african arts

Regents of the University of California

Masques Dogons in a Changing World
Author(s): Polly Richards
Source: *African Arts*, Vol. 38, No. 4 (Winter, 2005), pp. 46-53, 93
Published by: UCLA James S. Coleman African Studies Center
Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/20447734
Accessed: 23/02/2011 15:08

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at http://www.jstor.org/action/showPublisher?publisherCode=jscasc.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

UCLA James S. Coleman African Studies Center and *Regents of the University of California* are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *African Arts.*

http://www.jstor.org

Masques Dogons in a Changing World

POLLY RICHARDS

At a lecture I gave in 1998, the image of contemporary Dogon masquerade (Fig. 2) incited shock amongst my audience. In place of the timeless image captured by Huet in the 1970s of a line of mask dancers suspended in space (Fig. 1), the contemporary *kanaga* performer wore trainers, and writing now covered the once-stark, monochromatic headpiece. This (one particularly vocal member of my audience proclaimed) was a defamation of a once-great masking tradition: How could I stand up and talk about it with such enthusiasm?

Ever since the studies in the 1930s of Marcel Griaule and his team, Dogon people have gained worldwide attention for their spectacular masking traditions. Seventy years on, with the annual exodus and return of young men to cities seeking work, with the influx of tourism, increasing desertification, and most significantly with the penetration of Christianity and Islam and developments in national politics, the Dogon region is somewhat altered. So how has

MICHAEL HUET

the masquerade tradition responded to such change?

The history of Dogon masquerade has been one of constant adaptation. In Griaule's now-classic account, *Masques Dogons* (1938), mask performances were described in connection with post-burial rites for important elders, rites for the protection of fruit crops, and at corrective rites, referred to as *puro*, curbing the behavior of women. Recent research by Jolly (1995) and myself (2004) reveals that the range of events at which masks danced was likely to have been even more diverse. Today, to the south of the region in an area "undiscovered" by Griaule, is a surviving tradition of masked performance in connection with ancient fertility rites (Jolly 1995:593); to the north, miniature wooden headpieces are worn by young boys to rid their village of outbreaks of disease (Richards 2004:108); and at the heart of the Bandiagara escarpment, an elaborate cycle of leaf masquerades—described by Griaule in passing as a mere game (Griaule 1938a:269–74)—still has to be performed before the farming season can begin (Richards 2004:100–106; Fig. 3).

With the establishment of colonial rule and, subsequently, Malian independence, the scope of masked performances expanded shortly after colonialization in 1920 to cater for Europeans visiting the region. By the late twentieth century, masks welcomed visiting dignitaries on the occasion of official openings (of schools, clinics, roads, and even churches) and were increasingly performed for an entirely foreign audience overseas, in theatres as far afield as Hong Kong, Egypt, and London (Fig. 4).

Over the past century, Dogon traditions of masquerade have been recognized by scholars as providing an open system of accumulation and change essential for the masks' survival. Yet paradoxically the very aspects of the masks

Opposite page:

1. *Kanaga* dancers, Sangha Region. From Michael Huet, *The Dance, Art and Ritual of Africa* (London: Collins, 1978).

This page:

Top: 2. *Kanaga* dancer, Idieli (Dogon region), May 17, 1994. Photo: P. Richards.

Bottom: 3. *Sanuguroy* leaf mask dance, Idieli (Dogon region), June 1999. Photo: P. Richards.

evolution that have proved the strength of the tradition and its ability to survive into the twenty-first century have been taken by outsiders as proof of the masks' decline. In the course of this paper, I am going to examine the evolution of the mask tradition in the face of some of the major social, religious, political, and environmental changes of the last century and the often contrasting response of Dogon people and outsiders.

Before I commence, some clarification of categories would perhaps be helpful: In the past century, the literature has persisted in dividing Dogon mask practice into two clearly defined categories: first, that which fulfills what is seen by scholars as the "original" purpose (i.e., for post-burial rituals), and second, that in which masked performances have been adapted to cater for foreign audiences. Terms such as "traditional"[1] and "adapted,"[2] "ethnic"[3] and "theatrical,"[4] "sacred"[5] and "profane,"[6] "ritual"[7] and "tourist"[8] have been frequently applied to dances that occur. However it is important to recognize that the (somewhat old-fashioned) structuralist paradigm that emerges here has served to trap scholars into writing about Dogon masquerade in a manner that makes no sense to Dogon people and, furthermore, fails to take account of the more complex nature of both historical and current realities. In "reality," tradition is itself open to adaptation, a quality that in fact guarantees its survival; all mask performers are "ethnic" (i.e., indigenous); dances commanded by tourists often attract an "ethnic" audience; and "ritual" (i.e., formalized patterns of behavior)[9] inevitably pervades all masquerade performance, given the rules to which the dancers must adhere. Most importantly, however, all such performances are referred to by Dogon people as *imina go* and occur within the remit of the mask association. Clearly, therefore, in order to move beyond a simplistic and thus misleading labeling of what "the Dogon" do, it is necessary to establish how Dogon people themselves refer to the range of masquerade performances that occur today and to clarify just what differences are remarked upon locally.

The area identified as Dogon country spans roughly 50,000 square kilometers (19,305 square miles) of southeast Mali, with a population of approximately 400,000. Griaule's research focused on villages at the heart of the region, an area dominated by the Bandiagara escarpment, where today those practicing the indigenous religion are still identified as being in the majority. Today in the village of Sangha, where the majority of Griaule's research was based, masked dances are still the highlight of elaborate post-burial rites. In the peak holiday season, masked performances for visiting tourists also take place up to three times daily in return for a fee. While the same masks may be worn in all contexts of performance, there are three main factors noted by locals as distinguishing dances for tourists (Fig. 5) from those performed at the *yimu yaana* and *dama* post-burial rites (Figs. 6, 8). First, the location is different: Dances requested by tourists take place on the edge of the village, since to dance in the public place for anything other than a funerary rite is perceived as provoking bad luck. Second, the length and content of performance is altered: The lack of audience participation means that dances are short in duration and the more performative masks such as the hunter, which require audience understanding and interaction, are replaced by the more spectacular masks such as the *sirige* (Fig. 7) and *kanaga*. Finally, locals distinguish between the aesthetic appearance of the masks: Masks danced for tourists are often in a state of disrepair in contrast to the bright and shiny aesthetic that pervades at the *dama*.

Griaule's response to the evolution of the masking tradition for "visitors of note" was wholly derogatory. He wrote:

> This secular activity ... is not without gravely compromising the [mask] institution's character.... From the truly religious affair that it was, useful and meaningful in every detail, the mask tends to become an accessory of a spectacle without greatness (Griaule 1938b:818).

Imperato later cited this quote, but nonetheless was the first to note that in fact the presence or absence of a local audience in any performance context contributed to the quality of the event (Imperato 1971:71). In villages off Griaule's beaten track, where dances for tourists are less commonplace, and even in Sangha when important VIPs arrive, such performances are still a novelty: A large crowd gathers, a vociferous audience engages critically with the ongoing performance, and the masked dance, as locals note, takes on the character of rites for local consumption where performances last several hours.

The introduction of an annual mask festival by the Cultural Mission in Bandiagara in 2000 has had the unanticipated effect of attracting more local people than tourists. Initially conceived as an afternoon "Festival des danses et de masques" that tourists would pay to attend, the event now attracts hundreds of masked participants from all of the surrounding villages and as such has become highly competitive, with local audiences flocking to attend and give their views on the best performance. Clearly, in these contexts for performance, the mask provides (to again quote Griaule1938b:818) a "useful and meaningful" opportunity to acquire social prestige and affirm one's Dogon identity.

There is a perpetuation by some Western texts that the Dogon area remained a stronghold of indigenous beliefs until "comparatively recent times" (De Mott 1979:15). In reality, by the late nineteenth century Islam had already been adopted by inhabitants to the west of the plateau (Brasseur 1968:376). By the late 1940s, in addition to a mosque, a Protestant mission had also been installed in Sangha. In villages today where the majority of the inhabitants are either Christian or Muslim, the adoption of what are still referred to locally as *"nouveau religions"* has been held responsible for a perceived de-

This page:

4. Dogon dancers at the Royal Festival Hall, London, 2002. Photo: S. Richards.

Opposite page:

Top: 5. Mask dance requested by tourists in Sangha (Dogon Region), 1996. Photo: P. Richards.

Bottom: 6. *Dama* performance in Ireli (Dogon region), 1999. Photo: P. Richards.

This page:

Left: 7. *Sirige* mask performing at dance requested by tourists in Sangha (Dogon Region), 1996. Photo: P. Richards.

Right: 8. *Dama* performance in Idieli (Dogon region), May 1994. Photo: P. Richards.

Opposite page:

9. Dancing on roof at post-burial rite, Idieli (Dogon Region), May 17, 1994. Photo: P. Richards.

mise of the mask association and the post-burial rites at which masks appear. As one Muslim said, "The attachment of masks, that is for the people who don't pray."[10] A Catholic man told me, "Muslims and masks don't get on ... Muslims and Christians can't get mixed up with masks, not ever."[11] Scholars have emphasized this view. Imperato stated in 1971 that "In the view of Muslims and Christians, these dances have neither meaning nor purpose and are logically discarded along with the communal activities once associated with their performance" (Imperato 1971:28).

Yet in reality such views represent an ideal that contrasts with a perhaps surprising degree of flexibility in practice. Formerly all men (with the exception of smiths, leatherworkers, and griots) were obliged to make a payment of grain to the elders at the head of the village in order to gain the right to approach and dance masks and to have masks dance at their post-burial rites. Nowadays entrance among masks is left to individuals. Nonetheless, among those who have converted to Christianity and Islam, many continue to participate as a sign of entry to manhood not readily discarded and as a mark of respect for the elders, thereby indicating their commitment to village life.

In the face of Christianity and Islam, it is important to understand the reality that Dogon masks in fact represent. The significance of the masks dancing on the roof of the deceased at post-burial rites (Fig. 9) has been greatly emphasized in the literature, beginning with Griaule (1938b:342). Subsequent works appear to have taken for granted the essential function of the masks as a material support for the "soul" released upon death (Marti 1957:75). Most recently, Bilot echoed Griaule (1938b:344), noting: "From the ritual point of view, the departure of the soul is assured by a masked dance executed on the terrace of the deceased's house" (Bilot 2001:43). In the course of my research, while masks were acknowledged as harboring a powerful energy referred to as *nyama*, it was denied that the mask mediated in the manner of mask altars. Only one informant (a mask dancer and tourist guide), acknowledged that the dancing of masks on the roof of the deceased "put the soul to rest."[12] Now, it is entirely possible that I spent nine months in the field asking the wrong questions, but the popular justification for the masks' appearance was straightforward: Masks provide a display of Dogon tradition and, by dancing on the roofs of the deceased and in the public place, honor those who have died. The rites to ensure the departure of the soul were undertaken at the dead of night, by a handful of elders, with no masks present. Clearly the public performance of masks in this context provides

the ceremonial framing for more significant ritual events.

Some Muslims and Christians (particularly Protestants) follow the "fundamentalist" line established by early missionaries and marabouts. Contact with *imina*, described (in French) as a *fetische* equal in status to other indigenous altars, is to be avoided. While Christianity and Islam each provide a judgement of what is acceptable, individuals may vary in their understanding of this. (The point here is that the more "fundamentalist" position is not necessarily the most orthodox.) In any case, the extent of participation is a matter for individual consciences, some of which seem to be more elastic than others.

Many Muslims and Christians continue to participate in both post-burial and celebrational rites. For others, participation in the latter only is seen to be acceptable: Individuals consider themselves to be at less risk of exposure to *dugu* (sorcery) at these rites and, because of this, the protective measures often undertaken by individuals prior to the post-burial rites, usually involving some form of blood sacrifice, are not deemed necessary. Continued masked participation in post-burial rites is facilitated by the fact that the most problematic elements are the core rites, which do not involve masked performance. Given the emphasis on masked spectacle in all contexts for masked performance (with key rituals occurring in private), the masquerade tradition is able to fulfill a new role, as a celebration of shared identity among people of diverse beliefs.

With increased desertification, young Dogon men are often forced to seek work in cities further afield. These men return with enthusiasm for important mask ceremonies taking place in their home villages yet reinvent masks in terms of urban novelty. In this context, the mask itself now provides an opportunity for individual prestige display and new materials acquired in local markets and urban centers further afield are imaginatively incorporated into the masks' attire. Examples such as the *pulòyaana* headpiece in Figure 10 were bedecked with pill packets and recycled monosodium glutamate wrappers, its tresses sparkling with cut-up strips of sardine cans in a manner imitative of the ornate hairstyles of Fulani women today. Dancers with financial means adorn themselves with jewelry and metal wrist watches; multicolored fibers dyed with artificial inks are accessorized with studded leather belts, beneath which (alongside the traditional indigo) are now worn shorts, trainers, and even freshly pressed t-shirts and vests; and writing may be used to draw attention to the name and education of the wearer (Fig. 11). From a mask in which the wearer's identity was formerly effaced, it is now visibly promoted.

The incorporation of imported materials and foreign-style attire is a continuation of the existing tradition of beautification that provokes no objection among local consumers. Yet, once again, scholars have persisted in regarding all observed changes in the formal qualities of the masks as evidence of decline. Griaule noticed with dismay the use of artificial inks and an increasing schematization in sculpted form (Griaule 1938b:816); Imperato similarly drew upon changes in style—increased naturalism, the use of commercial oil paints, and "an overall slackening of attention in the making of costumes" (Imperato 1971:69)—to build up a picture of a mask society whose "structure is weakening" (Imperato 1971:31).

As Schapiro made clear (1953:296), style is too unpredictable to be usefully paralleled with cultural progress or decline. Moreover my own fieldwork (1994–2000)[13] revealed that the development of styles was occurring with marvellous complexity, aspects of which were commented on locally. In some cases, changes were incremental, the details of existing forms, as observed by Griaule, having altered gradually over time, as the same form was copied again and again. For example, the mouthpiece of the *kanaga* mask of Sangha (formerly conical) now curves upward, its tip touching the nasal section. For other wooden and fiber mask forms, more clearly perceptible inventions of detail could be identified, such as the addition of fiber crests and fake magical medicine to the *adagaye* (robber) masks of Banani. Such changes, though barely perceptible to the unaccustomed eye, were remarked upon by local people when showed photos of pieces in Griaule's collection.[14]

Griaule's observation of an overall schematization was questionable to begin with. By contrast, an increasing naturalism between Griaule's time and the present was recognized by certain local people. This was an observation that I found to be accurate, in particular with mask types such as the *satimbe* (sister of the masks; Figs. 12–13). Compared with headpieces collected by Griaule, contemporary examples such as this displayed a greater degree of detail and decoration and were locally acknowledged and preferred for looking "more like the real thing," i.e., an ideal type of the mask. With regard to wooden headpieces, people spoke of an overall improvement in carving skills, attributed directly to the economic incentive to make masks for sale to

tourists. Significantly, the aforementioned masks tend today to be the work of the smith or specialist. Thus, within a context where it is in the interest of all men to learn to carve well, the skills of the smith have developed accordingly, and his services therefore continued to be required.

Where performances for tourists were concerned, Imperato noted the constant adaptation of masked performances and attire to suit tourist requirements. More recently, however, in Sangha, modifications have taken on a self-consciously traditionalist slant that is worth examining. In 1996, elders who accompanied the masks and those in the orchestra of drums and singers would only be paid if dressed in what is locally referred to as "traditional" attire: indigo robes, trousers, and straw hats. Youths were required to be bare-chested. Clothed on the bottom in baggy indigo trousers, they were forbidden from wearing Western style t-shirts and shorts beneath their fiber mask costumes. In Sangha, aspects of the traditionalist approach manifested in performances for tourists appear to have carried over into their own performance domain, and changes identified as having occurred in more remote villages have here remained in check. *Kanaga* masks are devoid of any writing, and their head-coverings continue to be plaited, in contrast to the newer trend of using imported sack-cloth. The range of more than fifty different mask types recorded as being in use by Griaule in Sangha alone has been reduced to a core of twenty or so different types, of which one of the few more recent inventions—a mask representing a tourist using a camera—has already fallen into disuse. Most noticeably, where the mask fibers are concerned, while imported inks are used, the rigid tricolored code of black, red, and yellow (as recorded by Griaule) has been maintained.

Unlike other sub-Saharan masquerade traditions such as Gelede, where the range of things depicted now includes airplanes, sewing machines, and motor cars, it is surprising perhaps that the range of Dogon masks has not expanded more. Moreover, where it comes to new mask types, the lack of invention in comparison with the past may signal the turning point of a tradition in decline, as Picton pointed out: "Traditions do not survive for their own sake, least of all by remaining 'traditional'" (Picton 1992:47). Yet locally, while several informants noted the increased disappearance of mask types, these developments were not met with regret: "Masks have been abandoned," acknowledged the chief of Sangha; "...the dance is forgotten and

Left: 10. *Pulòyaana* (young Fulani girl) mask, collected from Idieli (Dogon Region), May 1994. Photo: P. Richards.

COURTESY OF HORNIMAN MUSEUM

Right: 11. *Kanaga* mask headpiece, Idiely-Yénné, 1993 (village, date, and wearer's name are also written on the headpiece)
Wood, fiber, pigment, and "washing blue"
Collected by Polly Richards for the Horniman Museum in 1998
Horniman Museum no. 1999.1

COURTESY OF MUSÉE DE QUAI BRANLY

then the mask is no longer used."[15] Nor was this development felt to be of any consequence regarding the future of the tradition: "We are not going to leave our traditions just like that!"[16] We cannot be certain, then, that a lack of expansion indicates anything at all. As Picton observed, "Just why some traditions seem to be more open to change than others is one of those great conundrums!"[17]

Scholars have been quick to predict a future when masquerade is only performed for visiting tourists. But is it not possible that Dogon masquerade, unhitched from its religious context and with the progression of Christianity and Islam, may continue to thrive? If we look to the examples of Carnival in its many adapted forms around the world, there are numerous precedents for the continuation of masking traditions now separated from their religious origins. In the Dogon case, masquerade is part of a regular program of events that people from neighboring villages flock to attend, participate in, and inevitably comment upon, thus impacting its continued evolution. And in the light of the obvious commitment, enjoyment, and pride in a tradition that has evolved to be a marker of Dogon identity within and beyond the Dogon region, one cannot predict the extinction of the mask just yet. ■

Notes, page 93

Left: 12. *Satimbe* mask headpiece and fibre headcovering, 1931
Wood (Kapok), fiber, and pigment; 1.15m (45¼"). Collected by Marcel Griaule from Sangha (on the Dakar-Djibouti mission). Now held by the Musée de Quai Branly, no. 71.1931.74.1948.

Right: 13. *Satimbe* mask headpiece photographed in the village of Banani, 1996. Photo: P. Richards.

NOTICE TO OUR READERS

Due to increased security at American ports, *African Arts* has become subject to unexpected delays, as the magazine is printed in Hong Kong and shipped to a distribution center in the US for mailing. This is a circumstance beyond our control, but we apologize for the effect this has on the regularity of publication.

Journal of Visual Culture 1(2):165–81.

Sturken, Marita, and Lisa Cartwright. 2001. *Practices of Looking*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

BENTOR: *Notes, from page 45*

[This article was accepted for publication in October 2005.]

I would like to thank the Office of International Programs at Appalachian State University for the generous support that enabled me to carry on research for this paper.

1. Representation is actually by administrative wards that are based on autonomous communities. In addition to maneuvers to increase representation in the existing local government, there is also a strong pressure to split LGAs and bring "democracy closer to the people."
2. A long-standing dispute within the family of Izuogu, the Aro founder of Arondizuogu, resulted in an earlier split formalized during a previous period of civilian rule. As a result, Ndiuche was carved out as an autonomous community in 1981.
3. Nwékpé (literally son of Ékpé) is a different genre of masking from those used by the Ekpe secret society or the Ibibio Ekpo. See Nicklin and Salmons 1982.
4. These observations are preliminary. The impact of the current political situation on the Ikeji of Arochukwu is the topic of my current (2005) research.
5. They, however, failed to provide clear examples of how such historical inquiry should proceed given the nature of oral evidence and documentation common in the study of the African past. Vansina's ultimate example of the proper historical study of an African monument is the much more conventionally documented Great Mosque of Qairawan in Tunisia rather than his own studies of the Kuba people. Examples of a more sophisticated historical inquiry in sub-Saharan Africa are largely limited to highly centralized societies where it is more common to find the kind of historical specificity that can shed light on artistic changes as part of larger social, political, demographic, or religious processes of change. Girshick Ben-Amos 1999, while somewhat speculative, offers a nuanced and detailed attempt at historicizing the study of the visual art of an African kingdom during the precolonial period. In noncentralized societies there does not seem to be the same degree of specific historical consciousness that would allow for similar detailed reconstruction of precolonial art history.
6. However, this terminology does demand the painful realization that most of what we used to call "traditional African art" is in fact the product of the colonial and postcolonial periods.

References cited

Aborisade, O. 1985. *Local Government and Traditional Rulers of Nigeria*. Ile Ife: University of Ife Press.

Arnoldi, M.J. 1995. *Playing with Time: Art and Performance in Central Mali*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Bentor, E. 1995. Aro Ikeji Festival: Toward a Historical Interpretation of a Masquerade Festival. Ph.D diss. Bloomington, Indiana University.

Cole, H. M., and C. C. Aniakor. 1984. *Igbo Arts: Community and Cosmos*. Los Angeles: UCLA Museum of Cultural History.

Dike, K.O., and F. Ekejiuba. 1990. *The Aro of South-eastern Nigeria, 1650–1980: A Study of Socio-economic Formation and Transformation in Nigeria*. Ibadan: University Press.

Enwezor, O., and C. Achebe, eds. 2001. *The Short Century: Independence and Liberation Movements in Africa, 1945–1994*. Munich and New York: Prestel.

Girshick Ben-Amos, P. 1999. *Art, Innovation, and Politics in Eighteenth-century Benin*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Harneit-Sievers, Axel. In press. *Constructions of Belonging: Igbo Communities and the Nigerian State in the Twentieth Century*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press.

Harney, E. 2004. *In Senghor's Shadow: Art, Politics, and the Avant-garde in Senegal, 1960–1995*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Harris, P.J. 1957. *Local Government in Southern Nigeria: A Manual of Law and Procedure under the Eastern Region Local Government Law, 1955, and the Western Region Local Government Law, 1952*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ijoma, J.O. 1986. "Eze Aro, Eze Kanu Oji: A Symbol of Stability." In *Arochukwu: History and Culture*, ed. Okoro J. Ijoma, pp. 358–67. Enugu: Fourth Dimension.

Jones, G.I. 1956. *Report of the Position, Status, and Influence of Chiefs and Natural Rulers in the Eastern Region of Nigeria*. Enugu: Government Printer.

______. 1988. *The Background of Eastern Nigerian History*. 3 vols. New Haven: Human Relations Area File.

Kasfir, S. L. 1984. "One Tribe, One Style? Paradigms in the Historiography of African Art." *History in Africa* 11:163–93.

Nicklin, K., and J. Salmons. 1982. "On Ekkpe, Ekpe, Ekpo, Ogbom." *African Arts* 15 (4):78–9.

Nunley, J.W. 1987. *Moving with the Face of the Devil: Art and Politics in Urban West Africa*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Nwankwo, N. 2000. "The Autonomous Community Blues." *[Abuja] Aro News*, June:1–2.

Odenigwe, M.A. 1971. *A New System of Local Government (Government by the Community in the East Central State of Nigeria)*. Seminar on Divisional Administration, Institute of Administration, Enugu, Nwamife.

Ogbechie, S.O. 2000. Ben Enwonwu and the Constitution of Modernity in Twentieth Century Nigerian Art. PhD dissertation. Evanston, Northwestern University.

Roberts, A.F., M.N. Roberts, et al. 2003. *A Saint in the City: Sufi Arts of Urban Senegal*. Los Angeles: Fowler Museum of Cultural History.

Roy, C.D. 1997. "Re: Classical African Art." October 6, H-AfrArt listserv, archived at www.h-net.org.

Stevens, R.A. 1953. "Progress in Local Government in the Eastern Region of Nigeria." *Journal of African Administration* 5 (1):15–21.

Strother, Z.S. 1997. *Inventing Masks: Agency and History in the Art of the Central Pende*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Trowell, M. 1970. *Classical African Sculpture*. New York: Praeger.

Ugwu, S.C. 2000. "The Councillor in the Local Government." In *Contemporary Issues in Local Government Administration and Rural Development in Nigeria*, eds. E.E. Umebali, E.E.O. Chukwuemeka, and A.O. Njoku. Enugu: Computer Edge Publishers.

Uzoigwe, G.N. 2004. "Evolution and Relevance of Autonomous Communities in Precolonial Igboland." *Journal of Third World Studies* 21 (1):139–51.

Vansina, J. 1984. *Art History in Africa*. London: Longmans.

Vogel, S.M., M. Carrieri, et al. 1985. *African Aesthetics: The Carlo Monzino Collection*. New York: Center for African Art.

RICHARDS: *Notes, from page 53*

[This article was accepted for publication in October 2005.]

This paper is a summary of information presented in my doctoral thesis (awarded January 2004 by SOAS, University of London). Fieldwork, undertaken between 1994–2000, was made possible with funding from the Arts and Humanities Research Board, University of London Central Research Fund, SOAS Scholarships Committee, and the Friends of the Horniman Museum. I am also indebted to my friends and colleagues in the field including Sekou Dolo and the Dolo family, Wagaserou Douyon, Etienne and Jeanne Guindo, Nouhoum Guindo, Dagalu Girou, Apomi Saye, and staff at the Mission Culturelle, Bandiagara, for their invaluable assistance, advice and support.

1. See Imperato 1971:28–31, 70, 72; 1978:18, 20; Lane 1988:68; Doquet 1997:484.
2. See Imperato 1971:30, 69, 70; 1978:19–21, 23.
3. See Imperato 1978:30, 33, 69, 70–72; 1978:19–20, 22.
4. See Imperato 1978:30, 31, 33, 69–72; 1978:18–21, 23; Lane 1988:67–8.
5. See Doquet 1999:255, 260.
6. See Doquet 1999:257, 260, 262.
7. See Doquet 1997:483–86, 488–93; 1999:257–61; Lane 1988: 67–9.
8. See Doquet 1997:491–92, 1999:258, 260–262; Imperato 1978:17, 19; Lane 1988:69; Van Beek 1991b:71.
9. The Collins Dictionary describes "ritual" as "any formal act, institution, or procedure that is followed consistently" (Collins 1999, s.v. "ritual").
10. Field interview, Idieli, 2000.
11. Field interview, Tireli, 2001.
12. Field interview, Banani, 1996.
13. Fieldwork was conducted during five visits (totalling nine months) between 1994–2000.
14. I studied Griaule's collection of mask headpieces and costumes (formerly held at the *Musée de l'Homme*) in detail as part of my research.
15. Field interview, Sangha,1996.
16. Ibid.
17. Personal communication, John Picton, 2002.

References cited

Bilot, A. 2001. "Masques du pays dogons." In "La société des masques et les rites funéraires." In *Masques du pays dogons* eds. A. Bilot, G. Calame-Griaule, and F. Ndiaye, pp. 36–45. Paris: Adam Biro.

Brasseur, G. 1968. "Les établissements humains au Mali." *IFAN-Dakar, mém* 83:362–401.

Doquet, A. 1997. Les masques dogons sous le regard de l'Autre: fixité et changement dans une societé ethnographiée. PhD thesis, Univ. Bordeaux II.

______. 1999. *Les masques dogons: ethnologie savante et ethnologie autochone*. Paris: Editions Karthala.

Griaule, M. [1938a] 1994a. *Jeux Dogons*. Trav. et mém. de l'Institut d'Ethnologie no. 32. Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie.

______. [1938b] 1994b. *Masques Dogons*. Trav. et mém. de l'Institut d'Ethnologie no. 33. Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie.

Imperato, P.J. 1971. "Contemporary Adapted Dances of the Dogon." *African Arts* 5 (1):28–33, 68–72.

______. 1978. *Dogon Cliff Dwellers: The Art of Mali's Mountain People*. New York: Kahan Gallery.

Jolly, E. 1995. La Bière de mil dans la société dogon. PhD thesis. Paris X Nanterre.

Lane, P. 1988. "Tourism and Social Change Among the Dogon." *African Arts* 21 (4):66–69.

Marti, M.P. 1957. *Les Dogon*. Monographies Ethnologiques Africaines. Paris: Institut international africain, Presses universitaires de France.

Picton, J. 1992. "Tradition, Technology, and Lurex." In *History, Design, and Craft in West African Strip-woven Cloth: Papers Presented at a Symposium Organized by the National Museum of African Art, Smithsonian Institution, February 18–19, 1988*, pp. 13–52. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Schapiro, M. 1953. "Style." In *Anthropology Today: An Encyclopedic Inventory*, ed. A.L. Kroeber, pp. 287–312. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Van Beek, W.E. 1991. "Enter the Bush: A Dogon Mask Festival." In *Africa Explores: Twentieth Century Art*, ed. S. Vogel, pp. 56–73. New York and Munich: Center for African Art and Prestel.

VISONÀ: *Notes, from page 61*

[This article was accepted for publication in October 2005.]

1. The role of the art historian or art critic in validating art objects or categories of art (as agents promoting the "consumption" of art) has been examined by a number of authors; see Nicodemus and Romare (1997–98). Steiner (1996) has emphasized the role of "culture brokers" in the formation of a "canon" of acceptable and unacceptable art.
2. The tentative title of the exhibition is "Divinely Inspired African Artists: Art of the Lagoon Peoples and their Neighbors." Planning for this exhibition was made possible by a Smithsonian Institution Senior Fellowship at the National Museum of African Art. I am grateful to the many colleagues at the NMAfA who patiently listened to drafts of the exhibition proposals.
3. Very few scholars have written on the arts of the Lagoon peoples, or *lagunaires*, a cluster of diverse populations in southeastern Côte d'Ivoire who speak languages distantly related to Anyi-Baule and Twi-Fante. A survey of the literature may be found in Feau et al. 1989, and in Visonà 1987b, 1990; the best map of the Lagoon region may be found in Visonà 1987a. My dissertation research on the Akye, the most populous of the Lagoon groups, was conducted in 1981 with the support of a Kress Foundation grant administered by the Art Department of the University of California, Santa Barbara. Postdoctoral research among most of the other Lagoon groups in 1983–84 was funded by a Fulbright grant; brief descriptions of Lagoon art forms I encountered during that fieldwork may be found in Visonà 1986.
4. I am grateful to the many colleagues at the National Museum of African Art whose insights helped shape this paper. I would also like to thank Ed DeCarbo for his generous hospitality during the symposium and for the opportunity to consult sources in his personal library. I would like to acknowledge the roles played by Susan Vogel in launching scholarly discussion of many issues now central to my research and to the discipline as a whole; it was Vogel who first wrote, "Although collectors may imagine that their objects date from the last century, research has shown that much traditional art considered to be 'old' was actually made during the first half of the twentieth century" (Vogel 1988:4).
5. Goldsmiths at Ana (Anna) were photographed by Elliot Elisophon in the 1970s (see the Elisophon archives at the National Museum of African Art), by me in the 1980s, and by Monique Barbier in the 1990s (Barbier 2000).
6. Photographs of Lagoon men and women wearing elegant garments of this raffia fabric have been taken by taken by Jean Paul Barbier (Garrard 1989:frontispiece), Carol Beckwith and Angela Fisher (Beckwith and Fisher 1999: v1:376) and Etienne Nangbo (published in a 2000 calendar distributed in Côte d'Ivoire).
7. "I'm sure there are all kinds of postmodern objections to my used of the word 'authentic' as well as contingency around the word 'fake' but even so, you know what I mean" (Cole 2003:96). Barbara Blackmun discusses similar issues in her studies of brass-casting workshops in Benin City (2003:86).
8. A more nuanced but equally negative view of older African art as objects that have "indelible histories of othering and subjugation" can be found in Fernando 1990:80. Blier evaluates reasons for this "Banishing of the Past" in her essay on "Nine Contradictions in the New Golden Age of African Art" (2002:4, 6).
9. Although some collectors and critics may be attracted to the work of Emile Guebehi and Nicholas Damas because it "fits" so well with postmodernist European and American work, Ekyp Eyo identifies its entirely different appeal for Africanists: "Although I was involved with ancient artworks it was impossible to ignore the creations of emerging artists. The work of artists without formal art training attracted my attention first because I believed they were purer in form or content in relation to the works with which I was familiar" (in Kennedy 1992:11).