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# Leadership Symbolism in Onitsha Igbo Crowns and Ijele

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Anthropology's distinctive contribution to the study of art is to view art objects in relation to the whole culture and to other cultures. Our aim here is to examine certain headdresses of Igboland in this light. The forms of objects themselves may directly stimulate aesthetic experience. When, for example, the *ijele* masquerade of the Igbo (Cover), with its combination of great mass and delicate symmetry, is displayed in a dance by a bipedal performer, its beholders can hardly fail to experience meanings associating strength with balance. Such meanings appear to be universals, rooted in our very perception of the objects themselves. The most powerful aesthetic experiences are induced when such visually salient forms are connected to the dominant symbols or root metaphors of a culture in such a way that the composition of the art object leads participants to experience that culture's reality as a whole.<sup>1</sup> In this paper, we suggest that the Igbo *ijele* masquerade

forms an elegant and powerful cultural construction of this sort.

The *ijele* is part of a cultural complex that Cole and Aniakor (1984:map A) characterize as "northcentral Igbo" (including the people of the Anambra valley and associated uplands of southeastern Nigeria). Its traditional cultural center is the Nri-Awka area where the divine king of the ancient kingdom of Nri resides. Throughout West Africa, divine kingship has long been rooted in religions that postulate an intimate association between the lives of humans and the life of nature.<sup>2</sup> They postulate moreover that human beings can increase their control of natural forces and ensure prosperity by installing selected individuals into leadership positions that entail increasingly close relationships with aspects of nature that the people identify as crucial, and by instituting ritual programs in which these divine kings demonstrate both identification with and control over these natural forces.

In West African religions these relationships are grounded philosophically in origin myths. According to the Nri version, in the Beginning the Great God in the Sky created a termite hill and sent down the first Nri king to sit upon it. There the king found himself surrounded by a limitless morass, and asked for help. The Great God then facilitated the drying out of mother earth, created vegetation and animal life, and gave the king the staple food plants (yam and cocoyam) enabling human beings to thrive. Ever since that time the Nri king has had both the right and the duty to establish the yearly and seasonal cycles, to make yam medicine and distribute it among the surrounding peoples so the yams will be good, and to send his agents traveling among them to supervise and repair their moral relationship with the earth, upon whose good will both survival and long-term prosperity depend.<sup>3</sup>

This basic cosmology — in which the opposition between earth and sky is mediated by natural vitality (vegetable, animal) together with the moral guidance of human leadership — is widespread in Africa, with kings (and to some extent lesser leaders as well) possessing attributes of both "mother earth" and "father sky." In West Africa there is a general tendency for the king's relationship to mother earth to be less explicit, more hidden than his overt identification with the sky.<sup>4</sup> For example, in the Nri-linked kingdom of Onitsha (where our own work has been concentrated), everyone knows to hail the king as *igwe*, which means "sky," but far fewer know his salutation as *nkpu*, which means "termite hill." These two terms of reference reflect the basic polar dualism of the Onitsha king's identity.<sup>5</sup>

In this paper we suggest that this cultural complex is reflected both in the forms of *ijele* masquerades and in aesthetic forms homologous to them: the headdresses worn by Onitsha chiefs and the king. Consider the appearance of these latter during the festive emergence of the king from his normal life of palatial seclusion. These "great crowns" (*nnukwu-okpu*)<sup>6</sup> are mainly worn for the



1. PHILIP ANATOGU, THE PRIME MINISTER (ONOWU) OF ONITSHA, WEARING HIS GREAT CROWN. OCTOBER 1960.



2. CHIEF OREFO, THEN OWELE OF ONITSHA, DANCES TO OBI OKOSI II'S ROYAL WAR DRUMS AT THE FUNERAL OF THE OBI (KING) IN 1961.

annual New Yam Harvest festival (*ofala*), when chiefs and king assemble with their people in the royal palace square. Viewed from a distance, these headdresses primarily display plumage (Fig. 3). In the early 1960s, the use of imported ostrich feathers overshadowed that of the more traditional local birds like the cattle egret, and some feathers were dyed in colors including purple, yellow, red, green, or violet, creating spectacular effects. But among this varied array of feathers must also be those of the vulturine fish eagle, *ugo*, king of birds. Typically the large feathers have been stripped except for their tufted tips, lending a strongly branch-like aspect to the superstructure (Fig. 1).

The clustered feathers and intimations of branching on these spectacular crowns suggest birds perching on a tree, and therefore a tree itself, an implication made quite explicit in the Onitsha people's prime metaphors for leadership: the leader is a "mighty tree," *oke osisi* (this is a general term accommodating diverse types of trees), that gives birds perching on its outstretched arms and shoulders a safe abode. We infer that one dominant symbol of these headdresses is a tree of this kind.



3. THE GREAT CROWN HEADDRESSES OF ONITSHA CHIEFS (*NDI/CHIE*) CLUSTER NEAR THE ENTRYWAY TO THE PALACE OF THE OBI DURING OKOSI II'S FINAL FUNERARY FESTIVE EMERGENCE IN MARCH 1961.

The chief's head rests under a small depression whose top side is exaggerated to form a mound, out of which rises the central pillar that (in one dimension of meaning) designates the trunk of the tree. Vertical arches and horizontal loops are then attached to complete the framework.

Around the periphery of the flat disk base, coiled decorations suggest an encircling snake (Fig. 2). In Onitsha this implies the python, denizen of rivers and messenger of mother earth. Also present on the base, sometimes dangling from its circumference, and in the lower part of the superstructure are small bronzes and other objects that may include representations of small animals like the lizard, tiny mirrors, iron tools, and other valuables. One must view this portion of the headdress at close range to appreciate the lively and varied display of valued objects (Fig. 4). Symbolically, then, the chief's head lies under a mound of earth, out of which grows a mighty tree, on which perch birds of rivers, fields, and bush, secure and exalted in their elevated fold. In the lower parts, various small earth creatures clamber about and valuable things lie around, and the whole is encircled by a snake. Finally, according to one source, the headdress implies a living system in its "hands" (*aka*) reaching out, colored blood red. These hands may be interpreted to emphasize that the figure represented on the headdress is a personification of some kind.<sup>7</sup>

Onitsha people also have *ijele* (Fig. 5). They explicitly identify this masked figure as representing a deceased person of high title, a great leader who has returned from the land of the dead, emerging out of the termite hole that connects this world with the other earth of the hallowed ancestors (*ani-mmuo*, "land of the dead"). Like the chief's headdress, its primary visual aspect is elevated plumage, implying birds perching in a tree rising out of a mounded base, with a much more prominent coiled snake signaling mother earth's domain.

In Figure 5, we see the *ijele* figure escorted by members of the Ota ("Arrow") age set, men who are of course members of the secret "incarnate dead" or "masquerade" (*mmanwu*) organization of the community and whose age is appropriate to *ijele* — that is, men in their late fifties to early sixties, who have largely achieved their position of prestige in Onitsha society. *Ijele* represents a shared social ideal: to become a community leader of high title. Noteworthy among the escorts is the man on the mask's right, who is garbed as a hunter (leopard-killer) and who acts as guard for the ancestral figure. This man, Peter Aniweta Achukwu, was an unusual leader in Onitsha, an orator-spokesman (*onu-ekwulu-ora*) of the town. Although he had taken no high title in Onitsha despite his obvious capacities to do so, he was nonetheless a powerful leader by virtue of his unusual abilities to represent the ancestral truths of the town as

symbolized by incarnate ancestors like *ijele*. *Ijele*, then, represents both an idealization of the titled leader — his reflection as it were, coming from the other earth — and a potential social opposition to living, titled leaders. The masquerade association forms a collective opposition to the overweening pretensions of living leaders, in the name of the idealized leadership of the dead.<sup>8</sup>

Below the disk of the *ijele's* headdress (Fig. 5), the bearer of this crown takes not living human form but that displayed in color coding and decoration of the *ijele* elsewhere among the Nri-associated Igbo. This color patterning is prominent also in another context: so-called maiden-spirits, ghostly women who also represent the vitalizing, fertilizing powers of mother earth. Both in Onitsha and among the Nri-Awka people, these forms and colors imply the feminine, though this *ijele* has but the most abstract hinting of breasts. This is an ambiguous female/male, referring to an aspect of mother earth we will describe shortly.

In Onitsha, and other Nri-associated Igbo areas as well, these color patterns also signal the leopard (*agu*), king of the forest, identified with the king and indicated by spotted patterns (Fig. 6). When the Onitsha king (*primus inter pares* among his chiefs) emerges from seclusion once a year, he wears not his normally prescribed white gown and red cap, but multicolored dress that proclaims his identity with both female ghost and predator. His own headdress is like that of the chiefs, only larger and more golden.

Returning to *ijele* (Fig. 5), we note the superstructural personification, first in the frontal pair of black-background, multifaceted "eyes," which produce a startling effect. Perhaps these make reference to insects having compound eyes, or perhaps they allude mainly to multiplied capacities for seeing that a tree may provide; its superior position allows it to "watch over" the whole community. Another possibility is that they refer to the multiple "eyes" attributed to termite hills. An upraised hand, rendered in green, is also visible. The color-coding of this emblem seems to assert more directly that the structure personifies a tree. Green in Onitsha is called *akwukwo-ndu*, literally, "leaves of life."

Our own experiences with the much larger and more famous *ijele* found among other Nri-linked Igbo peoples also strongly suggest root metaphors of earthy mound and sky-ascending tree. In an example from the town of Awkuzu (photographed in 1960 during its own post-harvest emergence, Fig. 7), we see first of all a dark red mound at the base, echoed in the upper triangular forms, and a superstructure supporting outward-facing realistic depictions of birds (rather than actual feathers) and



4. THE ONITSHA MODERN ELITE SALUTE A DANCING TRADITIONAL SENIOR CHIEF (NDICHIE-UME).



5. AN ONITSHA *IJELE*. ITS HEADRESS DISPLAYING "EYES" AND SNAKE AND, BELOW, THE MASKED VISAGE OF THE ANCESTRAL FIGURE, ESCORTED BY MEMBERS OF ITS APPROPRIATE AGE-SET.

diverse human beings, leaders dressed like actors on a stage. In these forms from Awkuzu and in related forms from the Aguleri and Nri-linked uplands, as Chike Aniakor (1978:44) and Herbert Cole have pointed out (Cole & Aniakor 1984:134), a central mound and pillar are strikingly present in the interior structure. The top of the central pillar and the outreaching hands of this form are colored green, presumably alluding to "leaves of life" and tree (Fig. 7). Reference to a tree or trees is even more explicit in an Awkuzu *ijele* from 1970 (Fig. 8), where instead of feathers, tree leaf forms bristle prominently around the upper frame.

The *ijele* displayed in the 1984 exhibition at UCLA, "Igbo Arts: Community and Cosmos" (Fig. 9), constitutes another variation on the basic form: it lacks real feathers except for the horseman at the top who displays the *ugo*, but tufted branching forms are emphasized and the long strips producing the dominant yellow-green aura of the superstructure could be either feathers or leaves. Here the outstretched hands (as well as the underlying mound, almost concealed inside the superstructure) are bright red. Comparing this pattern with that of the *ijele* in Figure 7, we

might hypothesize that where the dominant aura of the superstructure is red and brown (representing maturity), the hands will be a strong green; where it is yellow-green (representing the phase of young growth), the hands will be bright red. This alternative of red or green hands intensifies the probability that *ijele* represents a generalized conception, a "tree of life," specific examples of which will represent different stages of the life cycle.<sup>9</sup>

In all these structures, then, we find visual evidence of a symbolic system that makes strong allusion to the sky through transcending elevation (and probably through the topmost figures), opposes this to a disk-earth and subterranean base, and produces out of earth the mound that bears the life-supporting tree, bridging dead, static opposition with burgeoning, blossoming, fruitful life (birds, important people, animals, and encircling snake). A simultaneous equation is made between this whole formation and leadership, living and dead (ancestral).<sup>10</sup>

That these headdress configurations represent at once an earth mound and a great tree, a tree of life, should surprise no one in light both of current knowledge of Igbo culture and of comparative

data from nearby. We will not undertake to provide here a systematic review of the abundant evidence of the ritual prominence of both mounds and trees among West African peoples,<sup>11</sup> but in light of the prominence of termite hills in both Nri and Onitsha kingship traditions, and of the importance of the tree in Onitsha leadership symbolism, closer examination of their cultural importance is relevant here.

The significance of mounds/pillars/trees may be explored first by considering the known intrinsic properties of the objects, and second by analyzing their evident employment as extrinsic symbols — as putatively arbitrary markers of differences within a specific cultural system. While either approach may yield valid results, we will here emphasize intrinsic features on the grounds that, when dealing with dominant symbols of a culture (those having strongly numinous meanings), intrinsic properties are often very important because they root experience in our very structures of perception.

Termite hills are complex, dynamic, living systems whose observable properties might stimulate awe in almost anyone not thoroughly jaded.<sup>12</sup> First, some African termite species can pene-

trate as many as forty meters down into the subsoil and bring up water to humidify the interior of their mounds, whose tunnels and passages consequently remain nearly saturated regardless of seasonal variations in humidity of the outside air. Partly for this reason termite hills attract a variety of animals, serpents being noteworthy among them. Some types of serpents (including the cobra, associated in Onitsha with kingship) dislike dry conditions and tend to inhabit the moist ventilation shafts of these mounds and to hunt other animals who are also attracted to live there. Thus the association between snake and mound that we have noted in the headdresses has a strong basis in the empirical nature of the living termite hill (Irwin 1982:352).

Second, termites also translocate soil from far underground, often bringing up minerals less common on the surface, including (in areas where it forms part of the substrate) gold. This may explain one dimension of the widespread association of termite hills with various valued objects, which is reflected culturally among the Igbo in the custom that requires including pieces of the hills in shrines dedicated to the pursuit of wealth.<sup>13</sup>

Third, termites display an astonishing fertility: a single termite queen produces up to 36,000 eggs per day, 13 million eggs per year. This fertility is externalized when, during the rainy season, the adult winged insects swarm in huge numbers. The Igbo traditionally harvested and roasted these insects for feasts and for sale in the market.<sup>14</sup> The swarming also

attracts many kinds of animal predators; prominent among them are some species of birds that rely heavily on termites for feeding their young (Nutting 1969:256). As a model for the proliferation of life (perhaps the cardinal value of traditional Igbo land), the termite colony seems almost archetypal.

The formal structure of these headdresses suggests that the Igbo are well aware of the association of birds with termite mounds, though we have not seen other details of ethnography emphasizing this link. The symbolic connection of mounds with fertility is, however, very clear: in Onitsha, for example, the termite hill is used for making large, village-owned mound shrines dedicated to the fertility of village wives (Fig. 12).<sup>15</sup> In Nri the linkage is strikingly illustrated in the traditional installation rituals of each new Nri king: he begins his trip to re-enact the mythological origin of the world by first climbing and sitting upon the particular termite hill that is identified with him, where — it is traditionally anticipated — the mound may break open like an egg, releasing swarms of insects to provide the people with food.<sup>16</sup>

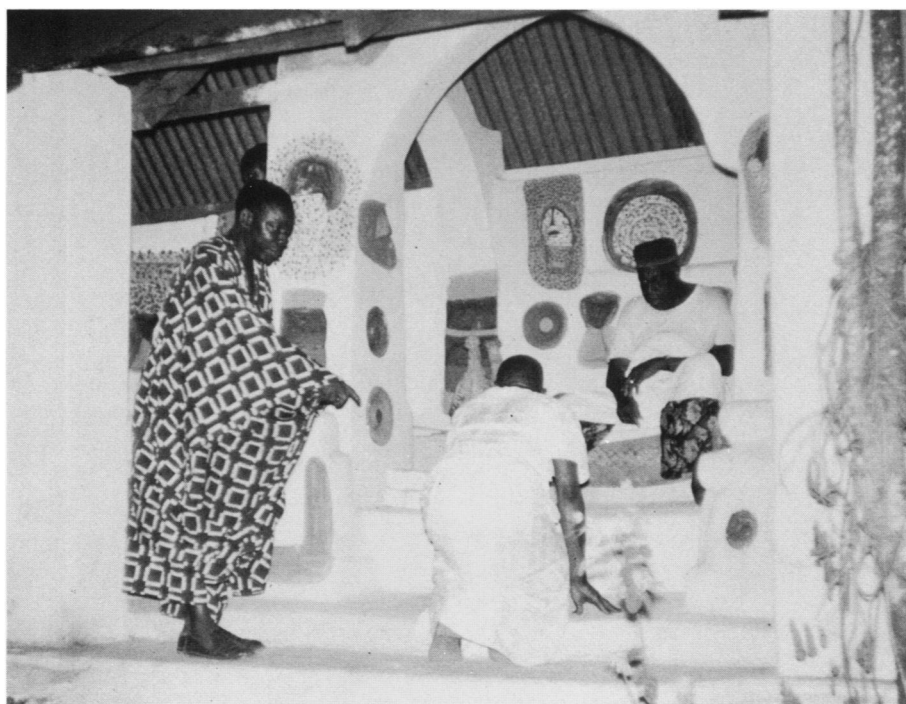
Fourth, the physical growth of a termite mound in its early building phases displays a rather spectacular burgeoning — a rapidly upward-swelling bulge of earth, some types forming what could be construed as phallic shapes, the largest becoming great subconical mounds. While we encountered no specific Igbo traditions directly linking termite hills with the male sexual erection, the con-

nection with pregnancy is clear, and we suspect that both ideas are elaborated in Igbo traditional thought.

Fifth, as Herbert Cole (1969:2,4,46) and G.I. Jones (1984:79) have pointed out, the insect-processed clay of termite hills is a superior modeling clay and is widely used for sculpturing, smoothing, and polishing objects people wish to enhance, beautify, and preserve, including not only shrine mounds and images of spirit powers but also surfaces of house walls, which are symbolically identified with the human body and skin. The clay forms a very hard surface when exposed to the air (though within a mound it is relatively moist and soft). Its capacities as a surfacing material to reflect polishing and to withstand the elements are two factors fostering its religious association with the ancestral past, and the requirement that it be used in shrines believed to protect people from misfortune. In relation to the interior earth it is as skin to innards.

Sixth, there is the structure of the mounds themselves, which varies widely, some termite species raising “gigantic structures which have always staggered the imagination,” and some building “the most complex edifices of the animal kingdom” (Noirot 1970: 73-74). One African species important in the Igbo area, the *Macrotermes bellicosus*, constructs a central pillar inside its mound that contains the rather complicated cellular-structured living quarters of the creatures themselves, resting on a horizontal clay base supported by downward-pointing conical pillars (Noirot 1970:73-74; Collins 1980:42-48, cited in Irwin 1982:352). This kind of structuring provides a model of a complex architecture that might suggest not only a “building” but a “city.” The system, moreover, contains a boundary-maintaining society, including a caste-specialized social structure with workers and soldiers that rush to block and repair any breaching of mound surface and that sometimes interact as defense-oriented “teams” when foraging (Stuart 1969:219; Noirot 1969:323).

While we have not seen any specific ethnography detailing Igbo symbolic identification of termite hills with architectural forms, it is probable they have thoroughly explored these structures as long as they have been building mud houses, since very large quantities of termite-hill clay may be used in surfacing the walls and floors of a single house. Cole’s *mbari* house study reports that the ritual digging of termite-hill clay, done at night, is considered dangerous by virtue of its association with the spirit powers, and that it is physically hazardous because the disturbed termites bite fiercely. The miners dig deep into the mound to obtain the most desirable clay, which they refer to as the “yam food of mother



6. OBI OKOSI II, ASSISTED BY MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL FAMILY, BESTOWS CHIEFTAINCY TITLE UPON H. O. OREFO. A LEOPARD-SPOTTED COILED PYTHON FIGURE APPEARS BEHIND THE KING'S HEAD.



7. IJELE WITH PROMINENT "EYES," FIGURES, MOUND FORMATION SURROUNDED BY A COILED SNAKE, GREEN-TIPPED INTERIOR PILLAR, AND GREEN HANDS REACHING OUT. AWKUZU, 1960.

earth."<sup>17</sup> Cole's study (1982:57-58, 72-100) thoroughly demonstrated the deep symbolic connection between mother earth and the termite hill, which points to a further crucial dimension of meaning: its sanctioning of the moral order.

In both Onitsha and Nri, mother earth is regarded as the primary sanctioner of the moral order, and the termite hill as the superior source of the living powers of the ancestors who reside in the earth. Onitsha people specify in this connection another aspect of architecture: the many apertures of the hill are multiple eyes through which the ancestors survey the domain of the living, and they say the king, like the termite hill, must have many eyes.<sup>18</sup> The anthropologist C.K. Meek reported intimate identification of the Onitsha king with the termite hill in the central ritual of his installation: he was traditionally made to sleep beside one (located near the sacred grove said to contain the graves of the ancient kings). The intention was both to notify the ancestral kings that he now assumed the kingship and to allow his body to "become dynamized by the spirits which

haunt [termite hills]," a termite hill being regarded as "a porch of the underworld."<sup>19</sup> We also know that the people of the Benin kingdom (culturally related both to Onitsha and to Nri) explicitly equate the structure of termite hills with that of the city of Benin, and identify the termite queen as "male" and equivalent to the Benin king.<sup>20</sup>

A final noteworthy feature of large and extensive termite hills is their tendency to support distinctive islands of vegetation. The spread of *Macrotermes bellicosus* often assists the regeneration of exhausted soils. Termite mounds sometimes encourage evergreen growth in woodlands that are mainly deciduous, and growth often returns to them most quickly after bush has been fired. When mounds become quite large, trees tend to sprout in them, and remarkably the resident termites — creatures who sustain themselves by demolishing wood with great and ravenous speed — often live in harmony with the wood of these trees.<sup>21</sup> Such a combination might constitute a thought-provoking paradox.

One of the most prominent features of Igbo religion is the tendency to combine

tree and mound in religious shrines. In Onitsha, for example, the basic symbols of a male adult's personal identity in relation to the earth include a mound-and-tree combination placed in the center of one's house (Fig. 11). The Onitsha king himself must live in the center of a sacred grove whose great trees testify to the fertility of the surrounding soil (Henderson 1972:281).

Termite mounds, therefore, provide strong intrinsic grounds for generating symbols of a complex living order that stimulates fertility, new life, well-being, and wealth, and that offers protection from danger. The ethnographic literature on the Igbo shows they have employed these qualities in their religious symbolization (where termite hills form parts of shrines dedicated to spirits who fertilize, fructify, strengthen, protect, and cure the people),<sup>22</sup> and Nri, Onitsha, and Benin kingships indicate that such termite-hill symbolism is profoundly involved with sociopolitical forms.

These patterns clearly extend far beyond the region in question here. Termite hills have ancient status as objects

of symbolic reverence not only throughout tropical Africa but far beyond in the tropical and subtropical areas of the Old World, where they are widely viewed as sources of fertility, homes of the ancestors, and places where treasures are hidden and where protective snakes are likely to be found. In India they are used as images of the primordial creation of the earth, sites out of which trees first rose to separate sky from earth, and where the earth first contacted the light of the sun.<sup>23</sup>

Trees in forests have an obvious and profound significance based on conditions intrinsic to West African horticulture: high forest signals maximally fertile earth. The fact that the Onitsha king must live in a clearing surrounded by high forest reflects his powers to concentrate and preserve the life-generating potential of the earth. Igbo ritual valuing of forest as such consequently contains a strongly ecological message.<sup>24</sup>

At another though not unrelated level, various qualities associated with trees may be seen to parallel the essential nature of human individual and social life. Mircea Eliade's work thoroughly demonstrated a worldwide range of religious beliefs about trees that suggests some

bases in their intrinsic qualities (1958:265-330). In African studies his work has been extended by French anthropologists, especially Geneviève Calame-Griaule (1969, 1970) and her colleagues in their wide-ranging study of African folktales.

Granting Eliade's contention that trees are often used as images of the cosmos, Calame-Griaule has shown that in African folktales the tree is also widely depicted as a protector, giving shade, shelter, and refuge. The tree is a provider of essential utilities for living, especially food, but also medicines, fuel for fires, and of course widely diverse building materials. It is, moreover, a living being, whose parts may be seen to correspond with the morphology of humans (including among other things phallic extension and hollows, implying both male and female). It has in addition the remarkable capacity to wither and then regenerate by seasons, and even the power, after dying or being cut down, to regenerate life out of roots or even branching parts. Finally, the tree is associated with the resolution of disputes and with persuasive powers of speech.

All but the last conception seem clearly rooted in intrinsic properties of trees,

and — though it would require too much space to provide the documentation here — the Igbo show ample evidence of having elaborated these qualities in their own extensive arboreal religious symbolism.<sup>25</sup> Some further considerations are required regarding this last feature, of settling conflicts. It has been widely observed among African peoples that the practice of holding discussions and disputes near trees increases the probability that conflicts will be resolved without violence, but this does not of itself clarify the tree's relationship to processes of justice.

Trees are of course greatly valued for their shade, considerably cooling the space beneath, and Igbo associate coolness with dispute resolution and social calm.<sup>26</sup> In addition, if we consider some of the widely distributed folktales discussed by Calame-Griaule and her colleagues, some further relevant patterns emerge. Typically, in these stories, conflict arises somewhere on the ground but is ultimately resolved near or on a tree. For example, one actor strives to climb a tree for some purpose of material gain, while a second actor opposed to the climber tries to defeat this attempt. While there are many variations in how and between whom the conflict develops and how the outcome is achieved, the nature of the outcome is constant: justice is served by redressing an imbalance created by inappropriate human action. Very frequently (though there are exceptions to this trend) the tree does not itself do anything — it is simply there, like a stage set. Its *presence* facilitates the outcome.<sup>27</sup>

This pattern of linking tree-climbing to the just resolution of disputes suggests that trees have intrinsic properties that may make them appropriate as agencies for this: on the one hand, the capacity to support human striving to transcend given limitations of life on earth (both in the sense of enabling living beings to do the unprecedented or difficult and of enabling them to expand their perspective); and on the other hand the profound capacities for balance in face of the forces of flux. Humans must of course exhibit both the will to transcend earth boundedness and powerful capacities for balance in climbing a tree, but in these domains of accomplishment the tree itself is unsurpassed. These intrinsic properties make the tree strongly appropriate as a metaphor of what is needed for the just resolution of disputes: the capacity to measure and appreciate both human will to achieve and



8. IJELE WITH LEAVES PROJECTING PROMINENTLY AT THE TOP AWKUZU, 1970.

9. IJELE UNDER CONSTRUCTION BY NWEKE KOGULU AND THREE ASSISTANTS AT UMUEZEDE ACHALLA IN 1983. THE MASK WAS LATER DISPLAYED AT THE 1984 EXHIBITION "IGBO ARTS: COMMUNITY AND COSMOS," ORGANIZED BY THE MUSEUM OF CULTURAL HISTORY, UCLA.





human earthly limitations, and the capacity to resolve the tensions generated by these opposites while maintaining a sense of balance together with a truly comprehensive, transcending point of view.

Yet there is the fact that trees are associated with mortality, with the recognition that all living systems are mortal. Trees eventually fall or are felled, and when this happens, the living forms (especially nesting birds) that have depended on them may be suddenly scattered, broken, the order of their lives destroyed. The Onitsha saying about the death of a leader is testimony to this notion. But that occurrence, for trees and for humans as social groups, need not be the end. Indeed, it may be a general condition of existing that physical things must fall apart periodically if they are again to recombine in ways that create new forms. The life cycle of a tree demonstrates that collapse of a central focus of order may produce chaos for a time, but if the surroundings are nurturing, the tree can resurrect out of remnant roots or seed. Its seasonal renewals remind us of this never-ending potential for death, catastrophe, then regeneration and creation of new forms.



10. IJEBU YORUBA CROWN FROM THE AGEMU NATIONAL CULT. THE DOMINANT ASCENDING FACE IS COMPLEMENTED BY A RECESSIVE INFERIOR ONE.

We think that this whole stock of ideas concerning mounds and trees is reflected in the norms of leadership as represented in both *ijele* and the Onitsha king's and chiefs' crowns.<sup>28</sup> The implication would be that, on the one hand, human leadership succeeds by emulating trees of the forest, first in accommodation to conditions set by mother earth, second in dynamic aspirations to excel (to rise into the sky above things that surround them), third in maternalistic provision of bounty and protection for dependents, and fourth in assumption of their powers not only to foster and stimulate creative proliferation of living forms but also to maintain the balance among such forms in the face of the dynamics of differentiation. On the other hand, the appropriate matrix sustaining life is a form of superior earth, a moral connectedness to ancestral will and wisdom that serves to protect the people from threats both without and within, thus both sustaining and proliferating life in the cornucopic manner observed in termite hills. It also seems important that the representation of multiple birds (and other creatures) constitutes an affirmation of individuality and diversity, the acceptance and celebration of an ultimate reality of social as well as natural variety and a capacity for autonomous development.

All these ideas are reflected, for example, in the norms of leadership applied to the Onitsha king and his chiefs. While the king holds accepted powers over life and death, in traditional litigation practice he may sit on his throne largely mute while discussion proceeds among all relevant community-interest groups, and final decisions they make are announced in his name. Like the tree of folklore, he tends to be a mediator of balanced decisions, whose presence is often more crucial than his deeds. The "mighty tree" has not only many eyes but many supporting arms in balance, sustaining diversity.

In Onitsha, justice is ensured over a longer run, moreover, by a structural balance that sets against the king opposing forces represented by *ijele* — namely, the community's incarnate dead, the masquerade organization composed of all adult males excluding the king, and whose members share a power equivalent to his. The leaders shown with the *ijele* in Figure 5 represent this collective wisdom (embodied both in the *ijele* and in its leopard-killer escort — himself a symbolic counterforce to the king) that is felt to emanate from the ancestors and from mother earth. This collective leadership has the potential even to depose the king should he tend to become tyrannical.

Finally, the fact that the king ultimately dies and that this death creates disorder is the central meaning of the Onitsha say-

ing discussed at the outset, a statement conventionally uttered at the death announcement for any strong Onitsha leader: "A mighty tree has fallen, and the birds who used to perch on its shoulders now have lost their safe abode." But the social forces reflected in Figure 5 — the age sets and orator-spokesman escorting the *ijele* — were at the time of the photograph parading this figure through Onitsha town precisely (in part) to declare that although King Okosi II had died and the social order was consequently threatened, the essence of orderly leadership forever remains an ancestral example for the whole community to recall.

We hypothesize that *ijele* has similar symbolic relevance in Nri-related Igbo towns like Awkuzu, where the comparable secret organization of masquerade elders is in fact the major traditional comprehensive power, and that within its fold the norms of leadership approximate those we have described. A recent study of Nri suggests that this system of kingship may have provided an ancient prototype of what we might here label a termite-hill-tree-and-bird model of leadership, in which the presence of the nurturing and balancing sacred leader facilitates wide-ranging activities of social mediation conducted mainly by others (Onwuejeogwu 1981:157-61, 165-70).

We may also view the Nri-area *ijele* as a model of action that postulates an eternal alternation between differentiation and collapse. The outer or peripheral superstructure, with its numerous and diversified figures, represents the fertile creating of new forms, while the inner mound-and-pillar represents the perennial grounds out of which dynamic social worlds evolve (and periodically collapse). In the Awkuzu *ijele*, it would appear that the art rendered (Fig. 7) concentrates initial visual focus on the glories of the proliferation process. Just as all modern societies are producing endless varieties of institutions, productions, social roles, and dramas, so in the Awkuzu *ijele* the many peripheral figures seem to dominate this art. But the other, countervailing aspect of underlying order should not be forgotten. It would seem important for every human being (as well as every moral community) to be in touch with the roots of our existence, which do not change between social categories or over time but rather are recursive and eternal. As Victor Turner has said (1969:96-111, 166-202), it is especially incumbent upon leaders to be reminded of the "eternal verities" that they share with other human beings and indeed all other life. Otherwise leadership tends to become irresponsible.

If we briefly look from east to west across southern Nigeria, as Simon Ottenberg (1983) has done in comparing

Igbo art with that of the Yoruba, here drawing a line mainly from the Nri-Awkuzo area to Onitsha and then across to Benin, some tentative contrasts among traditional leadership headdresses may be drawn. We see a sequential shift. In the Nri-Awkuzo aesthetic vision of leadership, impersonal figures carry a massive structure whose central mound and tree are largely obscured by the surrounding peripheral elaborations of form (where so to speak the “many birds” predominate). In the Onitsha image, the system of mound-tree-birds is placed on the head of an identifiable human being. If we then compare some of the headdresses worn by the Benin Oba, we find sculptural forms in which the human face itself becomes primary. For example, on some plaques representing the Oba and his warriors, mound-and-pillar are displayed, but the pillar is bare, boldly phallic or weapon-like (Ben-Amos 1980:89, pl. 96). On the more elaborated crowns associated with the Oba’s annual emergence to honor his ancestors (Ben-Amos 1980:8, pl. 2), the mound (which is continuous with the Oba’s prominently visible face) gives rise to a form apparently homologous to the Igbo constructions, with horizontal loops and vertical “arches,” but no “tree of life” is apparent and representations of multiple birds are conspicuously absent. Bird symbolism does remain important in Benin (figures of the Oba sometimes wear a feather or feathers), but the notion of a diversified cluster of birds appears to have been shifted to a single pair of wing-like structures flanking the Oba’s head (Ben-Amos 1980:83, pl. 89; Brain 1980:138, pl. 6.24). The pillar itself is no doubt a multivocal symbol, but its appearance is more like a

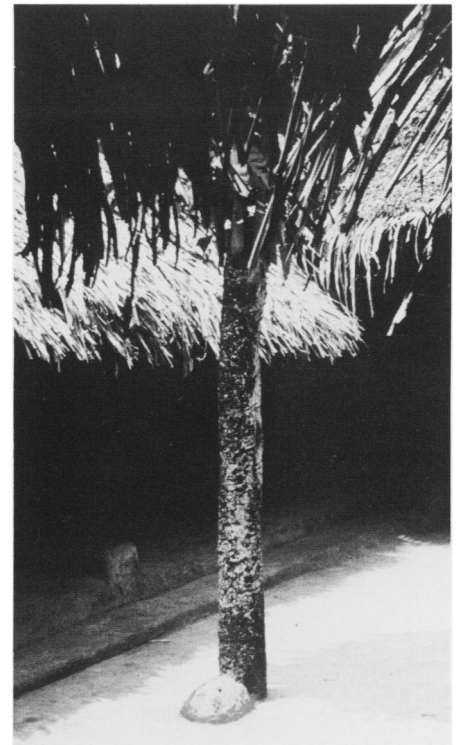
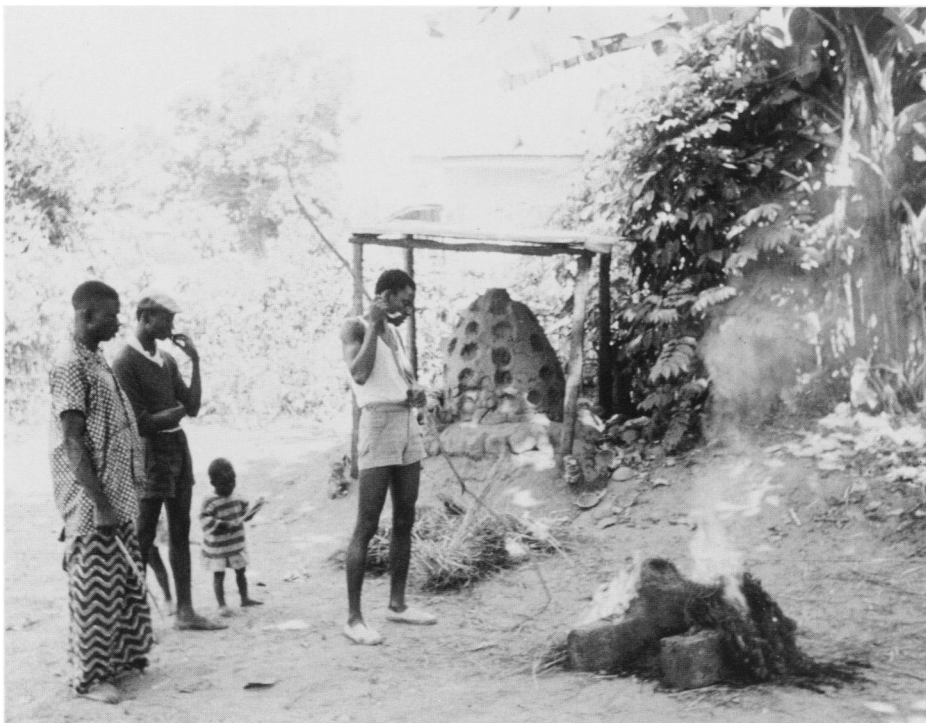
technological artifact than a thing of nature. The Oba’s overall appearance, interestingly, is rather like that of a termite hill both in shape and coloration,<sup>29</sup> and especially striking toward the bottom is what might be construed as bulging pregnancy. The lower decorations on his dress also seem very different from those of *ijele*’s abstract allusions to mother earth: trees and animals are represented, but they have an appearance of notational analytic categories rather than numinous symbols. Some sculptural forms (Fraser 1972:268, fig. 14.4; Brain 1980:139, pl. 6.25; Gallagher 1983) emphasize the Oba’s association with mudfish and other creatures of deep water (linked, as Bradbury and others have suggested, with increasingly overseas sources of powers of life; Bradbury 1957:53; Ben-Amos 1983:52; 1980:46-49, 68). The overall emphasis has shifted from balance to the fertility of power.

We follow Ottenberg’s nice contrast of Igbo and Yoruba art (1983), noting that Yoruba crowns are distinctive too. The Yoruba typically emphasize not peripheral proliferation but representational, horn-headed, masculine ancestral faces (sometimes in sunburst color) on the front of their crowns (Thompson 1970:8, pl. 1; 1971:ch. 8, pl. 1) — the king is very much “lord of the sky.” The mound-and-pillar allusion is present, however, and above all, the birds are there, although pecking at a pillar that is not obviously a tree. But where there are multiple birds they tend to orient toward an ascendant figure at the apex. One remarkable Ijebu brass crown (Fig. 10)<sup>30</sup> presents, at the upper side of the mound, the deified ancestral face, horn-headed, his face an impassive

mask with powerfully bulging eyes, while his curving legs form two mudfish, allusions to cool, slimy zones (a symbolism shared with Benin). Out of his head sprouts a surmounting bird, while below — though almost successfully concealed — a very ghostly face has round, multifaceted eyes, her(?) smile a crescent moon. Yoruba religion retains a subtle ambiguity, one of its deepest traditional secrets being the king’s identification with mother earth (Morton-Williams 1960).

In symbolic transformations such as these we are increasingly enabled to see, as Fraser, Cole and others have illustrated (Fraser 1974; Fraser & Cole 1974), how chiefs and kings have diversely manipulated, transformed, and selectively pruned the richly varied intrinsic stock of ideas associated with mounds and trees in order to legitimize substantially different patterns of leadership. We also see, at the two geographic extremes, what appear to be (from this brief and partly speculative interpretation) two very different philosophies of leadership. In both aspects, the Benin and Nri-area crowns stand at opposite poles, with the Onitsha Igbo (and toward the more centralized side, the Yoruba) forming intermediate syntheses of types. □

Notes, page 94



11. PERSONAL SHRINE TO THE COURTYARD EARTH IN THE ANCESTRAL HOUSE OF JERRY UGBO, ONITSHA.

12. T.C. IKEMEFUNA, AN ONITSHA ELDER, DIRECTS A SACRIFICE NEAR THE BIRTH SHRINE OF HIS VILLAGE. THE GROVE OF BANANA TREES BESIDE THE MOUND IS IDENTIFIED WITH THE REINCARNATION OF SMALL CHILDREN.

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PICTON, notes, from page 53

1. Herbert M. Cole and Chike C. Aniakor, with all the extraordinary wealth of descriptive and illustrative material published in their *Igbo Arts: Community and Cosmos* (1984), include some eight or nine Ekpeye sculptures (of which only five are certainly identified as such); and the area is also briefly discussed by G.I. Jones in *The Art of Eastern Nigeria* (1984). This article can be seen as a belated appendix, particularly to Cole and Aniakor's volume.
2. In the literature available in 1966, the people of Ahoada and surrounding villages were called Ekpaha (e.g., Talbot 1926) and Ekpeya (e.g., Forde & Jones 1950). I arrived with both versions in hand only to be told quite clearly that they were wrong, and that the form in current use was Ekpeye.
3. This may represent a development that is both spatial and temporal: they may be more elaborate because they are Ekpeye rather than Abua, or because they were made in the 1960s, or both. At least one Ekpeye carver, Nwoka of Ubarama, was aware that older artifacts were less complicated. He suggested that elaboration might have been brought about by the use of iron nails in the construction rather than the pegs or slivers of raffia palm wood used in the past. However, the technical means could only be one element in the motivation of these changes.
4. I do not know whether these various names can be identified with specific iconographic variables in the headdresses, but I would suspect it might not matter too much; possibly all are names for images of pretty girls.

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BENTOR, notes, from page 71

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HENDERSON & UMUNNA, notes, from page 37

The interpretations on which this paper are based arose in long conversations comparing Yoruba and Onitsha Igbo culture, held with Robert Farris Thompson in the early 1970s. An initial version was read in a public lecture in 1977 at the University of Arizona, where Inga Kohn directed attention to the works of Calame-Griaule. A paper by John Irwin (1982) further focused our thinking, and subsequent versions were read at the "Igbo Arts" Symposium of the African Studies Association annual meeting held at UCLA in October 1984 and in Seattle at the Seattle Art Museum and the University of Washington African Studies Seminar in April 1986. We are much indebted to Herbert Cole (both for substantive ideas and for encouraging our research on the subject) and have benefited greatly from discussions with Chike Aniakor, Obiora Udechukwu, Simon Ottenberg, Paula Ben-Amos, Jean Borgatti, Gail Hershberger, Jane Hill, Robert Netting, and Helen Henderson.

1. See Turner (1967:19-47) and Ortner (1973) on dominant or key symbols. We follow Jacques Maquet (1986:1-5) in viewing art as a "collective mental construction of reality," recognizing that human social realities are symbolically constructed (and therefore variable).
2. Feeley-Harnik 1985:273. A reconsideration of the work of Sir James Frazer (1911-15) is now under way. For another example, see Vaughn 1980.
3. Thomas 1913a:50-52, 138; Jeffreys, n.d.: ch. 6. In Thomas's version, the creation of all plants was the result of human sacrifices bargained between the Great God and the king (p. 137). See also Henderson 1972: 59-65. For an indication of the cultural centrality of Nri for the rest of northcentral Igboland and beyond across the Niger toward Benin, see Henderson 1972:297-98, 370-73.
4. McCall (1982) discusses this dialectic.
5. Meek 1937:188. See Henderson 1972 for general treatment of Onitsha religion in its societal and intersocietal context (including comparisons to Nri).
6. Onitsha culture and society have changed very rapidly during the past 125 years, with accelerating loss of traditional knowledge, the consequence being that by 1960 (when our initial field research was done) conceptions of traditional religion were fragmented at best. The crowns we discuss here are today called simply "great crowns" (*nnukuu okpu*), but they may be related to a now extinct type called "crowns no needle can penetrate" (*okpu ntutu aga*, an allusion to the fact that, though woven of grass to make them light, they are, like hard and heavy wood, impenetrable). These were large, elaborately decorated caps made of cane and straw (replaced early in this century by small red caps of imported felt that are now given the same name). We have not conducted an intensive study of what exegeses may be made of these objects by Onitsha elders, and it is unclear to what extent this may be rewarding today. We hope such a study will soon be undertaken, but here we rely primarily on positional analyses rather than indigenous exegeses (Turner 1973).
7. Orakwue 1953:50. This identification of "hands" is doubtful. Whether or not "hands" are in fact normatively represented on traditional crowns is not a central issue for us here, though if they are, an additional symbolic correspondence with the *ijele* (see below) would be implied.
8. See Henderson 1972:471-94 on the political significance of the masquerade association. Boston (1960:62) strongly emphasized the religious significance of Ijele as a "symbol of continuity and ritual well-being" within the community displaying it.
9. The *ijele* (Fig. 9) displayed in the Igbo arts exhibition was commissioned by Elizabeth Evanoff and made by the people of Umueze Achalla under the condition that it never be danced. It may have been intended to represent a very junior form. Cole and Aniakor (1984:pl. 35) show a related example, probably more senior in status.
10. At Nri the *ijele* masquerade complex includes not only the central giant figure but also a complex of smaller ones. The huge tower — which requires two men to dance it — is called the "king of the spirits" and "symbolizes the king of Nri," while the small figures are called its "people" (Onwuejogwu 1981:141-42). A comparable dance formation is performed during the Onitsha Ofala Festival by the Onitsha king and his chiefs. While Cole and Aniakor (1984:138-39) argue that the *ijele* form is a recent development, cross-cultural comparison suggests that the basic pattern is old. It has also influenced forms developing recently outside Igboland (see Borgatti 1979 for a Northern Edo example).
11. Henderson (1972) describes this for a variety of personal and collective cults in Onitsha. Talbot (1926: 15) emphasized the widespread religious significance of the complex.
12. We wish to emphasize our general indebtedness to Irwin (1982) in discussing this topic.
13. For example Thomas 1914:22-23. The translocation also has effects on overall soil fertility (to be discussed below).
14. Collecting swarming termites and marketing them for food occur over much of tropical Africa, and some ingenious collecting techniques are employed. Lightly roasted, termites contain 36% protein and 44% fat (Harris 1961:40-41).
15. The stylistic treatment of these *omumu* (birth shrine) mounds bears comparison with the *mbari* house of the Owerri Igbo.
16. Jeffreys n.d.: ch. 8. Though we lack specific ethnographic evidence for the Igbo, in some parts of Africa people sometimes induce swarming by sprinkling water on the mounds (see Harris 1961:40-41). Such a "magical" practice may be speculated for what is described in Jeffreys's account. See also Thomas 1914:23 on the search for a piece of termite hill when it is discovered that one's wife is pregnant.
17. Cole 1982:88-89. The identification of termite-hill clay with "yam food" for mother earth also strengthens an interpretation of the mound-and-pillar *ijele* image suggested by Simon Ottenberg (pers. comm.): that of yam-mound-with-support-pole. This kind of multivocality should of course be expected in a dominant symbol of this kind.
18. Cole (pers. comm.) was told during his *mbari* research that young hills have four eyes: mature hills, eight. I have seen *ijele* displaying four "eyes" (a Janus pair), and some have many more. With reference to these latter, adult winged termites have hemispherical compound eyes.
19. Meek 1937:186. In this passage, note also the depositing of the king's hair into the anthill, symbolizing the commitment of his identity therein.

20. Paula Ben-Amos (pers. comm.). According to Ben-Amos, the Bini also say that each morning, the soldier termites carry the "king" to the very top of the mound, where he performs a ritual to open the day. This point is interesting in light of Irwin's suggestion that termite hills are widely associated with solar cosmology. Ben-Amos (1980:45) writes suggestively on the probably ancient cultural connections of Benin with Igboland, reflected in a Bini origin myth.
21. Harris 1961:73-74; Lee & Wood 1971: 163-64. The *iroko*, a tree symbolically associated with kingship, is especially noted for its resistance to termite attack (Harris 1961:116), but apparently where trees grow out of termite mounds these insects do not attack them (see Irwin 1982:355).
22. For further examples, see Talbot 1926:314; Thomas 1914:22-24.
23. Irwin (1982:343-47). In light of the profound symbolic importance of insects in traditional West African religion, more thorough investigation seems warranted concerning their use as metaphors in art. For example, one remarkably intriguing bronze figure from the Igbo-Ukwu archaeological finds is the so-called double-egg pendant, of which two examples have been found. In both there is at one level of interpretation a representation of the leadership-signifying double gong (one type of which is called *ogene* in both Onitsha and Nri), the two slightly outward-pointing bells joined at the top by an arch. On its frontal, closed side, the gong appears as two pendulous eggs or perhaps breasts. The egg image is intensified by the presence of a fowl (hen? cock?) shown resting atop the two relatively huge eggs, its head and beak facing down between them and its small wings folded over them in a protective fashion. A pensive observer is likely to be suddenly struck by the resemblance of this complex to human male genitalia — to penis (the cock in Igbo symbolizes virility just as it has traditionally in Western culture) and to testicles (the two eggs). As Maquet has suggested, such intuitive experiences should not be lightly discounted, but further explored. An additional striking feature is the covering of the figures by representations of flies (Shaw 1970, vol. 1:144; vol. 2: pls. 274-77).
- What we wish to call attention to here is that one of these double gongs has eleven bell-shaped pendants attached to it by wires radiating out from a position below the eggs (a crotch or belly position if one presumes representation of sexual parts). These bells are crescentic — moon-shaped — with mouths opening out toward the bottom. Along the wires are strung many small golden-yellow beads (Cole & Aniakor 1984:33). Clearly this symbol must have presented a manifold image of fertility and nurture; we wish to suggest here that, in light of the importance of insect symbolism in Igbo culture, the possibility that these yellow beads represented an insectoid proliferation of life or plenty (insect eggs or pollen, etc.) ought to be considered.
24. This has not of course prevented degradation of forests in Igboland, but the connection between fertile potential and preservation of sacred groves contains such insights.
25. Henderson (1972) gives considerable attention to the religious significance of trees (and parts thereof) in Onitsha. For Benin, see Gallagher 1983:22-23.
26. Ottenberg (pers. comm.) emphasizes that Afikpo elders consistently meet to resolve disputes under shade trees and that trees are ritually likened to houses as protective (and cooling) coverings in this sense.
27. A remarkable story illustrating the tree's passive role is recorded in Studstill (1970:120), where the tree merely constitutes an obstacle to the physical balance of a protagonist who has lost his moral balance. Meek (1937) reports that during a trip to the Land of the Dead, a novice in the Onitsha masquerade association encounters an old woman sitting beside a large cotton tree. The woman requires him to scale the tree and fetch her some article from the top, but if he is socially unfit he will fall (p. 68). One version of a widespread tale in which the tree participates more actively is given in Gorog-Karady (1970:41), where an abandoned child causes his fruit tree to grow higher, thus threatening the life of the mother who had wronged him and has subsequently climbed the tree to gather its fruits. A widespread aspect of tree symbolism illustrated here is an implicit association of its pinnacle with death. Pinnacle figures displayed on Ijele may prove to exemplify this association.
28. Thomas (1913b:70-72) reports an interesting narrative from the Awka district that strongly supports the symbolic identification of kings with both termite hill and tree. Tortoise (the irrepressible Igbo trickster) directs his wife to cook food for him, as he will become king. He takes the food, sits on a termite hill, and begins to eat. But since he fails first to offer food to the hill, it bites him repeatedly on the rump, and when he tries to stand he finds he cannot. So he shouts loudly that he has become king, like his father. When elephant comes by, tortoise proclaims that he has become king and states that the elephant cannot lift him up; the elephant tries but fails. The leopard then comes, and tortoise repeats his claim, saying, "I put root [*abuelim mbologo*] for the land of my fathers, come and try." The leopard does but also fails. Finally, after the bush rat repeats the pattern, it digs into the termite hill and finds the tortoise's tail down inside. He bites into it, releasing the tortoise, and causing the latter to have a short tail. (Thus the tortoise in striving for kingship becomes "rooted" in the termite hill, yet also strives to rise above it.)
29. Ben-Amos 1980:8, pl. 2; Nevadomsky 1984: pls. 11, 12, 17. Nevadomsky specifically emphasizes this analogy (1984:54).
30. For a side view, see Thompson 1972:fig. 13.6, facing page 241.
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COLE, notes, from page 65

1. The book on *mbari* (Cole 1982) is a revised version of my doctoral dissertation written in 1967-68.
  - I would like to acknowledge with thanks helpful suggestions made by Doran Ross after reading a draft of this paper.
  2. Data are skewed by the varied numbers of *mbari* recorded at different times — not necessarily the numbers then extant. G.I. Jones and Kenneth Murray recorded 7 or 8 *mbari* in the mid-thirties, when many dozens more surely existed. I surveyed the area thoroughly in 1966-67, recording about 150 structures (some remaining from the 1930s and many quite small) in varied states of deterioration.
  3. I am indebted to Hyde's important study of gifts (1979) for sharpening my understanding of this aspect of *mbari*, and to R. Reid for pointing out the relevance of his book.
  4. I am grateful to Henry and Margaret Drewal for the use of their photographs and data from their 1978 visit to Chukuegu's Centre.
  5. Pounded anthill clay is the "yam" or *fufu* from which pre-1967 *mbari* figures were modeled. As Henderson documents elsewhere in this issue, anthills are important spiritually in many parts of Igboland, as well as central to *mbari* symbolism.
  6. This was kindly reported to me briefly in 1982 by the artist, Geoffrey I. Nwogu, whose father was one of the five artists involved in its construction.
  7. The group is composed of Sylvester Agu Chukuegu (leader), his son Silver O. Chukuegu, and Chukuegu kinsmen Nwogu Josiah Anyawu and his son Geottrey Iheanyichukwu Nwogu. Long John Mbazuigwe II (deceased), Albert Anya, and Remegius. All except G.I. Nwogu and Mbazuigwe worked on the cement *mbari*.
  8. This sign, from Abakalike township, is illustrated as figure 132 in Cole and Aniakor 1984.
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DREWAL, notes, from page 45

- I am pleased to acknowledge generous financial support for Mami Wata research among the Igbo in 1978 provided by the National Endowment for the Humanities (Grant no. F77-42) as well as institutional support from the Nigerian Museum and Ibadan University for research affiliations. I especially thank the followers of Mami Wata for generously sharing their thoughts with me; Geoffrey Nwogu for exceptional assistance in introducing us to devotees and artists in Imo State, and Margaret Thompson Drewal for her many helpful suggestions on earlier versions of this paper. This article is a contribution to the growing literature on Mami Wata among the Igbo (Cole 1982; Jenkins 1984, 1985; Jones 1984:87-92). A more detailed discussion of Mami Wata art and performance across Africa will appear in a forthcoming issue of *The Drama Review*, edited by Margaret Thompson Drewal.
1. The edition illustrated was printed in Bombay, India, by the Shree Ram Calendar Company in 1955 to copy an earlier version sent to them by a trader in Kumase, Ghana. Between 1955 and 1956, 12,000 copies (10" x 14") were sent to this trader and another in Kumase "without changing a line even from the original" (Manager, Shree Ram Calendar Company, letter dated June 17, 1977). The history of the original print will be outlined in the forthcoming *Drama Review* article. While the inventiveness of African artists sometimes makes it difficult to be certain, I discern the print's influence in at least fourteen countries and forty-one cultures.
  2. Nigerian Museum Photo Archive, neg. no. 106.94.17. I wish to thank the Nigerian Museum for providing a copy of this photograph.
  3. My discussions with Dr. Candido took place on May 21, 1978, in Ichi, Anambra State.
  4. My conversations with Njoku took place on May 22, 1978, in Mbaise, Imo State.
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#### BOOKS

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KEBEDE, notes, from page 90

1. I served as Music Expert for the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, as the founder and first Director of the Yared School of Music, and as the first President of the Ethiopian National Music Committee.
2. See A. Kebede and K. Suttner, *Ethiopia: Musique de l'Eglise Copte* (Institute for Comparative Music Studies and Documentation, Berlin, 1969).
3. See A. Kebede, "The Bowl-lyre of Northeast Africa" in *Ethnomusicology*, vol. 21, no. 3: pp. 379-95, 1977.
4. The explosive Ethiopian consonants can be easily indicated by a capital K; it is sounded like k but exploded.
5. See A. Kebede, "The *Azmari*, Poet-Musician of Ethiopia," *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 51, no. 1: pp. 47-57, 1975.

SMITH, bibliography, from page 91

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OPPOSITE PAGE. THE DISTINCTIVE REGALIA OF HIGHEST GRADE EKPE MEMBERS AMONG THE CROSS RIVER IGBO INCLUDES STITCHED-AND-DYED UKARA CLOTH. IN THIS CASE DESIGNED BY ITS WEARER. UGU AGWU OBIWO OF ABIRIBA. PHOTOGRAPH 1983.