SENUFO MASK CLASSIFICATION

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A great deal of error and misinformation exists in the literature concerned with Senufo craftsmen and the nomenclature and origins of Senufo masks. Because it has not been completely understood that the Senufo consist of numerous subgroups, and that Dyula, who originated north and west of Senufoland, are found in significant numbers throughout the area, terms concerned with Senufo art and artists have unfortunately been drawn from several dialect areas and from another language family. Further misunderstandings have arisen because of the varying origins of craftsmen groups. In addition, the sources of Senufo woodcarvings have not been made clear, nor have the users been properly identified. The purpose of this paper is to point out the complexities of classifying Senufo art and to provide a basic, though admittedly incomplete, foundation for further classification and understanding. Aside from the literary sources that are cited, the information upon which this paper is based was collected in northern Ivory Coast from July 1973 to December 1975. Senari words used in the text are Dalir, the dialect of the Dalebele in the central Senufo area.¹

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

Historical events have determined habitation patterns of the various subgroups of Senufo. In those areas least affected by past indigenous wars and away from well-traveled trade routes, villages are often small. In areas affected by wars and in the path of trade caravans, settlements are often large for reasons of defense and commerce. Larger villages also contain Dyula and Fulani. The Dyula are Mande-speaking Muslims, many of whom engage in commerce. They are also farmers, craftsmen and religious teachers. The Fulani are pastoral nomads, but those who have settled among Senufo may care for Senufo cattle, or work as tradesmen and weavers.

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

1. Gboguru/g. Boundali-Kolua Area. Used by the Kaseembele as an entertainment mask.
fiijo may farm as well, and in some cases, they may do so to the exclusion of engaging in their craft. Fijembele do, however, make a strong effort to keep the secrets of their craft, utilizing supernatural sanctions against inquisitive non-fiijo. On the other hand, members of one fiijo may be accepted as apprentices by members of another fiijo, though this is not common.

The number, occupation and nomenclature of the various fijembele are not clear in the literature, which is the result of confusing Dyula craft groups and Senufo fijembele. Discussions of craft groups in Senufoland can be found in Delafosse (1908:263), Vendeix (1934:627), Maesken (1948:139), Knops (1959:86), Himmelheber (1963:87), Goldwater (1964:12-13), Bochet (1965:638), Holas (1966:70-71), Glaze (1976:22-51) and Scheinberg (1977:5); however, most of these are incorrect in one way or another. It is necessary to differentiate between Senufo and Dyula artisan groups and to separate Senufo and Dyula nomenclature, as does Glaze. Dyula generally lump all artisans, with the exception of the Djelebele and Lotoho, under the rubric Numu. Numu are of Mande origin and may be found as far east as western Ghana (Bravmann 1974) and as far south as Agnibilikrou in the southeastern corner of Ivory Coast. Although they are generally associated with blacksmithing, they often carve as well. There are several references to Numu in early French records housed in the Archive National de la Côte d’Ivoire in Abidjan (1908:1914), where they are described as occupying themselves with blacksmithing, carving, weaving, commercial trading and farming, but there is no way of knowing if the Numu so described were, in fact, Numu, or whether they were members of other craft groups. The possibility exists that they were Senufo fijembele described as Numu by Dyula informants.

In the central and western areas of Senufoland, Senufo differentiate between five major artisan groups. One is the Kulebele (sing., Gulebe), who also call themselves Dalebele (sing., Daleo). The men are woodcarvers and the women mend calabashes. Dalebele is the term used on the north-south axis from Mbangue to the Dikodoucou area, while Kulebele is in more common usage on the north-south axis from San to Ouezoumon. Non-Kulebele in the latter area are not familiar with the term Dalebele, though Kulebele are. To the east (Mbangue to Dikodoucou), non-Kulebele are familiar with both terms. Dalebele state that they speak Dalir, a dialect of Senari unique to them. Kulebele in the west speak the dialect of the farming groups in the area and claim they have difficulty understanding Dalir when they initially encounter it. De-
They do not, however, call themselves Fonombele and consider anyone who does to be extremely unknowledgeable. They also insist that they are not Senufo. Both woodcarving groups have Poro societies, though those in the west are largely inoperative because of lack of personnel. All woodcarver Poro dance the same types of masks (with a few exceptions) and use the same costumes, dances, orchestras, and music, which are unique to them.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Not all groups living in Senufoland have Poro, but among those who do, the organization and purposes are very much the same even though the ritual paraphernalia and ceremonies vary from group to group. Membership in Poro is obligatory for all male members, and women are excluded until they are post-menopausal, though young women and girls participate
in some of the public ceremonies sponsored by Poro (cf. Glaze 1976:75). Poro are headed by the chiefs of maximal lineages and are structurally important in the political and economic organization of lineages. The purpose of Poro is not to integrate members of several lineages, or ethnic groups, within a village. Indeed, most villages have more than one Poro, and as Glaze states, they "are direct expressions of ethnic identity" (1976:104, 181). It is not unusual for political and economic conflicts between lineages to be manifested by conflicts between their Poro (Richter 1977:77-80).

Among the various subgroups of Senufo and fijembele who have Poro, each has its own ceremonial complex, which includes masks, statues, costumes, musical instruments and orchestras, music, dances, protocol and rituals. Further, within the Poro of any one subgroup or fijia, there are numerous sections, each of which is basically similar to the other, but variations may exist between sections of the same subgroup (cf. Glaze 1976:291). For example there are twelve active sections in the Kulebele Poro, each of which is headed by the chief of a maximal lineage. All Kulebele Poro sections dance two types of face masks, but they differ in detail from one section to the other. One section also dances a fiber mask, called kôdâli, of the type illustrated in Glaze (1976, pl. 52, right), and another section uses a fusion lion mask, also called kôdâli (Fig. 6), as well as a very large wood face mask, which will be discussed here in more detail.

When a Poro mask is carved, a second, identical one is often commissioned so that if the first, and ritually consecrated, mask suffers a mishap or is stolen, the Poro will have an immediate replacement. Spare masks are often never danced and may not even have holes around the edges of the face for the attachment of head cloths. Neither face nor helmet masks of this type may show evidence of use. These masks do not contain any supernatural forces because they are not sanctified unless it is necessary to use them.

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

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

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

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

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

Forms and protocols of masquerades diffuse from one Poroto another, sometimes as a single entity and sometimes independent of each other. As a result, two different forms may be called by the same term, or two similar forms may be given different names. For example, the koRobla mask and protocol originated with the Djelebele, both of which were adopted by the Senambele (also known as Tchebelebe, Tchebara and Tiembara), a farmer group in the central area. Bochet places the origin of the koRobla in the Ghato area, which is southwest of Korhogo and includes Linguedougou (1963:660). Thiam claims that the koRobla, which is recognized as a zoomorphic helmet mask in the literature, is also used by blacksmiths (whom he calls Founoug), jewelers (whom he calls Fabele)?
and Kulebele (1966:26). However, Kulebele do not have a zoomorphic helmet mask masquerade, and the mask of this type used by the blacksmiths in Glaze’s 1976 study is called kanugbah. Indeed, Glaze does not note any mask called koRbla in the Kufulo area. She does record three zoomorphic helmet masks, each used by a different group (Fodonon, Fonon and Kufulo), and each called by a different name (ghon, kanugbah and kpomvungu) (Glaze 1976:310-311). The function of these three masks is very much the same, but variations occur in the apportuntes, and there are differences in detail in the form of the three masks (cf. Glaze 1976:308, pls. 44, 45, 319, pl. 22; 324, pl. 46). Other names occur in conjunction with zoomorphic helmet masks. Kulebele note a gblege, which they claim is a kpeembele mask, and Bochet illustrates a gbglege, a gbglege and a mmgugu (1965). It is probable that Bochet’s gbglege is a contraction of gbun g and mmgugu (head). Thus, the name is the same as Glaze’s gbuon, but the mask forms are different. Himmelheber notes a gbglege, a mandaala and a karobla, all of which are from the Boundiali area (1960:103-104). Bochet’s gbglege and gbglege and Himmelheber’s gbglege are undoubtedly the same name, but these masks also differ in form. An analysis of mask components in Table 1 (see p. 94) makes it clear that helmet masks cannot be identified by form alone.

Senufo helmet masks have been referred to as “firespitters” in the literature (cf. Goldwater 1964:17; Lewis 1968; Segy 1968:173), which, in most cases, is incorrect. Kientz reports a Fonombele zoomorphic helmet mask south of Korhogo that “spits” fire (personal communication, 1975), but Glaze does not note firespitting as a feature of zoomorphic helmet masks in the Kufulo area. One Senuamele koRbla (see no. 1 in Table 1, p. 94) in Korhogo walks through fire and extinguishes small fires with its hands. It also does splits over small fires and extinguishes them with its crotch. The other Senambele koRbla were not seen manipulating fire in this manner. Djelebe claim that their koRbla walks through fire, and indeed, this ability resulted in conflict between a Djelebele Poro and a Senambele Poro. According to Djelebele informants, they had lived peaceably with the Senambele in the village of WayiRi since time immemorial, but when the Djelebele koRbla performed its firewalking feat at a Senambele funeral, the farmers became jealous. The Djelebele Poro refused to divulge the secret of firewalking to the Senambele, and the farmers chased them out of the village and across the river, where they have lived ever since.

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

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

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

Glaze records three different masquerades in which a carved wood face mask is a component: koSolu-yehe, which is Fonombele (Fig. 8); puyoro, which is Fonodon; and koSoropa, which is a “Sandogo-related” Fonodon masquerade. The face masks used in these three masquerades share the following formal features (Glaze 1976:167): an oval human face, often slightly smaller than life-size; geometric projections that flank the face symmetrically, which Kulebele call yaftahfat (“something that is made”); a pair of tubular shapes flanking the face below the yaftahfat, which Kulebele call gotchegele (“chicken thighs”); and a crest that surmounts the forehead and is sometimes flanked by horns. Masks meeting these criteria are also used by Senambele in the Korhogo area and by all Kulebele Poro. The Senambele masquerade that includes a wood face mask is
called körök, and the mask is worn on top of the head rather than over the face. The Senambele körök is a Poro mask that is used within the funeral and initiation context and should not be confused with a similar face mask used by Senambele as an entertainment mask (Bochet 1965:668; Glaze 1976:185). The Kpatobele, farmers in the Ouezoumon-Gbemou area, also use the same type of kpelie (Fig. 4), but it is worn over the face rather than on top of the head.

Thus, six different groups in Senufo land have been recorded as using the same type of kpelie, and there are undoubtedly others. It has been claimed in the literature that the crest on face masks is specific to the group that uses the mask, but this is inaccurate (cf. Glaze 1976:166). The crest that has been identified as “palm nuts” (Goldwater 1964:15), and which, in fact, represents the thorns of the bombax (kapok) tree,13 is found on all Kulebele kpelie (Figs. 3, 5), on at least one Fonombele kodôli-yehe (Fig. 8) and one Fodonon poyoro in the Kufolo area (cf. Glaze 1976:340), and on Kpatobele kpelie (Fig. 4). The female figure or head as a crest is used by such diverse groups as Fonombele and Fodonon (Glaze 1976:340), Senambele and Kpatobele. The female motif as a crest is also found on a Kulebele kôRoba (see note 9).

Table 2 (see p. 94) illustrates the problems inherent in determining the provenance and nomenclature of Senufo carved wood face masks. Bochet states that wood face masks are either korrigo or kodala and can be identified by the type of head cloth worn by the masker (1965:668-669). However, Glaze discusses a kodôli-yehe (“face”) and a kulebele-kodôli (1976:169-170), and although the term kodôli appears in both of the masquerade names, one has a wood face mask and the other has a fiber mask. Indeed, several fiber masquerades are called dialectical variants of kodali, such as the Fonombele kulebele-kodoli, the Djëbele kodali (Fig. 7) and two Kulebele kodali, one representing a lion (Fig. 6) and the other resembling the kurustaha fiber masquerade described by Glaze (1976:297-298, pl. 32).

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

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

It is necessary to document each mask individually rather than to accept general statements and terms that may very well prove false for any given mask. I suspect that attempts to classify Senufo masks on the basis of form will prove futile, and that classification can be realized only after content is understood. The key to classification, therefore, is function, not form. Indeed, even Kulebele are often unable to identify masks out of context.
and mire, which are due to the fact that we worked in different dialect areas. Further, though I was primarily in the Karamba dialect area, my principal informants were Dadabale, whose dialect differs from Karamba.


3. It is difficult to see how the woman of any mandate could cooperate as a corporate group since the Tofidene are village-based. This problem is overcome, in part, in part, by the practice of sending some male children to live with the mother's brother. Ideally, all male siblings should be members of the same Patama segment.

4. Makô and maitenh in Glazar (1976:90), who notes that maitenh is a more phonetic term for all decorative sculpture among the people in the Kauria area south of Kofirongo. The Dadabale generic term is tari, which simply means "statue." 5. Serudder believes that the Balbene container masks are intended for delivery, death, which is accomplished when the bee stings the victim.

6. Albert Kamilz, who did his research south of Kofirongo, collected the same oral tradition (personnel communication, 1975). It appears that the term kofu has a deeper meaning than has been realized in the literature and is more simply the name of a specific type of mask and masker. At a Serudder funeral near Kofirongo in 1975, a male-type mask (cf. Glazar 1976:170-302; pl. 21, 31, 31) performed what was called kofu by Serudder elders. At the same funeral a zoomorphic helmet mask also performed, which was also called kofu.

7. Kofu is the name of the Fahabe is another term for Dadabaleide.

8. The Kofu term is zoomorphic. The difference between kofu and zoomorphic is dialectical. The etymology is the same for both terms.

9. Two Kofu masks were stolen from Kofirongo in the late 1960s and presumed to have found their way into private Western collections. A zoomorphic mask performed at the 1990 ceremony was not permitted to photograph it; therefore it would be very much appreciated if any reader who knows where one of these masks might be would write to me. It is not my intention to try to have them returned. Kofu masks have replaced drums as the lead-in to the dance and mask has a prominent bulge on the face and may or may be covered with fine-line mavings in a postural pattern (see drawing a). The nose is large and possibly the mouth protrudes noticeably. There may or may not be a laughing mouth curving the lower lip. Teeth are prominent features, and the eyes are bulging. The ears are long, reaching from the body to the head, and are sometimes represented by narrow, lie between the nostrils. Below each nostril is a wood antelope horn carved so that the brows are apparent (see drawing b). A smaller bow-shaped container surrounds the mask. The container is incised vertically and is decorated with antelope horns (see drawing c). There may be a human head or face (or some other feature) on top of the container. The mask may not have much patina because one of them was a space mask. It is possible that these masks have not been identified as Serudder.

10. Becht uses the term guile (pl. guiles) and points out that it should not be confused with geile, which is a helmet mask (see drawing d). Again, the use of this specific term is problematic.

11. Zoomorphic horns are represented on zoomorphic helmet masks in the form of conical, vertically oriented teeth. The palm nut, when represented, is the small oval knob on the end of a protrusion.

RICHETER, Bibliographie.


BATKIN, Notes from page 52. I wish to thank those who offered advice and suggestions for this article: Kwei Kwei and D. Otto Burk for historical information. Lloyd Rowe of the Denver Art Museum for valuable advice on photographic matters, and Marilyn Chambers of the museum's publications department for advice on the report. I am grateful for the interest of the Denver Art Museum for many of the photographs in this report.

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