but for me this is like a starving man arriving at an oasis. A conference on the performing arts — it's hard to get up a conversation about that in most of the circles in which I move. As a matter of fact, since I've begun to look at all this in what I sometimes think of as a scientific way, I've lost all my friends in the folk movement.

But quite seriously, I'd like to respond to your comment on data and

how much you need to have, etc. in relation to definite hypotheses. I think this is one of the most important things that come into the consideration of performance studies. It is very, very important to know where the level of the performance that you study fits in to the rest of the structures of the culture. Otherwise you go on forever. Musicology and folktale study and all the others have gone on forever because they didn't ask themselves what material in the study could fit in with other material from other disciplines at what level, what level of communication and what level of generalization or particularity, so that something could be found out. Now, in spite of the objections of every musicologist on the Cantometrics study, we found out that we normally didn't need more than ten songs to get the main identifying song-synchrony pattern in a culture. It had to be very complicated indeed to demand more than about ten songs. Now, normally, musicologists kept on notating every single song there was because they didn't know what they were looking for. We know that all we wanted was to have the main type of performance profile and that was enough. I think that this type of limitation leads to better science and so I agree with you.

But I'd like to state the other side of the case. As you all know, I've spent my life making tapes of folk music in many places and editing other records; there is another function that the study of the performing arts has which is central to the future of the planet. These performing arts carry in themselves the organizing model by means of which culture is most succinctly and most eloquently transmitted across the generations. The people of the cultures themselves who are now cut away from their former platforms of communication by our over-indulgent, over-weaning Western European cultural system desperately need all the tapes, all the records that we can possibly make of their cultures because we, at the moment, have the recording equipment on the whole. They need this in feedback because these are all feedback arts, but quick feedback of cultural models. So I wouldn't like to limit anybody's impulse to just let the recording machine go, to let the camera go whenever he sees a great performance because that item will never happen again. It can very well become the basis for the revival of an entire branch of the human spirit.

I just want to close with one remark. I think that we scholars have been terribly careerist and selfish about how we've used this material. It shouldn't stay in our archives; it shouldn't stay in our universities; its interest in our books is at its very lowest level. We may find out something about it where it is absolutely essential, where it is the life blood, where it is the drink of water that will make a whole culture possible to continue; it is needed out there at the grassroots. We need to publish our records; we need to take our tapes and our films and play them back to the people. We'll learn a lot more about what we've found, but most of all, we will do

our main job, which is to preserve the whole variety of human culture because the art can keep it alive better than any other thing.

BASCOM: I think that Dr. Lomax has made a very important point here, in that we have argued about music or art as universal language which everybody can understand and yet we've forgotten how important it is historically and from one generation to another, especially at this time when cultures are on the edge of disappearing, on the verge of collapse; this is a very important function.

SCHWARZ: I very much agree with what Dr. Lomax has said. I'm reminded of a conference we were at about two years ago in Albany, where Ed Carpenter spoke of a study for the Australian government on filming and communication feedback on some New Guinea culture; they had made films on rituals and religious performances and showed them back to the culture. The response — and this is his interpretation, not mine — was that, having seen their own dances and ritual performances on film, they no longer felt the disposition and need to preserve them. Because their own culture was part of their whole motivational system, it was absolutely essential to have the continued performance of these types of rituals; but on receiving the feedback they have essentially disbanded and no longer continue to perform them.

KATE GARLAND: I'm at the School for the Arts and Film Making at New York University. I just would like to say that I agree with Dr. Lomax and also with the gentleman from India who advocated interdisciplinary studies. I come to film-making and anthropology as an artist, as a singer, and I feel it is very important on that level, on an artistic level, to fully comprehend and understand primitive peoples and all peoples in order to have more integrity in your own presentation of your particular song or dance. And I would just like to say that I feel it is very important for artists to study in greater depth and detail the creative process through anthropology and visual means.

LOMAX: In relation to feedback, I'd like to ask the respondent whether he would recommend that our cultures stop filming their own ceremonies and recording their own songs. The problem is an imbalance. Perhaps under some conditions, the improper use of these feedback instruments, done with the insensitivity that accompanies the inexperienced anthropologist's normal handling of communicative means, it doesn't go well. But there are very many stories from many parts of the world in which it has turned out that film use by good field anthropologists has restimulated and restarted dying cultures. There are other cases where it has continued it. In our own country, for example, the only folk arts that have turned out to be strong are those that have had a good chance on the media. Our problem is that we don't understand the relationship between the new media and the traditional cultures of the world. This is the place where anthropology has not worked because we've been ashamed to touch the

dirty media; and if there's been a failure, it is because it was handled wrong, because civilization is a backing-up of culture patterns by media with critics. We're the critics; we can be and we can back up the cultures that we believe in with the media, whether they're libraries in Alexandria or movie palaces, or whatever. These are all means for stirring and retrieving and reinforcing culture through feedback. And I think that if we have taken the stage of the world with our big media and see cultures dying, it is because they have been choked away from their old places of communication. We have to do something about that.

SCHWARZ: I basically agree. My point was that it is not simply a matter of taking what we recorded and feeding it back into the culture. In most cases, I would tend to agree with you it would serve a positive function. But there are cases, especially among many of the more isolated groups, where the introduction of media and what we obtain on media is a problem to be studied rather than a response we have to make.

CHRISTOPHER MOORE: I'm with the Chicago Children's Choir, with two quick points to make. One is on the discussion that has just been going on. In addition to facing this in primitive cultures, we have been facing it and are still facing it in our own culture — the danger that excellent exemplaries will discourage grassroots, discourage more total participation in many of the arts. But this requires a little more ingenious communication on our part, and the awareness, as Dr. Lomax just mentioned.

My particular interest in being here is to remind people that, in the spirit of the kind of collecting where children can be involved, as Dr. Lomax mentioned, the Chicago Children's Choir has tried to increase its world collection of materials — not only the simpler materials but also more elaborate settings or developments that can be shared — and to do this in order to further the understanding process, not only for our singers but for the groups with which we share so as to reenliven the arts in this country or wherever we find ourselves.

CORDWELL: Dr. Moore would like very much to have any feedback you could give him in terms of sources that would be possible for this children's choir to use from your own cultures. So may I urge that you listen to his plea for music.

GUERIN MONTILUS: I am in charge of research at the University of Dahomey. I am a Haitian myself. Something which struck me a moment ago was without any doubt this question of feedback. Some mention was made of a personal experience. I don't think I have to make any speeches to ask people to guard their culture. It is necessary to persuade them to preserve their culture. Some of the cult rites, the rites of birth, for example, are in the process of being lost in Dahomey, where I have made some recordings of these birth rites. I found out that the people who had learned to read were able to use these little books during their youth. It was a little comical, actually. It was a little book that circulated around

with some pictures and some words and everybody could read them and find out what the rites of birth and the rites of passage were. I did this in various parts of Dahomey, and I also projected on film certain ceremonies in various parts of the country. In one village I had filmed these ceremonies in 1961 and again in 1973. The whole village watched these films; I was very much struck to find out how everybody was very attached to these films and revived the ceremonies after they saw the films. I recall now, very well, how much the young people in particular were interested in following these ceremonies on film, and in the books I had printed as well. So I think ethnologists have a lot to do along these lines. In one way or another, you can find some way in which you can feed back this cultural information to people who are in the process of losing it.

COMMENT FROM THE FLOOR: I was struck by a couple of things that were said. I'm Nan Shannon from the University of Illinois. One of them was the idea of using informants more intelligently because, as the gentleman said, sometimes they're treated like they don't know too much. And when the lady mentioned something about how she came into anthropology from film and music, it seemed to me that there could be more use made of people who are ordinary musicians or ordinary dancers, you know, people who are artists, not just folk artists, but also from a classical tradition of their culture. These people could be brought into a much more active role in anthropological studies, especially where the person is coming from one culture to study another culture and is mostly an anthropologist, perhaps not having the ear for music or not having a good eye for what to look for in art, or just not being the person that would be tuned in to the different kinds of art that he would be looking at or the different ways in which it would be used. It would save a lot of time and probably be a lot more intelligent to use people whose whole life was dedicated to this thing to start with.

CORDWELL: I think we should move into the discussion of the actual papers. Will the people who have papers in the performing and visual arts come forward and give us their name so that we can discuss your paper.

SITHOLE: We are now beginning the music section. I have here before me three papers that we would like to look at, one by Chandola, one by Uchida, and one by Himeno. Miss Uchida, could you tell us about your paper before we ask questions?

RURIKO UCHIDA: I will say only a conclusion. In my opinion, the rice-planting leader and the rice-planting women sing folk songs alternately in a kind of division of labor, accompanied by the musical ensemble, as in the Chindo Islands of Japan, but widespread throughout East and Southeast Asia. Now these customs survive only in a few places in this area. The function of music, which is to pray for a good harvest and increased efficiency of the labor, is the same in all places, but the sound-

span of music such as rhythm, tonal system, cacophany, vocal technique, interpretation, instruments, etc., is very different between them.

SITHOLE: Has anybody any questions on her paper? Maybe the questions will come later as you read the abstract.

Medori Himeno, could you talk about your paper, briefly?

MIDORI HIMENO: My research is not yet completed, so I cannot produce any conclusions now, but it is so urgent to record and print our music. It is so important for us because it's going to disappear soon. Now younger people can't sing the traditional songs and they will be disappearing in several years, so I'd like to continue my research now so that in five or four years I can produce my conclusions. Thank you.

SITHOLE: Do you have any questions on Himeno's paper?

I have called for Mr. Chandola, Anoop Chandola, whose paper is on music linguistics. Has anyone read his paper to comment on it intelligently?

BASCOM: We will turn next to the papers on oral literature or verbal art or folklore, whatever you wish to call it. I will first say a few words about my own paper which is on African dilemma tales, which do not end with a moral or an explanation but do not really end at all. They end with a question or a problem which is given to the audience for them to debate and argue and try to arrive at a particular solution. I have found these to be very numerous and widespread in Africa. In fact, the total manuscript which has been submitted to the conference contains, according to my last count, 449 examples of these tales, although not all of these do end with a dilemma; some of these tales are analogues or, in some cases, obviously historically related homologues which do not present a dilemma but are rather straightforward narratives. I have included them because the question that arises is whether there is a particular class of dilemma tales or whether these are similar to explanatory tales in which the dilemma can be added or omitted at the will of the narrator or according to the cultural tradition. My conclusion is that both can happen. First, there are some tales which apparently are always told as dilemma tales; secondly, there are these others which have been converted into dilemma tales by adding a dilemma. Thirdly, there are tales which occur most frequently in the form of a dilemma but which can be told as straightforward narratives by dropping the dilemma.

The interesting point of these tales is not their literary quality, which is sometimes very minimal, but rather the fact that they do prepare people for debate and argumentation; they give them training in this. We know that many tales are moralistic and are didactic but here is a new type, a new function of folk narratives which has not been previously explored in any depth. It does present a case of taking old data, looking at it in terms of a new framework, and coming up with a new answer, because these tales are all from the published literature going back into the last century.

Now if there are any questions, as chairman I will call for questions and comments.

We will turn to the next paper, which is by Beryl Bellman.

BERYL BELLMAN: The paper that I gave deals with something that Dr. Bascom talked about, a dilemma tale. My interest in that paper is to explore the various methodologies that listeners use when they listen, when they hear these tales, and how they can correctly interpret the intended meaning of these tales. What I mean by "intended meaning" is the particular meaning that the teller of the tale wishes to communicate to his listeners. I think that in all of the discussions today, one of the features that hasn't been discussed in relation to music, dance, or whatever, is the actual performance itself, the structure of the performance itself. What I'm interested in doing is to try to see whether it is possible to talk about a generative grammar — rules for generating these kinds of tales, rules for generating dance, rules for generating these kinds of rituals, rules that are creatively innovative within a particular culture. So what I dealt with in this particular paper was one of these tales told by a shaman of the Kpelle Secret Society that I belong to. And the shaman told this story in front of several members of the secret society, upon request from one member as to how he became a shaman. It was a very casual conversation. And the account that he gave was, on the face of it, patently incorrect. He gave information that was contradictory to facts everyone knew. For example, he said that he was an only child, when he did in fact have an older brother, and he said that his father was dead when his father was alive, and so on. Then after he finished telling his account, he presented one of the dilemma tales which was a fictitious story about this boy who was the victim of an opossum's malicious behavior. And this story ended with the question: Who is the main person among a series of people who helped this boy to get out of the dilemma that he was in? An analysis of the tale, when applied to the first narrative of the shaman as to how he acquired his powers, communicated particular information about who he was, what he considered to be the source of his power, and who he was in the typology of the kinds of shaman in Kpelle society.

I titled my paper "Ethnohermeneutics" and the reason why I used that pretentious title is that I'm interested, again, in the structure of interpretation. But I don't think that you can consider that the structure of interpretation is the same cross-culturally or in every culture. I am interested in techniques and methods that people use to listen to a story, or, in the case of music, to hear music, or, in the case of dance, to witness a performance of a ritual. It is the methods for looking at these which, I think, are reflections of a particular culture. So that is why I use the term "ethno" in front of the word "hermeneutics," which is the study of interpretation.

BASCOM: Are there any questions or comments? I have a comment I would like to make. This tale is one which I have found in seventeen other

variants, running from Liberia, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Mali, and Nigeria, and even over to Malawi and Swahili country. Only two of these tales end with a dilemma; one is a tale published by Westermann in 1921, and the other is a Vai tale published by Ellis in 1914. I'd like just to read the abstract of the Vai tale so that you at least will be able to see how close they come.

A man caught a deer in a trap but released it when it promised to make him rich. It carried him near a large town and left him there. He gave cassava to an opossum that promised to make him rich. It stole kola nuts from the king's house and left a trail of them leading to the man and he was arrested. The man caught two rats and gave them to a snake that promised to make him rich. It bit the king's son and then gave the man medicine to cure the boy. The king divided his town in two and gave half to the man. The three animals came to the man, each claiming credit for having made him rich. Which of the three, the deer, the opossum, or the snake, made the man rich?

Also, this is the tale in the Arne-Thompson tale-type index, AT 160, which she calls "Grateful animals, ungrateful man."

BELLMAN: There is just one point that I would like to add which I consider to be very important. It is the idea that these kinds of tales are not just told, but I think they're told for a purpose, that is, they're doing something within a specific interaction. And I think that in the analysis of these kinds of materials, tales, folktales, dances, rituals, and whatever, it is necessary to look at the structure of the performance — what it is doing, how people are doing it, what are the relationships of the people to each other, what is the taken-for-granted background meaning, you know, information that provides the meaning context for understanding that particular material.

I think often times that this kind of information is taken as if the performance is there and is the same in every case. I think that the variants of a particular tale, the way it's told, who's there, are extremely important to understanding how that tale is done, what the meaning of the tale is for a particular society. Just quickly, it's something, even like something in relation to dance. Among the Kpelle is the Poro Society; where the Poro exists, they have mass societies and they have a lot of musicians that function with these mass devils, etc. and a lot of the times the music or the dance will appear, on the face of it, to be relatively repetitious. However, what is extremely important to attend to is the relationship, almost the proxemic relationship of the musicians to each other, the dancers to each other, and these kinds of things vary from situation to situation. It is these kinds of things which I think are as much a feature of the performance as the content of a particular tale or the actual musical composition or the actual choreography of a dance.

FRANCISCO DEMETRIO: Much has been said here about the performing

arts, particularly in connection with primitive people. Now, in my coun-
try, the Philippines, there are some primitive people too and they have
their own dances. But if we take these dances bodily and perform and
imitate the native tribes, or else get them to perform for us, we find out
that we cannot hold the attention of the audiences because many of these
dances seem to be considered repetitious by the people or by the audi-
ences who have been westernized.

Now, my question is this. As anthropologists, is it legitimate for us, for
instance, to stylize these native dances so that they can become accept-
able to the audience, to everybody in that audience, whether they are
westernized or simply indigenous? I'd like to ask that question of the
professor here.

BASCOM: Would you care to comment upon this, Mr. Sithole, since
dance is close to music.

SITHOLE: Well, if you require them to perform for two minutes, three
minutes, or one hour, they may not feel that their type of dance or music is
suitable for those categories. They may have a two-hour performance, for
instance, which leads gradually to a climax and when you say you are not
interested in what they are doing in the other part, but you want them to
go straight to the climax, then in that context, you are forcing them, you
are stretching them to a certain curtain. The recording companies at the
present time have a limit of three minutes per song and some cultures say
"No, we don't have a three-minute song." So they allow the recording
company to sit in there, record what they want when they want, and leave
when they want. In that case, the people cannot force the outsiders to be
so interested in all that goes on before the climax which will prompt them
to start recording. They may regard some of that as redundant, but it
leads. The best example comes from India, for instance, in the music of
India where they have a *raga* which has to be introduced; the evening *raga*
has to be introduced late in the afternoon and before they get to the *raga*,
they will have played a lot of music to introduce the evening *raga*. If you
are an outsider, you may likely not be interested in the beginning part, but
my recommendation would be to appreciate the culture as it is presented,
let go with them and reach the climax with them rather than reach it on
your own. As scholars we sometimes remove ourselves from our own
cultures by saying, "Oh no, we don't want that too, we want you to
perform something that would be appreciated by everybody." Then the
African or the Chinese or the Philippino would say, "Go and perform as a
scholar but this dance will be performed in this context."

DEMETRIO: My other question is this. Supposing I am an anthropologist
and I have other people working for me in the dance. Now, am I prostitut-
ing myself as an anthropologist in allowing my dance troupe, my chor-
eographer, for instance, to go ahead and use these materials but stylize it a
bit?

SITHOLE: As long as it is explained that it has been adapted from the original, then there is nothing wrong with it. What's wrong is to present the adaptation as the original.

ROBERT G. ARMSTRONG: I think this raises in fact a fundamental question of presentation because, as we go around the world, certainly West Africa and many other parts of the world, the musical forms, the literary forms, the dance forms, are often quite large. They are quite large performances intended to last maybe hours, and it is a fundamental question of presentation. Some things are easily presented to visitors. Sculpture, for instance, in West Africa — we can get some idea of it in thirty seconds. But to hear a song, we need anywhere from several minutes to several hours of somebody's attention under the best of conditions. And this is not easy at all. There is a certain kind of imposition on these patterns when we say, for example, "Well, we want to hear what you're doing but we've only got fifteen minutes," concerning something that takes three hours. It's a procrustean bed and I think we have to do much more than we have been doing to get the measure of the really important works in these various cultures and to enlarge our perspective. If we can't publish everything, at least we should publish much more broadly than we have.

I say this because at Ibadan we've published three Yoruba operas complete, just as you would publish Aida or Boris Goudonov complete, although you might also publish a sampler. And it is no good doing snippets of the Bach B-Minor Mass, you know, the highlights of B-Minor Mass; where are you? And quite normally, the more artistic of the cultures we're talking about have works of the scale of the Bach B-Minor Mass in many of these media. John Pepper Clark and a group of other people have recorded an epic, a poem down on the river in Ijawland, which they've been working on ten years; they haven't finished yet. The Osede Saga takes seven nights to record — it's a huge collection of tapes. We're far from having studied them yet but thank heavens they're recorded.

BASCOM: I have one more folklore paper for discussion and that is by Mr. Powlison.

PAUL POWLISON: My paper has to do with the results of European tales. After working twenty-six years in Yagua culture, recording tales throughout the Amazon jungle from the Yagua taletellers, I came across a few European tales. The one upon which the paper, the title, at least, is based is one which was recorded from a grandson of a taleteller whom Paul Phallis (who is the first president of the Wenner-Gren Foundation) had tell tales for him. And when I was getting data from the informant on where he had learned the tales, he said he learned them from his grandfather. So the logical conclusion was that Paul Phallis must have primed his grandfather, who was basically a monolingual, with some European

tales to get him going; then this man adapted the tales into his own language and passed them on to his sons and grandsons. So it is interesting to take this tale and study it as an example of what has happened to a European tale after twenty-six years in the Yagua language.

The paper also deals with another tale recorded in the same community from a different informant, a tale which started out with some basic Yagua tale components, then built onto it parts of a European tale — the strong man and his companions, in this case, log-splitter, tree-puller, and stone-thrower — and then led on to the maiden who helps her suitor in flight. This is quite a complicated tale and to find in it all of the complications and many motifs which are listed in the paper was quite impressive to me. I wouldn't have guessed that the Yaguas could retain so much of a foreign tale because their tales in general are quite different in their content from any of these European tales. I show in the paper which adaptations have been made to Yagua culture and which foreign elements have been retained. There is not much said in the paper about the manner of performing the narration. The narrator in this case was narrating for my recorder without much of an outside audience. His family was in the background and I was sitting beside him and he was obviously looking to me from time to time for reaction. It wasn't the most normal taletelling situation. However, in my recording experience with these narrators, I've found that when they do narrate in a normal audience-reaction situation, the narration is very much affected; you get interruptions which change the direction of the tale and chop it up a great deal. Whereas with the narration that I have, the narration was for my benefit and for the benefit of my recorder, so that the narrative is well organized and runs along smoothly. Now, by collecting a number of variants of the tales, I was able to check on the different variations and to bring together elements that were missing in one variant but were present in another.

Perhaps that is sufficient, for the time being, to see if there are any comments or questions arising out of this.

BASCOM: I would only say that I'd be very interested to see what changes, if any, have been introduced into the text by your narrators when we can get the whole thing.

POWLISON: The changes have been mainly adapting some of the cultural elements, things that they had in their own culture that were comparable. There were some items which were obviously from a foreign culture and they didn't try to adapt those. The paper does deal with all of the adaptations that I can recognize as having been made. One problem is that I don't know the original text that was introduced. It was obviously not a European version of the Hansel and Gretel story but a Spanish-American version. According to Hanson's tale-type index, there are a number of motifs in the Spanish-American versions which do not occur in the European versions, but which were present in this Yagua version of the tale.

SITHOLE: We have two musicologists who have just come in, Bruno Nettl and Simon Ottenberg. I will first call on Dr. Ottenberg to report on his paper.

SIMON OTTENBERG: In my paper*, I describe a masquerade in Ibo country in the East-Central state of Nigeria. It is really a parade. It is rather unusual in the sense that there is very little music to it. There is some praise-singing and drumming before it starts, but it is a parade of men, of about the age of thirty on down to small boys, who are all members of a secret society of the village. In this parade, they dress up in a variety of costumes and parade from one village to another. I have tried an analysis of it which in some ways is fairly routine and in some ways is maybe a bit complicated. But before I go into that, I want to say that it is one of a series of masquerades. I've become strongly convinced of the value of going through the whole range within a particular culture in a society. But with due respect to Professor Armstrong's point of the importance of fitting in the major ones, this isn't the major one in this society. But if you go through the whole range of them, certain patterns appear again and again that I think have value for understanding the whole process of masquerading, the whole process of pretending you're somebody else.

In this particular parade, I break it down into four kinds of analysis, the first involving social factors and role-reversal, where men are dressing up as women, or a young man is playing the part of an elder, an older man, which he shouldn't do in real life. The second analysis is in terms of cultural features, such as a strong emphasis — again and again in this parade — on ideas of physical strength. Thirdly, the parade is also a history, where in the front part of the parade they wear rather traditional costumes, and in the back part they're dressed up with masks, of course, to represent spirits. Finally, although it may not be reflected clearly in the paper, I've decided that each one of these masquerades represents some kind of paradox. In this particular one, it involves men who are about 25–28–30 years old who are forming into an age set, an age grouping; and while their values represent strength and male cooperation, it is these particular players who dress up as adolescent girls in this part. The question then becomes why — when elsewhere in the formation of their age set, they build roads to their farms, they feast the elders, they do manly things — here, all of a sudden, they are dancing as women mocking and imitating women. I try to provide some answer to that problem. I think masquerades have much of this kind of paradox to them and we have to look at that.

SITHOLE: Bruno Nettl, can you say something about your paper?

BRUNO NETTL: I didn't write a paper and I guess I owe you an explanation. I submitted an abstract a year and a half ago when Professor Tax called for abstracts and I had begun to work on a project involving what I

* This paper has not been included in this volume.

call the Popular Music of Iran. Iran, incidentally, is, of course, musically a very stratified culture in which there are a rather large number of different musical repertories, each more or less associated with a stratum of population. And while there, I became interested in 45 rpm records; I began to realize that this was perhaps a stratum of music which was associated with particular situations and with a particular part of the population. Well, in any event, I started to work on this and I then began to realize that what I was doing was not lending itself to anthropological theory, that I was not dealing with it in a sense which involved anthropological theory, because I am not an anthropologist. So I wrote to Professor Tax and withdrew the paper and published it elsewhere in an organ of a society which doesn't care so much about anthropological theory.

But perhaps the reason I made bold to get up when Dr. Sithole called on me now is that this is perhaps a problem which other people who work in music and the anthropology of music share. The field of anthropology, as I understand it right now, is a field which is extremely interested in the theoretical, in theoretical frameworks for study, and in the illustration of specific theories. In my studies of the history of ethnomusicology, I've found that ethnomusicology is always about twenty years behind anthropology, picking up more or less the same things that anthropologists do but a generation later. And I think ethnomusicologists are really right now primarily concerned with what we could perhaps call ethnography. Anthropologists become impatient with us, and those of the ethnomusicologists who are primarily anthropologists sometimes become impatient, but I think this impatience is not yet warranted. I think in the anthropological study of music, we first need a huge amount of data and the data is not easy to come by because it involves a large number of different types of perception, which go all the way from the analysis of material through mechanical and electronic means to actual participation in performance and perception of the material in that fashion. If you read ethnomusicological literature you will find that it simply tells you what is going on. I think this is okay for now. But in ten years, I hope the situation will have changed and we will know enough to be able to show types of things that happen — variations, generalizations, and the various kinds of theoretical statements that are now being made by anthropologists in many fields such as social structure, political anthropology, economic anthropology, and so on.

CORDWELL: I'm sorry we're short-changing the people in the visual arts — we have twenty-five minutes left. We are drifting into a pattern of someone practically giving a paper, which is what we were trying to get away from. So please respond to questions to your paper only when called on. Mr. Joshi's paper on folktales and folk art of Northwest India pulls together both in his paper, the art serves as device for the teller of folktales to remind him of the story; it is not a mnemonic device exactly

but it does remind the folktale teller of the story. And, Mr. Joshi, it is a very interesting combination of the two. Would you step to the microphone and respond?

JOSHI: I am working on a project to study the folklore painter and I have selected a few individuals for studying the folklore as well as the artists of the folk paintings. There are two or three popular stories which are being painted at this time. It is interesting to note here that the paintings are being made at one particular place but are being used by the singers' group nearly 300 kilometers from that place. In this sense, the painted folklore has no popular value at the particular place where it is produced; instead, it is being taken to another place by a singers' group, which will show it to these people and they will dance, make music and show the paintings to the spectators. It may take fifteen to twenty days, often far into the night to show it to the people. In this study I have tried to ask these three questions. What are the divisions of the folk artist, his art, and the art public? What changes and stresses have taken place in the traditional art institution? What are the problems, possibilities, and processes of development of traditional culture in reference to folk art?

In India, the problem is that most of the society is folk; even in urban areas women are carrying on the tradition, they are keeping the tradition, regardless of the level of education or modernization they may be having. In that sense, the society has a complex culture. The artists who were connected with the nobles and the kings and the higher levels of society are now, due to the banishing of the kings and nobles, connecting themselves to the common people or folk people. And they are selling their paintings to those singers' groups, who are taking them to the people.

In this connection, I have pointed out how changes have taken place and what changes have been taking place, changes in administrative set-up, changes in the traditional support of the code and artists. The demand for the art has declined. But after a while modernization and the tourist business have again doubled the demand for the paintings and the artists became interested again in their art; now they are sending two types of paintings, one to the singers' groups, another to the tourist trade. As I have tried to tell it, modernization and modern things now have preserved the art, on the one hand; on the other hand, the traditional group is keeping strong control over the tradition in this way in Southeast Asia. The tradition of art is not going to die, even with modernization.

CORDWELL: Thank you for the beautiful examples you brought to show us in the exhibit hall. There are two papers I would like to quickly put together. Neither gentlemen knows the other but they've both written about the same thing — at least they touch. These are the papers by Allen Bassing and Ausbra Ford. Allen Bassing wrote on the grave sculpture of the Dakakari and Ford has used this in his own research on the influence of African art on African-American art. It shows the transition of grave

sculpture to Georgia, from West Africa and Zaire to Georgia and into the influence on modern painters. He has a very good factual paper with a lot of photographs of the art and artists, the black Americans who have been influenced by this. Dr. Bassing, would you like to step to the microphone?

ALLEN BASSING: To clear up any confusion, the abstract of my paper was called "Grave sculptures of the Dakakari." When it was actually printed, I changed the title slightly to make it a little more understandable, calling it "Commemorative sculpture in northern Nigeria." Unfortunately, I have not seen this other paper by Ford so I can't comment on it at all, but I would be very, very interested in knowing much more about that.

The Dakakari people live in the northwestern part of Nigeria. In the interest of time, I don't want to go into it too much except to say that they make these terra cotta grave sculptures, on which I did research and which I collected from 1967–1969 for the Nigerian Federal Department of Antiquities. These terra cotta sculptures fall into six categories. What they call elephants which don't look anything like elephants but are just rather large, about three feet high — game animals of all sorts, equestrian figures, human figures both male and female, and pseudo pots, which are actually nonfunctional containers and household pottery. Depending on what certain individuals had done in their lifetime, when they died, they were given on their grave mound — about two to three feet in height — certain kinds of grave pottery. It was very, very difficult to discover how in fact this was done, possibly because I think I got there about thirty years too late. I spent so much of my time just listening to the elderly men argue about who deserved what and how. And it was very, very difficult to do more than just generalize about the subject. However, I do generalize about it in the paper and for those of you who have read it, I'd be glad to listen to comments or take questions.

ARMSTRONG: I simply want to call to the attention of this group the international artistic importance of this particular style of ceramic sculpture. We're fortunate enough to have a number of examples at the front entrance of our Institute of African Studies in Ibadan, and we find that well-traveled VIP visitors are quite shaken when they see them and tell us that they're doing this kind of art in Rome these days. The Dakakari have been doing it since time out of mind.

CORDWELL: Ausbra, would you care to comment both on your paper and your use of the grave sculpture here?

AUSBRA FORD: First I'd like to state that I'm primarily a sculptor and I teach Afro-American art; as most people know now, most universities have set up departments or divisions of Black Studies. We have had certain problems present themselves, especially in art, in that we have not had enough of a body of information for study, so that we have not been studied correctly, that is, the art of black Americans by the white art

historians. So we are basically a blank in all the art history books. Black art or black aesthetics does not exist. So what has happened is that we, as sculptors and painters, have had to go back and study our history and even go back to Africa, because right now there is an extremely large boom in Afro-American art and it is very strong and very exciting and dynamic, to say the least. As a matter of fact, Chicago is one of the great centers in the United States in mural art, and what is happening there is that the artists are taking the art to the people in the street because they have not been educated in schools, and so forth. So this is my job, being an artist and trying to be a scholar at the same time, which is to research this out so we have enough information to teach the courses adequately. I wrote this paper at Justine's prodding. What I'll do is read the abstract because we're short of time, and hope to answer any possible questions. It's rather involved and I try to go into funeral art. [Reads abstract of paper.]

CORDWELL: May I just say that I discovered that the Amalgamated Meat Cutters of America have a beautiful booklet called *Cry for justice*. This is available for sale at the bookshop and illustrates much of what Ausbra has been talking about — the art taken to the people in the street. These are the "walls of protest" in Chicago.

There is a paper here whose writer was concerned because we put it in the performing arts and she wrote it for me for the visual arts. It is Loretta Reinhardt's work on the masks as they appear in dance. So they are both a performing and a visual art at the same time. Loretta, would you care to step to the microphone?

LORETTA REINHARDT: I want to say first of all, keep Ausbra's paper in mind if you're teaching primitive art courses that deal with an historical background because, in general, I've used Goldwater's writings and of course they're not so good; they're not too strong on this particular thing. So, in a sense, I think studying the history of African influences on Euro-American art has been, to some extent, blanco-centric, and I think that this is a very neat article to have and to use.

Now, as for my own paper, it is based on work in 1967–1968 in Sierra Leone among the Mende, largely. All I'd like to say is that I think many of us have been interested in doing the sort of thing Simon Ottenberg was talking about; it's not that new but it has received very strong emphasis by a number of workers, and that is contextual analysis. And that is why these papers were rather mixed up in the pigeon holes because they didn't fit into pigeon holes. But when you do this, as everyone would expect, you find out lots of things, so that you could read my paper front to back, but you could also read it back to front because that's the way I figured things out although it didn't write up nicely that way. Thus when you have a lot of data — contrary to Morris Freilich — if you have adequate data, then you can find out things that you couldn't find out otherwise. I'm sure my

data is not full but it is a fairly adequate minimal corpus of Mende masking types. You look at this and you see a system in it, and when you see that, then you look back at the materials on the societies and you see a much more suggestive possibility in terms of a system within the secret societies. It is a very rich possibility and the paper raises many, many more questions than it gives answers, I'm afraid.

CORDWELL: John Ewers has written a very interesting paper. It almost should be back to back with one of Dr. Bascom's dealing with the same type of material, the image in Indian art of the white men.

JOHN EWERS: Probably no other primitive people was more pictured by white people during the nineteenth century than the Plains Indians. We know that during that century, at least a hundred white artists pictured the Indians of the North American plains. In my studies over the last few years of examples of American Indian painting and carving from the Great Plains, collected in more than a hundred museums in this country, Canada, and Europe, I've been rather impressed by the fact that there are quite a number of examples of Indian paintings of white people, paintings which are not well known. These appear also in another medium, in the carvings of the Plains Indians of the nineteenth century. What I've tried to do in my paper is to show a few examples of how the Indians of the plains looked at the white man during this period. They represent a number of different attitudes. First of all, both in the Plains Indians' sign language, which was almost universal among those tribes, and in the paintings and sculpture that these people reproduced, they show the white man by a cultural, not a racial trait, the fact that he wore a hat. In sign language, it is a sign like this [demonstrates]. But they saw the white man as much more than a hat-wearer. Some of the early sculptures of the nineteenth century seemed to indicate that they looked upon the white man as one of very great supernatural powers, comparable to some of their own dieties, which were sometimes thought of in terms of a Janus-headed or a two-headed figure. So you find that in some of the sculptures.

As they got to know the white people better, they realized that they probably weren't such supernatural creatures as they had first thought. Then you begin to get more specific representations of the white men which show other attitudes towards them. They show them as good and as bad traders. They show them as people whom they shouldn't be afraid to look in the face. They show them as enemies and they show them as very close friends. In fact, some of the most remarkable sculptures which, I think, are probably published in my paper for the first time, are portrait-pipes of some of the people who had helped them in the past and to whom they were grateful and gave presents.

CORDWELL: Madame Vasil'eva has a paper that treats ethnohistory and ethnogenesis in art among the Turkmenians in Russia. Would you care to comment on your paper, Madame?

G. P. VASIL'EVA: In my report, we mention the use of folk art for studying the ethnogenesis of the people. The material is based on Turkmenistan. I examined this applied art, in particular, decorative art, which is very rich and variegated and interesting. I compared these decorative motifs to those of neighboring peoples with whom they have had relations in the past, to those with whom they have relations at present, and also to peoples in the Middle Ages who had lived in the same territory or passed through this territory in their process of migration. This decorative material was used very little in the past for the study of ethnogenesis, and it has only been recently that Soviet ethnography has begun to use this material. The results obtained in studying this decorative art over the whole territory, the Turkmenistan Republic, among various groups of Turkmenians, has yielded very interesting conclusions. In addition to decorative art and jewelry, we've also used carpets, different designs of carpets which are very well developed in Turkmenistan and greatly varied. In addition to these two types of art, we have also examined, though a little more briefly, embroidery and types of veils or hangings. The national legends are set forth in these types of cloths and we have been able to conclude that, in the process of the ethnogenesis of the Turkmenians, two groups can be distinguished, the Ahlans and the Oguz. It is to be seen that these two peoples took part in the formation of the Turkmenian peoples of today.

CORDWELL: We now have a paper on the chalk figures of New Ireland by Hedwig Spiegel. It is based on a very similar idea of using the art to trace the migrations of a people and to see what happens to it as it mingles.

HEDWIG SPIEGEL: I am talking about research done at the Australian Museum in Sydney. I'm mostly interested in the different style groups in the Melanesian Islands. They are great carvers and have beautiful carvings of masks of ancestor figures and of all kinds of utensils; it is very important to see what the influences consist of which change the stylistic groups from one island group to another. On the chalk figures from New Ireland, I think I was able to trace elements from the Bismark Archipelago, mostly from the Baining people who produced these chalk figures, to the New Ireland people, who produced similar figures. My theory is that the people from New Britain had been driven to the east coast and migrated to New Ireland, where they collided with some already existing people and produced a new style, the Uli figure, which up to now was unexplained because it is so different from the other art styles on the east coast. This is very important because you can then see the influences, diffusion, transmission from different types of countries — partly from Asia via Indonesia, partly from Polynesia — types which have come back from the east coast to the west coast and vice versa. That is my interest in Melanesian art.

CORDWELL: May I put you together with Dr. Phil Lewis, who has written a great deal on this and who is probably very interested in talking to you about it.

PHIL LEWIS: I've known what Dr. Spiegel has been doing for some time and I'd like to express appreciation for the kind of research in art and primitive art that doesn't get done very much, namely, just going to a museum and digging into a lot of data that is there. I'm doubly pleased because she took a part of New Ireland that nobody does much with, the far south or south-central portion, whereas everybody else is interested in the Malanggans of the north. She has worked her way through a number of these very interesting chalk figures which, to say the least, are very intrusive in the area, and she has made some sense out of them. I look forward with great anticipation seeing what she actually said in the paper.

CORDWELL: There is a lady here from Vienna who has done a perfectly stunning, thorough catalog on the folk art of Latin America. Her paper came in too late to print. May I introduce Dr. Etta Becker-Donner.

ETTA BECKER-DONNER: In studying Latin American folk art, I found that there are three sources of influence on the folk arts and crafts. The one is Indian culture, very varied because of the different stages of culture that existed at the time of the first contact with the Europeans. The second is the European influence, primarily that of the Iberian culture, Spanish and Portuguese, where suddenly it was more the Christian influence. Lastly is that of the African influence.

They are still more or less deducible in the different regions of Latin America; also, of course, there are many cross-cultural influences. We know little of the development through colonial times, but in studying the old collections, as well as the folk arts and crafts of today, their techniques and their traditions, we are able to distinguish between the different regions. Predominant are the religious or at least magic ideas at the background of this art. Today they are mostly of a syncretic character, made either for ceremonies, plays, or festivities or, at least, as adornments for objects used at feasts.

PART ONE

Theory and Methodology

Anthropology, Philosophy, and Aesthetics

MARIANNE L. STOLLER and M. JANE CAUVEL

In 1970 the college for which we both teach adopted a modular scheduling plan, occasioning a major upheaval in academic thinking and curricula systems. One of the faculty responses to this was to experiment with interdisciplinary courses. Having long been aware of our mutual interest in art and aesthetics, Cauvel opened her philosophy course in Aesthetics, which she had taught for several years, to an interdisciplinary approach with Stoller, an anthropologist. This turned out to be a Pandora's box, with Greeks and Navajos, phenomenologists and potters, icons and illusions, structuralists and Socrates emerging untowardly from every knothole. As we write this, we are now teaching the course for the third time, and more accurately, it is described as an interdivisional (Humanities and Social Services) as well as an interdisciplinary course.

Our purposes in recounting our experiences to you are threefold:

1. To share an experiment in pedagogy which we think is illustrative of some of the problems that may inhibit productive communication between humanists and social scientists.

2. Since interdisciplinary courses are of increasing interest in American universities and colleges, to share a methodology for their construction, one which we consider successful.

3. To discuss the framework we have evolved, using the materials of both philosophy and anthropology, which we think brings not only some new revelations but also some new relevancies to the study of Aesthetics.

THE TEACHING METHODOLOGY

The first year we taught the course we wondered what would happen and we worried about what was happening. Almost every class meeting turned out to be a shock, often not very pleasant, to one or both of us, and we, together with our students, came to comprehend very fully the problems and advantages of "learning by doing." For various reasons, we had not had as much advance time to prepare the course as we might have desired; in retrospect, however, we doubt whether more time would have been that profitable. It was in the classroom, hearing each other's lectures, participating in discussions with students, observing what sense or lack of it emerged from the juxtaposition of readings, that the nature of what we were trying to do became apparent.

Our experience, in other words, suggests that extensive planning in advance, before the actual test of two people working together in the classroom, may be largely a waste of time. After all, when two professional scholars, even though they come from separate disciplines, converse with each other on a topic of mutual interest, they tend to talk on a different level than they do when they are actually teaching undergraduates.

The course is arranged so that both teachers are present in the classroom all the time. Class enrollment has been between twenty and twenty-five (our college imposes class size limits on all courses). One teacher is formally in charge on any given day, although in discussions both may share the role of leader. The other teacher is literally a student with the students. Both of us think that an undergraduate classroom is an improper place for teachers to score points on each other in the eyes of students, nor is it a platform for an ego display of brilliance of knowledge or rhetoric unique to one's own discipline. We know of interdisciplinary courses that become forums for teachers trying to impress each other at the students' expense; students line up on one side or the other and class sessions become games of wit or damaging arguments. While we recognize that students may learn from hearing their "titans tilt," we are concerned that subject matter may get lost, the constructive and systematic presentation of ideas may be leapt over, and issues become unrealistically polarized. The ideal of "rational discourse" involving respect for the other person and the material is a more appropriate model for the sustained development that a course requires, and a more appropriate attitude to develop in our students.

While grounded in mutual respect, our teaching methods and lecture styles differed in many respects and continue to do so. The nature of the subjects we teach influences our styles to a considerable extent: anthropology involves the presentation of a good deal of descriptive data and just plain information; philosophy, on the other hand, is more often concerned with the exegesis of ideas and the elucidation of their systematic development. The anthropologist, in the self-assumed task of explaining other cultures, also undertakes the responsibility of teaching an attitude of respect and sympathetic understanding towards other cultures, whose ideas the student may not have imagined had any right to demand his attention or influence his thinking. Plato is not going to rise up and protest an injustice being done to his ideas; the teacher presenting them therefore is answerable only to the canons of scholarly truth and integrity. The Navajo Indians, however, may well protest a misrepresentation of their culture, particularly to students predominantly from the majority culture, for such misunderstanding may possibly affect the lives yet to be lived of both students and Indians.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS OWN AND OTHER CULTURES

It is no news, of course, to any social scientist whose interests involve other, living cultures, to hear that he or she has an explicit social responsibility added to the scholarly one. Nor was this a particular issue between us that had to be worked out. Indeed, the contrary was the case: because we both had backgrounds of studying other cultures (Cauvel in Oriental studies, especially India and Japan; Stoller in Pacific Island, North American Indian and Spanish and Mexican-American studies) we took this responsibility and attitude as axiomatic.

However, it became apparent the first year that we needed to help the students develop an attitude of respect and sympathy toward the arts and ideas of other cultures in order to expect earnest and serious study of them to occur. Since the course involves a short field trip to the Southwest where students see art and meet artists from non-Western cultures, we found it imperative to convey not only fairly extensive ethnographic knowledge but also an attitude conducive to the serious study and appreciation of these cultures.

We do not think we can say specifically why this becomes such a crucial issue in this course. Certainly the anthropologist can safely assume the preexistence of such an attitude to a much greater extent in most students in strictly anthropology courses. We can only conjecture about it. The students who take this course in Aesthetics are mostly from the fine arts, philosophy or anthropology. Perhaps it is because the study of subjects in the humanities traditionally is, at least from an anthropological perspec-

tive, first and foremost the study of the ideas and products of one's own Western culture, that humanities students have virtually no preparation for a cross-cultural perspective. Courses in "Comparative Literature" in most American college curricula, for example, largely involve comparisons between one historical period in Western culture and another (Medieval and Renaissance) or contrasts between one subcultural tradition and another (France and England). To give another example, the art student is vitally concerned with learning to paint within or ahead of the current market (though he may hotly deny such a crass statement), which means that his concern is with the latest theory of art in his own culture. He comes into this course with something of an attitude of "Navajo sandpaintings may be rather interesting, but they are the creation of magic and superstition and my art has nothing to do with religion." Or finally, perhaps, it is the old Western intellectual heritage of the humanities' concern with the elite versus the social scientist's tendency to pay attention to the common man and the "trivial." The social scientist's primary purpose is to identify the general laws and characteristics of societies and cultures: the humanist localizes this search in terms of the personalities who have been or appear to be the pacesetters for cultural history.

Conversely, the opposite situation also appears, most commonly (but not exclusively) among anthropology students: this is the romantic acceptance and glorification of peasant and tribal cultures and the rejection of "great traditions" and civilizations, unless they also are "foreign." For example, Oriental civilizations are considered highly admirable cultures to study. In this case, the student's attitude is one of scorn for his own culture and its heritage. He thinks about it with a Frazerian law of contagious magic in which the part stands for the whole; because he deplores or despises some aspects of his own culture (environmental atrocities, racism, etc.), he tends to want to throw out all of it. What must be taught here is an attitude of serious respect for our own and other cultures. We do not spend much classtime overtly teaching the problems and attitudes we have been describing here, but we have found it necessary to be aware of them and take them into account in the way we teach Aesthetics in this interdisciplinary context. We had to learn to be conscious of them in order to accomplish our primary purposes in the course, and would suggest that, to a varying extent, an awareness of them in general could improve communication between humanists and social scientists, whether teachers and scholars or students.

Becoming conscious of how our subject matter had to be approached led us to become aware of a number of other convictions we held in common about the nature of art and aesthetics and the way to teach this interdisciplinary course. Our cognizance of these areas of agreement emerged as we taught the course the first year, analyzed its difficulties and

during the following summer redesigned the course as we now teach it. We present them as both premises and convictions about the study of Aesthetics, from the combination of our two disciplines. While they are in some respects statements of personal beliefs, they are also, we suggest, rough formulations of analytical premises that could be productive of new approaches to both the teaching and study of Aesthetics.

CONVICTIONS

1. It became obvious very quickly that we both regard a cross-cultural study of art, art theories, and other values to be a positive "good." By this we mean that opening the students' senses and minds to the extraordinary richness and diversity of human expression is an important goal in our view of education. And it should be remembered, as explained earlier, that we genuinely regard ourselves in this context as students, too. Hence, we have learned, and continue to enjoy learning, from each other.

2. We conceive of aesthetic values as potentially appearing in any nook or cranny of a culture, for they are inherent in a culture's worldview. We have found Albert's formulation (1956:222) of these "normative factors" in a culture useful, and in dealing with aesthetic values cross-culturally would modify one of her statements to read:

... that the logical and functional relations between values and the general conceptual system [worldview, ethnophilosophy] are so close that delineation of the world-view is an appropriate adjunct [matrix] to the description of the [aesthetic] value system.

By locating aesthetic values in the broadest possible perspective — that of the all-pervasive conceptual scheme of a culture — we are somewhat freed from the limitations of customary cultural categories, namely, art and religion, art as communication, etc. As with perceiving the need to overcome the ethnocentric biases inherent in the categorization of art products (see below), we recognize these are useful to some scholarly pursuits (especially in anthropology and art history) but largely irrelevant for our needs. This approach has been used by others as an analytical device (Thompson 1945; Geertz 1957) but not so broadly as a total framework for studying all the arts of a culture nor as a cross-cultural scheme. This approach frees us to be receptive to the aesthetic values which may appear in rituals, storytelling, uses of space and time, and in the practical daily activities of the people. Judgments and behavior expressing the appropriate, the tasteful, and the beneficial as well as the beautiful usually reflect aesthetic as well as practical concerns. And unless a person is responsive to the possible expressions of aesthetic value, he is likely to ignore their presence in an unfamiliar context.

3. It is more constructive to speak of the aesthetic dimension of human activities and products than try to define works of art. Attempts to identify and characterize the qualities of this dimension of experience are common in Western aesthetic theory, most notably in the writings of Kant and Dewey. Kluckhohn, in anthropology, has recognized the need to expand the identification of aesthetic dimensions beyond the culture-bound category of "art" in suggesting the term "expressive activities." It is well known that many cultures have no such conceptual category as "art" or an identifiable behavorial one either, for that matter, just as some cultures have no words for beauty, etc. Subcategories of art so familiar to Westerners, such as the lines drawn by the terms "fine arts," "decorative arts," "crafts," "performing arts," etc., however useful they may be to art historians, are largely useless, as anthropologists should know, in dealing with art cross-culturally. Much Western aesthetic theory has been concerned almost exclusively with the "fine arts." In using a broader phrase, "aesthetic dimension," we find it possible to avoid the intellectual game-playing that can occur over arguing definitions of sub-category placements, and especially the problems created by our culture's tendency to do this in hierarchical fashion.

4. The aesthetic dimension does tend, nevertheless, to manifest itself and perhaps find its fullest expression in those activities and products which, by virtue of their formal attributes (line, color, space, time, motion) we may call art. Thus, we do concentrate our attention in non-Western cultural materials on such things as pottery, sand paintings, architecture, religious carvings, ceremonial dances, ritual poetry, etc. However, we are not persuaded that there is an irresolvable dichotomy between an object viewed on the one hand as art and on the other as icon. These may be separate operations but the fullest aesthetic experience comes from a profound emotional and intellectual understanding of the iconic aspects of the object, in addition to an appreciation of the formal qualities. For example, whereas the formal qualities of many Navajo sand paintings justify calling them art objects, an understanding of the Navajo conceptions of space and motion, good and evil, health and sickness, color and line symbolism, as well as the "persons" in the Navajo world, contribute immeasurably to the quality and richness of the aesthetic response. Without this comprehension of the cultural values, the aesthetic response to the sandpainting may be more pure, but we contend that such purity is closely allied to aesthetic sterility. By recognizing the wealth of religious, practical, and moral meanings that burst forth from the formal lines of a sandpainting, the student is more likely to search deeply for the meanings hidden within the formal qualities of all works of art, even those of our own culture. The importance of this aspect of aesthetic appreciation is difficult to grasp until you are really struck by how much you miss in a work of another culture by not knowing the

values and meanings inherent in even the most formal patterns of line, space, and color.

5. Likewise, aesthetic theories grow out of long and devoted attention to one or more arts. They are rarely woven out of the dreams of human fancy but rather out of the rough cords of personal experience with an art form and familiarity with the values and history of that form. Yet often it is precisely this grounding of the theory that is ignored in philosophical writings on aesthetics. This leads the student (as it did Stephen Daedalus) to think of aesthetics as some kind of sacred code, dictating its laws to artists and critics alike: you either obeyed or sacrilegiously rejected the entire subject. Rather, aesthetic theories are rough attempts to account for certain aspects of aesthetic behavior and they frequently account for one aspect or one art form far better than for another. Conflicts between theories often arise because one theoretician drew his theory from one form — sculpture, for example — and the other theoretician drew his from music. The theories do not conflict with each other as much as they account for different kinds of activities and reflect the ideas and styles of different periods. As a Pueblo potter adheres to the styles, techniques, and explanations of her culture and traditions, so do Coleridge and Ortega y Gasset. So we are persuaded that theories of art as well as the arts themselves grow out of human activities expressing needs, values, and personal choices, all of which emerge from a more inclusive cultural framework.

6. Finally, it appears to us that the formal teaching of any other culture must always be accomplished with a contrastive mode. That is, one must, by the time he has reached adulthood, learn primarily through the categories and framework of his own culture. It is an anthropological truism that the problem is essentially one of translation, as is so reasonably explained by Bohannon (1963:7–12) and so eloquently argued in relation to scientific investigation by Goodenough (1970: especially 129–130). We accept this and teach explicitly by contrast, having, as we have indicated, tried to circumvent those areas of our own culture that have proved to be traps or blind alleys (and we have done this for intellectual reasons, not for expediency). Contrasting, for example, the Navajo phrase often translated as "beauty" with the English concept of beauty we find to be the most useful way for elucidating the differences and similarities. Fortunately we are able to make these comparisons concrete by examining the art works themselves and talking to non-Western artists.

DESIGN OF THE COURSE

The Colorado College is located on the northern margin of the American Southwest, an area famous for its highly viable Indian cultures, its pro-

duction of a unique art form derived from a European culture (the *Santos* art of northern New Mexico), and for its Anglo-American art colonies of this century. The College's modular scheduling plan, and the general educational philosophy of encouraging experimentation in a liberal arts undergraduate education, combine in making it possible for us to take students off-campus for a short field trip into the northern part of this region. Consequently, we have designed the format of the course largely around these fortunate circumstances. The selection of two of the other cultures — the Pueblos and the Navajos — considered in the course is determined on this basis solely; the Spanish-American culture of northern New Mexico, which is the third culture included, gives us the double advantage of examining an art form unique to its culture but derivative of a world view that is in the mainstream of Western aesthetic history (specifically that of Augustine and Medieval Art). In addition, this area affords us the possibility of seeing art and aesthetic theory as a dynamic process, for we place some emphasis on modern Indian artists who are bridging their traditional cultural forms with a mainstream art education and training.

We begin the course by posing a dozen or so questions that have always been central to the concerns of Western aestheticians and which we use as major orienting questions for the entire course. Having discovered that many students, unless they are art history majors, know very little of the modern (i.e. last hundred years) art theories that underlie artistic creation in their own culture, we spend a little time reviewing these. Most students are, of course, familiar with the ideas in general; it is simply necessary to give these ideas form and coherent articulation for them so that they have a focused and shared, rather than a diffuse and particularized, backdrop for their own culture.

Then we dwell on the central question of "What do you have to know/think/feel/be to appreciate the art of other cultures?" Approximately one-third of the course is devoted to the consideration of the cultures and arts of the Navajos, Pueblos, and Hispanos. As already described, this is done, as much as available materials permit, by moving from the formulations of worldviews of these cultures to aesthetic values, insofar as we or others have derived these from the worldviews.

With this preparation, we take the field trip of a few days duration. It is arranged so that students have maximum exposure to the settings of the cultures they have studied. Invited speakers include Indian, Hispano and Anglo artists, working in as many media as possible (both those representative of the traditional cultural arts and those creating new traditions) and scholars and critics of these arts. Students visit major museums and commercial collections of Southwestern arts and also witness a Pueblo ceremonial dance.

The value of the field trip in this course probably cannot be overstated.

The impact of seeing the art, meeting and talking with the artists and hearing them explain their works, their cultures, and their ideas is a more vivid and vital education than a thousand books or slides or lectures could provide. The "lived reality," to borrow a phrase applied to art itself, of this brief cross-cultural experience is a patent demonstration of the relevance of the questions about aesthetics to which the course in general is addressed.

After the field trip, we examine in some detail some of the major aesthetic theories in the historical mainstream of Western philosophy: Augustine, Kant, Nietzsche, Dewey, Heidegger, Imgarden and Lévi-Strauss. Because of the students' more concrete study of the arts and theories of other cultures, they come to the traditional Western aesthetic positions with greater insight and critical acumen than students who have not had this opportunity. They have learned to mistrust their first impulses and to question their assumptions. Instead, they examine art works thoughtfully and with care before formulating any judgments. Their aesthetic responses have become more contemplative than spontaneous, more prolonged than immediate and more thoughtful than emotional. A learned appreciation for art works of other cultures contributes immeasurably to their ability to understand, to see and to respond aesthetically to their own.

CONCLUSION

Anthropological research contains few studies specifically on the aesthetic dimensions of human experience. We feel this is partly due to anthropologists' lack of sophistication in recognizing and formulating lines of inquiry and observation on aesthetics. Infrequently have anthropologists asked questions about the ideology, the conceptual constructs and values, that underlie human expressive activity.

Western philosophy is replete with theoretical constructs that attempt to account for artistic creativity and appreciation, but the demonstrated pertinence of these theories is mainly to Western culture only. The philosopher wishing to expand his realm to include other cultures is likely to get lost in the mass of anthropological descriptive data, none of it perhaps directly pointed at his concerns. The anthropologist working with philosophical constructs is suspicious of ethnocentrism and the lack of empirical foundations.

We have attempted to construct a course, and to describe it to you, that identifies the interdependent needs of both disciplines, and that suggests some possible lines of approach for studying aesthetics, in which each discipline contributes to and benefits from the other. We wish to emphasize this point because we suspect that many interdisciplinary courses fail

of this promise from an over-protectiveness of disciplinary interests. We have had to let the questions and the content of the course dictate the contributions from anthropology and philosophy. We chose the methods of teaching, the aspects of the disciplines and materials used, as they enriched the course, rather than considering their stature within their discipline. We have tried to make it clear that while it has been a rewarding experience for us personally, it has also been a difficult one, and our satisfaction with it is not total. But if it were, the learning would have ceased.

In a recent statement concerning the need for humanists and social scientists to overcome their differences by focusing on common problems and issues, Clifford Geertz and Paul de Man (1972) wrote:

... the conviction continues to grow among leading figures in the Humanities and the Social Sciences that, as the cliché goes, "they have something to offer one another." The problem is how to effect the offering, reasonably un-burnt.

We believe that our "offering" of an interdisciplinary course in Aesthetics is not only "unburnt" but palatable and even slightly delectable. Taking the liberty of substituting the word "culture" where Dewey (1958:326) says "civilization," we have tried to make concrete Dewey's wistfully assertive hope that:

Esthetic experience is a manifestation, a record and celebration of the life of a culture, a means of promoting its development, and is also the ultimate judgment upon the quality of a culture.

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The Feeling of Architectonic Form: Residual and Emergent Qualities in Fang Cult and Culture

JAMES W. FERNANDEZ

In this article I would like to point analysis towards two emergent quali-
ties in Fang life[1] — *mvwaa*, or "even-handed tranquility," which is the
quality par excellence of the traditional culture; and *nlem mvore*, or
"one-heartedness," which is one of the important qualities obtained for
their members by a modern Fang religious movement called Bwiti. For
heuristic purposes, I will fall back upon an old distinction (it is present in
John Locke[2]) between primary, secondary, and emergent qualities.
Primary qualities are those, apparently external, qualities that inhere in
the object world in our perception of it, e.g. color, sound, configuration,
bulk, number situation, and state, whether in motion or at rest. Secondary
qualities are those, apparently internal, qualities or feeling states that
emerge through our interaction with the object world, e.g. taste, weight,
warmth, and other qualities induced in us by some intercourse with the
object and which does not coincide with our perception of it as it is out
there. Emergent qualities are always complex feeling states in the pro-
noun[3] brought about by various kinds of synesthetic forms, that is to say,
the systematic bringing together of various qualities. In a sense secondary

[1] The Fang are a neo-Bantu people of the Western Equatorial forest of Africa. They
practice slash and burn agriculture and hunt and fish intensively. They have patriclans but
only a vestigial segmentary lineage system. Effective authority was rarely exercised beyond
the village.
[2] The history of philosophy testifies to the contentiousness of the Lockian distinctions. As
an anthropologist I am essentially pragmatic about philosophic constructs and tend, in
respect to primary qualities, to be a realist and in respect to secondary and emergent
qualities to be an idealist, or, what may come to the same thing, a relativist.
[3] The reference is to a "pronominalistic" theory of the expressive life. That life is a series of
topical (metaphoric and metonymic) predications upon pronouns (Fernandez 1974a).

qualities are emergent. They emerge from the intentful interaction of the subject with the object. But they do not have the complexity of emergent qualities. Emergent qualities are the feelings that are created by expressive events which are complex systems of synesthesia.

I would like to consider these qualities in relation to the architectonic framework of Fang life. By architectonic I mean not only the buildings in which expressive events take place but also the quality space created by Fang cosmology and legend. That space (in the largest sense) in which expressive events take place makes crucial contributions to the qualities that emerge in these events. I will then examine a specific expressive event, a Bwiti cult ritual, and attempt to show how it brings about a series of emergent qualities in participants.

COSMOLOGY AND LEGEND — COSMIC SPACE

We shall not detail but only point up certain features of Fang cosmology and legend relevant to this topic. Full accounts may be found in Largeau (1901), Trilles (1912), Tessmann (1913), and Ondoua Engutu (1953). The earth was created by Sky-Spider (*dibobia-abo*) under the aegis of the creator god Mebege. *Abo* dropped an egg sack onto the ocean for the earth was nothing but water. The egg sack contained the souls of men (*minsisim*) and termites (*sigibim*) who, pulling up the earth from the bottom of the ocean, created land. The spirits of men, like *sigibim*, belong to the earth. The great spirits belong to the sky. All living and dead things whose abode is in or on the earth must look to the sky to negotiate their fate. In many respects, it is true, in the Fang ancestral cult (*bieri*) the living negotiated with the dead without reference to the above, but in the cosmological and final sense creation and power come from above and spirits when they are active are active above. Living men endeavor not to rise too high or fall too low. Fang cosmology then gives one essential dimension of Fang quality space — height and depth.

The Fang migration legends (Largeau 1901; Ondoua Engutu 1953; Fernandez 1962) give us the second dimension: upstream (*oswi kui*), downstream (*oswi nké*). Upstream and downstream are the cardinal directions among the Fang and subtend in their affairs an axis roughly northeast to southwest. The migration legend — it has some basis in history — has the progenitors of the Fang living far (*oswi kui*) by the margins of a great body of water and upon a savannah or a desert. They are driven from their homeland by invaders, redmen (*mvelembot*), or by hunger and commence their long migration downstream through the savannah into the rain forest (*afan*). The hazards of their migration are many: various rivers that they must cross, pursuit by more powerful tribes or by a power described as a giant crocodile, and the entrance into the rain

forest symbolized as a giant adzap tree (*adzap mboag*) through which they must bore a hole. The final objective of this migration is often said to have been the ocean variously described as the abode of the dead or the abode of the moon which rises there.

Values attach themselves symbolically to these directions. Upstream is said to be the male direction and downstream the female direction. This association is compounded out of several facts. The sun (*nlodzop*), which is male, arises in the east (*oswi kui*); and the moon, which is female, rises in the west (*oswi nké*). Upstream is the land with the forces which have dislodged the Fang from their original home and pursued them downstream. Downstream is the abode of those peoples whom the Fang have readily conquered or displaced in their rapid migration into the forest and towards the sea. In general, within Fang territory, wives are sought from downstream clans and husbands welcomed from upstream clans. Upstream tribes of the Fang are esteemed as being more advanced. And, indeed, in terms of contact with the West, the Bulu and the Ntumu have enjoyed progressive advantages over the Fang proper: the Okak and the Meké. In respect to the fissiparous character of Fang lineage dynamics it is the junior segments that have generally split away from their seniors and moved downstream to reestablish themselves. Upstream is thus associated with seniority in both clan histories and migration legends; downstream has the subservience of junior status. For a combination of these reasons upstream is a dominant direction and downstream a recessive direction. Dominance expresses itself against the recessive, and maleness over femaleness. This is the semantic of migration along the second dimension of our developing Euclidian space.

But the third dimension is less salient among the Fang. Informants speak of front and back or head and foot on the analogy of a man extending his right hand, the male hand (*mfa nom*), upstream and his left hand, the female hand (*mfa nga*), downstream. Here we see the body microcosm extended to organize macrocosmic space. There can be no doubt that the primary experience of the body and body image is fundamental to Fang spatial architectonics though variable use of this metaphor is made by informants. They are a highly egalitarian and undogmatic people in this and every aspect.

Progress on the vertical dimension would seem to be circular. Spirits rise from the earth, become men, fashion their better selves out of the combined action of brains (*bo*) and heart (*nlem*) over against the gross visceral appetites of stomach, bowel, bladder, and genitals, rise further to negotiate with the higher powers and are fated to finally fall back to earth only to rise again as spirits called to negotiate and reassume mortal shape.

Progress on the other, horizontal, dimension is linear and noncircular. There is no notion of a return to the original savannah homeland. One might believe that the sea as final destination represents a return to that

original body of water beside which the Fang first dwelt. But I have no evidence of that return or the identification of the ocean with the ancestral sea. There is no eternal return in that sense but rather progressive transformation of nature and destiny. It is true that, in the cult of Bwiti and under initiation doses of the psychotropic plant, *tabernenthe eboga*, initiates do achieve a visionary return to origins (Fernandez 1972a).

DOMESTIC SPACE

At a level of abstraction where anthropologists quite comfortably dwell, we can talk about Fang occupancy of social space: we can locate the Fang in his clan structure by examining the concepts with which that structure is erected. For a good many decades the concepts by which that clan universe has been constituted have not been clearly understood. The corporate bonds of the groups defined by these concepts have been weakened and in many cases are only vestigal. In a manner of speaking, the structure has opened up and the individual has been released to make his way on his own resources. He has become subject to centrifugal influences.

The same centrifugal influences are at work in respect to space. For if the Fang have a very uncertain sense of their place in clan structure, so they have misgivings as to their place in space and in particular in relation to that center space, once powerfully centripetal, of the Fang village.

Fang, in the histories attached to their genealogies, remember between five and eight abandoned village sites (*elik*). They locate these villages by reference to the nearest river. Every possible tributary in their country has its name and since their country is an equatorial rain forest, the watercourses are abundant and their cognitive map can be a very complex one. The larger rivers have greater generality of use in most discussions, for example in the context of examining migration stages. We see such major confluents as the Woleu, the Ntem, the Nyie, and the Obango appear time and time again. But neighboring villages discuss their past and present events with exact reference to a bewildering variety of rivulets. It was perfectly appropriate that the old greeting for a stranger was: "Friend, from what river do you drink?" (*Amui wa nyu dza oswi*).

In contradistinction to elders, younger men, when asked to draw maps of clan lands, almost always draw them by reference to the road system now running through Fang country. They string villages and clans along these roadways. Whereas the rivers lead to the sea, these roadways have as their focus and destination towns and trading centers of the colonial and modern world (*kisawn*).

While macrospace was traditionally organized by reference to rivers and the sea and more recently by reference to the colonial arteries of

commerce and administration, the microspace of village life was organized first by reference to the forest and the plantations and second in relation to the traditional structures; the women's dwellings or kitchens (*kisin*), the men's apartments (*nda* proper) where the ancestral shrines (*nsuk bieri*) were found, the men's council house (*aba*), and the central courtyard (*nsun*). There is in the mind of every Fang an important affective contrast between the forest and the village. The former is cold, yet the prime arena of male activity: hunting, warfare, defense of frontiers. The latter is hot, yet the arena of women's work: the cooking of food, the raising of children. Between them lie the plantations (*efak*) of manioc, peanuts, and corn to which the Fang pay daily visits. These have intermediate status between the forest and the village. The men clear them of the forest by chopping and burning. The women bring the seed out from the village and cultivate them.

When one goes from the village to the forest, one passes through various life zones each redolent with its particular set of associations according to the activities carried out there. One begins in the central court of the village (*nsun*) passing through the wall of houses on either side and out the back door (*mbi e fala*), which opens upon a zone of small gardens and banana groves (*fala*). The terrain of each family stretches out in rectangular fashion behind their dwellings. Crops which must be closely watched are planted here and also those crops which are predominantly the concern of men: tobacco, oil palm, and the cash crops presently of importance, coffee and cocoa. At its fringes we find isolated stands of forest (*okan*) where the latrines are located and where ceremonial activities of the ancestor cult and the secret societies take place. Wild fruit trees are maintained here, *asas, mvut,* and *tom,* and during their season the *okan* is the scene of much pleasurable activity. Beyond this zone is the zone of the large gardens, or "plantations" (*efak*). These plantations are of many varieties, corn, peanuts, manioc, sugar cane, yam, and they carry various names according to when they were planted (*etutua* [plantation cleared in November and burned in December]), their principal crop (*asan minko* [sugar cane plantation]), and their size (*ekora* [small plantation]).

Beyond the plantations is the forest. On the frontiers of the forest men slash and burn new fields and lay traps for fauna; in the forest they hunt. Deep within the forest a stream or a ridge marks the frontier with another clan-segment, a zone of potential hostility. But the forest itself, regardless of the societal frontier, quickens the thought for it is there that men engage in the chase, while families camp out (*ke mvan*) on fishing expeditions of hilarity and solidarity, and it is there that shades of the troubled dead and other malevolent spirits wander. The forest as we say is contrasted with the village in Fang thought and frequently the zones of garden and plantation are assimilated under the rubric village (*adzal*).

The contrast we are suggesting between the forest and the village is both marked and mediated by the tangled and nettlely thickets growing up in old plantations or on the forest's edge (*elele afan*). It is a barrier between two worlds, but it also submits to men's purposes and from it are taken not only the firewoods which heat the village and keep it tranquil, prosperous, and in good health (*mvwaa*) but also many of the herbs and medicines that serve the same end. In the same way the deep, alien forest is yet the source of important supplements to domestic diet: meat (*tzit*) and wild fruits (*mvut*). And from it as well are taken most of the essential building materials: not only the poles which provide the superstructure of Fang house construction but also the raffia palm (*Raphia hookerii,* or *R. vinifera*) which grows along watercourses in the forest and the varieties of liane (*nlon*). Together these last two constitute the most important of all natural resources which go into Fang architecture. In this way the village, which is so contrasted with the forest, is yet constructed out of it and to that extent the distinction between these two realms is transformed into a close association. Men circulating back and forth between the forest and the village create a unity where a set of contrasting spatial categories existed before. This synthesis is expressed in Fang architecture itself. Their houses are so much a part of the village yet so essentially of the forest!

In reality patches of forest are likely to be everywhere and often press upon the village itself. Villages are rarely so well insulated from that forest frontier as our scheme would seem to imply. But, on the other hand, the scheme does indicate both basic Fang spatial categories and the stages in that journey which the Fang experiences as he goes out to the forest and returns again to the village. It is a journey which is celebrated in a variety of ceremonial sojourns in some of the traditional cults. It is celebrated, as we shall see, in the new cult of Bwiti.

THE VILLAGE: IMAGES

As I have elsewhere pointed out (Fernandez 1966), the traditional Fang village with its two long rows of houses (*nda, menda*) facing each other across the barren courtyard (*nsun*) provokes in the observer the notion of opposition. This opposition corresponds in some respects to social structure, for men of a common minimal segment (*ndebot*) build side by side, while those of the medial segment (*mvogabot*) already subject to fissionary processes build opposite where, it is said, they can shout insults across the court and at each other. Nevertheless, the village plan as traditionally conceived was a tight enclave which was easily enclosed by palisades. The outer walls of the houses were strengthened so as to provide good protection against the ever-present threat of internecine strife. The vil-

lage was always planned with defensive purposes in mind. That a sense of opposition was also expressed in its layout is a structural replica of the importance and vitality of oppositions, in many aspects of Fang life. The village itself in its very structure expresses these oppositions as well as constitutes a self-contained enclave — a microcosm — very clearly defined against an outside world. Thus the village as a symbol, and it is a symbol to the Fang, condensed, not unsurprisingly, both meanings of opposition and fission and of solidarity.

Within the village the notion of oppositions evoked by rectangular patterning has also undergone change as, more and more, the men of the patrilineage have undertaken to build houses in the European fashion — multiroomed dwellings with concrete floors, wattle and daub walls, and zinc roofs. Around these houses, often called cold houses (*nda avep*) because unlike traditional dwellings no fires burn within, is gathered an associated complex, or compound, of women's kitchens and men's council houses. This compounding effect has tended to break up the common plaza and has no doubt had an influence upon the unity provided by that plaza. In the old days the men's council houses could survey the whole village but now the council houses are often found within the compounds and cut off from each other. This development is congruent with a developing familism on the one hand and a centrifugation in village life on the other. I do not believe that the Fang are very comfortable in these cold houses. But they are a source of prestige; they are the consequence of the arduous laying up of funds and materials, and they are universally desired. The traditional houses (*kisin*, or *nda; aba*) are still associated with the major events in Fang life from birth to death. Often the cold houses are kept closed except for social occasions. They are not yet really lived in, and they remain associated with the inauspicious and sterile quality of coldness.

The heart of Fang microspace in the traditional village can be understood by considering the relationship between the men's council house (*aba*) and the combination of sleeping quarters and cook hut (*nda-kisin*). It is the general feeling that the *nda-kisin* belong to the women and the *aba* to the men. An old tale is often put forth to account for the difference:

Man and wife built one house to live in together. But life became so unbearable that man abandoned woman to her house and built the *aba* in which he might dwell with other men. Men and women can only live together by living apart. So to this day if a man's presence should bother a woman, she may always smoke up the fire and drive him out with eyes smarting. She says: "Go to your council house, you bother me." The *kisin* is woman's sanctuary and she has her means to defend it. "*Kuñ aba djue, wa ndugele me!*"

The specialness of the space delimited by the structure of the *nda-kisin*

can be seen by reference to four rituals which occur in relation to this building and which express certain attitudes towards it.

1. In the case of a difficult delivery, when labor is exhausting the mother, the expectant father is encouraged to climb upon the roof of the *kisin* and by carefully poking about discover the spot in the roof precisely above the stomach of his wife. Thrusting a hollow banana stem through the thatch he then pours a medicinal water through the stem onto his wife's belly. This medicine is the same as is already employed liberally by the midwives within the hut. It is a mixture of leaves and barks from various plants, primarily banana, grown in the inner gardens (*fala*). This same mixture or a separate mixture may contain a crab shell (*kara*) and a splinter from the lintel of the back doorway. The explanation of the plant items from *fala* is that the child is thus encouraged to be born into the human world of responsibilities, out of the village of the dead from which his spirit comes. The actual village of his birth is thus assimilated to the village of the dead and the confines of the womb to the confines of the village. The use of a splinter from the lintel of the back door has the same general meaning but assimilates the doorway, it appears, to the cervix of the womb. The crab shell, apparently, is intended to work by opposites. It is added when the child's head appears so that it shall not disappear again as the crab so easily disappears scuttling under a rock.

The ritual is called simply *biang ndu* [roof medicine]. It appears to assimilate the house to the womb as well. The father having penetrated the womb to create the child must "penetrate" it again in symbolic form to release the child. The ritual which I observed was witnessed by perhaps a dozen villagers. Their quiet amusement at the father's poking around on the roof, their sense of the ribald, would seem to confirm our interpretation of the act.

2. As Tessmann shows (1913:110) it was the custom to take the clothes, weapons, and personal gear of a recently deceased man and display them on the roof of his hut, at the time of the mortuary ceremonies. This is said to be done to show who it was who died and what his sister's son would inherit, as these personal effects were by custom assigned to *nyangndum*. But it is also true that as the man's spirit had departed his house (his clothes) so it had departed his hut. There was an equation then between a man's clothing and his hut, a contrast made between his material embodiments and his spiritual self! I mean to suggest other ways in which Fang buildings are a material embodiment of spiritual selves and are given life by human activity within them, as is the case with personal accoutrements.

3. Two further rituals associated with birth reflect upon the meanings tied up with the *nda-kisin* and its assimilation at once to the womb and the sacred space of the ancestors. The mother and newborn remain in the house for upwards of a month, leaving only for the necessary bodily

functions. It is said that neither mother nor child is strong enough to leave the house. Within the house they are protected from the evil and envy of social life by the ancestors who cannot protect as effectively in the public arena of village life. The interior of the house is in some sense their space. After about a month the child is "outdoored": he is brought to the men's council house where he is given a name and comes thereby to occupy a place in public social space. The Fang say that he is not given a name at once because it is not sure that he has really survived and that the ancestors have really given him up. During the woman's confinement with her infant in the *nda*, special attention is paid to returning her self and her womb to normal. She undergoes vaginal irrigation and purification. She is purified by being whipped briskly with branches dipped in boiling water. We interpret this to mean that the identification achieved between house and womb is shifted and that by flagellation she is being toughened and prepared for her exit from preoccupation with her womb, that is from her preoccupation with internal space, into public and social space.

The second, and a related, ritual is that of laying the infant upon the front threshold when his mother returns from her village (or the hospital). This is done when he was not born in his own village. Often a woman facing her first birth will choose to return to her mother and her own clan village. Nowadays women are choosing the hospital for delivery. When returning to her husband's home, then, the infant is laid inside the threshold and the mother steps over him and takes him up again. Thus, it is said, he is properly made at home and he will not be unhappy or sick in his own house. Fang informants say no more than this but I should like to suggest that if this association between house and womb prevails around and about the moment of childbirth, it is inappropriate that the child precede his mother into her own "womb" but be welcomed by her into it. It may also be suggested that by stepping over him she symbolically gives birth to him again within his and her proper house.

If the *nda-kisin* is the scene of the Fang's most vital primary experiences, it is not surprising that it and its structure is assimilated to the corporeal arena of these experiences. The assimilation may seem far fetched to us in our tendency to treat our dwellings as "Skinner boxes" which we change rapidly, which condition us rather than becoming identified with our bodies, and in which we choose neither to be born nor to die. But it is a perfectly natural application of the penchant for analogical extensions which the Fang manifest and which gives to their world a redundancy and unity it could not, in the absence of their interest in abstraction, otherwise possess.

Let us look now at the *aba*, the men's council house which we have had the occasion to sharply distinguish from the *nda-kisin*. The distinction is so marked that even in the matter of those very strict dietary and

behavioral laws or taboos (*eki*) for which the Fang are remarked (Martrou 1906; Fernandez 1961) it is present. One speaks of the taboos of the house (*eki nda*) and the taboos of the council house (*eki aba*). These are otherwise said to be the taboos of one's mother and the taboos of one's father and of one's clan. For in contrast with the *nda-kisin*, the *aba* has a male identification. It was the seat of the patrilineage or the essential local segment of it. During unsettled times in former days when the villages were palisaded, the *aba* was the most heavily armed structure and the center of defense. Throughout the day and night men were on guard within it. It was the structure from which the whole village was surveyed. Since the suppression of warfare it has functioned as a center of judicial dispute. And though it is no longer so centrally placed as to survey the entire village, it still maintains its importance in social and cultural affairs. It is smaller than in former days but it can still provide sleeping quarters for men of the village or strangers. Young men and older boys will often sleep there. Custom still requires that strangers be first hospitably seated and received in the *aba* while they are also carefully scrutinized. As a center of major ceremonies, it provides a place of concealment for the changing of costumes or for the examination of neophytes. The main supporting post of the entrance (*akon aba*), upon which a gorilla skull is often hung, is at the center of these ceremonies. Over time the post accumulates a certain power from all those who, upon entering and leaving, lay a hand upon it. Its primary association is with the power of the male world and we will see its central place in Bwiti.

If the village is to be ritually cleansed, the *aba* is the last and most important place to undergo purification. It is a lounging place during the day, and most masculine activities such as net making and repairing, basketry, iron and brass founding, carving and the weaving of raffia roofing sheets take place within. At night it is the center of story telling or of entertainment by traveling troubadours who recount the great legends and wonder tales (*mvett*) of the Fang past. It becomes an arena for the imagination and for the recreation of the past. More than in the case of the *nda-kisin* which has a redolence to it even when it is unoccupied (which it seldom is), the *aba* can hardly be discussed as a structure without occupancy. Tessmann captures it perfectly:

How differently works this space, which we have just considered with a deprecatory glance, when evenings the men and young people one after the other gather to hear what the stooped old Njem Ndong recounts of the uncanny configurations of the world of legends; patiently they harken however long he spins his tale, motionless they stare at him as restlessly he rubs his hands over the fire, a threatening finger waggling to and fro; he pushes the wood apart or together when it is too hot for him or he would defend his face from the smoke, softly but firmly as a man sends away a small child. It appears that he speaks with the fire and lectures the kindling. All are quiet, all hang on his lips. And now an artful pause . . . (1913:vol. 1, pp. 68–69).

If the *nda-kisin* is the arena of the primary experiences of men's lives, the *aba* is the arena of the creative imagination.

Various ceremonies confirm the *aba* as the center of the man's world. Shortly after he is born the male infant must be ritually presented by his mother to his father and his father's close relatives in the *aba*. The custom is called *abin ojen*. When he is married his wife and mother-in-law must each cook a ritual meal and present it to him and his relatives gathered there (*bidzi bi ningwan*). It is there that he undertakes the ritual prohibitions and preparations (*beki aba*) for the outstanding pursuits of his manhood such as warfare and courtship. Serious concern begins to be entertained on his account when, in his old age, he can no longer make his way to the *aba*. And when he dies, his male friends and relatives must gather there in proper recognition of his death (*nto awu*), and as a dramatic demonstration that the group has surmounted this loss.

One ceremony in particular, held in conjunction with the *aba*, should be mentioned, for it suggests the corporeal assimilation which we have noted in respect to the *nda-kisin*. This is the boys' and girls' prepubertal purification ceremony (*ndong nba,* or *ande*). This is an involved ceremony highly variable in various parts of Fang country. Principally it is concerned with removing the sin (*nsem*) of incest between clan brother and sister. The Fang are resigned to the fact that sexual exploration among young people in the village will lead to such *nsem*, but they take these ceremonial precautions to assure that they will not affect the future fertility and prosperity of the participants or of the village. For our purposes the central features are the construction of a small hut (*ndzom*) in the forest in which the boy or boys being initiated are confined and in which they are threatened by some forest being — called *ndong nba* or *ande* — unknown to them. The girl or girls are confined to the kitchen of their mothers. In the village a scaffolding (cf. Tessmann 1913:vol. 2, p. 58) is erected next to the *aba* upon which an *asam* log is laid (*uapaca le testuana* or *uapaca guineensis*). At the beginning of the ceremonies the youth is required to climb over the roof of the *aba* and, descending upon the log, dance there while the men chivy and harass him. He is then taken out to the forest. After his experiences there and after the forest hut is destroyed, he is brought back into the village and placed within the *aba* which is hung with raffia mats so that nothing can be seen within. The *asam* log has been arranged in such a way that part of it is found within the interior of the hut and projects out of the hut. The girl involved is then sought by the men in the *nda-kisin*. They pound upon the walls of the *kisin* to frighten her and finally thrusting the door aside they rush in and grab her. She is brought to the *aba* and made to straddle the *asam* log. At the same time the boy initiate is made to straddle the log within. They are both washed with a purifying bath. The men suddenly jerk the log out from under them both and carry it out into the forest. The ceremony is

thus completed. The boy remains in the *aba* some time longer and the girl is returned to the *kisin*.

The sexual and phallic associations of the ceremony are quite clear and in particular the assimilation of the *aba* to the male body. The initiate is gradually incorporated into that body while the girl is brought from the *nda-kisin* for her engagement with the *aba* and then returned to the *nda-kisin*. The pounding of the men upon the walls and roof of the *nda-kisin* before bringing the girl forth is an action we see in Bwiti; in that cult the men pound on the walls of the women's chamber after midnight to rouse them to their performance. Finally, we note that the forest hut, the transitional abode of the initiates, is destroyed after the initiation for it is only a temporary extension of the body change that is being represented in the *aba* itself.

The *aba* played and still plays a crucial role in the enculturation of the young. It is there that Fang boys and young men learn how to act and speak, for the *aba* is fundamentally the place of talk (*adzo*). It is expected that after years of respectful and attentive observation of the techniques of dispute, a man already married and with children can take a strong position in the affairs (*medzo*) of his family. The threat of abandonment of such an arena of social and cultural affairs is naturally felt by the older men as a threat to the Fang way of life.

But while the *aba* has not been abandoned, it is no longer the center of village life just as the village itself is no longer the center of the universe as it once was. It is this process of decentering under the influence of increasingly wide-scale relationships and easier travel that has as much as anything unhinged the old cultural universe and made highwaymen of many Fang, looking down the roads in expectation of riches from another culture rather than moving in regular self-satisfying cycles back and forth between forest and village as in the old days.

When we speak of decentering we should not forget that in former days all villages were periodically decentered in a very radical way. When we examine the migration stages associated with the genealogy, we note that Fang villagers rarely remain longer than fifteen years in the same location and the average is closer to eight to ten years. It is said that this is the time it takes the thatch on the roofs to rot twice over. (Raffia thatch must be replaced every five to eight years.)

There is no need to add to the previous discussion of this village displacement, but I should point out here that this periodic decentering of the village had a powerful revitalizing effect as the Fang themselves have testified. Now that their villages have been regrouped and relatively fixed in place by government sanction, the Fang remember vividly the challenge of chopping a new home out of the forest, the construction of new dwellings and the transfer of belongings from the old to the new. Often, of course, new villages were constructed because of bitter conflict within the

mvogabot. But the act of establishing a new *ndebot* within the forest affirmed the strength and independence of the family members involved — an independence that had often been brought into question by the *mvogabot* dispute.

Fang mental and material culture, it should be noted, was not so complex or recondite as to prevent an extended family from breaking away and reestablishing its cultural universe virtually in its entirety elsewhere in the equatorial forests. The point to be made is that these periodic decenterings ended with the recreation of the same cultural universe, at the hands of the several adults involved in the shift. It was an affirmation of their powers in respect to their culture, their total containment of that culture as it were. We see in Bwiti, the cult whose architectonics we examine below, this same confidence in recreating a universe. In both cases the consequences are revitalizing and in both cases an essential part of that revitalization is found in the new construction itself.

However, the decentering of the village which has been going on in recent decades is not restorative in any lasting sense. It is hardly galvanizing. In most cases it is dispiriting. Gradually the attention of the villagers is being drawn towards the towns and trading centers and coastal capitals. The villages rather than being the centers of the universe are coming to be more like backwaters. To be really revitalized in the minds of many villagers now is to experience life in the towns. This is an important shift of the Fang feeling of themselves in space. While formerly they could revitalize by recreating their old culture with new buildings in new space, presently as their villages open up, they are confronted by the necessity of meeting an alien culture in alien buildings and in alien space.

This note which ends the discussion of the village image (and the contrasts if not oppositions that prevail in that image between the two sides of the village and between the two principal structures of Fang architecture — the *nda-kisin* and the *aba* — is the same note with which I ended the discussion of the previous section on domestic space. In this section, it is true, I have stressed primarily the extension of body image to architectural structure — the assimilation of the *nda-kisin* to the female and the *aba* to the male. One further recapitulation is in order, and this concerns the first section on cosmic space. Informants still testify to a norm by which both the village as well as the house structure are aligned or should be aligned on the *oswi nkui–oswi nké* axis. One speaks thus of both up-river and down-river directions in the village and in the house itself. In actual construction, this alignment rarely coincides with real space or real river direction though villagers may still speak of the up-river part of a village or the up-river part of the house.

Tessmann implies that formerly real alignment was more strictly observed (1913:vol. 1, pp. 56, 73): "Even when a path is running to the south, it will bend around the village east to west and take at the other

end the southerly direction again." Tessmann also adds that graves were dug on the "east-west axis." This was not generally the case in 1960.

RESIDUAL AND EMERGENT QUALITIES

Fang myths of cosmic origin, and their migration legends, suggest an architectonic form, a systematization of their qualitative experience.

In their experience of cosmogony, Sky-Spider drops, from her web structure in the bright sky, the white egg of creation upon the dark and undeveloped ocean. The egg bursts open spilling out white ants who sink to the ocean floor building up the red earth and creating the dry land.[4] The following qualitative experiences are bound up in these cosmological accounts:

1. Interchange of primary qualities
   a. Dry over wet
   b. Hot over cold
   c. Light over dark
2. Synesthesia of secondary qualities
   a. Structure descends to the unstructured and solidifies it creating the solid earth (*esi*)
   b. White descends to black and brings up red

In the legendary accounts Fang trace their origins to a bright waterside savannah from which they are dislodged by an aggressive red people (*mvele me bot*). They flee southwest across savannah, coming at last to the equatorial rain forest. Here a giant *adzap* tree blocks their passage. They finally enter with the aid of the Pygmies. Quarrels between men and women, young and old ensue. It is a time of fission and dispersion. In the legend:

1. Interchange of primary qualities
   a. Down over up
   b. Wet over dry
   c. Dark over light
   d. Southwest over northeast
   e. Black over red
2. Synesthesia of secondary qualities
   a. Male and female, young and old come together producing dispersion and centrifugation (*angomela*)

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[4]   Regarding the creation of man, various versions of this cosmology were related to me: sometimes man, or three men, appear in the egg; sometimes some of the white ants turn into man; sometimes a lizard or other creature dwelling in the waters or primeval swamps turns into man. The cosmology summarized here is that which I believe to be most influential upon the Bwiti cult, though changed substantially in that cult.

In the historical-legendary period in which events begin to be attached to genealogy, we find the "pourquoi" stories which account for the dominance and surveillance of men over women and old over young. Because of this interchange there is a new synesthesia: *angunge*, solidarity, coming together, centripetality.

1. Interchange of primary qualities
    a. Old over young
    b. Male over female
2. Synesthesia of secondary qualities
    a. Old and young, male and female coming together produce solidarity and centripetality (*angunge*)

In the colonial period, as everyone remembers, things fall apart and the center no longer holds. White is now over black, young over old, and female over male. Synesthesia produces strife and dispersion (*angomela*) again. It is not a harmonious time and it is reminiscent of that legendary-historical time after entry into the rain forest.

The reader will recognize that I am feeling out underlying qualities in cosmological, legendary, and historical narratives predicated upon the various social pronouns but particularly upon Fang experience in the spaces laid out in these narratives. No informant helped me to systematize feelings in this way though there is a Fang term for every primary or secondary quality introduced. The reader may not feel that one can thus cast anchor in such deep waters although similar soundings, essentially speculative and unverifiable, are typical of the structural movement in anthropological analysis. We are not completely at sea, however, if we hold on to Fang concepts as I am trying to do. And I would simply affirm, whether or not I have gotten to the essentials, that in the succession of Fang narrative forms, there is a succession of qualities and a succession of synesthesias which are residual in Fang experience and which make up the feeling tone, the architectonic tone (insofar as feelings necessarily take place in space), of the traditional culture.

Although I say traditional culture I recognize that there has been a dynamic in qualities. Some have replaced others, and succeeding synesthetic interactions have produced different secondary or emergent qualities. This is to say, very simply, that the Fang feel differently about the cosmic period than about the legendary or the legendary-genealogical or the historical period. Just as there has been constant migration, there has been constant transformation throughout the long past. The Fang did not just emerge, as with some peoples, and reiterate forever after the realities of emergence. They moved on, though their moving on combined directionality, the historic migration northeast to southwest, with the centripetality of a strong orientation towards village life. Centripetal poses of Fang domestic life were strung on the deeper unilinear directionality (see Figure 1).
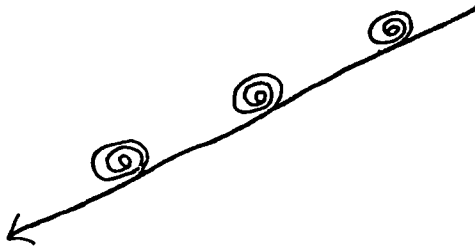
Figure 1.   Fang migration from northeast to southwest showing unilinear directionality and centripetality of village life

Gradually these circles, by a process of involution, grow too tight. In the claustrophobic idiom of the Fang, "the obscure forest creeps in upon the village and overhangs it (*bi amora jibi akal ndendang; afan du so mbu ase, da bo bia jibi*)." The Fang villages moved out and onward in their progressive migration to the sea. Transitional circumstances of colonialism and migration have changed all that. The villages have practically all been stabilized so that the attractions of the cities, towns, and trading centers have decentered this stabilized village life. In respect to the traditional spatial harmonies, it is the worst of all possible worlds (see Figure 2).
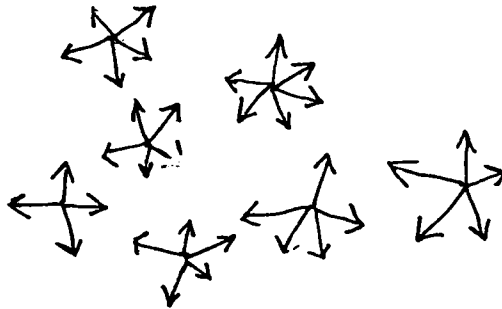
Figure 2.   Decentralization of Fang village life

Another consequence of modernization is the increasing concentration of energies on the "cold houses" with their concrete floors, zinc roofs, shuttered windows, and wattle and daub walls. These cold houses cost so much in time and resources that they deflect the meaning of Fang buildings away from the primary and vital experiences and away from the male and female meanings with which the *aba* and the *nda-kisin* were associated (and which infused their structures with content). They direct that meaning purely to the materialist component. Moreover the new houses

tend to cluster their accessory structures, including the *aba*, in compounds about them and thus break down the essential "unities in oppositions" of the classic Fang village. In the legendary-genealogical period, there were certain emergent qualities in village life which the Fang remember nostalgically. These qualities — the product of complex synesthesias in which a firm male dominance played an important role — were really two: pleasurable activity (*elulua*) and evenhanded tranquility (*mvwaa*). But as the villages have become decentered and as the old synesthesias have been brushed past or ignored in preoccupation with material desires, generational and male-female quarrels have broken out in abundance. The emergent quality in village life, if not that of centrifugation and antipathy (*angunge*) is simply that of boredom (*atuk*). There is really a coldness which no pleasurable activity or heated engagement satisfactorily offsets.

While one may usefully single out dominant qualities in the successive domains of Fang past experience or in the domains of village life, subordinate qualities are always present and interacting in some way with dominant qualities even if only passively adumbrating them. The question for those living through any given situation is the much more complex one of appropriate distribution of a multitude of incompatible qualities. Expressive acts that have any kind of power to them — that make qualities emerge — gain that power through appropriate distribution of qualities. The emergent qualities of village life for villagers is a matter of a well-distributed relationship between the corporeal qualities bound up in council house and kitchen. The same appropriate distribution, in this case balance (*biowe*) is seen in the ancestral figure whose emergent quality is precisely that of *mvwaa*: evenhanded tranquility (Fernandez 1966). And the mark of a mature man (*nyamoro*) is evenhanded tranquility. He evidences it in himself and he produces it in others and in the social situation of which he is a part. He is one who is able to maintain the disparate and often incompatible values of Fang culture in balance. The tranquility that emerges from such evenhandedness is the most characteristic emergent quality of the old Fang way of life. It emerged in the synesthesias of centered village life, it emerged in the synesthesias of Fang art and ritual, it emerged in the poise of mature men, and above all, it was felt to emerge in the dispensation of the ancestors as they brought relief for unsettlement, turbulence, or lassitude in their descendants.

SPACING OUT QUALITIES IN A REFORMATIVE CULT

The Bwiti cult which began to flourish among the Fang at the time of the first World War (Fernandez 1965, 1970) shows us another central

emergent quality, one-heartedness (*nlem mvore*). This is the qualitative state obtained by the membership in ritual action in the cult house. I would like now to examine some features of both the cult house (*aba eboka*) and the ritual activity that takes place within it in order to see how one-heartedness is systematically produced. In the cult of Bwiti, in contrast to contemporary Fang affairs, we find a return to centripetality through progressive inturning spirals in space. And in the *aba eboka* (considered a hot house and not a cold house in cult thinking) we see an architectonic response to the various dissolutions, decenterings, and redistributions in the Fang spatial and social order.

We may begin to demonstrate this by pointing out that in most Bwiti villages (rarely are all the inhabitants of a village members of the cult) the *aba eboka* occupies a central place at one end of the village: the same place occupied formerly by the *aba* (see Figure 3). This is one reason for its name, though the *aba eboka* is a good deal more dominating than any traditional *aba* and, moreover, opens out upon the village plaza as the *aba* rarely did. Many of its rituals, as we see, extend well out into the central court, so that the entire village can be involved in ritual activities. The plaza is thus restored to its centrality of place and the *aba* to its surveillance, spiritual in this case, of the entire village.
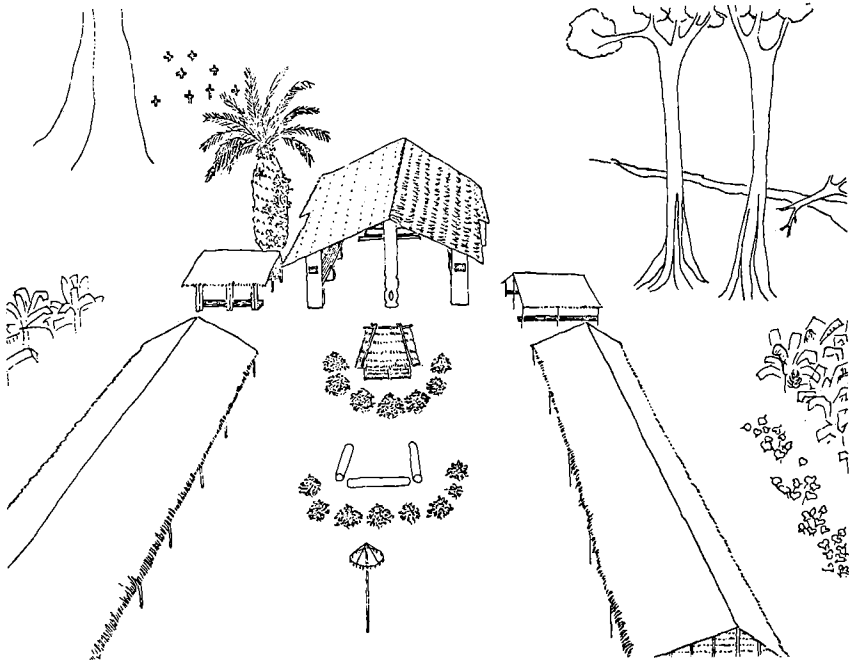
Figure 3.   The Bwiti cult house or chapel (*aba eboka*) situated at the end of the village

But other reasons help to account for the choice of the name *aba* for the Bwiti chapel. Most relevant perhaps to this choice is the fact that the *aba* as the male building was the local seat of the patrilineage and of the clan. The objectives of the Bwiti cult are many (Fernandez 1961, 1965) but chief among them are the reestablishment of contact with the ancestors too much abandoned under the influence of Christian evangelization. The *aba* was the structure where the living representatives of the patrilineage gathered to celebrate their communality of descent and it is appropriate that the religious arena in which the Fang are trying to reassert that communality be called the *aba*. A second apt reason for this religious arena to be called the *aba* arises from the fact that people participated evenings in the myth telling and legend singing of the old *aba*, in other realms of being — in realms, as we have said, of the creative imagination.

By no means is the *aba eboka* to be understood as exclusively a male world. Here we have an important syncretic integration. In former days it was highly exceptional that women should take part in men's rituals (particularly those of the ancestor cult Bieri after which Bwiti is most closely drawn) just as it was exceptional that they should take any place in the *aba*. In the *aba eboka* by contrast they take virtually equal part and equal place. The *aba* itself is in most Bwiti traditions[5] clearly divided into a male side and a female side, to the right and left as one is looking out of the chapel (see Figure 4). This opposition attracts to it a whole set of oppositions in the minds of Bwiti cosmologists.

But just as the oppositions which were salient in traditional villages were mediated by the round of social intercourse so the basic oppositions of the chapel are mediated by the dance patterns themselves which knit together in their circles the side of the sun and the side of the moon, the side of the male and the side of the female. In respect to the presence of both men and women in the ritual and in respect to the circularity of these dance patterns, the members of Bwiti say that just as an infant cannot be created without the congress of men and women so the religion of Bwiti cannot be created without the dancing together of men and women. The expression is particularly apt for, as we shall see, the members of Bwiti are fashioning a spiritual body *(esamba)* in their cult house and among themselves. It is apt in a further sense. The Fang for many decades, until the 1960's, suffered a population decline which they believed to be a

[5] One must be cautious in speaking of *all* chapels since there is considerable diversity in Bwiti cosmology, theology, and liturgy. There are at least six branches of Bwiti, and there is considerable variation within these branches. The Fang themselves are highly egalitarian and independent-minded, and so is Bwiti. It is a mistake to speak of Bwiti doctrine in any dogmatic way. Our data is taken principally from the Asumege Ening branch of Bwiti as found in Sougoudzap, Kwakum (Oyem District), Ayol (Nedounu District), and Kougoulu (Kango District).
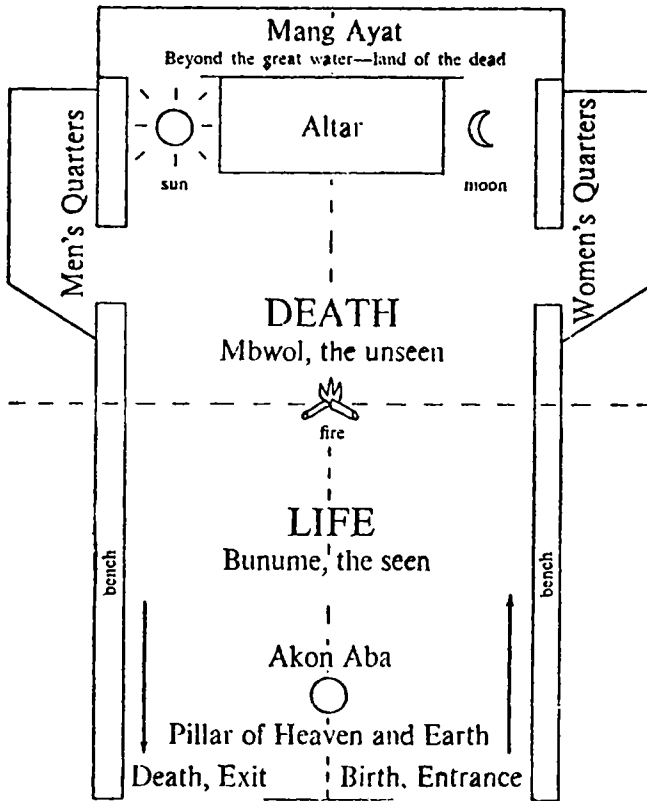
Figure 4.   Interior of Bwiti chapel

result of infertility in their women. One of the often declared purposes of
Bwiti in the 1940's and 1950's was to make the women fertile again.

In Figure 5 we indicate the circular configurations described by the
Bwiti membership as they enter the chapel, as they carry on their night-
long performance, and as they exit in the grey dawn. We would emphasize
that the architectonic structure of the Bwiti chapel is not adequately
grasped without an understanding of the ways the rituals that proceed
within it or around it integrate its parts and give it content. This is the
same point we made for the *nda-kisin* and the traditional *aba*.

It is not necessary to discuss the various Bwiti dances at length. The
essentials we wish to point here are (1) the progressive circles of the
entrance and the exit dances as seen in our diagram and (2) the circularity
of most of the interior dances which begin at the altar, sweep around the
sacred pillar (*akon aba*), and return to the altar. There are other dance
patterns though these are of marginal importance to this discussion. In
the entrance dances, called collectively dances of the *minkin*, we see a
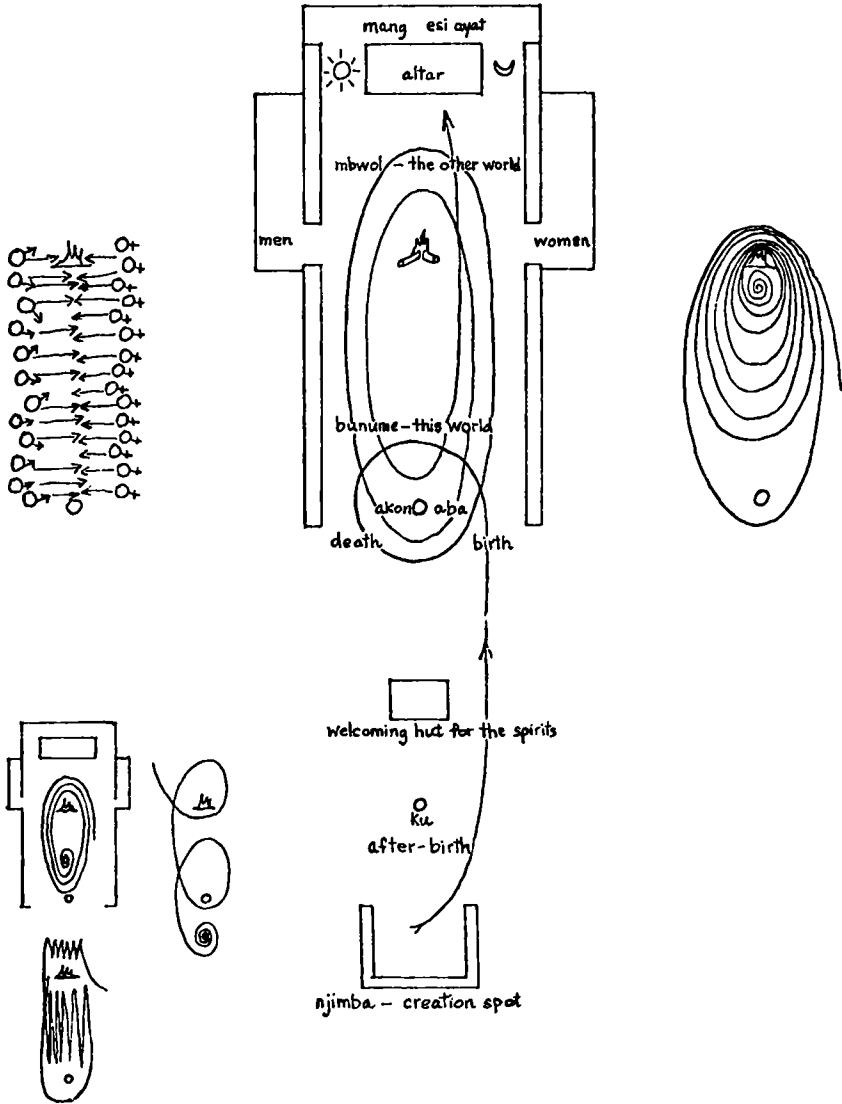
Figure 5. Bwiti entrance dances into the chapel showing circular configurations

reiteration of the Fang migration experience as in progressive circles the dances proceed from out of the center of the *nsung*, move about the small welcoming hut for the ancestors (*elik bwiti*), proceed around the sacred pillar in a tight circle and a loose circle, and then end up at the altar. The area behind the altar is the sea (*mang*), or the land beyond (*si ayat*). We know from legend that the Fang migration experience is a progression by stages from the barren savannah into the equatorial rain forest ending up at the sea, so that the entrance ritual is a reasonably approximate restoration as it is a representation of the diachronic development of Fang relationship to their total space.

The *akon aba* is highly important in this interpretation just as it is symbolically central in all Bwiti ritual. We must say more about this central feature of Bwiti architecture, for it is often so complexly explained by adepts of Bwiti that some students have founded Bwiti religious philosophy upon it (Swiderski 1969). The *akon aba* in the Bwiti chapel, like the *aba eboka* itself, has its origins in a traditionally important feature of Fang architecture, the entrance post (*akon*) of the men's council house upon which a gorilla skull was often hung and which was touched for support or guidance by all men coming in and out of the council house. It thus expressed and "absorbed" the power of the male community, and it is of interest that ceremonies of village cleansing were often staged about the *akon aba*. The *akon aba eboga* presents itself in many varieties with a considerable range of different symbolic meanings. But the widespread general features are the following:

1. The manufacture of the post out of the redwood of the padouk tree (*Pterocarpus S.*).

2. The carving of at least one and usually two holes running most often transverse to each other, and labeled variously the birth of man (*abiale mot*) and the birth of the soul (*abiale nsisim*) or the entrance hole of the birth of man (*abiale mwan mot*) and the exit hole (the bottom hole) of the death of man (*awu mwan mot*).

3. The division of the column into three sections:
   a. *Djop* — heaven, the above, the land of the spirits.
   b. *Si ye ening* — the land of the life between the two holes.
   c. *Song* — the grave, the earth, the portion of the column below the death hole and descending into the earth.

The members of Bwiti say that the spirits of new men descend down the *akon aba* and pass through the birth hole into corporeal existence. They continue down through life on this earth, pass through the death hole into the grave from whence they rise again in two transformations back to spiritual life in the sky. Thus there is a circulation of spirits on this axis mundi both descending and ascending.[6] Life is a descent and death an

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[6] In the beginning of the *minkin* entrance dances there is a sequence of genuflections in which, rattles and raffia brush in hand, the membership bends to touch the earth, then rises

ascent. The vertical axis is very important in the Euclidean space of the Bwiti chapel. Prayers are often made addressing the ceiling, for the spirits of the dead are said to cluster along the ridge pole as they come in out of the forest in response to their ritual invitations. The rafters are strung with raffia streamers and a "telephone" line of liane strips is laid from the top of the *akon aba* to the altar. From it are suspended the sacred circles (*nkat*) which define the three focal spaces of sacred activity. Along this line the spiritual messages pass back and forth between altar and sacred pillar.

There are many other signs and symbols found near or carved in relief upon the *akon aba*. Frequently the Sky-Spider (*dibobia*) will appear there as well as the sun and the moon, alarm clocks, and representations of the various saints. The fact that the *akon aba* itself is made of the redwood of the padouk tree relates it to the red path of life and death (*zen ening ye awu*) which the soul of the adept must trod in passing over to the far land (*si avat*). All of these bear commenting upon when we are trying to grasp the full meaning of the *akon aba*. We will limit ourselves to pointing out the important association of the pillar with *adzapmboga* the mythical adzap tree of Fang legend (Ondoua Engutu 1953; Fernandez 1962) which symbolizes Fang entrance from the savannah into the rain forest. The progress of the Fang (*oswi nken*) in their migrations was blocked by this tree and, with the help of the Pygmies they had to bore a hole through it in order to pass on. In this way the pierced column of the *akon aba* contributes to a significant reliving of the Fang past in the progressive spirals of the entrance dances.

The dances within the chapel, both those involving the cult leaders and those involving the entire membership, are circular and counter-clockwise and of various tempos ranging from the vertiginous dance of the drums (*obango*) to the very slow dance of the candles (*esameh*). A few dances, in reiteration of some of the most favorite traditional dances of the Fang, begin with rows of men and of women facing each other on either side of the cult house and then dancing together and retreating, imitating various agricultural and housekeeping motions. The symbolic account — the exegesis — given by the cult leaders is often extensive. But the important point is that these interior dances, themselves proceeding in centripetal fashion and thus bringing together the various quadrants of the cult house, culminate in the ritual compression of the entire member-ship into an ever more tightening circle until it is one body. They experi-ence one-heartedness. It is the focus of the evening and the most impor-tant emergent quality of cult life.

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on toes, arms outstretched to the skies. This movement is said to attract the spirits in the deep forest for it imitates their fundamental movement. Spirits come down to earth and rise up again.

The *aba eboka* is often complexly divided by cult leaders. Figure 4 shows the topography of the Asumege Ening chapel at Ayol, District of Medounu. We see that the chapel in this persuasion includes both male and female chambers for the private rituals of the male and female membership. Just as the ritual of cult ceremony integrates male and female contributions so the *aba* itself syncretizes within its overall construction the male and female buildings which were, traditionally, separately constructed. The chapel, if not cosmos in microcosm, is at least village in miniature.

We see also in this chapel an axis which divides the arena of this world activity from the beyond (*si ayat* or *mang*). Entering the chapel one passes in through the left side of the *akon aba* (facing out). This is the female side, the side of birth. When exiting from the chapel one passes out through the right side which is the male side, the side of death and cruelty and war, the male characteristics. In the reversal of realities which is a Bwiti objective, the membership enter in the evening on the birth side, being born into the world of the ancestors, while in the morning they pass out the right side and die back into the world of the living. While there are many phases and subdivisions of the all-night Bwiti ritual, the overall division in Asumege Ening is between the road of birth (*Zen abiale*) which is sung and danced until midnight and the road of death (*Zen awu*) which is sung after midnight until dawn. Thus in Bwiti ceremony there is the phase associated with entrance and the phase associated with exit.

A closer account of some ritual occurrences involved in entrance dances will, as in the discussion of the *nda-kisin*, give a clearer idea of the primary experiences which are being extended into the chapel structure and assimilated in its content. We already recognize that the space within the chapel is a space of spiritual reality. That the essential content of a religious structure is spiritual should hardly surprise us. But the corporeality of the structure is suggested by the dances of entrance immediately after the *njimba*, which is the gathering of all the membership outside the chapel for preparation and personal prayer. The men and women then divide into two dance groups — during the preceding *minkin* they made their entrance dances all together into the chapel. The women enter first. The three senior female members of the cult, Yombo, are clothed in white and precede the rest of the membership which is clothed in regular red and white ritual garments. These women, candles in hand, dance into the chapel bringing a small stone found in a clear sacred pool in the forest. This stone, sent to man by Nyingwan Nebege, the female principle of the universe, is the principle of creation — the stone of birth (*akok abiale*). They bring it in and deposit it at the altar where its presence will aid in that ritual inducement of fertility previously mentioned. It is important to note that the white garments of the senior women are worn for two

reasons: (1) their purity helps to protect this very sacred principle, and (2) they represent the gestation of the child in the womb. For the Fang conceive of each woman as possessing a homunculus (also conceived of as a drop of blood) which the semen of the male surrounds and protects and makes viable.

The assimilation of the chapel to a womb is seen not only in the placement of the "sacred homunculus" within it but more clearly in the men's entrance dances from the *njimba*. These take place immediately after the women's entrance dances. The men stop when they arrive at the birth entrance of the chapel. The leaders place their hands on the thatch or the lintel piece above them, then the entire group, in close packed formation, backs up and comes forward again, this time proceeding a short distance into the chapel. This process continues until the male group is completely within the chapel and they can begin their circles therein — and their circles, incidentally, around the *akok abiale*. These ritual actions at the birth entrance are variously explained. The most predominant explanations are that they represent (1) the difficult birth of men out of this life into the spiritual world of the ancestors, and (2) the entrance of the male organ into the female body. The first explanation confirms the assimilation of the chapel space to the spiritual world and the second explanation confirms the assimilation of the chapel to the female body in ways comparable to the assimilation we have pointed out for the *nda-kisin*. In the multilevel explanation for the men's ritual entrance we have an association between the primary processes of sexual orgasm, birth, and death — for the entrance dance represents sexual entrance, the dying out of this world and birth into the next.

Though the primary association of the chapel is with the female body — appropriate insofar as the principal object of worship of Bwiti among the great gods is Nyingwan Mebege, the female principle of creation — yet the androgyny of structure which is the consequence of syncretism emerges from time to time in discussions with informants who speak of the chapel as representing a person on his back with the *akon aba* (whose female associations we have discussed) in this case standing as well for the male member (see Figure 6). In a similar way the chapel itself, while it manifests in its various parts male-female and other binary distinctions, at the same time moves toward a virtually indistinguishable androgyny. Overall we may say the assimilation of the female body to the chapel is dominant perhaps by reason of the rebirth and fertility themes in worship and the fact of Nyingwan Mebege as the chief object of worship. But we see as well that the traditional male association of the *aba* and indeed the overall complexity of Bwiti symbolism makes any such unitary or reductionist interpretation of the architectonics of the cult house quite insufficient.
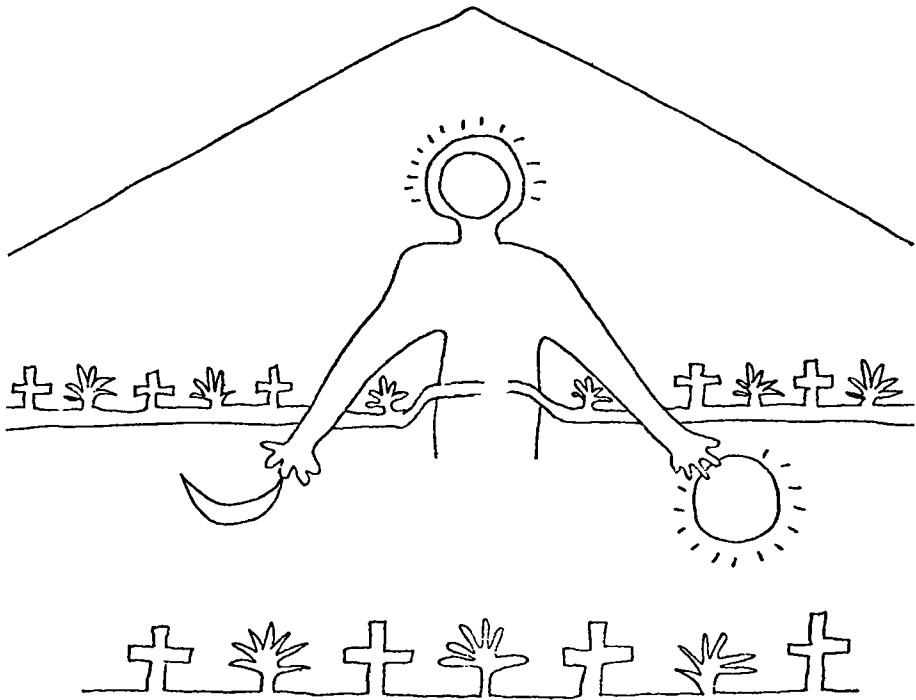
Figure 6.   The god Nyingwan Mebege, principal object of worship among Bwiti

THE EMERGENT QUALITIES OF METAPHORIC PERFORMANCE

Within the structure of the *aba*, which synthesized certain kinds of qualities and points the way to the emergence of others, things happen on many levels. In particular the content of the chapel as a structure is provided by the sequence of ceremonial scenes. By reference to the Bwiti's own ritual vocabulary we can identify the following sequence:

Introduction

1. *Minkin:* the dances of entrance into the chapel and invitation to the ancestors. Intermittent, beginning at three o'clock and lasting until six o'clock in the afternoon.

2. *Njimba:* ceremonies of personal prayer, preparation, and fore-gathering. Held *en masse* in a hut outside the chapel, from six to eight o'clock in the evening.

Zen ngombi — Part one (Road of the cult harp: birth and creation)

3. *Zen abiale:* the dances of the birth of the spirit into the afterlife (syncretized to the birth of the child of man). From early evening until midnight. Interspersed with *obango*, vertiginous dances in which the spirit is shaken free from the body.

4. *Nkobo akyunge:* ceremonies of final reunion with the ancestors (*evangile*). Final and most direct and powerful prayer to the supernatural. Direction of the "miraculous word" to the membership from the cult leader (*nima na kombo*). Includes a small *minkin* in which the membership exits to go out into the forest on narrow pre-cut trails in order to invite in any lingering ancestor spirits. Takes place at midnight.

Zen ngombi — Part two (Road of the cult harp: death and destruction)

5. *Zen awu:* dances of the death of the spirit from the afterlife into this life (syncretized to the death of the child of man who becomes the child of God). From midnight to first light, interspersed with *obango*.

Conclusion

6. *Minkin:* ceremonies of exit from the chapel and farewell to the ancestors. First light until sunrise.

7. *Njimba:* ceremonies of euphoric aftergathering of the membership for ritual food and relaxed conversation, eight o'clock in the morning.

The scenario is not absolutely fixed in any cult house, and scene development tends to vary with season and with the leaders responsible for the particular seance. Some leaders are more given to creative and unscheduled ceremonial elaboration than others. Now that a Christian calendar has been adopted, the particular ceremonies are even more susceptible to shift in spiritual and practical focus. But we may define four major categories of scene:

1. *Minkin:* ceremonies (songs and dances of exit and entrance).

2. *Njimba:* ceremonies (songs and prayers) of group cohesion, intercommunication and appeal to the powers.

3. *Zen ngombi:* ceremonies (songs and dances) particularly celebrating the primordial experiences of the individual (at the level of body tissue, events of satisfaction and depletion) and of his culture (at the level of the mythological events of creation and dispersion). Generally divided into two subscenes as life processes or death processes are being celebrated (*zen abiale, zen awu*), and according to whether the key instrument is the soft cult harp (*ngombi*), or the intense drums (*obango*). The bamboo sounding board (*obaka*) may be played either softly or with resounding beat and hence is an instrument suitable to all kinds of dance.

4. *Evangile:* ceremonies of communication of the "word" from the powers, and confirmation of the bonds of the spiritual community.

Though there may be some variation in the distribution of these scenes and in the arrangements of the more than 200 songs and the dozen dances that appear as part of them, the general distribution shows us *minkin* and *njimba* embracing the roads of the cult harp which themselves embrace the *evangile* as the nested and nuclear event of the evening.

Though there is considerable variation in the distribution of scenes within the total scenario, and particularly as we descend in level to the inspection of smaller and smaller segments of scenes (Pike 1967), nevertheless the distribution is not presumable nor dependent solely upon the outcome of the accumulating series of scenes. "In acting as well as in speaking persons have an image of the pattern to be completed and make plans according" (Frake 1964:125). As it happens these images, in my view, are contained in metaphors which organize scene development in a fundamental way.

There are four central metaphors which arise in Bwiti as members comment upon the evening's progress. For members refer to various constellations of ceremony in such terms as: here we are such and such (*eyong zi bi ne*) or there he is such and such (*eyong te e ne*). The central metaphors and the most recurrent predicates, which we see lead up to one-heartedness, the central quality of cult life, are the following:
1. *Bi ne esamba* [we are a trading team (in file through the forest)]
2. *Bi ne avong da* [we are of one clan]
3. *Me ne (e ne) emwan mot* [I am (he is) the son of man (man child)]
4. *Bi ne nlem mvore* [we are one heart].
These metaphors are reiterated in the night-long ritual and provide a periodic familiarity, reinforcement, or leitmotif. But the question is how, in performance, do these metaphors bring about those transformations of experience and emergence of feeling states which are the prime functions of religion.

The metaphor of the *esamba* appears first in the transformations we want to consider. It is the metaphor that belongs typically to the *minkin*. The metaphor associates the cult members to a cohesive trading band marching with determination through the forest. The main association of this term historically is that of the adventurous team of young men that collected rubber and ivory at the turn of the century and took it to the coast to exchange for trade goods. These groups were characterized by high solidarity, the euphoria of hunting and gathering and a rewarding trading relation with the colonial world. It was a group characterized by values and a sense of purpose which led to significant fulfillment. The aptness of this metaphor is readily understood when the aimlessness, the lack of solidarity in village and kinship, and the high degree of ambivalence about the larger colonial world is grasped. For these conditions

provide experience to which the metaphor was, and continues to be, a compensatory representation.

The second metaphor to emerge is that of *avong da* [one clan]. It is primarily the metaphor of the *njimba*. This may not seem like a metaphor but in fact it is, for the membership of Bwiti chapels is an association drawn from many clans and to a degree from several tribes. They are not properly described, by reference to the norms of Fang social structure, as one clan. During the *njimba* when the membership sits together under the eye of the elders of the cult to hear individual prayers they say: "We are one clan." Prayers are made at this time, incidentally, preceded by the reciting of genealogy, the *pièce maîtresse* of clan identification. We must keep in mind that clan relationships have much degenerated in their claims on allegiance (this is reflected in the decline in knowledge of the genealogies). Since allegiance to the clan is virtually the same thing as allegiance to the ancestors, the clan's guarantors, we understand the aptness of this metaphor. For the Bwiti cult is reacting to the kinds of individualism and opportunism which have undermined the clan and the ancestors, who symbolized its viability and the viability of all its members.

The third metaphor is *emwan mot* [child of man, or man child]. In the process of the *zen ngombi* phase the members speak of themselves and particularly of their leaders as *emwan mot*. This metaphor has a complex set of associations, not the least of which may be a Christian one — in particular the reference is to the Saviour not only as the son of God but also as the son of man. In this metaphor, it seems to me, the Bwiti express several notions. First of all it says that the satisfactory spiritual experience can be achieved only by escaping from the contaminated, "bad body" (*nyol abe*) condition of adulthood where, it is said, sexuality and strife with one's brothers and peers burden the spirit and prevent it from rising over to the "other side." Efforts are made in ritual costuming to conceal sexual dimorphism and prevent the direct contact between the sexes. The cooperative attitude towards all cult activities is insisted upon. Thus is the innocence of the child achieved in preparation for the passing over to the "other side" where the spirits exist in asexual harmony. Other associations make this an apt metaphor, for example, the notion that the younger the child the closer he is to the ancestors. The metaphor also aptly expresses that state of helplessness which the cult members desire to impress upon the ancestors and the great gods in search of their aid. Finally, by insisting upon identifying themselves with the child of man, the members emphasize their corporeality — the very corporeal and primordial facts of birth, the intermediate conditions of organic life, and the inevitability of death — all of which they both celebrate in worship and seek to pass beyond.

This last intention of the child of man metaphor is even more aptly

conveyed in the metaphor of one-heartedness (*nlem mvore*), out of whose enactment emerges that dominant and lingering feeling-state of cult life towards which we have directed our attention. This metaphor is affirmed at several points in the ceremony but first at midnight when the membership, candles in hand, exits from the chapel in single file and moves out into the forest to make final appeals to any ancestors that may be lingering there. As the membership files back into the chapel it begins to spiral more and more tightly together until they form a compact mass with candles raised above their heads in such a manner as to form one flame. Here is one-heartedness, the general object of the cult, most characteristically obtained.

Organizing metaphors, the extension of the body image into secondary structures and institutions, are quite common in this cult. We have shown how the cult house is itself assimilated in its various parts to the human body. Likewise the various torches and pitch lamps are assimilated to the life of the body. For men, like torches, are all shells within which a vital substance burns its alloted time. Membership in a corporate religious body is, as we see, variously celebrated, but this almost always seems to be done for complex reasons. First, the projection of corporeality into "objective correlatives" is part of the process by which the burden of that corporeality — and the *banzie*, however they may wish to vitalize it, do regard it as a burden — is escaped. Second, insofar as there is a preoccupation with corporeal well-being, ritual action, in structures and institutions that have a corporeal association, is efficacious in respect to the body's own problems.

The qualitative state in the membership that the celebration of this particular metaphor, one-heartedness, brings about rests upon the particularly apt associations that it provides: (1) it is the heart which is the most alive of the bloody organs; (2) it is traditionally conceived by the Fang to be the organ of thought; and (3) in its bloodiness it is associated with the female principle. The "aliveness" of the heart is apt because one pole of the cult's intention aims at greater vitality in this life. The fact that the heart is the organ of thought (as opposed to the brain which is the organ of will and intention) is compatible with the other objective of cult life, to escape the corporeal and thus affirm unanimity at the level at which it is most significant — the level of thought. The female principle of the universe, Nyingwan Mebege, the sister of God, is of focal importance in this cult. She is often represented, after the fashion of Christian iconography, with her heart in interthoracic display. Thus another association of one-heartedness is participation with the mystical and beneficent God of the female principle of the universe. The heart, in sum, has many powerful associations which in synthesis work effectively on the emergence of a new quality in the membership.

A theory of metaphoric performance in ritual events has been put forth

elsewhere (Fernandez 1970, 1972, 1974a, 1974b) and will not be argued here, other than to point out that ritual from such a perspective is seen as a series of transformations in the feelings of participants as a result of their having acted out successive metaphors predicated upon their inchoate selves. The analytic presentations suggested by such a theory are various. One of these is a cube of data whose cells have the following dimensions: (1) the succeeding domains of experience framed by the metaphor; (2) the particular scenes performed and designed to fulfill the expectation of the metaphor; and (3) the particular associations brought into play by each scene. This cube can be collapsed in various ways. In order to illustrate some of the systematics of metaphoric progression we collapse (see Table 1) the sequence of scenes that, operating upon the metaphor, put it into effect. The chain of associations brought into existence by each metaphoric rephrasing, each acting out, is emphasized instead. The overall transformation of the cult member is from his profane and troubled status to the serene and soaring status of an angel (*banzie*), the name given to members of the cult. But to achieve this overall corporeal to spiritual transformation the membership is asked through ritual to perform the four successive metaphors. We show in Table 1 the chains, each of which is associated with one or another of the images in the Bwiti metaphor paradigm. We see that all items in all the chains arise out of that inchoate primary experience which is that of corporeal life with the self and with others. But particular chains of that primary experience are extended into cult life according to the particular image, which has been metaphorically selected, of the body or of society, or of both.

The basic transformation perhaps in this scheme is from a suffering corporeality (state of *mwan mot*) to an exalted spirituality (state of *banzie* . . . angel) and subordinately from a debilitated corporeality to a revitalized corporeality. The paradigm of metaphors aid in accomplishing this by calling into focus and scanning, as it were, different aspects of the primary corporeal experience. Thus the membership finds at various moments in its ritual celebrations the extension of various aspects of the primary experience of corporeality — that experience which is so problematic and inchoate. Each of these metaphoric images of the body and its constituents calls to mind different aspects of the body placing it in focus in the frame so that if this aspect is not actually revitalized in the acting out of the metaphor (as occurs in the case with the *esamba* and *avong da* metaphors) it is at least clearly brought to mind. The necessary paradigm for the overall transformation to spiritual status must include the *mwan mot* and the *nlem mvore* metaphors. And, in fact, whatever overall transformations are accomplished in the cult to the status of angel, the lingering feeling, the emergent quality, which is most valued in the membership is one-heartedness.

Table 1.   Systematics of metaphoric transformation in Bwiti ritual

Overall basic transformation				
Suffering devitalized individual	is incorporated into	worshiping body of Bwiti	which is incorporated into	spiritual body of Bwiti as *banzie* [angel]

Subordinate transformations				
Primary corporeal experience of	*Esamba* chain of associations	*Avong da* chain of associations	*Mwan mot* chain of associations	*Nlem Mvore* chain of associations
Relatedness to others	Celebration of the achievement of solidarity through the cooperation of corporeal parts	Celebration of lineal relatedness	Sorrowful and beseeching celebration of helplessness and dependence, desire for relatedness	Celebration of the achievement of unity by liquifaction
Color spectrum	White	White	Black	Red
Body effluent	Sweat	Semen	Cloacal exuviae	Blood
Sexuality	Young manhood	Mature manhood	Childhood and latency	Incorporation with the mother
Body constituents	Sinews, tendons	Skeleton and brain	Flesh and skin	Veins, arteries, and bloody organs
Attitude or posture	Energetic adventure-someness, self-confidence, euphoria	Pensive and serene reflection	Inferiority and self-abnegation	Self-tran-scendence

AXES OF TRANSFORMATION

In response to the decentering and centrifugation, and the materialistic individualism that the Fang have experienced in recent years, Bwiti ritual in its cult house offers a renewed sense of a center, a renewed sense of meanings extended beyond the self. Its ritual processes, in relation to the cult-house structure, make a revitalizing representation of body in build-

ing and building in body. It reestablishes the assuaging internuncial link between microcosm and macrocosm. Its rituals in relation to the topography of the cult house restate the progressions of traditional Fang mythological-legendary movement in space. At the same time, by interior circulations, these rituals perform an ever tighter knitting together of contrary qualities: male-side/female-side, spirit-side/earth-side, the vertiginous and the ecstatic, the tranquil and the contemplative, red and white, up and down, linearity and circularity. These are finally reduced to that emergent quality of one-heartedness. The Bwiti chapel provides a sacred space in which troubled men by successive metaphoric predications upon themselves can be sequentially transformed finding, finally, cosmos in themselves and themselves in cosmos, others in themselves and themselves in others.

We have tried here to relate Fang space to its uses. But this space is not simply that of Fang buildings. It is the quality space which is found in the architectonics of Fang culture — that quality space laid out in myths and legends; in the migration experience, in the relationship between village and forest and between parts of the village, even in the relationship between men and women, and between peers in game, dance, and song. The analysis of ritual actions in relationship to particular structures is helpful in our understanding of the part these structures play in overall architectonics of the culture, that is, the particular relatedness in the quality of experience in various kinds of space — mythical, cosmological, domestic, social, and personal. When, within a culture, rapid transition and acculturation break down the associations and extensions between these personal spaces and this larger architectonic, men begin to concentrate on structure itself. In the Fang case they concentrate on the material rather than on the logico-aesthetic aspects of structure. New cults then arise to restore men's powers of extension and transformation.

We have been guiding our discussion towards the notion of emergent qualities in "quality space" with several thoughts in mind. First, I think that in space defined by architectural structure a special emergent quality arises partially as a consequence of the constraints of that structure but more importantly as a consequence of the ritual activities that take place within that space. Second, I think that that space if it is to have quality must contain both an extension of personal body images and an intension of mythical and cosmic images. We have tried to show how this is the case. Third, I would speculate that any kind of organization of space must locate those who live in that space in an optimum position in respect to their own bodies and in relation to the cosmos. Though there should be some caution involved in extending an Euclidean three-attribute space to the Fang (as we have said), nevertheless we can propose from our discussion that the Bwiti chapel and its topography achieved quality in space because it locates the membership in respect to:

1. Down-river progression (*mfa oswi nké*).
2. Counterclockwise centripetal involution resulting in a drawing in of vectors toward a central point (*nlem mvore*) in the horizontal cross-village, cross-chapel plane.
3. Spiritual ascent and descent in the vertical plane clearly framed in the *akon aba*.

But more than locating the membership in this space, the intent of worship is to move the membership beyond life and death over to the evenhanded tranquility of the "other side" (*mfa avat*). The final qualitative achievement of the cult house and its ritual is to enable the membership to escape its confinements. We may arrive then finally at the following diagram of the axiology of Bwiti quality space (see Figure 7).
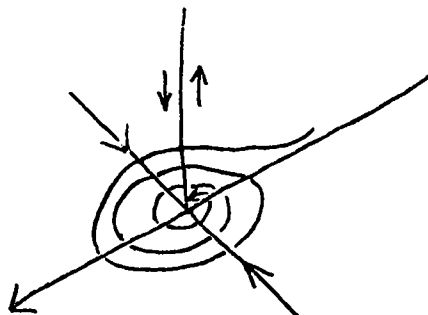
Figure 7.   The axiology of Bwiti quality space

Insofar as the members, despite the ecstasies of their night-long ritual, must return to live in this world, one-heartedness is the chief emergent quality of cult life. But insofar as they are preparing for life beyond the grave, then an older emergent quality of Fang culture — even-handed tranquility — regains its sovereignty.

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Structural Studies of Art Styles

JON D. MULLER

INTRODUCTION

Analysis of art involves a number of different factors — understanding of the technical aspects of the medium, the actual behavior of the artist during the creation of an art work, and, most important of all, the ability of an artist to create novel *and* acceptable concepts. Understanding the material is largely the problem of knowing about the physical world in which the artist works. It is necessary to know how materials will respond to human modification, whether these materials consist of the human body, as in dance, or of materials like stone in sculpture. More important, however, is the explication of the artist's motor habits and skills and the discovery of a way to adequately describe the physical behavior of the artist. Both the understanding of the medium and of the artist's behavior can be treated under the general heading of technique. Indeed, certain students of art have gone so far to maintain that technique is a central issue or even *the* central issue in the theory of art and art styles.

As defined here, the heart of the concept of styles lies in the creative competence of the artist. In this sense, *style* does not merely refer to the differences that set apart the art works of a group of artists or a single artist from the works of others, but rather to the total conceptual system which underlies actual artistic production. In art, style refers to the interplay of form, structure, and expression. There are certainly many other aspects to art. Any given art style exists in a physical, social, and cultural environment of great complexity. These, too, are vital concerns of anyone who wishes to explain an art style.

Finally, art styles are not random combinations of forms. On the contrary, it is fruitful to treat art as "lawful" behavior. However, the behavior for which explanation is most vital is not merely that of actual

execution of the work, but that of how the work is structured. One of the major problems in many traditional approaches to art is the concentration on technique and form rather than upon the artist's creative ability.

An unbiased and dispassionate critique of what has been done in the study of art is no easy undertaking. This article does not attempt to provide such an unbiased treatment — it is frankly and openly concerned with only some of the many currents of thought that may be discerned. Furthermore, though the article has the form of a history, no claim of actual historical continuity can be made for many of the individual works discussed.

This article is divided into four major parts. The first of these attempts to define some terms and to relate these to a general picture of style in culture. The second part is concerned with the views of art taken by a number of scholars in anthropology, philosophy, and art history. The third section returns to the question of art styles in terms of culture theory. This part also deals with the problem of what kind of calculus may be used to meet the general requirements of a theory of style. The fourth part will give some very brief and incomplete examples of a kind of structural analysis of art styles.

PART ONE

Culture and Art

The definition of *art* has perplexed philosophers for generations. There are some areas of agreement; for example, nearly everyone accepts that sculpture is an "art." The first problems arise when particular works are examined. The furor which greets virtually every expensive commission of sculpture shows that many people are unwilling to accept even a well-established artist's works as art. Similarly, advocates of rock music may insist upon its status as a folk art (Belz 1969); but the critics of rock have maintained that, far from being art, rock is nothing but a commercial put-on.

If so much fire is struck by disputes over these kinds of materials, what can be done about simple matters such as the manufacture of furniture? Again, an endless stream of arguments can be generated over particular pieces of design. In order to find a way out of these predicaments, critics have coined terms such as folk art, fine arts, practical arts, and arts of life. The fact remains that for all the forests destroyed to print definitions dealing with art (a crime which, I fear, this article repeats to a degree) little agreement has been reached on any but the most abstract level.

Many of the distinctions have been based on the artist's (the creator's)

intentions. If a work is meant solely for the purposes of art, "art for art's sake," then "fine arts" is involved. This distinction between one and another type of art does have a limited kind of validity in Western European cultures, but the urge in this small area of study to categorize different kinds of art is a good example of the problems that art critics and aestheticians have created for themselves. There is no reason to accept European concepts concerning particular arts as having universal human validity. Furthermore, in practice it becomes very difficult to apply these distinctions consistently, even in the West. The difference between the finest Scandinavian-designed chair and the cheapest example from the local dime store is very difficult to categorize and classify.

If the intent of the craftsman creating the work is not enough to consistently decide whether a work is "art," could the reaction of the critic or viewer to the work help? This promptly leads into the dismal swamps that most aesthetics traversed decades ago, with great damage to the reputation of their researches. There is a valuable point in recognizing the differing role of artist and critic, but the decision of whether a work is "good" art or "bad" art is not the same as whether it is art or non-art. It is especially dangerous to hold that a "poorly" created work is not art when one does not understand the style under study. Since few people can claim to really understand someone else's art, there is often a paradox in aesthetics based on ideas of abstract beauty.

One real problem in defining art is the compulsion to draw lines, to categorize human behavior into neat little units under the impression that this will somehow lead to understanding. Typologizing and classification are simply unfortunate, but perhaps necessary, steps in seeking to perceive human behavior. However, very much depends on the purposes of the research. If the purpose is to understand systems of human behavior, then arbitrary distinctions among various "types" of art are not likely to be of much use.

To be sure, there are many reasons why men study art. Art is uplifting, stimulating, and intriguing. Actually, the study of art by specialists may be little more than the compulsive justification of aesthetic urges felt by everyone. However, what is called art is only a small part of the total range of human behavior. Breaking this total range of activity up into supposedly "universal" categories such as art may actually obscure the fact that the relationship and character of this supposed type of behavior may be quite different from one culture to another. In this way an anthropologist may look upon art somewhat differently than do art critics, historians, or aestheticians. An anthropologist views art as a part of human culture rather than as a thing apart. Almost inevitably, expansion of research beyond the categorizing of objects involves the total range of behavior of a people. Artistic and aesthetic judgments can be and continually are made about all human actions.

A very broad definition of art is that it is the modification of the human environment, including one's self, for aesthetic purposes — for purposes of stimulation. But by this definition, all of human culture is art. Nor is this necessarily wrong. Art in a more narrow sense and human behavior in general are different only in the scope of their referents, if even that. There are few issues in the study of art that are not also issues of importance in the social sciences. For these reasons the artificiality of institutional and typological divisions should be recognized.

If there is little reason to speak of art in a universal sense, it is nonetheless extremely helpful to have blanket terms of this sort. In this discussion, I am concerned with materials that are traditionally considered to be art and I will discuss these materials both in terms that are used by art critics and other aestheticians and also in terms that are more familiar to anthropologists. The use of these words should not obscure the rather special definitions that I suggest for them, nor should the ultimate goal of unified theories of culture be forgotten merely because more restricted terminology is employed. Frankly, were the principle of priority to be strictly observed, the art scholar's terms such as art, style, and the like would have to be employed rather than the anthropological equivalents. The danger is to place too much emphasis on the words and too little on the ideas. Words, in this instance at least, are tools to be used until they dull and can be sharpened or discarded. There has been a tendency for social scientists and others to "wait until the facts are in" before attempting to explain their materials. It is pretty likely that any facts collected on such a basis will be of little use. So-called "raw" data do not exist; the methods for collection (or classification) of materials should be consistent with the theoretical goals of the researcher. Words are needed to describe these goals and methods, and they are available and in circulation now.

Artists and Art

A much-despised truism states that individuals are responsible for human culture. For example, it has been maintained by an archeologist that his discipline can never be concerned with individuals. Yet, in a much more real sense, only individuals or, at most, small groups can be studied directly by any social scientist whether he is working with the living people themselves or with the remains of tools or art works made in particular past times and places. Anything more abstract than this is at least second-level inference. It is important, too, that these low-level inferences be subjected to the same scholarly standards as other more complex inferences. One would feel as though one were beating a dead horse, were it not the case that so many people lose sight of the elemen-

tary chain of inference that leads to the testing of hypotheses about cultural patterns. When an art work is observed, the immediate recognition concerns the subject material, the medium, and other surface characteristics of the work. At this point, all one has seen is the attempt by one artist to engineer a particular image. Whether he has succeeded or not is not really relevant. Upon seeing a second art work, the observer or critic may see certain resemblances which lead him to infer either that the two works are by the same man or that there are two artists who share certain concepts; and so on, to broader and broader conclusions. Thus the chain is forged from the observation of one action, or the result of one action, to the comparison with other actions and thus inferences are made about the existence of a style, a culture, a phase.

To claim that the actions of individuals form the starting point for abstraction and generalization does not mean that it is impossible to discuss art on a more abstract level. But there is no really good reason to ignore the importance of the individual either.

One thing which has perhaps contributed to the feeling that the actions of the individual are only the expression of some kind of group mind is that the artist in nearly all cases is "unaware" of the implications and nature of his work. Nearly every student of art has sooner or later had the experience of discovering a patterning of which the artist was ignorant. Thus Ruth Bunzel's classic study of Pueblo potters (1929) showed that the conscious conceptions of the design were by no means the same as those actually placed on the pots. But what does it mean to say that the artist is "unaware" of a pattern? Simply that the critic or anthropologist was unable to elicit *his* analytical framework from the artist! Yet there is absolutely no reason to expect that an artist will be aware of the underlying structure of the system in which he is working. As in language, the ways and forms of the rules which are used to create art are not consciously formulated as a system of rules by the people who use them. But this does not mean that the rules do not exist or that they cannot be inferred from the behavior of the participants in a system. Rather than saying, then, that the artist is "unaware" of his own particular style, perhaps it is better to say that he has not consciously formulated his style in ways that are like those of the scholars studying him and his works.

Artists are sometimes conscious of rules and regulations relating to their work, but more often than not, these conscious formulations bear little resemblance to the realities as observed by an outsider. In the same way, speakers of English spend a great deal of time learning rules which supposedly, they are to use in their speech. Even the most pedantic teachers, however, in practice do not follow these artificial rules (Walker 1970).

This brings us very close to one of the central issues in the study of art — the problem of accounting for the creativity not only of the individual but

also of groups of artists. How is it that artists like Picasso, or even the Beatles, could constantly create novel expressions within single rather tightly circumscribed styles and create new styles? One of the most important issues in the study of human behavior is to account for the capacity of the creator to create. This problem is faced in the case of well-known and enormously successful artists, and is equally perplexing in the case of the least important artists of the least important arts. Creativity is simply not the monopoly of a few artists, despite the feelings to the contrary of some critics.

Every work of art is clearly unique; the circumstances and actions of its creation can never be exactly reproduced. Nonetheless, it is equally clear that the vast majority of art, or any other behavior for that matter, is capable of being recognized by knowledgeable critics as the work of a particular artist or of a particular school of artists. Two crucial points must be made: (1) that novelty in art is not universally accepted as equivalent to quality, and (2) that placement of an artist in a style or period does not remove the problem of his ability to create unique yet comprehensible works. Western tradition has tended in the last several hundred years to equate innovation with importance. This is all the more so because certain naive assumptions about the nature of change in art styles are sometimes made. One of these involves the assumption that because copying occurs in certain documented cases of change in art, that mere physical copying is the major mechanism of change. It remains true, nonetheless, that the vast majority of artists and artisans are not simply copying, but are in fact creating novel materials within the limitations of a particular style. It is this creativity that must be explained.

The relationship of a particular artist to his culture and society and to other artists is also of tremendous significance in understanding the nature of his behavior. The influence of a patron on the works of an artist is well recognized and has been the subject of popular treatment in novels and films. Of equal importance, but not so often recognized, is the influence of the critic upon the output of the artist, especially if the critic is another artist. I am using the term critic to mean the person who perceives the work of art and not merely to indicate the formal recognition of a critic status in any particular culture. I do this to avoid the awkward term perceiver, or viewer, since not all art is "viewed." One of the best discussions in the anthropological literature of this kind of relationship is in Bohannan's "Artist and critic in a west African society" (1961).

Style

Like art, *style* has been defined in so many ways that there is considerable confusion about what is meant by the word. The feeling tones of so many

definitions have led many anthropologists to avoid the concept altogether (Kroeber 1947). This avoidance is rather ironical, however, because the uses of style are virtually identical to the ways anthropologists use the word culture. The noting of this convergence of terminology really does not shed much light on the problem, though, since there is more than enough confusion about the meaning of culture.

Style has usually been considered as a kind of type, another of these taxonomic categories that classify rather than explain. Thus, the usual practice is to think of an art work as belonging to a style; or, rather, that a style consists of a group or set of objects or traits. In this sense, a New Guinea wooden mask is said to be in the style of the Sepik River, or a painting by Monet is said to be of impressionist style.

In turn, these typological styles have been defined in many ways. Some are based on historical criteria. A piece may be assigned to a stylistic type because of its occurrence in a particular period. Or a period may be defined because of the presence of a stylistic type. Thomas Munro in his monumental *Evolution in the arts* has presented a cogent analysis of the various uses of typological styles (1963:288, and elsewhere).

One of the major problems of this kind of taxonomic approach to the problems of style is that its main purpose is not really compatible with the search for the explanation of the artist's creativity. Instead, the main purpose of typological styles seem to be little more than the search for the features and characteristics which allow the recognition of a style rather than a search for the relationships and "rules" that explain a style. It is rather as though linguists were satisfied to discover the differences between German and French, but were not interested in the internal operation of either language. This analogy is worth some thought, for imagine what the present state of linguistics might be were the analysis of German and French limited to comparisons such as guttural or nasal! Such oppositions and comparisons have their place but are not necessarily of major importance in the study of style.

This is not to say that all art critics, art historians, and aestheticians have committed themselves to this kind of view of style. Arnold Hauser is only one example of the many art historians who have seen the problems of typological approaches to art (1958:212). As will be seen in the next section, there are trends in the study of style that do not fit into the usual stereotypes of the long-haired art critic busily categorizing artistic butterflies.

Anthropologists studying art have more often come into direct contact with the artist at work than have some critics, though it is clear that the museum orientation is strong in both aesthetics and in anthropological aesthetics. This work with living artists has led to concentration on the technical aspects of art. Though this will be discussed in more detail in the next part, there are good reasons to feel that the primary concern in

dealing with art materials cannot be placed in the process of physical creation. Many examples exist of situations in which it is clear that the decisions concerning the particular nature of a work of art have been largely settled before the brush is ever laid to canvas, the knife to wood, or before the first steps of dance are taken. In short, the answer to our search for process, for explaining the creativity of the artist, cannot be a simple matter of stimulus and response in the process of executing a work.

A style, then, is not a collection of objects, nor is it a set of motifs or forms. A style is a cultural system, that is to say, the concept of style refers to the relationships which hold between input and output, between "cause" and "effect" in human behavior. Moreover, the concept of style refers explicitly to the cognitive process which results when, for example, the artist wants to paint a picture (for reasons which are themselves parts of other systems). The style is the way (system) the artist creates the particular expression which he technically executes (output). Thus, style as I define it here refers to rules, for lack of a better term, that allow a person to perform actions in a *competent* manner. There is certainly many a slip twixt cup and lip, and errors in performance should not be mistaken for errors in competence. It should also be obvious that by this definition a single person can possess a style, it is not necessary for other artists to share an artist's concepts for his own competence to be patterned and systematic. Indeed, it seems highly possible that all human competence (the ability to create) may be patterned in much the same way. A detailed statement of this idea has been made in the case of another cultural system, language, by Eric Lenneberg (1967), but this argument cannot be pursued here in any detail. I will say that I do believe that the tenor of Lenneberg's suggestions about the biological foundations of language will be found to be basically correct not only for language but for culture as a whole.

Thus, style is a system, or more correctly, a subsystem of the larger cultural system. As a part of culture, it is intimately linked to other subsystems and the input and output of each particular part influence the operations of the systems. A discussion of kinds of models to account for the operations of stylistic systems will be presented in Part Three. In general, systems may be conceived as rules, or instructions, that govern the combination and permutation of elements.

Art styles are simply rather arbitrarily defined subsystems of larger systems, and, therefore it would be exceedingly difficult to find universal characteristics of all art. The nature of the art will depend upon the systems with which it is linked.

One final caution needs to be stressed here. Style as it is used here is not equivalent to the use of the term by linguistics or others where its meaning reflects minor variations between one individual and another. While these variations are stylistic, they are by no means all of style. However,

style, properly speaking, does explain variation. If linguists object to this wider usage, they should be aware that it is they who are out of step with the traditional meanings of this word in other fields.

Society and Culture

It is no accident that both aestheticians and anthropologists have sometimes used culture and style almost interchangeably. A. L. Kroeber's various writings on the interrelationship of style and change in cultures and his attempts to define large scale life-styles cross over to the point where it is a hopeless task to decide what the difference between a life-style and a culture might be.

The first and sufficient basis for the existence of a style is that there is a human being. If several men share the same basic concepts or interlocking concepts about art or the world, we speak of a school of artists in the first instance or a society in the second. The idea of sharing is not a crucial part of the definition of culture, but it is crucial to the idea of society. Societies or schools are actual groups of people. If one wished to physically weigh a school or a society, it would be possible.

Culture, on the other hand, is used here to refer to the particular mental constructs of one or more individuals. Strictly speaking, every single person has his own culture. If, as is almost always the case, a person's particular culture is quite similar to that of the surrounding individuals, then we have a social group, a society. Two factors operate to ensure that societies exist: (1) man is reared within a society, trained within a school, and therefore the patterns to which he is exposed are quite similar to those of his fellow men; and (2) the basic mental equipment available to the individual is the same as that of his neighbors.

There may be one difference between the "learning" of a culture and the learning of styles. The learning of a culture takes place within the framework of biological maturation. The learning of an art style may take place later in life when the essentials of the total cultural system are already "internalized" and when the brain and nervous system are already fully developed. Of course, any child is likely to be exposed to much of the "artistic" material of his culture and it is unlikely that he will be totally ignorant of the major aspects of the style even though he may be unable to execute works in the style. The later learning of styles is also a factor that probably promotes congruency of art styles with other systems in the culture.

This distinction between society and culture, school and style, can be overstressed, however. I do not mean to imply any rigid dichotomy between mind and body. Nor do I take exception to definitions of culture that place the emphasis upon the role of culture in the interaction of man

with his environment. Culture certainly is man's "extrasomatic means of adaptation to his environment" (Binford 1962), but this does not eliminate the need to specify the nature of the system that relates the various inputs and outputs. Further, there are many systems in a culture that may be only indirectly articulated with the environment through other cultural systems. The emphasis here will not be upon the environmental relationships of so-called art, but this does not mean that these relationships are not important.

Art, Style, and Culture

This section has introduced some of the terms that will be used later. In addition, many themes have been presented which will be discussed in more detail later.

Art itself has been treated as an arbitrary category with little to separate it from any other form of human behavior. Art and style are merely terms of convenience, and their virtual synonymity with the terminology already in use by anthropologists and other social scientists should not be forgotten. This view has been argued by aestheticians as well (Weitz 1956), and the theoretical contribution of aestheticians should not be obscured by their use of specialized and rather abstract terms. Aesthetics is one of the oldest studies of human activity and presents us with valuable concepts as well as warning us of certain pitfalls to be avoided. The relationship of the various concepts is summarized in Table 1.

Table 1.   Relationship of aesthetics, anthropology, and linguistics

	People	Competence	Performance	Results
Aesthetics	School	Style	Technique	Art
Anthropology	Society	Culture	Method	Behavior
Linguistics	Language community	Grammar	Articulation	Speech

The two major postulates upon which the theories described below are based are: (1) culture is a system composed of subsystems that vary in content and organization but which have the same basic principles of organization, and (2) formal models of these subsystems can be constructed.

PART TWO: TRADITIONS IN THE STUDY OF ART

Aesthetics

On reflection it is really remarkable that the whole of organized modern science should shrink from attempting to occupy a large, important, and interesting area of nature — that of style — because it has been the habit of those more pre-occupied with style to talk about it in terms charged with quality ratings and feeling tone. The avoidance suggests that scientists are still pretty unsure of themselves and their methods beyond the long-tilled fields and well-trodden paths (Kroeber 1947:487).

Considering the data orientation of many anthropologists at that time, it may well be that this "avoidance" was well advised. Of course anthropologists have not totally ignored the subject of style, and many significant anthropological studies of art styles have been under-taken. Some of these studies will be discussed later, but first it will be instructive to look at the work of those who did talk of art in "feeling tones."

My purpose here is to see how certain ideas have been treated by people of widely differing backgrounds. Such discussion of parallels in the philosophy of art is not a history. Thus an indication of a certain similarity between so-called "Cartesian" concepts and those of later scholars does not prove that they are historically connected nor that these scholars agreed with one another on all major issues.

The specialized jargon employed by art critics and aestheticians is a definite barrier to the acceptance of their ideas in other fields. Obscure terminology, however, does not always mean that there is nothing of value. Chemists are just as guilty of using jargon as are art critics, yet the clear practical applications lead the rest of us to accept the chemist's mysteries on faith. The practical value of aesthetics, however, is less obvious. Still, when the ethnocentrism of much aesthetic theory is screened out, a residue of important concepts remains.

This screening process is very difficult as the concern of aestheticians with "beauty" guaranteed that the standards of particular societies would be built into theories of art. In this way, self-consciousness about style has usually gone hand-in-hand with self-confidence.

Among the earliest recorded developments of stylistic self-consciousness were the writings of classical scholars dealing with architectural styles. The fragments discussed by Vitruvius show that the idea of rules as a basic for style is not new, but little distinction was made between "ideal" and real behavior.

Logic and the Rules of Inquiry

Post-classical European scholars either paid little attention to style or else accepted classical treatments of style with little question. Not until the Enlightenment did philosophers of human behavior turn to logical procedures for describing behavior. As suggested by Noam Chomsky in his controversial *Cartesian linguistics* (1966), the philosophy of modern linguistics owes a great deal to Descartes and to the Port Royal linguists who were directly influenced by Descartes. This is not surprising and the Cartesian system is still important as an early statement of the philosophy of science. Considering the enormous impact of Cartesian philosophy during this period, it is also not surprising that the Cartesian emphasis on symbolic formalizations should be found in the study of art. Descartes himself had very little to say about the arts, except to the degree that he insisted on the universality of his method.

Even so, a school of French criticism arose that attempted to base its method on Cartesian principles. Perhaps foremost of these was Jean-Pierre de Crousaz whose *Traité du beau* was published in 1715. This scholar was professor of both philosophy and mathematics at Lausanne and was thus predisposed to the application of Cartesian method. Crousaz is also important because of his discussion of the relativity of beauty. An account of the earlier Cartesian aestheticians may be found in Emile Krantz's *Essai sur l'esthétique de Descartes* (1898).

Cartesian formalization involves both the reduction of materials to their simplest units and symbolic representation. Both of these aspects are repugnant to many aestheticians who insist that art is separate from the remainder of human existence and deny that the same methods of analysis can be applied to art as to other behavior. As I have already suggested, the difficulty of drawing lines between art and other behavior suggests that this view is, to say the least, an exaggeration.

Two major issues are involved in assessing the contribution of Cartesianism to art: (1) the unity of human culture, and (2) the means to be employed in the study of art. As can be seen, the treatment of the second issue depends to no small degree upon the first. At least some of the Cartesian scholars would definitely have treated all human behavior, and nature as well, within the same system. However, others who appear to have been influenced by Cartesian ideas deny the general application of the Cartesian method (Croce 1922:205–206). This seems to be at least partly because the Cartesian aestheticians were rather more concerned with the reform of arts to their prescriptive principles than with the investigation of existing art.

Despite the formalist goals of the Cartesian philosophers of art, they largely failed to achieve significant formalization in their descriptions of

art. Nonetheless, their rationalist emphasis provides a healthy counter-balance to the mysticism of many treatments of the arts.

Cartesian aesthetics and Cartesianism in general influenced later theories of aesthetics. This has particularly been the case in the emphasis upon universal principles of art similar to the concept of universal grammar in linguistics. It is true that the early attempts to arrive at these universals were not really successful, but the search for universals of human activity continues. Even aestheticians who are particularly critical of the formal logic of the Cartesians seem willing to accept this goal.

Von Humboldt and Croce

Any real continuity between the Cartesian scholars and modern scholarship is easier to trace in linguistics than in aesthetics. Ironically, it seems that the nineteenth-century linguistic work which shows this continuity influenced aesthetics rather earlier than linguistics. The philological researches of Wilhelm von Humboldt are only a small part of the great body of writings on language during the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. If von Humboldt is but one of many, it remains true that certain of his ideas have attracted attention from scholars as diverse as Benedetto Croce, the Italian philosopher, in the early part of this century and, more recently, the linguist Noam Chomsky.

One of the reasons for the importance of von Humboldt's work is that he built upon the Cartesian linguistics of the seventeenth century. In his book, *On the diversity of human language,* von Humboldt postulates a universal "language" at the base of all particular languages. There are some very non-Cartesian aspects to von Humboldt's discussion of language, however. He says, for example, that the division of languages into words and rules is "merely a dead artifact of scientific analysis" (von Humboldt 1836:§8, LVII). Croce makes a great deal of this difference from the Cartesians, but he has perhaps missed the point that von Humboldt does indicate that language is much more than words and rules. Von Humboldt insists that language must be studied in its whole operation, but he does see "a body of words" and a "system of rules" as being produced within language (1836:§9, LXXVIII). It is a moot point whether von Humboldt sees these rules as central or peripheral, however.

Von Humboldt saw language as the very means of thought. He saw language as an inner, "spiritual" effort to make sounds representative of thought (1836:§8, LVII). In such discussions lie the roots of the distinction between competence and performance, between the ability to create concepts and to execute these concepts. Von Humboldt himself was

struck by the similarity of creativity in language and in the arts; artists also "unite the idea with the substance" (1836:§12, CXIX).

Despite some differences, then, from the Cartesian linguists and aestheticians, von Humboldt's work carries on the Cartesian tradition and, further, sets the stage for the treatment of all aspects of culture under a unified theory. Von Humboldt has done this in two ways: first, by seeing the use of language as central to all human thought, and second, by noting in the particular case of the arts, the similarity of art and language. Nonetheless, he, like his Cartesian predecessors, failed to develop really useful or explicit devices for indicating the relationships about which he wrote. This is no major criticism since it cannot be said with truthfulness that our present algebra for describing these relationships is very satisfactory either.

The germs of von Humboldt's thought on art and language did not really find fertile ground until the work of Croce. Many of the concepts Croce presented in *Aesthetics* (1922) were drawn from von Humboldt. Croce rejects a Platonic idealism and substitutes the concept of art as coming into being in the process of creation rather than a collection of works. He also follows von Humboldt in viewing artistic and linguistic actions as essentially indivisible, though Croce carries this rather farther than von Humboldt. Thus, for Croce the work of art and the sentence are units that should not be further divided in the course of analysis (Croce 1922:146, and elsewhere). For Croce, the only acceptable use for grammars is as an empirical learning device that has no claim to philosophic truth (1922:148). This view, of course, is directly opposite to the view of many modern grammarians that grammatical models are of little or no use in the teaching or learning of languages.

One issue that does divide von Humboldt from Croce is the latter's very explicit rejection of any kind of formal logical structure in the study of language and art. Even here, Croce is largely amplifying von Humboldt's partial rejection of the concept that language was nothing but words and rules. Croce's indictment of formalism seems to stem from several different causes. At least part of his aversion is a reaction against the typological character of formalism at that time. Any "type," of course, is a formal concept even if the formalism is rather trivial — and achieved by listing of the units that are included in the type.

As discussed above, typologies may be helpful as teaching and learning devices, but they rarely yield important insights into the operation of cultural systems such as an art style or a language. It can also be suggested that Croce opposed formal treatments precisely because these usually were to be found in statements that sought to prescribe actions, rather than to account for competence. Finally, it cannot be denied that Croce felt that the unity of the work was of such importance that any analysis destroyed the essential character of a work. In a sense, in pursuing a

specific truth, that of unity of human activity, Croce has been led into an exaggerated denial of formal analysis in general. To some extent, Croce was justified in terms of the very broad claims made for formal logic as a universal language. Formal or mathematical logic may not be the means to discovery of universal truths, but this does not affect its mathematical validity nor does it mean that it is not suitable for the system from which it was, after all, developed — that of human language and culture. (Nor does its origin prove that it is, in fact, appropriate.) To show that modern logic is in its application merely a set of notational devices does not mean that it is unacceptable unless one can show reason on other grounds why the Cartesian system of explaining the whole as the parts *and* the relationship of the parts is false. This, Croce does not do (1917:133–147).

If we now have reason to believe that "in the verbal form all distinctions are *not* 'indistinguishable' " (Croce 1971:133), it is ironically true that Croce's thought on language and art cry out for the very logic that he rejects. Although, like von Humboldt, Croce does not clearly distinguish rules operating in the system without change from those rules that are changing, he sees judgment of art resting upon the reproduction in onself of the expression that has been fixed in a definite physical form (1922:118, 125). Croce could not but recognize the regularities in the phenomena that he describes, and in speaking of the uses of linguistic classifications he asked, "And what are laws of words which are not at the same time laws of style?" (1922:150). Croce is not referring only to the external conditions within which the work was performed, but to the internal artistic system of the artist, as well. Thus, as in von Humboldt's writings, the concept of generation (*Erzeugung*) is present in a sense not so distant from its meaning in modern linguistics. In addition, Croce's concept of beauty itself (1922:122–123) is remarkably akin to the idea of "well-formedness" in linguistics.

Not only did Croce keep the contributions of von Humboldt before the eyes of philosophers of art, he also considerably strengthened the arguments that linguistic theory and "aesthetic" theory are so parallel as to have the same basic purposes and faults:

> Those linguists or philologists, philosophically endowed who have penetrated deepest into the problems of language, find themselves (to employ a trite but effective simile) like workmen piercing a tunnel: at a certain point they must hear the voices of their companions, the philosophers of Aesthetic, who have been at work on the other side. At a certain stage of scientific elaboration, Linguistic, in so far as it is philosophy, must merge itself in Aesthetic; and this indeed it does without leaving a residue (Croce 1922:151–152).

An anthropologist might suggest that both this "Aesthetic" and "Linguistic" are, in turn, to be merged in the general study of all human culture.

Other Paths

Aestheticians like Croce have been concerned with the unity of art and speech in terms of human experience, but other scholars have been more concerned with particular traditions in art. This kind of different emphasis is illustrated by the writings of the German "structuralists," Guido Kaschnitz von Weinberg and Friedrich Matz, who have concentrated on Greco-Roman art. Kaschnitz von Weinberg and Matz have explored the important issue of the relationships of the art of an era to the contemporary social setting. In one sense, these scholars have seen the kind of unity Croce suggests between art and speech in other aspects of the culture as well. In general, however, the German structuralists have treated art in different ways than Croce and are more interested in defining structurally a kind of *Zeitgeist*.

One of the main concepts of the German structuralists is that of "inner organization" of form. Thus, the true structure of art is not merely that which is visible, but includes deeper (or more abstract) relationships (Kaschnitz von Weinberg 1965:85, 198; Matz 1950:1–36). In any event, the actual structural principles constructed by Kaschnitz von Weinberg and Matz are not very specific in form and seem almost more typological than structural.

The failure to treat art as activity, rather than as a body of works, remains a serious problem for students of the arts. In such a way, art historians have written histories of things as though they were alive, breathing, mating, and growing. True understanding of art does not imply any obligation to study art biographically, but it is necessary to abandon the fiction that art or culture can be studied meaningfully without dealing with people. Sociologically oriented art historians have shown how important the social and cultural context of art are.

Arnold Hauser, a leading proponent of the social history of art, has pointed out another major problem in taxonomic views of art styles: ". . . the style is no more a mere sum of its constituents than the plant a mere sum of its parts or the life of an organism a composite of its function" (1958:134). In another place, Hauser observed that a style is more and less than what has actually been realized in the works of the artists involved (1958:210). Mere classification and typologizing of actual art works cannot hope to deal with the total nature of a style.

Typologizing in the arts is often based on naive acceptance of what may be called "Platonic" ideas about human culture. This often results in a tendency to see only one work, or body of work, as being really first or finest and to treat all other works in the style as copies of this "ideal." While relatively few people would accept this characterization in such a simple form, the idea that copying is the way that an artist works still persists. Even if this were acceptable as a description of human behavior,

it still does not explain how the originals come into being. Sometimes students of this persuasion have seemed to suggest that all innovation is the result of mere errors in copying. Thus, the capacity for innovation, perhaps the most interesting aspect of art and style, is simply dismissed as not being a part of a general theory of art. This simple solution does not appear to be a very fruitful way of explaining the complexity of human behavior. To be sure, there are some *innovations* that can be partially explained as misunderstandings or poor copies of some original work. The most famous example is the introduction of coinage into Gaul. The Gauls copied the forms of Macedonian coins, but reinterpreted the style of the original coins in Gaulish terms. It is interesting to note that most cases of artistic innovation that support the "error" hypothesis involve the diffusion of forms from one society to another. Yet it is important to note that the "errors" in this example are patterned in their own right. A theory of random change does not explain the nature of Gaulish coinage, despite the undoubted derivation of the idea of coinage from the eastern Mediterranean.

Ethnocentrism in Aesthetics

Aesthetics in the narrow sense implies the establishment of standards of beauty, and it is not surprising that these standards are usually suited only to the culture of the critic who developed them. The idea of cultural relativity is well established in anthropology, so anthropologists are often repelled by ethnocentrism to such an extent that they lose sight of the issues at hand. It may be that anthropologists have avoided dealing with the literature of the arts simply because of the extent to which aestheticians have sometimes projected their own culture into the realm of universal law. One classic example of overgeneralization and ethnocentrism in the arts may be found in Bernard Berenson's book, *Aesthetics and history* (1965). Berenson was aware that his teachers were even narrower in their viewpoints than he, but he still found no difficulty in judging the art of whole periods and peoples (1965:84–85). For example, Berenson, in discussing the more limited views of past critics, also attacked those who doted on exotic arts — "Fuzzy-Wuzzy" art, "as mere shapes, can at best initiate us into the civilization of a savage kraal" (1965:85).

Even if Berenson's artistic horizons were limited, this does not seriously affect the quality of his studies of Western art forms. To say that a critic is ethnocentric is not sufficient reason to reject the concepts that he presents on other matters. If Berenson's aesthetic is of less interest to anthropologists than that of Croce, it is not because of Berenson's ethnocentrism, but merely that he concerned himself with different problems.

The Theory of Art

Aesthetics as an area of philosophical enquiry has a long and complex history. It is obvious that only a small part of aesthetic theory is touched on here, yet there are many areas of aesthetics that deal directly with concepts of interest and importance to anthropologists. The aesthetic concept of creativity has been briefly discussed. A much more complete collection of essays illustrating current directions of thought on these lines may be found in the excellent selection from the *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* compiled by Beardsley and Scheuller (1967).

Some theories of art have been more concerned with the history and evolution of art than with creativity. Though these studies are important to any anthropologist, they lie outside the issue under discussion here. Fortunately, there is available an excellent treatment of both aesthetic and anthropological theories of evolution written by Thomas Munro (1963).

It should be clear that the stereotype of the mad aesthetician busily cataloging shapes of noses in Renaissance painting does not do justice to the considerable theoretical sophistication of this field. In addition to the idea of creativity and evolution, there are important controversies in art on many issues — forgery, the role of symbols, expression and communication, and many others.

From this discussion, several important points emerge: (1) some aestheticians have been concerned with human creativity in structural terms; (2) a persistent problem in aesthetics has been the difficulty in agreeing on the way in which creativity and structure are to be treated; and (3) there is some precedence in aesthetics for formal, patterned descriptions of structure.

Aesthetics and Anthropology

A survey and history of the influence of aesthetics upon anthropology would be a considerable undertaking, not the least because anthropologists have often systematically ignored aesthetic philosophy. Whether they have done so out of conviction or ignorance is not always clear. As an anthropologist, I have tried to summarize the currents of thought in anthropology to a greater degree than I have done for aesthetics; but this is not a dispassionate treatment, but rather a selection of concepts that seem important to me.

The Museum Orientation in Anthropology

During the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth, the emphasis on collection of artifacts was so strong in anthropology that this entire time has been called the Museum Period. The collection mania probably resulted in part from the influence of the earlier successes of archeologists in establishing progress and change through the study of their collections. It is true, however, that many of the collectors seem hardly to have concerned themselves with what might be done after the collection. Still, one of the major concerns of anthropological "aestheticians" during this period was to try to trace the origins of art, just as folklorists and other anthropologists were also seeking origins.

One of the major controversies of the Museum Period centered on the particular theory of change in the arts. W. H. Holmes and F. W. Putnam in the United States and A. C. Haddon in Great Britain all attempted to trace universal sequences and cycles of artistic change. The major problem was to decide whether art traditions had developed from naturalistic to conventionalized and geometric design. The explanations and specific sequence proposed varied considerably (see, for example, Putnam 1886, Holmes 1888), but the general outline remained the same. It is a little difficult nowadays to see why this was thought to be so important. However, the work and collections made by these scholars form the basis for much later discussion and are the basis, too, of the next school of "aesthetic" anthropology.

The "American" School of Anthropology

Franz Boas himself was a museum man and many of his students could easily be included in the Museum Period of research. Still, taken as a group, Boas' associates and students represent an important advance over the earlier anthropological studies of art. Boas himself was scientifically trained in Germany and his criticisms of some of the rather unscientific theories of the time were needed. In keeping with the museum emphasis of the earlier generation, Boas retained a great interest in technique, but went much further than before in tying arts into cultural contexts. In many cases, Boas encouraged the actual field study of the arts of living peoples.

Of course, the "Boasians" form a tradition in anthropology that is much broader than just the study of art, but it is true that art was a lifetime concern of Boas. The Boasian or "American" school in general is often considered to have had a theoretical bias toward particularistic, historical explanations of events. If this is so, it is less evident in the treatment given to art than elsewhere. Actually, there are at least two phases to Boas'

interest in aesthetics. The first resulted from Boas' own work on the northwest coast of North America. In addition to his own publications on social structure and material culture, Boas also encouraged Emmons in his studies of technical traditions of the Northwest (Emmons 1903, 1907). Emmons' papers, showing as they do the close influence of Boas, illustrate the concern which Boas had for technology as an important part of understanding change and variation in art styles. Boas' own papers during this first phase include his influential "Decorative designs of Alaskan needlecases" (1940:564–592; originally published 1908). In this paper, aimed at least partly at Holmes and Putnam, Boas argued against *a priori* judgments about the direction of changes observed in an art style. He showed that in the case of the Eskimo needlecases it was more reasonable to interpret the changes as proceeding from conventional to naturalistic than the other way around. This directly opposes the sequence of events usually proposed for artistic evolution. As an aside, it should be noted that Boas did *not* say that the course of artistic evolution in a particular case was impossible to determine without external evidence — concerning needlecases, only internal, stylistic evidence was available to Boas.

The second phase in Boas' concern with art began with the publication of his classic *Primitive art* (1927). Yet in a very real sense, this book also marked the end of the earlier phase in looking back to issues of the turn of the century. To many modern eyes, Boas seems to overemphasize technique and to ignore the whole problem of artistic creativity. To Boas, style has more to do with the use of tools and motor habits than with the artist's ability to create new concepts. At the same time, Boas does deal with the relationship of parts of designs, particularly in cases of "rhythmic complexity," as he called the patterned repetitions of designs.

It is clear that Boas saw little need to deal with any underlying cognitive pattern for artistic activity. He said, "The general formal elements of which we spoke before, namely symmetry, rhythm, and emphasis or delimitation of form, do not describe adequately a specific style, for they underlie all forms of ornamental art" (1927:144). Boas then went on to speak of "fixity of type" in terms that explain the persistence of forms as being a direct result of traditional motor habits (1927:145). In this way, a style is treated as being the result of history and technique.

Boas did make more general observations, including the demonstration that two or more styles could coexist within a society (1927:355). Still, many of these generalizations seem dubious. In attacking the idea of degeneration through copying, Boas said, "Slovenly work does not occur in an untouched primitive culture" (1927:352). The sentence is misleading unless "untouched" refers only to the lack of European influence, since no culture can truly claim complete cultural isolation. Even taking this to be Boas' probable meaning, the statement is still patently untrue in

any event. "Primitives" are apparently no less competent than their "civilized" counterparts, but there is no evidence to suggest that "primitives" are *more* competent either. Any examination of the specimens that museum curators do *not* exhibit will convince anyone that our own times and culture have no monopoly on bad artists and poor craftsmanship.

If Boas' fame rested solely on his generalizations, then his work could be comfortably fitted into the history of past errors. Yet Boas is more important than this in the history of anthropology at least partly because his work contains some of the germs from which structural analysis rose. Boas himself, however, seems never to have been aware of the deeper implications of a structural approach in anthropology (Jacobs 1959:127) and never consistently analyzed art, language, or any other cultural sphere in structural ways.

In some respects, the more forward-looking aspects of Boas' work are better illustrated in his students' work than his own. One such study of Salish basketry by Haeberlin, Teit, and Roberts "under the direction of Franz Boas" (1928) remains one of the finest analyses of a single artistic tradition ever undertaken. Though this report still shows a primary concern with technique, many of the formal and structural aspects of the basketry style are examined. It is hard to tell just how much of this is due to Boas' influence, but the importance that Boas felt the Salish basketry study to have is shown by his encouragement of similar work by other students.

In Ruth Bunzel's case, this encouragement by Boas led to her outstanding study of Pueblo pottery makers (Mead 1959:33–35). Bunzel carried on the Boasian tradition in some respects, but she went much further than her predecessors in studying the artists rather than the techniques. As a study of the relationships of artists to their work and to each other *The Pueblo potter* (1929) still stands out. Bunzel paid particular attention to the way a potter viewed her work and the work of her contemporaries and found good evidence that the conscious ideas of these potters were by no means identical to the actual structures of the style. Although it is discouraging not to be able to get to the structures of such a style by simply asking the artist, the difference between the so-called "real" and "ideal" should not come as a surprise to anthropologists. There are now innumerable examples of the difference between what people think they are doing and what they actually do. Bunzel showed that an aesthetician can no more expect a formal, organized statement of a style from an artist than can a linguist expect a finished and explicit grammar from a native speaker of a language.

In addition to those mentioned above, Boas encouraged other studies of art such as that undertaken by Gladys Reichard (1933) of Melanesian tortoise shell and wood carving. Reichard's monograph is interesting in its attempt to use measurements and other metrical means to define the

proportions and structures of the style. The problem is that this obscures the actual structures and morphology of the style in much the same way that such metrical approaches in physical anthropology have caused problems there — measurement and indices take on meaning only with reference to particular problems and cannot be used as universal data collection devices without biasing the results or obscuring important relationships. Another bias in Reichard's study is her selection of only "beautiful" specimens to be included.

Even if Boas and his students never presented an overall, consistent theory of style, they are responsible for many important observations on the nature of art and style in society. Boas himself showed the coexistence of styles in a single society (1927:358). He showed that meaning and style do not necessarily have the same boundaries (1940:558), and he laid to rest the idea of a necessary sequence from naturalistic to geometric (1940:589).

Kroeber and the "California School"

A. L. Kroeber was also an early student of Boas, and Kroeber's basic views on art are not so very different from those held by the other Boasians. The implications of the particular form of Kroeber's work led Kroeber and his students on different paths than those followed by Boas' later students.

Kroeber, like Boas, maintained an interest in art and style throughout his long career. His first paper on the subject was on the symbolism of the Arapaho (1900) and his dissertation was also on Arapaho art. Kroeber was the person chosen to review Boas' *Primitive art* for the *American Anthropologist* and to write the section on primitive art for the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. However, one of Kroeber's later publications, *Style and civilizations* (1957), is his best known discussion of art and style.

In what way does Kroeber's thought differ from those of Boas' other students? Perhaps it is mostly Kroeber's view of *form* as the basis of style. In this way, Kroeber's view is more "morphological" than that of earlier anthropologists: "Let us then . . . return to the construal of style as something concerned essentially with form, and possessing some consistency of the forms operated with . . ." (1957:26).

Kroeber did go on to suggest that the coherence of these forms into a set of related larger patterns was also a part of the style, but there is little evidence that he considered this structural information to be very important. Like Boas, Kroeber still saw the major source of variability in a style as resulting from the actual execution of the work (1957:32). In this way, Kroeber does show awareness of structure and creativity,

but he treats the issues as minor complications in the study of form.

Kroeber makes a great deal of the influence of predecessors on successors, and he indicates that this has "again and again been overlooked" (1957:32). However, if anything in the study of art has been overlooked, it would seem more to be the influence of the *contemporary* milieu, as a survey of art histories will reveal. The "historical styles" that Kroeber defines are concerned with patterns, but it seems unlikely that form, structure, and style can be understood in purely historical terms.

An example of the problems in attempting to deal with historical explanations of forms may be seen in Kroeber's reliance upon the "exhaustion" theory of artistic change. As Arnold Hauser has pointed out, exhaustion is an individual psychological characteristic and should not be attributed to any "superindividual" concept of culture (1958:22–29). People may indeed become tired of a style, but this seems to be rather more the result of changes in taste than an explanation for the changes. Further, very few styles of any complexity are in fact "exhausted," as the experience of the best forgers demonstrates. New combinations, new structures are always available within the rules of a style. In addition, it is difficult to see how the exhaustion theory can account for the long persistence of some styles and the short life of others.

Kroeber leaned toward these explanations for change at least partly because of his emphasis on form in the study of style. Thus a style was defined by a list of the component forms, whether the style was a limited ceramic tradition or a broadly defined style for a whole culture. In retrospect, it is easy to see that the whole of anthropology at this time had a typological bent. Anthropologists seem to have felt buried in masses of information, and classification promised to bring order out of chaos. In addition, many anthropologists at this time looked to the natural sciences for inspiration and attempted to create their own "Linnean" systems.

The most interesting specific studies of art styles by the "California School" of Kroeber and associates were done of archeological material. In this regard, Kroeber's study of the Peruvian Nazca pottery style (1956) is of interest because it is an example of what Kroeber meant by style and because of its influence on later students. Examination of the Nazca report bears out the formal bias shown in Kroeber's more theoretical writings. The main descriptive procedure was to analyze the representations into component parts and motifs and then to list these. There is little evidence of any attempt to define the larger patterns and the relationships of the parts. Yet in theory, Kroeber once did look beyond a mere catalogue of forms and elements; and he drew an explicit analogy between the patterning of styles and the grammar of a language (1957:106). Still, his specific analyses show little trace of this view.

More recent studies by scholars at the University of California at

Berkeley are similar to Kroeber's Nazca analysis. Menzel, Rowe, and Dawson's (1964) account of a local pottery style in the Paracas tradition is also primarily concerned with design features, particularly so far as these are "significant," i.e. useful for making chronological distinctions. As a result, the operation of the style at any one time is not apparent from the list of features. Even if the Paracas study was more concerned with culture history than with the style itself, it has stimulated considerable interest in forms and styles in American archeology.

Although the Paracas study was mostly concerned with the changes in styles through time, Rowe himself is also interested in the descriptions of styles at particular times. In one of a series of papers detailing a theoretical background for archeological studies of style, Rowe said that "the object is to write a sort of grammar of the style at a given time" (1959:323). However, Rowe's use of the word style has much to do with a tradition of themes and symbols, what has sometimes been called an "iconographic tradition." This is a perfectly acceptable usage, but there may be some advantages to defining styles more tightly since there may be considerable variation in structures that employ similar motifs and themes. What Rowe calls a "style phase" is perhaps closer to the concept of style defined in later parts of this article. The view that I take is that the structure is more important in defining a style than is the form.

The most complete attempt at Berkeley to define a style at a short period of time is Richard Roark's "From monumental to proliferous in Nazca pottery" (1965). This paper goes well beyond the listing of formal elements and makes some generalizations about the rules operating within a single "sub-style." Yet Roark's paper is not a complete description of the style, and it deals primarily with the relationship of the bands of decoration and color to the surrounding designs.

Roark's rules are stated in the following manner (followed by an explanation):

1.   b/—:1b   The structural unit band is realized visually in all positions as a line above a band.
2.   p#/b—:p   The bottom panel when it occurs below a black band, is realized visually as an unpainted panel.

The first figure before the diagonal is the structural unit. The expressions following the slash are the context in which the rule operates, and the final figure after the colon is the visual realization. Thus, the general form of the rules is S/C:V (structural unit/context: visual realization). Such rules are context sensitive rewrite rules like those of linguistics and are used to convert Roark's structural analyses into the form of the actual representation (visual realization) or vice versa. What Roark did not do was to state the rules that establish the underlying structures. A linguist

might say that he did not develop the "phrase markers" that describe the derivations and relationships of these strings of symbols.

As illustrated below, Roark presented a series of descriptions of vessels, each described in terms of both visual realization and the structural analysis obtained by application of rules such as those given below. Roark, however, did not similarly formalize the design themes, but concentrated on the alternation of bands of design. There is an analysis of the designs into components and features (1965:15–31).

There is little to be gained here by a detailed examination of the Nazca style(s), but typical descriptions of Nazca vessels are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Descriptions of Nazca vessels

	Visual realization	Structural analysis
4–8399	1P1b1b1b1P1bp	PbbbPbp
4–8401	1P*b*p	P*b*P

Comparison of the structural analyses of these two vessels alone strongly suggests that there are further generalizations that might be made about these structures, and an examination of other structural descriptions strengthens this feeling. For example, the alternation of the symbol P with other symbols seems to be patterned in some way on a deeper level, particularly if, as seems to be the case, the intervening symbols can be predicted from their position. Even a partial attempt to structurally describe a style is of great interest and importance, however.

The actual existence of a "California School" of aesthetics centered around Kroeber is debatable, but there are certain important similarities among these people and many of their contemporaries. One of the most important similarities is the great emphasis on form rather than upon structure. A second major emphasis is that upon change through time rather than upon descriptions of styles at particular times. Roark's work, of course, does not share these traits to the same degree.

Other Anthropologists and Art

So far a lot of the discussion has been about archeological studies. This is partly because anthropologists in general have so much human behavior to study while archeologists as a group simply have to deal with the material goods that they recover. Also, it is my belief that the archeologists who have studied art and artifacts have been slightly more concerned to build models, however poor, to account for differences and changes in style. Many of the generalizations made by archeologists may be quite

inadequate in terms of accounting for creativity, but at least they represent attempts to come to grips with the problem.

It is not derogatory to point out that other anthropologists studying art have, generally speaking, been concerned more with the relationship of the art to the larger cultural system than with the internal operation of the stylistic system itself. The interrelationship of art and culture is an exceedingly important problem, but it is no *more* important than understanding how particular cultural systems operate. The two problems are actually two sides of the same coin, but it is only natural that two kinds of theory are developed to deal with each aspect. This work is more concerned with the theory of style, but in the long run better understanding of the role of art in human cultures will aid in understanding the internal operation of the style, just as the opposite is true.

Because of the difference in emphasis and because of lack of time and space, it would be impossible to list more than a few examples of the large number of studies of particular styles and areas. Gerbrands, for example, has worked with artistic traditions in both Africa (1957) and in New Guinea (1967). Detailed analyses of dance have been undertaken (Kurath and Martí 1964). Lomax's studies of song are justifiably well known (1968). Some interesting means for describing designs and features have been developed in graphic arts as well as in song and dance. Philip Dark has presented a notational device for recording the content of Mixtec codices (1958) and has also developed means of recording traits of Benin bronze works from Nigeria on computer punch cards (1967:137–140). A similar but somewhat less complex device for recording information on sorting cards was used by Bill Holm in his superb study, *Northwest Coast Indian art* (1965). Holm's book is of more than passing interest since he has shown examples of how forms are combined to create new designs. Although Holm's description of the style is not highly formalized in its presentation, the quality of the analysis provides a foundation upon which such treatments should be based.

Actually most of the examples given here deal to some extent with the nature of the style itself. In many cases, the major concern has been to provide a means of recording information for storage and retrieval. In addition to these studies cited, the classification system which J. C. Gardin has developed for archeological materials should also be mentioned (1958, 1967).

Ethnoscience, in Passing

If most anthropologists concerned with art have not developed elaborate structural descriptions and generalizations, at least one group of an-

thropologists has been concerned with formal descriptions of "native" world views. To some extent, this approach, called "ethnoscience," grew out of the natural concern over the apparent inability of anthropologists to duplicate each other's results in separate studies of the same peoples. In the early development of ethnoscience, perhaps more attention was paid to elaboration of "discovery procedures" and techniques of study than to the definition of goals (see Chomsky 1963:55, and elsewhere; Burling 1970:43–44). Certainly, more recent discussions such as Burling's (1970) show greater awareness of the need for placing descriptive statements within a larger, overall theoretical context. Though many criticisms have been made of the "accuracy" of many of the kinship "grammars" and other formal semantic models (examples of these include Lounsbury 1965; Kernan 1965; Durbin 1970; Bock 1967), the actual correctness of these models is not so important as the fact that they represent attempts to make deeper level structural generalizations. This represents a real advance over earlier, typological treatments of human culture.

Ethnoscience has made, and shows every sign of continuing to make, important contributions to anthropology. First, attention has been drawn to the formal and structural similarities among linguistic and other cultural systems. This is not a new idea, and Pike (1967) and others deserve much credit for attacking the problem of dealing with a unified theory of culture. Goodenough has also stressed this important theoretical issue (1967, 1970). Second, the ethnoscientists have developed and used techniques such as componential analysis that have shown the need for more detailed and finer analyses. If ethnoscience has sometimes been either paradigmatic or taxonomic, there is plenty of evidence that ethnoscience as a field is going beyond mere descriptive goals in seeking to account for cognitive process. There remains the question of whether the surface distinctions yielded by componential analysis can be taken as indicative of deeper cognitive processes.

Generative Aesthetics

Others besides the ethnoscientists have also been interested in the application of formal models. It is difficult to discern any "school" among these individual workers, but many of them have constructed formal, "generative" statements for various graphic materials. So far as I can determine, the earliest of these is an analysis of Chinese characters by B. K. Rankin and his associates at the National Bureau of Standards (Rankin et al. 1965; Rankin 1965). In this study, grammars like those used in linguistics were developed to account for the present corpus of Chinese characters as well as predicting well-formed new characters.

Rankin's dissertation (1965) goes further than the published report in accounting for the known body of characters, but both studies are interesting examples of how a graphic cultural system may be described in terms of rules. The entire approach seems to have been stimulated by the earlier paper by Russell A. Kirsch who was also at the National Bureau of Standards (1964). In this paper procedures for dealing with text and pictures by the same algorithm were proposed. Another development of picture "grammars" at the National Bureau of Standards which was stimulated by Rankin's work was William C. Watt's earlier study of Nevada cattlebrands (1966).

Both Rankin's and Watt's statements in their earlier forms were of the sort called "phrase structure" grammars by linguists (see a discussion of this in Chomsky 1963:26–48). This simply means that all the rules take the form "rewrite the symbol x as symbol y." Difficulties with the restrictions of this form of rule, later led Watt to expand his grammar to include "transformational" rules as well (1967). Transformational rules look very much like phrase structure rules, but they refer to the derivational history of symbols in a way that is impossible with phrase structure rules alone. Watt has called the kinds of structural statement that he and Rankin have written "iconic" grammars. The usual meaning of *iconic* indicates that the signs share certain properties with what they denote (Morris 1939:136); but, since the line between iconic and noniconic signs is exceedingly difficult to draw (Rudner 1951:70), it may be forgiven if the term "iconic grammar" is sometimes used to indicate any generative grammar dealing with sign and design. In any case, the term is certainly appropriate for the Nevada cattlebrands and many of the Chinese characters, if not for other materials for which similar grammars have been written.

My own grammars for prehistoric artifacts from the southeastern United States were developed during this same period (Muller 1966) and form the basis for much of the discussion in the next section. In addition, Faris has recently (1972) published descriptions of Nuba body painting along the lines laid out by Watt.

PART THREE: A THEORY OF STYLE IN ART

Background

The concepts of style and creativity are so intimately linked to each other that it is impossible to account for them separately. Both aestheticians and anthropologists have tried to describe styles, and many have seen the need for some overall kind of theoretical framework, but there is little agreement on how this is to be done in a practical way. In this section, I

will outline a theory that seems to me to have promise in accounting for creativity and style.

The word *creativity* also requires clarification, in that it applies not only to outstanding and novel artistic acts, but to virtually every aspect of art except for the simplest copying. In this sense, creativity refers to the ability of an artist or craftsman to formulate combinations within the rules of a style. Usually these combinations will also be novel, if for no other reason than that so many permutations are possible within a style that exact patterns are only rarely repeated. Nonetheless, the work of art or other artistic creation will clearly be a part of the style within whose rules the artist has worked. In the same way, it is a fair bet that the sentence, "Wilbur is a demented pollywog," has not occurred very frequently in English speech, but it can still be immediately recognized as English and its meaning pretty well grasped by all native speakers of English. Just as there are an infinite number of sentences possible in English, so there are probably an infinite number of paintings possible within the impressionist style, even though only a small percentage of these were actually painted (to be sure a number of "impressionist" paintings were done *after* the style had lost its interest). Of course, human mortality places certain restrictions on the extent to which a style may realize its theoretical potential.

Even though all cultural actions involve some kind of "creativity," the term in our culture is often reserved just for those cases in which a new *set* of rules has been created. This is the reason that so much attention is given in European culture to the problem of innovation. For all that, much creative action is not strikingly innovative in the sense of providing important changes in the rules people use to control their actions.

Biology, Psychology, and Art

The biological and psychological nature of man does not determine particular art styles. Nonetheless, there are important biological and psychological limitations on art just as there are on other aspects of human behavior (Chapple 1970). The fact that man has two hands rather than four makes a great difference in the way we manipulate forms. The very fact that we have hands at all, rather than tentacles, certainly makes our visual arts different than they might otherwise be. Aside from these obvious considerations, there are indications of a close relationship between man's physical nature and his behavior. There is, for example, a considerable amount of data that suggest (but do not prove conclusively) that the primary acquisition of culture systems is intimately linked to biological maturation (Lenneberg 1967). Some kind of biological basis for learning of particular behavior systems has been suggested for many

animals (see, for example, Tinbergen 1953). This had led to a considerable refinement in the concept of instinct, particularly in the case of the phenomenon known as "imprinting." Studies have suggested that there are critical times for the acquisition of particular behaviors in a given animal. It is not easy to see whether there are similar critical times in the learning of human behavior without experimentation. Clinical evidence, however, does suggest that speech disorders resulting from brain damage may be largely irreversible after puberty. Data on deprived children also support the idea of puberty as a kind of watershed in the acquisition of language and probably in other areas of human behavior as well (see for summaries Lenneberg 1967; Brown 1958). Although linguists sometimes tend to treat language as completely separate from culture, it seems likely that these systems are closely related to one another in behavior and biology (see Miller 1964; Miller and Chomsky 1963: 486).

Learning, of course, does not cease with the onset of puberty, but it may be that later learning is somewhat different from that which takes place before puberty. A young child will learn a language or any other behavioral system largely by simply being exposed to the actions of other human beings, but adults seem to require more in the way of active coaching and instruction to acquire such skills. Much more needs to be done in investigating such differences as may exist between childhood and adult learning, and it may be that adult learning is usually based on behavioral systems acquired earlier in life. Such an idea seems to be implicit in the emphasis sometimes placed by psychologists upon the early environment and learning experience.

All normal children seem to go through similar stages in the acquisition of language (C. Chomsky 1969) and other behavior (Piaget 1967). This similarity is in itself strong evidence for some innate basis for human behavior. In some way, the child takes the chaotic swirl of his environment and systematizes it. It does not seem reasonable that this takes place through simple learning of the probabilities of some events following others. In the case of langauge, only a part of the total behavior repertoire, Miller and Chomsky estimate that the child would have to learn the values of at least 10^9 parameters to acquire language in this way. This would obviously be rather difficult in a childhood lasting only some 10^8 seconds (Miller and Chomsky 1963:430). There is no reason to suppose that the learning of nonlinguistic behavior involves fewer variables.

Unlike many of the cultural systems learned as a child, art styles are rarely acquired in any full sense until later in life. This implies that a device postulated to account for the acquisition of art styles may have to be different from models accounting for childhood learning. Yet as indicated above, the styles of art seem to be built upon other systems of behavior that are acquired very early. This is perhaps clearest in the case

of poetry which appears to add artistic conventions to those used in normal speech.[1]

In the same way, visual art styles build upon the rules that have already been learned in childhood that deal with the uses and perception of space, form, and structure.

Though the unity of language and the rest of culture have been emphasized here, some people have maintained that language is different in kind from other subsystems. For example, it has been suggested the language is "digital" in character like an adding machine, while the remainder of culture is "analogical" (like a slide rule) (Sebeok 1962). It is a little difficult to see how this distinction can be maintained in any rigid way, however. For one thing it has not really been demonstrated that the units of language are quite discrete and that other behavior is continuous or variable in the way that this distinction suggests. Moreover, study of the communication systems of other primates has not yet shown these to be analogical in character (Altmann 1967:343). Indeed, these studies seem to suggest that nonhuman communication systems do not conform to preconceptions about a distinction between analogical and digital systems:

Thus for bees, and doubtless for the communication systems of other animals as well, the question of whether the system is digital or analogical is a false antithesis. Such systems are digital systems in which one or more components function analogically. This is comparable to a computer that can measure and can then count the things that it has measured (Altmann 1967:343).

Even if only human communication is considered, there is still some confusion as to the criteria necessary to distinguish digital and analogous systems in human beings. One is tempted to wonder whether the difficulty here is not in a confusion of actual human actions on the one hand and the underlying patterning on the other. In any event, speech has many analogical features and does not consist totally of discrete and arbitrary sounds. Similarly, though nonlinguistic behavior may seem to show a continuous array of messages and responses, this may not be a true and valid portrayal of the way that such actions are conceived of by the actor.

There are also many problems that arise when one attempts to analyze human behavior on any simple kind of stimulus–response model. Chomsky's review (1959) of Skinner's major work on language, *Verbal behavior*, details many of these problems. A more recent restatement by Chomsky is also a very interesting comment on the behaviorist view of man (Chomsky 1972). Perhaps the greatest difficulty in applying S–R

[1] It is important to note that only these additional "rules" are called "stylistic" by linguists. The sense of style as it is used here is that the description of the poetic style would have to include *all* the rules necessary for production of poetry in that style.

models to complex human behavior is that many human actions (and many nonhuman actions as well) show evidence of "planning," i.e. of situations where earlier actions seem to depend on later events (for example, Lenneberg 1967:98ff.). The behaviorist answers to this problem seem to involve such elaborate discussions of some sort of internal environment in which S–R actions are taking place that it is difficult to see how these explanations differ in this respect from other models postulating internal mental states. At any rate, there does seem to be a need for something called the "mind," but admitting this does not necessarily make one an "idealist." The "mind" is something that can be explained in terms of physical processes in the human nervous system (Calder 1970). In the meantime, it is necessary to postulate the mechanisms that operate within the mind (or constitute the mind!). On no account, however, should the formal models proposed to account for human behavior be confused with the actual psychological character of humankind. Models and hypotheses are tools to be used in investigating phenomena, not final presentations of reality.

At this point the old distinction between mind and body has to be considered. While there are good reasons to see the mind/body dichotomy as overdrawn, there are some differences that are important. On the one hand, there is the actual human behavior that can be observed, and, with the proper instruments, even measured. What we see around us is the operation of the human body. A model which seeks to account for human abilities on this level can be thought of as a "performance model." On the lowest level such a model will have to account for the physical limitations of the actor. A person with disabilities, for example, will be unable to perform certain actions in the normal way. Further, the performance model will have to account for certain psychological limitations of actual behavior, so that it becomes plain that the performance model cannot be thought of solely in terms of a model explaining the "body."

On the other hand, there is the additional problem, which has been touched upon above, of accounting for the ability to create the basic patterns and structures that underlie the observable actions of human beings. Models which deal with this problem may be called "competence" models. Every performance model will have to include some form of competence model in its formulation, but it is less clear what restrictions will have to be placed on the character of competence models. Ultimately, competence models need to be compatible with well-grounded theories about human psychology; but, at the moment, psychology does not place very important restrictions on the form that a competence model can take.

When an attempt is made to describe and account for the actual behavior of an individual or society, the distinctions between perfor-

mance and competence begin to blur. Our only view of competence is through the filter of performance. Some idea of the difficulties that arise from this may be seen in the effect of limitations on human short-term memory (Miller 1964:32; Miller and Chomsky 1963:467). The ability of an individual to actually create or perceive complex behavior may be limited by a lack of "computing space," but this does not mean that a competence model has to take this into account. For one thing, the memory capacity can be extended by artificial means, such as writing. In this one instance, at least, the analogy between human beings and electronic computers is good. Computers can be programmed to do certain kinds of things, but in some instances actual operation of these programs will exceed the memory capacity allotted to the program. This does not necessarily mean that the original program must be changed, since additional memory capacity can be allotted in many cases.

If performance models are rather severely restricted by our knowledge of human memory and mind, this is not true of the restrictions that must be placed on competence models. In general terms, it is possible to agree with Chomsky's view that our formal grammars are metaphors of what happens in the human brain (1968).

One possible source of error in the view which is taken in human psychology and in linguistics must be mentioned, however. There is a tendency to concentrate on just a few cultures and peoples in the analysis of behavior. Particularly in linguistics there is an idea that the ability of a particular generalization to account for more than one case may override inelegance in its formulation. This is perfectly acceptable provided that the sample in which the sharings are found is truly representative. If the sample is not representative, there may be a tendency to misinterpret historical relationships as bio-psychological universals. Also, as Western Europeans in culture, we tend to look at the world with particular biases.

In many ways, cultural universals may bear the same kind of relationship to particular cultures that, say, the laws of electronics bear to the particular programs used in computers. In this sense, cultural universals and psychology are much the same. There are lower level universals, however, that have much to say about the operation of human beings. For example, Berlin and Kay (1969) have shown some very interesting universals in the classification of colors. It is particularly important for theories of art to verify Berlin and Kay's findings that people everywhere divide the spectrum up into the same kinds of units. That is to say that if an informant is asked to indicate the "best" red or yellow, most people in most cultures around the world will choose very nearly the same colors for these names. Further, a very interesting pattern was discovered. Different cultures have different numbers of basic color terms, but Berlin and Kay were able to establish that if a culture has only three basic color terms, those three basic terms will always be black, white, and red. If four

basic terms are present, these will always be the three given above with the addition of green. Much more work needs to be done before these color distinctions can be established definitely as an evolutionary sequence followed in the past, however.

So far, attention has been focused on some of the many problems encountered in the investigation of the biological basis for culture in general and art styles in particular. At this stage of development, it would be presumptuous to speak of conclusions since so little space can be devoted here to such an immense subject. Still, certain postulates can be stated. First, however, the term *concept* must be defined as the understanding of the relationships between elements.

1. A model of behavior must ultimately incorporate some mechanism in the organism for concept formation and use.

2. Concept formation and use is based in developed rules or decision-making processes.

3. Stimuli to concept formation and use come from the external (physical) environment and the internal (phenomenological) environment.

4. There are genetic limitations on human concept formation.

Some of these postulates deal with limitations that are of more importance to performance models than to competence models, of course. At any rate, the emphasis here is on building on the second postulate, with the realization that a complete biological and cultural model of man's behavior will have to expand and clarify all of these postulates.

In addition, there is a great deal of evidence to suggest that the formation and use of concepts in human beings is rarely, if ever, completely conscious. Thus, an artist will not know why he has used a particular combination of forms, but he will almost always know whether it is "right" or not, that is to say, whether it is an acceptable combination of elements. Ruth Bunzel's (1929) study of Pueblo potters which was discussed above illustrates this point very nicely. Similarly, in language, "Wilbur is a demented pollywog" is immediately recognizable as an English sentence yet relatively few English speakers could explain what kinds of structural reasons there are for this. However, it should be recognized that "acceptability" is a performance criterion and is not equivalent to the idea of "grammatical" (Chomsky 1965:11). However, as I have said earlier, the data of performance are the starting point for analyses of competence (cf. Chomsky 1965:4). So it is that the ability of artists to innovate within the limits of a style, to judge and appraise works of art, and to do so without clear and explicit, consciously defined procedures, suggests that it is going to be necessary to deal with "mentalistic" models in describing human behavior. It is a basic tenet of this article that artistic behavior cannot be separated from the rest of human behavior without doing violence to both art and culture. I have tried to suggest some of the ideas that seem to me to support a search for some kind of

"unified theory" of human behavior. To propose that human behavior is to be broken up into a series of completely separate or only distantly related compartments is frankly incomprehensible to me and I have not been convinced by any arguments suggesting this to be the case. It seems only reasonable to me to start with the initial hypothesis of cultural unity, and to investigate whether this yields interesting and important insights into behavior. To be sure, all human behavior is *not* identical; what I am talking about is the *homology* of organization in culture. Artistic systems and languages probably do not operate in exactly the same ways, but the basic kinds of structures used in each system of behavior are probably of the same nature.

Creativity and Adequacy

The previous section outlined some postulates for artistic theory and described creativity in terms of the "competence" of an artist. Three questions were raised: (1) what is the basis of creative competence? (2) how is this ability used? and (3) how is such an ability acquired? In that section, the emphasis was on the biological and psychological bases of creative ability. In this section, emphasis will be placed on the adequacy of various approaches to the problem.

Adequacy is no small problem, because a description can be reasonably adequate on one level and yet fail by other criteria. In developing his argument for transformational grammars in linguistics, Chomsky described three levels of adequacy that are useful in judging other cultural models as well (1964:28ff; 1965:24–27).

The lowest level of adequacy simply requires that the description should present the data. The "observational" adequacy may be achieved by a complete listing of the data, but it is obvious that this kind of presentation cannot hope to account for the creative aspects of any system. This is particularly true because of the impossibility of ever listing the entire output of an ongoing cultural system. No matter how long a list of the content of a style may seem to be, it cannot hope to include all the forms a style may allow unless the style is extraordinarily simple.

Attempts to define styles taxonomically usually fail to achieve observational adequacy because the classification criteria chosen must ignore so many dimensions of variability. This is particularly true when stylistic types are defined on the idea of some kind of "mean" or "ideal." Even more sophisticated applications of mathematical and computer-assisted devices for classification still have to suppress some kinds of variation in favor of other variables that are defined as "significant" for some purpose. In describing actual human cultural systems, any typology that tried to be all-inclusive would probably end up as an infinite series of types,

each type including just one specimen. This is because most actual art works are unique in nontrivial ways. In fact, typologies are really very low level rules (for the reduction of complexity in data) normally taking the form: Object (or event) x is a member of class A if and only if object x possesses the feature a (and feature a itself may be a class of features). The net effect of this kind of rule is to take a collection of objects — x, y, and z — with the features, respectively, of abc, ab, and bc and to indicate that x and y are members of class A while z is not. As valuable as this may be for some purposes, there is no way to recover the information that x also possessed the feature c while y did not without setting up another series of classifications reflecting the presence or absence of each feature. To put it another way, it is possible to go from a group of objects to a class, but it is not possible to go back the other way in this type of rule. Since typologies can only achieve observational adequacy on a very low level of generalization, there is good reason for restricting the role of typology in descriptions of human behavior. Typologies are necessary and useful in the description of human behavior, but they are not sufficient.

A higher level of adequacy involves achieving accurate generalizations concerning the competence of the artist or any other kind of actor in human behavior (see Chomsky 1965:24ff.). Claims that typological treatments do account for the "behavior" of the artist have been made, most notably in archeology (Spaulding 1954). Similar claims for taxonomic descriptions have been made in the relatively new field of ethnoscience (see Burling [1970:44] and elsewhere for a discussion of the problem; also see Geoghegan [1971:56] for a more recent, less typological treatment).

A descriptively adequate statement must represent structural information in such a way that it allows the analyst to predict "acceptable" actions in an artistic system, that is to say, that the competence of the artist must be accounted for, not that the actual performance of the artist is predicted. Typologies alone do not seem capable of providing descriptively adequate statements. Suppose, for example, that there are art styles using only two elements, "+" and "/". A type defined on the presence of these two elements would include all of the following combinations (adapted from Chomsky and Miller 1963:285):

1. $+/$, $++//$. $+++///$, . . .
2. $++$, $//$, $+//+$, $/++/$, $++++$, $////$, . . .
3. $++$, $//$, $+/+/$, $++/++/$, . . .

Yet there are clear differences between the different strings. Even if some more sophisticated classification were developed, no description would be descriptively adequate unless it recognized relationships such as the following: each of the individual expressions above (separated by commas) in (1) consists of n occurrences of "+" followed by n occur-

rences of "/"; in (2) consists of a string of elements followed by a "mirror image" of X; and in (3) consists of a string Z followed by the same string Z.

While it would be possible to call such structural descriptions "types," it is certainly a departure from the normal use of that word in anthropology. Whatever descriptions using specification of structures may be called, they are different from the typologies used by anthropologists up until now. At least one of the reasons for the differences between structural and typological models has been the different purposes for which they have been created. Types usually have been set up to allow *recognition* of material while structural descriptions have attempted to account for material (see Narasimhan 1969:29–30).

In any event, the definition of some kind of statistical mean or mode, or even some kind of "ideal" for the expressions in (1), (2), and (3) above can be seen as a fruitless task. The important thing is that these expressions are patterned and no description will succeed if it only deals with the parts. The whole is much more than a list of the components. To restate this conclusion in terms of art, it can be seen that no analysis of form alone — of element, motif, and even theme — can hope to account for the *structure* of the style.

Unfortunately, there can be more than one "grammar" or formal, structural description that can account for the same data. This means that the mere demonstration that an account is descriptively adequate does not prove that it is the only "right" account of the data. Accordingly, there must be some way of deciding which of the alternative grammars is to be considered the "best." The kind of metatheory that allows this decision to be made is what Chomsky calls "explanatory adequacy." Explanatory adequacy is achieved by placing additional restrictions beyond those required for observational and descriptive adequacy. It is the extent to which a model can meet these restrictions that determines the choice between one model and another. Many of these restrictions are those of general scientific philosophy, while others are more limited in their applications. In general, the attainment of explanatory adequacy requires that the model shall be as simple as is consistent with the other aspects of the general theory. Further, the model should not violate the limitations placed on the theory by our knowledge of human psychology. As indicated above, however, short-term memory limitations on performance do not place restrictions on the form of a competence model. Indeed, it will prove very difficult to distinguish those psychological restrictions affecting performance from those affecting competence. Further, an extremely elegant grammar which worked well in computers but seemed to violate what we know about the operation of the human mind would be rejected. In this sense, "simplicity" takes on a rather special meaning in the metatheory.

As I have said above, it is possible that human psychology may some day impose very important and heavy restrictions on the nature of formal descriptions of cultural events, perhaps even so great as to specify the very character of the grammar. At present, however, these restrictions are not great. Not least for this reason, no current grammar should be taken to represent the actual operation of the human mind.

Rules and the Description of Competence, Part One

Up to this point, only very general restrictions on the description of a system have been discussed. The most important restriction is that a description must minimally consist of a collection of parts and an account for the organization of the parts. Thus, a grammar must have two sections: a listing of the minimal elements and a set of rules that combine the elements into more complex units. Essentially this will be a taxonomy of forms (in art) and an algebra of connections. Although the next section presents some suggestions for discovering these relationships and parts, the goal is not to define the method but to define the general theory. Once the general theory is defined, the discovery procedures will easily follow. Unfortunately, the reverse is not true. Every method has certain theoretical assumptions implicit within it. If the theory is not clear, these implicit assumptions will direct the research to goals that may have little relationship to the ends desired.

One of the problems of theory is "simplicity." Although there is no easy way to set up overall criteria for elegance, some attempts have been made in ethnoscience to define mathematically a measure of elegance (Boyd 1971). As always, however, the attractiveness of such a solutions depends upon the degree to which one is willing to accept certain assumptions. If elegance is to be defined mathematically, it is important to remember that the overall simplicity of the formal description must be considered. For example, an extremely elegant and simple description of form would be of little use if it required an awkward and inelegant statement of the structures. In any event, the task of establishing criteria for elegance is a staggering one if it is undertaken without reference to particular problems (see, for example, Chomsky 1965:37ff.).

As indicated, the basic form of a grammar is a listing of elements and a set of rules showing the relationships of the elements. The elements themselves may be represented by symbols such as $a, b, c, \ldots$ These symbols may occur alone or in strings, $a+b+c+ \ldots$ The rules take the form

$$\varphi \rightarrow \psi$$

where φ and ψ are symbols or strings of symbols of the nature of a or b.

The arrow, → , is understood as "rewritten as." It is also necessary to distinguish between those symbols that can be rewritten and those that cannot — the former are written with capital letters while the "terminal" symbols are indicated by lower case letters. In addition, the grammar made up of these rules must have an initial or "start" symbol, S, from which the rules begin.

By using these kinds of rules and symbols it is possible to write a grammar for an art style that is "generative." "Generative" simply means that the grammar assigns a structural description to combinations of elements. One of the simple, artificial styles discussed earlier in this section can illustrate how such a grammar works. The first style was made up of the strings

$+/, ++//, +++///, \ldots$

These can be characterized as consisting of some number, x, of crosses followed by x number of slashes. This can be described in rules as

1. $S \rightarrow ab$
2. $S \rightarrow aSb$

where S stands for a given string of elements, and a stands for + and b for /. By starting with the symbol S in rule 1, ab (+/) is derived. This is the minimal combination of elements. If more complex strings are to be derived, then it is necessary to go through something like the following:

aSb — by rule 2 above
$aaSbb$ — again by rule 2, S is rewritten as aSb
$aaaSbbb$ — again by rule 2
$aaaabbbb$ — by rule 1, $S \rightarrow ab$

This final string can be converted into the cross and slash combination, $++++////$, by formal rules that state $a = +, b = /$.

This example illustrates some of the ways that rules can account for the structure, but it is not my intention to present a textbook on how to write generative grammars. What is important is to realize that rules provide a clear way of presenting structural data about styles in art and other behavioral systems.

However, there are restrictions that must be observed in writing rules of this kind. For one thing, there must always be only one symbol on the left of the arrow and one or more symbols on the right. The reason for this may be clearer if the derivation is displayed graphically (see Figure 1).

If the string aSb were allowed on the left of the arrow, it would be impossible to tell whether the later ab derived solely from S or whether in some fashion from a, b, or all three symbols! It would be impossible to derive a unique chain of derivation if such rules were allowed.

The type of grammar discussed so far is called a "phrase-structure" or
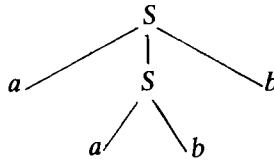
Figure 1. Graphic representation of structural data

"PS" grammar because it deals with the structures of constituents. A more detailed discussion of this kind of grammar may be found in Chomsky (1963:§3, §4) and in Hopcraft and Ullman (1969).

Although there are general problems in using phrase-structure grammars to describe human behavioral systems, the pressing question here is how well these kinds of grammar can do in the description of art, and particularly, visual arts. The answer is very well, indeed. In the study of Chinese characters referred to at the end of Part Two, Rankin, Sillars, and Hsu's phrase-structure grammar was able to account for some 80 percent of the Chinese characters in the dictionary (Rankin, Sillars, and Hsu 1965:6). Slightly later, Rankin was able to refine this until he had accounted for all but 300 characters in the dictionary (Rankin 1965), but there may be some question as to whether Rankin's later grammar is completely phrase-structural. In both grammars many characters which do not occur in the dictionary were generated. Nonetheless, these characters were generally acceptable to native users of Chinese characters. This is reasonable, since any description on performance and competence must go beyond the data at hand.

Despite the undoubted usefulness of phrase-structure grammars, there are problems that arise as the system being described becomes more and more complex. Under these circumstances, simple phrase-structure grammars become less elegant. As the grammar becomes more complex, the grammar becomes less adequate in descriptive and explanatory terms. Chomsky (1963) and others have shown that simple phrase-structure grammars in linguistics fail to account for actual sentences on an observational level. If rules (context-sensitive) such as $A \rightarrow w$, in the context, $\varphi-\psi$ are allowed, certain problems of observational adequacy can be solved (Chomsky 1965:61). Even then, there remain problems of descriptive and explanatory adequacy (Chomsky 1965:61). If linguists seem to have good reason to look beyond the theory of even context-sensitive phrase-structure grammars, it remains unclear to what extent these models fail in accounting for visual and graphic systems. For one thing, art styles are often simpler than languages. However, there are some art styles that seem to be at least as complex as natural languages. In other cases, the apparent simplicity of an art style may be more the result of restrictions on performance than of limitations in artistic competence.

Thus, in the case of the Chinese characters mentioned above, the constraints that forbid certain kinds of complexity may more properly be thought of as belonging to the sphere of performance than as restrictions that must be accounted for in the competence model.

Nonetheless, some simple artistic systems may be finite in the strict sense of the term and can be described within the limits of phrase-structure grammars, or perhaps even by the still weaker grammars known as "finite-state" grammars. Even in these cases, however, it is necessary to remember that more complex styles do exist which do call for the use of more powerful grammars. Art styles cannot be isolated arbitrarily from the culture in which they occur and there is ample reason to believe that this larger system does require very complex explanations.

Rules and the Description of Competence, Part Two

If simple phrase-structure rules are not always adequate, and if context-sensitive rules still do not meet the demands of explanatory and descriptive adequacy, there are other kinds of rules that can be used. There are a number of factors that motivate the use of these different kinds of rules. One of these has already been hinted at in this discussion. Simple phrase-structure rules and grammars, while demonstrably inadequate for handling some human behavioral systems, have the attractive feature of being relatively simple and working rather well for the material they do cover. The addition of context-sensitive rules can solve many of the problems of adequacy, but unfortunately, these stronger PS grammars tend to be less satisfying from the viewpoint of generalization. For example, in the material that will be used below as an example, the difference between a set of three chevrons and the use of three parallel straight lines may be described in terms of the immediate environment or context of the form, but to do so obscures the underlying structural similarity in the use of such elements. Many times, moreover, there are good reasons to feel that the use of an element is not so much dependent on its immediate environment as it is upon the chain of derivation of the elements. To deal with this chain of derivation with phrase-structure kinds of rules at best would be cumbersome, and at worst impossible. In addition, the use of a large number of context-sensitive rules may obscure more general relationships, based more on derivational history than upon immediate context. In short, although the use of purely phrase-structure rules for artistic systems might not be impossible, such rules seem to account for our understandings of art in very clumsy ways, and at the expense of descriptive and explanatory adequacy. As already indicated, the attempts to describe graphic systems with phrase-structure rules have seemed to

involve other kinds of rules either implicitly or at later stages in the work (Rankin 1965; Watt, 1967).

A more compelling reason to use more complex types of rules lies in the relationship among various elements in a style. Often, two artistic expressions may be very similar on a surface level but may have substantially different underlying structures. In other cases there may be several simultaneous and different readings of the same representation. This latter phenomenon is common in religious art where the same artistic sign may be read as implying a whole series of different symbols, all at the same time (e.g. Turner 1962). Further, there are many cases of quite different realizations of symbols that have the same underlying structure and source. In the example which follows in the next section there are cases of this kind. In general, situations like these call out for at least two levels of rules; one set to deal with the basic structures and the other set of rules to provide a pathway between the basic structures and the actual chains which may be postulated for surface differences. It should be remembered, however, that these surface structures are *not* the actual art objects but abstractions.

Finally, certain examples of ambiguity in art are classic instances of "optical illusions" which represent cases of surface structures with two or more "deep structure" readings. The fact is that the necessity for a different kind of rule in the formulation of "picture grammars" cannot presently be supported so strongly as it is in linguistics. Still, the presence of various kinds of surface–deep level ambiguities and the complexity of statements that do not use other kinds of rules weakly support the creation of a different level of rules for the description of art styles (see Clowes 1969; Watt 1967; Narasimhan 1963). Examples of the kind of pictorial symbols that require at least two levels of structure may be found in religious symbolism. In such cases the ambiguities may be purposeful. Victor Turner's discussions of the ritual symbolism of the Ndembu give many examples of these dignified, nonlinguistic "puns" (1962). Among the Ndembu, white sap may simultaneously symbolize milk, semen, and other items of significance. In the art styles discussed in the next chapter there are representations that probably symbolize a snake (or snake-like mythological figure) and a cross at one and the same time. In examples such as these, different underlying meanings are represented at the surface level by the same symbols. It should be clear that a simple analysis of the surface representations cannot account for this kind of pictorial symbolism. The immediate environment of an element in a design may have less to do with its form than does the chain of derivation necessary to account for the form.

A much weaker argument for the acceptance of rules that take derivational history into account is the demonstrated necessity for such rules in descriptions of other cultural systems such as language. Of course, the

question of the unity of the systems underlying human behavior is not yet satisfactorily answered, but it seems rather extreme to deny that kinds of rules that are well established in the study of language are somehow impossible in the description of other cultural systems.

What kinds of rules are these and how do they operate? In outward form, these rules are similar to the phrase-structure rules that is, they take the following form:

$$\varphi \rightarrow \psi$$

Here, however, these symbols do not stand for the strings of symbols represented in phrase-structure rules, but rather for what are called the "phrase markers" (see Chomsky and Miller 1963:297–300), that is to say, the derivational chain of the phrase-structure rules. These kinds of rules reach into and reorganize the structures of the phrase-structure derivations. The major function of these transformational rules is to provide a kind of "bridge" between the deeper structures provided by the phrase-structure portion of the grammar and the surface level structures of the actual forms. In addition, the transformational component of a grammar can be used to provide information on restrictions on distribution. This kind of distribution specification can allow a context-free phrase-structure component.

It should be noted in passing, that there is considerable debate among linguists of the generative schools about the place and importance of transformations. This is particularly true insofar as the relation of syntax to meaning is poorly understood. As Chomsky has pointed out, "No area of linguistic theory is more veiled in obscurity and confusion" (1972:75–76). The importance of this discussion to the use of the generative approach in nonlinguistic areas is not clear. In this sense, the extent to which semantic interpretation in art, for example, is comparable to the semantics of language is both unresolved and very important. To some extent, there are some kinds of restrictions that linguists have put upon the form of their rules that seem to derive from the relatively narrow range of phenomena studied by linguists. For example, Lakoff (1968) has rejected the idea of "mirror image" rules in linguistics, but the nature of symmetry in graphic materials at the very least strongly suggests that this kind of rule is acceptable in the description of such systems. In any event, any person wishing to describe nonlinguistic phenomena in generative terms must be extremely cautious. No doubt many of the restrictions placed on the nature of rules by the linguists will prove to be valid for all cultural systems. The study of art styles in terms of competence models is very new. The formal systems employed by linguists are certainly the inspiration for this attempt, but the generative study of art is not simply a branch of transformational linguistics. The linguists who have struggled with the theoretical and practical problems of generative linguistics have

often done so without full attention at all to the possibility that adequate linguistic models may be impossible without also taking the remainder of human behavior into account. Blind acceptance of linguistic approaches may, therefore, lead to very real problems. At the same time, these reservations refer to the particular kinds of rules rather than to the logic of the algebra as such.

So far two levels of rules have been proposed. The first level consists of phrase-structure rules that operate on strings of symbols. The second level consists of rules that operate on the chains of derivation to produce surface structures. With these distinctions in mind, an outline of the nature of a grammar can be presented, but the very important question of meaning must be set aside for the time being in order to do this. A "grammar" should minimally have the following components:

1. A listing of the basic forms and elements that are used in the system;

2. rules that account for various kinds of regularities that are present among the elements of Part One;

3. a context-free, phrase-structure grammar to account for the basic organization of the system; and

4. transformational rules for mapping the output of Part Three into surface structures.

It should also be noted that the transformational component may have the function of "blocking" or "filtering out" the output of the first three portions of the grammar.

The transformational rules are similar in form to those of the phrase-structure component but operate on different levels of abstraction. In the transformational rules it is necessary to specify the conditions under which the rule operates. In order to clearly distinguish transformational rules, a double arrow notation ($\Rightarrow$) is used.

Although some effort has been expended here to introduce the concept of transformational rules, such rules do not play an important part in the examples that follow in Part Four. To some extent, this is the result of the relatively simple character of the style analyzed there. Still, simple cultural systems are by no means unimportant. For one thing, they can provide a "natural" testing ground for the concepts of generative grammars in the description of actual cultural systems. Artificial examples are sometimes useful, but have a tendency to support whatever they are designed to support.

One reservation must be strongly emphasized. No claims are made here that the grammars developed for art styles are directly and point for point comparable to those developed for human languages. For example, claims have been made that the deep structure of a linguistic grammar provides the information necessary for semantic interpretation (though many linguists would take exception to this). No such claim can be presently supported for the base components of stylistic grammars.

It is even possible that the system of analysis developed here is more closely analogous to the phonological component of a linguistic grammar than to the syntactic. Frankly, it is difficult to see whether this makes any real difference. The real point is that art styles are patterned human systems.

Finally, the syntactic rules of a grammar are ordered, both in the sense that some rules operate on the output of other rules and in the ordering imposed upon the rules. As can be imagined, the ordering can make a substantial difference in the elegance and nature of a grammatical statement.

Rules and the Description of Forms

"Form" in the art sense refers to the "shapes" and elements employed in an artistic representation. The description of form is of some interest because any higher level of rules must be defined in relation to the basic kinds of elements chosen by the analyst. As it turns out, the description of the forms of an art style also reveals regularities similar to those observed in treatment of the syntax of a grammar. These regularities can be described in terms of rules that have to do with the actual representation that a form element may take in a particular situation. As indicated briefly above, these kinds of rules and the listing of the actual elements are included within the grammar for a style. This would be a trivial point were it not for the fact that many traditional descriptions of art styles have tended to concentrate on form alone, to the virtual exclusion of treatment of the structural ways forms are related in a style.

Rules and the Description of Performance

The model presented in the previous section is proposed to account for the competence of the artist to create within a style. There is abundant evidence that this competence exists, but it is possible to approach competence only through the limitations of actual performance. For this reason, it is necessary to examine the sort of model needed to deal with performance, even though more remains to be said on the subject of competence models. Competence refers to the overall patterning that exists in behavior. The actual execution of plans is performance, and there are many physiological and psychological limitations upon the capacity of a human being to actually execute certain plans. This situation is somewhat analogous to the execution of plans in computers, and it is possible that some kind of description like the flow charts of computer work may be very useful in dealing with performance (see for example the

kinds of performance models hinted at by Miller and his colleagues (Miller, Galanter, and Pribram 1960; Miller and Chomsky 1963). It is certainly possible that graphic presentations of this kind could be used for competence models as well, but there are certain rigidities to the flow chart model that seem to make the statement of rules preferable. One of the problems is that it seems rather more awkward to describe transformational rules in a flow chart fashion. It is worth noting that the actual languages used in computers have been almost entirely phrase-structural in form.

One aspect of the performance of an artist which does seem well suited to representation by a flow chart is technique. The actual creation of any work of art, be it a dance or a giant sculpture, consists of a series of actions in time. When looked at in these terms, the traditional distinction between so-called "arts of space" and "arts of time" (e.g. Boas 1927:355) simply disappears. It is true that music, as an example of a "time" art, is *perceived* differently in certain respects than painting, a "space" art. Actually, even in perception the difference is not so great as one would expect, since even painting is actually observed point by point (Buswell 1935). At least in terms of actual execution of a series of actions, a flow chart notation can show relationships very well. At the same time, the performance model must include the competence model. In this sense, the performance model is a little like a map or traffic guide that is followed in the application of competence to real situations.

A point raised in passing in the above paragraph deserves a few additional words. This is the problem of perception as opposed to execution. There are few cases in which the output of the linguistic system can be easily confused with those of another (although a situation of this kind has been proposed for "standard" English in relation to "black" English). Yet there are often situations in which art works created in one style may be confused with the products of another style. Perhaps some of these differences are the result of the degree to which language is directly involved with communication, where communication in other cultural systems may be more peripheral. It may be that the distinction made by some aestheticians between communication and expression may be useful here.

To return to the issue of performance models, it is well to remember that performance involves more than mere technique, although the motor habits involved in technique are of great importance. Ultimately, a performance model has to account for psychological activity as well as observable activity. As indicated earlier, limitations such as those on short-term memory must be considered.

Another possible source of confusion concerns the existence of folk models. Anthropologists have sometimes made a distinction between so-called "ideal" and "real" culture. In this sense, the "ideal" culture was

supposed to be the ideals that people try, but often fail, to apply in their daily life. This rather Platonic view obscures the fact that both the conscious view people have of their own culture and the actual behavior of a people are patterned, but usually in quite different ways. Both kinds of patterning are of interest to anthropologists, but it should not be expected that a description based on native conscious understandings and a description based on actual behavior will have many, if any, features in common. The models presented in this article do not claim to account for the native conscious world view.

Finally, the distinctions made here (following the current discussions in linguistics) between performance and competence are not universally accepted. Those who are concerned with the more extreme formulations of behaviorist psychology, for example, seek to explain human behavior in terms of various direct and indirect stimuli, rather than in terms of some cognitive structure. There can be no doubt that one of the weaknesses of the cognitive view is the neglect of the role of the external environment as a determinant in human behavior. It is my contention, however, that no system of accounting for and explaining human behavior can deal solely in terms of either external stimuli or internal structures. Both of these factors are important in the analysis of behavior.

Notation

So far I have proposed certain levels and certain notational devices. It is possible to go into much greater detail on these devices and the logical limitations underlying them. As already indicated, this would involve a tremendously complex discussion that seems to me to be out of place in a work of this sort. If the reader is attracted to this approach, he should go to the writings of the linguists, as well as to those working in closely allied fields in computer sciences and formal logic. It is certain that the particular solutions proposed here will be modified through additional work. In linguistics, for example, the state of generative grammars is in flux. Any attempt to deal with the ideas of contemporary linguists is unavoidably "out-of-date," especially since the linguists involved in these discussions seem scarcely to publish their arguments in any permanent, publicly accessible form until they have moved on to other problems. This is to a great extent an unavoidable situation in any rapidly developing field, and the same criticism can certainly be leveled at the people concerned with the development of generative grammars for art styles.

As a result, notational devices cannot be taken as final. Certainly, the grammars used in the description of graphic systems clearly show their debt to the earlier formulations of transformational grammars as represented in Chomsky's various papers (1963, 1965).

The following symbols are those used in the next section:

$\rightarrow$	"rewrite as"
$+$	"and" (may be omitted where otherwise clear)
$\Rightarrow$	"rewrite as" in transformational rules
S	"start" symbol
Lower case letters	"terminal symbols"
Upper case letters	"nonterminal symbols" — can be rewritten

In addition, various kinds of parentheses, brackets, and the like may be used to indicate certain special relationships in the rules. For example, take the rules

$$A \rightarrow B$$
$$A \rightarrow B + C$$

These can be abbreviated in the statement of rules by the convention of using parentheses to mean optional features, as in

$$A \rightarrow B(C)$$

This is not a saving in number of rules, but does make the statement shorter and reflects our feeling that such compressing of rules is "natural." Similarly, brackets may be used to abbreviate rules such as

$$A \rightarrow B$$
$$A \rightarrow C$$

into the form

$$A \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} B \\ C \end{matrix} \right\}$$

There is need for caution, however, in applying these kinds of abbreviations lest they obscure more genuine generalizations. Other notational devices will be explained as they are introduced in the next part.

Validation

Validation of grammars of the kind proposed here is not easy. Rankin et al. (1965:14) were able to ask native users of Chinese characters whether the output of their system of rules was acceptable. Margaret Hardin Friederich is working with living potters in the Tarascan area in Mexico (1970; personal communication). However, acceptability does not necessarily mean that the grammar that produced the results is correct on the competence level (see Chomsky 1965:11). Nonetheless, it is certainly reassuring if living informants do accept the output of a grammar. In the example given in the next part of this article, however, there is no easy solution. The artisans working in that style are long dead. No new objects are now being created in that style, and there are no native users of the

system to whose intuition we may appeal. It can be argued that in such a situation it is impossible to achieve complete descriptive adequacy. However, this is not a new problem for those dealing with the cultural phenomena of the past. There are, for example, no native speakers of Latin, yet Lakoff (1968) has attempted a study of the syntax of certain Latin phrases. Further, linguists have attempted to come to grips with a generative view of historical linguistics (King 1969). Archeologists, like historical linguists, have always faced this problem of validation no matter what models or schemes they are trying to implement. One simply has to recognize that the past is not directly knowable and that any approach to the past must involve longer chains of inference than necessary for dealing with living people. An archeologist (and really every other kind of social scientist) actually has available only a limited range of the total possible actions in a system. In art, each of these works is an individual piece, executed by either one man or a limited number of individuals at best. In each case, there are a number of clues in the finished product of the steps that went into its production. In some media these clues may be more numerous or easier to recover than in others. In drawing or painting, such features as superposition, overlapping, and placement may indicate that a particular element was placed upon the design field earlier or later than another. In sculpture, for example, such information may be very difficult to recover, even if one has both the finished work and the waste materials thrown off in production. To the extent possible from the medium, then, inferences may be made about the performance of particular individuals in the execution of particular works (means for making such inferences in ceramic technology are discussed by Shepard in her *Ceramics for the archaeologist* [1963]). From such inferences about a number of particular objects, second-level inferences may be drawn about the actions of a group of artists. On this second level, the kind of inferences are exactly the same as in dealing with living artists except that less information is available. Then, too, there are special problems of time and social variables that are less easily controlled in past materials than in present. In both instances, however, the description of group behavior is based on supposed actions of individuals. From this point onward, the only major difference between the inferences made by an ethnographer working with living people and an archeologist working with dead people is the amount of feedback possible from one's "informants." If the archeologist's data are subject to chance factors in collection, the ethnographer faces the problem of his own influence on the people he is studying. If the archeologist sometimes has little information on the "use" of the materials he is studying, an ethnographer must guard against the interference of folk models with his interpretation as discussed above. There is real danger that the archeologist will project his own cultural interpretations on the data he is studying, but the same problem faces the

ethnographer as well. In both the study of the quick and the dead, the activity of the individual is ultimately the source for all higher inferences. From the patterning that is to be seen in actual performances, a competence model is inferred. To the extent that a linguist uses his informant simply as a text generator against which to test his conclusions, his operation is little different from an archeologist who uses newly found objects to test his previous ideas about a style. In the field of what is called *intuition*, it is quite true that introspective criteria are difficult and dangerous in archeology. However, the danger of assuming that ones own socially acquired concepts are human universals is part and parcel of all studies in social sciences.

In most respects, then, the attempt to apply a general theory of this sort to archaeology faces the same problems as does the application to any other cultural system, past or present. The difficulties may be greater in dealing with past events, but the rewards in terms of what we may learn are worth the trouble. As Rowe has said in a different context:

the chances of attaining credible results depend on the nature of the archaeological evidence available, the alternative method chosen, and the degree to which the theoretical limitations of the method are kept in mind in the course of the work (1961:329).

The same could be said of all research.

Other Paths to the Same End

I have not meant to give the impression that anthropologists dealing with art materials have been nearsighted classifiers of cultural butterflies. The traditional anthropological methods are certainly sufficient for some kinds of purposes. It is interesting to note, however, that some scholars concerned with problems like those outlined in this and earlier sections have developed rather similar approaches. Some of these were mentioned in passing above. There are those whose inspiration has come from linguistics in one way or another, either directly or through some other branch of anthropology. There are a few whose direction has come from other sources, however, who have come to similar ideas about the way to deal with cultural materials. Two of these in archeology are Jean-Claude Gardin and David L. Clarke. Gardin's major concern was with a computer indexing system for archeological materials (1958, 1967). Although one may have reservations about universal cataloguing systems, such a system resembles the kind of syntax developed here for other purposes. Clarke's approach is even more interesting, coming as it does from the application of general systems theory to archeological research (1968). It

is clear, though, that Clarke's purposes are different from those suggested here. Clarke starts from a very similar theoretical position and proceeds to the development of models that are more directly involved with change in time and cultural ecology. Such integration of theory is very much needed but is not concerned with the problem of competence suggested here.

Summary

This section has attempted to provide a kind of prolegomenon to the study of art styles employing the notions of generative grammar. This was undertaken to explain the creative abilities of an artisan as discussed under the notion of competence. The subject of the kinds of models needed to deal with the performance of the artisan who also lightly touched upon.

PART FOUR: THE LICK CREEK STYLE, A CASE STUDY

Background

The Indians oftentimes make of a certain large sea-shell a sort of gorge, which they wear about their neck on a string, so it hangs on their collar, whereon is engraven a cross or some odd sort of figure which comes next in their fancy (Lawson 1709).

This description from 1700 by an English traveler in the Carolinas is one of the few contemporary accounts of the shell gorgets made by the Southeastern Indians. In the eighteenth century the tradition was dying out; but its roots may have reached back a millenium before the reign of Caesar Augustus. The earliest elaborate "art in shell" (Holmes 1883) is of a somewhat later date, however — the second to fourth centuries A.D., during the period called late Hopewellian times (Figure 2). These rare objects show decorative and stylistic features similar to those used in Hopewellian work in bone and in other media.

In most of the eastern United States, this tradition was moribund by the latter half of the sixth century. At present there is little evidence of direct continuity between this earlier tradition of shell-engraving and later traditions in the same medium. There are a number of striking similarities in motif and theme but very few specimens to bridge the gap between the earlier and later traditions.
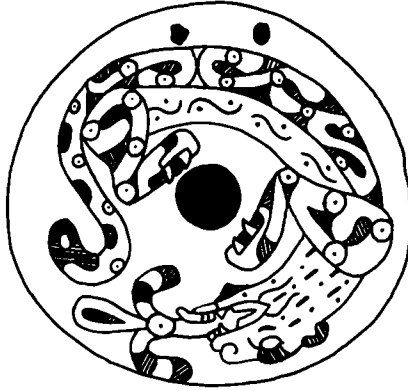
Figure 2.   Example of earliest "art in shell" (after Wood 1961)

Whatever the sources of the later artistic traditions may have been, art forms of all kinds flourished after the tenth century in the Southeast of the United States. During this time period, many of the cultures of the eastern United States were "Mississippian," as characterized by modern archeologists. By the mid-fourteenth century, and probably earlier, many of the prehistoric cultures of the Southeast were linked together in some kind of exchange system involving both raw materials and finished goods of many different kinds. One aspect of this exchange system must surely have been religious, but the full social and ecological ramifications of the system have not fully been determined. Objects of presumed ritual significance were traded over great distances. For example, shell gorgets in a style characteristic of eastern Tennessee and northern Georgia have been found in eastern Oklahoma. Objects in other media, such as repoussé copper, were also widely distributed.

Indeed, there are many local styles in this so-called "Southeastern Ceremonial Complex" or "Southern Cult." Objects considered to typify the complex are usually found in major centers having large "temple" mounds not unlike those of Meso-America. Generally speaking, each of the major centers has its own distinctive art styles, but certain motifs are shared in the entire area which tie these different styles together into a more or less coherent horizon.

By the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, the original exchange network seems to have broken down and to have been replaced by more localized traditions. One of the largest of these local systems appears to have been centered on the central area of the Cumberland drainage. Still later, distinctive themes and styles appeared in the upper Tennessee Drainage and along the South Atlantic Coast. Many of these later styles persisted through the period of initial European contacts. Of the shell gorget styles, some are very widely distributed, though still more

restricted than at the height of the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex.

One of the most widespread representations in the art of the Upper Tennessee Valley was a creature portrayed like a rattlesnake. In fact, this theme may represent a mythical creature rather than a rattlesnake per se, but for the sake of convenience the theme will be referred to here as a rattlesnake. Although a rattlesnake-like design occurs rarely on some earlier artistic representations of the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex, there is little direct evidence of connection between the later styles and those of the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex.

The partial analysis which follows is concerned with only one of three styles in this area as shown in the accompanying map. This style, which I have named Lick Creek after a site in Greene County, Tennessee, is apparently the earliest of these styles (see Map 1).

The Lick Creek Style

Since the purpose here is to use this style as an example, there is little need to detail the archeological context. Still, a few words about the provenience of the specimens are called for. The site in which Lick Creek shell gorgets have been found has received very little attention from professional archeologists and relatively little is known about the culture as a whole. The problem has been compounded by the tacit assumption that all shell gorgets in this area belong to the same chronological period. For this reason, very little effort has been made to sort out the very fine kinds of archeological distinctions that would be useful in answering questions about the social and temporal context of these materials. The best description of the archeological context of the gorgets for the northern part of the area is in Holland's survey (1970) of the western portion of Virginia. In this area, the shell gorgets are associated with sites of the Radford ceramic series. Further south, some of the shell gorgets are found in contexts that are sometimes loosely called "Lamar."

The great similarity in execution of the Lick Creek shell gorgets suggests that they were probably manufactured by a relatively small number of individuals at any given time. At any rate, there are only some ninety specimens known, so that the analysis that follows must be considered to be tentative.

Beginning to Study a Style

Unfortunately, there can be no easy, cookbook approach to the detailed study that such art styles require. There is really no substitute for the exercise of repeatedly formulating and rejecting hypotheses until the
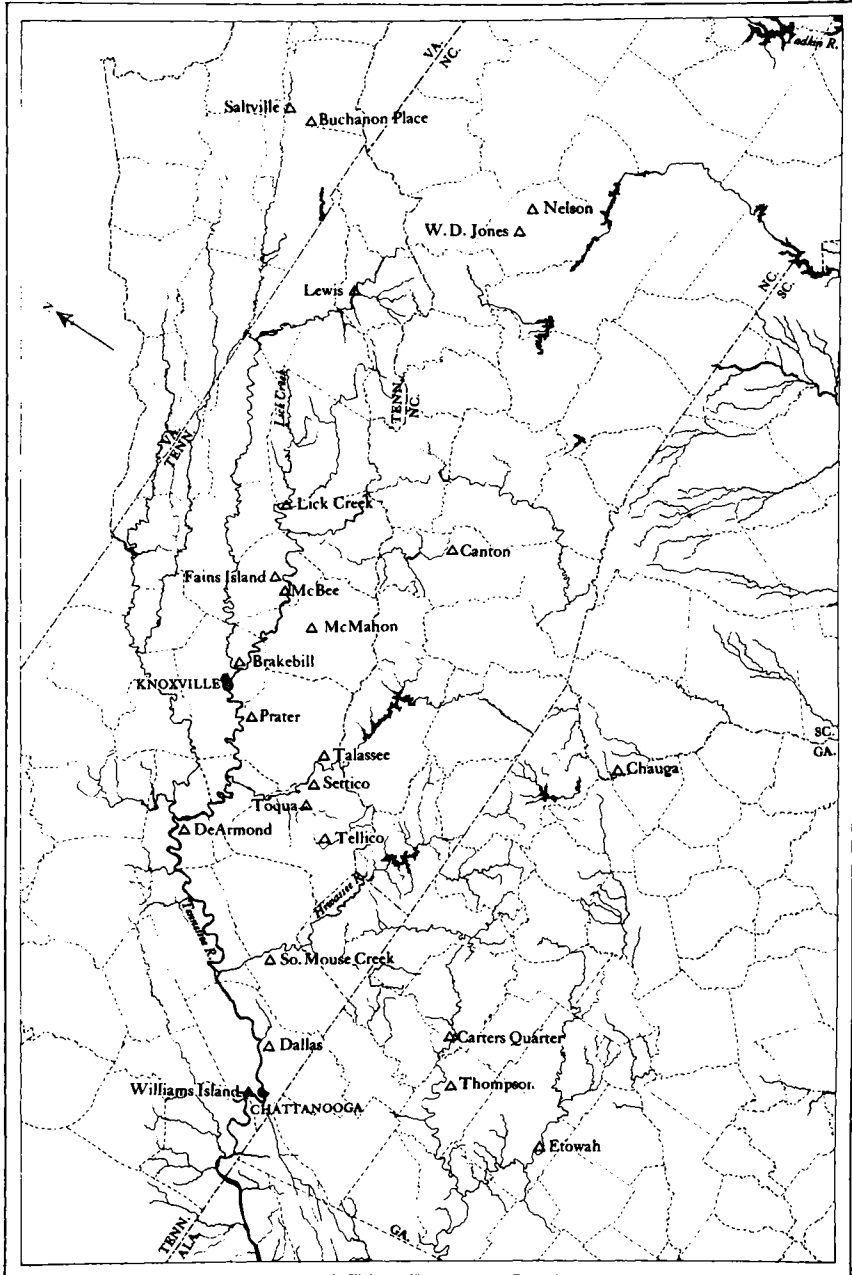
Map 1.   Lick Creek

model and the observed range of variation are in some degree of harmony. It is interesting to note that these shell gorgets were known to archeologists from the early nineteenth century, but apparently no one recognized the snake-like form of the design until quite late. The style is different enough from the usual Western organization of design that some people find it difficult to perceive the make-up of the theme at first glance. The sketch below shows the major areas of the design. The "rattles" are directly above the head so that the effect is that of a snake coiled around itself (Figure 3).
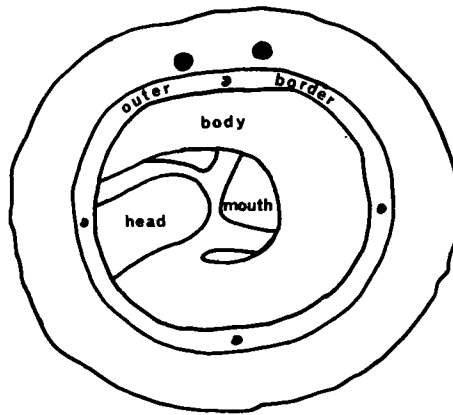
Figure 3.   Shell gorget with snake-like design

In dealing with an art style of this kind, it is important to understand the technical limitations of the medium, in this case shell cut from large conchs of the species *Busycon contrarium* or related species. This is an extremely hard material, and there is no indication that any procedure for softening the shell was used. It is likely that the manufacture of a shell gorget involved the expenditure of considerable effort. In any event, before going on to a discussion of the style itself, it will be helpful to examine the ways in which forms were created in the shell medium. The description which follows consists of a series of hypotheses about the technical procedures employed by the shell gorget artisans.

The first step in the creation of a shell gorget was to obtain the raw materials. The *Busycon* shells came from either the South Atlantic or Gulf Coasts, and it is likely that entire shells were traded. The gorget blank, which was slightly longer than it was wide, was cut from the shell so that the blank was relatively broad and flat. The Lick Creek gorgets are somewhat smaller than those of many other shell gorgets styles from the Southeast, usually being less than thirteen centimeters in maximum dia-

meter. Some small gorgets with simplified designs were made on blanks less than three centimeters in maximum dimension.

The next step was probably to mark off the design field into quarters and to engrave a double line border around the gorget, usually set in approximately one-seventh of the diameter (usually about one centimeter). The spacing between the two border lines was usually three millimeters — roughly the maximum diameter of a drill later used in cutting out a part of this area. Four drilled pits were also drilled on the axes at this stage. Figure 4 shows this stage of manufacture.
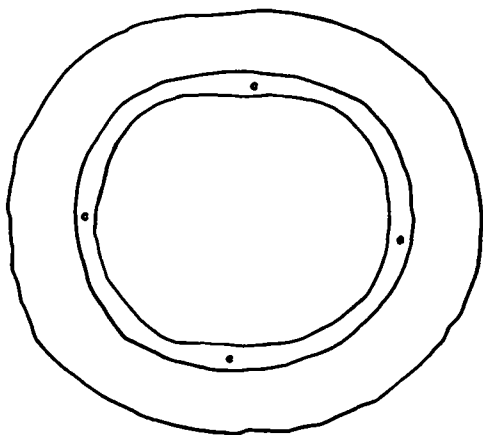
Figure 4.   Step in creation of shell gorget showing design field divided into quarters and the double line border around the gorget

The next step was the engraving of an inner border line that marks the distinction between the body and head areas. Figure 5 shows this line as unbroken, but it is possible (as direct traces of this stage of manufacture are obliterated by later work) that the line may have been broken. Variations in spacing suggest that both of these alternatives may have been used. The distance between the inner border line and the outer border was roughly one-seventh of the diameter of the gorget, or the same as the distance between the outer border and the edge of the gorget blank.

The "head" of the snake theme consists of several design areas: (1) the concentric circles that make up the "eye"; (2) a complete or partial border for the eye and "neck"; (3) a "neck" decoration; and (4) the mouth (discussed later). The most striking visual form of the head is the "eye" unit of concentric circles. If the eye unit was placed on the field subsequent to the location of the inner border line, placement of the eye was relatively simple. It was simply located next to the top of the inner border and approximately one-seventh of the diameter in, on the hori-
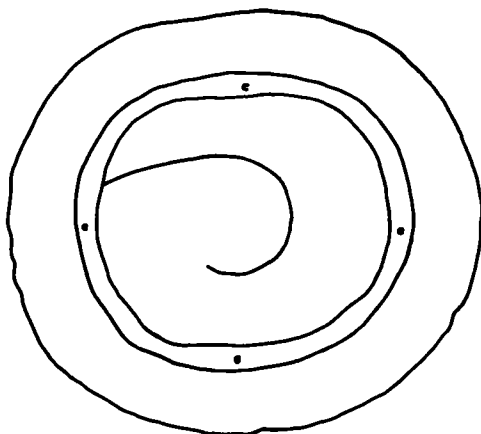
Figure 5. Step in creation of shell gorget showing inner border line between body and head

zontal axis. I wish to emphasize, by the way, that this one-seventh of the diameter figure was arrived at through comparisons of the actual specimens. I am *not* proposing the recognition of any "gorget inch" or the like. Frankly, I suspect that this spacing is more related to technical considerations of working in a hard and brittle material than it is to any magical connotations the number seven may have had in the prehistoric Southeast.

However, the placement of the eye is accounted for, the drilled pit in the center of the concentric circles is usually just above the horizontal axis and the outer eye circle is usually tangential to the vertical axis. The spacing between the eye unit and the outer border is as described above in slightly more than half of all Lick Creek gorgets and four-fifths of the Lick Creek gorgets that lack a complete border for the eye and neck.

After the eye unit was delineated, a boundary between the head and body was created either by engraving a single line between the concentric circles and the outer border (as shown in Figure 6) or by enclosing the head with a single- or double-line border.

If only a connector line was used, the actual border of the head unit is created by the cutting out of areas in the final stage of manufacture. In the other treatments, the eye and neck together are treated more independently.

The form of a single-line border around the entire eye and neck unit varies considerably. In some cases the outer eye circle and the border were merged where they touched one another. In other cases, a completely separate line enclosed the entire eye and neck unit.

Another major kind of head border consisted of two parallel lines enclosing regularly spaced drilled pits. The drilled pits were spaced about a half centimeter apart. This kind of head border is probably later in the
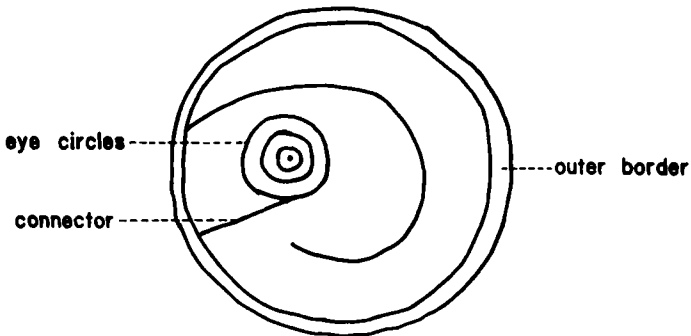
Figure 6.   Step in creation of shell gorget showing eye unit and single line between concentric circles and outer border

style and is the major form of head border employed in later styles in the area. When the double-line and drilled-pit border was used, the orientation of the head is more nearly vertical than in the examples discussed here. In the latter, the head and neck are nearly horizontal.

The "neck" area of decoration is defined by the borders and the eye circles. This neck area is often decorated with a three-line design like that shown in Figure 7. Sometimes, as shown in the example, the unit will include symmetrically drilled pits. The center line of the three-line unit is usually broadened to form a band. As the style changed through time, there are considerable variations in the forms employed in these positions.

Very small gorgets usually have a greatly simplified structure. On such gorgets a head pattern called a "forked eye" is often used (Figure 7). In reality, this is a modification of the single-line head border and corresponding neck patterns.
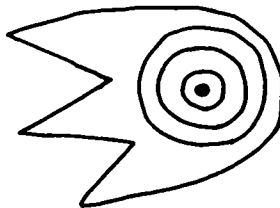
Figure 7.   "Forked-eye" head pattern used on small shell gorgets

The engraving of the "body" area of the gorget could have been done before the head and neck patterns, but it is discussed here for the sake of continuity. The spacing and overlap of design areas suggests that the first body decoration was the engraving of a three-line unit at the top axis of the gorget (See Figure 8). The center line of this unit is broadened or "excised." On some very small gorgets a single line may be substituted for

the three-line unit. This design unit divides the body field into two unequal parts. As shown in Figure 8 the body field to the right of the three-line divider could be divided longitudinally. On very small gorgets, this line is often placed in the center of the body field and may be the only decoration of this zone. On larger gorgets, the distance from the inner border line was approximately the same as the distance between the outer border lines (as in Figure 8).
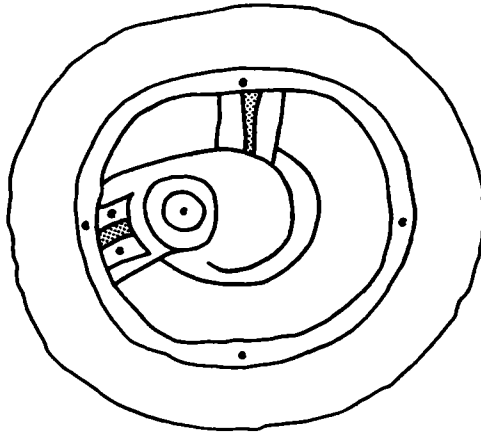
Figure 8. First body decoration of shell gorget showing a three-line unit at top of the gorget

Repeating chevrons were placed on the left side of the three-line unit to form the "rattles" of the tail. In many cases, these chevrons were separated from the three-line unit by an excised or cross-hatched design. On some small gorgets, the chevrons were omitted and a series of straight lines used instead.

Three-line chevron units were also placed on the right and bottom axes as shown in Figure 9. As in the three-line units in the neck and on the top axis, the center line of the unit is usually broadened by excision.

The only remaining treatment on the body of the gorget is the filling in of the remaining undecorated areas. As indicated, there is usually some kind of cross-hatch or excised (that is, an area cut down below the surface of the gorget) zone between the top three-line divider and the tail chevrons. In addition, the spaces between the other chevron units of the body are decorated with cross-hatched lines as shown in Figure 10.

As mentioned before, the formal properties of very small gorgets are usually considerably simpler than those of the larger specimens. Chevrons and cross-hatching are very rare in this format.

The engraving of the mouth area of the gorget could have been done at any time following the placement of the inner body border and the eye circles. However, the great degree of variability in form in this area
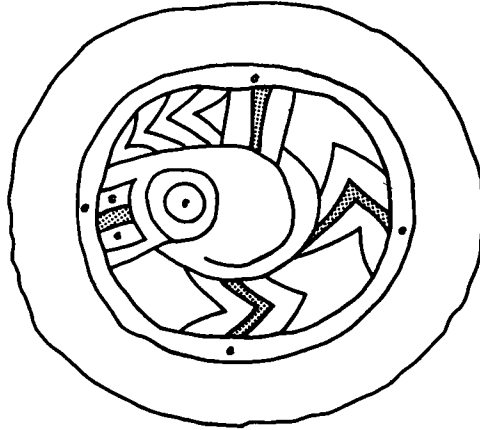
Figure 9.   Body decoration of shell gorget showing three-line chevron units on right and bottom axes
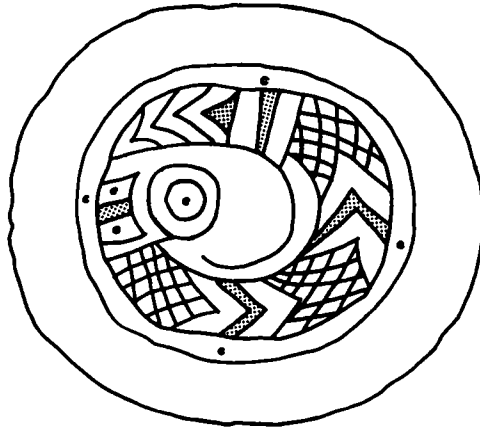
Figure 10.   Body of shell gorget decorated with cross-hatched lines in spaces between chevron units

suggests that the mouth was one of the last design areas to be treated. The mouth consists of three elements — two border lines and a series of short lines parallel to the mouth border (Figure 11). The shape of the mouth is generally triangular. The final appearance of the mouth is greatly affected by the next operation, cutting out the center of the area. There are also a number of differences in mouth form that appear to be changes in this style through time that need not be discussed here.

An additional decorative element that appears on some gorgets is the addition of several small, triangular, excised areas either above or below the mouth or both. These are like tiny horns around the mouth.
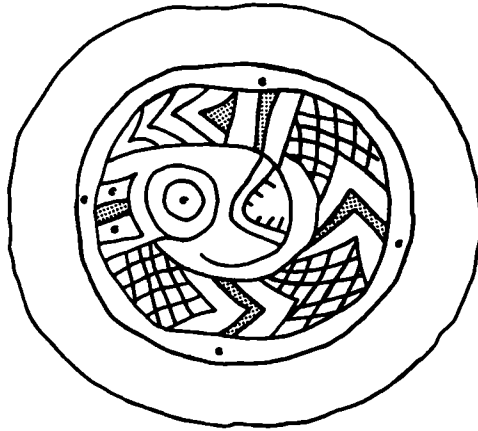
Figure 11. Step in creation of shell gorget showing engraving of mouth area

One of the last treatments of the shell gorget was the cutting out of four areas between the parallel lines of the outer border and the cutting out of three areas around the head and mouth. The former had the effect of making the outer border into a cross representation while the latter served to define the outer limits of the head as shown in Figure 2. As already suggested, this cutting out obliterated much of the evidence of earlier stages in the construction of the gorget. In addition, two suspension holes were drilled at the top of the gorget.
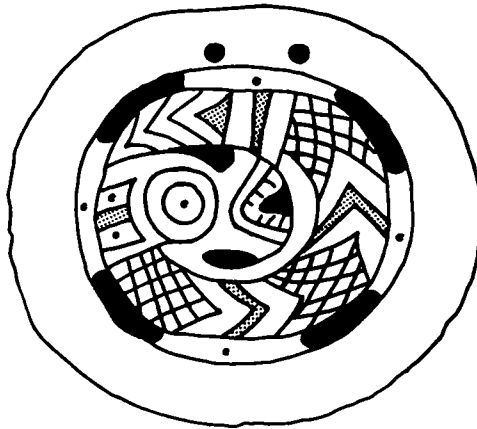
Figure 12. Step in creation of shell gorget showing four cut out areas between parallel lines of the outer border

After the engraving and cutting out of areas on the gorget had been

completed, the engraved lines and excised areas of the gorget were filled with pigment. In most cases, this pigment was black in color.

Grammar for the Lick Creek Style

First of all there are a series of points that must be emphasized as an introduction to the following grammar. The first and most important is simply that these are not a series of instructions on how to make actual shell gorgets. That kind of information is properly a part of a performance model rather than a model which is aimed at specifying underlying structures. Such a performance model would include the information of the previous section in some sort of flow chart, perhaps. The second point is simply that the statement here does not represent a complete grammar for the Lick Creek style. It is, rather, a somewhat abbreviated analysis of the basic structures employed in the style. Those interested in a more complete grammar of this style and others are referred to my dissertation (Muller 1966) where a somewhat different format was followed.[2] The grammar presented here does *not* account for the observed variation in the gorgets better than the earlier grammar. Indeed, rather the opposite is true in the simplified form presented here. Nonetheless, this grammar is somewhat more elegant in form and is therefore somewhat better in explanatory terms, given that it needs to be improved in descriptive terms. In any event, my goal here is to give an example of the approach not to get bogged down in a detailed discussion of the fine points of the grammars as such. The first part of the grammar is the phrase-structure rule component.

Rule 1. $S \rightarrow$ Cross + R

This rule begins with the "start" symbol and indicates that the first structural breakdown of the design is into a cross-pattern and the "rattlesnake" design. It should be kept in mind that the names given to these units are purely mnemonic and for the sake of convenience — what is actually represented is a *structural unit*.

Rule 2.   Cross $\rightarrow l + A$

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[2]   In a critique of an earlier form of this discussion, Dell Hymes (1969) suggested that a model of prehistoric materials closer to the earlier and traditional models in ethnoscience was to be preferred to a generative model. In addition, he suggested that flow charts would be preferable notational system. Finally, he criticized the formulation of rules as given in that paper. Certainly, Hymes is correct when he states that the rules are "sometimes poorly formulated" but the examples he gives are poorly chosen since I explicitly stated that the form in which they were stated was the direct result of temporal differences and not the result of failure to see the generalizations involved. Hymes also criticized the format of the transformational rules, perhaps failing to recognize that the format was taken from one of the few basic textbooks on writing transformational grammars extant at that time.

This indicates that the Cross unit can be analyzed into a line element (terminal here) which on the gorget is realized as the outer border and an "Arm" of the cross structure.

Rule 3. $A \rightarrow p + o$

This simply states the analysis of the cross-arm into units realized (later on) as a drilled pit and a cut out area.

Rule 4. $R \rightarrow$ Body + Head + Mouth

This is the structural analysis of the "rattlesnake" stuctural unit.

Rule 5. Body $\rightarrow l + SI$

This is the basic structure of the "rattlesnake" body — consisting of a line, later realized as a border, and the decoration of the body proper.

Rule 6. $SI \rightarrow x + TN$

This is the analysis of the design on the body.

Rule 7. Head $\rightarrow l + E + N + o$

This is the structure of the head unit with various line border elements, cut out units, and the "eye" and "neck" structures.

Rule 8. $E \rightarrow l + p$

Rule 9. $N \rightarrow l + TN$

Rule 10. Mouth $\rightarrow l + TN + o$

Rule 11. $TN \rightarrow l$

This completes the phrase-structure rules as all nonterminal symbols have been rewritten as terminal symbols. Actually, a twelfth rule should be added here to help tidy up some loose ends in the rules that follow.

Rule 12. $\begin{bmatrix} l \\ p \\ o \\ x \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \triangle$

Among other things, this allows elements to be specified in terms of the phrase marker. The symbol, $\triangle$, is simply a "dummy" symbol (see, for example, Chomsky 1965:122).

In this fashion, the basic structures of the style are outlined. However, the output of this set of rules is by no means a representation of the structure of an actual shell gorget. Rather, this is a representation of a more abstract kind of structure that underlies the visible forms of the gorget.

In addition to the phrase-structure component of the grammar, the base grammar also includes a listing of forms. For a number of reasons, however, I will return to this form listing after a discussion of the sole separate transformational rule employed in the grammar as written here (although there are a number of transformational rules that are used in the form listing). Frankly, the grammar presented here could be written without this rule if certain kinds of changes were made in the phrase-structure components. Such changes, however, would be at the expense of what I believe to be an important statement about the character and structure of this style.

Transformational Rule
Obligatory: Quadrupling rule
($\triangle$ dominated by Cross, Body)
$X = A, SI$
$X \Rightarrow X + X + X + X$

This rule, which could be handled on several different levels, takes some of the structures of the base component and repeats them. What this rule represents in part is the interesting fact that the cross-arms and the body of the rattlesnake form each have a four-part structure. This rule takes the categories A and SI where they occur and repeats them four times. A representation of the output of the grammar in terms of the terminal symbols is given in Figure 13. In the case of A, this would ultimately produce the realization of the design with the following pattern:

$$p + o + p + o + p + o + p + o$$

The form listing has to specify the basic shape as well as the modifications that the forms may undergo. In practice, this will be presented here as a symbol and a set of features. It should be well understood that the presentation of these features is not complete but schematic. I am only indicating those features that are important for the example here. Since there is some question as to how useful and significant this kind of analysis is, it is wise not to get too involved with the issue. One of the main advantages here is that it considerably simplifies the form listing proper to be able to specify different shapes on the gorgets in terms of their common derivation from a limited number of basic forms. This procedure seems relatively sound in view of the manner in which the gorget was engraved and in terms of the perception of the design. That is to say that since all lines on the gorget are to some extent curved to fit the field, and since almost all of the design is made up of engraved lines, it seems reasonable to treat such variants as the circle as being derived from the line form. It is quite possible to simply specify the separ-

ate shapes, however, as I have done in an earlier analysis (Muller 1966).

$$\left[\begin{array}{c}^{1}2\\ \left[\begin{array}{c}3\\ l+l\left[p+o+p+o+p+o+p+o\right]\end{array}\right]\end{array}\right]\left[\begin{array}{c}^{2}\,^{4}\,5\\ 3\begin{array}{c}6\\ l\left[x+l+x+l+x+l+x+l\right]^{6}\,^{5}\end{array}\right]$$

$$\left[\begin{array}{c}7\\ l\left[\begin{array}{c}8\\ l+l+l+\ldots+p\end{array}\right]\end{array}\right]\left[\begin{array}{c}8\,9\\ l+l+l\end{array}\right]o\left[\begin{array}{c}9\,^{7}10\\ l+l\left[\begin{array}{c}11\\ l+l+\ldots\end{array}\right]o\end{array}\right]^{4}\,^{1}$$

Figure 13.   Graphic representation of output of grammar

The actual forms, or rather the structural representations of these forms, are as follows:

l = "line"
p = "drilled pit"
o = "cut out"
x = "cross hatch" or "excised area"

In actual fact, the last of these can also be treated as the result of manipulation of the features of the l symbol, but such a detailed treatment here is not necessary. In a completely consistent grammar, however, the x symbol would be eliminated and covered under a "cross-hatch" manipulation of the line features or as the result of a "broadening" form transformation, depending upon the context. At the same time, an argument for the presentation here may be found in the probable fact that the difference between the cross-hatch and the "broadened" or "excised" treatments is at least partly a matter of performance restrictions.

Each one of the form symbols has a set of features associated with it. In the case of the symbol l, the following features are present:

$$l = \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ element} \\ \pm \text{ circle} \\ \pm \text{ open} \\ \pm \text{ shape} \\ \pm \text{ bend} \\ \pm \text{ broad} \end{bmatrix}$$

These features can be manipulated in a number of ways depending upon the context. In addition, rules can be formulated for various operations upon the symbols themselves, as follows:

FR 1.   Obligatory, doubling rule
l, dominated by Cross
$l \Rightarrow l + l$
$l = \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ element} \\ + \text{ circle} \\ - \text{ open} \\ - \text{ shape} \\ \ldots \end{bmatrix}$

In this rule, the line which serves as the outer border of the gorget is doubled and the line takes the form of a circle.

FR 2.   Obligatory, multiple rule
l, dominated by E
$l \Rightarrow 2l$ to nl
$l = \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ element} \\ + \text{ circle} \\ - \text{ open} \\ - \text{ shape} \\ \ldots \end{bmatrix}$

This rule creates a number of concentric circles which form the "eye" of the rattlesnake. The actual number of repetitions is determined primarily by performance limitations (how many circles can be placed on the gorget in this location) and, to a lesser extent, by a change in time toward larger gorgets and a trend toward the use of more eye circles. Roughly speaking, the more eye circles, the later the shell gorget in the style.

These are examples of the kinds of rules that are involved in coming to the surface structure representation of the gorget. There are many other rules that could be listed here, and these two examples of formal rules only cover two of the rather great number of such rules necessary to map the l symbol into its various forms. To continue to list all of these rules is scarcely necessary for our purpose here which is simply to show what such a grammar for a graphic system looks like.

Further Thoughts

Although it is obviously pointless to go into a detailed discussion of the grammar presented here in partial form, it should be apparent that many qualifications need to be made. One of these is simply that any grammar of this kind has to balance a number of levels of complexity. As indicated

earlier, to make the phrase-structure portion of the grammar simpler can often lead to problems at other levels in the grammar. Another question is the utility of features in the description of forms. There is always the danger that the number of features becomes so great as to make the analysis as complex as it would be if the individual forms were simply listed. Still there are some practical reasons why a feature approach can be useful. Take, for example, the rule listed above as FR 2. In actual fact, this rule is broader than stated above in that it applies to a series of other contexts, including the repetition of the chevron units in the tail area of the gorget. In such a case, the feature analysis would have indicated a "−circle, +bent, −broad, . . ." set of features. Thus, in the complete grammar, there are a relatively few basic operations that are applied in a number of ways. This is of some interest in the historical analysis of change in this style since one of the ways in which the style changes is in the addition or deletion of conditions on rules, rather than in major changes in the basic rules themselves.

I have discussed elsewhere the utility of structural analyses of this type in dealing with some of the traditional problems of art historians and archeologists (Muller 1971). Most particularly, I suggested that persons concerned with the identification of so-called "culture influence" must look at the total structure of art styles rather than just at a few resemblances in form. Much the same is true of the attempts to use stylistic criteria to approach the problems of prehistoric social groupings (see, for example, Hill 1971) where it is possible that lack of attention to the structure of the style may lead to spurious correlations of form units. However, stylistic analysis along generative lines is not necessary for all purposes. It is not a panacea that will cure all of aesthetic anthropology's ills. It is a more rigorous and formalized way for analyzing the structures of art styles in ways that seek to account for the fact that a style is much more than just a body of art works. It is, in addition, a cultural system participated in by a number of artisans with the ability to create novel works. What is necessary is to try to account for this artistic ability in some rigorous way.

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An Inquiry into the Nature of Folktales and Folk Arts

O. P. JOSHI

This article is devoted to a comparative study of five popular legends prevalent in Rajasthan, the northwestern state of India including the larger part of the Thar desert. The aim of such a study is to understand the nature and relationship of folklore and folk art as they exist within the social structure. The legends are of historical and religious importance which give an understanding of the process of interaction between "little" and "great" tradition (Marriott 1955:171–215). A comparative study of the oral legends, painted legends, and legends expressed in ballads is of ethnological interest. The following points emerged from the study:

1. The origin of all the legendary heroes was in the desert part of the state, while the hero-deities are worshiped in large parts of Rajasthan and other states, i.e. Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, and Gujrat.

2. The areas of influence of the deities have crossed the language barriers.

3. Four out of the five deities were born in the Rajput caste — a warrior and ruling caste, but these deities are popular and worshiped mainly among the agricultural castes — herdsmen — and untouchable castes, including the leather workers.

4. The institutions of temples, rituals, singing bards, priests, shamans, painters, dancers, and their followers have emerged around the hero deities.

5. The study of legend painters, legend singers and their followers and patrons explains the prevalent intercaste relations and values regarding the tales and paintings. The comparative study of motifs of the legends has helped in understanding the values of the society.

The legends and rituals connected with deities shed light on the "regional religion" and the relationship between its oral form and its prac-

tice. Modern technology has helped to increase the influence of the deities among the urban population of the areas where the traditional influence did not exist.

Rajasthan, where the hero-deities had their origin, was selected as the chief area of study. The study of a single village in the Bhilwara district of the state provided the initial information about deities and their influence. The historical evidence, written literature, and researches done by historians were made a point of reference in this study. Rajasthan is a state with an area of 0.34 million square kilometers and a population of 25.7 million. The Hindus and Muslims form the major religions with a large number of castes. The five administrative divisions also represent the cultural areas of the state. The state was divided into many princely states before independence. The history of princely states provides evidence of internal feuds between princes and their relatives. The legends refer often to these feuds.

The legends were studied at four levels:
1. The legends were told by local people.
2. The legends told and explained by the painters with the help of their paintings.
3. The legends published by the folk writers.
4. The legends rendered in songs by the singer-groups.

Bards and painters were helpful in determining the areas of influence of the legends. The main events and motifs of the different legends are presented here in short form.

Devnarayanji

Devnarayanji was the son of a Rajput prince, Sawai Bhoj of Gotha village. Before his birth, his mother while taking a bath came out of her house quite naked to give alms to a *sadhu*-sage. The *sadhu* was god himself, and he blessed her so that she would have a son who would be the incarnation of god.

His twenty-three uncles and his father were killed in the feuds with a Rajput chief. Devnarayanji organized his forces in order to take revenge. He was protected by the Snake King.

He got married after the fulfillment of a pledge, i.e. defeating the enemies of his father-in-law.

He is known as healer of fatal diseases, like leprosy and snake bite.

He has a large following among the Gujars — a caste of agriculturists and herdsmen. The bards of the Gujars show the painted scrolls of Devnarayanji's life history to his followers.

Gogaji

Gogaji was a Chauhan-Rajput born in the eleventh century. His birth was the result of the blessing of a sage-guru, Joginath. Gogaji married Pabuji, a cousin of another hero-deity. He protected the snakes.

He fought against his mother's sister's sons, Arjan and Sarjan, who were jealous of him. Arjan and Sarjan insulted Gogaji's wife. Therefore, Gogaji killed them.

The mother of Gogaji ordered him to leave home for twelve years as he had killed his relatives.

He left home, and it is said that he was converted to Islam. Others believe that he entered into earth with his steed.

His birth is celebrated on the day after Janamathami, the birthday of Lord Krishna. Gogaji has a large following among all castes. People of all castes celebrate his birthday — Goga Navami — the ninth of Shravan (August-September). His devoted followers are among agricultural castes. The little tradition of Gogaji's birthday is in the process of emerging as a great tradition by attaching it to the cycle of celebrations of the birthday of Krishna.

Pabuji

Pabuji was second, the son of Dhandhalji, a Rathod-Rajput chief, born in the twelfth or thirteenth century in Marwar, in the village of Kolu.

Pabuji defeated the demon-king, Ravan of Lanka (the famous character of the Ramayan), and brought camels from Lanka to give them as a dowry for his cousin.

Pabuji went for his wedding, riding on his famous steed, Kaiser, which he borrowed from a bard woman. Pabuji promised to protect her cows for the favor of loaning him the horse.

He insulted his sister's husband by not inviting him to his wedding. Angered, his sister's husband took away the cows of the bard woman. The steed told Pabuji of the incident while he was performing the wedding rituals. Pabuji left the marriage ceremonies halfway through and went to challenge the cow thieves.

Pabuji was killed in battle but won the cows back for the bard woman. His wife immolated herself with her husband's dead body.

People invoke the help of Pabuji in the case of disease and he is worshiped by cattle breeders and other lower castes.

Tejaji

Tejaji was a Jat agriculturist and cattle breeder; he was born in a village

named Khirwal in the thirteenth century. When he was a young child, he was married. He had no remembrance of his marriage.

He was taunted by his brother's wife for this ignorance and went, therefore, to fetch his wife from her father's house.

There he fought against the cow thieves. He won the battle and brought the cows back.

Tejaji went to a cobra snake which he had promised to let bite him after visiting his wife. The snake bit him and he died.

Tejaji is worshiped as a deity presiding over the cobra and guinea worm. He has a large following among the Jats, but the people of other castes also have faith in him.

Ramdevji

Ramdevji was the son of Tanwar Rajput, born in a village of Marwar. His father was a follower of a sage, Bala Nathji.

He is known to be an incarnation of Dwarkanath — Lord Krishna. He was regarded as a saintly person.

He helped people through miracles and preached to them to believe in truth. He died at the age of forty by burying himself under the earth.

He intercedes in cases of disease including physical infirmities, blindness, and leprosy.

These tales can be divided into two main categories on the basis of their motifs. The first type of legend belongs to "complex-cycles," including the heroic and saint classes. The second group belongs to "saints-cycles."

The first type of tale is based on the main motif of "keeping one's word." The first four tales belong to the category of complex cycles. The three heroes were Rajput-warriors, and one was a Jat agriculturist. The Rajput heroes have royal genealogies. The saints helped to guide and advise the heroes from time to time during their lives. All four of this category had to fight with their relatives, cousins, sisters, husbands, and tribal thieves and other enemies in order to keep their word. The horse has remained their favorite helper in their fights and other adventures. Snakes, horses, cows, and camels also played an important role in the tales. The miracles performed by them, i.e. making the dead come alive, protecting cattle, and protecting devotees from the cobra or from diseases, are considered major achievements. The heroes met their untimely death after fulfilling their duties. They are worshiped as deities and are of great religious importance among their followers. Temples, priests, shamans, bards, story tellers, painters, and singer-groups are important

because of their connection with rituals concerning the deities. Wearing the amulet is a popular custom among their followers.

The second type of legend is categorized under the saintly cycles. Though the hero-deity belonged to the Rajput-warrior-ruling caste, he never resorted to arms against his enemies. He is known as a saintly hero incarnation of Dwarkanath (Lord Krishna). He helped the poor, performed miracles, and was under the influence of "Nathpanthi-saints." The institution of shamanism does not exist around Ramdevji. Other religious traits like temples, priests, bards, annual fairs, and wearing of amulets are part of living traditions.

The folk-deities are popular not only among peasants but also among those who live in cities and towns. A majority of the followers belong to agricultural castes and cattle breeders, i.e. Jats, Gujars, Balai-weavers, Harijans (untouchables), and leather workers. Other castes like Brahmin-priestly castes, the Rajputs, etc., also worship these deities on such important occasions as annual fairs and during particular ritual cycles, though they do not wear amulets because these deities are not from the "great tradition."

The popularity of these deities among middle and lower castes is due to their origin in peasant society and due to the help they give to common people. Most of the deities helped the cattle breeders and agriculturists. The lower castes accept these deities because of the simplicity of the rituals. The hero-deities were the followers of Nathpanthi-saints, who had a large following among these castes. The saints are known to have a power which takes form in one of three ways:
(1) *Manoavita* — the power of doing anything, (2) *Kamarupitva* — the power of assuming a variety of shapes, forms, bodies, and senses, as desired, and (3) *Vikramanadharmitva* — the possession of power with suspension of sensuous operation (Ghurye 1964:115–116). The lower strata of the society in Rajasthan needs the protection from diseases, snakes, and thieves. People find these hero-deities within their reach and the system of the ritual observation not complex. The followers are not required to observe many fasts, nor are they required to maintain a vegetarian diet.

The legends represent the tradition of the groups of the followers. Child marriage and polygamy are prevalent customs among these people. The practice of *sati* [self-immolation] by a wife after the death of her husband is regarded as a great religious deed, though nowadays the practice of *sati* has been banned by law. Marwar is a desert area where famines and diseases are very common. The means of transportation are poor, and people do not get jobs easily. The search for jobs by the people has increased the area of the deities' influence. The help given by deities and the miracles they performed bred hope among the poor people and encouraged them to survive. Cows are sacred animals for Hindus; herds-

men needed the protection of their cows from the assault of other herds-men, including their own relatives, tribal thieves, and Muslims. There-fore, hero-deities are symbols of protection.

The Legend Painters

The legends of Devnarayanji and Pabuji are in the tradition of scroll paintings. The traditional folk painters of Bhilwara paint the life stories of these deities in five colors on a large linen cloth of ten by one-and-a-half meters. The painters follow a set composition for these works of art. They depict the different events of the life of a hero-deity, which they have learned from their forefathers. These *pats* [scrolls] are then purchased by the bards who travel from village to village and demonstrate the lives of deities with the help of songs and ballads.

Certain differences exist between the painted and the oral legends. While painting the Pabuji-*pat* an artist paints twenty-four different incar-nations of god Vishnu in order to show that Pabuji belongs to the great tradition and is one of the incarnations of Vishnu. A painter also paints a portrait of himself praying before the goddess Saraswati, the goddess of knowledge. Killing the demons, suckling the milk of lionesses by Pabuji, and other such events are important motifs of the composition. The incident of *sati* is also painted on the scrolls, but the deaths of the heroes are not shown in the paintings because they go to heaven alive.

The painted legends of Devnarayanji can be differentiated from those of Pabuji by the snake motif. The large figure of Devnarayanji sitting on a snake resembles Lord Vishnu who rests on a snake. Other painted compositions and incidents of these two legends exist though oral legends differ. Even the incident of the fight with Demon-king Ravan is also painted on the Devnarayanji-*pat* though it has no connection with the legend. The painters also paint trees, gardens, scorpions, and snakes to fill the gaps in their compositions. The compositions also include flying figures and drinking sessions, in order to entertain the villagers. The painters nowadays paint such scrolls for tourists for non-religious use, they have developed a commercial system of painting (Joshi 1972).

The singing bards travel from village to village to show the paintings and earn their livelihood by such performances. The bard-family is com-posed of a husband and wife, and sometimes brothers or other relatives. As a group, the bard-family performs the ballads in traditional style. Jokes, mimicries, and modern songs are introduced to please the spec-tators. The stay of a bard-family in any one place depends on the size of the village and the number of patrons.

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Modern times have not disrupted the institutions attached to hero-deities. The showing of paintings and also the interest of the spectators have increased manifold in recent years even with the popularity of films. The painters sometimes find it difficult to supply paintings to the bards. Rich harvests as a result of better irrigation, better equipment, and better seeds have enabled people to patronize the bards who sing and play ballads based on the life-history of deities.

The folk paintings have been accepted by the tourists as a unique expression of folk art. As a result the artists have revived their interest in these folk paintings.

The folk theater with its traditionally preserved oral ballads, its traditional troupes of bards, and its patrons of theater activity at village level is a living tradition in Rajasthan. The green revolution in the country and restrictions on death-feasts have further encouraged the rich farmers to invest their money in religious and social activities.

The legends have absorbed some Muslim traditions as motifs which play a role in building Hindu-Muslim unity among the peasant society of Rajasthan. The participation of different caste groups in the celebration of rituals and ceremonies related to the deities contributes to the strengthening of intercaste relations. The annual fairs related to hero-deities are attended by many caste groups. The fairs contribute not only to economic activity, but they also help in spreading modern products and ideas. The traditional Muslim merchants visit the fairs and attract their customers by praising the hero-deities.

The mass migration that takes place in times of drought popularizes the music, ballads, and singers as well as the deities in areas where the deities had no traditional influence.

New means of transportation and communication have created large congregations of devotees, making the temples of the deities economically rich. Films have also been made on the life stories of the deities popularizing them among the city elites and over a large area of northern India. The changes in the economic conditions of agriculturists and other lower castes have also raised the status of the deities in the religious hierarchy.

Methodologically speaking, the differences in the various folktales as presented by devotees, painters, bards, and commoners raise a point for further analysis. The differences can be due to the media of expression and the intensity of devotion.

The deities responsible for the alleviation of various diseases attract believers regardless of caste. The snake-infested areas easily accept Tejaji, the deity who presides over the snakes. Natural calamities, such as famines and droughts, as well as the prosperity created by the green revolution have contributed equally in spreading the legends and the influence of the deities. Further investigation into these legends will

provide more information about the integrating factors and the aspects of change in the area.

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The Production of Aesthetic Values

PETER JAY NEWCOMER

This essay finds its basic statement in Marx's remark (1955 [1847]:96) that "the relations of production of every society form a whole." It is to this whole that the constituent parts and historical productions of any society must be related by the scientist. If we do not understand this totality, the principles by which people relate to one another in the social production of their lives, then "the fetishistic relations of the isolated parts appear as a timeless law valid for every human society" (Lukács 1971 [1922]:9). In this passage Lukács is criticizing the tendency, inherent in our society, to regard "the facts" of any situation as *the situation*. Bourgeois art, in this, becomes representative of and stands for all art and indeed for all aesthetic possibilities. But the facts are not the process by which they were brought into being. Seeing them as such involves a failure of method (which Lukács sees as the hallmark of all Western science), the failure to understand the social conditions, "the relations of production," under which *any* human achievement takes place. So in the current vulgarizations of the sociobiologists, we see "violence" being defined as "the problem," this being divorced from the process of social production of that violence. We are led to see "population" as the problem, disregarding the reasons why *people* have become the locus of present difficulties. What is needed, then, is not further study of "the facts," but an understanding of the processes which cause social facts to be what they are.

These seem to me to be the kinds of reasons why a criticism of art, a real understanding of it, can proceed only insofar as the critique is able to lay bare the process by which the art is produced. What are, in other words, the social relations under which artistic production takes place? What is the totality to which we have to relate the fragments we have of man's aesthetic production?

Phrased in this way, one can see immediately that the question has no single answer valid for the whole of the human race throughout its history. In any society it is the totality of these social relations of production (including their history) which has made the concrete reality of art what it is. The organization of aesthetic production is the same as the organization of all other production; as Ernst Fischer remarks, "art is a form of work" (1959:15). It is a form of social production, organized and brought into being by a particular constellation of social relations. As Marx says in his article "Critique of political economy," which is reprinted in Arthur (1970:125), "When we speak of production, we always have in mind production at a definite stage of social development. . . ." It is, then, as foolish to speak of "artistic production" in general as it is to speak of *any* production without specification of the conditions under which the production takes place. The failure of nineteenth-century political economy to pay attention to this caveat was what produced Marx's critique in the first place, and art critics/historians have made no progress since. They assume bourgeois social conditions for the production of all art, asserting the ageless nature of great themes in art and literature, engaging in completely ahistorical discussions of the relation of the artist to society, and the like.

As Marx demonstrates in his 1859 "Introduction," the mode of production presupposes a definite mode of consumption: "An objet d'art creates a public that has artistic taste and is able to enjoy beauty, and the same can be said of any other product. Production accordingly produces not only an object for the subject but also a subject for the object" (Arthur 1970:133). In Marx's relational view of things, then, production *is* consumption; for aesthetics to exist as a process, there must be artists, art work, and consumers with a set of standards or values. The values which artists produce are aesthetic values.

Having passed from art through production to value, we are now in a position to prosecute the inquiry with some rigor. Implicit throughout Marx's work is the notion that value is a human creation and that value makes its appearance at a definite stage of history.[1] Startling as this may at first appear, some reflection will show its reasonableness. The bourgeois political economy that we have all absorbed with our mothers' milk states that value is created by scarcity (and hence its economics studies the allocation of scarce goods, makes price dependent upon supply, etc.). Imagine, however, trying to place a value upon something that no one can appropriate; what is the "value" of a sunset? The absurdity of the idea is readily apparent. It is not, then mere scarcity which creates values, but the ability of some to alienate or appropriate the necessities of life — the products of others. Since such values are created by the application of

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[1]   Amin (1973) contains a systematic presentation of this idea.

labor to nature, all value has alienated labor as its essence; as Bertell Ollman puts it, "value is the most abstract form of alienated labor" (1971:246). In thinking of all forms of value, then, "as Spinoza clearly expresses it, we desire nothing because it is good, but it is good only because we desire it" (Santayana 1896:18). The fact that we desire it, of course, refers to the fact that it is alienable; people cannot want things that are un-havable. If one cannot have something, it cannot be a value. Primitive societies embody such production without "values" as we know them.

"PRIMITIVE" ART

By this is meant the aesthetic productions of classless societies. By "classless" is meant societies in which no one is able to alienate the production of others; "class" refers here to the social relation of exploitation, not to any vague notion of rank or hierarchy of relative status.

The central question in any inquiry about any art must be: "are aesthetic values present and if so, how are they produced?" Pursuing this, it seems clear that aesthetic values exist as such only by virtue of their separation from other values. An aesthetic value, then, is not a utilitarian value; it is something new and/or different. Do classless societies make such a separation? Do "primitive" people have a category of aesthetic as opposed to other sorts of things?[2]

Anthropology is not rich in empirical discussion of the question. Schneider (1971) asserts that the Pakot distinguish between the "utilitarian" and the "aesthetic" but the remainder of his article appears to demonstrate the reverse. In personal aesthetics, for instance, Pakot admire women with firm breasts and good teeth — eminently functional attributes in a society structured by lineage with its high priority on reproductive power. Pakot men find cattle beautiful, whereas women enthuse over green fields of eleusine, each sex thus finding its aesthetic pleasures in areas of production it controls. In sum, Schneider finds "beauty inherent in unique or unusual objects such as strangely woven baskets, unusually carefully built houses, or the [non-functional] lip on the milk pot" (1971:60). Schneider comes to the real crux of the argument when he tells his reader that the Pakot do not have functionless items. Their "beautiful" things are therefore additives to or embellishments of utilitarian items, and the Pakot clearly do not participate in a category of production which can be separated as "aesthetic." "Primitive" people can certainly distinguish between better and worse produc-

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[2]   The discussion in Crust (1975) of this question is the best I have seen.

tion but this distinction neither expresses a class relation nor is it the basis for a category of production.

ART AND INEQUALITY

Art is labor of a special sort — labor which creates a new reality by reflecting upon, reworking, the present world. Instead of merely transforming the materials of nature as do other crafts, it uses those materials to transform our understanding of things.

As a special category of production, aesthetics demands a division of labor deep enough to set its producers apart as such, and so to set their products apart as a special variety of creation, one which cannot exist in "primitive" society. The argument here is that without the social designation "artist" there can be no category of "art."

There can be little doubt that the history of art begins with that of exploitation. It is the power of a ruling class to determine the division of labor in society. That ability began historically with the *creation* of a division of labor. It is the appearance of *power*, of some individuals over others, in other words, which enables some to cause others to adopt productive tasks which differ from one another, which are more or less specialized. Such power, of course, extends to the appropriation of the product, so art and alienation are born together.

While exploitative societies have occupied less than one percent of human history, the experience of exploitation dominates our consciousness so completely that it seems to many an integral part of "human nature." If we are to counter such notions and replace them with sound science and a fundamentally different future, we need to objectify all our present social relations, especially those concerned with aesthetic values. Only when one sees clearly the process by which we produce can those relations be changed in a scientific manner — all other impulses to change are wishes, value judgments, "oughts."

Thorstein Veblen (1953 [1899]) referred to a phenomenon he called "conspicuous consumption" which he related to "pecuniary standards." He was making the point that people appear to enjoy showing off their wealth. Veblen, however, was content to leave the inquiry at a superficial level and never went on to investigate how it is that the process of class emulation and struggle that goes on continuously in exploitative societies creates the aesthetic standards of those societies.

One's social being is expressed in production and consumption. Conspicuous consumption, however, has the effect of removing the individual from one class and placing him, temporarily at least, in another. On one level, it is a kind of acting-out, but the point is that the person who participates in the aesthetics of class society is trying to say something,

that he or she has contact with or is part of the class which can alienate the labor of others. Under these conditions it is easy to see why fashions move downwards through class society rather than the reverse.[3]

As Santayana has pointed out, to the members of class society, desirable objects are beautiful ones. "Beauty" is simply the response which an individual consciousness makes to something it desires. Desire in class society is based most profoundly upon the wish to change one's relations with others, to move upward socially in the bourgeois variant. How the transformation from desire to beauty is effected in the human psyche is probably not knowable, but it seems clear that such an equation is performed. In short, the facts of social structure determine those of culture, and the individual's consciousness is shaped by the standards of culture. The relevant fact of social structure is class. The fact of culture is a set of symbols that express the dynamics of these divisions. The psychology of desire involves, among other things, the creation of aesthetic values at the level of individual and cultural standards.

In the United States today, suntans are thought attractive, yet 150 years ago the opposite was the case; in those days, a brown face and body were not beautiful or desirable. I know of no way to explain this shift except to say that it was caused by the removal of the locus of work from out-of-doors in the early nineteenth century, to indoors in the twentieth century. A tan now shows that one is able to avoid productive work (and live on something else) long enough to get one. In the nineteenth century, being pale showed the same thing. Interestingly, subcategories of value within the suntan aesthetic show the same process at work: winter tans are more highly valued than brownness in summer (this involves the expense of travel as well as of leisure). Again, evenness of tan is valued: it shows that one was doing nothing while tanning; construction workers do not get an even tan. All-over tans require the consumption of large amounts of space; sunning oneself in the nude demands a privacy not to be found on cheap beaches. Yet somehow our perception of a suntan is an aesthetic perception, not mere money valuation. We have created a standard without knowing anything about the process by which it was created.

In a Chinese example, the "lotus foot" was produced by binding young girls' feet during the period of growth so that the adult foot reached only about half of its normal size. This was thought very attractive by the Chinese, who also saw that such feet implied a life of leisure for their half-crippled owners. These women could therefore be kept only by men of some wealth; the wives' helplessness effectively demonstrated their husbands' ability to provide. The Vietnamese, with characteristic

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[3] This is most noticeable in capitalist society. In a social formation involving caste-like divisions, it seems that this tendency should be less pronounced.

ingenuity, have modified the permanent effects of such physical altera-
tions and express the same relation through clothing; their long dresses,
the *aó-dài*, have long tails on the blouses which hang down to within
inches of the ground. In a land where productive work goes on in muddy
rice paddies, such clothing says a lot.

Somewhat further removed lies the American woman's concern with
softness of the hands, which implies, of course, that their possessor has
either servants or machinery to take care of household tasks. American
men's hands, by contrast, are thought most attractive when firm or hard.
In the world of office work, men with such hands have the leisure to
engage in shopwork or do-it-yourself home maintenance. Again, in parts
of the world where real productive (and alienated) labor takes a physical
form, one finds soft hands highly valued among men.

It seems plain that the recent fad of dieting is the result of the same
process. Cheap food makes one fat whereas high-protein, special dietetic
foods, and leisure for exercise are necessary for most Americans to
remain slim much past puberty. Most dieters can testify that it costs
more to stay thin than to put on weight. Here once more the cross-
cultural corollary holds as well: in societies whose members are
chronically undernourished, fatness is highly regarded aesthetically.
In these groups, men who have the means tend to prefer women who are
fat.

The wider generalization suggested is that aesthetics always come from
the same place that wealth does. The Vietnamese and Japanese women
who underwent plastic surgery to have their eyes rounded and their noses
lengthened are thus making two statements about themselves: (a) they
are Westernized enough to appreciate Western good looks (which con-
flict radically with local ideals); and (b) they have the money to spend.
One can also speculate that if the United States were invaded, conquered,
and occupied by African armies, some of the new enthusiasms in personal
aesthetics would include darkening of skin, permanent waves with very
small curlers, and plastic surgical modification of noses and lips. It is also
now possible to see why blacks in America used to imitate white physical
features — hair straighteners and bleaching creams make one look like
the rulers. Black can never be really beautiful in white racist society, but
the fact that resistance to simple mimicking of whites has begun is
encouraging.

We can see now why such American cultural items as Coca-Cola,
cigarettes, and much of our other plastic effluvia have had such a tre-
mendous acceptance throughout the Third World. The aesthetics of the
objects themselves means nothing. Neither do local standards, which are
steamrollered. The beauty of American junk, and its fantastic appeal, is
caused solely by the wealth and power of America, which Americans and
their possessions represent. People identify with America through their

possession of American things and values. These are desired, embraced, thought beautiful.

A NOTE ON METHOD AND POLITICS

The point to be made in this brief essay is that our culture has lost its bearings aesthetically. We have lost control of the production of aesthetic values and our values now confront us; we are controlled by them, not understanding that we ourselves produced them. This is nothing more than the aesthetic aspect of the problem of capitalist production in general. Production, once geared to human needs, has now taken precedence over those needs and creates needs. Our aesthetic needs in class society are not under our control. Our creation of them takes place under circumstances which we do not control, and the form of production of our ideas is not even subject to our understanding. Most people do not know why they like what they like, any more than they understand why they produce what they produce in the material realm. No social system exists in which one aspect of life makes sense while the others are mysterious. It seems clear that straightening out our aesthetics requires more than an act of will. If the history of the last decade is any lesson, it certainly says volumes about the efficacy of changing the world by gazing inward. Anyone can see that our aesthetics and our production in general serve only the needs of capital, that the "free-enterprise system" produces not only confusion about what is socially necessary (the critique of the forties and fifties) but the *opposite* of what people need. War, junk food, and supersonic transport correspond to fine arts which exemplify the meaninglessness of life for all classes.

There are many grounds upon which one may reject capitalism. In it, one's schooling and work are oppressive, one is exploited economically, and life is ever more nasty, brutish, and short. It is a society in which the promises of the ruling class have become not the precursors of reality but the opposite of what we see. Thus our art is visually repellent, architecture serves only to waste space and materials, and in our everyday life we must appear to one another always as what we are not, never as what we are. These things are clear, to one extent or another, to most people whose vision is not hopelessly clouded by their "work" in the extraction of surplus value.

As remarked above, however, one confronts capitalism as a ready-made existent reality, in its aesthetic dimension as well as others, in which one must participate in one way or another. So the process of rejection is to some degree a process of self-criticism. This does not refer to some form of white liberal guilt. It means that when one undertakes the long task of objectifying one's social relations — of seeing what it is that has

made us what we are — there will be some parts of ourselves that we will see as having been made for us by a process we did not understand at the time. Our aesthetics is definitely one category which will undergo some shocks as a result of this process. In it, one learns that both the creator and perceiver of things bestow beauty and meaning, that things have beauty and meaning only insofar as they point to relations between people that are desirable.

It is this that creates the ugliness and alienation of our present aesthetics and it is up to us to create a successor to that aesthetics. It is only in the context of this struggle that aesthetic values can have meaning in the age of imperialism. This is not to "put art in the service of politics" in any vulgar Zhdanovist sense; the point is that if one's life is political and progressive, one's aesthetics will be also.

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Notes on the Sociology of Art

JAMES L. PEACOCK

Anthropology and sociology regard art in different ways as is revealed by comparing the introductory textbooks of the two disciplines. The typical anthropology textbook (at least that of the American type) devotes a separate chapter to art, as to language and other symbolic forms. The typical sociology textbook lacks a separate chapter on art but subsumes the topic under those social categories, such as "group" or "norm," that form major chapter headings. The advantage of the anthropological perspective is that it considers art significant because of its form alone, whereas the sociological tends to regard art as significant only insofar as it is shown to serve a social function (see Duncan 1962:375; 1968:15, 17). The advantage of the sociological view is that it elaborates a theory of society and can then proceed to analyze art by showing its place within the theory. Endeavoring to comment anthropologically on the sociological view of art, this article deals with what is probably the most comprehensive and influential modern sociological theory, Talcott Parsons' "theory of action."

ART AND SOCIETY

Parsons' view of the relation between art and society is clarified by elucidating his terms "expressive" and "evaluative." Expressive culture is a system of symbolic forms regarded more for their formal qualities, their sensuous surfaces, than for any moral or cognitive conceptions they may happen to express; art tends to fit this definition of expressive culture. Evaluative culture is a system of moral conceptions embodied in decrees, doctrines, laws, sermons, and other symbolic forms; religion tends to fit this definition of evaluative culture. In Parsons' theory,

evaluative culture, particularly religion, is institutionalized in the social system; expressive culture, exemplified by much art, is internalized by the personality but not so strongly institutionalized in the social system. Parsons regards religion as of great significance for society because it provides legitimacy and meaning to values. Parsons apparently regards art as less significant for society.

This perspective is exemplified in the few remarks Parsons makes concerning the artist's relationship to his audience and society. Art, says Parsons, is

. . . institutionalized only in "acceptance" terms. As we ordinarily put it, we are "pleased" or "moved" by a work of art or its performance. But this attitude does not have specifically binding implications for our actions beyond this specific context (1951:411).

An example of what Parsons has in mind might be the relationship between those who attend a performance or an exhibition and the conceptions formulated at these events. No organizational network connects the audience's daily lives to these shows or enforces conformity to normative conceptions expressed by them. The contrast with the church or political meeting hall is revealing, for religious and political organizations typically do boast organizational networks to enforce in daily life those norms expressed during special occasions.

Parsons notes that exceptions to the restricted institutionalization of aesthetic norms are the coteries or schools whose primary rationale is a set of aesthetic standards to which their members should conform in ramified areas of their lives. But Parsons emphasizes that these standards could control the lives of only a small clique, and that they could never furnish the organizational basis for an entire society (1951:412). Parsons does state that in some societies, such as the Communist ones, aesthetic standards become crucial *parts* of values and ideologies controlling the wide areas of behavior. Insofar as this occurs, the aesthetic standards become severely evaluative, and enforcement of conformity is strict, as in Communist rules prohibiting or restricting artistic portrayal of private emotions.

Parsons' theory implies that evaluative culture is more strongly integrated into society than is expressive culture, and perhaps is more necessary for society's survival. A further implication is that a society under stress would tend to react by creating heavily moral symbols such as decrees and laws which control behavior and that this response is sociologically sound.

ART AND CULTURE

Parsons' *The social system* (1951) viewed expressive forms as elements in a network of social interaction, but his later writings, notably the "Introduction to part IV" in *Theories of society* (1961a), treat expressive forms of symbols as contributing to a system that bestows meaning. That analytically distinguishable system of categories and orientations (values, beliefs, ideas, and symbols) which renders human action meaningful is what Parsons would call "culture." A cultural system is essential for the maintenance of the social system because it confers the meaning and legitimacy that participants in the social system require in order to sustain their commitment to social roles, but the function of rendering life meaningful is significant in itself, apart from its social contribution.

According to Parsons, cultural systems bestow essentially four types of meaning: cognitive, cathectic, evaluative, and what we might call "existential." Each type of meaning is bestowed at four levels of generality. Cognitive systems, exemplified by scientific schemes, delineate conceptual categories ranging from the most specific to the most general, i.e. facts, problems, theories, and underlying premises. Evaluative systems, exemplified by ethical schemes, delineate categories for ranking means, then goals, then scales for ranking both means and goals, and, finally, all evaluations. Existential systems formulate frames, such as the Calvinist notion of "calling," that provide meaning to performances (e.g. work), spheres of performance (e.g. the economy), the essential order of the universe, and, finally, all phenomena, including the various elements of culture.

The cathectic subsystem of culture is composed of expressive symbols. Like other cultural elements, expressive symbols can be ranked along a gradient of generality. The least general symbols codify utilitarian attitudes toward objects which are typically physical and organic. The next level of symbolism codifies emotions of love or reciprocity toward personalities. The next codifies feelings of identification with collectives. The most general level codifies attitudes of worship or generalized respect toward cultural objects (e.g. God). Presumably the function of all of these levels of symbols is to express "culturally codified generalizations about emotional experience" (Parsons 1961b:1166). Obviously, not all of these symbols need be regarded as art forms, but many are; thus, a statue of a plow might codify (and glorify) the notion of a utilitarian attitude toward a physical object while a painting of the Madonna and child represents, among other things, the emotion of love for a person.

ART AND PERSONALITY

For Parsons, art finds its origins and powers within the individual personality. Parsons' remarks on the elemental motives and orientations that are associated with expressiveness revolve around three interconnected themes: (1) the expressive urge is toward direct gratification; (2) such gratification is characteristically obtained in "particularistic" relationships; and (3) the capacity to enter particularistic relationships is learned through the mother.

As Parsons puts it,

. . . expressive symbols constitute the cultural patterning of action of the expressive type where the interest in immediate gratifications is primary and neither instrumental nor evaluative considerations have primacy. . . . The essential point is the primacy of acting out the need-disposition itself rather than subordinating gratification to a goal outside the immediate situation or to a restrictive norm (1951:384).

In other words, expressive form derives from an urge toward immediate gratification.

Such urges are most likely to be expressed through social relationships of the particularistic type; instrumental attitudes through social relationships of the "universalistic" type (Parsons 1951:38, 500; Parsons and Shils 1951:86). The correlation follows Parsons' conception of the expressive urge as thrusting toward immediate gratification. To orient to persons instrumentally or universalistically is to use them as means toward a goal or ideal that transcends one's particular relationship with them, rather than to find gratification in the relationship itself. A politician orienting universalistically or instrumentally to a friend would use him for some goal transcending their friendship, such as winning an election or sustaining national solvency. A politician who oriented particularistically to a friend would gain primary gratification from the friendship itself (and thus cease to act as a politician).

Parsons apparently believes that the particularistic orientation is learned through childhood association with the mother. The child-mother bond is gratifying to each party regardless of any larger purpose it may serve either of them, and the mother is traditionally assumed to refrain from judging her child according to universalistic standards, as in the phrase "a face only a mother could love." Parsons' argument implies, if one may reduce it to extremely concrete description, that the arts stem from mothers. Artistic and expressive forms derive from the expressive urge, and the expressive urge is best activated in particularistic relations, the archetype of which is learned from childhood experience with the mother.

COMMENT

Parsons himself deems analysis of culture the distinctive contribution of anthropology to the theory of action. Anthropology is indeed more inclined than sociology to treat culture, particularly expressive culture and specifically art, as an entity of significance in its own right, to confront form as form rather than reduce form to social function. The other distinctive anthropological concern is with societies other than the Western, industrial type from which even the supposedly universal and comparative Parsonsian "theory of action" appears to derive certain biases. Taking account of these anthropological emphases, we may see several ways of enriching Parsons' theory.

The theory of action seems to hold that expressive culture is less crucial to the functioning and survival of society than is evaluative culture. This generalization, in a way, is a tautology since evaluative culture is defined as legitimizing society, whereas expressive culture is defined as gratifying the needs of the individual, and one might infer that any entity whose primary function is social would more strongly serve the needs of society than does a form whose primary function is personal. But the argument is neither tautological nor logical, and the underlying assumption may reflect too narrow a conception of the functioning of society.

Parsons' formulation would seem to hold best for the early modern Communist or capitalist type of society with its emphasis on productive functioning legitimized by an explicitly moralistic ideology or theology expressed through sermons, sanctions, and decrees. Observing other types of societies, ranging from those more modern to those less so, the anthropologist can at least entertain the possibility that a different type of social integration may hold. An example in the direction of more modernity might be the supposedly emerging new America with its Reichian "Consciousness III" and its McLuhanesque infatuation with media and participatory involvement. Such a society, which admittedly seems less likely today than two or three years ago, rejects the heavy-handed integration achieved through theologies, ideologies, sermons, and decrees. What is proposed as a substitute incentive to individuals who must play their roles in order that society survive is a variety of sensuous forms rooted in personal urges yet synthesized with social values so as to render these values emotionally meaningful to each individual. Through this process it would seem that sufficient social integration can be achieved without the repressive control implied by Parsons' notion of norms legitimized by values which are in turn rendered legitimate and meaningful through evaluative culture. The hard-nosed sociologist may assert, of course, that Consciousness III has not yet emerged, hence Parsons' dictum that no society can be based primarily on aesthetic standards still holds true. The ethnologist could then point to a long-existing society

such as Bali which seems to achieve a certain integration through shared commitment to aesthetic standards rather than to any moralistic theology. Indeed, any of the "elementary structures" elaborated provocatively by Lévi-Strauss would seem to achieve an integration by synthesizing personal expression, sensuous form, and classificatory system in a way that bypasses the theologically or ideologically based moral mechanism that is the core concept of the theory of action.

One source, perhaps, of Parsons' limited view of the social function of art is his conception of the "meaning" that cultural systems confer. Parsons indicates clearly how evaluative, cognitive and existential cultures bestow meaning: these systems subsume specific acts or objects under general categories. Facts are subsumed under theories and means under conceptions of ends. Parsons does not elucidate how expressive symbols confer meaning, though he gives a clue by his statement that expressive symbols codify emotional experience. Such codification is through sensuous (visible, audible, tactile) form. The muddle of raw experience gains meaning merely by converting into orderly form, as when a narrative transforms directionless conflict into directed plot, or a painting transforms confused sensation into an organized composition. And such conversion is accomplished in terms of aesthetic standards and conceptions (rules of style, definitions of genre, and the like). In fact, an expressive form may develop to the point that its major aim is simply to define the controlling aesthetic schema; as Lévi-Strauss remarks concerning nonrepresentational paintings: "they represent the manner in which [the painter] would execute his paintings if by chance he were to paint any" (1966:30).

Considering that artistic expression is controlled by aesthetic conventions, Parsons' statements about art directly gratifying personality needs would seem misleading. Art maintains a delicate balance between gratifying and deflecting basic needs, and the codifying of the needs through form is the method of balancing. Art, as opposed to pornography, has shied from portraying those physiological organs which most directly gratify the sexual drive. A psychoanalytical insight is that it is rarely the genitals themselves, but instead the secondary parts such as breasts, legs, mouth, and hair that are considered beautiful. Through concentration on secondary parts, art deflects attention from direct gratification of the sexual drive and focuses attention on the form, the sensuous surface, the symbolization of sex (see Devereux 1961; Peacock 1968). The artist as pimp would prompt his audience to abandon its contemplative posture, leave its seats, and gratify its needs through unadorned genita on-stage. But is the artist a fetishist in deflecting the sexual drive toward forms? The artist, unlike the fetishist, seeks to increase the meaningfulness of sexual gratification through elaborating it as "beautiful" forms that embody venerated aesthetic traditions. A similar meaning may be conferred by art

on the other actions of life, e.g. economic, political, or simply personal. What is missing in Parsons' theory is a sufficiently subtle formulation of the intertwining of personal, social, and cultural exigencies met by art.

A strength of Parsonsian theory lies in the interconnection of such seminal categories as "particularism," "instrumental," and the like. Highlighting commonalities that hold through the myriad spheres of human action, these categories offer some promise that even art can be linked to the broader axes of sociological theory. Illustrating the kind of generalization that such categories can evoke, the following line of thought derives from Parsons' associations between particularism and the mother-child bond:

a. Childhood experiences, particularly those associated with the mother, tend to be organized according to principles of magical thinking, aesthetic fit, and convention, rather than rationality, utility, and efficiency. This is especially true in modern society where childhood and adulthood are sharply differentiated. In modern society, adult jobs specialize in rationality and efficiency, but children's lives are more oriented around fantasy, custom, and aesthetic rules for organizing play.

b. Patterns similar to those of childhood guide artistic and expressive endeavors (e.g. conventions of style that call forth connections between symbols and referents which are, from a utilitarian standpoint, arbitrary). Due to similarities between these two experiences, art and childhood, any art form, regardless of its particular content (its story, moral, or message), will tend to evoke regressive fantasies and emotions derived from childhood; at the same time, it codifies and beautifies such fantasies and emotions, providing them with meaning.

c. Adult artists and audiences are forced to perceive the discrepancies between the rules guiding the childhood and aesthetically-based art and utility-based daily society. Such perception may evoke emotions such as nostalgia, sense of loss, and a reluctance to leave the world of fantasy (as when the Balinese reluctantly comes out of trance or the American reluctantly leaves the cinema or closes his novel). These emotions would seem partially to derive from the similarity between the artistic experience and the childhood experience. The removal from the artistic experience reenacts the loss of childhood and evokes a nostalgic "remembrance of things past."

d. This emotion of nostalgia contrasts significantly with the emotion of militancy, the urge to reform which derives from a sense of discrepancy between *evaluative* culture and daily society (as in the Calvinist response to his perception of mis-mesh between the Kingdom of God and the kingdom of man). The nostalgia may not lead so directly to reform and correction as does the militancy, but it would seem to encourage an exploration of the self which some would argue will lead to even more radical change in society (this essential point is one of several excellent

ones in the admittedly simplistic *The greening of America* by Charles Reich).

Whether these generalizations hold true, and to some degree they probably do, they suggest directions in which the fundamental Parsonsian categories lead. Derived from Parsons' basic postulates, they call into question his conclusion that expressive forms are generally a less potent force of change than is evaluative culture, that the expressive symbols embody "a whole complex of factors making for stabilization through traditionalization, which did not operate so strongly in the case of beliefs" (1951:500). Through a more subtle and flexible probe of the distinctive type of meaning provided by art, we can appreciate its potential not only for social integration but for social change.

Parsons himself has repeatedly alluded to the inadequacies in his notions of expressive form, and he has stated more than once that the sphere of expressive symbolism is the least developed within the theory of action (1951:384; 1961a:1165). In company with Shils and Olds, he has also stated that "there is probably no problem in the analysis of action systems which would not be greatly clarified by a better understanding of symbolism" (Parsons and Shils 1951:242). A basic difficulty with Parsonsian and other types of general sociology is that they tend to ignore the distinctive qualities of symbolic form. Any theory which would take account of the social meaning of art adequately must go beyond its cognitive or evaluative content and confront the qualities of its forms. Yet such forms cannot be analyzed independently of the society, in the fashion of the traditional humanists. Research within the framework of a general theory of action such as that of Parsons would seem the most fruitful approach.

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PART TWO

Art in Its Cultural Setting

Witchcraft Belief in the Explanation of Traditional African Iconography

LEON SIROTO

INTRODUCTION

This article deals essentially with a dichotomy in anthropological expla-
nation of certain cultural phenomena. The split clearly reflects the classic
opposition of the sacred and the profane. The distinction prevails in the
explanation of traditional African sculpture, while, paradoxically, it does
not prevail in the explanation of the societies in which this material is
found.

We have learned that traditional African sculpture owed its exist-
ence to religious belief and to its societal roles. Much of the historical
importance of African sculpture as art derives from an unqualified
appreciation of striking juxtapositions of formal elements. Much of its
anthropological importance exists in the promise of understanding
the societal and cultural factors that determined the nature of the
elements and their consistent arrangement into these dramatic pat-
terns.

Since the corpus of traditional African sculpture can now be found
outside of Africa — in museums, private collections, and photographs —
we do not risk losing the forms themselves. Much of the knowledge of the
forms' contexts, however, remain either in Africa, in the societies' fading
recall of traditional uses, or in overlooked European and American
records of traditional uses. Here we do risk loss of the understanding of
forms: the time for learning is late and, as I shall attempt to indicate here,
anthropologists tend to look past certain determinants of traditional
iconography.

My point at this time is not whether these determinants are crucial, but
whether we risk partial explanation (and thus partial understanding)
when philosophical and theoretical selectivity tend to carry investigation

and interpretation past a *system* of ideas which has been found to be widespread and important in other cultural contexts.

Anthropologists who deal with people in religious systems know that they must observe them within the broadest possible spectrum of relevant behavior. On the other hand, anthropologists who deal with images in the same religious systems tend to see them in a delimited area of religious thought and action. This compartmentalization coincides significantly with a notion of religion, more humanistic than anthropological, in which man's attempts to interact with the nonempirical world relate almost exclusively to cosmology, to increase, to social cohesion through harmonious interaction, to self-improvement, in sum, to those states of being that *we* would consider ideal or sacred.

This predilection has condensed the theory of African religious sculpture into a few discrete categories of limited scope and disparate explanatory relevance. In the first case, the categories reflect positive, ameliorative action upon the natural world by supernatural means: supplication and magic strain toward pleasing *all* ancestors and nature spirits, ensuring natural, ever-augmenting increase, assuring the perpetual operation of adaptive traditions and, to a lesser extent, protecting one's self and one's community against the agressive magic of rivals acting either as individuals or groups. The latter objective seems the one least emphasized in explanation because it is philosophically at odds with the premise underlying all of the preceding objectives: stability through codified morality and equilibrium through comprehension of the universe. From this point of view, traditional figures and masks are believed to represent either ancestors intermediating between living men and the powers governing the unseen world or benevolent spirits presiding over special cults or initiation systems.

We find a parallel point of view taken in the second case, in which categories of sculpture fail to explain adequately or consistently. In investigating material culture, some field anthropologists tend to see its contexts in terms of Linton's four-part scheme of essential attributes of culture items: form, meaning, use, and function (1936:402). The concepts of use and meaning bear most significantly upon the problem of explanation that we are discussing here. "Use" can be taken to denote either a mode of operation or, in the religious field, an intent of operation, while "meaning" would refer to the representational or symbolic identity of an object. As will be seen in the discussion to follow, some anthropologists tend to confuse these two attributes, in the sense of merging them: use can be offered as meaning and, more often, meaning is cited as use. (Indeed, a contemporary school of anthropology, when asked about the precise contexts of a remarkable corpus of religious sculpture will deem it sufficient to cite relevant mythological themes, dispensing entirely with the more immediate cult uses that the objects may have had.)

These approaches to the use and meaning of objects indicate a concern with finding and proclaiming what is good, stable, and grand in traditional African religions. In expressing the mythic and sacred qualities which underlie these virtues, objects used in religious contexts seem to lie beyond pragmatic consideration in that they represent humanity and the universe in its broadest and noblest aspects.

While this outlook reinforces dilettantes of traditional African sculpture in their appreciation of the art, sacred as well as beautiful, it obscures much to those who desire to go beyond the immediate emotional impact of forms into a detailed understanding of the actual (societal) reasons or circumstances for their having come into being. There is ample evidence that African traditional life was not entirely myth writ small, that stability and equilibrium often did not prevail and that traditional ideologies often had a dimension that ran strongly counter to our notions of what the essentials of religion should be.

A cursory acquaintance with ethnographic sources should demonstrate that the essentials of some African traditional religions can have as much to do with ongoing conflict and change as with conformity and continuity. This dynamic field is framed by the belief that men can affect each other adversely by means of unseen agencies working in the unseen world. Such attacks or battles are supposed to be motivated by a wide range of sentiments, encompassing ambition, family pride, greed, rivalry, jealousy, rancor, and hatred.

These motives are not noble, and it should be noted also that they need not have prevailed in African traditional societies. The study of these systems of interpersonal conflict by supernatural means has, however, been especially intensive in sub-Saharan Africa, to the extent that investigators have come to see in this field of belief significant reflections of specific strains in social and political organization. These correspondences are especially important to an understanding of culture patterns when they relate to a mystic power that is, as Leach states (1961:22–23) "uncontrolled and unconscious" on the part of the person believed to be responsible. This concept of an innate and often undetected ability of certain individuals to work mystically on other individuals in a biological, rather than technological, way delimits a field of traditional African religious thought which may serve to explain some of the elements and themes in traditional sculpture.

The religious field to which I refer is that of witchcraft. In the preceding paragraph I mentioned an opposition between biological and technological modes of supernatural operation. This was intended to make a distinction between witchcraft and sorcery, the latter being, citing Leach (1961) once more, "mystical power (that is) controlled and conscious." The distinction between the two is, despite these criteria, never very clear, either in anthropological analysis or in societal ideology. At the outset of

this discussion it is important to note that, in sub-Saharan Africa, there is a vast amount of accommodation between what we have chosen to deal with as categories of religious thought.

This mutual accommodation of categories of traditional African religion is manifest when we note that the observance of principles of religion that we classify as sacred and ennobling often does not preclude strong belief in witchcraft. If we are to regard mythology, cosmogony, and the worship of ancestral spirits as the sacred aspect of these religions and, conversely, belief in witchcraft, sorcery, and magic as the more mundane aspect, we still must be ready to deal with them as two sides of the same coin. Indeed, in some instances the two aspects are inextricable.

In her study of witchcraft, based largely upon African materials, Lucy Mair perceives the dilemma in separating the two:

All people perform regular rituals — which are known as "confirmatory" rites — in which they appeal for the blessing and protection of their ancestors or other spirits in the form of fertility of crops, cattle and people, and freedom from sickness. Occasionally the prayers spoken during such ceremonies refer expressly to protection against witches, but this has not often been recorded. However, it would follow from the interpretation of witchcraft that the absence of prosperity is almost to be equated with the presence of witchcraft (1969:61, 63).

Although the complementary relationship between witchcraft and positive aspects of traditional religion has not been adequately studied in traditional African religions, we cannot say that witchcraft itself has been overlooked as a field of anthropological inquiry. Indeed, as concerns English and American investigators, we might say that it has been pursued with as much intensity and effect as have ancestor worship, "increase" cults, and rituals of kingship. Its literature is abundant, and its cultural correlations are often highly significant.

To set the scene for the discussion to follow, however, two qualifications should be made. First, most of the intensive anthropological studies of witchcraft belief in traditional African societies have been made outside of French-speaking Africa. Citing Mair (1969:31) once more: "French ethnographers have on the whole been more interested in generalized statements of social rules and cosmological theories than in events which illustrate the relevance of belief in its social setting." A large part of the corpus of traditional religious sculpture comes from French-speaking Africa.

Second, even in intensive studies, witchcraft belief is usually dissociated from other aspects of religion. Most cult rituals and cult paraphernalia, especially cult images, are thought either to have nothing to do with witchcraft or to possess completely antithetical qualities which are used to combat witchcraft. This dichotomy is not evident in a number of religions in which the theme of witchcraft pervades other categories of

belief in the supernatural. This aspect of complexity will be seen to run not only through religious belief but through the inventory of images that express these beliefs. In these inter-related systems, ideology and iconography, we will have to remember that underlying causes are, given the available evidence, likely to be several rather than one, even when informants cite clear-cut single choices for symbolic themes and elements.

The study of witchcraft tends to deal with interaction between individuals and social groups in a setting of every day relationships. The unseen entities and principles involved in the system are generally assigned to the lower levels of supernatural phenomena. The linkage of witchcraft belief to ongoing social conflict seems to transfer its study from the field of religion to that of social anthropology. (It would seem that the foremost contributions to the study have been made by those trained in the school of British social anthropology.)

Its ambiguous situation between cultural subsystems probably contributes to witchcraft seeming to be religion of the lowest order, concerned primarily with conflict, disease and accident, and based upon notions of furtive parasitic creatures rather than independent spirits who, even if dangerous, at least had dramatic or spectacular attributes. Witchcraft tends to be regarded as the profane and marginal aspect of African traditional religion, especially when classified as a discrete system.

The opposition between sacred and profane cannot play a prominent role in the study of witchcraft as a system of interpersonal relationships. I submit, however, that this dichotomy is expressed in the study of witchcraft as a "technological" system occasioning the invention, manufacture, and use of a range of artifacts and artifact elements to affect the supernatural entities and forces that come into play. In this connection, we find what we might call a fallacy of sacredness operating in the interpretation of religious sculpture, an assumption that its contexts and themes are determined primarily by its relation to the world of spirits and to members of the society who, in having reached higher planes of supernatural existence, are accessible only through the use of representations that gratify their sensibilities. The linkage between the concepts of religious sculpture and "high religion" corresponds to our tendency to equate art and exaltation of the human spirit, either in creation or contemplation.

This assumption about art seems to have led to a paradox: while witchcraft belief in traditional Africa has been studied with relative intensity, traditional African religious sculpture has only infrequently been considered in relation to witchcraft belief. Perhaps the case can be put more strongly: in many societies that produce religious sculpture and that believe strongly in witchcraft, investigators often tend to exercise an option, interpreting iconography on what they take to be the higher levels of religion and ideology.

My intention here is to offer another perspective on traditional African iconography, one that shows that witchcraft belief can sometimes be a prime determinant of representational elements and themes. In developing this theme it should become evident that we must deal with a considerable amount of accommodation, if not fusion, between systems of witchcraft thought and systems of religious thought dealing with transcendent, exalted spirits and forces. The discreteness accorded the two outlooks expresses our own analytical concepts and moral inclinations more than it does African conditions.

The traditional African conditions that will sustain my perspective are primarily those of the BaKwele, a people of the region of the Upper Ivindo River in Western Equatorial Africa. My field investigations of this society were concerned with the reconstruction of systems in which masks were used. The bases of these systems were religious; the BaKwele religion was strongly determined by witchcraft belief, and this feature indicated an unavoidable connection between witchcraft and iconography.

In subsequent investigation of some BaKwele subgroups, I was able to gather data among groups of the Kele-Kota linguistic family (designation of linguistic groupings tends to follow the classification provided in Guthrie [1953]). These expanded upon the principles discerned among the BaKwele and indicated an even stronger connection between witchcraft belief and traditional iconography. These insights, in turn, suggested further systematic relationships extending beyond my own data into societies studied by other investigators who had minimized or completely overlooked these aspects of traditional images. The most salient case in this regard is that of the "Pangwe" peoples — Beti, Bulu, and Fang — as well as a number of peripheral societies.

I will thus be dealing mainly with three different variants of Western Equatorial African culture patterns. This region is ethnologically distinctive in certain ways. It has not been investigated to any extent by British social anthropologists, nor have adherents of the French mythological and symbolical school worked here with any wide scope or ethnographic intensity.

This presentation is intended to indicate another point of view and to suggest reconsideration of viewpoints that are fast related to culture systems, I will concentrate on aspects of witchcraft that are most ostensibly related to religious symbolism. In indicating what I take to be ostensible relationships, I will depend considerably on inferences and projections made from several kinds of data, mainly those of ethnography; art history, in the sense of a corpus of relevant sculptural material devoid of any field explanation of its use and symbolism; and published statements on the material that express the selective tendency in explanation that I have mentioned above. If at times my tone approaches

polemic, it will be in the interest of setting a balance and expanding our scope, rather than of establishing any primacy of symbolic content. My concluding remarks will pose several questions of iconography which might be profitably rethought in the light of witchcraft-related symbols.

WITCHCRAFT BELIEF IN WESTERN EQUATORIAL AFRICA

I will deal here with that region of western Africa extending between 10° and 17° East longitude and 5° North and 5° South latitude. Within this area I will concentrate on the Ogooué Basin, especially on its northeastern tributary, the Ivindo, and upon the southeastward-flowing upper course of the Ogooué River itself. This area is for the most part hilly rain forest country.

The cultivating peoples inhabiting this region subsist mainly upon plantains and manioc, crops that can be staggered in their planting times and can be gathered for some time afterward from land that has been left fallow. This subsistence advantage freed the nomadic cultivators of this sparsely settled region from the pressing concerns of land tenure, painstaking storage, and allocation of food until the next harvest, as well as the risk of major crop failure. Religious belief and ritual activity were therefore centered more upon social interaction and its vicissitudes than upon success in growing food.

Politically, all of these societies were minimally centralized. They were settled either in moderate-sized villages or hamlets made up of a few closely related lineages or in larger villages made up of a good number of unrelated lineages. These differences as well as many others were due to special conditions during the nineteenth century.

European goods of prime importance to the attainment of power through military force and of wealth through skillful management of the marriage exchange system — guns, powder, brass and beads — began to filter slowly inland from the trading ports on the Atlantic Coast. The goods gained in value as their eastward passage was both slow and restricted: they had to travel along extensive and complex networks of exchange before they reached the Ivindo Basin. The inland peoples' growing awareness of the presence and scarcity of these goods greatly increased competition between and within social groups which we can assume were already free of any strong central political authority. This competition expressed itself in numerous forms of aggression and conflict which in turn intensified the incidence of witchcraft accusation and the elaboration and introduction of techniques to deal with the threat of increasing witchcraft.

In these circumstances, belief in witchcraft posed the societal dilemma of recognizing and resenting success as a result of unjust exercise of

supernatural power and yet having to remain under the influence, indeed often protection, of those sinister men who had succeeded. In the interest of group solidarity, the resulting strain had to be allayed by the belief that witchcraft could be brought under control or at least deterred from doing harm.

We can rely on more than inference in our assurance that the fear of witchcraft was intense and widespread in Western Equatorial Africa around the middle of the last century. Paul Du Chaillu who traveled relatively extensively in the region found this to be the case. He was, however, essentially an explorer and naturalist and did not comprehend much more than the presence of the belief and its culmination in trials and executions of innocent persons. His accounts, however, provide strong evidence for a deep-seated belief at a time of an expanding competition for European goods as they traveled inland (Du Chaillu 1861, 1867).

Belief in the nature of witchcraft seems to have been more or less consistent throughout this region. The witch was held to be an organism imbued with unseen powers, surpassing those of men. It had to reside in the body of a human host, having entered either congenitally or through introduction by another witch-host sometime during infancy or early childhood. The disposition of the host toward members of his society, especially those of his immediate domestic group, served to direct the organism toward the victims upon which it fed at night, draining off their vital force. Witches were believed to be especially active and powerful at night, although stronger ones could cause mishaps to individuals during the day or, working in concert, could send or direct unusual disasters against the village of their rivals, e.g. epidemic disease, crop blight, a syndrome of various lesser diseases, and the advent of European military force.

Until more intensive and correlative studies are made, many ideas of witchcraft in this region show considerable ambiguity. The witch organism is, on the one hand, a voracious creature compelled to feed upon its host's antagonists and yet, on the other hand, has command of forces that transcend mere predation. Moreover, the relationship between the host, his indweller, and his victim is determined by the intent or inclination of the host, in that a distinction is often drawn between obstructive and destructive witchcraft, the former bringing the host good fortune at the expense of less powerful associates but not through their murder.

As mentioned above, it seems that the host's direction of his witch is at first largely unwitting, subject to his emotions, rather than his intentions. Yet, even in the host's knowing release of witchcraft, we are dealing not with special magical techniques as much as with a simple release of innate power. Thus the absence of overt signs would make the source of witch-

craft, as expressed in otherwise inexplicable unfairness or harm, a matter for detection and control.

The Western Equatorial focus on witchcraft makes for a belief in its pervasive presence, to the extent that it is thought difficult to either detect or control. Many powerful witches cannot be known until the death of their hosts, when autopsy reveals visceral abnormalities that confirm their presence. The two main techniques of detection during the life of the host are clairvoyance and ordeal. In the first case, the witch finder perceives the host through dreaming, revery, intensive dancing or gazing into a reflecting surface, such as a mirror or water in a bowl.

In the second case, ordeal, the presence of the witch is revealed by the ingestion of a drink made from the macerated bark of one of two different trees. The poisonous principle believed to be in the bark will sicken the innocent suspect but allow him to throw up, while the guilty person, not being able to throw up, will become increasingly affected by the poison.

Control over witchcraft is largely deterrent, residing in the threat of detection and subsequent execution by the victim's family or the payment of a heavy ransom by the culprit's family. Other principles of control seem not to have been dealt with to any significant extent and provide the background for the discussion to follow.

It is noteworthy that in many societies in this region an imbalance prevails between belief in witchcraft and the society's assurance of being in control of witchcraft. The harmful power of witches seems to outstrip the power of deterrent techniques much as resistant strains of bacteria develop in response to pharmaceutical control. In the societies dealt with in this discussion we can envision a state of continual war between witchcraft and those who believe themselves afflicted by it. This dynamic can often be attributed to historical circumstances leading to societal change and can often be expressed in trends in the development of cult and iconography.

The theoretical perspective on witchcraft that has prevailed among investigators in Western Equatorial Africa is that of a self-contained system within the congeries of beliefs and techniques that make up traditional religions. This assumption of discreteness, a separation from ancestor cult, tutelary spirits, and fields of vital force, has, I would contend, directed attention away from the uses and themes of images that relate primarily to defense against witchcraft. It should be implicit in the classic distinction between witchcraft and sorcery — simple projection of the witch host's emotions, as opposed to a technical procedure of effecting precise objectives — that the material accessories of witchcraft belief are defensive or deterrent in nature, rather than aggressive in the sense of facilitating harmful attacks.

THE BAKWELE CASE: WITCHCRAFT IN BROADER PERSPECTIVE

A study of traditional BaKwele society would indicate that the prevailing system of classifying religious beliefs in Western Equatorial Africa should be reconsidered. The separateness assumed for ancestor cult, nature spirit cult, fields of supernatural force, and witchcraft fails to obtain among the BaKwele, to the extent of leading us to question its holding true elsewhere. In all of its classically defined components, BaKwele religion is strongly imbued with witchcraft belief.

My belief in the prevalence of witchcraft in BaKwele religious thought comes out of field investigation (over the years 1960 and 1961) into cultural subsystems where these concepts were basic. My main objective was to learn of the traditional systems in which the BaKwele had used masks. At the outset of my inquiries, I had no theoretical orientation either toward or away from witchcraft as a principle of explanation. I found the determining influence of witchcraft belief impossible to overlook or underestimate.

Although BaKwele iconography is somewhat less complex than that of adjoining peoples, its relation to witchcraft belief provides a basis upon which we can consider the other systems of representation. Moreover, the main ritual in which the BaKwele express their religious beliefs is a cognate of forms employed by their neighbors; indeed, the BaKwele were among the last groups to adopt it, allowing less time span for extensive reinterpretation.

BaKwele culture agrees with the general regional pattern outlined in the preceding section. Major points of difference may be due to drastic historical changes. My discussion of traditional culture among the BaKwele and other peoples of Western Equatorial Africa deals with the period from 1800 to 1920, from the inland societies' growing awareness of European trade to the full imposition of European colonial power after World War One.

The BaKwele were the southeasternmost members of their linguistic group, the Makaa-Njem subfamily of Bantu speakers. In their homeland they acquired guns later than did their adjoining relatives and members of some of the related Yaunde-Fang-speaking groups. Sustaining repeated attacks, they were forced south, from the head waters of the Ivindo into the basin of the Dja and the Middle Ivindo rivers where they tended to come together in large villages composed of unrelated lineages. Here they encountered and mixed with Ngwyes, a people of the Kele-Kota subfamily of western Bantu languages. The Ngwyes had also been forced into the area by the arrival of guns among their neighbors, but the region that they left was one of considerably greater cultural complexity than the Bakwele homeland.

Perhaps the most important culture element that the BaKwele borrowed from the Ngwyes was a rite known as *beete* (from the Ngwyes *byet*). This ceremony — both a rite of passage and a rite of intensification — is clearly related to cults of such Kele-Kota speakers as the BaKota proper, the MaHongwe, the BuSamaï, and the Shaké, as well as to those of Yaunde-Fang speakers. The relationship goes beyond the similarity of terms into basic beliefs. All of these cults depended upon the belief in the cumulative power of the skulls of deceased family members. Investigators have tended to interpret this regional practice as a simple ancestor cult with the power of ancestral relics being no more than a function of their position in a genealogical and temporal hierarchy. The power of the relic of a deceased family member would, in this sense, depend invariably and uniformly upon kinship and the lapse of time since the person's death (Balandier 1955:142–143; Alexandre and Binet 1958:110–111; Perrois 1968:36).

Among the BaKwele we find that this belief in pure ancestral power was modified in accordance with their belief in witchcraft. The discussion of this point may lead us to ask if this condition may not have been significant in the skull-cults of their neighbors. In the accounts of the cults of the Kele-Kota peoples, the reader is left to decide which important members of the lineage had their skulls retained as cult objects: notables through their own attainments or through their occupying the right point in a line of descent?

The BaKwele believe that the witch organism, or part of one, is transferred to an infant not long after birth by an adult host who introduces it through the unhealed umbilicus. It would seem that an affinity between organism and host is innate, rather than intentionally attained through the use of magical techniques. Among the BaKwele and some other societies as well, there are few ways of attaining excellence and leadership without harboring a witch. All desirable human attainments are attributed to the witch inside. These include wisdom, bravery, skill, good fortune and above all, supernatural powers: clairvoyance, magical defenses, and ritual skills. Each different attribute was thought to be provided by a different witch organism.

The men and women who were hosts to witches held an ambivalent position. They were respected for their outstanding qualities — upon which the cohesion and duration of the village depended — and yet were feared for the same powers that could be turned against those whom they disliked (cf. Bohannan and Bohannan 1969:84–85). The witch organism emerged from its host at night, to feed upon the viscera of whoever its host wished harm. These nocturnal attacks eventually led to the victim's death. Inability to explain a death led to an accusation of murder by witchcraft. Notables whose witchcraft was acknowledged or self-proclaimed usually stood aloof from the consequences of defensive magic or of trial and punishment, if found guilty. The only defense against great

witches was removal to another village, either far enough away or under the protection of a comparable witch or witches.

In addition to this ambivalence between good and bad, another opposition prevailed in BaKwele witchcraft belief. This was a matter of scale: witchcraft could be either great or small. Great witchcraft was in the province of men whose powers were recognized by all. The witch organisms within these leaders enabled their hosts' alter egos to soar about at night, in order to consult with their peers in other villages and regions or to fight with their rivals. During these nocturnal travels they could see over space and time.

The lesser kind of witchcraft was attributed to lesser men and women who had attained no recognition for their supernatural powers. They would feel ambition or resentment that would direct their witch organisms against members of their domestic group, the extended family, or a nearby and closely related extended family. This kind of witchcraft was the more feared for its being concealed and activated by those who were otherwise of no great importance in the society. It was regarded as criminal in being directed against innocent and defenseless victims. In these cases, detection of the witch host and punishment by execution or penalty was imperative. For the detection of culprits in cases of lesser witchcraft, the BaKwele resorted to known and important witch hosts.

The BaKwele philosophy of witchcraft held that the rivalry between great witches transcended the extended family framework which limited the effectiveness of lesser witches. This combat took place between minimal lineages, often unrelated and separated by different villages. Sometimes great witches would ally themselves in order to attack one or more of their rivals. These struggles could cause the death of the antagonists, the loss of whose protection would expose a village to further misfortune.

This scheme would imply that considerable differences in witchcraft were recognized, depending upon the personality and age of the host, as well as the number of witch organisms that he harbored. Great witches were regarded as clairvoyants who could in their dreams see into the distance, the future, and the world of the dead. A basic tenet of witchcraft belief was that it took a witch to catch a witch.

In this cursory sketch of BaKwele witchcraft we have been dealing with ambivalence in its morality and its scope. Consideration of its physical essence would reveal yet another opposition from our point of view. Up to now, we have been dealing with personalized entities. Even though nonhuman in its physical makeup, the witch organism is a clearly defined *being*, conforming to some biological principles and sharing specific personal attributes with its host. However, the magical systems by which they attempted to control the greater witchcraft show that the BaKwele could accommodate an opposed concept of supernatural power.

Witchcraft also involved a diffuse force that was in some way associated

with the witch organism but which persisted in the remains of the host after death and decomposition had separated him from his indweller. This is most explicit in the BaKwele cult of skulls, usually thought of as an ancestor cult, but actually diverging considerably from the classic type. Each BaKwele minimal lineage, i.e. an extended family making up a discrete segment of a village, had in principle a religious support in the skulls of deceased family members. These relics served not so much as intermediating agencies with the supernatural world but as sources of power in their own right.

The skulls, the upper parts only, were usually kept in the special quarters of the head of the extended family, the *eloka*, a room that opened only to the village, never into the house in which it was built. This room was forbidden to all persons not initiated into the *beete* cult, these being mainly women and children. Fear of the magical powers of the family head kept all members of the family from entering the *eloka* without his permission. The skulls were kept in baskets of a moderate size, together with certain other substances, such as powdered camwood and kaolin, to absorb some of the magical force of the skulls and act as important ingredients in medicines.

The power with which the skulls was charged was not simply the conventional dole of supernatural force that each "ancestor" would receive upon passing into the spirit world. The supernatural attributes of family members were as unequal in death as in life, and again, the differentiating factor was witchcraft. Here we see a considerable modification of the basic premise of the ancestor cult: the BaKwele "ancestor" was "worshiped" for his special attainments, rather than as a link in a chain of descent.

A skull basket offered only limited space for the roster of deceased family members. If we can regard the power in the family skulls as a residual of witchcraft, we can expect that this power would have ebbed over time and would have to be restored by the addition of more recently powerful skulls. Therefore, in the interest of space and power, exhausted or undistinguished skulls were denied a place in the reliquary. It follows that, if a choice had to be made between an elder brother who was head of the extended family but otherwise an ordinary man and a younger brother who was in principle subordinate to him but in practice an outstanding religious specialist, the skull of the more supernaturally distinguished would take precedence in the reliquary and in magical use.

Belief in the exceptional power of certain skulls and in the increased magical efficacy of skulls working in unison is explicit in the *beete* rite. In BaKwele thought, *beete* was the only way in which the onslaught of great witchcraft or the prevalence of lesser witchcraft could be temporarily offset. *Beete* is the main field of BaKwele iconography, and this system of representation is relatively susceptible to explanation in terms of witchcraft.

In their southward exodus the BaKwele were forced into a region and an era of great crises: unequal access to firearms and trade goods, epidemic smallpox, intimations of the physical approach of white men, the need to keep large villages together, and the increasing fission of extended families. These crises were believed to be related to each other in terms of the well-being of the village, which was, with but a few sporadic exceptions, the highest level of political organization attainable to the BaKwele. In terms of witchcraft they were attributed to small-scale witchcraft increasing to the point of throwing the village and its world out of control, thus exposing a lack of supernatural control that would draw the attack of great witches of other villages and regions. As in many societies which base their ideology upon witchcraft, the increased aggressiveness of witches was used to explain otherwise mystifying threats to the community.

When certain crises were faced or seemed imminent, the leaders of a BaKwele village would confer upon the need of performing the *beete* rite in order to avert misfortune and strengthen the village. Both of these objectives involved the repulsion of external, and the exorcism of internal, witchcraft. The steps by which they were attained consisted in the making of a great medicine and the preparing of the villagers to consume it with the best results. The efficacy of the medicine depended upon the power of its ingredients and the receptive state of the rite's participants when it was administered.

While the BaKwele must have known of the power of family skulls before they were displaced from their homeland, they probably believed that this power could work only for the family that owned the relics. The principle underlying *byet* was that, through proper ritual procedure, the skulls of all families could be made to work together to constitute a charge of power that could protect and purify the village from witchcraft. In this way the skulls that had belonged to great witches could strengthen the antiwitchcraft power of a village in which most families had few powerful relics of their own.

The principles of pooling antiwitchcraft power and of recognizing a difference in the power of relics according to the individuals whom they represented are explicit in the *beete* procedure recounted by the Ba-Kwele. The antiwitchcraft medicine took much of its power from substances that had been kept with the skulls of the village lineages. On the other hand, the leaders of the village preparing to hold the rite were candid in their assessment of the power of their own relics; in consultation among themselves, and sometimes with a *beete* specialist who was called in from outside, they would have to admit that their relics were not equal in power to the crisis that they faced. With this knowledge they had to go to other villages to request of certain lineages the loan of skulls of great witches for use in their *beete* rite. These negotiations were not concluded quickly or simply; some persuasion and some payment was

expected by the prospective lenders. These arrangements often took a few days.

This interval of preparation was often further protracted by the need for great quantities of the meat and intestinal contents of different kinds of antelope. These were the other basic components of the *beete* medicine which was a stew to be eaten at the end of the ritual. Many able-bodied men from all of the village's lineages stayed in the forest, driving antelope into nets until the required number was attained. Successful hunting could indicate, first, the favorable disposition of the forest to the village (cf. Turnbull 1965:278; Douglas 1954:4–6, 13–14) and, second, the failure of hostile witchcraft to affect the results. The hunt, however, would usually last for extended periods, until all desired ingredients were collected.

The role of the communal hunt in bringing together independent and often mutually disaffected lineages in close cooperation would need no elaboration. However, there was no form of communal activity that could have as easily coordinated lineage members who remained in the village. The village was the locus of the rite and of the administering of the medicine; it was expected that all of its members would be "hot" enough to take the medicine on the last day of the rite. This "heat" could be acquired only through the animation of dancing, singing, and feasting together. During the period of disaffection that led to the need to perform the rite, members of different lineages usually would not dance under the leadership of any person unrelated to them. In this circumstance we find the background of BaKwele iconography.

The *beete* ritual complex included the participation of representations of *ekuk* (singular *kuk*) [forest spirits], whose striking appearance, skilled dancing, and lack of lineage affiliation lured the villagers into coming out to dance in the village street. Each morning and afternoon masked dancers representing different *ekuk* — with one exception they never appeared twice in the same performance of *beete* — would appear to lead dancing until the villagers began to dance and interact together without their intervention.

The *ekuk* were supernatural inhabitants of the forest and "the children of *beete*." Some of them had very obvious animal or bird attributes and these usually went by the name of the creature suggested. Others were enigmatic in their identity; the BaKwele could not identify them with anything in their own system of imagery and explained them as borrowings from the Ngwyes who held the things of *beete* in great secrecy.

The *ekuk* and the masks that represented them had no direct connection to the ancestors of any lineage. The BaKwele no longer recalled their reasons for choosing the themes that make up their inventory of mask types. From their general statements on witchcraft belief and from comparative ethnographic data we can infer that BaKwele iconography was in

some ways determined by antiwitchcraft symbolism. On the basic level of BaKwele ideology, the participation of forest spirits in *beete* must have served as another sign that the forest, i.e. the world, favored the village and the rite. Certain of the masks have attributes that relate to the forest and witchcraft belief. Perhaps the *ekuk* served as a bridge between village and forest. The Ngwyes, in beginning their rite of initiation into *beete*, performed in conjunction with each rite that had to deal with a village crisis, would call into the forest, addressing important animals and birds which answered in turn.

Most of the *ekuk* have white faces or white areas around their eyes. Most students of traditional African iconography have decided that this whiteness identifies the masked dancer with the spirits of the dead. In our case, however, these masks are explicitly forest spirits that are related to the village and its lineages only in a tutelary sense. The whiteness in their faces would therefore be more likely to symbolize light and clarity which stand in opposition to night and mystery, the conditions which provide the field for witchcraft. Clairvoyants who are asked to detect witchcraft, or who suspect it at work, ring their eyes with white clay (kaolin) in order to see more clearly into the unknown.

Most BaKwele masks further express the power of far, clear sight in the prominence of their eyes which are carved out of the facial plane, or depressions in the facial plane, in considerable relief. The eyelids are relatively prominent, whether horizontal or arcuate; in the latter form, one wonders whether this motive does not represent peering into the darkness or the distance. Not all types of BaKwele masks are represented in European and American collections. Two types — *guu* [the anomalure], a rodent similar to the flying squirrel, and *diityak* [the owl], a much feared bird, known as "the witch's chicken" — were distinguished by greatly extended eyes which tended to crack or to break off after a few performances. The stress on seeing witches is carried further in several types of helmet masks provided with from two to four faces. This would express an innate vigilance against supernatural attack from any side.

This concern with thwarting the attack of witches could find expression in certain variations in the absence of the mouth. This feature, quite marked in the styles of nearby peoples, may be an echo of the skull *tops* (the mandible is discarded in funerary usage) essential to the *beete* rite. Or it could state that a witch cannot enter the mask through its mouth. While they are performing, dancers believe themselves to be especially susceptible to the witchcraft attacks of their rivals. This apprehension expresses itself in the dancer's innoculation with special medicines and in the wearing of amulets and the skins of sly and agile carnivores, such as the genet and mongoose. The genet is especially prized because its spotted pelt and its elusiveness is thought to express in miniature the surpassing witchcraft of the leopard.

Not all of the animals and birds chosen as mask themes can be clearly related to witchcraft. The forest buffalo and the bongo are thought to be extraordinary in the contrast between their size and the swiftness with which they can negotiate thick underbrush, as well as in their fierceness when brought to bay. In masks they are represented with "erect" (i.e. oblique) eyes which correspond to the physical features of the animals themselves. In some variations on these bovid themes, the face of the animal was rendered mainly with human features, a concept that could express the BaKwele belief in the power of great witches to transform into large animals in whose forms they harassed their rivals.

The elephant mask, difficult to make and given up even before the abandonment of *beete*, probably expressed the same concept of a powerful animal double possessed by great witches. Another rare mask was that of the giant forest hog, a theme which may have been chosen because of the two large protruberances under its eyes, a feature which could be interpreted as an extra pair of eyes and in this connection related to special sight. (This explanation was suggested to me by Simmon's study of witchcraft among a Senegalese people [1971]). The leopard or the crocodile were never represented in masks; they were both associated with witchcraft but were too powerful and dangerous to refer to. Great witches never boasted of their ability to transform into these predators.

The favorite animal mask of the BaKwele for aesthetic reasons, represented a forest spirit in the form of a ram (see Plate 1), a paradoxical concept in that the only rams known were domesticated. The form's identification with the ram could be secondary, derived from another horned or braided theme. The connection between the ram and witchcraft is not clearly stated among the BaKwele. The data do not allow us to relate the BaKwele concept of the ram with the widespread notion of its being a cosmic or solar symbol.

As to the birds represented by BaKwele masks, with the exception of the owl, we have no explicit correspondences between them and witchcraft beliefs. The swallow and stork are birds of the open sunlit sky, the former dancing tirelessly back and forth, the latter soaring majestically over villages when it returns seasonally from afar, perhaps like a great witch having sojourned in a place beyond the comprehension of ordinary men. One mask represents the butterfly, a creature that gaily dances about at crossroads, despite the common knowledge that these places are among the favorite haunts of witches.

The act of soaring high in the sky, looking down at the world below, could easily relate to the idea of clairvoyance. Developments in the form of one important type of mask suggest the working of this idea in Ba-Kwele iconography. A helmet mask representing an important personage of obscure origins (*buol*) began its sequence of development as a head with a pair of low, crests intersecting crosswise. Over time these crests
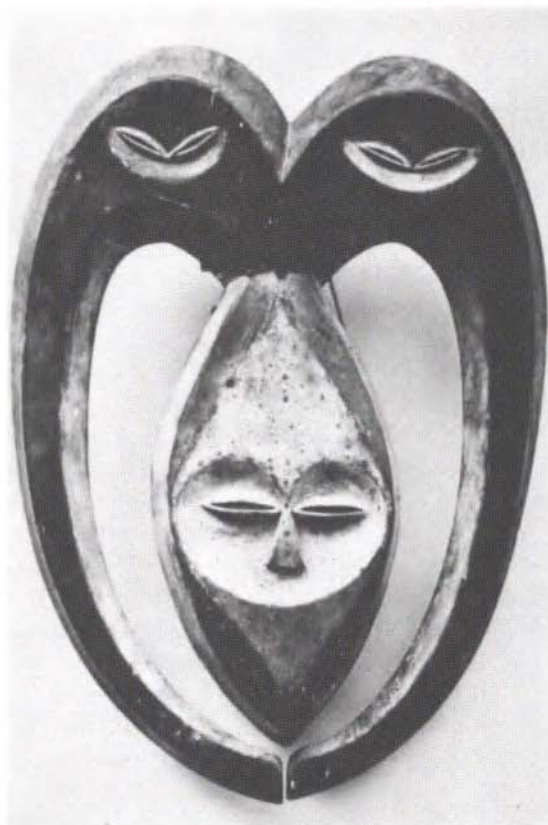
Plate 1. Mask representing ram; wood and pigments; BaKwele, 20¾ inches high Brazzaville Congo. (Collection of the Museum of Primitive Art, New York)

began to expand and extend, the lateral crest outstripping the sagittal one in stretching out into a pair of winglike processes (see Plate 2). Other factors entered into this growth of form, but we can consider the possibility of antiwitchcraft imagery in its aspect and use. The dance of the wide-winged variant of the mask emphasizes whirling and rolling steps which evoke from the accompanying dancers the praise cry of "The eagle soars in the sky!" The eagle is regarded as the leopard among birds.

A singular mask type embodied the features of the skull of the adult male gorilla, although it was not named after that ape. It provided a sort of "horror relief" in the sequence of *beete* dances, not dancing itself but coming into the village to drive everyone indoors from fear of the spears that it threw about indiscriminately. The formal features of this type were diametrically opposed to those of the other *ekuk*, so that in most examples it would be difficult to identify as a BaKwele mask without field documentation (Siroto 1972). This contrast could be due to its having to
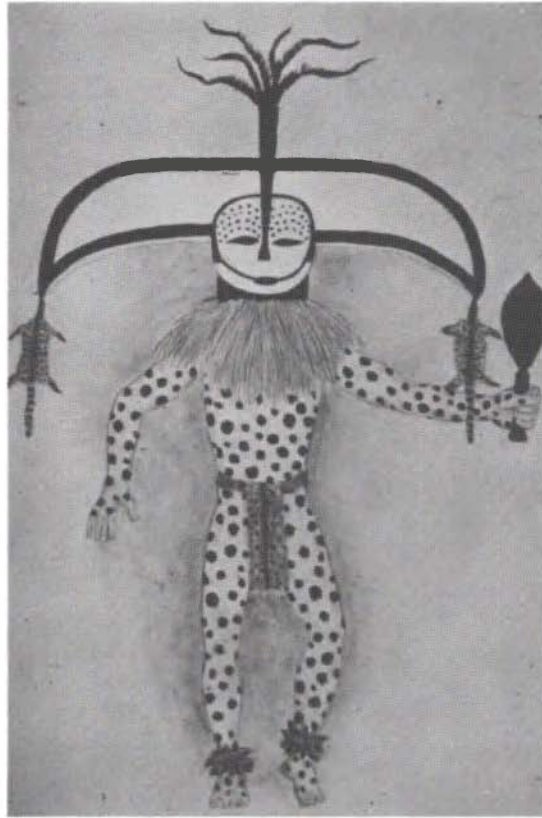
Plate 2. *Buol*-masker; BaKwele; reconstruction, painted by Gustav Dalstrom

express the witchcraft of aggressiveness, cruelty, and war. Only a young man imbued with a war leader's witch could undertake the use of this mask; wearing it undoubtedly afforded him some measure of catharsis. These masks were closely associated with lineages, as their use in mutual harassment, outside of the ritual contexts of *beete*, served as an index of bravery and recklessness which in turn demonstrated the witchcraft of the owning lineage.

The most important mask of all was a large, fringed carapace made of coiled young leaves of the raffia palm, the leaflets hanging down to conceal the dancer's head, torso, and upper legs (Plate 3). This mask was not part of the *ekuk* series, but rather a being in itself (*keez*) heavily imbued with witch power and indispensable to the *beete* rite, which cannot be said for any one of the *ekuk*. It participated in other village undertakings: funerals of notables, hunts, preparations of fields at critical times. *Keez* danced until dawn on the eve of the climax of the rite, singing songs in Ngwyes through a mirliton (kazoo). The man who danced in this
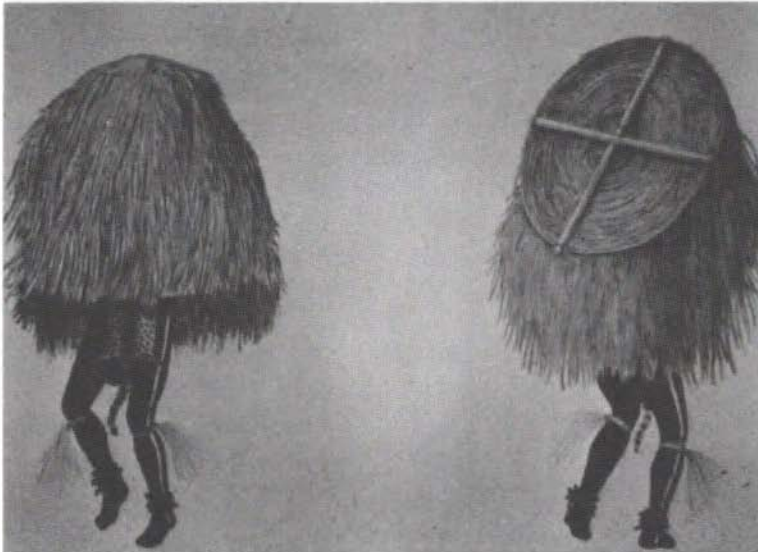
Plate 3.   *Keez*-masker; BaKwele; reconstruction, painted by Gustav Dalstrom

mask had to be a notable witch; his right to dance with the mask, in addition to the great skill required, had to be validated by his ownership of powerful relics which he kept under the mask as he danced.

Young raffia leaves are antiwitchcraft symbols in many African forest societies. They are used as magical barriers to forbidden places and as elements in dancing costumes. In this regard, one should remember that, outside of kaolin, not many pure white substances were available in adequate quantity to traditional societies in the Western Equatorial forest. In most of the tripartite systems of color classification in this region, light colors such as light green, light blue, yellow and tan are subsumed under white. The light green leaf shoots of the raffia palm would therefore represent an abundant supply of "white" material for deterring the trespass of witches and profane (i.e. uninitiated) members of the society. Explanation of the extensive use of raffia leaves and fibres in masks and costumes should attempt to go beyond the simple facts of its availability, ease of preparation, and aesthetic qualities in the dance.

According to their success in dancing, i.e. pleasing the public and attracting gifts, some masks, when not in use, were kept with the lineage skulls. With the exception of *buol*, this was more in the interest of having the masks absorb some of the magical charge of the skulls than to have the masks protect the relics. In the case of *buol*, Janus-faced, always imposing and associated with a dancer who owed his success to both his own witchcraft and that of his forebears, the possibility of mask and skulls being thought to protect each other is considerable.

Whether or not the tropaic principle worked explicitly in relationship between masks and witches, we do see it expressed occasionally outside of the context of *beete*, in activities involving individuals or groups smaller than those involved in *beete*. Men who were acknowledged to be great witches believed themselves to be menaced by other great witches seeking to destroy them or take away their power. To protect themselves they would carve, or have carved, a statue into which was invoked a familiar spirit which, since its body was made of wood, would be impervious to attack by witches and thus would serve to ward off its owner's rivals. Unlike masks, these figures were kept in absolute secrecy and not shown to anyone but close male relatives and friends. They were said to have been colored white and to have looked uncannily like a man.

When the BaKwele began to regain their power after settling into their new lands and gradually coming into possession of guns, they imported a war "medicine" known as *guon*. This magical assemblage of objects and substances was based upon the skull of a famous war leader (who would inevitably have been a witch). A war party would carry the skull and other ingredients in a bark barrel closed by a block of wood in the form of a human bust. This sculpture was intended to affect the medicine in several ways: to give it a personal identity, to strengthen it in use, and to guard it against rival medicines. The main purpose of the medicine was to keep the old trade muskets from exploding in battle.

I cannot be sure that any of these heads — one could call them "reliquary guardians" — have come into European or American collections. The most likely example of the type would be a three-faced head, again the theme of vigilance, formerly in the Schwob Collection in Brussels and now in the Royal Ontario Museum at Toronto (Royal Ontario Museum 1959:D42). This piece, however, is of unfamiliar style and could be from the Ngwyes or the BoNgom in the Mekambo region.

The "reliquary guardian" principle is basic to the following discussion and is here foreshadowed in the instances of the *buol* mask being kept with the skulls belonging to the mask's owner (*buol* masks were relatively few in number) and the heads on the lids of containers of special medicines. It must be noted that this practice was not consistent among the BaKwele, as it was among the peoples to be discussed.

For protection against great witches the BaKwele depended upon the mobility allowed them by their social and political systems, a condition that, according to their choice of a village, enabled them to become the religious "clients" of great witches and great practitioners of *beete*. In overview, the cultural stress fell upon massive exorcism at frequent intervals rather than an ongoing struggle by witchcraft waged *between* extended families. This pattern and the relative recency of their introduction to the idea of pooling the power of skulls could have made them less obsessed with witchcraft as a threat beyond conclusive control.

While the correspondence between iconography and witchcraft among the BaKwele does not come out as pervasively and unequivocally as might be expected from the implications of the discussion, their case does provide us with a number of basic concepts that bear strongly upon the discussion of other systems of iconography. These would be the following:

1. Powerful witches compete with each other across family lines.
2. The magical power of a dead person's skull and other bones depends upon the witchcraft that he showed during his life.
3. The power in the skulls of deceased witches works in ways similar to that of living witches.
4. The power of skulls increases in combination with other skulls.
5. Daylight and whiteness deter witchcraft.
6. Clairvoyance and vigilance detect and deter witchcraft.
7. The embodiment of tutelary spirits in the wooden images can avert witchcraft.

BRASS-COVERED GUARDIANS AMONG THE KELE-KOTA AND MBAMBA PEOPLES

The next case of a cultural entity in which we may be able to read iconography in terms of witchcraft belief takes us further south, among certain peoples of the central and southeastern branches of the Ivindo River system. They belong to two different subfamilies of Bantu speakers: Kele-Kota and Mbete. Despite considerable difference in language and social organization, they show iconographic similarities to the extent that certain features resemble each other more closely across ethnic lines than they do within the groupings. These correspondences are most marked in the figures loosely attributed to the "BaKota" and which come mainly from the Ndasa and Wumbu who are believed to be Kota speakers and the Mbamba who are Mbete speakers.

The iconography of "BaKota" figures has long provided a controversial field for interpretation and disquisition. The images depart, often to a remarkable extent, from naturalism, and students of the style have attempted to explain distortions and omissions from various points of view, ranging from frontal perspective through cult symbolism.

To a lesser extent the same can be said about a stylistically related corpus of images that comes from the northeastern Kele-Kota peoples. These objects, departing even more markedly from naturalism, are coming to be attributed to the MaHongwe, although several other related peoples made or used them. In an earlier article I attempted to explain their blade-like form, metal overlay, and certain other features in the light of cultural contexts other than religion (Siroto 1968). Since I conducted

limited investigations among these peoples and find that my data are corroborated to a significant extent by the extensive coverage of Perrois (1969), I believe it possible to interpret some of their salient iconographic features from direct field accounts, from inferences based upon BaKwele data, and from accounts of related beliefs and practices in other parts of Western Equatorial Africa. This is not as satisfactory as explanation completely from direct observation, but the press of changing times and the tendency to overlook witchcraft as an influence upon art compels me to draw attention to possibilities of alternative explanation.

In this range of representations, we at first become aware of three stylistic features and one statement of meaning. These wooden images tend to be wide and flat and bodiless, covered for the most part with a metal overlay; where a body or torso might be expected we have only arm-like structures diverging at the top and converging at the bottom. As to their use, these images are by now almost invariably called "reliquary guardians." Their association with reliquaries has been established since De Brazza's time (De Brazza 1887:329, 331). Yet we have no well-defined idea of what they guard against. How else would the guardian concept have any validity? In this instance, understanding of use may be crucial to the explanation of form.

Before Tessmann (1913) wrote of analogous figures mounted on reliquaries of the Fang, the brass-covered images were not thought of as guardians but rather as "idols" and "fetishes" associated with the relics of diverse notables (Guiral 1889:54; De Brazza 1887:329, 331). Among the Fang, Tessmann learned that the figures were mounted on reliquary barrels primarily to warn those who had not been initiated into the *bieri* cult of ancestral skulls to stay away. Although he referred to them as ancestor figures, he noted that they were easily bought, while the reliquary contents were not for sale (1913, Vol. 2, p. 112). As in the case of the BaKwele, it is unlikely that Fang reliquaries were accessible to the uninitiated. Fang elders were generally more authoritarian than their BaKwele counterparts. The concept of guarding was extended to the BaKota as well, without any reason given for this use.

The engraving in the De Brazza article (1887:329) — perhaps the earliest depiction extant of these metal-covered figures — shows a group of images mounted in reliquaries in a small shed, seemingly in full view of the village. If this is a precise reconstruction of the circumstances, it would indicate that the Tessmann notion cannot be extended to explain the purpose of the metal-covered images.

Yet, it would not beg the question to think of these figures performing the function of guardians. Andersson, after cogently reasoning against the likelihood that the "BaKota" image simultaneously represented an ancestor and a guardian, concluded that the intended theme is "the god of the world of the dead" (1953:344–345). My investigations and those of

Perrois (1969) among the groups to the north would suggest another interpretation. Each image bears not the name of any ancestor or any god, but its own personal name (Siroto 1968:27; Perrois 1969:12–13). Each image has its own personal attributes differing from those of its counterparts, especially in specific magical powers. This absence of uniform identity and of direct kinship ties with the contents of the reliquary should lead us to recognize the images as representations of tutelary or familiar spirits. I should mention a contrary report from the field by Millet (1951:47, 66) in which the MaHongwe of the Kelle region in the Brazzaville Congo claimed that two such figures embodied the substance and bore the names of two deceased paternal forebears of the then canton chief. Millet collected and observed well, and this account gives me pause. The MaHongwe of the Kelle region are the most remote group of all, and it is possible that linguistic nuances played some part in the disparity of accounts.

The range of correspondences between skull cults of the northern and the southern Kele-Kota speakers suggests a probability of agreement in the meaning of the reliquary guardians of the southern groups. It also indicates that questions to these groups should attempt to learn the personal identity of the images.

In my previous discussion of the guardian figures of northern Kele-Kota figures I called attention to the resemblance of their silhouette to those of broad, lanceolate-bladed display knives and spears used in the same societies (Siroto 1968:86). Since then, I have noted that in other not so remote societies such weapons are put on the grave of a deceased notable (Kpe of Southern Cameroun [Ardener 1956:94–95]) or in front of the house of a living notable (Loki [BaNgala] of northern Zaire [Weeks 1914:306]) for the explicit reason of fighting off unseen intruders.

I would submit that, among the peoples who make these figures, the fear of unseen intruders — either the witch organisms of living rivals of the lineage or the residual power in skulls in the reliquaries of those lineages — underlies the premise that guardians are necessary. Kele-Kota and Mbete groups are believers in witchcraft, in the power of the skulls of important people, and in the keeping of these skulls in lineage reliquaries. They also believe in, whether under the same cult name or not, augmenting the supernatural power of the village by bringing reliquaries together for activation through ritual.

Implicit in this would be the principle of witch power averting witch power. I touched briefly upon this point of witchcraft related to reliquaries in an earlier article (1968:27, 86–87), but wish to develop it more thoroughly in this discussion, especially since it bears upon a related system of traditional iconography and quite possibly upon other traditional African iconographies. An illustration of this principle's operation in the region concerned would be seen in two wooden doors from the

Mbamba, now in the collection of the Musée de L'Homme in Paris (Numbers 35.00.1 and 2). Upon one door is carved a human figure whitened and in high relief; upon the other, a crocodile: the accompanying field notes by Even (1935) claim that the first was intended to keep witches from entering the house; in the case of the second, I noted a regional belief in great witches keeping unseen crocodiles about their homes, in order to catch their enemies at night.

An inferential reconstruction of the dynamic underlying their iconography must recognize that, unlike the BaKwele, the Kota and Mbete peoples seem to have had strong village ties, being linked to their lineage leadership throughout their lives. It would seem also that villages were more homogeneous in terms of lineage composition, although this is very likely to have depended upon regional and historical circumstances. Even in villages inhabited by different peoples, as was occasionally the case, the different ethnic groups were represented by single lineages (as opposed to the BaKwele clustering of unrelated lineages). Among some groups chiefship had become institutionalized.

With the advent of European wares and the increase in decimating raids by neighboring peoples, the resulting competition between lineages, fixed in place and membership, would inevitably have led to a heightened awareness of witchcraft. Striving for family advantage would have led to a concern with maintaining the supernatural power of the lineage. The inference that the images guarded the relics through the nightly war of witchcraft finds support in this menace being the one stressed in these societies' religious thought. Considering the differences in lineages' fortunes and the recognition of the reliquaries as sources of magical power, the logic of witchcraft would point to the reliquary as the strategic center of a rival lineage. To redress the balance, to gain advantages, each lineage would direct its witchcraft at the reliquary of its rival in an attempt to drain its power.

The fixing in place of Kota and Mbamba lineages by their adherence to clan structure would have intensified the rivalry between them, with ever greater stress being placed on the protection of reliquaries, culminating in the use of tutelary spirits embodied in wooden carvings covered with metal sheets and strips. Among some Mbete-speaking groups the relics of important family and cult members were often portioned out to several cults in addition to that of the lineage; the skull generally remained in the lineage reliquary. The relics were kept either in the hollow torsos of full figures carved in wood or in bark or wooden cylindrical containers closed by a block of wood ending in a human head (see Plate 4). These images probably represented guardian spirits. They were invariably colored white, with some details brought out in black. We can infer that, as in the case of the BaKwele, white symbolizes daylight and clairvoyance, conditions that deter witchcraft.

Plate 4. Head (reliquary cover); wood and pigments; 13¾ inches high; Mbete or Mbamba; Brazzaville Congo or Gabon. (Original is property of the Rietberg Museum, Zurich, von der Heydt collection. Photographer: István Rácz)

Due to their access to the mainstream of European trade, some groups of Mbamba were able to improve on the tropaic color of their reliquary guardians. In this change, the soft, matt white of kaolin on wood gave way to the hard brightness of metal over wood, making the figures gleam like sunlight. The brass would also reflect the image of the witch back in its face, foreshadowing its eventual detection and destruction. The belief in reflecting surfaces, e.g. mirrors and the surface of water in a bowl, as fields in which diviners can see witches or in which witches can confront themselves is widespread in tropical Africa (Fernandez and Bekale 1961:266; Weeks 1914:286; Schwab 1947:406).

Circumstances seem to have intensified witchcraft fear among some Kota-speaking and Mbete-speaking groups to the point where the whitening of wooden guardian figures was found to be less efficacious than desired. This dissatisfaction seems to have been most marked in areas most likely to receive European goods, of which brass was one of

the most important. A parallel can be seen in the notable effect of European trade on BaKwele masks: increasing wealth and competition led to the elaboration of traditional types and the invention or introduction of new types. Keener competition for new forms of wealth generated a climate of conflict which in turn occasioned more frequent and grandiose performances of the *beete* rite in the interest of village cohesion.

Among the southern Kota speakers and adjoining Mbamba groups the change from kaolin to brass posed technical problems. Brass cannot be applied to an image carved in the round as easily and smoothly as can a solution of kaolin. The folk aesthetic, and probably religious scruples as well, would militate against an inept, labored application of metal around wood, resulting in wrinkles, seams, and bulges. These prospects were obviated by a change in style: the head of the image was flattened from front to back; its sides were drawn forward and out into the plane of the face; and sculptural details were in many cases simplified (see Plate 5).
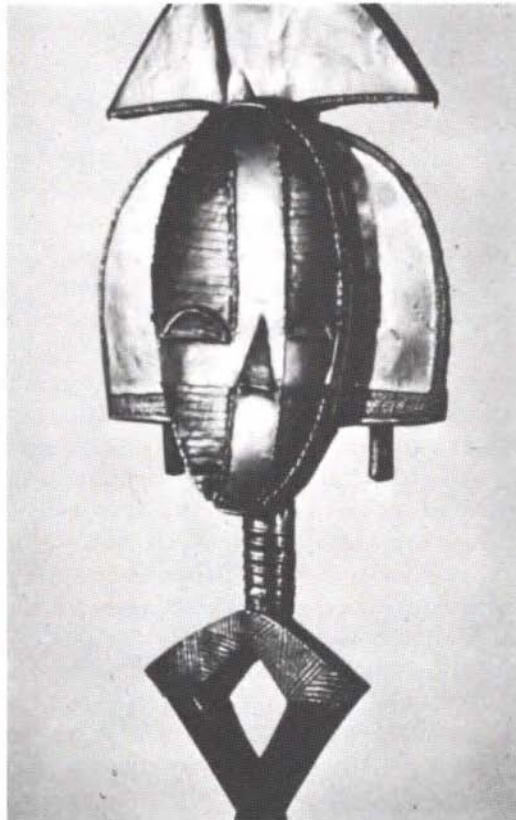
Plate 5. Reliquary guardian figure; wood, brass, and copper; 24 inches high; Ndasa or Wumbu, Brazzaville Congo. (Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Alan R. Sawyer, Washington, D.C.)

We are fortunate in finding today enough Mbamba reliquary guardians to indicate the likelihood of this sequence: in the metal-covered heads we can often clearly see style elements of the whitened figures in the round. Documentation does not allow us to ascertain whether these forms coexisted in Mbamba villages, although according to Even (1935:no. 80) they were collected at the same time in the administrative division of Okondja. If they did, it is possible that the allocation of brass to the guardians of lineage reliquaries, to the exclusion of other kinds, expressed the central position of lineage skulls in witchcraft struggles.

There are a few full figures from this area that are covered with brass, some only partially so. For the most part, the brass-covered images end below the neck in the form of an open lozenge which could allude to the lack of a body for witches to enter. On the other hand, this part of the figure was more or less concealed in the reliquary basket, so that it would have been less important to fashion it in the form of the human body and also much more economical.

This last point compels me to remind the reader that antiwitchcraft symbolism would be only one of the determinants of the use of brass overlay and the consequent change in style. As stated in an earlier discussion (Siroto 1968:86), brass was a scarce, highly prized good, explicitly related to wealth, prestige, and beauty. We can be sure that its application to the guardian figure was intended also to honor its spirit and those of its wards and to proclaim the wealth of the lineage. This discussion rests on the premise that a number of different institutions and circumstances tend to influence the development of iconographic material and form.

Before concluding our tentative analysis of antiwitchcraft symbolism in the iconography of southern Kota and Mbamba guardian images we might consider another possible factor in the extension of the top and side elements that framed the face of the image. In discussing BaKwele masks I called attention to the lateral wings of an important helmet mask called *buol*. This mask finds cognate forms — *mpuoli, emboli, mbawe* — in the mask inventories of the northern Kele-Kota peoples. The lateral wings carry through in most styles with the exception of the Kota (in the strict sense) of the Makokou region in which the crests are elaborated on the vertical rather than the horizontal plane.

The "personality" of the mask shows considerable consistency over a wide range of space and ethnic groups. The dance shows its power, splendor, and fierceness, qualities which win it numerous gifts from spectators. Among some groups it does not relate directly to the cult of the lineage skulls; in others, it is one of the main masks. Regrettably its specific connection to witchcraft concepts is no more explicit among these peoples than it is among the BaKwele.

Recalling that the BaKwele occasionally placed a *buol*'s head on the

reliquary basket, one wonders whether the term *mbulu* (or *mboye*) and the transverse crest identifying the southern Kota and Mbamba figures recall an earlier time when real masks of this sort were kept on the reliquaries. If they do, the interpretation of these figures would ironically come full circle: European explorers and ethnologists initially regarded them as masks.

A distinctive feature in this style is seen in images occasionally bearing two faces: one is convex and often comparatively naturalistic, while the other is concave and markedly stylized. The presence of two opposed faces is in accordance with the principle of vigilance against witches. There is not enough data, however, to enable us to infer why the faces would differ so much from each other. Andersson learned that each face was accorded somewhat different ritual treatment (1953:339–340), which might indicate that the dual representation was expected to compound the magical power of the figure.

There are extant at least four figures in this southern style in which the flattened head with top and side panels continues into a half-figure on a man's stool (Plass 1956:26–A; Leuzinger 1963:168–169). In one case the figure on the stool is of full length and remarkably naturalistic, considering the style (Meauzé 1968:200). Three have some metal overlay, and one is covered only by pigment. The purpose of these figures is obscure; they are not intended to be reliquaries. A likely explanation may be inferred from Andersson's account of a funerary practice among the "Kuta": when a man dies far from his village, he is buried at that place and his facsimile is installed on a chair in his village, to house his returning spirit (1953:160).

The iconographic point brought up by these enstooled figures is their relation to a sequence of stylistic development. One source refers to the concept as a possible intermediate stage between full figures in the round and flattened, torsoless figures covered with metal (Plass 1956:41, 26–A). In the light of what I have inferred about this sequence it would seem that the enstooled figures are stylistically of a secondary nature, derived from the metal-covered type whose form would have been determined by the availability and need for brass covering.

It should be clear that the use of metal-covered reliquary guardians in the numbers found by Europeans did not go back for many centuries but rather depended upon the flow of European trade brass into the area, and this probably would not have begun in any appreciable quantity before the middle of the eighteenth century. The lavish use of brass in these images and the consistency in their major stylistic features suggests an echo of the cargo cult principle, a cultural assurance that the use of alien wares in certain prescribed ways would bring about a millennial control over antisocial forces. Incidentally, we do find one example of an enstooled head, carved in the round and provided with a naturalistic (i.e.

three-dimensional) coiffure, that, although adamantly attributed to the BaKwele (Leuzinger 1971:260–261) is likely to give us some idea of the form before the advent of abundant brass.

As a postscript to the relationship of the images to tropaic needs, an article by Söderberg (1956) deals with reliquaries in this area — presumably in later years, after the use of the images began to be interpreted as harmful witchcraft. These reliquaries were bark barrels devoid of any explicit representation of the human form, but, despite the author's insistence that nothing tropaic was found on the containers, a pair of large, light-colored circles was painted on two of the lids (1956:109, 112).

Although we know more about the religious uses of the blade-shaped images of the northern Kele-Kota speakers, we can be less sure of the process by which belief in witches worked changes on iconography and style. Here we have no pigmented wooden forerunners of flat, brass-covered forms. One possibility for the development of the bladelike form would have no witchcraft concept operating directly in its invention. This interpretation would depend upon a gradual stylistic change from southwest to northeast, in which southern Kota and Mbamba prototypes would be altered as the idea traveled from one skull cult to another. At some point, possibly north of Franceville, the transverse crescent and the side panels narrowed and fused into a face-framing unit recalling the blade of a display knife or spear. From this point northward, further flattening of the facial features would have led to the bladelike form now attributed to the MaHongwe, Shaké, and BuSamaï (see Plate 6).

Inferences from historical data challenge this scheme: in the continuum between relatively naturalistic and blade-shaped forms we find that fully evolved examples of each were first collected at the same times and places. If we are to consider the gradual diffusion of the idea, we must take into account that the northward flow of European brass toward the end of the eighteenth century might not have allowed enough time for the sequence of changes to have culminated in such disparate variations on the same theme.

The other possibility would be that of a more independent invention of the blade-shaped form (in which the influence of stimulus diffusion could have played an important role), followed by a period of stylistic interaction between it and the southern forms. This seems more plausible in time-depth, assuming that brass wire had been coming through from somewhere in the east. It may also involve determinants in witchcraft belief.

Among the Kele-Kota speakers a broad-bladed knife or a short-shafted and broad-bladed spear is prized as a symbol of lineage and village chiefship (Andersson 1953:168; Millet 1951:30, 31, 32; Even 1935:77, 82). Data from this region does not indicate any direct relation of these weapons to witchcraft belief; the subject seems not to have been investi-
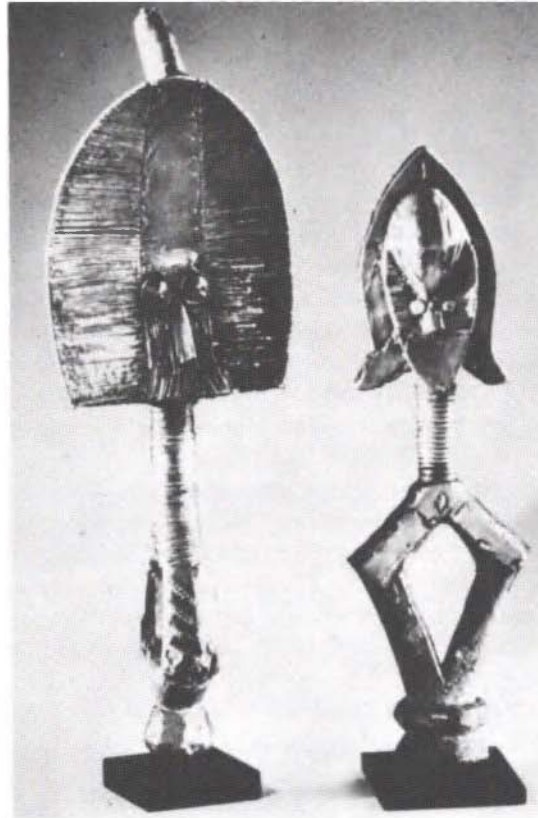
Plate 6. (Left) Reliquary guardian figure; wood, brass, and copper; 22 inches high; Hongwe, Shaké and BuSamaï, Gabon and Brazzaville Congo. (Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Wielgus, Tucson, Arizona.)
(Right) Reliquary guardian figure; wood and brass; 16¾ inches high; undetermined Kele-Kota or Mbete group, Brazzaville Congo or Gabon. (Collection of Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago)

gated. We can assume that their association with the chiefly office imbued them with some magical charge.

Among peoples to the east, closer to the Congo mainstream, we find an account of a relationship between a distinctive knife and the struggle against witches. Among the Loki, who form part of the BaNgala complex at the northern bend of the Congo River, a man who wishes to keep witches from entering his house at night places near the door a special broad-bladed knife streaked with yellow pigment (Weeks 1914:306). Among the Kuyu people of the Likouala River, not far from the groups we are now discussing, a *kani,* a man holding a very high status combining judge and political leader, carries a broad-bladed knife, quite similar to that of the Kota peoples, which he covers with bands of white

and red pigment (Lheyet-Gabaka 1955:18). Coming back to the BoLoki, a man who believes himself to be possessed by a disembodied forest spirit will perform a special rite to drive the spirit out of himself into a spear, whereupon the spirit, i.e. the spear, becomes his tutelary (Weeks 1914:274).

These accounts suggest the possibility that, among all of the cultural features determining the form of the blade-shaped figure, there may well have been the idea of a broad, pigment-striped knife standing against the menace of witches to the power of its owner's lineage. To sustain this interpretation we would have to know why a brass-covered wooden form would supersede the pigment-striped iron knife as a reliquary guardian. This would lead us to a number of considerations, including the chief's knife as an important heirloom, the greater ease of working wood into a representative form, and the idea of wood as a living substance with specific supernatural attributes, depending upon the species. Closer attention to the precise ritual treatment of the guardian figures might well shed more light on determinants of their forms. However, in this and adjoining regions, we can note a predilection for providing a religious object with a personal identity through anthropomorphizing either the spirit or the synthesis of impersonal powers that it contains.

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF FANG RELIQUARY GUARDIANS FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF WITCHCRAFT

To the west and north of the BaKwele and the Kele-Kota peoples we find a large number of culturally and historically related groups speaking Bantu languages of the Yaunde-Fang subfamily. Some of the southern groups joined the BaKwele at the headwaters of the Ivindo at the beginning of the nineteenth century. At that time they learned of European trade goods coming inland from the Gabon estuary. They also began to feel the pressure of related peoples moving down from the north to escape slave raids by savannah peoples who were beginning to penetrate the forest edge.

These changes sent the Fang out of their homeland into the country to the southwest, moving their villages from year to year in a race to the Gabon estuary. Very warlike by nature, they assimilated or drove southward the populations that stood between them and the coast.

In contrast to the BaKwele, their early connections with the west probably brought them into contact with village skull cults before they began to migrate. The concept seems to have been traditional among northern and southern groups. The southern version, *bieri*, has been studied in greater detail than *melan* of the northern groups. Great similarities prevail between the rites and paraphernalia of the regional

variants; the most marked differences between them are found in the style and iconography of the reliquary guardians.

Whatever the cults' origins may have been, they seem not to have been predominantly Kele-Kota in terms of the style and iconography of the guardian figures. While agreeing closely in use, the two versions diverge remarkably in their approach to the human form. Although carved from one piece of wood, the metal-covered images, and their probable prototypes in whitened wood, seem to be composed of flat, angular elements joined together along straight lines. Although much of Yaunde-Fang sculpture shows the same cubistic separation of formal elements, the building units are rounded and massive, while some anatomical features are rendered with care. In comparison to the other approach, Yaunde-Fang style suggests naturalism and, even in its very apparent stylization, seems to express some inner life.

Naturalism is further suggested by another departure from Kele-Kota and Mbete styles. Instead of being whitened or metal-covered, Yaunde-Fang reliquary guardians tend to be of a dark color, ranging from black to mahogany, often according to regional style. This would lead us to wonder about the tropaic attributes of the figure, since, in African color symbolism, black is not generally opposed to witchcraft but rather linked to it, as well as to night and death. Cultural aesthetic choice and differences in witchcraft ideology may have reversed the pattern here, the dark color of the guardian proclaiming an evil and threatening death to the attacking witch.

This iconographic ambiguity should not suggest that belief in witchcraft and reliance upon reliquary guardians was on the wane among traditional Yaunde-Fang peoples. During the latter part of the nineteenth century these beliefs seem to have been more vigorous than those of the peoples already discussed. Investigators of the Kele-Kota and the Mbamba have been very few. Andersson organized his study along *Kulturkreis* lines, and it is not inconceivable that his missionary background led him to look past the question of witchcraft. Perrois, a trained ethnologist, is especially interested in sculpture and has so far proceeded along classical lines, choosing to explain the *bwete* cult mainly in terms of genealogy and lineage cohesion (1968, 1969).

The Yaunde-Fang peoples have been studied by a good number of investigators, but of them all, only Tessmann in 1913 and Fernandez in 1966 have tried to come to some understanding of the use and meaning of the reliquary guardian. Neither of them have gone into the figure's relation to witchcraft. Tessmann was aware of the importance of witchcraft in Fang culture and Fernandez far more so, yet both authors chose to interpret the images in the classical manner, as being symbolic of ancestors and as serving to warn away uninitiated persons who might look into the reliquary.

This approach, compounded by the seeming reluctance of the Fang to discuss the precise role of the figure as guardian, again confronts us with the question, "guardian against what?" As stated earlier, it is unlikely that a woman or a child in traditional times would have gone into the room where the reliquary was kept. And, if they had dared to do so, it is not altogether certain that they would have been terrified by the sight of the reliquary and the figure perched upon it.

In the first place, awareness and fear of the skulls' mystical powers were the result of initiation into *bieri* rather than of ignorance of the cult secrets. Initiation was intended to be a frightening experience; it depended heavily upon the consumption of a hallucinogenic drug, *melan*, which highly dramatized the revelation and explanation of the reliquary's contents. In the second place, uninitiated boys played at *bieri*, using miniature reliquaries, monkey skulls, and guardian figures (Tessmann 1913:vol. 2, pp. 297–298).

These discrepancies in the premise of vigilance needed against the uninitiated lead us to consider whether the Yaunde-Fang practice would be similar to what has been proposed for the peoples discussed above: the reliquary guardian as protection against supernatural, that is unseen, attempts to weaken the power of the skulls. The fear of witchcraft and the stress on skulls as sources of magical power seem to run through most of the twentieth century literature on the Fang. In one of the early sources, the colonial administrator Largeau wrote that the *bieri* "*fétiche*" drove off witches, dissipated evil, made women fertile, and procured wealth (1901:336). He made no mention of reliquary guardians.

Looking back into Fang history can give us some idea of a dynamic that worked, not only to increase concern with witchcraft, but to make for corresponding transformations in iconography. During the nineteenth century the Fang showed many signs of a society in disequilibrium. I will deal with the Fang here because more has been written about their *bieri* cult than about the *melan* cult of their northern relatives. Moreover, changes in iconography are more apparent in their style than in those of the "Yaunde" component of the group.

Caught between the pressure of peoples being driven down from the north and their own need to go southward to keep up with the escalation of the bridewealth caused by the advent of European goods, lineages that presumably were living in a strong segmentary system had to break free in order to fend for themselves. Unlike the BaKwele, the Fang were rigid in the observance of their principles of social organization and generally began to migrate southward in minor or intermediate lineages, remaining together as exclusive residential groups. Fang villages usually consisted of from one to three extended families, closely related through patrilineal descent. According to the fortunes of war and wealth, some of these

extended families could be very large, many wives bearing many sons who in turn tried to acquire many wives.

The Fang were externally successful in driving out or absorbing the peoples in their path of migration and in gaining the wealth they sought through trade in ivory and wild rubber. At the same time, they were internally strife-ridden — from their point of view, witch-ridden — by the friction of lineages that began to proliferate as they grew wealthy. Although these groups had to compete with each other in the quest for wealth, they had also to stay close to each other because of tradition. The sons of different mothers might hive off from the paternal village after the death of their father, but the pattern was bound to replicate itself.

The strain of having to acquire wealth and prestige while living and interacting closely with others who had the same specific objectives probably led to an atmosphere of suppressed resentment. Fang family heads were usually too concerned with propriety to allow open quarreling in their villages, and this led to what Balandier calls "covert confrontation" between lineage segments in the same village (1970b:65–66).

As competition and resentment increased, reverses in family fortune were easy to attribute to the play of witchcraft directed against the family's reservoir of magical power. As in most societies in this region, the field of witchcraft is defined by coresidence in a kinship-based homestead. Witchcraft struggles were believed to occur, for example, between brothers, fathers and sons, and cowives. In a village composed of closely related families, witchcraft would be of grave concern to the entire local group.

The Fang say that their elders are quiet but astute observers who casually watch their juniors from a distance, always carefully and wisely assessing their personalities and modes of interaction. During the era of migration these elders probably had ample occasion to be aware of strife and to ponder the means of reducing it. This concern seems to have grown progressively through the latter half of the nineteenth century and was accompanied by concomitant developments in religious practices and iconography.

Let us assume that the Fang cultural stress on witchcraft grew in relation to increasing concern with wealth and family cohesion. As these problems became more complex, so, we are told, did some aspects of Fang iconography. In 1913 Tessmann advanced a simple historical sequence for different types of Fang reliquary guardians. The earliest type was a simple head, usually thrust into the lid of the reliquary, a bark barrel. The intermediate stage was a half-figure inserted in the same way. The most recent version was a full figure provided with a sitting stalk which, in being thrust through the lid of the barrel, allowed the guardian to sit perched on its rim (Tessmann 1913:vol. 2, p. 117).

This sequence would agree considerably with history, ethnography, and art history (in the sense of relevant objects in European and American museums and private collections). As Tessmann (1913) claimed, the heads and half-figures are much rarer than the full figures. The half-figures seem rarest of all, especially since their numbers are increased by what may be called "salvage figures": full figures adjusted for further use after having had their legs broken, burned, or gnawed away by rats (many Fang reliquary guardians were saturated with palm oil). This seems evident in the close stylistic correspondence between some half-figures and full figures. Between these two forms and the simple guardian head, however, there is usually a stylistic gulf: in proportions, modeling, and modes of coiffure. The hair styles seen in the heads seem never to have been recorded by photograph; some of them seem to be referred to verbally by the earliest explorers.

The comparative scarcity of the heads — they are said to be generally in more resistant sorts of wood than are full figures — could reflect a period toward the beginning of the nineteenth century, before strife, fission, and witchcraft posed serious problems to the Fang. An attempt to reconstruct the dynamics of the sequence would first focus upon the Fang moving southward in small but cohesive groups, in the assurance that at this point they could manage the magical protection of their reliquaries without guardian figures, or by one head serving the reliquaries of a village. Perhaps something of the style of the peoples whom they assimilated can be discerned in a number of guardian heads that reached European and American collections: in them we see a marked flattening from front to back, and in a greater number the eyes are represented by metal discs applied onto the eye sockets or, as an apparent afterthought, onto eyes already quite well carved in relief (Robbins 1966:176; Leuzinger 1963:156–157). Neither of these features are consistent in the range of examples. It would be likely, however, that some of the groups in the path of the Fang were Kele-Kota speakers.

This feature of applied or inlaid metal eyes continues into many of the substyles in which Fang full figures are carved. The possible tropaic function (in the antiwitchcraft sense) tends to be overlooked. As an instance of the predilection for looking past the possibility of interpretation from the perspective of witchcraft, we note that, when asking the Fang about these metal eyes, Fernandez was satisfied with their statement that the wide stare brought out the infantile quality of the figure as part of an allegorical synthesis of youth and age (1966:59). This avoidance of the question of supernatural power is doubtless to be attributed to his informants and may say something about recent indigenous trends in the reinterpretation of traditional concepts. The guardian heads showed this feature and would, to many eyes, present no particularly infantile features. (One wonders whether the concept of pedomorphism in tradi-

tional styles of sculpture might not be an ethnocentric notion that Westerners have wished upon contemporary Africans.)

As competition and strife increased in villages the carved heads probably came to be regarded as ineffectual in their task of preserving the magical power of the lineage reliquaries. They could have been seen as only partial persons, incapable of threatening effective action against attack by perspicacious and aggressive enemy witches. This disenchantment with token representations would have expressed itself in more complex sculptures: half-figures and full figures, quite possibly contemporaneous at the outset, with the full figures prevailing as the need for protection grew.

The use of full figures probably coincided with greater fission in Fang lineages, i.e. villages, with brothers and sons going off to form their own villages under the protection of their own reliquaries that would, in those times, need the protection of guardian figures. The preponderance of full figures in the corpus of Fang reliquary guardians probably reflects this era of lineage proliferation.

Another question would follow upon the earlier one: what did Fang reliquary figures guard against? If they were indeed intended to avert hostile witchcraft, how did they do this? What special qualities assured their owners of their efficacy? We have noted so far a contrast with previously mentioned tropaic concepts: the Fang figures are darkened. The use of metal eyes would, however, agree with Kele-Kota and Mbamba practice. An overview of the corpus of Fang and Yaunde full figures clearly shows that their tropaic quality would reside, not so much in materials and stylization of features as in gestures symbolic of anti-witchcraft actions and attitudes. This cannot be stated as a rule since in many, if not most, examples these gestures are not discernible. The examples in which they are overt can still serve to shed light on the rationale of their use.

In a number of examples the figure extends its arms and proffers a cup or holds a cup against its chest (Leiris and Delange 1967:64–65; Meauzé 1968:196, Figure 2). The cup-bearing figures would almost certainly have to depict the administering of the poison ordeal, mentioned above as being fatal to witches. This symbolism would be crucial to the support of two arguments concerning Fang reliquary figures: first, that the figures *are* guardians, since, despite Tessman's account, there always was the chance that they were no more than symbols of the persons whose skulls rested in the barrel; and, second, that they are guardians against witchcraft (see Plate 7).

Alternative interpretations of the proffered cup are possible, but less likely in the light of other iconographic features which fall into place once we suspect the significance of the cup. One might argue that the cup could contain *melan*, a drug used in initiation to the cult of skulls. However,

Plate 7. Reliquary guardian figure; wood; Fang, probably Gabon; present location unknown

disclosing secrets of the reliquary to uninitiated or unseen visitors seems a disservice to the principle of the lineage cult.

One recent account deals with the question of the cup-bearing figures, stating that the receptacle was intended to hold offerings (Musée Cantini 1970: no. 116). This would seem to be contrary to Fang practice in that sacrifices were made to the skulls rather than their guardians. No published accounts deal with loose gifts given to the images; the examples show that objects which we could consider as offerings, cowries, beads, brass overlay, false hair, etc., were used to dress them.

Last, there is the "bait" concept in which the cup symbolizes an attractive drink offered to entrap the trespassing witch so that the magic of the guardian and skulls can destroy it. This idea is somewhat attractive, but other symbolic gestures in the corpus prevent us from considering it.

The so-called "Yaunde," more correctly known as Beti, northern relatives of the Fang, express in their reliquary figures several themes that

can have relevance to witchcraft. In the first of these, a man or, less frequently, a woman holds a hornlike object. The object is held vertically, in both hands with one hand above the other (see Plate 8). The represen-

Plate 8.   Reliquary guardian figure; wood, brass, and feathers; 19½ inches high; Beti or Ngumba, Cameroun. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin)

tation is often ambivalent. The theme corresponds to that in which vertical whistles are blown. Vertical whistles can be made of antelope horn, wood, or iron. In a few figures, the wooden or iron horn can be identified by the indenting of its narrow end (see Plate 9). In others, the plain antelope horn can just as easily represent a container filled with magical substances. Both adaptations of the antelope horn find use in antiwitchcraft practice.

Tessmann writes of iron whistles being blown at *bieri* rites (1913:vol. 2, p. 122). Bennett (1899:90) includes whistles and large medicine horns as important components of the great Fang war medicine, which probably had strong witchcraft implications. The use of whistles for magical pur-

Plate 9.   Reliquary guardian figure; wood and metal; 19½ inches high; Beti or Ngumba, Cameroun. (Collection of Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago)

poses in Western Equatorial Africa is widespread, ranging from the Kongo peoples (Söderberg 1966:7) in Zaire and Congo-Brazzaville to the Kaka of Eastern Cameroun, where the piping can be directed specifically against witches (Gebauer 1964:12, numbers 177, 178).

In two examples of the northern style of guardian figure we find declarations of open belligerence which would argue against the possibility of a general intent to entrap witches. One is in the Arensberg Collection at the Philadelphia Museum of Art (Robbins 1966:178); the other, in the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum at Cologne (Fröhlich 1967:116). In these two male figures, very similar in style, the right hand holds a dagger.

Other objects held by northern guardian figures are enigmatic. (It should be mentioned at some point that not all guardian figures from the north were made and used by the Beti: the Ngumba, Makaa-Njem speakers, apparently made a large number of images which so far cannot

be distinguished from those of adjoining Beti groups.) A male figure in an English private collection holds before him a curving, plaque-like object that could denote a mirror or a piece of magical wood (Underwood 1964: Plate 36).

In conjunction with the latter possibility, Vansina (1969:249) tells of a rite in the poison ordeal of the Bushong people, in which a rectangular piece of bark of the poison tree is cut from the trunk at some height and allowed to float to earth. The way in which it falls is read as a preliminary oracular statement on the guilt or innocence of the suspect. Although a similar practice is not recorded for Western Equatorial Africa, there is a good chance that a piece of *elon (Erythrophloeum guineense)* bark would have a tropaic symbolism related to that of the cup in other figures.

Once aware of a strong possibility that the reliquary guardians' display of diverse objects transcends genre representation, we might direct our attention to figures that display no objects. Perhaps most reliquary guardians in the southern styles are represented with their hands (1) at the sides of their torso, (2) clasped to the chest, (3) framing a prominent umbilicus, or (4) on the thighs. Only one of these positions has a clear relation to witchcraft belief: the Fang agree with the BaKwele in recognizing the umbilicus as the main point of entry for witches (Alexandre and Binet 1958:117). The guardians that press their hands together at this point could well be expressing their resistance to witchcraft. An old traveler's report from the Muni region mentions a master carver who furnished all of his figures with a white porcelain button over their umbilicus (Hartert 1891:211).

Aside from this convention, the more simple postures of reliquary guardians seem at first to have no relation to a tropaic role. Two figures, however, by very different hands, suggest that "unequipped" guardians may sometimes have been designed to express concepts inimical to agressive witchcraft. In both images, one hand, different in each case, is placed along the same side of the chin and cheek, with the other hand grasping its wrist (Fagg 1970:50) (see Plate 10).

This pose is rare and quite possibly intrusive into the southern Fang from the iconographies of other peoples. It is found often in funerary figures from the central Kongo-speaking groups. Among the Kongo it stands for meditation, "pondering" according to Laman (1953:44). The Kongo say that to dream of people pondering, with their hands under their chins, tells of some misfortune (Laman 1962:10). The idea of "pondering" could relate to looking into the unseen and, by extension, to seeking witches by clairvoyance. If this were to be the case, then to dream of a clairvoyant would probably relate to witchcraft, either one's own or that of an enemy. This conventional posture, if it finds an equivalent in the symbolism of Fang reliquary guardians, would be tropaic in the sense of threatening the detection and exposure of the witch.

Plate 10.   Reliquary guardian figure; wood; 17¼ inches high; Fang, probably Gabon. (Collection of Mr. and Mrs. George Lazarnick)

We should note that another figure, doubtless carved by the same hand that did one of the "pondering" types, is seated in a completely symmetrical pose, looking straight ahead, with hands to thighs. While this can illustrate a flexibility of choice on the part of the sculptor, and perhaps his patron as well, it also suggests that some of the "plain" figures may embody tropaic attributes which are less overt.

One of the most striking qualities of many Fang (as opposed to Beti) figures is the treatment of the face. The eyes are heavy-lidded, often closed as if in sleep or revery. The rest of the face is tranquil. We generally regard this dreaming, otherworldly effect as fortuitous, a stylistic feature with no iconographic content, a "sensitive rendering" of the human face that is the mark of the greater Fang sculptors.

In the light of what has been suggested here about the pragmatic background of reliquary guardians, we should direct some attention to the possibility that the Fang sculptor in certain regions and periods

attempted to give his figures a certain expression related to looking into the unseen, to clairvoyance, and dreaming. Although it is probably too late to ascertain this through field research, the consideration should make us less sure that, in the case of figures especially beautiful in their serenity, the carver rose far above his cultural milieu to create a masterpiece (cf. Fagg 1965:76; 1967:6–7). In other words, a figure which we may admire for its serene, contemplative expression could at the time of its carving have been considered admirable in its expression of threat to expose and destroy. This premise, carried further in terms of Fang traditional society, could have meant the difference between a master sculptor and a lesser one. Once more, note well that these remarks do not apply to "sensitively rendered" representations in the sculpture of other societies.

Returning for a moment to the question of the Fang master carver and the tropaic concerns of his society, we find that the theme of the proferred cup — not the cup held flat against the chest, which could relate either to a principle of least effort or to one of general design, the two not always being mutually distinguishable — is limited to certain substyles. In the range of Fang (not Beti) substyles it is clearly the most difficult theme to have been carved with relative frequency, as well as the most fragile representation of all. Its limits in space and in time apparently express the society's concern with the poison ordeal, but it would also indicate the willingness, if not eagerness, of lineage heads to obtain reliquary guardians that would "work" to keep their families in close harmony and their fortunes on the ·rise. Investigation of the dynamic relationship between a carver, lineage head, and changing times could contribute to the explanation of the diversity of themes in Fang reliquary figures and of the sculptural excellence attained in some of them.

We can see suggestions of this dynamic in the unevenness of quality in the corpus of Fang reliquary guardians. Although it is impossible to transcend ethnocentric judgments, numerous statues show less care in their working and depart widely and uninspiredly from the canons implicit in the corpus. They could represent the work of beginners or the ad hoc carving of guardians by members of lineages who had no access, through kinship, spatial proximity, or sufficient wealth, to the work of master carvers. There is a tacit understanding that each lineage carved its own reliquary guardians. To the contrary, we have a report from the early part of this century, telling of a visit to an atelier secluded in the forest in which an old carver was making and stock-piling figures, presumably for sale, although his European visitor was not allowed to buy any (Hartert 1891). It is more likely that this carver was catering to a region rather than working in the anticipation of the deaths and divisions of his extraordinarily large family.

This impression of ad hoc workmanship and uninspired treatment in more recently carved figures may lead us into a premature assurance that the themes and sculptural attainments of reliquary guardians in traditional times came about fortuitously. The period of uncertainty and strife before European control could well have demanded increasingly better reliquary guardians in terms of, first, magical efficacy and, second, physical beauty.

The ease with which Tessmann bought figures in the early twentieth century could have been due more to their having failed at their task, than to a casual Fang attitude toward all figures. Moreover, even before that time, the Fang were placing their antiwitchcraft hopes in cults that transcended the magical power of lineages. Associations such as Ngi and Zok stressed techniques that would thwart and reveal witches throughout regions (Tessmann 1913:vol. 2, pp. 73–93; Bennett 1899:88; Leroux 1925). This deserves mention here in indicating the intense and futile nature of the Fang race against witchcraft; the society would adopt, adapt, and abandon ritual techniques and iconographic elements continually in the hope of overcoming societal strains which it perpetuated in its response to history.

Should the premise of a connection between societal change and iconographic form among the Fang prove reasonable, perhaps it can help to guide field investigation along the lines of the importance of the reliquary guardian and its carver in traditional times. Further correlations between Fang society and its sculpture are needed, and these would be implicit in a number of questions: the price for an outstanding figure; the prestige in owning an outstanding figure; the recognition of a personal identity and special magical attributes in a reliquary guardian, as was the case among at least the northern Kele-Kota groups; the role of divination and dream in iconographic choices; and the exclusiveness with which the use of these figures was limited to the *bieri-melan* cults.

Concerning the last question, involving cult specificity, we know that the Yaunde-Fang employed a plethora of "medicines" (i.e. cults) to deal with the consequences of their changing way of life. It is not inconceivable that the containers of these medicines, especially those used for war, were guarded by the same sort of figures that were used in the lineage skull cults. If so, this could have made some difference in the iconography of the figures that we study today. Tessmann illustrates a figure indistinguishable from a reliquary guardian (its dimensions are not given) which the Fang used as medicine against bullets (1913:vol. 2, p. 165, Figure 62d). Poutrin suggests (1911:194–195, Plate 33) that the Cottes boundary mission of 1905–1908 found a now-famous Fang figure thrust into the roof of a house, the usual placement for such images.

CONCLUSION

This discussion of iconography in three traditional societies will, I trust, illustrate my point about the anthropological observance of a double standard in investigating traditional art in Africa. The anthropologist will study witchcraft as a phenomenon of societal interaction but will not consider its relation to the universe of artifacts. I have attempted to demonstrate that conflict within a society can be expressed in its artifact traditions and in the ways that these traditions change. In this endeavor I have dealt with traditions of religious artifacts, and I have dealt with an aspect of religion too long regarded as inconsequential to the study of African iconography.

This aspect, witchcraft, should evidently be considered as a strong determinant of iconography in the region which I have discussed. In this concluding section I would like to suggest that it *generally* be considered as a determinant until negative evidence indicates otherwise. We can have no doubt that other sculpture-producing societies were preoccupied with witchcraft during the time that their traditional sculpture was made and used.

My coverage of Western Equatorial African societies has been very selective due to limited data or to extensive data which will not allow any guess at the presence of witchcraft belief, let alone its relative importance, in traditional ritual and daily interaction. Sparse and simplistic data prevent the analysis of one particular cultural entity that has iconographic features very suggestive of a relationship to witchcraft belief.

These people are the Shira-Punu speakers of southwestern and central Gabon. They are noted for their masks: whitened and carefully modeled faces surmounted by high, elaborate black coiffures (see Plate 11). In these faces, the eyes are stressed: full-lidded, narrowed to slits, and sometimes of arcuate form. They evidently represent women, even though, worn by men, they serve to denote the tutelary spirits of men's village associations. The masker dances before the cult members, preceding a communal hunt (Pepper 1958: Side 1, 22) and probably other events.

Hans Himmelheber, a thoroughgoing field investigator, was among the MaSango (a people in this group) during the dances of such maskers. He was told that they represented dead women returning from the afterworld (Himmelheber 1960:309). These concepts — ghosts and the world of the dead — are so acceptable, indeed satisfactory, to field investigators that, I presume, Himmelheber saw no need to ask the questions: What *kind* of women? Why should they be leading a men's cult?

Among other peoples in the region, ranging into BaKwele country, women are often specialists in dances that enable them to diagnose the cause of an affliction. The cause is often witchcraft. Hunting is much

Plate 11. Mask representing the tutelary spirit of a men's cult; wood and pigments; 11½ inches; Shira-Punu peoples, Gabon. (Collection of the Danish National Museum, Copenhagen)

affected by witchcraft and can require the performance of a special ritual to assure its success. Among the Shira-Punu peoples, all of them matrilineal in their social organization, the allocation of the witchfinder's role could predominantly be to women.

Coming out of Western Equatorial Africa, in order to seek the implications of these specific cases for a general approach to the problem, I would first suggest that studies of the iconography of particular societies include a statement to the effect that certain recognized ideological patterns are not discernible, or play no important role, in their imagery. Negative evidence is always helpful. If this recommendation has any merit, its observance would contribute to the complexity of the study. Yet there was never any good reason to regard African traditional religions as simple. One wonders whether such a rich interplay and mutual accommodation of seemingly discrete and disparate concepts distinguished the early religions of Europe and the Near East.

In the study of African iconography perhaps one can think of witchcraft belief as, to use a phrase from Edward T. Hall, a "hidden dimension." It may be able to partly explain some of the features in African styles of sculpture that we find commonplace but enigmatic, often overlooking them or trying to comprehend them through common sense. Stylistic features that we may think of as intentionally bizarre in the interest of theatrical effect upon an audience could have been chosen and elaborated with a clear idea of their effect upon the unseen world. This, for example, could be the case in the many types of weapons whose forms become intricate beyond any utilitarian need.

The remarkable exaggeration of eye form seen in some styles could manifest the idea of clairvoyance and witchfinding. In this connection, the humble money-cowrie is usually written off as a prosaic unit of currency or decoration, or, interpreted on a higher plane, as a symbol of fertility in that its form suggests a vulva. We tend to overlook its equally obvious resemblance to the eye, although Africans do not. The BaKwele referred to these shells as "eyes of the sea-monster." A number of societies insert them into the faces of statues, to serve as eyes. It might be easier to carve the eye out of or into the wood, but cowries are hard, white eyes and these qualities have special power in dealing with witches. In some southern Kele-Kota and Mbamba substyles, despite the abundance of brass, eyes are represented by discs of shell or white stone, and in one style by white buttons of European manufacture.

The discussion of brass as tropaic in Western Equatorial Africa may have implications for other regions. We tend to think of the cult use of brass in other African societies as due mainly to this metal's scarcity, beauty, flexibility, and durability. The supernatural attributes of the metal itself seem not to have been assessed, or for that matter discussed, in sources where one might expect them to be. The technical and aesthetic triumphs of brass casting seem to have drawn our attention from the symbolic nature of the metal. Tropaic needs may account in some part for the use of brass on the royal altars at Benin, as well as for the royal monopoly over the metal. Are the warriors on horseback and the musket-aiming Portuguese soldiers symbolic of no more than wealth and military power?

Consideration of the role of witchcraft in iconography can be meaningful in an area regarded as peripheral to art as witchcraft belief is to religion. The sculptural decoration of utilitarian objects is often dismissed as *Kleinkunst*, as a charming "spin-off" from the higher aesthetic attainments. Our remoteness from witchcraft belief tends to obscure the possibility that the working of a representational theme into a utilitarian object can have religiously pragmatic as well as aesthetic motivation. To some of us, this may bring up the old dilemma of "art for art's sake" in traditional African sculpture.

The question of usefulness as opposed to beauty in the embellishment of secular items has been more or less shelved, largely because no confirmation of magical symbolism can be elicited from members of the society studied. Yet, taking into account the traditional African's unconcern with the minutiae of causality in art forms, we can still discern some cultural circumstances that would encourage us to resume the controversy.

Many utilitarian objects show some way of representing the human or animal form. A handle may end in a head, a harp may be fashioned in the form of a woman, an oracle bowl may be buttressed by the figure of a seated man. There is, of course, in such expressions the interplay of aesthetic sensibility and pride of purchase and ownership. We must note, however, that in African traditional societies competition in skills and other prestigious attributes was very keen. This competition expressed itself in the fear of rivals offsetting one's successes and luring away one's followers or clientele. The more successful a craftsman or religious specialist became, the more anxious he was about the witchcraft and magic of his rivals, whose numbers grew with his successes.

A case in point could be the heddle pulley used with horizontal narrow-band looms by numerous societies in Western Sudan and on the Guinea Coast (Leuzinger 1963:106–107). Weaving is a complicated, demanding procedure in which one runs the risk of many technical mishaps. The heddle pulleys of apprentice and new weavers tend to be simple, more or less devoid of any representational themes. More experienced and wealthier weavers bought more elaborate pulleys, the handles ornamented by the heads of men or animals, masks, and, less frequently, full-figures. Naturally, they would pay the carver more for these.

When asked about their reason for needing more elaborate versions of a basic implement, their answers tended to agree: the decorated pulleys were more pleasing to look at (Susan Vogel 1973, personal communication). If there was an earlier, more pressing reason, it had either passed out of recall or was guarded from outsiders. The representation of a tutelary spirit in the pulley, seeing over his protegé's work and driving off the unseen mischief of rivals, would be information best kept secret. The decorative themes differ considerably, again bringing up the question of whether, if they were magical in intent, they would be chosen at random or according to the advice of a diviner.

In discussing the Mbamba concern with witchcraft, I mentioned a wooden door on which the figure of a man was carved for explicitly tropaic reasons. This principle might be extended to other societies which used wooden doors provided with relief carving. For example, among the Baule, the themes include armed warriors (Griaule 1950:52); the most important type of mask, intended to protect the village (Holas 1952:33); and a crocodile seizing a fish (Holas 1952:39). All of these suggest some

warning to *unseen* forces, in that Baule village life is relatively harmonious.

In these and other instances of possibly tropaic motives in decoration, the analysis of iconography may serve to diagnose witchcraft belief, either covert and continuing in importance or diminished in its societal effects while remaining "fossilized" in motives and usages that persist devoid of their earlier meaning.

The suggestions offered here would be impossible to follow through without a working knowledge of the symbolic systems of each society concerned. The problem today lies in the selectivity discussed at the outset of this article: when symbolic meanings are collected, they seem to cluster in the area of institutions that are considered central and quintessential. One hopes that future investigations of traditional African symbolic systems will take into account the things and ideas that relate to less exalted ways of dealing with the supernatural world.

We have seen some agreement in witchcraft concepts across three societies. An understanding of traditional iconography of larger regions would be aided by a pooling of field information on symbolic relations between witchcraft and the phenomena within cultural and natural orders. Considering the intense interest that anthropologists have shown in the subject of witchcraft, it is curious that its underlying concepts have not been organized into the rigorous structural models that we have for cosmological phenomena, body parts, marriage, and cuisine.

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Grave Sculptures of the Dakakari

ALLEN BASSING

The Dakakari peoples are located in the Zuru Federation, Kontagora Division of Nigeria's Northwestern State. The Federation consists of five districts which were created from the five traditional areas existing at the time when the British imposed their control over the area.

The Dakakari, numbering some 83,000,[1] are divided into four groups: Lilawa, Bangawa, Kelawa, and Fakawa.[2] It is generally agreed among the Dakakari that the Lilawa are the original Dakakari and the first to have settled in the area. Next the Bangawa and Kelawa immigrated, to be followed about 130 years ago by the Fakawa. Although the four groups presumably do not share a common origin, they now share the same traditions with some variations. There are probably no major differences between them. The Dakakari economy is based mainly on subsistence farming, the major crop being guinea corn. Except for a noticeable proportion of men who become soldiers, the primary occupation for virtually all men and women is farming.

GRAVE MONUMENTS

The Dakakari traditionally bury their dead in an underground tomb capped by a low cylindrical earth mound. On the mound are placed pottery and clay sculptures commemorating the deceased, his titles, and

any exceptional deeds he may have done. The tomb is an inverted T shaft running at an incline underneath the mound to a depth of about four feet. The entrance, at the perimeter of the mound, is blocked with a large flat stone and covered with soil. The mound itself, which widens slightly at the bottom, is two to three feet in height and between four and five feet in diameter. It is made of packed earth and is sometimes enclosed with a wall of roughly dressed stones.

The only person not buried under a grave mound is a village head, a man of considerable importance. The entrance to his tomb lies within a mud-walled thatched-roofed hut five or six feet in height. The commemorative clay objects are placed directly on the clean leveled earth floor of the hut.

Each compound has its own grave mounds which stand in a public area near the entrance hut to the compound. In one tomb may be buried the owner of the compound, his wives and unmarried daughters. (The village head's wives and daughters are not buried in his tomb but in their own mound near his monument.)

Grave monuments are located in thirty-one hilltop villages which, for the most part, are now deserted but for elderly people and the children assigned to help them. According to oral tradition the Dakakari originally settled in the valleys but were forced to move to the hilltops because of Fulani slave raids. The steep rocky slopes of the hills offered protection against the Fulani cavalry. According to district officers' estimates all the hilltop villages had probably been established by the 1850's. But with British pacification in the early years of this century people started moving back into the valleys. It is not known if the Dakakari brought the custom of grave mound burial and commemorative sculpture with them or if it was begun sometime after they settled in the Zuru area. However, no grave mounds have been found in the valleys, and present-day Dakakari construct mounds only in the hilltop villages.

CLAY COMMEMORATIVE OBJECTS

Aside from the making of clay objects, the Dakakari are not noted as prodigious artists or craftsmen. Nearly all crafts and trades, e.g. carpentry and basketry, are conducted by non-Dakakari. There are a few Dakakari weavers (whose work is embroidered with simple geometric designs) and blacksmiths. The smithery is plain and technically poor, and farmers usually obtain their implements from Hausa blacksmiths because Dakakari tools do not hold up under heavy work. Dakakari architecture is strictly utilitarian, of a design typical of much of northern Nigeria. In older villages it is common to find graceful geometric mud reliefs on either side of entrances to huts.

One of the most impressive fields of design is women's cicatrization. There are specialists who cut the skin of the face and body to form raised scars. Men's scarification is for tribal identification. Women's scarification is decorative only and varies considerably in its complex patterns.

Except for pottery making, that would seem to be a complete list of the noteworthy Dakakari crafts. Pottery making is strictly a woman's occupation, done only in the dry season so that it will not interfere with farming. There are two types of pottery work: utilitarian household pottery and secular commemorative sculpture for grave mounds. (Household pottery may be placed on a grave and then becomes commemorative also.) Relatively few women are engaged in either aspect of pottery making because of the hard work it involves, the low price household pottery fetches, and the decline in the use of sculpture.

All types of household pottery having the same function are nearly identical in shape, varying only in size. The various types are: men's soup bowls (goblet-shaped) water, beer, or wine containers; honey storage pots; storage and serving bowls; and multicompartmented beancake fryers. Most of the smaller containers have a shiny warm brown and partially smoke-blackened patina, and are decorated with a simple incised design of single or double loops, often with dots between the lines.

In contrast to household pottery, which is standardized in form and decoration all over the Zuru Federation, grave sculpture has been found in several different styles. Each style seems to be localized with some overlapping. There appears to be little change in the style of an area over the years when weathered pieces are compared with more recent ones. Moreover, the work seems to be fairly conventionalized in that there are only five categories of subject matter, and almost complete standardization of the posture of figures. The five categories are:

1. Pseudopots, called "pots of the grave." These are for use of the deceased in the afterlife. Pots of the grave represent clay household pots or calabashes used for storage, according to informants, of both honey and wine. The lids of pots of the grave are permanently sealed, and are sometimes made to look like stoppers of vegetable matter. It is the sealed lids, decorative raised bands, and often fanciful shapes which distinguish pots of the grave from common household pottery.

There is another type of grave pot called "hanging pots." They consist of three or four pots one atop the other in a string bag which is hung from the rafters of huts. (There seems to be a variant of this type, the main characteristic of which is the elaborate upper portion which suggests the bag and its loop handles.)

2. Elephants. Unlike other grave figures, elephants are recognizable only to the Dakakari, although there is much disagreement as to what the elements of the body are. In their traditional form (basically a large vertical disc standing on four legs, a face in low relief, and several

projections of varying size) they are the largest and most expensive of the grave objects.

3. Animal figures. The most common types are bush cows and species of antelope. There are a few camels, plus some other animals — unidentified, but the possibility that they are imaginary creatures can be ruled out. Bodies tend to be limited to general indications of large four-footed mammals; species may be identified only by the shape of the horns and the presence of humps or ridges on the back, or in the case of the camel the length of the neck. Hoofs, which can be an aid to identification, are portrayed infrequently. (Informants claimed the ability to recognize animals through the shape of the horns, except for the camel.)

4. Equestrian figures. These are thought by some informants to represent a chief warrior. This identification was made because the band running from the right shoulder to the left hip of most riders is said to be the baldric worn by chief warriors. Equestrian figures are the category least seen on grave mounds.

5. Human figures, male and female, called "sons of the grave." These act as servants for the deceased in the afterlife. The figures are unclothed but for a band, worn by some male figures, running from the right shoulder to the left hip. Some informants said this band represents the sash worn by a herald who precedes a chief to announce his arrival. Genitalia, nipples, and umbilical hernias are always shown. Arms and hands are deemphasized, fin-like. The placement of cicatrization on the face, arms, and chest is typical for Dakakari men and women although the actual designs are usually not strictly representational. (Most informants distinguished the sex of each figure by examining the cicatrization pattern.)

Sculptures are symmetrical, but their modeling is not rigid. The internal muscular or skeletal structure of both human and animal figures tends to be ignored; bodies (except those of elephants) are more or less ovoid. Often there is only a hint of shoulders or neck.

The bodies are taut: limbs of animals and humans are stiffly extended; legs resemble columns, arms are pressed straight down and against the sides, hands and fingers flare out from the body; animals' necks are strained outward; heads seem to be pulled back and down toward the shoulders.

Faces are the most detailed part of each figure. Animal faces (which are anthropomorphic) and human faces have eyes which are either depressions, holes, or slits and, have, sometimes, upper and lower lids. The bridge of the nose often becomes a ridge extending to the crown of the head. Ears are prominent, often O shaped or a horizontal ellipse. (In some areas the open mouth is said to represent mourning.) Frequently the tongue or teeth, or both, are shown. The teeth are sometimes combined with the lips, resulting in a serrated opening.

THE POTTERS

The secrets of making grave sculpture are kept strictly within certain families and are handed down from mother to daughter and to other female relatives in the extended family. Potters would not work in front of or teach anyone from outside the family, even if paid to do so. If any woman outside the traditional grave-sculpture-making families attempted to make the sculpture she would be reported to the village head who would put a stop to it. The makers of grave sculpture have, therefore, a monopoly, and are envied for their extra source of income. Beyond that, however, they have no special social or religious standing in the community. Household pottery, in contrast, may be made and sold by any woman who wishes to do so.

Commemorative sculpture may be ordered and placed on a grave mound anytime after a burial by the family of the deceased or, possibly, someone with whom the deceased has exchanged sizable gifts. Unlike household pottery which is normally purchased in the market, grave sculpture must be commissioned in advance from the potter herself. In the past it might have been up to a year before the order was filled, since potters do not spend more than six months of the year at the craft.

Size, type, and decoration are to be considered in determining the price of sculpture. Payment is made with foodstuffs. The price for an equestrian figure would be the delivery to the potter's compound of a ram and enough guinea corn to fill a storage bin. When wildlife was more plentiful, the price was the back and hindquarters of an antelope and three *muda* (a standard measure) each of the ingredients for making soup: rice, okra, and the grain *Digitaria exilis* (all locally grown). The cash equivalent today for these foodstuffs is approximately two Nigerian pounds, according to an informant. Ordinarily, the buyer pays for the sculpture when he comes to collect it, but it is possible to take it away and pay over a two-year period.

TITLES

All persons out of infancy who die of natural causes (except smallpox), regardless of rank or sex, are entitled to be buried under an earth mound and be commemorated with pottery. Wives and unmarried daughters, who are buried with the head of their household, are also commemorated by his grave objects. (In principal they are entitled to have duplicates made for them, but this seldom happens.) Sons may not be buried in their father's mound because they "must prove themselves worthy" of their own commemorative objects.

There are many degrees of rank in traditional Dakakari society; those

holding the nine highest ranks have the prerogative of having roughly dressed stones encircling their mounds and commemorative sculptures on top. Five of these titles are in the fields of politics, religion, warfare, and sport:

1. Councilor. The village head selects men, usually of middle age, whom he considers to be knowledgeable about precedents and able to give him advice on administering the area.

2. Village Heads, formerly called district chiefs. The Zuru Federation was made up of five districts, each with its own district chief. Each district chief ruled independently of the others and each was the final authority on any matter within his district.

3. High Priest, head of the men's secret society, whose powerful and benevolent spirit, Oknuh, can be contacted only through the high priest. The title is hereditary.

4. Chief Warrior. This title was attained on the basis of courage, and military leadership qualities during the times of the Fulani slave raids and the initial British entries into the Dakakari area.

5. Champion Wrestler. A young man earns this title by winning against all other contestants during the annual wrestling matches engaged in by all unmarried youths from age fifteen to twenty-one years.

The other four titles meriting grave sculpture are attained by the giving of prescribed gifts:

6. Chief Farmer. This title is taken by an extremely successful farmer who is able to give meat, drink, and other foodstuffs to everyone in his village on at least three occasions.

7. Chief Blacksmith. This title is open to a blacksmith who has presented an iron staff to each of several chief farmers. This staff, with its embellishment of miniature hoe blades, is symbolic of the rank of chief farmer.

8. Chief Hunter.

9. Great Hunter. The last two titles are earned by men who have given the major portions of large wild animals they have killed to important people, often the chief hunter and occasionally the great hunter.

Grave sculpture may also be earned through the giving of a significant gift, traditionally the major portion of a large wild animal or an ample supply of grain. Today a suitable number of domestic livestock replaces the meat of the wild animal. It is probable that only a titled (i.e. highly successful or powerful) person can afford the gesture. When a man is given a gift he is obligated to return another of equal value; this exchange of significant gifts is commemorated on the grave mounds of both men with sculptures of animals (other than elephants).

While most informants agreed that an animal on a grave mound indicates an exchange of gifts, there is too much contradictory information to form any conclusions as to what categories of sculpture are accorded each

title. In fact, it is impossible to state whether there is any system governing the placement of commemorative sculpture according to title.

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PLATES – see following pages.

Plates 1–17 are reprinted with permission from *African Arts* 6(4), published by the University of California, Los Angeles.

Plate 2.   Dakakari grave figure. Antelope on a spherical base

Plate 1.   Dakakari grave figures. In the left foreground, an antelope; in the right background, an elephant

Plate 4. Dakakari grave figure. Buffalo on a spherical base
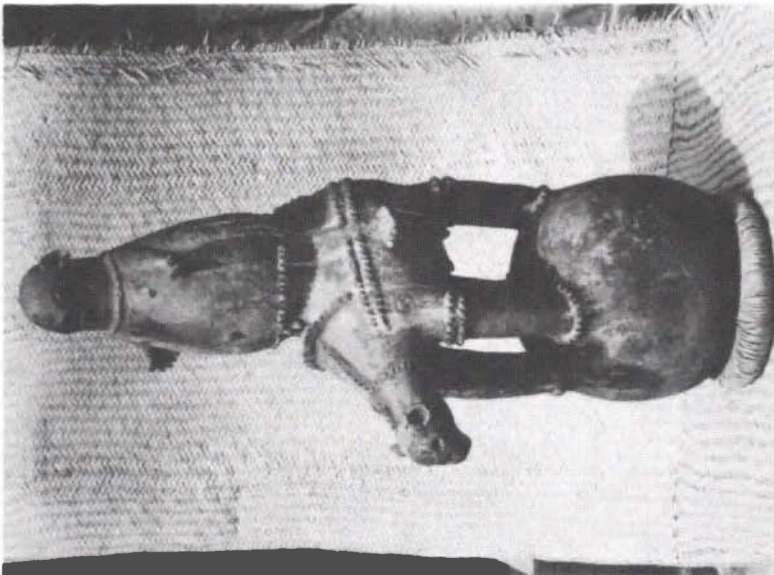
Plate 3. Dakakari grave figure. Equestrian figure on a spherical base

Plate 6.   Dakakari grave mound. On the left and right are "sons of the grave", in the center, an unidentified animal

Plate 5.   Two Dakakari grave mounds. In the right background a well preserved mound; in the left foreground the mound has not been kept up, but in order to keep sheep and goats from climbing over it, branches have been placed around the figures

Plate 8. Equestrian Dakakari grave figure

Plate 7. Camel Dakakari grave figure. Camels are seen fairly often in Dakakari country

Plate 10.   "Son of the grave." This is obviously a female body, but both male and female figures are called "sons of the grave."

Plate 9.   Antelope Dakakari grave figure
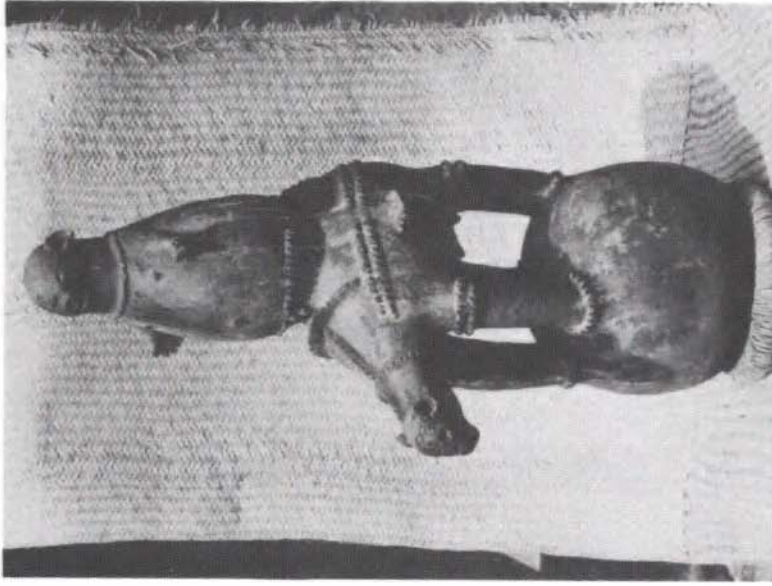
Plate 12. Equestrian Dakakari grave figure. White stains on the figure indicate the yearly ceremony of putting a mixture of guinea corn flour and water on it in reverence to the ancestor
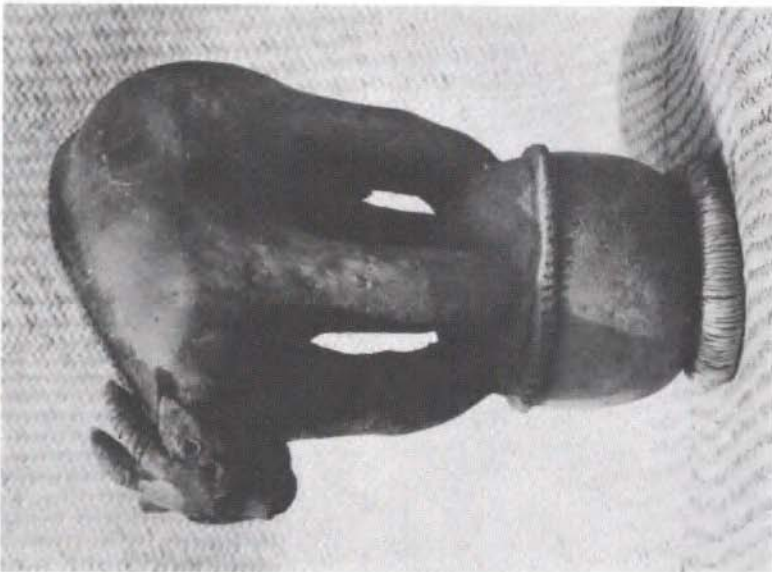
Plate 11. Antelope Dakakari grave figure. Sculpture may be buried up to incised line that circles the upper part of the base

Plate 14.   Dakakari grave sculpture. On the left and right are "sons of the grave"; in the center, a head fragment from an animal figure
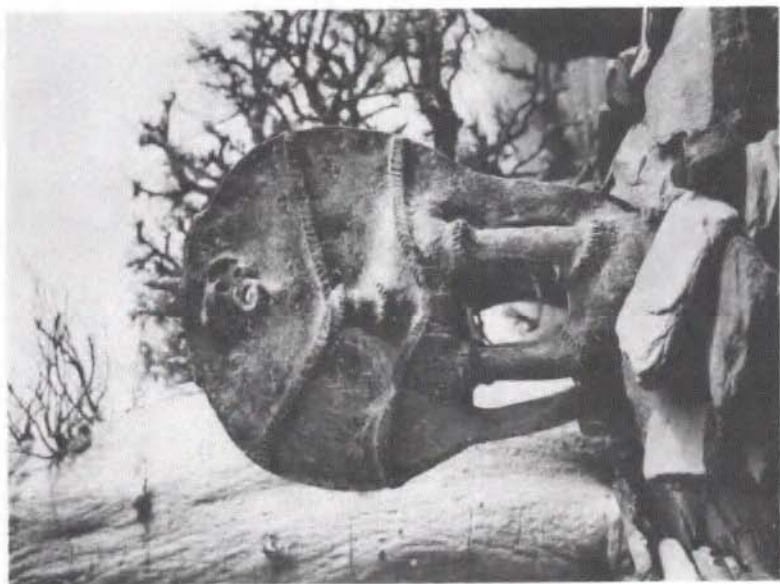
Plate 13.   Dakakari grave sculpture of elephant. Rocks on top of mound keep the packed earth beneath from eroding. The rocks also indicate the importance of the personage buried in
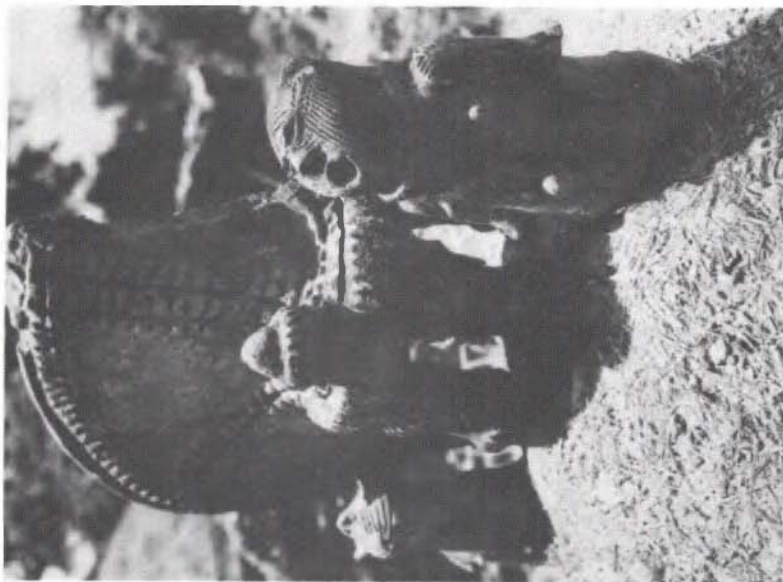
Plate 16. Dakakari grave figures. On the left and right are "sons of the grave"; in the center, an elephant
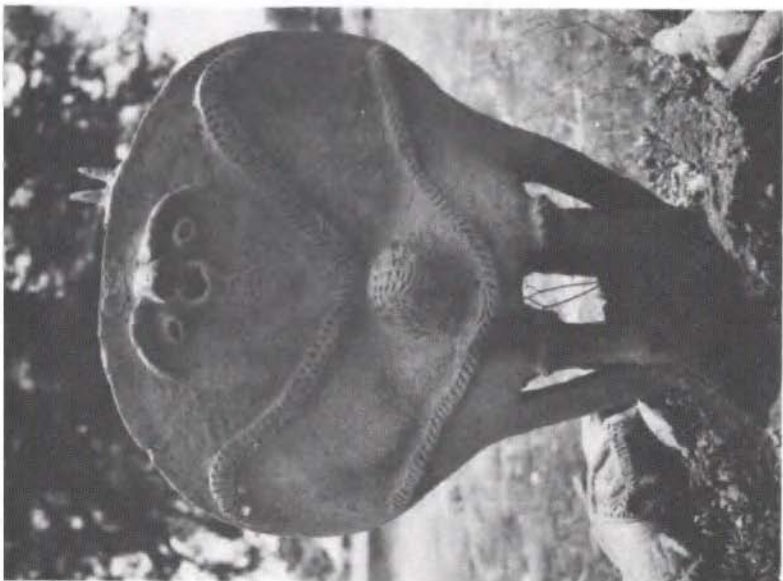
Plate 15. Dakakari grave sculpture. Elephant (front view)

Plate 17.   Dakakari grave sculpture. Elephant (rear view);
other pieces have fallen off the unkept grave

Baule and Yoruba Art Criticism: A Comparison

SUSAN M. VOGEL

Few studies of African aesthetics have been conducted in the field and most have focused on criticism by a single African society.[1] This article attempts to compare Robert Thompson's work on Yoruba artistic criticism with the writer's own on Baule aesthetic criteria. The two peoples are loosely related; they both speak languages of the Kwa subfamily and in art could be said to form part of a "Guinea Coast style area." Both favor a restrained naturalism, except for occasional, prescribed, relatively abstract works and among both societies' artists there are trained professionals.

I begin by comparing art criticism collected by Thompson (1965, 1968) among the Yoruba with that which I collected among the Baule. Our respective interpretations of these critical remarks are followed by new interpretations of the data suggested to me by the comparison.

"It looks like a person" was the most common Baule statement of approval and, in the negative, the most frequent condemnation. Exactly the same phrase was used by Yoruba critics, an accord so striking that it

[1] These studies have generally been based on what Himmelheber has called "beauty contests" in which individuals were asked to rank in order of preference, works in their own ethnic style. The composition of the "critics" varied from one study to another, as did the method of questioning. Judgments were based either on photographs (Siroto and Child), or objects belonging to the critic and his neighbors (Thompson and Bohannan), or else objects belonging to the researcher (Crowley, Vogel). The most systematic of these studies have been by Himmelheber (1935), Vandenhoute (1945), Cordwell (1952) — all well-discussed in Gerbrands (1957) — Bohannan (1961), Child and Siroto (1965), Crowley (1966), Fernandez (1966), Thompson (1965, 1968) and by myself.

invited comparative study.[2] Both Thompson and I interpreted this state-
ment as a preference for a restrained naturalism (his "mimesis at the
mid-point"). Radical departures from the shape of nature and tradition
were denounced by the critics for failing to look like a person. A Yoruba
critic stated that "if a person's ears were all round like that, they would
talk about him." A Baule chief, confronted with a rather chesty male
figure, remarked in disgust that "men don't have breasts like that!"
Failures of balance and proportion were sometimes condemned by the
simpler Baule critics with the same phrase. Thus, "the neck of a person
isn't long like this" dismissed a Baule figure with a disproportionately
long neck. Both the Baule and Yoruba studies mention a disapproval of
extremely abstract sculptures.

Thompson reports that another trait sought by Yoruba critics was what
they called "visibility." They seem to have meant several things by the
term: an intelligibility of objects represented in sculpture, clarity of form
(separation of the main masses), and clarity of incised lines. While the
Baule used no word which corresponds to "visibility," they seem to have
appreciated the qualities embraced by the term. The first, intelligibility, is
obviously less important in Baule art than it is in Yoruba art because
objects are less often portrayed. Baule figures are generally nude and
empty-handed, without the recognizable details of iconography, clothing,
cult objects, and so forth, found in Yoruba art. One figure shown to Baule
critics, however, was represented as wearing a heavy ivory bracelet and
critics often recognized it with pleasure.

Clarity of form was never described by Baule critics, although their
remarks showed they appreciated the separation of parts commonly seen
in their figures — the leg clearly divided at the knee and separated from
the torso by a groove at the loin. Baule critics weighed the parts of a figure
one by one and commented on them separately. One figure presented to
Baule judges which does not have a separation of parts, was generally
disliked. The body of the figure flows in an unbroken line from the
shoulder to the ankle; critics discussed its head and neck and some
praised its breasts but they seemed unable to talk about the body. If
asked, they said it was not beautiful but did not elaborate.

The Yoruba critics carefully examined the finishing of details in sculp-
ture such as the finger- and toenails, and eyelids, noting whether or not
they had been properly "lined," incised or grooved. Thompson found
that as part of the quality of "visibility," the completeness of these
incisions was important to the critics. This cannot be said of the Baule. In
general, Baule sculpture devotes less attention to such naturalistic details

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[2]   The phrase used by Yoruba critics was "*o jo* (or *o dabi*) *enion*." Thompson (1971:3/1)
has translated this as "it resembles a person." Abraham also lists "a person" as the primary
meaning of *enion*. The Baule used the phrase "*o fa sona*." *Fa* is to resemble; *sona* means a
person, a human being, man in the generic sense of the Latin *homo*.

and Baule elders were not very interested in them. Hands, ears, finger-nails, and eyelids were not discussed. In scarification and coiffure, how-ever, fine incised lines were of paramount importance to Baule critics who never failed to comment on them. Those that were even and deli-cately carved were universally praised. The Baule were adamant about coarse cicatrices. "They are ugly! They look like sores!" they said. Mod-eration was advised: not too many, not too few. One figure with an elaborate hairdo and numerous cicatrices was dismissed: "It is too much," they said, finding it overelaborate. One very old man remarked cryptically: "When you see a potter putting scarifications on a pot, you must tell her to stop," thus enunciating a basic principle of good sculp-ture: there are limits to desirable elaboration, the artist must know where to stop.

That remark also expresses the important principle of correctness. Scarifications are proper and pleasing on depictions of human flesh — they are out of place and reprehensible on a pot. Aside from icono-graphic correctness and adherence to local styles that Crowley's (1966:522) informants called "correct" (not mentioned by the Baule), correctness extends to the relationship between subject and form. The degree of abstraction appropriate to a Baule *Kple Kple* mask or a Yoruba *Epa* is censured as improper in other kinds of sculpture.

Yoruba critics appreciated another quality in sculpture — "shining smoothness," or its luster and polish. A shining smoothness (or the remains of one) is visible on virtually all Baule figure sculpture and human face masks. I was not surprised, then, to find that the figures preferred by the Baule were those with fine, smooth surfaces. The Baule never made positive remarks about surface, though figures that lacked a polished surface were always criticized. Rough or encrusted surfaces were scored with pathological images: "It looks like a leper"; "He looks blistered, like one who fell in a fire"; and "This looks like a sickness." When asked to comment on smooth surfaces, the Baule remarked approvingly that they were clean. The term they used, *i unen o fie* [its body or surface is clean], may be used for any clean thing, including cloth and nonshiny objects. Thus, it might seem at first that they were slighting the essential feature of these figures, their shine. The Baule, however, have complex ideas about cleanliness which explain this statement.

French administrators, writing in the early part of this century, were impressed by the extraordinary cleanliness of the Baule. Some remarked on the scarcity of skin diseases. Several went into considerable detail on the subject and one might be tempted to see this either as a kind of racism or as a reflection on the personal habits of early French administrators. It seems, however, that the Baule really are unusually concerned with personal cleanliness. In a traditional village, every man, woman, and child bathes in hot water twice a day. After the bath, pomade is normally used,

which produces a much admired luster. A recent study (Etienne 1968:27–28) finds that the Baule expend a considerable amount of time, labor, and money on bathing and that they rank it high in the hierarchy of the good things in life. A man deprived of his morning bath considers his loss equivalent to missing a meal. Frequent bathing is felt to be essential to a decent standard of living.

It seems to me that for the Baule a figure with a smooth polished surface represents man in a state of well-being, bathed, shining with pomade and good health. This is reinforced by their interpreting the absence of a smooth shining surface on a figure as a sign of disease. For the Baule, someone with a skin disease is seen as not just dogged by bad fortune or evil spirits (which could happen to anyone), but as a poor person, someone living a substandard existence, someone who has been unable to secure the women and money necessary to bathe as other men do.[3] For them, shining smoothness in a figure is taken for granted, for it is part of the perfection one expects to see portrayed in art.

The quality of youthfulness (Thompson's "ephebism"), visible in most African sculpture, was sought by both Baule and Yoruba critics. In both cases, the preference was most clearly stated in regard to female figures and particularly in reference to the breasts. (This is very logical in Africa where fallen breasts are probably the first sign of advancing age, occurring very early.) Many Baule critics remarked that the breasts of one figure were beautiful because they had not yet fallen. Here again Baule values were more often stated in the negative. One figure was consistently ranked low: "It is ugly all over — she looks like an old, old woman." A male figure with a potbelly was also accused of looking old. Damaged figures were dismissed on the same grounds: they resembled old or maimed persons.

It is interesting that Crowley's study of Chokwe evaluations of Chokwe art turned up a similar admiration for youthfulness in art. Crowley (1966:522) reports that the Chokwe preferred new masks because they were thought of as young, possessing the strength and vigor of youth.[4] Baule critics all asserted that their favorite figures were new and the most disliked were old.

The skill of the artist was appreciated by the Yoruba and very often referred to by Baule critics. Though the artists were unknown to them, Baule judges frequently praised a work by saying, "The carver knew what he was doing"; "That is the way a good sculptor must carve"; or "Many artists can't make the hair as fine as that" and belittled others with "The

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[3]   Women to carry water and firewood, money to purchase soap, sponge, talcum, pomade, and to support the women. A Baule proverb says, "The rooster claims he has seventeen wives, yet he bathes in the sand" (Guerry n.d.: 92).

[4]   Similarly, the strongest mask in the Baule repertory is Botiwa. The youngest of their masks, it came into use after 1925.

carver must have been just amusing himself," the Baule equivalent of calling him an amateur. An awareness of the artist behind each sculpture was surprisingly sharp, and his creative effort was present in everyone's mind. One critic said, "The man who made that worked hard," and another commented that good sculpture was hard to carve. One critic, himself a sculptor, looked at a somewhat lubberly effort and reflected sadly that a sculptor thinks his own work is beautiful, sells it away, and other people say it is ugly. Other sculptors were less candid (or perhaps less perceptive). Baule carvers, to a man, professed to like their own work better than anyone else's. In this they echo Yoruba and Tiv artists.

Qualities of good craftsmanship were appreciated by Baule and Yoruba critics: delicacy, correct positioning of features ("the ears must be not too far down, not too far up"). Relative straightness and an upright posture were admired for their associations with youthful vigor and well-being. Both peoples approved of figures which conformed to the traditional system of proportion, probably without a great deal of reflection. Both enjoyed the roundness that defines the curves of human flesh. For both the Baule and Yoruba this was most important in the buttocks of figures. Baule critics were indignant at the rather angular backside of a female figure: "It is pointed," they exclaimed, "it is twisted, disfigured!" For the Baule, well-rounded calves were also of paramount importance. The calves are one feature they invariably discussed; while some were considered too thin, none were ever pronounced too round.

The Baule and the Yoruba differed significantly on only one basic aesthetic quality: symmetry. It seems that the Yoruba, like most African peoples, prefer symmetrical images, while the Baule appreciate slightly irregular and asymmetrical ones.[5] Baule asymmetry is usually balanced and often so subtle that it leaves the Western observer uncertain as to whether or not it was intended. This slight asymmetry (often a gentle turn of the body or head) accounts for a good deal of the interest of the best old Baule pieces. The Museum of Primitive Art's female figure (Plate 1) is a clear example of balanced asymmetry with one long and one short arm. A well-known mask (Figure 1) also displays this quality in its frankly asymmetric hairdo and more subtly in the irregularity of the eyes. This kind of asymmetry can also be seen in Baule architecture.

A quick comparison of Baule and the well-known southern and eastern Yoruba doors shows the extent of their differences in the area of symmetry and regularity. The relief figures on these Yoruba doors have been organized into registers: they stand on a base line in an orderly fashion and fill evenly all the available space. A Baule door seldom has any sort of base line, instead figures of men, animals, birds, fish, and various objects

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[5] Guillaume and Munro (1926:104) were the first to remark Baule asymmetry.

Plate 1. Baule female figure. Wood, 18½ inches high. (Collection of the Museum of Primitive Art)

may be scattered across the surface of the door in a random arrangement, only casually balanced (Figures 2 and 3).

NEW INTERPRETATIONS OF THE DATA

The most frequent statement of approval made by Baule and Yoruba critics was "it looks like a person." Thompson and I both interpreted this as the expression of a preference for a modified naturalism, or "mimesis at the mid-point" as he called it. Modified naturalism is obviously a
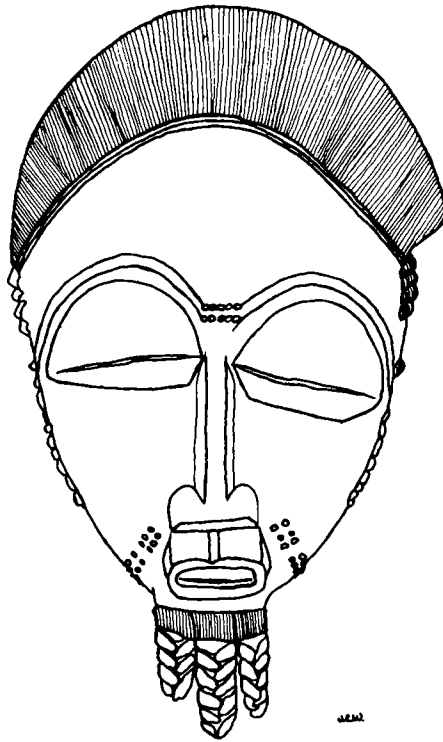
Figure 1. Baule mask, wood, 12¾ inches high. (After W. Fagg, *Tribes and Forms*, 1965:16)

cardinal feature of the art of both peoples and must be a basic criterion of their aesthetic judgments of representational sculpture. I suspect, however, that both Thompson and I were seduced by the obviousness of this naturalism into misreading the phrase, "it looks like a person," as a statement of that criterion. The similarity of our findings suggests that the phrase has a deeper meaning and that a re-examination of Yoruba and Baule artistic criticism together may be more revealing than the study of either separately.[6]

In reviewing the remarks of critics, one becomes aware that there really are no stated disapprovals of either excessive abstraction or excessive naturalism. The latter, in fact, seems never to occur in sculpture. Artists express a fear of carving the defects they see in nature and indeed never do so deliberately. Occasionally a critic will say that a figure looks

[6] The emphasis on naturalism in the discussion that follows is my own. Thompson's emphasis has been on the other component, the "mid-point." He writes that it is "imperative to supply the modifier *relative* before the term *mimesis*. As a matter of fact, the adjective properly modifies all criteria" (Thompson 1971:3/2). He may well have put his finger on *the* overriding criterion of all African aesthetics.
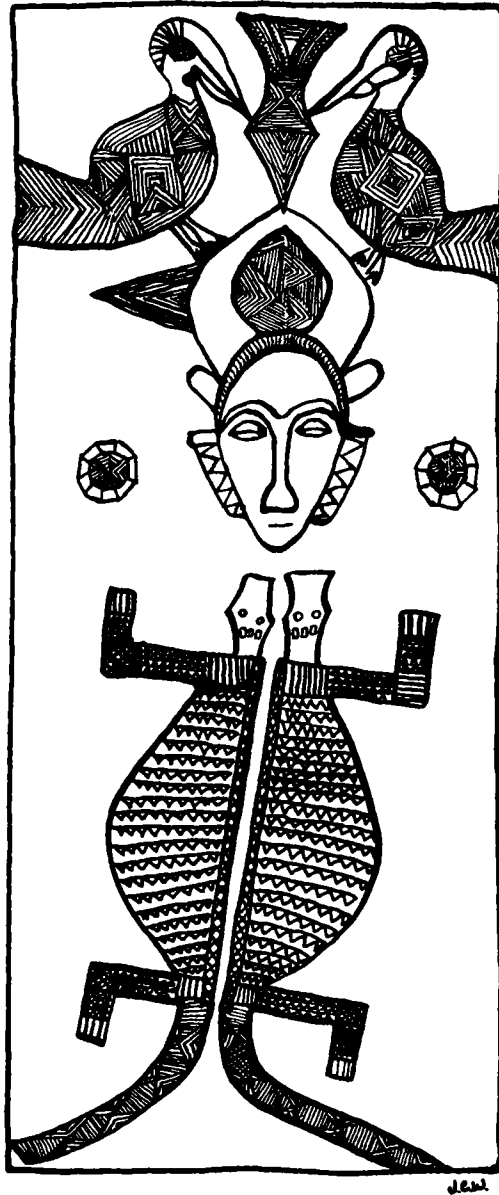
Figure 2. Baule door with relief carving. Wood, paint. (After Guillaume and Munro 1926: Figure 29)

paunchy and slack bellied or that the breasts of a female figure look withered, but these criticisms are probably directed at the lack of youth-fulness of the figure and not at its excessive naturalism. It is doubtful that their makers deliberately set out to portray the ravages of age; more

Figure 3. Yoruba door panel with relief carving. Wood. (After Geoffrey Parrinder, *African mythology* 1967:66)

likely they failed to distinguish properly a "pleasing roundness" from a middle-aged spread. For this failure, the critics find them incompetent. The warts, wrinkles, club feet, and other unsightly products of nature mentioned by artists never find their way into the work of even the worst

sculptor. Since this is an area of error into which no artist ever strays, in what sense can it be a consideration for the critics?

The critical remark I cited for disapproval of excessive realism was "men don't have breasts like that." This now seems questionable. The critic is accusing the sculpture of not being lifelike, although he knows that many Baule men do indeed have pectorals as prominent and fleshy as the figure's. He is not saying, "It looks too much like a man," a statement I never heard, and Thompson does not mention, but rather that it is unattractive. One remark against hypermimesis quoted by Thompson was made of a figure whose mouth "comes out to form a laugh." This sort of complaint, often heard by both Thompson and myself, is surely not to be taken literally. Like the critic who cried "the horse looks like a pig," this critic is simply using a vivid way of saying "the mouth sticks out too far." Critics using phrases of this sort do not even consider the possibility that the carver might actually have wanted to depict a laugh or a pig. I suspect neither the pig nor the laugh was particularly realistic, which puts the objection back to incompetence again.

Excessive abstraction involves the same problem: is the critic objecting to calculated abstraction or is it poor workmanship and summarily carved parts that offend him? As one critic clearly put it, "we want carving, not lumber." Under this heading, Thompson quotes a critic who complained that "if a person's ears were all round like that, they would talk about him" and lauded "another piece with realistic ears." Yoruba sculptures do not generally have very realistic ears; these were probably accepted or rejected on their conformity to or divergence from traditional style.

The extreme distortion of certain types of Yoruba and Baule sculpture (e.g. the faces of *Epa* and *Kple Kple* masks) is accepted without hesitation because it conforms to the traditional canon. Traditional systems of proportion and scale, conventional shapes of things (e.g. the Yoruba ear or Baule calf) were approved with little discussion. I believe that critics who said "it looks like a person," meant "it looks like our traditional sculpture of a person." The critics are recognizing (perhaps unconsciously) that art imitates art far more closely than it imitates nature.

Yoruba and Baule art is meant not to mirror, but to pleasingly echo nature and when it does not, I venture, it is because the artist was not up to the task. The idea of art imitating nature (perfect or imperfect) so closely that one cannot tell them apart is a conceit of our particular artistic tradition. The idea of confusing art with life seems silly to a traditional African. The relative absence of life-size representations[7] and the delib-

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[7]   One of the two most striking exceptions to this is found among the Baule: the small objects Himmelheber (1960:18ff) calls "free-standing art objects," representing animals and manufactured things about life size. Interestingly, a majority of those known to me depict the creations of man: knives, gongs, horns, figures, etc. and not of nature. The same may be true of the other example, the tukula paste objects made by the Kuba.

erately unreal-looking costumes worn with even the most naturalistic masks make it clear that there was never any intention of duplicating reality in traditional African art. Like earth and air, art and life exist inevitably together, yet no one would be so foolish as to mistake one for the other. The attempt to duplicate *exactly* nature in art virtually never occurs in Africa; excessive naturalism is not an aesthetic flaw for Baule and Yoruba critics because they do not consider it an alternative. For them, it was so evident that art should not — could not — duplicate nature, so basic a part of their concept of sculpture, that they did not discuss it at all.

Though none of the men I interviewed had braided hair themselves, they consistently admired the elaborate coiffures of figures and considered them no impediment to "looking like a person." This shows, I think, the degree to which items in the traditional canon are accepted though they deviate from the way men actually look. To that extent, "looking like a person" is equivalent to looking like a traditional sculpture of a person.

John Picton showed an Igbira carver a fine old Basa Nge mask. The carver

. . . chuckled with delight, admiring it for some time and saying that the man who carved it knew how to carve. But then he said it would have been better if the mouth had been placed higher up the face, and if the nose had been about half as long, and if the top of the head had not been as tall. Of course, if all this were so, it would look just like a typical Igbira mask! (Willett 1971:206–207.)

Baule and Yoruba critics were not tested in this way, but their critical omissions suggest that they too had an ideal work of art in mind against which they measured the sculptures presented to them. Figures conforming to traditional artistic norms were declared to "look like a person," though they manifestly did not. It seems significant for example that critics unhesitatingly accepted the traditional system of proportion which normally makes the head one-third to one-fourth of the body height (as against one-seventh found in nature). As a Meko sculptor told Thompson, "These measurements we use, God gives them to us in our hearts." The knowing critic too carries the measurements in his heart. (Plate 2.)

If critics using the phrase "it looks like a man" sometimes meant "it looks like a traditional sculpture of a man," they may have been simultaneously attributing yet another quality to art. Perhaps the emphasis in the phrase "it looks like a person" should be less on "looks like" and more on "person." An extensive study of the nature of man in Baule and Yoruba thinking would have to be undertaken to verify this, what follows is an educated guess. Sometimes the Baule used a phrase that literally means "it looks like a person of the village" (or a "village person"), a phrase that was used interchangeably with "person" and that initially passed unnoticed. The expression, however, gained significance in light
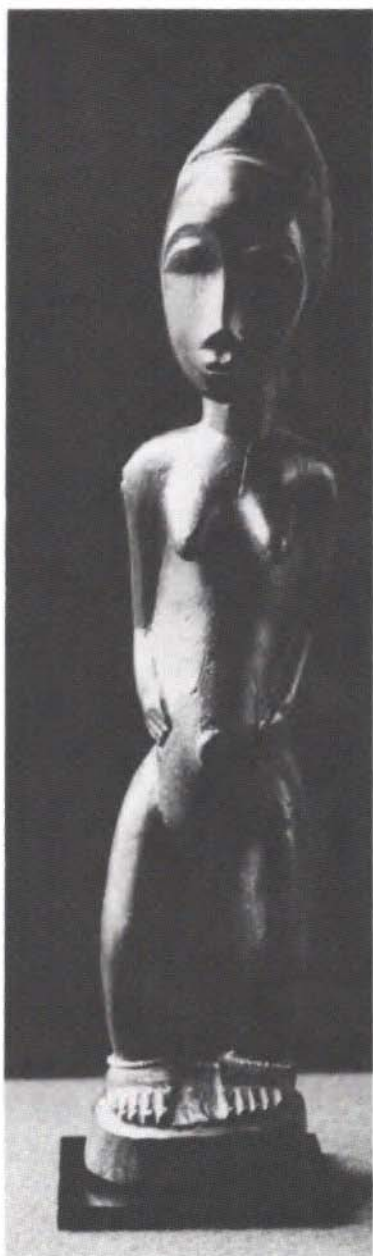
Plate 2.   Baule female figure used for field evaluations. It was the critics' favorite and seems to have all of the qualities they sought. Wood, 11 inches high

of another remark occasionally heard. A few Baule critics dismissed figures with "it looks like a bush spirit," a condemnation so total that, in their eyes, no aesthetic criticism could be made. A figure identified as a bush spirit, fell beyond the pale of aesthetic judgment, to be rejected on moral grounds alone. When pushed to do so, critics said that everything about these figures was hideous. The critics recognized in these figures a traditional Baule type which portrays bush spirits (*asye usu* or *bo usu*).[8] Though these differ in no way from other Baule figures (critics did not always agree about which ones they were), they represent an entirely opposed set of values. Where a man of the village is social, controlled, productive, in short *civilized*, a spirit of the bush is solitary, uncontrolled, capricious, and often destructive. Like the faithful of the Middle Ages who defaced images of the devil, the Baule see these figures as totally ugly. As the Baule describe the classic opposition of nature and culture, they, not surprisingly, align art with the civilization it expresses and sustains. The Baule and Yoruba associate their art with a cluster of traits which reveal that one of the fundamental qualities they seek is precisely the quality of being civilized.

It was to test this quality that the critic gave careful consideration to the carving of coiffure and scarification for, like art itself, these are attributes of civilization. As Thompson points out, the Yoruba signify that country-side has become civilized by saying "this earth has lines upon its face." "Civilization" in Yoruba is "face with lined marks." Baule critics scrutinized the cicatrices on figures and pronounced them to "look like a person," although few people in the Baule country today bear extensive ornamental scars. Baule carvers who have now willingly abandoned some aspects of their sculpture tradition (nudity for example), nevertheless adhere tenaciously to the conventional portrayal of scarification and coiffure. The first Europeans into the Baule area report that not everyone had cicatrices, yet, I do not recall ever seeing a traditional Baule figure or mask without them. I believe that scarification conserves an ancient significance: civilization.

Coiffure is probably seen by the Baule and Yoruba as another, though less formalized, emblem of civilization. One thinks immediately of the occasional madmen or outcasts one sees in African towns, their hair usually uncut and uncombed. Another parallel in traditional life: small children rarely have elaborate hairdos, are not yet scarified, and do not

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[8] Although the bush spirits encountered in the forest are described as hideous, unkempt, filthy, and grotesque, figures of *asye usu* are finely carved and attractive, having scarifications and coiffures like men. The Baule explain that this is necessary to lure the spirit into the figure — if it is too ugly the spirit will not come. The main function of these figures is to bring bush spirits to the village of men, where they may bring supernatural assistance to their hosts. It seems therefore appropriate that a creature of the bush should assume attributes of a civilized village dweller when he leaves the bush for the village. For a discussion of the use and meaning of Baule figures see Vogel (1973).
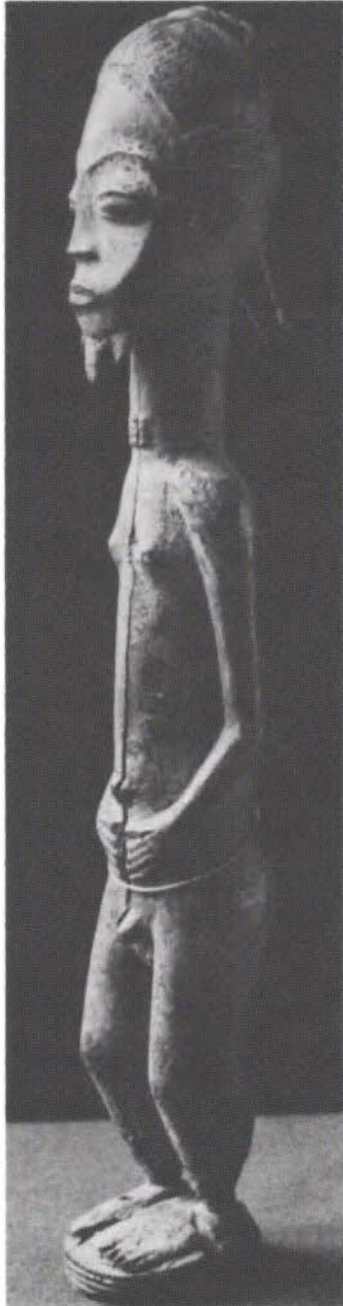
Plate 3.   Baule male figure loathed by the critics some of whom said it looked like a bush spirit. Wood, 14 inches high

appear often in art once they have passed infancy. Children are not yet fully civilized, productive members of the community, so their portrayal in art makes little sense. (Infants represent the productivity of the mother.)

Though generally occurring outside a formal initiation context, Baule and Yoruba scarification is nevertheless a mark of socialization. To begin with, scarification (as well as coiffure) is the result of a social act. In Africa both require the cooperation of at least two people and are often done "socially" with a number of people in attendance. They thus distinguish the socialized, civilized man from the solitary bush spirit.

Civilization is, of course, a positive good; among other things, it is productive. The civilized person tends his or her fields, produces children, and otherwise furthers the good of the community. Among the Baule, figures are made for precisely these purposes — to help their owners become rich and have many children, and a similar function is expected of Yoruba sculptures. It is thus symbolically functional that these figures, which embody and sustain civilization, *look* civilized, that they "look like a person" in the fullest sense of the word.

APPENDIX

The Baule study referred to in the text, was initially carried out in the Ivory Coast during July and August 1968. A complete report of findings is on file at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University. Additional work was done in 1971 and from June to September 1972.

In 1968 thirty-five interviews were conducted with members of all but one of the eight principal Baule tribes. The following groups were represented: Yaoure, Akwe, Ngban, Nanafwe, Nzipri, Warebo, Pepressou, Saafwe, and Aitu (sometimes called Atutu in the literature) in the sousprefectures of Yamoussoukro, Dimbokro, Sikasso, Tiebissou, and the prefecture of Bouake. The traditional patrons of art (chiefs, elders, diviners) and sculptors were my critics. The average age of the sculptors was 42, of the others it was 60 (three of them were over 85).

My working method was to present the critic with a succession of figures (the same ones were used in the same order throughout the study) asking him to choose which he liked best, until an order of preference was established for the whole group. The critic was then questioned on the reasons for his choices. The deliberately neutral question of "which do you prefer?" was invariably answered with an aesthetic response, "this one is [more] beautiful" (*O ti claman*). The critics were in almost total agreement on the ranking of figures.

In general, the Baule did not enumerate aesthetic criteria *per se*. When asked to detail the good or bad points of a figure, the critics usually discussed them section by section ("the legs are beautiful, especially the calves," or "the arms are ugly, the neck is good"). They paid greatest attention to the parts of a figure most standardized in Baule style. Thus, the calves were important (they must be as full as possible), the neck must be long and graceful (but not too long), and the buttocks should be well rounded. Scarifications and coiffure were of great interest to the critics who preferred them to be finely and evenly carved. Features less

conventionalized in Baule style were usually not discussed (hands, ears, arms separated from the body or not). The interrelation of parts was only occasionally mentioned.

It is interesting to note that the very way the Baule look at their art reflects one of its cardinal features: their discussion of segments reflects the segmented quality of Baule art.

In conclusion, though the Baule did not enumerate aesthetic criteria as such, one can distill from their remarks and from an analysis of the figures they ranked, a number of important aesthetic preferences:

1. Figures which exemplify traditional Baule style, conforming to traditional systems of proportion, and showing Baule scarification and coiffure. (There is an element of chauvinism in their delighted recognition of Baule scars and coiffure.)
2. Figures which were complete, i.e. fully finished, not broken, or marred by splits.
3. Those which were perceived as new.
4. Those with a smooth, "clean" surface.
5. Figures in which individual features were in accord with stated Akan ideals of personal beauty (proportion was exempt from this consideration). These include youthfulness.
6. Figures with some degree of balanced asymmetry.

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Tea House Paintings in Iran

TERESA BATTESTI

A system of artistic symbols is capable of bringing to all levels of a society responses and affirmations which are able to satisfy it.

The outline of an educational element can be found in popular artistic creation. When in the sixteenth century, under the reign of Shah Abbas the Great, coffee houses developed in Isfahan (*qaveh xaneh*, which later became houses where tea was drunk exclusively), they were favorite meeting places of artists and other creative individuals. Poets came there to recite their verse. Seated upon soft carpets, arranged around pools, they indulged in poetic contests. Others came to hear itinerant story-tellers, *naqual*, who with consummate skill, depicted the pomp, the funeral ceremonies and the battles of heroes of the Iranian epic, embodied in the *Book of kings* of Firdausi, which was composed in the tenth century and included 60,000 distichs.

They recited biblical and Koranic legends and told about the great moments of Shiism, such as the *chanson de geste* of the followers of Ali on the plain of Karbala. In that atmosphere conducive to sustained creativity there flourished a new type of art: tea house painting which even today finds artists who perpetuate it. During the last fifty years, however, this art has somewhat declined (Plates 1–4).

At first, paintings in tea houses appeared as a necessary adaptation to the situation at the time, as mural paintings had not been struck by the interdicts which Islam had placed on the representation of the human figure. They were at the very most banned from mosques and sanctuaries. In the eighteenth century, when the preaching of Shiism spread, the need was felt to use painted panels in order to stimulate the imagination of the audience. Paintings in tea houses with religious, romantic, or epic sub-jects had been conceived according to canons of idealization and order imposed by the taste of society. They obeyed a number of rules, which

Plate 1.   Reconstruction of a village tea house in the Ethnographic Museum of Teheran.
(From the collection of the Ministry of Culture and Arts of Iran)

had contributed to the prestigious success of the miniature, but at the
same time, had heralded its decline.

However, paintings in tea houses could be called spontaneous art.
During the development of Persian art, we often meet *"la figure sur le
mur"* [the figure on the wall], which has acquired metaphorical reality in
the minds of Iranians. Mural paintings in former palaces and bathhouses,
sculptured and painted walls, and ceilings richly decorated with
zoomorphic motifs give to the eye an aesthetic pleasure and open wide
vistas to the imagination (see Plates 5 and 6).

When compared with the old European masters, the Iranian painters
are not so highly regarded but it seems unjust to try to establish a parallel.
In fact, the two groups of painters do not pursue the same goals or cover
the same ground. If one considers realism, which could be called, without
any pejorative implication, photographic (use of lighting, relief, perspec-
tive), it is very easy to award the palms of victory to the giants of Western

Plate 2. A tea house in Teheran

Plate 3. The storyteller in the tea house of the Hotel Shah Abbas of Isfahan. (From the collection of the Ministry of Culture and Arts of Iran)

Plate 4.   Piece of tile of glazed pottery depicting a falconer, such as can be seen on popular paintings in tea houses. (From the collection of the Musée de l'Homme)

painting. But it is necessary to be aware of what it was that Iranian artists wished to reproduce.

Iranian paintings have always been extremely subjective, not to such a personal or introspective degree as in modern art, but, and herein lies their uniqueness, impersonally subjective, that is to say, influenced by a number of standardized idealizations. An Iranian painter, for example, could sit in a garden, surrounded by flowers, but the flowers sprouting from the end of his brush often had little resemblance to the flowers about him, because in the imaginary garden of the painter, they all were manifestations of an immutable perfection. The petals had the same size and the same shape. The plants were evenly spaced to produce that calculated order of things which the artist sought and to which order he accorded an actual existence in spite of the fortuitous appearance of nature. This idealism and intellectual order affected not only flowers, which we have taken as an example, but all details of the painting. Canons of beauty existed, such as for the eye which *"doit être allongé comme une amande"* [must be elongated like an almond], for the eyebrow, *"courbé comme un arc"* [curved like a bow], for the waist, *"aussi mince qu'un cheveu"*

Plate 5. Young Zend woman at the end of the eighteenth century at her toilette. One can see that the painting in tea houses sprang from the tradition of these paintings which decorated palaces and aristocratic houses since the seventeenth century. (From the collection of the Musée de l'Homme [M.H.X.–73])

[slender as a hair], and other imperatives of fashion and pose which have always guided the hands of the artists (see Plate 7). If all horses and all slaves and all warriors did not naturally come up to standards of perfection, the brush made them into super-horses, superslaves, and super-warriors in the world of form.

A creation of stereotypes resulted. It was not only the Persian miniature that had to adhere to the rigors of standardization. Poetry and literature were similarly affected, as well as graphics and sculpture and all types of human relationships, including friendship and marriage. All these forms of expression had their share of interdicts and commands,

Plate 6.   If the tea house is the traditional meeting place for men, it is in the public bath (*hamam*) that the women meet. Shown is a part dedicated to the bath of the exhibition. "Iran, men of the wind, people of the earth" (Musee de l'Homme, 1971). Note especially the nineteenth-century mirror embellished in the style of painting on canvas or papier-mache of the period.

laws which most people could not escape. Today, when we regard paintings in tea houses, considering the progressive liberation of the arts and the freedom of style in architectural and pictorial concepts, the divergence seems very great to us. The gulf — inasmuch as most paintings in tea houses which we know, date back about sixty years — seems to us all the more wide as the canvases are a direct illustration of old-style Iranian traditions, traditions which in our times are disappearing under the influence of industrialization and modernization.

The oldest paintings of tea houses are stamped to such an extent with the styles of Saffavid and Qajar mural paintings that the theory of their non-Iranian origin must be completely rejected. Considering the manner in which this pictorial form has developed, it is clear that it is, in a way, the response to a demand. The development of coffee houses in which coffee was soon replaced by tea flavored with fennel, the increase in the number of storytellers, the spread of Shia doctrine with its itinerant preachers and its carriers of icons were some of the factors which had a determining

Plate 7. Painting on frosted glass, depicting a beauty according to canons of the nineteenth century. (From the Museum of Decorative Arts, Teheran)

influence on the development of paintings in tea houses. The first were painted, no doubt, by the same artists who knew how to embellish walls and ceilings of aristocratic dwellings, but who, as a consequence of the increased demand, had to push toward specialization in the genre, specialization which then intensified. There were several groups of painters, each of which specialized in one particular type. In our time, the techniques of surviving disciples of the last two most famous painters in tea houses, Mohammed Modabber and Hossein Qollar Aqâssi, indicate that both of them were, in the tradition of famous Iranian artists, hard-working, sincere, and unobtrusive men.

The typical life story of a painter in tea houses began with a long period of apprenticeship in childhood and early youth, lasting until the artist became a master. He was then ready to work for the proprietor of a tea house. The artist fitted up an atelier in the tea house and began to turn out

canvases with materials furnished by the proprietor. He was housed and fed by the latter, who also lodged apprentice painters to assist the young master as needed for the completion of the work. As to the wages of the artist, they were so small that they did not allow him so much as the purchase and maintenance of a single donkey.

We know few names of painters in tea houses, but it is certain that during these three centuries there were a good many of them in the principal cities of Iran. These painters formed partnerships with story-tellers. At first there were recreations of principal episodes of the narrated subject, a kind of general picture. Then, to better attract an even more numerous and more exacting public, successive sequences were presented on separate, small canvases. Finally came the large composition, presenting on the same canvas miscellaneous, framed scenes. This process of telling a story in pictures occurs again in French cathedrals, in early Italian art, and nowadays in comic strips. This painting which was nourished by popular acclaim and the various styles which we find again when we make a diachronic analysis of tea house paintings attest to the close contact that the artist — often a wandering painter — had with the spontaneous expression of the oral tradition. One feels in this art something of the essence of the crowd, caught in forms and colors. The techniques, the baroque styles, the painting in two dimensions next to scenes without perspective, the surrealism linked with the hieratic expressionism of icons, the evocation of the fanciful and mystical offer us an enjoyment which is not that of purism, but rather that of the blossoming of communication. One could even say that the main point of the painting is not to tell one particular story, but to tell a story and that the onlooker recognizes himself in the recreation of the vicissitudes of the familiar heroes, of the heritage of a whole people of peasants, of poor tradespeople who had been nourished from childhood on noble accounts of the *Book of kings*, of love stories of "Khoshrow and Chirine," of the tragedy of Karbala in which the Imam Hossein perished after most of his people had been massacred. Yet the painting in tea houses should not be seen as equivalent to popular art which covers a much larger universe and which was not originally done to decorate a special place or to be used as support for entertainers. Nor could it be compared to Western primitivism, European or American, which is always a projection of a purely introspective vision. The painter in tea houses was the spokesman for a collective tradition; he interpreted. Sprung from the people, rocked, like everyone else, in the cradle of national pride by dreams and by faith in all that the collective consciousness retained, he made himself the true mirror of tradition. He wished also to present to the admirers of his colorful stories the very essence of nature, which of course one would never see the same way in reality, but which makes one dream and which nourishes the thoughts of mankind who is preoccupied with everyday problems.

The same scenes have often been repeated either by the same artist or by his contemporaries or successors: these are the key episodes of epic, romantic, or religious tradition. The variations seem very small, and yet one can notice every time there is a distinct change in the mood of the picture as the painter attempts to force himself and to arrive, even when starting from a required formalism, at a fresh, more intense result. In so doing he colors his subject with countless nuances that reflect his state of mind, the crises and ecstacies he goes through.

The basic interest which paintings in tea houses have for cultural anthropology is that most of the canvases mirror certain aspects of life in the country in a given epoch: costumes, adornment, make-up, weapons, harness, military camps. With the increase in industrialization and in modernization of all sectors of national activity, Iran today is constantly changing, constantly moving away from life as it was in the past. Any study of a vanishing traditional society relies when possible on documents of this type which are more evocative than narrations. One finds in the paintings in tea houses a wealth of information on the protocol of gatherings where people had to take seats according to age and social rank; one also learns from them that until recently the head was kept covered for most occasions (it was not covered, for example, at the bedside of a dying person or during burial ceremonies). One could also discover signs of acculturation (a Western sailor's uniform, follies and French chateaux) as it occurred through two or three levels of contact. To do this, however, would require a rigorous analysis of each painting and this would go beyond the scope of this article, in which we only intend to discuss popular paintings of the Persian legends.

As pointed out previously, paintings in tea houses can be classified in three different categories: epic, romantic, and religious.

EPIC PAINTINGS

These pictures are the most numerous because Iran has always shown a marked preference for epic poems, those tales of adventure and marvellous deeds that form the roots of all important literatures. The *Book of kings* of Firdausi, a poem, distinguished as much by the number of subjects treated as by its length, counts some 60,000 distichs, dominated by and summing up the epic history of Persia. In the *Book of kings*, moreover, the Indo-European character of the genius of Iran is much more evident than in the works touched by Muslim influence.

The poem was at first abundantly illustrated in manuscripts for the needs of storytellers. Next it was illustrated by painters in tea houses because of its undying popularity in Iran, narrating as it does the struggles of a people who wanted to preserve their independence and their national

character at any price. It presents the eternal problem of a line dividing two groups of people; in this case it is the Oxus, the large river on the other side of which live nomadic peoples of a different race. From the dawn of Iranian history this river has had a symbolic value: on one side lived the settled peoples attached to the land and its cultivation; on the other side lived poor nomads, wanting to flee the barren lands in order to find a life less harsh and less difficult. The epic *Book of kings* illustrates, in a certain sense, a rather fundamental theme of Iranian history: settlers against nomads. Facts that in Western chronicles are presented as of the utmost importance take second place in this enormous work; the invasions of nomadic tribes into the arid border regions of Iran were the real catastrophes for the settled peoples living there and they fueled the savage hatred between Iranians and Touranians. The *Book of kings* has inspired a good many painters with its importance in history. It covers the history of Iran from the distant past when Zoroastrianism, one of the most respected religions in the world, was born, to the eleventh century in which a new era ushered in by Islam began (see Plate 8).

Plate 8.   Popular picture depicting a court scene such as those described in the *Book of kings*. (From the Godard collection)

In the *Book of kings* the feats are legion and their legendary heroes still live in the hearts of Iranians. This explains the multitude of paintings relating some episode of the *geste* of one of the heroes, especially that of Rostam, who is comparable to Achilles of the Greeks, Siegfried of the Germans, Roland of the Franks. Rostam embodied chivalrous perfection combined with strength and courage (see Plates 9 and 10). Even in our time the *Book of kings* is recited during the exercises in the *Zour Xaneh*

Plate 9. Birth of Rostam in the presence of the mythical bird of Simooq. (By Qollar Aqâssi)

Plate 10. Rostam kills the *Div é Séfid* [White Demon]

(the Persian gymnasium) in praise of endurance and scenes of the heroic deeds of Rostam adorn the walls of the building.

Having stressed the importance of the *Book of kings* as a source of inspiration for paintings in tea houses, we present a brief resumé of the

work. The *Book of kings* is, like the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the *Ramayana*, and the *Song of Roland,* one of the monuments of world literature. It permits us to understand the Iranian genius as it is revealed in the paintings that illustrate the work. The poem opens with the creation of the world; then come the righteous kings, fabled and mythical as Hercules but at the same time promoters of civilization and patrons of the new arts. In this part we see Iran in the promise of its youth but as the world, according to age-old Mazdanian concepts, was inhabited by demons we should expect magic and evil to exert a powerful influence. And, indeed, the millennium of evil arrived on the day that Iran gave up being veg-etarian. This caused her to suffer domination by the Semites. Division of the world into three kingdoms ensued and unending wars were the result. At this point the heroes stepped onto the stage. The mythical kings whose names one meets in the *Avesta* have until this time dominated the story. The *Book of kings*, however, is enriched by a series of episodes unknown in the *Avesta* but found back in local legends of present-day Persia and Afghanistan. The heroes, Sam, Zal, Rostam, and Esfendyar, become the central characters of the work in the course of three cycles: Zal, Rostam, Esfendyar. Their adventures are unfolded at great length whereas the monarchs are relegated to the background both in the epic and in the paintings.

Tragic episodes arise from marriages of Iranian heroes with Touranian princesses and from conflicts between father and son. Rostam won Tahmineh, a Touranian princess, and from their brief union was born a son, Sohrab. The difficulties mounted and finally Rostam and Sohrab, champions worthy of each other, clashed in a fight. Rostam killed Sohrab, whom he recognized only as the latter died (see Plate 11). This legendary theme is found again with other peoples, to be sure, but it is part of the national history of Iranians, which explains why Rostam occupies the foremost position in the tea house paintings.

Another episode occurs often. It involves Syavosh, son of King Kav-ous, who was entrusted by his father to Rostam for his education. The young man, his training finished, returned to his father. Meanwhile, his mother had died. His father's new wife, Soudabeh, caught sight of Syav-osh, fell in love with him, and made advances, which he spurned. She accused him, acting as did Potiphar with Joseph. The innocence of the youth was established but Soudabeh, wanting to revenge herself, placed on a golden dish twins of one of the servants, whom she had caused to miscarry, and declared to the king that Syavosh was guilty. Syavosh then underwent ordeals from which he emerged triumphant. But fate worked against him and he was murdered, beheaded by Afrasyab, an enemy of his father whom he had asked for asylum (see Plates 12 and 13).

Another hero who is a favorite subject of painters of tea houses is Iradj. After the division of the world he ruled over Iraq and Iran but was

Plate 11. Rostam crying over the death of Sorhab, his son, whom he had just killed before recognizing him. (By Modabber [?])

Plate 12. Syavosh undergoing the ordeal by fire. (By E. Zâdé)

assassinated by his two jealous brothers. He was avenged by one of his descendants who killed the two murderous brothers.

These heroes, dear to the hearts of Iranians not only represent for them the most glorious moments of their history. They are proud of Rostam the superman, and it is thus that the painters depict him. But they like also to recite and to illustrate episodes in which men find themselves in dire straits at the mercy of blind revenge, as with Syavosh and as with

Plate 13.   Death of Syavosh; his wife falls unconscious. (Anonymous)

Iradj, who was slain by his brothers because he placed in them too great a trust.

These favorite characters, these scenes painted in several versions at the request of proprietors of tea houses, show that the people not only identify with Rostam the Herculean, but that they experience profoundly the injustice that befell Syavosh and that they cherish the memory of Iradj, sacrificed to defend the integrity of Iranian territory.

ROMANTIC PAINTINGS

In romantic paintings we meet again characters from the *Book of kings* who yield to the eternally feminine. If in the epic, love occupies a very inconspicuous place in comparison to war, these same characters have, subsequently, given rise to a series of courtly epics. From the literary point of view this is very important. One can still say that it was from the *Book of kings* that the painters in tea houses drew their inspirations, because they reflected the popular culture and scarcely had access to romantic epics with elaborate style and studied metaphors. The main love scenes depicted dealt with Zal and Roudabeh, the Romeo and Juliet of Persia, and with the story of Shirin, mistress of King Parviz, who had abandoned her (see Plate 14). She, however, forced him to return to his former love and make him marry her. She had his former wife killed and the son who was born of that first union imprisoned. The people revolted,

Plate 14.   Popular figure on papier-mâché depicting Queen Shirin and her retinue. (From the Godard collection)

set the son free, who then had his father killed. Shirin had to promise to marry her stepson. She distributed all her wealth among the poor and the priests, then went to the tomb of her husband, swallowed poison and died as Isolde did on the body of Tristan.

Among romantic paintings let us name also the story of King Bahram Gour, the passionate hunter. When this gallant sovereign was leaving for a hunt of several months he could not do without feminine companionship. One day he took with him Azadeh, capricious courtesan, who after asking the king to kill three gazelles with one shot, regretted her cruel, excessive demands, and, in a just turn of events, was trampled by an elephant.

In the story of Youssef and Zoleikhia, the masters of tea house painting were especially intrigued by the appearance of Youssef, who, with a single glance, could make any woman of Msir lose her head. His beauty so dazzled them, that instead of peeling the orange which they held in their hands when he came they slashed their fingers and their palms, as if to indicate by a blood token their eternal love for Youssef. Youssef, the Hebrew slave who became ruler of Egypt, is a model of piety, chastity, and intelligence in the West, but for the Muslim, he is a triple paragon of purity, prophetic inspiration, and beauty.

Another favorite subject of painters, a character as well known in the Orient as Romeo is in the West, is Madjnoun, *"le fou,"* a fool who is a sage. Madjnoun is a man who spurns all conventions, living as an ascetic, under a weeping willow tree, in communion with all kinds of animals. All the words which fall from his lips are of gold. When he meets Leyli, he is forty years old, and from then on he is said to have lived without being aware of his own existence, because he had attained the state of the infinite, where nothing counts except a total perception of the life of the other. He is a figure of transcendent love, of the mystique of love.

The painters have likewise created on earth the promised paradise, the fountain of youth, the banks of a brook and wine, beautiful musicians and singers as sweet as springtime, the nectar of days that should be enjoyed. Scenes of festivities and outings and entertainment in gardens are conveyed by painters who never neglect ethical laws; in these pictured stories, Iranian tradition allies itself with the Koranic ethic (see Plate 15). Despite the passions which course through their veins, the heroes always emerge victorious from adventures that endanger their souls. They are always presented as models. The painter makes temptation much more attractive than could be resisted by a pious man; in this way a man could surpass himself and discover the mystical love rather than fall into the toils of casual passion.

Plate 15.   Ceramic tile depicting an evening dedicated to music and dance. (From the collection of the Ethnographic Museum of Teheran)

RELIGIOUS PAINTING

It could not be said that Islam particularly encouraged the practice of fine arts; moralists and censors stigmatized them in the name of Mohammed, the prophet of Islam. They saw in all hedonism a licentiousness and a debauchery which they wanted to ban from the lives of Muslims. To be sure, no text of the Koran hurls anathema on the arts, but certain *hadith* oral traditions permitted the interpretation by religious fanatics, who succeeded most often in outlawing artistic expression. However, Iran had too long been accustomed to refinement, needed too much to express itself through poetry, music, and painting, not to instill in its invaders the spirit of its civilization and taste for the arts. Iran was to be the cultural conqueror after it had been militarily conquered.

Moreover, Iranian Islam is Shiism, the official religion since the sixteenth century. Islam signifies resignation, submission, renunciation and surrender to the will of God. Shiah designates the supporter, the follower of Ali Asna Asari. It is the term by which one distinguishes Iranian Shiism from Ismailism and refers to the twelve imams. Mohammed died in 632 in Medina, having neglected to name a successor. The Islamic community, which was still very weak at that time, was thrown into great confusion. It finally elected as caliph, which means vicar or successor, Abu Bakr, one of the fathers-in-law of the prophet who was in turn succeeded by Omar and Osman. It was only twenty-four years after the death of Mohammed, that Ali, his son-in-law, husband of Fatima, became caliph in his turn. These successions were accepted by the Sunnites but had been rejected immediately by the Persians.

Two fundamental reasons can be given for this. The first is that the Persians, who throughout their history had been ruled by powerful dynasties founded on the hereditary right of succession, believed that power must be transferred to the son-in-law in the absence of a male heir. It was also a way of protesting against the Arab seizure of the country and a way of Iranizing Islam. One of the fundamental articles of faith of the Shiah was their belief in intercession of a redeemer for the atonement of sin; the redeemer they chose was not Ali or his eldest son, Hassan, but the younger son, Hossein (see Plate 16). One tradition held that Hossein had married Yazdeguerd, daughter of the last Sassanid king and thus became the hero of Iranian Islam. Hossein had also another claim to fame: he raised the standard against the assassins who had caused the death of Ali in Koufa twenty years earlier. He left Fadime accompanied by a rather small retinue, to join the followers that Ali had in that city. In the heart of Iraq, on the plain of Karbala, the enemy encircled the caravan, whose members perished from thirst. Hossein was the last to die.

This unfortunate undertaking has acquired an overriding importance for the Iranians, because according to the Shiah, Hossein let himself be

Plate 16.   Religious picture (*shamayele*), depicting Ali, son-in-law of the prophet holding his sword with the double blade. His two sons, Hassan and Hossein, are squatting at his feet. (From the Godard collection)

killed for the redemption of his people. He was a martyr who fell to insure the salvation of those who followed him. In the Iranian pantheon he together with his immediate family and the imams who succeeded him has joined other purely mythical and mythological beings. One could view the Shiah roster of martyrs as Mithraism, Mithras, too, in a new form, being considered the mediator between man and God.

The influence of Shiism was felt not only in literature and the arts, but it was also an integral part of the motivations and attitudes of the faithful. Among the people, among the laborers and rural masses and clients of tea houses, the religion asserted itself in the form of complete submission to

God, but in the cult of saints of Shiism, the evocation of their misfortunes seemed the most personal manifestation of their devotion.

The gulf that separates man from God was bridged by well-known imams. The drama of Karbala was commemorated each year at the beginning of the first month (of the Arabian year) of Moharram by various manifestations of piety, *ta'zié*, sermons, and recitations of litanies which revived the memory of the tragic end of Ali's followers. Religious paintings in tea houses were also used during the orison.

The Shiah lived their religion, and one can place the earliest religious paintings in the sixteenth century, an epoch in which, with the spread of Shiism, preachers increased in number and went to speak from mosque to tea house, from one gathering place to another.

The most poignant episode of the *geste* of Ali's followers is the tragedy of Karbala. This emotionally charged episode has inspired a large number of paintings that in supporting the narrative added fresh, new elements by rather incredible interpretations of the events. The painter had relived these stories by seeing or by participating in the *ta'zié*, which was similar to our medieval mystery plays in which every village created its own allegories. Thus they nourished their memories from which they extracted elements to enrich the plots of the stories. Religious painting can thus be divided into three cycles: before Karbala, Karbala, and the aftermath of Karbala; that fatal plain was the chief source of inspiration for artists. The most dramatic moments of that tragedy were naturally most frequently depicted: the thirst which made Hossein finally capitulate, his brothers and comrades in arms, the heroic combats of his principal followers, Moslem, Hour, Kazem, and his half-brother, Abbas. One feels pity also for the people around Ali Akbar and Ali Asquar, the two sons of Hossein, the latter newborn, whose thirst was quenched by the angel Gabriel. The Shiah also borrow many elements from the Old Testament in their primitive religious paintings (see Plate 17). Ishmael is often mistaken for Hossein in these paintings and vice versa.

The most revered personalities are often brought to life by the brush of the artists in other scenes too. We see, for instance, the farewell of Hossein to women of his family or the vengeance of Mokhtar on the murderers of the followers of Ali. The eighth imam, Imam Reza, whose mausoleum in Machad is the object of intense veneration, is also one of the favorite subjects of painters in tea houses. They often depicted his mother's meeting with King Solomon, and the death of the imam who was poisoned by a bunch of grapes presented to him by Ma'Moun, son of the Harun al-Rashid.

Artists whose names appear most often are Hossein Qollar Aqâssi and Mohammed Modabber, who lived at the beginning of this century. They served their apprenticeship together in the ceramics studio of master Ali Réza, father of Qollar Aqâssi. Along with them we find Abbas Boulouk-

Plate 17.   Popular picture on papier-mâche depicting the sacrifice of Abraham. (From the Godard collection)

far, Mohammed Rahmani and Hassan è Naqash, a rather meager list of names, when one knows that each village had its painters. This is explained by the fact that numerous artists did not sign their work and that others disappeared without leaving a trace. The field of inquiry is vast and numerous studies could be made on the paintings in Iranian tea houses. We should try to retrace the lives of these spontaneous artists. For little more than ten years some enlightened art lovers in Iran have understood the importance of the paintings in tea houses, but it was principally Her Majesty, Farah Pahlavi Shahbanou of Iran, who has been collecting these scattered treasures (see Plates 18–21).

There are still in Machad, in Isfahan, and even in Teheran, painters in tea houses who grew up in the shadow of the great masters and reproduce their masterpieces, not without some talent, but showing the gulf that separates the creative artist from his imitators. Nevertheless one some- times sees pictures of good quality, continuing the tradition and adding a new element to it. The subjects treated are scenes of village streets, highlights of contemporary history, and of the prodigious economic and cultural development of Iran. People and events are treated with the same generosity of heart that one finds in the painting of their brilliant predecessors, but one also feels in them an often touching clumsiness, caused by the confrontation of a certain artlessness with the trends in modern art that are all strongly represented in Iran.
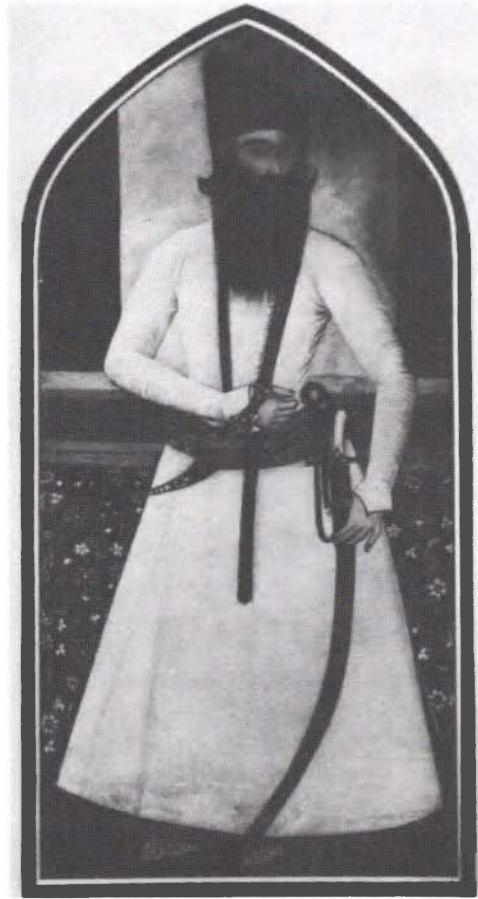
Plate 18. Qajar painting of the nineteenth century depicting a gentleman. (From the collection of *Smi Farah Pahlavi Shahbanou* of Iran)

Plate 19.   Qajar painting depicting the romantic story of the lovers Ayaz and Uzra, very popular in the nineteenth century. (From the collection of *Smi Farah Pahlavi Shahbanou* of Iran)
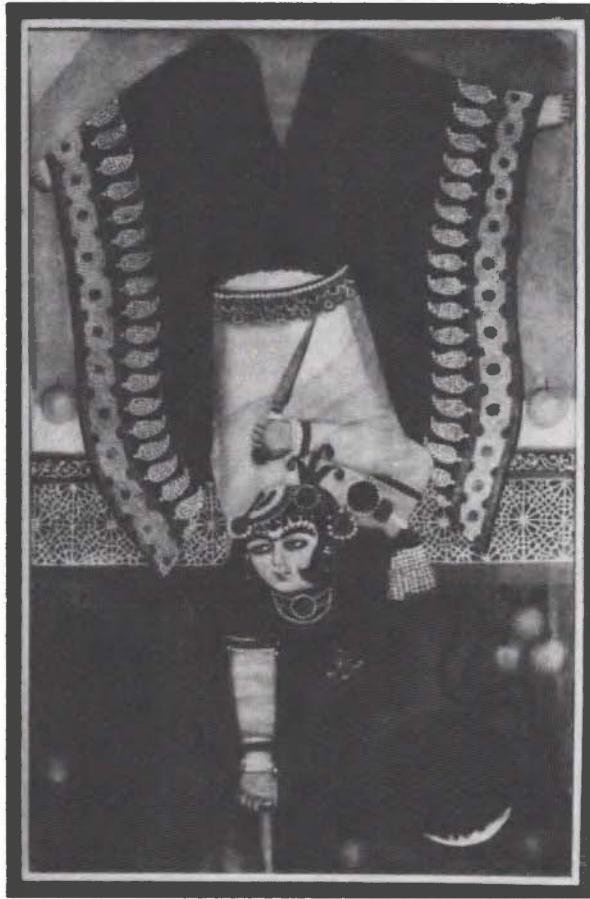
Plate 20.   Qajar painting from the end of the nineteenth century, representing a female acrobat. (From the collection of *Smi Farah Pahlavi Shahbanou* of Iran)

Plate 21.   Painting of 1900 depicting a young prince. (From the collection of *Smi Farah Pahlavi Shahbanou* of Iran)

The Chalk Figures of Southern New Ireland and the Gazelle Peninsula and Their Relationship to Other South Pacific Areas

HEDWIG SPIEGEL

I.   The small oblong island of New Ireland, part of the Bismark Archipelago is unique in its remarkable diversity of three different art styles: the complex Malanggan style in the northern part, the sinister uniform group of the *uli* figures in the middle part and the austere chalk figures in the southern mountainous region and the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain.

Unfortunately very little is known about either the locality where the figures were collected or the exact time of their acquisition. It must be sufficient to say that according to I. Hesse (1933:17, 18) the chalk figures were collected from 1870 onwards to approximately 1910, when they began to disappear on the local markets. They were found in the Loloba Namatanai area of the southeast coast of New Ireland, along the coastline to Muliama and Cape George at the southernmost point of that island and on the southwest coast in Kulil and Suralil, opposite the Duke of York Islands and the east coast of the Gazelle Peninsula. They were also found on the little islands of Lamassa and Lambon. These are the places where the limestone deposits are. In the Gazelle Peninsula, according to the missionary P. J. Meier, (1911:839) chalk figures came from the Blanche Bay area and the Nakanai district, where the material, the tufa, a harder material of coral origin and the softer material, limestone and chalk was available. The soft material from the Gazelle Peninsula was called *kulap* by the natives and the figures were also known by that name. The figures carved from the harder material, the tufa, seem to come exclusively from the northeastern part of the Gazelle Peninsula and were traded to New Ireland across the narrow waterway which separates New Ireland from the latter.

As far as chalk figures are concerned, they form a rather uniform group although stylistic differences exist between figures with softer contours

and those of more angular shapes, between round heads and more oblong heads. Attempts to express more individual features can be seen, others are more stereotyped and expressionless. They all show the tripartite hairdo, circular or oval eyes under a prominent forehead, a short straight nose and a large sickle-shaped mouth. Most of the faces are surrounded by a fringe beard, or in the case of a woman by a decorative line. All figures show the same proportions, namely a very large head, a narrow body and very short stumpy legs. However some elongated slim figures were also found. Hands are either folded over the abdomen or the breast. Some figures show a kind of hood attached to the top of the head, some touch this hood with their hands, a few show a kind of a ruff and some wear a hat, apparently of European origin (Plates 1 and 2). Otherwise the figures are all naked, the men with a very large penis and the women with small indications of breasts and a large vulva. Some painted ornaments decorate the bodies and limbs, reminiscent of indigenous tattooing patterns. Sometimes a belt is indicated, a forehead band, and arm and leg rings. Fingers, toes and joints are very sketchy. There exists a number of

Plate 1.   Chalk figures (left) 2813 (height 58.1 cm.), and (right) (height 25.1 cm.) from southern New Ireland. (Photos reproduced by permission of National Gallery, Melbourne, Victoria)

Plate 2. Chalk figure (left) 2785 (height 56.9 cm.), National Gallery of Victoria and chalk figure (right) 276487 (height 68.6 cm.), Field Museum, Chicago. (Photos reproduced by permission of Field Museum)

double figures, male and female, joined at the back, but otherwise not different from single figures.

Hesse (1933:17) thinks that some of the characteristics of the chalk figures can with some certainty be said to originate in southern New Ireland, such as the ruff that some figures show, as this is also evident on some of the oldest discoveries of chalk figures in a cave near Loloba, 40 km north of Namatanai in 1870. The ruff, however, is connected with other important features such as the unique double figure (E63173) in the Australian Museum, with one body and two heads and the herm-aphrodite figure with hood and ruff (E63174; Plate 3), both from south-ern New Ireland and acquired before 1885. This area might also be the birthplace of the male-female double figures, joined at the back, which to my mind influenced the development of the *uli* figures from middle New Ireland. Double figures, joined at the back were also found in the Gazelle Peninsula, but whether they were created there or traded from New Ireland is hard to say.

The figures from the Gazelle Peninsula made from the harder and
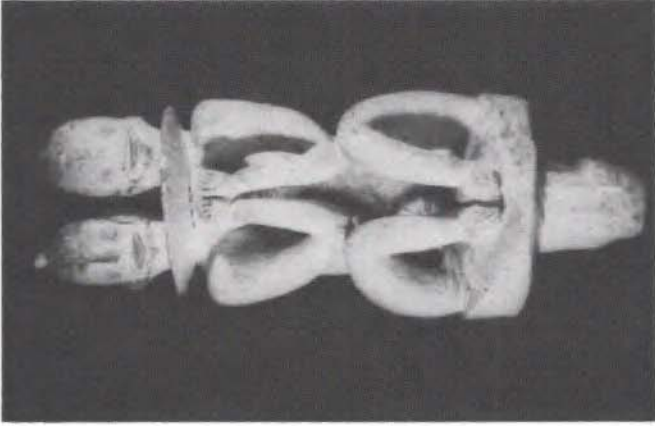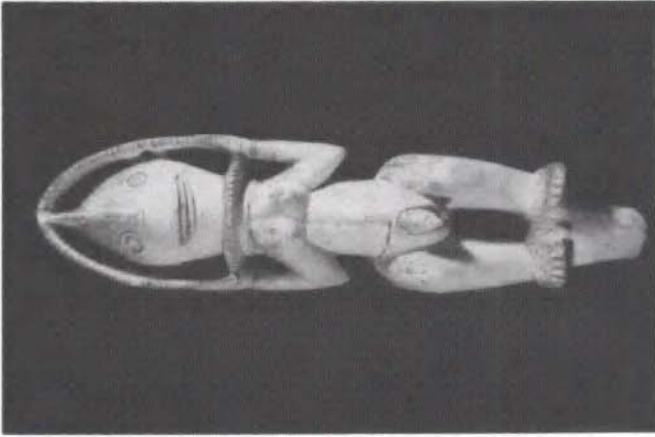
Plate 3.   Three chalk figures from southern New Ireland. From left to right, E63174 (height 46 cm.); E63173 (height 58 cm.); E63172 (height 49 cm.). (Photos reproduced by permission of the Australian Museum, Sydney)

coarser tufa are not limited to human beings, but include also animals such as pigs, dogs, birds, fishes and marsupials. The human figures are different from the above described *kulap* figures insofar as they are often given with arms extended from the shoulders and hands touching the ears or head and legs in a squatting position (Figure 1a and 1c). Faces are oval and show in a majority of cases more variety of expression, although the typical round faces with framing beards are also frequently seen. The figure of a woman carrying a child on her shoulders and a man with a child in front of his body were also found in the Nakanai district. (I. Hesse 1933:10, 11). The most interesting tufa figures, however, are those of a man in a framework (Figure 1d; and Plate 3), quite unlike the *kulap* figures found in southern New Ireland. They show a different type of head, namely oblong with a high forehead or a kind of pointed cap, long nose, straight mouth and a long square beard. Arms are extended from the shoulders and touch the ears. The body is elongated and narrow, legs are straight and stand apart on the framework to which the figure is attached on several points. The frame follows the contours of the figure and is wider at some parts and narrower at others. It flattens towards the outside and is finished off by a serrated edge. The whole artifact is carved in one piece in a two-dimensional shape, with open spaces, and only the head and the penis of the man are three-dimensional, so to say. There also exists an elaborate figure with two heads side by side and one body in a frame at the Völkerkunde Museum, Hamburg (HE928) and illustrated in *Oceanic art* by A. C. Ambesi (1966: Figure 30). These figures were used at the *iniet* initiation ceremonies of boys and were not allowed to be seen by women. *Iniet* is a kind of secret society of influential men in the Gazelle Peninsula. The *kulap* figures were used at the annual memorial ceremonies and were carved after the death of an important clan member or his wife.

POPULATION. Little is known of either the early population of southern New Ireland or the Gazelle Peninsula. Southern New Ireland is still very sparsely populated compared with the rest of the island and less in communication with the outside world. R. Parkinson, (1907:202) reports that the natives of the Gazelle Peninsula were different from the natives of the western part of New Britain and that the Bainings were at his time still very primitive, living in fortified villages. They were frequently the victims of slave hunters and cannibals and their territory was often subjected to volcanic eruptions. Stöhr (1972:50) also states that the population question is very complex and that the inhabitants conform neither linguistically nor somatically with the rest of the natives of New Britain. They did not have shell money in the past and they used to make heavy stone clubs of the type found in New Guinea.

As far as their artifacts are concerned they show greater variety in subject matter and influences from the west as well as from the east, the

Figure 1. (a) Tufa figure from New Britain (after W. Stöhr, 1972). (b) Female korwar from Geelvink Bay, West Irian. (c) Chalk figure, New Britain (after P. J. Meier, 1911). (d) Three-dimensional framework figure, New Britain (after P. J. Meier, 1911). (e) Ceremonial paddle, Buka (after H. Spiegel, 1967). (f) Stone head, Mt. Hagen, New Guinea. Australian Museum, Sydney (after D. R. Moore, 1968), (g) Rock engraving, New Britain (after W. Stöhr, 1972). (h) Stone figure, Ramu Valley. New Guinea. Australian Museum, Sydney (after D. R. Moore, 1968). (i) Head made from coral, Gatukai Island. Solomon. Australian Museum, Sydney (after D. R. Moore, 1968). (j) Uli figure (after a drawing from A. Bühler, 1962)

latter mainly from Buka and the Solomon Islands. Western influences are of New Guinean and Papuan origin and I would mention as an example a wooden figure from the Australian Museum, (E63151; Plate 5) from Papua whose head shows features very similar to the head of the figure in the frame, namely the elongated face, square beard, the pointed head-dress, round eyes, long nose, small mouth, straight long legs and square shoulders. Similar heads made from stone, with long nose and small mouth are in the Australian Museum (E62489 and E62490; Figure 1f) from the slopes of Mt. Hagen, New Guinea, and a club head (E52470) also from the highlands of New Guinea. A round-headed female stone figure comes from the Ramu Valley, New Guinea. Further to the west a parallel to the male figure in the frame and to a tufa figure from New Britain can be seen in the *korwar* figure from Geelvink Bay, West Irian, also showing an elongated head or headdress, long nose, arms raised from extended shoulders to touch the ears and legs apart (Figure 1a and 1b). Other influences from the West are seen in the round heads, found with the more ordinary chalk figures, in rock engravings from western New Britain, showing the round head, large circular eyes, heavy brows and a line running from the outer eye around the face. (Figure 1g) A. Bühler (1946:242, Plate 11) mentions also rock engravings from New Hanover, very similar to those from western New Britain and it is interesting to see that there are round heads and oblong heads depicted side by side. Bühler (1946:600) further mentions that one can find similarities in motifs and style between rock engravings and stone carvings as well as in other materials than stone. This is important in view of my comparison of a wooden *korwar* figure from West Irian and a tufa figure from New Britain (Figure 1a and 1b).

From this evidence we can see that possibly the remnants of a very ancient population coming from the west and introducing their stone images to the Gazelle Peninsula might be responsible for the "*kulap* figures."

I see more recent influences from the east in the framework of the framed figure, as this is a standard feature of the Buka ceremonial paddles. The paddle (E7952, Figure 1e; Plate 5) shows on its upper part an almost identical male figure in a similar kind of framework. And as we will see later on, the chevron pattern so commonly used as decoration of ceremonial paddles, found its way to the *uli* figures of middle New Ireland and rainmaker figures of northern New Ireland, exhibited at memorial and fertility ceremonies. Chevrons can be seen also on shields from the Nakanai district of New Britain. (See Stöhr 1972; Spiegel 1967:53). A stone head from the Australian Museum (E29715, Figure 1i) from Gatukai Island, Solomon group, shows distinct similarities to the heads of *kulap* figures and a stone figure from Vavitao, Austral Islands, is very similar to the *kulap* figures.

II.   The hypothesis now put to discussion is my theory that from the above-mentioned facts I come to the conclusion that peoples from New Guinea advancing eastwards introduced their stone carvings to the Gazelle Peninsula and adjusted them to local conditions. These peoples might have also reached the Solomon Islands where stone pillars and stone carvings were discovered. Later western influences are of Papuan origin, such as mentioned before, the head shape of the framed figure and other features in the western part of New Britain which do not concern us here. The Papuan peoples have pushed the stone-carving tribes to the outmost corner of the Gazelle Peninsula, the Blanche Bay area and forced them to cross over via the Duke of York Islands, across the St. George Channel to the southeastern part of New Ireland. There they found similar conditions to the Gazelle Peninsula, namely chalk and limestone from which to carve their images. These artifacts so different from the art production of middle and northern New Ireland separate them from the rest of the island and link them to the Gazelle Peninsula, where similar artifacts were produced.

The views of the writers on this subject are divided: some of them, as mentioned by Hesse (1933:13) think that the settlers who made the chalk figures came from New Ireland to the Gazelle Peninsula, whilst others like myself believe that these peoples came from the Gazelle Peninsula to New Ireland. Stephen and Graebner, H. Scnee and P. J. Meier subscribe to my theory. All the writers agree that there is a very close relationship between the two districts as far as customs, dancing, tattooing, painted body ornaments, language and weapons are concerned and that also very close trade relations existed. Under these circumstances it is very difficult to come to definite conclusions, and one can only try to find one's path gropingly through all the evidence collected.

The stone-carving peoples from the Gazelle Peninsula expanded into southern New Ireland and moved from the rather inhospitable area with mountains up to 2500 meters to the flatter, more fertile part of middle New Ireland and met there the peoples that had come from the west (probably New Guinea), possessing a completely different art style, the Malanggan style, comprehending expressionistic, very complex wood carvings of high artistic standards.

The clash between such different peoples as the stone-carving primitive inhabitants from the Gazelle Peninsula and southern New Ireland and the sophisticated wood carvers from the northwestern part of the island resulted to my mind in a third art style which brought along the *uli* figures as a result of the monumentalization of the *kulap* figures and utilizing elements from the Malanggan style. These *uli* figures belong to a very small and close group of artifacts, found only in the middle part of the island and mostly in the hillside villages of the Lelet plateau, where they were used in ancestor memorial celebrations and fertility rites. After the

celebrations they were not destroyed or left to rot as is the case with the Malanggan carvings, but were placed in specially built little huts and kept for next year's celebrations. Women were not allowed to see them. Stöhr (1972:80) sees in these bisexual mighty figures (up to 1.50 m. high) the creative ancestral heros, the embodiment of the male and female principle (see Plate 4). "The cult which is secret, centres upon the impressive great *uli* figures, which are truly monumental in their effect," writes Bühler, (1962: Plate 46). (Further examples of *uli* figures can be seen in Schmalenbach 1956: Figures 21, 22a, 22b; Guiart 1963: Plates 295,296; Linton and Wingert 1946:164.)

These *uli* figures are made from hard wood and show a high degree of plasticity, similar to the *kulap* figures, but quite in contrast to the fragile Malanggan carvings which never give a figure full limbs. The *uli* show very voluminous breasts and accentuated male genitals. We saw some bisexual figures among the chalk figures and male-female double figures from southern New Ireland and the Gazelle Peninsula. The *uli* are entwined with tendril-like forms detached from the body and these are one of the main features of Malanggan carvings, however in contrast to the Malanggan, with the *uli* these tendrils very frequently show the chevron ornament from the Buka paddles. This ornament is otherwise seldom found on Malanggan carvings, except on some masks and on rainmaker figures from northern New Ireland. Krämer (1925: Figures 12, 13) shows a bisexual rainmaker figure and, as rainmaking and fertility are connected, we might think that the chevron is a pattern connected with these rites, as are also the ceremonial paddles (see Plate 5). Another very characteristic feature of the *uli* is the very large head in contrast to the short body and legs, also a main characteristic of *kulap* figures. The longish head of the *uli* always shows the tripartite hairdo, represented exactly in the same way as with the *kulap*. But on top of the hairdo there is always a comb-like crest, which together with the pointed chin gives the *uli* head its threatening and anguished expression. The eyes are always represented in the same way as with Malanggan carvings by inserting the opercula of a sea snail. Whilst the face of the *uli* is painted white, the outer corner of the eyes are connected by a black line with the chin, thus reminding us of the rock engravings of New Britain (Figure 1g and 1j). The nose is always large with flaring nostrils, the mouth straight, showing mostly two rows of teeth, in the same way as with Malanggan carvings. A fringe beard reaches from ear to ear, surrounding the chin, as with *kulap* figures and the ears are also similar to those of the *kulap*. The torso is cylinder-shaped, the arms are mostly raised and the hands touch the ears. This is another feature which can also be seen with *kulap* figures and with the figure in the framework (Figure 1a, 1b, and 1c; also Bühler 1962: Figure 46 and two stone figures from the Field Museum, Chicago, Nr. 107504 and 107505, collected by R. Parkinson in

Plate 4.   Two Uli figures (left) E24808 (height 150 cm.) and (right) E20016 (height 35 cm.) from middle New Ireland. (Photos reproduced by permission of the Australian Museum, Sydney)

New Britain before 1900). Sometimes the hands of the *uli* are folded over the abdomen and sometimes small replicas of the large *uli* are given on the upper part of the arms, bent backwards in an awkward way, or the small figure stands in front of the body or at the base of the *uli*. Two tufa figures were mentioned before from New Britain, one a woman with a child on her shoulders, the other a man with a child in front of his body

Plate 5. Wooden figure from Papua, E63151 (height 142 cm.) and Ceremonial Paddles from Buka. (Photos reproduced by permission of the Australian Museum, Sydney)

(Meier 1911). The *uli* figures wear a kind of trousers and short jacket. These and the backward bent arms seem to indicate Indonesian influences. The tripartite hairdo is also seen on some masks from New Ireland, made from overmodeled skulls. Overmodeling with resin was practiced widely in the South Pacific area and can also be seen on Malanggan carvings in the Australian Museum (see Moore 1968:582, 583) and on masks from New Britain. The *uli* are mostly painted with a thick white lime paint and highlighted with red and black. This is also the color combination most often used with Malanggan carvings.

III.   From what was said above one can see that there is almost an even number of traits from Malanggan and chalk figures combined in the *uli*, with a slight preponderance of the latter. Thus to my mind there is no doubt that the *uli* is the product of cross-fertilization from two quite different types of peoples, as can be judged by their artifacts: the more ancient, a stone-carving community coming from New Britain via the St. George Channel to the southern part of New Ireland, colliding in the fertile middle part with peoples, probably coming from New Guinea and showing Indonesian influences in their art production.

The type of human images represented by the chalk figures is widespread over the islands of the South Pacific, all showing slight variations according to local styles, but the prototype is persistent and might give a clue to the way these stone carvers followed in their advance from the west across the Pacific (see Ambesi 1966: Figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 46, 47; Dodd 1969:303, 306, 308, 309, 316).

Malanggan and *uli*, however, might be the end product of younger populations, mixed with numerous elements picked up on their travels and developing a purely local style, whilst chalk figures represent the remnants of very ancient tribes, maybe of neolithic origin. As characteristic features of New Ireland chalk figures I would mention the ruff and the bisexual figures and the figure with one body and two heads. I am not sure about the figures with hood, this feature might have its origin in either locality (see Plate 3). I regard the figure in the framework as having its origin in the Gazelle Peninsula, although the double-headed framed figure from the Hamburg Völkerkunde Museum came allegedly from New Ireland. These carvings were shown to boys at the Iniet initiation ceremonies and Iniet was mostly practiced in the Gazelle Peninsula (see photo published by Meier 1911: Figure 3). The more ordinary chalk figures could have been carved in either locality and only a scientific analysis of the material used and the local materials could give clear evidence.

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A Painted Bark Shelter in Central Arnhem Land

J. JELÍNEK

On August 11th, 1969, when an expedition of the Institute Anthropos (Brno, Czechoslovakia) made a trip to the upper reaches of the River Wilton in Central Arnhem Land, Australia, I set out upstream on foot. I got as far as the rocky ravine called Bulman Gorge, below which, about 100 meters beyond the stream on the right bank, I found an abandoned hut made of bark and decorated with paintings. Although there are occasional citations of paintings on the walls of bark huts in the literature (Spencer 1914), there is never any mention of the writer having seen such painted huts himself. Neither is there any photographic or graphic evidence. It seems, therefore, that the hut discovered below Bulman Gorge is not only the last of its kind, but also the only documented one.

The hut itself was situated on a sandbank about 50 meters long. The rear wall faced north, i.e. towards Bulman Gorge, and the front faced downstream the River Wilton. Like most aboriginal shelters, it was constructed with four posts supporting a flat bark roof (Plate 1). All these posts were firmly embedded in the sand and forked at the upper end. Two sticks joined the right front post to the right back one, and the left front one to the left back one. Crosswise on them were loosely laid three more sticks, on which were placed individual pieces of paper bark.

The longest piece of stringy bark formed the central vertical section of the rear wall, embedded a few centimeters into the sand at the bottom. This same strip of bark then went at a right-angle across the roof to form its central section. The paintings were made only on the inside of this piece of bark, and only after its installment on the hut. This is shown, on the one hand, by paint drips on the vertical part and, on the other, by the fact that on the horizontal roof section the painting respected the sticks supporting the roof. Apart from this piece of stringy bark, there were pieces of paper bark laid on the roof and the whole roof was weighted

Plate 1.   The aboriginal painted bark hut, Bulman Gorge, Central Arnhem Land

down with nine largish stones, two of which, being flat, bore traces of pigment, having apparently served originally for mixing colors. The rear vertical posts were 135 centimeters high, the front ones only 120. The ground area of the hut was 160 centimeters wide by 130 centimeters deep.

Around the hut was a whole series of traces of its occupant. Behind the rear wall there were about twenty pieces of shell of the freshwater shellfish *Unio*. Alongside lay stripped and mangled lengths of the bast of stringy bark, undoubtedly prepared for making throngs. Near the right rear post was a flat stone with traces from the mixing of red, yellow, and black pigments. On it lay two irregular broken pieces of stone. Near the rear wall on the inside of the hut there lay also two irregular broken pieces of stone. Near the rear wall of the inside of the hut, there lay a stick 120 centimeters long, such as aborigines use for digging up yam tubers from the ground or for peeling paper bark. In the same place was also a piece of red pigment (hematite) and a round, flat pebble. The surface bore traces of scraping, polishing, and cutting, and had irregular lines drawn in red

color. It was, in all probability, a Murrayan painted stone, analogous to similar painted stones described by Kupka (1972). In front of the hut lay a piece of liana sharpened at both ends. It is possible that it was chopped with a European axe. Similarly, the wooden supports of the hut seemed to have been cut with a metal axe. In front of the righthand front post, I found an irregular stone and a large stone flake shaped into the form of a semicircular knife or scraper.

On the left, 150 centimeters from the hut, was a small fireplace with charred stones. It had apparently been used for preparing food. There was a second ash-strewn fireplace close to the lefthand side of the hut. Such fires are used by aborigines as a source of heat during the night, or sometimes as a protection against mosquitoes. About 230 centimeters in front of the hut was a third fireplace, around which was scattered a total of eight tortoise shells and a large, perfectly formed stone-blade knife. The size of the tortoise shells was from 25 to 35 centimeters with the upper and lower parts split at the sides. Three small round holes were evident in the upper part of most of them, as though the tortoises had been speared with a spear having three round metal prongs. These traces and the traces of chopping with a steel axe were the only signs of civilization which it was possible to find. The stone blade was 20 centimeters long with both sides perfectly worked. It was of light-colored, strongly silicified sandstone, with a protruding bulb on the ventral side. The noncutting end was blunted by three blows in the opposite direction. It is possible that a broken tool had been reused, originally a large knife or dagger, or a spearhead.

The grass in front of the hut had apparently been burned during building. The water level of the billabong was about 30 centimeters away from the hut on the day of discovery. About 150 centimeters higher was a horizontal black line on the sandbank — ash from burning the grass — marking the water level at the time the hut was built. From that time to the day of discovery, the level of the billabong had fallen 150 centimeters. On the other hand, the unscattered ash of the fireplaces, the pigment on the stone, the comparatively greasy tortoise shells, all showed that it had not rained since the hut was built. Nowhere were any human footprints preserved. It was possible to estimate that the hut was built not more than two months before, and abandoned not more than one month before.

It may also be important to note that in the stony ravine, Bulman Gorge, is a cave on the stone walls of whose entrance are paintings. Some of them are of the anthropomorphic red *mimi* type, but they are not dynamic figures. Others are apparently of a later date, but do not have the marks of the X-ray style. These paintings are about 200–250 meters away from the hut, and the occupant of the hut must surely have known about them. If I speak of a single occupant, it is because the smallness of the hut probably indicates one, at the most two, occupants.

On the inside of the bark are drawings of a kangaroo, a supernatural being or spirit (on the vertical rear wall), and a goana (on the ceiling section). The colors most used are red (hematite) and white (kaolin), then yellow (limonite), and least of all, black (dissolved charcoal), which is used only for the kangaroo's nose.

The drawing of the kangaroo is 120 centimeters in size (Plate 2, left). The basic color is white, the contours and details of the body being painted in red and yellow lines. It represents a large male kangaroo, painted in perfect X-ray style. Inside the body are depicted spine, joints, gullet, heart, lungs, liver, and stomach. The head and the ends of the back feet were repainted. Drips of white paint clearly show that the painting was done with the bark in a vertical position, i.e. *in situ*. Rather higher up on the right, next to the kangaroo, a supernatural figure is drawn in red, on an irregular white background; it is a spirit with a muzzle-shaped head, taloned fingers, and unnaturally deformed rear limbs. On the inside of the body are irregular lines. The figure is reminiscent of certain paintings of evil spirits, called *mamandi*. It is 45 centimeters high.

On the roof of the shelter, a goana is painted (Plate 2, right). It is again in X-ray style, and is less detailed than the kangaroo. Possibly this is because painting on the roof was certainly less comfortable. The upper part of the trunk, as shown by blurred white paint, was repainted. The tail was also repainted, first having bent to the left, and being in its final form straight. The basic color is white, the outlines and details red. The simple spine and emphasized joints show a relationship to the X-ray style. The protruding tongue and the shape of the body show that this is a goana. The length of the painting is 90 centimeters.

The fact that this comparatively small shelter was in the vicinity of stone paintings, that the paintings were perfectly executed and included a painting of a spirit, and that a decorated pebble was discovered nearby, all indicate the possibility that the stay in the hut was connected with some sort of ritual occasion. It is also interesting that the hut was on the whole isolated, and that there have not been other traces of recent aboriginal inhabitants in the area. The paintings show a marked stylistic similarity to X-ray style rock paintings. As far as I know, this discovery of a painted aboriginal hut made of bark represents the only documented example today of this already defunct aboriginal custom.

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PART THREE

Art and Change in Form, Content and Meaning: The Creative Innovator, Acculturation and Ethnohistory

Artistic Expression and Creative Process in Caribbean Possession Cult Rituals

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Observations of Spiritist possession cults among Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico and in the United States suggested a dimension of ritual process seldom analyzed: the cult ritual occasion may provide one of few contexts or the only context for spontaneous artistic expression on the part of persons who are not artists. Some Caribbean cult rituals, of which Haitian Voodoo is a good example, provide for an abundance of both verbal and visual artistic expression, but the Spiritist case is perhaps more interesting because its cult rituals provide a unique socioartistic context in a society where there is little current opportunity for the production of folk art forms. Moreover, the study of ritually induced artistic expression in Spiritism highlights group creative processes induced through the necessary spontaneity of ritual artistic expression under conditions where the ritual setting must be reproduced in whole or in part at each new ritual occasion.

It can be argued without rebuttal that the highly organized religions have produced most of the world's great art forms. While it is true that the continually recreated cult ritual settings are by necessity simpler than those found in elaborately decorated churches and temples, cult rituals depend more on the active immediate involvement of their participants in satisfying ritual goals, than on the more limited involvement of the relatively few individuals who prestructure and arrange church settings on behalf of thousands of their coreligionists. Highly organized religions may produce richer, more complex artistic productions, but cult and sect rituals provide much wider opportunities for both spontaneous and

planned creative activity on the part of greater numbers of ritual partici-
pants.[1]

In a definition of ritualization of animal behavior that in a broad way
seems equally applicable to the ritualization of human behavior, Huxley
points to ritualization "as the adaptive formalization or canalization of
emotionally motivated behaviour" (my emphasis) and believes the func-
tions of such behavior are "(a) to promote better and more unambiguous
signal functions; (b) to serve as more efficient stimulators or releasers of
more efficient patterns of actions in other individuals; (c) to reduce
intraspecific damage; and (d) to serve as sexual or social bonding mechan-
isms" (quoted in Turner 1970). He recognizes however, that human
ritualized behavior is far more complex than that of animals because of
the introduction of symbol-based communication and the psychodynam-
ics of projection through ego-processes. Because of the focus on human
communication complexities, many of the neat, cogent analyses of ritual
symbols seem to ignore the baseline component of "emotionally moti-
vated behavior." What Turner refers to as the "valent" aspect of the ritual
symbol, i.e. the motivational aspect (that is combined with the "vocal," or
cognitive and ideological components in human ritual symbols) is often
treated as if it does not affect the dimensions of significance analyzed
(Turner 1970). Turner's conceptualization of "polarization" in the
semantic structure of dominant symbols in which there are two poles, an
ideological extreme and an extreme of "basic emotions associated with
physiological referents," attempts to correct this frequent unidimensional
analysis (see also Munn 1969).

It is to the emotional aspect of ritualized human behavior that this
article principally addresses itself, starting with the assumption that all
ritual activities embellish their symbolic fare or, more precisely, envelop
them in media of communication that assist in the dynamic transfer
between the poles of meaning, in which ideas and values become infused
with emotion and emotions become ennobled with ideas. Phrased more
simply, what is expressed in ritual always has a particular style within
the range of an expressive medium determined by a particular cultural
tradition, such as drama, dance, music, or graphic art, and very
often a combination of several of these media. Another assumption
is that ritual art styles assist in conveying important ideas and their
relative emphases, and aid in reinforcing belief. They are frequently

[1] The discussion by Mary Douglas (1970) on the social conditions for a "religion of
ecstasy" as distinct from a "religion of control" is directly relevant to my point. Under
conditions such as "weak social control over individuals" and "lack of articulation in the
social structure," emotionalism runs high and spontaneity in religious expression is general.
When these conditions are found in the organization of religious groups we also find an
upsurge of general creative activity. Altogether, when Balinese and Javanese rituals *have*
been studied as dramatic artistic expression, it would seem that the performers are trained as
artists and their performance is not "spontaneous" (cf. Rassers 1959).

dynamically related to the sign of iconic components of ritual symbols. The presence of supernatural beings for example, is always necessary to ritual activity; artistic style will herald, describe, and even induce their presence (as in the case of dance-and-drum-induced trance in Voodoo).

GOALS OF RITUALS

In this section I draw upon the descriptive classification of ritual goals given by Anthony Wallace (1966) to provide a general introduction to the ways in which artistic expression can enhance and assist ritual behavior. I also suggest that rituals have independent aesthetic goals, perhaps subordinate but also complementary to those Wallace describes. I will first deal with the aesthetic goals.

Of three broad aesthetic goals of ritual the most commonly mentioned, but least explained, is that of entertainment. Many, perhaps most, secular art traditions originated in religious contexts and ritual is still a major source of entertainment for many people — even in complex societies where multiple secular entertainment media are available. The interesting cases are those sects where Fundamentalist Christian doctrine or other religious beliefs ban secular entertainment or where intensive involvement in cult activities satisfies most entertainment needs. In these cases ritual formats must include the means to engage and hold the attention of participants in order to achieve primary ritual goals. Moreover, the longer the ritual, the greater the need to fascinate marginally active participants by manipulating emotional states. It might be suggested that even the centrally active participants have the need to be entertained by their activities.

Another aesthetic goal is that of facilitating the general aim of all ritual, that is, mobilizing supernatural powers "for the purpose of achieving or preventing transformations of state in man and nature" (Wallace 1966:107). The most important transformation in many rituals may be the transforming of the physical setting from a usual, mundane place to a supernaturally charged or inhabited one. Even the elaborately designed church settings in Christianity, and temple settings in Hinduism, are quickened with supernatural life through the addition of music or special lighting effects. But the aesthetic aim may be more intense when there are no places especially designated and designed as sacred, and the mundane world must be eliminated by the temporary creation of an illusionary, supernatural reality. This is the common situation of cults in both Western and non-Western societies. The medium commonly used to transform a mundane setting is drama, and dramatic techniques are either enhanced by temporary visual representations of the supernatural through the use

of costumes and masks or by possession-trance, used to literally mask the ordinary, human participant.

A third variation, which may be combined with the preceeding two techniques, is the use of ground paintings or sculptured figures to symbolically (abstractly) create a supernatural setting within which ritual participants are placed, either in whole or in part. Navaho dry paintings are classic examples, as are the Northern Arnhem Land ground paintings of mythical journeys and the famous Tiwi burial poles (Goodale and Koss 1967; Berndt 1952).

Caribbean cults most frequently accomplish the transformation of the mundane through the use of possession-trance, sometimes, as in Haiti, complemented by both ground paintings and costumes which are developed after contact with the supernatural has been established, that is, after the *loa* has "mounted" his horse or when he is expected to mount. Ritual participants are possessed by traditional *dramatis personae* selected by the belief system from the full range of possible human characterizations. Rather than assuming limited stereotyped patterns, the variations are numerous enough to allow individual ingenuity in combining characterological aspects and the particular conditions under which trance is scheduled to take place, as well as the sequence of appearance of supernatural characters. Thus, for example, in Haitian Voodoo there are hundreds of families of *loa*, and individual differences may depend on details such as whether one family member walks with a crutch as distinct from another, also old and infirm, who lies on a mat touching those around him with closed fists (Metraux 1972:91). The *loa* are said to be too numerous to describe and Metraux remarks on the lack of agreement among different adepts in different regions. The picture seems to be that of a "standard group of characteristic grand *loa*" frequent in all temples, and also of numerous other *loa* added to the pantheon through the creative abilities of certain *hungans* and *mambos*. A parallel situation is found in Spiritism where, as will be described in detail below, a relatively standard group of important, very "enlightened" spirits has been augmented by many other spirit characterizations, each created by adepts in different rituals, some of whom are incorporated into the cult group's corps of protecting spirits held in common. Others remain as personal spirit guides of the individual creator and whoever else may choose to adopt them.

Ritual as a creative forum is most clearly seen, in my opinion, in these cult cases. Two important attributes of cult activity provide for this condition: first, cult rituals, as distinct from those of most established religions, attract their participants through the offer of direct contact with supernatural beings. Even though this contact may be achieved initially only through a third party, the cult adept, priest, or spirit medium, there is a process of democratization of the "power" to communicate with the

supernatural world which is both ideal and actual — that is, that any believer can become an adept, even though not all develop sufficient powers to do so.

Second, cult ideologies in the Caribbean are, in terms of their basic patterns, deceptively simple. They consist of good and bad *loa, orisha,* spirits or powers who "work" according to the dictates of their human communicants but can as often manifest their own characterological attributes to disturb the behavior of those who lack the knowledge and power to deal with them. Those who become adepts and can organize their own groups acquire their leadership status by successfully dealing with the multiple, variable expressions of the personal disturbances of their followers. Their manipulative techniques of divining, healing, and advice-giving cannot possibly respond to set and detailed formulas, pedantically derived by arduous interpretation over years of discussion. To be a successful cult leader or adept, creative ability is a requisite. Thus accessory beliefs are appended to major basic ones, new supernatural beings are added to the standard group, and variations on patterns of ritual format are continually being devised to hold the interest of, and effectively integrate, a highly specific small cult community. Since the cult leader is not ordained after a standard systematic training course in knowledge or technique, his personal style is an exceedingly important factor in his attractiveness to followers. This style obviously must respond to the aesthetic standards for behavior in a particular culture: thus Metraux, listing the characteristics of a "good *hungan*" says that he is "at one and the same time priest, healer, soothsayer, exorcizer, organizer of public entertainments and choirmaster" (1972:64).

Thus the good cult leader must be capable of choreographing and channeling the diverse manifestations of ideas, many of which may be idiosyncratic and socially nonacceptable, so that the total ritual performance adds up to a satisfying experience for the greater number of participants (Mischel and Mischel 1958). As will be detailed below, Puerto Rican Spiritists often comment on the "style" of a particular medium in trance or the style of a session by noting that it was "ugly" or "pretty." Their comments are clearly based upon aesthetic standards for these activities; for example, middle-class Spiritists dislike mediums who move and speak in an accentuated, bizarre fashion, while lower-class cultists seem to appreciate those mediums whose arms flail about wildly and express emotional extremes while entranced. These preferences relate ultimately to the acceptability of certain beliefs about spirit-man relations. Middle-class mediums are "good" if they work with spirits who intend good and avoid the "contamination" of "lower spirits" who cause harm; lower-class mediums on the other hand seem eager to expose those spirits who cause adversity and to demonstrate their "power" to change or banish those "lower spirits" who molest their clientele. Thus aesthetics

and meaning are "artfully" combined in the mediumistic performance; lower-class persons apparently prefer to see violence and conflict and the struggle to overcome them acted out, while middle-class persons suppress or reject such desires and seek to eliminate them through the development of inner psychic control.

Turning now to the complementarity of artistic expression in satisfying ritual goals I will mention only some of the many particular tasks that art forms carry out, more to open a line of inquiry than to present a detailed catalog. The dramatic art forms peculiar to Spiritism will be detailed later.

Where ritual intends to control aspects of nature both verbal and visual art forms appear. Divination devices such as the scorched caribou shoulder blade among Northern Indians map the hunting terrain in all of its aspects for the uncertain hunter and still other scorched scapula record his experiences for the family members who await him (Wallace 1966:111). The Cuna curer employs a long, repetitive song and carved figurines of tutelary spirits to overcome a difficult childbirth. While it may be argued that these material expressions are not "art" in the Western sense of an object being created for aesthetic enjoyment in and of itself, their instrumental use does not obscure their symbolic value as metaphors that intend a particular class of affective responses and offer the means to go beyond common forms of experiencing. Moreover, these metaphors connect widely separated domains of experience — the particular feeling states of an individual, the complex beliefs about the general form, the dynamics of aspects of the natural or physical world which he is experiencing at some point in time. As Lévi-Strauss so aptly points out, "the [Cuna] shaman provides the sick woman with a *language*, by means of which unexpressed, and otherwise inexpressible psychic states can be immediately expressed" (1963:198). The artistic qualities of this language bring the meaning and understanding of the total into relation with a singular experience of feeling. As Lévi-Strauss suggests, it is not accidental that the theme of the song involves an invasion, troops of helpful spirits who progressively overcome malevolent, bizarre spirits, and other obstacles. These themes and the stylistic device of repetitious details are intended to psychologically manipulate the sick organ and bring about the successful passage of the child through the vagina.

In general, in all types of rituals, art forms are used to enhance suggestibility and augment psychodynamic effects. A direct example can be found in the use of drumming to produce a particular effect, ranging from a general increase in exhilaration and excitement to the production of special rhythms observed to induce trance. Maya Deren describes the process vividly as the drumbeats induced her to dance at an ever more rapid pace and her breathing became labored and difficult (Deren 1953:258–260). A combined effect of fatigue, exhilaration, hyperventi-

lation, and response to an encouraging crowd of observers produced a state of dissociation of consciousness in which she could observe herself dancing in patterns of increasing intensity beyond her efforts to control. Similar effects are produced through oratory and responsive singing in church revivals where audiences are whipped into high-pitched emotional responsiveness through repetitive waves or crescendos of emotion. Fernandez (1967:50–51), in a comparison of oratory styles of Zulu and Fang preachers, writes of the "state of overpowering impulse or inspiration in the listener" that results from the alternation of forceful and nonforceful delivery of the sermon by William Richmond of the Church of God in Christ (which also occasionally produces states of possession during its performance). He also notes that these sermons are admired for their quality of "stressing the salient points," at the same time following stress patterns characteristic of Zulu music.

Trance inducement may involve a number of different procedures established by cultural tradition, including fixation on a lighted candle, the use of fantasy, body rocking, special musical rhythms, dance, fasting, fatigue, fire-gazing. The combined effect of the procedure will reduce or increase external stimuli to the point of a particular effect on the central nervous system (Kiev 1972). The arrangements of ritual paraphernalia, space, incantations, songs, body movements, and the like, must conform to this goal, that is, trance inducement, which thus plays an important part in determining what these arrangements will be.

In regard to the "ritual of salvation" (Wallace 1966:138–152) where socially sanctioned possession is the focus of the ritual, the performance of a *role* believed to characterize a supernatural being may be important to the therapeutic value such rituals have been shown to have. As Wallace remarks, "the highly stereotyped rituals of possession in African and Haitian Voodoo [do not] represent any denial of identity," but rather the expression of a "true multiple personality," each aspect sealed off from the other by being confined to the ritual performance. Therapeutic effects include catharsis and acting out of repressed impulses considered as highly undesirable in daily life but as highly entertaining in a ritual setting where they must submit to conditions of group control. And the performer reaps the benefit of group support and approval for behavior denigrated in other contexts. The therapeutic value of possession rituals may indeed be enhanced by the role-playing component in trance states (cf. Sarbin 1965) since, despite the extreme identity conflict which may motivate the individual to participate, he need never suffer complete identity loss. Instead, two new identities are immediately relevant, that of the supernatural being who possesses him and also that of the meta-identity as trance actor. The implication is that aesthetic considerations of style of behavior may continue to be operative in the entranced individual even when he loses self-awareness and all ego defenses are inhibited.

Where rituals have therapeutic goals the creative aspect is most clearly present. Nonmedicinal healing techniques seem most effective with disturbances of psychogenic origin; however, the specific technique of anxiety reduction may also assist in relieving or ameliorating symptoms of organic syndromes. In both of these illness situations a sociogenic component may be important as the cause of the disturbance, therefore altering this component may relieve anxiety and effect a cure. If a ritual performance can reverse the action of a myth that predicts a general given social adversity, as Munn has so neatly shown in the case of male initiation and the Wawilak myth cycle among the Murngin (1969), so it can reverse the particular misfortune of an individual who believes that suffering is a built-in feature of his social world. As Munn suggests in her concluding statements, "the 'effectiveness' of symbol systems derives in part from the fact that they are so structured as to provide the means for adjusting interior experience through external societal forms" (1969:200). Thus symbols may be "effective" in curing by structuring a situation in which they can be manipulated and used to reverse the action of what appear to be cosmic-social forces over which the individual must gain control so as to mediate a change in his personal feeling states. For example, the "myth" of Spiritism includes the presence of "bad" or "uneducated" spirits who must be "taught" to identify their correct status as spirits and to leave the person whom they are inadvertently persecuting. It is quite common in the *centros* to hear a spirit married to a person in a previous incarnation being instructed to sever his ties with his now reincarnated wife. The social myth teaches that marriage is a permanent relationship of such intimacy and intensity that it survives death. In changing the myth considerable creative ability is necessary to bring other social facts and other relationships to bear upon the problem so as to justify the solution and free the sufferer from the effect of his actions in a past life. However one may interpret the situation of emotional disturbance — as, for example, a Freudian might note that a childhood attachment to a father or mother has survived to adulthood to intrude upon the marital relations of the sufferer — the casting out of the still psychologically relevant father figure demands much skill. The exorciser must innovate a motivating force, introduce reasons why the molesting spirit should give up his earthly attachment, and even perhaps rearrange both spirit and living relationships. Such skill is that of the accomplished dramatist; the Spiritist medium is called upon to demonstrate it many times throughout the three- or four-hour ritual session.

SPIRITISM IN PUERTO RICO

Puerto Rican *Espiritismo* is a descendant of French *Spiritisme*, a Second

Empire, "secular" cult religion originated by Allan Kardec (a pseudonym for Leon Denizarth Hippolyte Rivail, 1803–1869). This "scientific" religion was readily adopted by the middle class in the decade following the publication of Kardec's first treatise on Spiritism, circa 1853, entitled *The spirits book* (Koss 1972). It spread very quickly to the lower and rural classes who syncretized it with folk Catholicism and folk-curing techniques made up of Indian, African, and folk European components. Recent changes in this eclectic cult religion include further syncretization with Santería, an Afro-Cuban cult currently being popularized in Puerto Rico by Cuban immigrants. The degree to which such changes can be easily incorporated within the fabric of Spiritism is perhaps best appreciated by the fact that Kardec's original conceptions, which were related to him by spirits speaking through two young mediums, were anticlerical and anti-Catholic and quite clear in rejecting the belief in a hierarchy of supernatural beings as intermediaries between men and the "Universal Spirit." Through folk Catholicism, and most recently through Santería the saints commonly appear in lower-class Spiritist meetings and are appealed to (in their African or Western identities) as intercessors with the Divinity, the Universal Spirit.

Cult groups are common in Puerto Rico among persons of the lower, middle, and upper classes and are perhaps even more popular among Puerto Rican migrants to the continental United States. There are no statistics on numbers of groups or persons involved, but they seem to be more numerous in urban settings including towns as well as cities. Some cult groups are organized as "churches" with membership requirements, annual calendars of ritual meetings, annual quotas, newsletter publications, and radio programs. Others are community affairs, meeting in houses set aside for this purpose or in the home of the leader of the group, usually referred to as the "President." Still other groups are neighborhood- or family-focused and hold meetings according to the needs and desires of a small group of believers who profess faith in an *espiritista*, known to have special powers, and who is instrumental in organizing the group. A tentative estimate based on years of observation and study of both lower- and middle-class cult groups would place the number of Puerto Ricans involved in *Espiritismo*, that is, involved as practitioners rather than as occasional participants, at about 20 percent of the total adult population.

It must also be noted that the range of variation in organization and practice of these groups is tremendous: most are heavily involved in healing, many meet to discuss doctrinal philosophical and theological matters, some are concerned with parapsychological experiments, and many presidents specialize in private consultations in order to supplement their incomes or build up funds for their *centros*. The sources of inspiration and contact with Spiritist groups outside of Puerto Rico are

also eclectic and varied: some are affiliated with Spiritualist groups in the United States such as "Spiritual Frontiers," others with the London headquarters of Spiritualist organizations, and still others with small groups of Puerto Rican migrants in the United States or with a sectarian offspring of *Spiritisme*, the *Trincadistas* originated by Joaquin Trincado in Argentina.

The thrust of this article is toward Spiritist ritual practices principally among lower-class, more spontaneous, neighborhood-type cult groups as found in San Juan and the large urban settings of the Northeastern United States. In these groups possession-trance is the focus of the ritual. Participation is not limited to the mediums since everyone present takes part in "calling" the spirits to the "session" or *velada*. The typical *centro* is organized around four statuses ranging from total to more limited participation: the *presidente de la mesa*, the *mediunidades,* the *novicios* "developing" as mediums, and the *creyentes* [believers] who attend the session to ask help from the spirit world. A meeting (*reunión, sesión, velada*) begins with prayers taken from Kardec's writings and the "Apostles' Creed" of the Catholic liturgy. The president and the mediums are seated around a table covered by a white cloth, upon which is a vessel of water, the "fluid" through which the spirits materialize. Although ritual paraphernalia is generally minimal, the president may add statues, lithographs, incense, paintings, flowers, dried wheat, etc., most of which are mass-produced and sold in Spiritist pharmacies (*botanicas*) along with herbs and patent medicines. These ritual accessories are usually a result of demands made by principal spirit familiars of the *centro* president, whose spirit guides are also the principal spirits of the cult group. Following the opening prayers the president calls upon each medium to concentrate his spirit powers on the problems and on the spiritual development of the assembled group. One by one each medium is invaded by his principal spirit familiar (*guia principal*) who "opens" his body to receive other spirits, and then retreats to stand behind and protect the medium while he is engaged in spirit "work." The mediums then concentrate to help each other or assembled clients who seek cures, counseling, or orientation on persistent personal problems. In both the public meetings and the private sessions the process is structured by three stages: (1) *buscando la causa*, that is, looking into the spirit world for the cause of the problems or illness; (2) *trabajando la causa*, bringing the disincarnate spirit into contact with the person whom it is disturbing by using the medium's body; and (3) *despojando*, the ritual purification of the spirit by instructing him that he is no longer alive. With the help of prayers and the goodwill of both the medium and the molested believers the spirit can be taught to realize a more advanced degree of spiritual evolution (which is the destiny of all spirits incarnate or disincarnate). For some believers a longer term involvement is recommended since their "cures" depend on

the development of their *facultades* [powers] to communicate with the spirit world and acquire a team of personal spirit protectors who assist the individual in developing a number of mediumistic skills such as spirit transportation, seeing and hearing events of the spirit world, materialization of objects from another place or plane of existence, telepathy, and "calling" the spirit *causas* of troubled believers, that is, becoming possessed by "bad" or recalcitrant spirits.

Looking at the ritual as a dramatic process, there are three main "acts" preceded by a prologue at every ritual session. The prologue consists of the prayer by the president (sometimes also by the vice-president) and the "opening of the way" for the spirits by the combined meditation by all present. Subsequently there are introductions by the individual spirit familiars who come to each of the experienced mediums. The first act begins with the diagnoses of the problems of various believers (or of the mediums present) during which the president and/or the mediums "see" (*evidencia*) or "hear" (*audiciones*) spirit events in order to find out what is the problem of each believer. The second act involves *trabajando la causa,* that is, the medium "takes" (*pases*) the spirit that is causing the problem; other mediums and/or the client question and instruct the spirit to see its error in causing trouble and to leave the client alone. The medium very often manifests all of the hostility toward the client that the spirit "is" manifesting. Sometimes the president will engage the spirit in a long dialogue during which he suggests that the spirit leave the client alone and concentrate on his own (the spirit's) spiritual development. This "acting out" of the conflict, if successful in convincing the spirit that he is wrong, usually ends in the spirit's confessing his wrongdoing and begging forgiveness of the client whom he promises to stop molesting. This part of the ritual has been analyzed as "psychodrama" both by Seda Bonilla (1964) and by Garrison (1968) since it obviously involves the projection of an internal conflict onto a ritual stage.

The third or final act may or may not take place at the ritual meeting. This is the prescription for insuring the "cure" or problem solution in the form of prayers, ritual baths, ritual fumigation of one's bedroom or home, candle lighting, imitative magical procedures, all of which relate to ritual purification to insure the removal of the spirit's influences. Some *centro* presidents will prescribe only at a private consultation, sometime after the ritual séance, or will recommend that the client return on another day or evening when such matters are handled at a specialized ritual "consulting" session.

The "first" and "second" acts, which involve searching out the problem and then "bringing" the spirit causing it, may be continuous for each client called to the table by the medium who has a "vision" about his problem. Most of the *centro* rituals that I observed followed this procedure but some of the larger and better organized *centros* handle the two

"acts" at separately scheduled ritual sessions, or successively at the same ritual session. A brief excerpt from one taped ritual session will serve to illustrate these ritual procedures.[2]

Prologue: Introduction of the Protagonists

RUBEN (the president): Glory to God in the highest, and peace on earth to all men of good will. Come forth to me the sufferers and tired ones, that I will bring you rest. Bring your burdens upon me for my burden is light and so is my yoke. Learn from me that I am the most humble of heart and you will find peace and response for your souls. So saith the Lord.

The session is now open. Each one of you (the mediums) call your guardian angel and your protecting spirits.

(He rings a bell and the leading medium, also the vice-president of the group, begins.)

RODRIGUEZ (His spirit guide): Humble spirits among you, with the duty that corresponds to the opening of the organs of my little house.

RUBEN: So be it in the name of God Almighty.

RODRIGUEZ'S SPIRIT: Going three steps backwards and that the love of God be with you. My protectors close to me that the peace of God be with you.

TILLI'S SPIRIT GUIDE: Humble spirits among you, with the duty that corresponds to the opening of the organs of this my little house. I remain under the protection of the table and the glory; of this my little house.

GUILLA'S SPIRIT: Peace and justice my brethren.

RODRIGUEZ: Now and forever in the name of God.

GUILLA'S SPIRIT: In the name of the Father, the Son, and in the name of the Holy Spirit.

(All of the assembled mediums proceed in the same way, their spirit familiars saying more or less the same things, with the President Ruben answering them and the rest of the mediums, in chorus, reiterating after him, "Now and forever through the centuries." Each "little house" having been "opened" and the protecting spirits established in the *centro* behind each of the mediums seated at the table, possession by *espiritus de causa* begins. Ruben and Rodriguez confer in whispers about "things" they have seen.)

Act 1, Scene 1: The Probing of the Problem, or the Creation of the Plot

RUBEN: That sister facing the front of the table, come to the table.

RODRIGUEZ: Yes you, put your hand on the table. Do you understand the work? Do you recognize a spirit behind you dressed as a nun, a Sister of Charity? Dressed in white in back of you?

WOMAN: No, I don't recognize her.

RODRIGUEZ: I can see this spirit at your back and I can also see a male spirit, tall, white with grey hair, that spirit rests his hand on you and takes you and obsesses you and leaves you in a daze. Can you see the spirit?

WOMAN: You mean the spirit of the man?

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[2]   This session was taped in a Philadelphia center during 1966 and subsequently translated.

RODRIGUEZ: Yes. He takes you like that and takes your mind away completely. You feel like your head is heavy and then you go away and you remain as though obsessed. I can see that spirit at your back, and that same spirit is causing you a sharp vaginal pain.

WOMAN: Yes, that yes . . . I feel . . . I think . . .

RODRIGUEZ: Don't tell me. Don't tell me, sister. Pardon me. I just want you to help me answer the question. I want to bring the spirit to see if I am correct. That sharp pain is like as if your inside is filled with air and it feels like your stomach is completely inflated, and you can't put anything in your stomach because you feel filled up.

Act 2, Scene 1: The Development of Conflict

(Rodriguez becomes possessed with the spirit of the man.)

RUBEN: Peace and justice in the name of God.

SPIRIT IN RODRIGUEZ: Nowwww . . . let's see what you want me for.

RUBEN: To help your spirit which is in darkness and to help this woman materially and spiritually. Give one step foward in the name of God.

SPIRIT: Ohhhhh . . . are you going to help me? You are going to help me. I am helping here and you're going to help me.

RUBEN: Come on, spiritual brother. In the name of Almighty God, give one step forward.

(All pray the "Lord's Prayer.")

SPIRIT: Look, look. May the peace of God be here. That's what they tell me to say.

RUBEN: Now and forever in the name of God.

SPIRIT: The peace of God is what these here (other spirits with him) tell me to say, because I didn't know that.

RUBEN: Come forward in the name of God.

SPIRIT: Look, I was there, following her, trying to take her . . . but they didn't let me. True that you were feeling my fluid and you felt uncomfortable?

WOMAN: Yes, that's true . . . just last night.

SPIRIT: I was there trying to take your head and you didn't let me.

RUBEN: Until today in the name of God. Your spirit is going to repent and is going up together with those (spirits) that surround Him. In the name of God Almighty.

SPIRIT: They tell me that I can no longer be at your side because I make you sick, they tell me. I have you sick because I am giving you this sharp vaginal pain. And I am giving you this inflammation in your belly. And I have you stricken with a general weakness all over your body. These are my fluids that I have upon you. That's what they tell me here. But they tell me I am a spirit and I belong to the world of the spirits and I am not able to be with you at your side harming your *materia*. They tell me here that my time is up. That I have been coming with you from one existence to another.

RUBEN: I am happy that you realize that yourself.

SPIRIT: . . . mixing everything up for you because right now you are in such a state of mind that you don't even believe in yourself. Tell me. It's my spirit that has you like this but here now they tell me that I cannot become involved. These (spirits) that are on my right are telling me that I have to leave now.

RUBEN: So be it.

Act 3, Scene 1: The Resolution of the Problem

SPIRIT: They tell me that they will take me to a place where I will receive light and that maybe someday I will return to compensate you for all the evil I have done to you in this planet earth. That's what they tell me. And they tell me if they give me permission to do so but all that I want of you is that you light me three candles and that you recite for me the prayer of the "hardened" spirit for three days also . . . Do you hear? . . . Don't pray in your bedroom because I will never leave if you do so. So put up your hands and give me your forgiveness.
RUBEN: Forgive him, sister.
WOMAN: I forgive you.
SPIRIT: And you (other spirits) give me something that I go.
(All mediums and some of the audience pray the "Lord's Prayer.")
RUBEN: May God enlighten you and the peace of God go with your spirit and have mercy on your spirit.
RODRIGUEZ (apparently out of the trance): May God forgive you.
RUBEN: You can sit down, girl. Brother Rafael, come to the table.

In the above ritual session, which continued until several clients in the audience had been called to the table, the three "acts" are consecutive and so brief that they could be called more appropriately episodes within a single "act." The episodes are subdivisions of a complex narrative in which a series of conflicts and their resolutions are linked by themes developed in response to the characteristics and designs of the main characters present (Fischer 1963). Both the mediums and the president are supporting protagonists but so also are the protecting spirit guides who "open" the mediums' bodies to work the *causas*. At the session above there were eight such acts that alternated between men and women clients as the major protagonists. The major antagonists were always one or more molesting spirits in conflict (often unwittingly) with the major protagonist (i.e. the *centro's* clients) of the opposite sex. In Act 1 the conflict situation is defined. In Act 2 it is developed to the extent of being transferred to the arena of a group of supporting protagonists, the protecting spirit guides of the *centro* who, with the president and/or a medium, convince the antagonist "bad" spirit to repent those activities that are harming the client. Act 3 provides the resolution: the client/ protagonist forgives the molesting spirit and shows his or her good will by providing services to the "bad" spirit such as candle lighting and reciting particular prayers.

The above pattern exhibits the most usual structure of each act in which three groups of protagonists are juxtaposed with a set of antagonists: the last are in conflict with the clients/protagonists but are forced to pit their wills against more powerful protagonists, the president and other mediums of the *centro* (including those in the audience who are "helping" the *centro*'s staff of *espiritistas*), who also enjoy the power of the "good" spirit-protectors brought to the table by the mediums.

However, two of the acts did not conform to this pattern. At one point a

woman passed a note to the president who called her to the table to prescribe teas for her colicky baby who had been brought to the table at a previous session. At another point the spirit brought to the table for a male client was a "spirit of light" and not antagonistic; she had come to help the client/protagonist who experienced her as chills and strange new thoughts. Both of these instances were continued resolutions of conflicts presented at earlier sessions. They illustrate the two levels that integrate these folk dramas. Each session is integrated by a thematic process of extension proceeding from the presentation at the table during the prologue, of some of all of the spirit protectors who will preside for the evening. But there is also a second level of integration that serves to connect sessions/performances; some resolutions, such as that of developing mediumistic powers or those cures or problem solutions that are only partially successful because the spirit *causas* are not easily dismissed, may continue for years and they may also be included in the session performance.

DRAMATIC THEMES, CHARACTERS, AND STRUCTURE

To understand the complex structure of the Spiritist ritual drama the following interlocking units must be described: (1) the various groups of *dramatis personae* who, potentially, can be present at a particular session; (2) the range of themes which may characterize a particular session (their appearance may depend on which spirit protectors appear at the table or are expected to be present); and (3) the several levels of meaning that are symbolically handled at each session, expressed both nonverbally and verbally.

In regard to the first unit, the characters who play particular roles at a session, there are, as mentioned above, four major groups. Those most predictable are the roles of the president (sometimes also a vice-president) and the mediums who form the core group of cult members. The president's role is clear: he uses his powers to look into the spirit world, to protect those assembled from misguided spirits, and he instructs and cows the "bad" spirits (*causas*) brought to the table. He is the session's strong authority and always dominates and channels conflictual actions. The mediums (male or female but more frequently female) play subordinate roles in seeing events of the spirit world and instructing spirits according to their personal "development" but play a highly stereotyped role in transmitting the spirits, first the "protector" and second the *causas*. The role of medium depends on a stylized flexibility to take on other identities and vacate one's own identity.

The second group of characters, the clients, are highly variable; in terms of both actual social identity and the role they will play, they

provide an "input" element of mysterious expectation. Like the mediums they assume a posture subordinate to the spirits. Their dramatic roles are only stereotypical in the sense that they submit their personal social identities to the manipulative ritual process and become merely instances in a universal, ongoing struggle to overcome the effects of undesirable spirit presences.

The third group of characters is made up of the spirit protectors of each medium who may have one or twenty-five spirit protectors but usually, when fully "developed," will have a *cuadro* of five. (Additional protectors are often variations on the first five types.) Regular members of the cult group will know who these protectors are; therefore an additional element of surprise and expectation is introduced when the session opens, and the knowledge of the presences of various protecting spirits gradually unfolds.

The following description, translated from an informant's statements, of the group of protecting spirits of an average (e.g. not very "advanced" or "developed") medium may serve as a brief illustration:

1. The Indian. He is the principal spirit guide. He is a North American Indian, very large, with black long hair, dark skin, large eyes, crossed arms and a feather on his head, pointed downward.
2. The *Madama*. (She also appears as a doctor, or the doctor may appear in back of the *Madama*). She is black, with kinky hair, fat, and wears a head cloth.
The Doctor (f.) is Haitian, also fat with wide hips and a wide skirt. Her name is Madame Choli.
3. The Two Africans. They always come together. They are blacks, and slender. They have long skirts and carry spears.
4. The Priest. He is American, white-skinned, dressed as a priest carrying a bible, and wears glasses.
5. My Father. He is my guardian angel. He is black, tall, and always has his arms extended for an embrace.

This group includes some of the major character types most frequently encountered: a Plains Indian "chief-shaman," a West Indian obeah curer (the *madama*); a medical doctor from another society; African gods; a religious man from another society, and a deceased relative (most frequently mother, grandmother, or father). Other character types may include deceased famous men, usually Puerto Rican political figures but also others such as John F. Kennedy or Gandhi. Popular Catholic saints such as Santa Clara are also frequent types.

Each character type provides special services for the possessor such as prescribing a cure, diagnosing an illness, "seeing" events in the spirit world, transporting one's spirit to observe events in another place, advice on a particular personal problem, and so on.

The fourth group of spirit *causas* is the most variable in terms of their identities and expected actions. What *is* predictable is that they will

introduce disturbances into the quiet concentration of the session, rang-
ing from agitated action to extremely violent verbal and body expres-
sions. They are visualized by the president or a medium as being male or
female, tall or short, of a particular physical type, and dressed according
to their ethnic origin or occupation, and lacking feet. These spirits are
seen as attached to a client (usually behind) both physically and socially.
They may be, for example, associates or relatives from a previous incar-
nation; a spirit passed to a person by an ancestor or living relative; a spirit
simply following an individual through his various existences who is
making his or her presence known; a spirit sent by a living person to harm
another (*un hechizo*, or "spell"); or a spirit who, through ignorance of his
disincarnate state, has attached himself to a living body, mistakenly
identifying it as his own or that of someone familiar. The tone of their
voices, their vocabularies, movements, and style of speaking indicate
their spirit social status as relatively "advanced" or "backward" in con-
trast to the advanced "enlightened" (i.e. wise, knowledgeable, morally
perfected) spirit protectors. Thus the *causas* illustrate the lower rungs of
the spirit social hierarchy.

Looking at the four groups of characters in their totality as the basic
functional units of the cast of these ritual dramas the important aspects of
their characterizations are (1) a spirit-social-status hierarchy defined by
degree of knowledge and behavior related to important moral values; (2)
the extent to which "enlightenment" (*desarollo espiritual*) confers
authority and control over undesirable immoral behavior; and (3) the
extensive effort by "higher" spirits, both living and disincarnate to assist
in translating lower spirits and clients to "higher" levels of spiritual
development. The living groups of "higher" protagonists (i.e. the
mediums and the president) stand in the same social relation to each
other as do the spirit protectors to the spirit *causas*. Each "act" drama-
tizes an inversion of status, i.e. mediums become possessed by lower
spirits with the help and vigilance of their protectors; their own spirit,
which is "highly" developed, steps back to permit the vacated container
to be occupied by a lower spirit. For a time the lower spirit dominates the
scene by his unruliness and exaggerated actions and even the president
responds to him. Gradually, by arguing, cajoling, and/or demanding, the
president exhorts the spirit to understand the ways in which he behaves
undesirably and finally controls the action of the spirit. The spirit is then
"elevated" by knowledge and repentance, the client is "elevated" by
helping to "elevate" the spirit, and both the medium and the president
are "elevated" in their helping both the client and the spirit.

Figure 1 illustrates the positions of the major characters, their sequen-
tial interactions, and the inversions of status on both carnate and spiritual
levels that produce elevation of spiritual status for the participants, both
carnate and disincarnate. Spirits, clients, and adepts "advance" morally

Step 1

Step 2

Step 3
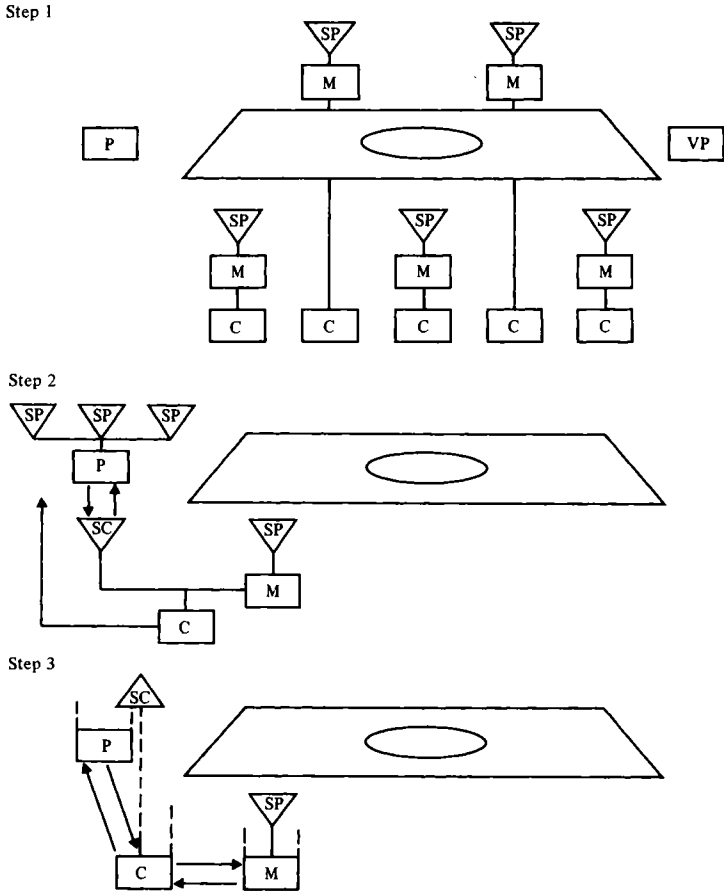
Key:
C: Client, SP: Spirit protector, ⇄: Dialogue, △: Ascent "output", P: President, VP: Vice President, M: Medium, SC: Spirit cause, ▽: Descent "input", □: Processing

Figure 1.   Sequence of positions of actors in the spiritist session

by conforming to ideal conduct in relation to other beings, both carnate and disincarnate. To achieve the ideal, several inversions take place that constitute the flow of action through the prologue and each of the "acts." In Step 1 of Figure 1 "high" spirits are called upon to descend to the level of "lower" (carnate) beings and they station themselves behind the adepts seated at the table. In Step 2 a lower spirit is called to enter an adept's body by the president and through their interaction the client is identified and brought to the table. In Step 3, as a result of the dialogue between the "low" spirit, the president and the client, the "low" spirit leaves the client (presumably "goes up" nearer to the universal spirit who is pure and "light"), and the client is freed to "progress" materially and spiritually, i.e. to enjoy a better life. Both the president and the medium

enjoy greater spiritual enlightenment through the altruistic and correct ("moral") use of their "powers."

The partly visible ritual space created at each session is an oblong stage infinitely extending upward, through which spirits descend and ascend. The lowest plane of this stage is material, i.e. the room with a white-robed table. Attachment to this material plane inhibits ascent into higher planes, but higher spirits will descend to the material plane of existence ("invert" their "high" spirit status) to enable others to ascend, and spiritually highly developed material beings will allow themselves to be displaced and brought into contact with "lower" spirits for the same goal.

Although adepts speak of "seeing" the spirits, clients who cannot interact directly with higher levels, will "feel" their presence. Both adepts and clients feel "lower" spirits as heat and heaviness, and "higher" ones as cool and weightless (sometimes as chills at the back of their necks). Visual descriptions usually include light colors and brilliance (white-robed spirits surrounded by halos of light and "auras" of light around the body images of highly developed mediums).[3]

Thus the president as choreographer is called upon to orchestrate visual, sensory, and mobile effects that occur during the "created vision" of a sky-reaching corridor reenacted at each session-performance. He keeps the action moving rapidly as the appearance of each new spirit *causa* overlaps that of the previous one. Should spirits fail to descend he "fills in" by reporting accessory "evidence" of events in the spirit world and offering didactic monologues. It must be emphasized, however, that his main task is to suggest and channel the "dramatic action." The "material" participants (mediums and sometimes clients) expand upon these suggestions in relation to their roles as more or as less active protagonists. The stage is "set" by the appearance of spirit guides whose identities seem to determine the general theme of each session. At some sessions however, their appearance is felt rather than announced during the prologue, and the first spirit *causa* seems to set the theme to be expanded upon. The mediums and the president behave as an acting team whose range of characterizations are already known and can be selected to work through a particular sequence of events.

Before describing themes and their arrangements in particular sessions the visual and other sensory effects of the "stage" should be further described. The positions of the actors, even on the lowest material plane (the floor of the *centro*), reflect their relative status; their later move-

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[3] Skin color of spirits does *not* conform to color/class and aesthetic ideas popular in Puerto Rican society where a premium is placed on "whiteness." Such values are "material" and are not "spiritually" relevant. Although hardly systematic there is some indication that an inversion process is also operative here. For example, African gods are often powerful protector spirits and children are considered "purer" and more elevated because they have not yet been contaminated by material preoccupations and vices.

ments reflect changes in status. The enlightened adepts sit around or close to the white cloth-covered table and near the fluid which is the bowl of water encapsulating the spirits; believers sit in rows behind the table. Those closest to it are the centers' most frequent participants. Many presidents insist that men and women sit on opposite sides of the room with the idea that separating the sexes is a purer, more moral condition, conducive to the presence of spirit protectors and harmony. The room is usually darkened when the spirits are summoned, and a single light or candle is lit near or on the table. Clients called to the table thus approach the "higher" planes and subsequently, when their spirit *causa* is removed, they are considered to have been "purified" by the "test" of suffering they have endured. The spirit presence is believed to have been attached to the spirit sack that surrounds them (i.e. the "perispirit") and taking off (*despojando*) the spirit consists of the adept's repetitively passing her hands over and around the body of the client and collecting the spirit presence which she deposits vigorously in the water. The alacrity and precision expressed in these movements would seem related to the fear of contagion with "low" spiritual development. The client, freed of the "weight" of the intrusive spirit presence, is then released to be elevated spiritually and the spirit *causa* is released to ascend further into heaven.

Compared to the visualized entrances and exits of the spirits the movements of clients and adepts are rather limited. They remain seated, tranquil, and quiet, pending the appearance of an *espiritu de causa* who manifests itself as a violent presence upon the medium rocking back and forth from the waist, arms rotating in wide parallel circles reaching from the table to above the bowing head. Sometimes, spirits become manifest with such force that the medium rises from her seat and may lose her balance to fall backwards upon the floor, breathing in great gasps and emitting half-muffled screams. The screams convey a feeling of wretchedness rather than terror since the spirit is believed to suffer the effects of being coerced to come "through" to the table. The intrusion of the disturbing spirit presence is even more marked when one observes the general feeling among participants who seem to greatly enjoy one of the few social contexts in which they can mediate and achieve an introspective solitude, in contrast to their exceedingly noisy, crowded, urban daily life. The undesirable spirit's presence at the session is parallel to a *causa*'s presence in one's life: they are intrusions into the relatively narrow limits of an individual's privacy and are believed to prevent the individual from carrying out his morally correct social obligations. The symbolic inversions in the ritual are highly dramatic attempts to come to terms with the intrusive spirit in order to eliminate its effect. For example, the medium solicits and then works to control the invasion of her body by an intrusive spirit precisely to thwart its intrusive effects on the center's client. Thus two sensate modes are juxtaposed and then manipulated; peace, relax-

ation, control of emotions, and meditative harmony alternate with chaotic disturbance, tortured breathing and movement, and lack of control over emotions.

DRAMATIC THEMES

Each session treats variations on a particular major theme related to a set of social problems and usually includes a minor theme as well. The sample session described in Table 1 is dissected for its thematic content in the sequence of acts that took place. The major theme was male-female social relations; the minor theme (in "acts" three and eight) was difficulty in achieving work goals. The content of the fourth act differs from both of these themes in that a client is not involved and the conflict is developed between the president and the spirit *causa*.

In the session described in Table 1 the powers of the protecting spirits were not announced, but it was implicit that they could work to resolve conflictual relations between the sexes in order to bring individuals into accord with social norms concerning marriage and to assist two of the male clients to achieve success in their jobs (with the implication that this also contributed to harmonious marital relations).

At other sessions the "powers" (functions) of the protecting spirits are explicit. For example, at one session, a medium was "opened" by a protector called "Sor Clara" (a nun) who later reentered her body to counsel a man undergoing a criminal proceeding in the courts. She assured him that he would not be judged guilty as he believed he would because she would "clarify" his thinking in order to know what to do to obtain a favorable verdict. At the same session, a spinster was attacked by the *causa* who declared his intention to "hang" her. After the spirit was stopped by the other mediums a protector appeared, announcing herself as the "Princess of Love" who assured her that with her blessing the *causa* (a husband from another existence preventing her from obtaining one in this existence) would leave and she would soon find a compatible man. The integrating theme of this session was obviously the desirability of hope and positive thinking in solving certain personal problems caused by lack of love and trust.

Still another major integrating theme in some sessions is a focus on the physical effects of the spirit *causa* as suffered by clients. In these performances the element of drama is heightened as the audience appears to identify with the body feelings of the clients called to the table, and only secondarily with their social plight. The physical effects of spirit *causas* are clearly symbolic equivalents of interpersonal relations and represent at least one level at which the symbolic structure of these ritual dramas exhibits polarization of meaning into sensory and ideological clusters as

Table 1.   Schematic description of themes in a session: male-female relations

Identity of spirit	Effects on client	Source of spirit	Resolution
1. One bringing degradation but asking for charity	a. Pain in bones and nails b. Marital friction (female client)	Not revealed	a. To be charitable to spirit (prayers on its behalf) b. *Despojos*
2. Arab from "far away" in Middle East seeking penitence peacefully	Mental chaos (client is a doctor)	Sent by client's wife (who is traveling)	a. Client able to preserve his "protection" and thwart bad effects b. *Despojos*
3. Came through business of the client and is a "tough" (*guapo*)	Headache (affecting forehead)	Client's business	a. Prayer to God to enlighten spirit b. *Despojos*
4. Not given but seems unaware of "low" spirit, disincarnate status	Particular client not indicated but potential disturbance to carnate beings	Potential "bad" acts but spirit denies this	Instruction by president and spirit's understanding
5. Not given	Conflict among and between spouses and their children	Not revealed	*Despojos* to spouses and children
6. A spirit who must "break" something and cause problems	A divisive force in the family (same clients as above)	Sent by "someone" to their home to "pick up" bad thoughts	*Despojos* and prayers to and by spouses
7. Spirit switching between old woman and her spouse, now with the woman	Friction between spouses	Sent by "someone" to cause problems	*Despojos*
8. Spirit blocking client's efforts to progress in his job	Client's (male) efforts to help situation useless; he is disturbed	Comes from client's work (implication is that spirit is sent by a competitor)	a. Prayer of pardon b. *Despojos*
9. Female spirit with spray of daisies (symbol of "illusion")	Client (young woman) not married and suffers from temper tantrums and loneliness	Spirit from another existence preventing client's finding a spouse	a. Spirit learns that it has confused the woman with someone from his existence b. *Despojos*
10. Young bachelor spirit	Causing client (young man) to be "lazy" and not marry	Spirit from another existence	a. Spirit now enlightened suffers from "heat" he has left behind and leaves to ascend b. *Despojos*

suggested by Turner (1967:27–47). The thematic content of this kind of session, at which somatic expressions of conflictual relations comprise an integrating theme, is described in Table 2. (This is the session whose text is partly reproduced earlier in this article.)

I will examine only one of these "acts" in order to describe how the major theme is comprised of distinct symbolic elements that mediums and president "compose" in order to achieve a personal transformation in the client (and also reverberations of this transformation in other client-participants). The ritual process that the drama seeks to achieve is often referred to by Spiritists as "healing" (*sanación*) with the connotation of "recovering" a "healthful" (*saludable*) condition. Illness in the sense of organic malfunction is not always indicated since *causas* may be physical, mental, or spiritual. The major goal is to eliminate the distressed condition that is interfering with the individual's social adjustment. In the first act shown in Table 2, the package of disturbances includes the head, stomach, and vaginal regions of the body as well as a failure in general functioning. While the symptoms might well refer to a poignant menopausal episode they are symbolic expressions of the client's general inability to perform socially. As will be more systematically detailed elsewhere, the "body" is one of a class of dominant symbols in the Spiritist ritual process and its regions are symbolic at a less inclusive level of meaning[4] (cf. Turner 1967:30–32). Therefore, one of the meanings of the episode is obvious: an older male spirit is disturbing an older woman by energizing her sexual desires which results in pain, and by disturbing normal daily social intercourse and the pleasure thereby derived (social relations and satisfactions involved with eating). He has his "fluids" upon her (a major "instrumental" symbol) and by using them he invades the symbol of her contained individuality as a social person — her body. The penetration of her particular life-space (her body and perispirit) prevents her from using her life-force in "correct" social relations. This spirit's relationship to her is *sine qua non*. It is an "incorrect" relationship since he is unbidden; it is causing thoughts to be chaotic rather than offering logical, practical advice. It is affecting the sex region which should be dormant at this period in her life, and robbing her of satisfactory self-feelings rather than providing them.

These examples illustrate only a portion of the themes and "compositions" of meanings that are continually and spontaneously created by teams of ritual participants at every session. The belief behind the emergence of the spirit-carnate world reenacted at each session is that everyone present shares in bringing about the collective "vision" of the

[4] Turner defines "dominant" symbols as "relatively fixed points in both social and cultural structures," "ends in themselves as representative of the axiomatic values of the widest Ndembu society" (1967:31–32). In contrast, "instrumental" symbols can only be appreciated in terms of the ritual context in which they appear. They are subordinated as ends to the specific goals of the ritual.

Table 2.   Schematic description of themes in a session: somatic expressions of inter-personal conflict

Identity of spirit	Effects on client	Source of spirit	Resolution
1. Male, tall, white, gray-haired	a. Spirit follows and grabs client (woman) and "obsesses" her, leaving her confused and dazed b. Insides filled with air and stomach swollen c. Sharp pain in vaginal region d. General weakness in her body e. Spirit's fluids are "on" client f. Client suffers lack of self-confidence	Spirit of another existence that inhabits her bedroom	a. *Despojos* b. Light three candles and recite prayers of forgiveness for three days in some place other than her bedroom
2. Two spirits	a. Desire of client to run away b. Ill temper of client c. Ill temper of client's wife d. Conflict between spouses e. Thought confusion f. Feeling of being throttled	Bad thoughts	a. *Despojos* b. Prediction of bright future if he will "make himself strong" c. Develops his spirit *cuadro* d. Prayer for forgiveness recited with client's hands at medium's temples
3. Not identified	a. Pains in stomach b. "Hard" stomach	Not given but implied that a *causa* on the mother is affecting the child	a. Teas b. Cross on child's stomach and forehead – *"santiguar"*
4. Not identified	a. Client (female) feels spirit fluids b. Feels that spirit will "take her mind" and her organs	Implied that it is a protector	a. Let it take possession when client is seated near table
5. Female, old spirit of "much light" with long hair and cream-colored dress	a. Spirit puts assuring arm around client b. Warns client of impending danger by implanting thoughts c. Feels fluid d. Wants to take client's mind e. Shivering sensations	Protector spirit seeking to come through	a. Recite prayers: "The good road" and "The souls that suffer"

appearances of incarnate spirits. Those actually producing the verbal and visual parts of an act are the president and one of the mediums who collaborate with "evidence" and "calling" the spirit *causa* to appear at the table. Other mediums may also contribute to an act by volunteering evidence, and if more than one spirit *causa* is diagnosed two mediums may cooperate by each calling one of the spirits. Moreover, clients frequently enrich the variations on a particular theme by denying rather than affirming the evidence presented to them by the president which then forces him and/or the mediums to seek further evidence, thereby rephrasing the plot of the narrative.

Clearly, a number of participants collaborate in the collective creative tasks posed by the ritual process in Spiritism, The psychodynamic effects of the ritual process, i.e. reduction of anxiety, catharsis, the canalization of antisocial impulses, etc., may depend as much upon the psychological effects of "creating" as upon the major therapeutic strategies in Spiritist ritual curing.

CONDITION FOR CREATIVITY AND GROUP CREATIVE PROCESS IN SPIRITIST RITUAL DRAMAS

Having briefly described these folk dramas I wish to consider the central thesis of this discussion: that these cult ritual performances provide a creative forum for individuals who lack other outlets for expressive activity in a developing modern society in which mass production of entertainment media and material possessions is replacing a somewhat devaluated folk tradition of popular poetry and music, and visual art forms.[5] Even though authors were lamenting the loss of popular verbal art forms (as opposed to elitist- and artist-produced forms) as early as 1950 (Canino Salgado 1968:26), since that time there has been a conscious attempt to preserve and revitalize popular folk oral literature. In the last twenty years both the government-sponsored Institute of Culture and artists and other individuals favoring political independence and the recognition of a uniquely Puerto Rican culture have produced valuable books and records (cf. Homar and Tufiño [1955] as only one example, beautifully combining graphics, verse, and music). Despite these laudable efforts it would appear that folk artistic expressions have not regained wide popularity due to atrophy and change in the ritual contexts of which they were an integrated part.[6]

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[5]   This and the following remarks, which attempt to capture the situation for "Puerto Rico," follow mainly from observations made in urban San Juan and do not purport to describe the state of folk traditions in small towns and *barrios* in the island.

[6]   Visual art forms have been more "successful" in so far as they have been translated and reworked in graphics media and recently are stimulating a protest art. Protest songs also include tradition-derived elements and may well be the main forms in which verbal folk arts survive. One can still hear *decimas, aguinaldos, adivinanzas,* etc., at both private and public gatherings, but they appear to be less popular each year.

Although the above is but a superficial overview of the state of popular oral literature in the urban context it is my opinion that the Spiritist ritual dramas provide an almost unique opportunity for ordinary individuals to creatively express and manipulate their numinous thoughts as a contribution to a special problem-solving process. An indirect proof of the thesis is found in the accounts by individuals who began producing art subsequent to their involvement in cult activities. A famous case is reported by Bram (1958) of an established lawyer who began painting after his eldest son's spirit admonished him to end his grieving by carrying on his (the spirit's) unfinished life task, that of painting. Although the father had never before painted he was able to immediately produce reasonably sophisticated works, some depicting spirit protectors. (My opinion is based on two of his paintings displayed at a center in Mayaguez.) Two of my recent informants related their art products to their spiritual development. In the case of a young mother whose life goal is to be an artist, but who finds difficulty in achieving the "tranquility" necessary to her work, inspiration comes as visions of spirit beings. She recounted that when the pictures (see Plates 1–3, originally painted in color) were in process she felt that she was "lending" her body to "someone" to carry out their execution. Plates 1 and 2 are of Indian "teachers" (spirit protectors); the third reproduces a painting of Christ and one of her son with an "aura." The
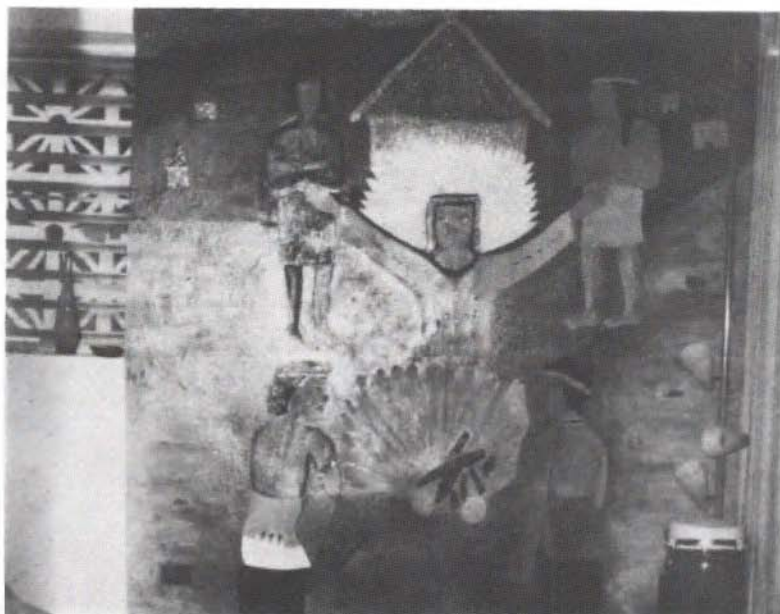
Plate 1.   Painting of an Indian "teacher" by Spiritist artist

Plate 2. Painting of an Indian "teacher" by Spiritist artist

Plate 3. Painting of Christ and artist's son with an "aura"

first is a mural painted on her living room wall which has provided premonitions of accidents that later transpired.

In Spiritist terms this artist has achieved a material expression of her "protection" which for others is expressed only as auditory or verbal "evidence." The psychodynamics of such artistic creation has yet to be explored but the similarities between the so-called "regressive or altered states of consciousness" involved in trance (cf. Kiev 1972:30) and the psychoanalytic notion that the artist wills a regressive state to permit the expression of "preconscious thinking" are interesting (Fried 1964:8). My informant's report of meditating on the spirit world to achieve the tranquility she requires to produce a painting and the generalized Spiritist notion that one's own spirit steps aside to permit the descent into one's body of a "protector" spirit are directly parallel to the following description of creative process by a poet, Melville Cane.

One cannot create, since one is not in a state of receptivity, if one's libido . . . is already involved elsewhere. One must rid oneself of involvements both internal and external (1953:9). . . . I don't try to think and I don't try not to think. I do, however, try to make myself comfortable and free from bodily strains. After a while I become gradually relaxed. Relaxation in turn invites a state of passivity, the desired condition of receptivity. The deeper the passivity the closer one draws to the unconscious (1953:11).

In psychoanalytically oriented study cited above, the author suggests that while regression is taking place "the ego (of the artist) is standing on the sidelines, observant and receptive to the processes that stream from the intuitive part of the personality, the id" (Fried 1964:8). It is apparent that Spiritists are describing the same feeling process that occurs with ritual possession trance, which, I suggest, is a culturally institutionalized precondition for creative thinking within a group setting.

It is both curious and interesting to observe that a state of trance is perhaps necessary to achieve a feeling of personal separation and integrity in an individual in order for him to explore and utilize his imaginative resources. Moreover, that the desirable trance state is most often produced within *group* setting — especially among novice mediums. At the risk of seeming speculative, the explanation may be that Puerto Rican culture poses a paradox in terms of implementing satisfaction in achieving two important values, that of the respect for "individuality" on the one hand, and that of harmony and extensive blending into small groups, particularly the family, on the other hand. By "individuality" I refer here to the premise of uniqueness and integrity of each individual (cf. Wells 1969:24) considered as an innate difference in every person. The difficulty arises through the overpowering demands the extended kin circle makes upon the individual and the apparently equally overpowering dependence of the person upon his relatives. Whether the origin of these

demands and needs is external or internal to the individual the same result obtains: he is often prevented from expressing and augmenting his sense of uniqueness so as to detract from his feelings of self-worth. The Spiritist ritual provides an occasion for the expression of uniqueness and integrity drawing upon his past history — even to previous existences — and emphasizing all kinds of idiosyncratic personal variations.

Therefore, the role of the trance state, in enhancing or perhaps even permitting the mobilization of the creative process in some individuals, is better appreciated. Fried (1964:5) says that "the true artist is in touch both with that in himself that is unique and with the outside world. His uniqueness is employed and expressed in a manner that heightens other persons' capacity for experience and even functioning, though often after much delay." When the aspect of a capacity for multiple identifications is added (1964:78), the Spiritist ritual process can develop a highly "advanced" medium skilled in the technique of exploring experiences in the spirit world and relating them to "material" social problems. From the perspective of the development of those personal characteristics that underlie creative activity the process of acquiring mediumistic "powers" seems parallel to that of developing the capability for artistic productivity. The "developing" medium exploits and enhances his introspective and intuitive psychic functioning in an effort at exploring his own unique "spiritual" being and then channels this knowledge and ability into a healing-counseling role serving other people's experiences. Like the artist, the medium's interior life is projected onto an expressive medium, in this case a ritual "psychodrama" (cf. Seda Bonilla 1964; Garrison 1968).

In the study referred to above, which deals with artistic productivity and mental health (Fried 1964), the investigator concludes that artists undergoing analytic psychotherapy were more creative when the rigidity of their defensive mechanisms was reduced. Although studies of the efficacy of Spiritist therapy regarding persons suffering from obsessive-compulsive disorders (or diagnoses of mediums as "obsessives") have not been made, in a general way the process of becoming a medium appears to break down defense mechanisms that inhibit the communication of symptoms and deep feeling states as well as those that prevent the expression of anger. As I have noted elsewhere (1970, 1972a) the medium in trance and the possessed individual are free from the negative sanctions accorded antisocial behavior expressed under other circumstances. Moreover, this behavior may be expressed in the special symbolic language of the ritual that is not appreciated as a direct threat to personal or social well-being.

The above approach to creativity, as it relates to personality functioning, is meant only to be suggestive and requires systematic investigation. At this point a more fruitful line of inquiry might be to consider the ways in which the ritual context satisfies the requirements for some basic

conditions of creativity. In an article on the production of Tiwi burial poles — which is accomplished as a group effort although carvers work on individual poles — I listed and described six general conditions that affect creativity, drawing upon discussions of the creative process (Goodale and Koss 1967:185–187). In the following I will suggest how each of these conditions are satisfied in the Spiritist ritual setting. (These are fully described in the Appendix.)

In regard to the first condition, a deep involvement in the production tempered by partial detachment from it in order to maintain a critical attitude toward it, is systematically met in the ritual drama in the following ways:

1. The president, and often the mediums (when not in trance), regulate the reports of the visionary experiences presented at the table. Those that do not fit into the thematic pattern or do not conform to what I have, in passing, implied are stylistic norms for the performance, are "corrected" by visionary evidence "seen" by the president. If, for example, a spirit manifests itself in an extremely bizarre or violent fashion not approved of by the leading adepts of the center, the president will point out the "error" of this spirit's appearance, or, as in the case of the spirit who said when he came through that he was not molesting anyone, the president assured him that he *must be* since that was his spiritual nature. In the latter occurrence the president used the opportunity to didactically expand upon the idea that such spirits must be made to *understand* their own nature as wrongdoers and work for "love and charity." Novices or believers in the audience who are not yet accepted to "work" at the table, but who become possessed, are taken aside either to be calmed so that the spirit does not come through or to be encouraged to permit the spirit appearance under the direction of the president.

2. The trance state guarantees a "deep involvement" on the part of the active cult adepts, but the very nature of this state affords a kind of "twilight" consciousness; that is, the person in trance (as expressed by Spiritists) can often observe his actions though not control them (cf. Goodale and Koss 1967). The extent of dissociation of the experiencing ego depends of course on the depth of the trance state. However, if trance is conceived as a special reality orientation induced through an extreme concentration of attention on a narrow perceptual field causing the rest of "reality" to recede into an irrelevant backdrop to which the entranced individual need not respond, the paradox of "involvement and detachment" is an excellent metaphoric model to describe what is happening to the experienced medium (who has acquired "control" over his visions and over his ability to respond to the themes pertinent to clients and to the pattern of the ritual performance).

3. There is an obvious effort made to totally involve all of the session participants in this collective visionary experience by physically and

mentally separating them from the mundane world. The physical separation is achieved by utilizing various "staging" effects such as darkening the room, insisting on total silence, etc. However, even though one experiences a certain abandonment of ordinary feelings in such a setting, there is the ever-present monitoring effect of the frequently repeated moral reminders provided by the president's dialogues with the spirit *causas* and by the repetitive recitation of standard prayers. Thus emotional abandonment is rarely permitted to go beyond what are considered reasonable limits in a particular center, and the participant always maintains some detachment from the illusionary world he is helping to create since he is continuously forced to evaluate it.

Although other aspects of the ritual process contribute to bringing about this condition it may be sufficient to observe that the very nature of the social relationships structured by the Spiritist healing ritual, most especially the control and "authority" exercised by the president and by the protector spirits and countered by the dependence upon them by other session participants, operate to channel and to direct the performance into particular stylistic modes of both behavior and symbolic expression.

The third condition (as listed in the Appendix), that of a "take-over" phenomenon once the performance has begun to take shape so that direction of completion appears to assume an independent existence, is principally satisfied through what I have referred to as the "surprise" inputs, mainly the self-selected spirit protectors, and the supposedly fortuitously selected spirit *causas*. My hypothesis (which has only been partly demonstrated) is that an initial thematic format is created when the first protector spirits come to the table. The subsequent expansion of particular themes follows from aspects of their identities, such as their sex, function ("power"), and affinity for a particular personal problem. Following this general pattern, dominant symbols are manipulated and augmented by symbols instrumental to each act according to the diagnosis and resolution of the problems of clients called to the table. The principal dominant symbols such as white/black, light/darkness, fluid/corporeal, clean/dirty, chills/heat, above/below, undeveloped/developed — which are mentioned in the descriptions of the ritual content of sessions but not systematically presented here — comprise a framework for symbols that are less inclusive in regard to the meanings they denote. For example, in the first act of the session described in Table 2 in which a tall, male spirit has inflicted a number of disturbing bodily effects upon a woman, the dominant symbolic opposition of corporeal/fluid is spun out to include body weakness/body strength, sexual pain/sexual pleasure, mental confusion/rationality, and invasion (of one's body)/privacy. In addition, there are a number of specific symbols, such as "air" in the abdomen and the "gray hair" of the

spirit *causa*, that embellish the symbolic oppositions instrumental to the healing process. In this case the "gray hair" classifies the spirit *causa* as an older being, shrewd in manipulating others but immoral in relating to the client in an erotic way. It would appear then, that once a thematic direction is established, those adepts contributing to the collective vision follow through with it, and even the "corrective" statements of the president, as he corroborates or changes the "evidence" of spirit events, carry the theme to completion by resolving the various aspects of the disturbances that the client is experiencing. In other words, the prescriptions or proscriptions involved in the "cures" (i.e. the final episodes of each act) are not fortuitously selected by the president and/or the mediums but follow from the requirements of the thematic development that has preceded them.

One of the most important conditions that affect creativity would seem to be a paradoxical combination of "passion and decorum" in the artist as he proceeds with his work. The point is that impulses must be given free range of expression but then shaped into patterns that meet the formal requirements of the expressive form. There is little doubt that the Spiritist ritual allows the adepts to express all sorts of passionate impulses and the clients to feel them and, at least internally through their personal visions, experience free-flowing emotion. It is precisely here that aesthetic considerations serve the important goals of these ritual sessions, since quite bizarre personal ideas are always sifted through the group creative process. The president and leading adepts act constantly as monitors in rephrasing impulsive outbursts, by calming the violently possessed and drawing upon "chapter and verse" from Kardec and other Spiritist authors to pattern reports of experiences with spirits.

In both formal and informal training of mediums there is the frequent injunction that one's own personal problems must be put aside before attempting to work at the table. The "developed" medium is supposed to be able to control and combat personal troubles with his "protection," thus the protector spirits symbolize psychodynamic solutions to personal maladjustments. These "characters," as described and acted out, are literal models of decorum for human behavior, exhibiting the most desirable moral virtues. The "characters" of the spirit *causas* also meet formal requirements; they represent the obverse of the protectors in being immoral but invariably learn some virtue through the lesson received while temporarily materialized during the session.

In addition, particular taboos are observed with rigor. For example, references to sexual relations are handled either euphemistically or symbolically, vulgarities are limited to relatively mild expressions, and blasphemies almost never occur. Even "accidental" failures of decorum in behavior are quickly remedied, as for example when a woman's dress flies up as she falls backward in a violent possession, and other women quickly

rearrange her clothes. Touching others, even when possessed, is always controlled so as to preserve the important value placed on both physical and spiritual integrity; most often the movements of the hands exorcising the spirit *causa* merely describe the body (following the contours of the aura and the perispirit), rather than handle it. One president I have observed reverses some of these taboos but the stylistic pattern still falls within certain limits.

In the realm of ideas, both directly and symbolically expressed, a level of both generality and elegance is reached as a potpourri of personal complaints becomes subtly shaped into patterns of conflict in primary human relationships, and are then described as mere instances in an infinite universal struggle to overcome evil, ignorance, and adversity. Sexual desire may be likened to a rose unfolding its petals; the quest for love expressed as a wreath of daisies that has an illusionary, temporary quality; and a meditative flight into the beyond of the spirit world as going up into the opening of a continually parting curtain. I have heard evil thoughts expressed as something stinking and rotting within the body cavity or as bad air circulating around the organs, In sum, there is ample opportunity for both profound and creative self-related expression of impulses and ideas, but such expression rarely exceeds stylistic limits to the extent that it even remotely resembles psychotic verbal productions.

Certainly the ritual session strives to satisfy the sixth condition, that of providing a period of contemplation and inspiration prior to the enactment of the drama. Even upon entering the center — which may be only the living room of a small home with little more than the table, its cloth, and a receptacle of water to distinguish it as a spiritual arena — an attitude of quietude falls upon the participants and they converse in hushed tones. Although prologues vary to some extent, each president opens the session with a liturgy and then exhorts all present to relax and concentrate their powers on bringing the spirits. Some presidents encourage clients to recall dreams or thoughts of spirits in recent days or lead the recitation of prayers that ask for contact and communication with the Universal Spirit, and with the "high," advanced spirits. Such prayers speak of the mandate and "gift" given to the mediums and of the high ideals they seek to fulfill.

The condition of juxtaposition in the creative act, the arhythmic alternation of an immediacy of fulfillment and a period of slowdown or incubation once the initial impetus is spent, is typical of most session-productions. The reason given by the center's adepts is that sometimes the spirits do not come because the collective force of the participants in calling them is not sufficiently strong. Some clients may have brought "bad thoughts" to the center, may not be concentrating, or may be "shutting themselves up" and preventing the flow of spirit fluids. Often a few spirits will manifest in such a hurry that their appearances overlap and

then there will be a long wait before another manifests. The interlude is filled with repetitive prayers, or "sermons," conducted by the president and quite often the mediums, or even a client, who will report "evidence" of events they have "seen" in the spirit world. It would appear that these interludes are periods of assessment of the thematic direction the drama is taking, including an opportunity for the mediums to "see" into the relevant aspects of the lives of the clients seated in front of them.

Certainly the fifth, and perhaps the most important condition of creativity, that of a "rich, internal cast of characters" (Bruner 1963:16–17), is satisfied in these ritual dramas. Some are obviously directly related to the actual and ideal identity of the mediums and other "fantasied" figures of an exotic nature who serve to connect the actor to foreign worlds and future and past existences. The symbols and psychodynamics of these characterizations will be analyzed elsewhere, but it is fascinating to observe how, even in a modern society, such characterizations are much more deeply relevant to the individual's emotional life than the fictional characters of films and novels. The "protectors" are obviously direct expressions of aspects of the medium's personal and social identifications. That they are believed to be continuous through infinite existences immediately catapults the ritual drama into another time and space plane within which Spiritists can behave as they wish. I think that it is wrong to analyze the phenomenon of possession trance as primarily an expression of identity conflict (cf. Wallace 1966). Although this may certainly be the case for some mediums it would seem that possession trance is an excellent theatrical technique that permits staging with very few props, an economy of actors to present multiepisodical narratives, and a generalized frame within which flights of fantasy can have wide range without too much interference with beliefs about the limits of cultural reality.

SUMMARY

I have presented some very general propositions about the complementarity of artistic expression and instrumental goals in rituals performed by small cult groups with a minimum of ritual paraphernalia. Rituals also would seem to be important for the aesthetic goals they satisfy; Spiritist rituals as described above are fascinating expressive media for both observers and participants. Beyond the more directly satisfying goal of entertainment, ritual dramas satisfy an important need for a creative forum in which ordinary people can express their ideas about their internal lives and about the order of the cosmos within which they feel, think, and move. I have described the Spiritist sessions as dramas giving only secondary consideration to their primary function as healing, divin-

ing, and value-intensifying rites. My purpose has been to emphasize, first, the complementary dimensions of the individual's desire to create through manipulating ideas and symbols that permit self-expression in response to an immediate audience; and, second, the ways in which social process in small groups can provide a viable context for creativity. Because our current cultural attitudes maintain that artists produce their visual or verbal expressions in solitude, we often overlook the numerous historical and contemporary cases in both our culture and others in which artistic process takes place within a prestructured group setting. This cultural bias may even be so strong as to have militated against the widespread diffusion of creative activity under social conditions in which solitude and self-imposed isolation are increasingly more difficult to achieve.

APPENDIX

We suggest six sets of conditions that affect creativity, conditions generally recognized as paradoxical in nature by writers on the subject.

1. As an initial condition the creator must divorce himself from the mundane and the usual and maintain a deep commitment to his chosen work. Although the artist's state of immersion deepens as the work develops and his attention is concentrated on the task at hand, there must also develop a desire and need for partial detachment from the product of creation so that a critical attitude is part of the ongoing experience.

2. There is a paradox in the second set of conditions, those involving "passion and decorum" (Bruner 1963:12–13). The artist must allow his impulses free range of expression through his work, interest growing as he proceeds. But these impulses must take on formal qualities and arrangements that are congenial to preconceived images carried by both artist and audience. Symbolic currency must be subtly manipulated and care and attention lavished on techniques, tools, and materials, as these are crucial to accomplishing the formal outcome.

3. When he begins his work the artist appears to guide its development in a thoroughly conscious way manipulating and planning its components to conform to a predetermined image or idea. However, at some point in the work scheme the form and arrangement of the work seem to develop their own requirements; the work appears to "take over" the role of formulating subsequent additions and substitutions and thereby determines its own direction toward completion. It follows from this condition that the artist must be relatively free to judge, critically, his effort at creating — at least during the initial stages of production prior to and during the "take-over" phenomenon. There is some indication, however, that after the work of art assumes a quasi-independent existence, evaluation by both artist and critic is of much less importance to the final stages of creation.

4. The creative act seems to demand an immediacy of fulfillment, lest, it would seem, the initial impetus be dissipated before the expression is cast in external form. However, a period of quietude — frequently referred to in the literature as a "period of incubation" — appears to be necessary to the creative act so that too-early completion can be avoided and first statements matched to the original

image. The slowdown of artistic activity is important if we consider the artist's ability (or perhaps need) to play with elements of design, color, and composition. This play may produce almost bizarre effects, at least initially, and these must be corrected in order to actualize or improve upon the original image. The incubation period may well be the period of selective correction leading to the retention or accentuation of new and surprisingly pleasant effects and the cancellation of the bizarre and unacceptable.

5. Bruner (1963:17–19) lists as one of the conditions of creativity the externalization of a rich internal cast of characters, idealized figures that are representations of the identifications of the artist and mythological and fantasied figures with whom there is special identification. The expression of these figures (or aspects of them in opposition or combination) provides grist for the artist's mill and a main source of inspiration. But it is also true that the expression of the "internal cast" would seem to have as its condition a climate of approval of the artist's endeavors — prior to the beginning of a particular work. Before the internal cast is exposed to criticism there must be some tacit acceptance of the artist as artist. This climate of approval should include the attitude that the artist is at least partially free to receive and juggle those ideas he finds most congenial to his work at any given time.

6. We might also include as a condition of creativity, a period of contemplation and inspiration prior to the enactment of the artistic act. Although this condition is most difficult to pin down, it is possible to consider certain activities prescribed as procedural "oughts" by a particular culture such as a method for choosing materials or discussion with patrons. But a consideration of these activities can only account for the complicated wellsprings of inspiration in a limited way; obviously an explication of inspiration requires a study of the modes of expression of the individual artist and their relation to his conceptual system.

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Images of the White Man in Nineteenth-Century Plains Indian Art

JOHN C. EWERS

In the year 1834 or shortly thereafter, the Reverend Samuel Pond, a missionary to the Eastern Dakota Indians in Minnesota, accompanied Chief Eagle Head and the latter's son on a visit to a neighboring Indian village. Finding no one at home, the Dakota chief quickly took a piece of charcoal and sketched on a board the figure of a man with the head of an eagle. Beside the figure he drew a bare-headed man and another one wearing a hat. Pond observed that "this was done in a minute, for no pains were taken to draw correct likenesses." Even so, the message was clear. Eagle Head had called, in company with another Indian and a white man (Pond 1908:394).

Far to the west, Father Nicolas Point, pioneer missionary to the Flathead, Coeur d'Alene, and Blackfoot tribes near the Rocky Mountains, obtained a pictographic record on paper which he identified only as a "Lettre indienne conte en 1824." It depicts an Indian visit to a trading post, in which the birdlike rendering of the head and arms of the Indian probably identified him by name, while the two white traders are depicted as faceless stick figures wearing hats (Point 1967:115, color plate).

The Teton Dakota (Western Sioux) of the Upper Missouri kept ingenious pictorial calendars, known as "winter counts," in which a single pictograph portrayed a memorable event of a year. Many of these winter counts covered a long span of years, beginning before 1800 and extending well into the reservation period. In Figure 1 six entries from various Teton Dakota winter counts are shown in which white men are pictured. All are copied from Garrick Mallery's classic study (1893:313, 653, 568, 553, 283).

Figures 1a, 1b, and 1c are of particular interest because they show how the same historical event was pictured in three different winter counts,
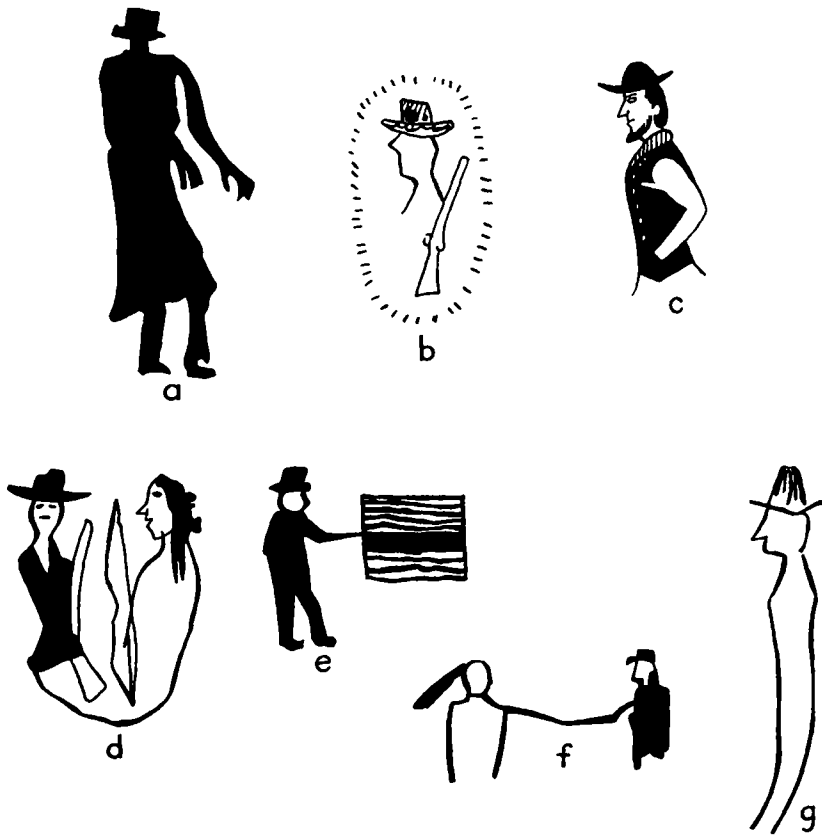
Figure 1. a–f: Pictographic representations of white men fom Teton Dakota winter counts. g: Tall White Man's pictographic name symbol from the pictoral census of Red Cloud's Oglala in 1884. (All after Mallery [1893])

those of Battiste Good, American Horse, and Cloud Shield. All commemorate the appearance of the first white trader among the Teton on the Missouri at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The white man's recorded history informs us that he was Régis Loisel, a Frenchman from St. Louis, who established the first trading post among the Teton on Cedar Island in the Missouri between 1800 and 1802. He was remembered by the Teton as The Good White Man, but he was pictured differently in each of the three winter counts.

Battiste Good showed him as a full-length, scarecrow-like, willowy figure with hands extended, fingers down, in the Indian gesture for "good." American Horse pictured him only from the neck up, with a gun below him, and a surrounding circle of dashes representing the Indians to whom he traded firearms. Cloud Shield rendered him from the waist up with detailed facial features, hair, beard, and body clothing. Yet there is

one common feature in these three Indian drawings of that pioneer trader. All of them portray The Good White Man wearing a hat.

Figure 1d reproduces the pictograph for the year 1823–1824 in Cloud Shield's winter count. It was in 1823 that the United States undertook its first military campaign against a tribe of Plains Indians — the Arikara. The Arikara were traditional enemies of the Teton, and some Teton warriors joined Colonel Leavenworth in his expedition against the Arikara villages. After reaching those villages Leavenworth became reluctant to attack them in force. While he hesitated overnight, the Arikara escaped from their palisaded villages under cover of darkness, and much to the disgust of the Teton, who wanted to fight.

A fur trader, Edwin T. Denig, who knew the Teton well during the 1830's, observed that Leavenworth's inaction before the Arikara villages had left the Teton with an impression that white soldiers were lacking in courage (Denig 1961:54–57). Nevertheless, the pictograph shows the Indian (Teton) and white soldier joined as allies, as they were in that campaign. Doubtless this pictograph was drawn several decades after the event, for the soldier's broad-brimmed hat resembles the campaign hat of later years rather than the regulation infantry headgear of 1823.

Figure 1e is from Lone Dog's Winter Count. It commemorates the year 1853–1854 as the one in which woven blankets from the Southwest first were brought to the Teton by white traders. Notice that the trader holding a striped blanket wears a hat.

The symbol for the year 1855–1856, shown in Figure 1f, records the peace negotiated by General William Harney with a number of the Teton and other Dakota tribes at Fort Pierre on March 1, 1856, following nearly three years of hostility between some of those Indians and whites precipitated by Lieutenant John L. Grattan's suicidal attack on Conquering Bear's Brule village east of Fort Laramie on August 19, 1853. The general is pictured wearing a visored military cap.

Figure 1g is not from a winter count but from the pictorial census of Red Cloud's Oglala taken in 1884, in which each of that chief's followers was identified by a pictographic symbol illustrative of his name. This Indian's name was Tall White Man. The very thin, elongated body accentuates his height, while the strongly emphasized hat graphically conveys the idea "white man" (Mallery 1893:601).

In the simple but expressive gesture language of the Plains Indians the white man was identified by the same cultural trait — the fact that he wore a hat. The sign talker drew his right hand, palm down, across his forehead a little above the eyebrows. This sign emphasized the brimmed or visored character of the white man's headgear (Mallery 1881:469; Clark 1885:402–403).

It is not surprising then that in their carvings of human heads or human figures Plains Indian sculptors relied upon a conventionalized represen-

tation of a hat to identify their three-dimensional portrayals of white men. A number of carvings of white men in stone, horn, or wood are preserved in museum collections in the United States and abroad. All are in miniature, and a majority of them depict only the white man's head. In most examples the hat brim is simply indicated as a three-dimensional, horizontal ring extending outward from the man's head above his eyes and ears. Less commonly the hat was shown as an expanded circular section extending to the top of the head.

An example of the former treatment is illustrated in Plate 1. This is an effigy pipe found at the site of a Pawnee village in eastern Nebraska which was known to have been occupied during the decade of 1850. The pipe, in the collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society, is of soft stone, possibly sandstone, which has lost its original surface finishing during years of weathering in the ground. Nevertheless, it may be recognized as a clever caricature of a white man's head, with brimmed hat, mouth opened to receive the pipestem, and cheeks distended as if the man might be blowing smoke through the stem.

Plate 2 shows a less common rendering of the hat in the carving of a white man's head at the end of the handle on a buffalo horn spoon. This

Plate 1.   Soft-stone pipe in the form of a white man's head. Pawnee; period of 1850's. (Reprinted by permission of the Nebraska State Historical Society)
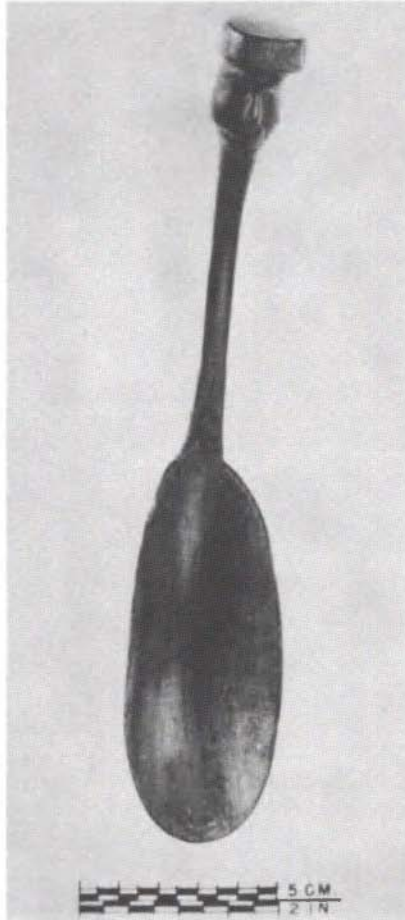
Plate 2. Buffalo horn spoon with carving of a white man's head on the handle. Teton Dakota; late 1800's. (Reprinted by permission of the Smithsonian Institution)

spoon was received by the Smithsonian Insitution in 1894, but may have been carved a decade or two earlier by a Dakota Indian sculptor. The eyes, nose, mouth, and rounded cheeks are defined, even though the entire face measures less than three centimeters in height. The hat is emphasized as an expanded, flat-topped circular mass at the extreme end of the handle.

Plate 3 pictures an effigy pipe of catlinite (red clay-stone) from the Teton Dakota of Standing Rock Reservation, which is in the collections of the Milwaukee Public Museum. The Indian sculptor very cleverly adapted a seated human figure to the basic form of a pipe. The figure faces the smoker. Its head and body form the upright bowl section and its

Plate 3.   Catlinite pipe in the form of a seated white man. Teton Dakota; late nineteenth century. (Reprinted by permission of the Milwaukee Public Museum)

legs the shank. Though its bodily proportions are distorted and its planes are considerably stylized, the figure is nevertheless very appealing. No clothing is indicated, but the ring around the head above the eyes and ears clearly identifies the subject as a white man rather than an Indian. I judge that this carving may date from the second half, possibly the last quarter, of the nineteenth century. In any case, it is unique in the museum collections of Plains Indian carvings I have studied.

I have presented examples which illustrate that in both the graphic and sculptured arts of the Plains Indians the white man was distinguished from the Indian as a hat wearer. But surely, the nineteenth-century Plains Indians knew of other ways to identify the white man.

There is evidence from a number of sources that during the early years of contact with white men the Plains Indians viewed the newcomers with awe and veneration. They regarded the guns and the other weapons and tools of iron which white men introduced among them as "medicine." They believed the white men who introduced those useful objects and who knew how to make and to use them to be the possessors of super-

natural powers. This Indian attitude towards whites was sustained, if not enhanced, as the Indians learned of more of the white man's strange technological inventions and his skill in using them — surveying instruments and timepieces, writings on paper, making fire with burning glasses, traveling by water in huge fireboats propelled by steam, and so on.

The early tendency of the Plains Indians to deify the wonder-working white man is evidenced by the Blackfoot word for him, *napikwan* [old man person], equating him with their traditional culture hero and creator, Napi [old man]. Missionaries among the Dakota learned that their name for the white man was one they formerly applied to a highly venerated and perhaps supreme deity. Jean Baptiste Truteau, pioneer trader among the Arikara and their neighbors on the Missouri, observed in 1796:

All the savage people . . . which dwell on the west of the Missouri . . . have a great respect and a great veneration for all white men in general, whom they put in the rank of divinity, and all that which comes from them is regarded by these same people as miraculous. They do not know how to distinguish among civilized nations, English, French, Spanish, et cetera, whom they call indifferently white men or spirits (Nasatir1952:382).

This image of the white man as a powerful spirit appears to have found artistic expression in a small number of carved effigy pipes from the Siouan tribes which represent the white man as Janus-headed. Alanson Skinner collected for the Milwaukee Public Museum a sacred pipe of the Black Bear gens of the Iowa which clearly portrays a Janus head with encircling hat brim on the upright bowl. Skinner learned that the Iowa venerated "Janus-like beings called Itopahi" having "a face in the rear as well as one in front." Apparently he did not recognize the raised band on the head as the distinguishing mark of a white man in Plains Indian sculpture, for Skinner referred to its likeness to the brim of a hat as "doubtless an accidental resemblance." A carved horse atop the shank of this catlinite pipe clearly indicates that this pipe is not prehistoric. I believe that it was carved before the middle of the nineteenth century and that the Janus head was intended to represent a white man (this pipe is described and illustrated in Skinner [1926:232, and Plate XXX, Figure 6]).

The Janus-headed pipe pictured in Plate 4 can be more closely dated. This example, probably Santee Dakota, was collected by the noted scientist-explorer, Joseph N. Nicollet, during the period 1836–1838. Nicollet visited the famed pipestone quarry in southwestern Minnesota during the summer of 1838, but he is also known to have made a collection of Indian artifacts, which included "calumets," during the previous year's explorations in Minnesota (Nicollet 1872:194).

It is noteworthy that in this account of Eastern Dakota religious beliefs Neill(1872:268) stated that those Indians sometimes thought of Heyoka,

Plate 4. Catlinite pipe in the form of a Janus-headed white man's head and a buffalo standing on the shank. Probably Santee Dakota; collected in the late 1830's. (Reprinted by permission of the American Museum of Natural History)

their powerful, antinatural deity, as two-faced. Perhaps the Indian carver of this effigy pipe intended to portray the white man as the possessor of supernatural powers comparable to those of the awesome Heyoka.

During his rich field experiences among the tribes of the Upper Missouri in 1832, George Catlin learned that both Teton and Pawnee warriors were trying to conquer any feelings of inferiority they might have had in the presence of the white man. At Fort Pierre he painted a portrait of Little Bear, a Hunkpapa warrior, in profile. Another Teton warrior, The Dog, taunted Catlin's Indian sitter for being "but half a man," a coward who was afraid to look the white man in the face. Those were fighting words, and in the ensuing fracas The Dog shot and killed Little Bear (Catlin 1841: vol. 2, 190–192).

Among the Pawnee Catlin was given a pipe by its maker shortly after he had painted that Indian's portrait. Catlin pictured but did not identify this pipe in Plate 98 of his 1841 book — an outline drawing of a pipe with a seated Indian on the shank facing a white man's head on the bowl. A decade later he explained the symbolism of this pipe in his text accompanying a series of plates illustrating Indian pipes which he prepared for the English tobacco pipe collector, William Bragge. These plates are now preserved in the British Museum. There he stated that the Pawnee carver had told him that "he could sit and look the white man in the face without being ashamed" (Catlin 1852: Plate 8).

Presumably this same explanation will account for the symbolism of a very similar catlinite pipe in the collections of the Museum of the Ameri-

can Indian, Heye Foundation in New York illustrated in Plate 5. It portrays an Indian seated on the shank of the pipe, arms resting on his bent knees, and looking directly ahead into the large face of a white man carved on the upright bowl. Although this pipe was obtained from a Missouri Indian living among the Oto in Oklahoma in 1912, it appears to be a much older work. I judge that it may date from the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and that it may be of Pawnee origin.

Of that period also, and in the collections of the same museum, is an effigy pipe of slate which is of special interest, even though the head of the seated Indian is missing, because this pipe belonged to President Andrew Jackson. Because it was among President Jackson's possessions in The Hermitage, his home near Nashville, previous writers inferred that it was carved by an Indian in Tennessee. I think that assumption is unwarranted, and that the pipe probably was given to President Jackson by members of a Plains Indian delegation who visited Washington during his administration, i.e. 1829 to 1837, and that it was carved by a Pawnee or a member of a neighboring tribe. Whether or not its symbolism was explained to President Jackson, the pipe may have provided encouragement to the Indian delegates in their face-to-face confrontation with this Great White Father, a man renowned as one of the greatest Indian fighters of his generation. (This pipe was described briefly and illustrated in Heye [1925:116–118]. It is more clearly illustrated in West [1934: vol. 2, Plate 136, Figure 4].)

During the early decades of the nineteenth century the Plains Indians knew the whites who entered their country only as males — as explorers,
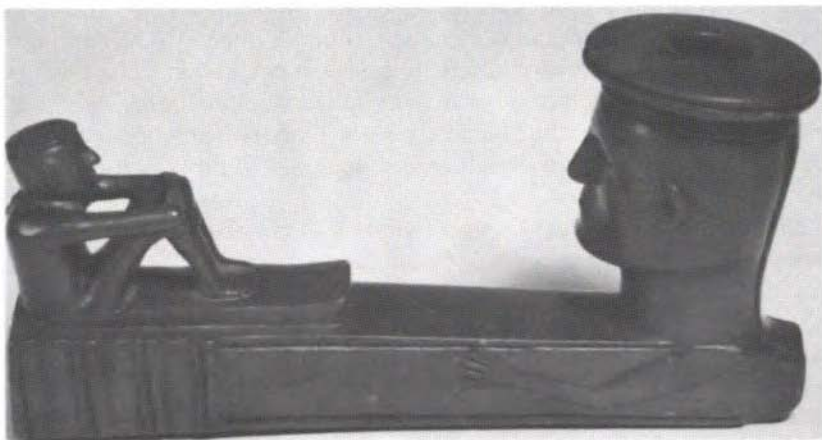
Plate 5. Catlinite pipe depicting a seated Indian in face-to-face confrontation with a white man. Missouri, possibly Pawnee; probably second quarter of the nineteenth century. (Reprinted by permission of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation)

numerous participants in the fur trade, some soldiers, and a few Indian agents. Indians of both sexes observed that white males found Indian women sexually attractive. At the same time the Indians' disposition to regard white men as possessors of great supernatural power made them desirable as sexual partners — even to married women and with the consent of their Indian husbands. In the traditional buffalo-calling ceremonies of the Mandan and some other tribes elderly Indian men thought to possess great powers were offered the wives of younger men so that, through intercourse with the same woman, some of the older man's power might be transferred to the younger husbands. During their winter's residence near the Mandan villages in 1804–1805 members of the Lewis and Clark Expedition were invited to assume the roles of the older men in this ceremony. Pierre Antoine Tabeau, a contemporary fur trader, testified that the Mandan attributed the very successful hunt that followed their observance of this ceremony that winter to "the captains' people, who were untiringly zealous in attracting the cow" (Tabeau 1939:197).

Six years later, in 1811, Henry M. Brackenridge accompanied Manuel Lisa's fur trading party up the Missouri. He was shocked by the speed with which Lisa's stalwart boatmen, after reaching the Arikara villages, "disposed of almost every article they possessed, even their blankets and shirts," in exchange for the favors of Arikara women. The extraordinary prowess of these white men caused an Arikara chief to ask, "Do you people have any women amongst you? Your people are so fond of our women, one might suppose they had never seen any before" (Brackenridge 1904:129–130).

Even though the attraction of Indian women for white men was well known to the Indians it does not appear to have been a common theme in Plains Indian art. Nearly all the known examples appear to be carvings. George Catlin found several effigy pipes in the possession of fur traders during the 1830's which portrayed nude Indian women, but he chose not to describe or to illustrate them in his 1841 book. They do, however, appear in his unpublished drawings and paintings of pipes in the British Museum and elsewhere.

The most forthright carved representation of this theme I have seen in the corpus of nineteenth-century Plains Indian art appears in the form of an effigy pipe of black or smoke-blackened stone in the collections of the British Museum. It was collected prior to 1870 and is attributed to the Pawnee. It depicts a nude woman lying on her back on the pipe shank with her legs apart and facing the head of a white man carved upon the upright bowl (see Plate 6).

White men chasing Indian women appear in portions of a complex scene painted on a buffalo robe by an Omaha or Oto artist of the early 1830's. George Catlin's drawing of this work, which he collected, prob-
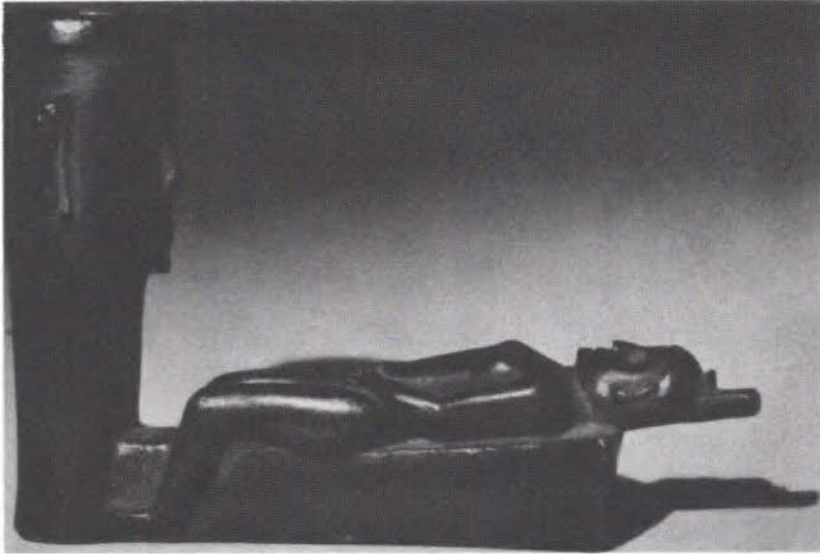
Plate 6.   Blackstone pipe portraying a white man observing a nude Indian woman. Probably Pawnee; before 1870. (Reprinted by permission of the British Museum)

ably in 1832, appears in Plate 7. Catlin stated that the artist who painted this robe claimed to have witnessed the scene he depicted. The painting portrayed a party of white traders who landed their large boat near an Indian encampment, plied the Indian men with liquor, took their material possessions, then pursued their women. Catlin caustically commented that this picture "so forcefully and so truthfully illustrates the system of rum selling and the march of Civilization that it needs no interpretation." He did not illustrate this scene in his major work of 1841, but he drew and redrew it several times in the several series of pencil drawings which he made for sale a decade later, and which are preserved in various collections. The drawings of this subject in the New York Public Library and the British Museum bear captions which identify the Indian artist as an Oto. But he is termed Omaha in the version of this drawing reproduced here from the collections of the New York Historical Society, as well as in the printed catalogue which accompanies that series of Catlin's drawings (Catlin 1869:34).

The white man as a supplier of liquor to Indians also is depicted in a Blackfoot artist's watercolor which was collected by Father Nicolas Point in 1846–1847. Indians (one of whom wears an elaborately decorated chief's coat and tall hat such as were given to prominent Indian leaders by the fur companies as inducements to those chiefs to trade at their posts) are portrayed receiving bottles or jugs and a large pail of liquor from hat-wearing whites. To the modern viewer the crudeness of this Indian

An Omaha Robe. *(fac-simile)*
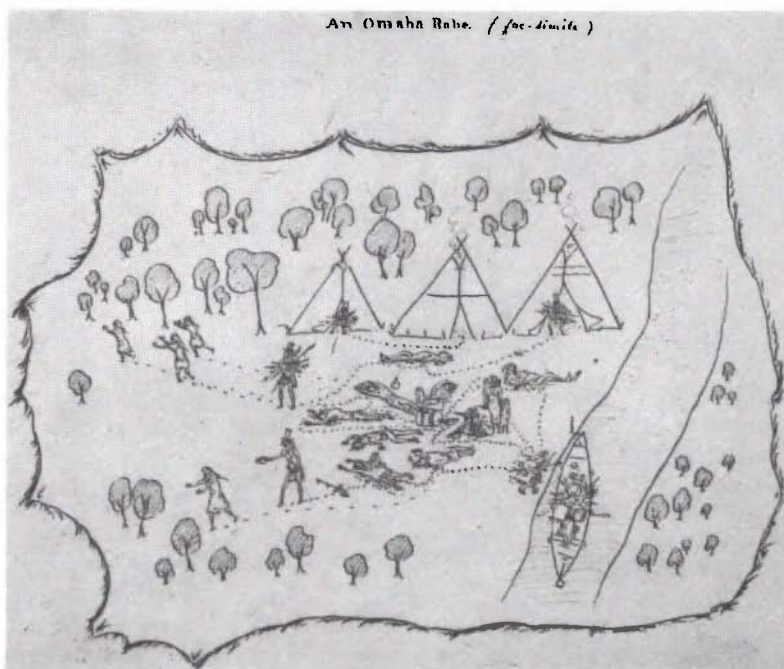
Plate 7. Drawing of an Omaha, or Oto, painted robe depicting white traders debauching a small encampment of Indians. Period of the 1830's. (Reprinted by permission of The New York Historical Society)

drawing serves to emphasize the sordidness of this aspect of interracial relations on the Upper Missouri at that time (Point 1967:104, color plate).

During the late years of the eighteenth century French traders from north of the forty-ninth parallel began to settle in the Mandan and Hidatsa villages on the Missouri, to take Indian wives, and to raise families of mixed-blood children. The best-known of these families at the turn of the nineteenth century was that of Toussaint Charbonneau, who with his more famous wife, Sacajawea, and their infant son accompanied the Lewis and Clark Expedition overland from the Mandan villages to the Pacific Ocean and back in 1805–1806.

As the century progressed, and as larger numbers of whites came to reside in a growing number of fixed trading posts in the Indian country, the number of interracial marriages increased. Such leading traders as Alexander Culbertson and Edwin T. Denig of the American Fur Company took wives of prominent Indian families. They found it advantageous to their trade to marry into chiefly families. Their wives' Indian relatives also found that their white in-laws could help them gain higher status and greater influence among their own people.

Much larger numbers of white clerks and other personnel in the fur trade also took Indian wives. Indian women recognized that as wives of white men they would be better clothed, better fed, more comfortably housed, and experience fewer hardships than if they married Indians (Ewers 1968:57–58).

A rare artistic portrayal of a common phenomenon in Plains Indian country during the nineteenth century is an Oto effigy pipe in the collections of the Museum of the American Indian, which may date from the mid-nineteenth century (see Plate 8). It depicts a white man as the husband of an Indian woman and father of a mixed-blood child. There is no confrontation in this placid family group.

One might be tempted to interpret this as a portrayal of the white man as the protector of his Indian wife and child. To the anthropologist today, if not to the Indian sculptor who created this work more than a century

Plate 8.   Steatite pipe depicting a white man overlooking a seated Indian woman with a baby on her lap. Oto; probably mid-nineteenth century. (Reprinted by permission of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation)

ago, this miniature carving appears to symbolize the marked and rapid growth in the mixed-blood population among the tribes of the Great Plains which we know occurred during the nineteenth century.

War records comprise a high proportion of the examples of Plains Indian graphic art of the nineteenth century that have been preserved. Traditionally, successful warriors recorded tribal victories over enemy tribesmen or personal war honors earned by counting coup on individual enemies on the inner surfaces of buffalo robes, and less commonly upon tipi covers, or tipi linings. We know that white traders and Rocky Mountain trappers had numerous skirmishes with Blackfoot, Arikara, and Comanche Indians prior to 1830. Perhaps some of these encounters may be shown in as yet undated Indian pictographs or petroglyphs painted or incised on cave walls or exposed rock surfaces. But records of fights with whites seem to be absent from the painted robes known to have been collected prior to mid-century.

After the United States began to send military expeditions against the hostile tribes of the plains during the third quarter of the century both white civilians and uniformed soldiers began to appear among the adversaries and victims in the pictorial war records of Teton Dakota and Cheyenne artists. Many of these pictures were rendered more realistically than were the older pictographs on skin, and the white man's media of pencil, colored crayons, pens, and colored inks on separate sheets of paper or in bound ledger books obtained from whites were used.

Perhaps the earliest example of a Northern Cheyenne pictorial war record on paper is an illustrated ledger book captured by the Fifth Cavalry in their charge through Tall Bull's village at Summit Springs, Colorado, on July 10, 1869. More than one hundred pages of penciled and crayoned drawings in this book depict actions in the traditional Cheyenne warfare with their Indian enemies, as well as fights with white soldiers and civilians. One of these drawings, shown in Plate 9, pictures a mounted Cheyenne warrior counting coup upon a pedestrian, hat-wearing white man in civilian dress.

The high watermark of Plains Indian resistance to the white invasion of their hunting grounds was reached in the well-known Battle of the Little Big Horn in southeastern Montana on June 25, 1876. There a large combined force of Teton Dakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho Indians decisively defeated General Custer's cavalry. Because none of the men of Custer's immediate command lived to tell of that battle, army officers encouraged a number of Indians who had fought against Custer to record their knowledge and recollections of the action in drawings or paintings on skin, cloth, or paper.

The most detailed pictorial record of that battle executed by an Indian participant is a series of forty-one large drawings by the Miniconjou warrior, Red Horse, prepared for Assistant Surgeon Charles E. McChes-
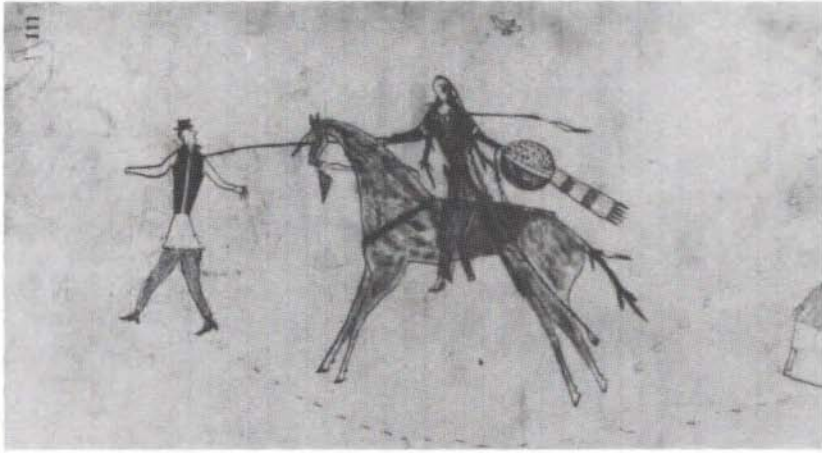
Plate 9.   Cheyenne drawing of a mounted Indian counting coup upon a white civilian. 1869 or earlier. (Reprinted by permission of the Library of the Colorado State Historical Society)

ney five years after the event, and preserved in the Smithsonian Institution. I know of no other record, either written or pictorial, that portrays so starkly the intensity of the Indians' enmity of the whites in that encounter as does Red Horse's picture of Custer's dead cavalrymen (see Plate 10). This gruesome drawing indicates that those Indians were not content to take the soldiers' lives. In the excitement of victory they stripped a number of the soldiers and mutilated their naked bodies.

At the opposite extreme, we must recognize the willingness of Plains Indians to welcome white men who appeared to pose no threat to them. Among the Siouan tribes friendly relations were formally established with white explorers in calumet ceremonies as early as the seventeenth century. Three hundred years ago, in 1673, Father Marquette, pioneer French explorer of the Mississippi River, witnessed this ceremony among the Quapaw, a horticultural Siouan tribe near the mouth of the Arkansas. Shortly after his first meeting with those Indians the priest learned of an Indian plot to kill him and his companion, Joliet. But fortunately for the whites, the pacific intentions of the principal chief prevailed in the village council. That chief danced the calumet in honor of the Frenchmen, then presented the pipe used in the ceremony to the priest as a symbol of friendship (Kellogg 1917:254–256).

The Reverend Samuel Pond, the missionary who labored among the Santee Dakota for many years after 1834, observed: "They often expended great labor in making and ornamenting pipes and pipestems, especially such as were to be used on great occasions or to be presented to important personages" (1908:438).
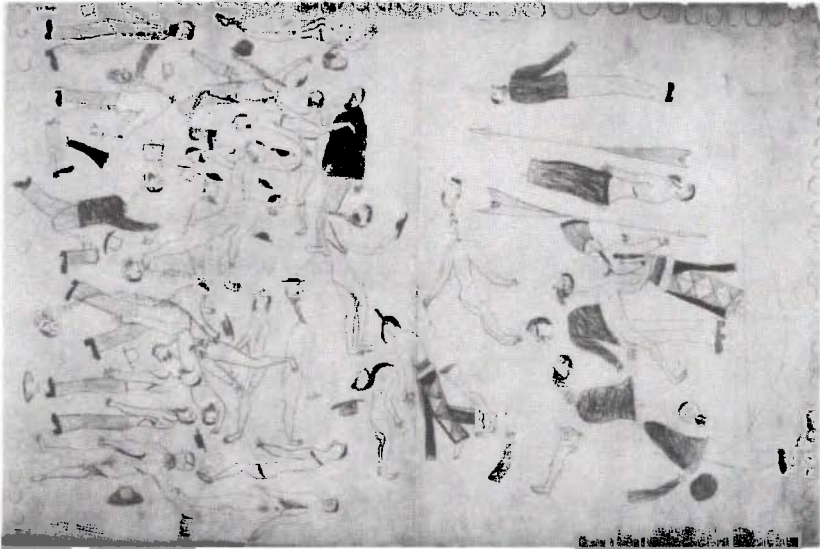
Plate 10.   Custer's dead cavalrymen after the Battle of the Little Big Horn as drawn by the Miniconjou Dakota warrior, Red Horse, in 1881. (Reprinted by permission of the Smithsonian Institution)

Two of the finest examples of Eastern Dakota pipe carving I have seen were specially carved for presentation to their white friends during the 1870's. Both were carved in the form of portraits of their intended recipients. One of them portrays the head of a doctor who had cared for the health of these Indians. It is in a private collection.

The other, and more complex carving, is in the collections of the Minnesota Historical Society (see Plate 11). It was presented by the Indians of the Flandreau Community in easternmost South Dakota to the Reverend Moses Adams, missionary and sometime Indian agent, in appreciation for his help in obtaining seeds, agricultural implements, and other supplies needed by those Indians to establish homesteads and to become independent of government support. This symbol of gratitude as well as friendship was carved of catlinite from the famed red pipestone quarry in Minnesota, just a few miles from Flandreau. It is a painstakingly detailed, full-length likeness of the Indians' bearded benefactor. This white man wears a hat. But underneath it the facial features resemble those depicted in a known photograph of Moses Adams. Unfortunately, for this is one of the masterpieces of Plains Indian sculpture the carver's name is not known. Doubtless he was the most talented and ingenious of the several sculptors in pipestone in the Flandreau Community during the middle years of the 1870's — at a time when Western Dakota warriors were still fighting white soldiers on the plains of Montana.

Plate 11. Catlinite pipe carved to represent the Reverend Moses Adams. (Reprinted by permission of the Minnesota State Historical Society)

These are a few examples of the ways in which Plains Indian artists portrayed in line, color, and mass the varied images of the white man that existed in the minds of their fellow Indians during the nineteenth century. It is noteworthy that they consistently distinguished the white man by emphasizing a single trait, which was cultural rather than racial — the fact that he wore a hat. Racial characteristics — relative paleness of skin or hirsuteness — were of secondary importance, if they were important at all. Upon closer acquaintance other and more significant characteristics were recognized. Early in the contact period Indians came to view the white man as an awesome being, possessed of supernatural, even god-like powers. Upon still closer scrutiny the white man emerged as a more human being — as a male attracted by women, a husband, and father. Nevertheless, the Indian warrior's boast of the 1830's that he was not afraid or ashamed to look the white man in the face suggests that it was

not easy for these Indians to abandon their earlier feelings of awe in the presence of the white man. As Indian resentment against white intrusion upon their hunting grounds ripened into open warfare between some of the larger and stronger tribes and the whites after mid-century, members of those tribes came to regard the white man as an enemy. Even so, and even while those wars were in progress, other Indians could be grateful to those whites who tried to help them to adjust to changed conditions.

Certainly no single image of the white man prevailed in the minds of all Plains Indians throughout the century. There was variety, even ambivalence, in those attitudes. White men were deified and they were humanized. They were trusted and they were suspected. They were friends and they were foes. The Indians' regard for whites changed as their acquaintance with them grew, and varied with the nature of their experiences. Indians could and did become selective in their judgments. They could love one white man and hate another. The range in Indian attitudes toward whites may have varied as widely as did white men's toward Indians, which ran the gamut from "noble savages" and "innocent child of nature" to "red devil."

Evidences of the range and variety of Plains Indian attitudes toward white men can be found in the nineteenth-century writings of sensitive whites who knew those Indians. But the contemporary Indians also left records of those attitudes in their works of art which portrayed whites. These works have been neglected as expressions of Indian attitudes toward the subjects depicted. Perhaps some of my readers would interpret some of these examples differently than I have. If so, it should be reassuring to know that these Indian records can be examined and reexamined as long as these works of art are preserved.

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From Folk Art to Fine Art: The Emergence of the Name Artist Among the Southwest Indians

ROBERT RITZENTHALER

One of the characteristics of folk art is the anonymity of the artist. Up until the twentieth century the name of the Southwest artisan was unknown and unimportant to the non-Indian purchaser. The twentieth century, however, has seen the emergence of the name artist; the recognition by the outside world of certain outstanding Indian artisans and a premium placed on their products. This has resulted in the introduction of the practice by the artisan of signing or placing his hallmark on his products. Dealers and collectors know that the name of Maria (or Marie) on one of her San Ildefonso pots, or of Lucy Lewis on an Acoma pot means a certain quality and higher price. During the twentieth century a battery of such artists has emerged: Daisy Taugelchee, Navaho weaver; Ambrose Roanhorse, Navaho silversmith; Otto Pentewa and Henry Shelton, Hopi Kachina carvers; Marv Miguel, Papago basketmaker; Nampeyo, the Tewa potter; and the painters Fred Kobotie (Hopi) and Harrison Begay and Charlie Lee (Navahos), to name a few. While most of the present-day name artists work on a free-lance basis, some operate through Indian guilds, trading posts, or white craft stores.

As a prelude to the analysis of the processes by which this emergence took place, it should be noted that it is an acculturational phenomenon and is based on the shift from craftwork, done for use by the Indian, to articles made for sale to a non-Indian market. With the building of new roads and the increasing infiltration by the white man into the Southwest, especially as tourist, the demand for Indian craftwork mushroomed. Some headway in encouraging the Indian in his arts and crafts and in promoting the sale of such products already had been made during the latter part of the nineteenth century by such men as Lorenzo Hubbell and Fred Harvey. The Navaho, for example, were encouraged to return from aniline to natural dyes and to produce the more usable and more salable

rugs instead of blankets. However, the craft market was relatively small, and it was not until the 1930's that it began to do big business. With the growing market of the twentieth century the name artist began to emerge.

Nampeyo, the Tewa potter, was the first person who could be considered a name artist, although she did not sign her works (Plate 1). Living at Hano on the Hopi reservation, she became attracted to the designs on the pottery which was being excavated by J. Walter Fewkes at the nearby site of Sikyatki in 1895. Her utilization of these designs and her creation of new shapes of pottery adapted to them attracted wide attention and a demand for her products. Her ideas spread among the Hopi potters and a new and profound change was effected in the direction of the craft. Her name acquired some historical importance and her works are now collectors' items.

The first of the name artists to actually sign her products was Maria of San Ildefonso. About 1919 Maria and her husband, Julian Martinez, revived a style of black on black pottery formerly utilized by the Tewa pueblos which was to bring the couple wide recognition. The black finish was produced by smudging the fire with dried dung. Maria made the

Plate 1.   Nampeyo, the Tewa potter, 1911. (Collection of Milwaukee Public Museum)

pottery and Julian applied the designs. If technical excellence and aesthetic taste are hallmarks of art, their work represents pottery as an art, rather than a craft. Their pottery brought them a certain national fame through various exhibitions, and through demonstrations of their art at World Fairs in St. Louis, Chicago, and San Francisco. There was also a local impact, in that other members of the pueblo began working in a similar style. About 1923, at the suggestion of a white government superintendent, Maria began signing her work, but she used the name "Marie," also at the suggestion of the superintendent. Her works greatly increased in value as her fame spread and now her signed pots are of considerable worth as well as of historical interest (Plates 2–4). As a result of her success, other Southwest artisans began to sign their products. Today the practice is very common. Brody (1971:68) states "by 1950 most Pueblo pottery, including tourist pieces, were signed."

At the present time the Southwest is by far the largest area producing Indian arts and crafts in the United States. The only other important growth of crafts to the level of big business in North America has been among the Canadian Eskimo. Primarily they have focused on soapstone carvings and prints, the sales of which, in 1969, totaled an estimated $1,750,000. This program was developed during the 1940's under the stimulus of non-Eskimo Canadians. Here too, the idea of the name artist was instigated. In the case of the prints, the name or symbol of the artist appears directly on the work.

There are a number of reasons which account for the fact that the

Plate 2.   Marie and Santana (Maria's daughter-in-law) signature on San Ildefonso pot

Plate 3.   Maria pot, San Ildefonso. (Collection of Logan Museum, Beloit, Wisconsin)

Southwest is the source of a large craft industry and the phenomenon of the accompanying emergence of the name artist. For one thing, it is an area of large Indian population, the Navaho alone numbering about 125,000. The Southwest is also one of the few areas where crafts have retained their traditional form and where a high standard of craftsmanship has been maintained. There is a wide variety of art styles and media from which to choose, including baskets, pottery, textiles, woodcarving, and silverwork; all have caught the fancy of a wide tourist and collectors' market. The trading post, run by a licensed white man, is an institution that has played an important role in the distribution of Indian products. This was especially true during the nineteenth century. During the twentieth century, retail stores which specialized in Indian crafts sprang up in many cities of the Southwest. This century also has seen the rise of Indian craft guilds and cooperatives among the Hopi, Zuni, and Navaho. These have been important in promoting not only sales output, but quality as well. Annual Indian festivals sponsored by such cities as Gallup and Flagstaff feature dancing, rodeos, and sales booths, thus stimulating the popularity and sales of Indian crafts. Museums have played a promotional role also in terms of sales and quality control, for most of them have sales shops which offer crafts of selected quality. The Museum of Northern Arizona at Flagstaff holds annual craft shows with ribbons awarded for outstanding work. After the exhibit the proceeds of all items sold go to the Indians. Southwest crafts also have enjoyed a considerable amount of
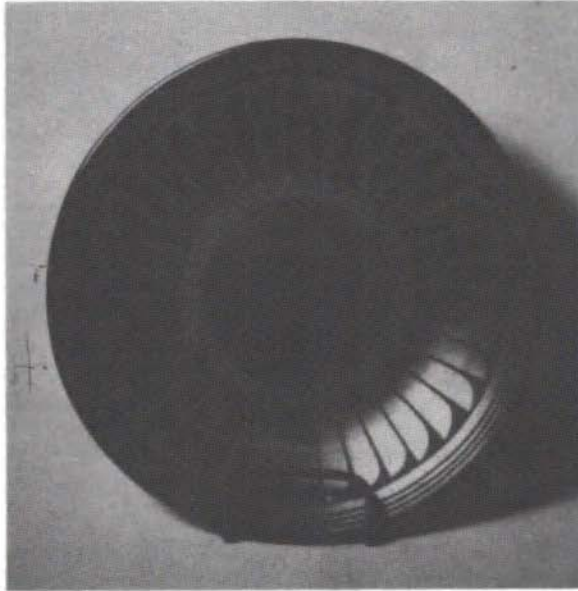
Plate 4. Maria pot

publicity through publication of popular booklets, articles in magazines (i.e. *Arizona Highways*), as well as more technical treatment in monographs and books.

The development of new art forms and the use of new media due to Western influence, especially in the graphic arts, should be noted. Thus traditional subjects may be treated, but with paper, paints, and other Western media and techniques. Along with this development has come the signing of a work by the artist, and a number of Navaho and Pueblo painters have enjoyed the recognition and economic benefits of being a name artist. Their work has been encouraged by white artists who have noted talent in certain individuals, by teachers in the primary and secondary Indian schools, and by the Institute of American Indian Arts. The latter institution was established in Santa Fe, in 1962, for the art training of Indian youth. Modern marketing techniques also have been adopted, especially by the Indian guilds and cooperatives. One interesting example of this is the use of business cards by individual artists and guilds. (See Plate 5).

The Southwest offers a kind of laboratory for the exploration of this process of transition from folk art to fine art. The thesis here is that in this area one finds examples of individuals who have emerged from the realm of folk art into that of fine art. Some definitions are necessary to clarify this point. Some cultures offer at least three categories of workers in arts and crafts: (1) the nonspecialist who can be expected to produce run-of-

Plate 5.   Example of business cards used by individual Indian artists and by Indian guilds and associations

the-mill quality for his own or local use; (2) the specialized artisan, with recognized ability and mechanical ability or skill, who produces mainly for others; and (3) the artist, a specialist who combines technical virtuosity with aesthetic taste to produce superlative work by the standards of either his own or Western culture. The workers in the first two categories produce what can be termed folk art, with a wide range of quality. The artisan is recognized for his skill within his local group or tribe, but not outside it. His works may survive, but he remains anonymous.

While most of the Southwest products would fall into the category defined above as folk art, some must be classified according to category (3), as the work of an artist. The first national recognition of Indian products as art was in 1941, when the Museum of Modern Art in New York held a major exhibit of North American Indian art which included pieces from the Southwest. Since then, there have been numerous shows by museums and art galleries in which select Indian products have been exhibited as art. At the present time, the contribution of the Indian to the Western art world is an accepted fact.

The shift from folk art to fine art, from the status of artisan to that of artist, would seem to involve several factors: (1) that there be a recognition of the work of an individual as art by a wide audience beyond the

confines of his tribal group; (2) that this be coupled with the importance of associating the artist's name with his products and the practice by the artist of signing his works; and (3) that products be made for sale rather than for personal or tribal use. This shift in motivation may affect the quality of the product for better or worse. In the Southwest, the quality of design and workmanship has held up quite well, despite the shift, and in some instances has even improved, as opposed to many cases in which tribal arts made for the tourist market deteriorated in mass production to the kind of shoddy product akin to the so-called "airport art" of modern Africa.

The shift may also affect the type of product produced. For example, nineteenth-century Navaho weaving shifted from light textiles, originally designed to be worn, to the heavier, more salable rugs. The Southwest Indian silversmith has also been influenced by the market to produce tie clasps, cuff links and watch bands; items that he never would have made for his own use. In the majority of cases, however, the non-Indian purchases such an object for its beauty and interest rather than for its utility. When the artist becomes aware of this, he tends to direct his efforts toward making objects of technical excellence and beauty rather than toward a utilitarian goal.

This leads us into the realm of fine art defined by Webster as "art which is concerned with the creation of objects of imagination and taste for their own sake and without relation to the utility of the object produced." Such motivation, coupled with fineness of product, is found among some Southwest Indians, and therefore, they deserve to be included in the ranks of fine artists from all cultures. Coming out of factor (3) is factor (4), the tendency toward greater specialization. Because of the increased income as a result of the sale of his work, the successful artist can devote all, or most, of his time to the production of art, while the folk artisan, who must depend upon other economic endeavors to support himself, is forced to make his art a part-time activity only. Implicit in this is the fact that greater specialization often leads to greater skill and refinement.

While something of a similar nature is occurring among the Eskimo, the Southwest still provides the unique laboratory for studying the rise of the fine artist among the American Indians. This is one culture area in which the generally high quality of work is being sustained and where there appear on the scene certain individuals who may be regarded as having already achieved the rank of artist. In the folk art situation, certain individuals would be recognized for the outstanding quality of their work by members of their tribe, but rarely outside it. Through time their names have been lost, leaving anonymous the early specimens of great quality which are now found in museums. However, the growing practice in the Southwest of signing craft products now often makes it possible to include the name of the artist or artisan in museum documentation, thus adding a new dimension to the history of Indian arts.

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Taiwanese Shadow Puppets and the Development of Shadow Theater

CONRAD C. S. YOUNG

EARLY HISTORY OF CHINESE SHADOW THEATER

Shadow theater has had a long history in China. As early as the North Sung dynasty (A.D. 960–1126) it was already very popular (Shen 1958:1), and the content of eleventh-century shadow plays has been noted (Yang 1965:121). In this period shadow shows were sufficiently popular in the capital to draw large crowds even during bad weather (Lü 1961: 429).

During the South Sung dynasty (A.D. 1127–1278) a puppeteer's name was recorded (Shen 1958:1). There are no detailed descriptions of shadow theater in the surviving manuscripts of earlier dynasties, but this does not mean that this ancient theater art of China emerged and developed to full scale suddenly during the Sung dynasty. A beginning stage is thought to have taken place in Shensi China (Ch'i 1957: 26).

The Province of Shensi was the center of a greater variety of performing skills and musical instrumentation of shadow shows than occurred in any other area of China (Ch'i 1957:27). As shadow theater was most prosperous in the capital cities of both North and South Sung dynasties, it could have developed similarly in Shensi, when the national capital of the Tang dynasty was located in Sian, a city in Shensi (A.D. 618–905). Therefore, shadow theater could have developed during the Tang dynasty when Sian was the national capital (Ch'i 1957:26).

It is not unreasonable to speculate that there was a preliminary stage of development of shadow theater in China before the Sung dynasty, possibly during the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 23).

Historical documents show that the term "shadow show" was recorded as early as the Han dynasty (Ch'i 1957:26). A prototype shadow show is said to have been developed under Emperor Wu's reign during the early Han period (140–88 B.C.). A famous story explaining how this prototype was developed by a court officer of Emperor Wu is related by more than one scholar of the Han dynasty. According to the story, Emperor Wu was mourning the death of one of his favorite concubines. Shao-weng, an officer of the court, arranged to entertain the lonely Emperor by showing him his late concubine. At night, Shao-weng set up a lamp through the curtain, and the Emperor, who was invited to watch through the curtain, thought he saw the vague image of his concubine (Lü 1961:428).

The details of the performance are not mentioned; however, the story is significant because it indicates how far back the beginnings of the shadow show can be traced in China. An interesting point is that all the centers of early development are in North China. (The capital of North Sung was located in Honan Province, North China.) The hypothetical center of the earlier stage of development of this Chinese theater art was in Shensi Province, North China. The prototype of Chinese shadow theater also developed in Shensi, North China.

From this geographical distribution we may deduce that this form of theater art probably originated in North China. Later the central government moved south of the Yangtze River and established its capital in Lin-an, Chieh-chiang Province, and from that time on the dynasty was called South Sung. The shadow theater began to develop in South China during this period. Later it was introduced into most areas of China (Ch'i 1957:27).

There are other theories concerning the beginning of the Chinese shadow theater: according to one, the shadow theater of China was initiated during the Tang dynasty under Buddhist influence (Yang 1965: 121); according to another, shadow theater might have been introduced into China from Southeast Asia during the North Sung dynasty (Holt 1967:131).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE MAJOR TYPES OF SHADOW PUPPET MOUNTING IN CHINA

Typologically speaking, the mounting of shadow puppets in the Old World can be classified into three major types. In Type 1, a vertical metal wire with a loop on top is attached to the collar of the shadow puppet, or the puppet is inserted into the split halves of a rod. The wire of the former

variety is movable, as the metal loop serves as a hinge. The split rod of the latter variety is fixed, with the shadow figure inserted and held tightly in the slot of the split rod. This is really a vertical mounting.

Both varieties of Type 1 usually have additional wires with reed extensions or additional rods vertically attached by strings to the upper limbs.

Type 2 is a horizontal rod mounting: a rod is horizontally attached to the upper section of the trunk of the shadow puppet. A socket is prepared by attaching a thick perforated square or circle of tough hide to the upper body of the shadow puppet. The place on the shadow figure where the perforated piece of hide is fixed, is perforated in one variety, and in another it is not. In the former, the horizontal rod is detachable. In the latter, some horizontal rods are detachable, the rest are permanently attached. Type 3 is the string and lever mounting: the shadow puppet is controlled by strings and a lever.

In China, the most popular method of mounting is Type 1, the vertical mounting. Chinese shadow puppets with this type of mounting have been repeatedly analyzed. Most of the samples of this type which have been studied were found in Peiping (Peking), Ho-peh Province, North China. Examples of this variety are the two collections of Chinese shadow puppets analyzed by Benjamin March (1938) and Genevieve Wimsatt (1936).

No examples of shadow puppets of Type 3 mounting are available in China, but their existence has been recorded. One of the local varieties of shadow puppets of Shensi Province was described by Ju-Shan Ch'i as a "thread and board lantern shadow." His mention of this variety is very brief, and he did not describe the puppets' structure (Ch'i 1957:27). Further information must be gathered in order to clarify the authentic way of mounting the shadow puppet of this local variety of Shensi.

Finding out whether examples of shadow puppets of Type 2 mounting really exist in China is a fascinating enterprise. For a long time scholars have been talking about Chinese shadow puppets of Type 1 without exploring the possibility that examples of Type 2 also exist. The only outside information related to this, so far as I can tell, is from Baird, who a few years ago mentioned the Type 2 shadow puppets from Canton Province, South China (Baird 1965:135). Unfortunately, his short statement gives no detailed information. However, it is significant enough to tell us that Type 2 shadow puppets were at least developed in China.

In 1965, when I was working in the Museum of Cultural History at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), I studied a collection of shadow puppets from Taiwan. I noticed that the horizontal attachment of the rods to the shadow puppets was different from that of the shadow puppets of North China. The method of attaching the rods was similar to that applied by Turkish and Greek puppeteers.

This important example shows that in China, particularly in marginal

areas such as Taiwan, a type of shadow puppet mounting different from the popular vertical mounting has survived. This discovery, together with the brief statement by Baird, shows that the horizontal type mounting is not uncommon in South China.

According to puppeteers of two shadow puppet troupes in Taiwan, shadow puppet theater was introduced into Taiwan about three centuries ago, the period when the major groups of coastal mainland Chinese migrated to the island (Lü 1961:426; Ts'ai 1966). Both puppeteers pointed out that this branch of shadow theater was introduced from Fuchien Province, a southeastern coastal province of China opposite Taiwan. There is no information indicating whether this type of shadow puppet mounting (Type 2) is still used in Fuchien Province, but at least we may say that it has a relatively wide distribution in South China.

Shadow puppets may be classified by types of mounting and by materials, size and thickness, and workmanship. The shadow puppets of China were divided by Lü into two schools. One he called the Tung-cheng (East city) or Lanchow School; the other the Hsi-cheng (West city) School (Lü 1961:456). Lü said only that puppets of the Tung-cheng School were smaller and more delicate, were made from thin donkey hide or sheepskin, and were of better workmanship. This kind of shadow puppet was treated with a special plant oil until it was almost transparent. Once bright transparent colors were stained on it, the puppet cast a colorful shadow on the screen. Shadow puppets from the Hsi-cheng School were made of thick animal skin such as cowhide. They were larger, and their workmanship was less delicate. Since the shadow puppet was thicker, it was less translucent (Lü 1961:456).

The shadow puppets of the Tung-cheng School were found east and northeast of Peiping; shadow puppets from the Hsi-cheng were found west of Peiping, North China (Lü 1961:456). Wimsatt was aware of the existence of two schools of shadow puppetry, the Western (Shensi) School and the Lanchow School, but she doubted the existence of the shadow puppets made of thicker and tougher animal skins (Wimsatt 1936:20).

Since no structural details are given in either Lü's or Wimsatt's statement, I started to examine Chinese shadow puppets of which there were illustrations or structural details, in order to find out whether any morphological or structural feature could be used to help distinguish the shadow puppets of the Tung-cheng School from those of the Hsi-cheng School. I found that the shape of the eyebrows could be used for this purpose.

Some "good" male and female shadow puppets of the Tung-cheng School share a unique, identical eyebrow which curls downward to join the outside eye corner (Plates 1 and 2). But among the shadow puppets of the Hsi-cheng School, males and females have different eyebrows (Plates

Plate 1.   A male deity showing the eyebrow of the Tung-cheng School style, Hopeh Province, China. (From the UCLA collection, No. X66-593-c)

3 and 4). The identical eyebrow is found in the shadow puppets collected by Benton (1948), March (1938:42, 49), Wimsatt (1936:52), Obraztsov (1961:Plate 26), Shen (1958:16), and Wang (1953:11). Generally speaking, these puppets were all found east of Peiping. Male and female shadow puppets with different eyebrows have been collected from Shensi (Plate 5; Shen 1958:7) and Shansi (Shen 1958:20) Provinces, North China; Chinghai Province, West China (Shen 1958:15); Hu-peh Province, South China (Plate 6; Shen 1958:19); Szechuan Province, Southwest China (Hansmann 1964); and Taiwan Province, Southeast China (Plates 3 and 4).

In the available information, shadow puppets from the Tung-cheng School are usually described as smaller, thinner, more colorful, and

Plate 2.   A female deity showing the eyebrow of the Tung-cheng School style, Hopeh Province, China. (From the UCLA collection, No. X66-593-G)

almost transparent (March 1938:16; Wimsatt 1936:20). Those from the Hsi-cheng School, as far as I can tell, are thicker, larger, less colorful, and less translucent (shadow puppet collection of Taiwan, Museum of Cultural History, UCLA).

The "good" men and women among shadow puppets collected by Berthold Laufer do not share the unique eyebrow, a feature of their counterparts in the groups of the Tung-cheng School. Instead, the females and males have different kinds of eyebrows (Laufer 1923: plates). This collection was purchased in Peiping (McPharlin 1929:301), but the detailed morphological features of the shadow puppets are different from those of the groups belonging to the Tung-cheng School.

The correlation of the types of shadow puppet mounting with these two schools of Chinese shadow puppetry is an important question. Although structural information about the types of mounting is unfortunately not
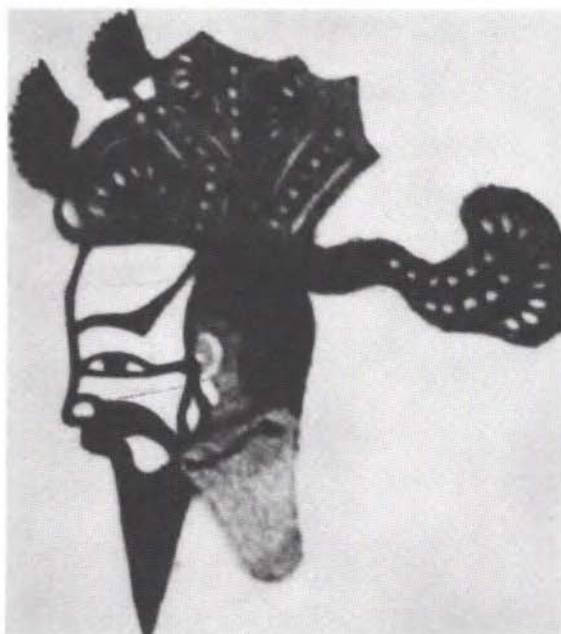
Plate 3. Head of a male civil officer showing the male eyebrow of the Hsi-cheng School style, Taiwan Province, China. (From Lung-Hsi-Ts'ai's collection)

Plate 4. Head of a woman of high social status showing the female eybrow of the Hsi-cheng School style, Taiwan Province, China. (From Lung-hsi Ts'ai's collection)
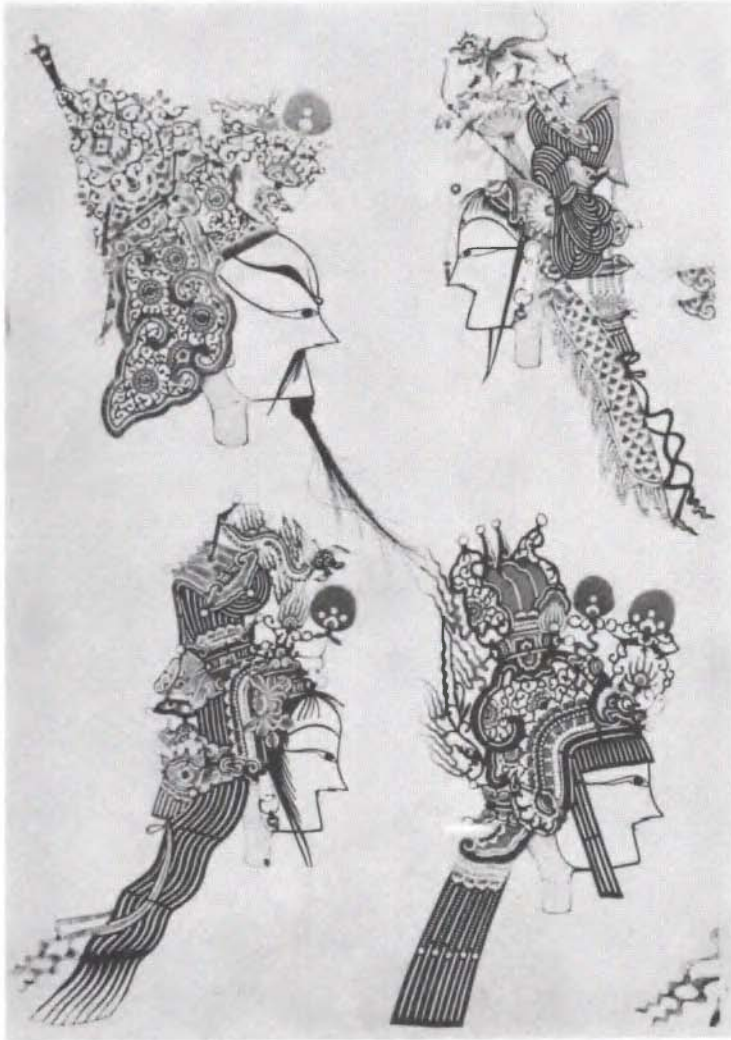
Plate 5. Heads of males and females showing the eyebrows of the Hsi-cheng School style, Shensi Province, China. (Examples from the collection published by Chih-yü Shen)

always available, a few examples do exist. Two groups from the Tung-cheng School (Wimsatt 1936:9; March 1938:29) show a vertical type of rod mounting. One group from the Hsi-cheng School collected in Taiwan (UCLA collection) shows the horizontal type of rod mounting (Plate 7).

As I mentioned above, according to the tentative morphological cri-terion, the group collected by Laufer would seem to belong to the

Plate 6.   Male and female heads showing the eyebrows of the Hsi-cheng School style, Hu-peh Province, China. (Examples from the collection published by Chih-yü Shen)

Hsi-cheng School (Laufer 1923: plates). According to McPharlin's description of Laufer's collection, (1929:302) "they are articulated at the neck, shoulder, elbow, wrist, knuckles and hip, and operated from below by wires with bamboo or reed handles." These shadow puppets could be considered as examples of the vertical type of mounting from the Hsi-cheng School.

The Tung-cheng School of chinese shadow puppetry is relatively new. It was developed during the Late Ming dynasty (sixteenth century A.D.) in Lanchow city, Ho-peh Province (Lü 1961:432–434). The Hsi-cheng School developed much earlier (Lü 1961:456).

CHINESE SHADOW THEATER AND ITS RELATION TO SHADOW THEATERS DEVELOPED IN THE NEAR EAST, SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE, AND WESTERN EUROPE

Turkey and Greece have long been considered the significant centers of distribution of shadow shows related to the Karagöz tradition in the Near East, southwestern Europe, and North Africa. From time to time scholars have pointed out the historical relationship of the shadow theater developed in Turkey and Greece to that developed in China.

Plate 7.   Body of a male officer showing the horizontal mounting of the rods and their permanent insertion, Taiwan Province, China. (From the UCLA collection, No X66-7744-G5)

Wimsatt (1936:xiv) quotes a statement to this effect by Laufer:

In Raschid-eddin's History of the Mongols, the Chinese shadow show is first mentioned in Mohammedan literature. . . . The Mongols were the middlemen in the westernward journey of the play. . . . Raschid-eddin is certain that the Chinese had acquaintance with shadow plays in the time of the Mongol Yüan Dynasty. . . .

F. von Luschan says, in his interesting treatise on Turkish shadow plays, "It seems incredible that all these shadow plays were invented independently of each other in different places. We must suppose that all the different forms have a common source, which is probably to be found in China." Kunos believes that the shadow play is of Chinese origin, and came to Turks by way of Persians.

In *Oriental theatricals,* Laufer (1923:37) says:

Later, under the Mongol dynasty, when representatives of all nations flocked to the capital, Peking, the shadow-play attracted wide attention; and owing to the military and political expansion of the Mongols all over Asia, it was conveyed to the Persians, the Arabs, and the Turks.

As late as 1960 a similar statement was made by Blackham: "The shadow show spread from the Far East, through Persia, into Turkey" (1960:42).

All the scholars quoted above discussed the westward spread of the Chinese shadow theater historically, but they did not compare the shadow theaters of these two areas structurally. To do this they would have had to compare the horizontal type of shadow puppet rod mounting of Turkey and Greece with the vertical type of rod mounting of China. This would have been the only possible comparison because information about the existence of the Type 2 mounting in China was not yet available.

The shadow theater which has survived in Taiwan is really an excellent example of Type 2 (horizontal) shadow puppet rod mounting. When I worked on the Taiwan collection in the Museum of Cultural History at UCLA I managed to establish contact with Lung-hsi Ts'ai, a shadow puppeteer who had been the teacher of the person from whom UCLA bought the collection of shadow puppets. Without his cooperation it would have been impossible for me to carry out this research. Actually, my analysis was based upon both the UCLA Taiwan collection and the personal collection of Lung-hsi Ts'ai.

When comparing the structural features of the shadow puppets of Taiwan with those of Turkey and Greece, one is surprised to see the close similarities.

In the upper part of the body of a Turkish shadow puppet there is a hole reinforced by a perforated round skin socket. A manipulating rod is horizontally inserted into the socket from either side. Occasionally the shadow puppet has a hand rod (Plate 8; Cook 1963:62; Baird 1965:79). The shadow puppet of Taiwan has a similar structure. It has a socket prepared by nailing, with tiny copper nails, a square piece of perforated, thick cow or water buffalo hide to the upper part of the body. A manipulating rod in a horizontal position is inserted into the socket. In a Turkish shadow puppet the rod is detachable. Whether it is detachable in a puppet of Taiwan depends upon the type of puppet. The manipulating rod of a rider is detachable and has a round socket (Plate 9), but the manipulating rods of a regular shadow puppet are permanently inserted and have square sockets (Plate 7). Both types of sockets are formed by the attached perforated thick piece of hide. Unlike the Turkish puppet, the Taiwan shadow puppet has no hole in its upper body for insertion of

Plate 8.   Shadow puppet, Karagöz, of Turkey showing the sockets for insertion of horizon-
tal rods. (From the UCLA collection, No. X63-821-B)

the rod. However, the position of the socket and angle at which the rod is
inserted into the puppet are the same.

In the Greek shadow puppet the method of rod attachment is similar.
The minor difference from the Turkish style is that the horizontal rod is
inserted into a metal hinged joint attached to the outside edge of the
puppet, near the shoulder blade (Blackham 1960:59). The purpose of
this device is to make it possible for the shadow figure to turn back to talk
to someone following him (Blackham 1960:60). This innovation is not
unfamiliar to the shadow puppeteer of Taiwan, and in fact all civilian
female shadow puppets are prepared this way. The central manipulating

Plate 9.   Body of a female military officer on horseback showing the detachable horizontal rod, Taiwan Province, China. (From the UCLA collection, No. 66-7744 [I-1, G-39])

rod is horizontally inserted into the perforation socket of a wedge-shaped piece of thick hide. The thin edge of this piece is sewed to the collar area with a short string having a knot tied at the end (Plate 10). The function of this device in a female puppet of Taiwan is the same as that of the Greek puppet (Plate 11).

This horizontal method of mounting has some disadvantages. It makes puppets relatively difficult to carry when traveling, and the detachable rods have to be removed while not in use (Blackham 1960:128, 130). The shadow puppets of Taiwan, with permanently inserted rods, must be handled with the rods attached at a fixed angle (Plate 12). It is amazing that the puppeteers of Turkey, Greece, and Taiwan still retain this type of mounting, even though it is so difficult to handle.

Greek, Turkish, and Taiwan shadow puppets have a feature in com-

Plate 10.   Body of a female showing the central horizontal rod inserted in a wedge-shaped piece of thick hide sewed on the upper body

mon: their body parts are loosely joined (Blackham 1960:126–127). Sometimes the Turkish shadow puppets have two horizontal rods (Blackham 1960:44; Baird 1965:79), and so do those of Taiwan. Occasionally, as many as three horizontal rods are attached to one Taiwan puppet.

The equipment and techniques for performing shadow shows in Greece, Turkey, and Taiwan are essentially the same. The Turkish pup-

Plate 11.   A female with two horizontal rods showing the reversing of the body through the help of the wedge-shaped attachment

peteer is aware that the horizontal rod casts hazy shadows on the screen because of the position of the lights (Baird 1965:79). The Taiwan puppeteer also pays attention to the position of the lights in order to produce the best effect (Plate 13). When the Greek puppeteer is manipulating his shadow puppets behind the screen during a show, he is in a standing position (Charidemos 1963:55). The traditional way for the puppeteers of Taiwan, however, is to sit on the stage floor behind the screen (Plate
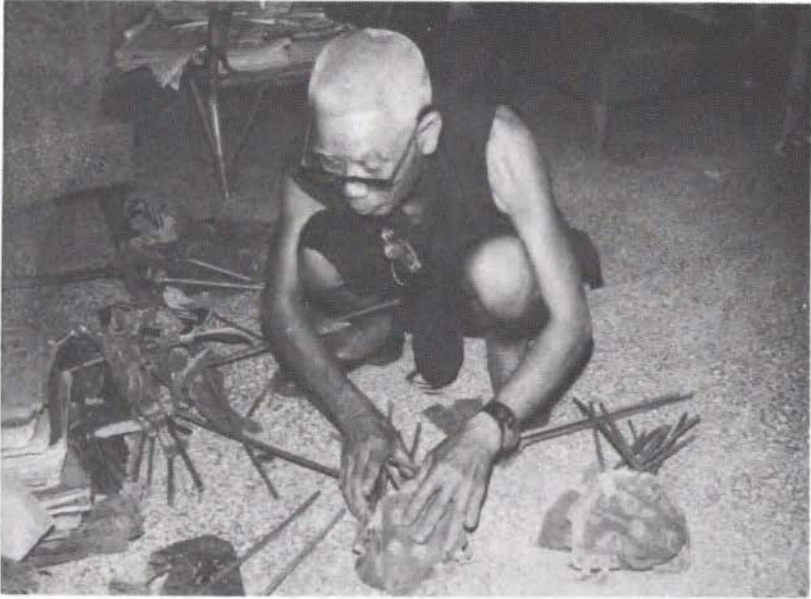
Plate 12.   Puppeteer Lung-hsi Ts'ai of Taiwan putting away shadow puppets with the rods
permanently attached

14), and, if necessary, to use their feet to help handle the inactive puppets
(Ts'ai 1966; Chang 1972). But puppeteers do not follow this rule rigidly
and under special circumstances they perform equally well and effectively
in a standing position. When a shadow show troupe from Taiwan came to
the United States early in October of 1972, the puppeteer performed in a
standing position (Chang 1972).

When we compare the shadow puppets from Greece and Turkey with
those from Taiwan, we can see that they are not similar in every detail.
This is because the Turkish puppeteers have adopted figures related to
their own cultural tradition, centered around the Karagöz (Blackham
1960:44, 59). Nevertheless, the puppets share some fundamental fea-
tures, such as being made of translucent animal parchment which is then
decorated with transparent colors.

Blackham (1960:42) mentions how the shadow theater changed its
character after spreading into Turkey from the East:

The plays were different; they were no longer founded on religious epics, histori-
cal events or tales of romance. They were much nearer to everyday life. Their
characters were mainly taken from the streets, and their plays were full of comic.

When the Chinese shadow show was introduced into Persia (and from
Persia into Europe) Chinese plays were still performed (Holt 1967:131).
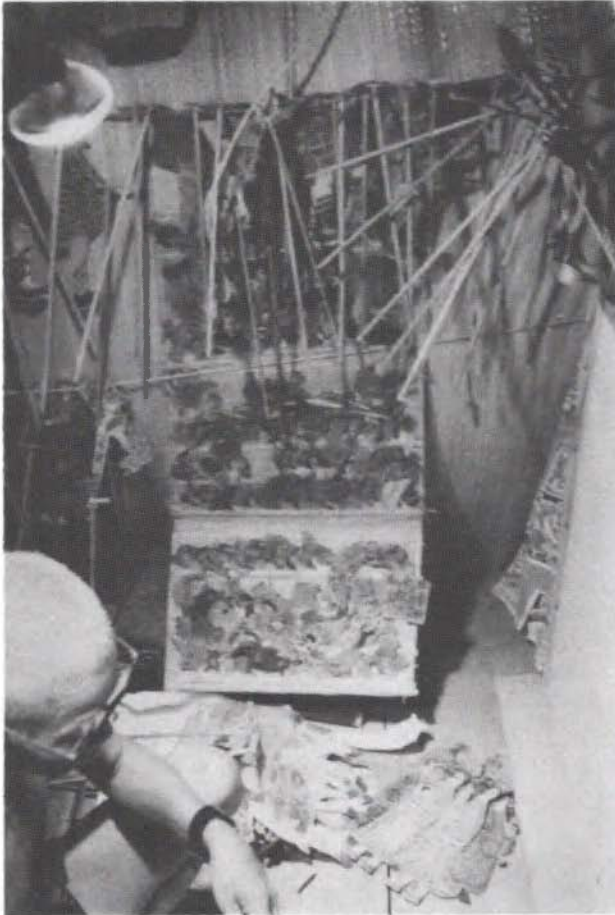
Plate 13.   Puppeteer Lung-hsi Ts'ai sitting on the stage floor behind the screen ready to begin a show. The electric light is shown in the upper left corner

But later, when this theater art was adopted by the Turks, the Chinese plays were replaced with local dramas (Blackham 1960:42).

The Turkish and Greek puppeteers did not change overnight the foreign cultural tones of the shadow theater they adopted. As Blackham mentions (1960:62), "The Greeks, like the Turks, use an orchestra. . . . All this music was originally Oriental in character. But now, in some theaters, the incidental music is becoming westernized . . . but the songs remain Oriental."

This changing of the content of the plays, the shape of the shadow puppets, and the music indicate the result of the successful integration of this performing art into the local cultures.

Plate 14.   Puppeteer Lung-hsi Ts'ai of Taiwan sitting on the stage floor behind the screen, manipulating puppets during a show

North Africa is an area where the relationship of the local shadow theater to that of China is not clear. Generally, scholars recognize that a number of Karagöz shadow shows related to the Turkish and Greek were popular in North Africa, including Tunis, Tripoli, Morocco, Algeria, and Egypt (Mills and Dunn 1927:210; Joseph 1936:39; Holt 1967:130). According to the above-mentioned sources, it is unlikely that the development of this kind of performing art in North Africa could have been established totally independently of outside influences, for instance of southeast Europe and the Near East.

Whether there is any relationship between Chinese shadow theater and the string and lever type of shadow theater of Western Europe is also not so clear. As noted above, only one Chinese source mentions one variety of shadow theater of Shensi, North China as the "thread and board lantern shadow show" (Ch'i 1957:27), and there is no further detail about the structure and the type of mounting of its figures. But a type of shadow theater with string and lever control might have existed or might still exist in North China. This leaves the possibility of establishing a structural relationship between the shadow theater art of Western Europe and that of China.

FINAL REMARKS

This is a tentative interpretation based on my preliminary observations. We must recognize the fact that each of the several types of shadow-puppet mounting developed in one geographical area is a cluster. It is impossible to verify that one center in a cluster developed independently, without any influence from neighboring centers. For example, it cannot be shown that the horizontal type of shadow puppet rod mounting developed in Turkey and Greece independently. Instead, the structural identity of the horizontal type of rod mounting that was developed in two areas, one the Near East and southeast Europe, the other southern China, should be considered, with historical reconstruction in mind, an example of the spreading of a cultural complex through contact.

The shadow theater is a distinctive kind of performing art, yet it is easily adapted by a society to its own local traditions. It is not surprising that it developed by clusters. It is of course highly hypothetical to consider China as a cluster responsible for the establishment of the cluster in Turkey, Greece, and North Africa, and of the cluster in Western Europe; but this hypothesis has been entertained by scholars. I have examined the distribution of shadow theater art in China from a structural point of view, and I have also tried, in a very preliminary way, to verify intercluster relationships through structural comparison.

The China origin hypothesis interprets the structural relationship between the shadow theaters with horizontal type shadow puppet rod mountings developed in Turkey and Greece, and in China; it also explains the potential structural relationship between shadow theaters with string and lever type of control developed in Western Europe and China. The validity of this hypothesis is still open to question. However, if we cannot rule out the possibility of early intercluster cultural contacts, neither can we ignore the possibility of following a combination of historical and structural approaches in order to understand the various types of shadow theater.

More structural comparisons within each cluster and between clusters will definitely shed light on the development of this performing art.

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Latin American Folk Arts and Crafts and Their Sources

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Of the three great cultural sources of Latin American arts and crafts, the Iberian, the African, and the Indian, it is the latter that is not only the oldest but the most manifold one. This is due, no doubt, to the many tribes as well as to the very different stages of culture they were in at the time of European contact. Within this diversity probably lie the reasons for the great variations in the folk art we find today.

At the time of contact there was no differentiation in the manufacture of arts and crafts among the marginal and forest tribes. Every family according to tribal customs made that which they needed in their household, as well as that which was needed for their festivals and ceremonies. Even at this stage, specially gifted individuals were asked to help their neighbors, whether they could paint beautiful decorations on pots or hides, or whether, as in the case of Andean communities, they were famous for their weaving designs or for their particularly fine preparation of colors.

It would seem then, that in pre-Columbian and even in pre-Incan societies a kind of specialization already had set in, especially in the areas where there existed highly complex cultures like those of Mexico, Guatemala, and most parts of the Andes. Documents and reports concerning the arts and crafts of this period are scarce; we must depend more on the objects that remain than on existing historic sources.

It is reported, however, that during the Inca reign the people not only had to pay taxes with a part of their harvest, but that some of their handicraft was sent to Cuzco as well. Textiles, sandals, pleated cords, and slings are mentioned, as well as some metal and stone work. The raw material came from the regional state depots, but we know nothing about the quality of the finished work. The best craftsmen, it seems, were sent to Cuzco to manufacture articles for the Inca and his court; it was about these objects of luxury that the Spanish reported.

The court of the Inca was not the sole beneficiary of the artisan's work. The *governadores* of the provinces, the *curacas* and some of the princes of the royal family also seem to have drawn the best artists to their households. From here their work found its way to the Inca court by way of gifts. These artists were valued enough to be exempted from farm labor and other services and were rewarded for their work by receiving whatever they needed from their masters. Their social status seems to have been very much like the *"yana"* or *"yanacona"*; they might have actually belonged to them. We know nothing, however, of their workshops or if they lived in concentrated groups, nor do we know if some of their output could be brought to the few markets that existed at the time either by themselves or someone else, to be bartered for other goods.

We know a little more about the arts and crafts of Mexico. Sahagun tells us that the artists formed a guild (*tolteca*) which had some things in common with the traders' guild (*pochteca*). (In Aztec opinion, the *toltec* was the bearer of a higher culture and therefore higher arts.) It would appear that the stone workers, the jewelers, the feather-mosaic workers, and the painters were highly regarded by their society. On the other hand makers of pottery, wood sculpture, lacquer and textile work are rarely mentioned. We know, however, from existing collections that the manufacturing standards of the latter artisans were high. It seems that the *tolteca* had closer relations with the *pochteca* than did other artisans, and that certain feasts were celebrated together. Within the guild whole families worked together. Like the *pochteca,* the *tolteca* lived in special quarters of the town, were exempt from any form of labor, and if of good reputation received many presents. They seem to have had a special social organization, but this probably ranked a bit lower than that of the traders' guild, which, because of the wide traveling potential, enjoyed a certain political influence that the *tolteca* lacked.

It would seem that even if we do not know much about the artists and craftsmen of pre-Columbian times, we can state definitely that they did have higher social status and more income than the ordinary citizen. This probably holds true for Andean countries as well, though we have less information for that area.

Strangely enough we know even less about the first two centuries of the colonial period. In the Andean area the Indians still had to pay tribute in kind, and occasionally records indicate that textiles, shoes, and other goods were given. It seems that special workshops were added to the *ayllus* to help the Indians pay the tribute as well as earn money to buy cattle, which they came to value highly. The money economy seems to have aided in the development of markets. In the eastern zone wood work is mentioned; in Racche, near Tinta, pottery flourished. Cuzco and Jauja

were famous for silver work, and there the artisans still used the old techniques even when new ones were introduced.

New techniques were introduced by padres. Jesuits in particular sent for lay brothers from Europe to man workshops they had created in conjunction with their colleges, some of which were part of the first universities in the New World. Some founded art schools as well. The many baroque churches in the highlands and other countries show that a remarkable development took place after the sharp breach with the old culture. Even if we know only a few names, one thing is certain: most of the artists leaving us baroque sculpture, painting, pottery, silverwork, and other items were Indians or mestizos. The few church fathers or brothers could well lead the schools and act as teachers but they could never have actually built all the churches and executed their interior decorations.

The folk art of the Americas must have started very early in the sixteenth century because it seems that the Spaniards and the Portuguese soon admired the beautiful handicraft of the Indians. The strong trend for Christianization became the second great influence on the folk arts, but the admiration of all the arts by the conquerors was great, as evidenced by their household collections and the manufacture of household goods for these *criollos*. Nearly everywhere they relished the finely carved or painted calabashes made from Cresentia or Lagenaria fruits. For this reason this very old art lived on until today, and in some countries, particularly Peru, became enriched with new techniques. In some other countries, however, their artistic value has gone down and today they are only plain utensils with a fleeting design.

The Spaniards highly esteemed the lacquer work they found in parts of Mexico. The large lacquered trunks, wardrobes, and other furniture, as well the enormous wooden plates (*bateas*), that were made to order for their households during the colonial period are priceless today.

In certain centers today, the lacquer work is still made in three ways. The first, found in Uruapán (Michoacán), is a rare but special, old one of the so-called *cloisonné* technique, which can be also found in archeological pieces. The second involves putting on two or more layers of lacquer in different colors, one over the other, and then cutting out figures and ornaments. This technique has its center today in Olinala in northwest Guerrero. The third kind is done by painting in various colors over a thick underground layer. A portion of the work done today is still beautiful and finely made, but some of the tourist lacquer work is much coarser and often ugly in color.

The lacquer itself is prepared from the wax or fat of a kind of louse living on certain trees, *aje* (*Coccus axin*). In Guatemala it is called *nij*. There it is used solely in one town, Rabinal, and in combination with the black *humo de ocote*, the burnt *ocote* pine. It is applied as a very thin layer of paint.

Mexico is the outstanding exception in the treatment of folk art, having some folk art centers which are functioning extremely well where truly authentic forms of folk art are made by old techniques, even though many of their small objects are manufactured expressly for tourists.

Excellent artists are still given opportunities to create new things for exhibitions which are well worth seeing. Some show that they are profoundly influenced by the old pre-Columbian tradition, such as the potters of Acatlán (Puebla) or Ameyaltepec (Guerrero), while other pottery centers like Tonalá, Izucar de Matamoros, Metepec, Atzompa, etc. show distinctly Spanish influence (*talavera*, for instance) in technique as well as ornamentation.

In pre-Columbian Peru there was another center where high quality ceramic art was produced. Today pottery is still made in many places, coarse types for daily use, and, in some centers, finely made animal or human figures, many of them symbols of old ceremonies or feasts, like the bulls of Pucara (actually from Santiago de Pupuja) near Puno, or the animals and figures from Quinua near Ayacucho. As of old, some of these are still used in ceremonies and feasts. There are some fine artists among the potters of Cuzco, Tinta, Quinua, and other places, but now more and more small pieces are made. While in 1970 exquisite objects were to be found at the government-sponsored shop, the quality had gone down considerably by 1972, though good pieces could be found now and then, mainly in markets and in artists' workshops.

All the ceramic objects mentioned above are modeled freely without benefit of a potter's wheel. They are polished, slipped, and sometimes painted. If they are glazed at all, it is done only in part, as with the bulls and other figures of Pucara. The potter's wheel is used only where the Spanish influence prevails. The bowls and plates are painted in some baroque-like leaf and flower ornament, sometimes combined with birds, fish, or frogs, and then glazed. In Ecuador, strangely enough, the old Indian influence has nearly disappeared, and even the Indian-made and Indian-used ceramics show the above-mentioned flowery ornamentation and a salt glaze in parts.

In Brazil, where the original Indian ceramics, if they existed at all, were much simpler than those of the Andean area, it was the Jesuits again who introduced the potter's wheel and added workshops to the colleges. The hot climate encouraged the production of many kinds of water jars, pots, and bottles in which water remained cool. Each of these forms had a special name and they were usually red-slipped with *taua*, polished, and painted, for the most part, in white with a flowery, baroque design, influenced by Portuguese and Spanish ware. Apart from these centers, there are little towns and villages where the pottery has an obvious pre-Columbian origin, as in Xique-Xique, for instance, on the affluent of the Rio São Francisco. Here potters work without the wheel in the very

old spiral technique. The same thing occurs in Caatinguinha where the men fish and the women make pottery. Apart from the painted jars, one can find almost everywhere bottles or flasks in human or animal shapes (ducks, chickens, doves, bulls, or sheep). At times the head, hat, or a basket on the head are actually the stoppers with which the bottles are closed.

There are also to be found the *caxixis*, or small human or animal figures of clay, left natural or sometimes crudely painted. Some very primitive ones are to be found in the markets (*feira de caxixi* on Good Friday), while others of excellent quality are made by well-established artists. The latter often mold not just one figure, but whole groups, making scenes of everyday life keenly portrayed. One of the first artists who made this special kind of art fashionable was Vitalino of Caruarú, Pernambuco. Though he is dead now, four of his sons and a daughter are still working, and one of the sons is nearly as good as he was. Vitalino also had several pupils and followers, of which I think Zé Caboclo is the most gifted.

Though very much a part of the folk art of Brazil today, the custom of modeling many little figures and scenes of daily life would seem to have come from Portugal, where one finds innumerable little painted figures and groups of figures, often crudely done, in museums and in the bodegas. Among them however are pieces of naive art. Some of these figures must have been exported to Brazil, for Vitalino has said that his first figures, which he sold himself at the markets as a young boy, were inspired by imported Portuguese figurines.

The style of the Brazilian ceramic figures differ from that of Peru. The Brazilian art is light and full of humor and primitive charm. The people seem to laugh at themselves, even though their life is hard. The Andean sculptures on the other hand are severe, sometimes full of despair, and the motifs are more often religious than in Brazil.

If we concern ourselves now with the third great source of folk art, the African influence, it can be observed at once that the African element plays but a little role in the ceramic art. Clay seems to be the raw material preferred by the Indian cultures from earliest times, and it was the Indians and mestizos who showed interest in the new techniques that were introduced. Of course, as in any such instance there may be exceptions.

On the other hand, many of the good wood carvers and sculptors evince evidence of African backgrounds, both racially and culturally. Wooden artifacts that have been proven to be pre-Columbian and of Indian origin show none of the fine attributes of the ancient clay designs.

The Bush-Negroes of Surinam and other parts of Guyana have kept the love of wood carvings as an expressive art form. These peoples, living in special communities after their escape from the sugar plantations near the coast (1651–1690), show many African traits in their culture with little or no Indian influence. But wood carving, which exists on a large scale, has

changed its character. The round-block carvings depicting human forms, wherein the wood stick is still visible and which typifies such African carvings, is nearly absent in the Guyana setting. Instead, one finds a great predeliction for relief decoration — sometimes in a kind of plait-design on small objects like combs and spoons as well as on drums, chairs, and even on their houses. This same prevalence for relief is found among the few Indian wood carvings in the Amazonas as well as on spoons and forks in the Andes! In the field of ceramics, on the other hand, the Bush-Negroes make only a crude black type without any ornament.

Many of today's excellent wood sculptors of northeastern Brazil appear to be both culturally and racially of African descent. Within recent historical times Brazil's most famous sculptor in wood and soft soapstone (*pedra de sabão*) was Antonio Francisco Lisboa, or Alejadinho (1730–1814), the son of a Portuguese father and an African mother.

An exception in the wood carving seem to be the masks. Masks existed in many parts of Latin America in pre-Columbian times, but these were seldom made of wood, though there were the usual exceptions to the case. Some Xingú tribes had them, and occasionally wooden masks were used in Peruvian or Chilean graves; these were used over the faces of the dead or attached to the head portion of a burial bundle. Most of the mask examples, however, were made of bark cloth, bark, and furs, while in the Andean areas some were also made of metals.

The Christian orders coming to the New World not only brought passion plays, great processions at Corpus Christi and at the feasts of patron saints of various churches, but they also encouraged the introduction of a lot of popular lay plays, customary in that period on the Iberian Peninsula. Many Advent, Christmas, or All-Souls customs were introduced as well; they were taken over and reshaped in the New World into new feasts, very often mixed with festivities of its own cultural history including the addition of new masked characters or changes in the old masked and unmasked characters.

It was at the time of this acculturative period that the main appearance of the wooden and papier-mâché masks occurred, many of them real works of art. Particularly elaborate and beautiful ones can still be found in Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras, where their creators are mostly mestizos. Wood carving among the Maya must have had a long tradition, if we may judge by some of the carved lintels that remain in some of the Mayan ruins. Here the Indians, too, used to carve. In Ecuador there are also excellent wood carvers who do relief work on furniture, but their work appears to have been inspired by the Spaniards.

In the Andean area the makers of masks seemed to prefer papier-mâché or some other form of mastic such as plaster, sometimes mixed with mashed potatoes or other substances known only to their inventors. Here the masks are wildly and colorfully painted. The characters wearing

them are usually called "devils" today, but originally they were intended
to represent demons of the mountains or some other locale and were
mostly evil in intent. In the old plays they often "submitted" to the
Christian God.

Returning to the African influence, it is important to note that because
the Africans brought to South America as slaves were scattered around
the entire rim of the continent, tribal connections were difficult to main-
tain. Unable to store their material belongings on the overcrowded ships,
they brought instead a rich, cultural luggage stored, as it were, in their
heads. A large part of this that was to survive in the New World was their
love of music and rhythm; they were able to make the musical instru-
ments they had used at home. Of the percussion instruments, drums
offered the largest variety. Although the Indians had drums as well, the
difference is clearly definable. Among other kinds, the xylophone, soon
called the marimba, has actually become the national instrument of
Guatemala and is used a great deal in Nicaragua and other countries. The
Guatemaltecans say that the Maya had a similar instrument made of
various gourds.

Rattles were used by the Indians, and very often they served magical as
well as musical or rhythmic purposes. But it was the Africans who used
them everywhere, and some forms, especially the type with a net tied with
large seeds around a calabash, are pure African. These latter gourd rattles
are to be found in the *candomblé* ceremonies today. The *reco-reco* rasp,
like the Caribbean *scratchy*, and other scraping instruments are probably
African in origin. On the other hand, the many kinds of flutes and
trumpets are mainly Indian, while the harps, guitar, violin, and other
stringed instruments are certainly of Iberian origin. The exception would
be the *berimbau*, or string bow, which is African and which nowadays is
preferred for use in the *capoeira* dance. The old African *sansa* may still be
found occasionally in Brazil and Venezuela, and the African *agogo*, the
iron gong, is an important instrument in the *candomblés* and *macumbas*.

It would be impossible in the scope of this work to give all the examples
of characteristic folk art forms. The few examples that have been given,
however, seem especially characteristic to me. Generally, the capacity of
the people to express themselves in art over three centuries is quite
remarkable. Many of these people live in the countryside; many are
peasants with a small house and scarcely enough land to yield food to feed
them, but they often have a surplus of time. Some of them do not work the
fields at all but live in small country towns where they have a tiny
workshop. The artist himself, or his wife, brings his output to the market.
Or they work in cooperatives, selling their goods through these organiza-
tions in towns. Some artists even work for government stores or tourist
shops in principal cities. And it is exactly at this point that there is the
great danger for real art. Tourist shops order small, cheap things by the

dozen or even hundreds but do not care in the slightest about good, authentic material, nor do the government stores in some countries. Unfortunately "folk art" often does not come under the jurisdiction of the ministry of education or culture but under that of trade and commerce, which places the matter in the hands of merchants and not those of artists or folklore specialists, even though every country in Latin America has such specialists. It is in precisely this area that something should be done, and as quickly as possible, because almost every year more of the old, valuable folk art is lost.

I do not wish to convey the idea that I think people should not make things for tourists. Rather I believe that very soon a distinction must be made between real, creative folk art and the simple handicraft churned out by the hundreds. Even the latter can be good; if it were, it would sell more not less. I am also in favor of encouraging handicraft and applied art of better quality, for if the artists in the countryside or small communities (especially in marginal areas) could improve their lot by increased sales of quality crafts, the rise in their standard of living might encourage them to stay where they are rather than to migrate to big, overpopulated cities.

The techniques of artists and craftsmen as well as their special status in their communities ought to be closely studied. We know that their social status in pre-Columbian times was higher than that of the general citizen. We do not know much about this in small communities today. We know only that an occasional artist with talent and luck is able to break away from anonymity to become famous on a small scale, even if only within a certain circle of interested people. Examples of this are the wood carvers and ceramists on the periphery of Bahia or Pernambuco in Brazil. There are a few shops, a few galleries, museums, and folklore institutes that value the work of these artists and encourage them. The same thing happens in Mexico. In Peru, at least among a small group of people, the work of some calabash decorators, ceramists, and plaster and papier-mâché sculptors is known, esteemed, and encouraged.

It is frustrating to know that there are other artists and other types of handicraft in countries all over the world that are not receiving proper attention. I would like to end this article with a plea to you to become more involved in the study of folk art and crafts and to encourage the raising of its standard of quality. Folk art is still very much alive in Latin America — much more so than in Europe. I am sorry to say — and I believe that with a little assistance and encouragement the living standard of some of the country people could be raised. This would provide them with that which they badly need: self-esteem, an appreciative audience and a market, and an elevated social status in their own community and in their own country.

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Human Imponderables in the Study of African Art

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For more than forty years scholars have been publishing studies on both traditional and contemporary African art. The majority of these works have dealt with the finished art form and its role in regional styles and indigenous traditions. These studies are impressive and useful, but even more effective in studies of art is the growing amount of behavioral research on the role of art in traditional society as a nonverbal symbol in a particular belief system and as part of a unique value system. Thus, to the admiration for sculptural and design qualities has now been added an appreciation of the complexity and sophistication of the belief systems from which such symbols of feeling come. The next logical step in under-standing is, of course, the sharpening of methodological tools which will enable anthropologist and art historian alike to examine in greater depth the processes involved in creativity and in the role played by the aes-thetically creative individual in culture change.

It is because of such creative artists and their often remarkable talents that more attention should be paid to the degrees of receptivity to change that are manifested in the borrowing of techniques, materials, and design elements from other cultures by African artists. In this variable recep-tivity to change can be discovered many of the reasons for which whole societies have redirected their tastes and symbols. It would certainly seem to have been the curiosity and resultant borrowing, as well as the inven-tiveness, of a hundred generations or more of West African artists that have led to the creation of thousands of design elements and styles and to the technical achievements of this area of the world.

My own areas of methodological interest in approaching problems concerning the creation of aesthetic forms in the visual arts will become very apparent in this paper; first, my approach to the study of African art is primarily that of an ethnohistorian; and second, when dealing with the dynamics of creativity and the borrowing of design elements for reworking, my approach is that of a professional artist in graphic and plastic arts in my own culture.

It is this dual approach to the study of West African art in particular that has led me to a specific interest in so many of the problems that have manifested themselves in this field; problems that are concerned with the unmeasurable, the unweighable, the unclassifiable, or the plainly unpredictable. Therefore, I have chosen a number of examples of such problems that illustrate all too well our neglect of obvious human characteristics, such as "hidden" language, as in invention of communication to hide meanings or even physical location of places, common among acculturated peoples when dealing with members of a dominant society. These examples also illustrate our own frailties as scholars, as when we tend to fall in love with our own hypotheses, models, paradigms we have carefully and most logically constructed. We forget too easily that each individual who is a member of the West African community that we are studying is *not* the "compleat man" or "compleat woman" we would like him or her to be . . . and, particularly when we are studying the area of aesthetics, we should remember that the consumer of aesthetic goods is not thinking along the same lines as is the creator of art forms when he or she is in the process of making them. The experience of creativity and all its ramifications are a world apart. It is not the other side of the coin of appreciation. More than anything else, the examples selected for this paper illustrate the human imponderable, that element of unpredictable reaction by either society, or subgroup, or individual that is triggered by historical chance or by "cultural accident." In some instances, my hypotheses have been based on fieldwork and information from informants, in other instances on the fieldwork and information of other scholars, to which I have added a possible new direction, and in some instances I have gained a historical perspective and hypothesis from published historical sources.

HISTORICAL CONTACTS WITH WEST AFRICA AND THE SAHARA BY THE ANCIENT WORLD

For the past twenty-five years, the burgeoning of interest in the historical development of the cultures of Africa has multiplied at an incredible rate the amount of scholarly research available in every aspect imaginable. Archeology, prehistory, social and cultural anthropology, linguistics, and psychology are only some of the broader fields in which have arisen

researchers interested in every aspect of the past, present, and potential future of today's Africans. The accumulation of scholarly publications is becoming greater all the time, but still it represents only a tiny fraction of its potential. Those scholars who have worked in West Africa in particular are all too conscious of the enormous gaps in their knowledge. Ethnohistorians, who must of necessity rely on every scrap of information available from a great diversity of sources, still work on a great jigsaw puzzle full of large gaps of missing pieces. They are driven people, who tenaciously stay with their chosen work because they are fascinated and forever intrigued by the inventiveness, psychological resilience, and determination of Africans, past and present, who spread out over one of the most inhospitable continents in the world for man, and who not only survived but multiplied because of those very qualities and characteristics. One of the most remarkable living laboratories in the world for the study of the physical and psychological survival of man against the vicissitudes of nature found in the Sahel, the savannas, and the forests, swamps, and waterways of West Africa.

Only in the past twenty years have we realized that the cradle of most of the African civilizations was the grasslands and waterways of the vast area now known as the Sahara Desert. Thanks to the discovery of the rock paintings of Tassili by Henri Lhote (Lajoux 1963; Davidson 1966b: 43–57), there is a clearer picture of the physical appearance of these peoples and their culture, and also of the peoples who traversed the area, their appearance, their clothing, and their animals. The evidence is strongly in favor of the recorders of this life having been the negroid herders and horticulturists who recorded their deities and ceremonies, their everyday activities and visitors, with great artistic talent and vivacity. Drawn between approximately 5000 B.C. and 3500 B.C., some of the content is an incredible testimony to the stability of culture and its elements. For example, there are costumes and facial cosmetics for ceremonies today in the Ivory Coast that are almost identical to those depicted in the Massif of Tassili.

The gradual drying of this vast area, now the Sahara, took place over the period of time from approximately 5300 B.C. to 2500 B.C. A thousand years of forced migration went on that moved myriads of people and animals outward toward the northern mountains and the Mediterranean littoral, where they joined the Berbers and Libyans; southward, they spread into the old Sudan which stretched from Lake Chad to the Atlantic in the west. Some, abandoning their cattle when the tse-tse fly became an invisible barrier to the south, continued into the savannahs and forests of the Guinea coast, where they encountered the smaller forest peoples and, living side by side with them, later came to blend their lifeways with those of the earlier peoples.

Until the 1950's, there was surmise concerning the accessibility of West

Africa to the peoples of the Mediterranean and the northeastern region of Africa. The paintings of Tassili give us depictions of Egyptians (at least one) and of what appear to be Phoenician women, riding placid oxen, wearing capes, and with hair of blond and red tones, coiffed in styles reminiscent of the 1950's. White, red-bearded sheep herders and black hunters and horticulturists-cattle herders, all are there. There are schematic drawings of chariots and cryptic designs and marks that appear to be a form of writing that could have been notations made by trading peoples versed in commerce. The herdsmen-horticulturists, who were as creative and observant as these Sahara dwellers appear to have been, must have borrowed all manner of items, ranging selectively from food and tools to clothing and adornment, to add to their own inventions of social organization. Those who eventually migrated southward must have carried a formidable cultural luggage with them that was later to help form the basis of the great kingdoms of West Africa.

A growing number of historians and anthropologists are now acknowledging that another later influence on West Africa came from the Kushites of the Upper Nile, who, for at least seventy-five years at one point were the Black Pharoahs of Egypt. These peoples were the iron smelters that provided the Indian Ocean trade with iron and objects of iron for the era from the third century B.C. to the middle of the fourth century A.D. It would appear that they were not wiped out by their once-middlemen from Axum at the latter date, but that, with many of the Nubians who lived with them in a symbiotic relationship as their farmers, they migrated southwest and westward to the Lake Chad area. From this point some went further west and some made their way south into what is now Nigeria. A whole civilization does not migrate in a haphazard fashion. Exploration for sources of iron ore must have been going on for a long period of time, for the appearance of iron tools in West Africa has been set in the third century B.C. by archeologists. These tools appear to have been introduced and a knowledge of smelting disseminated widely over a relatively short period of time, bronze and brass and lost-wax casting being introduced at a much later date.

It would seem that it is to the people of Kush and their Nubian potters and farmers that the art of West Africa owes the elements of Egyptian-like designs, not to the Egyptians themselves. In fact, Lawal suggests that perhaps the Egyptians and Libyans owe more to the migrating black inhabitants of the drying Sahara than has been suspected, particularly in the areas of symbolism and religion (Lawal 1976:225–251). Not only has there been found a veritable "trail" of Nubian pot remains in the Sudan north of Nigeria (Raymond Mauny, personal communication), but some of the designs on ancient Nubian pots are the same as some of the design elements found in Nok sculpture, as in the exaggerated ear forms. The four-petal "flower" design that appears in the background of the bronze

plaques from the royal palace in Benin City has been treated by art historians as having no known provenance but Benin. However, an examination of these same Nubian pots and of a bas-relief illustration shows the same "floral" form. The latter is found in a pattern filling the space beneath the throne of a seated human figure with a ram's head, depicting Amon, on a black stone stela from Meroe (Davidson 1966b:49 and 55).

Archeologists are still searching for evidence to gain a clearer picture of the extent of Coptic influence in Upper Egypt and west into the old Sudan. Certainly some elements of design and technology entered West Africa through trade or direct influence of Christian Coptic travelers. For example, the Coptic woven shawls of Alexandria and the *Ogboni* Society "shawl" in Ijebu-ode, southern Nigeria, shown in Plate 1, are uncannily similar in design placement of damask motifs and widths of cut-pile weaving; both are made of handspun white cotton thread with the damask motif in color. Similar soft white pile cloth is used to diaper Yoruba babies. Frobenius collected an account from the Nupe, who claimed that they had learned brass-casting from the people of Issa, or Jesus, who came from a city of white buildings with red (tile) roofs and bronze doors. Frobenius conjectured that they meant the then-Constantinople, forgetting that Alexandria lay between (Frobenius 1913). While it is popular these days to discount much of Frobenius' field data, Ita, checking on unpublished data of the former, finds that we would do well to reexamine it in the light of new finds that verify many of the accounts given him by Yoruba informants (Ita 1972). The cross appears in both Nupe and Bini bronzes, but today its origin is lost in a confusion of explanations that vary from individual to individual.

There is no doubt that the extraction of iron from the abundant ore in West Africa and the forging of long-wearing tools enabled the Africans to clear more land for food-producing fields and make weapons for more efficient hunting and warfare. When these were coupled with skills for social organization and government, the result was a series of civilizations in West Africa that eventually rivaled those of Europe and the Middle East, even though they were to remain unknown to Europeans for many hundreds of years.

The complexity and variation in West African cultures are a testimony to the great time span over which the forces of stimulus diffusion and acculturation, acceptance and rejection of new ideas from changing concepts within their own society or borrowed from others, were changing the lives of hundreds of thousands of people. Only in the most tentative of ways may one attempt to predict that which people will accept or reject. Only great familiarity with the values, goals, beliefs, and technology of a given society can give an outsider a clue to the probability of the degree of acceptance or rejection of new ideas, art, or technical inventions. If art forms and their means of production are a form of communication with
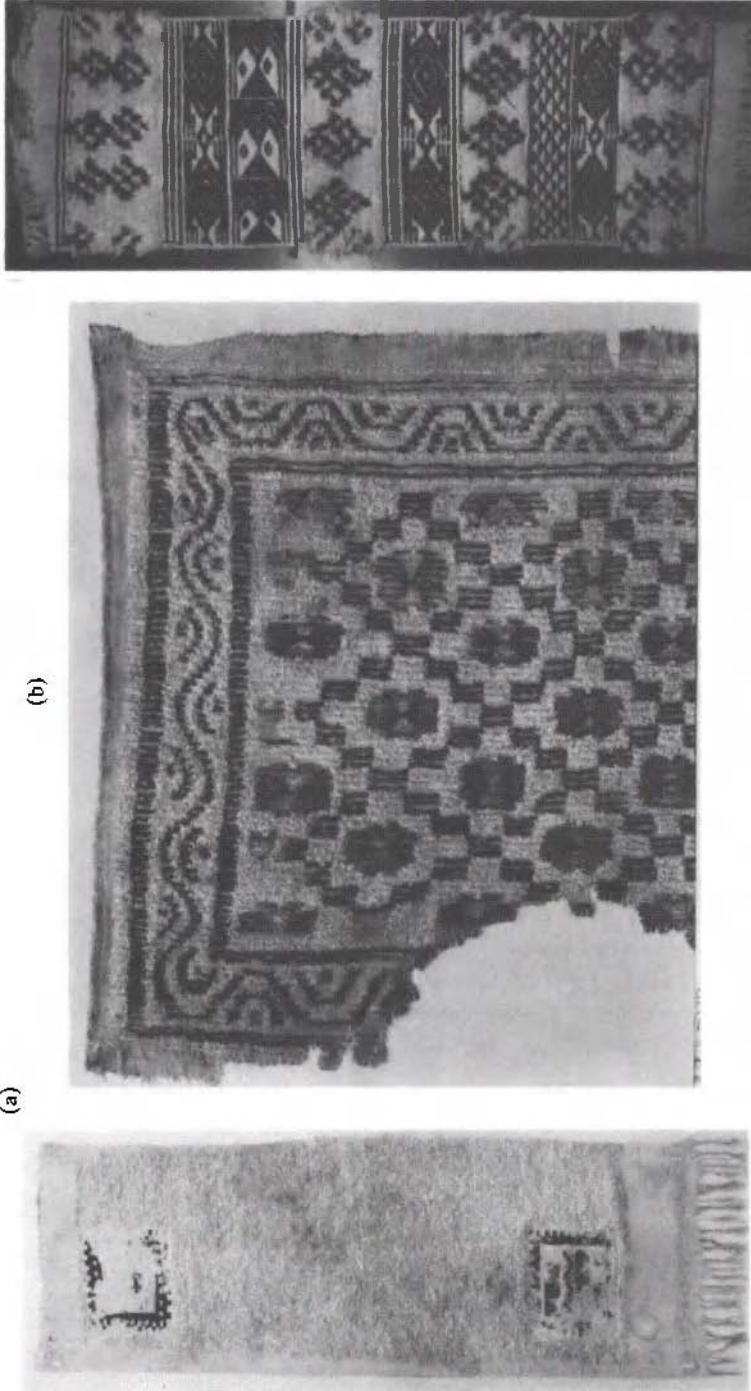
Plate 1. (a) Complete long shawl with string pile and carried-thread motifs. Coptic, Alexandria. Courtesy of Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago. (b) Detail of a Coptic shawl design. Courtesy of Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago. (c) Obgoni Society shawl of membership, with turtle and crocodile motifs done in carried thread (damask) and bands of *shaki* (villae) pile weaving (cut). Ijebu Yoruba, Nigeria

the past, we owe more than admiration of form and analysis of symbolism to their vital creators. We owe their makers the use of every intellectual tool at our disposal to show how the creative processes in a few individuals can mirror the invention and receptivity to change of their lifeway. In the research to make this possible, using the clues available to us, we can uncover unsuspected contacts between great peoples and great changes wrought by single individuals and can illustrate that principle for which we are learning such great respect, that stability of culture can coexist with change. The following case histories and incidents will, I hope, illustrate some of this in the history of West African art.

WRITING IN WEST AFRICAN ART?

The most intriguing question of all the problems that have yet to be solved concerning the dynamics of West African art is the possible presence of forms of writing. This can be termed "hidden" writing only in the sense that non-Africans and even a majority of contemporary West Africans are completely unaware of its existence. Generations of scholars, students of African societies and culture, have reiterated what they thought to be a fact, that these peoples, builders of some of the most complex kingdoms in the medieval world, were completely nonliterate until Islamic conquerors arrived in the ninth century and the Europeans came with schools in the nineteenth century.

A perfectly commonplace set of circumstances has combined to keep previous references to such writing and analysis of it from students of African art:

1. There exists a natural but deplorable weakness in scholarship that keeps students and researchers from literature other than that printed in the language with which they are most familiar.[1]

2. Leading researchers in a given field are not always as generous as they are erudite. Frequently there is "damning with faint praise" of really important work, either because the reviewer is aware that the discoverer is from another discipline than his own or because there is professional jealousy involved which is hidden from colleagues, students, and information-seeking researchers.[2]

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[1] I.e. Kathleen Hau's thorough explorations of the subject and her historical and statistically thorough work were published by the French in the *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noir*. The French scholars, aware of the importance of her analysis, have published every one of her papers. *They were published in English* in this French bulletin.

[2] Mrs. Hau's papers were sent to the Institut Français de l'Afrique Noire because a group of interested and supportive professors at the University of California, Berkeley, "voted" to send them to France, knowing that the French were interested in this type of work and that she would not encounter professional jealousies that might otherwise hold up the publication in this country or the U.K. Mrs. Hau received her B.A. in economics at Stanford

3. There is not enough exploration of research in fields which are unfamiliar to the researcher, or in which the researcher may feel inadequate, or in which he or she may not be interested.[3]

Certainly the chronicles and early fieldwork of such men as Meek and Talbot in Nigeria have mentioned forms of indigenous writing, but it remained for Paul Mercier of I.F.A.N. (1962) and Kathleen Hau (1959) to draw attention to the connection between such writing forms (cursive) and what appeared, heretofore, to be simply decorative art work.

Hau's first paper (1959) contains the explanation of her interest in the Bini royal ancestral ivory tusks in the British Museum. These are elaborately carved with figures of the royal court and various animals. Trained to see patterns in economics and an amateur cryptographer as well, Hau became another of the individuals who, like Michael Ventris with Linear B, was to make a significant contribution to linguistics and to art as well. The clusters of figures and animals and symbols of office did not seem haphazard in arrangement to her. She has had a great many tusks drawn for her study, and, combined with these, has studied the drawings of similar tusks, an ivory box, ivory bracelets, and cups in von Luschan's *Altertümer von Benin*. She made a careful listing of each design element, both alone and in combination with other design elements, with any variation of these that manifested itself. She then had a text written for her in Bini by a university student from Benin. The syllables and phonemes and the number of times they occurred were recorded. Then with help of two prominent members of the Statistics Bureau at the University of California at Berkeley and a graduate student in statistics, Hau made a statistical comparison of the symbols and sounds to see if they were dealing with a syllabary. The statistics showed a probable error that was too high, but the results were published in order to put forward her hypothesis and gain the assistance of others in the field. In the paper she mentions the possibility that the ivories in von Luschan might be in a different language, which have skewed the results. When I first met Mrs. Hau in 1964, I concurred with the latter conclusion, because I was familiar with Owo Yoruba style, and many of the pieces in von Luschan appear to be gifts from the Olowo of Owo to the ɔba of Benin.

Putting aside her analysis of the writing on the Bini ivories, Hau went on to historical research and the analysis of indigenous cursive writing.

University and her M.A. at the University of California in Berkeley in social institutions and spent a year at the London School of Economics in graduate studies. It was during this sojourn in London that she became interested in the Bini elephant tusks in the British Museum.

[3]   Students do not seem to be directed toward possible sources of rich material that they might not find on their own. My students are urged to comb the journals of agriculture, mining, economics, history, and, in the case of Dalby, the *Journal of African Linguistics*. Ideally, students should be exploring techniques and materials, economics, and the history of trade in the ancient world and the present.

Her comparisons of some of the contemporary indigenous scripts of West Africa with ancient writing from the Mediterranean, such as Linear A, have become a point of contention with some linguists, who feel that Hau's lack of formal training in that field negates any right on her part to make statements concerning such comparisons. David Dalby, head of the International African Institute in London, has been particularly critical of Hau's hypotheses. Yet she has shown comparisons of clusters of almost identical cursive characters which seem to show some kind of link between the Mediterranean peoples and the West Africans and which we cannot simply ignore. Dalby's principal criticisms are two: first, how, he asks, could any peoples remember symbols for three or four thousand years, particularly when thousands of miles and a desert separate the borrowers from the senders? His second criticism is concerned with what he terms Hau's "unscientific" comparison of Linear A and earlier Minoan characters with the Oberi Okaime writing invented early in this century (Dalby 1968:160–161). In particular, he means the comparison of characters without knowing their phonetic value.

David Dalby is a linguist who has given us as comprehensive a picture of the history and development of contemporary indigenous writing in West Africa as it would be possible to achieve. His work is ongoing and thorough. His conclusions, as he says himself, are based on the material available to him, and he backs them with the soundest of investigation (the four articles used as references here should be in the reprint collection of every West African scholar). He is generous in admitting that some of his conclusions may be in error for lack of better evidence of historical connections, but one can only take pleasure in examining such sound and scholarly work in a field that would soon frustrate a lesser researcher into grinding to a halt.

Dalby freely admits that all the evidence that he found seems to point to indigenous, pre-Islamic forms of writing.

It is also possible — and perhaps more likely — that the concept of the syllable, and hence of a syllabary, arose from indigenous elements in West African culture, such as the use of monosyllabic pictograms and ideograms, and the widespread traditional use of spoken "codes," in which meaningless syllables are inserted not only between words but also between the constituent syllables of polysyllabic words. An indigenous source for the "syllabic" concept would explain not only the apparent lack of any experimentation by the Vai [Sierra Leone] and Djuka [Surinam] inventors, but also the rapidity with which the Bamum and Bete inventors succeeded in their own separate experiments (Dalby 1968:168).

My purpose in citing the work of the two scholars, Dalby and Hau, is, first, because I believe students of comparative aesthetics and history of art should know their research and hypotheses; and, second, because Hau started me on a line of research for hidden writing in Yoruba and Bini art

forms that has turned up some interesting phenomena. I should add that I have been encouraged in this by linguists in anthropology who believe that Hau really has come upon something in West African art that would withstand further testing, leading to important revelations of varieties of writing and culture contacts that are suspected at the present time but not scientifically verified.

There are a number of quite valid reasons that informants do not rush forward to confirm the presence of writing, even if asked directly concerning it. Both Dalby and Hau point out that the use of such writing is generally found in small groups, such as, possibly, secret societies of a religious nature, and is not known to a society in general. For example, Anne Bowen recently told the story of the painted murals on the *afin* [palace] of the Alafin of Oyo (Bowen 1977). She also mentions some bas-relief designs in a back corridor of an older portion of the complex of buildings. No one in the palace, it would seem, suggested to Bowen that there might be a syllabary here to explain the arrangement of design elements on the walls. Yet in 1950, one of the drummers on the porch before the murals came over to my interpreter to ask why the European was looking at the murals so carefully and taking pictures of them. When it was explained that I was looking for familiar symbols of deities, he pointed out some smaller symbols on a bottom row. One of these was a kind of capital V whose upper lines curved to the outside. "That," he said, "is Şango, the god of thunder. He is here in many places because he was once a prince of the Yoruba people." The curving V, he explained, was the nose and two horns of the ram. Oh, the wisdom of hindsight. Not only did I not pursue this further at the time, but I am reminded that in a rereading of my field notes after exposure to Mrs. Hau's work, I found that I had written, after questioning informants on some points of historical reference in Benin City, "I wonder why they tell me to go read the walls of the palace?" On those walls, partially obliterated by rain's action on clay, were bas-relief compositions of kings, priests, and warriors with their attendants.

Since one of Dalby's criticisms of the work of Hau has to do with the great period of time and great distances involved in contacts between Mediterranean peoples and the societies of West Africa, we should examine at this point some phenomena that have a direct bearing on this problem. These phenomena demonstrate that it is quite possible to have such retentions.

1. The rock paintings of Tassili show that there was direct contact between the herder-horticulturists of the central Sahara with Mediterranean peoples who appear to be Phoenician.[4] This contact may have

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[4] According to Gordon (1965:105), Mycenian, Minoan, and the later Greek are all rooted in a Semitic language stock, and the Minoans were in part the Semites of the eastern Mediterranean as well as those from the Nile Delta. By 1800 B.C. these peoples were

continued for several hundred, or even several thousand, years; certainly long enough for a priestly few, perhaps, to become familiar with alphabets and syllabaries.

2. Long vocabulary lists have survived in the languages of Senegal, such as Peul and Wolof, that are almost identical to similar Copt and Egyptian lists of words, although the peoples were separated by the same thousands of years *and* miles as were the peoples using the Semitic-rooted Linear A and the West Africans (C. A. Diop 1973).

3. Some of the dance costumes and masks of the Tassili paintings are very similar to those in use in the Ivory Coast today.

4. Dance movements of the people in the Tassili drawings and paintings are still in use in the Ivory Coast and among the Fon in Benin (Dahomey) today.

5. Some of the time depth is involved in the genealogy of the Yoruba and Bini crowns discussed later in this paper.

6. Hau discovered that the Oberri Okaime script has as names of some of the months of the year the names of important deities in Ethiopia when the South Arabs reached there in approximately A.D. 500. That this is South Semitic with Thamudic symbols has been confirmed by now-retired Professor F. V. Wynette of the University of Toronto, according to Mrs. Hau.

One of Dalby's discoveries concerning the use of Bambara indigenous writing could have been written of the Yoruba as well.

The symbols are used for ritual and magical purposes, in a wide variety of social contexts, and — according to local tradition — they were also used formerly by the "royal administration" for the conveyance of messages and reports, engraved on calabashes or on wood (although there is no surviving evidence of any such usage) (1968:180).

I have in my possession two carved calabashes that may be a link between characters used in writing and some form of "writing" in other forms and media of Yoruba and Bini art. Plate 2(a) shows a calabash

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entrenched in the island they had selected as the base of their sea operations of trading, and 600 years later other Semites from the Nile Delta moved northeast to conquer the land of Canaan and establish themselves as the Hebrew kingdom. Gordon tells of his eight years of hard work establishing the link between the writing of Minoan, Hebrew, and Greek only to read in the work of a 4th century author, L. Septimus, that Nero, emperor of Rome from 54 to 68 A.D., knew that the ancient texts on Crete were Phoenician. (The mother of King Minos was Europa, a Phoenician princess.)

The three forms of writing of this Minoan world were pictographs, Linear A, and Linear B. These systems overlapped chronologically, with pictographs repeated in simplified outline in both Linear A and Linear B. Linear B, found on Crete, consisted of lists of goods, but there were also inscriptions containing full sentences; and it was the sentence structure that confirmed the writing's Semitic base. Minoans also employed acrophony, which means that the phonetic value of each syllable is the opening sound of the word it depicts. Some of the indigenous scripts of West Africa employ this same principle in their syllabaries.

(a)
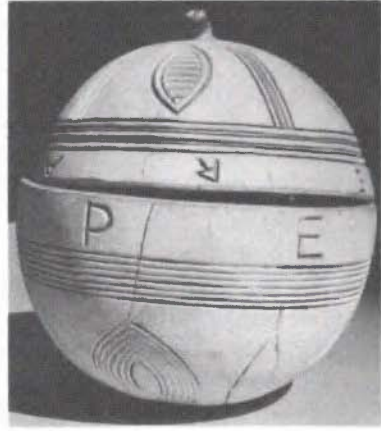
(b)

(c)

(d)

Plate 2. (a) Shallow calabash bowl made for the author by calabash carvers of Oyo, Nigeria. They spelled out phrases on both the bottom and the cover, rather than giving only the initial letter, as is usually done (see [b]). (b) Type of calabash that has incised designs, which are blackened after body has been whitened with chalk. Single letters denote first letter of each word of proverb phrase, not necessarily entire proverb (such as, ". . . a stitch in time . . ."). Yoruba. Oyo, Nigeria. (c) Family stool, Ijebu Yoruba. If the syllabary principle that has been discovered in other so-called "invented" West African writing is followed here, we are looking at what is probably the name of the family in the repeated three motifs. Ijebu-ode, Nigeria. (d) Ifa divination tray. Face of Esu at the top faces the priest or diviner. Linguists say that the symbols seem to move clockwise and might also be syllabary writing rather than just design motifs known to represent an entire proverb. Yoruba

ordered by me from the specialists in this medium in Oyo, Nigeria. My only suggestion to them was that I was willing to pay well to see the finest possible example of their work. The finished low bowl and lid depicted the serpent and other messengers of Ogun, the god of war and iron, patron deity of the Alafin of Oyo. Encircling both parts of the bowl above a border design there was carved a sentence in Roman lettering. This was translated to me, since it was in Yoruba, as phrases meaning "good luck to the traveler." It was also explained to me by the carvers that normally they did not spell out the saying, indicating it only by initial letters. Now, if Hau had discovered a cursive writing using a syllabary, and Dalby had discovered that the invented scripts of the Vai and other societies in this century in West Africa were acrophonic syllabaries, perhaps the letters on Plate 2(b) could be some familiar form of greeting for a particular occasion. The bearer of a gift in one of these well-known containers for this purpose would be demonstrating great sensitivity for the appropriateness of his chosen message. Perhaps the phrase would be left intentionally incomplete, as in ". . . a stitch in time . . .," which would not only save time in carving and space on the calabash, but avoid the spelling-out of a too-familiar or overused proverb.

The two phenomena in indigenous writing that have been discovered, the use of acrophonic characters for initial sounds and a system of cursive writing utilizing syllabaries, would seem to provide us with some of the necessary clues needed to search for possible writing in West African art. Kathleen Hau writes of how her Bini friend at the University of California first became aware that there had been a form of writing among his people in the past. When he was a young boy in school, an old man stopped him one day and said that the Bini had once had their own form of writing, in black chalk on ivory tablets or slabs. Having watched the Yoruba place various types of orders with wood carvers, specifying the necessity for certain details, and coupling this with the stylized cursive symbols, it is possible to imagine how the transference of writing from cursive to artistic form could take place. If a priest were to take a message down in writing for a ruler, say a directive that some distant king be flattered by praise names to remind him to send tribute, then the priest would carry this to a calabash carver and order a gift-carrying bowl, or to a wood carver and order a cup gift or box gift. The priest would explain to the carver, as the drummer did to me, that this character means an ear of corn, this V means Ṣango and is a ram's head, etc. I remembered all the Yoruba carvers I had known and imagined their reaction. The nods of comprehension, the promises that each symbol would be his very finest artistic design, perhaps even naturalistic, of the subject matter represented by the cursive symbols.

Keeping these factors in mind, I pored over my own field photographs as well as iconographies of West African art, and with the permission of

many museum curators, private collectors, and dealers, examined a great many Yoruba art forms. I suspect that there is "hidden" writing on many art forms where there are design elements that are nonrepetitive in nature, or sometimes in unusual clusters of design motifs that are composed in a style not customary in a given tradition. The space in this article precludes the profusion of illustrations that would show this, but some are included here to give the reader some idea of those systems to which I refer. In Plate 2(c), the repetition of the cluster of three motifs or symbols on the pedestal of this Ijebu Yoruba stool would appear to be the name of the family, considering the importance of the stool as symbol of the head of an extended family. Plate 2(d) is an Ifa divination tray (Yoruba). The face of Eṣu appears at the top and must face the *babalowo* [diviner]. The subject matter in the designs around the border of the tray all faces in a clockwise direction, which may mean that it is meant to be read in that direction. Bascom, who is an authority on Ifa divination, maintains that these designs represent proverbs. Linguists who have looked at this say that it could have a dual purpose: mnemonic for the individual proverbs, or a syllabary, or "initials" indicating a long phrase or sentence such as a prayer or praise to Orunmila, Eṣu, or Ifa. In Plate 3(a) (and in Plate 6[a], shown later) can be found the same type of bas-relief designs which concerned Hau in her first paper. Both altars are in Owo, Nigeria. Another possible locus of writing merits closer examination: this is in the dress of the central figures on bronze plaques from the royal palace in Benin. In some of these plaques the supporting figures to either side of a central figure are also involved. Examination of bottom and second row of possible damask designs in the elaborate weaving of skirts that are pulled upward toward the left hip, reveals on some figures in a few of the plaques, a nonrepetitive series of design motifs that could possibly indicate a title or family name.

The discovery of rebus writing in the bas-relief designs on the walls of chiefly compounds and the royal palace in Abomey was made by Paul Mercier of I.F.A.N.[5] The Fon language is tonal, with three levels of sound and rising and falling tones. Mercier discovered that the Fon could render the name of a family, as in Plate 3(b), on a standard for an ancestral shrine, by depicting objects, which, when pronounced on another tone

than ordinarily used, would render the name of the family. The same principle applies to the many symbols clustered on the pillars of the king's palace and on the exterior walls of chiefs' compounds. In these latter examples the rebus writing is more ambitious and in some instances may include another form of syllabic writing or pictograms, as Dalby has suggested is the case with some Yoruba religious writing. There have been a number of significant Yoruba cultural traits adopted by the Fon over the past two centuries, such as the worship of Şango, the thunder deity, brought into the culture by a Yoruba wife of the king. Şango became Xevioso.

Neither Dalby, Hau, nor Mercier believes in any kind of psychic unity of West Africans, tied to a cradle of learning in the ancient Sahara. They believe there is no substitute for sound historical research based on many sources of oral and written traditions and archeological research. This includes, of course, the analysis of ancient writing and contemporary indigenous scripts as these relate to existing West African languages and any possible borrowing from other culture areas. In order to lay to rest any myths of psychic unity, not only do we have new archeological evidence to reinforce traditional stories of migrations, but we know more about the important functioning and use of the right side of the human brain and its storage of visual images. It has been found that a great deal of that which is "invented" by individuals is the unconscious manipulation of things remembered visually. It has been found that many individuals do their best inventive thinking with the right side of their brain, in images, as did Einstein. We may find that the symbols of the invented scripts in West Africa, which appear to be based on pre-Islamic writing, came from forgotten image memories of symbols seen in childhood, and not from psychic revelations in dreams as their inventors honestly claim. There is also a pattern in the revelation of scripts, in both West Africa and Surinam, that forms of writing were known and passed on by priests and religious sects; in other words, there were always a few who were responsible for passing the knowledge from generation to generation. Any student of oral traditions in myth and folklore knows that myth and religion stress the passing on of knowledge in a form as near the original as possible; folklore, on the other hand, is an art form manipulated, changed, and embroidered over a core pattern by generations of creative artists who are the entertainers and tellers of tales. This pattern would then seem to reinforce the hypothesis that the secret writing of religious groups would probably remain little changed from century to century.

My purpose in offering the material above has been to expose students to an "imponderable" in West African art of which a majority are as yet unaware. My hope is that they will be stimulated to further research and discoveries in an aspect of culture once believed more aesthetic and nonverbal than cognitive.

(a)

(b)

(c)
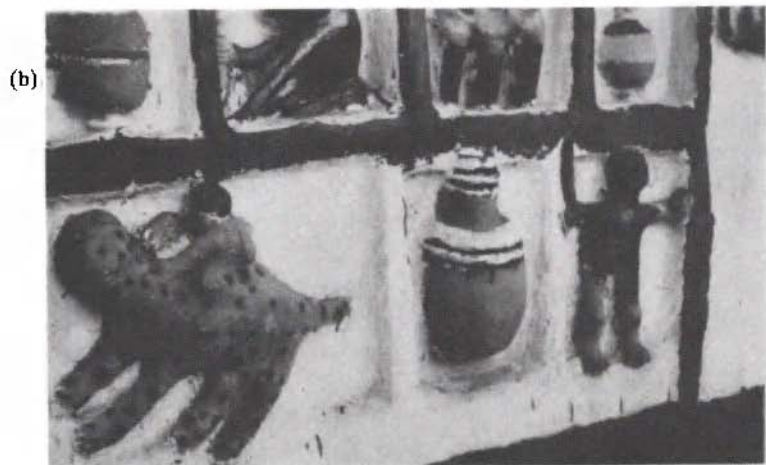
METALLURGY

Over the past thirty years, the three most intriguing problems for me in the field of metallurgy and art in West Africa have been, first, the mystery of the Ife heads; second, the separate development and origins of Cameroon brass castings; and third, the origin of the small brass genre figures that are made by the Fon in Abomey.

The first problem, that of the use of the Ife heads, was published in 1953 (Cordwell 1953), when the use of the heads was linked to the *akó* or definitive funeral ceremonies among the Owo and Ijebu Yoruba. Willett was later to link this with Benin funeral ceremonies, with which both the Owo Yoruba and the Ijebu Yoruba would have been acquainted, as was Ife in the past (Willett 1966).

The second instance of a problem in art and metallurgy was the intriguing presence of small brass masks from Bamum that looked as if they were similar in development, if not in use, to the Benin and Owo Yoruba pectoral and hip masks of brass. I had many discussions concerning the tradition with Paul Gebauer when he came to take a master's degree at Northwestern University under Melville Herskovits. Over the years separating our first meetings and the present I had put aside the Cameroon problems of origin, concentrating instead on Yoruba, Bini, and Fon art. With the delay in publication of this volume and others, I took the opportunity to renew the correspondence with the Gebauers, questioning again the origin of the tradition. Paul Gebauer's generosity in sharing his information with me was great, for it came at a time when he and Clara Gebauer were preparing the foreword and catalogue descriptions for the permanent exhibition of their forty-year collection of Cameroon art.[6] The following information is verbatim from the late Paul Gebauer, and it should, with his other publications, clarify much that has puzzled scholars about unexpected culture contacts and indigenous inventors that affect a change in the direction and form of art objects. The first quotation concerns the Bamum community in the West Cameroons from 1935 to about 1965 and is based on the Gebauers' personal observations in the years from 1931 through 1973.

[6] The collection may now be seen on exhibit at the Portland Museum of Art, Portland, Oregon.

Plate 3. (a) Back wall of Owo Yoruba ancestral altar no longer in use. This clay bas-relief has the same arrangement of motifs that is found on ivory box lids, gifts from the Olowo of Owo to the ɔba of Benin in centuries past. Linguists who have examined these in von Luschan's *Altertümer von Benin* agree that it is a form of writing. See references to work by Kathleen Hau. (b) Restored wall of chief's compound with rebus form of writing discovered by Paul Mercier, I.F.A.N. Abomey. (c) Fon iron standard, decorated with repoussée brass forms, once placed on ancestral *asɛ* [altar]. The names of the objects on the small platform, when said on a different tone from the one normally used, sound out the longer family name. Discovered by Paul Mercier, I.F.A.N. Abomey

1. The establishment of a large community of Bamum craftsmen in the British Cameroons in the 1930's was not caused by technical disputes but by a political upheaval within the Bamum nation of the French Cameroons. Sultan Njoya, the great patron of the arts, died in exile in 1933. Njoya's naming of son Musa as his successor did not meet with the approval of the French administration. The latter appointed son Njimole Saidu instead. This appointment caused unrest among the Bamum. At the height of the unrest son Musa and his supporters crossed the frontier between the two Cameroons to request political asylum of the British trusteeship. It was granted. The refugees were settled in the Ndop Plain, alongside their homeland.

2. Among the refugees was the leading family-guild of metal casters. Its members were settled just below the British administration post, Bamenda, within the village confines of Bafreng (Nkwen). This community of craftsmen preserved the ancient processes of casting, of traditional designs, and of superior skill. Elders controlled the quality of products as much as the old guild rules of apprenticeship, etc. The community resisted French innovations in technique and marketing, while in the homeland, and continued its opposition while in exile. In 1946 the Gebauers became neighbors to this community. We assisted the members in their struggle for livelihood, recognition, finances and marketing. The community prospered. (NOTE: The Bamum attempt of a copy of the Ife head mentioned by Bascom in Chapter 7 of Biebuyk's *Tradition and creativity in tribal art* originated in this community. See page 106 of the 1969 publication.)

3. After unification of the two Cameroons in 1962 Sultan Saidu of the Bamum spared no effort to bring the dissidents in West Cameroon back into his Sultanate. During the mid-1960's the refugees were re-settled in their former homesteads. The Bafreng community re-occupied its traditional Njinka sector of the city of Fumban, the capital. Its present leader holds a high rank in the nation's council, just as forebears had in the indigenous system.

I spent some time with the re-settled craftsmen in the years 1970, 1972 and 1973. Traders and French dealers have persuaded some casters to produce horrible combinations of traditional styles with foreign ideas about "primitive art." American collectors and museums pay well for the results.

Casting continues in Bafreng (Nkwen) Village of the west. The casters are locals who served as helpers or apprentices to the former Bamum masters. Their objects are of inferior quality.

The second quotation concerns Bamum traditions and innovations in brass casting.

1. All available accounts about Sultan Njoya indicate that he was the guardian of tradition as well as the instrument of innovations in Bamum life and the arts. Njoya ruled from 1888/89 to 1933. Existing casts indicate that innovations occurred long before the first Europeans reached Fumban in 1902. His invention of the Bamum script occurred in 1900.

2. With the arrival of the Germans in 1902 and the settling of Basel missionaries in 1906 began the European influences in architecture and traditional art forms. German art publications about other African nations reached Njoya before 1910. Then and now his artisans had no difficulties in imitating art forms of other African art areas. The plaques on the west city gate of Fumban were, to me, strong reminders of Benin styles. Study the photographs on page 42 of *African Arts*, Autumn 1971. The plate on the one door and the plates decorating the inner passage documented outside influence. The gate of 1932 is gone. All plaques have

disappeared, all decorations are lost. My photo of the gate in 1973 records the losses.

Miniature face masks came into use in the last century. The neckrings of the officials of Bamum government were decorated with neatly cast, bronze face masks. Informants insist that the present tourist miniatures are the extension of an old idea. I accept that view. Hausa traders carried such miniature casts all over the West African markets during Njoya's reign. The traders are credited with the idea of adding a ring to the cast to turn the miniature masks into wall decorations.
October 31, 1976
[Signed] Paul Gebauer

Our correspondence unfortunately ended there, for I did not wish to impose further on the time of this great gentleman, even though there were many questions still to be asked about the link between the old casting of Tikar and the Bamum casters of Fumban. This will have to await the research of other scholars interested in the same problem.

The origin of the small cast-brass figures of genre subjects made by the brass-workers' quarter in Abomey was a problem that the Herskovitses were unable to solve during their fieldwork in Dahomey (now Benin). Much as they loved the aesthetic expressions of West Africans, this particular aspect was only peripheral compared to the monumental amount of field data they gathered on the culture and society, past and present, of the Fon in Abomey (see Herskovits 1938).

In later years, Herskovits spoke to his students of an informant who told him of a warehouse of the king's treasure; when the doors were thrown open, one could see that it was crowded with great statues of brass. Since he had not actually seen any evidence himself of such a warehouse or great statues of brass, he was having a difficult time reconciling the small castings, the origin of which had escaped him, and the large "brass" statues of which his informant spoke.

During my own visit to Abomey in 1950, I sought out the chief of the artisans' quarter of the city. The Houndtondji at the time of my visit was Felicien, *Chef du quartier*. It was his father that Herskovits had interviewed, as well as other casters of brass. As I began visiting the Houndtondji's compound at least every other day, in the course of watching the brass working in the quarter, his family and I became more comfortable with each other. The offer to take a family portrait, and the resultant print, seemed to be the point of change in the attitude of the *Chef* toward my work. In a few days he summoned me to the sitting room of his compound. He sat there waiting for me with a cardboard-mounted photograph in his hand, which he showed me as soon as I was seated. He said that the people of his quarter reported to him that I was truly working hard to understand their work and their ways, and that he was very pleased to be of assistance to me. Now he would like to ask a favor of me. Would I please take this picture of his father, and make his father as famous as he deserved to be? When he told me why, I gave my promise. In

Plate 4(a) may be seen Gnassounou, Houndtondji, *Chef du quartier*, the artist who founded the tradition of the little brass figures of Dahomey, whose work I had handled, admired, polished, and photographed in the Herskovits' collection. His story is indeed one of the imponderables of West African art.

Gnassounou, according to his son Felicien, was fun-loving and mischevious, and though apprenticed to brass-casting began experimenting with the medium to the point where he was sometimes roared at in rebuke. He learned casting as well as the traditional repoussée work, though the casting seems to have been confined to small jewelry pieces. One day he tried an experiment, modeling a small human figure and casting it in brass. He showed it to a French official, whose enthusiasm over it he could not understand. It seems that the Colonial Exposition of 1906 was in preparation in Marseilles, and instructions had gone out to the *Commandant du Cercle* of the Abomey area, as well as all others, to find people, crafts, exotic objects, builders, and all kinds of agricultural materials for exhibits. Dahomey was to have its own pavilion, in the design of an Abomey chief's compound. Felicien was not too clear how it all came about, but the result was that Gnassounou was sent to Marseilles to the exposition as one of the representatives of the Fon of Dahomey. My impression was that he was in his middle teen years at the time. The real surprise came when Felicien told me that his father had remained in France for almost three years and had studied art. He mentioned Paris but was not clear on this either.

When Gnassounou returned to Abomey and his family's workshop, he began producing the genre figures of *cire-perdu* casting that broke with the traditional, though they seem to have been influenced somewhat by the smaller castings of the Ashanti and the Yoruba. (This has been mentioned in a number of works quoting Herskovits or in individual scholarly speculation.) There is one trouble with this hypothesis: brass casting had almost died out in the Gold Coast from 1900 to 1915. My informants in the brass-workers' quarter in Benin City told me that the British authorities had sent some of them over to the Gold Coast (Ghana) expressly to teach the Ashanti how to revive their old brass-casting work, so that the tradition of centuries would not be lost.

One question still remained. Why did Gnassounou begin to make five-to-eight-inch-high figures of chiefs and their retinues, farmers swinging hoes, women dancers, and women walking with pots on their heads? Was it the French? Then I found the volumes that were written on both the Paris Colonial Exposition of 1900 and the Marseilles Exposition of 1906. In the latter volume, in the description of the Dahomean pavilion and exhibits, there may be the answer. Gnassounou had had months of exposure to something that probably intrigued him as much as it did the French.

Plate 4. (a) Gnassounou, (Chief) Houndtandji, founder of the present lost-wax brass casting in the brass-workers quarter of Abomey, father of the present (Chief) Houndtandji, Felicien. (Dahomey) Benin. (b) A clansman of the Houndtandji, creating two dancing noviitates of Xevioso [god of thunder] and a drummer who calls the god. (Dahomey) Benin. (c) Large wooden bird, carrying small bird in beak. Symbol of favorite son of Ghezo, king of Dahomey. Repoussée brass with attached iron wings. Museum in Abomey. (Dahomey) Benin. (d) Cast-brass drummer made in early 1930's for M. J. Herskovits. Herskovits Collection. (Dahomey) Benin

Quatre jolis petits *dioramas* des plus artistiques obtinrent grand succès: ils figurainent un marché indigène (Côte d'Ivoire); une fête au village (Guinée); un five o'clock tea (Sierra Leone); et l'embarquement des arachides (Rufisque) (Charles-Roux 1906:158; emphasis added).

Gnassounou knew, or thought he did, what the French liked. He learned as much as he could of drawing and sculptural techniques, came home to break with tradition, and turned the fortunes of the brass-casters' quarter for the better. As *Chef* Felicien said, a little sadly, "Now their descendants don't even remember who did this for them. Their memories are too short. . . ." Without another word, I nodded and reached out to take the old photograph from him.

The caliber of casting in 1950 had remained much as Herskovits had described it both to me and in his book. There was some mediocre work being done for tourists. However, the work done on special order and for their own people was of the quality shown in Plate 4(b) and (c). Plate 4(d) is an example of the "great brass statues" in the king's warehouse. These were large wooden carvings, completely covered with repoussée brass, pressed into the designs on the wooden form beneath. The wings are of forged iron attached afterward. These great figures were not representations of birds or animals in a portrait sense but symbols of the ranking kings and princes of Dahomey. Recognizing the symbol, people would immediately say the name of the ruler or his son.

And the "warehouse of the king"? On my visits to the restored core of the palace, where I could examine all of the surviving brass-covered pieces, the curator, M. de la Cruz, led me outside to show me the original treasure house of the kings where these had been hidden at the time of Herskovits' trip. At that moment, I could see how the confusion would come about. A warehouse is a building for the storage of goods. This was a building for the storage of goods. Its walls were three feet high or approximately 100 cm. on the exterior, and approximately 140 cm. in the interior, as it was excavated below ground level. The step down to the entrance would have made its double wooden doors about 115 cm. high. It was oval in shape with a thatched roof. Any European would have walked by it, thinking it was only a shed. The curator smiled, and said, "This was the easiest building to restore, for the walls were like cement. The original mud was made of clay mixed with the blood of human sacrificial victims." Even an anthropologist can remove her hand quickly.

IVORY AND BONE

Relatively few pieces of ivory and elephant bone have survived over a long time span in tropical Africa, other than those treasured in the palaces of rulers or in baskets under the beds of chiefly households. Ivory is an art

medium belonging to the office of kings, high-ranking chiefs, or the priests serving them. Ivory, gold, and slaves have been going northward out of sub-Saharan Africa for thousands of years. These are what ethnohistorians think of when Thurston Shaw asks "With what did the peoples of Nigeria pay for the copper they wanted and got through trade?" (Shaw 1973). In the early twentieth century, the decimation of herds of elephants in Nigeria, in fact in all of West Africa, became so serious that the colonial powers issued orders prohibiting their killing except in the case of a rogue elephant destroying crops. Even the elephants developed a canny cautiousness, slipping through the forests like great gray shadows; the only reminder of their possible presence being warning signs on the road, "Elephant Crossing," or an occasional spoor. When a rogue elephant was shot, it took but a few hours for the entire carcass to be distributed to protein-hungry villagers. By the time a carver of ivory could arrive, the tusks would have been carried to the regional king and district officer and nothing would be left but the bones.

Owo was the only location in Nigeria where I was able to locate a carver who worked in the medium of bone, for want of ivory, and from whom I was able to purchase the two small tusks of a rogue elephant, recently killed not far from Owo. It was the district officer who offered them to me, since the Olowo of Owo rejected them because of their small size. Famakinwa, the carver, appears in Plate 5(a), while one of his clients, a *balogun* [war captain], dances in salute to the Olowo of Owo, wearing the filagree pierced work of elephant bone in Plate 5(b).

In Plate 6(b), the Olowo of Owo posed for me in a series of dress styles appropriate to different ceremonial occasions. If it were possible to show him in color, as in a slide, the jasper and coral and red damask would be set off by the green velvet cloth hung behind him, and against which the yellowed tusks of an old and very large elephant stand out in magnificent height. The lack of carving on the tusks betrays the fact that, unlike other ivory carvings belonging to the office of the Olowo, they are an acquisition of the past sixty years.

Almost everyone who has studied West African art is familiar with the carved ivory tusks of the Bini ɔbas [kings]. They are mounted on almost life-size bronze heads on the ancestral altars of past ɔbas. Some, it is true, stand without bases, their bronze stands gone forever, and only recently, I have been told, still more ivory tusks have disappeared. Many of these carved tusks were removed from the palace and ancestral altars of chiefs in Benin City after the Punitive Expedition of 1897. These are now in the British Museum, with a major portion in Hamburg and Berlin, hidden and lost after World War II. One of my Bini informants, who was with the British expedition, said that when they finally entered the city of Benin almost everyone was gone and the town was mysteriously on fire. Some of the soldiers, Europeans and Africans, he said were able to walk anywhere
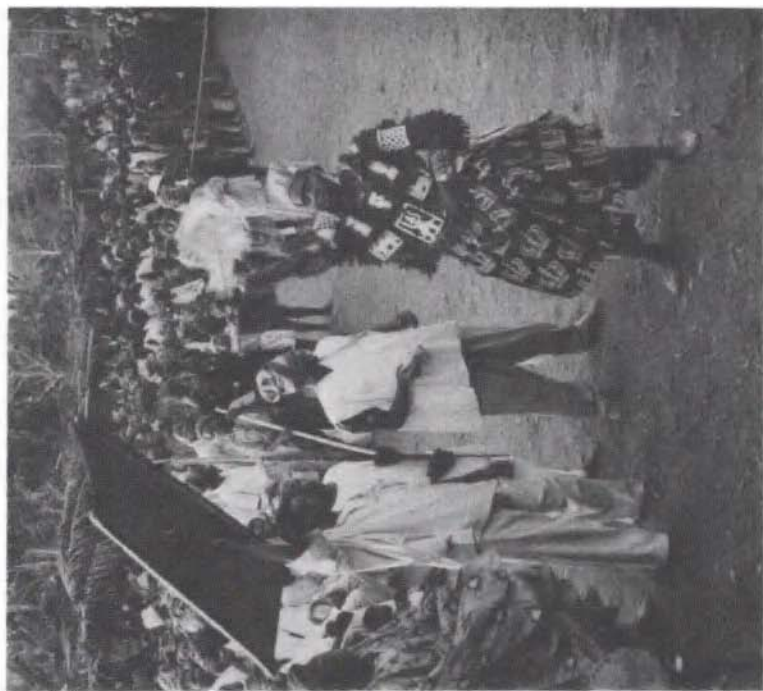
Plate 5.   (a) J. A. Famakenwa of Owo, Nigeria, carver of elephant bone, ivory, and wood. (b) One of the *balogun* [war captains] of Owo dancing before the Olowo of Owo on the ninth anniversary of his accession to the office. The tunic is sewn with the work of Famakinwa The fish-shaped dancing sword is the *ape*

Plate 6. (a) The ram heads with human faces on Owo (Yoruba) altars are the same in principle as the *uhum-elao* or Bini ancestral heads and the ram heads on the ancestral altars of Edo-speaking peoples. They all have the same rear design, with a slot for a stick which stands higher than the head and is intended to support an ivory tusk. The bas-relief on the back of the altar has been partially covered by remodeling the front of the altar. (b) The Olowo of Owo in ancient costume of coral, jasper, and red damask. The two tusks are matched and possibly a pair. They are probably from the era of the British protectorate and ivory restrictions

and pick up anything. With a knowing smile his equally elderly compan-
ion said, "Yes, I know. We seized most of our goods and ran into the
forest to the north while our soldiers held off the Europeans. We set fire
to our houses to delay their following us. A long time afterwards, when it
was safe to return, we had much repairing to do and our tusks were gone."
Plate 7(a) shows an altar that was reconstructed in the early part of the
century and has art forms added to it to please the ancestors. The small,
darkened ivory tusks were saved by the family and taken with them when
they fled the Punitive Expedition. Plate 7(b) illustrates the use of cattle
horns to substitute for the missing ivory tusks. The looters left the
uhum-elao [ancestral heads], probably because they were so far from the
Greek classical depiction of a head. The beer is being shown to the
ancestors, and they will share a drop with their descendants. The caption
for Plate 7(c) is self-explanatory; I must add, however, that I saw no tusks
or substituted cattle horns on the altars of the brass casters of Benin.

The point of this short account is that I became thoroughly familiar
with the means by which tusks were mounted on *uhum-elao* and on the
smaller *ikenga*, or stands used to support tusks on the altars in the
households where there is worship of the right hand, "which gives us
everything we need to survive in this life." There is a straight buttress on
the back of the wooden heads of ancestors which is hollow. In this hollow,
which is open at the back, there is inserted a strong stick which rises above
the head about a third or half the height of the head itself. The hollow
nerve cavity of the elephant tusk is intended to slip down over this, and
the tusk is balanced in an upward position, supported by the stick and by
leaning the tip against the rear wall of the shrine.

While I was doing fieldwork in Owo, after visiting Benin City for the
first time, the similarities in court and ancestral art became immediately
apparent. When I was shown the ancestral altars of two homes and a
series of ram-headed masks, some with human faces. I did not imme-
diately make inquiries into the whereabouts of the missing support stick.[7]
Instead, queries were made concerning the use of this strange structure
on the back of the carvings. I heard the same type of explanation that was

[7]   For further information on this religious art form, see Frank Willett's thorough analysis,
comparing those made by different carvers (Willett and Picton 1967).

Plate 7.   (a) The ivory tusks on this chief's *uhum-elao* [ancestral heads of wood] are very
old and browned with many sacrifices. They are small, indicating a young elephant, and
were rescued and carried with the family into the forest when the Punitive Expedition
arrived in Benin City in 1897. (b) The carved ivory tusks formerly on this ancestral altar of
two town chiefs of Benin City, probably in a European museum since 1897, have been
replaced by cattle horns from the north. Bini, Nigeria. (c) Old terra cotta heads in the Benin
City Museums, 1950. Informants said that sons of deceased brassworkers could make these
fired heads as if they were the first step in making a core for casting and place them on a
family altar for their fathers. Permission to do this was given by the ɔba, if the deceased
brass-caster had been married to one of the ɔba's daughters. It was forbidden to cast them in
metal

given Roger de la Burde in Eviakoi and Ojogbo of the Bini region and in Gwato to the south (de la Burde 1972:32). These Edo-speaking peoples would take a stick from the slot in the back of the ram heads and beat the base to attract the attention of the ancestors. De la Burde describes the ram heads of Uromi, Irrua, and Ubiaja as having "a tapered 'handle' coming from the trunk of the body." I wonder if this is the same tapered point on the *ikenga* base, intended to slip into the base of the ivory tusk.

The imponderable in this instance is, why would people "forget" the real use of the structure intended for the support of a tusk? And . . . *where are the tusks of carved ivory that once sat on the ram heads of the altars of the Owo Yoruba and the Edo-speaking peoples north of Benin City?*

From the condition of the ivory tusks in Plate 7(a), it was apparent that palm oil and blood sacrifices had produced their dark brown color. The Owo Yoruba drop the oil and the blood down the back hole left by the stick, using the wooden head as the "wire" through which the "electricity" of the vital blood and oil carry the message of the living family to their ancestors who aid them.

After a time, when my two chiefly informants whose families had such altars had become accustomed to my questions, I finally was able to ask why so many people seemed to have forgotten the real use of the back structure of the heads. The head of the compound, in whose gallery we sat, gave a short laugh and said,

It is a story of long ago when the British first came to Owo. Many, many people have forgotten or are too young to remember. The British district officer told our people that in order to get *new* tusks we must pay a very high price (something like six pounds) for a license before we could kill an elephant. Because we were having problems understanding this European [all early district officers were trained in the African language in which they were expected to govern] many people who had tusks like those of our family, were afraid that they would have to pay much money to the British just to keep those that they had. What did they do with them? They are out there, buried; and I don't know where.

He waved his hand in a gesture that took in the whole large courtyard before us.

At first the elders made up stories of how the holes in back were to be used. And over time people began to believe it. The younger ones who had not seen the tusks rarely know anything about them.

As nearly as I could ascertain, this happened some time between 1910 and 1915. The Edo-speaking peoples may have had an earlier reaction for a different cause. The fate of Benin's tusks could have been the impetus for burials.[8]

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[8]   A new acquisition of the Primitive Art Department of the Art Institute of Chicago is an old Bini carved-ivory tusk, which is quite large. It has the appearance of having been buried and leached of its brown palm oil and blood; this is confirmed somewhat by the red dust of

TEXTILES AND CLOTHING

There are three problems within the realm of textiles and clothing, having to do more with the Yoruba than with the Bini or Fon peoples, that have intrigued me for many years. They come within the category of cultural accident and also that of cultural borrowing in both predictable and unpredictable ways.

The first of these is the presence in southern Nigeria of two weaving traditions, existing hundreds of miles apart, yet almost identical in the use of strong, distinctive motifs. I refer to the Akwete weaving and the Ijebu weaving, an example of which is the previously noted Ogboni Society shawl illustrated in Plate 1(c). My tentative hypothesis was that this represented a former type of weaving from Benin City, used only by royalty or certain chiefs. Certainly the textile skirts of the warriors and later ɔbas reveal a more complicated technique of weaving than the popular, indigo Benin cloth spoken of in early travelers' accounts and those accounts from the Bini carried into slavery in the New World (Davidson 1967). I had hypothesized that the tradition had completely died out in Benin, for I could find no indigenous weavers in the environs or city of Benin within the walls in 1950. I believed that both the Ijebu in the west, under Bini rule for many years and strongly influenced by them in art forms, and the Akwete inhabitants, also under Benin, represented survivals of something no longer in existence. Lisa Aronson, a student of Roy Sieber at Indiana University, has been in the field studying this very problem. In the process of deflating my hypothesis she has come up with a far more fascinating development of early trade rights and influences, which she will be publishing in 1979. In the process of discovering new material, however, she showed some Akwete weavers the photographs I had taken of weavers and their work in Ijebu-ode. The Akwete women exclaimed that they were all Akwete patterns, except for one, which they thought was very interesting — and promptly adopted. For someone not acquainted with this instant acceptance and attempting the study of origins some twenty-five years hence, there may be a few problems. . . .

A second imponderable involves an item of dress of Yoruba women that seems to have gone through an evolution of its own, due to a number of cross-cultural contacts and borrowings. The article of clothing is the well-known, and most expressive, *gele* [head wrap, head tie].

According to Johnson (1921), though the Yoruba women of the last century seldom wore a head covering, they sometimes wore a piece of cloth about four or five inches wide and about twenty-five inches in length thrown over the head. This length, I suggest, would serve to quickly twist

dried mud still in some of its cracks. Since ground camwood is not used in this context, and the deep red earth of the Benin Plateau leaves stains of this type, a postulated burial is probable.

into a circular pad to aid in the balance of pots and other items carried on the head. In the last half of the nineteenth century, a few more twisted turban styles of wider indigenous cloth are illustrated on the covers of the *Church Missionary Society News Letters*, while before this period almost none are shown. It is well known that by the mid nineteenth century some slaves had saved the purchase price for their own freedom in Spanish and Portuguese colonies in the New World. There, under Roman law, a slave could earn money in his spare time to redeem himself or others. From Brazil and Cuba, returning Yoruba were hiring ships to take them home. Some *Church Missionary* accounts describe the Western dress in which they stylishly dressed for their homecoming. Some had been house servants with trading on the side. Though reverting to traditional Yoruba dress, they were to bring fashion influence from the Western world to Nigeria in the addition of petticoats and the use of cotton trade cloths; there were new ways of wrapping and designing to make complicated the traditionally simple Yoruba woman's dress.

Styles of dressing the hair and adorning the head had developed into a medium of expression and communication of social position, cult affiliation, and economic rank. In earlier descriptions of Yoruba womens' dress, one would occasionally come across some reference to the Islamic influence on the design of the burgeoning head wrap. A comparison of the Islamic style for men in Plate 8(a) and the variety of individual expression demonstrated in the *gele* wrapping and tying of the ladies in (b) of the same plate is enough to dispel any possibility of that having been the particular source of design inspiration.

The twisting of the cotton length of the *gele* to better control it produces a very familiar form, resembling in fact a more Turkish type of turban. Remembering the Turks portrayed in paintings of Napoleon's conquest in Egypt in the beginning of the nineteenth century, I asked a clothing and costume expert when it was that the Turkish dress might have most affected European styles. She believed the most emphasis would have been between 1825 and 1830, when Byron adapted parts of Turkish dress and romanticized the costume in general. Further research on nineteenth-century dress (Cunnington and Cunnington 1970) revealed that English and French women wore turbans for evening wear from about 1805 until the 1850's. By 1860 they seem to have gone out of style in favor of the small pillbox of the Turkish girls, probably partially inspired, at least in the U.S., the Zouave regiment of New York, who went off to battle in the Civil War looking like Turks. The height of the most exaggerated turbans came, as the expert had said during the late 1820's.

My suggestion is that many of the returning women were house servants who had been made to wear head kerchiefs constantly as they worked. (Photographs of women from Guadeloupe and Martinique in 1900 show the imagination and variety possible in even this simple but
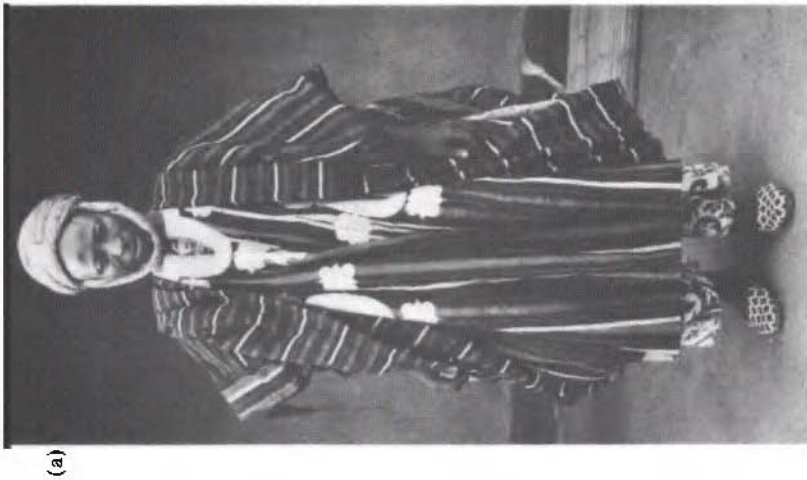
Plate 8. (a) *Kadefu* of the Afin-oyo [chamberlain of the royal palace of the Alafin of Oyo], wearing gown and turban of northern Islamic derivation. Yoruba, Oyo, Nigeria. (b) Yoruba wood carver (seated man on right) with his six wives and his brother. Women wearing *aso-ebe* (dressing alike to show unit in an organization or family), but showing great individuality of artistic expression in their *gele* [head ties]

required dress.) Fashions were sometimes late in coming to the New World colonies and lingered longer than on the Continent or in England. The female house servant had ample time to absorb the fashion trends of evening dress and turbans of the wives of plantation owners and mercantile types before returning to her native land. Trends set in *gele* styles, using wider widths and longer lengths of strip cloth, were forerunners of what was possible in more exaggerated form once the more flexible and versatile trade cloth became standard for head styles.

My interest in the historical changes in Yoruba and Bini crown forms comes from my photographing of some thirty or more examples of crown types offered for my examination by various considerate Yoruba kings and chiefs. I was allowed to purchase a crown in European form, but with the chameleon of the Agemo cult of the Ijebu-Remo Yoruba, instead of the birds traditionally found on Yoruba crowns. I would not presume to go into depth in the analysis of crown forms as Robert Thompson has done so well and so sensitively (Thompson 1970). However, in the process of poring over old photographs and newspaper clippings involving pictures of chiefs and kings of the past in their royal headgear, a pattern emerged of a society that adopted the headgear styles of people whose strength, political power, and wealth they admired. This strength may have had the supernatural behind it; which seemed to serve to reinforce the desire to copy it. My interest was aroused particularly by some of the broad-brimmed hats worn as chiefly headgear that obviously owed their origin to gifts from the Portuguese. On one such hat there was the retention of ball-fringed edging, while on another this had changed to a three-inch glass-bead fringe around the entire edge of the hat.

In Figure 1 I sketched for this article the genealogies of crown forms with which I was most familiar. The Ife crowns are conspicuously absent because I have left the profounder decisions of dating their styles to my wise and witty friend, Frank Willett. My only comment on them is that the suggestion of an Amharic source for the frontal motif would tend to add evidence of contact to Kathleen Hau's discovery of Amharic symbols in the West African scripts. The drawings are meant to stimulate others into possible research along these lines, to discover more cultural contacts and human imponderables.

THE MERMAID MOTIF IN YORUBA AND BINI ART

This last human imponderable in the study of artistic forms in West Africa is not tied to any single medium. The motif contains certain persistent elements that are fairly constant in West Africa today as manifested in the spirit or deity of *Mami wata* (Salmons 1977; Jules-Rosette 1977). The
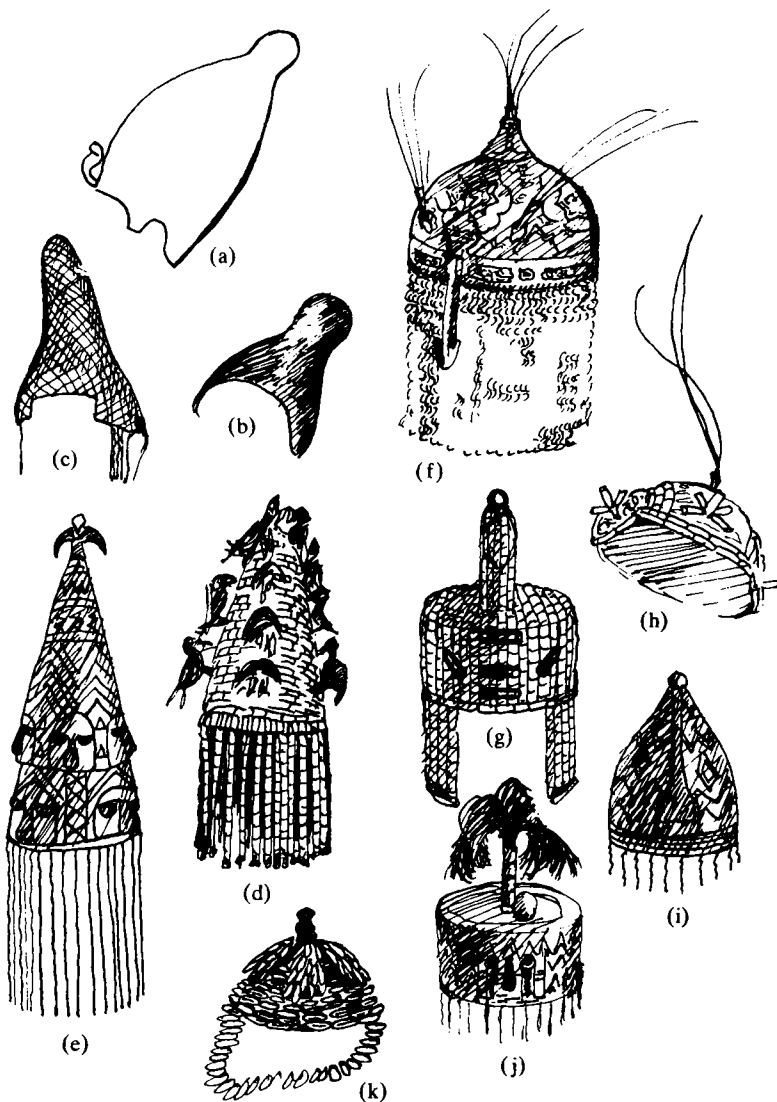
Figure 1. (a) Crown of Upper Egypt which, together with crown of Lower Egypt, is found on Meroe stone bas-relief. (b) Indigo-colored wax cap worn by late priestess of Osun, the river goddess, at Oshogbo, Nigeria. Ataja of Oshogbo said that this was the form of the original crowns of the sixteen traditional Yoruba kings. (c) Crown of queen-mother or queen of Benin. (d) Jasper state crown of the Alafin of Oyo, Nigeria, Yoruba. (e) Crown worn by one of the sixteen traditional Yoruba kings on the occasion of greeting the *egungun* society members, who come to salute him. (f) Saracen helmet with plumes, nose guard, and veil of chain mail. (g) Jasper crown depicted on bronze plaques from the royal palace, Benin, Nigeria. (h) Cap-style crown of the Olowo of Owo, Nigeria, with white egret plumes rising from coral and jasper crown. (i) Crown form usually included in wardrobe of crowns of Yoruba kings; design worked in tiny trade beads from Europe. (j) Crown with short fringe and black ostrich plumes, design worked in trade beads. In the collection of crowns owned by the *Iyasere* [prime minister] of Benin, Nigeria. (This family is traditionally Yoruba in descent, rather that Bini.) (k) Traditional headgear, covered with cowry design rather than beads, used by the assistants to the priest of Ṣango, the thunder god, in dancing for the deity

reference is to Mammy Water, or Mother of Waters, a euphemism in a modern Christian and Moslem era for Olokun, goddess of the sea and waters. The details of her present style, with long straight hair, mermaid tail, fair skin, and her serpent messenger in any convenient position the artist sees fit to put it, would seem to have additions from the beliefs of the Niger Delta rivers, where she is described as living in the river waters and as having long straight "European" hair and fair skin. In this present manifestation she is translated into small color prints from India, painted on wooden boards for sale to worshipers, and, in the eastern region of Nigeria, carved in contemporary sculpture of wood with the addition of a wig of European hair (Salmons 1977).

The present distribution of *Mami wata*, from as far west as Sierra Leone eastward and south to as far as coastal Zaire, would seem to indicate that the adoption of this water spirit is connected, not with the sea and water that is her symbol, but with a trading group or individuals with demonstrated business acumen that consistently produced enough wealth for them to travel in their mercantile adventures. The history of Olokun as a Yoruba deity is probably more ancient than that of Benin, and she may well have been one of those deities borrowed from Ife along with other cultural traits and technology. In the past thirty-three years, since World War II made West Africa the Second Front in the Africa campaign, the Yoruba women traders as well as the men have traveled with their goods up and down the West Coast and far to the east until the barrier erected by the Biafran War. The worshipers of Olokun, a wealthy sea goddess, are not reticent in extolling the virtues, wealth, and power of their deity and demonstrate this in the lavish brass decorations for her shrines and in their own use of brass and other jewelry, such as gold earrings, and many wraps, in their own dress. This public show of power, prestige, and wealth would seem ample proof, to less sophisticated and less wealthy peoples of other ethnic groups, of the efficacy of worshiping this goddess and is certainly an invitation to adopt such a deity for the improvement of one's lot, whether in luck, supernatural strength, or hoped-for riches by association.

To Douglas Fraser (1972) is owed a great debt by all of us interested in this particular problem of the fishtailed figure. His historical research was thorough and his exploration of possible origins and contacts and borrowings in the pre-Portuguese era has raised new questions that may never be answered to our satisfaction. Perhaps, as hinted earlier in this paper, the slaves brought northward over the Sahara to Carthage, Greece, and other Mediterranean destinations were the carriers of the mermaid or merman concept into that area. Published hints that dugongs or manatees of the sea-washed mangrove swamps and rivers of the Niger Delta were the origin of the mermaid myth appear to me to be myths that should be brought to an abrupt halt before their bones are moved to the graveyard

of one more footnote. As a student once said to me, "The sight of a walrus-like manatee would be enough to stop an eight-day clock." Hints of Portuguese bowsprit ornamentation fare no better under examination. A close look at the bowsprits of the little black Portuguese sailing vessels reveals a simple uncarved stick. Even the Spanish galleons did not have ornate bowsprits until a century later, and figureheads on the bowsprits were common only from the eighteenth century into the very early twentieth century.

Examination of original Portuguese navigation charts of the African coast in the late fifteenth century show a very curious phenomenon. No mermaids (once thought standard decoration) appear on any charts or maps until the Portuguese reached what is now the Nigerian coast. By that time, Olokun, as a god of the sea and waters, was established in Benin as the male aspect of the Yoruba female goddess. Examination of bronze plaques in the Benin collection (Willett 1973b) shows that the fish-legged figure had a precursor in the figure of an ɔba standing with his feet resting on the *tails* of two mudfish, whose bodies curve downwards, with their heads again curved up to either side. The costume of the paralyzed ɔba Ohen (who, unlike Egharevba [1936], Bradbury places in the fifteenth century) adopted this aspect, with the mudfish heads at the terminal ends covering his feet. We are thus looking at another design concept. The mysterious "double-dompting" figures discovered by Fraser at an earlier period are a problem that will be ongoing for many years of research. Their distribution from Europe to India, through ancient Persia, does, however, suggest Greek carriers (Alexander) and the ancient African slave trade in war captives. Plate 9 is the Bini conception of Olokun as the principal god of their pantheon. He stands on two feet, dressed as the ɔba of Benin, by whom he is personified.

The male aspect of Olokun in Benin is part of a Bini world view in which the male and female aspects of natural phenomena and of the gods are recognized in a pragmatic manner. It would not be unnatural for the Bini to assume that there was a matching male counterpart for Olokun, and that, instead of brass, the wealth of jasper and coral is displayed in dress. I suggest that the concept went back to earlier ɔbas, and that it was ɔba Ohen who adopted the two mudfish messengers of the deity as part of his costume, which probably were never originally intended to be seen as the mermaid tails they later became in art forms. The Owo ivory bracelets in Plate 10(c) and (d) probably postdate the late fifteenth century, in this case.

The carved lintels at the entrances of two ancestral shrines in Owo are shown in Plate 10(a) and (b). Here Olokun is depicted with the same curled tail that much later appeared on Portuguese and Spanish maps. Her hair is concealed by a crown of jasper beads and she holds in an arc over her head *two* serpents who are her messengers. According to the
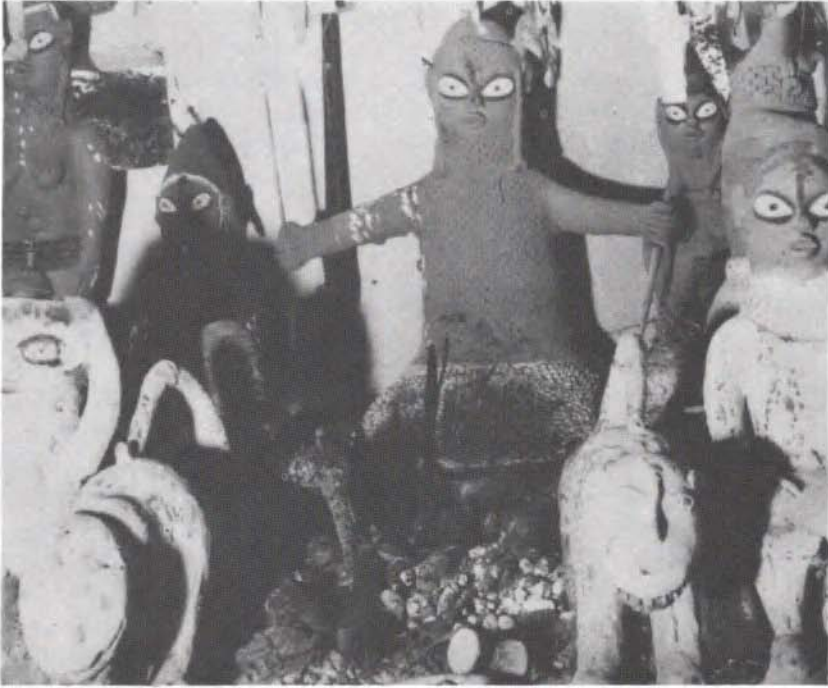
Plate 9.   Olokun, dressed as an ɔba of Benin (Nigeria). Here he is god of the sea and waters, principal male deity in a pantheon of other male and female deities. Village shrine, approximately ten miles from Benin City

families whose ancestors rest here in these shrines, the beams above them are at least 200 to 250 years old.[9]

And so there our little goddess sits on her coiled fish tail, tantalizing us with her hidden origins. Perhaps she entered Nigeria with migrations from the north and east, and her possible predecessor might be the crowned female figure, with body of serpentine form, that is coiled

[9]   The late Rene d'Harnoncourt of the Museum of Modern Art in New York told me (after seeing these bas-relief photographs) that he had seen an original Spanish map of the Pacific coasts of Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru with a blonde, long-haired mermaid in exactly the same position, but instead of serpents held over her head, she was holding aloft a garland of pink flowers in the same arc.

Plate 10.   (a) Heavy protective lintel over entrance to a chief's family altar, Owo, Nigeria. Olokun as female deity of the sea and waters, not of a specific river (such as Osun). She holds two serpents, her messengers, above her head and wears a beaded crown. Yoruba. (b) Protective lintel over family altar of another Owo chief. Carving is not as elegant as in (a). Note repeated *ikenga* motif [worship of right hand that gives one everything]. Olokun has same attributes as in (a). Owo, Nigeria. Yoruba. (c) Carved ivory bracelet belonging to a town chief of Owo, Nigeria. Yoruba. (d) Large cuff bracelet belonging to the office of the Olowo of Owo. Olokun used as repetitive motif

(a)

(b)
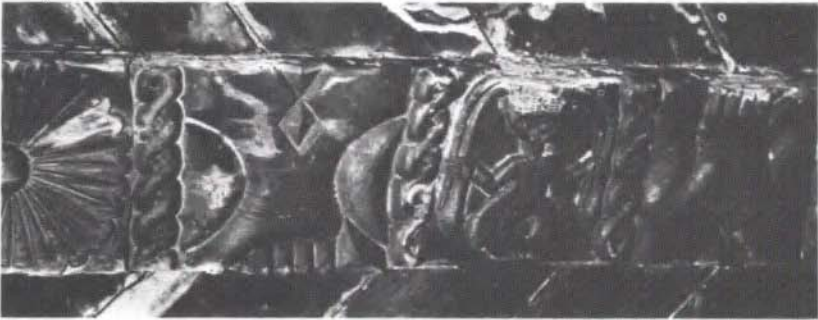
(c)

(d)

around a vessel depicting a stool in Ife; was she later to acquire a fish's body and tail? (see Willett 1967: Plate 9). Certainly her worshipers did not forget her basic complement of symbols, especially those who lost their liberty in slavery and were borne to the New World. In Cuba, Brazil, and other New World locations where the Yoruba were brought, there exist today shrines to Olokun, abundantly decorated with all manner of symbols of wealth to please her. In some areas she has been syncretized with Catholic saints, but more often she is syncretized with Mary in chapels overladen with gold and brass work. The latest manifestation of her I discovered a week before this manuscript went to the publisher. In a Mexican folk-art shop, in the storage room, I found a wooden mask. It was the large face of a beautiful fair-skinned mermaid with big blue eyes and long, wavy, light-brown hair carved in wood; from her neck there emerges the plump, upturned body of a fish with the tail going to one side of the head, painted a beautiful green. Exactly the same type of emergence of snake or fish body and tail appears in the other reference in this paragraph and in another illustration in the Benin collection reference (Willett 1973b:14). According to Beltran in *La poblacion negra de Mexico* (Published in the late 1940's), there were 75,000 African slaves in Mexico City alone in the eighteenth century. So our goddess has survived all manner of vicissitudes in migration and now sits in splendor in Chicago.

My purpose in this chapter is to challenge the student of West African art into new ways of looking at old material; to stretch out and reach beyond the present scope of research with new vision. I must admit to a hope of unsettling those who are comfortable with old, unchanging theories; but above all I hope to have contributed to the intellectual enjoyment of all those perpetual students of the aesthetic who ever search for the challenge of new light on old problems.[10]

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[10]   Robert and Pat Ritzenthaler of the Milwaukee Public Museum have been extremely kind in lending their own publication on the Cameroons and in sharing with me correspondence with Africans and field notes pertaining to the role of Sultan Njoya of Bamum gained in their stay at Bafut. The notes shed more understanding of the role this ruler played in furthering the arts and traditions of the West Cameroons and in the invention of his script. The Ritzenthalers have my profound gratitude.

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The Influence of African Art on African-American Art

AUSBRA FORD

With the emergence of the independent African states in the last fifteen years, the level of interest in all phases of African art and life has grown tremendously in the black communities of the United States. In the educational sphere, black students are demanding a more thorough knowledge of their heritage and the contribution that African-Americans have made to the fabric of life in the United States. The intention of this article is to define the extent of the influence of African art on African-American art. As a sculptor and one involved in researching the above influence, it gives me a sense of pride to see the great profusion of African colors, symbols, shapes, and images in the paintings, sculptures, street murals, weavings, and fabric designs of many black artists across the United States. Not only are these artists using these symbols and shapes with great imagination and intelligence, they are also doing a thorough job of researching them. In a way they had no choice, for the art of blacks has not been deemed worthy of study by white critics and historians; thus, there are only a few books on the subject and research is greatly needed.

Other areas of black participation in this country such as history, economics, music, etc. have been studied by black scholars such as Carter Woodson, W. E. B. DuBois, Franklin Frazier, St. Clair Drake, and John Hope Franklin, to name a few, but the last great encompassing study about black artists in the United States was written by James E. Porter in 1943. Much more research is needed on the accomplishment and influence of early and contemporary black artists.

THE EARLY INFLUENCE OF AFRICAN ART

The conscious use of African rites, customs, and images has been present

in many ways since the arrival of Africans on the shores of the Americas. Scholars in many areas (both black and white) such as Alain Locke, Melville Herskovits, Lorenzo Turner, and Robert Thompson have proved by their excellent in-depth research, that the African influence has persisted despite the oppressive system of slavery that reduced blacks to beasts of burden. In short, they were thought of and legislated as chattel property in many states. In the area of art, the survival of African-influenced images is a miracle within itself and a tribute to the spirit, vitality, and strength of the many cultures of West Africa.

Porter, artist and scholar, was probably the most knowledgeable person in this country about African-American art. He supplies one with additional evidence about the broad contributions of African slave artisans to American folk art in his comprehensive book *Modern Negro art* (1969). He gives evidence of the conscious survival of African art forms and techniques in the states of Alabama, Louisiana, North Carolina, and parts of Virginia. Porter further states in his article, "One-hundred and fifty years of Afro-American art" (n.d.):

Architecture offers proof of his cultural phenomenon in techniques in house construction [an excellent example of African house construction was found on St. Simons in the Sea Islands of Georgia (Georgia Writers Project 1940:179)] and the making of wrought-iron supports and ornaments for balconies and porches in New Orleans, Louisiana, Alabama, Charleston, South Carolina and parts of Virginia. The crafts of weaving, wood carving and embroidery also allow us to discern the retention of African features; and Cedric Dover, in his *American Negro Art* illustrates an interesting type of "plantation pottery," produced by slave craftsmen of North and South Carolina, that bears unmistakable signs of African recollection in peculiarities of surface design.

Robert Thompson's research (1969) gives more conclusive evidence of the African influence in the area mentioned by Porter and Dover. Thompson gives a scholarly in-depth study on the various African influences on ceramic pottery, woodcarvings, and funeral sculpture found in various parts of the North and the South. Additional illustrations related to the above statements can be found in a work by the Georgia Writers Project (1940) where African rites, customs, dancing, drumming, and burial sculpture are vividly shown and described by the inhabitants of the isolated Sea Islands of Georgia. This writer is currently researching the African origins of the dynamic and powerful funeral sculptures and objects that can be found in the Sea Islands of Georgia and South Carolina.

The funeral sculpture of Syrus Bowens in the settlement of Sunbury, Georgia, is an excellent illustration of how the African influence has been retained in the southern part of the United States. Funerals are very important and are considered by many to be the high point of life in West and Central African cultures.

Melville Herskovits (1941:198) speaks of the importance of a proper burial and the spiritual attributes that are considered.

The ritual for the ancestors begins with the death of a person, who must have a funeral in the keeping with his position in the community if he is to take his rightful place in the afterworld. As far as surviving relatives are concerned, two drives cause them to provide proper funeral rites. The positive urge derives from the prestige that occurs to a family that has provided a fine funeral for a dead member; negative considerations arise out of the belief that the resentment of a neglected dead person will rebound on the heads of the surviving members of the family when neglect makes him a spirit of the kind more to be feared than any other — a discontented, restless, vengeful ghost.

The research of Professor J. H. Nketia of the University of Ghana also states (1954) that there is belief in the visitation of the dead, in their invisible participation in the affairs of this world and thus the survivors strive to keep a good relationship with the dead, to remember and show concern for them, to identify themselves with them and to ask their favors. One can see why food, sculptures, and a great variety of everyday objects such as jars and pitchers that were owned by the deceased, were placed on top of the graves in the South. These objects are believed to contain some of the spiritual essence and to be symbolic of the ideas inherent in the various African cultures of West and Central Africa.

The evidence at this juncture of the research points to the area of Congo-Angola in Central Africa as well as influencing Syrus Bowens (Plates 1 through 4). Syrus worked in many media including wood construction, cement, earthenware, and the obvious incorporation of found objects. His three large pieces of sculpture on the graves of his family were impressive to say the least. These sculptures were photographed by Muriel and Malcolm Bell, Jr. and appeared in the book *Drums and shadows* in 1940. Another interesting photo, taken by Dr. Wightman, appears in Margaret Cate's work (1955). These sculptures are abstract and definitely influenced by African beliefs. Some early viewers thought one of the pieces to be a striding, abstract bird with beautiful, negative spaces. Thompson believes this piece to be a snake on a stand because of the modulation of the head. This writer tends to agree with him. The second piece of sculpture was dynamic indeed; it soared to over twelve feet in height and seemed to represent a writhing snake on a stand. Many scholars, including Herskovits and Winfred Hambly, have many thoughts about the African concept and importance of snakes. Hambly (1931:24) says that:

Ideas of soul, demon or supernormal being inhabiting the body of a snake enter into every African concept of python worship, guardian rainbow snakes or snake-human fecundity beliefs. There are a series of ideas in which reincarnation

Plate 1. Funeral sculpture by Syrus Bowens, Sunbury, Georgia. (Photograph by Muriel and Malcolm Bell, Jr.)

Plate 2. Last remaining sculpture of Syrus Bowens, circa 1973. Family is trying to preserve it with whitewash

Plate 3. Funeral sculpture by Syrus Bowens. Car headlight on grave of Aaron Bowens. Originally there was a toilet bowl on the grave. (Photograph by A. Ford)

Plate 4. Funeral sculpture by Syrus Bowens. Favorite objects of the dead individual embedded in cement over bricks on grave. (Photograph by A. Ford)

is the main thought, in many instances the only thought. Not improbable that reincarnation idea or concept is logically fundamental to every form of African snake worship, snake cult and snake belief.

Herskovits in essence agrees with Hambly about the importance of snakes in Africa and among African Americans when he states (1941:239):

The preoccupation with snakes on the part of American Negroes is significant. In West Africa, and in those parts of the New World where aboriginal religious beliefs have been retained in relatively pure form, the serpent is a major figure among supernatural beings . . . the richness and variety of Negro beliefs concerning snakes are thus carry-overs of African religious concepts salvaged in the face of the adoption of Christianity.

The two free-flowing sculptures by Bowens are constructed possibly from found tree branches. The third sculpture is a round cylindrical post with a round ball-like object on top. Incised features are placed on this ball; underneath on the post is inscribed the word "Bowens." The wide range of Syrus' work can be seen on the grave markers of the Bowens family: impression of a hand and a piece of a mirror placed in the center of the hand while the cement was wet; a headlight from an automobile was placed on another headmarker; a large piece of translucent glass, probably a found object, partially covers most of another grave. Wightman photographed a sign post in the cemetery which lists those buried within; this sign was a work of art within itself.

Bowens was a master of the use of simplified masses, curves, and geometric shapes. His work is similar to that of the European sculptor Constance Brancusi, but Syrus has suffered the same fate of most black artists in the United States — that of being almost totally ignored by white art historians and critics.

When this writer was in Sunbury in 1972, only one of the three large sculptures remained; white souvenir hunters (a black would never touch these works fearing a vengeful spirit), time, and the elements have taken their toll on Bowens' work. Extensive field research in this area is needed before it is too late. Syrus Bowens died in 1966, leaving his town and this country a legacy of great art that is a statement about the religious beliefs of African-American people of that area.

This survival of "Africanisms" (Plates 5 through 7) is apparent to a greater degree in the Caribbean countries, in Brazil, and in the Guianas of South America. Although the achievements of West and Central Africa as a whole have been disregarded by the early white academic community, we know that the Ashantis of Ghana, the Yoruba and Bini people of Nigeria, and the people of the Old Congo Kingdom of Central Africa, to name a few, had highly developed religious systems and complex founda-

tions of law and equity. They had knowledge of history, pride in their traditions, great accomplishments in arts and crafts, and a moral and ethical code of the highest standards. Needless to say, the age-old traditions of African sculpture have been a powerful influence on the painters and sculptors of Western Europe: Picasso, Matisse, Vlaminck, Derain, Modigliani, Brancusi, and certain German Expressionist painters saw and were influenced by African sculpture. These European painters soon gained a public and were acknowledged for their developments, yet the

Plate 5.   Grave objects from Zaire. Bowl with bottom knocked out on grave in Zaire. Note cactus with name etched on it. (Photograph by A. Ford)

Plate 6.   Grave in Zaire. (Photograph by A. Ford)

Plate 7.   Grave near Kumasi. Bottom of pot is not knocked out. (Photograph by A. Ford)

art from the cultures of Africa, which influenced these artists, was still being called primitive.

In contrast, the art work of African Americans, like that of Syrus Bowens, was the result of the direct influence of the African way of life, its religion, its spiritualism, and its traditions. It was not just art for art's sake.

AFRICAN IMAGERY IN THE FINE ARTS

In the early years after slavery many black artists painted in the idiom of their day and some, of course, pictured the black experience on canvas and in sculpture. The sting of racism was great, rebuffing the black artist at every turn. A few artists such as Edmonia Lewis and Henry O. Tanner left the United States to seek artistic freedom in the salons of Europe. The use of African imagery not only in art but in music, literature, and scholarship first appeared during the middle and late 1920's, in a period known as the Negro Renaissance. W.E.B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey, and Alain Locke are a few who have been credited as being early forces of direction, inspiration, and philosophical thought toward the idea that "black is beautiful." The Negro was the "in" thing and the artists were very interested in paying tribute to their African heritage. Locke in an essay entitled "The African legacy and the Negro artist' (n.d.) states:

The constructive lessons of African Art are among the soundest and most needed of art today. They offset with equal force the banalities of sterile imitative classicism and superficialities of literal realism. They emphasize intellectually significant form, abstract the balanced design, formal simplicity, the strained dignity and unsentimental emotional appeal. Moreover, Africa's art creed is beauty in use, virtually rooted in the crafts and uncontaminated with the blight of the machine. Surely the liberating example of such art will be as marked an influence on the contemporary work of Negro artists as it has been in that of leading modernists: Picasso, Modigliani, Matisse, Epstein, Lipschitz, Brancusi, and others too numerous to mention. Indeed we may expect even more of an influence because of the deeper and closer appeal of African art to the artist who feels an historical and racial bond between himself and it. For him, it should not function as a novel pattern of eccentricity or an exotic idiom for clever, yet imitative adaptation. It should act with all the force of a sound folk art, as a challenging lesson of independent originality or as clues to the repression of a half-submerged race soul. African art, therefore, presents to the Negro artist in the New World a challenge to recapture his heritage of creative originality and to carry it to distinctive new achievement in a vital, new and racially expressive art.

Aaron Douglas in his murals in the New York Public Library in Harlem and the Fisk Library adheres closely to Locke's philosophy and predictions. These murals were derivative of the African posture. Douglas' imagery shows a close kinship to the forms that had been called primitive. His appreciation and understanding of his African heritage and the black life in America, especially in the South, are apparent in his murals.

Many people believe that the black artists of the thirties turned their backs on the use of African images. This is not entirely correct — many artists, including James Wells, Richmond Barthe, Palmer Hayden, Meta Fuller, Sargent Johnson, Augusta Savage, Elizabeth Prophet, Lois Jones (Mrs. Pierre Noel), and Hale Woodruff (with his Amestad Murals in the Library of Talladega College) followed in the use of African images and motifs. Many of these artists were aided during the depression by the Harmon Foundation and the W.P.A. Federal Arts Project. Horace Pippins and Jacob Lawrence were two artists who used organization, shapes and raw color that is reminiscent of Africa but without the use of African imagery.

Jacob Lawrence is probably one of the best known black artists in the United States today. As stated above, he was not directly influenced by African art, but in the words of Keith Morrison, in an article entitled "Jacob Lawrence" (n.d.), "his whole concept of space (or pictorial arrangement) may be compared to the rhythmic schema of West African design."

As a young man in Harlem in the 1930's Lawrence became a part of the resurgent atmosphere of the Negro Renaissance. He attended many of the history clubs in Harlem that were taught by such black scholars as Charles Serfert, Joel C. Rogers, and Richard Moore. Jacob also did historical research in the Harlem Shomburg Library on such notable figures of history as Toussaint L'Ouverture, John Brown, Frederick Douglas, and

Harriet Tubman, all of whom appeared later in his famous series. Lawrence recalls (Morrison n.d.) the atmosphere of the reading room in the Shomburg Library with its "African sculpture and other items of our ancient and contemporary culture." Morrison goes on to say that "Lawrence, like his African predecessors, uses as much two-dimensional space as possible since third-dimensional emphasizes depth which breaks our consciousness of flat decorative forms . . . the mask-type abstractions of faces that he creates definitely relate to the traditional abstractions of African masks."

INFLUENCE OF AFRICAN ART ON CONTEMPORARY BLACK ARTISTS

I have said in the preceding sections that the influence African art exerted on the painting and sculpture of black artists in earlier periods was constant and, in many instances, strong. This is even more true of contemporary black art. The words of Locke seem prophetic indeed. He pointed out the way for black artists to recapture their heritage. Not only are contemporary artists attempting to recapture their heritage in a creative and forceful manner, they are taking the art to the people in the streets, because that "is where their life is." They are showing them the pride and achievements of their ancestors while also focusing upon the accomplishments and leaders of today.

THE GREAT STREET MURAL MOVEMENT

An example of the influence of African art on contemporary black American artists can be seen in what I believe to be a significant idea and undertaking: "The Wall of Respect," a street mural painted on the wall of a building on 43rd and Langley, in the middle of a black community in Chicago. The idea started in 1967 when a group of black Chicago artists got together at the urging of Bill Walker and formed the Organization of Black American Culture (OBAC) to paint a wall for the people. The "Wall" contains few if any symbols or images of African art, but this is not important. The important aspect is that it served as a teaching mechanism and a symbol of pride for the people. This is what the artists talked about in their meetings, teaching and making the people aware of their heritage and of black achievements. They wanted, in the words of Bill Walker, "to bring consciousness to the people." The community became involved. They formed the 43rd street Community Organization to help the artists. "If one tried to harm the 'Wall' in any way," said Walker, "you would be killed, and that includes me."

The muralist always involved the youngsters of the community in preparing the walls and mixing the paints. Instead of it becoming a project for "them" it was projector for "us," that is, for all of the people. This concept is truly embedded in the African tradition where people were in tune with the artist, where art was a part of life, not a separate entity from it. The "Wall of Respect" was done in various sections with various themes such as religion, literature, sports, jazz, rhythm and blues, and theater. Some of the many fine and talented artists were William Walker, Jeff Donaldson, Barbara Jones, Eugene Eda, Norman Parish, William Abernathy, Jr., Wadsworth Jarell, Mirna Weaver, and Will Hancock.

White criticism came and, as expected, many thought the "Wall" was bad art. This did not disturb the black artists. For white criticism of black artists in the past, if given at all, has been generally negative. The criticism of black people is what the artist wanted and respected. Their reaction was affirmative and it truly became a "wall to be respected." Black artists countered with their scorn and criticism of the white art world. One, Dana Chandler, said: "Earth-works? What the hell does it mean to black people if you get bulldozers and dig holes in the ground? All this stuff whites are buying tells the black man a lot about where the white community is at, namely, nowhere."

After the "Wall of Respect," murals began to proliferate around the city and other parts of the country. Bill Walker went to Detroit and painted the "Wall of Dignity," in which he depicts not only black heroes and leaders but includes a powerful panel at the top that evokes the memories of the proud black heritage from ancient Egypt and Coptic Abyssinia to the relatively modern art of the famous Benin empire around A.D. 1500. The "Wall" is full of vitality and power with the use of strong reds and cool blues, like an African mask. On the bottom of the wall are silhouetted heads in black; the contrasting use of reddish browns and whites reminds one of strong African masks. It becomes obvious from this wall that not only has Walker researched the African past with care, but he is also keenly aware of the present-day situations that blacks must cope with in order to survive with dignity in America.

Eugene Eda is another muralist of note in the city of Chicago (Plates 8 and 9). After seeing his mural on the walls of the basement of the DuSable Museum, on the south side of Chicago, one becomes immediately aware of the vitality, strength, forcefulness, and dedication of this artist. Although the wall contains no African images except for the slave section, his almost total use of reds and oranges along with his powerful forms is something to behold. This is one of his early walls, which set the stage for the dynamic murals around the city and the famous doors that he painted at Malcolm X College on the west side of the city. After Eugene did the walls of the DuSable Museum he studied for his master's degree at Howard University under Lois Jones (whose powerful African-

influenced paintings will be discussed later), and his development becomes apparent.

On the Malcolm X College doors Eugene incorporates strong African masks and symbols from North, West, and Central Africa along with African-American black power symbols. The Eda effect as one might expect is strong indeed. The double doors are about twelve feet high and eight feet wide, giving him ample space to work out his excellent designs in his powerful use of reds, oranges, yellows, and grays. His use of space is

Plate 8.   Doors in Malcolm X College, Chicago by Eugene Eda
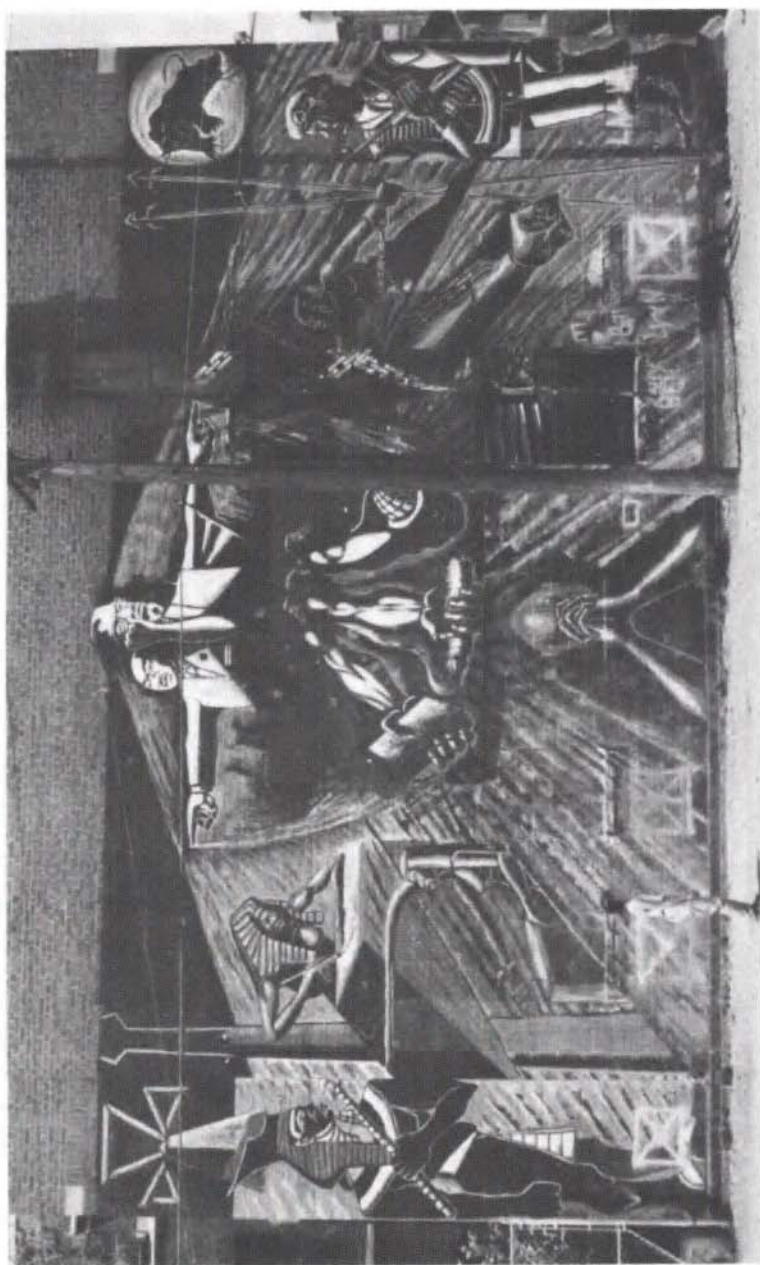
Plate 9.   Wall of Meditation by Eugene Eda on Olivet Presbyterian Church, Chicago

basically two-dimensional and his large strong curves are broken in many places by sharp diagonals, like the sharp and cutting edge of life for black people. This strong use of diagonals can be seen again in his mural called "Wall of Meditation" on the north side of Chicago, which also incorporates strong African and Afro-American images with Martin Luther King and Malcolm X at the top. His palette is limited to the strong contrast of dark grays, blues, white, and red. Eugene has painted other walls with his customary power and vitality and is definitely one of the foremost muralists in Chicago.

Mitchell Caton is another one of the many street muralists in Chicago who has been strongly influenced by African art (Plates 10 and 11). His mural on 42nd and Cottage Grove in Chicago called "Nation Time" after a poem by the black leader and poet, Baraka, and his "Quest for Higher Knowledge" on 75th and Vernon literally dance with his use of movement; they seem alive because of the dynamic sharp contrast of silhouette African figures dressed in colorful robes and clothing. Peggy Harper of the University of Ife in Nigeria, and one who has seen much of the great tribal and contemporary art in Nigeria, was extremely impressed by the power and the vitality and the incorporation of African images in the work of Caton and Eda. The work of the muralists in Chicago and across the nation mirrors what is currently happening in art in places such as Oshogbo, Ibadan, and Lagos in Nigeria, and in other cities across the continent of Africa.

One cannot say enough about the role that black women have played in the resurgence of art in the United States (Plates 12 and 13). From Edmonia Lewis to Barbara Jones, they have been in the forefront in the struggle for black art as well as in the struggle for black survival. In the matter of being influenced by African art one has to note the name of Lois Jones (Mrs. Pierre Noel) who has been a giant of a painter (from the days of the Harmon Foundation) for forty years. She began to show the African influence in her paintings as far back as the thirties. Lately, her work has exhibited stronger African emphasis in such canvases as "Magic of Nigeria" and "Homage to Oshogbo." Her color, structure, and sense of design in these strongly African-influenced canvases are a triumph indeed.

Margaret Burroughs, head of the DuSable Museum, on the south side of Chicago, has been another strong force in the black art world for years. Her art work and dedication to the development of the DuSable Museum is known throughout the country (she has given me encouragement and help during my research in Africa). Margaret makes trips almost annually to Africa and her art work reflects the knowledge she has acquired there.

The list of women artists who have been influenced by Africa is long and impressive, including such names as Barbara Jones, Rosaline Jeffries, and Lucille Malka. Another artist who has been recently influenced by

Plate 10. Detail of street mural, "Nation Time," by Mitchell Caton, 41st and Cottage Grove, Chicago. (Photograph by A. Ford)
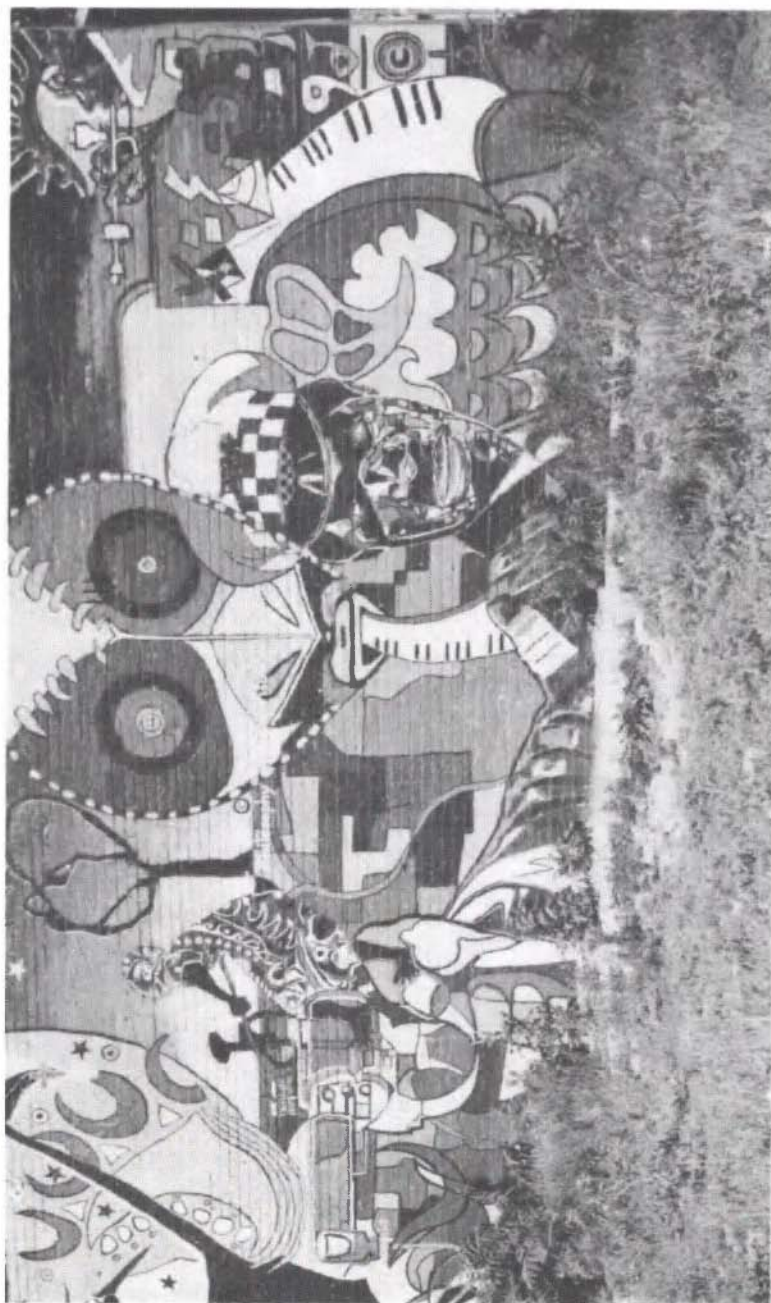
Plate 11. Detail of street mural, "Quest for Higher Knowledge," by Mitchell Caton, 75th and Vernon, Chicago. (Photograph by A. Ford)

Plate 12.   Bronze sculpture of Martin Luther King by Geraldine McCullough in Martin Luther King Housing Project on the west side of Chicago. (Photograph by A. Ford)

Africa is Geraldine McCullough, who has done a controversial seven-and-a-half feet tall bronze sculpture of Martin Luther King, Jr. on the west side of Chicago. King is shown in the ceremonial dress of a Benin Oba with an Asian prayer wheel in one hand and a cross in the other. The proportions are very African with the head being about one fourth of the total height.

AFRICOBRA

Intelligent definition of the past
Perceptive identification in the present
Will project nationful direction in the future
Look for us there,
Because that is where we are at.

These are some of the pronouncements of the African Commune of Bad Relevant Artists (AFRICOBRA). They are part of an idea that was conceived in July of 1962, when Jeff Donaldson and Wadsworth Jarrell asked themselves if it would be possible to start a "Negro" movement

Plate 13. Silkscreen print by Barbara Jones-Hogu of AFRICOBRA. (Photograph by A. Ford)

based on a common creed. They started off with five members: Jeff Donaldson, Joe Jarrell, Wadsworth Jarrell, Barbara Jones and Gerald Williams in 1968. Later they grew to ten; many were members of the OBAC, which painted the now famous "Wall of Respect" in Chicago. Their use of African/African-American images, explosive color, relevant and revolutionary content rooted in the African family tradition makes them one of the most exciting black groups painting in the United States. Edward Spriggs, Director of the Studio Museum in Harlem, New York, said of AFRICOBRA in November, 1971, that "We believe that they represent one of the most dynamic combinations of thought, talent, and commitment that we have known in the visual arts during the era of the 'Black Aesthetics' in America." Spriggs believes that they do not just make images of heroes and of protest and sorrow, but that they cut across zones of feelings, thoughts, time, memory, and love.

Jeff Donaldson, one of the founders of the group, has said (n.d.):

We are a family. . . . It's Nation Time and we are searching. Our guidelines are our people — the whole family of African people, the African family tree. And the spirit of familyhood, we have carefully examined our roots and searched our branches for those visual qualities that are most expressive of out people/art. Our people are our standards for excellence. We strive for images inspired by African

people/experience and images which African people can relate to directly without formal art training and/or experience. Art for the people and not for the critics, whose peopleness is questionable. We try to create images that appeal to the senses — not to the intellect. The images are placed into three categories: (1) definition — images that deal with the past; (2) identification — images that deal with the present; (3) direction — images that look into the future.

Other qualities that influence their image making are (1) the expressive awesomeness that one experiences in African art and in life in the United States, and (2) symmetry that is free, repetition with change, based on African music and African movement. Jeff says that they use color that is free of rules and regulations; bright and real as the color on the streets of Watts, Chicago, Harlem, Abidjian, Port au Prince, Bahia, Ibadan, Dakar, and Johannesburg.

AFRICOBRA works also include words and statements that deliver a message and function simultaneously as a part of the total composition, so there can be no doubt about the artist's attitudes on a given subject. An example of this can be seen in Barbara Jones' silk screen "Nation Time" where the hair of an African American is incorporated into part of the lettered message calling for "Nation Time." The influence of African art as stated in their philosophy can be seen permeating throughout the work of the group and is strongly noticeable in such works as "Victory in the Valley of Eshu," "God Bless the Child" (where it seems as if the concept of the ibeji twins is used), "Wives of Shango," "Liberation Soldiers," "Don't Forget the Struggle," and "Prepare for the Future." The tapestries of Napoleon Henderson and Howard Mallory abound with strong African symbols.

Like most black artists, the members of AFRICOBRA are interested in art being a part of the lives of black people, therefore posters and prints are made from many of their paintings and made available to the public at a reasonable price. Spriggs says,

... in and thru their various media, the Africobra creators attempt to scrounge through the catacombs of our instance, pushing out the dead and the dying, resurrecting spineless souls; they want to expunge the components of our dollar-mache masters held together by the juices of our servitude; they want to provide the symbols to break our entrenched logomachy and push us generations ahead.

If one goes to see an exhibit of AFRICOBRA, provided he is open and receptive, he will definitely be moved in some way.

THE FUTURE

There is another group of painters that has been influenced by its African heritage as well as by the black experience. They are called the Weuse

Nyumba Ya Sanaa and there are fourteen members who have a studio and gallery in Harlem. They, like many African artists today, are taking old forms and welding them into new forms along with the black experience and creating a truly exciting and relevant art. A growing number of black artists are traveling to Africa and being stimulated first hand by the great artistic cultures across the continent. One of the first to make the trip was Elton Fax, an outstanding New York illustrator, who produced the book *African vignettes*, a pictorial result of his travels. Next was Dr. John T. Biggers of Texas Southern University; he published a volume entitled *Ananse: the web of life in West Africa*. Jacob Lawrence has been twice to Africa and has had an exhibit of his work in Lagos and Ibadan, Nigeria. James Porter spent a year in West Africa and the result was many drawings and paintings.

As a result of trips, in-depth research, student and faculty exchange programs, the Black World Arts Festivals, and many other forms of contact, ties with African brothers are being strengthened. One should see in the future a greater proliferation of African-inspired work. We are in the midst of what some people call the "Second Black Renaissance," or the "Black Aesthetics." Whatever it is called it has mirrored the true African ideals and is based around and dependent upon the people, not the intellectuals. The spirit of the black people has endured, so will their art (Plates 14 through 17).
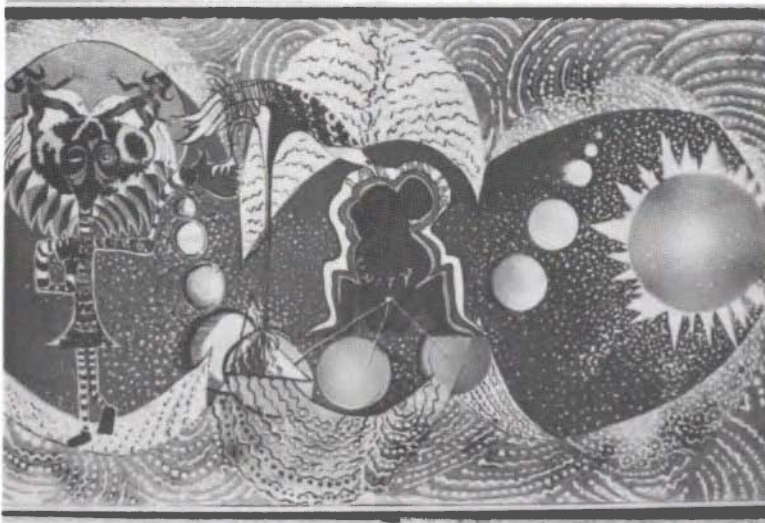
Plate 14. "The First Initiation" by Ausbra Ford. (Photograph by A. Ford)

Plate 15.   "The Wall of Unforgotten Times," by students of Ausbra Ford at Chicago State University. (Photograph by A. Ford)
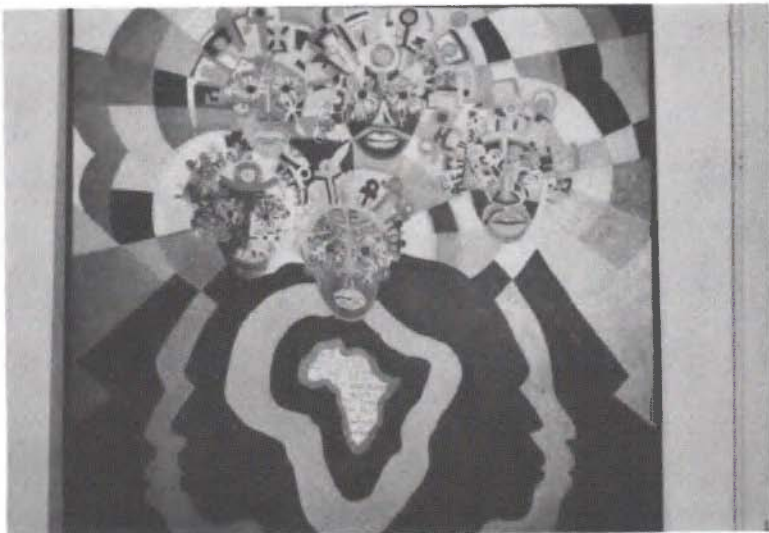
Plate 16. "Message from a Giant-Garvey," by Gerald Williams, Member of AFRICOBRA

Plate 17. "Boogaloo Mask" of elm wood, natural bark, beads and straw, 1970 by Lorenzo Pace, Chicago artist, center. (Photograph by A. Ford)

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On Exhibiting African Art

JACQUELINE DELANGE-FRY

An exhibition of African art can be an exceptional happening when it is integrated into the program of a public or university art gallery. As part of the total program, it comes before, after, or at the same time as various other displays of local or European art forms of historical, modern, or contemporary import.

Inside this framework, an African art exhibition can be planned as a periodical event within a display of permanent collections in fine art museums consecrated entirely (Museum of Primitive Art, New York; Musée des Arts Africains et Océaniens, Paris; Musée de l'Afrique Centrale, Tervuren, Belgium) or partially (Art Institute of Chicago; Brooklyn Museum) to the artistic production of nonindustrial cultures. By the same token, an African art exhibition can be considered a special event in an institution devoted to the permanent display of ethnological material (Museum of Man, Museum of Natural History).

Until very recently, exhibitions of African art have constituted a repetitive presentation of various formal or ethnographical panoramas, generally of sculpture, masks and statues, with an emphasis on wood sculpture and lost wax bronzes. In the last few years terra cotta and stone figures have appeared with increasing frequency.

There is no doubt that, for many of us, this type of exhibition has been unsatisfactory for quite some time. During these last few years, a new concern for the public expression of knowledge and cultural experience has given rise to a set of questions which gravitate around the practical problem of preparing exhibits for the public. In a previous article we tried to trace the development of our present problems by typifying the various centers of interest that have continued public manifestations. In chronological order we distinguished "the discovery of Negro art," "the ethnological period," and finally "the culturalist period" (*Revue*

d'Esthétique 1970). In relation to this development, our present situation is characterized by a strong effort to reinterpret artistic facts. Not only have we tried to understand the nature and the specific rules of aesthetic behavior, as well as the place these activities occupy in thought and in social life, but we have also asked what roles institutions such as museums and art galleries should adopt in contemporary society. The question of the role of museums or galleries is particularly delicate. In general these institutions are still bound functionally to the structures that gave them birth. These structures, set up and consolidated for the most part in the nineteenth century, were intended to provide for the conservation and contemplation of the private collections of the aristocracy and the cultural "elite."

Whether it be conscious or unconscious, when working in such an ideological context, it is imperative to introduce the new aspects of African art made available through the incredible amount of information and documentation brought back, organized, and published by more and more trained researchers. No matter how one tries to solve institutional problems, we are still convinced that preparing a display of African art forms raises one central question: should we use a "neutral" or an "interpretative" organization of the visual space? It is only when this question is answered that the details of the actual exhibition can be determined.

Neutral Space

In this type of exhibit, the role of objects as bearers of social functions or as cultural mediators between an occidental public and the object-producing community is apparently ignored. The techniques related to lighting, the choice of colors, the use of supports, window cases, pedestals, visitor routing, global viewing, and the general atmosphere are an aspect of mechanical dispositions that function in exactly the same way as in any other "formal" exhibition. The purpose is to display the formal beauty of the object in the best possible way and to heighten the purely aesthetic perception of the visitors.

Interpretative Space

This type of exhibition tries to express or communicate by using a thematic organization based on knowledge about the objects shown. This communication of understanding can be rooted in an ideological context, the exhibition being part of a wide cultural festival or event designed, for example, to give homage to "l'art Nègre" or the African identity. This

understanding can also be founded on strong personal anthropological experience in the nature of the art displayed. This implies some theory concerning African art and the process of exhibition design. Several different possible cases can be distinguished:

1. Groupings of objects based on geographical-tribal succession; this is the typical presentation of museums of natural history or museums of man.

2. Groupings based on geographical zones; the delineations are used to present different linguistic subfamilies (e.g. exhibitions by Roy Sieber, Arnold Rubin, Réné Bravman, etc.). Sieber summed up this point of view in 1969 when he said: "Language and Art are both factors of major importance in distinguishing cultures. As such, correspondences between them may reinforce hypotheses of historical relationships that cannot be documented by written history."

3. Demonstrations of a "total art form" rejecting what is called "the old geographical tribal organization" exhibitions by Herbert Cole and Stein Reifel; this kind has followed partially the development of Marcel Mauss regarding aesthetic distinctions, which have in turn been used by Michel Leiris. The show, intended to present the masking tradition in Africa, starts with body decoration and expands into a maximum of formal aspects through a multiplicity of technical, logical, and psychological interplays. Projections of slides and constantly running films of dances and artists at work act as indispensible animators as well as distributors of relevant visual correlations.

4. Major international surveys; these include not only a selective presentation founded on a geographical tribal organization of the pieces but also a historical statement, (e.g. William Fagg's exhibition shown in 1970 at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, began with "African art in history"). The exhibition part of the First World Festival of Negro Art in Dakar in 1966 (arranged by J. DeLange, E. M'Veng, P. Meauzé, G. H. Rivière) began with a "historical dimension" and ended with a "dialogue with the world." The student-teacher team's exhibition of African art at the La Jolla Museum of Art in 1970 was intended as a full statement on black sculpture. In this latter case, the tribal grouping of forms was enriched by an investigation of Afro-American artistic contributions, from slave art to contemporary black art, including a presentation of "Europe discovers Africa" through samples of works by Picasso, the German expressionists, Max Ernst, Jacques Lipschitz, and Henry Moore. Unfortunately as we have no photographs of this display as a whole, our information is based on the catalogue alone.

The point is that we are rarely, if ever, in such an idealistic position that we can freely choose among different possible types of display, even if we are more or less directed by general theoretical principles. Such simple questions as the financial and technical conditions of work are always of

major concern. Lack of money, lack of support, understaffing, inadequate space, absence of available visual documents, and so forth conflict with our desire to create exhibitions where design plays the role of visual relay.

We would like to reverse the traditional exhibition expert's point of view that we should concern ourselves with the public rather than the material itself. Some basic questions have to be asked:

1. What have been the past accomplishments of the art galleries or museums in the city or area where the exhibition is to take place?

2. Have the people in the area already been confronted with exhibitions of non-Western art, and if so, what was the subject and what "base" of experience did they provide?

3. What do we know about "our" public?

We consider our "knowledge" of the public to be of primary concern. Preparing an exhibition for Manitoba, Canada, for New York, or for Abidjan raises completely different problems in each case.

In Manitoba, the founding cultural institutions support a type of "ethnic festivals" which reinforce folklore to the distinct disadvantage of cultural understanding. The folkloric atmosphere acts as a cultural sleeping pill. The new art gallery still functions on outmoded patterns, and the cultural and aesthetic perception of the art gallery's public (which still means a small part of the community) is not prepared for experience-expanding confrontations. The only way of escaping the ambiguities of folklore is, in our mind, to give to the objects produced by different cultures (still considered to be "exotic") a formal status which has, in fact, been previously denied to them. A "total art form" type of exhibition would have amplified, through overlapping images of the field experiences, the romantic and ethnocentric ideas of "primitive cultures" and "primitive art." The classification of forms through the use of geographical zones and linguistic families would have been too complicated, even if exact, for a public's first visual approach to African art.

Taking these considerations into account, we decided on a neutral space to prepare an exhibition of African art which was the first to be organized in western Canada. It was also the first showing of African sculptures from Canadian collections. The purely aesthetic content was deliberately chosen as a priority; nevertheless, within a purely formal space we tried to build in some interpretative reference points.

Interpretative Reference Points

THE CATALOGUE. This was very inexpensive (fifty cents) and sold on the honor system. It was available for reading on a table in the exhibit space without any cost. All pieces were reproduced and "explained"; field

photographs were used and a final photograph showing the pieces manipulated by children in the curator's office was included in order to make people sensitive to the ideas of immediacy and personal contact with these forms. The introductory text tried to cover a maximum of aspects but used an autocratic tone more to stimulate than "to teach."

THE SOUND ROOM (PLATE 1). One and one-half hours of recorded traditional African music (Rwanda, Ivory Coast, Nigeria) was played. An automatic reverse permitted the running of the music during complete visiting time. On the inside walls were enlargements of photographs which showed the necessary historical sequence (Nok heads, Ife, Benin, Jebba-Taka, Zimbabwe, etc.). Big transparencies presented masked dancers in ceremonial activities.

Plate 1. View of sound room. (Reprinted by permission of The Winnipeg Art Gallery)

ENTRANCE (PLATE 2). A large map showing the "geographical-tribal" origin of the pieces was displayed and three photographs on triangular boxes protruded from the wall, which included a rock painting from Hoggar (prehistorical reference), a house in a Bamileke chiefdom

Plate 2.   Left (main) entrance (Reprinted by permission of The Winnipeg Art Gallery)

(architectural and political reference), and a Dogon landscape with round granaries (environmental and economical reference).

Given general prejudice about the "mysterious and magical" ways of life of "African Tribes," darkness was avoided in the whole exhibition. The walls were white, the light intensity was sufficient for a total examination of each piece in detail (Plates 3–7). We tried to follow the public's reaction to the exhibit throughout its three month duration with the help of a questionnaire. The questionnaires were put on the same table as the catalogues. We felt that these questionnaires might serve as an indispensable objective complement to our theoretical approach to the exhibition and that they also could be used as a tool for reflection about various situations involving this type of communication situation.

Winnipeg has a population of 550,000 inhabitants; the attendance at the art gallery in the three months of the exhibition was 70,262. During this period 23,731 visited in November, 21,390 in December, and 25,212 in January. Only 316 questionnaires were completed. The number of persons who took the time to answer the questionnaire but did not buy the catalogue was 237. Added to the 256 catalogues bought in the exhibit space, 493 people reacted "positively" to the exhibit, that is, they were motivated to do *something* of their own volition. These numbers account

Plate 3.   Right entrance, possible exit. (Reprinted by permission of the Winnipeg Art Gallery)

for 6 percent of the visitors to the African exhibition and the seven other exhibits that were held at the same time in the same building. Any comparison of interest with the other exhibitions is difficult for many reasons, the main one being that our exhibition lasted two months longer than any of the others. Nevertheless we can easily discover a growing curve of attention to the African display (which had very little support or publicity). More than half of the catalogues and questionnaires were sold and completed between January 4 and January 31. Compared to the sale of other catalogues, the sale of African catalogues was more than encouraging. The most exceptional sale of catalogues was 500. This was the catalogue for a very popular show of "Manitoban Quilts," in which the barriers of interest between different classes of the society were broken down by sharing a common regional pride and a common technical expertise.

The questionnaire asked each visitor to mark his appropriate age group. There were four classifications but these probably did not differentiate enough between three of the age groups — old, adult, and young people. The difference between youth and working age was sometimes felt to be discriminatory.
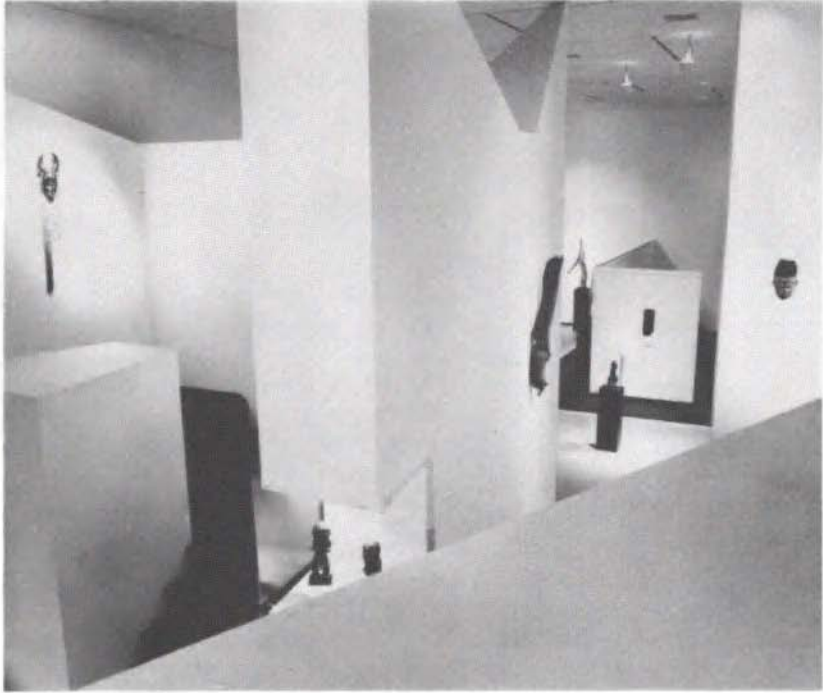
Plate 4.   View from upper level. (Reprinted by permission of the Winnipeg Art Gallery)
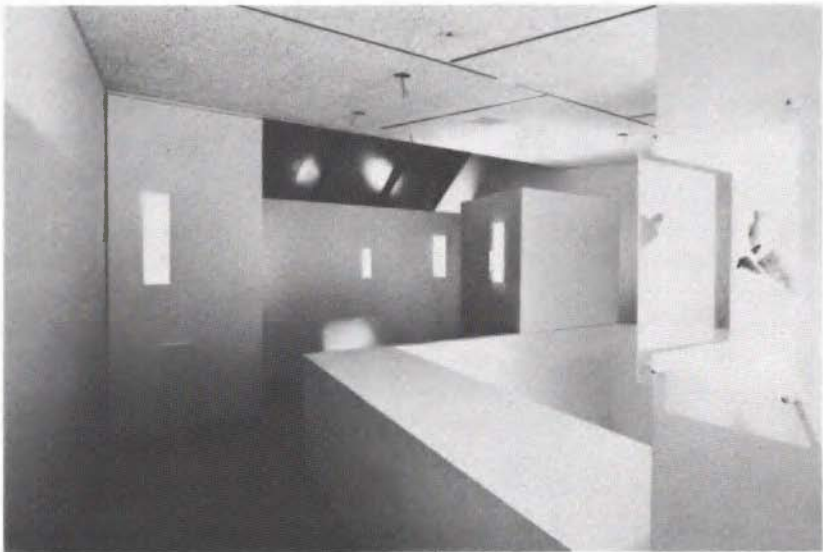
Plate 5.   Balcony area of two-storied structure during hanging. (Photograph by E. P. Mayer)
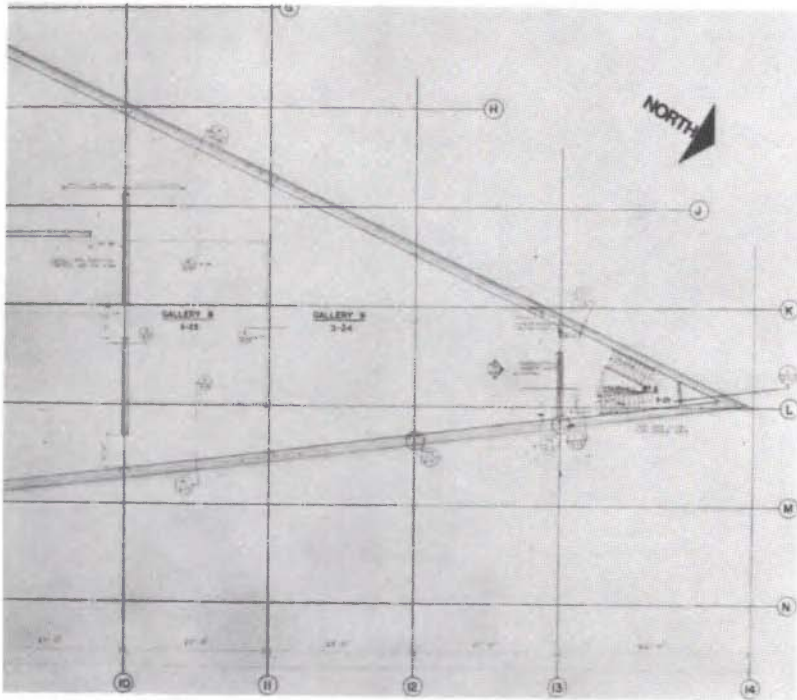
Plate 6.   Blueprint of Galleries 8 and 9, called "The Point." (Photograph E. P. Mayer)

Of the 316 responses, 118 did not indicate a dislike for any of the sculptures, generally because they "liked them all" and they were "all different and representative." Some refused the possibility of disliking for similar reasons, for example: "How can you dislike something you know nothing about?", or "Cultural relativity does not allow me to judge realistically." At least two qualified their opinions by saying that they "didn't dislike, but liked least" and they "just do not appreciate." The tendency to like them all seemed stronger in two groups of fourteen- to sixteen-year-old students who were given a guided tour through the gallery. Few people had no preferences, and many indicated more than two pieces.

Two "stars" emerged from the exhibition: the Kurumba antelope headdress (Plate 8) and the Bakongo Nkonde, "nail" figure (Plate 9). The antelope was explicitly indicated as a favorite piece 35 times (23 working age, 12 youth) as well as being quoted often in answers mentioning more than one piece. The Bakongo, as somebody mentioned, seemed "to be the most impressive in one way or another." It was chosen 23 times as favorite sculpture (19 working age, 5 youth) as well as being cited often in answers including more than one piece. It was strongly disliked 11
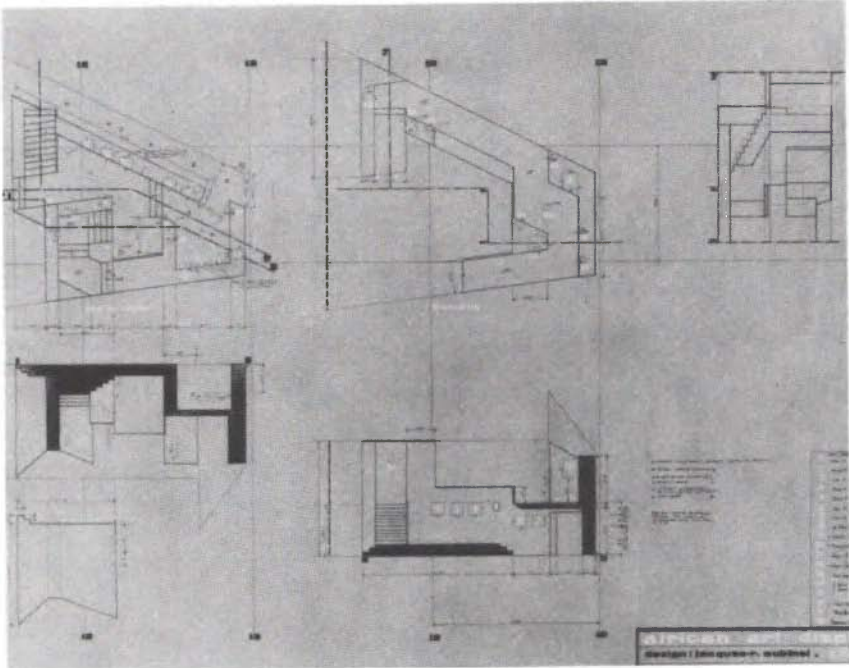
Plate 7.   Plans for original African art display by Jacques Aubinel. (Photograph by E. P. Mayer)

times (7 working age, 4 youth) and was mentioned many times in lists of disliked pieces.

Disliked explicitly were the Mama statue (11 times), the Yaka mask (5 times), and the Mumuye statue (5 times), but the Mama and the Mumuye statues were most often quoted in answers giving more than one disliked piece (Plates 10 and 11).

Thirteen sculptures in the exhibition were never mentioned in any way at all. These were the "Egungun," "Mbuya," Bini, Punu, Mambila masks, the Senufo helmet, the Baule and the Teke statues, the Tshokwe whistle, the Luba pendant, the Ibo pipe, the two Yaka figurines. We can propose only some hypothetical explanations for this. The Bini and Egungun masks were not exhibited at their best; the Ibo pipe was more of historical than aesthetic interest. The strong impact of the Bakongo statue diminished the attention given to the two "magical" Yaka. The abstract organization of the Senufo helmet was not as disturbing as the abstract articulation of the Mama and Mumuye statues, presumably because of the disposition towards masks. As for the ivory Luba and ivory-like Tshokwe whistle, people seemed to require, at least from miniature objects, more detailed workmanship (as found in lost wax bronze Akan pieces) than the global discrete delicacy of a little form in
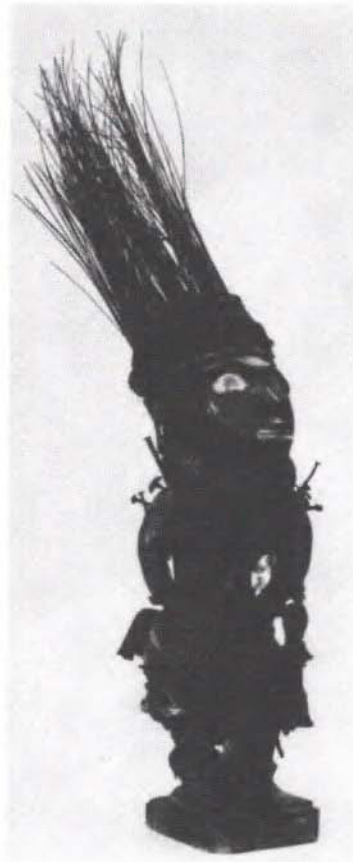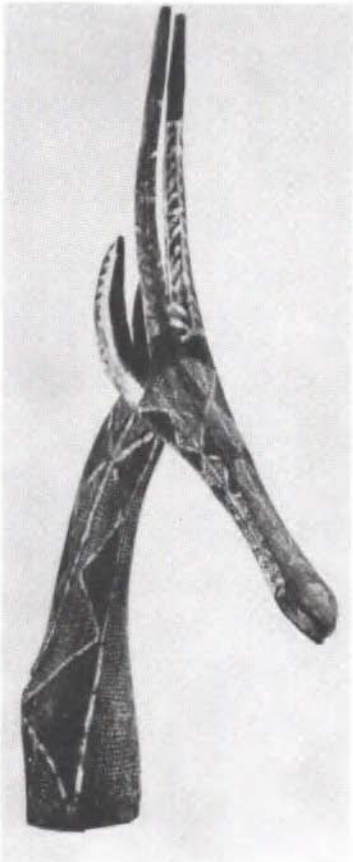
Plate 8. The antelope headdress, the favorite sculpture. Height: 49.87 inches. (Reprinted by permission of the Winnipeg Art Gallery)
Plate 9. The Bakongo Nkonde figure, the impressive sculpture. Height: 30 inches. (Reprinted by permission of the Winnipeg Art Gallery)

plain ivory. The indifference to the strong Teke reliquary statue (Plate 12), the aggressive Mambila mask, the fine Tsogo bell and Baule figure is harder to understand.

Some of the reasons given for liking the Kurumba antelope were: "good proportion," "simplicity," "design," "motion of line," "beauty of line," "graceful," "colorful," "strong and delicate," "form and color," "innocent sophistication," "a dream," "communication with nature," "high regards for animals." Just as the Tchi-Wara headdress of the Bambara — always very successful (mediocre duplicate or extremely well-carved creative forms) — the Kurumba antelope corresponds to basic general requirements which have to do with a concept of harmony

Plate 10. The Mama male figure, the hated sculpture. Height 22.5 inches. (Reprinted by permission of the Winnipeg Art Gallery)
Plate 11. The Mumuye female figure, the other hated figure. Height: 23.5 inches. (Reprinted by permission of the Winnipeg Art Gallery)

and familiarity combined with a notion of reality and a tendency toward a slight sophistication.

The Yaka mask was disliked because it was "out of proportion," "distorted," "not appealing except that it is old," "looks like death warmed over," "crude but realistic." The Mama and the Mumuye statues were seen as "crude" (many times), "ugly," "offensive," "exaggerated," "unnecessarily grotesque," "poorly carved," and not "creative." Other statements included: "I really don't know" and "could not understand what they are trying to represent," or "can't relate to it at all." More precisely for the Mama statue: "bad points, not as well defined as others," "ape like," "the umbilical cord," "her posture," "unattractive," "malformed human," "unfamiliar."

Plate 12.   The Teke male cult figure, one of the ignored sculptures. Height: 19 inches.
(Reprinted by permission of the Winnipeg Art Gallery)

The Bakongo nail statue (a very good example of this category) was liked for the following reasons: "beautiful," "revealing," "amusing and different," "powerful," "realistic," "very detailed," "style." Also because, "she reminds me of their voodoo traditions," "the more it embodies to a point the more it tells us"; "many materials used in making it"; "lot of work to produce." Many times she was chosen for reasons such as, "you hear so much about black magic," "represents death" or the "superstition of the medicine man." Unfortunately most of the last answers can be attributed to the guided groups of students. The reasons why the same statue was disliked were: "superstition," "suggestion of evil," "voodoo image" (many times), "disturbing," "possible magical significance," "grotesque," "hideous," "too cluttered." The Bakongo nail statue was also cited thirteen times as conforming to a preconceived idea of African art.

Quality of workmanship and complexity were mentioned explicitly many times for the small brass figurines, the Tshokwe pipe, the Senufo rider, and the Benin bronzes; the latter were also admired revealing "technical mastery" and for being "more civilized." The concept of "authenticity" and "realism" appeared often as elements of attraction while asymmetry, abstraction, difficulty in looking at (too busy), and nonrepresentational were factors contributing to disapproval. The "physical appearance" of the Mambila and Asna statues were sometimes felt as "weird" because of "the fact that the media was camel dung" and was disliked because of the "absence of facial and body characteristics.

Among the positive descriptions of other sculptures, some were: "archetypal," "magical," "mysterious," "primordial nature," "artistic value," "imaginative primitive grace," "exquisite details," "simplistic," "lively," "minimality," "moving qualities," "appeal to universal structure," "fluid lines." Comments rejecting other sculptures included: "frightening," "plain," "conceptual," "optically sophisticated," "engaged style," "decadent," "dirty," "vulgar."

The pieces corresponding to "a preconceived idea of African Art" were rarely the pieces mentioned by a person as his favorites. Thirty people answered with one word — "masks." Some added further explanation: "I find statues hard to understand"; "Masks are usually shown as typical of African Art, advertising is effective"; "I am afraid, Masks! Although having seen the exhibit my ideas have been altered." Another type of answer indicates a strong reaction to the validity of the question as for example: "Silly question, one can represent many" (working age); and "Absurd question, I expect the art to create my ideas about the art" (youth). The pieces generally pointed out as representing the ideas that people have about African art are almost never the pieces that appear in the series of liked and disliked objects. The Kota reliquaries were quoted seven times, the *Kanaga* four times.

Four aspects of criticism were directed against the exhibition itself:

1. *Information*   Explanations related to the pieces themselves and to the related "customs" were insufficient. Labels were too small; there was an absence of data concerning the pieces displayed. The need for lectures was pointed out.

2. *Objects*   There were "too much collector's items," and not enough "original material" (tools) as seen in museums. There was "too limited choice" and the Canadian University Students Overseas (CUSO) protested against owning personal "souvenirs" they thought should have been borrowed.

3. *Display*   Complaints were: "darken overall lighting," "more realistic setting," "more pictures," "show lost on huge white areas," "eyes tired," "display of glass cages," "prints too small and buried on walls,"

"less security while observing objects," "need color pictures," "suggest a video supplement."

4. *Ethics*   One person said that it was "blasphemy to take sacred articles and display them as prize hogs."

Concerning the buying of catalogues, almost all the negative answers (237) were due to financial reasons, e.g. "lack of money," "too poor," "too expensive," "shortage of funds." Some people read the catalogue on the table in the exhibit space. Five did not buy the catalogue because of "lack of interest." Two mentioned the inadequacy of verbal and photographic tools to capture the "true beauty" of the "tri-dimensionality" of the sculptures. One did not buy it because "its comments and introduction were totally inadequate for the novice."

Very few people (only fifty-four, most of them working-age group) replied that they had never seen African sculpture before. But the majority of the visitors interested by the questionnaire agreed that they had "a slight knowledge of Black Africa."

The major prior source of African images was television. A total of sixty-four children in the two school groups who were given a guided tour said they had already seen African sculptures in museums, art galleries, friends' homes, or stores. Twenty-five said they had seen African sculpture on television. Sixty-seven people came to the gallery specifically to see the African show and 238 came to see the entire gallery. Eighty-seven young people were surprised to see an African show because they "thought it (the gallery) was mostly paintings" or because they "did not know the Africans could do such things." Thirty-one people (working-age group and senior citizens) were also surprised to see this African exhibition as well as five university students who thought it would be better to put "these artifacts in a museum." One hundred people answered that they were not surprised; some of them elaborated with statements such as, "Why should I be surprised, African sculpture is an art form?"

A deeper study of the questionnaire concerning the aesthetic and cultural tendencies of the visitors, their preconceived ideas about African art and the sources of their previous knowledge, and correlating the different age groups, will be done later along with a more rigorous organization of the results with some interpretations and propositions. We can already make one suggestion. For a public more or less removed from critical cultural reflection, the programming of "African art" or "non-Western art" shows should be included in a long-term policy of steps and levels of communication. Neutral presentations should be replaced by strong interpretative "depth exploration" type shows. These displays should present at one and the same time the originality of a system of visual signs as well as their characters as symbols related to the whole life of a people. They should strive for rigorous exploration of forms within the framework of a specific people's thought.

The problems raised by criticisms of the display include the fundamental question of relationship between the literary and the visual, the spatial combination between the interpretative and the formal, and the manipulation of different kinds of documents. This article does not pretend to offer any easy answers. Through a brief inventory of kinds of exhibitions and some reflections rooted in our contemporary conditions of work and thought, and through the presentation of results of a questionnaire we wanted only to open some doors and stimulate a discussion. If we are not concerned with our own public (public=us=people=region) as much as we are with the people of other cultures, we risk falling, in an absurd way, into exoticism and failing thereby in our sincere attempt to establish equal intercultural communication.

APPENDIX 1. SOUND TAPE FOR AFRICAN SCULPTURE EXHIBIT

Sources:
   Anthology of African Music, UNESCO Collection.
   Musique Guère, Hugo Zemp for Museum of Man, Paris.
   Anthology of Music of Black Africa, Everest Records.
   Musique Yoruba, Gilbert Rouget for Museum of Man, Paris.

Music from Rwanda (UNESCO Series)
1.	Royal drums	0000
2.	Seven-stringed zither	0053
3.	Love song performed by king's sister	0084
4.	Hutu (cowherd passes time)	0120
5.	Large and small flutes	0144
6.	Song of praise	0169

Music from Ethiopia II-Cushites (UNESCO Series)
7.	Fourteen men with one-note flutes	0185
8.	Celebration of a successful lion hunt	0228
9.	Boy's dance in praise of friends	0255
10.	Wedding music (horns)	0298
11.	Wedding dance	0336

Musique Guère
12.	Women's work song (hoeing a field)	0377
13.	Forked-harp solo	0415
14.	Mask's song	0448
15.	Young women's song	0503
16.	Xylophone music	0531
17.	Music of a secret society	0556

Anthology of Music of Black Africa
18.	Sicco	0695
19.	Ibonga	0722
20.	Siba Saba	0749
21.	Sindhio	0800
22.	Sabar	0857
23.	Miva	0885

24. Duet for flutes	0920
25. Solo for musical bow	
26. Xylophone solo	
27. Dance for witch doctor	1025
28. Rhythm "Asoukaldo"	1111
29. Rhythm "Megpadouelo"	
Musique Yoruba	
30. Yoruba chant for Shango and Oya	1160
31. Two Yoruba chants	1247
End of tape	1340

APPENDIX 2.   SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE

Have you already seen an African sculpture?

What sculpture?
  Mask?
  Statue?
  Something else?

Where?
  Museum?
  Art gallery?
  Store?
  Friend's home?

Have you any knowledge of Black Africa?

How?
  Movies?
  Trips?
  From friends?
  Newspapers?
  Books?
  Television?

Did you come to the Gallery specifically to see the African show?

Were you surprised to see the "African Sculpture" exhibition in the art gallery?

Which sculpture best represents your ideas about African art?

What sculpture do you prefer?

Why?

What sculpture do you dislike?

Why?

Did you buy the catalogue?

Why?

Have you any other comments?

Please check your age group
   School age
   Youth
   Working age
   Senior citizen

Department of non-Western art, Winnipeg Art Gallery

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         que (team article). *Revue d'Esthétique* 23 (January-March).

Folk Decorative and Applied Arts as a Source for the Study of Ethnogenesis: A Case Study of Turkmenians

G. P. VASIL'EVA

Many modern scientists are deeply convinced that the problem of ethnogenesis can be properly solved only when considered from different angles, among them ethnography. Some stages of a people's historical evolution, usually the most significant ones, are always reflected to a lesser or greater extent in the material and spiritual culture, its language, and sometimes in its anthropological type.

Ethnography has some specific sources of its own which help the investigator while comparing his material with that of related sciences to make important conclusions about the stages of a people's ethnogenesis, the common ethnic traits found in antiquity and medieval times which had an impact on the formation of the particular people.

Among the many sources used by Soviet ethnographers, folk decorative and applied arts are regarded as very valuable and important ones. By its specific nature, like many other elements of material culture, decorative and applied art is conservative and resistant to change. Many of its various forms originated in deep antiquity. Though each of them has its own specific character, depending upon the material used, the purpose its products are made for, and the technology of production, all these arts have something in common. It is a specific ethnic flavor, typical for one sometimes two or three peoples of related origin. The types of items, the technology of their manufacture, their form and ornamentation (the latter always having a special ethnic property) are passed on from one generation to another: thus different things maintain their traditional forms and shapes.

Old masters are rather reluctant to accept new trends in their arts, for they adhere traditionally to the skills passed on to them by their elders. They prefer to stick to the customary forms of ornaments and to long-practiced technology and materials. The most important consideration is

always the aesthetic and moral tastes of the consumers brought up and educated with definite and traditional models.

Any new ornament, type, or form of item can, as a rule, testify to some ethnic or cultural influence which violated the traditional scheme. The development of all types of decorative and applied art has taken place over many centuries. They have experienced the various cultural and ethnic influences of medieval times, even of antiquity, influences which have contributed to the recent ethnogenesis.

Many Soviet scientists have used decorative and applied arts, and especially ornaments, as a historical source for studying different ethnogeneses. The first among them was Tolstov who often referred to decorative and applied arts when establishing genetic links and connections of recent peoples living in the Priuralyie and on the lower Amu-Darya River, namely Karakalpakians, Turkmenians, Kazakhs, and others, with the population of ancient Khorezm as well as that of Privolzhyie and the southern Urals (Tolstov 1947a, 1947b, 1948, 1952).

Many other Soviet scholars also used decorative and applied arts as a historical source when studying the ethnogenesis and cultural history of different peoples (Belitser 1947; Ivanov 1952, 1954; Zhdanko 1955; Avizhanskaia et al. 1964).

Turkmenian ethnogenesis attracted many Soviet scientists including such outstanding ones as Bartold, Iakubovskiĭ, Oshanin and others.[1] The All-Union Conference on Turkmenian ethnogenesis held in Ashkhabad in February 1967 made an important contribution to this research. It summed up the results gained by numerous scholars from different fields during their long and fruitful investigations. According to their data the Turkmenian people developed from the following ethnic components:

1. Ancient Iranian-speaking nomadic and seminomadic tribes (Dakhies, Massagetians, later Alanians and Ephthalites) who lived in the territory of recent Turkmenia, as well as the settled Iranian-speaking farmers of western Khorezm, Central Amu-Darya and northern Khorasan, i.e. on the peripheries of Turkmenian ethnogenesis. The Turkization of this population especially of seminomads began in the fifth or the sixth century A.D. long before the bulk of the Turkic-speaking tribes mainly Oguzians came here.

2. Oguzians, who appeared in Turkmenia in large numbers in the ninth to the eleventh century, played a very significant role in Turkmenian ethnogenesis having determined many of their cultural traits, their language and, according to most anthropologists, even their physical structure.

3. Later on, Kypchakians and other Turkic-speaking tribes, as well as

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[1] For data about studies into the origin of the Turkmenians by Soviet and foreign scholars, see Agadzhanov (1969).

Mongolians also took part in Turkmenian ethnogenesis. We believe that in forming some Turkmenian groups Kypchakians played as great a role as Oguzians did. Today this viewpoint is gaining more and more supporters.

The formation of Turkmenians which started around the eleventh or the twelfth century is most likely to have been completed only in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, when new tribe groups came into being after the Mongolian invasion.

The common traits of culture in Turkmenians, Uzbeks, Karakalpakians, Kazakhs, Azerbaidjanians, Turks, etc. were formed by some parts of the Iranian-speaking population comprising the peoples of Central and Interior Asia. This population was related to the one which formed the basis of medieval Turkmenians, Oguzians, Kypchakians, and other peoples of that time.

Turkmenian art is very rich and specific in nature. Up to now it has been very little used as a source for studying Turkmenian ethnogenesis. There are wonderful and famous Turkmenian carpets with a vividly expressed national flavor and, at the same time, each is very individual. There are splendid pieces of jewelry, mainly decorations for women and children. One finds here beautifully embroidered clothes and headgears, as well as felt rugs and other things. These items are profuse, and they are all valuable as they reveal the specific features of culture of individual Turkmenian tribes which existed in the comparatively recent past. They also help to distinguish the ethnic components of a particular tribe. Therefore we can establish ethnic links and connections of Turkmenians with recent peoples and also with those of antiquity and the Middle Ages.

In this respect Turkmenian decorations for women and children are of considerable interest. They are very specific and quite similar to those of Karakalpakia and West Kazakhstan, though many of their types differ from those found among Uzbeks.

The way Turkmenian women decorate their dresses and gowns with small silver coins and discs has its analogues in the archeological material of the neighboring territories. It provides us with rather interesting proof that Turkmenians are ethnic successors of the ancient Iranian-speaking inhabitants of the western part of Central Asia. The fronts of the little terra cotta statues of women from Gyaur-Kaly (Merv) from the first centuries A.D. are covered from top to bottom with some protruding circles that were meant to show the costume decoration of that time (Vasil'eva 1964, 1970:83, 1971:199–204). This tradition was proved to be popular in the medieval times too as the archeological material found in the same territory shows, thus revealing a continuous historical succession (Atagarryev 1965:13).

A historic and ethnographic study of Turkmenian jewelry in the entire territory of the republic shows some local differences in the character and

form of decorations for women according to which they can be divided into two groups. These groups are likely to reflect the ethnic peculiarity of the owners of these decorations, and we have designated them Alano-Kypchakian and Oguzian. The first group, the Alano-Kypchakian, includes three big Turkmenian tribes, namely, Iomutians, Sarykians, and Tekhinians.[2] The decorations of these tribes despite their differences in form, technology, and some types are very much alike. They determine the peculiar flavor of all Turkmenian decorations as such.

The second group, the Oguzian, presents decorations of all other Turkmenian tribes, except Ersarians, who take an intermediate position having many features in common with both the first and the second groups. The decorations of the second group were closer to the Uzbekian which were less massive and more lacelike. Besides forms common to all Turkmenian tribes there were also nose rings made of gold and chest and neck decorations made of glass beads. The latter were not worn by Turkmenian women from the first group, but Uzbekian and Karakal-pakian women knew them very well.[3]

Selorians and Choudorians held the leading position in the second, the Oguzian, group. These tribes connected their origin with the mythical Oguz-khan. They have preserved Oguzian ethnonyms better than any other people.

We believe that such a division of all Turkmenians into two groups according to the character and type of their decorations is not accidental but reveals the degree of their ethnic similarity. In this respect the similarity of the ornaments and in the shape of some decorations (especially old ones used for women's head-gear) found in two big Turkmenian tribes, Iomutians and Sarykians, is particularly important. For several centuries, these two tribes lived far away from each other. Nevertheless, they managed to preserve this similarity. It should be mentioned that other ethnographic data have also proved this grouping to be correct and justified.

We have already written about Turkmenian round silver chest and shoulder decorations gul'yaka and bozbent. They were very close to similar bronze and gold decorations found in the burial grounds of Rutkha, Kamunta, and Chmi (Osetia, sixth to eighth century). On this basis, and also upon the data from other ethnographic sources (the form of the burial grounds, the survival of the matriarchate, etc.), a conclusion was reached about the ethnic connections of Turkmenians with Alanians of the Northern Caucasus (see Figure 1) (Vasil'eva 1964:91). Even

[2]   In a number of other features the Goklens are close to the Turkmenians who come under the second group; the scanty ornaments preserved to this day also allow them to be included in the first group.
[3]   Some later borrowings, such as neck ornaments of glass beads worn by Saryan and Maryan women are not meant here.

A   B
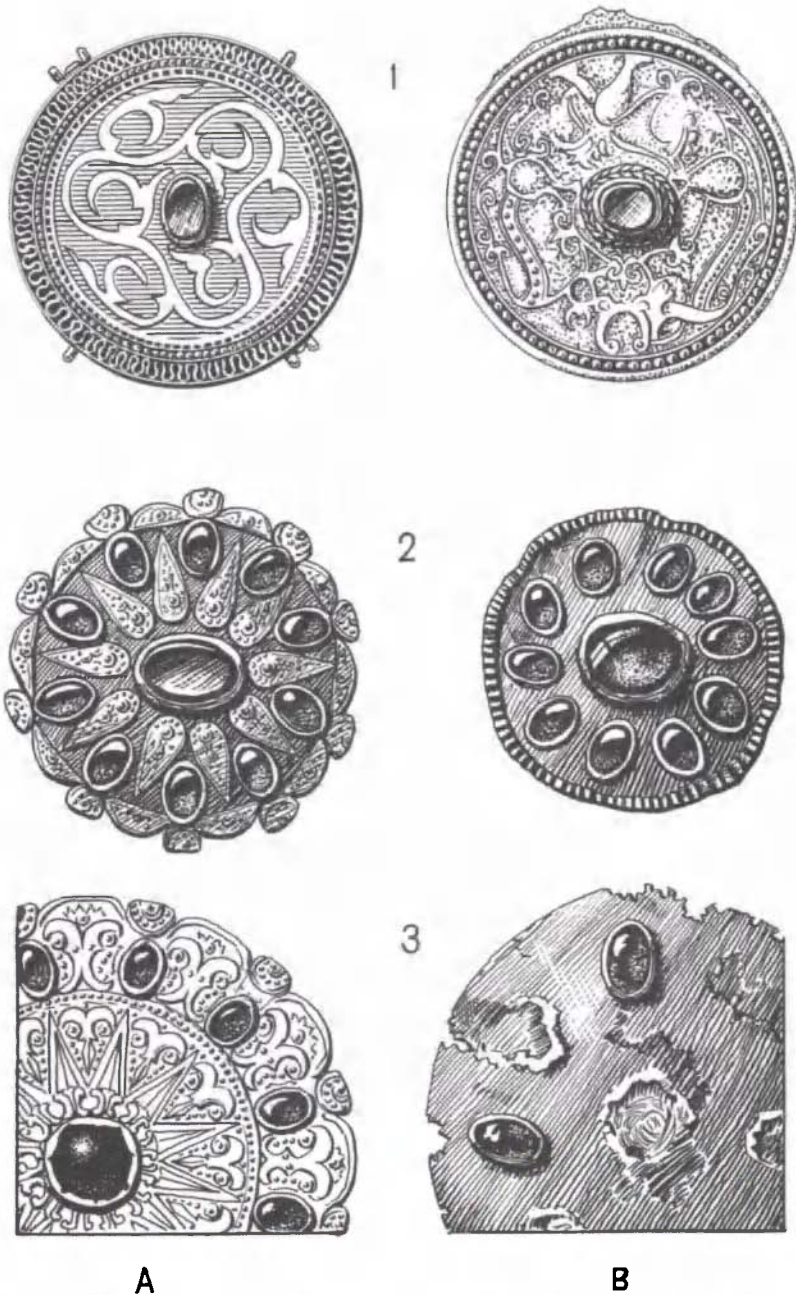
Figure 1. Silver breast and shoulder ornaments of modern Turkmen and North Caucasian Alanians of the sixth to the eighth century A.D. A. Ornaments of Turkmen-Iomutians: (1) shoulder ornament of silver (*bozbent*); (2, 3) brooch (*gul'yaka*). B. Alanian ornaments from grave mounds in Upper Rutha, Kamunta and Chmi (Uvarova 1900: Figures LXI–5, CI–5, and CXXV–15)

before that some Soviet scientists often supported this idea in their works. They held that Alanians, closely related to Turkmenians, Osetians and some other peoples of Central Asia and the Northern Caucasus had taken part (to different extents naturally) in the ethnogenesis of these peoples. Some of the Alanians left the territory of Central Asia for the Northern Caucasus in distant antiquity while others remained in the Eastern Caspian region (Precaspiye) (Iakubovskiĭ 1947; Tolstov 1938; Bakhtiiarov 1930; Rosliakov 1962). Some scholars of Caucasian history also share this opinion (Abaev 1949; Kuznetsov 1962:124–125; Kaloev 1967).

At present several new analogues of Turkmenian decorations have been discovered among archeological findings in the Northern Caucasus. This time they were found in the medieval burial grounds of the alpine regions of Ingushetîa and are ascribed to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Krupnov 1971:94–95; Muzhukhoev 1972). In their shape, their size, and most probably their purpose these decorations are very close to Iomutian earrings (*gulak khalka*). Archeologists call them "temporal hangings," though they do not strictly determine the purpose of their use, rather suggesting that such decorations might have been used as earrings too (Krupnov 1971:162; Artsikhovskiĭ 1930:46). These decorations are spread over a wide area. For instance, in the same medieval period, they were sometimes found in small numbers in the territory of Chechna and Dagestan and later, "up to the recent times" according to Krupnov, they were often worn by women in the alpine villages of the Checheno-Ingushskaya Autonomous Republic (see Figure 2) (Krupnov 1971:102–103).

In Central Asia, such earrings similar in their form but smaller in size, are found in some places in Uzbekistan; in the nineteen twenties they were widely used in the south of Iran (in Bushira) (Kuftin 1926:92).[4] Temporal rings similar to the Ingushian ones were found to have been worn in the eleventh and twelfth centuries rather far beyond the Northern Caucasus and Central Asia in the Slav tribes of Radimichi and especially of Vyatichi.

We do not categorically object to the version of the Arabian origin of these decorations supported by Sizov (1895:179) and Krupnov. We do not quite agree with Krupnov's suggestion about how these temporal rings had penetrated into medieval Ingushetîia. We believe it is more logical to think that these decorations came to the Caucasus not from the south but from Central Asia with the Alanians whose medieval presence in alpine Ingushetîia has been established by archeologists (Kuznetsov 1962:24–26). At the same time their participation in the Ingushian

[4]   The collection of the Museum of Archeology and Ethnography, 3341–134[2b], 3341–131. Krupnov believed temple ornaments of Resht (northern Iran) to be the prototype of the temple rings of the Ingush (Kuftin 1926:95, Figure 37.1).
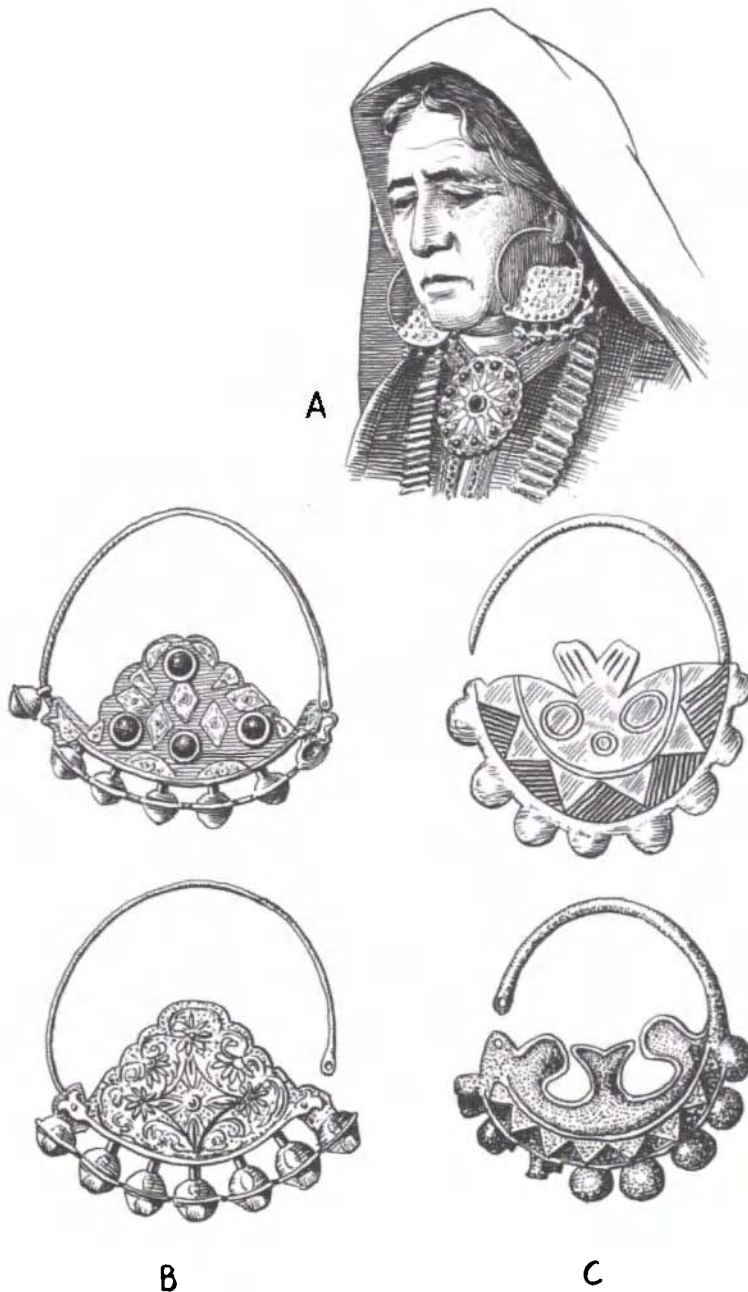
Figure 2.   Silver earrings of modern Turkmen and ear pendants from the overland tombs in Chechno-Ingushetiîa fifteenth to sixteenth century A.D. A. Turkmenian woman with earrings [*gulak khalka*]. B. Earrings of western Turkmen-Iomutians. C. Chechen women ear pendants (earrings) from tombs near Jalhoroi and Falhan villages (Krupnov 1971)

ethnogenesis does not seem doubtful to any of these scholars (Krupnov 1971:55). Turkmenian shoulder and chest decorations described above, as well as their earrings were known only to some tribes (Iomutians, Tekhinians) which we have included in the first of our groups, and they were not found in the decorations of other Turkmenians.

Moshkova has thoroughly studied carpet-weaving among different peoples in almost all regions of Central Asia (Moshkova 1970). She has reached a number of extremely interesting ethnogenetic conclusions, which in many ways coincide with ours, concerning other types of applied art as well as historical data. She has analyzed the artistic principles of ornaments found in the carpets and managed to show that the carpets of Nuratian Uzbeks of the Turkman tribe were very close to those made by all the chief tribes of Turkmenians, especially by Choudorians, Igdyrians, and Arabachians, that is, the tribes that (except for the latter) have preserved Oguzian ethnonyms.

The similarity marked by Moshkova is not a mere coincidence but has some historical grounds. The Nuratian Turkmenians which were later Uzbekized and which nowadays regard themselves as Uzbeks, are known to be the descendants of those Turkmenians-Seldzhukians who had not followed the bulk of their kinsmen in their southward-westward migration in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but had remained in the Nuratian mountains where the Oguzian Turkmenians had lived since the end of the tenth century after they left the banks of the Syr-Darya River.

It is remarkable that in legends and tales on the origin of the recent Turkmenians the Nur-kara-bair (the Nuratian mountains) are often spoken of as the motherland of several Turkmenian tribes, in particular, the Choudorians.

At the same time, this similarity testifies to the ancient traditions (at least, a thousand years old) of the carpet weaving which was well mastered by Oguzians. Moshkova is probably quite correct in her opinion that Oguzians had inherited that skill from the aboriginal Iranian-speaking cattle breeders, though certain points of her theory may seem somewhat contradictory (Moshkova 1970:12).

By their ornamentation the carpets made by Turkmenians from Bashyr and Burdalyk, the villages on the right bank of the middle Amu-Darya River, can be distinguished from other Turkmenian items of the kind. The ornamentation of these carpets, most often plants and flowers, is very close to that found in the carpets of Kirgizians, living in the Fergana Valley and sometimes in eighteenth-century Turkish carpets of Asia Minor. At the same time some motifs in these carpets are embedded in specific local culture, thus emphasizing the close ethnogenetic connections between the local Turkmenians and their neighbors — Tadzhikians (Tadzhiks) and Uzbeks. Here we refer to a small group of carpets with an ornament showing snakes which was never found anywhere else. The cult

of snakes so widely spread in the past among the ancient Iranian-speaking population of Central Asia has survived in the carpet ornaments of this Turkmenian group. We find remnants of this cult in the form of armulet, charms and popular beliefs, among other Turkmenian tribes and among the Tadzhikians and other peoples (Andreev 1928:113–114).[5]

Moshkova has managed to distinguish another important and traditionally stable trait which therefore is regarded as a characteristic one. We mean the technique of knotting the carpets. According to this criterion, all carpets of Central Asia are divided into two groups; the first group includes pieces woven with the one-and-a-half knot; this technique is most widespread in all of Central Asia. The second group includes items woven by the double-knot. In the entire area where these carpets are made, this technique is used by only a very few carpet makers, namely, Uzbekian women who weave long-pile carpets (the Deshtikypchak groups), Turkmenian women of the Saryk tribe, carpet makers from some groups of Iomutians, and Karakalpakian women.

Azadi, in his book on Turkmenian carpets (1970), came quite independently to the same conclusion as Moshkova. He also groups Turkmenian carpets according to their knotting technique making a special point of the fact that Sarykian and Iomutian carpets, unlike most of the others, are woven by the double knot, or, as he calls it, the Turkic knot (Moshkova 1970:38; Azadi 1970:52–53). It should be noted here that in literature the one-and-a-half knot technique is otherwise referred to as Persian and that the double knot is called Turkic or German (Rudenko 1961:30).

Extremely interesting for Turkmenian ethnogenesis is the material on the embroidery techniques of this people, as specific as those of carpet weaving (Vasil'eva 1964:91–92; 1971:200).

It is not possible here to analyze the ornaments from the point of view of their historical sources; this may be a topic for a separate investigation. Here we shall only mention that Turkmenian ornaments on the whole are much closer to Karakalpakian ones (Zhdanko 1955:62–63). Many of their motifs are connected with those found in Tadzhikian and Uzbekian carpets. The roots of this similarity go back to the ancient local world of the Iranian-speaking peoples (interestingly enough some plant ornaments in Turkmenian embroidery and especially in their jewelry, particularly in Iomutian items, are very close to Osetian ones [Khokhov 1948: Tables III, XXV; Berladina 1960: Figure 11]). Some ornamental motifs on Sarykian and Iomutian *koshmas* resemble each other very closely and show a great similarity to Kazakhian ones (see Figure 3).

Our division of all Turkmenian tribes into two groups according to the

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[5] For further data on the spreading of this cult among the Turkmenian and Tadzhiks, see Khamidzhanova (1960).
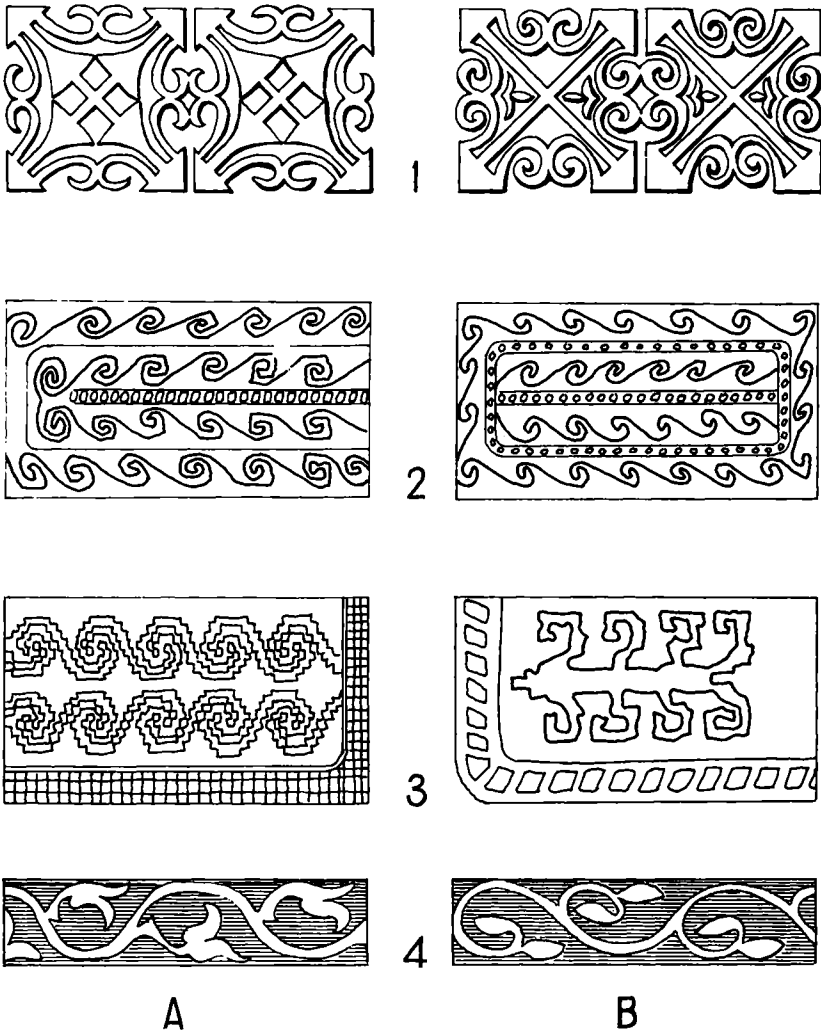
Figure 3.   Types of ornamentation of Turkmen and some other ethnically related peoples. A. Turkmen: (1) Designs painted on the doors of the Mangyshlak Turkmen yurts, according to R. Karuts (Zhdanko 1959: 393, Figure 13). (2) Decoration of a Turkmenian felt *namazlyk*. Western Turkmenia. (3) Decoration on a saddle-rug (*eerlyk*). Western Turkmenia. (4) Designs on silver ornaments of Turkmen-Iomutians. B. Other peoples: (1) Designs painted on the doors of Karakalpak yurts (Zhdanko 1959). (2) Decorations on a Karakalpak felt rug (*koshma*) (Zhdanko 1959: Figures VI–I). (3) Design *of a horse rug* on the border of a large carpet from the Fifth Pasyryk Mound (Rudenko 1961: Figure V). (4) Designs embroidered at Ossetian girls' hats (Khokhov 1948: Figure XXV)

type of women's decorations, i.e. the Oguzian and the Alano-Kypchakian groups, has proved to be quite correct not only by the close cultures of some tribes united into one group, as for example the Iomutians and Saraykians, but also by other materials, as we have tried to show in our report. Such a division, in our mind, reflects the degree to which different medieval peoples participated in the ethnogenesis of different groups. The data presented here as well as some other ethnographic material testify to the important role played by Oguzians in the ethnogenesis of all Turkmenians. Without denying their important participation in this process, we, however, believe that for some part of the Turkmenians the role of Alanians and Kypchakians, as well as of some other earlier Turkic-speaking groups, is not insignificant. Iomutians, Tekhinians and Sarykians are known to have become independent as tribes rather late (in the sixteenth century) most probably in Mangyshlak and Ust-Urt. At that time, together with the Salorians and Ersarians, they composed a tribal union of the so-called external Salorians. Some sources indicate that before the Mongolian invasion these territories were inhabited by Oguzians (who had wandered here in the eleventh and twelfth centuries from the banks of the Syr-Darya) as well as by Alanians and Kypchakians. The Alanians, who at the beginning of the eleventh century lived in the South Ust-Urt area, preserved their special language "mixed from Khorezmian and Pechenezhian" mentioned by Al Biruni (Volin 1941:194). Later, Tekhinians, Sarykians, and Iomutians were called Soinkhanian Turkmenian. Soin-Khan was a nickname of Batyi, the ruler of the Golden Horde which included northern Turkmenistan and regions of the Northern Caucasus down to the main Caucasian range in the south. In the same period, or perhaps even earlier, Kypchakians have been placed in Mangyshlak. They were among the chief ethnic components of the future Kazakhs and also participated in the ethnogenesis of Karakalpakians. As a matter of fact, Kypchakians, already regarded as a Turkmenian tribe by the fourteenth century, were one of those tribes that joined the twenty-four basic tribes considered as direct descendants of Oguz (Rashid-ad-din 1939:494–495).

The fact that Alanians and Kypchakians participated in the ethnogenesis of this Turkmenian group more than other peoples of their time has most probably determined the peculiar culture of this group, which is closer to those of Kazakhs and Karakalpakians when compared to other groups of Turkmenian.

To sum up, folk decorative and applied arts, even when taken apart from other sources, provide rich materials for interesting suggestions on a people's ethnogenesis as a whole and on that of its separate groups. When supported by data from historical sources and folktales these arts help us to reach significant ethnogenetic conclusions.

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Art and History in West Africa: Two Case Studies

JEAN M. BORGATTI

The volatile nature of verbal history demands a compact form of record in which myth and metaphor function as significant means of historical expression while complementary factual data is often communicated nonverbally — through dance or ritual behavior[1] and in material culture. Two studies which show art and history to be mutually enlightening are Boston's reconstruction of Igala kingship traditions (1962, 1968, 1969) and my own work on Okpella (northern Edo) masking traditions (Borgatti 1976). The two may be considered together usefully for the Igala capital, Idah, is located on the Niger River opposite northern Edo territory, and ethnographic evidence *as opposed to* oral tradition indicates extensive interaction between the areas. Both studies demonstrate clearly the historical implications of multiple art styles simultaneously in use within a single ethnic group. Boston's reconstruction provides an excellent analytical model in which some art historical data is used in establishing a relative chronology and for which further evidence is now available. The Okpella study raises questions about the orthodox history of these people who today identify themselves as a single ethnic group.

IGALA KINGSHIP TRADITIONS

The Igala kingdom is bounded on two sides by the Niger and Benue Rivers, and on a third side by the lands of the Ibo and Idoma peoples. The head of state, the Ata, ruled over a loosely federated territory from his capital at Idah on the River Niger (Map 1). According to John Boston, the

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[1] See, for example, Bradbury and Speed (1968) — the film focusing on Benin kingship ritual; M. Drewal (1975) — a study in dance history; and O. Ogunba (1973) — a study focusing on the relationship between ceremonial and history.
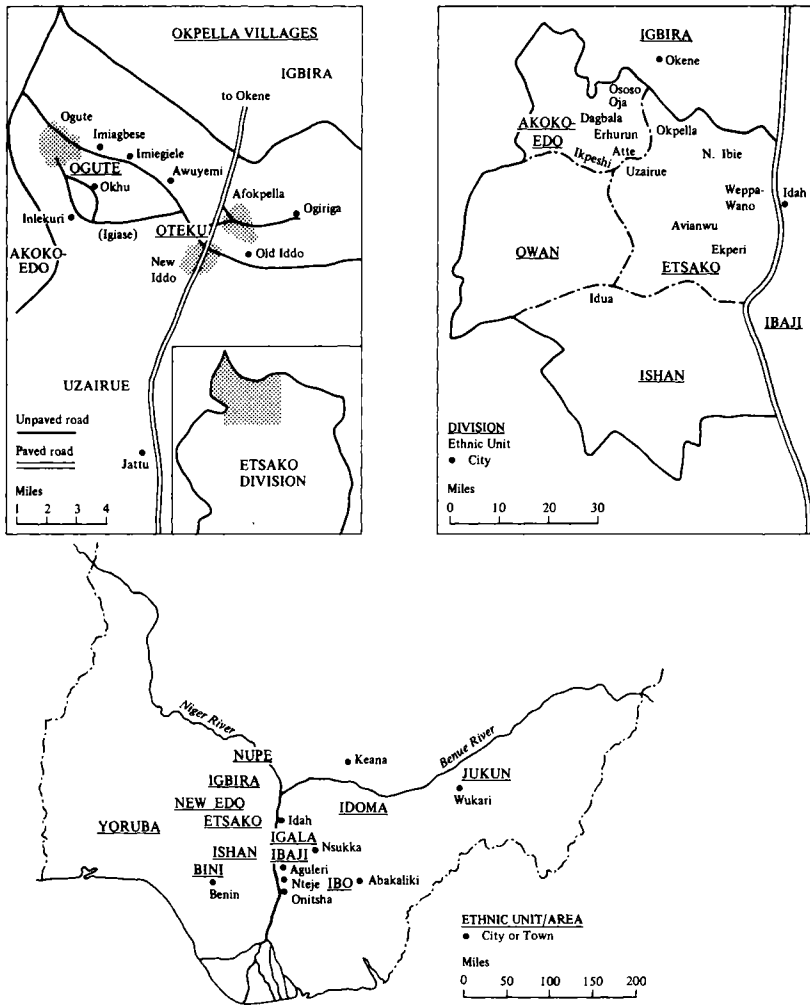
Map 1.

royal dynasty in Igala is an immigrant one which bases its right to rule on the principle of descent from older dynasties in other kingdoms. The indigenous population of Igala is represented politically by a group of clans called the Igala Mela who are said to have occupied Idah from the beginning. They act as kingmakers in the political system, and also control an earth cult which symbolizes the fertility and benevolence of the land. Besides the royal clan, one other aristocratic clan of note is that of the Achadu, head of the kingmakers. Like the royal clan, the Achadu's clan is of immigrant origin, tracing itself to a mythical Ibo hunter. Unlike the Ata's clan and the Igala Mela, however, the Achadu's clan claims its

right to a ruling position through a principle of achievement rather than one of descent (Boston 1969:30–31, 37).

In his study of the origins of the kingship, Boston (1962) demonstrates that three different attributions of royal origin exist side by side in the corpus of legends. The theme of these legends is the transfer of sovereignty from the indigenous population to the immigrant dynastic rulers. Along with the kinglist itself, the legends represent a total if cryptic view of Igala history covering contacts with other peoples and historical developments in the remote past as well as in more recent times (Boston 1968:10). In particular, Boston notes three consecutive phases of inter-cultural contact within the formative period of Igala national conscious-ness. The most ancient was with the Yoruba (Boston 1969:38) and the most recent with the Jukun (Boston 1969:40). Sandwiched between these was a stage of exchange with the Benin court, at its most intense during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (Boston 1962:380–382; 1969:39).

Boston suggests that this period was concerned with the interaction of a number of different principles of political growth and change rather than individual personalities, its timespan conventionally defined by the association of each major change with one reign or generation (Boston 1969:37). Thus he contends that the first five rulers named in the Igala kinglist represent mythical archetypes of structural arrangements which evolved over a long period of time rather than historical figures in a strictly literal sense (Boston 1968:10). The fifth, Ata Ayagba, the apical ancestor of the current dynasty, is seen as the first Igala king — the figure representing a crystallized sense of Igala nationhood (Boston 1969:35).

Despite the symbolic nature of the early kinglist, a relative chronology for the formative period exists. Each phase as well as the chronology itself finds substantiation in Igala material culture and ritual activity. To docu-ment the entire network of relationships reflected in material culture alone is beyond the scope of this paper. A definitive study of Igala art history remains to be written, although a partial record of works exists through the efforts of Boston (1962, 1968, 1969), Dike (1976), Murray (1949), Sieber (1961), and J. and S. Picton (1969). Traditions associated with the Ata and the court indicate the absorption of Ibo and Nupe elements as well as those from the Yoruba, Bini, and Jukun.[2] Preliminary art historical research outside Idah demonstrates considerable evidence of cultural exchange between the Igala and neighboring ethnic groups — in the north and east with the Idoma, the Bassa Komo, and the Bassa Nge

[2] For example, Boston (1968:199) notes that the Igala *okegga* is a version of the Ibo *ikenga*, a cult object associated with masculine achievement and individual good fortune while Dike (1976:3/22) notes a Nupe derivation for the royal masquerade Agbanabo. Obajadaka, a nonroyal diurnal masquerade associated with the land, the complement and "wife" of Ekwe, the senior royal masquerade, is clearly related to the Nupe *ndako gboya* masquerade both in form and function (Boston, 1968:222–224; Thompson, 1974:221).

(Sieber 1961), in the south, particularly the Ibaji area, with the Ibo (Dike 1976), and in the west with the northern Edo (see below). Focus here will be on the relationship between certain Igala art forms and their Yoruba, Bini, and Jukun cognates.

Yoruba cultural influence appears to be the most deeply rooted of the three. Yoruba and Igala are closely related languages, and the Igala political structure shows greater resemblance to that of the Yoruba than to either the Benin or Jukun systems (Boston 1969:38–40). Not surprisingly, Yoruba visual cognates are found in conjunction with the Igala Mela, the nonroyal landowners, while Benin and Jukun forms are associated almost exclusively with the Ata and the court.

The Igala Mela maintain an ancestral festival, Okula, which is distinct in time, ritual activity, and visual symbolism from that of the court (Boston 1968:218). Celebrations climax with the return of lineage ancestors who visit their living kin in the guise of tall masquerades of draped cloth called *egwu afia* (Boston 1968:Plate 8). *Egwu* is a term denoting ancestral spirit or shade like *egun* in Yoruba. *Afia*, untranslated by Boston, may be a recent terminological change wrought by Islamic influence which has increased steadily in importance in this area since the early nineteenth century.[3] An apparently older designation *egwugwu* has been preserved among the Onitsha Ibo who acquired the masquerade type from Igala in the eighteenth century (Henderson 1972:88). *Egwugwu* is a direct cognate with the Yoruba *egungum*, a masquerade designation. The Yoruba commemorative *egungun* in its simplest form is a draped cloth costume (Bascom 1969:89, Plate a) similar to the Igala *egwugwu*.

Opposed to the ancestral masquerades of the nine nonroyal clans are the nine royal masquerades which appear during Egwu, the Ata's ancestral festival. The Igala assign specific Jukun origins to four of these, while several others may be considered Jukun on the basis of style. A comparative list of Idah masquerades from the three principal sources — Murray (1949), Boston (1968), and Dike (1976) — is given in Table 1.

Ekwe, the most senior of the royal masquerades, represents the Ata himself. The cloth appliqué costume worn by this figure is held to have been designed by Ata Ayagba, reputedly Jukun by birth[4] (Dike 1976:3/21, 23). A painted wooden mask, Ichawula, is also attributed to Ata Ayagba (Dike 1976:3/29). Two others are described as wooden helmet masks. Ochochono, the most junior of the royal masquerades,

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[3] *Afia* would seem to be a cognate with the Hausa *lafiya* (from the Arabic *al'āfiya*) meaning "good health" (Abraham, 1949:606). The Yoruba also have incorporated this term into their language from the Hausa in the greeting *alafia* (Ogunbowale, 1970:190).

[4] This is corroborated by one of the legends recorded in Boston (1968:15) of a man called Aiyagba from Apa who settled in Idah, married an Okpoto (indigenous) woman, was successful in war and became chief of the country. Apa is a designation for Jukun country (Boston, 1968:200).

Table 1. Idah masquerades

Boston (1968)	Dike (1976)	Murray (1949)
1. Ekwe*	Ekwe	Ekwe*
2. Ochochono	Ochochono	
3. Inyelikpi	Inyelekpe	Iyelekpe*
4. Epe	Epe	Epe*
5. Agbanabo	Agbanabo	Agbanago*
6. Isawulu	Ichawula	
7. Odumado	Odumado	Odumadu*
8. Ikeleku Ahuma	Ikeleku Ahuma	Ikeleku Ahuma*
9. Jamadeka ("child" of Ikeleku)	Jamadeka	Jamadeka*
10.	Ablifada	
11. Obajadaka	Obajadeka	

* Illustrated.

allegedly was abandoned by the Jukun forces after their defeat by the Igala (Dike 1976:3/23–24). Inyelekpe was "brought by the Jukun" (Dike 1976:3/26) during their period of sovereignty over the Igala.

Despite Igala claims to have derived masquerades from the Jukun, Boston, following Murray (1949), states that the only item of royal regalia at Idah documentably Jukun is a kind of brass anklet that the king wears on ceremonial occasions (Boston 1969:40). However, Arnold Rubin's recent research has revealed a likely prototype in Jukun art for a number of the masks utilized by the Ata of Idah, particularly the wooden helmet types. These include Inyelekpe, Ochochono, and possibly Ichawula, all described above. Additionally, the masks Epe, Jamadeka, Odumadu, and Ablifada fall into this category.

The Jukun *aku wa'uua* masquerade (Rubin 1970:Plates 46–58) is part of an ancestral masking complex (Aku Maga) associated with chieftainship (Rubin 1970:60). Wooden versions of this mask consist of a hollow helmet representing a human face with carved features, elaborate surface embellishment, and a sagittal crest recalling an old-fashioned woman's hairstyle (Rubin 1970: 65). In the Jukun context, these masks portray the wife or wives of the principal masquerade character. Among the Igala as well, the wooden helmeted masquerades play roles subordinate to the main figure Ekwe.

Rubin calls attention to the similarity between the *aku wa'uua* mask type and the Igala helmet masks — specifically Jamadeka and Odumadu mentioned above, and one from the collection of the Antiquities Department, Lagos, called Oduchalla (Rubin 1970: Plates 221–223) — not only in the general form but in the decoration of the surface, especially the heavy ridges running from the temples to the corners of the mouth and in the "pouched" eyes (Rubin 1970:120).

Functional analogies between the Jukun and Idah masks — ancestral

orientation and association with chieftaincy — and some corroborating evidence regarding relationships between Wukari and its tributary states combine to reinforce the visual correspondences and the Igala traditions of origin. Rubin, following Meek (1931), suggests that the Jukun king exercised spiritual rather than temporal authority over his empire, noting the Jukun assertion that a developed system of compulsory tribute only came into vogue after the Fulani conquest. Prior to the nineteenth century, the gifts sent to Wukari were little more than an expression of respect, and *return presents of equal value were sent by the Jukun king to his subordinates* (emphasis added) (Rubin 1970:36–37). Here we have one possible means for the dissemination of masquerades. Furthermore, representatives of the king of Wukari, usually royal relatives, were established in many of the larger Jukun communities (Rubin 1970:37). It would be consistent with relatively recent immigrant behavior within Nigeria for these Jukun aristocrats to bring the masquerades representing their tutelary deities to their new settlements — another avenue for the transfer of masquerades from Wukari to Idah and one certainly compatible with the Igala traditions.

The royal masquerades are a conventional nine in number (as Table 1 demonstrates) matching the nine sets of lineage masquerades held by the Igala Mela. That they derive in part[5] from the most recent phase of external contact seems significant in the light of the kingship's historical development. Many of the royal family's inner traditions and items of regalia stem from the middle phase of the formative period, the phase of contact with Benin (Boston 1962:376; 1969:39). Masking is not an important feature of Benin royal ritual (Ben Amos 1969:8–9), and it seems clear that the Idah court found it necessary to maintain an ancestral masking tradition, balancing that of the Igala Mela and yet distinct from it.

Items of royal regalia originating in Benin include an early sixteenth-century brass pectoral mask (Ejubejailo),[6] a brass stool (*akpa* Ayagba) said to resemble the Bini royal altars for the hand, and an iron staff of the type used on Bini altars to the god of medicine (Boston 1962:379; 1969:39). The iron staff is one of a rather eclectic group of staffs (*okute* or *okwute*) used to commemorate the Ata's predecessors (Boston

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[5]   It is not clear that Ẹkwẹ, the senior royal masquerade, is Jukun in origin on the basis of style despite the tradition of origin. The facial configuration and raffia cloak lend it the air of a forest spirit not unlike many of the Confluence area fiber masquerades, while the cloth appliqué costume is reminiscent of some Yoruba *egungun* costumes (Sieber, 1961; Thompson, 1971; 1974). As noted above, the Agbanabo masquerade is given a Nupe provenience by Dike (1976:3/22) while Ikeleku Ahuma, with its brass crown, net face, and brocade cloth costume recalls the elaborate Yoruba *egungun* (Murray, 1949:86; Poyner, 1974:3 [*egun're*]). None of the sources gives a provenience for this masquerade.

[6]   This is one of a pair said to be worn during alternate reigns (Murray, 1949:92). Dike (1976:2/19) suggests the smaller mask may be a copy of the Benin mask made in the Confluence area because of certain details of decoration

1968:107–108). A number of these are made of brass according to Dike (1976:2/26). Their stylistic affinities have not yet been ascertained, although they do not appear to resemble either Yoruba or Benin brass-work. The word *okwute* however bears some resemblance to the Bini term *uxhure* applied to the rattle staffs used in the veneration of the Oba's ancestors. Since commemorative staffs are not used by either the Yoruba or the Jukun, it seems that this tradition derives from the Benin phase of contact as well, even though the objects themselves do not. However, of twenty-six extant *okwute* — only nine of which are actively used — some are said to resemble Benin work in the facial configurations (Dike 1976:2/26).

Summarizing briefly, the association of the ancestral masquerade *egwugwu* or *egwu afia* with the Igala Mela and its similarity with the Yoruba commemorative *egungun* indicate that this form belongs to the earliest phase of the formative period, the phase in which the Yoruba merged with the autochthonous people. The presence of the masquerade type in both Yoruba and Igala cultures might be interpreted as supporting the linguistic evidence that the two once shared a common cultural heritage over 1,500 years ago. Interaction with Benin and later Wukari enabled the Igala royal family to consolidate its position. Comparative art history demonstrates that Igala court culture became increasingly elaborate and distinct from popular culture after the fourteenth century as the court further legitimated itself through the introduction of Bini and Jukun regalia. As indicated earlier, the above correlations have been intentionally selective, made primarily to point out the utility of art historical data for studies in verbal history and to set the stage for a more comprehensive look at art and history among the northern Edo.[7]

THE OKPELLA: ART AND HISTORY

The Okpella are an Edo-speaking people living approximately 75 miles north of Benin city and 15–20 miles west of the Niger. Located in the northwest corner of Etsako Division, Okpella counts among its neighbors to the south, east, and west other Edo-speaking societies small in scale like themselves, and to the north, the Igbira. Like many other northern Edo groups, Okpella trace their origins to Benin.[8] Their migration northward has been estimated at sometime early in the eighteenth cen-

[8] See Bradbury (1970) for an overview of Edo culture.

tury (Temple and Temple 1967:247–248), presumably on the basis of geneological information embedded in the verbal traditions.

The Okpella people today number about 24,000.[9] They live in nine villages and utilize nearly 200 square miles of communal lands. They recognize two major subdivisions, a western sector Ogute and an eastern one Oteku, representing the two sons of the founder. Each sector is comprised of several villages: Ogute includes Ogute, Imiekuri, Imiegiele, Imiagbese, and Awuyemi. Oteku includes the villages of Iddo, Afokpella, and Ogiriga. A remaining village, Okhu, represents the descendants of earlier settlers from Benin who have been culturally dominated by Okpella. Traditions of autochthonous peoples as well persist in both Ogute and Oteku.

Ritual and kinship link the two segments together rather than political authority, although the British established the position of paramount chief shortly after the turn of the century. Political authority at the village level is vested in a council of titled elders (Itsogwa). Paramount ritual authority is in the hands of a night society Ilukpekpe, organized at the quarter level, although the leadership of the two organizations overlaps.

Traditionally, the Okpella people believe in a supreme deity Eshinegba, the creator of all things in the material world (*agbo*) and the spirit world (*ilimi*), paralleling Bini belief (Bradbury 1970:52). The spirits which most concern any individual are his or her immediate ancestors or the collective ancestors of any group to which he or she belongs. Individuals and small cult groups may also serve shrines dedicated to spiritual forces localized around certain natural phenomena and sometimes identified with mythical heroes, again paralleling Bini religious practice. Men, and some women, may also belong to one or more cult groups-cum-masquerade societies whose focus is the control of antisocial forces, e.g. witchcraft. It was the history of Okpella's three masquerade complexes — Aminaguę, Olimi, and Okakagbe — and the network of relationships they reflected which stimulated the present inquiry into Okpella's background.

The three masking societies overlap to some degree in function, distribution, and membership, yet operate independently of one another. A study of their history and pattern of distribution previously published (Borgatti 1976) and summarized in detail in Table 2 revealed the following: Ilukpekpe, the night society and paramount ritual authority in Okpella, was found in all villages including Okhu. It was considered an institution indigenous to Okpella and brought from Benin. It formed a part of the nucleus of the Olimi festival, an aggregate of institutions and visual forms which dates from the turn of the century. Olimi is held annually to honor the ancestors and purify the community (Plates 1 and 2). It had its inception

[9]   Because of the unreliability of the 1963 and 1974 census data, the 1952 figures were taken and compounded at an annual rate of 2.5% to arrive at the estimated population.

Plate 1. Two masquerades commemorating deceased festival-titled women (Olimi Inyilimi/Dead Mothers). Left to right: Olimi Ugunuale — said to have been made by Lawrence Ajanaku of Ogiriga c. 1969. Olimi Igini — said to have been made by Odiko of Weppa-Wano (ethnic unit) c. 1920. Okpella (ethnic unit); Afokpella (community). Photographed by special arrangement on May 13, 1972

Table 2. Okpella masquerades

Masquerade (OLIMI)	Type	Costume	Dialect	Forest sanctuary	Function	Tradition of origin	Okpella distribution	Functional and visual analogues
ANIMAGUE	Nonanthropomorphic	Woven fiber mask and partial body-costume: cloth appliqué apron (Borgatti, 1976: Plates 1 and 6)	Oja (NW Edo)	Egua (Bini cognate: Ogwa)	Age/Title set Ritual purification Funeral performances for titled elders	None	Ogute Imiekuri Okhu Iddo (Imiokpe kindred) Afokpella (Imiamune kindred)	NW Edo: Atte, Ikpo, Oja, Dag: Erhurun-Un Ak-pama-Un Akoko: Imeri
ILUKPEKPE	Nonanthropomorphic	No group costume	Ibie (Etsako/Edo)	Okula (Igala cognate: An'okula)	Senior night society Ritual purification Social control	Benin	Ogute Afokpella Imiegiele Ogiriga Imiagbese Iddo Awuyemi Okhu Imiekuri	N. Ibie (Etsako) Idua (Ishan) Igala Onitsha Ibo
Climi festival Complex								
ALUKPEKPE	Nonanthropomorphic	Draped cloth (Borgatti, 1976: Plate 7)	Ibie (Etsako/Edo)	Okula (Igala cognate: An'okula)	Diurnal symbol for senior night society	N. Ibie (Etsako) Okene (Igbira)	Iddo Afokpella Ogiriga Ogute (Imiokhewa Imiono Imiakhiu Okokpetu Qtrs.)	N. Ibie (Etsako) Okene (Igbira) Weppa-Wano (Etsako) Ekperi (Etsako) Igala Onitsha (Ibo) Keana (Benue Valley) Idoma Ishan
OMESHU/AJA	As above	As above	As above	As above	Male commemorative Opening & closing dancers of diurnal dance display	N. Ibie (Etsako) Okene (Igbira)	As above	As above

ANOGIRI	Anthropomorphic	Cloth hood or carved wooden mask, homespun cotton body-suit (Borgatti, 1976: Plates 2, 10 and 11)	Igbira	As above	Festival herald	Okene (Igbira)	As above	Igbira
IYABANA	Nonanthropomorphic	No nocturnal costume Diurnal costume: architectural masquerade of dried plantain leaves (Borgatti, 1976: Plate 12)	Esoteric composite dialect	As above	Junior night society Ritual purification Social control	None	As above	Uzairue (Etsako) Weppa-Wano (Etsako) N. Ibo Costume: Uzairue
CLIMI	Anthropomorphic	Cloth appliqué or carved wooden mask: print cloth body-costume (Borgatti, 1976: Plates 13 and 14)	Voiceless	As above	Female commemorative	None	As above	Weppa-Wano (Etsako) Ekperi (Etsako) N. Ibo Igala
EPOPE	Anthropomorphic	Composite bush monster mask: cloth appliqué body-costume and headdress (Borgatti, 1976: inside front cover)	Voiceless	As above	Elders' masquerade Visual climax of diurnal dance display	Commissioned from Okeleke, an artist from Ibaji (Ibo-Igala borderland)	As above	Ibo (Nteje, Onitsha, Abakaliki)
Okakagbe ensemble LINE DANCERS	Anthropomorphic	Cloth appliqué masks and body-suits (Borgatti, 1976: cover illus. and Plate 8)	Ibo	As above	Entertainment	Commissioned from Okeleke, an artist from Ibaji (Ibo-Igala borderland)	Ogute Okhu Ogiriga	Avianwu (Etsako) Weppa-Wano (Etsako) Uzairue (Etsako) N. Ibie (Etsako) Ibo (Nteje, Onitsha Aguleri, Nsukki)
IDU	Nonanthropomorphic	Composite bush monster mask: body-costume of brushed fiber or lapped seedpods	—	As above	As above	As above	As above	As above

Plate 2. Three Inogiri (Olimi Festival Heralds) Left to right: Anogiri Okabile — said to have been made by Stephen Isah of Ogiriga c. 1968 to complement a wooden mask. Anogiri Otukpe-Ajagodo — said to have been made by Lawrence Ajanaku of Ogiriga c. 1968. Anogiri Odumi — said to have been carved before 1920 and to be the oldest Anogiri in Ogiriga. Okpella (ethnic unit); Ogiriga (community). Photographed on March 20, 1973 on the second day of daytime dancing associated with Olimi festival

in one eastern Okpella village, spreading rapidly to the other two by penetrating western Okpella circa 1940.[10] Ilukpekpe itself resembles Igala and northern Ibo night societies rather than documented Bini institutions. The imagery associated with the Olimi festival reflects traditions found among the Igbira to the north, other northern Edo to the southeast, the Igala and the Ibo.

Okakagbe, a cloth appliqué masking tradition, was introduced into Okpella around 1920 from Ibaji, the Ibo-Igala borderland (see Plate 3). Both eastern and western Okpella villages sponsor dance troupes that function in the social realm. Aminague, a netted fiber masquerade and the most ancient of Okpella's extant masking traditions, is associated primarily with western Okpella, although it penetrated the eastern sector in the nineteenth century (see Plate 4). Aminague was associated with the annual honoring of ancestors in western Okpella in the past. To some extent, it has been superceded by the Olimi festival in more recent times. The Aminague festival is linked to an age-set principle, while the masquerade itself may be called out for the purpose of purifying the community in times of need. The imagery of Aminague reflects the traditions of other northern Edo peoples living to the west of Okpella, and in particular, neighboring northwest Edo village clusters.

The Okpella claim Edo ancestry, manifesting it in language and certain aspects of social structure although certain cult organizations and visual symbols belie a monolithic ethnic heritage. In particular, an east-west dichotomy correlating with the two sectors of the group is revealed in the distribution of the two main masking complexes, Olimi and Aminague. A closer look at Okpella's history reveals a long-standing distinction between these two sectors.

According to Okpella tradition, Ikpomaza of Benin, son of Ogede, is the father of the Okpella people.[11] Ikpomaza fled from Benin with his wife Eveva after quarreling with the Oba who had wanted to make Eveva one of his own wives. They traveled northwards, finally settling at Okhu hill where they were welcomed by a small settlement of Edo-speakers.[12] While living at Okhu, Eveva gave birth to a son who was named Okpella. This son, the first native-born in the new land, gave his name to the

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[10] I have chosen a middle date between one estimated earlier (Borgatti, 1976) and one assigned recently to the festival's origin (1945) in research notes collected by the Midwest Arts Council, Benin.

[11] Traditional histories were collected in Ilewi (Imiekuri), Okhu, Afokpella (2), and Iddo (2). Ogute was in a period of interregnum in 1973 and people were unwilling to give a history at the time. The history subsequently collected from Ogute does not refer to Oteku at all, but only to the development of Ogute as it presently exists. Lists of remembered leaders were collected in Ogute, Iddo, Afokpella, and Ogiriga and cross-checked for relative accuracy.

[12] According to Okhu traditions, Okhu people came from Benin at an earlier date than Okpella. They claim to have traveled from Ife to Benin and thence to their present site under the leadership of one Enode.

Plate 3.   Okakagbe dancers — costumes said to have been made by Okeleke, an artist from Ibaji. No date. Avianwu (ethnic unit); Fugar (community) Ulomai Quarter. Photographed on February 11, 1972 at the Agricultural Fair, Ubiaja (Ishan)

Plate 4. Aminague masqueraders. Okpella (ethnic unit); Afokpella (community). Photographed on May 6, 1972 during the funeral ceremonies of a male titled elder (Atsogwa)

people. Okpella in turn married a woman, Ogieuma, and sired three children: two sons, Ogute and Oteku, and a daughter Ekuri. The three lived together until Oteku, the second son, discovered a favorable tract of land several miles away and decided to move.[13] Oteku lived with his followers at the new site for some time before visiting his father who had stayed with the first-born, Ogute. Oteku discovered Okpella "suffering" in his brother's compound and brought him back to his own home. Okpella died in the care of his second son and was buried in his new home. Thus Oteku's land was given the name Afokpella, or "home of Okpella."

Okpella's history follows the general pattern of traditional histories among the northern Edo. Characteristically, they are shallow in terms of geneological depth and pass almost directly from the exploits of the founder and his progeny to relatively recent historical figures (see below). As Boston (1968) argues in the Igala case, verbal histories have a pers-pective distinct from that of written histories, and it would seem useful to view the characters in Okpella's pageant as "mythical archetypes of structural arrangements" rather than as historical figures.

Of Ikpomaza there is little to be said, except that as an immigrant, he had no rights to the land. His role was to father a son as founder of a "new" people. It is a belief common to many cultures that only a person born in the land has true knowledge of it and rights to rule. A parallel myth of incorporation occurs in Benin traditional history associated with the founding of the Yoruba dynasty (Bradbury 1973:8).

A variant tradition of Okpella's history recorded in Okhu gives a less direct route for the travels of the Okpella people than that given for Ikpomaza in the orthodox versions. The Okhu history gives Eguru as Okpella's point of origin, Ife and Benin as stop-off points, and Okhu as the final destination. The connections with Ife are unsubstantiated by other cultural features, although Bradbury (1970:112) has pointed out that a desire to affiliate with this important center manifests itself among the northwest Edo, an area with which western Okpella has strong ties and where Yoruba influence is strong. Since the location of Eguru has not been ascertained, it is difficult to assess the significance of this place name in terms of historic ethnic identification. However, this varied itinerary, suppressed in the orthodox history, suggests either a series of affiliations for the Okpella people over time or a series of groups incorporated into the people known today as Okpella, with the Edo segment dominating.

Okpella had a certain right to the land by virtue of his birth, and he is distinguished as founder of the group. A written history made by Chief Felix Sado, presumably reflecting a history given by his father, the late

[13]   Imiekuri and Ogute are still located in the area of the original settlement. The land occupied by Oteku is known as Igiase and a small Oteku settlement remains there. Another version of Oteku's claim to Igiase suggests one Ijase as the first-born son of Oteku who gave his name to the site (Sado, January 23, 1973) while another variant tradition indicates Okpella's second son's name was "Ase" rather than Oteku (Ilewi, Tape 6:I).

Sado who ruled in Afokpella between 1914 and 1954, mentions Ogieuma, Okpella's wife. *Ogieuma* translates as "chief (*ogie*) of Uma" — the name of a village near the northwest Edo town of Oja, according to Okpella accounts, and a word with the deep meaning of "creator" but not "god." Strong ties between Okpella and Oja are manifest in their complementary masquerade societies (Aminague in Okpella) and a belief persists in Okpella that Oja is a stop-off point for Okpella souls on their way to the land of the dead. While Okpella had some right to the land, the story indicates that he strengthened his claim by incorporating other, earlier or even indigenous, elements. The relationship between the dominant Okpella and the subordinate and possibly conquered Uma is expressed in marital terms, and thus legitimated.

While Ogieuma has been dropped from most of the versions of Okpella history that were collected, the memory of her two sons and daughter remains strong: Ogute, the first-born; Oteku, the second; and Ekuri, the daughter. Histories reveal that Ogute stayed in the land of the "mother" keeping Ekuri in his care, while Oteku moved away and founded a new settlement. The second son eventually removed his father to his own territory, suggesting a separation of more recent immigrant elements from a more established population subsequent to an initial amalgamation, couched in terms of sibling rivalry between a younger son and older brother.

A rift between western (Ogute) and eastern (Oteku) Okpella reveals itself in relatively recent history as well as in the history of art and ritual. In recent history, the earliest leader named is one Ikeguiode, an Oteku man, who ruled prior to the invasion of the Yoruba and the Nupe, i.e. prior to 1870. He is remembered as the only individual commanding sufficient strength to unite the two segments prior to the "Clan chief" designated by the British. Between 1870 and 1900 — the Nupe period — Osheku ruled in the west and Ikor in the east. A clash between the two segments at the time is reported in the colonial records: the west favored armed resistance to the Nupe invaders, and was conquered during the 1880's as a result, while the east opted for retreat into hillside caves and a policy of conciliation (Walker 1915:6). Although never conquered, eastern Okpella scattered to seven different hilltop locations under Nupe pressure,[14] consolidating into the three present day communities (Afokpella, Iddo, and Ogiriga) after the turn of the century and the establishment of the *pax Britannica*. It should be noted that the rivalry between the two sides is far from dormant today, with most recent public disputes centering on the site of the main Okpella market.[15]

[14] The original seven sites listed in Iddo text 1: Ogiriga, Obedu, Ukhomi Unyo (from which the early name of Afokpella — Kominio or Komunion — was taken), Eguasha, Ukpano, Akporaobe, and Eseldumi. An eighth site, Idedeowa, was discovered at a later time.

[15] The current clan chief from Ogute sector recently moved the main market site from a

In art and ritual, western Okpella (Ogute with Ekuri) — representing the land of the "mother" from Uma near Oja — is the stronghold of the cult of Aminaguẹ. Okpella's Aminaguẹ masquerades speak Oja dialect and maintain a forest sanctuary called *egua*, a term cognate with the Bini *ogwa* which denotes the forest sanctuary associated with the Ọvia masquerades (Bradbury 1973:203) or alternatively, a shrine or meeting room where sacrifices are made to ancestral spirits (Melzian 1937:161–162). Both linguistic and cultural evidence converge to suggest that an important aspect of Okpella's heritage is tied to Benin via the northwest Edo, particularly the towns of Oja, Ososo, and Dagbala in the eastern group, and the villages of Atte and Ikpeshi in the southern group, all of which maintain institutions utilizing images analogous to Aminaguẹ (Bradbury 1970:100; Picton 1969).

While the full implications of this relationship remain obscured by the problem of northwest Edo history, the link substantiates a thesis of ethnic diversity. The northwest Edo area has been acknowledged as a "grab-bag" of peoples with multiple origins (Bradbury 1970:112). Furthermore, the specific tie with Ikpeshi may indicate an earlier settlement date for western Okpella than hitherto postulated for Okpella as a whole. Picton (1969) documented a Benin brass mask in Ikpeshi similar to the one held by the Ata of Idah, while brass pectoral masks of different workmanship have been found in western Okpella (Borgatti 1972–1973). It has been suggested that these masks as a group may mark the outer limits of the Benin empire in the early sixteenth century (D. Fraser 1976: personal communication).

Eastern Okpella (Oteku) representing the "father" is tied into a network extending southeast into Igala and Ibo areas and northeast towards the Confluence. Ilukpekpe, the institution allegedly brought from Benin, bears structural similarities to the Igala institution Abule, a night society embodying the collective authority of the dead and which has the corresponding power to curse in the name of the land (Boston 1968:155–156; 225). Ilukpekpe calls its forest sanctuary *okula*, a cognate with the Igala *an'okula*, the term denoting the grave sanctuary for the nonroyal ancestral shrines (Boston, 1968:130). Furthermore, the Okpella night society introduces itself with the now enigmatic words: "I am Eguọla, Aidenomo of Eguọla, Eguọla of Benin." "Eguọla" does not appear to be the name of

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central location (Okugbe) to one closer to Ogute — a move not without economic implications for landholders around the new site. The Oteku sector objected vigorously to this move, and established their own market at a new site closer to the Oteku side, a site which had been in use prior to the establishment of Okugbe market. Although Oteku finally won the right to keep this new market site on the main road between Auchi and Okene, it was not without threatening court action against representatives of Ogute who had tried to physically destroy the new market structures which had been erected there.

a Bini village, as posited by one Okpella notable, but it is the name of one of the Igala Mela clans (Boston, 1968:120).

Ilukpekpe is an integral part of eastern Okpella's Olimi festival while it parallels western Okpella's institution of Aminague. It would seem to be no coincidence that Olimi was begun not only in the aftermath of great upheaval but in the one Oteku village without access to the powers of Aminague, and that in construction a new ritual complex, the Oteku villages followed lines of communication running north and southeast rather than west or directly south to Benin.

The Okpella migration, then, although couched in an Edo idiom, may represent the movement of an Igala group across the river, a group absorbed linguistically by an existing amalgam of Edo and autochthonous peoples. Benin and Idah were engaged in open warfare by the sixteenth century, and both kingdoms record the settlement of fringe areas in the aftermath of conflict (Boston, 1962:380–381; Bradbury, 1970: *passim*; Dike, 1976:6/2–5).

Reading traditional history as metaphor, the following ethnic equation emerges: Oteku, the junior son, standing for Okpella, represents the most recent migration into the area. These immigrants may be interpreted as Igala on the basis of the ritual structure they have maintained. Ogieuma, Okpella's wife, stands for an amalgamation of Edo and autochthonous people which predates the arrival of the Igala immigrants. The "mother" subdivides into the senior son, Ogute, representing the dominant Edo, and Ekuri — the daughter, a character placed in the weakest political position — representing the indigenes. The history itself seems to indicate an arrangement of shifting power relationships between segments of the population which today identify themselves as a single ethnic group.[16]

The reconstruction is hypothetical, of course, and the precise nature of Igala-northern Edo interaction remains obscure. However, an *"okula syndrome"* prevails among the Edo-speaking Weppa-Wano, Uzairue, and Ekperi as well as among the Okpella, suggesting strong links between these eastern Etsako peoples and the Igala from Idah and Ibaji who live on the opposite bank of the Niger, despite the Etsako peoples current identification with Benin.

A *unilateral* Edo identification may in fact be as recent as the early nineteenth century. At this time, the Fulani expansion had caused a general decline in the central authority of the Igala empire and was posing a distinct threat to the Etsako area. Austin Shelton (1971:24:25), studying Idah from the viewpoint of its relatively recent external relations,

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[16] The real history of Okpella will be written only when individual kindred histories are recorded and compared. Significant aspects of kindred histories are found in the praise songs sung by female titled elders during the final stages of the Atsogwa (men's title) title taking.

discerns a trend among Igala subject peoples to secede from the empire or to switch their tribute payments to the Fulani. On this basis, he concludes that Angwileh, the Edo-speaking area directly across the Niger from Idah rebelled against Idah's authority and declared itself tributary to Benin. While this conclusion is not as directly founded in the literature as Shelton indicates,[17] it seems substantiated by the ethnographic data. Given the malleability of verbal histories in the face of political necessity, it would seem that the eastern Etsako peoples, including Oteku, the eastern Okpella, tailored their traditions to match those of an earlier Edo stratum and articulated a Benin affiliation under the threat of Nupe invasion and in the face of Igala weakness.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

A reading of Okpella's art and history indicates Okpella to be an amalgamation of Edo and non-Edo elements. Western Okpella with the institution Aminaguę is linked to the northwest Edo and Benin while eastern Okpella with the Olimi festival is linked to Igala, Igbira, and the eastern Etsako peoples. Aminaguę, the netted fiber masquerade, may reflect early Edo (pre-sixteenth century) masking traditions or the traditions of autochthonous people absorbed by the Edo immigrants. Similarly, a reading of Igala's art and history indicates that the polity is made up of a number of ethnic components represented by institutionalized art forms and ritual modes.

Both studies represent situations in which multiple art styles and forms coexist within a single ethnic group. Upon close examination, however, specific forms or styles are seen to be linked to particular segments of society, their ethnic origins and past history. It may be concluded then that heterogeneity in art in this context implies interaction between the host and other cultures and provides the historian with specific avenues of investigation. While the significance of the interaction may not be apparent from the works of art, the communication between different peoples is incontrovertibly evidenced in the distribution of style and form. (See Plates 5, 6, 7 and 8 for further evidence of diversity from both historical contact and internal invention. — *Editor*.)

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[17]   Shelton's conclusion appears to be an inference from two passages in Allen and Thompson (1841 expedition), one quoting the Ata of Idah saying, "The river belongs to me a long way up and down on both sides" (p. 287) followed by one recording that "the inhabitants of this (west) bank do not admit the authority of the Attah of Idah, and are frequently at war with his subjects. They are tributary to the King of Benin . . ." (p. 307). The first statement is a kind of praise song, characteristic in West Africa, not necessarily untrue but very vague. The second, taken by itself, speaks not of rebellion against the Ata but of long-term conflict, characteristic of Benin-Idah relations for several hundred years.

Plate 5.   Two Ọmeshẹ masquerades. Left to right: Omeshe Ikor — commemorates the late 19th century leader of Afokpella, Ikor, and functions as the Alukpekpe, the daytime representative of the senior night society. Omeshe Sado — commemorates the traditional leader of Afokpella who ruled from 1914–1954. Okpella (ethnic unit); Afokpella (community). Photographed by special arrangement on May 13, 1972

Plate 6.   Iyabana's Hut (architectural masquerade used by the junior night society). Okpella (ethnic unit); Ogute (community). Photographed on May 23, 1973 during the daytime dancing associated with Olimi festival

Plate 7. Ẹfọfẹ masquerade (Knock Out). Allegedly made by Okeleke, an artist from Ibaji, c. 1935; headdress refurbished in 1973. Okpella (ethnic unit); New Iddo (community). Photographed on May 6, 1973, during the daytime dancing associated with Olimi festival

Plate 8. Idu masquerade — said to have been made c. 1938 by a local man, Idoko Ilegoge. Ekperi (ethnic unit); Azukhala (community); Ivionima Quarter. Photographed on November 20, 1972 during Ekperi's Otsa festival

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PART FOUR

The Role of Art in Archeology: The
Reconstruction of Cultures

Maya and Teotihuacán Traits in Classic Maya Vase Painting of the Petén

JACINTO QUIRARTE

The designation of a painted vase as Maya rarely presents a problem for specialists. Several indices are used — presence of typically Maya glyphic notations, technique (type of ware, preparation of surface, shape of vessel), and form (easily identified "Maya configurations"). But what specifically makes Maya painting Maya? Or Teotihuacanoid? In order to arrive at a working definition several painted vases from the Petén sites of Uaxactun and Tikal as well as some from Kaminalijuyu and Teotihuacán will be examined for their "Maya" and non-Maya traits. (1) The visual surface will be used as a starting point for comparisons to determine whether the use of a rectangular as opposed to a square pictorial surface represents a significant difference in perception. (2) Thematic structures (double or mirror images, and continuous narratives or reentrant images) will be studied to determine how Maya or how Teotihuacanoid a particular vessel happens to be.

These morphological considerations will bring Maya painting into sharper focus. The study of the imagery as opposed to themes or motifs would clarify further the nature and extent of the central Mexican presence in the Petén during the Classic Period.

PROPORTIONS OF THE VESSEL WALL

Kidder et al. (1946:159) used an index of wall-height/orifice-diameter to determine whether a vessel was squat, medium, or tall. An index of 1 represented a height and diameter of equal dimensions. A height smaller than the diameter correspondingly gave an index that was less wall-height/orifice-diameter than 1, and so on. They designated vessels with an index of less than 0.65 as squat, 0.65 to 0.89 as medium, and above 0.90

as tall. This index, applied to Teotihuacán and Maya examples, will be used here for comparison purposes only (see Table 1).

Although it is difficult to say at this time how many Teotihuacán

Table 1.   Comparison of some Maya vessels.

Site	Vessel	Present location	Bibliographic source	Height Diameter (in centimeters)		Height-diameter index
Teothihuacán	cyl. tri.	Nat. Mus.	(Gaines, M.*)	10.00	20.00	0.50
				15.88	29.84	0.53
				13.34	24.13	0.55
				10.16	16.67	0.61
				10.80	16.83	0.64
		Dumb. Oaks	(K.J.S. 1946: 176b)	9.20	14.50	0.65
		Nat. Mus.	(Gaines, M.*)	8.57	12.70	0.67
		Dumb. Oaks	(K.J.S. 1946: 176c)	10.00	14.50	0.68
		Nat. Mus.	(Gaines, M.*)	8.57	12.06	0.71
Kaminaljuyu	cyl. tri.	Gua. Mus.	(K.J.S. 1946: 204d)	12.80	16.40	0.85
			(K.J.S. 1946: 205f)	14.40	18.00	0.89
			(K.J.S. 1946: 207h)	19.00	20.00	0.95
			(K.J.S. 1946: 207e)	14.60	15.20	0.96
			(K.J.S. 1946: 205a)	16.00	16.00	1.00
			(K.J.S. 1946: 204b)	15.20	16.00	1.02
			(K.J.S. 1946: 204c)	15.60	16.80	1.03
			(K.J.S. 1946: 204a)	16.40	16.80	1.03
			(K.J.S. 1946: 204e)	17.80	16.80	1.06
			(K.J.S. 1946: 205c)	19.80	18.00	1.10
			(K.J.S. 1946: 205d)	20.50	18.00	1.14
Uaxactun	cyl. tri.	Gua. Mus.	(Smith 1955: 1a)	13.07	15.20	0.86
	cyl. vase		(Smith 1955: 1f)	23.80	15.50	1.54
Tikal	cyl. vase	Tikal Mus.	(Coe 1965: 42)	26.50	16.20	1.64
	cyl. vase		(Coe 1965: 42)	30.50	17.10	1.78
Holmul	cyl. vase		(M.V. 1932: 30b, d)	34.80	25.40	1.37
			(M.V. 1932: 30a, c)	34.80	18.90	1.84
Yalloch	cyl. vase		(Gann 1918: 24)	27.90	15.20	1.84
			(Gann 1918: 25)	19.00	11.40	1.67
			(Gann 1918: 25–28)	26.70	10.00	2.67
Chama	cyl. vase		(Dieseldorff 1904: XLIX)	15.00	17.50	0.86
			(G.M. 1925–1928: VII–VIII)	18.60	20.60	0.90
			(G.M. 1925–1928: LIII)	16.70	15.00	1.11
			(G.M. 1925–1928: XXXVIII)	20.00	17.10	1.17
			(G.M. 1925–1928: IX)	19.00	16.00	1.19

*Mary Gaines, personal communication.

Abbreviations:

Column Two	Column Three	Column Four
cyl.: cylindrical	Nat.: National	K.J.S.: Kidder, Jennings, and Shook
tri.: tripod	Mus.: Museum	G.M.: Gordon and Mason
	Dumb.: Dumbarton	M.V.: Merwin and Vaillant
	Gua.: Guatemala	

cylindrical vessels there are in public and private collections, we can safely take a small sample for this study, because they exhibit relatively uniform characteristics. Even a cursory glance will demonstrate that the vase painters dealt with a horizontal format. The orifice diameter, usually greater than the height of the vessel wall gives these tripods a squat appearance.

Two of the Teotihuacán vessels now in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (Kidder et al. 1946: Figures 176b–c) are definitely squat by Kidder's definition. They have indexes of 0.65 and 0.68. One particularly squat vessel now in the Rivera Museum has an index of 0.52, or twice as wide as it is high (Pellicer et al. 1965:153). Seven of the tripods from the extensive collection in the National Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City have indexes that range between 0.50 and 0.71. An eighth vessel, definitely in the tall category, has an index of 1.03 (Mary Gaines, personal communication).[1]

The Kaminaljuyu vessels presented a different problem to the painters. The shape of the vessel wall, although slightly concave towards the center rather than vertical, is almost square. Indexes hover slightly below or above 1. One of the eleven vessels found in burials A–VI and B–II has an index of 0.89 while the others range between 0.95 and 1.14 (Kidder et al. 1946:162; Figures 173h, a–g, and i–k).

Vessels from the Petén sites are on the opposite end of the scale. Although the few extant cylindrical vessels demonstrate close affinities to the Kaminaljuyu and Teotihuacán pieces, the vast majorities are definitely in the tall category. The proportions of a stuccoed tripod vessel found in burial A31 in Uaxactun (Kelemen 1946: Plates 128a and c) have an index of 0.86 while a much larger cylindrical tripod found in a grave in Tikal (University Museum 1960: Cover) has an index of 0.35! The latter may simply be an imported piece.

The Uaxactun vessel falls into the Kaminaljuyu format although its sides are vertical rather than concave. The Initial Series (IS) cylindrical vase found in Uaxactun chamber A–2 (Kelemen 1946; Plates 129a and c) differs in almost every respect from the Tzakol stuccoed tripod vase (burial A31), save for the glyphic and formal programs. The cylindrical vase has an index of 1.54 or a vessel height one and a half times the size of the diameter. Two cylindrical vases found in Tikal burials 196 and 116 have indexes 1.78 and 1.64 respectively (Coe 1967:53, 102). A glance at height to orifice indexes in neighboring sites shows only slight variations.

Two vessels found in Holmul burials have indexes of 1.37 and 1.84 (Merwin and Vaillant 1932: Plate 30a–d). Four Yalloch vessels found in chultun burials have indexes that range between 1.54 and 2.67! This is a

[1] Mary Gaines, a graduate student in the art department of the University of Texas at Austin, has studied Teotihuacán cylindrical tripods in public and private collections in Mexico and the United States.

far cry from the horizontal, square, and vertical formats reviewed here, for this last example demonstrates a vessel height two and a half times the width (see Plates 1, 3 and 5).

THEMATIC STRUCTURES

Classic Maya artists were aware of the distortions caused by the constantly curving surface of a vase. Although one-half of the total surface of a cylindrical vase is visible at any time, only one-fourth (a quadrant) of that is free from distortion. The greater the angle at which pictorial parts are viewed on either side of that quadrant, the greater the distortion until the image is lost entirely toward the edges of the vessel. The artist could resolve this problem by breaking up the narrative program into several interrelated units. The earliest solution appears to be the double or mirror images depicted on opposite sides of a vessel. Whether this is Maya or Teotihuacanoid is difficult to determine at this time.

Perhaps better suited to the cylindrical surface — keeping in mind the quadrants which are free from distortion at any one time — are the continuous narratives or reentrant images. Each figure, whether seated or standing, is completely visible if viewed at right angles. That is, if the viewer positions himself or the vase in such a way that the figure is in the center of the visual field, then those adjacent to it on either side — within the contiguous quadrants — will be visible but distorted. The vase can then be turned so that each successive pictorial unit can be read. Thus the painter spaced the figures so that the viewer's attention could be focused on a single figure, and yet parts of the others would still be visible, thereby functioning as links to each successive stage of the continuous narrative.

Uaxactun and Tikal

The Uaxactun burial A31 stuccoed tripod considered here (Kelemen 1946: Plates 128a, c) was the only one with a predominantly displayed figural scene painted on its exterior wall. The painting is patently symmetrical. Pairs of seated figures facing each other are represented within two rectangular panels. The figures, gesturing in a manner which suggests conversation, are seated on cushions covered with jaguar skins. Head, neck, chest, wrist, and waist accessories worn by each figure are almost identical except for very minor details.

Eight glyphs, arranged in two columns of four glyphs each, take up the central portion of each frame. Four glyphs depicted twice as large and in two single columns take up the space on either side of each frame. These buffer areas, like the painted scenes, are back to back or 180 degrees

Plate 1. (a, b) Two stuccoed and painted cylindrical tripods with lids from burial B-II, Kaminaljuyu. Guatemala. Both have *mirror images* – (a) index: 1.03; (b) index: 0.85. Courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University

apart. The latter are best described as mirror images, possibly depicting the same two individuals at different times (see Plate 2).

Whereas the Tzakol stuccoed tripod has two scenes, or mirror images, made up of paired figures, the Uaxactun IS vase found in chamber A–2, structure A–1 has one continuous scene taking up the entire length of the vessel (Kelemen 1946: Plates 129a, c). This is typical of the Classic Maya use of the continuous narrative or reentrant image (see Plate 6).

There are six figures facing a glyphic block divided into two columns and bearing the IS date. To the left of this block are two standing figures, similarly attired (with front cloaks, feathered headdresses, and back ornaments) and wearing black body paint. A jaguar sits between them. They look toward the right beyond the glyphic columns at the three figures facing them; one is seated cross-legged on a thin cushion placed over a spotted (jaguar) dais; the other two are standing.

The surface pattern of the painting is made up of a series of vertical units — standing figures with accessories (staff, back ornaments) and glyphic columns. The diagonal displacement of the parasol on the right draws our attention to the seated figure, obviously the most important in the painting. He is shown in frontal view with head in profile, while all the others are shown in profile.

The Tikal vessel considered here, found in burial 196, Structure 5D–73, demonstrates the use of a mirror image. Two thin black lines define the visual field of the vase, one below the rim and the other drawn an equal distance from the bottom of the vessel. A band of fourteen glyphs is displaced directly below the upper line, which partially overlaps the upper portions of the headdress worn by the seated individual portrayed twice (on opposite sides of the vessel).

In both cases he is shown seated on a thick cushion with back rest, which is covered with jaguar skins. On one side he is shown in profile with the sole of his right foot partially seen under his left knee. On the other his torso is represented in frontal position, with his right leg now crossed over his left in yoga fashion. Arms and face are shown in profile. He is depicted in an identical pose in both cases but with minor variations (see Plate 3).

Teotihuacán and Kaminaljuyu

With a visual surface restricted in a vertical direction, the Teotihuacán painter resorted to readily identified pictorial conventions. One of these stipulated that the profile figures placed within a quadrant should be half figures seen from approximately the waist up. Whenever a full figure is represented the results are not at all satisfactory as far as the placement within the visual surface is concerned. An example of this is found in the National Museum of Anthropology (Bernal 1968:65). Like the Maya

Plate 2.   Drawing of the unrolled design taken from stuccoed and painted tripod vessel with lid from burial A31, Uaxactun, Guatemala. *Mirror image*, index: 0.86. Courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University

Plate 3.   Polychromed cylindrical vase from burial 196, Tikal Guatemala. *Mirror image*; index: 1.78. Courtesy of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania

examples this, too, has mirror images. The figure's accessories are extended in front so as to fill in the quadrant.

Even when half figures were used the artist often extended feathered headdresses and attachments toward the sides of the quadrant so as to take up the allotted space. There are numerous examples of this type (Pellicer et al. 1965: Kidder et al. 1946:Figures 176b, c). These are often
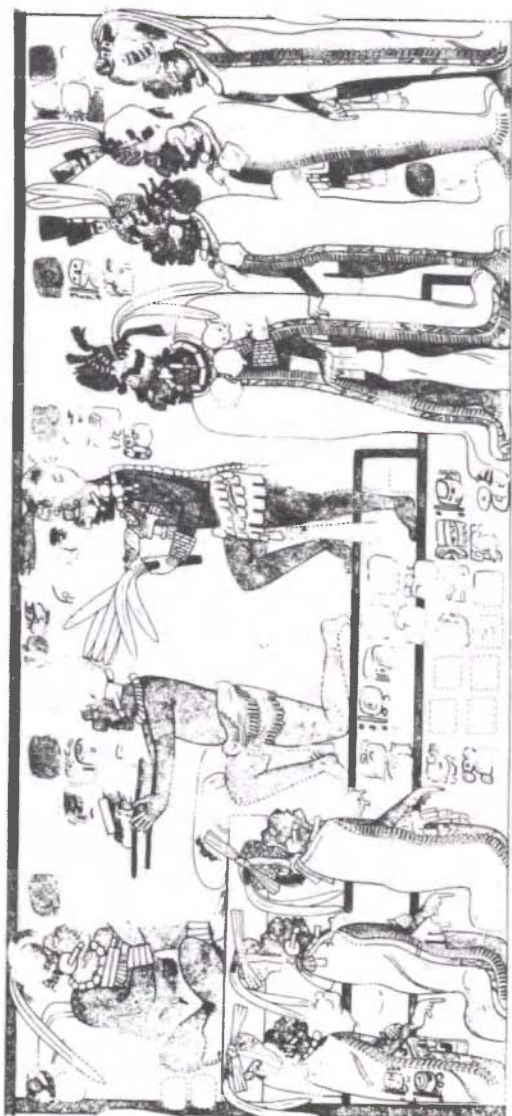
Plate 4. Drawing of the unrolled design of the stuccoed and painted cylindrical vase found in fragments in burial 116, Tikal, Guatemala. *Reentrant image*; index: 1.64. Courtesy of the University Museum of Pennsylvania

Plate 5. (a, b) Two painted cylindrical vases from burials in Ruin X and Building F, Group 1, Holmul, Guatemala. (a) *Mirror image*; index 1.37. (b) *Reentrant image*; index 1.84. Courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University

placed next to the similar accouterments of the mirror image without any apparent visual break. It is often difficult to tell where one image ends and the other begins for there is no apparent boundary between the two.

The Kaminaljuyu painters had visual surfaces that were basically different from those used by the Teotihuacán painters. The more nearly square and often slightly vertical format allowed the artists a little more "head" room.

Kidder noted that these vessels demonstrated Teotihuacanoid and Mayanoid characteristics. The most blatantly Teotihuacanoid of these is a vessel found in burial A–VI (Kidder et al. 1946:Figure 205e). The artist represented a seated individual on opposite sides of the vessel with the speech scrolls taking up the buffer zones between halves. Instead of presenting the full figure the artist opted for the Teotihuacán convention and painted a half figure. However, unlike Teotihuacán examples, there seems to be some equivocation regarding the subject's position. In the central Mexican examples the figure is invariably overlapped or supported by a band going around the base of the vessel. The torso is occasionally obscured by a shield.

Whatever the case there is no question that we are seeing the upper
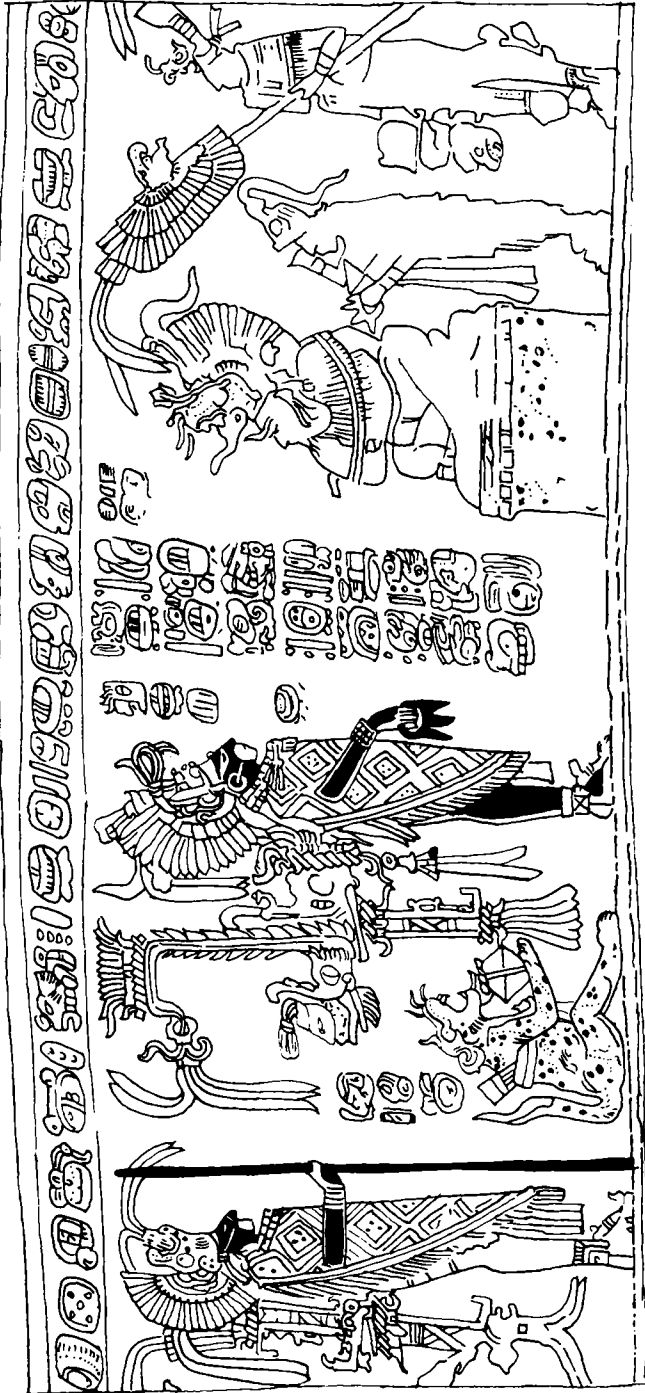
Plate 6. Courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University. Drawing of the unrolled design of the Initial Series polychromed cylindrical Uaxactun, Guatemala. *Reentrant image*; index: 1.54. After Kelemen (1946; Plate 129c)

part of a standing figure. Each figure in the Kaminaljuyu example has his own band that appears to function as a seat. So although these appear to be half figures they may be merely seated figures presented within pyramidal configurations. It is almost as if a Maya artist had been assigned a subject he did not clearly understand. On the other hand it could just as easily have been a Teotihuacán artist who was not accustomed to using a vertical rather than a horizontal format. It is more likely that the former was the case for he has clearly placed the figures within their respective quadrants.

In another example (Kidder et al. 1946:Figure 204a) the resolution is more clearly Maya even though the figure represented in mirror fashion is definitely a Teotihuacano. The placement and displacement of the figures within the vessel wall clearly point to a Maya conceptualization of the image. The theme or subject is Teotihuacán and the resolution is Maya. The seated figure fits within the quadrant as do most Maya examples demonstrating the use of the mirror image. The bag held in the right hand signals the entry into the next quadrant where the artist has depicted the speech scroll that interestingly does not emanate directly from the speaker's mouth (see Plate 1a).

Two other examples (Kidder et al. 1946:Figure 204b found in burial B–II and Figure 205f found in burial A–VI) are definitely Maya thematically and morphologically. The artist had to squeeze the seated figures within the visual format (height slightly less than the width); still the resolution of the figures in both cases is basically the same.

SUMMARY

The Maya artist invariably used a vertical format in the painted vessels with or without supports (tripods or vases with slightly rounded bases). The Mayoid and Teotihuacanoid vessels found in Kaminaljuyu, although tall in Kidder's index, are more nearly square than the later Classic Maya vessels. Interestingly enough, the square format continued to be favored along with the vertical format in the Guatemala Highlands. Chama vases have indexes of 0.86 to 1.19 (see Table 1). As is well known, this type of format lent itself to representations of full figures.

The Maya artist was very conscious that a complete quadrant as well as one-half of the two contiguous quadrants (one eighth of the surface) on either side is visible at any one time. The division of the visual surface into quadrants minimized this distortion. Thus the use of a seated or standing figure within each quadrant of a cylindrical vessel offered a maximum of visual legibility and a minimum of image loss (see Plates 4 and 5).

Compartmentalization — the breakup of the surface into two or three identical images spaced around the outer cylindrical wall — is generally

considered to be Teotihuacanoid. But Teotihuacán examples demonstrate that although these conceptualizations may be in operation the breakup of the surface into distinct compartments is not usual. This is actually a Maya trait. In Teotihuacán examples, figures disappear toward the edges and merge with their companion mirror images on the other side without a clear break between the two. Thus we are often treated to details in front and behind an elaborately attired individual that may actually belong to the figure depicted on the other side. Only when we have studied the rolled out design do we see that this is not the case.

In contrast, the Maya artist was very conscious of the horizontal divisions. Even when he did not encase his figures within cartouches he still established their independent existence spatially by leaving blank spaces on the other side of the quadrant occupied by the figure. This spatial hierarchy is very definitely Maya. The Teotihuacán artist does not appear to have been as conscious of these spatial envelopes. Thus for the Teotihuacán artist the physical restrictions in a vertical direction are in sharp contrast to the seemingly unlimited extension of the images in a horizontal direction.

It is unlikely that Teotihuacán artists were ever in residence in Kaminaljuyu or in the Petén. There is no question that Teotihuacán-based peoples were there. Pictorial as well as actual models must have been used by local artists to deal with the themes at hand. For, although the personages depicted are definitely non-Maya, their *conceptualization* and *resolution* are Maya or very much closer to Maya than to Teotihuacán sources.

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The Relationship Between Painting and Scripts

JORGE ELLIOTT

I.   Peoples who have devised picture writing have tended to confuse painting and writing. The consequence of this confusion has been to inhibit their visual arts as independent "expressive" media.

Before proceeding any further, it is necessary to make clear that I do not contend that man has never devised scripts of nonpictographic origin. Indeed, it is believed by many that at least the lineal script once used in Crete was of nonpictographic origin and probably evolved from motifs, because it is known that motifs have always borne meanings, however vaguely. But the point is, that if any of these were once devised, there could not have been many, for none appears to have survived.[1] And, in any event, all ancient scripts pertaining to current ones, and thus to artistic manifestations relevant to us, are of pictographic origin — Sumerian, Egyptian, and Chinese.

The confusion between painting and writing has not always been perceived, and when it has been perceived nothing much has been made of it. Thus, Mallery (1913) makes no effort to distinguish between incriptions that might be deemed paintings and those which are clearly pictographs. But the farseeing Boas did so, remarking: "A third example is to be found among the American Indians of the Great Plains. *Their representational art, in the strictest sense of the word, is almost entirely confined to a crude type of picture writing*" (1955:67, emphasis added).

Again, many specialists in the arts of the pre-Columbian peoples of

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[1] Some specialists suspect that the scripts used in the Caroline Islands are not pictographic in origin. However, there is reason to believe they did not arise spontaneously but as a result of cultural diffusion from Malay and perhaps India (See Reisenberg and Kaneshiro 1960).

Mesoamerica, Kubler[2] and Marquina[3] among them, have realized that the pictographs in Mixtec codices and the representations on Mixtec murals are almost identical, without attempting, however, to get at the significance of the confusion.

It is not easy to investigate this phenomenon, because even though the vast majority of Mesolithic and Neolithic peoples painted schematic descriptions, many of which could be deemed "incipient" picture writings, few appear to have organized their schemes and signs into even a crude picture writing. Moreover, wherever advanced scripts have been devised from original picture writings, little trace has been left of the picture writings. In point of fact, it is only in the Americas that examples of these have been found in sufficient number to be of use to us.

Naturally, I believe they *are* of use to us because I am convinced that there is such a thing as a "human psychic unity" — that is to say, similarities of thought and action among the most diverse peoples are not all due to cultural diffusion — and hence that "polygenesis" exists. In short, I agree with Boas (1966:154) when he contends that Bastian was right in speaking "of the appalling monotony of the fundamental ideas of mankind all over the globe."

II.   Let us begin our inquiry by considering the first known pictorial efforts of man — by discussing the paintings of Paleolithic man.

It is common knowledge that Paleolithic man painted abstract designs somewhat halfheartedly; they were either of a geometric character — freehand, of course — or of a meandering character. He seems to have preferred to paint representations. As far as we know, he seems to have preferred to paint realistic or true-to-nature representations (Plate 1) rather than schematic representations, although he *did* paint the latter. Why he should have chosen to paint realistically is a matter of conjecture, especially because it is now held that magical practices could not have been the reason.[4] However, it is not indispensable to our argument to seek an explanation for his preference, because we are more concerned with the schematic strain in representation than with the realistic strain.

It is significant that the one truly descriptive representation found in the well-known Paleolithic caves is schematic. We refer to the descriptive schema found at Lascaux (Plate 2). It tells a sad little story of a man —

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[2]   "Most closely related to Mixtec manuscripts are the paintings of the east side of the church court. They invite comparison with such manuscripts as the *Codex Colombine-Becker*" (Kubler 1962:99).
[3]   "Las representaciónes son muy semejantes a los códices mixtecas" (Marquina 1964: 386).
[4]   "The brilliant naturalism of the admittedly magical Paleolithic paintings cannot be explained by their magic function. Any kind of scrawl or smudge would have served the purpose, if the neophyte, on approaching it, had been told it was a bison" (Collingwood 1958:69).

probably a masked magician — who was gored by a wounded bison. Now, it is important to underscore the fact that it cannot be proven that the realistic representations painted in the different known Paleolithic caves are organized into a well-composed whole, despite the fact that a number of art historians have of late taken to maintaining this belief. As they are most easily viewed, they appear as isolated images. They are certainly not *descriptively* organized.

Practical, everyday experience tells us that man is inclined to convey discursive ideas by means of graphic descriptions. Surely, when he is intent on doing so he can feel no need for absolute realism, for as soon as a sketch makes its point it need not be perfected further. When he does this his paintings are on the verge of becoming picture writing.

Because the mind naturally tends to follow the path of least resistance, it seems logical that man should always have been inclined to convey ideas by means of descriptive schematic paintings rather than by means of abstract symbols. This would explain why scripts of pictographic origin have survived rather than scripts based on abstract symbols.

All the evidence at hand indicates that with the passage of time man developed a descriptive urge and a somewhat weaker urge to record, in that painting from the Mesolithic Age onwards acquired a descriptive and clearly schematic character. Thus the vast majority of known Mesolithic paintings, particularly those discovered in Valletorta, Spain, are descriptive and schematic in character.

Some Neolithic paintings, especially those found at Tassili in Africa, are quite realistic, but they are exceptional. Commonly, Neolithic paintings are even more schematic and descriptive than Mesolithic paintings or of the type found at Çatal Huyuk in Anatolia.

Surely, from paintings of this kind, an easy passage might be made to picture writings similar to those devised in North America, for instance of the kind of picture writing used at one time by a people dwelling near Lake Superior. Naturally Mixtec pictographs are richer, more involved, and more detailed than any pictographs of the type we have mentioned so far. Moreover, they are considerably refined as representations.

It remains surprising, however, that so many peoples whose painting may be regarded as incipient picture writing did not actually develop a picture writing. This may be a consequence of wrong entries, or of premature attempts to combine schematic representations with abstract symbols in order to create a richer type of script than a crude picture writing. We get this impression not only from the petroglyphs studied by Heizer and Baumhoff in Nevada and eastern California (1962), but also from the very schematic and symbolic paintings made during the Bronze Age.

In any event, what really matters here is that post-Paleolithic man seems to have developed a descriptive urge, together with a vaguer urge to record, that led him to give preference to the schematic strain in

representation. Indeed, it would seem that in his mind a "lock-in" occurred between the idea of a thing and a schema of its appearance: between, for instance, the idea of a tree and a schema of it — vertical line with other lines jutting out from it at an angle.

The extent to which such an occurrence is a natural one, or a consequence of the characteristics of the human brain, is evinced by the fact that such a fixation or lock-in takes place in the mind of every child today, for our children's schemas are undeniably halfway to being picture writings. In point of fact, children soon settle for particular schemas and make them stand for houses, churches, ships, and, of course, the sun.

It appears also that, once this lock-in occurred, it affected sculpture as well — at least for a time. Thus the early figurines found at Eridu, Mesopotamia (see Plate 3), are extremely schematic. The universality of this occurrence is confirmed by the many figurines of the same sort found in other parts of the world, such as at Chupícuaro, Guanajato, in Mexico (see Plate 4) — naturally the Chupícuaro figurine must be considered a product of a retarded cultural formulation in respect to the Eridu formulation.

However, the fact that with time sculpture tended to become realistic before painting suggests that the lock-in had been generally resolved with some promptness and yet left undisturbed in painting either for functional or stylistic reasons. Thus, for example, the painted pots found at Mochica, Peru, are adorned with quite schematic, descriptive representations (see Plate 5), while the portrait pots found close to them are very realistic indeed (Plate 6). Occurrences in Egypt and elsewhere confirm this contention.

Finally, we must make clear that because Neolithic peoples were obsessed with "function" while they painted, confusing painting and writing, they failed to refine their schemas "artistically" so that their painting was, on the whole, "out of the style." Actually, because they were weavers and wickerworkers they were apt to design quantities of abstract motifs which dominated their styles, in that they were used for "overall" application on every kind of surface, as was the practice in Tierradentron, Colombia (see Plate 7). Yet when controlled scripts were in use, so that representational painting could acquire a measure of individuality, motifs were displaced from stage center, as among the Maya, who decorated their pots with glyphs, representations, and motifs probably derived from the glyphs (Plate 8). This process could end by reducing the participation of motifs in the style to the mere role of framing representations, as happened in Greece (Plate 9).

In view of the fact that Neolithic schematic painting was generally "out of the style," its pertinence to art is slight. Hence, if we wish to discuss the place of picture writings in art we must turn to Mesoamerican picture

Plate 1.
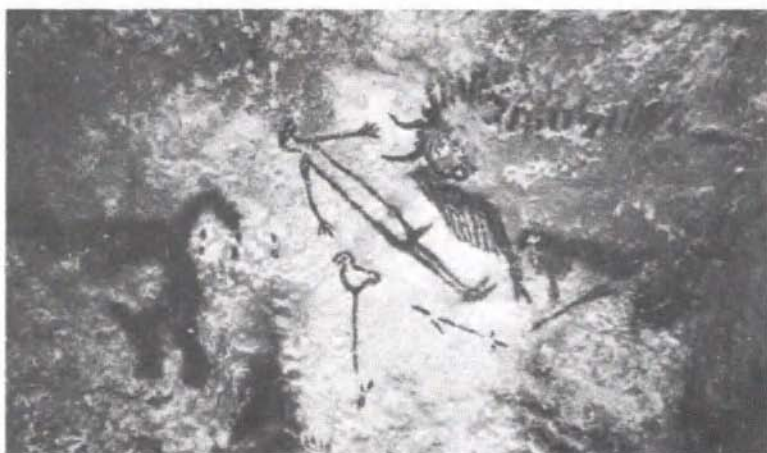
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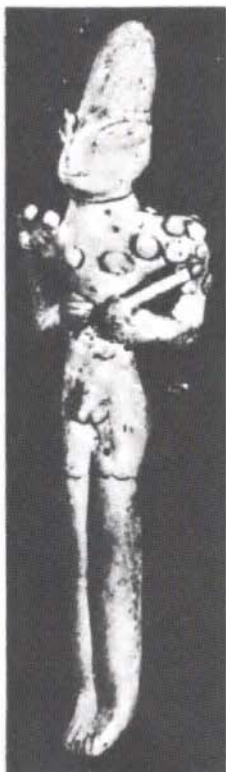
Plate 3.

Plate 4.
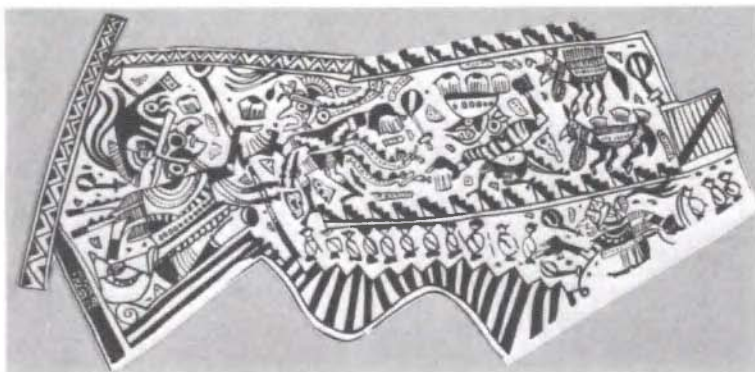
Plate 5.

Plate 6.

Plate 7.

Plate 8.

Plate 9.
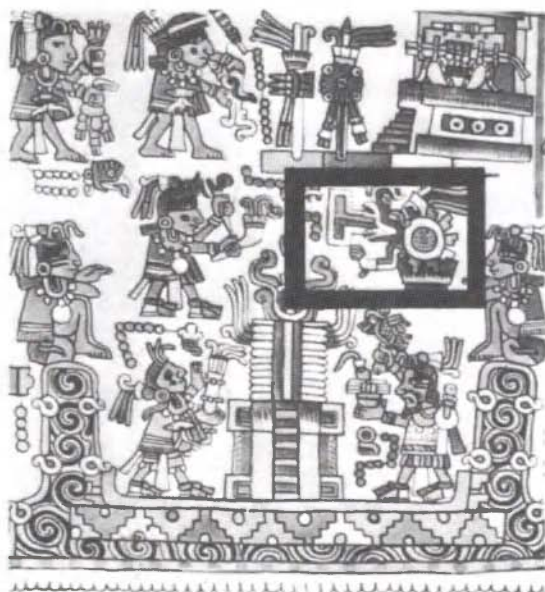
Plate 10.

Plate 11.

Plate 12.
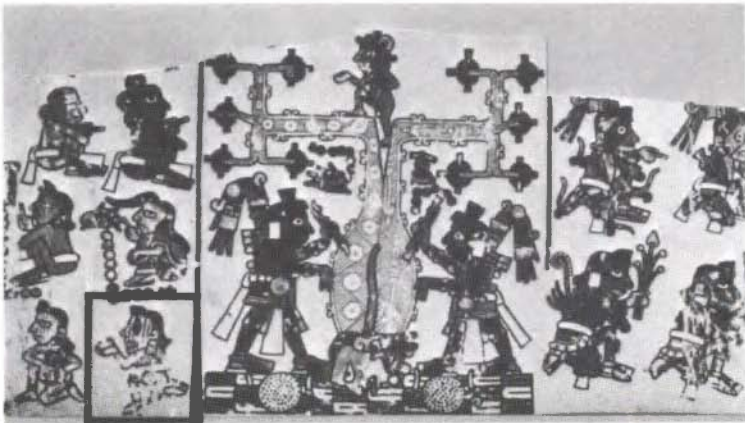
Plate 13.
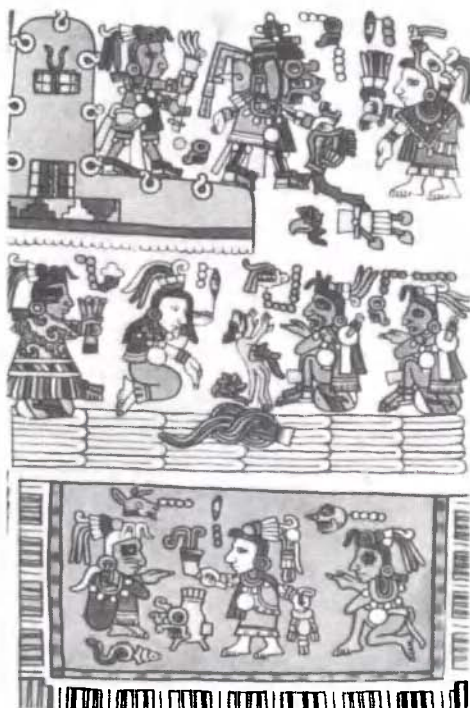
Plate 14.

Plate 16.

Plate 15.
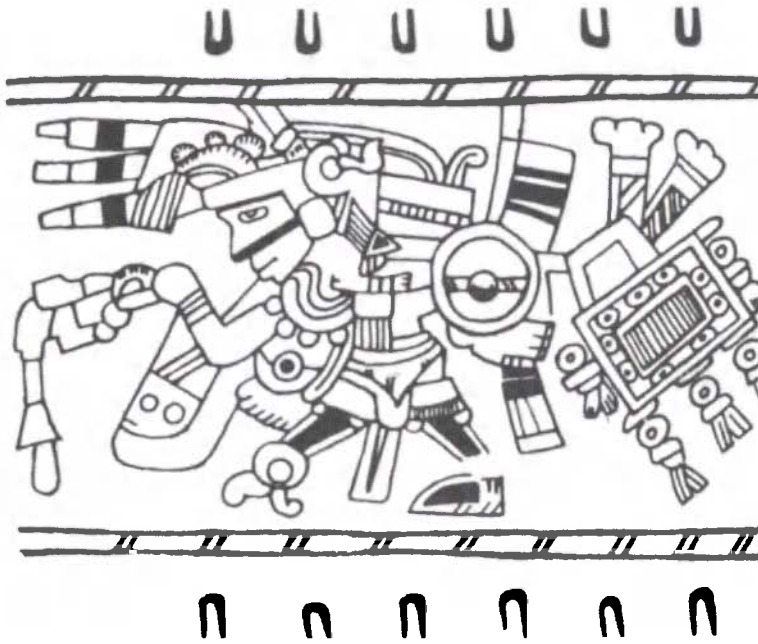
Plate 17a.
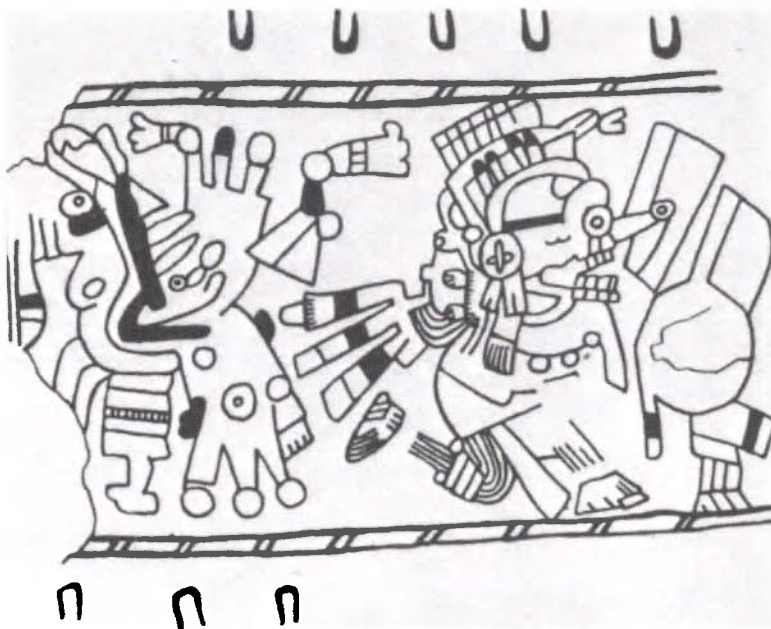
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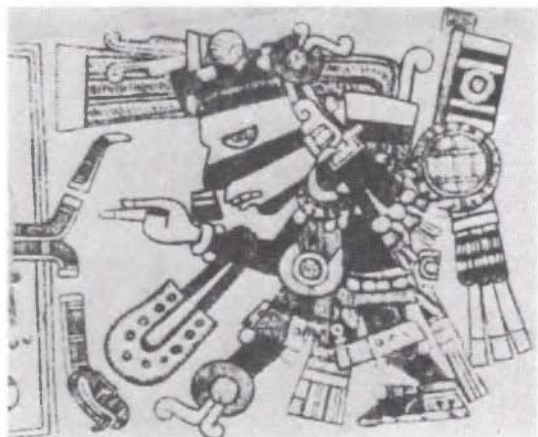
Plate 18.

Plate 19.

Plate 20.

Plate 21.
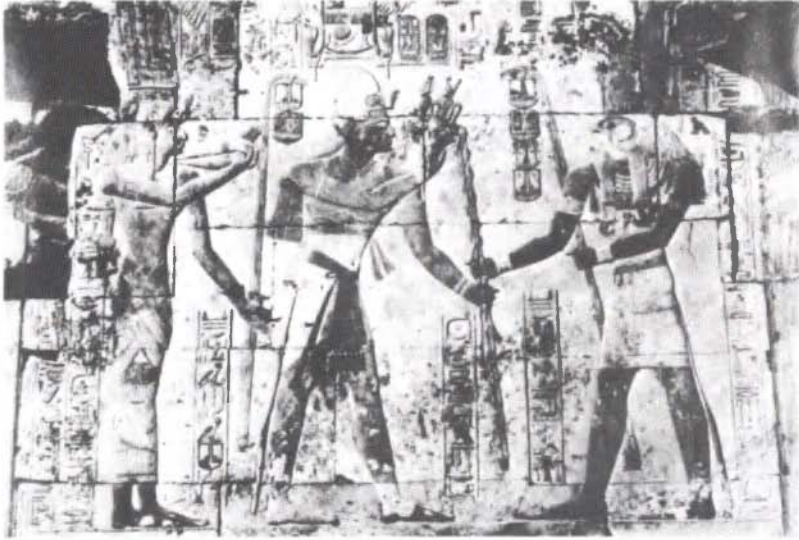
Plate 22.

Plate 23.
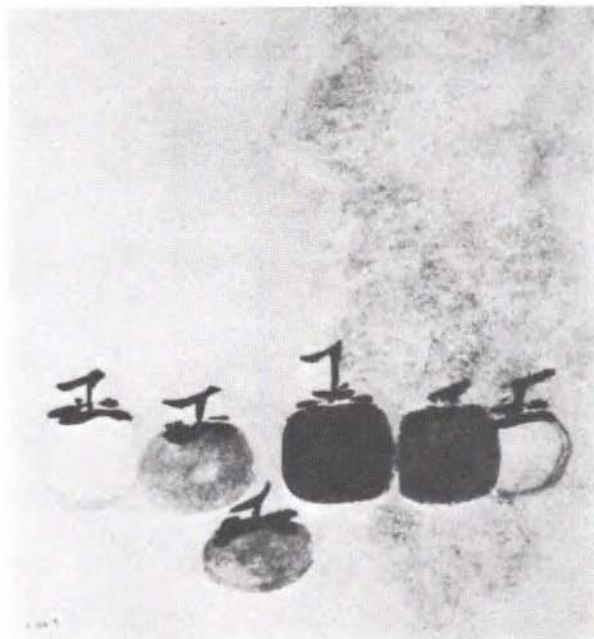
Plate 24.
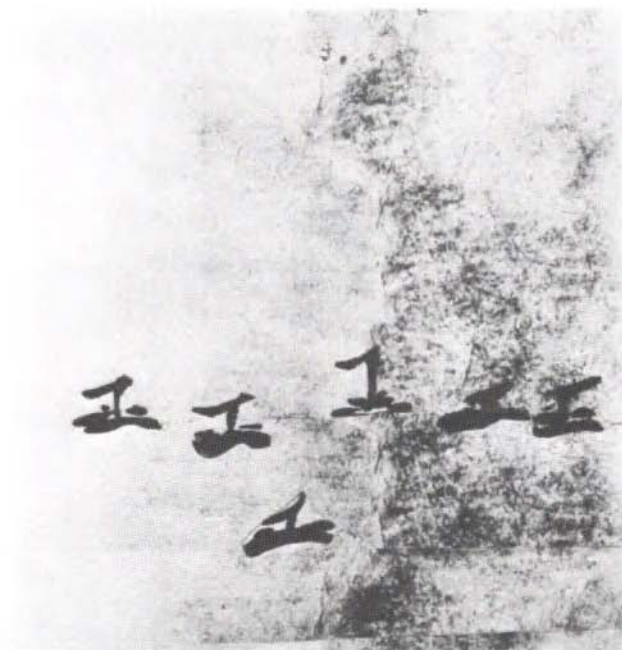
Plate 25.

writings, the only relatively refined picture writings which have come down to us from the past.

III.   The use of pictographs in Mesoamerica seems to have begun mainly under Teotihuacán influence. The Teotihuacanos prospered near Lake Texcoco — where Mexico City now lies — from about the year 150 B.C. until the sixth century A.D., when they appear to have been disbanded by barbarian raiders. At that time their influence on the southern peoples of Oaxaca seems to have increased, for they certainly appear to have decisively influenced the rising people of Mitla, the Mixtecs. Certainly Mixtec pictographs are closely associated with Teotihuacán paintings. Thus if we compare a portion of the Mixtec *Codex Nuttall* (Plate 10) to a wall painting recently discovered at Teotihuacán (Plate 11), we are at once struck by their evident association. Indeed the rain god (Tlaloc) depicted in the mural is very similar to the surrounded pictograph in the *Codex*.

Further confirmation that a close relationship exists between the script of the Mixtec and Teotihuacán paintings — which might or might not be related to a Teotihuacán script, because no Teotihuacán codices have been discovered — is provided by the remarkable likeness between the figures in the bottom half of the Teotihuacán mural found at Tepantitla (Plate 12) and the pictographs in the Mixtec *Codex Vindobonensis* (Plate 13).

At all events, what really matters for the moment is the extremely close association between Mixtec paintings and Mixtec codices. Therefore, let us proceed to examine them.

Both at Mitla in Oaxaca and at Tizatlán in Tlaxcala, fragments of Mixtec wall paintings survive that are worth contrasting to the Nuttall and Borgia codices. Thus, if we compare another fragment of the *Codex Nuttall* (Plate 14) to a fragment of the mural at Mitla (Plate 15), it becomes immediately apparent that they are closely related, because the figures in both the *Codex* and in the mural are proportioned in the same way and are represented in profile, as is generally the case with glyphic systems. However, to underscore further their resemblance, we have placed a copy of a figure in the Arroyo North Mural at Mitla vertically alongside the *Codex* (Plate 16) so that it may be compared with any of the figures in it. Indeed, there can be little doubt that it is almost identical to the figure kneeling on the carpet in the lower segment of the *Codex* page.

The Tizatlán mural is not stylistically identical to the Mitla mural, but then neither are the *Codex Nuttall* and the *Codex Borgia*. This suggests that Mixtec scribe-painters arrived at personal styles without necessarily producing totally different forms.

Yet what really concerns us at this juncture is that the figure on the right side of the Tizatlán mural (Plate 17a) — the god Texcatlipoca — is practically identical to the pictograph for that god painted in the *Codex*

Borgia (Plate 18). This confirms what we suggested initially: that the Mixtec scribe-painter barely distinguished between painting and writing. In point of fact, all he did when he was writing was to add calendric signs, placing signs and numerals by the representations.

It takes but a glance, of course, to realize that Mixtec representations are refined when compared to the rudimentary representations in North American Indian picture writings. Hence, it could not be said that they are "out of the style." Yet they did not coalesce into a sufficiently expressive script to displace motifs from stage center; rather, Mixtec art motifs and representations play an equal part in the style. We know that this was not the case where hieroglyphs were employed.

To come across hieroglyphic systems in Mexico one must move south to Oaxaca and even beyond, to the land of the Maya. In short, the Mixtec pictographic script was not the only one evolved in Oaxaca, for glyphs were employed at Monte Albán from an early date. Indeed, glyphs were employed at one time by a number of peoples in different parts of the world. Thus, in the Middle East not only the Egyptians but also the Hittites used hieroglyphs. However, in the space allotted to us we can hardly discuss every glyphic system in connection with artistic practices. Therefore we shall only refer, as we go along, to the Maya and Egyptian scripts, while stating that others, such as the Zapotec and the Hittite, will not be found to contradict our argument seriously.

IV.   Maya glyphs are obviously of pictographic origin, although no trace of the original Maya picture writing remains. Thus, the priestly Maya hieroglyphic script contains clearly representational elements such as might have been inherited from a pictographic script.

Hieroglyphs appear to have come about as people sought to increase the efficacy of their pictographs by devising homophones, using abstract forms as syllable symbols or symbols of consonants, etc. As they did this, their scripts often became less representational, and hence their painting could become somewhat independent from the script, though never totally so because the mind's penchant for association generally caused it to keep people from breaking the formal nexus between writing and painting. In other words, though painting became different from writing it was not actually permitted to become an independent medium, with full individuality. It was kept conceptual and handled as an extension of the script.

Surprisingly realistic — though conceptual and basically schematic — Maya paintings, glyphed as was to be expected, were discovered at a site in Chiapas, Mexico, where the temple city of Bonampak flourished for several centuries in and around the year A.D. 540. In those paintings the relationship between the figures and the glyphs is by no means obvious, yet it exists nevertheless, and sometimes quite obtrusively since occasion-

ally we can successfully compare a glyph to a portion of a particular figure (Plate 19). Note how, in the example at hand, the individualized glyph suggests the configuration of a face in profile very like that of any of the figures near it. Moreover, the fact that the Bonampak paintings should be conceptual — faces in profile, bodies flatly painted in one color — tells us that in the minds of the Maya of Bonampak the two were kindred forms.

It is also worth noting in this example that the main figure, which apparently represents a hierarch being dressed, has a cloth hanging from both thighs. That cloth is obviously decorated with glyphic motifs, which suggests that glyphs came to be used so abundantly in decoration that they displaced geometric motifs from stage center, mainly through the agency of glyphic motifs. Certainly the fringe on the cloth appears to be geometrically decorated.

Maya paintings at other sites, such as Uaxactún, and on pottery, exhibit the same characteristics as the Bonampak paintings. However, it must be kept in mind that the Maya used at least two scripts, the quite abstract and very cursive script employed by the Bonampakans, and the more pictographic script known as the priestly script, used in relation to sculpture on stelae (Plate 20), and on reliefs in plaster (Palenque). This brings to mind the fact that the Egyptians developed two abstract cursive scripts — the hieratic and the demotic — without discarding their hieroglyph. Yet the Bonampakans related their two scripts formally so that there was no stylistic contradiction when they used one or the other in relation either to painting or sculpture and relief sculpture, while the Egyptians handled their advanced scripts "out of the style."

The Maya cursive script is more advanced than the Egyptian hieroglyphic script, though not more advanced than the hieratic script. Hence its formal nexus with painting is almost exclusively calligraphic. It allowed Maya painting to become pliant and gestural. However, Maya painting did not turn toward us and acquire tactile qualities or temperamental expressiveness. We shall see that not all the conditions necessary for that to happen arose in the Maya world.

The decorative language spawned by the Maya glyph and its extension, the Maya glyphic motif, pervaded Maya artistic style in general, contributed to its flowering, and even affected the mood of its architecture, whose surfaces were often adorned with glyphic forms. Indeed, in Tikal lintels were indented with them (Plate 21).

In contrast with the Maya glyphs, the Egyptian hieroglyphs are static and heavy. In an Egyptian mural decoration we always find them dwelling in harmony with painted or engraved figures (Plate 22). The forms have a great deal in common. The hieroglyph is as hard of line as it is static. When several are gathered in a cartouche, it is by means of a clear, unwavering line. The contours of the painted or engraved figures are also

firm and clear, with a fusion of curvature and straightness suggestive of strength and perpetuity.

The extent to which the Egyptian hieroglyph came to constitute a formal gnomon in the Nile Valley is made evident by the degree to which it spreads over columns and walls at Karnak. Its form is in harmony with the strict, ponderous mood of the architecture.

Due to hierarchic pressures, the cursive hieratic script failed to displace the hieroglyph or to draw painting toward it so that it might develop into a more cursive art. In fact, when papyri were written in cursive hieratic, the illustrations to the script were separated and surrounded either by hieroglyphs or by archaic hieratic symbols, formally very close to the traditional hieroglyph, as is the case with the Pedin Imenet papyrus (Plate 23). Only on unimportant ostraca — entirely "out of the style" — were illustrations allowed to dwell alone by texts in demotic script.

V.   Peoples who developed picture writings could skip the glyphic stage as they advanced their script. It appears, at least, that the Sumerians and the Chinese did so.

The Sumerians were unable to develop a paper-like material and hence wrote on clay tablets, which they subsequently baked in the sun. As it is hard to engrave representations on clay, they started to indent it and thus rapidly developed a very abstract cuneiform, syllabic script. It seems obvious that under the circumstances painting might have developed into an independent medium, separate from writing, but it did not. It appears that, when scripts were advanced rapidly, a period of obfuscation ensued wherein painting was neglected and left tied to the abandoned pictograph. Indeed, it took a long time for the representational arts to acquire a high degree of refinement in Mesopotamia, or until the rise of the Assyrians. But although Assyrian painting and relief sculpture acquired considerable expressive power, they remained conceptual and never became fully expressive on their own. As a consequence the Mesopotamians continued to use textile motifs regressively for overall application in architecture.

On the other hand, the Chinese appear to have skipped the glyphic stage also and to have left painting behind for a time, because the illustrations accompanying the ideographs in the oldest silk text known (500 B.C.) are extremely crude. Because they developed rice paper and silk and invented a fine painting brush, they were eventually able to retrieve the link they had abandoned and evolved their painting in formal harmony with their script. In doing so, they finally went much further in developing painting as an independent medium than any of the peoples we have come across so far. Their painting turned toward the spectator and acquired full individuality, yet never failed to keep subtly associ-

ated to the script, as is evinced by Mu Ki's delightful "Persimmons," now at Kyoto (Plate 24). Because this painting is but a fragment, there are no ideographs on it, but the small leaves and stems protruding from each persimmon, taken on their own, could be ideographs (Plate 25), which serve to demonstrate the relationship which concerns us.

Because Chinese painting did not acquire the characteristics we have been discussing until the late Taoist Han Period, we may conclude that once painting has been subjugated by a script it can only gain full individuality, however much the script is advanced, if an adequate naturalistic and individualistic philosophy arises, as it did in Greece and, indeed, in China. For there is common ground between Greek anthropocentrism, which regarded man as "the measure of all things," and Taoisim's defense of individuality with its absolute rejection of all distortion and artificiality.

But to discuss Greek art would be to invade new territory, for the Greek used a phonetic alphabet totally divorced from an original picture writing. No true formal nexus associates their script with their representational art. Their art is tied to the content of their script or to their literature alone. What happens to the representational arts when the nexus we have brought to notice is broken, in relation to stylistic problems particularly, is most interesting, but is beyond the scope of this discussion.

The study of the association we have been underscoring is a fascinating one, related to how the mind feels it best apprehends meanings. In their penchant for association, so relevant to their solving powers and so enlightening, the arts are "cognitive" in nature, significant ingredients of the atmosphere of ideas prevailing at any given time.

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Ethnological Studies on Ancient Chinese Ritual Implements of Bronze and Jade

HO LIEN KWEI

In recent years I have been rereading many of the pioneering works in the social sciences. In perusing *Introduction aux études historiques* by Langlois and Seignobos (1897), it became apparent that the methodology for historical research discussed in their work has already been applied to ethnology and sociology and has had no small influence on the social sciences. Other works, such as *Les règles de la méthode sociologique* by Durkheim (1895), the *Notes and queries on anthropology* of the Royal Anthropological Institute (1929), and Wang Hsing-Kung's *Discussions of scientific method* (1920), although written many years ago, still have value to the modern student as guidelines to research methodology. They are mentioned here for the benefit of those seeking information on the methodology of ethnology.

The present article proposes to examine Chinese artifacts from the point of view of ethnology. As examples of ancient Chinese artifacts, we can list vessels and implements made of the following materials: bronze, jade, pottery, porcelain, lacquer, and enamel; further categories might be sculpture, religious implements, snuff-bottles, etc. The possible classifications are endless and their content extremely rich. When we direct our attention to the artifacts used in ancient Chinese rituals, however, we find that the most important categories are vessels and implements of bronze and jade. Although at first glance the study of such objects would seem to belong to the realms of archeology and art history, an appraisal of their cultural significance is intimately related to the field of ethnology.

Ethnology is the science dealing with the cultures of man, particularly those of primitive peoples. Culture consists of the patterns of life of a people and can be divided into three categories: material culture, comprising the tools and implements made for daily life; social culture, or the character and organization of a society; and spiritual culture, the arts,

language, and religious beliefs of a people. The present discussion concerns this third facet. Ritual customs and ritual implements, which together constitute a cultural phenomenon, clearly fall within the sphere of ethnology, for the relationship between them must be approached from a cultural perspective.

THE ESSENCE OF CHINESE RITUAL CUSTOMS

Chinese ritual originated in the earliest stages of Chinese culture and has been handed down from remotest antiquity; thus it has a cultural evolution of its own. In order to understand its nature, we must define the terms "custom," "ritual," and "ritual custom."

Custom

To speak of custom is to refer to the usages, practices, and conventions of the social life of a people, i.e. their living habits. Customs are contingent upon three factors: people, the land, and life. Man is the basis, the heart of custom. The land is that from which he derives his sustenance and which constitutes his geographical environment. Life is the struggle for survival in this environment, an activity influenced by the existing social and cultural environment. Thus, customs are those living habits produced by the interweaving of a people, the land, and their life.

Ritual

Ritual in its broadest sense may be defined as that code or system of conventions by which a people regulates its conduct and social life. It grows out of the natural outward expression of respect for one's superiors, either as worship of the spirits or as respect for other men. The *Shuo-wen* describes ritual (*li*): "*Li*, service of the spirits to bring about prosperity." Thus ritual originated at the same time as religious beliefs. Later it became formalized into worship of heaven and of one's ancestors. Thus when we inquire into the spiritual life of the early Chinese, we find it centered around the worship of heaven motivated by the fear of fate and thus around the careful observation of ritual and sacrifice. During the Western Chou, during the regency of the Duke of Chou, the observation of ritual was used to rule the state. It was during this time that government became fused with ritual and ritual was transformed into a political instrument. This is a unique characteristic of ritual in early China which deserves more extended study.

Ritual Custom

Customs are the habits of social living, and rituals are these habits formalized into codes of conduct. Wherever there are people there are customs, and wherever customs are observed ritual evolves. Customs which have been formalized into ritual are called ritual customs. These formalized customs thus become standards of conduct and a means of exerting social control.

CHINESE RITUAL BRONZE VESSELS

The Origin of Ritual Bronze Vessels

Ancient Chinese artifacts, including bronze vessels, were articles of daily use in early China and constitute an important part of the material culture of that era. In terms of bronze vessels, distinct types were designed to fill the various functions as containers for liquids, solid foods, and cooking. The *ts'un*, a vessel for containing liquids, was originally a wine cup. Among the food containers, the *kuei* was designed to hold grain. The *ting*, a cooking vessel, could be used for serving food as well. The shapes of the various types of vessels make it clear that they were originally designed and produced for practical use and served important functions in the life of the early Chinese. We say that an ordinary, average person is a "man of custom"(*su-shih*); by analogy, we might say that an ordinary implement of everyday use is an "implement of custom"(*su-ch'i*).

Later, when religious beliefs developed which stressed "service of the spirits to bring about prosperity" and "honoring heaven and revering the ancestors," the "vessels of custom" began to be used in ceremonies which expressed religious beliefs. Many bronze vessels of the Shang dynasty (1766-1122 B.C.) and the Chou dynasty (1122-221 B.C.) such as the cooking vessels *ting, li, yen,* and *tui,* the food and wine vessels *chueh, ts'un, hu,* and *kuei,* the water vessels *p'an* and *i,* and the musical bells *chung* and *cheng,* were used in sacrificial ceremonies and thus are cases of utilitarian forms transformed into ritual implements. Still central to the life style of the people, these vessels gradually evolved from serving man's physical needs to expressing his religious concepts. As archeology has revealed these objects to us, they stand as marvels of technical and artistic skill unequaled in other ancient cultures. Their shapes, decorations, and perfection of casting establish them among the great treasures of Chinese culture.

Inscriptions and Decoration

Ritual bronze vessels have long been the objects of veneration among the Chinese, not only because of their ritual functions, but also because they often bear commemorative inscriptions. During the Shang and Chou dynasties, these inscriptions evolved from phrases of two or three characters to documents of several hundred words. They have greatly added to our knowledge of Chinese history and culture. In addition to the inscriptions, most bronze vessels are decorated with animal-like forms which are religious and ceremonial symbols. Thus the decoration of ritual bronze vessels can be divided into two types: representational motifs and inscriptions.

REPRESENTATIONAL MOTIFS ON BRONZE VESSELS. The motifs which appear on bronze vessels were images used by the early Chinese to educate and control the people, for in ancient China all "ritual customs" had a political and social function. In this context the contemporary painter Cheng Ch'ang has made some relevant observations:

The images created by primitive peoples simply express the needs and demands of their daily life. [The legendary emperors]Yü and Shun used rewards to establish their sovereignty. Because they sought a stable government, they fully exploited the regulatory powers of ritual and religious teaching. Every painting illustrated a moral and was didactic in function, used as a tool for ordering men's lives and improving the society. At that time the level of knowledge was quite primitive, and there was little understanding of natural phenomena. The methods used by T'ang Yao and Hsia Yü to lead and govern the kingdom were based on this general ignorance: the rulers propagated many myths and invented countless ceremonies in order to intimidate the people into regulating their own conduct and to delude them into acting with caution. In this way they greatly facilitated the task of government. The fact that pictorial images were used in this process is also clear, for what Ts'ao Tzu-chien called "the warnings contained in the *chien*" were representational forms. Chang Yen-yuan 求房遠 said, "Now painting is a thing which perfects the civilized teachings [of the Sages] and helps [to maintain] the social relationships. It penetrates completely the divine permutations [of Nature] and fathoms recondite and subtle things. Its merit is equal to that of the Six Arts [of antiquity] and it moves side by side with the four seasons" (Acker:61). Among the painted robes and hats in use during the reign of the emperor Shun, there was a special type worn by condemned criminals. This intimidated the people from transgression, and is an example of the practical use to which printing was put. When Yü of the Hsia came to power he made charts and maps of remote places and collected tribute metal from the nine states; he used the metal to cast nine *ting* decorated with all the myriad objects of nature so that the people would know good and evil. Thus the function of representational art in ancient society is clear (Cheng 1959).

Mr. Cheng's remarks are apt, and I am in agreement with his point of view. We find references to the decorated *ting* of the early Hsia in the

Tso-chuan, the *Shih-chi*, and the *Han-shu*. The *"Feng-ch'an shu"* of the *Shih-chi* says, "Yü collected the gold from the nine states and cast the ning *ting* in the shapes of the nine states. The *Tso-chuan*, under the third year of Hsuan-kung, records:

> The viscount of Ch'u invaded the territory of Lu-huan, and then went on as far as Lo, where he reviewed his troops on the borders of Chou. King Ting sent Wang-sun Man to him with congratulations and presents, when the viscount asked about the size and weight of the tripods, [Wang-sun Man] replied, "[The strength of the kingdom] depends on the (sovereign's) virtue, and not on the tripods." Anciently, when Hsia was distinguished for its virtue, the distant regions sent pictures of the [remarkable] objects in them. The nine pastors sent in the metal of their provinces, and the tripods were cast, with representations on them of these objects. All the objects were represented, and (instructions were given) of the preparations to be made in reference to them, so that the people might know the sprites and evil things. Thus the people, when they went among the rivers, marshes, hills, and forests, did not meet with the injurious things, and the hill-sprites, monstrous things, and water-sprites, did not meet with them. Hereby a harmony was secured between the high and the low, and all enjoyed the blessing of Heaven. (Legge 1961:vol. 5, p. 293)

Chang Yen-yuan of the T'ang, in his *Li-tai ming-hua chi*, adds, "When "When tripods and bells were inscribed, then imps and goblins were made recognizable and gods and evil influences were made known" (Acker 1954:71).

From these accounts, we know that the ritual customs of the ancient Chinese made extensive use of pictorial images, and that *ting* vessels were cast in order to instruct the people as to the evil spirits. Good and evil are categories established by those in power to control their subjects, and the images on the bronze vessels were meant to inspire fear and revulsion in the people. Thus the bronzes served both didactic and political ends.

Further, it seems clear that some of the images on bronze vessels represent sacrificial victims. Dr. Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei notes, "Most primitive religions have sacrifices using human victims. For example, the phrase 'use men in the sacrifices' occurs in the *Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-chuan*." When we go to the *Tso-chuan*, we find under the nineteenth year of Ho-kung that "The Duke of Sung made Duke Wan of Chu sacrifice the viscount of Tsang at an altar on the banks of the Sui." Again, in the fifth year of Duke Ch'ao, "Chi P'ing-tzu invaded Chu and took many prisoners at Ken. When he brought back the prisoners, this was the first time human sacrifice was offered at the Po altar."

As evidence of human sacrifice in the Shang dynasty, we can cite the story of Kao-tsung's (Wu-ting's) subjugation of the Ch'iang tribe of northwestern China. Kao-tsung invaded the Ch'iang territory, but it was only after a campaign of three years that he began to subdue the tribe. Therefore the Shang people regarded the Ch'iang with deep hatred and

used them as victims in human sacrifices. The Ch'iang were a shepherding people of the western frontier who used a ram's head as their clan symbol and totemic image. The *t'ao-t'ieh* heads carved on Shang oracle bones (Plate 1) and cast on bronze vessels (Plate 2) in fact represent the Ch'iang tribesmen used as sacrificial victims by the Shang and thus are a kind of totemic symbol. After the Shang had conquered this powerful northwestern tribe, they cast its image onto bronze vessels in order to commemorate their victory and exalt their own power. Even in remote antiquity, the superiority of the victor over the vanquished was publicized as an example and constituted a warning to other peoples, for this warning, in the form of the *t'ao-t'ieh* mask, was incorporated into the ritual practices. As such, it forms a part of the socializing function of ritual.

Plate 1.   Oracle bone character for *yang* [sheep], depicting a ram's head, *t'ao-t'ieh* form, Shang dynasty (after Sun Hai-po 1972)

Plate 2.   (Above) *Lei* [wine vessel] with nipple decor and *t'ao-t'ieh* mask, Shang dynasty. (National Palace Museum, Taipei). (Below) *Kuei* [food vessel] with *tào-tieh* mask, Shang dynasty. (National Palace Museum)

A popular Chinese legend records that the mythical emperor Huang-ti ordered a portrait painted of the rebel Ch'ih-yu in order to put down his uprising. In this case, one group within the society was victorious over another and after subjugating it, wished to solidify its own position of authority. Therefore an image of the enemy was made to display to the people and to publish the prowess of the victors. Although this is a legendary account, from the point of view of concepts of government in

ancient Chinese society, it accords very well with the story of Yü of Hsia's casting of the nine *ting*.

THE FU-KUEI CHUEH.Among the ritual bronze vessels of the Shang dynasty is one inscribed 𝅮 父 癸 (*Ku'kung* Po-Wu-Yüan 1958:vol. 2, no. 370). The vessel was cast to commemorate the birthday of an ancestor. *Tzu* 祖 and *tsung* 宗 both carried the original meaning of sacrifice. What was venerated in pre-Hsia sacrifices was not the bloodlines of the ancestors but their merit and virtue, expressed in the traditional saying, "The ancestors have merit and the forefathers have virtue." The concepts of merit and virtue symbolized the leader and founder of the tribe. This founder was a quasi-divine being with the power to grant blessings to his descendants. In him were concentrated the belief in the highest virtue and the reward of merit, but there was no emphasis on bloodlines or genealogy.

In the Hsia and Shang dynasties the use of family or clan names began, and blood relationships became increasingly important. Such statements as, "Yü was descended from Chuan-hsu" and "T'ang was descended from Hsieh" (cf. *Kuo-yu*) illustrate this changing emphasis. The purpose of the sacrifices was to revere heaven and honor the ancestors, and the sacrifices to the ancestors were the expressions of this honor. They also indicate that one's filial obligations extended back to the earliest ancestors. As stated in the *Li-chi*, "Sacrificing to the first (ancestor) is doing honor to one's origins." Thus the newly arrived on earth commemorate those who went before, as when taking a drink of water one thinks of the spring at its source — this is the spirit in which the Chinese people worship their ancestors.

The concepts and practices of honoring bloodlines and worshiping the ancestors originated very early. Among the "Sacrificial odes of Shang" in the *Shih-ching* is a poem beginning, "Heaven commissioned the swallow [lit. "dark bird"] to descend and give birth to [the father of our] Shang; [his descendants] dwelt in the land of Yin and became great" (Legge, 1961:vol. 4 p. 636). A more complete version of the myth states that Shang-ti sent down the swallow which laid an egg; Chien-ti swallowed its egg and gave birth to Hsieh, the founder of the Shang tribe. This, then, is the origin myth of the Shang people, who believed that they were descended from the swallow. The "Yin Book" of the *Shih-chi* further elaborates: "Hsieh of Yin's mother was Chien-ti, a daughter of the Yu-sung family and the second concubine of the ruler K'u. [One day she went out with] three people to bathe and saw a swallow lay its egg. Chien-ti swallowed the egg and later gave birth to Hsieh."

The *Ch'u-ts'e t'u-chu* by Ch'en Hung-shou and Hsiao Yün-tsung says, "Chien-ti was in attendance on Ti-k'u at T'ai-shang when a swallow laid its egg. She swallowed the egg and gave birth to Hsieh" (Plate 3). The bird

Plate 3. Symbolic representation of the birth of the first ancestor of Shang — the origin of Chinese ancestor worship (after Ch'en Hung-shou and Hsiao Yün-ts'ung 1971)

of the legend is variously called *hsuan-niao, yen,* or *i*. The *Shue-wen* defines *i* ひ as: "ひ , *yen* [swallow], *i* [bird]. It is called *i* in [the states of] Ch'i and Lu because of the sound of its call. The form of the character is pictographic. *I* 乱 is a combination of ひ and 丸 [bird]." The same work defines *yen* 燕 simply as *hsüan-niao* 玄 鸟 [dark bird]. Thus *i* is another term for *yen,* and *yen,* or swallow, is the dark bird of the Shang origin myth. The *Yin-yü-tsi'ai* explains the *i* pictograph as a swallow in flight seen on its side. This seems a reasonable explanation of the character.

It is clear also from the references to *pi-i* 妣 ひ [matron-swallow] among the inscriptions on oracle bones that *i* is in fact the dark bird. Fu Szu-nien states, "*Pi-i* is a personification of the dark bird of the legend. But the Shang people did not adopt the swallow as their clan symbol or

totemic image. For them it represented a primitive religious concept, a mythic superstition which formed the basis for their ancestor worship. As the *Kuo-yü* states, "The Yin people sacrificed to K'u and built altars to Ming; [they venerated] the ancestor Hsieh and the forefather T'ang." It is clear that K'u was the ancestral god of the Shang people while Hsieh was the first human ancestor. The genealogy of the early Shang kings can be summarized as follows: Hsieh was the first ruler and established the tribe. His grandson Hsiang-t'u expanded their territory. Several generations later King Hai, a shepherd in the north, further expanded the Shang domains. Several more generations elapsed before T'ang came to power. T'ang, after many military campaigns, drove Chieh, ruler of Hsia, to Anhui province (thus Hsia and Shang had coexisted as kingdoms for some time). The defeat of Chieh established T'ang as ruler of "all under heaven" and represented the first dynastic change (or transfer of the mandate to rule) in Chinese history.

The "Yin Book" of the *Shih-chi* says of King T'ang, "When Kuei died his son T'ien-i came to power. This was Ch'eng T'ang." T'ien-i 天 乙 is the same as Ta-i 大 乙 [Great Swallow], for in ancient Chinese *t'ien* and *ta* were interchangeable. T'ang's actual name was Lu; T'ang was his style name, and Ta-i was probably his posthumous title (see Li Hsiao-ting 1968: no. 14).

This brings us to the Taiwan National Palace Museum's 鳥 *fu-kuei-chüeh* (Plates 4, 5 and 6) an important vessel which deserves close attention. T'ang inherited the line of Hsieh and earned much merit by securing the mandate to rule the empire. He cast this *chüeh* as a memorial to his father Kuei and as execution of his filial responsibilities. The *chüeh* was the most prized of ritual vessels, and T'ang used it to commemorate his father. But he also went one step further; above his father's name, he added the ancestral symbol of the bird, extending his memorial to include the original ancestor. Thus the precept to honor one's ancestors to the full extent of filial piety was observed in a far-reaching and imaginative way; it was made known to his contemporaries and preserved for his descendants through his casting of the ritual vessel *chüeh*. We might say that this was the beginning of true ancestor worship among the early Chinese.

INSCRIPTIONS ON RITUAL BRONZE VESSELS.   In ancient China, records were kept on slips and tablets of bamboo and wood, most of which have been broken or destroyed over time. But because bronze vessels had been transformed into ritual implements, matters of national importance were often commemorated in inscriptions on the vessels in order to ensure survival. Judging from the ancient Chinese phrase, "metal slips and jade tablets," permanent records were also cast into bronze slips and carved onto tablets of jade.

The *Chou-li* contains references to national treaties (*pang-kuo yüeh*), popular treaties (*wan-min yüeh*), and boundary agreements (*ti-yüeh*).

Plate 4. *Chüeh* [wine vessel] inscribed with a bird and characters meaning "Father Kuei," Shang dynasty. (National Palace Museum, Taipei)

The written agreements of a nation are extremely important and therefore were often cast as incriptions on bronze vessels in order to preserve them for later generations. For example, the San-shih *p'an* was cast to commemorate the establishment of boundaries between the states of San and Ch'ih during the reign of King Li of Chou. The first section of the inscription describes the establishment of a border between the states and the setting up of markers. The middle section details the tour of inspection of the border by representatives of the two states, and the final section records the oath of compliance and the agreed-upon sanctions against offenders. The text consists of 350 characters and is considered one of the finest existing cast inscriptions (Plate 7).

Similarly, the inscription on the Mao-kung *ting* records the honors awarded to Duke Mao Yin by King Hsuan of Chou. It begins with an

Plate 5. Detail of Plate 4 showing the inscription with a bird and bronze-script characters meaning "Father Kuei" on the exterior under the handle

account of the reigns of the kings Wen and Wu, and the regencies of Duke Chou and Duke Chao. Then the difficulties of defending the state and the need for talented public servants are discussed. Duke Mao Yin was appointed minister of state and was put in charge of administering the country. His loyalty to the king was so pronounced that he was given many rewards and honors to express the approval and gratitude of the royal house. Duke Mao felt himself uniquely favored by the son of heaven and therefore made this vessel to be handed down to his descendants and cherished through all time. The inscriptions runs to 500 characters, making the Mao-kung *ting* one of the great treasures among surviving bronze vessels (Plate 8). Vessels such as this have the character of historical documents as well as ritual implements.

In the foregoing analysis, we have examined ancient Chinese ritual customs from the vantage point of ritual bronze vessels and have observed the following phenomena: the making of pictures and cast images for didactic purposes; the use of a symbol in the worship of the first ancestor of the Shang; the belief in revering heaven and honoring the ancestors; and the recording of ancient laws and instructions on ritual vessels.

父癸爵 （抽繪）
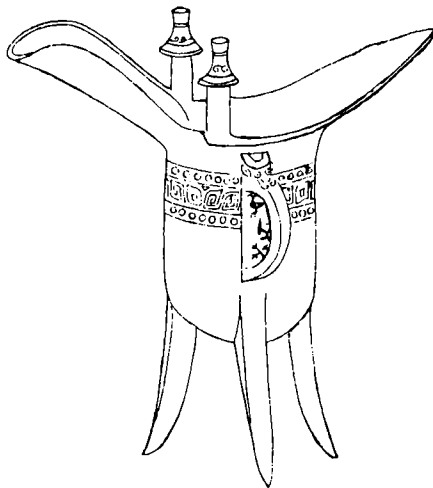
長安獲古編

Plate 6. Drawing of the chüeh in Plate 4 (after Liu Hsi-hai 1968)

THE USE OF JADE IMPLEMENTS IN RITUAL CUSTOMS

From the use of the characters *wu* 巫 [wizard, magic] and *feng* 豐 [abundant, fruitful] in oracle bone inscriptions and in the *Shuo-wen*, we know that jade was used in ancient rituals, for the first character represents two hands raising jade to offer to the spirits, while the second depicts a vessel containing jade for use in rituals. Wang Kuo-wei comments:

The ancients used jade in their rituals, so the *Shuo-wen* says, "*Feng* is a vessel used in rituals." This was written very early, but Hsu Shen apparently did not realize that 丰 is actually 玨 (*chueh*, two pieces of jade fastened together). Thus he said that *feng* is a pictographic character based on *tou* 豆. In fact, however, *feng* is a "logical combination character" (*hui-i tzu*) composed of *chueh* and *tou*. A vessel on which jade was offered to the spirits was written 豊.

Plate 7.   *P'an* [basin] commissioned by San, Chou dynasty. (National Palace Museum, Taipei)

Thus the use of jade in Shang rituals can be deduced from the analysis of ancient Chinese characters (see Lo Chen-yü 1968; Wang Kuo-wei 1968).

In the chapter dealing with the seasons, the *Li-chi* says, "In the second month of spring, sacrifice with the *kuei* and the *pi*," indicating that jade was used in seasonal sacrifices. Moreover, jade was very important in the burial customs of the Shang dynasty, when a jade cicada was placed in the mouth of a corpse to prevent decay. The Academia Sinica excavations at Anyang unearthed jade fish, cicadas, and other objects around the mouths of skeletons (see Cheng 1935). From this it is clear that jade was used both in serving the spirits and in burying the dead, and that objects of religious (or superstitious) significance were carved of jade.

According to the Yu-kung section of the *Shang-shu*, jade was often presented as tribute during the time of Yü of the Hsia. For example, tribute presented by the San-wei district of Yung-chou included "Jewels and precious stones. Commentary: Among the beautiful things from the northwest are gems and precious stones; the most famous is jade." Tribute was also offered from Tai-yu in Ch'ing-chou: "Silk, hemp, lead, pine trees, and strange stones. Commentary: strange stones are gem-like stones which resemble jade." The same book contains the phrase, "When the fire blazes over the ridge of K'un, jade and stone are burned together" (Legge 1961:vol. 3, p. 168). From these statements it is clear that as early as the Hsia dynasty, useful implements were made of jade. Later, in the Shang and Chou, the use of jade expanded greatly, and jade became a symbol of good fortune.

Plate 8.   *Ting* [cauldron] commissioned by the Duke of Mao, Chou dynasty. (National Palace Museum, Taipei)

Jade is a type of stone known for its great beauty, and the making of jade implements grew out of the tradition of stone carving. Implements of bronze and jade are extremely valuable in shedding light on the life and thought of the ancient Chinese. In both cases, objects that were originally made for practical use were gradually transformed into ritual implements with religious significance. Jade became popular for ritual use very early in China. The "Six tablets" (*liu-jui*), used as emblems of rank at court, and the "Six implements" (*liu-ch'i*), used in sacrificing to the directions, were the most important ritual jades.

The Six Tablets

These are listed in the *Chou-li*, "Ch'un-kung ta-ts'ung po" chapter: "Make the Six Tablets of jade in order to regulate the nation. The king carries the *chen-kuei,* dukes (*kung*) carry *huan-kuei,* marquis (*hou*) carry

hsin-kuei, earls (*po*) carry *kung-kuei*, viscounts (*tzu*) carry *ku-pi*, and barons (*nan*) carry *p'u-pi*." The word *jui* refers to ancient jade implements used to distinguish ranks of nobility and given as rewards for worthy officials. The term "regulate the nation" means to distinguish the ranks of nobility, which fall into the five classes mentioned above. The particular implement carried by a noble depended on his rank and his district. The *liu-jui* (Plates 9 and 10) were carried on all official occasions and whenever nobles met together. Thus they combined ritual and governmental functions.
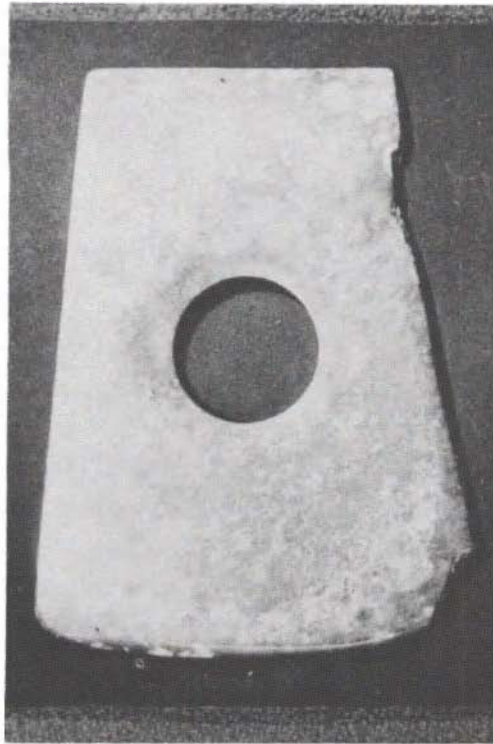
Plate 9. *Chen-kuei*, Chou dynasty. (British Museum, London)

Aside from the six tablets, other forms of identification were also made of jade, including the *chèn-kuei, ku-kuei, wan-kuei, yen-kuei*, and *ya-chang*. As described in the *Chou-li*, the *chèn-kuei* 珍 圭 (like the *chèn-kuei* 鎮 圭 of the six tablets) was wielded only by the emperor and was used when calling up the feudal lords to defend the state or relieve famine. The *ku-kuei*, symbol of peace, was used in the settling of arguments and, because it was an auspicious symbol, was carried when proposing marriage. The top of the *wan-kuei* had no corners and was held

Plate 10. *Huan-kuei*, Chou dynasty. (National Palace Museum, Taipei) In addition to the *chen-kuei*, there are *huan-kuei, hsin-kuei*, and *kung-kuei*. The shapes of these objects are very similar but their lengths vary. The *huan-kuei* is the longest, the *hsin-kuei* somewhat shorter, and the *kung-kuei* the shortest of the three

when making promises. By contrast, the *yen-kuei* was sharply pointed and was carried when deciding judicial matters and sentencing legal offenders. These ritual implements validated orders given by the king. Because communications were usually transmitted verbally, such validation was necessary in order to verify the authority of the emissary.

The Six Implements

These are also described in the *Chou-li*:

Make the Six Implements of jade and use them in the ceremonies to Heaven, Earth, and the four directions. Worship Heaven with the blue-green *pi*; worship Earth with the yellow *tsung*; worship the East with the green *kuei*, the South with the red *chang*, the West with the white *hu*, and the North with the black *huang*.

The ceremonies offered to the spirits of heaven, earth, and the four directions carry out the ancient injunction to "sacrifice to Heaven, make offerings to Earth, and serve the spirits in order to bring down blessings."

The colors and shapes of the *liu-ch'i* (Plates 11–15) are significant. The ancient Chinese believed that heaven was round and earth square; thus a round, blue-green disc was used in sacrifices to heaven, while a square
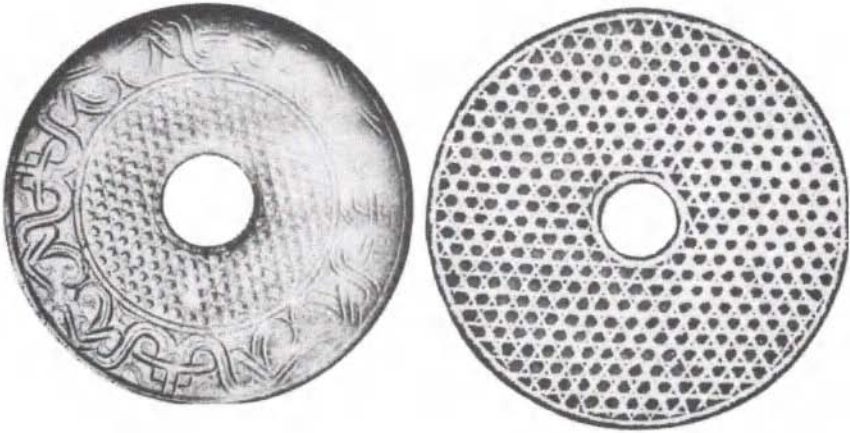
Plate 11.   (Left) *Ku-pi*, Chou dynasty. (National Palace Museum, Taipei) (Right) *P'u-pi*, Chou dynasty. (Collection of Mr. Tu Chun-wen)
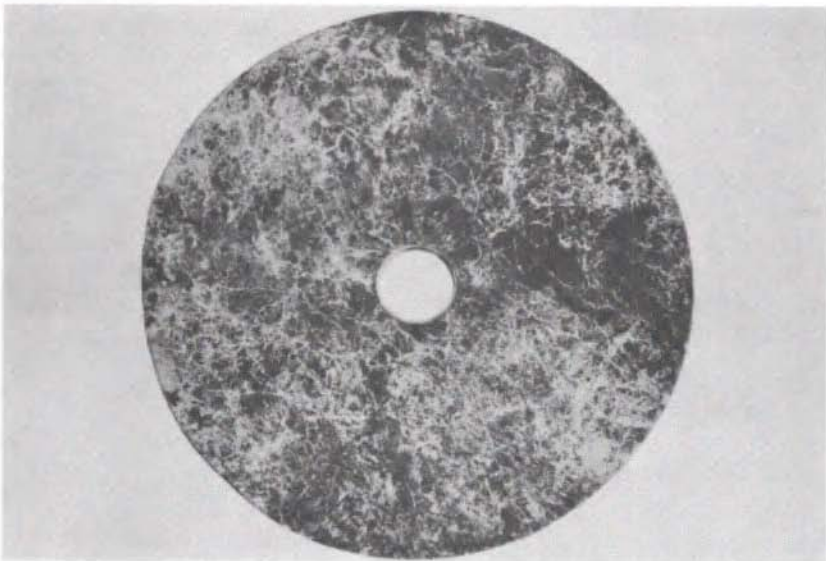
Plate 12.   Blue *pi*, Chou dynasty. (Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.)
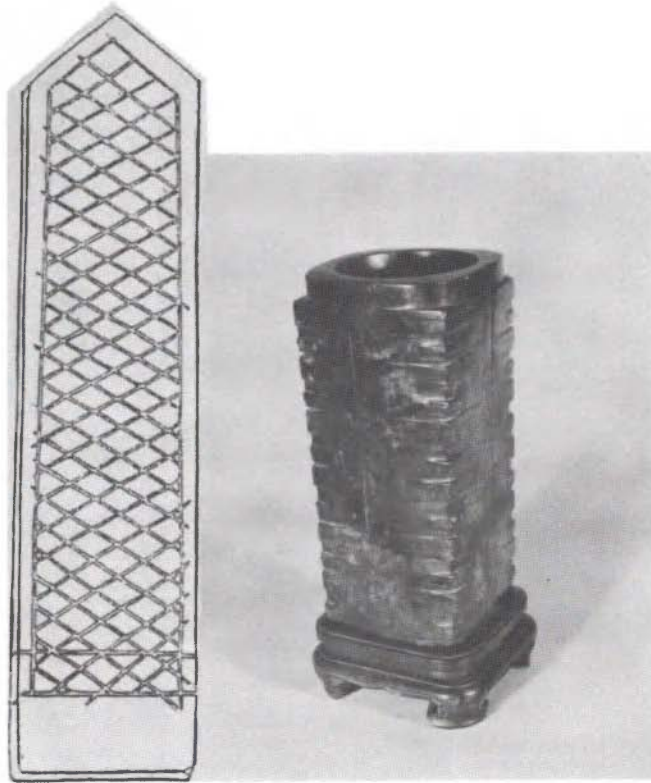
Plate 13. (Left) Green *kuei*, Chou dynasty. (Collection of Mr. Wu Ta-cheng.) (Right) *Tsung*, Chou dynasty. (National Palace Museum, Taipei)

tube of yellow jade was used when making offerings to earth. The pointed light-green *kuei* represented the new growth of spring and served in sacrifices to the east. A half-*kuei*, or *chang*, symbolized the half-decay of summer and served in rituals honoring the south. The white *hu*, associated with the decay of autumn, was used when revering the west. Finally, the half-disc *huang*, symbolizing the suppression of life and the hidden sun of winter, is used to venerate the north. After the Han dynasty, the religious significance of the implements was forgotten, and they became increasingly ornate.

The aesthetic beauty of jade derives primarily from its natural colors and textures. When jade is buried for long periods it gradually alters and takes on a delicate antique tone. When this natural effect is combined with the exquisitely carved ancient designs, the result is an art object of extraordinary beauty. Thus, in terms of the categories of culture discussed at the beginning of this article, bronzes and jades are significant in the material, social, and spiritual cultures of the ancient Chinese and repres-
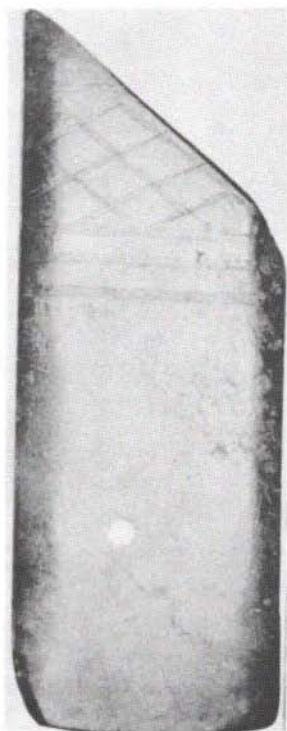
Plate 14.   *Chang*, Chou dynasty. (British Museum, London)

ent a uniquely brilliant combination of ritual custom and political functionalism.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The Shang dynasty lasted more than six hundred years, and the Chou for more than eight hundred. What was the basis of this power to survive? It seems to have sprung from two sources: the spiritual (and religious) authority of the state and the systems according to which the state was established and operated. The Shang kingdom was organized around four such systems: political power was founded on the evolving feudal system, while economic power was based on the tribute system. Spiritual power was derived from the status of the king as head of the clan and intermediary between heaven and earth, and cultural power was assured by control over the making of artifacts such as ritual implements.

Similarly, during the Chou dynasty the political power of the state was based on the now fully formed feudal system; economic power was derived from the "well-field" system; religious and cultural power con-
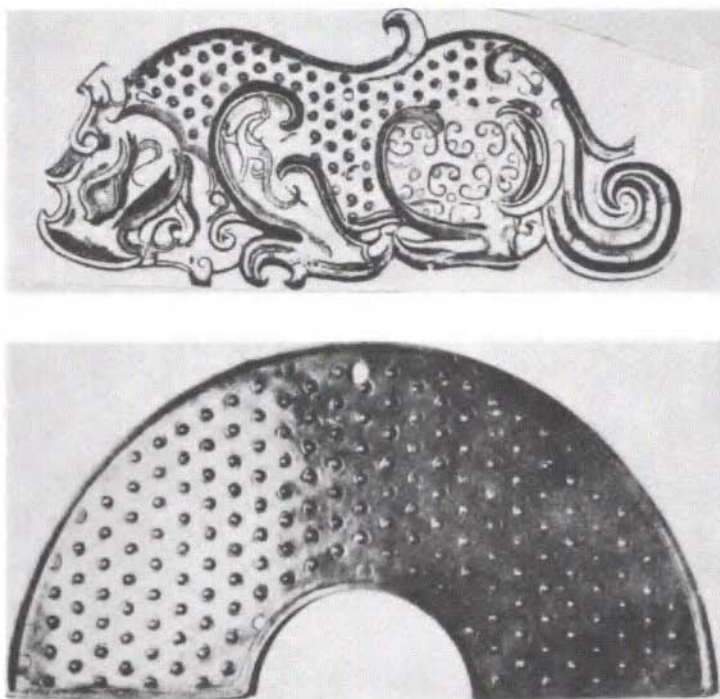
Plate 15. (Above) *Hu*, Chou dynasty. (Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.) (Below) *Huang*, Chou dynasty. (National Palace Museum, Taipei)

tinued under the clan and artifact systems. Because the Shang and Chou built their empires on the framework of these four systems, it was inevitable that their kingdoms would be well founded and long lasting.

The making of artifacts occupied a particularly high position in Shang and Chou society. Artifacts are the physical manifestations of a culture, and their content is the culture itself. Thus a culture and its artifacts form a single entity. Because these artifacts embody the beliefs and structures of a culture, we can speak of a system of artifacts. The system of artifacts produced by the early Chinese is thus expressive of the uniqueness of early Chinese culture. The artifacts which formed part of the ritual customs of the period can be called its ritual artifacts. The understanding of the relationship between artifacts and ritual customs is the goal of ethnological research. And the system of artifacts of the Shang and Chou periods can be said to form the foundation of China's ritual customs. This concept was admirably expressed by Yuan Yuan of the Ch'ing dynasty: "[Ritual] implements form the core of that which the early kings used to regulate the state, honor the rulers, and worship the ancestors, and their study taught the people to practice the rituals and cherish learning. [The

reason that] the Shang lasted for 600 years and the Chou lasted 800 was that their doctrines taught veneration of the [ritual] implements."

Ritual implements of bronze and jade were widely used in the Shang and Chou. In the Ch'in and Han, feudalism was abandoned as a political system. Iron came into use for making tools and fewer bronze vessels were made; jade implements became increasingly decorative. As time passed, customs gradually changed and the ritual implements gradually went out of use. These artifacts are now stored in museums, where their mysteries are revealed for the appreciation and scholarly attention of the whole world. Many are preserved in excellent condition and still communicate the spirit of their culture. We can be certain that they will continue to do so far into the future.

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Applied Art of the Ojibwa Indians (1830–1880)

PAVLA ŠTRUKELJ

Ethnological collections, which are kept at various museums throughout the world, belong within the framework of the research being carried on by contemporary ethnologists and other research workers. Of these collections there are several which can be found in smaller museums. It is my intention here to discuss the objects in these collections, which are generally too little known and too little studied. Very often they contain valuable historical information, significant in many respects for the material, social, or folklore culture of various ethnic groups.

The collection of objects with which I am concerned was formerly possessed by a group of Ojibwa Indians from the area around Lake Superior and Lake Michigan in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, and from some regions now in the Canadian province of Ontario. The collection is relatively small, but it nevertheless presents some important cultural characteristics and artistic achievements of this tribe. The collection is preserved at the Slovene Ethnological Museum in Ljubljana, Yugoslavia.

The Indian objects were collected between 1830 and 1880. The collectors and the researchers of the Ojibwa culture were Slovene missionaries: the bishop Friderik Baraga (Jaklič 1931), F. Pirc (Hrovat 1887:1–111), and Janez Čebul (Zaplotnik 1928:1–75). Many research workers who have studied the culture of the Ojibwa tribe have written books and articles about this subject. Therefore I should like only to draw the attention of ethnologists and other research workers to the historical material kept at our museum and also to the Slovene research workers who lived among this Indian group in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Friderik Baraga was active among the Ojibwa and Ottawa in the Great Lakes territory. He was not only a Catholic missionary, but also an investigator of the culture and the language of these tribes. In addition to

two important books on the Ojibwa language (1850, 1853), he also wrote prayer books and other religious booklets in the Ojibwa language and provided for a number of such editions to be published. He wrote a book in which he described the life of the North American Indians (1837), which was translated into the French and Slovene languages. It seems that this booklet is not well known outside of Yugoslavia. It is not written in a strictly scientific manner, but it is very concrete and intelligent.

Another missionary, Franc Pirc, was active in the same area as Baraga, and he also learned the Ojibwa language. In 1845 he wrote a catechism and seventy sermons for Sundays in the Ottawa language. Ten years later, he wrote a book on the customs of North American Indians (1855). Janez Čebul joined the Indians in 1859. He learned the language, and spent most of his time in the region of the present state of Minnesota.

All three missionaries collected Indian objects and individually sent them to their native country, to the museum in Ljubljana. Each object has an Indian name in addition to the Slovene name (*Illyrisches Blatt* 1837:67–68).

The collection at the museum includes objects made of leather, cloth, birch bark, plant fibers, and wood. The subjects are decorated. Different techniques of decoration have been employed: embroidery, decorative weaving, applications, wood carving, and decorative knitting. The material used for decoration included porcupine quills, various beads made of glass, purchased yarn, and silk bands made in various colors.

Moccasins

Moccasins for men and women belong to the older type of Indian footwear. They are made of a single piece of leather (deer or elk) with soft soles, folded and stitched at the yoke or vamp. The seams on the heel and at the ankles form the moccasin. Cuffs at the ankles are sewn; they are often made of cloth. Moccasins are mentioned in the works of the nineteenth-century researchers (Pirc 1855:15–16; Baraga 1837:58–59; Heckewelder 1822:322–323). They are also called short socks and are decorated so that almost no leather can be seen. Moccasins are usually decorated on the yoke or vamp, which is especially sewn to it, and on the cuffs.

The older way of decorating moccasins is embroidering with porcupine quills; however, with the development of European trade on the American continent the Indians began to use beads and yarn of different colors, which they bought. The decorative embroidery on moccasins is based on a double curve and on a fairly realistic flower pattern. Moccasins made by the Ojibwas had a simpler decoration than those made by the Sioux Indians (Lyford n.d.:104–105) (see Plates 1 and 2).
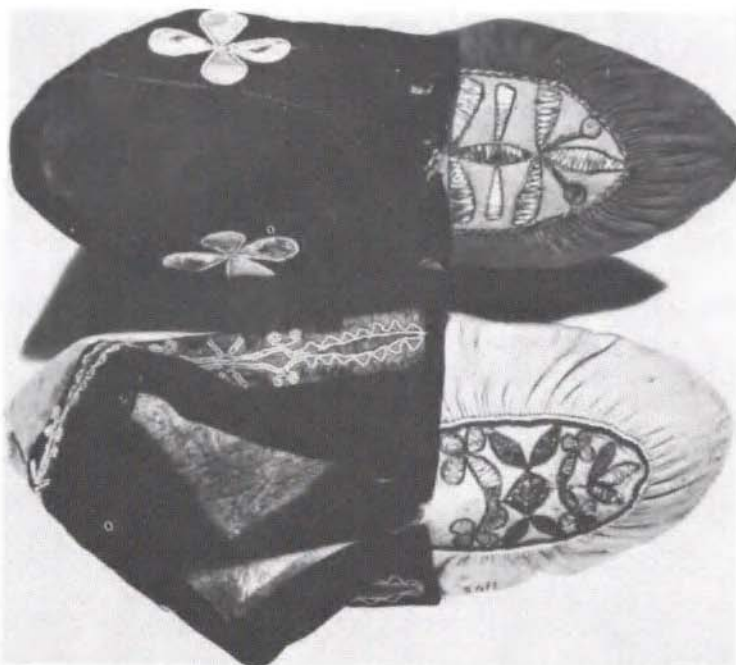
Plate 1. Ojibwa moccasins

Plate 2. Ojibwa moccasins

The examples of moccasins for men which are preserved in the museum are decorated with a flower pattern and decorative side lines. Moccasins which were made for a bride were decorated more elaborately. The decoration is on the yoke and on the cuffs. The flower motifs on the yoke are a rosette, leaves in the shape of an ellipse, and buds. The decorations on the cuffs are blossoms, two at the sides and one at the back; they are made in appliqué with silk of various colors. Blossoms are rimmed with tiny white jewels. The yoke is embroidered with threads of porcupine quills. Moccasins for girls are embroidered with threads of porcupine quills and yarn and decorated with a motif which may represent the blossom of the tulip, two buds, leaves and curves (spirals), and zigzag lines and with serrated edges.

Ordinary moccasins for women are decorated with one blossom and with the leaves along the stalk and a decorated edge. Another pair of moccasins for women has cuffs made of blue material, rimmed with small white beads and embroidered in cross-stitch. The main surface of the cuff is embroidered with beads. The motifs are leaves with buds and a six-pointed star in the middle of the back. The middle of the leaves on twigs is made with cross-stitch. The front yoke has a flower motif, and the stalk with the leaves is marked with a zigzag line. Another example of moccasins has cuffs made of black material on which a piece of purple silk is sewn. Small white beads are sewn close together on the silk and they form spirals, serrated edges, and lines. The intermediate fields are of red silk. The front yoke is decorated with porcupine quills; the motif is flowery with a square in the middle. Moccasins for a child have a very delicate flowery motif — a blossom, leaves, and tendrils. Arcs and crests are presented on the cuffs.

Pouches

A pouch with bandolier is one of the characteristic pieces of the ceremonial garment of the Ojibwa Indians and therefore is heavily decorated. The Ojibwas began to wear these pouches when the European colonization was taking place (Lyford n.d.:128–129). There are three examples in our museum, two large and a smaller one. Embroidery and weaving with beads as well as appliqué work appear on them. Their decorative motifs are characteristic of older examples (see Plate 3).

The central motif on one pouch embroidered with pearls consists of a crab's claw, semi-realistic tulips, and geometrical figures — rhomboids, triangles, lines, and dots. The crab's claw is a widespread motif; the abundance of crabs in lakes was undoubtedly a reason for the use of that motif in embroidery. On a baldric of the pouch the composition of a crab's claw is repeated with variation. The intermediate places are filled with
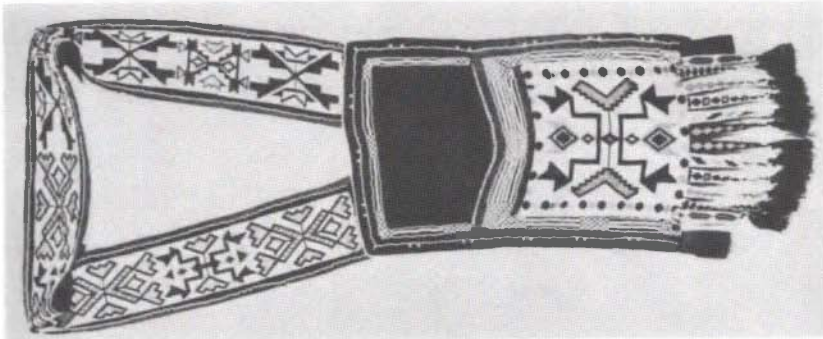
Plate 3. Ceremonial pouch with bandolier

smaller geometrical designs (squares, rhomboids, rhombuses, rectangles) and with a variant of an otter tail design. The motif of the otter tail is widespread among the Ojibwas (Lyford n.d.:144). It usually takes the shape of a six-cornered figure with intermediate rhombuses. The border of the pouch is embroidered with beads in rows placed close together; in between are wavy lines which form small ellipses. On ceremonial pouches the geometrical figures are very intricate.

The second example of a pouch is woven from wool with a row of white beads. The main part of the pouch is red, the side bands are green. Vertical zigzag lines, which make an impression of curves, are formed by the woven pattern on the whole surface of the pouch. This double zigzag pattern is called "skating," and it is one of the most characteristic motifs of the Ojibwas (Lyford n.d.:144). The upper part of the pouch has a pattern which is placed sideways and made of green and yellow bands. All edges of the pouch are rimmed with a double line of densely placed white beads. The main part of the back side of the pouch is green, the side bands are dark blue. The pattern with white beads is the same as on the front. The bandoliers form a lined pattern with beads in short or long columns. These are always moved to the right or to the left in such a way that lines are placed in the middle of the space between the previous lines. The bandoliers are sewn together at their ends and they have long woolen fringes edged with beads. Such thread fringes also hang at the lower end of the pouch.

The smaller bag for tobacco is made of black cloth and decorated with beads and applique. The edges of the pouch are decorated with two broad rows of small white beads. The front is rimmed with red silk. In the middle of this surface there is an embroidered flower with a stalk and thorns. The decorative motifs of the borders are variations on the otter's tail. Silk of a different color and an embroidered pattern are to be found in the corners. The motif is a maple leaf, a dentate leaf with an elliptic cutting. The lower edge is finished by small beads and bead fringes, the former being in a

net-like shape. The bandolier is made entirely of beads. The pattern is one of triangles and rhombuses.

Knife sheathes were also usually decorated. Baraga mentions that a long knife always hangs on the belt in a sheath. Some sheaths are decorated on all of the upper surface, others are only partly embroidered. The pattern is usually geometrical and made with fibers of porcupine quills.

Pipes

There are three ceremonial pipes, or calumets, in our collection two of which have carved bowls in the shape of a human face (Plate 4). In addition, geometric figures are carved on them; in one geometric forms are inlaid in tin. At the opening of one of the pipes a decorative carved piece is added. One pipe is made of wood; it is flat and of smooth surface. One part of the pipe stem is colored green, another, a longer part, is decorated with colored fibers of the porcupine quills. On both ends of the decorated part of the pipe stem there are two tufts of horsehair wrapped in green silk and stuck to the wood. The decorative layer is made of plaits and these are made so that the colored fibers of porcupine quills are braided around two thin plant fibers. Thin plaits are stuck sideways on a wooden tobacco pipe stem. The decorative motifs painted on the pipe include lines, a figure of an Indian warrior, a panther, the pointed part of a tent, and geometrical figures. The figurative decoration is on the upper part of the pipe; there is only a striped pattern on the lower part. At the mouthpiece of the stem there is a bunch of strings made of skin which is wrapped with green silk and stuck to the pipe.
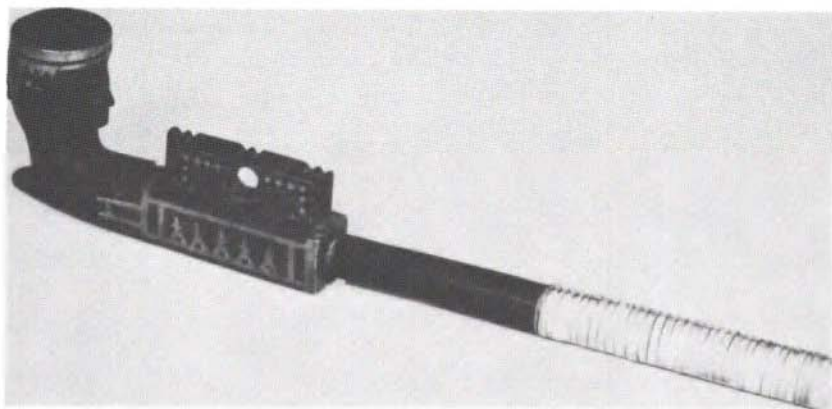
Plate 4.   Ceremonial pipe — calumet

The stem of the second pipe is round and black in color. Two-thirds of the stem is wrapped in porcupine quills, which are sewn with plant fibers at the top. The third example of a peace pipe represents an axe, made of red catlinite; the decoration is formed by profiled edges. The pipe stem is wooden and is formed in threads toward the mouthpiece. The collection also includes an iron lighter, elliptic in shape with a piece of touchwood.

Containers

The museum's collection of containers made of birch bark is typical of the Ojibwas especially because of their form and decoration. Even in the previous century such containers were used for cooking by the Indians. Baraga writes that they were handmade, that they did not last for a long time, and that they were artistically decorated. Pirc describes them in the same way (Plate 5). Patterns on these containers are formed by spirals and geometrical figures which are adapted to the object and to its surface. The flower patterns on the bark are stiff and heavy and not adapted easily to an inflexible material. The dishes are decorated with embroidery; the threads are made of porcupine quills which was also the principal material of older embroidered objects. These threads decorated garments made of skin, such as moccasins and other objects, including containers made of bark.

The two bowls, which are kept at the museum, were sewn out of bent bark stitched at the side. One of them is rectangular in shape, sewn together at four sides; the edge is made with a thin little rod covered with
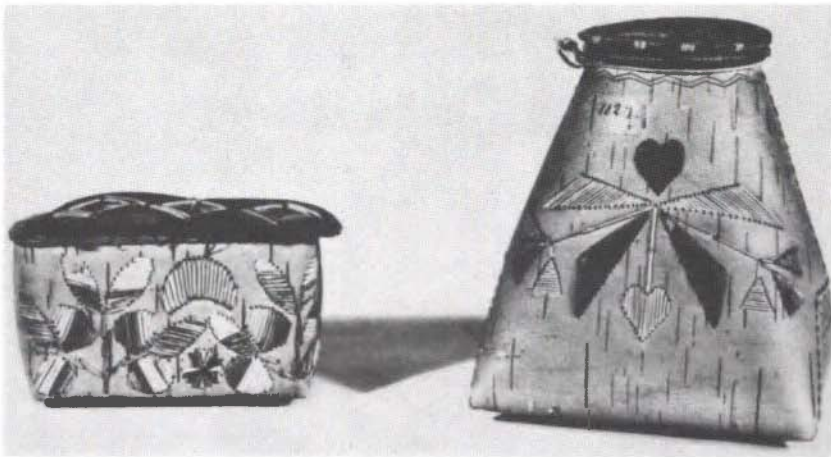
Plate 5. Containers made of birch bark

threads of porcupine quills. On the inside, close to the top, is a decoration, consisting of lines and dots, carved in two places. In two other places the decoration is composed of points of arrows, wavy lines, and dots. The other bowl is of a round shape and sewn together at six places.

Containers in the shape of a truncated pyramid were also made of bent bark, sewn at the edges so that the stitches run toward the middle of the dish in the shape of a trapeze with only one stitch following up to the top. The top edge is finished in the same way as with the bowls. The decorative motifs, covering the bigger surfaces and the lid, consist of flowers and geometrical figures. These include the heart, leaves, a four-pointed star, rhombuses, buds, flowers, stylized leaves, triangles, squares, points of arrows, grass stalks, zigzag lines, and a crescent.

The rectangular container is the largest (Plate 6). It has a lid with a long handle. On the lower edge the sides are bent outward. All four sides of the container are embroidered with fibers of porcupine quills. The narrower sides are decorated with female figures, two in the lower half and two in the upper. The wider surfaces are very richly decorated. The decoration motif is flowery, semistylized.

The motif is the following: the main stalk with the blossom grows out of a pot or out of an acorn; the side stalks have the blossoms of daisies and tulips. The embroidered bunch of flowers covers the whole surface while the lower blossoms from this bunch spread over on to the the lower bent edge. The edge of the narrower sides is embroidered with four hearts. All the edges of the sides are covered with black and white threads of porcupine quills. The lid is completely covered. Six blossoms are spread across it symmetrically. In the middle there is a small handle made of

Plate 6.   Rectangular birch bark container

plant fibers; two cowrie shells are tied on to it. Blossoms on the lid have an unequal serrated edge made with simple stitches. A wide edge of the lid is densely wrapped with the threads of porcupine quills, and the sides of the lid are covered with a very thick, zigzag, brown plant fiber.

The second container has eight belly-like sides, a round lid, and a long handle, which has two silk, red bows. The sides are fully embroidered with threads made of porcupine quills. They have flowery motifs. The first and second and the fifth and sixth sides have the same motif. The same is true of the third and fourth and the seventh and eighth sides. The lid is also richly decorated with a bouquet of flowers. At the side of the bouquet hearts are embroidered. The inside of the dish is covered with a smooth layer of the brownish-red bark, which covers the edges of the quills.

Miscellaneous Objects

A richly ornamented Indian cradle board, made for a chief, also belongs to the collection (Plate 7). The upper parts of the wooden frame are decorated in front and at the back. The hoop hanging above the child's head is also decorated. The hoop is slightly bent in the middle. An oval board is attached to the lower edge of this wooden framework in order to protect the child from falling and to give support to his feet. The upper edge of the wooden crib has carved spirals in the middle of which there is a heart and two big leaves. On the front part conventional patterns have
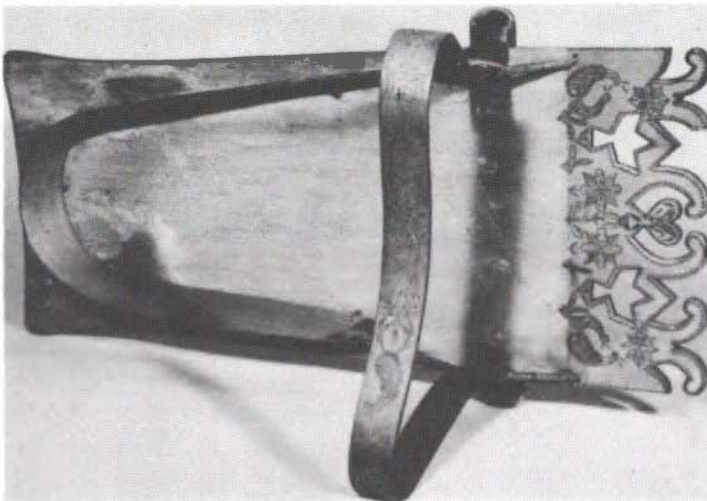
Plate 7.   Indian cradle board

been incised. They include roses, bags for rice in the shape of a duck's foot, small leaves, and stylized, elliptic leaves. The incised motifs on the back side are buds, small leaves, the point of an arrow, a crescent, bows, and geometrical figures. On both sides individual motifs are rimmed with small, incised triangles, or teeth. All incised patterns are painted red or grayish-blue. The upper side of the hoop hanging above the child is also decorated. The carved patterns are spread closely over the board. The motifs are drawings of roses, arrows, wings of the thunderbird, bags for rice in the shape of a duck's foot, the crescent, hearts, stylized, elliptic leaves, and small leaves. Some leaves are additionally decorated at the sides with small, incised triangles, or teeth. These decorations are also painted red or grayish-blue.

Snowshoes in the possession of the museum are of the pointed type (Plate 8). The net between the wooden frames is artistically entwined in the form of hexagons out of bands of deerskin. The front and the back part of the net are painted red. Under the bands of skin on the frame's edges are pieces of red woolen cloth and red tufts. The frames are decorated on the upper side with a carved, zigzag pattern which is painted red on the top. Wooden ladles, bowls, and spoons in the collection are made from a single piece of wood with a carved hook so that they may be hung. The objects are decorated only with profiled edges.

Another object in the collection is a bag called *mashkimod*, although it is one of smaller proportions. These bags are woven out of plant fibers. The bag in our museum is made out of light and dark brown cedar fibers. The basis is net-like with the weft wrapped thickly around the basis. The
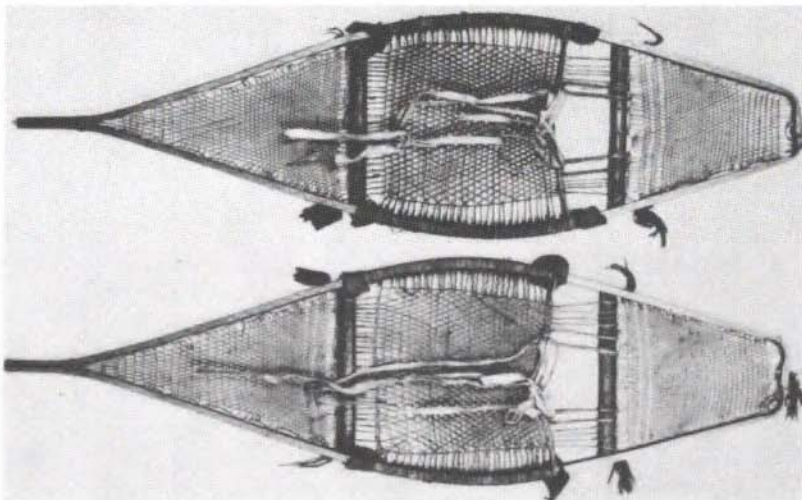
Plate 8.   Pointed snowshoes

pattern is composed of horizontal lines marked by lighter and darker fibers. On the back side of the bag there are only lines, whereas the front part is decorated with figures shown in horizontal lines. The motifs are triangles and panthers. Another item is the mat which is also plaited out of cedar fibers — light if natural, or dark brown if colored. The patterns are squares, rectangles, rhombuses, triangles, and lines. Finally, the collection includes a horn (musical instrument), a plaited basket in the form of a ball, some arrows, bows, and a canoe, an original object, but made in reduced size. None of these objects show special decorations.

I hope that this discussion of the Indian objects belonging to the collection in our museum will encourage more thorough investigations of the Ojibwa culture and provide additional evidence to supplement some of the established conclusions.

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PART FIVE

*Anthropology and Art in
Contemporary Society: Popular Art
and Folk Art Survivals*

Anthropology and the Study of Art in Contemporary Western Society: The Pasadena Tournament of Roses

ARNOLD RUBIN

The history of the study of art has generally been characterized by an evolutionary attitude and a preoccupation with the exceptional and the extraordinary. Particular incidents are conceived in terms of a space–time continuum wherein each becomes merely a step along the road to the next, culminating in a small number of generally acknowledged, usually very brief periods of perfect realization. These high points invariably depend upon the unique perceptions and expressive capabilities of one (or a few) titanic personalities. For the student of the arts, this preoccupation with geniuses and masterpieces resolves itself into a primary concern with the establishment and defense of genealogies and hierarchies; by definition, some artists, schools, media, movements, and periods are more important, and hence more deserving of attention, than others. Lesser works and personalities are interesting insofar as they may be able to contribute to the elucidation of those regarded as more profound and significant.

A corollary tendency of art studies, according to the traditional approach, involves a predominant concern with objects rather than people. Granting that the first level of scholarship must focus on the recovery, preservation, documentation, and classification of monuments,

these concerns have often become, for all practical purposes, ends in themselves. Anthropology, by virtue of its primary orientation toward analyzing and understanding human behavior and emphasizing the relationship of art to the broader cultural matrix, from which it derives, seems to have offered a new perspective and an alternative framework for considering the arts.

The issues involved here were early and clearly demarcated by Haddon (1895:2):

The artistic expression of a highly civilized community is a very complex matter, and its complete unravelment would be an exceedingly difficult and perhaps impossible task. In order to gain some insight into the principles which underlie the evolution of art, it is necessary to confine one's attention to less specialized conditions; the less the complication, the greater the facility for a comprehensive survey. In order, therefore, to understand civilized art, we must study barbaric art.

There is, of course, much in this passage with which to disagree — that "barbaric" cultures and their arts are "simpler" than those of "civilized" societies, for example, or that, like technology, the course of art throughout human history reveals a neat evolutionary progression from simple to complex. On the other hand, Haddon acknowledges that the principles and patterns of all art are fundamentally similar; such differences as exist are phenotypical rather than genotypical and, by implication, a valid methodology for studying art should encompass the entire field, from "barbaric" to "civilized," from "simple" to "complex."

Probably not coincidentally, Haddon, anticipating Malinowski's strictures regarding those students who merely sit at home and theorize on the basis of the shoals of orphaned objects cast up more by chance than by design in the museums of the Western world, undertook some of the earliest systematic field investigations of art. Modern anthropology has accorded primary importance to such firsthand investigations, *in situ*, of living cultures.

The foregoing discussion serves to introduce two premises which underlie this article and the research upon which it is based:

1. That the body of principles and methods worked out for studying the arts of "primitive" peoples can indeed offer important insights into the art of what Haddon called "uncivilized" societies, although emphatically not within the evolutionary framework he proposed; and

2. That research must be grounded in intensive, firsthand field investigations rather than deductions from preconceived theories or generalizations at a high level of abstraction from the evidence.

In a pioneering series of lectures on the subject, Herskovits (1945:58–59) made a case for an "ethnological imperative" in the study of art. Although he was dealing specifically with the problems of delineating an approach to the art of Africa, his emphasis on the importance of

understanding the cultural background of elements of form, style, and iconography, and his call for an interdisciplinary approach, seem to be much more broadly relevant:

What [ethnology] ... offers students of art history and art processes parallels what it has offered to those with other interests traditionally centered in our own culture, who seek to understand materials from other cultures. Such understanding can obviously be arrived at only if it is recognized that the approach to be applied must cut across specialties no less than across cultures. From this point of view, it becomes apparent that while the student of the arts has a background, a training, even an idiom that the ethnologist does not control, yet by the same token the student of culture has a method of gathering the facts concerning peoples of differing ways of life that are his by virtue of his special training. The study of African art must today be thought of, then, as the analysis of a cross-cultural phenomenon which cannot be adequately understood unless its aesthetic values are fully related to its cultural background.

After acknowledging the ideal conditions of interdisciplinary collaboration in the study of art, one must also acknowledge the fact that anthropologists alone have been responsible for practically all the systematically gathered, intensive data presently available on the arts of Africa, Oceania, and aboriginal America. In this light, Herskovits' desideratum becomes a prescription: students in other disciplines who seek to understand the arts in question — beyond mere formalistic "appreciations" — must master the social scientist's skills in observing, recording, and analyzing human behavior. Out of this thorough grounding, however, one may hope for the emergence of the sort of methodological synthesis that Herskovits seems to envisage — a synthesis, furthermore, which will be relevant to the entire spectrum of artistic activity in all human communities and not merely to the "exotic" cultures with which ethnology has customarily dealt.

Gerbrands (1957) appears to have carried out the sort of careful and methodical survey of anthropological theory and practice, which would serve as a framework for testing this system of premises. He comes to a conclusion remarkably similar to that implied by Haddon's statement as quoted earlier: although emphases may vary, there are no principles of form or content which serve to demarcate "primitive" art from other art (c.f. Goldwater 1967; Merriam 1964). Gerbrands (1957:138–139) concludes his study with a "minimal" definition of art which is of considerable interest, despite several reservations as to tone or emphasis that might be raised:

When a creative individual gives to cultural values a personal interpretation in matter, movement, or sound of such a nature that the forms which result from this creative process comply with standards of beauty valid in his society, then we call this creative process, and the forms resulting therefrom, *art*.

Powdermaker's (1950) study of the American film-making industry may not have been the earliest application of the anthropological method to aspects of Western culture, and I have noted others since, though comparatively few. Although tending rather heavily to be a polemic, her consideration of Hollywood and its products raises a question of fundamental significance: why should we not approach other aspects of Western art in terms of the same objective analytical framework with which we attempt to view the arts of the so-called "primitive" peoples?

If this hypothesis is valid, the body of procedures involved should apply to the entire range of Western art, including "fine" or "museum" art of both earlier and more recent times. Maximum efficiency at the first stage of research — testing and refining concepts and techniques — seemed to indicate the desirability of a data field, less encumbered by assumptions about what art is and does, however. Conversely, the process of methodological adaptation in question would seem to be enhanced by concentration on the behavioral aspects of a socially significant "living" art form of the sort familiar to students of "primitive" art. This consideration would, apparently, rule out anachronistic and marginal "folk" or "popular" arts, stereotyped like the "fine" arts but largely in pejorative rather than reverential terms.

Despite these limitations, my location in Los Angeles, California, left a surprisingly large number of choices. Southern California is characterized by a remarkably high density of activities and phenomena, which most observers would agree, fall outside generally acknowledged artistic categories, while at the same time conforming to nonethnocentric "minimal" definitions of art such as that quoted earlier from Gerbrands. Of the available choices, the most promising seemed to be the Tournament of Roses at Pasadena, a vast floral pageant and parade held annually on the first of January since 1890.

STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION

Overview

The modern Tournament of Roses features up to sixty self-propelled floats, many of which reach the maximum dimensions allowed — fifty feet long by eighteen feet wide by sixteen feet high. The floats are decorated exclusively with fresh flowers and other vegetable materials in their natural state. Open automobiles, also decorated with flowers, convey the president of the Pasadena Tournament of Roses Association (which organizes the parade each year), the mayor of Pasadena, and the grand marshal of the parade, an invited notable who serves as symbolic master

of ceremonies. The rose queen and six rose princesses ride a special float, also completely decorated with flowers. Twenty-two marching bands, numbering approximately 2,000 musicians and other personnel, appear in each parade, along with a maximum of forty-two elaborately costumed equestrian groups, consisting of about 250 riders, whose saddles and other tack must be heavily mounted with silver.[1]

The parade starts precisely at 8.30 A.M. on the first of January, and travels a distance of slightly more than five miles through the center of Pasadena. More than 1,500,000 spectators watch the parade in person; many take up positions on Colorado Boulevard the afternoon before and spend the night sleeping on the sidewalk. The parade is televised by two national networks and a number of independent local stations; Canadian and Mexican coverage, along with recently added satellite transmission to Europe and the Pacific basin, brings the total estimated television audience to well over 100,000,000 persons.

Following the parade, the floats are displayed for two days in a park at the end of the parade route, where they are seen by about 800,000 people. Reports filed by representatives of several hundred domestic, and twenty-five foreign, newspapers are estimated to reach 100,000,000 readers. Each year 500,000 "souvenir" magazines, depicting floats, football teams, the queen and court, grand marshal, etc., are sold.

The Rose Bowl Game, a postseason intercollegiate football contest between representatives of the Big Ten and the Pacific Eight Conferences, is played on the afternoon of January 1. The 1971 game, between Ohio State University and Stanford University, was played before 103,839 spectators.

Units participating in all aspects of the tournament, including the Rose Bowl, are invited by the appropriate committees of the association (see Appendix 1). All invited participants — bands, equestrians, float sponsors, and football teams — pay their own expenses; exceptions are the grand marshal and the panel of judges who award the prizes in the float decoration competition, all of whom are guests of the association.

Over 300 bands apply to march in each year's parade. Of the twenty-two available openings, ten are permanently allocated: the Pasadena City College Band, which serves as the official Tournament of Roses Band; the bands of the two universities whose football teams will be contending in the Rose Bowl after the parade; the Mutual Savings and Loan "Toppers" Band, a musicians' union contingent; the McDonald's All-American High School Band, comprising two outstanding musicians from each state; the Salvation Army Band; a United States Marine Corps

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[1] The factual material summarized here is derived from various publications of the Pasadena Tournament of Roses Association, Bryan and Glick (1959), Hendrickson (1971), and personal and student fieldnotes; documentation is abundant, and the sources generally agree on details.

band; and three "all-star" bands from Los Angeles area school districts. For the 1973 parade, there were four bands from elsewhere in California, seven from out of state, and one from Canada.

The value of the horses, equipment, and riders' costumes appearing in the equestrian units each year is estimated to approach $3,500,000. Individual costumes cost around $2,000 each, and the required silver-mounted equipment between $10,000 and $15,000 for each animal (Plate 1).

The rose queen and princesses are chosen from full-time students in the Pasadena school district (Plate 2). Candidates must be between seventeen and twenty-two years of age, have a "C" or better average in their studies, and be unmarried; those selected must agree to remain unmarried until after the tournament in which they appear. Emphasis in judging is on "wholesomeness" and "typical American girls" are sought. There is no bathing suit competition, and formal modeling training is considered
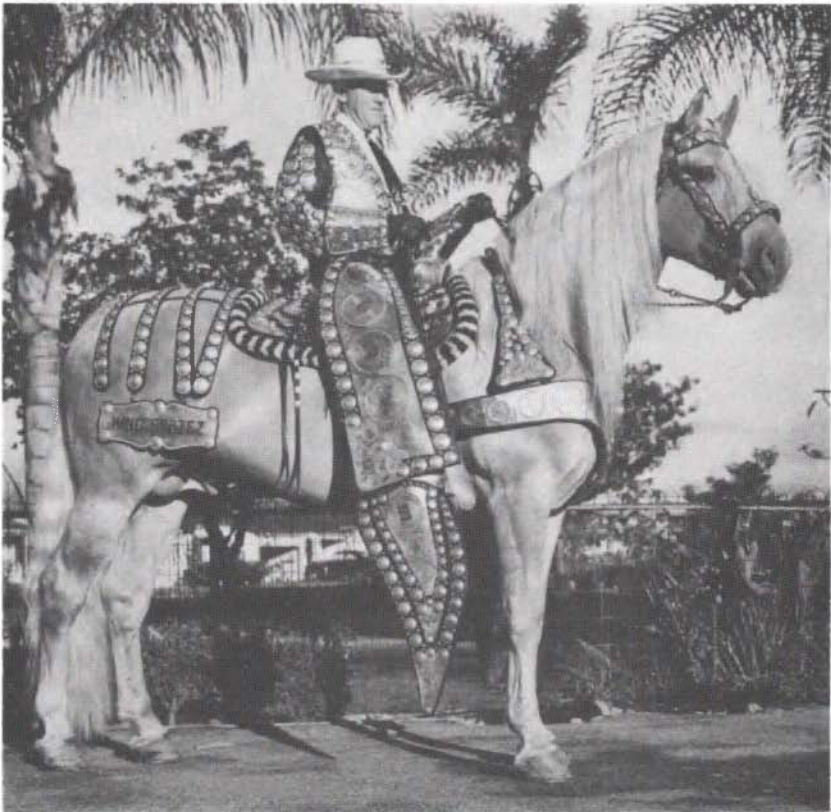
Plate 1.   Ernest Specht on "King Cortez," 1947. (Photograph from the archives of the Pasadena Tournament of Roses Association)
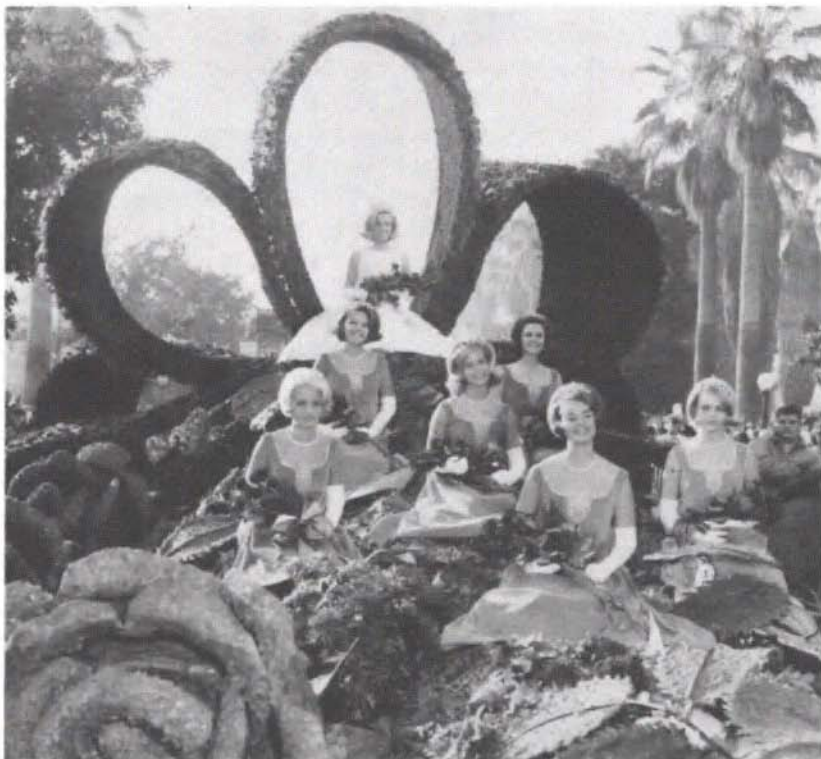
Plate 2.   Rose Queen Barbara Hewitt and court, 1967. (Photograph from the archives of the Pasadena Tournament of Roses Association)

undesirable. Queen and princesses "must not lend their names as tournament royalty to any commercial enterprise for a year after serving in this capacity." All official assignments are carefully chaperoned.

Floats

Unquestionably, the large number of enormous, complex floats made each year are the most spectacular aspect of the parade. The modern float can best be conceived as a huge three-dimensional collage, in which fresh flowers are used to realize complex color and textural effects. Sophisticated engineering techniques and a wide range of specialized materials provide a foundation for the flowered surface, and concepts often include intricate animation sequences. The application of flowers, many of which are extremely delicate and fragile, must proceed according to a very precise schedule, so that all blossoms reach their peak display simultaneously at 8.30 on the morning of January 1. The finished con-

struction must be able to traverse, under its own power, a distance of slightly more than five miles. Finally, the float is designed for a life of three days, after which it is torn down and the process begins again.

The total cost of floats in recent parades is estimated at $900,000; individual entries range from around $7,500 to a maximum of about $35,000. The entire float, including lettering and symbols, must be covered with vegetable materials in their natural states; any type of artificial decoration, including dyed flowers, will disqualify an entry. The Tournament is the largest single purchaser of flowers in the world; each year $440,000 is spent on flowers alone, which are imported from all over California, the southwestern United States, Mexico, and Hawaii. As many as 350,000 flowers may be used on a single float. While orchids and other exotic plants are important in decoration, emphasis is on roses of all varieties and hues; two of the major prizes are awarded on the basis of the most effective use of roses in decoration (Appendix 2).

Forty classes of float sponsors are recognized, including nations, states, cities of various sizes within and outside California, hotels, business firms and associations, and religious, labor, service, veterans, and fraternal organizations (Appendix 3). The number of openings allotted to each class, and the particular sponsors invited in each, are determined by the association's Float Committee. Usually all the sponsors who had participated in the preceding year's parade are invited to return; their attrition provides openings for new sponsors, who are chosen from waiting lists of applicants in each category. The float sponsor's name appears on each side of his float; the title or the theme of the design is on the front. For the 1972 parade, six professional decorators were responsible for fifty-four of the fifty-nine floats which appeared in the parade; the remaining five were built by the sponsoring organizations and communities themselves. The majority of the largest, most spectacular, and most expensive floats are invariably entered in the commercial categories; there were a total of thirteen floats in the commercial categories in 1972.

A panel of invited judges — usually three in number in recent years — awards the prizes for float decoration. Of the total of sixteen major prizes, four are awarded in the commercial categories, eight are reserved for noncommercial entrants, and four are "open" to all (Appendix 2). Within the framework of special criteria for each prize, winners are chosen on the basis of:
1. general overall beauty;
2. execution of parade theme;
3. excellence of design;
4. originality;
5. use of flowers and color harmony; and
6. photogenic impact on the television audience.

The freshness of the flowers, the general workmanship, and the costumes of the float's riders are also considered.

The float is carried on a stripped-down and modified truck, tractor, or automobile chassis, utilizing a superstructure of welded structural steel (mostly bent pipe sections [Plate 3]). Room must be provided within the construction for a driver, backup driver, and assistants to manage the animation apparatus, if any. Because the driver's vision is often impaired by float elements, many floats also carry a steersman/navigator who directs the driver by telephone. Floats are carefully scrutinized by members of the Float Construction Committee for strength, safety, and maneuverability at several stages in their manufacture, and must conform to extremely precise technical specifications. Each float is provided with a tow bar in case of mechanical or structural breakdown during the parade. A float's ability to cover the entire route under its own power is a source of considerable concern to sponsor, decorator, and the association, however; the ultimate embarrassment is for a float to break down and have to be towed before it passes the television cameras and the official reviewing stand.

Several types of materials are used to develop float foundation surfaces, ranging from wired-on sheets of plywood or sculptured blocks of styrofoam, to wire mesh for papier-mâché or sprayed polyvinyl chloride "cocooning," a tough weblike membrane to which flowers can be glued. The original mass flowering technique utilized a layer of watersoaked moss between two layers of wire mesh, into which the stems of the flowers
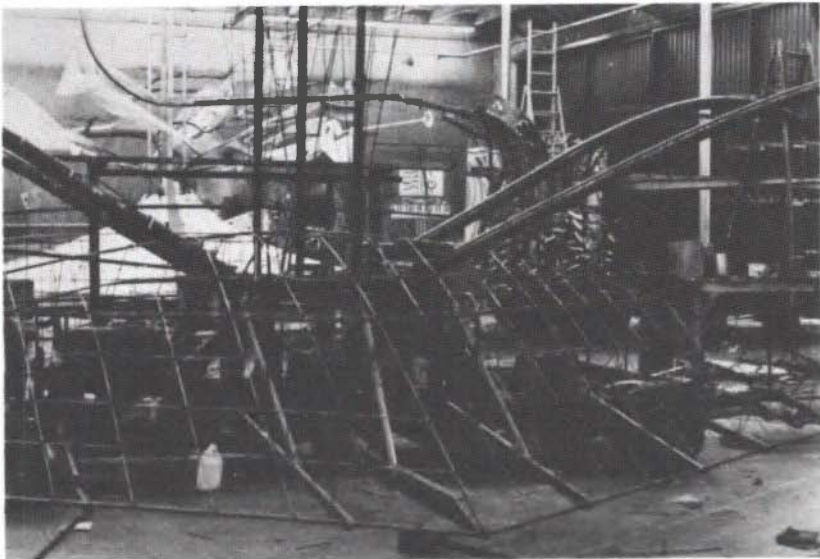
Plate 3. Typical chassis and structural steel framing, 1972. (C.E.D. 122 photo)

were woven. More modern flowering techniques utilize individual flowers of comparatively hardy varieties, such as mums, cut off at the calyx and fixed directly to surfaces with special types of glue or paste, or an extremely painstaking process called petal-mosaic where flowers are separated into individual petals, which are then placed one by one to produce extremely complex color and textural effects.

A recent innovation in float-building technology has been the introduction of sprayed polyurethane foam, widely used in industry as an insulating material. For float construction, polyurethane foam can be applied directly to comparatively thin structural members; a one-inch thick layer of this material, which dries to a coarse, porous texture similar to styrofoam, can hold the barb-tipped plastic vials filled with water and nutrients used for roses and other comparatively delicate (but high scoring) flowers.

For the 1972 parade, roses cost twelve to fourteen cents each, depending on varieties. They are almost always used in vials, in a density of twenty to twenty-four per square foot, depending on the effect desired, against a background of greenery — often surplus Christmas evergreens — which provides the required continuous surface of natural vegetation. Prior to flowering, the surface of the float is painted to correspond to the final color scheme so that gaps will be less noticeable, and nonperishable dry materials, such as seeds, grasses, and barks are applied.

The Association

As noted, all aspects of the Tournament of Roses are planned and carried out by the appropriate committees of the Pasadena Tournament of Roses Association (Appendix 1). This organization comprises "approximately 1300 public-spirited men and women from all walks of life who pay modest dues for the privilege of working for nothing." The membership, drawn from the population of Pasadena and surrounding communities, is divided into three categories:
1.   *Patrons*, who pay annual dues of ten dollars, and number approximately 900;
2.   300 *Associate* members, whose dues are fifteen dollars per year; and
3.   150 *Regular* members who may vote and hold office in the Association, and who pay twenty dollars per year in dues.

Members in all three categories are eligible to serve on the thirty-one standing committees, which are the operational units of the organization, but regular members hold the chairmanships. Members serving in any official and public capacity, especially during the actual parade, wear the distinctive white suit and shoes, red necktie, name-badge, ribbon, and armband designating committee membership. Official automobiles, pub-

lications, and other artifacts connected with the association bear its red rose symbol.

Advancement within the organization is stated to be strictly on the basis of the member's service record; wealth, social position, or political influence play no part. Reportedly, 96 percent of the members of the association pay their dues assessments within five days of receiving notice. Vacancies occur when members die, drop out (usually due to relocation), or do not pay their dues on time; they are then filled from the waiting list of applicants sponsored by members. From the regular members are chosen twenty-five directors who, with the mayor and vice-mayor of the City of Pasadena, act through an executive committee of ten to conduct the business of the association. Day-to-day administrative control is exercised by the manager who, with his assistants and office staff, are the only workers paid for their services. The manager is immediately responsible to the administrative officers of the association, the president, vice-president, treasurer, and secretary. Officers move up within this ranking to the next highest position in successive elections until they reach the presidency, wherein repose the ultimate ceremonial and other perquisites of association membership: choice of theme and grand marshal, appointment of committee chairmen, and service as official representative of the association in a wide range of public-relations situations.

Typically the president will have served between twenty and thirty-five years, working on many of the standing committees, chairing several, and having been elected to the board of directors and executive committee. For example the president of the 1967 tournament, Henry Kearns, president of the Export-Import Bank of the United States, drove a float in the 1934 parade and served on the Traffic Committee in 1937.

John J. Cabot, affiliated with a Pasadena mortuary, became a member of the association in 1945. He had served on twenty-two committees and been chairman of seven before being installed as president of the 1972 tournament, but he died of a heart attack one hour after his election. His successor, Virgil J. White, a Pasadena antique dealer and importer, had been active in the association since 1940, and had been chairman of fourteen committees. An especially remarkable instance of sustained involvement in the tournament is represented by H. W. Bragg. As a three-year old child, he rode on top of the fire engine entered by Pasadena Fire Department and driven by his father in the 1914 parade (Plate 4). He served as Rose Bowl usher in 1929, and went on to become an executive with a Los Angeles oil company. After having served on seventeen of the association's standing committees and having been chairman of six, he was installed as president in 1968.

The permanent headquarters of the association is located in a stately mansion on South Orange Grove Boulevard, which provides offices,
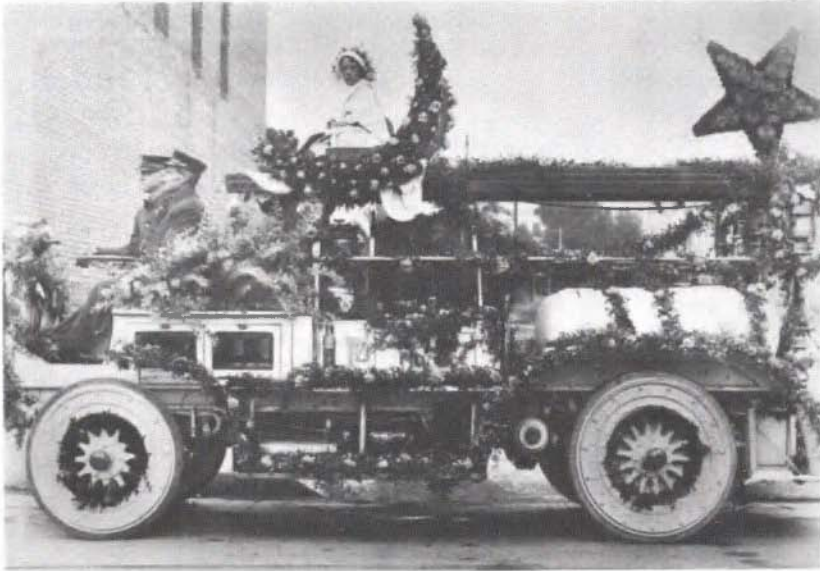
Plate 4.   Pasadena Fire Department entry, 1914. H. W. Bragg, aged three years, riding on top of fire engine, became president of the Tournament of Roses Association in 1968. (Photograph from the archives of the Pasadena Tournament of Roses Association)

meeting rooms, areas for storage and display of mementos of earlier tournaments, and extensive gardens and grounds. The house, which was built in 1914, was formerly owned by the Wrigley family; in 1960, it was donated to the City of Pasadena to serve as the association's headquarters. Chartered as a nonprofit organization and prohibited by its by-laws from owning property, the association has not only been completely self-supporting since its inception but also has made substantial direct and indirect contributions to the economy of the City of Pasadena.

Far outweighing the total of dues collected from members each year, most of the association's annual revenues are derived from admissions to the Rose Bowl Game and the sale of television rights to it. Over a period of fifty-two years, from 1916 to 1968, the gross revenue from activities related to football amounted to $24,927,737.81. From its share, the association built and has continuously enlarged and improved the Rose Bowl, the huge stadium where the game is played each year (Plate 5). This structure, along with three float-building sheds, also built and maintained by the association from its revenues, and Tournament House (Wrigley Mansion) are deeded to the City of Pasadena and leased back to the association for one dollar per year.

Ordinarily the association takes 15 percent of the annual gross revenue realized, but during a year when improvements to the Rose Bowl are scheduled its share rises to 25 percent. The remainder is divided equally

between the two conferences, whose champions contend annually on New Year's Day — the Big Ten and the Pacific Eight. According to Hendrickson (1971:172), each conference received $506,925 from the 1966 game. After deducting transportation and other expenses, amounting to approximately $75,000 for each team, the remainder was divided among the universities which make up the conferences. Each school received around $45,000, which was typically used to support athletic programs. Of the Tournament of Roses Association's share — $246,365 — $149,039 went for expenses connected with the game and $44,000 for improvements to the Rose Bowl. Of the remainder, $52,370, half went directly into the treasury of the City of Pasadena and half was deposited in the Tournament of Roses Trust Fund, jointly administered by the City of Pasadena and the association, for maintenance of the association buildings. In addition to these direct returns, a recent study of the economic

Plate 5. Rose Bowl, 1964. (Photograph from the archives of the Pasadena Tournament of Roses Association)

impact of the tournament estimates that each year it brings around $7,300,000 worth of business into the City of Pasadena.

The Calendar

Although the association's activities culminate in the annual New Year's Day parade and football game, important events take place on a year-round basis. The new president is inducted and elections held at the annual membership dinner which takes place on the third Thursday in January. Committees are constituted, and in March the president calls for suggestions from the public for the theme of his parade; over 7,000 suggestions were received in 1965. The president selects the theme and chooses a grand marshal whom he considers appropriate (Appendix 4). The proposer of the chosen theme is accorded "distinguished guest" status at the parade and at the game that follows.

Immediately after the theme is announced, the professional decorators who build the majority of the floats each year begin work on designs to be submitted to the float sponsors, who have been admitted to the parade. Designs are presented to prospective clients in the form of renderings and other drawings (Plate 6). Scale models, often including working models where complex animation is proposed, are frequently built when negotiation reaches an advanced stage. Most sponsors, especially of the larger, more expensive commercial floats, are approached by two or more decorators, and often extensive adjustments and alterations in designs are made by the decorators to conform with clients' desires. It is generally

Plate 6.   Rendering for *Swan Lake* by Coleman Enterprises for Lakewood, 1972. (Photograph by Coleman Enterprises)

believed that a decorator's "track record" in winning prizes in previous parades is a major consideration in the awarding of contracts; some sponsors, however, appear to remain faithful — up to a point — to particular decorators, regardless of prizes.

By July, most sponsors have made contracts with decorators. Immediately after an agreement is reached, designs and themes are registered with the Association, which has the discretionary authority to determine the suitability of theme and design and to avoid duplication. The designs of "self-decorated" floats, built by the sponsors themselves, are registered with the association as soon as they are determined.

The professional decorator must calculate types and quantities of flowers, which will be required for a given design, early in the presentation phase in order to quote the cost of the float. Once a design is sold, orders go out almost immediately to flower wholesalers and growers in order to ensure availability. Favorable or unfavorable growing conditions in one part of the country or another, unseasonable heat or cold, too much or too little rain, can drastically alter the conception of a float at the last minute; depending on the availability of alternatives, the relationship between the final price of flowers in mid-December and the price on which the estimate was based in the previous June largely determines whether or not the decorator makes a profit on his contract or loses money. For the 1972 parade, one decorator estimated the price of a bunch of mums, which would cover three square feet of surface, at $3.50, but was able to obtain them in December at $3.00 per bunch. Price as well as design competition between professional decorators is intense. One decorator made a bid on a major float in the 1973 parade, allowing only a $200 "safety margin" on a $24,000 contract price; this was to cover unfavorable price fluctuations, mistakes in estimating quantities, special details forgotten, etc.

Construction of some of the floats is begun in August, but most starts are made in September and October. The most intense period of activity for members of the association begins with the annual "kickoff" dinner, which takes place on the second Monday in September. The process of selecting the queen is begun early in October, and the selection announced in early November. Six hundred and twenty-six candidates registered for the 1973 tournament, an all-time high.

The pace of activity for all participants in the parade reaches a peak during the week between Christmas and New Year's Eve. This period is especially crucial to the floatbuilders; all the work which goes before merely provides the scaffolding for the flowers, and the final phase, the flowering, largely determines each float's chances in the judging. To this point, the work is usually carried out by the decorator and his professional or semiprofessional staff of welders, mechanics, animators, wire mesh and papier-mâché specialists, and painters. Many "regulars" double up in

several of these crafts, and others work at full-time jobs elsewhere, "moonlighting" with the decorators evenings and weekends until two or three weeks before the parade when they shift to full time. The basic construction phase of most floats, including painting and the application of dry materials, is usually completed by mid-December by this professional staff.

The flowering process begins in earnest the day after Christmas. It is carried out by volunteer youth groups, including various church, school, and service organizations, which work under the close supervision of the decorators' flowering specialists and experienced crew leaders.[2] An especially complex aspect of the flowering phase has to do with the planning and erection of elaborate scaffolding, which will allow access to the innermost recesses and farthest extensions of the float structure. The judges inspect each float several times late in the flowering stage; the final inspection takes place after the floats have been brought from the building sheds to the formation area around midnight on December 31st. Shortly thereafter bands, equestrian units, and other elements of the parade begin to assemble in readiness to be fed into the parade according to a split-second timetable. Prize-winning floats are preceded by marchers carrying a banner which indicates the award that the float has received.

The floats remain on display for two days in the post-parade area, after which they are towed back to the building sheds and dismantled. The basic chassis is preserved as are the reusable mechanical and design elements — swans, butterflies, horses, toy soldiers, or religious motifs, for example — depending on the availability of storage space.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

The Geographical, Historical and Cultural Context

The vast scope and rich texture of the modern Tournament of Roses will be evident from the foregoing. Large numbers of people contribute time,

[2]   The nature of this "voluntary" labor should be clarified: the flowering crews volunteer their services to their own organizations as a way of raising funds — the decorator makes a "donation" to the organization for its members' work on his float. Each organization will usually be responsible for flowering one float. One decorator reports his "donations" as ranging between $300 and $1200 per group, depending on the scope and relative difficulty of the particular project, which dictate the crew size and previous flowering experience required. He estimates his flowering costs as between thirty-five and fifty cents per man-hour. Members of flowering crews tend to be enthusiastic about the work for reasons other than those of remuneration: "flowering beats washing cars or selling greeting cards from every point of view." Specifically, the nature of the experience tends to enhance group solidarity and elicits a high degree of pride in workmanship and group identification with the finished product.

energy, and a wide range of skills to produce an annual festival which is, with the advent of television, authentically international. The beginnings of this spectacle were extremely modest, but may, in retrospect, be said to have contained the seeds of the modern tournament. A continuing process of experimentation, adjustment, and refinement is evident in the history of the tournament; but the nature and determinants of these changes, the germinal impulse, which initially stimulated the pageant, and the personalities, who brought it into being, are intimately tied up with the development of the City of Pasadena and, indeed, the phenomenon which was Southern California during the last two decades of the nineteenth century.[3]

Southern California's mild Mediterranean climate was enthusiastically praised by visitors with increasing frequency from the middle of the nineteenth century onward. The therapeutic value of the climate and the availability of enormous tracts of virgin land, somewhat arid, but potentially of high fertility, served as major promotional points for the land speculators, railroad interests, and others who stood to benefit from an influx of tourists and settlers. Their tendencies to hyperbole, in addition to the disquieting frequency with which experience tended to substantiate the tallest of their tall tales, fostered a sense of unreality about the region, which is maintained, in many respects, even today. A lady visitor from Cincinnati wrote:

There seems to exist in this country a something which cheats the senses. Whether it be in the air, the sunshine, in the ocean breeze, I cannot say. . . . There is a variety in the evenness of the weather, and a strange evenness in this variety, which throws an unreality around life. . . . All alike walk and work in a dream. For something beguiles, deludes, plays falsely with the senses. It makes only a trifling difference how close one applies one's self, the effect is the same: there is no awareness of the passage of the day. In Cincinnati I would have sensed the going by of nine honest, substantial hours; but here I do not.

The effect, she noted, was "new and peculiar and wonderful" (McWilliams 1946:105).

Pasadena, originally called the "Indiana Colony" was founded in 1873. It was the second of a number of "colonies" established in the Los Angeles area by groups of people, who had common national origins, political philosophies, religious affiliations, or other ties and who migrated together into the region. The Indiana Colony was

. . . a project of well-to-do Indiana residents who were looking for agricultural opportunities in a less rigorous climate. Before the community was actually begun, a national financial crisis caused the withdrawal of almost all the original

[3]   The summary which follows is derived from McWilliams (1946), Bigger (1952), and the sources mentioned in note 1.

supporters, and only a handful of Indiana people actually bought land. Under local leadership and organized as the Southern California Orange Grove Association, however, the planned colony became a profitable real estate venture (Bigger 1952:16).

During the decade 1880–1890 the population of Southern California increased 212.8 percent. The increase was especially marked after the Santa Fe Railroad completed its line to Los Angeles in 1886 and immediately entered into a fare war with the Southern Pacific Railroad, which had already been established for a number of years. Previously, travelers from Missouri Valley termini had paid $125 to travel to Southern California; by March 6, 1887, the fare had dropped to one dollar. During 1887, the Southern Pacific alone brought 120,000 people to Los Angeles. Tourists as well as settlers were involved in these enormous population movements, and large luxury hotels sprang up in a number of Southern California locations during the 1880's.

The composition of this wave of immigrants, both transients and permanent settlers, was remarkable; for the most part they were established farmers, shopkeepers, and professional men, "respectable" people who were conservative in outlook and deeply religious, ranging in economic level from "secure" to wealthy (McWilliams 1946:145; Bigger 1952:17):

This was particularly true of those who settled in the country areas outside Los Angeles. Not only was this initial wave of migrants socially and economically unlike the usual frontier influx, but it was sharply in contrast with the type of settlers who had flocked to Northern California 40 years earlier, at the time of the gold rush. As Charles Fletcher Lummis once said, the gold rush influx represented Sheer Adventure, while the Southern California invasion represented Reasoned Migration. The first was of men; the second, of families. Gold lured one group; oranges and climate the other (McWilliams 1946:150).

In 1894, a visitor reported that 2000 Easterners were spending their winters in Pasadena, that they were all regular church communicants, and that there was "not a grog shop in town." The publication of . . . [Women's Christian Temperance Union], *The White Ribbon*, was issued in Pasadena (McWilliams 1946:251).

Among the most famous of the luxurious Southern California hotels that catered to tourists was the Raymond, which opened in Pasadena in 1886. Many of the more wealthy of these comparatively sophisticated and cosmopolitan visitors eventually bought land and built their own winter homes; but the great hotels continued to serve to a remarkable extent as foci of the cultural life of the areas which surrounded them well into the twentieth century. They provided lavish and elaborate "entertainments" for their guests, ranging from tennis courts, bowling alleys, playgrounds, and rustic walks and gardens, to picnics, surf bathing and other excursions, flora-and-fauna expeditions, hunting trips, and all sorts of parties and other types of social events; permanent residents of the area were

regularly invited to participate. More serious activities were also fostered, producing

> ... the curiously incongruous spectacle of Shakespeare clubs, oratorio societies, lecture forums, and academies of science in a region that was still in its frontier phase. ... At a time when roaring Tombstone was at its bawdiest, it is a little shocking to read of Professor Coe lecturing throughout Southern California on Joan of Arc, Cromwell, Queen Mary and Haroun al Raschid, and to note the appearance, in rural areas, of societies set up to study mineralogy, geology, conchology, and archaeology. The tourist hotel is a key to this curiously mixed social scene (McWilliams 1946:146).

In sum, the lush climate and rich endowments of the Southern California landscape induced an incipient hedonism that was regarded as inimical to the late nineteenth-century American spirit of uprightness, industry, and discipline, and carried the threat of lassitude and enervation. The Protestant Ethic could only reassert itself at the cost of a constant struggle to retain contact with some profound affective reality. For the period in question, this search for affect tended to become almost compulsive and to involve secondary types of activity that were not involved with "livelihood," but were invariably "wholesome," such as religion, various forms of cultural enrichment — music, theater, and the arts — and especially sports and other forms of "outdoor life" activities. In fact, most of these pursuits took place in an intimate relation to, and constituted a celebration of, that bounteous nature which made it all possible. Nevertheless, the pervasive pragmatism, which has also been characteristic of the development of Southern California from the start, was definitely operative in these areas as well; however altruistic and praiseworthy such activities and enterprises might appear, they were almost always also consciously, explicitly, and unabashedly designed to turn a profit. The extent to which this was the case can only be described as remarkable:

> Unlike other areas, Southern California received its initial cultural expression from newcomers especially imported for this precise purpose. Not only were they imported for the purpose of describing the wonders of the region in print and on canvas, but many of them saw the region through glasses colored by subsidies (McWilliams 1946:149).

During the late nineteenth century the midwestern, southern and eastern United States were literally blitzed by the promotional campaigns mounted by the railroads, land speculators, tourist hotels, and other interests, which stood to benefit from bringing people to Southern California. Central to these campaigns were the efforts of the imported writers, artists, and other cultivated "men (and women) of the world," whom McWilliams (1946:146) calls, somewhat disparagingly, "troubadours." However, he acknowledges the importance of these

"troubadours," who provided a high level of cultural stimulation for the emerging communities of Southern California. McWilliams (1946:251) quotes the comments of one, whom he identifies as a "troubadour." Professor Charles Frederick Holder, regarding the determinants of the special tone of Pasadena, which already in 1889 was developing as

. . . a city built rapidly yet without a vestige of the rough element that is to be found in the new cities of the inter-oceanic region. This is due to the fact that Pasadena has been built up by wealthy, refined and cultivated people from the great cities of the East; and, while without maturity in years, she possesses all that time can bring, especially as regards the social ties that bind and mould communities.

Holder, author of biographies of Darwin and Agassiz, had been brought from Lynn, Massachusetts to Pasadena by the Raymond Hotel in 1885 (Plate 7). He was a prolific writer on a wide range of subjects, all of which,
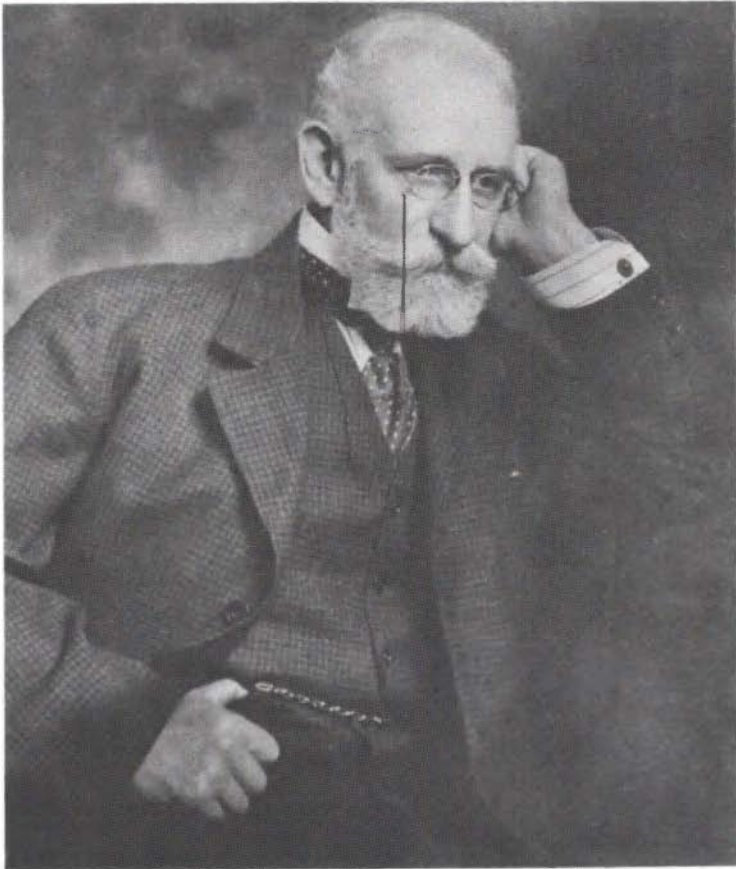
Plate 7.   Professor Charles F. Holder, 1890. (Photograph from the archives of the Pasadena Tournament of Roses Association)

somehow, managed to promote Southern California. Variously described as a zoologist, naturalist, newsman, professor, and world traveler, Holder served as guide for flora-and-fauna expeditions that were arranged by the Raymond for its guests.

The first man to catch a tuna with a fishing rod, he founded the Tuna Club in 1898, with headquarters on Santa Catalina Island and a membership scattered throughout the world. A first-rate naturalist, his book, *The Channel Islands of California* (1910), was a substantial contribution to the knowledge of the region (McWilliams 1946:147).

He was also the single person most responsible for the germinal impulse, which set in motion the Pasadena Tournament of Roses.

Shortly after settling in Pasadena, Holder had helped to organize a series of hunts with hounds; these hunts are described as having been merely "a pastime" by most sources, but one may suspect that they were more in the way of the sort of upper-class "entertainments" for which the "troubadours" were responsible. In any case, Holder was instrumental in establishing an organization, the Valley Hunt Club, to formalize these activities in 1888. On January 1, 1890, at Holder's urging, the Valley Hunt Club sponsored a modest floral display and field day. This was the first Tournament of Roses, although the name was not actually applied until the following year. In 1890, the population of Pasadena was 4,882.

Hendrickson (1971:3) contends that Holder had an explicit "business" motive for his proposal — filling local hotels with Eastern tourists; official publications of the Pasadena Tournament of Roses Association (PTRA), however, stress a more general boosterism:

His passion for flowers and outdoor recreation, coupled with his eagerness to tell other regions of the United States that while they were having snow and freezing weather, Pasadena was abundant with roses and oranges, no doubt were the stimulants (PTRA 1968:2).

Whatever his primary motivation, he proposed that the Valley Hunt Club organize these festivities "to celebrate in a poetic way the ripening of the orange, an important event at that time in Pasadena, as well as the mildness of the climate."

Dr. Francis F. Rowland, M.D. (see Plate 8), a member of the Valley Hunt Club, had at that time recently seen the "Battle of the Roses" at Nice, on the French Riviera, a spring festival in which flowers figure prominently (Bryan 1959).[4] He proposed it as the model for the Pasadena fete. Holder had attended a fiesta at Mission San Luis Rey,

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[4] Hendrickson (1971:4–5), however, ascribes this experience to Rowland's wife. Professor Jacques Maquet suggested the possibility of a relationship between the two festivals which was confirmed by subsequent research.

Plate 8.   Dr. Francis F. Rowland with agricultural produce, 1890. (Photograph from the archives of the Pasadena Tournament of Roses Association)

which had featured old Spanish and Indian games. These included a "Tourney of Rings," in which horsemen riding at top speed attempted to spear suspended rings with twelve-foot lances. This contest was included by the Valley Hunt Club in its first program of events, and Holder is credited with synthesizing the name, Tournament of Roses, which was officially given to the entire 1891 festival.

The 1890 announcement read: "Ladies and gentlemen are requested to bring with them to the park all the roses possible so that strangers and tourists may have the full benefit of our floral display." There was no parade, as such; but the members of the Valley Hunt Club, many of whom had decorated their carriages and saddle horses with garlands and bouquets of flowers did form a procession, preceded by the club's hounds on leash, to the Sportsman's Park. There they were joined by 3,000 spec-

tators for an afternoon of public games of various sorts. A wagonload of ripe oranges was given away to spectators.

A wider degree of public participation was sought for the 1891 fete; other residents of the city were invited to join the Valley Hunt Club in a floral parade, and a prize was offered for the most beautifully decorated carriage. The official announcement for the 1891 parade exulted: "Who will say that Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness is not more desirable in southern California than anywhere else on earth?"

By 1892, although still organized by the Valley Hunt Club, the pageant had become a broadly based civic project. There was talk of changing the name to "The Orange Tournament" after few roses survived the comparatively severe winter conditions of 1892, but an abundance of flowers was available for the 1893 parade and the idea was dropped for good. In 1893, a debate developed over the seemliness and propriety of female equestrians, wearing "bifurcated skirts," riding astride rather than sidesaddle.

For the 1894 parade, entries were decorated by organizations as well as individuals, and the large freight and circuslike wagons of the Hotel Raymond, the Columbia Hill Tennis Club, and the Valley Hunt Club appeared alongside private carriages and saddle horses. An indication of the interest generated by the tournament among the citizens of Pasadena, is that one of the more flamboyant of their number, Thaddeus S. C. Lowe, had seven decorated entries in the 1895 parade: a single rig, four pairs, a four-in-hand, and a six-in-hand. The parade had grown to such an extent that the Valley Hunt Club turned over responsibility for organizing the 1896 parade to the Pasadena Board of Trade. In November, 1895, a citizen's committee, calling itself the Pasadena Tournament of Roses Association, was formed. A total of $595 was raised by public subscription for planning and promoting the parade and associated activities; the association was responsible for the 1897 and subsequent parades.

The first "official" entry from an outside community — South Pasadena — was included in the tournament in 1896; this was followed in 1897 by an entry sponsored by the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce (Plate 9). A six-in-hand of white horses covered with pink satin was entered by the Hotel Greene; the coach, covered with pink and white carnations, carried "lovely ladies, dressed in white, all carrying pink and white parasols . . . [who] blew kisses to the crowd."

By 1898, the population of Pasadena had grown to 12,000; over 20,000 visitors came to Pasadena for the tournament and Eastern newspapers sent representatives to cover it. The number of visitors grew to 50,000 for the 1900 parade, which featured the first of the tournament's "outside celebrities," General William R. Shafter, who had commanded the American forces which captured Santiago, Cuba, in the recently concluded Spanish-American War. The first commercial entries, aside

Plate 9.   Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce entry, 1897. (Photograph from the archives of the Pasadena Tournament of Roses Association)

from hotels, were admitted to the 1900 parade, but only identification by name was allowed. Motion pictures of the parade were made by the Vitascope Company.

Automobiles appeared for the first time in the 1901 parade. In 1902, intercollegiate football was offered as an alternative to the afternoon races, track-and-field events, and polo matches that were previously held; it was abandoned temporarily after only one trial, probably as a result of the storming of the gates of the playing field by impatient spectators. A feature of the 1903 tournament was the group of Navaho brought from Arizona to appear in the parade. The competition for prizes among the various hotel entries remained vigorous.

At Holder's suggestion, the postparade entertainment in 1904 took the form of Roman four-horse chariot races modeled after those in *Ben Hur*, the novel by Lew Wallace which had appeared shortly before and was very popular. Automobile races were also held. Because of the popularity of the chariot races, many of the floats in the 1905 parade reflected Roman themes, and "the six trumpeteers who heralded the start of the parade were dressed in the garb of *Ben Hur*, with togas, tights, sandals, and ribbons with long streamers around their foreheads."

The first tournament queen was chosen for the 1905 parade; subsequently, the selection of queens was sporadic and was based on varying criteria until 1930, when the presence of a queen, chosen substantially according to the present system, became a feature of the parade.

The Middle Years: Adjustment and Experimentation

The dawn of the modern era of large, sculpturally complex floats was in 1908. Redondo Beach entered a floral whale, forty-one feet long, covered with 20,000 magnolia leaves; the creature opened and closed its geranium-lined mouth and spouted carnation perfume twenty-five feet into the air. The orange-growing industry of Redlands was resoundingly trumpeted for its entry of a gigantic orange, which was eighty-six feet in circumference and constructed from 3000 ripe oranges. A remarkably inventive airship, thirty-one feet long, was entered by Altadena School (Plate 10).

By 1911, the population of Pasadena had risen to 30,290, representing a 232 percent increase in ten years. The membership of the Tournament of Roses Association numbered 1,017. The present system of float classes

Plate 10. Airship, Altadena School entry, 1908. (Photograph from the archives of the Pasadena Tournament of Roses Association)

and prizes was blocked out for the 1911 parade, although numerous adjustments have been made since.

The 1912 parade was seen by an estimated 150,000 spectators; it featured seventy floats in eight divisions, including a floral elephant entered by the Raymond Hotel. Twenty-three automobiles were decorated to reflect an unofficial parade theme, "Mask of Vanity Fair." For the 1913 parade, the railroads printed elaborate posters and 2,000,000 promotional brochures which were distributed throughout the entire United States. They proclaimed:

The Tournament of Roses is like nothing else under the sun. It can be compared to no military or civil pageant. It is a fiesta impossible of accomplishment anywhere else in the world. It is unique; it is Southern Californiaesque; it is Pasadena's New Year's gift to mankind, and it is worthwhile.

By 1914, the number of motorized, as opposed to horse-drawn, floats was rapidly increasing. Major floats were entered by San Diego and Portland, but all accounts agree that the most spectacular float in the parade, which celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the tournament, was a huge white peacock made from thousands of lilies of the valley, orchids, and white roses. It was entered by Mrs. Anita Baldwin McClaughry, daughter of "Lucky" Baldwin, another of the colorful figures who appear so prominently in the early history of Pasadena and the tournament. The 1914 parade is also notable as the professional debut of one of the most influential decorators who has been associated with the tournament, Mrs. Isabella Sturdevant Coleman (Plate 11). She had seen her first parade in 1898, and her decoration of the family buggy in 1910 had won a silver cup. In 1914, the Spanish galleon she created for Los Angeles won the Challenge Cup. She built three major floats for the 1916 parade and many thereafter, remaining active until the mid-1960's.[5]

Mrs. McClaughry also entered a spectacular float in the 1915 parade, a "dove of peace" twenty-six feet long with an eleven-foot wingspread. The float was decorated with more than 500 lilies of the valley and 5,000 hothouse roses. Another peace dove was entered by the Afro-American Society of Pasadena, and the designs of other 1915 floats were oriented toward peace themes in response to the buildup of tension which preceded World War I; twenty floats in the same parade were based on "fairyland" themes, however. A total of twelve outside communities entered floats in the 1915 parade, more than in any previous year.

[5] Mrs. Coleman was responsible personally for a number of major innovations in float design and technology. Her contribution to the development of the tournament has been acknowledged by the creation of a prize bearing her name, which was first awarded at the 1973 tournament and thereafter (see Appendix 2; Akers 1972). While Mrs. Coleman's involvement with the tournament has been exceptionally long, many of the decorator/designers and other specialists currently working have terms of service comparable to senior regular members of the Association — twenty or thirty years, or more.

Plate 11. Isabella Sturdevant with trophies, 1916. (Photograph from the archives of the Pasadena Tournament of Roses Association)

The 1916 Ocean Park float carried the tournament's first "bathing beauties," described as "natty and alluring" in their all-black, full-length bloomer bathing suits. Chariot and automobile races, together with various types of novelty contests (such as the 1913 ostrich race and the race between a camel and an elephant in the same year) continued until 1916. Interest in the chariot races had begun to dwindle by then; although spectacular, they were considered too hazardous and too expensive to enter. Intercollegiate football was resumed in 1916 and has continued until the present.

The president of the 1917 tournament was manager of one of Pasadena's major hotels, and hotels from all over the world were invited

to enter floats; those accepting included the Imperial Hotel of Tokyo, the Grand Hotel of Yokahama, the Manila Hotel, and the Hotel Traymore of Atlantic City, New Jersey, as well as a number of Southern California establishments. An elaborate float representing the Mid-Pacific Carnival Association of Hawaii featured a costumed model representing King Kamehameha II in full regalia.

The United States had entered World War I during 1917, and patriotic themes and war sentiment dominated the designs of the 1918 floats (Plate 12). The armistice came shortly before the 1919 parade, the theme of which was "Victory and Peace." All the floats in the 1920 parade were motorized, with the exception of the Hotel Greene's traditional white six-in-hand. A record number of spectators, somewhere in the neighborhood of 200,000 people, watched the parade.

One hundred floats appeared in the 1921 parade. Prohibition came into effect on New Year's Day, and the Women's Christian Temperance Union celebrated by proclaiming "Victory" on the sides of its float. The entry of Big Bear Lake Tavern carried a great mound of real snow with a live bear and pretty girls throwing snowballs at the spectators.

The Hollywood motion picture industry sponsored a float in the 1923 parade, initiating a relationship with the tournament which has remained close and has been marked by movie stars (and, more recently, television stars) regularly riding on floats and, in a number of instances, serving as grand marshals. The Sweepstakes Prize was introduced in 1924, and was
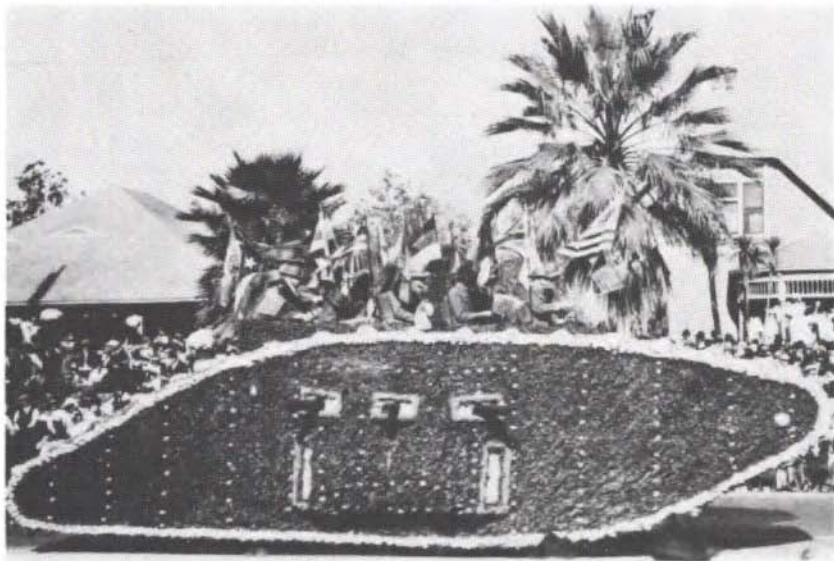
Plate 12. Tank, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce entry, 1918. (Photograph from the archives of the Pasadena Tournament of Roses Association)

won in that year by Glendale, one of the sixteen Southern California municipal entries. There were a total of seventy-nine floats, divided into two sections: one was devoted to historical themes, the other featured entries from Elks Lodges of California, in honor of the attendance of their grand exalted ruler at the parade. A float entered by Aimee Semple McPherson's Angelus Temple won the 1925 Sweepstakes Prize. The float reportedly cost $4,000, qualifying as the most expensive float built until that time. Its design, which referred to the temple's radio ministry, comprised a radio tower atop a miniature model of the temple, from which loudspeakers broadcast "an evangelical New Year's greeting." The Salvation Army entered the tournament for the first time in 1925. Entries from Southern California American Legion posts made up one division of the parade, in honor of the attendance of their national commander.

Prior to 1927, varying numbers of floats had been loosely organized around a theme or unifying concept. The 1927 parade was the first to be given an official theme ("Songs in flowers"), and since then all parades have had a theme. The 1927 Rose Bowl game was broadcast coast-to-coast on the country's first transcontinental hookup. Chicago, Portland, and San Francisco had spectacular entries in the 1928 tournament, and Czechoslovakia became the first foreign nation to have an official entry. Glendale entered a smoke-snorting dragon, eighty-five feet long.

Reflecting the flourishing state of the national economy, the 1929 floats as a group were the most expensive in the history of the tournament; of the nineteen major floats, eight were estimated to have cost more than $3,000 each. Glue was used for the first time on a large scale to hold flowers in place. The number of spectators was estimated at 850,000. A post-parade display of the floats was held for the first time in 1929.

The grand marshal of the 1931 parade was retired infantry General Charles F. Farnsworth of nearby Altadena. Albert Einstein, the renowned physicist, reportedly described his experience as "distinguished guest" of the 1931 tournament as "one of the most delightful days I've had since leaving Berlin." The 1932 parade celebrated the Olympic Games, in honor of the Tenth Olympiad that was held in Los Angeles later that year. Mary Pickford was grand marshal of the 1933 tournament. The stock market crash and subsequent economic depression were felt heavily in Southern California, but a reporter for the Los Angeles Times wrote of the 1933 parade:

Whatever economists may think of existing conditions will be belied by the great parade, for there is no depression in the world of flowers, nor in the spirit of Pasadenans and their neighbors in other Southern California cities who have contributed entries for the dazzling pageant (Bryan 1959).

The theme of the 1934 parade was "Tales of the seven seas." It was attended by ex-President Herbert Hoover and sixteen admirals of the United States Navy, in addition to the grand marshal, Admiral William S. Sims. The 1934 Sweepstakes winner, entered by Long Beach, magnificently demonstrates the sense of elegant fantasy which characterized many of the floats of the 1930's and which continues, in many respects, as one of the staples of float design (Plate 13). Silver-mounted equipment and Spanish costumes were required for equestrians riding in the 1934 parade; this requirement has applied in all subsequent parades, although "exotic" costumes and equipment, Middle Eastern, or Central Asian, for example, have become acceptable alternatives. Large corporations were first admitted to the parade as float sponsors in 1935.

As a reaction to the increasing length of the parades, that of 1937 was limited to fifty-five floats, eighteen bands, and 200 equestrians in an attempt to compress its effect. On December 31, 1938, the rose queen and her court "participated in what was in all likelihood the first telecast of a special event."

The years 1939, 1940, and 1941 saw some of the most innovative and spectacular floats ever built. Shirley Temple, aged ten and at the height of her motion-picture fame, was grand marshal of the 1939 parade, which celebrated the fifieth anniversary of the tournament. An estimated 1,000,000 spectators saw the parade, which included many elements

Plate 13.   Long Beach entry, 1934. (Photograph from the archives of the Pasadena Tournament of Roses Association)

intended to reflect the origins and early years of the tournament; among these was the Tallyho entered by Burbank which won the Sweepstakes Prize (Plate 14). The float entered by Laguna Beach comprised a floral reproduction of Leonardo's *Last Supper*, probably the first use of the petal-mosaic technique on a large scale (Plate 15). Richard M. Nixon's first date with Patricia Ryan, who was to become Mrs. Nixon, was for the 1939 Rose Bowl game.[6]

The theme of the 1940 parade was "Twentieth century in flowers." Engineering marvels and the most advanced "modern" designs dominated the floats, but patriotic motives were also prominent, reflecting world tensions associated with the beginning of World War II (Plates 16 and 17). Ventriloquist Edgar Bergen, with "Charlie McCarthy," served as grand marshal(s). The 1941 theme, "America in flowers," stimulated a majority of patriotic designs; Glendale won the Sweepstakes Prize with a reproduction of Daniel Chester French's Lincoln Memorial figure. A poignant note is provided by one of the most popular floats in the 1941 parade, winner of the Theme Prize; entered by the Central Japanese Association of Los Angeles, the float was entitled "Cherry blossom time

Plate 14. Tallyho, Burbank entry, 1939. (Photograph from the archives of the Pasadena Tournament of Roses Association)

[6] Richard Nixon had seen his first parade at the age of nine. He is one of three men who have twice served as grand marshal (1953, 1960) the others being Bob Hope and Earl Warren. During the early years of the tournament, Dr. Francis F. Rowland served as grand marshal a total of seven times. (See Appendix 4; Hendrickson 1971:6.)
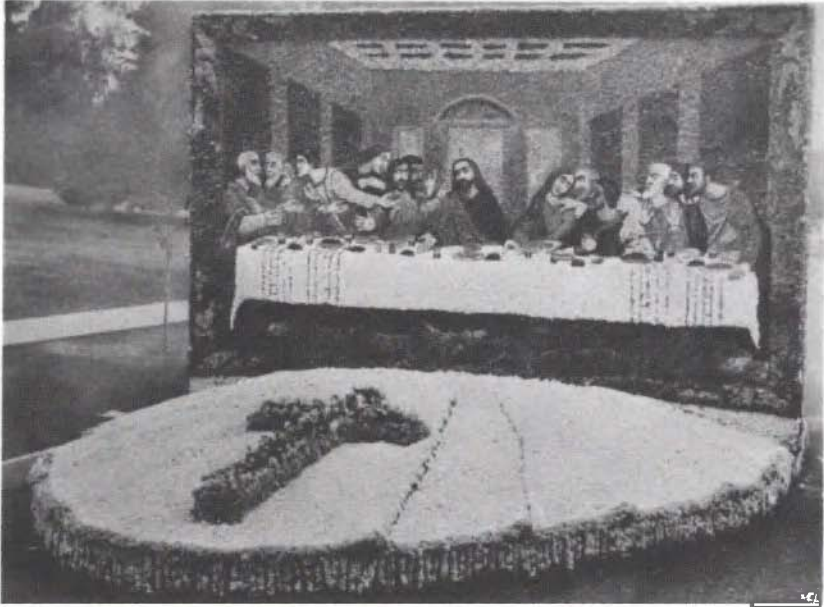
Plate 15.   *The Last Supper*, Laguna Beach entry, 1939. (Photograph from the archives of the Pasadena Tournament of Roses Association)

Plate 16.   "Speed," Altadena entry, 1940. (Photograph from the archives of the Pasadena Tournament of Roses Association)
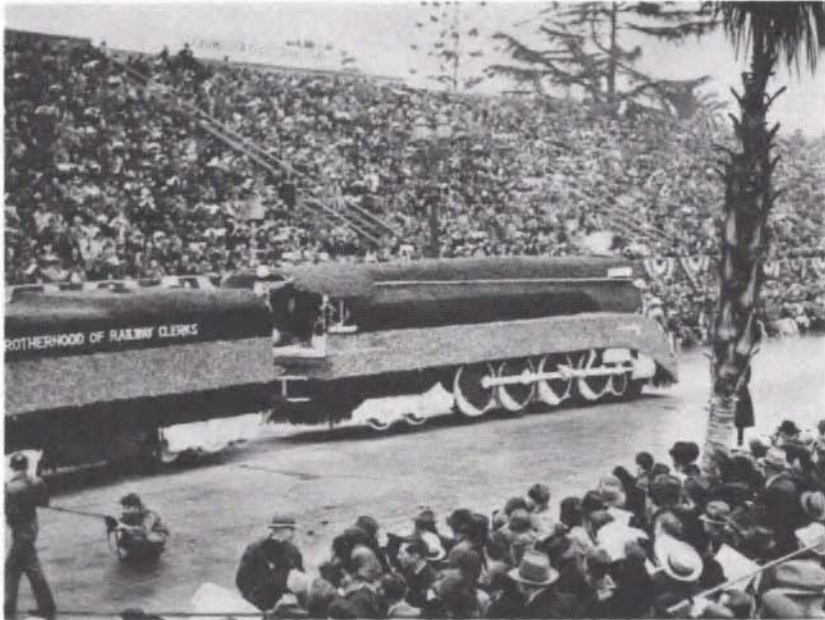
Plate 17. Locomotive, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and Engineers entry, 1940. (Photograph from the archives of the Pasadena Tournament of Roses Association)

in Washington" and represented the United States capital surrounded by the famous cherry trees given by Japan to the United States during earlier, happier times.

During the war years, 1942 to 1945, security considerations were judged to preclude the holding of the parade. The structure of the association was maintained intact, however, and the association became involved in war-related activities, especially Defense Stamp and Bond drives. Annual elections of officers were held, queens and grand marshals were chosen, and the committees were staffed; small "token" parades are mentioned for 1942 and 1944.

The Formula Years

"Victory, unity, peace" was the theme of the 1946 parade. Admiral William F. "Bull" Halsey was grand marshal, and the fifty-one floats which appeared were seen by an estimated 1,500,000 spectators. Perhaps the most portentous aspect of the 1947 and 1948 parades was electronic rather than floral or social; films made during the 1947 parade were telecast locally on the evening of January 1st, and in 1948 the local

telecast was live. Complex animated figures appeared for the first time on several of the 1948 floats, and, in general, the years immediately following World War II were characterized by new departures in engineering and float-building materials and technology; as structural steel became available it was increasingly used for framing floats, and polyvinyl chloride "cocooning" — originally used for "mothballing" warships — was introduced, making possible a wide range of new shapes and structures.

Twenty-five cities, Mexico, and Hawaii entered floats in the 1951 parade; the Grand Prize was awarded to Union Oil Company's "Frozen fairyland," a 300-square-foot mobile ice rink, on which champion skaters performed during the parade. Seven winners of the Congressional Medal of Honor, the highest military decoration awarded by the United States, served collectively as grand marshal, and in 1951 the first transcontinental black-and-white telecast of the parade was made; the first color transmission took place in 1954.

From the mid-1950's onward, grand marshals have been chosen from an extraordinarily wide range of vocations; this honor has been accorded senators, governors, an ex-president of the United States, a chief justice of the Supreme Court, a university president, sports and entertainment figures, and, on the occasion of the launching of the "Mariner" Venus probe in 1963, the director of the Jet Propulsion Laboratories in Pasadena. Perhaps the most inspired grand marshal selection, however, was that of Walt Disney in 1966; this gesture brought together two of the most successful purveyors of fantasy and exponents of conventional values in human history; the theme of the parade was "It's a small world" (Plate 18). From their common roots in Southern California, both the Tournament of Roses and Disney's empire have become authentic national, actually international, institutions, transcending what may be described as their commercial/promotional origins.[7]

Although the parade continues to change, most changes since around 1960 have been in the nature of comparatively minor adjustments within an established format; in addition, advances in float technology have been exploited in terms of new design possibilities. Taken as a whole, the demands of television coverage have exerted a particularly strong stabilizing influence on the parade and its elements; on the other hand, the advent of color television appears to have stimulated a tendency toward bolder shapes and more dramatic patterns of color and texture; animation sequences have also become increasingly complex (Plates 6,

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[7]   A notable feature of the 1973 tournament, whose theme was "Movie memories," was the appearance of more than one hundred masked and costumed models representing characters from Disney cartoons and films, in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Walt Disney Productions.

Plate 18. Walt Disney as grand marshal, with "Mickey Mouse," 1966. (Photograph from the archives of the Pasadena Tournament of Roses Association)

19, 20, and 21). Despite these changes, the body of conventional symbols, topics, concepts, and themes, which have served as the basis of the vast majority of designs since the earliest appearance of complex floats, continue to dominate the parade: patriotism and the American heritage in all its aspects (and especially the history and cultural diversity of California); religious and sentimental values, such as love, peace, service, and brotherhood; the freshness and innocence of childhood, the grace and dynamism of youth, and the dignity and venerability of old age; the apotheosis of science and technological progress, ranging from locomotives to moon rockets and including tours de force such as mobile ice rinks and waterfalls; evocation of the exotic and bizarre, from Japanese gar-

Plate 19. "Swan Lake" by Coleman Enterprises for Lakewood, 1972. (Photograph by Doris Wilson)

dens to Gothic cathedrals; and finally, fads, fashions, and topical humor, usually parochial and exclusivistic.[8] Aspects of several of these categories may occur in any single float design, resolved on the foundation of conventionalized elegance, beauty, and fantasy, which pervade the entire phenomenon with a sense of the surreal: a total transformation of the everyday landscape; opulence verging on profligacy; dramatic shifts of scale, both gigantism and miniaturism; trumpets, tanks, butterflies, and covered wagons made of flowers — roses made of orchids, orchids made of roses!

Despite the general availability and convenience of color television, the live parade continues to attract vast numbers of people of all ages, all

[8] Examples of the last category from the 1972 parade would include the Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden West's entry which was oriented toward the current ecology fad through its Woodsy Owl motif ("Give a hoot — Don't pollute!") and through the use of nonpolluting natural gas to power the float's engine. The Huntington-Sheraton Hotel's entry depicted the comic-strip character "Dennis the Menace" and the children's television series "Lidsville" was the subject of the Torrance float. All three were built by C. E. Bent and Son.
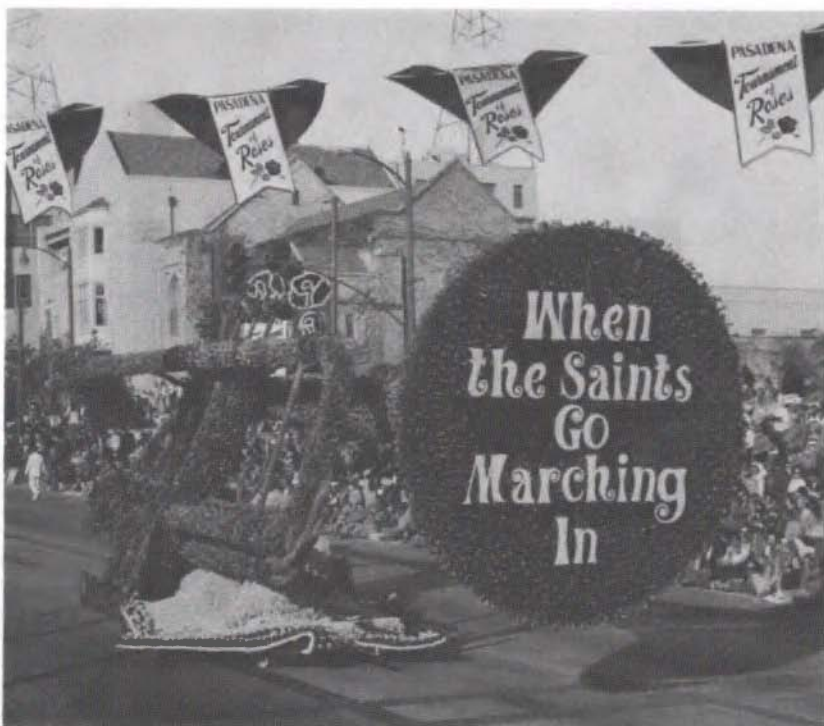
Plate 20. "When the Saints Go Marching In" (a tribute to Louis Armstrong) by Floatmasters for Sunkist, Incorporated, 1972. (Photograph by Doris Wilson)

socioeconomic levels, life-styles, and ethnic backgrounds. They come from all over Southern California, and even further away, and they return year after year. The basis of this attraction seems to lie partly in experiencing the scale and sumptuousness of the floats, their rich textures, and the cloud of perfume in which they proceed down Colorado Boulevard, none of which come across the airwaves. Perhaps more compelling is the opportunity, which the parade provides, to participate directly in a community's celebration of its own prosperity, vigor, and general well-being, and to express and affirm the pervasive system of shared values, which the parade and its elements embody.[9]

[9] A major manufacturer of photographic film estimates that more pictures are taken at the Tournament of Roses each year than at any other single event in the world. Commercially produced color slides and home movie films are also available from a number of sources.

Plate 21.   "This Land is Your Land" by the Festival Artists for Bekins Van and Storage Company, 1972. (Photograph by Doris Wilson)

CONCLUSION

Casual visitors to Southern California between mid-January and early December might consider Pasadena to be merely one of a small number of nodes in the continuous texture of low-density suburban development tied together by freeways which is typical of the San Fernando and San Gabriel valleys. Traces of a pink line painted down the center of five miles on either side near the curb would be easy to overlook. The pink and blue lines, the first to guide the parade floats, the second to keep back spectators, constitute the only readily apparent effect on the landscape of the preceding year's Tournament of Roses. In contrast to the minimal sense of "community," which characterizes most of modern Southern California, closer familiarity with Pasadena reveals a remarkable degree of social cohesion. The importance of the Tournament of Roses and of the Pasadena Tournament of Roses Association, as factors in generating this cohesion seems unarguable, even at the present early stage of the research reported in this paper. To be sure, fairly drastic changes in the composition of the population of Pasadena have in recent years begun to erode the socioeconomic, ethnic, and religious strata, which have sup-

ported the tournament since its inception. These trends seem to reflect the general increased mobility of Americans as well as the dramatic shifts in social and cultural patterns and values taking place in all sectors. Yet, despite increasingly vocal elements within the community that are either hostile to the tournament as such or prefer to emphasize other priorities, support for the tournament and for the association shows no serious signs of flagging. One reason for this is that large numbers of people derive a significant portion of their income from tournament-related activities; the parade may, therefore, validly be described as an industry of considerable economic impact. On another level, as association publications are fond of pointing out, Pasadena's worldwide reputation as the home of the Tournament of Roses provides a basis for civic pride which, coincidentally, makes the community attractive as a location for business and industry. Many nearby communities enter floats in the parade each year for precisely the same reason.

Perhaps the main source of the association's strength in Pasadena, however, is the sheer number of active members, the initial momentum accumulated by the organization over its long history, and the extraordinary articulation and refinement of its structure. Many people are "in the pipeline" at any given point in time; those entering at the bottom expect and accept that they will serve in comparatively minor and menial capacities for two or three decades before attaining any real influence in the organization, if they ever do. They further acknowledge that a missed committee meeting or an assignment not adequately discharged or any other breach of expected performance may either interfere with progress through the hierarchy or, if sufficiently serious, lead to the discreet form of expulsion wherein a bill for the dues is simply not sent to the offender. Clearly, acceptance of this sort of very demanding regimen must stem from motivations other than the mere establishment and consolidation of useful business and social relationships, although these motivations are plausibly operative on a secondary level. Coincidentally or not, when a man attains high status within the association, he usually has attained comparatively high status in other aspects of the life of the community, usually in the political, economic, and social sectors. The diversity of vocations and occupations represented in the membership, which includes doctors, lawyers, shopkeepers, morticians, bank clerks, industrial executives, schoolteachers, and garage mechanics, establishes a network of interlocking relationships throughout the community which converges on the association and its activities and serves simultaneously as a reinforcement of, and a counterweight to, other loci of established or "constituted" authority.

The long process of preparation for positions of responsibility within the organization ensures that officials know personally a significant number of individual members and are thoroughly familiar with the

structure and workings of the organization — "the way we do things." Change and evolution within the organization and in its works take place against this background of established, conservative patterns of behavior.[10] Thus the Tournament of Roses Association constitutes an acculturative mechanism of extraordinary potency. Much the same statement might be made of the tournament itself, as regards not only members of the association but also the decorators and their people, the hundreds of teen-agers who flower the floats, equestrian units, bands, queen and court, and the audience, both proximate and remote, to whom the festival is, in the last analysis, addressed; for them, Pasadena becomes a pilgrimage site and a symbol of beauty, prosperity, and vitality. Its effect is realized in the aesthetic sphere, to be sure, but also in terms of inculcating the fundamental social and cultural values upon which the community, and the nation, is based.

Organizations resembling the Pasadena Tournament of Roses Association, similarly gerontocratic in structure, cohesive in function, and conservative in outlook are well known in the anthropological literature. A number of other useful analogues suggest themselves as aids in comprehending the Tournament of Roses Association and its activities. Fundamentally, the concept of the pageant seems remarkably similar to that of the potlatch of the Northwest Coast of North America; vast quantities of "vegetable gold," in the form of the rarest, most exotic, and most expensive flowers which can be had, are sacrificed in a huge explosion of completely ephemeral manufactured objects as an expression of the community's sense of its own wealth, stability, and well-being. The experience of watching perfect orchids or giant chrysanthemums taken apart to provide raw material for petaling a surface tends to produce a sense of queasy discomfort for many observers.

The tournament's role in celebrating the ripening of the citrus crops is a feature that is shared with many other annual festivals. Also frequently encountered is the presentation of the nubile women of the group accompanied by a demonstration of physical prowess by the young men in the form of athletic contests. The tournament's very reliance on living flowers as the primary vehicle of artistic expression, especially in midwinter, carries strong overtones of sexuality and fecundity; in biological terms,

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[10]   But change, often very dramatic change, definitely does occur. For example, the rules of the Tournament of Roses Association have recently been changed to require that active members must live or work within fifteen miles of the Pasadena City Hall. The effect of this requirement has been to make possible the admission of approximately 150 new members within the past two years, most of whom were in the lower thirties age bracket. This action is part of a deliberate campaign on the part of the association to lower the average age of its membership and shorten the period of service required for the attainment of "status" positions within the organization. In conjunction with this kind of change, the rock group, Three Dog Night, appeared on the Florist's Telegraphic Delivery float "Aquarius" in the 1972 parade, winner of the Grand Prize.

flowers function as ostentatious signals of sexual receptivity analogous to the estrus in mammals. Flowers, other vegetable materials, and feather ornaments of various sorts carry such implications elsewhere (Newton 1961:19).[11] Each float, and the parade itself, seems validly construed as a complex organism evolving in space and time, in terms of a germination-growth-florescence-decline-decay sequence, for which the minimal design element, the individual flower, becomes a persuasive metaphor. Thus the tournament is seen to be diametrically antithetical to prevailing Western conceptions of art which stress persistence and immutability. Indeed, the most challenging aspects of the tournament have to do with the immediacy and intensity of experience on the one hand, and with the ephemerality of the monuments on the other.

Like other annual festivals — chronological markers which serve to punctuate and accent the passage of time and generations — the parade constitutes a powerful unifying force for the community through a periodic reintegration of its members and reaffirmation of its shared values, ideals, and aspirations. Its occurrence on the watershed represented by the first day of the year provides a dramatic revitalization and renewal that has been sufficient to raise the spirits of residents, and guests, even during the darkest days of the 1933 economic depression. The parade seems unusual because each year many large, complex, and completely new objects are created. There are, of course, parallels to this creation of large numbers of impermanent monuments in the so-called primitive world, but usually at intervals greater than one year.[12] In the present context, it seems relevant to mention that alongside the antiquarian proclivities and impulse toward permanence, which has tended to characterize the Western artistic tradition, there is also an ephemeral thread to which the Pasadena Tournament of Roses clearly belongs; particular instances range from imperial Roman triumphs to medieval Church processions and tableaux to Renaissance "entertainments" (for which many "important" artists produced designs).

In contrast to the orthodox insistence on the uniquely personal artistic vision and interpretation (Gerbrands' "creative individual"), each of the parade floats (not to mention the entire parade) results from the contributions of an extraordinarily large number of people and a wide range of skills; if the decorator is to be regarded as "artist," then it must be in

[11] The original function of the tournament as a demonstration and celebration of the climate and fertility of the Pasadena area is not discernibly compromised by the fact that practically all the flowers used are now imported. The California Polytechnic Institute's float traditionally utilizes only flowers grown by the students for that purpose, however.
[12] Reverend F. E. Williams offers a profoundly moving description of the emergence of large numbers of enormous bark-cloth masks after twenty years of preparation in the Elema village of Orokolo in the Papuan Gulf region of New Guinea. Relevant passages are conveniently quoted in Newton (1961:27–28). After dancing is performed among the people for a month, the masks are destroyed and the cycle begins again.

the sense of the medieval "master builder" whose role was to organize the concepts, finances, materials, talents, and skills available in order to realize a totality that transcended individual contributions and unified the work of all levels: artists, artisans, craftsmen, and laborers.[13]

Finally, the Pasadena Tournament of Roses and its components, especially the floats, stand as the antithesis of elitist "art for the cultivated few." Though in many respects rooted in the marketplace, this fact contaminates the tournament neither more nor less than similar connections contaminate contemporary "musea" or "fine" art. The tournament employs broad strokes and sweeping gestures rather than fine and subtle distinctions; its rhetoric is direct and unequivocal and does not require contemplation or critical elucidation. More conservative than avant-garde, and resting firmly on an unquestioned system of shared values, the tournament is nevertheless also responsive — on its own terms — to the currents of contemporary life, exalting its heroes and affirming its fundamental verities in terms that are comprehensible, at some level, to all.

APPENDIX 1

Standing Committees of the Pasadena Tournament of Roses Association (PTRA 1968:46)

1. *Executive Committee:* ten members of the board of Directors, empowered to act for the board in all business transactions and policy matters.
2. *Coronation Committee:* arranges queen's coronation ceremony and ball.
3. *Credentials and Decorations Committee:* arranges for street decorations and the issuing of badges, passes, and other forms of credentials.
4. *Decorating Places Committee:* supervises buildings in which floats are constructed.
5. *Distinguished Guest Committee:* issues invitations to guests and arranges for their seating at parade and game.
6. *Equestrian Committee:* Issues invitations to equestrian entries in the parade.
7. *Finance Committee:* makes the annual budget for the association.
8. *Float Committee:* extends invitations to cities, businesses, service and religious organizations, etc., to enter floats and assists each participant in planning and executing its float design.
9. *Float Construction Committee:* enforces the rules of the association regarding float design and technology.
10. *Football Committee:* represents the association at meetings with the participating conferences and renders assistance to teams invited.

[13] The float-building process provides a number of younger artists with the opportunity to earn enough money during three months to support themselves — and their "serious" art — for the rest of the year. In addition, they have the opportunity to develop their technical skills in a variety of media and to work intensively and on a scale far larger than they would otherwise be able. Most work on the floats and much out of desire as necessity or expediency, however, and take considerable pride in their individual contributions to the finished float.

11. *Guest Luncheon Committee:* arranges for a luncheon for distinguished guests following the parade.
12. *House Committee:* custodians of Tournament House, its furnishings, and the association's offices.
13. *Judging Committee:* invites the panel of judges each year and hosts their stay.
14. *Membership Committee:* recommends the admission of new members and the advancement of members through the classes.
15. *Music Committee:* extends invitations to marching bands and arranges their appearance in the parade.
16. *Parade Operations Committee:* has responsibility for moving the parade from the formation area to the disbanding area.
17. *Participants' Luncheon Committee:* arranges feeding of all parade participants.
18. *Photographic Committee:* supervises the color motion picture made of each parade.
19. *Postparade Committee:* has charge of exhibiting the floats following the parade.
20. *Press Reception Committee:* hosts accredited representatives of press, radio and television who cover game.
21. *Properties Committee:* controls distribution and collection of items required to stage the parade.
22. *Public Relations Committee:* cooperates with the press assigned to cover the parade.
23. *Queen Selection Committee:* interviews candidates, selects queen and six princesses.
24. *Television Advisory Committee:* provides continuity of policy in dealings with networks.
25. *Television and Radio Committee:* cooperates with television and radio personnel assigned to cover parade.
26. *Tournament Entries Committee:* has charge of the construction of the Queen's float and decoration of cars for grand marshal and president.
27. *Tournament History Committee:* prepares a record and yearbook for each president.
28. *Traffic Committee:* with police department, coordinates planning for movement of automobiles, pedestrians, and trains on New Year's Day.
29. *Transportation Committee:* provides transportation for guests as required.
30. *Trophy Committee:* supervises the making of trophies for presentation to parade participants.
31. *University Entertainment Committee:* entertains teams and personnel while in Pasadena.

APPENDIX 2

Major Awards in Float Competition (PTRA 1972:6)

1. Entries from Classes D (Hotels), E (Business Firms), and F (Business Associations) *excluded* from consideration
A. *Sweepstakes:* for the most beautiful entry in the parade.
B. *Theme Prize:* most fitting presentation of parade theme.

C. *Queen's Trophy:* most effective use of roses in float decoration.
D. *National Trophy:* most beautiful entry from outside California, but in the United States.
E. *Pioneer's Trophy:* best characterization of the romance of California.
F. *Grand Marshal's Trophy:* for exceptional merit.
2. Awards *reserved* for Classes D, E, and F
A. *Grand Prize:* most beautiful entry in the parade.
B. *Governor's Trophy:* most fitting presentation of parade theme.
C. *President's Trophy:* most effective use of roses in float decoration.
D. *Anniversary Award:* for exceptional merit.
3. Competition open to entries in *all* classes
A. *Isabella Coleman Award:* most effective use of color harmony.
B. *International Trophy:* most beautiful entry from outside the territorial limits of the United States.
C. *Ambassador's Award:* exceptional merit award for an entry from outside the territorial limits of the United States.
D. *Mayor's Trophy:* for best display of originality.
E. *Judges' Special:* for float displaying the most humor.
F. *Princess Award:* for the best display of animation.

APPENDIX 3

Competitive Classes for Float Prizes (PTRA 1972:6–7)

Three prizes awarded in each of the following:

AAA–1	Nations
AAA–2	States
AAA–3	Provinces
AAA–4	Commonwealths
AAA–5	Territories
AAA–6	Cities outside the United States
AA–1	Cities outside California over 1,000,000 population
AA–2	Cities outside California 600,000 to 1,000,000
AA–3	Cities outside California 500,000 to 600,000
AA–4	Cities outside California 350, 000 to 500,000
AA–5	Cities outside California 250,000 to 350,000
AA–6	Cities outside California 100,000 to 250,000
AA–7	Cities outside California under 100,000
A–1	Countries
A–2	Combined city and county entries
A–3	Cities in California over 1,000,000 population
A–4	Cities in California 250,000 to 1,000,000
A–5	Cities in California 100,000 to 250,000
A–6	Cities in California 85,000 to 100,000
A–7	Cities in California 75,000 to 85,000
A–8	Cities in California 65,000 to 75,000
A–9	Cities in California 50,000 to 65,000
A–10	Cities in California 40,000 to 50,000
A–11	Cities in California 35,000 to 40,000

A–12   Cities in California 30,000 to 35,000
A–13   Cities in California 20,000 to 30,000
A–14   Cities in California 15,000 to 20,000
A–15   Cities in California under 15,000

B   Service clubs
C   Veterans' organizations
D   Hotels
E   Business firms
F   Business associations
G   Community organizations
H   Educational organizations
I   Religious organizations
J   National associations
K   Expositions and fairs
L   Labor organizations
M   Fraternal organizations

APPENDIX 4

Parade Themes and Grand Marshals Since 1927 (PTRA 1968: 42; Hendrickson 1971)

Date	Theme	Grand Marshal
1927	Songs in Flowers	Dr. C. D. Lockwood
1928	States and nations in flowers	John McDonald
1929	Poems in flowers	Marco Hellman
1930	Festival days in flowers	James Rolph, mayor of San Francisco
1931	Dreams in flowers	General C. S. Farnsworth, United States Army
1932	Nations and games in flowers	William May Garland, Olympics official
1933	Fairyland: fairy tales in flowers	Mary Pickford, film actress
1934	Tales of the seven seas	Admiral William S. Sims, United States Navy
1935	Golden legends	Harold Lloyd, film comedian
1936	History in flowers	James V. Allred, governor of Texas
1937	Romance in flowers	Eugene Biscailuz, sheriff of Los Angeles
1938	Playland fantasies	Leo Carillo, film actor
1939	Golden memories in flowers	Shirley Temple, film actress
1940	Twentieth century in flowers	Edgar Bergen, ventriloquist and Charlie McCarthy
1941	America in flowers	E. O. Nay, mayor of Pasadena
1942	The Americas	Kay Kyser, band leader
1943	We're in to win	Earl Warren, governor of California
1944	Memories of the past	Alonzo Stagg, football coach
1945	Hold a victory so hardly won	Herbert Hoover, ex-president of the United States

Date	Theme	Grand Marshal
1946	Victory, unity and peace in flowers	Admiral William Halsey, United States Navy
1947	Holidays in flowers	Bob Hope, comedian
1948	Our golden West	General Omar Bradley, United States Army
1949	Childhood memories	Perry Brown, National commander, American Legion
1950	Our American heritage	Paul G. Hoffman, administrator of the Marshall Plan
1951	Joyful living	Corporal Robert S. Gray, United States Army (Korea)
1952	Dreams of the future	Congressional Medal of Honor winners
1953	Melodies in flowers	Richard M. Nixon, United States vice-president
1954	Famous books in flowers	General William F. Dean, United States Army
1955	Familiar sayings in flowers	Earl Warren, chief justice, United States Supreme Court
1956	Pages from the ages	Charles E. Wilson, secretary of defense
1957	Famous firsts in flowers	Eddie Rickenbacker, aviator
1958	Daydreams in flowers	Robert Gordon Sproul, president of the University of California
1959	Adventures in flowers	E. L. Bartlett, United States senator (Alaska)
1960	Tall tales and true	Richard M. Nixon, United States vice-president
1961	Ballads in blossoms	William F. Quinn, governor of Hawaii
1962	Around the world with flowers	Albert D. Rosellini, governor of Washington
1963	Memorable moments	Dr. Wm. H. Pickering, director, Jet Propulsion Laboratories Pasadena
1964	Symbols of freedom	Dwight D. Eisenhower, ex-president of the United States
1965	Headlines in flowers	Arnold Palmer, golfer
1966	It's a small world	Walt Disney, cartoonist
1967	Travel tales in flowers	Thanat Khoman, minister of foreign affairs, Thailand
1968	Wonderful world of adventure	Everett Dirksen, United States senator (Illinois)
1969	A time to remember	Bob Hope, comedian
1970	Holidays around the world	Apollo 12 astronauts Conrad, Gordon and Bean
1971	Through the eyes of a child	Dr. Billy Graham, evangelist
1972	The joy of music	Lawrence Welk, bandleader
1973	Movie memories	John Wayne, film actor

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Criteria for the Classification of Folk Ornaments

NICOLAE DUNĂRE

Research on ethnographic objects has led to the conclusion that in addition to their practical function, which is social in the broader sense of the word, they also reveal certain decorative intentions on the part of the folk artist. In our opinion, an object that may not have been an ornament in its genesis could be considered to be one later. The morphological aspect is extremely important in the history of folk art; it emphasizes the fact that artistic elements need not be sought only in the decoration but also in the form of the objects. Often it is an element of true beauty as well as an element of ethnic, regional and other distinctions.

The connections between folk art, primitive art, and religious art have been used as points of departure in the classification of ornaments. The fact that folk art maintains and develops certain processes, morphological aspects, and decorative designs of primitive art underscores *the continuity of form* and *the discontinuity of social function and thematic content.* Thus, according to the way in which conditions may differ from the technical, material, or historical standpoint, folk art adopts certain processes and motifs from religious art. The principal basis of folk art and of the ornamentation characterizing it constitutes the major part of its idea content and variety or decorations resulting from uninterrupted economic, social, and cultural activity. Thus are expressed the experience, taste, and conception of beauty of a people.

Research on folk decoration requires knowledge of four constituent elements: (1) the materials to be decorated and their potential for being decorated (wood, metals, ceramics, yarns); (2) the decorative techniques used; (3) the social function of the ornamentation; and (4) the thematic content, the message, the meaning of the ornaments. Depending on function and content, folk decoration reflects the surrounding world,

occupations, customs and relationships between regions, social classes and peoples.

The changing of many of the ornaments' names imposes a whole new classification framework in this area, a fact that implies the observance of certain convergent purposes. Interpretations of ornamental order must be based on a theory that takes into account nuances, including stylistic, thematic, and other complexities of the ornaments, which are subjected to evolution in one people compared with another, in one region compared with another, in one country compared with another, and even with one folk artist compared with another. The terminology that is ultimately adopted will have incorporated neologisms acceptable in the scientific vocabularies of several languages. Confusion and incomplete or inconsistent classification should be ended.

While retaining the constructive aspects of many studies, this article offers in our opinion an acceptable working tool. At the present state of research, the polymorphism of folk ornaments and the wealth of their representation can be handled with the help of morphological, structural, thematic, historical and geographical classification criteria.

From a morphological standpoint three categories of ornaments can be distinguished (see Figure 1): (A) elements, designs, and ornamental geometric and geometrized compositions, (B) free designs, i.e. those which are not geometric, and (C) mixed ornamental compositions. The latter are combinations of either geometric and free-design motifs or of various renderings from different areas of inspiration. Diachronic studies have shown that geometric ornamentation is conservative and has considerable continuity. Conversely, freely designed ornamentation has proved to be much more receptive to change.

The most frequent structural variations are those in which folk ornaments are either homogeneous or heterogeneous (from the morphological or thematic point of view), with or without complex, dense composition, and being either unilateral or bilateral in position. The bilateral ornaments may be symmetrical, alternating, repetitive, or asymmetrical (Worringer 1908, 1911, 1970:148–166; Homolacs, 1930:57–63; Lévi-Strauss 1956, 1958:190, 194, 253; 1962:33–38, 46–47; Klausen 1957:49–55, 79; Dunăre 1972:34). Through study of structures, ethnic, regional, and other nuances can be noted within a single morphology or theme (see Figure 2). A feature of both morphological and structural characteristics of ornaments is their persistence through the ages, to a greater degree than their semantic qualities (Dima 1939, 1971:118–121; Frunzetti 1943:355–365; Václavik and Orel 1956:17; Dunăre 1963:259–300, 468–476; Francastel 1969:1728; Mercier 1969:993–995; Petrescu 1971:9; Wolski 1969:448–449).

The thematic point of view allows the fullest classification of ornaments. This categorization might consist of three large categories: ab-
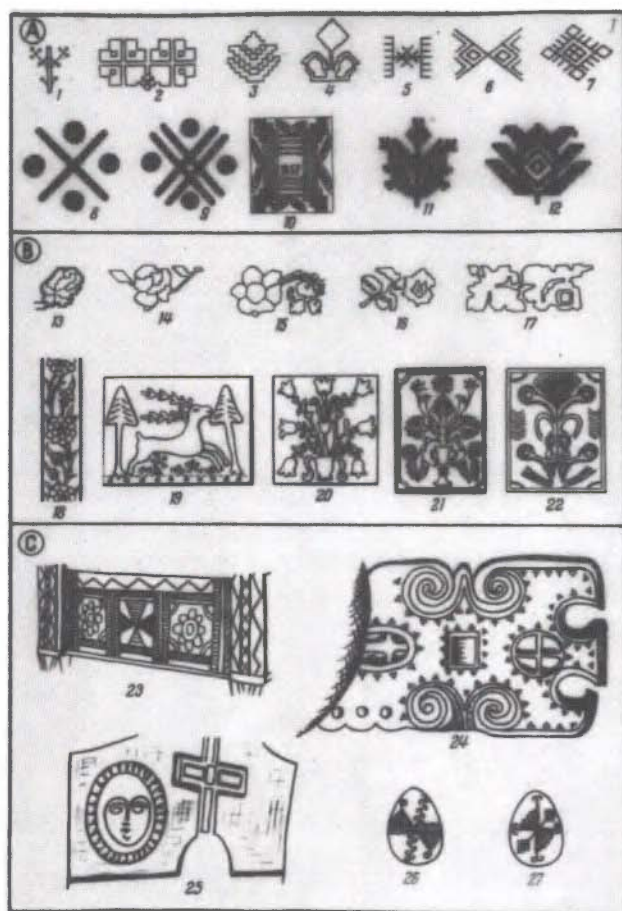
Figure 1. Morphological classification. A. Geometric ornaments: 1–4 (Romania; Dunăre), 5–7 (Asia Minor; Züber), 8–9 (Romania; Florescu and Mozes), 10 (Romania; Dunăre), 11–12 (Saxons, Romania; Hoffmann). B. Freely designed ornaments: 13–17 (Romania; Dunăre), 18 (Asia Minor; Züber), 19–20 (Saxons, Romania; Dunăre), 21 (Hungary, Romania; Dunăre), 22 (Romania; Dunăre). C. Mixed ornaments: 23–25 (Romania; Petrescu), 26–27 (Poland; Mulkiewicz)

stract, concrete, and symbolic, which in turn are made up of groups and subgroups.

One group of ornaments that are abstract or have an abstract tendency (see Figure 3) results from the structure of the materials, from the interplay of the techniques, or from a long process of generalization and abstraction. Another group is composed of ornaments whose meaning is still unexplained (Dunăre 1963:473). From a stylistic point of view, they can be geometric, free design, or mixed.
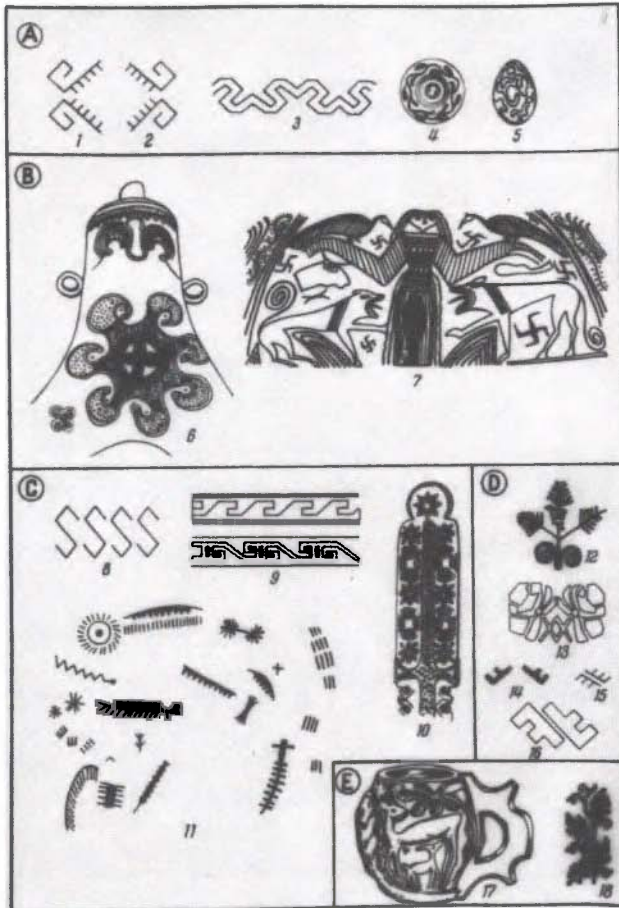
Figure 2.   Structural classification. A. Homogeneous ornaments: 1–5 (Romania; Dunare). B. Heterogeneous ornaments: 6 (Romania; Petrescu), 7 (Ancient Greece; Lommel). C. Ornaments with unilateral structures in a dense arrangement: 8 (Romania; Dunăre), 9 (Turkmenistan; Azadi and Vossen), 10 (California; Tentori), 11 (Romania; Dunăre). D. Bilateral ornaments: 12–16 (Romania; Dunăre). E. Asymmetrical ornaments: 17–18 (Romania; Dunare)

Concrete ornaments can be divided into three groups: physiomorphs, skeomorphs, and social forms. And physiomorphs can in turn be divided into cosmomorphs (see Figure 4), geomorphs (see Figure 5), phytomorphs (see Figure 6), zoomorphs (see Figure 7), and anthropomorphs (see Figure 8). The skeomorphic ornaments (see Figure 9) reflect in their artistic pictures the various shapes of utensils and objects in general made — entirely or partially — by the hand of man. The social ornaments (see Figure 10) represent aspects of community life (Dunăre
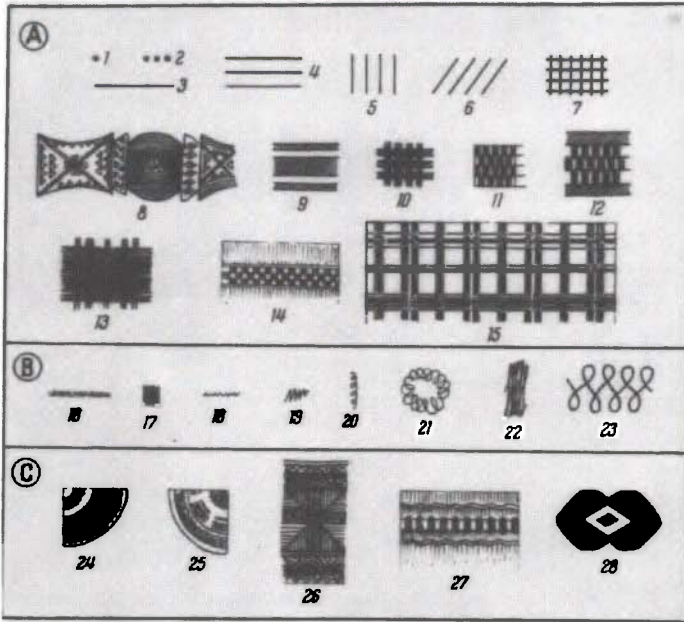
Figure 3. Abstract ornaments. A. Geometric: 1–15 (Romania; Dunăre). B. Freely designed: 16–22 (Romania; Dunăre), 23 (Romania; Florescu and Mozes). C. Mixed: 24–28 (Romania; Dunăre)
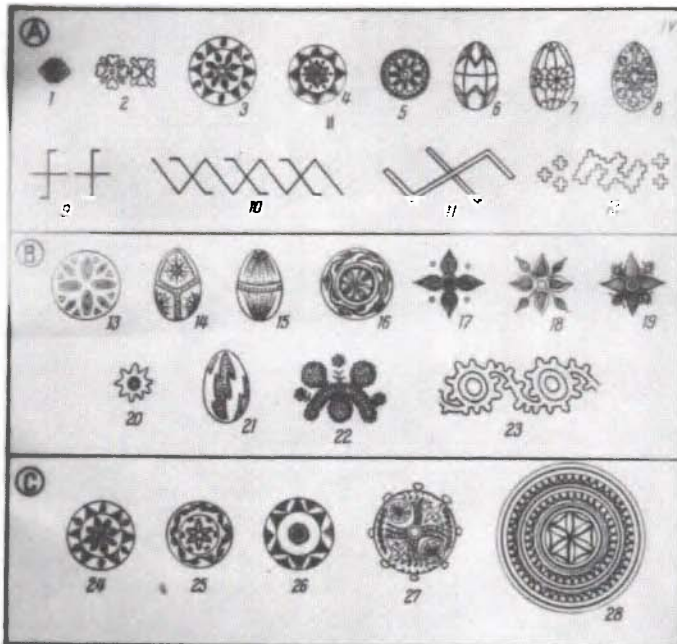
Figure 4. Cosmomorphic ornaments. A. Geometric: 1–12 (Romania; Dunăre). B. Freely designed: 13–23 (Romania; Dunăre). C. Mixed: 24–27 (Romania; Dunăre), 28 (Romania; Petrescu)

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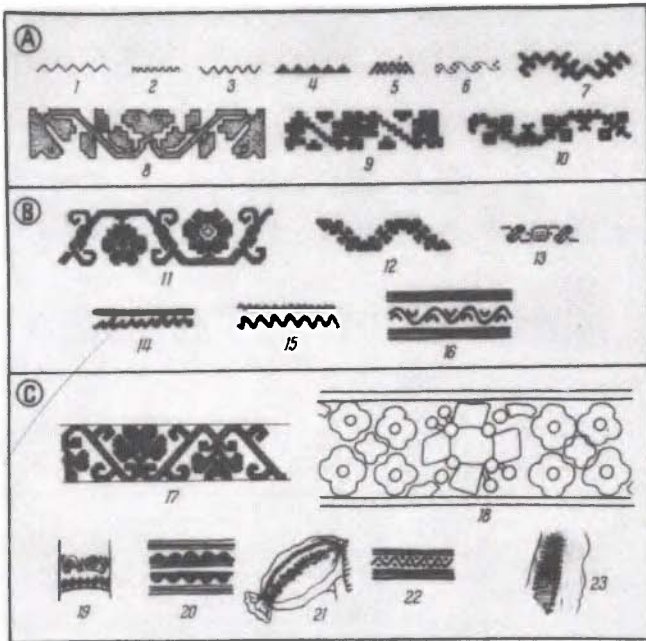
Figure 5. Geomorphic ornaments. A. Geometric: 1–10. B. Freely designed: 11–16. C. Mixed: 17–23 (Romania; Dunăre)
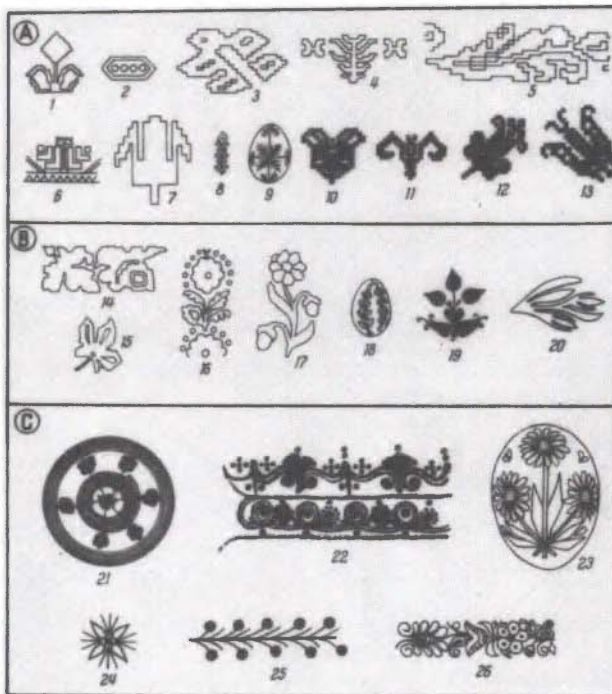
Figure 6. Phytomorphic ornaments. A. Geometric: 1–9 (Romania; Dunăre), 10–13 (Saxons, Romania; Hoffmann). B. Freely designed: 14–20 (Romania; Dunăre). C. Mixed: 21–22 (Romania; Petrescu), 23–26 (Slovakia; Pranda)
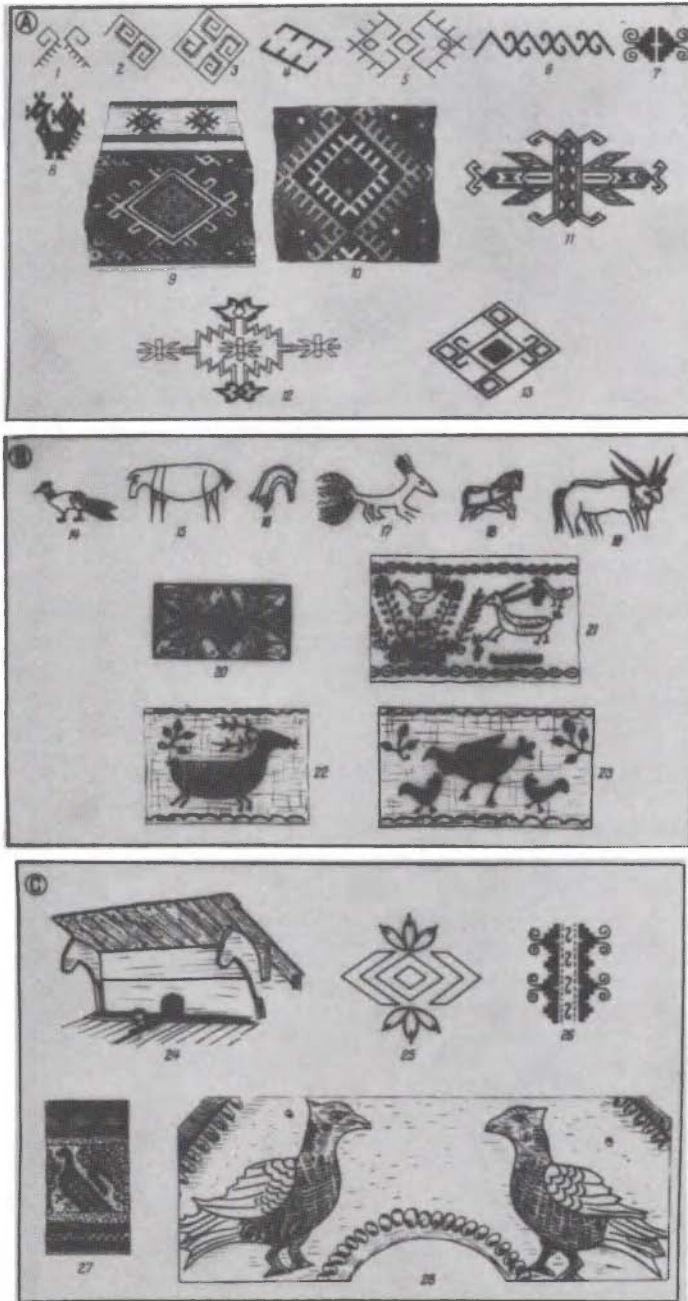
Figure 7. Zoomorphic ornaments. A. Geometric: 1–10 (Romania; Dunăre, Petrescu), 11–12 (Turkmenistan; Azadi and Vossen), 13 (Asia Minor; Züber). B. Freely designed: 14–19 (Romania; Dunăre), 20 (North Germanic peoples; Worringer), 21–23 (Czechoslovakia, Bohemia; Vaclavik and Orel). C. Mixed: 24 (Romania; Petrescu), 25–26 (Romania; Dunăre), 27 (Czechoslovakia; Vaclavik and Orel), 28 (Germany, Schaumburg-Lippe; Lücking)
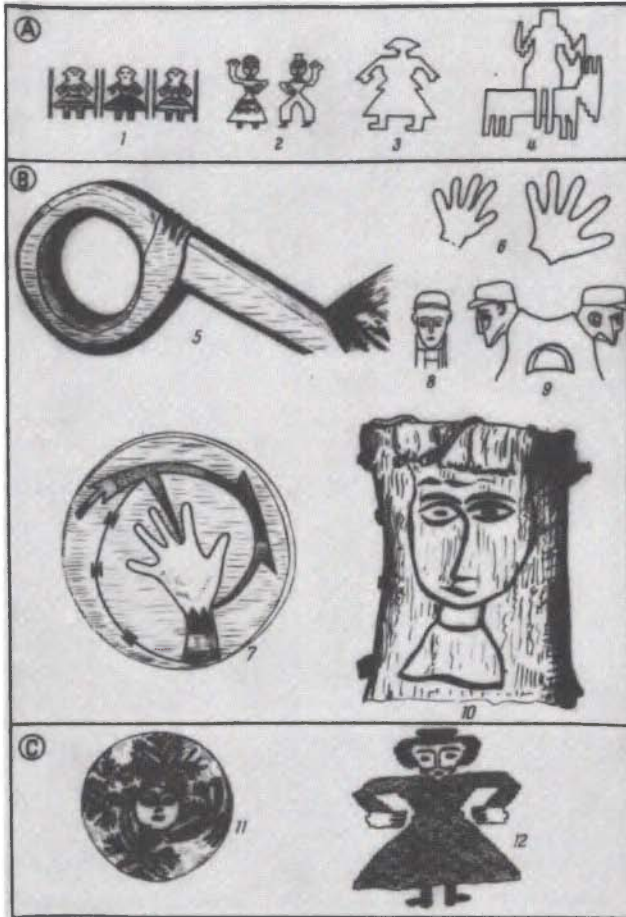
Figure 8. Anthropomorphic ornaments. A. Geometric: 1–4 (Romania; Dunăre). B. Freely designed: 5 (Romania; Petrescu), 6 (Australia; Lommel), 7 (Indians, North America; Tentori), 8–9 (Romania; Dunăre), 10 (Romania; Petrescu). C. Mixed: 11–12 (Romania; Petrescu)

1972:34). Symbolic ornaments (see Figure 11) depict mythological, folkloric, religious, heraldic, or emblematic designs (Rybakow 1957: 25; Joltovski 1958:64; Dunăre 1959b:70–80; 1964–1965:19–20; Lévi-Strauss 1962:316–318; Wolski 1969:449–470; Petrescu 1971:7–41).

In order to complete the characteristics stated in the above criteria, these same ornaments can be classed according to other criteria (Dunăre 1963:476; 1964–1965;14). From the historic standpoint (see Figure 12) three groups of ornaments can be distinguished: (A) traditional, found
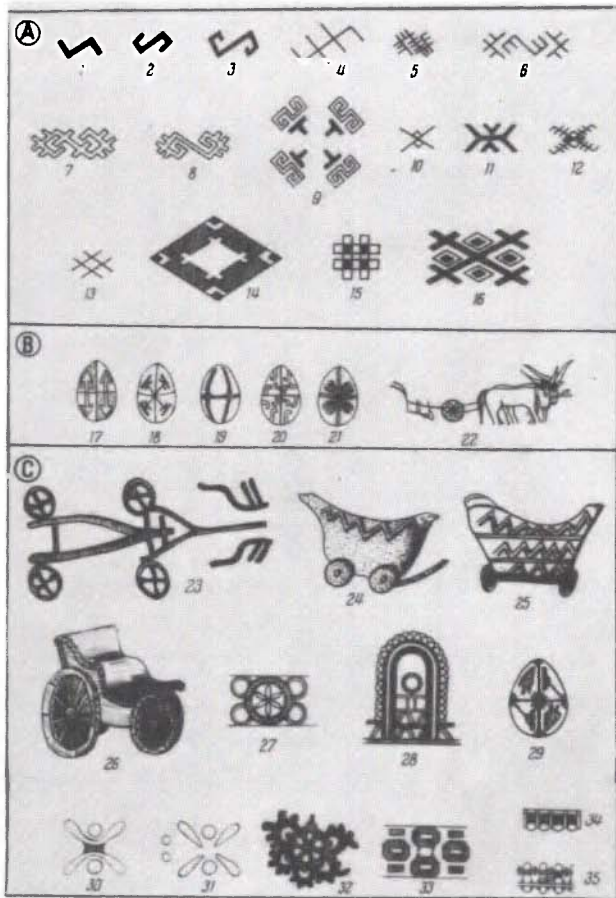
Figure 9. Skeomorphic ornaments. A. Geometric: 1–16 (Romania; Dunăre). B. Freely designed: 17–22 (Romania; Dunăre). C. Mixed: 23 (The Netherlands; Putschke), 24–25 (Ukraine; Putschke), 26 (Romania; Dunăre), 27–28 (Romania; Petrescu), 29–35 (Romania; Dunăre)

until the end of the Middle Ages; (B) transitional, appearing or developing in modern times; and (C) contemporary, ornaments generally made in the twentieth century. In order to distinguish between the ornaments of the first group, the ethnologist calls upon anthropology, archeology, art history, and medieval history; for the second group he relies upon museological and bibliographic sources; and for the final group he calls upon numerous present-day creators of folk ornaments. From a geographic standpoint, the ornaments can be divided into two groups: those which are autochthonous and those which are heteroch-
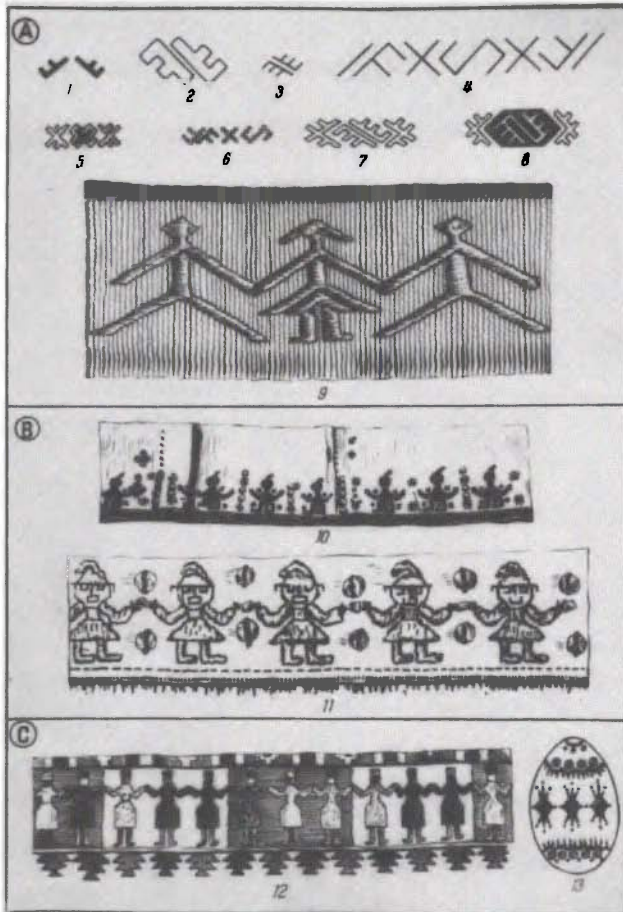
Figure 10. Social ornaments. A. Geometric: 1–8 (Romania; Dunăre), 9 (Romania; Petrescu). B. Freely designed: 10–11 (Romania; Petrescu). C. Mixed: 12 (Romania; Petrescu), 13 (Romania; Dunăre)

thonous (see Figure 13). The autochthonous ornaments made their appearance among the inhabitants of a given locality or region, in the culture of a people, or they reflect the phenomenon of polygenesis, where they originate from certain technical, psychological, and sociohistorical conditions independently among several peoples belonging to the same continent or to different continents. The heterochthonous ornaments spread by means of interethnic or even intercontinental contacts.

As for ornaments and decorative modalities covering a large geographical area (see Figure 14), there is added interest in the marking,
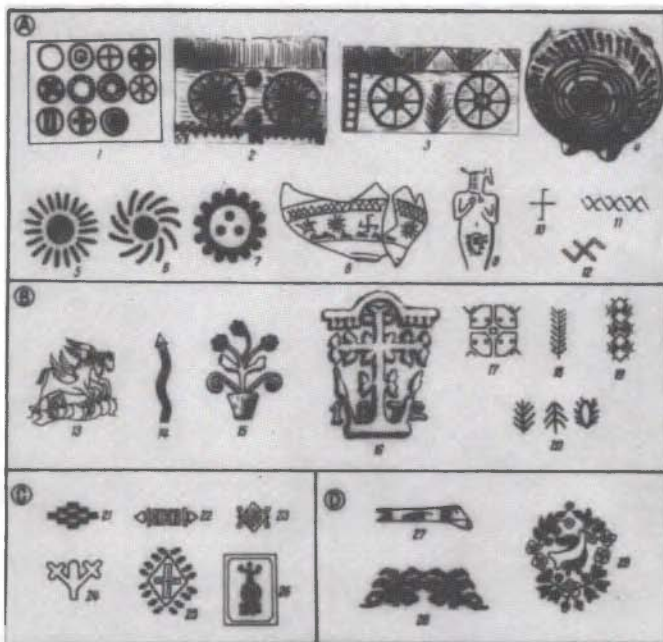
Figure 11. Symbolic ornaments. A. Mythological: 1 (Cucuteni-Tripolje Culture; Wolski), 2 (Romania; Petrescu), 3–4 (idem), 5–7 (Bihor, Romania), 8–9 (Asia Minor; Wolski), 10–12 (Romania; Dunăre). B. Folklorical: 13–14 (Romania; Dunăre), 15–16 (Romania; Petrescu), 17–19 (Romania; Dunăre), 20 (Cucuteni-Tripolje Culture; Wolski). C. Religious: 21–26 (Romania; Dunăre). D. Heraldic or emblematic: 27 (Bororo tribe, Brazil; Levi-Strauss), 28–29 (Romania; Dunăre).

tattooing, or masking of certain articulatory members or other parts of the human body (Schuster, 1951:3–52). Without excluding the role of intercontinental cultural ties in the remote past, distances in time and space as well as ethnological differences between the populations of South America, Australia, Oceania, etc., can be more easily explained by taking into account the existence of certain inborn relationships and needs. The use and, more importantly, the preservation of methods of this type give rise to an explanation that is, both structural (Levi-Strauss 1958:269–288) and polygenetic, Dunăre 1959a:497–521; 1959b:229–239.

Much of the time, the factors that have determined the kind of marking, tattooing, or masking of certain suitable parts of the human body (face, shoulder, knee, navel, etc.) by means of graphic elements were related to functions of magic (protection against "evil spirits" which might wish to enter the body through these "doors"), of psychology (replacement of an individual's condition with that of some other per-
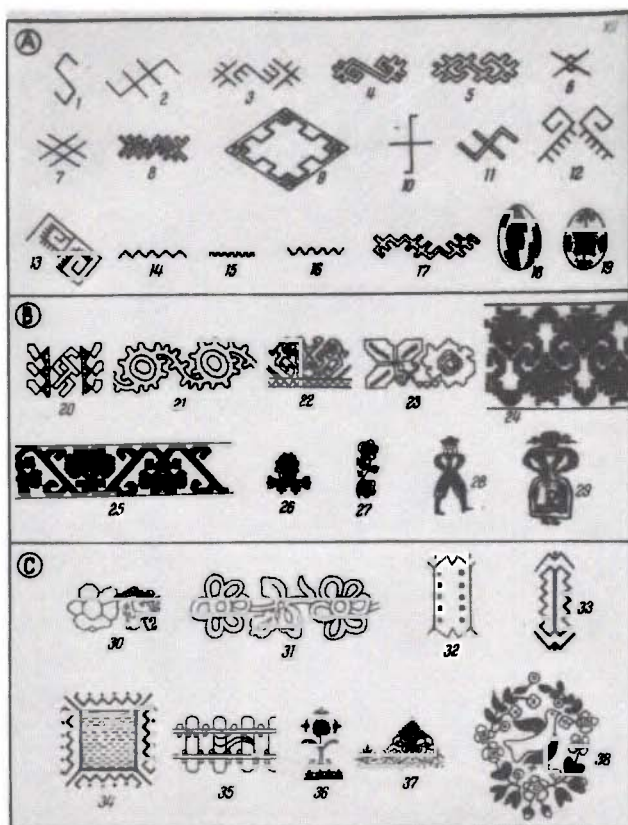
Figure 12. Classification from a historical point of view. A. Traditional ornaments: 1–19 (Romania; Dunăre). B Ornaments from the transitional period: 20–27 (Romania; Dunăre), 28–29 (Romania; Banateanu). C. Contemporary ornaments: 30–38 (Romania; Dunăre).

son), and of sociology (to emphasize a particular situation in the community). With many old ornaments it is evident that in the beginning the artistic element played a secondary role. Its importance increased gradually. This decorative process with its broad geographical distribution occurs at the same time as does that of masking certain parts, with the masks having more complex functions, including a decorative one (Lévi-Strauss 1958:291; Vulcănescu 1970:11–30, 273–279).

This multilateral classification totally eliminates the confusion between abstract ornaments and geometric ones. An element, a design, or a geometric ornamental composition, which is freely designed or mixed from a morphological standpoint, can be abstract, concrete, social, or symbolic from a thematic standpoint. The same ornaments can be characterized in terms of different structures; from the historical standpoint
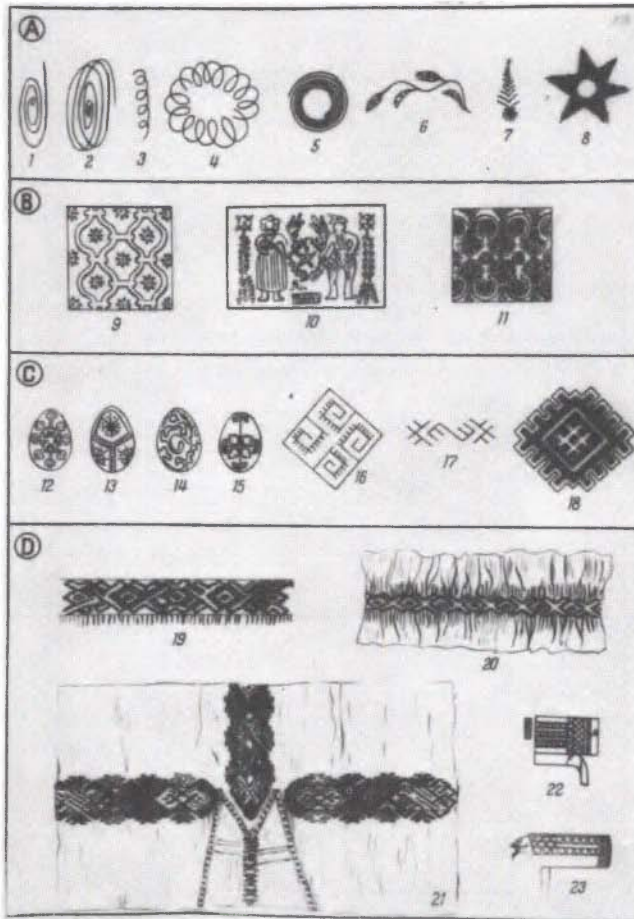
Figure 13.   Classification from a geographical point of view. A. Ornaments originating in a specific locality: 1–4 (black ceramic, Marginea, Romania), 5–8 (glazed ceramic, Hurez, Romania). B. Regional ornamentation: 9 (Romanian terra cotta, Monts Apuseni), 10 (Saxon terra cotta, Transylvania, Romania), 11 (Hungarian terra cotta, Harghita region, Romania). C. Imported ornamentation: 19–21 (brought from the northwest Carpathians to the south-eastern slopes), 22–23 (brought from the southeast Carpathians to the north-western slopes)

being either traditional, transitional, or contemporary and from the geographical standpoint autochthonous or heterochthonous. During the process of development each one of them can be or become geometric or freely designed, and in addition the ornamental compositions can have or acquire a mixed morphology. Finally, the mixed character of one ornament or another can be distinguished not only from the morphological-thematic point of view, but also from the structural-historical-geographical one.
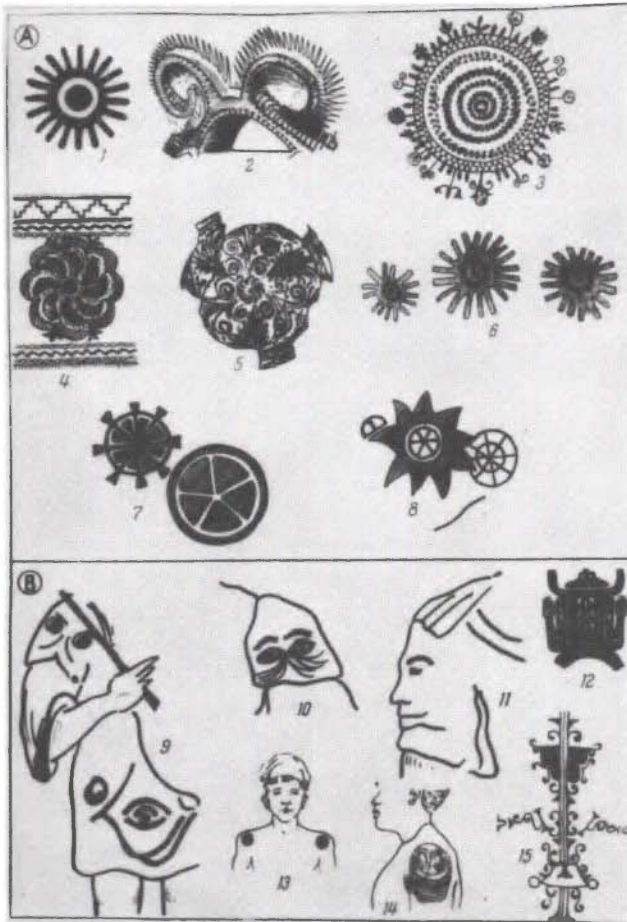
Figure 14. Ornaments and decorative variations with a large geographical distribution. A. Sun and sun symbols: 1–2 (Romania), 3–4 (Czechoslovakia), 5 (Anatolia, Asia Minor), 6 (Indonesia and Oceania), 7–8 (California). B. Marking, tattooing, and the act of masking different parts of the human body for mythological, psychological, and social reasons: 9 (marking on the shoulder and the navel, religious folk painting, District of Bîrza, Romania), 10–11 (idem, Buzău region and district of Vrancea, Romania), 12 (markings on the palms and shoulders, Australia, Oceania), 15 (mask and form of facial painting, Caduevo-Guaicuru Indians, Brazil)

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Methods of Research and Documentation of Popular Art in Czechoslovakia

JAROSLAV OREL

Popular art is the continual work of generations and a manifestation of the genius of the people in every nation. An inseparable part of popular culture, it shows up in the relationship between popular customs and their creative demonstration by the people. The ethnographical contents are a significant mark of popular art. Registration of ancient techniques of popular creation, their analysis, and the incorporation of this information in the work of modern popular artists are the specialized tasks of the ethnographers working in Czechoslovakia at the Central Office of Popular Artistic Production.

We include popular artistic production in applied ethnography. We define it as the manufacture of useful objects, artistically formed, mostly in natural materials, by workers who continue in popular tradition the experience of handmade production. The marks of popular art are the wholeness of the work, which demonstrates a knowledge of the properties of the natural material, and its production by hand.

Encouragement of popular artistic production in Czechoslovakia is ensured by laws passed in 1945, 1957, and 1958, which established the Central Office of Popular Artistic Production in Prague, and in Bratislava. These laws maintain and protect the tradition and foster development of the heritage by modern popular artists — the bearers of tradition. The extent, contents, and marks of identification of artistic creation were published in the papers from the VIIth and VIIIth International Congresses of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in Moscow (1964) and in Tokyo and Kyoto (1968).

Popular art is a tie with tradition. By tradition we mean the collection of individual forms of national cultural heritages transferred from generation to generation. They are systems and orders which have remained in the memory of the people. They have played a large part in the shaping of

life, in the material, spiritual, and social field. Tradition, a formative factor in the village community, has been guarded by the collective, which used moral sanctions in cases of violation of the deep-rooted norms.

The genial composer, Leoš Janáček emphasized the following principle for the evaluation of tradition: no overestimation, no underestimation — knowledge. We do not see tradition as a statistical collection of values and marks, but as a continual development enriching modern life.

Popular plastic art and popular artistic production in close contact with tradition form the differentiated stream of one national culture. They prove strikingly the possibility of coexistence between tradition and contemporaneity. In this age of technical civilization, such coexistence is a very important emotional antipole when the machine stands between nature and man.

In solving problems, the Central Office of Popular Artistic Production does research on the appearance, technology, and morphology of artifacts, and on the ideological and artistic evaluation of such items. The office also tries to discover talented popular producers and documents their production. Ethnographic research involves the following five methods:

1. Rough exploration of wider regional territories.
2. Complex investigation of narrower territorial wholes, ethnographically defined.
3. Thematic investigation of the individual branches or artifacts of popular art.
4. Exploratory contests, which establish the existence of recent popular production.
5. Documentation of investigatory information through sketches, photographs, and film.

By *rough exploration* we understand an activity which helps us to establish the extent, location, and general characteristics of popular hand-made production in the field. Its aim is to acquaint ethnographers with the occurrence of living popular production and to make contact with popular artists. A rough exploration contains a description and brief history of the territory explored, occupations of the inhabitants, statements of the popular producers and informants in the work directories, reports from museums, a list of territorial artifacts, registration of popular architecture and national costumes, a bibliography of publications in the investigated region, maps, negatives, photographs, sketches, and a list of chronicles in the locality explored. These investigated materials outline the extent of popular production in the field. The materials further indicate the terminology and technology used in working with the following media: (1) earth, (2) glass, (3) stone, (4) metal, (5) natural wickerwork, (6) wood, (7) textiles, (8) leather, (9) other common material, paper, mother-of-pearl, horn, (10) popular painting, e.g. pictures on

glass, (11) popular architecture, and (12) folkloric artifacts, e.g. Easter eggs and popular figural pastry.

Complex investigation is directed toward registration of those centers of popular productive tradition established by rough exploration. It is carried out systematically according to regions, districts, and communities. Besides information for productive activity, it offers important cultural documents on present traditional popular production.

Thematic investigation, most important of all research operations, uses modern documentary methods in the greatest material and technological detail.

New methods of work, such as the *exploratory contests,* are added to such classical methods of investigation. In the year 1970, for instance, the regional Central Office of Popular Artistic Production in Brno, in cooperation with the regional museum in southeastern Moravia in Gottwaldov, organized a contest for the most beautiful Easter egg and Easter egg inscription. In 1971, the regional center of the Central Office of Popular Artistic Production in Prague, in cooperation with the West Bohemian museum in Plzeň, prepared a contest for the finest popular lace. In 1972, cooperation between the Central Office of Popular Artistic Production in Prague and the Valašský open air museum in Rožnov pod Radhoštem produced a contest on the best popular tissue.

These contests, which will be continued by the Central Office of Popular Artistic Production, yielded remarkable proof of the viability of traditional popular production, enriched by the talent of modern artisans. They offered evidence that the age-old talent of a creative people does not die, but develops anew and takes its place in everyday life with its beauty and its usefulness.

The results gained by these four methods of investigation are recorded in *documentation*. Since 1966, the documentary practice has been enriched by television films. The employment of audiovisual techniques for documentation of the work of modern popular artists has been a primary contribution of the Central Office of Popular Artistic Production. In cooperation with Czechoslovak Television, a television serial, "From the Springs of Living Water," was begun in 1966, on this cultural heritage. The program has recorded the processing of mother-of-pearl, the decorating of Easter eggs, and the technique of batik work with wax, as well as engraving, positive painting, and the gluing of straw embroidery onto leather belts using a peacock's quill. It also recorded the work of the Moravian hand-weavers, the sewing and knotting of tie-dye work, the ancient textile art of binding on a frame such as was familiar in ancient Egypt, the popular production in wood which involves decoration by scoring and pouring on tin, the making of toys and their decoration by engraving on smoked wood, the forming of figural pastry, the making of wooden doves, the handcarving of wood, the sewing of popular national

costumes with their regional differences, and the making of lace. These films, which have also been incorporated into the programs of the Eurovisional and Intervisional Companies, document present popular production. Two of these have been included in the film program of the IXth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in Chicago.

Research materials acquired by the use of such methods are the basis of the activity of the Central Office of Popular Artistic Production in Czechoslovakia. In this institution there is no barrier between research and production. The results of investigation are projected onto production, theory serves practice.
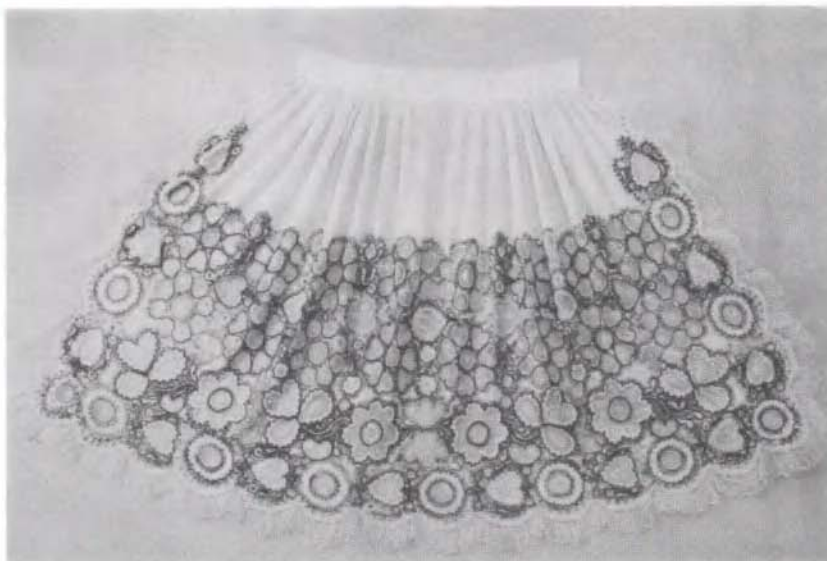
Plate 1. Hand-embroidered apron, part of national costume, south Bohemia, end of nineteenth century

Plate 2. Embroidery on child bed curtain, Moravia, 1870
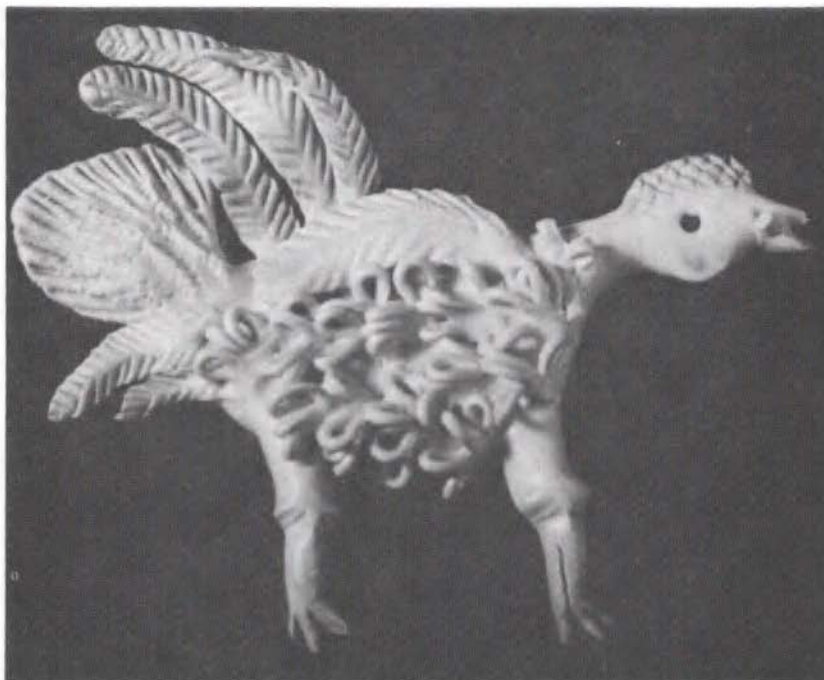
Plate 3.   Dove, figural popular pastry from Vizovice in Moravia, 1971

Plate 4.   Painter of Easter eggs from Nivnice in Moravia, birthplace of J. A. Komensky, 1972
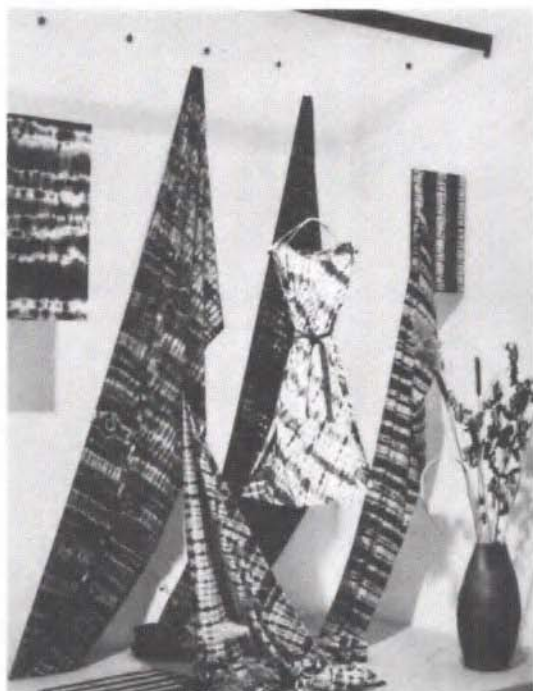
Plate 5. Hand-knotted tie-dye work, dyed with indigo Brno, 1972

Plate 6. Figural vintner's press, Moravia, 1847

Plate 7.   Shepherd, pottery,
Slovakia, 1965

Plate 8.   Wooden   chest
(súsek) Slovakia, end of
nineteenth century

Plate 9. Shepherd's wooden dish (*črpák*), twentieth century

Plate 10. Bobbin-lace, Slovakia, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

Plate 11.　Household items of natural materials recently produced in the spirit of the principles of popular production, Central Office of Popular Artistic Production, Prague, 1972

Icons Painted on Glass in Yugoslavia

STEFKA COBELJ

Paintings on glass, a manifestation of Baroque art, are often seen in museums and private collections. Unfortunately they are rarely found outside such collections. The many different aspects and the creative intensity of Baroque art were reflected in all forms of artistic creation, and in such a way that it succeeded in reaching all social levels. Throughout Europe, Baroque art was associated with a period of social change rooted in deep political and religious crises. Another factor contributing to the Baroque expression were the dramatic changes in southeastern Europe that were creating strong disturbances and general instability. The powerful pressure of the Turks — their conquest of the Balkans and their increasing expansion into the lands along the Danube, culminating in their arrival at the gates of Vienna — seriously threatened all Europe.

The weakening of the Turkish Empire was the reason for the liberation of northern Yugoslavia (Slovenia) in 1593 after the Battle of Sisak and was instrumental in settling certain internal matters and generally stabilizing that region. This process took considerably longer in the border regions of the Turkish Empire because the Croatian mainland, Slavonia, and Vojvodina were liberated from the Turks only after the signing of a peace treaty in Karlovac in 1699 (see Map 1).

Only after the elimination of the Turkish threat, in fact after the termination of the Austro-Turkish war (1683–1699), did Baroque art make its way powerfully throughout all the Christian lands of Europe, including the Slavic. Its acceptance in the southeastern region, however, was interrupted by specific political situations. There were also temporal and creative differences, particularly because the development of Baroque art depended upon uneven conditions of culture, and because its social intermediaries differed essentially from those in western Europe.

AUSTRIA

HUNGARY

SLOVENIJA

SLAVONIJA

RUMANIA

VOJVODINA

HRVATSKA

BEOGRAD

1 KRANJ
2 SOMBOR
3 STAPAR
4 RUSKI KRSTUR
5 ZRENJANIN
6 BELA CRKVA

BAČKA

BANAT

SREM

Map 1.

With the stabilization of economic conditions, Baroque art received an unexpected impetus. Spiritual power growing out of new conditions induced by a new orientation in style launched the Baroque into continuing creative action. In addition to rich architectural inventions, high quality sculpture contributed considerably. Painting was the most important contribution of Baroque art and we should remember, among other things, the great accomplishments of illusionist painters.

Luxury and rich decoration were integral to the unity for which Baroque was striving: the glorification of the victory of Christianity. This direction of ideas had an impact on the chosen thematic range in the arts, constantly stimulated by enlargement of the repertory and by the introduction of new forms. As a convenient and practical variant for popularizing such a program, there was the introduction of a new type of painting — paintings done on glass offering special possibilities and a restraint of the interpretation of chosen motifs to a very wide public.

The technique of painting on the back of glass was not an ordinary handicraft, but a particular, spontaneous, and original way of discovering a mystic aspect of life filled with a rich spectrum of impressions entered into while employing traditional spatial principles. The genesis of such a mode of creation brought about special effects that had an impact on emotions and vision, and thus gave character to the painting. These

special effects were expressed through clear construction, bright colors, and the naiveté of the folk themes and decorations.

In its long history the technique of painting on glass does not represent a novelty, but never before that time (the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) had it had such a general hold on one particular region. In this period all of central Europe was filled with paintings on glass. Bought for the most remote settlements and sold at every fair, they decorated churches and chapels. They were most often used to decorate rural rather than urban homes. With the same intensity they spread to the east, where their production continued until modern times.

Schmidt (1972) notes that the western European workshops that practiced painting on glass used approximately a hundred different motifs. We note that Roman Catholic religious themes predominated. Among these workshops were some that used profane as well as religious themes. The repertory of motifs employed by this technique in Orthodox eastern Europe was exclusively religious in content. So it was in the mainly Orthodox lands along the Danube that it existed. Only the national minorities — Czechs, Hungarians, Germans, Slovaks, and Sokci — were Roman Catholic and Protestant. The Russians belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church.

In the art of the eastern European Orthodox Church (and the Greek Orthodox Church), icons predominated. There were relatively few figures of the Madonna with Christ, the Coronation of the Virgin, the Crucifixion and the Trinity. We most often find images of popular saints — images of archangels, Saints Dimitrije, George, Ilija, John, Lazar, Nikola, Paraskeva, Peter, and Paul. Saints Stevan and Toma and other motifs were known mainly from icons or church paintings, as well as from manuscripts, printed books, Bibles, or sacred songs, which were sometimes illustrated. The work of foreign engravers and local artists — Hristofor Zefarović (who lived around 1753) and, even more, Zaharije Orfelin (1720–1785) and other painters who had studied abroad — exerted considerable influence. Oriented toward western Europe, they introduced Baroque elements into the art of the regions along the Danube that were esteemed by painters of icons on glass until the end of the nineteenth century.

Besides the motifs of the saints already mentioned, one occasionally encounters such narrative subjects as the Entry into Jerusalem, the Last Supper, the Entombment, Saints Marko, Sergije, and Vakh, Saints Kuzman and Damnjan, and motifs foreign to our climate, such as "Christ pressing grapes." Among Serbian saints, Saints Sava, Simeon, and Lazar the Serbian were painted. Their figures were, however, very rarely preserved in paintings on glass.

With reference to Greek Orthodox, one can, in fact, discuss icons painted on the back of glass, which in this region replaced icons on wood.

At first, icons on glass were hardly accessible to an ordinary man; later, they were in many homes, not as wall decorations, but as cult articles, performing fundamental protective functions. With time, the application of Baroque elements triumphed to such a degree that the old styles occasionally disappeared and were revived only to refresh traditional ties with the homeland, above all that of the Serbs and the Russians.

The use of gold as a decorative element on icons and iconostases and, of course, icons on glass, became even more popular. Aureoles of the saints, the hems of their garments (especially when the subject was the Madonna with Jesus), various rosettes, strips dividing or bordering a composition, and other decorative elements served as a supplement to strong coloristic elements. Frequently, an especially bright red was used, contrasting with light or dark blue. Less frequently green was used. There was considerable use of white, and occasionally the whole spectrum of colors was employed.

In the regions along the Danube, icons on glass were produced as a result of the importation of cults of different saints, so greatly esteemed by the peoples of central Europe — particularly during the eighteenth century. This went to such extremes (even hysteria) that in Austria, for instance, the government interceded. By the middle of the century, certain religious manifestations had been forbidden by special edicts. These edicts, however, were not effective, and final settlement was reached at the end of the eighteenth century through the reforms of Joseph the Second. But these cults — above all the cults of Saints Mary, John, and Florijan, and of Mary Magdalene — were revived during the nineteenth century.

This was particularly reflected in the enormous production of paintings on glass that culminated in the middle of the nineteenth century. The immense production in this medium in the middle of the last century could be seen in the border regions of Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Austria. There glass manufacturing was traditional, and the Vincenc Köck of the remote village of Sandl had about twenty workshops for manufacturing panes of glass. The complete facilities of these workshops were used for painting on the back of glass. These glassworks, staffed with glaziers, painters, and carpenters, reached an unprecedented degree of activity during the period between 1852 and 1864. In little more than a decade, the number of manufactured paintings, all intended for the commercial market, had reached 386,000 (Knaipp 1959:11).

In addition to this and similar glassworks in Austria, there were excellent workshops for painting on glass in Switzerland, in southern Germany, and in Silesia. All of these manufacturers exported their products and popularized them in Russia, Spain, and Portugal (Knaipp 1959:13) and, in addition, exported them to America (Boesch 1955). Czechoslovakia (Vydra 1957), too, produced a great number of paintings

and set a high standard of craftsmanship. By the seventeenth century, Czechoslovakia had surpassed Venice in glass processing. Moravia, southern Hungary, Slovenia and Croatia participated considerably less in manufacturing paintings on glass. In eastern Europe, the painting of icons, with the exception of the regions along the Danube, took place in the southeastern and eastern parts of Poland (Grabowski 1968) and in the Ukraine. The most active glass workshops were in the region of present-day Romania and, particularly, in Moldavia and Transylvania (Irimie and Fosca 1968).

The eastern region, that is, the region along the Danube, was introduced to glass painting through imports. Direct instruction was obtained from Sandl in Austria, which, in addition to a large and important production, had an imposing trade network (Knaipp 1959:10). From existing documents relating to the business affairs of these glassworks, it can be seen that the products from Sandl were sent to sixty-eight different regions of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. Paintings on glass came all the way from Sandl to the regions along the Danube, to the capital, to Stoni Belgrade, to Mohad, to Baja, and to Segedin. In Banat, Sandl had its own market in Temisvar and in Severin on the Danube. It has also been established from archival material that Sandl paintings were produced representing Serbian saints, painted according to Byzantine iconography and inscribed in the Cyrillic alphabet (Knaipp 1959:10–12).

In our region, the first paintings on glass seem to have been sold at fairs, just as in western Europe. Probably here too the sellers passed through villages, visiting houses and offering their goods in the way illustrated by the painter Father Neuhauser in an 1819 painting depicting a merchant of paintings on glass at a fair in Transylvania (Irimie and Fosca 1968:13). The seller had a high pole on which glass paintings were hung according to size (see Plate 1) so that the curious and those interested in buying could not touch the delicate goods. Paintings on glass were thus clearly presented, and this original way of offering goods facilitated the seller's movements through the crowds at fairs. It is also quite possible that, during the time when domestic icon painters did not as yet accept such a mode of painting, traveling painters went through villages where they would paint a saint or any other icon on glass to order for a customer.

Thanks to a patriarchal way of life, the region along the Danube has preserved a significantly larger number of icons on glass than is the case with the Panonian plain and the Alpine regions (Slavonia, that is, Croatia, and Slovenia) where glass paintings can rarely be found in houses. Along the Danube, especially in remote places, there are still icons on glass in peasant homes. It should be remembered that in Orthodox households there can be found at least two icons, one for *slava* and the other for *preslava* [patron saint's day]. During the period of family communes, the number of icons in homes increased with every new marital tie.

Plate 1.   Selling of glass icons in the first half of the nineteenth century

In the home, the icons had a dominant place because they were thought to protect the host; that is, they functioned as guardians of the house, of members of the household, and of property. This can also be concluded from the custom, still in use, forbidding an icon to be removed from a house. In Banat and Backa, for instance, if a house and estate were sold, the owner moved all his belongings with him, but he left the icon behind. Broken icons were not thrown away, but left in pieces in the attic behind a chimney, further evidence of the attitude toward icons in these regions (Filipović 1952:86).

In Sombor and its surroundings the custom upon the death of a house-holder was that his icon for the *slava* be carried with him to the graveyard where it was left in the graveyard church or chapel (Filipović 1952:79). Because the graveyard of Sombor had accumulated so many icons on glass, the church authorities of Sombor decided twenty years ago to "bury" the icons in the graveyard. On that occasion they dug a grave, threw in the icons, and covered them with earth (Filipović 1952:79).

In addition to autochthonous places, icons on glass may, of course, be found in museums and in private collections. The Ethnographical

Museum in Belgrade has several characteristic examples, and a very interesting collection of about fifty icons on glass was brought together by the well-known Belgrade collector, Radenko Peric. In his collection are represented the most important examples of the glass workshops of Sombor and of the Rusins, that is, of the workshops of Backa and Banat. These icons were made for the Serbs of Vojvodina, for the ethnic minorities of the Romanians and Vlachs, for the members of the Greek Orthodox Church, and for the Tzintzars. Next to Belgrade, the most important collections of glass icons are to be found in the Museum of Vojvodina in Novi Sad, in the Town Museum in Sombor, and in the museums of Zrenjanin, Senta, and Vrsac.

Icon-making was, as we have already mentioned, especially developed in the Carpathian Danube basin (present-day Romania). For us it is most interesting that, in most cases, these icons have Cyrillic inscriptions. The quantity of their manufacture in this region can be determined by the total number of registered icons in Romania, which reaches several thousand. Most of them are scattered over various collections, but a record number of them are in Bucharest which, in its open air museum, exhibits extraordinary examples of icons on glass. The Ethnographical Museum also has an important collection of glass icons, and surprisingly, there are fourteen private collections of glass icons in Bucharest (Irimie and Fosca 1968:20).

We have already mentioned the export of glass icons to the lands along the Danube by the Austrian settlement of Sandl, which must have been very active by the beginning of the nineteenth century (Ruvarac 1902). From existing material, however, it can be established that icons on glass were probably brought from Silesia, Czechoslovakia, Moravia, and Romania, and that they had some influence on domestic workshops which apparently accepted this unique way of painting without reservation, as the first domestic icons on glass were already being produced by the middle of the eighteenth century. During the great migration of 1690, the Orthodox population came from southern territories to the region along the Danube. For many centuries, these people had had a tradition of painting icons on wood, and they did not resist the new elements of style when the region had to adapt itself to new political and social circumstances. Artists began to cherish the Baroque characteristics which by that time had found their way into architecture and painting, and thus into the exteriors and interiors of churches and homes.

To meet the needs of the masses, domestic icon painters also adopted the popular, modern method of painting icons on glass, a procedure which was technically much simpler than painting on wood. Classical icon painters had previously noted the principles set forth in various textbooks on painting, among them the so-called Erminij, which was no longer in use. At that time, the material for the production of a classical icon must

have been even cheaper than the piece of glass required for the new way
of painting, as it is known that at first icons on glass were hardly accessible
to the poorer classes. This region had to import glass because it did not
have its own glassworks. Glass was therefore very expensive until, by the
middle of the eighteenth century, it began to be widely used.

In the first half of the eighteenth century in Vojvodina, glass was so rare
that in the list of churches in Srem, compiled in 1732 and 1733, the
churches with glass windows were particularly mentioned. On that occa-
sion, for the first time, icons on the back of glass were registered. Of one
hundred churches listed, only three had glass icons: the new stone church
in the village of Susek; the new church made of "brick and unbaked
bricks" in Zemun; and the new church built of wattled fence in the village
of Miskovac (Ruvarac 1902).

Because icons on glass were the work of unknown painters, it is difficult
to establish data on the identities of their creators, and in the absence of
written documents, it is difficult to study their activities. To attempt to
establish the number of workshops for paintings on glass in Yugoslavia,
and particularly in the regions along the Danube, is complicated. In
specialized literature there are only a few articles dealing with this prob-
lem. In recent years Makarović of the Ethnographical Museum in Ljubl-
jana has explored this topic in depth. He has tried to divide the material
into separate groups and to discover not only the workshops of origin, but
also individual artists (Makarović 1962). As Slovenia had some glass-
works, it was natural that painting on glass should have developed in that
region. Makarović has succeeded in finding several workshops in the
vicinity of Kranj, but his investigations are still in progress.

Quite a few ethnologists have shown an interest in the southeastern
area, that is, the region along the Danube. These ethnologists collected
icons on the back of glass for their museum collections. In specialized
literature, Filipović, the ethnologist and anthropogeographer from Sare-
jevo, has dealt with this problem. He detailed (1952) the existence of two
workshops, one in Sombor and the other in Stapar near Sombor. He also
mentioned the possibility that icons on the back of glass had been painted
earlier in Zrenjanin, and possibly somewhere in Srem as well, though he
gave no detailed explanation for this theory. More recently, the art
historian, Dinko Davidov, has become interested in glass icons, and, as a
collector, he organized two exhibitions accompanied by catalogues for
which he provided prefaces (Davidov 1966, 1970:117–123). But there
are as yet no new accounts of painting on glass in the regions along the
Danube.

According to Filipović, at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning
of the nineteenth century icons on the back of glass were painted by a
woman whose name is missing, but who is known to have been a member
of the Protić family (Filipović 1952:80). At that time women occupied

themselves with painting only in special circumstances, so that this case was exceptional, particularly because it occurred at a time when a woman could not take part in any public activity at all, least of all occupy herself with icon painting. At that time iconographers were exclusively men.

The work of this woman painter from Sombor, about whom we have no other data, was continued by her granddaughter, Sofija Protić (1818–1902), called Suzana. She later married a teacher in Sombor and took his surname, Manojlović. She had learned the technique of painting on glass as a small girl from her grandmother, and despite her large family (she had four sons and two daughters) she, too, painted icons on glass, for which she was popularly called "Water Mother" (Filipović 1952:80). In fact, the works of Sofija and her grandmother encompassed more than a century as grandmother Protić had probably begun painting in the eighteenth century. The Ethnographical Museum in Belgrade has one icon representing Saint George, certainly her work, painted at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Sofija and her grandmother painted glass icons primarily on commission, as did other iconographers and painters working for clients. The icons were of different sizes. The standard size existed only in serial productions, as in glass workshops manufacturing paintings on glass for export. Without doubt, these icons on glass by the elder Protić belong to the group of older glass icons from the region along the Danube and were painted in the domestic glassworks. Saints were still usually painted in classically stiff poses with the attributes prescribed by the Orthodox canon. The coloring in these and other glass icons by Protić is much livelier than was usual and shows the influence of folklore. Baroque elements are also found. In the icon of Saint George, for instance, the saint is crowned by two Baroque-style angels, and the rich garments, shield, and crown of the sacred knight are heavily decorated, evidence of the victory of Baroque elements in this field of art.

The icons painted by the elder Protić had landscape backgrounds, and they were usually framed by a wide stripe of yellow or gold that crossed in the upper corners to form a border to this geometrical overlap. This stripe, in fact, very often substituted for the cartouche used in central European glass painting. When the painting was done on mirrors, which was typical of the Czech and Silesian workshops, the cartouche was regularly used. This, in fact, formed a richly engraved frame around the center motif.

In the icons on the back of glass done by Sofija Manojlović there is more intuition and original folklore imagery than was usual. Characteristically, she treated her monumental figures with a considerably freer line and color, only partially observing the classical way of representing the saint. Thus, she developed her own style: a slightly elongated figure of the saint, with long arms, small hands, and clumsily folded fingers, usually dressed in luxurious Baroque robes. As an example, the icon of Saint

Stevan from the Museum of Vojvodina in Novi Sad can serve very well
(see Plate 2). This type of saint was represented and repeated later by
other glass iconographers, just as were the divisions of the composition
and the decoration with a golden rosette.

In the custom of the age, Sofija decorated the draperies of the saints
more richly, but with the characteristic patterns her grandmother had
used. She used richer and more contrasting colors, and she put into her
painting her extraordinary sense of decoration. Sofija was not a
thoroughly trained painter, but by putting Baroque architecture in the
background of her painting, she skillfully indicated perspective (see Plate
3). Often it was one or more churches, depending on the space, that is, on
the figure of the saint, which, of course, depended on the size of the icon
and on the number of fields into which the icon had been divided. The
architecture in the background of Sofija's icons was always a Baroque

Plate 2.   Saint Steven by Sofija Manojlović; nineteenth century; Museum of Vojvodina;
32 × 42 centimeters

Plate 3. Saint Nikola by Sofija Manojlović; nineteenth century; Ethnological Museum, Belgrade; 28 × 36 centimeters; reg. n. 18575

church with one or more turrets. Baroque turrets, otherwise characteristic of sacred architecture in Vojvodina, were in use throughout the nineteenth century, although this architectural element had been imported through the introduction of Baroque during the reign of Maria Theresa.

Sofija, too, framed her icons in most cases with a wide golden or yellow stripe which did not always end in the upper part, as was the case with the elder Protić, but sometimes terminated strictly geometrically, in a half circle. It regularly had a large rosette where the stripes met, even when the field of the icon was divided into several parts. In a different way from her grandmother, Sofija "hemmed" her paintings with a golden stripe, but like her grandmother, she broke the monotony of the stripe with geometric ornament.

Sofija Manojlović usually painted the saints in her icons on a dark blue

background. She always wrote the inscriptions beside the figure of the saints horizontally and symmetrically on either side of the heads. Sometimes, for example in the icon of Saint Dimitrije (collection of R. Peric in Belgrade), where in the lower part there are two more saints, Stevan and Nikola, their names are written above the heads of both saints, thus separating the upper-lower zone from the lower-upper zone. The inscriptions on Sofija's icons are always in Cyrillic. She used Greek inscriptions only when she painted icons of the Madonna. All the inscriptions are written in beautiful, white, legible letters. This shows that, in contrast to some iconographers who could not even write the name of the saints they painted, Sofija was obviously quite well-educated. She showed her sense of decoration by introducing sprigs of flowers in the upper part of her composition. She usually placed a lily or a carnation symmetrically on either side of the saint, to fill in the space next to the inscription which was an ornament to the lower part of the painting where the architecture served as a background.

Sofija Manojlović framed all her icons in slightly cross-hatched and sometimes smooth frames which had interior borders complemented by narrow cross-hatched frames of red — another aid in identifying her work.

Besides these of the elder Protić and Sofija Manojlović, there were several glass icon workshops in Backa. It is not yet known whether in Stapar near Sombor, a village known for the manufacture of carpets in the eighteenth century, there were painters of icons on glass. But if we consider the case of the peasant Jova Savcin, who painted icons on glass in Stapar at the end of the last century and during the first years of the present century, it could be concluded that there existed a tradition of glass painting, not only in Sombor, but in Stapar as well. Icons painted by Jova Savcin are much like the works of Sofija Manojlović, but in contrast to other iconographers in Vojvodina, who painted icons on glass and remained anonymous, "house painter Jova" from Stapar regularly signed his work (Filipović 1952:80).

An important center for the manufacture of icons on glass existed in Ruski Krstur in Backa, considerably south of Sombor. A number of Rusins, a Uniate population from the Ukraine, had been moved to Vojvodina under the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the mid-eighteenth century. A certain number settled down in Ruski Krstur in 1746. Rusins are members of the Greek Orthodox church. By turning their backs on the outside world, they have succeeded in maintaining their ethnic unity (*Mala enciklopedija Prosveta*, volume two:457). The tradition of icon painting had surely been carried from their original homeland, so that it was no great problem to paint icons on glass.

It is difficult to discuss the oldest icons painted on glass by the painters of Krstur, considering the preserved material. In the collection made by

the church parish, in the parish building in Ruski Krstur, are about twenty glass icons, most of them painted on mirrors, products of the Czech and Silesian workshops. The icons, which can with certainty be attributed to the painters of Krstur (and there are only five), were most probably done during the second half of the nineteenth century.

In Ruski Krstur, several painters produced icons on glass. We shall discuss the workshop, which made icons on glass against a dark, sooty-brown background, and the painter, who painted icons in a folklore spirit. The painters who used a dark background usually painted the Crucifixion. Perhaps the most interesting is the Crucifixion, dated 1867, in the collection of R. Peric (see Plate 4). In this icon is the crucified Christ in the middle of a white field, with the figures of the Madonna and Saint John the Evangelist on either side, and the city of Jerusalem in the middle distance. Around the central field, framed by a gold stripe ending in gold rosettes in the corners, there are twelve scenes painted in twelve medallions framed in gold describing the passion of the Apostles. They are
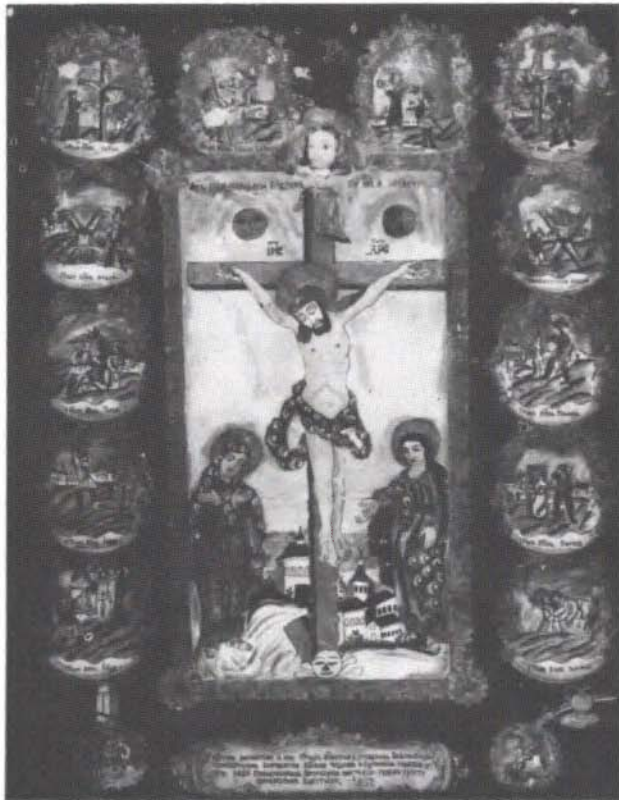
Plate 4. Crucifixion by painter of Ruski Krstur; nineteenth century; (Collection of R. Peric, Belgrade) 44 × 60 centimeters

related to the older type of Catholic *via crucis*. In the middle is an inscription stating that the icon had been made in "Keresture" in 1867.

In the glass icons from Krstur appears the type of Crucifixion in which the painter, in contrast to other iconographers on glass, painted on a sooty-brown background and always surrounded the painted field next to the frame with a red line and then with a gold and white line with which he also divided the smaller fields in the lower, painted zone (see Plate 5). The exterior, lacelike finished border is in gold, so that one gets the impression that the whole composition was painted on a red base. When the master from Krstur painted the Crucifixion, he completed his composition with a half circle in the upper part and decorated the red base in the corners with white rosettes. Thus, he achieved an extraordinary impression and gave the necessary freshness and liveliness to the composition.

These compositions of the Crucifixion (one of which is in the above-mentioned collection in Ruski Krstur, another in the Museum of Voj-
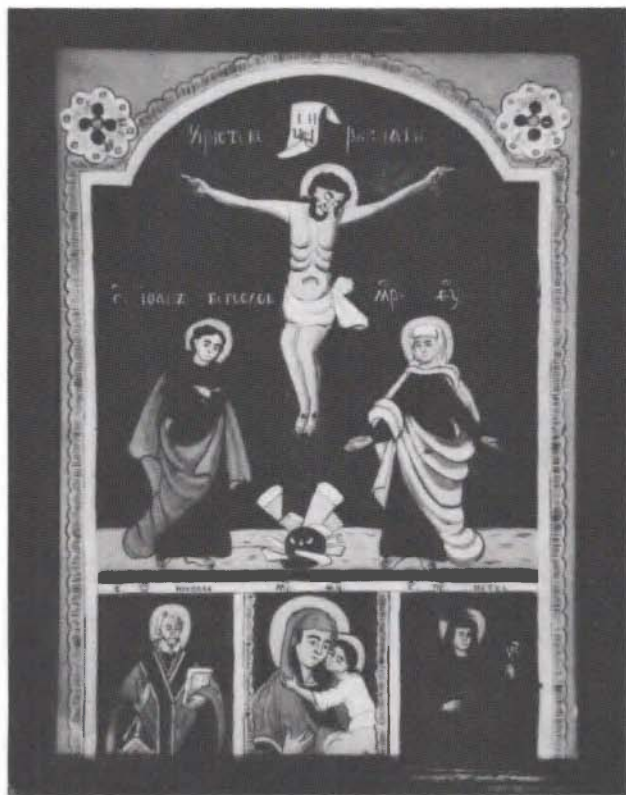
Plate 5. Crucifixion by painter of Ruski Krstur; nineteenth century; (Collection of R. Peric, Belgrade) 44 × 60 centimeters

vodina in Novi Sad, and the third in the collection of R. Peric in Belgrade) were done under the influence of Russian icons. The painters of Krstur were more than mere imitators of models; they used only the basic motif from existing icons and elaborated it independently, being careful of the composition and, above all, of the coloring. In an otherwise classic composition of the Crucifixion, a painter from Krstur increased the Baroque pathos that had been less present in the figure of the crucified Christ than in the figures of the Madonna and Saint John the Evangelist. Another painter from Krstur had, like his Russian models, painted in separate fields in the lower part of the icon still another band on which he represented portraits of three saints.

The master of icons in the folklore spirit also painted one Crucifixion now in the collection of the church parish in Ruski Krstur. In the middle, in a field framed in gold, the Crucifixion is painted on a dark background. It is similar to Crucifixions from the workshops of painters who used dark backgrounds. On the sides, in the free fields, the signs of Christ's passion are painted on a red base, and the borders, as well as the upper part of the icon, are richly filled with flowers and twigs. The motif used in the decoration of furniture, as employed in domestic craft, is found here as well. Because of its simplicity and lively coloring, it gives the icons a special charm. In the lower part the Cyrillic inscription in the Rusin language explains again that this icon was made in "Keresture" in 1894.

The same painter decorated with many floral motifs and gold the icon "The Madonna with Christ" and the icon "St. Nikola," both painted on glass. They are now in the collection in Ruski Krstur. They are painted on a red base with abundant use of gold and folklore motifs, in imitation of older models of icons painted on wood.

According to a theory of the Museum of Vojvodina in Novi Sad, their Crucifixion, purchased in Ruski Krstur, could be the work of some carpenter from Krstur. It had been discovered by fieldwork that the icons on the back of glass from Ruski Krstur were, in fact, painted by carpenters. They were experienced in decorating furniture — which they made for the Rusin customers — with flowers and other folklore motifs according to tradition, so they applied their skill in this kind of work to painting icons on glass. Carpenter Janko Siminović, from Ruski Krstur, who is now eighty, in an interview in 1972, regretted not being able to paint on glass with his left hand, explaining that that was the main condition for being a glass painter. Even the furniture which he made in his workshop was decorated with folklore motifs, mainly by his wife. He also remembers quite well his colleague, carpenter Varga Andrija, who died in 1906, and who was probably a painter of icons executed in the folklore spirit. Siminović says that Varga Andrija was an incredibly skillful painter who could do "everything he meant to do." He painted commissioned icons on glass just as did his brother Varga Ferko, who lived longer than

Andrija. They seem to have been the last painters of icons on glass in Ruski Krstur.

The work of the iconographers of Krstur was probably concluded by Djuro Herman who died during World War Two. As an invalid in Ruski Krstur, Herman first worked from photographs and reproductions of religious subjects brought to him from Budapest by his father, a Jewish tradesman in Ruski Krstur. Djuro Herman made a kind of rectangular and semicircular inner frame from a so-called black mirror which he decorated in the upper part with tulips and carnations, placing under them thinner or thicker metallic papers in various colors. He put a reproduction in the middle and framed the whole in a darker frame with golden or red cross-hatched stripes.

Besides iconographers who painted icons on glass in Backa, there were similar workshops in Banat (Filipović 1952), that is, in the eastern part of Vojvodina. These glass icons from Vojvodina show the influence of classical paintings of icons on wood. It is difficult to determine exactly where the centers of iconographers on glass were located in Banat, but there are indications that their workshops were in the region of Veliki Beckerek (now Zrenjanin) and Bela Crkva, not far from Vrsac (Filipović 1952:86).

The icons on glass from Banat originated under the influence of the surroundings — from the experienced iconographers of Backa, and from Romania, full of iconographers and icons on glass which spread all the way to the region along the Danube. The icons from Banat differ from those in Backa in their naiveté. They are painted with a great deal of fantasy, but they are more rigid in drawing and coloring (see Plates 6 and 7). From the anonymous painters of icons on glass from Banat, we note one painter who could have had his workshop in the region of the former Veliki Beckerek and who decorated the Baroque clothing with stars and represented saints, grouped or separately. His figures were always painted on a dark background with a spectrum of tones in the lower section. The icons are decorated with flowers, golden stars, rosettes, and twigs, framed with a gold and red stripe, and bordered at either side with short, stylized, white horizontal lines and occasionally in the upper part with gold roccoco volutes.

In these exclusively Orthodox icons, the classical iconographic canons are less and less observed, most noticeably in the richly decorated but arbitrarily colored garments of the saints — almost invariably dark blue or green decorated with little white stars frequently overlaid with red, flowery, stylized motifs. Examples are the glass icon of Saint Paraskeva from the National Museum in Zrenjanin; the icon of Saint Paraskeva (Petka); Saint John the Baptist from the collection of Milica Mihailovic in Belgrade; and the Archangel Michael from the collection of Ljerka Radovic in Belgrade. The size of the icon, the medallions used in the
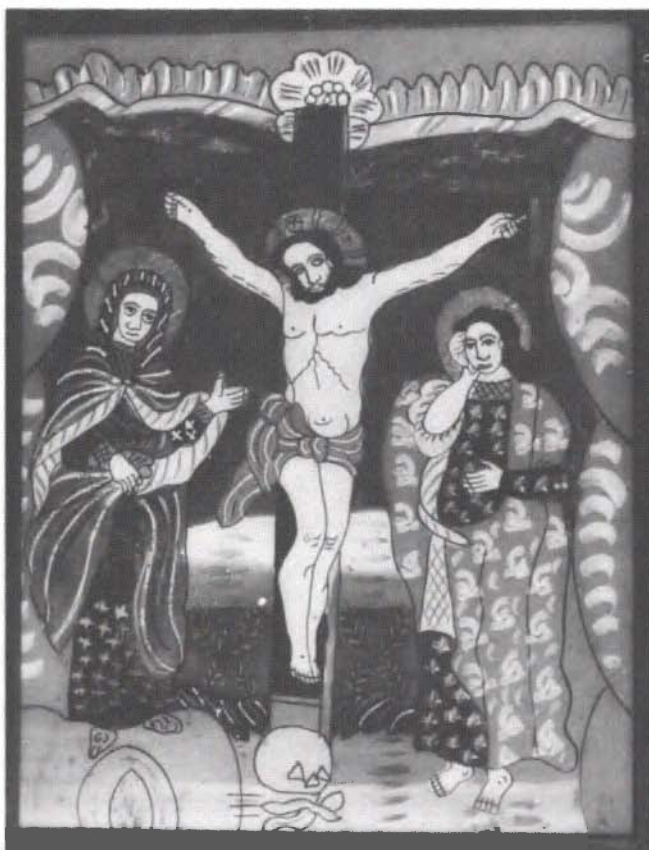
Plate 6. Crucifixion by painter of Banat; nineteenth century; Museum of Vojvodina, Novi Sad; reg. n. 426

composition, and the quantity of gold, all depended on the commissioner of the work.

We have already ascertained that in addition to this group, there exists yet another group of somewhat more primitively painted icons on glass, which may have been painted in the region of Bela Crkva near the present Romanian border. Primitive drawing is characteristic of these icons, which are less attractive, but authentic enough in coloring. The specific characteristics of these icons are the disproportionate size of the head in relation to the body and the decoration of garments into which, in contrast to the others, the painters put more vertical lines and dots. The Ethnographical Museum in Belgrade has two interesting icons on glass from this region. The older one is called "Two archangels with a medallion of the Madonna in their hands." The more recent is an icon of Saint John the Baptist. It is known that both icons were made in the

Plate 7.   Saint Nicola by painter of Banat; nineteenth century; Ethnological Museum, Belgrade; reg. n. 12644

vicinity of Bela Crkva, but nothing is known of the artists who made them.

As we have mentioned, by 1732 and 1733, some of the churches in Srem, in the southeastern region along the Danube, had icons on the back of glass (Filipović 1952:86). Therefore, it is no surprise to find that the oldest preserved icons from the last half of the eighteenth century in Vojvodina were discoverd in Srem (Brzić 1972). The oldest icon is that of Saint John the Baptist, painted in 1760 and found in Beocin in 1964. The other icon, of somewhat more recent date (1794), represents the archangels Michael and Gabriel and was found in the same year in the village of Banostar in Srem (Brzić 1972). As it is not yet known whether there were glass iconographers in Srem, the question is whether these glass icons were painted locally in a region with an extremely transient

population, or whether they were imported. The answer to this question, and many others relating to this problem, could be found by more detailed research in the whole region along the Danube and especially in Srem and the surrounding area.

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The Role of Historical Tradition in Polish Folk Painting and Sculpture

ANNA KUNCZYNSKA-IRACKA

Dependence upon historical styles as well as great faithfulness to traditionally established forms are among the basic features of European folk art, which are universally acknowledged and stressed by all researchers in this field. However, views on the essence and degree of this dependence differ. Generally speaking, the most widely discussed question is: to what extent may folk art be recognized as independent creative work rather than merely a reflection of "great" art (Hauser 1958:341–342; Piwocki 1967:359–388).

Regardless of these theoretical doubts and uncertainties, a majority of monographs even today concentrate on giving a description and classification (regional, functional) of various objects and groupings. The assumptions from which the authors proceed do not require them to prove the "distinct" and "folk" character of these objects.

Such an approach, based on "inventory-taking," may be justified in some cases, such as research on homespun cloths or pottery. It is unacceptable, however, in the work on religious figurative art in which I am engaged. In many cases the very first and most simple description of an object requires deciding whether it is an object of folk art or not.

Drawing a line between folk and nonfolk art is very difficult — as is clearly illustrated by recent research — and, if only because of the lack of an unambiguous definition, the term folk art is probably impossible to define without referring to a concrete situation (Cirese 1967:12–14; Piwocki et al. 1967:101–222; Oledzki 1971:20–31). At the same time, keeping track of concrete cases of phenomena on the borderline of folk art makes it possible to study the direction of changes in both the form and content of works taken from professional art and adapted to folk art.

A great majority of historical objects of Polish painting, sculpture, and graphic art, which have survived up to the present, originated in the

nineteenth century. A lesser number of items, which can be regarded as examples of traditional folk art, come from the first half of our century; some of the oldest ones come from the turn of the eighteenth century and a very few of them date back another hundred years or so.

These historical objects are works of a religious art derived from the Roman Catholic religion and, in a small percentage, from Greek Catholicism. Both the iconographic schemata and the compositional patterns were adapted from ecclesiastical art. A particular role was played here by devotional engravings which circulated among the faithful especially at pilgrimage destinations; illustrations in religious books also played a major role. Paintings and sculptures from churches and chapels were also sometimes copied. The folk artists' intended faithfulness to the original model, though often not attained because of their lack of necessary skills, stemmed both from respect for religious representation and their humble personal attitude.

In addition to borrowing models, another plane of contact between folk and official art was the guild tradition in which the works of a majority of painters and graphic artists as well as of a certain number of sculptors originated. Many folk artists came from among the town craftsmen, who were organized in guilds and fraternities in the nineteenth century (Bystron 1947:125–126; Czytelnik and Piwocki 1953; Kunczynska-Iracka 1966:75-81).

The plastic originality of a given work and the essence of the creative process have been shown to depend on the interpretation of the model. A specific process of sorting out and eliminating individual elements of the transformed composition takes place. A comparative analysis of a model and the work created on that basis often shows that a model which is devoid of any artistic value and is a banal and mediocre illustration can serve as an impulse for a magnificent, artistic piece of work (Piwocki 1962).

Formal analysis makes it possible to follow the transformation of the model, but it does not explain the second, equally important side of the problem: why such a model was chosen and what factors, aside from the limited technical skills, have a bearing on its transformation.

Folk art has not adapted all of the images of God, the Virgin Mary, and the saints, which have been disseminated by the Church. Some of the images that it has adapted, however, have become very popular. This popularity is due probably to their meaning, which corresponds to the essence of the folk religiousness (Czarnocki 1948:127–131).

I will not attempt to present a wider background of this phenomenon. However, I would like to demonstrate certain features of the process of transformation and of adaptation to a specific religiousness and aesthetic taste as it has been applied to two themes particularly favored in Polish folk art: Our Lady of Częstochowa in painting, and Christ as the Man of

Sorrows in sculpture (see Plates 1–11). I have studied both in some detail and I believe that a parallel presentation of them is useful because they represent somewhat different cases (Kunczynska 1960:211–229; Kunczynska-Iracka 1966). The first is an example of folk interpretation of the most famous Polish miracle-working picture, which originated during the Baroque period in painting; the second is an example of a late Gothic devotional image that took hold among the people. Both are typical of the branches of folk artistic creativity which they represent, and the conclusions drawn from an analysis can be generalized by citing a number of close analogies.

Religious painting for pilgrims flourished in Częstochowa from the turn of the sixteenth century until the end of the nineteenth century. The painting of "Our Lady with the Infant Jesus" in the form of hodegetria was brought to the Jasna Góra monastery in Częstochowa in 1384 and placed in the custody of Pauline monks, who had come from Hungary; by the fifteenth century, the painting had already gained fame as miraculous and was copied even then (Mroczka and Dab 1966). Holy men, acting for the numerous pilgrims who came to Częstochowa during the period of the Counter Reformation, encouraged many painters to settle there. Even more pilgrims came to Częstochowa in the second half of the seventeenth century after the Swedish armies were driven back from that point in
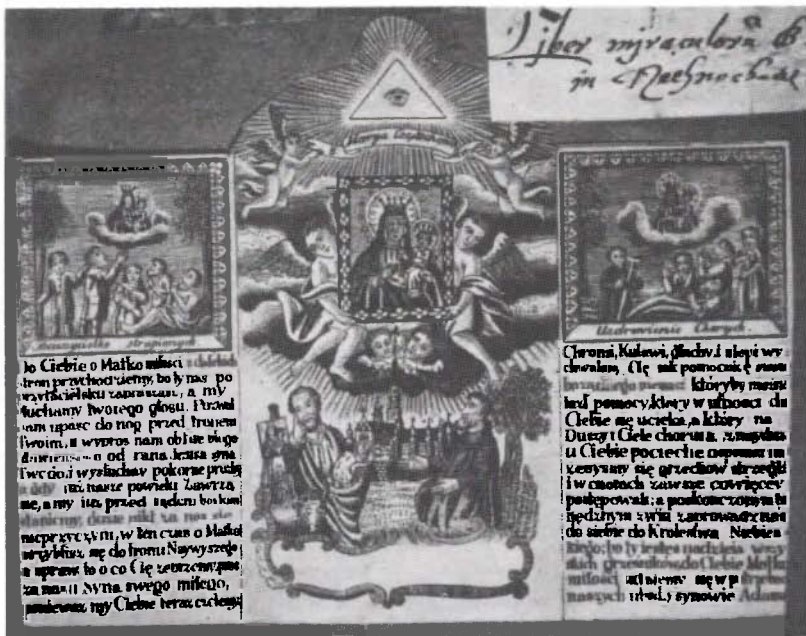
Plate 1. "A letter" to Our Lady of Częstochowa. Copperplate, 16 by 21 centimeters. Częstochowa, eighteenth century

Plate 2. Our Lady of Częstochowa above the Jasna Gòra monastery adored by Saint Barbara and Saint Joseph. Oil, cloth, 61 by 46 centimeters. Village of Robakowo, province of Poznań, nineteenth century

1655. The Polish victory there was primarily of moral importance: it became the starting point of a victorious campaign of the Polish armies against the invaders. From that time Our Lady of Częstochowa and her fortress became not only religious but also patriotic symbols. The patriotic tinge in the cult remained until modern times, gaining particular importance in the nineteenth century, when worship of Mary, the queen of Poland, was regarded, particularly among the simple folk, as a sign of national identity (Ciupak 1965).

Sources show that as early as the middle of the seventeenth century, most of the pictures that were mass-produced for pilgrims consisted of cheap paintings for the poor, who were always in the majority. Also at that time, these pictures began turning up at markets and church fairs in neighboring regions (Kunczynska-Iracka 1969:234-237).

In these circumstances, the painters of Częstochowa must have been a mixed lot indeed. Apart from skilled masters who produced copies for church altars (many of which even now are venerated as miraculous), various "botchers" plied their trade. Their crude products aroused indignation among their contemporaries, particularly among the guardians of the holy place, the Paulines, who inspired the establishment of a painters' guild to combat artistic shoddiness (Jaskiewica 1963:239–248). The guild began its activities about 1720, and until the turn of the century it carried on a vigorous, if futile, campaign against the low quality of mass-produced devotional articles.

In the nineteenth century, however, the guild was practically deprived of executive authority. Moreover, because this was a period when "hand-painted" pictures of the Virgin Mary and the saints were being

Plate 3. Our Lady of Częstochowa above the Jasna Gora monastery adored by Saint Barbara and Saint Joseph. Oil, cloth 65 by 48 centimeters. Province of Cracow, nineteenth century

Plate 4. Our Lady of Częstochowa. Oil, cloth, 61 by 45 centimeters. Village of Wasocz, Province of Bialystok, nineteenth century

purchased almost exclusively by pilgrims of peasant origin, there was a considerable lowering of standards among guild masters. At the same time, with nothing to hinder them, even the worst painters, who were formerly banned from residing in Częstochowa began settling there.

The center of religious painting in Częstochowa developed at the gates of the monastery and was partly under its care; but the monks were not the painters' teachers. The painters' studios, which existed at the monastery in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, turned out pictures mainly for the church and the monastery; on occasion they also produced copies of the miraculous painting which the Paulines presented to their most eminent patrons, including the Pope and the Polish king.

The monastery provided the lay painters with iconographic models, however. These included devotional engravings in wood and copper procured by the Paulines in the eighteenth century from outside sources (mainly from engravers in Cracow and also abroad, in Augsburg and the Netherlands). From the beginning of the eighteenth century until 1863 these engravings were copied in the monastery presses from boards and metal sheets that had been engraved on the spot or ordered from experienced domestic and foreign engravers.

A relatively large number of these engravings, including various kinds of occasional devotional prints and book illustrations, have survived. As in the case of paintings, they represent a wide range of artistic and profes-

Plate 5. Our Lady of Częstochowa. Oil, paper, 65 by 50 centimeters. Village of Monice, province of Lodz, nineteenth century

Plate 6.   The Man of Sorrows. Colored wood. Village of Racibozany, province of Cracow, sixteenth century

sional skills, although the majority of illustrations are rather primitive. In relation to painting, engraving constitutes a very valuable comparative and iconographic material (Kunczynska-Iracka i.p.).

A comparison of graphic images of the Madonna of Częstochowa from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries shows that the iconographic model established in graphic art in the first half of the seventeenth century lasted with only minor changes until the nineteenth century; it also shows that the same kind of model was used by both the most skilled artists and by primitives. On the basis of these engravings, one can also surmise that the aesthetic tastes of the poorer pilgrims were similar, regardless of the estate to which they belonged. Illustrations with long captions (for instance the popular "letters to the Virgin Mary") could not

be addressed directly to illiterate peasants, but in their plastic form they are often very similar to the typical peasant primitives.

The primitive pictures of Our Lady of Częstochowa, which have survived in rural churches, chapels, and homes, were painted on cloth, boards, sheet metal, and paper. They stem from the eighteenth century. They are never signed and the date is only rarely indicated on the frame or by votive inscriptions on the back. All of them were painted with the aid of stencils, which were used to mark the contours of the composition. The same stencils were sometimes used by several generations of painters. It is, therefore, possible to surmise both on the basis of source material

Plate 7. The Man of Sorrows. Colored wood, 41 centimeters. Province of Cracow, nineteenth century
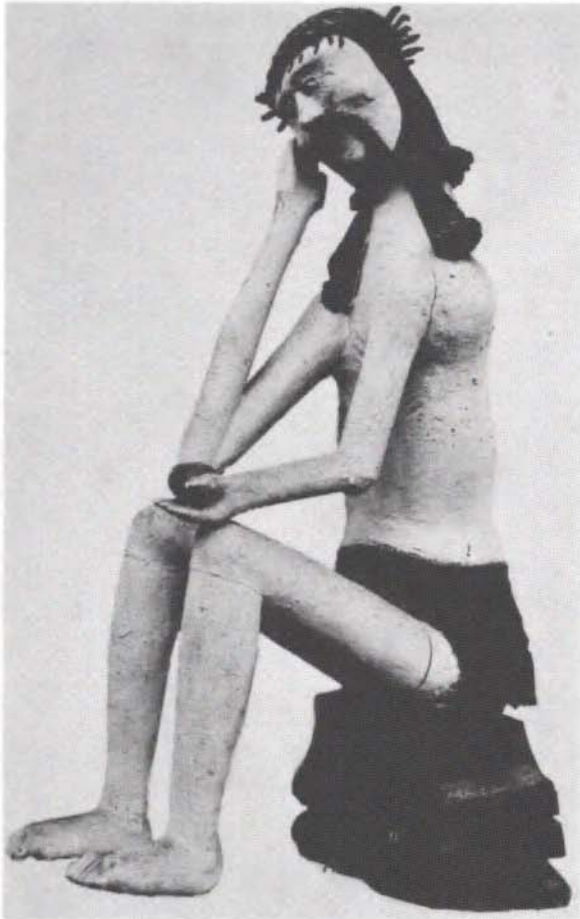
Plate 8.   The Man of Sorrows. Colored wood, 54 centimeters. Village of Glinnik, province of Rzeszów, nineteenth century

concerning the working techniques of painters and through an analogy with engraving, that the earlier folk paintings and certainly those from the eighteenth century and later could have been very similar to those with which we are familiar. The differences that did occur between the "plebeian" and the "noble" images of the Madonna of Częstochowa were primarily expressed in the ornamentation of robes and the coloring of the paintings.

How did the peasant pilgrims view the miraculous painting? What did they want to see and what were they able to see?

Placed high on a mahogany altar, attired in a golden crown and a gown with precious jewels, the image symbolized perfectly their idea of divine omnipotence. For the peasants power meant inaccessibility and wealth.

Their impression was reinforced by the massive walls of the Jasna Góra fortress and the high church tower dominating the landscape. For the peasant serfs, the sight of them symbolized the high point of the world of holiness embodied in their pilgrimage, the only journey and adventure in the extremely hard everyday life of the *"glebae adscripti"* (Caillois 1950; Piwocki 1970). A suitable memento, if only in the form of a most inconspicuous picture, was therefore needed.

The proportions of the figures of mother and infant, the arrangement of the cloak around Mary's face and the hands of both figures were always faithfully copied by the painters from graphic models. Exposed parts of

Plate 9.   The Man of Sorrows. Colored wood, 44.5 centimeters. Zakapane, Tatra region, nineteenth century

Plate 10.   The Man of Sorrows. Colored wood, 17 centimeters. Tatra region, nineteenth century

the skin were painted in a dark brown color and two cuts were shown on Mary's cheek. This was enough to make the plebeian pilgrims regard the painting as similar to the original.

In addition, the painting had to be colorful and decorative; in the peasants' opinion this was tantamount to beauty and wealth. In keeping with a general principle of folk artists, details which were not essential for identifying the picture could be altered. Thus, unlike skilled guild masters who painted the Madonna in a cloak and gown decorated with stars, the painters of pictures for peasants did not copy this feature from the models. They dressed the Virgin Mary in the most beautiful way accord-

ing to folk tastes — with flowers on the garments as well as in the background. They also freely chose the colors according to the tastes of the peasant consumers; the result was a predominance of red, green, blue, and yellow with supplementary local coloring.

In addition to iconographic and compositional models from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the folk paintings from Częstochowa also retained certain formal features derived from the Baroque period. The contrast of vividly and realistically painted faces with the flatness of unrealistically decorated robes that were separated from the background by a clear outline of contours, as well as the manner in which the

Plate 11. The Man of Sorrows in the uniform of a soldier. Colored wood, 64 centimeters. Village of Rokitno, province of Lublin, nineteenth century

background was decorated with motifs from votive plaques and a suspended curtain, suggest a specific transposition of those altar paintings, which showed saints dressed in metal gowns with holes for hands and feet, and with votive offerings hung around the figures, which were completely draped in expensive veils.

The Man of Sorrows was a common theme in Polish art at the end of the Middle Ages. At the turn of the fifteenth century the first of such images appeared in passion sequences painted or presented in low relief on the wings of altars. In approximately the same period the first devotional images — sculptures of the lonely figure of Christ sitting with head propped on his hand — also appeared. Somewhat later it became customary to place such figures in wayside chapels. The first Polish literary texts describing Christ's painful rest on the way to Golgotha and explaining its significance to the medieval people also date back to the end of the fifteenth century.

It is difficult to determine definitely when the first folk sculptures of the Man of Sorrows were created. The oldest surviving monolithic wooden wayside figure from Anielow in the district of Masovia is believed to date from the year 1650 (Galicka and Sygietynska 1967:109–110). Its formal features clearly resemble those of later works of rural sculptors. Certain Gothic figures from the sixteenth century, which are preserved in rather large numbers in provincial churches and chapels, also represent sculpture on the borderline of folk art. Source and iconographic materials from the seventeenth century confirm the great popularity of wooden wayside figures of Christ and show that even then there could have been many sculptures of the Anielow type as well as little figures placed in niches of small chapels.

The great majority of the numerous folk sculptures of the Man of Sorrows preserved in almost every region of the country originated in the nineteenth or early twentieth century. The existence of many local variations shows that many models were being copied; it also indicates that some of the bigger local workshops (probably rural as opposed to small-town painting studios) developed distinct formal variations of such sculptures.

Under different conditions and for other reasons than Our Lady of Częstochowa in painting, the Man of Sorrows became the most popular form of representing Christ (together with Christ Crucified) in Polish folk sculpture. The pilgrims who bought souvenirs sought a symbol of the gracious and powerful patroness. The peasant sculptors of the Man of Sorrows created figures designed for intimate contact of the faithful with the image of God who watched over travelers in wayside chapels and over farmers in the fields. The fact that the Man of Sorrows was worshiped in Poland to a much greater extent than other late Gothic devotional images that were also adapted by folk art was, in my opinion, due mainly to the

emotional force of this sculpture (Dobrzeniecki 1967:93–111). This force, more than a repetition of the positional design, constitutes the essential element that inspired folk artists with Gothic art. (The Man of Sorrows was probably among the earliest themes taken up in folk culture, which absorbed it even before the wave of Counter Reformation propaganda that also contributed to increasing reverence for devotional images.)

The typical medieval moral teachings exhorting the faithful to live through the passion together with Christ and His mother were personified in the figure of the Man of Sorrows, which symbolized the physical and moral suffering, melancholy, and exhaustion that the Son of God experienced. In this case both the symbol and its meaning were for the plebeian classes exceptionally easy to comprehend.

All the variations of the Man of Sorrows stand out among other works of Polish folk art because of their great expressiveness. The face, which was always most carefully carved out, expresses a feeling of pain that rarely reflects dramatic physical suffering but fatigue and sorrow. After the collapse of the national uprising in 1864, the figures of the Man of Sorrows were made to commemorate the fallen rebels and, sometimes, were even dressed in soldiers' uniforms.

The transposition of the model — aside from obvious simplifications of form due to the limited artistic skills of the village carpenter or wheelwright (who accounted for most of the folk sculptors) — came about primarily through reading the emotional meaning of the work. A majority of the sculptors interpreted the "sorrowfulness" of Christ in terms of their own anxieties and that probably explains why these highly individualized (by the standards of folk art) figures attained their full expressiveness only in peasant art.

In these brief remarks on two representations of religious folk art in Poland I wanted to emphasize a phenomenon that is generally well known but rarely analyzed from the standpoint of folk art. The circumstances determining both the creation and the structure of the work are, in this case (as in any other creative field), dependent on many factors. Many of them are variable and cannot be explained on the basis of formal analysis alone. In both cases presented above, the matter at issue was the folk interpretation of a medieval work of art. But the miraculous painting of the Virgin Mary was seen by Polish peasants from a "Baroque angle" — partly because the painters in that period settled at Częstochowa below the monastery and partly because the propaganda surrounding pilgrimages in Poland was particularly characteristic of the religious cult of that era. On the other hand, the sculptures of the Man of Sorrows are among those aspects of medieval religious worship and those forms of religious art that survived in folk culture as a specific continuation of the Gothic art.

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Russian Folk Art Tradition in Modern Society: The Decor of the Present-Day Dwelling

S. B. ROZHDESTVENSKAYA

Folk art represents the material and intellectual unity of a culture. The objects of folk art depict the life, culture, and outlook of a certain ethnic entity at a definite moment in history.

Folk art tradition joins together the separate, individual links of a single chain. The periods of development of each particular branch of folk art bring together different, coexisting branches frequently far removed from one another and often spread over vast territories. Folk traditions have been shaped in the ongoing process of the development of art. Therefore, archaic layers which reflect man's earlier concepts of the world, as well as those that came later — up to the modern stages of the development of artistic culture — may be traced in the unvarying images, compositions, and stylized ways of using colors.

The common folk art tradition also reflects the local features of small ethnic groups within a culture, including ethnographic groups. Thus, both in the "horizontal" cross section (by the areas of the peoples' settlement, with the specific features of the various groups processing different natural materials) and in the "vertical" chronological cross section (by stages of ethnic history) folk tradition shows within its unity the multiform features of folk art culture.

Russian folk art tradition took shape in the tenth to the thirteenth century on the basis of early Slavic art. It was formed not only in the process of "contact in the course of historical development with the Scythian-Sarmatian art" (Rybakov 1971:8, 14), but also under the impact of Byzantine art (Alpatov 1969:2) and later, in the process of mutual influence, of Ugro-Finnish and Oriental art.

The system of artistic views, aesthetic criteria, categories of graphic thinking and knowledge of processing natural materials that emerged at the time was the foundation, the archaic stratum, of traditions of decora-

tive folk art which reflected the formation of the early Russian people, a process dating back to the distant past. Naturally, this early period of the formation and development of folk tradition was characterized by a stability of artistic images shaped over time. Having lost their original meaning, they are still preserved in folk art, alongside later ornamental motifs, in modified compositions with a range of stylistic devices. As a result of its complicated course of development from the tenth through the twentieth century, Russian folk art tradition, reflecting in the decor of dwellings, clothing, utensils, work tools, toys, and means of transportation the artistic genius of the people, showed the process of development in the people's everyday life, their views and their relations with other peoples, in short, their ethnic history.

The study of modern Russian folk art in folk architecture reveals that Russian folk art tradition is being preserved and developed in our time (see Figures 1 – 7).

The present-day dwelling in the countryside, and in the small- and medium-sized towns and workers' settlements, retains the traditional decor though many of the houses are erected according to designs not directly connected with the traditional dwelling.

The modern home is decorated with wood carving (through-sawing), iron tracery, mosaic boarding, and polychrome painting. However, the development of carved wooden and iron tracery ornaments, though they have for a long time formed the main means of decorating the modern home, is not an example of direct continuity in tradition. Each of the decor elements is in its own way linked with folk art tradition, and each has gone through various stages in its development to build the modern decorative complex which has many local variants. Wooden ornaments made by through-sawing were introduced into folk architecture in the
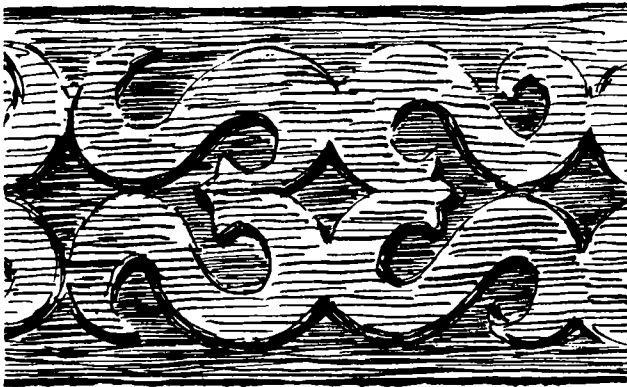
Figure 1.   Sawed-through carving upon boards over the butt-ends of logs (early twentieth century)

Figure 2. Left: Ornamentation of chimney (Beloziorsk, early twentieth century). Right: ornamental front of *kokoshnik* [female headgear] (Galitch Historical Museum, eighteenth century)

latter part of the nineteenth century, gradually replacing blank relief carvings. The ornaments became widespread due to the appearance of new instruments, such as the brace and fretsaw and the emergence of a new technology of carving on buildings (Stanyukevich 1950:7).

Though they formed a qualitatively new element of decor, sawed-through wooden ornaments became, in the first decades of the twentieth century, a decorative complex which was just as close to the roots of Russian folk art traditions as the preceding decorative complex of blank relief carving (which went down in history as "ship-carving" and was developed mostly in the Volga area in the second half of the nineteenth century where it had existed for the longest period of time).
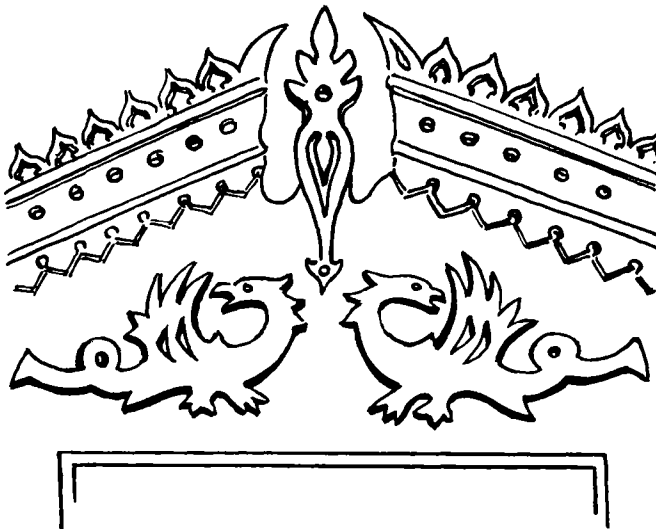
Figure 3. Upper part of platband (Yaroslavl, early twentieth century)

The century-long story of sawed-through carving and its development is a complicated one. In the early stages there were two types of sawed-through carving. The first was one in which the round apertures made by the fretsaw were linked together by cuts resulting in a pattern cut out against the background, and the second was an imitation of blank carving by the technology of profiled (and later, smooth-applied) carving. The first type was widespread in northern Russian regions where sawed-through carving with the pattern cut against the background of the boards replaced the three-edged grooved one. The second type was characteristic of the Volga area where it replaced blank relief carving.

The present-day sawed-through carving is a single art in which, in addition to many local distinctions, there appear characteristic features stemming from the early stage of the development of the technology of through-sawing.

The present-day sawed-through carving is used first and foremost to decorate the traditional platbands, then the pediment (the eaves, the cornice) and the butt-ends of the logs. Some houses are extravagantly decorated: in addition to the ornaments of the platbands and pediment they have double panels of wooden tracing along three walls of the house following the framework ties, or on the boarding of the house there are decorative belts. Sometimes the entire house is covered with laid-on carvings. Thus, the sawed-through ornaments though recently developed technically, are nonetheless traditional both in appearance and in their location (i.e. they are linked with the constructive features of the folk dwelling, just as the relief carved ornaments were). The ornaments, as a decor element in Russian architecture, date from the twelfth century.[1]

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries iron tracery was rather extensively used, not only for ornamenting household and church objects (chests, headrests, locks, lamps, church lusters, gonfalons, etc.), but also in architecture. In the decor of churches and monasteries iron tracery crowned the roofing with an array of metallic lace, descending (valances) and rising upwards (crests). The steep roofs of the fortress towers of the monasteries and ancient Kremlin walls as well as those of rich country seats, were topped by weather vanes cut out of metal. The ridges of the four-slope roofs were graced with tracery crests.

In folk architecture iron tracery ornaments appeared when thatched and shingled roofs were replaced by ones covered with roofing iron, a new material. This replacement coincided with the appearance of sawed-through ornaments. For this reason the sawed-through and iron tracery ornaments appeared in folk architecture simultaneously, the exception being the centers of metalworking and metallurgy where roofing iron

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[1]   A twelfth-century chronicler describing a church built by Andrei Bogolyubsky, notes that gilded weather-vanes, birds, and bowls ornamented the tower adjacent to the church and the domes.
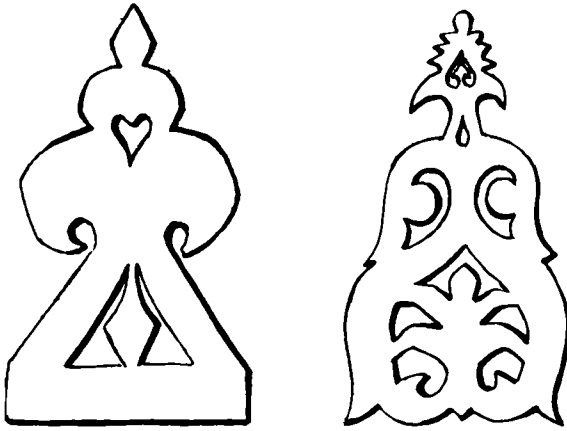
Figure 4.   Details of platband (Laptevo village, Yaroslavl Region, 1920's)

Figure 5.   Weather vane on top of a drain pipe (Gorky Region, Vorsma, early twentieth century)

and, hence, cut-out tracery decorations appeared earlier. Iron tracery was at first used to decorate chimneys, then water pipes, and only later there appeared crests along the pediment of the attic and porch and along the ridges of house roofs and gates. Metal tracery ornaments made with the help of antique technology, were, in the first period of their development in the folk dwellings, new both in the form of their ornamentation and in their location in the home.

The search for artistic images and pleasing compositions followed different paths in the development of ornaments made of sawed-through wood and those of cut-out iron, although in both cases they developed in line with folk tradition. Sawed-through carving evolved either out of contour drawing cut in the board surface, or out of profiled laid-on carving. Cut-out iron ornaments, found at first only as cupola-shaped pergolas over the chimneys with embossed laid-on rosettes made by using chasing techniques, were at the end of the nineteenth century already
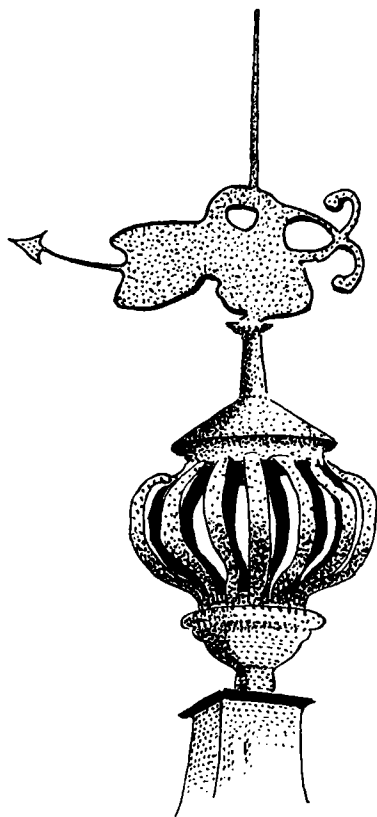
Figure 6.   Weather vane on top of a gate (Vorsma, Gorky Region, early twentieth century)
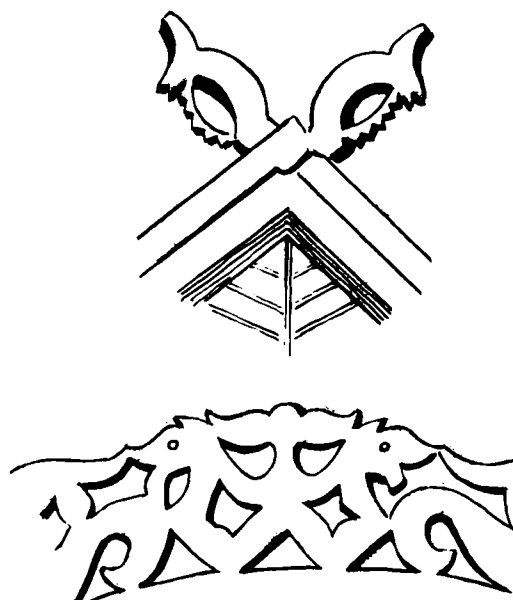
Figure 7. Wooden sculpture. Upper: paired horse heads crowning a pediment (Kryukovo village, Yaroslavl Region, late twentieth century). Lower: paired horse motif in sawed-through carving (Staraya Vichuga, Ivanovo Region, 1920's)

represented by complicated ornamental gratings. Early in the twentieth century metal traceries included compositions devoted to particular topics close in character to wood drawings and folk embroidery.

Despite the late emergence of the technique of sawed-through carving and the late appearance of iron tracery ornaments, the decor of the twentieth century dwelling is characterized by the presence in the ornament of old-time motifs belonging to a bygone tradition.

Most widespread in sawed-through carving is a plant ornament representing a smoothly winding shoot with leaves and an S-scroll. In punctured iron tracery plant ornaments are rarer; the S-scroll and a three-petal tulip (sometimes a lily)[2] is most frequently encountered. The S-scroll and three-petal tulip motifs as well as diamond and drop-shaped patterns form the basis for ornamental iron gratings.

S-scrolls in the sawed-through ornament and cut-out tracery decorations are absolutely identical in their stylistic execution with embroidery patterns depicting swans (Maslova 1971:26–31). Besides swans sawed-through carving ornaments often depict small ducks and geese, such as are common in headgear embroidery. While the S-scroll figures in embroidery are stylized depictions of swans and are executed in an

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[2] The same ornament is found on vessels (*kratir*) (first quarter of the twelfth century) and on the icon frame (first third of the twelfth century).

unvarying traditional composition having for its center a tree or a female figure, in some cases of sawed-through carving and iron tracery the ducks and geese form a part of this traditional composition while in others they are mere completions of the plant ornament in the upper part of the platband (sawed-through) or the crest of the attic (iron tracery). Characteristic for the decor of the platband and tracery valances is the motif of a birdlike scroll terminating in a bird's head with an open beak, resembling a dragon.

The ornithomorphic motifs in sawed-through carving are extremely varied and in frequency come second after plant ornaments.[3] Besides waterfowl, which are the most widely represented, patterns of sawed-through carving also show hens, cockerels, eagles, and other birds of prey, whose images resemble dragons; these last are also frequently encountered in carvings. Some of the figures are half bird, half dragon.

The bird figures vary both in the character of depiction and in the styles used for it, ranging from generalized and laconic to near realistic, but decorative and to a certain degree generalized. The bird figures in platband ornaments frequently form compositions of two, four, or six figures, symmetrical to the vertical axis of the platband.

In cut-out iron the bird images are mostly represented by carved weather vane figures. The ducks and swallows cut out of iron are depicted almost naturalistically.

Besides ornithomorphic motifs in cut-out iron and sawed-through carving one can also encounter anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, and teratological ones. Thus, for instance, the weather vane depicting a bird with a man's head is done in a humoristic vein. Rather than merely a bird the figure depicts a bird with the head of a man smoking a pipe which he supports with his wing. In the figure's birdlike silhouette one can suddenly make out the silhouette of a mermaid, the so-called Pharaoh maid of the relief carving on the house.

Frequently the weather vanes depict the realistic figure of a hunter or soldier. If the weather vanes are paired, the hunter's figure is coupled with the figure of a dog. So that when the wind blows, the two represent a composition — that of a man and a dog both looking in one and the same direction. Then there are weather vanes as well as figures completing the pediment that show the traditional snow leopards and semifantastic animals reminding one of lions and dogs, or horses and rams.

Thus, in the cut-out iron the zoomorphic motifs are close to the teratological. It is hard to draw a line between them. Significantly, unlike the sawed-through ornaments, the iron tracery at times conveys realistic scenes; the scene showing people drinking tea, for example, resembles in composition the paintings upon the bottom parts of spinning wheels from

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[3]   The depiction of birds holds a similar place in the images of ancient Russian art.

Gorodetz. These motifs are traditional, though this tradition is relatively recent.

In sawed-through carvings a widespread image is that of a woman's figure. As a rule, paired figures of women are placed along the edges of the upper part of the platband, in the midst of a plant ornament (a nontraditional composition). Sometimes the woman's figure is placed in the center of the upper part of the platband in accordance with tradition.

Paired horse heads (a three dimensional sculpture crowning the roofs of houses and sheds), traditional in the nineteenth century for folk dwellings in the Yaroslav area, are represented in sawed-through carvings; the horse heads looking in different directions are organically included in the plant ornament of the platband. Horse heads looking at each other may also be found. Besides figures of women, horses, and birds the traditional dragon is also widespread in sawed-through carvings. These images are always symmetrical, with an unvarying composition: two dragons, their bodies leaning towards one another with their heads turned aside from the central axis of the platband or pediment. While the composition itself is stable, the methods of depicting the dragons are extremely varied. The dragon is shown snakelike, or resembling a bird or a snow leopard. It is not always easy to single out the decor motif from the teratological motifs (fishes resembling lions, birdlike dogs with numerous paws, etc.).

Besides the traditional motifs enumerated there are in sawed-through carving and to a lesser extent in iron tracery, solar symbols, specifically the circle (rosette) and the diamond. The dormer windows in the pediments are ornamented with sawed-through tracery "rays" forming a broad "funnel." The tracery and applied rosettes are placed in the center of the porch and attic pediments. Relief rosettes and diamonds are placed in various compositions, several in a row — on the attics, on the boarding over the butt-ends of the logs, and on the platbands. The diamond is one of the main elements in iron tracery ornaments. Such are the old-time tradition motifs in the carved and cut-out ornaments of the present-day dwelling. They are combined with later elements of decor which have become traditional and coexist with nontraditional ornaments indicating the search for new images, forms, and stylistic methods.

The boarding of houses, which, like painting them, has the practical purpose of protecting the log framework from destruction, is found in the folk dwelling of the nineteenth century. Sometimes only the butt-ends of the logs were boarded, sometimes the whole framework with the boards was nailed on parallel to the logs. Paint was applied mainly to the carved ornaments and sometimes to the attics. Gradually, beginning with the 1920's and 1930's, the custom of boarding the house became widespread. In a number of areas (the Novgorod and Pskov regions) the short boards would be nailed vertically, creating two decorative belts, divided by a belt

of boards nailed on horizontally along the whole length of the framework. Currently a mosaic pattern of boarding on the house walls has become widespread, the boards being nailed on in different directions according to a definite pattern (for instance, crisscross). The boarded butt-ends of the logs are on top decorated by symmetrical carved ornaments going down the sides, which makes the plane of the butt-end resembled the silhouette of a column. Among the various patterns of mosaic boards one can come across some which recreate the traditional images. For instance, the pediment of the house or the attic is covered with wedge-shaped boards spreading out like rays from the middle of the lower line of the pediment; this forms, with an entirely new approach, the traditional "semisolar" motif.

In the painting of the houses the traditional motifs are seen less distinctly than, for instance, in the carving. In the present-day dwelling the attic and the walls have no ornamental painting or painted ornaments. Sometimes a painted house is decorated by colored patterns or vivid color spots. But more frequently the house is painted in one color and the platbands, the decor of the porch, gate, and pediment in another. But the combinations of color in painting, and the thoughtful approach in the choice of colors are indications of the traditional love for polychrome and of a strong artistic feeling.

Concluding our description of the decor of the present-day dwelling, it is necessary to note that the sawed-through and cut-out ornaments correspond to form a unity with the smooth boarding of the house. This enables the builders to achieve additional decorative effects. For instance, on a sunny day the tracery casts additional shadows as ornamental belts on the houseboards.

In this harmonious combination of unbroken bands of carving with the smooth walls of the house lies the same traditional character of the optimal aesthetic solution which we can see in the unity of the log house with the relief decor.

The development of folk art tradition in the individual dwelling is taking place without contacts between the folk craftsmen and professional artists, art experts, and ethnographers. Hence, the special interest in the decor of the modern individual dwelling where one can observe the direct continuity in the folk art tradition. At the same time the continuity of folk traditions is qualitatively different from what it was half a century ago. The craftsmen decorating the dwellings are now sufficiently well acquainted with easel painting and monumental art and with other fields of culture. They read much, travel, watch television, visit exhibitions. They are educated. But the fact that this knowledge of the world of art has not resulted in the introduction of illustrations into decor or in the elimination of traditional elements indicates that the thread of tradition is

too deeply intertwined in the souls of the craftsmen. It is evidence that craftsmen still regard traditional art as their greatest treasure. The craftsmen's understanding of the value of the traditional decor of the dwelling is supported by the people who surround them and by the inhabitants of the city who come to the villages and small towns to admire, make drawings, and photographs of the traditional decor of the dwellings. Significantly, if a villager or town dweller is asked to name the most beautiful house in the vicinity he will invariably point to that structure which is most vivid precisely from the standpoint of tradition.

This, as well as the blending in the dwelling decor of traditional and nontraditional elements, speaks of the vitality of the Russian folk art tradition and the bright prospects for the development of folk art.

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ALLEN BASSING (1932–   ) is Assistant Curator of Education at the Renwick Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. He is completing his Ph.D studies at the Union Graduate School, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Mr. Bassing was a Rockefeller Foundation Fellow in museum education at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City from 1973–1974. Prior to that he had spent nearly seven years doing curatorial work in various East and West African museums. His background includes nearly ten years experience in social, economic, and marketing research in the United States, Europe, and Africa. Mr. Bassing's numerous publications and conference papers (over three dozen) are mainly concerned with the ethnography of sub-Saharan Africa and problems in museum education. Currently, he is involved in museum education activities and training and community outreach projects.

TERESA BATTESTI (1934–   ) works in the department of Iranian Ethnography at the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Musée de l'Homme in Paris. Her main interests include museology and ethnography, sociology and literature (especially oral literature), the history of religion, the technology of jewelry, tribal migrations and traditional gymnastics — all with special regard to Iran and Turkey.

ETTA BECKER-DONNER (1911–1975) was Director of the Museum für Volkerkunde in Vienna for the last twenty years of her life. Under her directorship, the museum's collections doubled in size to 150,000 pieces, facilities and workrooms were expanded and modernized, and she opened its doors to public organizations in order to gain public interest and support for its resources and educational services. She was one of the moving forces in the Austrian Ethnological Association, becoming presi-

dent of that society in 1969. She was a tireless worker in the Latin-American Institute, and her many field trips to Middle and South America not only added to the museum's collections, but also helped form the largest Latin-American, traveling, folk art exhibition in 1973. From suggestions of Dr. Donner-Becker, the Museum and the Latin American Institute were co-founders of an agricultural school in Brazil and a mining school in Bolivia. As an anthropologist, Dr. Donner-Becker brought to her own society the knowledge and understanding of the world of mankind, and to the Third World countries of the Americas she tried to bring, not only help from her own world, but pride in the artistic creations of their own peoples.

JEAN M. BORGATTI (1945–   ) is an art historian in the field of non-western art. She received her B.A. at Wellesely College, 1966, and her Ph.D. at the University of California, Los Angeles in 1976. She has had extensive museum experience as well as fieldwork in West Africa, and has participated in many symposia on African arts. She has taught at the University of Florida, Gainesville, and at Boston University. She is the author of many published articles on African art, and at present is doing fieldwork in Nigeria.

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JUSTINE M. CORDWELL (1920–   ) received her Ph.D. from Northwestern University in 1952. Her major fields are comparative aesthetics, ethnohistory, West Africa, and Afro-American cultures in the New World. She has taught at Northwestern, Chicago State University, Roosevelt University, and Chicago City Colleges. She is presently working as a planner in urban ethnology, on socioeconomic studies, and on research in criminal justice (correction systems). Her dissertation has been widely distributed on microfilm, and she has published articles in anthologies and journals on African art. Her work is cited in most European and American volumes on traditional art.

JACQUELINE DELANGE-FRY (1923–   ) was born in Paris. Her Doctorat d'Etat is in preparation (University of Paris). She was Head of the

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NICOLAE DUNĂRE (1916–   ) received his Ph.D. (Sociology and ethnography) from the University of Bucharest (1947), a doctorate in history (1966) and the lauréat du Prix de l'Académie Roumaine (1963). Professor Dunăre had held the following positions: Head of research at the Institute of Ethnological and Dialectic Research, Bucharest; member of the Commission on anthropology and Ethnology at the Romanian Academy of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnographic Sciences, of the French Society of Ethnology, of a Research Committee on Ethnomedicine (Heidelberg), and of the Coordination Committee for the Ethnographical Atlas of Romania. He was also a former lecturer at the Institute of Visual Arts at Cluj-Napoca. He has published widely in the field of regional ethnography and his publications include: *Arta populară din Valea Jiului* (1963): *Tara Bîrsei* (I, 1972, II, 1974) *Bistrita-Năsăud* (1976) *Die Verzierung der Ostereier bei den Rumänen* (1959): *Les motifs ornamentaux dans l'art populaire roumain* (1964–1965); *Classification des ornements populaires* (1975); *Recherches sur l'esthétique dans l'art populaire roumain* (1976).

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JOHN C. EWERS (1909–   ) is Senior Ethnologist at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. Over a period of nearly 40 years he has published extensively on the ethnology, history, and art of the Plains Indians on the bases of field work among half a dozen tribes as well as library, archival, and museum studies. He is currently revising his long out-of-print first book, *Plains indian painting* (1939), and completing a study of the carving of the Plains Indians in stone, wood, and horn based largely upon the study of historic and prehistoric examples in more than 100 public and private collections in the United States and abroad.

JAMES W. FERNANDEZ (1930–   ) was born in Chicago Illinois. He received his B.A. from Amherst College in 1952 and his Ph.D. in cultural

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AUSBRA FORD (1935–   ) was born in Chicago, Illinois and is an Afro-American. He is an Associate Professor in the Art Department of Chicago State University. In 1971–1972 he was a National Endowment of the Humanities Fellow, completing field research in West and Central Africa. His research interests have been in African funeral art and how it influenced the Sea Islands of Georgia and South Carolina in southeastern United States. As an artist he has exhibited widely in Chicago and the midwest. He received his B.A.E. and M.F.A. degrees from the School of the Art Institute of Chicago in 1964 and 1966.

HO LIEN KWEI (1903–   ) was born in Chekiang, China, and received his B.A. from National Peking University. He served as a Research Fellow at the University of London and at the University of Paris from 1927 to 1931. Mr. Ho has served as Professor of Ethnology in National Peiping University, and as Professor and Dean of the College of Law of the National Central University, Nanking. He acted as Advisor to the Chinese Delegation to the General Conference of UNESCO, Paris. He has also served as Professor of Archeology and Anthropology at National Taiwan University. He is currently Correspondant Research Member of the Academia Sinica, as well as Deputy Director of the National Palace Museum, Republic of China. His main books are: *Chinese cultural studies* (1951); *Folklore in Taiwan* (1955); *Studies in Chinese ritual-customs* (1973).

JAN JELÍNEK (1926–   ) is an Associate Professor of Anthropology at Charles University, Prague, Czechoslovakia and Director of the Anthropos Institute (Moravian Museum) in Brno, Czechoslovakia. He received his Ph.D. in 1949 from Purkyně University Brno and D.Sc. in 1967 from Charles University Prague. Since 1950 he has been Head of the Anthropos Institute, Brno, and from 1958 to 1971 he was Director of the Moravian Museum. Since 1962 he has been Editor of the international journal *Anthropologie*, since 1971 President of the International Council of Museums, Paris, UNESCO, and since 1973 President of the Czechoslovak Anthropological Society (joined to the Academy of Sciences). His recent research is in paleoanthropology and Australian rock art. Recent publications include *Central and eastern European Neanderthal man* (1970), Evolution of Man (1972); *Arnhem land rock art* (1977).

OM PRAKASH JOSHI (1939–   ) was born in Bhinay, a village in India. He studied at M.B. College, Udaipur (B.A. 1958, M.A. 1960), and spent one year as a teaching fellow (1975–1976) at the Centre of Advanced Study in Sociology, University of Delhi. He has been teaching sociology in different colleges in Rajasthan since July 1960. He received his Ph.D. (1973) with a dissertation on the "Status and role of the artist in Indian society". His book, *Painted folklore and folklore painters of India* (1976) has recently been published. His present research interests include the art of tattooing and folk art. His publications include articles on ritual boundries of village, art public, and emerging youth culture. At present he is teaching at M.L.V. Government College, Bhilwara, India.

JOAN D. KOSS (1935–   ) is Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of Puerto Rico and Lecturer in the Program for Medical Anthropology at the University of California, San Francisco. She received M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania, the latter in 1965. Her past research interests centered on the psychosocial aspects of religions in Latin America, and especially of cult religions in the Caribbean. At present she is focusing on psychotherapy and curing in traditional medical systems, and on socialization and family environments of abnormal children in Latin cultures. She is currently directing a project in Puerto Rico designed to bring the traditional medical system (Spiritism) into structured contact with modern mental health services.

ANNA KUNCZYNSKA-IRACKA. No biographical data available.

JON D. MULLER (1914–   ) studied at the University of Kansas (A.B. with Distinction, 1963) and Harvard University (Ph.D., 1967). At the moment he is Associate Professor of Anthropology at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale and Director of the Field School in Archeology (since 1971). In addition to his research on the structure of art styles, he has research interests in the late prehistoric societies of the southeastern United States and West Africa.

PETER JAY NEWCOMER (1939–   ) was born in the U.S.A. He received his B.A. at Yale in 1960, his Journeyman certificate from the San Francisco Council of Carpenters and Joiners in 1963, M.A. from the University of Chicago in 1965 and Ph.D. from the University of Connecticut in 1973. He served in Viet-Nam from 1966–1968. He has held sessional and visiting appointments at the universities of Connecticut, Manitoba, and Alberta.

JAROSLAV OREL. No biographical data available.

JAMES L. PEACOCK (1937–   ) was born in Alabama. He received his B.A. from Duke University in 1959 and Ph.D. from Harvard in 1965. He was Assistant Professor at Princeton and is now Professor and Chairman, Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

JACINTO QUIRARTE (1931–   ) is American and studied art and art history at San Francisco State College (B.A. 1954; M.A. 1957) and the National University of Mexico (Ph.D. 1964). He has taught art history at the University of the Americas, Mexico City (1962–1964); Yale University (1967); The University of Texas at Austin (1967–1972); and The University of New Mexico (1971). He is presently Professor of Art History and Criticism and Dean of the College of Fine and Applied Arts at The University of Texas at San Antonio (since 1972). Recent publications include *El estilo artistico de Izapa*, (1973); *Izapan style art, A study of its form and meaning* (1973) (English version); *Mexican American Artists* (1973); articles and reviews on Izapan, Maya, and Mexican American art; translations include Alfonso Caso's *Seldin codex* (Spanish to English); and articles by George Kubler (English to Spanish) published in Mexico and Venezuela. He is presently finishing work on a book on *Maya vase painting*.

ROBERT RITZENTHALER (1911–   ) studied at the University of Wisconsin (Ph.B. 1935, Ph.M. 1940), and Columbia University (Ph.D. 1950). He was Curator of Anthropology at Milwaukee Public Museum from 1954 to 1972, and is now Emeritus. His ethnographic fieldwork includes Woodland Indians, Micronesia, and the Cameroons. He has published monographs and articles on these areas as well as articles on Wisconsin archeology. He is currently Clinical Professor of Anthropology at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

S. B. ROZHDESTVENSKAYA. No biographical data available.

ARNOLD RUBIN (1937–   ) received his Ph.D. in art history from Indiana University in 1969. His field-research in northeastern Nigeria (1946–1966, 1969–1971) emphasized the arts of the peoples of the Benue river valley. A member of the faculty of the Art Department, University of California (Los Angeles) since 1967, he currently holds the position of Associate Professor. Since 1971 he has been engaged in studies of unconventional art phenomena in Southern California as a basis for testing and refining principles of theory and methodology.

LEON SIROTO (1922–   ) was born in New York. He received his B.Sc. from Ohio State University and his Ph.D. (1969) from Columbia University with a dissertation — based upon field investigation — on the use of masks by the BaKwele people of Congo-Brazzaville and Gabon. He was Assistant Curator of African Ethnology at Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago from 1965 to 1970 and Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of Delaware from 1971 to 1974. His special interest is in the culture- and art-history of West and Central Africa. His publications have dealt mainly with the relationship between culture and art in Western Equatorial Africa: *The face of the Bwiiti* (1968); "*Goŋ: A mask used in competition for leadership among the BaKwele*" (1972); and Njom: *the magic bridge of the Beti and Bulu of southern Cameroon* (1977).

HEDWIG SPIEGEL (1903–   ) was born in Vienna, Austria. She received her Ph.D from Vienna University where she studied History of Art with Professor J. Strzygowski, Prehistory with O. Menghin and took part at Seminars conducted by Professor R. von Heine — Geldern. She did research in Melanesian art for twelve years at the Australian Museum in Sydney and lectured at Sydney University. In numerous papers, published in the *Records of the Australian Museum* and in *A.P.A.O.* (Archeology and Physical Anthropology in Oceania) she stressed the occurrence of "diffusion" in the artifacts of Melanesia and especially in New Ireland, and traced back the origin of some of the more complex motifs to China and Central Asia.

MARIANNE L. STOLLER (1929–   ) is Adjunct Assistant Professor of Anthropology at The Colorado College. She received a B.A. from Adams State College in 1949, an M.A. from the University of Denver in 1955, and is finishing a Ph.D. program at the University of Pennsylvania. From 1951–1953 she did research on Polynesian art and ethnography in New Zealand (on a Fulbright Scholarship) and Tahiti. From 1961 to 1969 she was Lecturer in Anthropology at the University of Colorado, Colorado Springs Center. She has directed the Southwest Studies Summer Institute at Colorado College in 1972, 1973, 1975, and 1976. She has done research and written several papers on both Native American and Hispanic arts and crafts of the American Southwest, and on Southwest ethnohistory. Her special interests include comparative aesthetics, the role of art in culture, contemporary arts of the American Southwest, culture change and ethnohistory in the same area, and religious acculturation in the Southwest and Meso-America.

PAVLA ŠTRUKELJ (1921–   ) is manager of the Department of Non-European cultures of Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana since 1955.

She studied ethnology at the University in Ljubljana; she specialized in research into the history of the Gypsy's culture and into the analysis of the ethnological material collected in the Museum from Africa, America, and Asia. Her dissertation was: "The culture and the acculturation of the Slovenian Gypsies" (monography is in manuscript still). She wrote the treatises of the museum's collections and more treatises on Slovenian Gypsy's culture, with special stress on its development and of the problems of that group in connection with adaptability to civilization. Her present research is the hair styles, body decoration, and jewelry of African people south of the Sahara.

G. P. VASIL'EVA. No biographical data available.

SUSAN MULLIN VOGEL (1942–   ) is an American art historian specializing in African art. Since 1968 she has conducted field work on the art of the Baule people of the Ivory Coast which was the subject of her dissertation. She received her M.A. in 1971 and Ph.D. in 1977 from the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University. In 1971 she became responsible for the African collection at the Museum of Primitive Art, and now curates the same collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art where she is Associate Curator.

CONRAD C. S. YOUNG. No biographical data available.

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