



JOSEF KANDERT

TRADITION OF METAL-CASTING  
IN EASTERN NIGERIA  
AND WESTERN CAMEROON  
BETWEEN 1840 AND 1940

Although it was the so-called bronzes, products of casting, which turned the attention of the Europeans to the African arts, the African casting as well as objects made from non-ferrous metals in the Black Continent (iron-casting being unknown there) remained on the periphery of interest of art historians and ethnographers, overshadowed by African woodcarving. Adequate was perhaps only the attention paid to the sets of objects which were the first to arouse the interest of art-loving Europe, viz. the „bronzes“ from Benin and Ife, both in Nigeria; this was due not only to their artistic quality but also their high age. The sets of portrait heads, figures and other casts from Ife belong to the 12th or 13th century, whereas the best works of Benin casters originated between 1550 and 1650 A. D.

Information on the more recent production, i.e. objects made during the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th century, appeared but sporadically, mostly without any attempts at comparison. Essentially only three areas of modern casting in Africa have been registered in specialized literature:

the territory of the Asante in southern Ghana, that of the Fon in the south of the Republic of Benin, and the region of the Grassland in western Cameroon. This was probably due to the vast souvenir production by the casters in the mentioned territories. It was only in the 1960s and during the 1970s that the image of African bronze- and brass-casting was somewhat changed, especially thanks to the meritorious activities of the authors of exhibitions and catalogues. „African Textiles and Decorative Arts“ (by Roy Sieber), and „The Art of Metal in Africa“ (edited by Marie Thérèse Brincard).

These are the general outlines of the state of research in African casting; as far as the study of the individual areas is concerned, in our case the casting tradition of southern Nigeria and western Cameroon, the situation is not much different.

The oldest specimens of the local casting (ornaments, little axes, etc.) reached Europe, notably Germany, as early as in the eighties' and nineties' of the last century. Also the oldest records were especially written by German travellers, colonial officers

and ethnographers. It was only in the 1920s that larger sets of these objects appeared in British and French museums, too. The same time also witnessed more numerous reports by English and French authors. Among the most significant German works from this period are the reports by Frobenius (from the DIAFE Expedition in 1910–1912) and the information presented by S. Passarge towards the end of the 19th century; we may class here also a monograph by Fr. and M.P. Thorbecke. Among the works by British authors, mention should be made of the lucid ethnographic-historic-anthropological handbook by C. K. Meek, P. A. Talbot and N. W. Thomas. In all of these works, casting is paid but peripheral attention, relatively comparable to that paid to other craft activities. Separate facts appeared scattered in the first books dealing with African arts (von Sydow, Hausenstein, Kjersmeier), which is especially true of the products made in Grassland workshops (pipes, masks etc.). Shortly after 1945, Jeffreys enlarged the scope of our knowledge by his articles.

As for the growth of factographic knowledge, the situation was especially changed in the 1960s, when the individual museums started to publish detailed catalogues of their African collections. Mention must be made, first of all, of the catalogues of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum in Dahlem, prepared by K. Krieger. The 1960s and 1970s were also the period of a proper field research in the casting traditions in our area. Let us recall the research made by A. Rubin in the Benue river basin, C. Neaher in Iboland and K. Nicklin in the Cross River basin. However, their writings have remained on a concrete geographic basis, without

much endeavour after looking for any interrelations. Or, as is done by C. Neaher, links with the centres of western Nigeria are looked for, e. g., objects made in the so-called Lower Niger region. Besides they maintain the traditional conception dividing the nations and cultures of Nigeria and Cameroon on the ground of the present-day artificial borderline.

I think that when viewing the casting traditions of Nigeria and Cameroon in a complex way, we may differentiate the area including eastern Nigeria (Iboland, Benue river basin, Adamawa, Cross River basin) and western Cameroon (Grassland) from the Yoruba-Nupe-Bini region situated westwards, with the Niger River forming a sort of hypothetical borderline, and the area of southern Cameroon and Gabun situated eastwards and generally separated by the Sanaga river. The aim of the present paper is to reconstruct the cultural-historical image of the casting tradition in this central area, i. e. the territory of present-day eastern Nigeria and western Cameroon.

Although we shall be only dealing with a very specific and in fact narrow sub-layer of the local macroculture, i. e. casting in non-ferrous metals, we must be aware of the fact that analogues stated here are not coincidental, being also found in other sub-layers of this material macroculture, even though neither the ethnic origin nor the language form uniting elements. This is testified to, e. g., by analogous phenomena in the potters' production which we have treated some time ago (Nigerian Folk Potters), or similarities to be seen in woodcarving, iron-working or basket-making. It would be probably useful to study the border area of Nigeria and Cameroon from this global

point of view, because undoubtedly more numerous analogues of this kind might be found here.

In terms of geography the area of eastern Nigeria and western Cameroon is much varied. Its northern part is covered with park savannah, in Grassland in the east there are vast areas covered with grass, and the south is a territory of tropical forests. The entire region is inhabited by agricultural populations living, of course, on various levels of social institutions: tribal society (Tiv), city states (Ibo), or centralized states (Jukun, states in the Grassland). It is the rivers which formed the connecting links and axes of the entire area in the past, i. e. in the pre-colonial period and at the beginning of the colonial domination: the Benue river, the Lower Niger river, Cross River and their tributaries as well as places of access. These in fact „connected“ all ethnic elements and made mutual relations possible, whether they were commercial, political (in wars) or cultural in character. These mutual relations were notably intensified during the 19th century, as testified to by the then reports as well as orally transmitted histories of the individual ethnic groups; they were caused by shifts of entire ethnic groups, attacks of smaller detachments for spoils, etc. In the 20th century, then, these contacts were enhanced by the efforts of European colonial administrations to create a united economic system.

My present paper is based not only on literature and information culled from archives, but also objects proper, collections preserved in the Náprstek Museum and various other European museums which I had the opportunity of studying during my study trips organized by the National Museum – Ná-

prstek Museum. The same institution also enabled me to study and make research in Nigeria in 1974. I had the opportunity of getting acquainted with the collections in American museums thanks to a study sojourn financed by the CIES – Fulbright Grant. I would like to express my gratitude to all colleagues from these museums, the collections of which I am using in my paper, for the kind co-operation and friendly advice during the research.

#### Raw materials and their sources

A constant subject of surmises and speculations of those who deal with West African metal-casting and metal-working are the sources of the materials worked by casters and metal-workers as well as the ways in which these materials were obtained. It has not yet been made clear whether, or where in West Africa, copper, lead and other non-ferrous metals were mined. Literature usually quotes copper mines in Sahara (in Takedda and Azelik) or suggests the possibility of long-distance trade with Katanga and Zambia in Central Africa, or the area of Bahr al-Ghazal in the Republic of Sudan; in all of these places, deposits of copper were found in the 20th century. Mention is also made of the deposits of copper discovered in the Niger river delta in this century, the use of which in the historical periods, however, is more than doubtful; at least no testimonies to its existence have been found so far. (1) It is only in the mines of Katanga and Zambia that ore was obviously mined by hewing in the past centuries.

Probably unambiguous is the solution of the problem of where tin was obtained from, at least as far as Nigeria and the area under study is concerned. This is because deposits of cassiterite

(SnO<sub>2</sub>) are situated in Central Nigeria, in the secondary fluvial deposits around the city of Jos, the contemporary mining and archaeological finds constantly bringing forth testimonies to old mining in the entire area. Mine drifts, approximately a metre high, are mostly found in the depth of 18–20 metres, clearly following the layers of deposited ore. During the last hundred years, which is the time documented by reports on the local traditional mining, the latter was in the hands of the members of the Rukuba tribe. Smelting of tin from the extracted cassiterite, again by the members of the same tribe, is attested from the beginning of the present century. Tin was cast into ingots (bars) in the form of reed stalks. (2) Finds of tin pearls and other objects ascribed to the Nok culture, then, suggest that the local tradition of cassiterite-mining and tin-smelting probably goes back to the third or second centuries B.C.

There is no information on the extent of cassiterite-mining or the scope of the trade in tin in the historical pre-colonial period. In the second half of the 19th century, metal was mostly mined for export. Long-distance trade was intermediated by middlemen who were members of the Hausa nation. E.g., Götz-Philippi mentions the Ashanti of southern Ghana to have been acquiring tin from the Hausa living in southern Nigeria. (3)

Entirely different was the situation in searching for deposits of copper, lead and zinc, or the sources of their alloys, i.e. bronze and brass. It is surprising and eloquent, at the same time, to see that no information on smelting copper- and lead-ores has been preserved anywhere in our area or entire West Africa. Neither have any corresponding smelting arrangements, i.e. furnaces and

roasters, been found anywhere. This vacuum is strongly contrasted by widely spread iron-working which has been preserved in some places till the 20th century. This is especially true of our area, in which, besides specialized metallurgists and miners, also smiths were active among various ethnic groups, smelting the mined iron ore for their purposes. (4) A similar lack of information and finds may also be understood as a negative testimony resulting in an unambiguous conclusion – that non-ferrous metals and their alloys were imported to our entire area and probably also whole West Africa since antiquity. In terms of the theories of a Phoenician contribution to the spread of iron-working in West Africa, perhaps utilizing a trans-Sahara road, we are justified to surmise a Phoenician share in the import of non-ferrous metals from the Mediterranean. We also should not neglect the reports dating from the 5th century B.C. on the Phoenician coasting around Africa and towards the West African coast, perhaps as far as the coast of present-day Cameroon. But no tangible proofs for verifying such theories have been found yet. The first material documents of local metal-casting and metal-working are younger, of course, the finds ascribed to the Sao Culture being dated to the 5th-8th centuries and the objects found in Igbo-Ukwe to the 8th-9th centuries. (5) The time of the rise of these casts is very close to the first reports on the import of non-ferrous metals to West Africa (see below).

Considering the lack of local raw materials, such a large spread of casting of non-ferrous metals seems to be paradoxical – see, e. g. the typology of the objects from the area under study. But we must realize that, with few

exceptions, everywhere in Africa non-ferrous metals, especially copper and its alloys (bronze and brass) occupied a position similar to that of gold in Europe; they were considered "metals of luxury". Even this fact suggests a local lack of sources and the difficulties connected with their obtaining from far-off places.

As suggested by extant reports, non-ferrous metals and their alloys were imported both by land and by sea. We may surmise that the land transport of metals and alloys through Sahara was older and more frequented. The sea route was probably used by the Phoenicians in the 5th century B.C. and reopened by the Europeans only two thousand years later, during the 15th — 16th centuries. A great obstacle to a better understanding of the history of casting is posed by the fact that none of the reports talking about the overland transport of non-ferrous metals to West Africa concerns our area, which means that we can only rely upon analogues and younger reports, mostly originated in the 19th century. We are in a better position, as far as the import of non-ferrous metals by sea is concerned (see below).

One of the oldest data is the information comprised in the „Periplus of the Erythrean Sea“ (cca 75 B.C.), in which brass is mentioned among the goods exported to Axum in the present-day northern Ethiopia from the Mediterranean. (6) Al-Bakri, in the 11th century A.D., mentions that copper bracelets were cast in Iqli, the capital of the Sus el Aqsa Province in southern Morocco, from where they were sent southwards. Al-Bakri adds that copper bracelets were among the most important goods in this trade, apart from salt, shells and Euphorbia. This information

is also confirmed by al-Idrisi who recorded that the tradesmen of Morocco exported copper and shells to the Tekrur area. (7) These written records are corroborated by the find of the remnants of a caravan in Majabat al Koubra, from the 12th century, which among other things transported two thousand brass rods. Around the middle of the 14th century Ibn Battuta wrote on the export of copper from Takedda southwards, and in the middle of the 15th century Antonio Malfante mentioned the export of copper from Alexandria to the south. (8)

In this context, we must realize that in North Africa and especially Egypt, in the adjacent Asian Syria and the nearoff Cyprus which was the main source of copper for the eastern area of the Mediterranean, there were numbers of important metal-casting and metal-working centres in the Middle Ages. One of them was Cairo. (9) The significance of Egyptian workshops for West African casting is also testified to by the finds of finished goods (see below).

Although the majority of reports only briefly mention metal or ingots, it was al-Bakri already who recorded the import of bracelets, thus in fact documenting the import of finished products to West Africa. Besides bracelets we may also suppose an import of vessels, as suggested by so far sporadic finds of individual pieces or their remnants. Thus in 1896, in a sanctuary in the city of Kumasi (Ghana), a jug from the 14th century was discovered, decorated with an inscription and the coat-of-arms of Richard II, the king of England reigning in 1367-1400. (10) This is probably also a testimony to a European share in this overland trade in non-ferrous metals. Silverman (11) quotes a couple of finds of Egyptian

products, dated between the mid- 14th and mid-15th century. Five basins and a bowl were found in sanctuaries in the territory of the Bono and Ashanti (Ghana). Trade in finished products which may have served as raw materials, in the 16th century, is testified to by Leo Africanus, while mentioning that the members of the Ofran tribe trading with the Portuguese themselves produced brass vessels and exported them further into the inland, to Oualata and Tombouctou. (12)

It is also the mediaeval European practice which indirectly corroborates the possibility of materials being transported in the form of finished products. Between the 9th and 15th centuries, the large metal-casting and metal-working centre of the city of Dinant (Flanders) traded in copper and brass basins and bowls across all of Europe and along the sea-coast. As the Hanseatic cities had a considerable share in this trade, the goods from Dinant were also called "Hansaschüssel". In Arabian North Africa, too, alloys of non-ferrous metals were transported in the form of products in the Middle Ages and the New Age. As recorded by Mary Kingsley, alloys in the form of brass basins and little bells were transported to West Africa, albeit by sea, and even to the coast of eastern Nigeria as late as around the middle of the 19th century. Brass bowls imported at that time may still be found in some old Aro houses. (13)

Also the first travellers who penetrated the inland of Nigeria in the 19th century recorded here a continuing longdistance trade in metals and alloys. Frederick Barth states to have seen copper and zinc being sold in the city of Kano which he visited in the mid- 19th century. Both the metals were brought from Tripolis in Libya and el-Hofra in

Egypt, through the mediation of traders from the Djellaba tribe settled in Wadai. (14) One of the traditional routes used by traders in metal goods ran through the Benue river basin, i.e. the very heart of our area. One of its branches then continued towards mid-western Nigeria and another to the territory of the Ibo. (15) Laird who travelled here in 1832-1834 stated that the trade in copper crossed the Benue river basin from the east westwards, i.e. to the Niger. Barth mentioned above met here a caravan carrying copper from Darfur. (16)

The import of finished products from North Africa and notably Egypt to our area is suggested by two basins and two bottles connected with the mythical personality of the chief Yamta the Great and belonging to the set of the regalia of the Biu ruler. Although of local origin, they are based on, or imitate, Egyptian models by their shape and décor. (17)

This was a survey of reports on the trans-Saharan land trade in non-ferrous metals and their alloys. From the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century onwards, however, the trade carried on by sea and organized especially by Europeans started to play an important role, too. It is of significance for our subject that since its very beginning, it was directed also towards the southern coast of Nigeria. Thus in 1505 already, Pacheco Pereira mentioned that bracelets made from non-ferrous metals, the so-called manillas, were used in the trade at the Guinea Coast. Cline (18) gives the result of the analysis of one of the large manillas exported from Europe to Benin. This contained 20,66 % of zinc, 2,67 % of lead and 76,67 % of copper. Manillas were then imported to, and used in, Nigeria as means of payment

till the 20th century and even in the forties', they played an important role in commercial transactions. Their great economic significance is revealed by a large number of types known from, and preserved in, eastern Nigeria (see the typology of products below). At the beginning of the 16th century, manillas were probably imported exclusively from Europe. i.e. Portugal or, through Portugal and Italy, from Nürnberg and other South German cities, into which the centres of metal-casting and metal-working were transferred, after Dinant had been destroyed in 1466. Shaw (19) quotes an information by Professor Ryder stating that the Portuguese were using two types of manillas for their West African trade — brass and copper ones. But the copper manillas started to be imported in larger quantities only after 1530, when rich deposits of copper were opened in the then Kingdom of Congo (present-day Zair-Angola). Copper manillas were shipped in what is today the Angolan Luanda and then transported to the Rio del Rey area in Nigeria. (20) It was not unusual to use, for the trade with the Guinea Coast, sources nearer than those of Europe. Led by the same principle of saving costs of transport, the Portuguese established, for instance, textile manufactures in the Capverd Islands, the products of which then served as an equivalent of exchange in the commercial life of West Africa.

At least since 1590 when a report on the voyage of the British captain James Welch (21) was written, bronze (?) crotals or hawks'-bells, probably of English provenance, were exported to the Nigerian coast.

In the 17th century, also the Dutch supplied the coast with manillas: they probably exported here brass bracelets

registered as yellow copper manillas and having the uniform weight of 156 grammes. Barbot mentions bars imported from England and Netherlands between 1678 and 1699. The bars were three feet long, weighing 1,5 pounds, i.e. cca 750 grammes. They are said to have been straight or curved and the inhabitants of Calabar produced bracelets from them, much favoured till nowadays. (22) At the beginning of the 18th century, also brass objects started to be imported to the Guinea Coast area from English Bristol, the importance of which as a centre was pushed to the background by the products from Birmingham, in the second half of the same century. (23) Brass bells and other products of Birmingham casting houses may be found in eastern Nigeria till today. Thus in the period between the 16th and the 19th century, we know several sources of non-ferrous metals, both European ones (South Germany, Portugal, England and Netherlands) and an African one (the mediaeval state of Congo); they supplied them in the form of products, for which reason we must also suppose a different composition of the imported alloys.

Besides manillas, ingots, bells and vessels imported by land or sea, another source of raw materials apt for casters and metal-workers appeared in the second half of the 19th century. This was brass cartridges. They started to be introduced into the army munition in the United States and Europe in the 1850s and 1860s, so that we may surmise that they were able to reach West Africa only in the 1860s or 1870s. (24) But it was not before the end of the 19th century that the cartridges began to be used as a source of suitable alloy, and especially during the First Great War and the years following its end. It was

mostly traders of Hausa origin who asserted themselves in the sale of cartridges in Nigeria. (25) Stachewski (26) states that around Banyangi, cartridges replaced the bars imported from the city of Old Calabar. In the colonial period, also small coins were added; they were called "anini" by the Hausa middlemen and their nominal values were a farthing, 1/10 of a penny and a penny. In the Cross River basin, they were introduced in 1902, being counted in sacks.

Nowadays, casters and smiths of our area not only use all of the sources mentioned above, but they also melt various products manufactured for plumbers, such as water taps, joints, etc. However, included must be also a practice current in the entire Old World, from the Middle Ages till today, viz. the custom of remelting older bronze and brass objects. This is probably the reason why such a low number of old casts have been preserved till today. (27)

We have so far talked of non-ferrous metals and their alloys in general, without defining in a more precise manner those used by casters in our area. In the treatises dealing with Nigerian and West African objects made from alloys of non-ferrous metals, mostly bronze is mentioned, which accords with the spirit of modern European art tradition. In fact, however, the overwhelming majority of the objects found or cast in West Africa and our area are made from brass, the share of copper in the alloy considerably oscillating. (28) A number of students, especially archaeologists, have already published, and continue to do so, lists of objects along with the results of analyses of their composition, which will undoubtedly bring about many further partial pieces of knowledge. (29) I am not sure, however, whether

it will be possible to usefully sum up information of this kind in any way, i.e. to ascribe some constant composition of the alloy to the individual workshops, or certain areas and certain periods, respectively. If casters and metalworkers had to work imported raw materials, moreover brought from various places, or to melt older objects, they could never have reached either a constant composition of the alloy or a constant representation of components, which considerably impairs an objective comparison of the results of analyses and especially their further evaluation.

Till today, the African casting practice does not make any difference between brass and bronze, thus sometimes causing terminological difficulties, especially because the European public of nowadays is used to the fact that art objects are cast from bronze; any mention of brass seemingly detracts from the artistic quality of the casts. This is why also some Africanists, while speaking of bronze, have "brass" in mind. It is worth reminding that even the European casting tradition did not discriminate between the two alloys, i.e. bronze and brass, in the past till the time of the European Renaissance. It was only in the 15th and 16th centuries, probably under the influence of the finds of antique statues cast in bronze that bronze was accentuated by the art circles of Europe as the only material worth being cast in art objects. Neither were the two alloys differentiated in the Islamic areas (Moorish Spain, North Africa, Near East), the common term meaning also "copper", i.e. "nuhas", being used for both of them, or the difference being expressed by using the terms "nuhas asfar" (i.e. "yellow copper") and "nuhas ahmar" (i.e. "red

copper“), respectively. The very producers do not make any difference between the two alloys even today, both of them serving the production of much varied metal utensils and other objects. (30) Thus the African practice is nothing else but a continuation of the casting tradition of the Old World, out of which Europe sorted itself out in the 15th or 16th century.

We may sum up that the objects which are the subject of the present paper were mostly cast in brass; the cases in which they were made from bronze or copper will be explicitly mentioned.

Let us, however, return once more to the sources of raw materials. A secondary centre of raw materials for our area is very likely to have been the production centre in the city of Bida, in the territory of the Nupe, at least in the 19th century. Various wrought as well as cast brass vessels were made here and we may surmise that a large proportion of the overland trade in non-ferrous metals and their alloys, running through Hausa cities southwards or passing through the Benue river basin, ended just in Bida. The products were carried from here to the neighbouring ethnic groups settled in the adjacent areas. (31)

Non-ferrous metals and their alloys represent but a part of raw materials used by casters and metal-workers at their work. Let us notice the others, too.

This is, first of all, the modelling stuff necessary for the „lost wax“ casting technique (see below), current in our entire area. Two different sorts of modelling stuff are used here, namely bees' wax and latex obtained from the *Euphorbia kamerunica* cactus or some species of *Ficus* (among the Igala). Both wax and latex are suitable for modelling, latex enabling to work out

finer details. The sporadic data which are available make it possible to state that bees' wax was used for making models by the casters among the Tiv, the Hausa from the Benue river basin (32), the Bamum (33), Tikar (34), and the Bagam-Eyap (35). The use of latex is attested among the Tiv (36), Jukun (37), Igbira (38), Afenmai and Igala (39), and Tula (40). Obviously at least in one case, among the Tiv, the both modelling stuffs were used side by side.

Since the majority of casters in fact lived upon smith's work, we may suppose that it was in no way difficult for them to obtain, i.e. to forge, an iron armature for those cases, in which the modelling stuff was applied onto a clay core and this core had to be fastened in order not to move. Nowadays also purchased clamps and wire are used for the same purpose.

No special information is available about the clay from which the cores are made to apply a layer of wax or latex on, in larger models, and which also serves for making a clay cover, i.e. the mould proper for the melted metal. The casters are likely to have been using local sources, or deposits used by local potters. It was not unusual, in our area, for the wives of smith-casters also to live on pottery, so that obtaining suitable clay could not have been very difficult for the casters. Malcolm (41) observed among the Bagam-Eyap in the 1920s that the local casters mixed clay with locally found kaolin in order to enhance its modelling quality.

All over the area, the casters used charcoal at their work as the basic fuel and often even prepared it themselves. Charcoal was made not only from wood but also from the shells of the *Canarium Schweinfurthii* walnut

tree. By the reduction of shells, charcoal was obtained by the casters among the Bagam-Eyap (42) and in other tribes.

### Producers — casters and metal-workers

Although smiths were active in almost every village, every ethnic unit having smiths of its own, the same cannot be said about casters and metal-workers. In theory, this knowledge also belonged to the field of traditional smithery which was even combined with smelting in some ethnic groups. However, in far from all of them (and in every settlement with a smith), these specialists seem to have actually worked non-ferrous metals, although such a possibility cannot be excluded. Relatively sporadic information suggests that at least during the last century, a number of smiths was not acquainted with casting techniques, even though such a production had flourished in the same places before. The situation is considerably complicated by the fact that the extant information covers at most the period of a hundred years, and in most cases even less, viz. the period since the beginning of the present century, or only since the 1920s. In fact we cannot rely even upon the oral tradition recorded today, because its reliability ends approximately one hundred years ago (i.e. two or three generations back), and in case of older periods, its evaluation is subject to any distortments — see Vansinas works (43). Even older records sometimes contain nothing more than tradition. It is quite possible that the distortion (lack of information) is also caused by the fact that the working of non-ferrous metals represented but a subsidiary and temporary work of the smiths, so that the researchers had no opportunity

to witness and record similar activities during their field research.

Let us now consider the tribes about whom we have reliable information that their smiths worked non-ferrous metals and their alloys, besides iron. We shall proceed from the west eastwards, i.e. from the Niger river to Adamawa and the Grassland area.

**The Ibo:** According to tradition, there were at least three centres of smiths', casters' and metal-workers' production in the Ibo territory — the cities of Awka, Abiriba and Nkwerre. The oldest information on the Ibo smiths, but without any exact indication of the respective locality, dates from 1789 and was preserved in the reminiscences of one of American negro slaves. (44) The production of smiths and casters has been preserved till today in Awka only, whereas in the other two centres it perished sometimes around the time of the First Great War.

The specialists from the city of Abiriba were politically connected with the city of Aro, under whose protection they visited important fairs and market-places, e.g. in Bende. After the power of Aro had been broken by the British colonial administration, also the smiths' production of Abiriba is likely to have suffered. In 1896, at the time of the flourish of the Aro city, Leonard mentions the blacksmiths of Abiriba to work both brass and iron and to make „bells, keys, rings, pipe-heads and pipe-stems“ from them. In his monograph devoted to the smiths of Abiriba, Ekejiuba (45) adds the production of bracelets and ornaments and casting of bells and little bells, even ascribing them king-size manillas decorated with figures of animals. According to him, they also made decorative buttons and stick-mountings,

and an Abiriba smith is said to have even cast a ceremonial brass sword used by one of the chieftains of the Aro city, the warrior prince of the Ibo Akpa. As late as in 1910, the Abiriba smiths were mentioned among the visitors to the fair in Uzuakoli, along with the smiths from the cities of Awka and Nkwerre. (46)

Records put down in the early colonial period place the third casting centre in the town of Nkwerre but do not present any further data. Neither has any record of local traditions from Nkwerre been published so far, so that we do not know anything at all about the life of the local smith-casters and the branches they worked in.

In the city of Awka, field research was made by Neaheer (47) in the 1970s, presenting us with a sufficient amount of data concerning the life and activities of the local smith-casters. The smiths and casters of Awka made their living by going to work in distant areas, even inhabited by other ethnic elements. As the smiths of Awka themselves state, they have succeeded, during the past eighty years, in suppressing not only the competition of other Ibo smith centres, but even started to expand outside the Ibo territory proper. Thus they began to compete with the smiths of other ethnic groups in the latter's own areas, e.g. among the Igala, where this fact was recorded by Boston in the 1960s. (48) Each of these itinerant smiths, however, had to return to his native city, at least once in two years, in order to take part in the festivities celebrating the local guarding deity; if he did not do so, he risked being expelled from the rank of smiths.

Neaheer (49) enumerates ten districts of the city of Awka, from which the smiths were going away for work, and

her study makes it clear that the individual districts had a rough division of the vast area they were going to into "areas of interest", based probably more on tradition than any actual agreement. At least since the Second World War, the smiths of Awka worked all over the Ibo region, besides going to work among the tribes of the Igala, Ijo, Isoko, Urhobo, Itsekiri, Ibibio, Efik, Idoma and perhaps also the Tiv.

Partridge (50) states that at the beginning of the 20th century, the Ibo smiths were also active in the Cross River basin, but he does not specify their origin. Due to the geographic proximity, the Abiriba smiths may have been active here (before 1905), those of Awka taking their place after the perish of the local production.

Thomas (51) recorded, before the First Great War, that the smith apprentices in Awka learned to work both iron and brass, casting being included among the disciplines of apprenticeship. The apprentice of casting first learned to cast small brass plates, then larger ones, and only after passing the examinations, he was allowed to leave the city in order to work elsewhere.

All of the itinerant smiths of the Ibo were making a subsidiary profit by small trade, bringing various goods to the areas where they worked, either on order or by their own decision.

**The Igbira:** The oldest information on the local casting dates from 1837, when the report of Laird's expedition was published. At that time, non-ferrous metals were worked by specialists in the cities of Panda and Toto. (52) Neaheer (53) adds yet another centre, viz. the city of Koton Karifi. But the Ibo casting production is a matter of history now, probably not surviving the end of the 19th century.

**The Igala:** Casting was in the hands of smiths and casters living at the court of the Igala ruler for whom they were preferentially working. During the recent fifty years, i.e. since the end of the Second World War, they have been strongly competed with by the Ibo casters from the city of Awka. (54)

**The Nassarawa:** There is no information on the local casters, but those from the Igbira tribe were active here. At least one datum mentions a caster from the Igbira city of Panda, who had moved to Umaisha with his entire family. His descendants (the Omohie family) continued to pursue his craft even after the Second World War. (55)

**The Afenmai:** In a couple of villages, smiths worked who also cast pipe-heads and decorated heads of title staffs on order. They formed a closed group, marrying within it, maintaining that they had come from Benin originally, and even speaking a special dialect of their own. In the 1960s, they were still active in the city of Ekpe. (56)

**The Tiv:** In the territory of this ethnic group, an old casting tradition still survives, the documents of which (ceremonial axes) were met with by the first visitors to this area, in second half of the 19th century already. These oldest casts (oldest in terms of the date of collecting) were acquired in the Jalingo and Katsina Ala areas. (57) In the twenties' and thirties', there arose a production of souvenir figures which we may perhaps rank with figures of everyday life, surviving till the 1950s. Figures of this kind were acquired in various parts of the Tiv territory (among the clans of Mbaliav, Mbativ and Mbaliso, in the Abishi area, etc.), so that we may also suppose a larger number of specialists scattered all over the territories of the individual Tiv

clans (scattered settlement predominating among the Tiv). (58)

**The Jukun:** Tradition speaks about casters called Abakwariga, who are said to have made in the past, i.e. in the 19th century or even earlier(?), ceremonial objects used till today or found in recent times. Their origin is not altogether certain, specialists from both the Tiv ethnic groups and those of the Hausa working among the Abakwariga craftsmen. (59) It is not known when this production perished. Rubin (60), during his field research in the 1960s, was only able to describe the activities of such casters who were not acquainted with old Jukun products and whose work was based on modern models (from the sixties') of Nupe and Hausa casters and metal-workers.

**The Bura and Pabir:** In his survey, Meek (61) mentions the local production of brass bracelets, necklaces and girdles made by the lost-wax technique.

**The Tula:** Before 1965, there was a specialist in bell casting in Tula Wange. (62)

**The Vere:** It was only in the 1960s that products made by local casters appeared in the antiques market, the first wave of old casts being followed by new casts meant especially for tourists and those interested in tribal arts; this production continues till today (at least till the beginning of the eighties'), the village of Soli being especially famous for it (63). Frobenius recorded the local production during his stay here (the DIAFE Expedition in 1911-1912).

**The Bata:** Their casting production was recorded by Frobenius, along with that of the Vere, during his research trip in 1911 and 1912. (64)

**The Muri area:** There is an information dated to the mid- 19th century that

a Hausa smith and caster worked in the city of Hamaruwa. (65)

**The Fali:** Gauthier (66) mentioned a smithing centre in Kangu, specifying that both iron and non-ferrous metals were worked here.

Wente-Lukas (67), in his treatise dealing with the material culture on northeastern Nigeria, enumerates a large number of further ethnic groups with casters of their own. They are the Jirai, Zumu, Holma, Gude, Djimi, Daba, Bana, Kapsiki, Kilba, Kiria, Margi, Higi, Sukur, Mabas, Gamargu, Mandara and Kanuri. They form an almost continuous belt stretching from the Benue river up to the Tchad Lake. Their production is mostly datable to the 20th century.

**Grassland:** In the Grassland region, there were smiths and casters especially among the Bamum and Bagam, the Bamum casters being the only ones in the entire area under study who exclusively specialized in casting of non-ferrous metals and were not active in smithing. (68)

**The Tikar:** According to oral tradition, the knowledge of the casting of metals was brought to the Grassland area by smith-casters belonging to the Panguot-Tikar group. (69) Thorbecke (70) mentions a Tikar tradition from the time preceding the First Great War, according to which there always were two or three older specialists acquainted with the „lost-wax“ technique of casting. The same tradition maintains that the Bamum learned to know casting from the Tikar, perhaps by capturing Tikar casters in wars and bringing them home. But at the time of Thorbecke (i.e. before 1914), the Tikar casting did not exist any more.

**The Bamum:** It is the ruler Mbuembue (cca 1757–1814) who is said to

have founded the first casting workshops in the capital of Foumbam and to have concentrated all captured craftsmen at his court. Originally all the products were only made for the ruler, i.e. his personal needs and state gifts. The oldest documents of a local production originated towards the end of the 19th century and before the First Great War, when the advancement of crafts was promoted by the Bamum ruler Njoya. In 1902, the first brass statuettes and objects were exported to Europe by a German tradesman; after a commercial success of this export, the casting production further increased not only among the Bamum, but also the Bagam. It continues to exist till today, being mostly of souvenir character characterized both by the large size of the cast objects and the production of figures and scenes of everyday life. (71)

**The Bagam:** Ankermann (72) states, probably having the 19th century period in mind, that the Bagam casters learned to know the technology from the neighbouring Bamum. Malcolm (73) described the working techniques of the Eyap group and said that they made brass pipe-heads, ornaments, grotesque animals and birds. They also cast bells which, however, were not used among the Bagam but only served as export goods in the trade with the neighbouring tribes. The casters originally worked for the ruler and according to his directions.

**The Bamenda:** The local production is of relatively recent date, having been brought to the Bamenda only after 1933 as one of the consequences of dynastic feuds. (74)

**The Banyangi:** At the time preceding the First Great War, a caster is mentioned here, originally a slave bought by

the local chief in Bali. (75) This means that the knowledge of technology was again transferred here from the Bagam-Bali area, sometimes at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries; at the time of the research, i.e. before 1917, the caster was still alive.

### The used techniques

The casters of the whole area have been and still are using the "lost-wax" technique of casting. They make moulds of the future casts either from wax or stiffened fibers of latex juice which is obtained from the *Euphorbia kamerunica* cactus or some tree of the *Ficus* species. The casters preserve stocks of the both modelling stuffs near their workshops. The bees' wax is usually stored in sheets which are also sometimes used during the preliminary rough modelling of the mould. The latex juice must be first boiled, until reduced to a tough rubbery gum which is stored by the brassmiths in rings the diameter of a saucer. Whereas wax is worked during modelling with a wooden spatula constantly soaked in water so that it may not get too warm, latex is modelled hot, mostly by a steel tool heated in the fire. The sheets of bees' wax may be directly used for modelling, but in case of a latex disc, the fibre must be first extracted and the mould is modelled out of fibres of various strength. Modelling from latex fibres makes working of subtler details possible. (76)

Models of smaller objects are only modelled from bees' wax or latex, those of larger objects being modelled on a clay core fastened with an iron peg or a couple of iron pins. The finished model is first covered with a layer of fine clay and, after the latter has dried, by further two or three layers of coarser clay, sometimes (e.g. among the Bagam)

mixed with dried grass. After it has dried in the sun, the mould is fired; the time of firing is not indicated. (77) During firing the wax flows out and the latex is burnt. Also objects of nature were used as models, i.e. fruits and tiny animals. Among the Bamum before the First Great War, Letzterer (78) saw how a mould for casting a figure of a chameleon was prepared by means of a killed animal.

It is only after the mould has been fired (in larger objects) that the crucible containing fragments of metal is attached to the form and both of them are again fastened by means of a common clay cover.

During casting proper, the part with the crucible is heated first, and after the metal has been melted, the length of the time required for melting being derived from the caster's experience, the whole form is turned over and the melted metal flows from the crucible into the space made free by the flown-out wax or burnt latex. While the form is fired, also the grass mixed into the clay is burnt and the walls of the mould are thus made slightly porous and able to absorb the superfluous gas which has arisen during melting and casting. A couple of descriptions of the whole process have been preserved in our area, notably the region of Grassland, e.g. among the Bagam, Bamenda, etc. (79)

After the entire mould has cooled off, the clay cover is destroyed and the cast proper cleaned of the remnants of the form, rinsed in water and its surface finished by chasing, engraving, warming up, etc. (80)

In our entire area, objects with full walls are cast today, the openwork-surface technique being comparatively rare, especially in objects smaller in

size; but it is used, of course, at the production of larger statues and masks in Grassland. When comparing casts from the present century with those of older origin, i.e. before 1900, we must state that formerly the openwork-surface technique was used more frequently. It is difficult to say now whether this was due to a deeper knowledge of the then casters, or in order to save metal; but the same technological difference may be already noted between the object made around 1900, on the one hand, and those originated later on, on the other.

The objects cast by the openwork-surface method come from the Jukun (81), Vere (82), Tikar (83), Chamba (84), Bali (85) and Bamum (86), including stylized animals, crowns or caps, bracelets, dagger sheaths and sword hilts. We may class here also a few small masks with rich openwork hair-dress and a pipehead made in the same spirit.

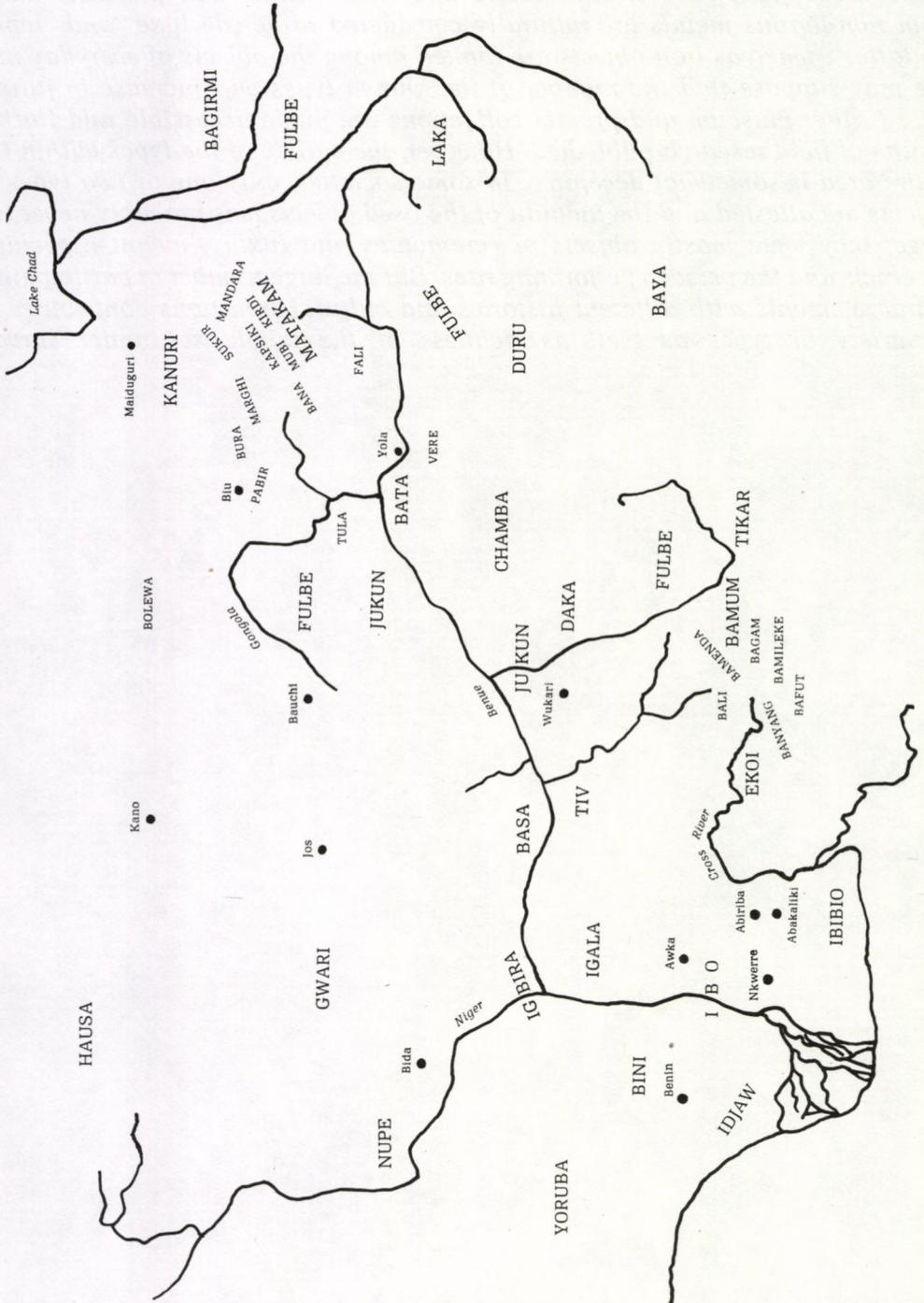
Besides, casters and metal-workers used a number of metal-working techniques while processing the objects (smithing, forging, twisting, welding, hammering, engraving, hewing, etc.). The choice of the respective technique depended on the quality of the metal and the contents of copper. Shaw states that all of the objects found in Igbo-Ukwe, containing less than 92 % of copper, were cast by the *cire-perdue* process, whereas those containing more copper were made by smithing and chasing. (86A)



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## A SURVEY OF THE MADE OBJECTS

*In eastern and northeastern Nigeria and western Cameroon, most types identical with those of objects of use made from iron are represented among those made from non-ferrous metals and their alloys. But products made from non-ferrous metals are naturally considered to be „de luxe“ and “representative“, whereas iron objects are ranked among the objects of everyday use. We may suppose that the number of the known types will increase in future, after further museum and private collections are made accessible and further results of field research published. However, the variety of the types within the entire area is somewhat deceptive. In some societies, only one or two types of objects are attested and the amount of the used objects was probably never too large; they were mostly objects of ceremonies and luxury, meant especially for chiefs and the persons performing rites. But the large number of participating ethnic elements with different histories and cultural traditions contributes to a variety of types as well as richness of the whole set under survey.*



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Currency  
Ceremonial staffs, spears and standards  
Hoes  
Axes  
Bags  
Vessels and cups  
Tobacco-boxes  
Decorative rings of pipe-stems  
Pipe-heads and pipes  
Tips of drinking horns and fans  
Swords and daggers  
Bells and gongs  
Crotals



## CURRENCY

In the part treating raw materials, we have already dealt with the history of the import of the manillas, i.e. bracelets used as means of payment, to the coast of Guinea and the Nigeria-Cameroon inland, and we have also mentioned some of the oldest reports concerning this import. But the information dating from the 19th and especially 20th century suggests that a simplified concept of a mere import of manillas, be it from Europe or Congo, is not satisfactory. In the Lagos Museum, we may find a large collection of these former means of payment, which came here after 1948 when the manillas were abolished as mediums of payment in the Eastern Provinces of Nigeria and were withdrawn from circulation. The way they are made unambiguously points to the local origin, which is also corresponded by the functional and formal differentiation of the manillas. I think that as late as in the 19th century and perhaps even at the beginning of the 20th century, these means of payment, i.e. manillas, were one of the many products of the Ibo smiths.

In terms of form, the Ibo mediums of payment may be divided into a few groups. First of all, however, we must mention the fact that all of them were symbols of a certain value, some of them having also other secondary functions, as revealed by the results of field research. As will be shown below, some dependence of the secondary functions of the means of payment on their form may be defined.

The first group consists of the so-called "king manillas", further divided into more types. As far as their form is concerned, they remind most of trunk handles with thickened ends. In addition, some pieces are decorated by

twisting or with a geometric décor. Their weight is between cca 1,5 kg and 3,5 kg. They were a symbol of wealth but were also used for paying charges and they accompanied the chiefs into their graves. Some reports bear testimony to their use in the courts of law. (87) Fig. 1.

The second basic type, again divided into several subtypes, is represented by the so-called "queen manillas". They are horseshoe-shaped, but are much larger than the small manillas of the same shape, spread all over the West African coast. Their weight is between 1 kg and 6 kg. They played an important part in the religious life of the Ibo and were also used in financial transactions. (88)

The third basic type is formed by the manillas which are bound into a knot on the top of their bow. I had the opportunity to study two manillas of this kind in the Lagos Museum: the so-called "otun manilla", originally preserved in a sanctuary and used during ceremonies following the kill of a leopard (89), and a manilla for the prince, which was a symbol of wealth and membership of the ruler's family and was used at the weddings of the members of the ruling family. (90) Jeffreys states (91) their frequent use among the Andoni, the oral tradition of whom connects these manillas with the Portuguese. Figs. 2 & 3

Bracelets with knots on the top of the bow are known not only from the recent past, but also archaeological excavations, viz. the find from Igbo-Ukwe. Naturally nothing is known of their function, but they are a testimony to a long-standing tradition of such bracelets in eastern Nigeria, going back at least to the 8th or 9th century A.D. (92) Fig. 4

All of these three types of manillas used till 1948 were acquired in the districts of Abak, Opobo, Eket and Port Hancour. The first two types, i.e. the king and the queen manillas, also had a different function and bore a different name in some places, often based on local historical and cultural context. Thus the "snake manilla" was used in wedding ceremonies (93), the "idong manilla" during ceremonies by a fattened princess, being also a symbol of royalty and wealth (94), and the manillas "otun" or "otongo" served to confirm an oath in judicial procedures; should a criminal swear falsely on this type, he was believed to die at once. (95)

Ekejiuba (96) states that before the First Great War, the Abiriba smiths produced king-size manillas embellished with figures of snakes, lizards, leopards and other animals for the rich merchants of the city of Aro. These manillas were put into the graves of their owners; a set of this kind was discovered, while foundations of a house were dug in Ndiowu.

Currency in the form of bracelets seem to be an Ibo speciality; their only analogue reminding of the manillas of the second type is known from the Mubi region (97) and among the Chamba (?). Here horseshoe-shaped bracelets were worn by all women during harvest ceremonies, besides being also used as currency for buying goats, houses, etc.

Let us now note other types of medium of payment to be found in our area:

a) rods: These are known among the Tiv (98), about a metre in length and 6 mm in perimeter. The required length was achieved by welding shorter pieces of wire. They were called „bashi“, being wound into a

spiral on the leg and serving also as leg-rings. Rods of a standard but unknown length were used by the Jukun who called them "aki" (99), and among the Igala (100). Spiral-shaped rods are also known among the Bali and Bamum, consisting of five spirals. (100A)

b) brass beads put on strings were used by the Tiv. (101) They were acquired for museum collections in the 1920s, nothing being known about their production.

### CEREMONIAL STAFFS, SPEARS AND STANDARDS

Ceremonial staffs in the form of walking sticks decorated with brass knobs and rings were in use in the Ibo city of Aro. (102) Brass-headed title staffs are also attested among the Afenmai (103); and the dignitaries of the Tiv (104) carried staff-like rods as insignia of their standing and dignity.

Staffs decorated with human figures, either male or female, on the top are known among the Tiv (105) and the Chamba (106). A chief of the Iche group in the Bissaula city owned two staffs embellished with a male and a female figure, respectively, to which sacrifice was offered before battle to ensure victory.

The Jukun (107) are reported to have an all-metal spear which is a symbol of the ruler's authority and was preserved at his court in Wukari. The form of the spear is reminiscent of a rider's pike, but is decorated with brass rings and bronze grelots.

Among the Tiv, too, a ceremonial spear embellished with bronze figures is known; it was acquired in 1969. (108)

In the set of the regalia of the Igala ruler, there is a multi-pointed lance, according to tradition manufactured by

the founder of the Ayegba State, perhaps as early as in the 16th century. (109)

All of these ceremonial spears and lances appear in the same area from which also multi-pointed iron spears are known, sometimes in the form of tridents, as for instance among the Jukun of Pindiga. (110)

A record (unspecified in more detail) of bronze-working which includes the manufacture of spears concerns the Bamum. It is probably this information which is specified by Geary while talking about spears with brass spear-heads. (111)

An only known example of a war standard is preserved in the Foubam City Museum, among the Bamum. Its upper end is decorated with a figure of a warrior holding a decapitated head in his hand. The standard was made before 1914. (112)

## HOES

Ceremonial hoes cast either in a piece or in two parts (a handle with a peg, on which an independent blade is put) were found among the Vere, in a settlement called Laindai Boi. Some of the specimens preserved in museums, however, are only roughly defined as coming from the Adamawa mountains, other ones being ascribed to the Kirdi. (113) They bear a spiral-shaped pattern symbolizing wealth and prestige of their owner or bearer. During annual agricultural festivities, the chief's wives danced carrying them. Besides they were put into the grave of their owner as part of the burial equipment.

## AXES

Only two types of axes are known in our area, differing from each other both in construction and geographical localization.

The first type is represented by the dance axe used among the Bana. Identical or similar axes also appear among the Kapsiki, Higi, Sukur and Margi. The axes are cast in a single piece, the surface being decorated with a three-dimensional geometric ornament and the axe proper being asymmetric. We do not know what kind of dances these axes were used at. They are most probably derived from the typologically identical iron axes, but with wooden shafts, to be found among the Kapsiki and Fali. (114) Fig. 7

The other type is an axe whose haft is topped with a rounded brass head modelled in the shape of a human head with a ridge of hair on the top. The iron axe is inserted into the open mouth. Oldest in date is this type's specimen found among the Tiv in 1880 and now preserved in the Berlin Ethnographic Museum. (115) Further examples, also acquired among the Tiv, are mostly kept in British museums where the majority of them came only in 1920s or 1930s. (116) Rubin (117) testifies to their occurrence among the Chamba and Jukun, both of whom are neighbours of the Tiv. He states that at the time of his research, in the 1960s, he has no more found their manufacture anywhere. Fig. 8

Axes were worn as insignia by the elders of the Tiv. Among the Jukun, however, their use was somewhat different. Thus the Abakwariga in Wukari used them at ceremonies of healing and prevention, the sacrificers carrying them on their shoulders during the rites. They were also used at funerals.

## BAGS

Brass bags with sliding lids, in shape imitating leather bags carried by men, but embellished with little bells and de-

corated with a three-dimensional geometric ornament, served ceremonial purposes. They occurred among the Mumuye whose warriors preserved charms in them (118), and are also known among the Vere. A variant of this type is represented by a bag with an unmovable flap bent over the opening, but not different in its décor from the previous ones. (119) Figs.

9 & 10

Wente-Lukas (120) states that in 1969, these bags were used by young people among the Kapsiki as a decoration during dances. She thinks that the bags were manufactured in the territory of the Daba tribe.

Bags of this kind are nowadays cast not only in brass but also aluminium; such a specimen is preserved in UCLA (121), probably cast in Jos and acquired by the museum in 1969.

## VESSELS AND CUPS

The shape of small cups for drinking palm wine, with a rounded bottom and flattened sides, is derived from those made from calabashes. The oldest information concerning the use of such cups is dated before 1914 from the Tikar area; the cup was acquired in Ditam. (122) Further examples were only published in the 1980s, coming from the mid-Cross River basin (123) and the territory of the Ibo (124) who are the makers of cups provided with anthropomorphic patterns. Fig. 11

Since vessels identical in shape were also part of the archaeological find from Igbo-Ukwu, dated to the 8th–9th centuries (125), and those ascribed to the Sao culture, e.g. in Midigué necropolis dated to the 10th–11th century (126), we are justified to suppose a type tradition going back far into the past.

The similarity to the vessels made

from calabashes is certainly not coincidental. Laird who visited the Pondo city of the Igbira in 1833 states that in the local casting workshops, copper is used to ornament and fasten large calabashes. (127) There is but a short way from decorating and repairing vessels made from calabashes by means of non-ferrous metals, to their casting from the same materials.

Another type is represented by a pair of ceremonial vessels from Adamawa (128), with a rounded body and the neck broadened in the brim. The vessels beautified with a threedimensional décor are provided with rings to which little brass bells are bound. The vessels are closed inside under the neck so that nothing can be put inside, thus probably only serving symbolic purposes. In terms of shape they are based on small vessels for preserving medicaments, which are either ceramic or made from calabashes. Fig. 12

Before 1914, the Tikar knew (129) a vessel with a double globular body and a low neck broadening upwards. This was meant for preserving “substances”.

Among the Igala-Igbira (?), a ball-shaped vessel decorated with a row of little bells has been found, serving the ruler as a bottle for preserving palm wine. Oral tradition considers it to be more than two hundred years old. (130) It does not differ from the vessels from Adamawa in shape, but serves a well-defined purpose.

The Lagos Museum (131) has in its collections two cups on a leg, semiglobular in shape and ornamented with a geometric three-dimensional décor. Their general definition is the same as of the vessels from Adamawa. Their author was probably inspired by European or North African models and

they may even have been made to order. They represent a different type. Fig. 13

Also the last two types are represented individually and are likely to rank among the souvenir production existing then already. One of them is a small cup supported by a caryatid (a bearded European ? clad in a European suit), acquired among the Vere for the Museum of Dresden as early as in 1915. (132). Fig. 14. The other specimen is a vase with concave sides, produced by the Bamum. (133) The sides are decorated with spirals and four projections, each provided with a face mask, on the opposite four sides.

Let us conclude by mentioning a vessel which we have information about, its shape being unknown, however. The Maser clan of the Tiv tribe is reported to have a bottle with a long neck, serving for preserving cosmetic pigment (galeña). But we cannot exclude the possibility that its use for cosmetics was secondary, the original purpose of the bottle being to serve as a tobacco-box (see below). In the Hausa territory, however, leather bottles with long necks are used for preserving antimon pigment.

Rubin (135), when speaking of the pabir from the city of Biu, stated that the local chief was using two bowls and two bottles, both called "pila", reportedly used as water containers by the chief during his trips. The description does not make it clear whether they were cast or belonged to wrought vessels, similarly as, e.g., the products from the Nupe city of Bida.

#### TOBACCO-BOXES

There are three types, the first of which is represented by tobacco-boxes in the form of disc- or egg-shaped

bottles provided with a long cylindrical neck and a small handle underneath. They are ornamented with a geometric plastic décor. As far as their shape is concerned, they are reminiscent of some types of powder-flasks from North Africa as well as Benin. Tobacco-boxes of this type are known to exist among the Bana (136), Kumah and Kapsiki (137), Kirdi (138) as well as the Vere (139). Figs. 15 & 16

The second type is of a shape derived from the horns used in the entire area for preserving small objects and various substances. Wente-Lukas (140) mentions a specimen which he defines as belonging to the territory of the Kapsiki and Daba tribes. The same type is also known among the Tikar, but from the time preceding 1914, when it was acquired by Thornbecke, being now kept in the Museum collection in Mannheim. (141) Fig. 17

The third type is a flask-shaped bottle ornamented with a plastic décor and documented in 1930–1931. It was found among the Ibo in the city of Awka. (142)

#### DECORATIVE RINGS OF PIPE-STEMS

This decoration is known in a single example from the Vere. This is a brass ring with a conic projection, acquired for the Field Museum in Chicago in 1967. (143)

#### PIPE-HEADS AND PIPES

The Ibo and the Tiv produced the type of a semiglobular bowl connected with the cuff of the stem by means of a bowshaped neck. In both tribes, they are decorated with three-dimensional spirals, but are different as far as the length of the neck-bow is concerned. The neck of the Ibo pipe-head

(144) acquired in the city of Nsukka in the 1970s forms a bow including only 90°, whereas that of the Tiv pipe-head makes a bow of 180°, the cuff for the stem being placed higher than the tobacco bowl. (145)

Another type is represented by the pipe-head to which the neck and the cuff of the stem are connected at a right or acute angle. They may be further divided on the ground of the shape of the pipe-head bowl:

A. Bowls conically broadening towards the upper brink are known among the Tiv; they are usually decorated with three-dimensional spirals or "cereal-spikes". In the Edinburgh Museum, there is a pipe-head of this type, moreover provided with a lid decorated with the figure of a rider (146). Jeffreys (147) acquired a pipe with a conic bowl in the Awka city among the Ibo in 1930–1. Fig. 18

B. A variant of the same type is the pipe-head with a conically broadening bowl and a triangular or segment area on both sides of the bowl, which makes it possible safely to lean the pipe or put it on the ground. They are known from among the Ibo-Afiko (148) where they were recorded in 1902, the Bali-Bagam also from before 1902 (149), and the Tikar from the period preceding 1914 (150).

The constructional element of the supporting side area also appears in ceramic pipes. It is to be found in some of the pipes belonging to Benin (151) and dated to the 16th–17th centuries, and, in a younger variant, among the Vere from the 1960s. (152) The question is whether in terms of shape the Benin pipe-heads, along with the use of tobacco, did not spread to other areas of Nigeria.

C. The cylindrical pipe-head of the

Bamum (153), decorated with belts of spirals, cereal-spikes and beads, is another variant of the preceding type.

D. Much spread, especially in the eastern part of our area, are pipe-heads, the bowls of which are poppyhead-shaped, sometimes with the rim turned outwards, and provided with a supporting area on the bottom. They are known among the Mumuye (154), Kumah (155) and Bana (156). Wentelukas (157) found the same pipe-heads used by the Daba and Kapsiki, among whom they are cast. In general we may state that all extant examples of this subtype were acquired or recorded as late as in the 1960s. Fig. 19

The third type is represented by the pipe-heads, the bowl of which is rounded in diameter, the sides concave and the entire head mostly modelled into a zoomorphic or anthropomorphic form in its lower part. Pipes of this type are only known from the Grassland area. Fig. 20

These are notably heads in the lower part modelled into the form of a four-tusk elephant head. They are known among the Bali-Bagam (158), Bami-leke ? (159), Bamum (160) and the Bansa (161). The specimens acquired from the Bagam and Bamum may be dated to the time preceding 1914.

A variant of the elephant-head-shaped pipe-head, but tuskless and with a raised trunk, was recorded among the Mankou (162). The motif of the elephant head was allowed only in the pipes used by rulers, chiefs and their families. Especially the four-tusk motif was a symbol of a mighty and outstanding ruler. Concerning their function, Leuzinger (163) states that "the royal pipes were smoked in the fields by the women of the court when carrying out ritual performances".

Another decorative motif used in the pipes of this particular type were bird figures. They are known among the Tikar (164) and the Bamum (165), all of them being older than 1914. No details are known as far as their social function is concerned. Fig. 21

Only among the Bamum (166), we know of a pipe-head in the form of a two-headed serpent, which was an emblem of the ruler Njoya. A similar pipe, probably of the same origin, is part of the treasure of the Bahouan ruler. (167)

A combination of the bird and serpent-head motifs, forming a kind of support under the cup of the head proper, is a specimen originated among the Bamum and published by von Sydow. (168)

The highly appreciated products of Grassland sculpture include ceramic pipe-heads, modelled in the form of human or monkey figures, or merely heads or face masks, respectively. This is why we are not surprised to find them among the objects cast in brass, too. Unlike the ceramic heads, those cast from metal (brass) sometimes reach a monumental size. This non-functional exaggeration of the pipes' size probably reflects an increased interest of tourists and collectors, which also, after the First World War, strongly stimulated a growth of their production. In terms of shape as well as the combination of the number of human faces and masks provided with animal figures and heads, the richest are the pipe-heads produced in Foumbam in the area of the Bamum. For instance, Benndorf (169) mentions an example combining two human faces, a two-headed serpent, a spider, a frog, a bird and a fish. Moreover the stem of the pipe is decorated with an attached brass figure portraying a man.

Also other stems of Bamum pipes are ornamented with figures, most of which are animal ones, a favourite motif being the chameleon. (170) Similarly decorated pipe-heads are also known among the Bamileke (171), Bagam ? (172), Babungo and Kom (173). Figs. 22 & 23

The social, i.e. representative significance of the pipes in general and of the brass ones in particular, in the Grassland area, is also testified to by their frequent occurrence in the treasure collections of the individual rulers. The pipes were also one of the forms of the rulers' mutual gifts. (174) The pipes and drinking horns of the rulers played an important role during their funerals and the inaugurations of their successors. Among the Bagam, the deceased ruler was exposed along with his personal pipe and drinking horn during the funeral ceremonies; among the Bamum, the ruler ascending the throne was given the pipe and the drinking horn of his dead predecessor at the inauguration ceremony. (175)

The fourth basic type is represented by the Bamum pipe preserved in the palace collection of Foumbam. This is provided with two zoomorphic heads. (176) On the ground of the West African tradition of the use of multi-headed pipes, I surmise that these were used for magic purposes (177); in this respect they differed from all preceding types and their variants not only in their shape but also function. Fig. 24

Lastly let us mention the brass heads or entire pipes made from non-ferrous metals, the information on which does not include their shape. In 1833 Laird witnessed the casting of bowls for tobacco pipes in the city of Pondo; in the Igbira territory, later on, these were also produced in Toto, and of Igbira origin are probably also pipe-

heads acquired from the Bassa Komo, Bassa and Gnari. (178) Brass pipe-heads were found among the Afenmai in Ekpedo (179), among the Jaba in Kagoro and Jemaan Daroro (180). They were used by the Jukun (181) and the Matakam, Mofu, Guduf, Mora and Mandara, too (182).

#### TIPS OF DRINKING HORNS AND FANS

As recorded by Ankermann in 1908 (183), a special product of the Bamum casters was decorative tips decorating the drinking horns of the Grassland rulers. They are shaped as globular buttons and modelled into the form of human heads or plaitings of animals, e.g. snakes. (184) Fig. 25

Of Bamum origin is also the decorative button adorning the tip of a fan handle; this is modelled into the form of a human head with a frog-shaped headdress. Probably Bamum in origin is also the fan decorated with a mushroom-shaped tip (186), preserved in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, although it is stated to have been acquired from the Tiv.

#### SWORDS AND DAGGERS

All of the swords and daggers, the hilts or sheaths of which are cast from brass or covered with copper or tin sheet, are in our area derived from the form of the swords and daggers used by the Hausa and Fulbe warriors. Due to the fact that swords with brass hilts and sheaths were notably weapons of the cavalry in the area under study, they are shorter than, e.g., the swords known from northern Nigeria or Iboland where they were used by infantry, too. (187) We are still unable to date the beginning of the Hausa-Fulbe influence, but it may be supposed to go

back at least to the end of the 18th century or the beginning of the 19th century, at which time, due to the so-called Fulbe Jihad, entire north-western Nigeria and a part of north-western Cameroon fell into the hands of rulers whose origin is to be looked for in the Fulbe-Hausa cultural area. The swords and daggers may be divided into two fundamental types corresponding to the two neighbouring regions:

A) the area of Adamawa and the Benue river basin, B) the Grassland.

The hilts of the swords and daggers from Adamawa and the Benue river basin are characterized by a broadened hand shield and usually end in a button in the shape of a disc, lozenge, ridge or lunette. The button is decorated with open work (being cast in the openwork-surface technique), plastic geometric décor and little bells placed along the sides. When also the sheaths of these swords and daggers are cast in brass, they are always provided with a fixed handle or a button for putting a strap through. The weight of the sheath is sometimes reduced by means of a row of hollows placed along the lengthwise axis (hollow-casting). Figs. 26–29

Weapons of this type were used by the Bata (188), where they were known to exist before 1915, and the Vere (189), among whom the oldest known pieces originated before the First Great War, but were probably used till the end of the 1960s when a number of them were acquired for museum collections.

Wente-Lukas also mentions their occurrence among the Bana, the Kapsiki of Roumsiki, the Margi, Higi and Fali. (190) In the Benue river basin, we find them among the Tiv (191) and the Jukun (192). The Jukun swords are part of the set of regalia; a "Sword of

Justice“ is preserved in Wukari, belonging to the ruler, and in Donga, the Hwaye priest keeps a “Sword of Kimbi“. The latter has a ridge-shaped button decorating not only the top of the hilt but also the bottom end of the sheath. Probably recent in origin is a Bata sword (193) with an excessively decorated sheath and a ridge-shaped button adorned with three human figures. This is a sample of the production meant for tourists.

Another group is formed by the swords from the Grassland. In terms of shape, their hilts are reminiscent of wooden hilts characterized by being shaped in the form of the letter “X“. Krieger (194) published an example acquired among the Bamum, with the hilt cast in the openwork-surface technique. In the same way a sword of the same origin published by Arnold (195) was made, but its hilt is simpler. The Bamum were also the makers of a sword mentioned by Thorbecke (196), which, though provided with a wooden hilt, has the blade cast in a non-ferrous metal (brass?).

The swords and daggers with brass hilts and sheaths are very likely to have been preceded by those, the hilts and sheaths of which were coated with copper or tin sheets. This method of decorating is known from northern Nigeria and the region of Sahara, that is also among the Hausa and Fulbe, besides a few extant samples from our area, the region of Grassland. One was made by the Bamum and its hilt is carved into the form of a clenched hand (197), and another is of Babungo origin, with the hilt decorated with a little human head (198). Both of them originated before 1914 and were part of the property of the members of the ruler’s family. In the area of Grassland

the technique of covering the wooden ground with non-ferrous metal sheets is also met with in other objects, such as masks (see page 60).

The tradition of casting hilts in brass may continue till today; at least Leuzinger says (199) that they are made notably for tourists.

Swords made from non-ferrous metals, i.e. ceremonial swords, were probably also used among other ethnic groups of the area under study. Thus Ekejiuva (200) mentions a brass sword used by one of the chiefs of the Ibo city of Aro. The sword was an insignium of rank and according to the oral tradition, it was cast by an Ibo smith from the city of Abiriba.

## BELLS AND GONGS

Due to a general popularity of bells and gongs in the entire area eastwards of the Niger river, we may meet here a large number of types. Whereas brass and bronze bells of our area have no counterparts in typologically identical iron bells, gongs may be found made from both iron and non-ferrous metals.

The first type is represented by cone-shaped bells with an eye or handle surmounting the top and sometimes the edges turned outwards, for which reason they are defined as “lotosshaped“ bells. Besides their surface is often adorned with a three-dimensional geometric décor. They are known among the Bamum, (201) from the time preceding 1914, and the Tikar, where some of them were acquired after 1906 (202). From the post-war period, there is a little bell made by the Tula probably in 1967 (203), with a massive top and eye, thus being seemingly “hour-glass-shaped“. A few examples found among the Vere (204) and originated towards the end of the 1960s and in the 1970s are likely to

have been inspired by European hand bells used for summoning servants. They were conic but their top was surmounted by another handle which was sometimes left without any decoration and sometimes cast in the form of two little snakes. Jeffreys (205) recorded bells of this type, with only a small eye on the top, among the Ibo-Akwa in 1930–1931. The bells of the same type ascribed to the Lower Niger culture and preserved in private collections (206) suggest the tradition of the type going back several centuries into the past, at least in the Ibo-Ibibio area. Figs. 30–32

The second group, very large in number, is formed by the bells, the body of which is circular or oval in perimeter and the sides concave. The top, always provided with an eye, is dome-shaped. They are called “tulip-shaped“ or “Ibo“ or “Ibibio“ bells in literature. (207) Fig. 33 Also their surface is beautified with a plastic décor consisting of spirals, strings, lunettes, etc. They are known to occur among the Ibo, especially in the cities of Aro and Awka. (208) Jeffreys recorded the casting of such a bell as late as in 1930 in Awka. Bells of this type are also to be found among the „bronzes“ ascribed to the Lower Niger culture (209), so that again a longer tradition of the type may be supposed than suggested by written records or the data collected in ethnographic field research. Identical bells are also known among the Igbira (210), from the mid-Cross River basin (211), among the Tikar before 1914 (212), the Bagam from the same period, although Malcolm’s report dated 1923 testifies to the casting of a bell in the Eyap group as late as in 1920s (213), and among the Bamum (214). The Bamum bells used to be tied to an ivory staff preserved

in the collection of Foubam rulers; they may be dated to the period preceding the First Great War.

Bells of this type are known in two further variants. One of them is bells tapered off towards the bottom end of the bell. They are known to have existed among the Tikar before 1914 (215) and among the Kirdi (216). Figs. 34 & 35

Another variant is represented by the examples in which the body is conspicuously set off from the top. The borderline is indicated by a break, a plastic line, an ornamental belt of three-dimensional spirals or little bells. We know them from the Tikar (217), before 1914, and the Vere where a piece was acquired in Laindai Boi in 1946 (218). Figs. 36 & 37

The third type is formed by the bells with a cylindrical body and a conic or semiglobular top. They were used by the Bana (219) as late as in the 1960s. Neaher (220) mentions bells of this particular type to occur among the objects from Ezira, which suggests the possibility of a typological tradition reaching back to 1495, in accord with the date ascribed to the whole find. However, we have so far but few documents concerning the use of this type’s bells in the “ethnographic present“. Fig. 38

The fourth type is represented by a single example found among the Ibo (221), the body of which has the shape of a narrow spool or the letter “I“, the top being flat.

Besides these four basic types, we may find a number of inter-types in our area, which are combinations of the characteristics of the defined types.

Bells made from non-ferrous metals were probably only used on festive occasions, as suggested by some data acquired in the field. Thus they were

seen among the Vere (222) at dances and processions, in 1946. Among the Kapsiki they were worn around the neck or hanged on chains by both men and women at festive "hudok". (223) Also the Ibo in the city of Aro (224) carried bells in festive processions; some of them were even of European origin, originally serving as ship-bells. A leather bag ornamented with bells of the second type may be seen in a photograph from the mid-Cross River. (225) Wente-Lukas (226) states that among the Podoko, the highest priest of the area wore a leopard skin decorated with bells during war, making sacred noise. They were also attached to weapons or ceremonial staffs. Arnold (227) mentions a bell of the second type forming a decoration of the sword hinge of a Bagam aristocrat. Geary (228) states them to be used as pendants on the ivory staffs of the Bamum rulers, and Thomas (229), while speaking of the Ibo before 1913, notes that the doctor's ceremonial staff was decorated with two groups of four bells and was used to pound the ground in walking. Lastly we must mention the fact that not only bells made from non-ferrous metals but also iron ones were only used on exceptional occasions. This is testified to by records from among the Ibo, Igala, Goemai, Guduf, Bana and Jukun. (230)

Non-ferrous-metal bells, albeit not their shapes, have been recorded among other ethnic groups, too. Thus they were used and cast by the Tula Wange (231) and Igala; the bells produced by the Igbira, sometimes called „Igbira type“, were used by the Bassa Komo and Nassarawa. (232) They also appeared among the Kapsiki (233) and Mafa. Rubin (234) mentioned their use among the Pabir, in the city of Mandara-

ga (?), the bells having allegedly originated in Potiskum, and their production in the hamlet of Kingin inhabited by the Buro.

In the preceding survey, I have intentionally left out figuratively ornamented bells ascribed to the Lower Niger culture, which, to my opinion, are much closer to the casting centres of Benin and the Yoruba than those of the area under study. Figure-shaped bodies characteristic of these bells have not been recorded in our area during the last hundred years.

After discussing the bells, let us turn our attention to the gongs. Two basic types may be defined. They do not differ from each other by the shape of the gong proper, but primarily their number; simple and double gongs may be distinguished.

The first type, which is a simple gong with a straight handle, is known among the Bamum in the city of Foubam. (235) Its handle is decorated with a human head.

The second type is represented by double gongs, i.e. two gongs connected with each other by means of an arch-shaped handle surmounting the tops. They have been recorded among the Vere as well as the Bamum. (236) Fig. 39. In a list of the regalia of Foubam rulers, Geary mentions such double gongs. The oral tradition ascribes one of them to the ruler Mbuembue who reigned in 1757–1814 (?). In the 1970s these Bamum double gongs appeared among souvenir products of low quality. (237)

It was only on exceptional occasions that gongs were used. A simple gong of the Bamum was a war gong of Foubam rulers and another, a double one, belonged to the set of the regalia of the same rulers. (238) One of the two

recorded examples was used at the wedding of princesses.

All of the abovementioned bells and gongs are of undefined age. We find them in museum and private collections, many of them still serving cult purposes in the villages and cities of southeastern and northeastern Nigeria. Generally they are considered to be „contemporary in terms of ethnography“, which means that they are supposed to have been manufactured during the last hundred and fifty or two hundred years. The so far only datable, and also the oldest, set originated in the mentioned Ezira in Iboland. In an archaeological find dated to the 15th century, nineteen brass bells and a few iron gongs were discovered. (239)

#### CROTALS

Crotals made from non-ferrous metals are used in various ways in our area; they are sewn on girdles and bells, attached to swords and daggers, ceremonial bags, bracelets, or crowns. They also embellish loin-cloths of women, e.g. among the Bana (240).

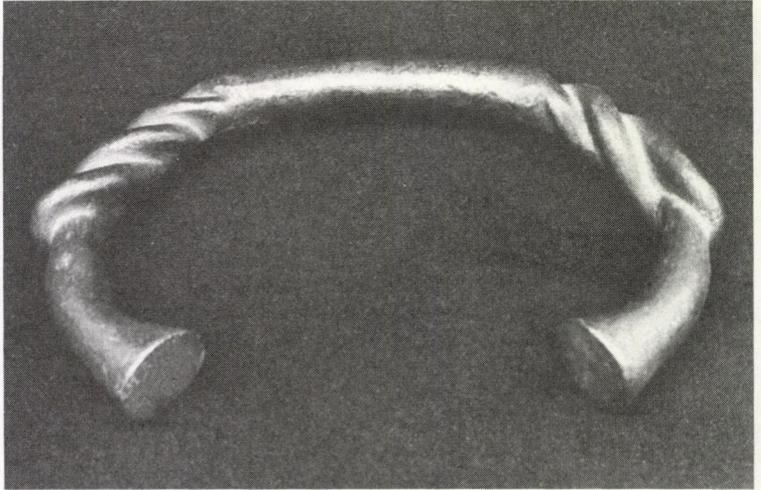
Three basic types may be distinguished. Globular crotals are known among the Jukun (241) and the Ibo in the city of Awka, where they were recorded by Jeffreys (242) as early as in 1930–1931. Fig. 40 A

Another type is represented by cylindrical crotals and those shaped as truncated cones with semiglobular bottoms. These are used in the Adama-wa region, among the Vere, Duru and Chamba. (243) Fig. 40 B

The third type described by Rubin (244) in a Jukun “crown“ (see below) is shaped as European miniature bells. Fig. 40 C

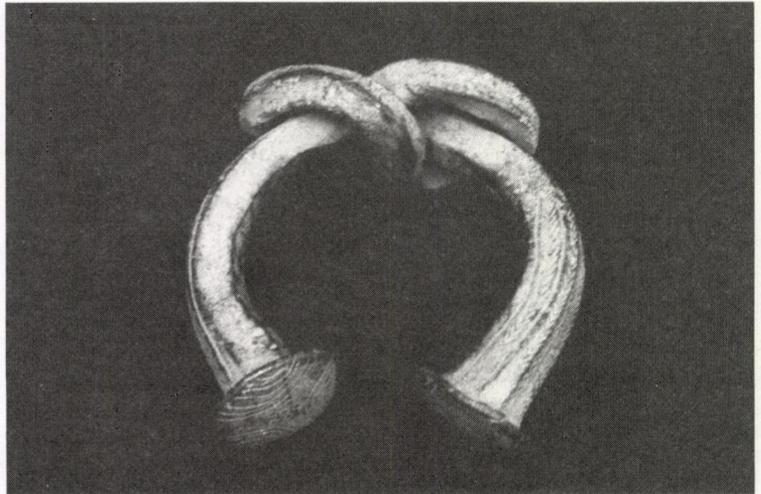
1

Currency – manilla, called “King manilla”; distr. Port Harcourt, Nigeria; l. = 27,5 cm, ht. = 17 cm, weight = 4 lbs. 14 oz.; Lagos M. cat. no. 49.19.9.



2

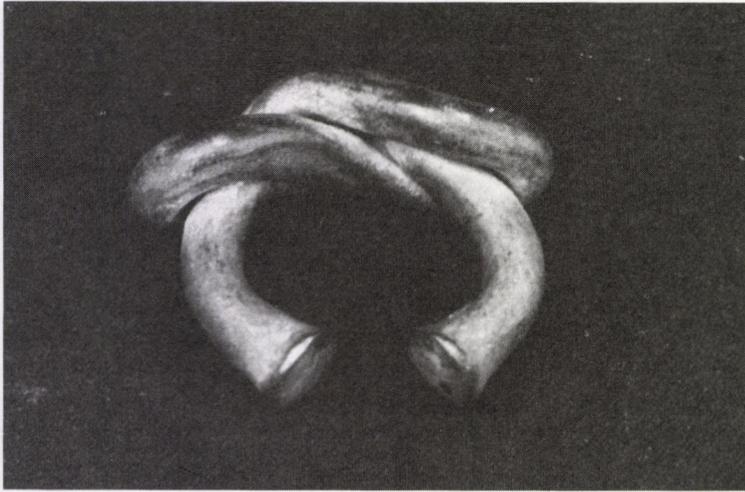
Currency – manilla, called “Okpoho Akpan Owo” (= manilla for the prince); Afaha Obong area, distr. Abak, Nigeria; l. = 10 cm, ht = 10 cm, weight = 1 lb, 5,5 oz.; Lagos M. cat. no. 49.19.13.



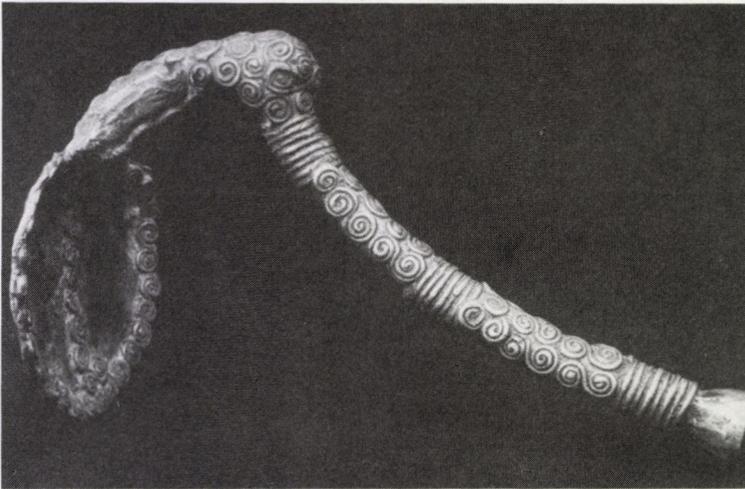
3

Currency – manilla, called “Otun manilla”; distr. Oyo, Nigeria; l. = 15 cm, ht = 14,5 cm, weight = 5 lbs. 2 oz.; Lagos M. cat. no. 49.19.6.





4  
Bracelet, leaded copper  
(content; 94–97% Cu,  
2–4% Pb, less than 1%  
Sn, less than 1 % As);  
Igbo-Ukwu, Nigeria,  
8.–9. cent.; Lagos M. cat.  
no. 58.6.10.



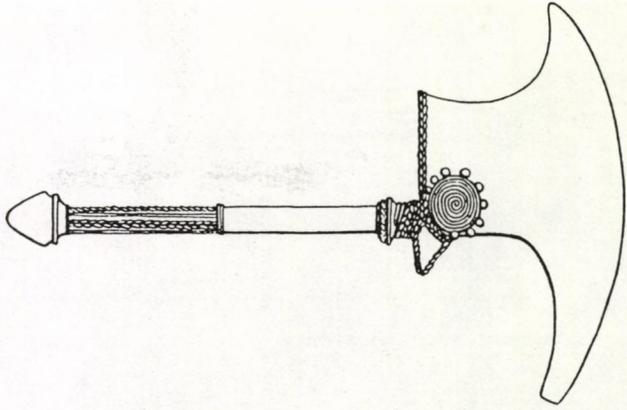
5  
Brass ceremonial hoe;  
Adamawa, Nigeria;  
l. = 30,7 cm, w. = 23,5  
cm; Lagos M. cat. no.  
72.1.1283.



6  
Brass ceremonial hoe;  
Vere (?), Nigeria; l. =  
= 25,8 cm, w. = 14,5 cm;  
NpM cat. no. 60.052.

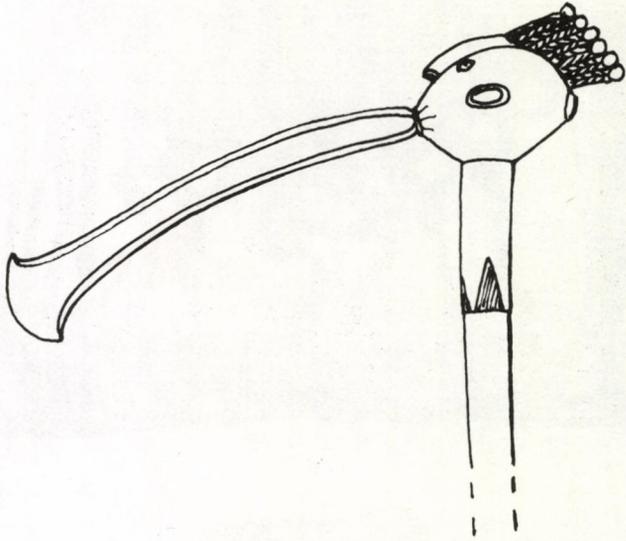
7

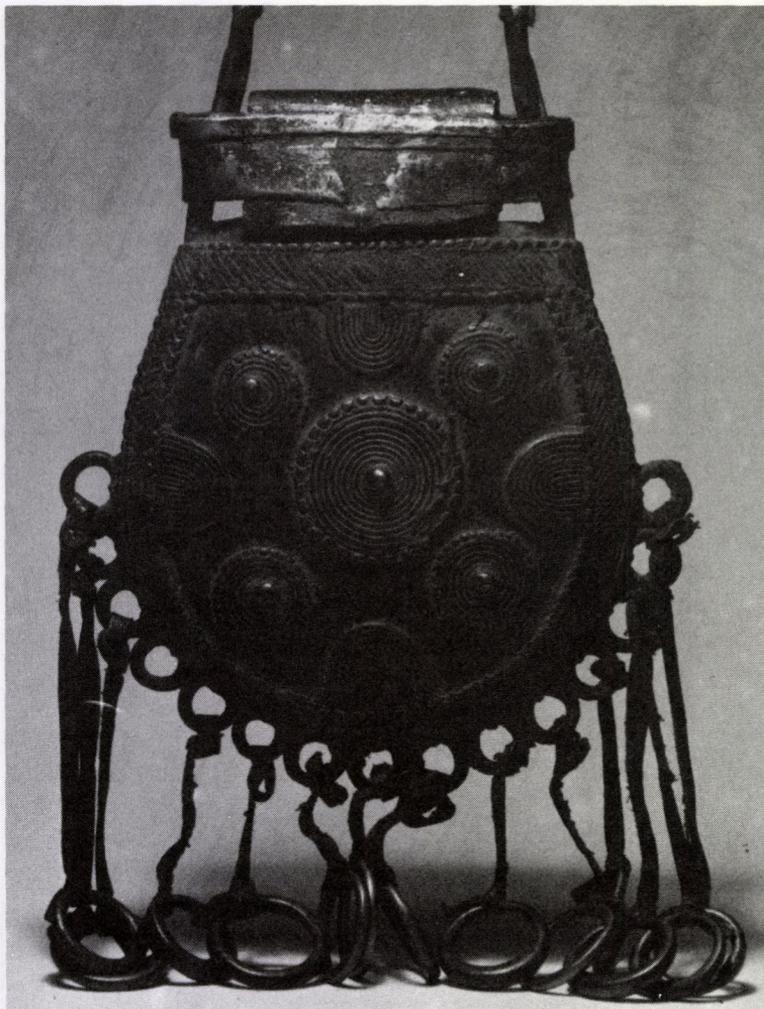
Axe, called "manzhí";  
Bana, Nigeria; l. = 34,5  
cm; Frobenius Inst.  
Frankfurt a.M. cat. no.  
Af 1753; (after Wente-  
Lukas 1977, Abb. 88.



8

Axe; Tiv, Nigeria,  
acquired 1880;  
ht. = 48,5 cm; MfV Berlin  
cat. no II C 16593;  
(after Krieger 1969, II,  
Abb. 218).



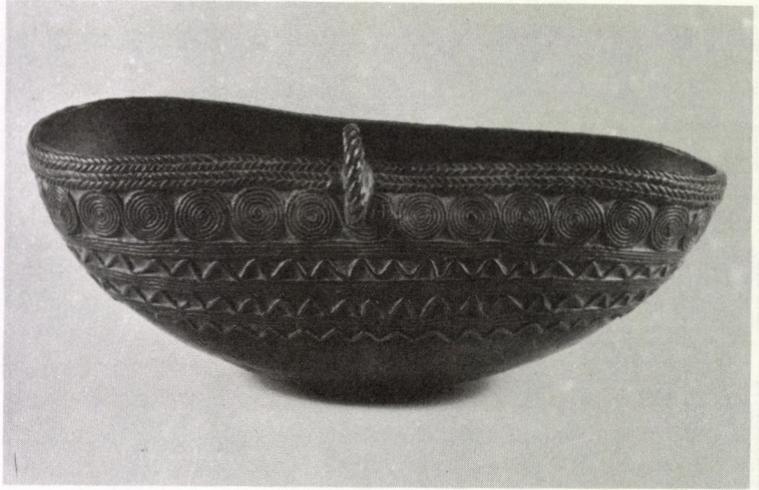


9  
Ceremonial bag; Vere (?),  
Nigeria; ht = 18,3 cm,  
w. = 12 cm; Private coll.  
Prague.



10  
Ceremonial bag;  
Mumuye (?), Nigeria;  
ht. = 16,5 cm,  
w. = 14,5 cm; Lagos M.  
cat. no. 72.1.1534.

11  
Cup, called "bla-ngo";  
Tikar-Ditam, Cameroon,  
acquired before 1914;  
l. = 19,7 cm, ht. =  
= 8,2 cm; Mannheim M.  
cat. no. IV Af 5199.



12  
Ceremonial vessels;  
Adamawa, Nigeria;  
ht. = 12,7 cm, diam. =  
= 6,8 cm; Lagos M. cat.  
no. 72.1.1407.



13  
Two cups on legs;  
Adamawa, Nigeria;  
diam. = 14 cm, ht. =  
= 10,8 cm; Lagos M. cat.  
no. 72.1.1395.

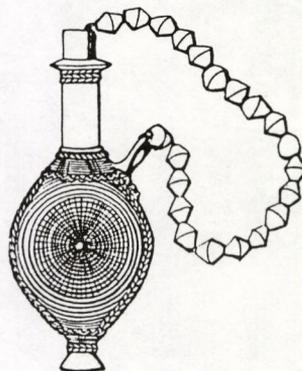
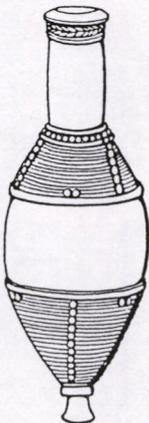




14  
Cup supported by  
caryatid; Vere, Alantika  
Mts., Nigeria, bought  
1915; ht = 13 cm,  
diam. = 5,3 cm; Dresden  
M. cat. no. 33.671.



15  
Horn-like tobacco box;  
Vere (?), Nigeria, bought  
in 1970s; l. = 14 cm,  
diam. = 3,5 cm (rim);  
NpM cat. no. 60.053.



16  
Tobacco box; Vere (?),  
Nigeria, bought in  
1970s; ht. = 5,1 cm,  
diam. = 3,6 cm, coin is  
hung on; NpM cat. no.  
60.054.

17

Two tobacco boxes,  
called „tölimä tapá“;  
Bana, Nigeria; Frobenius  
Inst. Frankfurt a. M. cat.  
no. Af 1818; (after  
Wente-Lukas 1977, Abb.  
135).



18

Pipe-head; Duru,  
Nigeria, collected 1909;  
l. = 7,9 cm; Dresden M.  
cat. no. 24. 322.

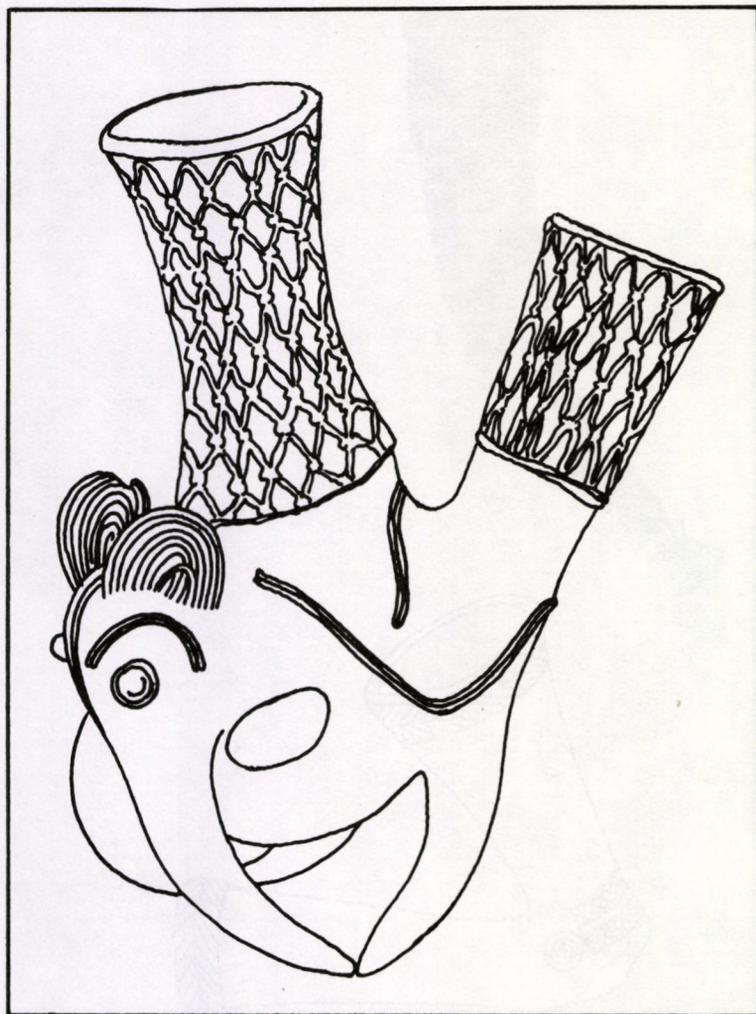


19

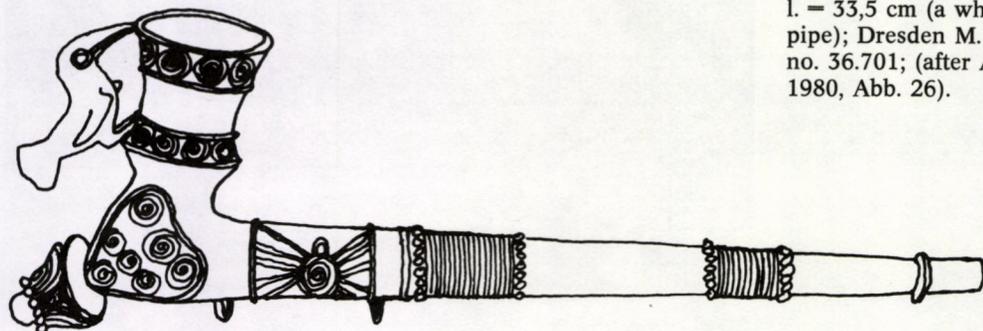
Pipe-Head; Vere (?),  
Nigeria, bought in  
1970s; l. = 7,5 cm,  
ht. = 6,2 cm; NpM cat.  
no. 60.055.



20  
Zoomorphic pipe-head;  
Bamum, Cameroon,  
before 1914; ht. = 7 cm;  
Dresden M.; (after  
Arnold 1980, Abb. 27).



21  
Pipe-head; Tikar or  
Bamum, Cameroon,  
collected before 1912;  
l. = 33,5 cm (a whole  
pipe); Dresden M. cat.  
no. 36.701; (after Arnold  
1980, Abb. 26).

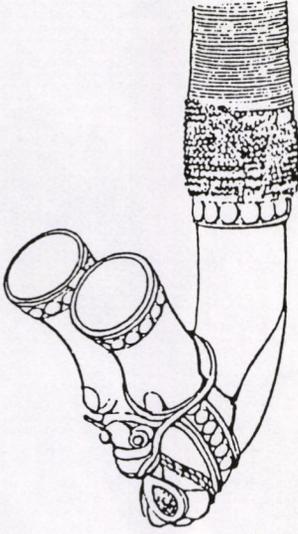




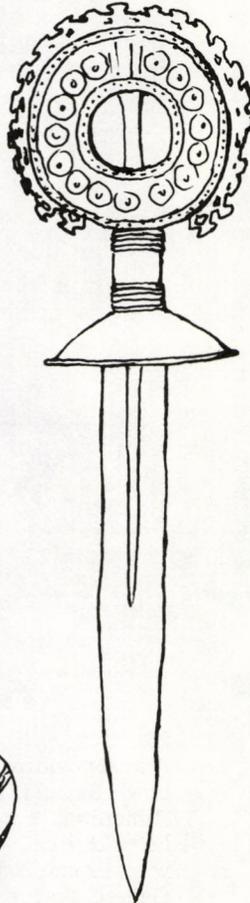
22  
Antropomorphic pipe-  
bowl; Bagam (?),  
Cameroon, bought in  
1970s; ht. = 13,5 cm;  
NpM cat. no. 60.049.



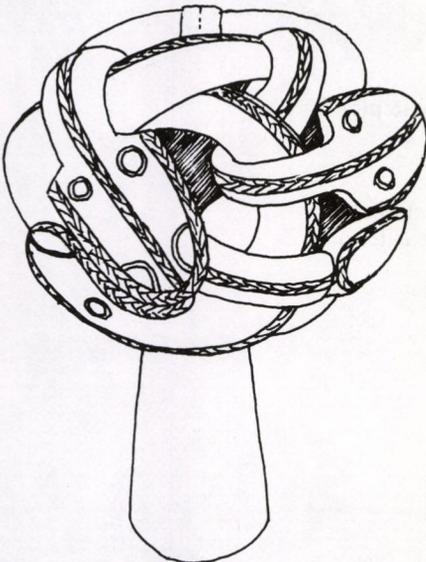
23  
Anthropomorphic pipe-  
bowl; Bamum,  
Cameroon;  
ht. = 28,7 cm,  
w. = 19 cm; National  
Gallery, Prague cat. no.  
VU 1862.



24  
 Brass pipe bowl with  
 two animal heads;  
 Foumbam, Bamum,  
 Cameroon; l = 14 cm;  
 Palace M. in Foumbam;  
 (after Geary 1983a,  
 fig. 46).



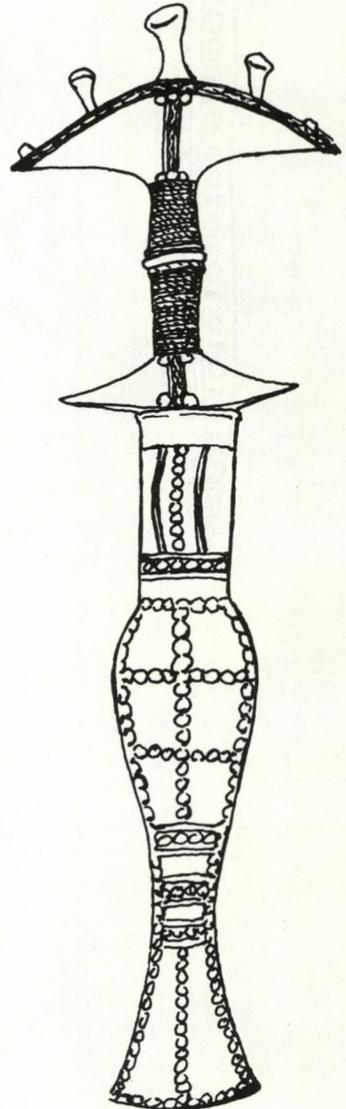
25  
 Tip of drinking horn,  
 called „yindu“; Bamum,  
 Cameroon, collected  
 1908; ht. = 13,5 cm;  
 MfV Berlin vat. no. III C  
 25594; (after Krieger  
 1969, III, Abb. 92).

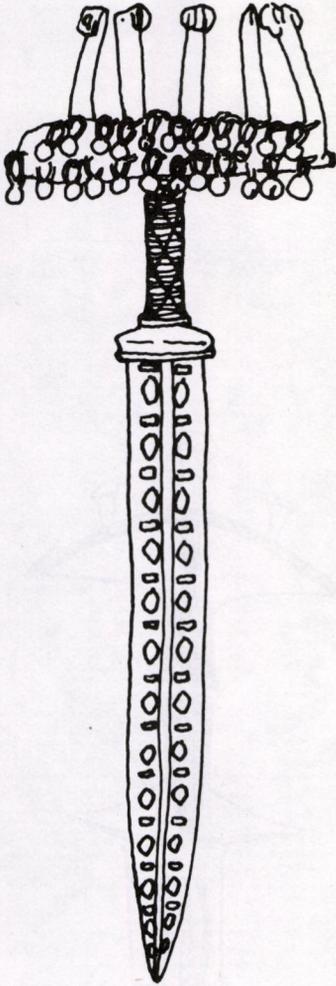


26  
 Dagger; Vere, Nigeria;  
 l. = 37 cm; (after  
 Christie's 1.12. 1982,  
 lot 181).

27  
Dagger with a hilt;  
Adamawa, Nigeria,  
before 1922; l. = 65 cm;  
MfV Berlin; (after  
Haberlandt 1922,  
Abb. 203).

28  
Dagger with a hilt;  
Vere, Nigeria;  
l. = 39,5 cm; (after  
Christie's 1.12.1982,  
lot. 180).





29  
Sacred knife of the  
Kimbi; Jukun-Hwaye,  
Nigeria; (after Meek  
1931b, Pl. XIII).



30  
Bell; Tikar, Cameroon,  
before 1914; Mannheim  
M.; (after Thorbecke  
1919, Taf. 21/13).

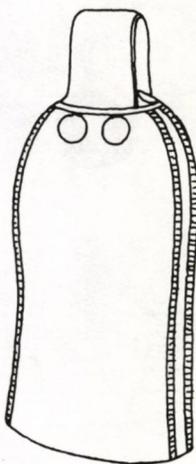


31.  
Bell; Tikar, Cameroon,  
before 1914; Mannheim  
M.; (after Thorbecke  
1919, Taf. 20-III/3).

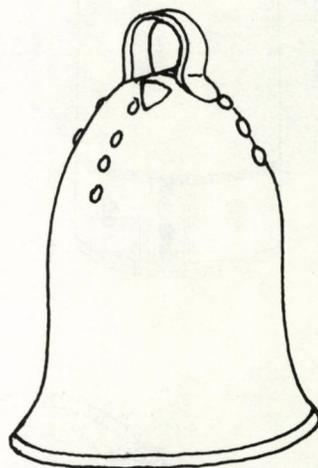
32  
 Bell; Vere, Nigeria,  
 bought in 1970s;  
 ht. = 8 cm, diam. =  
 6,2 cm; NpM cat. no.  
 60.056.



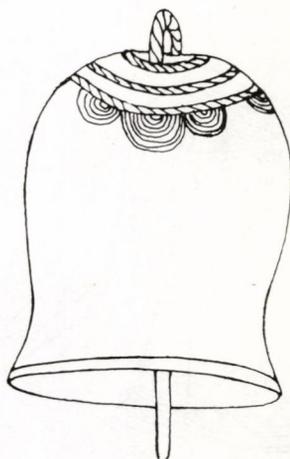
33  
 Bell; Tikar, Cameroon,  
 before 1914; Mannheim  
 M.; (after Thorbecke  
 1919, Taf. 20-II/3).

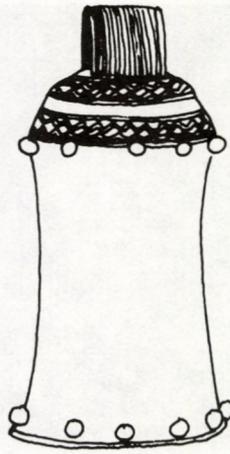


34  
 Bell; Tikar, Cameroon,  
 before 1914; Mannheim  
 M.; (after Thorbecke  
 1919, Taf. 20-III/1).



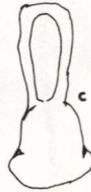
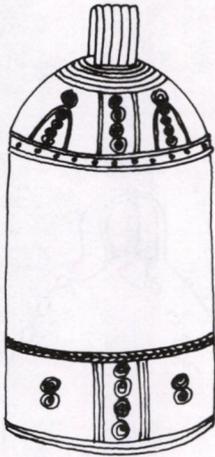
35  
 Bell, called "pollonge";  
 Duru, Nigeria, collected  
 in 1909;  
 ht. = 9,2 cm; Dresden  
 M. cat. no. 24.337.





36  
Bell; Vere, Alantika  
Mts., Nigeria;  
ht. = 22,2 cm,  
diam. = 13,7 cm;  
Dresden M. cat. no.  
33.678.

37  
Bell; Tikar, Cameroon,  
before 1914; Mannheim  
M.; (after Thorbecke  
1919, Taf 21-II/2).



38  
Bell, called "nugbo";  
Wukari (?), Jukun-  
Abakweriga, Nigeria:  
ht. = 20 cm, l. = 9 cm;  
Lagos M. cat. no.  
LG 549.

40  
a - Crotal, Adamawa  
region, bought in 1970s,  
diam. = 1,5 cm,  
Private coll. Prague.  
b - Crotal, Adamawa  
region, bought in 1970s,  
ht. = 4,2 cm, Private  
coll. Prague.  
c - Crotal, Jukun,  
Nigeria, late 16th. cent.  
(?); (after Williams  
1974, fig. 78-79).



39  
Double gong, for  
dancing; Vere, Alantika  
Mts., Nigeria, bought  
1915; l. = 23,7 cm,  
diam. = 10,8 cm &  
16,3 cm; Dresden M.  
cat. no. 33.679.

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Olifants  
Drums  
Armchairs  
Headrests  
Hooks  
Inkpots  
Ornaments of horse harness  
Stirrups  
A head-pad  
Keys  
Amulets  
Cult objects  
Sculptures  
Masks  
Forehead ribbons



## OLIFANTS

An olifant ending in a figure on its tapered-off end is attested among the Bamum (245). By the position of the aperture on the cross side, it ranks among sub-Saharan wind instruments. The function of the olifant is not known and even the possibility of its being produced for tourists cannot be excluded.

Among the Pabir in the city of Biu, an olifant of the North African type (with the aperture at the end) has been preserved, the mouth-piece and lower end of which are made from cast brass parts decorated with ripples and double S-shaped lines. The olifant, two and a half metres in length, was used on festive occasions, also accompanying the ruler of Biu during a campaign. (246)

## DRUMS

There is only a single known example, a brass drum in the shape of an hour-glass, originated among the Tiv and now preserved in the Pitt-Rivers Museum. (247) No details are known about it, which also makes its geographic definition somewhat doubtful.

## ARMCHAIRS

A Bamum brass armchair (248) ranks among the modern product manufactured for tourists or curio collectors. The seat supported by caryatids and the figurally executed back point to the wooden armchairs serving the same purpose, which probably were used as models by the Bamum casters.

## HEADRESTS

The part of the present article describing the olifants made from non-ferrous metals has started the

survey of typological items which have been preserved in the field or in museums and private collections in a very limited number of pieces, and sometimes even in a single example. One of them is an object discovered in the Jukun area (249) and considered to be a headrest. Since it was found in the earth, we know nothing about its original function. The object was cast and decorated with rows of attached crotals. Fig. 41

## HOOKS

According to Rubin (250), the Vere used ceremonial hooks cast in brass. In the neighbouring tribes, the same purpose was served by iron hooks.

## INKPOTS

From the period of the Bamum ruler Njoya, an inkpot originally used by Njoya's scribes has been preserved in the Foubam Museum (251). Its shape is most probably derived from European glass ink-bottles. The inkpot is embellished with a three-dimensional geometric décor and an inscription in the Bamum script. Fig. 42

## ORNAMENTS OF HORSE HARNESS

Brass pendants of horse harness, provided with hanged-on little bells are kept in the set of regalia of the Pabir ruler in Mandaragara (?). (252)

## STIRRUPS

A pair of stirrups is deposited in the Dresden Museum (253); they originated among the Tikar, where they were acquired in 1906. In terms of shape, they follow the type of stirrups used in Central Sudan and the entire area of northern Nigeria.

## A HEAD-PAD

Besides pads or rings made from vegetable materials and necessary for carrying burdens and notably pots on the head, an only ceremonial example cast from brass has been preserved. This was made by the Bana (254) and is beautified with a plastic geometric décor. The pad may be dated to the 1960s or 1970s. Fig. 43

## KEYS

Ekejiuba (255) states that the smiths of the Abiriba city were making brass keys for the inhabitants of the city of Aro. A similar practice is not documented in any other part of the Ibo area.

## AMULETS

By their very nature, amulets complicate the typological classification, because they may be of any shape, due to their purely individualistic orientation at the person who wears them. Only three types of amulets made from non-ferrous metals have been recorded so far.

The first is a pendant with two eyes on the opposite ends, reminiscent of a banana in its shape. Pendants of this kind were worn around the neck by the women and girls of the Matakam and Podoko tribes. An identically shaped amulet used at initiations has been reported among the Eastern Margi. (256) Fig. 44

The second type reminding of a stylized miniature of fleece was used by the Margi and Fali. Among the latter, its purpose was to protect the wearer against an attack of witches. (257) Fig. 45

The third type of amulets, in the form of an oblong pendant provided

with two eyes, is attested among the Vere. (258) fig. 46

A present-day production of brass amulets is mentioned by Rubin (259), in the Bura tribe, but their shape is not indicated.

## CULT OBJECTS

Similarly as amulets, also cult objects form a category which is hard to be classified typologically. Due to specific historical, cultural, social and other circumstances, any object may be turned into an object of cult. In our area, a number of anthropomorphic or zoomorphic statuettes served cult purposes, but these will be treated within the framework of the survey of figure sculpture. In this place, only three types of cult objects are included: a) the "ofo" staffs of the Ibo, b) the Calabar pendants, and c) diadems or crowns of political dignitaries. I have not succeeded in finding any further types of cult objects.

In the family life of the Ibo, an important role is played by the ancestor cult, one of whose manifestations are the so-called "ofo" staffs symbolizing the connection between the living representative of the family and the ancestors. These "ofo" staffs are used not only in the cult but also at courts of law and in the social life. In the most original form, the cult was served by a twig of the tree bearing the same name (probably *Detarium senegalense*), but also imitations of these twigs made from other materials may be seen on family altars; the brass "ofo" is one of them. Some of the brass casts are reminiscent of stylized human heads rather than twigs. They are known from the Forcados river basin and, besides the Ibo, also among the Ijaw, Urhobo, Isoko and from the

Cross River basin. (260) The occurrence of the brass "ofo" in the very territory of the Ibo is not specified. Eli Bentor (261) suggests the possibility that the area of distribution seems to correspond to the area in which itinerant Awka smiths were active. These Ibo craftsmen had a monopoly in the supply of ritual objects to Nri priests. Besides brass "ofo", he has also reproduced one made from iron. Fig. 47

One of the local and historically unique and specific cult objects may be considered also a lunette-shaped pendant (?) portraying in low relief three little figures and two coiled snakes placed on both sides. The object is preserved in the Ka village of the Calabar region and is connected with the cult of the hero Kenin Ala (262). Although the motif of three figures standing in a row is reminiscent of Benin brass plaques with the same theme (three courtiers, or the ruler and two companions, etc.), this particular piece was probably manufactured in the Calabar area. This is testified to by the motif of coiled snakes, also known from the Calabar cult ceramics. (263)

The third type of cult objects is represented by diadems or crowns of chiefs and rulers, i.e. political dignitaries. In a broader context, all regalia may be ranked here, but other types of them have already been mentioned along with those types of objects, to which they belong both in terms of shape and the primary function (the ritual function being often secondary).

Diadems and crowns are especially known from the area of the Jukun as well as some of their neighbours. The crowns have the shape of truncated cones, are made in the technique of

hollow-casting with openwork surface and are decorated with rows of hanged-on little bells. (264) In his monograph, Rubin mentions at least four specimens. One crown was among the regalia of the Abakwariga chief, another being preserved in the Gaiama village, where it was connected with the ancestor cult. The third was found among the Jukun-Gwona, considered to have been a crown or diadem of early chiefs of the Gwona, and the fourth was discovered in the Goemain tribe which has been strongly influenced by the Jukun culture. The local crown was used at the accession of a chief. Fig. 48

## SCULPTURES

The extant sources indicate that there were at least five territories in our area, in which sculptures were made from non-ferrous metals; all of them may be called "historical". Nowadays the situation is rather confusing, since in the last forty years, due to the demand of tourists and collectors of tribal art, workshops have been reopened even in such places where no sculpture had been produced during long decades. This is true, for example, of the modern production by the Tikar and Kiridi. Those five „historical“ territories producing sculpture include the areas of the Tiv, Jukun, Vere, the Grassland (especially the Bamum and Bagan) and the Cross River basin.

Among the sculptures of the Tiv with an original cult function, we may class those pieces which stylistically follow the ceramic "poor heads" or the ceramic anthropomorphic statuettes. The sculptures are not connected with the "imborivungu" complex (see below), originally perhaps serving

votive purposes. One specimen was acquired in the vicinity of Jalingo and another in the city of Katsina Ala. (265) Fig. 49

The second group of traditional Tiv brass statuettes is formed by anthropomorphic voice-disguisers called "imborivungu", also defined as owl-pipes. They were used by the members of a Tiv secret society. (266) Anthropomorphic voice-disguisers were notably made from bones, but also brass variants are known, characterized by a cylindrical body corresponding to the shape of a bone, shortened miniature limbs and tiny heads. Figs. 50 & 51

Magic purposes are said to have been served by miniature brass figures of horses, on whom the magicians were believed by the Tiv to be able to fly. (267)

The other sculptures of the Tiv are results of a modern casting production oriented at the demand of the market. Figures of everyday life, such as standing men and women, riders on horseback, women carrying children in their arms, birds sitting on tripods and modern variants of buzzers sharing the spirit of everyday-life figures started to be manufactured in the 1920s, this production continuing till today. Many of these modern figures are kept in British museums which acquired them in the 1920s and 1930s. Typical of these figures are "thread-like" and somewhat shortened limbs; some of them are even painted (268). As testified to by museum records, these modern Tiv statuettes were acquired in the vicinity of the city of Wukari, i. e. in the territory of the Jukun where the market seems to have been good (269), in the neighbourhood of Abishi (270) and

in the area of the Mbaliav, Mbativ and Mbaliso clans (271). Figs. 52–57

An interesting pair is formed by two figures defined as Vere and offered for sale at the Christie's auction hall. (272) As far as the style in which the head is modelled is concerned, they are strongly reminiscent of the ceramic "atsuku head" of the Tiv, so that the question arises whether they are not of other provenance. (273) Fig. 58

Unclear is the function and origin of three zoomorphic and strongly stylized sculptures which were discovered during digging in the vicinity of the city of Wukari. All of them have cask-shaped bodies and are usually ascribed to Jukun casters; one of the sculptures has, e.g., the openwork surface identical with that known from Jukun crowns. Rubin (274) compares them to the sculptures manufactured in the Cross River basin, especially a sculpture of the hippopotamus (see below). Fig. 59

The Vere were the makers of a standing figure wearing an apron, with ears sticking out and arms decorated with crotals. (275) Fig. 60 The figure is unusually high – 43,5 cm – and stylistically unique; we cannot exclude the possibility that this is a modern cast resulting from the heightened interest of tourists in brass sculpture. From the same Vere, miniature chameleons, hares etc. are known among their modern products made for sale. Fig. 61

At the time of the arrival of the Europeans into the Grassland area, only two casting centres, those of the Bamum and the Bagam, were manufacturing animal and human figures. The same tribes are the only two, from whom we have the oldest testimonies

to the Grassland production of figures.

In the older casting production of the Bagam, animal figures seem to have predominated, viz. those of elephants, chameleons, birds, frogs, and buffalo heads. (276) Statuettes with human themes were rare in the older Bagam castings. (277)

On the other hand, in the older (i.e. pre-1914) as well as more recent production of the Bamum casters, human figures and themes from everyday life predominate. Known are riders on horse-back (278) datable to the time before 1936, and scenes from the court, domestic and village life. (279) There are also animal figures in the new Bamum production, of course, entire villages full of figures, and even Christian themes have appeared, for example the motif of the crucifixion. (280) Thanks to the research made by P. Gebauer we also know the names of some modern casters. (280A) Fig. 62

After 1945 casts made in reopened workshops, e.g. among the Bamileke and Tikar, started to appear, too. However, in their way of modelling and general execution, they do not conceal efforts to stress exoticism. This has resulted in new creations freely inspired by the production originated before the Second World War. (281) A special group, probably related to the casting of the Bagam, is represented by a set of little buffalo heads, acquired among the Bangola. (282)

The last and so far least lucid group is formed by the sculptures ascribed to the Ibo area and the Cross River basin. It has not yet been made clear whether they were produced here, although they do serve ritual purposes in this region. They are corresponded

to by some figures discovered in the Niger river delta and supposed to be part of Lower Niger culture. This set includes, e.g., hippopotamus' figure probably originated in the Cross River area (283), an animal skull, a ram's head and a head of an unidentifiable animal (284). All of these sculptures have a common plastic décor covering the surface. Fig. 63

In the Cross River group, there is also a figure of a cephalopod (285) with a wide-opened mouth and big eyes, the body of which is beautified with a three-dimensional décor of predominating wavy lines. Also a quadruped with a human (?) head and a standing human figure with a high ridge on the top of the head, the whole body of which is decorated with a plastic décor of spirals, were acquired at the Cross River. (286) Both of these sculptures stand very close to the abovementioned hippopotamus' figure which was obtained shortly before the Second World War. (287) Fig. 64-66

An anthropomorphic and strongly stylized figure with outstretched arms and schematically indicated facial features still resists classification. Nicklin (288) ascribes it in a general way to the Cross River and Benue valley area, pointing out its similarity with the brass "imborivungu". I think, however, that the figure has nothing in common, either in décor or shape, with the Tiv voice-disguisers. Fig. 67

Many more surprises may be still expected in the Cross River basin. Thus Nicklin (289) published a photograph of a sanctuary from Obuba, in which indistinct anthropomorphic statuettes may be seen; due to their indistinctiveness they cannot be classified. Figs. 68-69

All of the mentioned sculptures from the Cross River basin are obviously different from those made in the "beautiful style" of the Lower Niger, typical of which are the figure of a hunter with an antelope, the figure provided with a sheetfish head, human heads or the head of a ram. (290) The explanation of this "beautiful style" of the Lower Niger is looked for in its relation to Benin or the Joruba or Nupe centres, thus being beyond the scope of the present paper.

Lastly we must mention records of sculptures whose form is not known. Ekejiuba (291) mentions the existence of two brass figures, one of a leopard and the other of a crocodile, among the cult objects associated with the shrine of the head of the Aro heroes and his ancestors. The Ibo (292) were the markers of two human figures of purely decorative purpose. Among the Yungur, brass figures served healing purposes. Brass puppets called "nze" were used by the Gudu and Mboi as toys of young girls. All of these three lastmentioned sculptures were approximately of the same height, around 10 cm. (293)

## MASKS

As a type, masks are in the overwhelming majority of cases connected with the arrival of the Europeans into the area. We may say that since almost seventy or eighty years, they have been cast especially for the market, notably the European one. Thus Geary (293A) published a photograph from 1912 with a group of men with a brass mask cast as early tourist art. In the past the demand for brass masks was strongly influenced by colonial exhibitions. Nevertheless pieces of high artistic value may be found among these products.

The first group is represented by Grassland masks based on the more or less uniform local style. They are known among the Bamum, where the main centre of their manufacture was and still is situated, among the Wum and Bamende. Gebauer reproduced a couple of miniaturized variants of these face masks. The miniatures were probably meant for tourists. (294) Figs. 70-71

Predecessors of the Grassland metal masks may have been very rare wooden masks, the surface of which is covered with thin copper sheet. One of these pieces is part of the collection of the Tikar-Bafut ruler (295), another was used by the Bangwa (296), albeit made in the Foubam city in the territory of the Bamum.

A modern product using the traditional plastic décor of spirals on a stylistically indistinct face mask with lunette-shaped eyeslits is the piece reproduced in African Arts (297). The mask was probably cast in the Benue river basin, perhaps in the Tiv territory. (298)

Only among the Igbira, brass extensions of masks seem to have served cult purposes of the society and not the tourist market. (299) The extensions have the form of chameleons, scorpions and birds. They were head pieces sewn to the hood of the costume for masquerade Eku Ogigba. These performances in masks, organized but sporadically, apparently used to come out of the funeral celebrations of prominent persons.

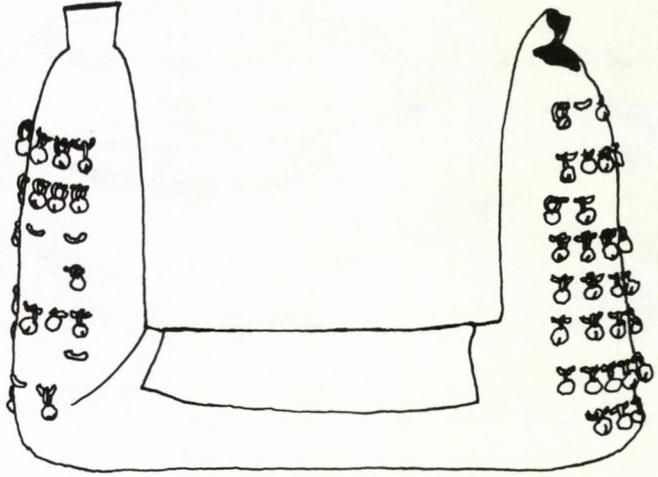
## FOREHEAD RIBBONS

Apart from the mentioned ceremonial and cult objects, the last large group of brass casts is formed by ornaments of various kind.

Ankermann (300) states that during his visit to the Bagam, he saw chief's wives wearing a ribbon decorated with a brass disc in the centre on their forehead. This fashion noted in 1907-1909 was never mentioned later on.

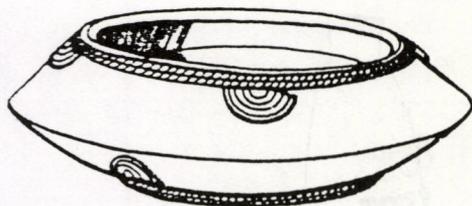


41  
Head-rest (?); Jukun,  
Nigeria, late 16th  
century (?); (after  
Williams 1974, fig.  
78-79).

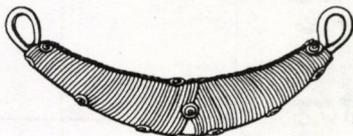


42  
Inkpot, called „Neshu  
nkeyem“ (word from  
Njoya’s secret language);  
Foumbam, Bamum,  
Cameroon, before 1933;  
ht. = 15 cm, diam. =  
9 cm; Foumbam Palace  
M.; (after Geary 1983a,  
fig. 149).

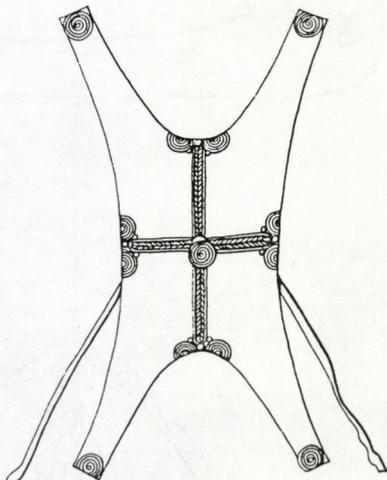




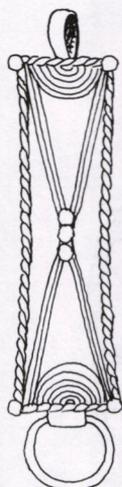
43  
Head-pad; Bana,  
Nigeria; Frobenius  
Inst. Frankfurt a M.  
cat. no, Af 1808; (after  
Wente-Lukas 1977,  
Abb. 28).



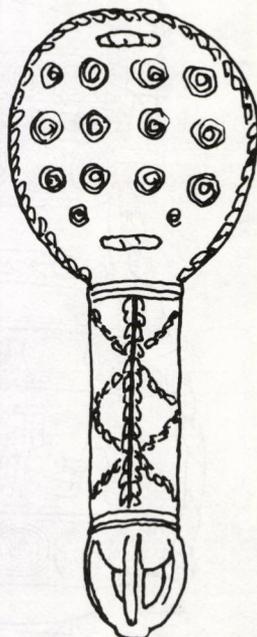
44  
Amulet; Matakam and  
Podoko, Nigeria;  
l. = 23 cm, diam. = 3cm;  
(after Wente-Lukas  
1977, Abb. 373).



45  
Amulet; Margi, Nigeria;  
l. = 28,5 cm,  
w. = 13,8 cm; MfV  
Berlin cat. no. III C  
20504; (after  
Wente-Lukas 1977,  
Abb. 374).



46  
Amulet, called "leia";  
Vere (?), Nigeria, col-  
lected 1909; l. = 12 cm;  
Dresden M. cat. no.  
24.235.



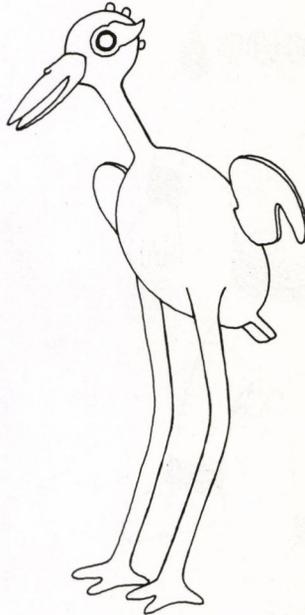
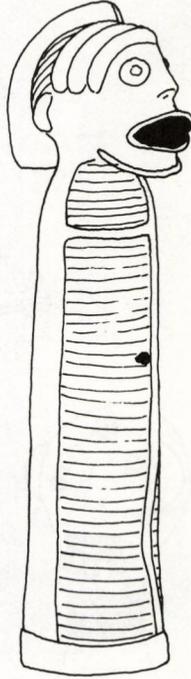
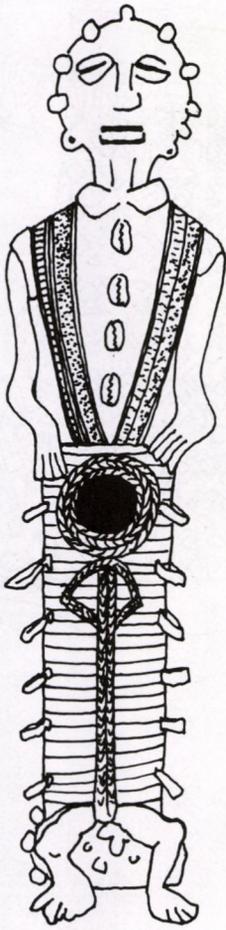
47  
Ritual object, called  
"foto"; Mbembe or Cross  
River basin, Nigeria;  
l. = 19 cm; (after Galle-  
rie Ketterer 26. Auktion,  
lot. 315).

48  
Crown (?); Jukun, Nigeria; ht. = 18,5 cm; Lagos M. cat. no. 54.L.1; (after Rubin 1973, Pl. XII).



49  
Figure; Katsina-Ala, Tiv, Nigeria; ht. = 30,5 cm; coll. Maurice Bonnefoy, Geneva; (after Leuzinger 1972, N 19).





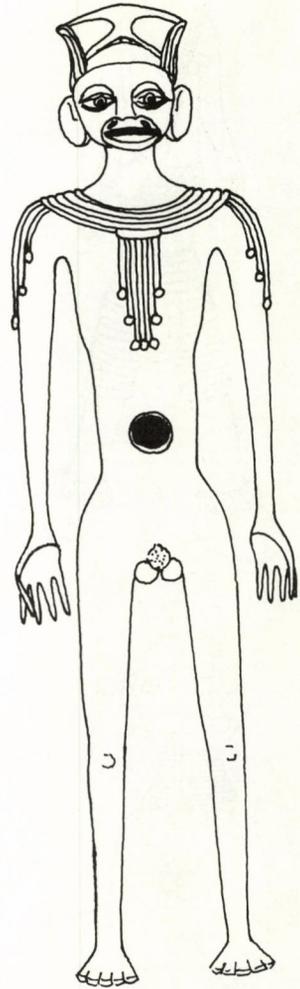
50  
Anthropomorphic voice-  
disguiser, called "imbori-  
vungu"; Tiv, Nigeria;  
Pitt-Rivers M.; 1. = 22,5  
cm; (after Balfour 1951,  
fig. 21).

51  
Anthropomorphic voice-  
disguiser (?) or staff  
finial; Tiv, Nigeria; ht. =  
14,9 cm; private coll.;  
(after Rubin 1983, H3)

52  
Bird; Tiv, Nigeria; Pitt-  
Rivers M. cat. no. IX. 62  
(after drawing by  
author).

53

Rider on a horseback;  
Tiv, Nigeria; ht. = 23,5  
cm; coll. De Havenon,  
New York; (after African  
Arts, Summer 1973,89).



55

Whistle figure (?); Tiv  
(?), Nigeria; coll. Marvin  
Rosenhek, Montreal;  
(after African Arts,  
January 1976, 70).

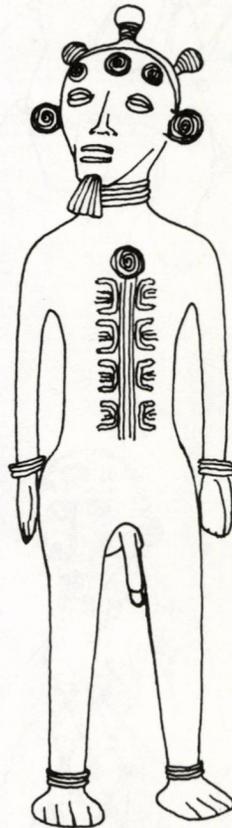


54

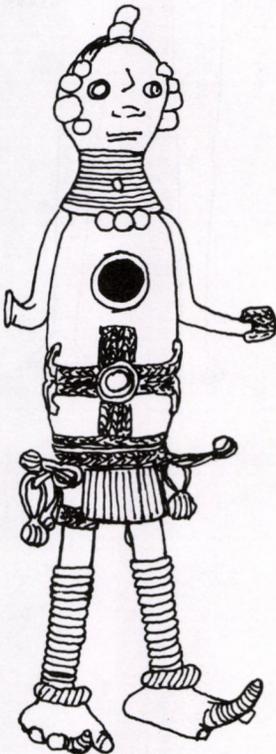
Whistle figure; Tiv or  
Vere, Nigeria; ht. = 30,5  
cm; AAM Washington-  
Loan?; (after Cook  
1973, 20).



56  
Figurine; Tiv, Nigeria;  
(after Williams 1974,  
fig. 68).



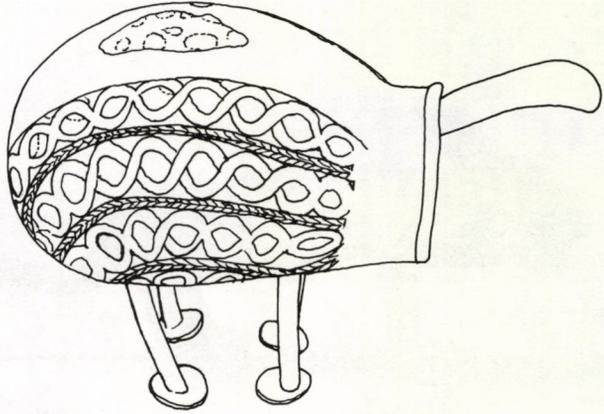
58  
Figurine; Vere, Nigeria;  
ht. = 30 cm; (after  
Christie's 24. 7. 1979,  
lot 182).



57  
Figurine; Tiv, Nigeria;  
(after Williams 1974, fig.  
69).

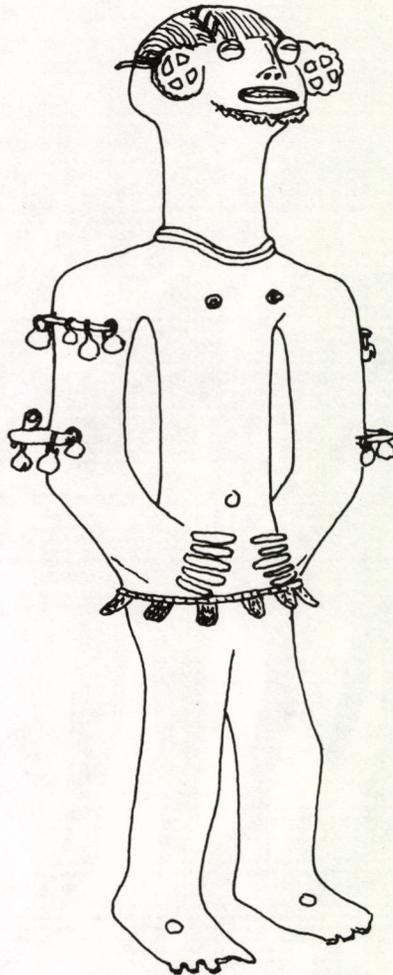
59

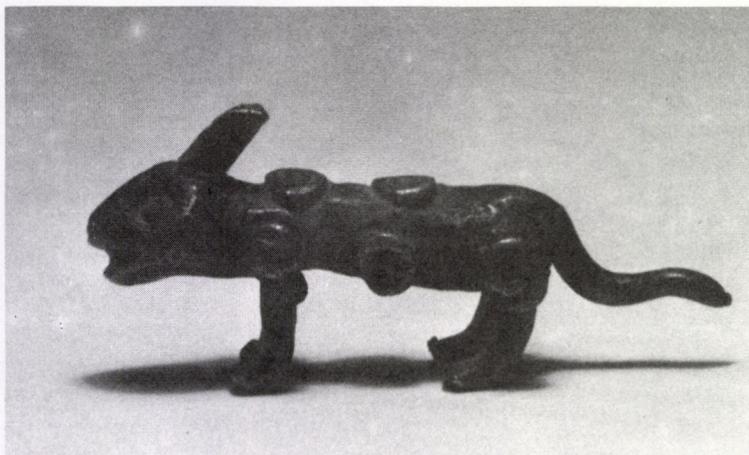
Zoomorphic figure;  
discovered near the road  
from Wukari to Bantaji,  
Jukun area, Nigeria; l. =  
14,4 cm; Lagos M. cat.  
no. 65.L.5; (after Rubin  
1973, Pl. XXIIb).



60

Figure; Vere (?), Nige-  
ria; ht. = 43,5 cm; priva-  
te coll.; (after Rubin  
1983, H5).



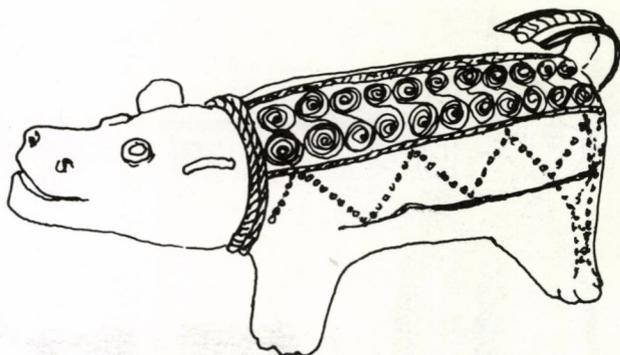


61  
Chameleon or hare;  
Vere, Nigeria, bought in  
1973 at Yola; l. = 5,7  
cm; ht. = 2,5 cm; private  
coll. Prague.



62  
Rider on a horseback;  
Bamum, Cameroon, be-  
fore 1936; l. = 13,5 cm,  
ht. = 18,9 cm; NpM cat.  
no. 26.580.

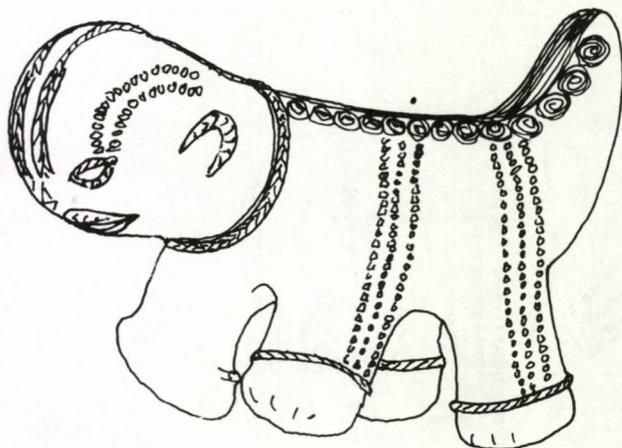
63  
Figure of hippopotamus;  
Enyong div., Nigeria;  
l. = 21,6 cm; Lagos. M.;  
(after Willet 1971, fig.  
52).



64  
Anthropomorphic figure;  
Calabar region or Cross  
River basin, Nigeria;  
ht. = 20 cm; private  
coll.; (after Brincard  
1983, H 21).

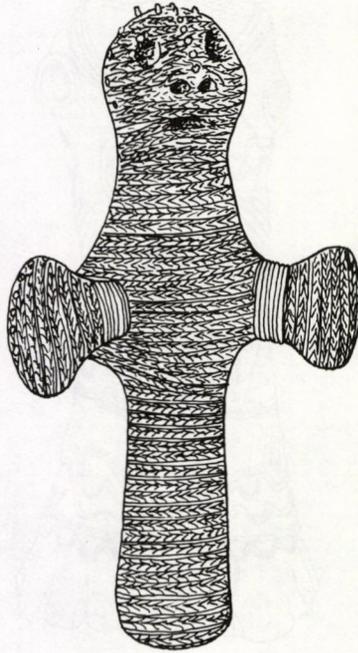


65  
Quadruped; Cross River  
basin, Nigeria; l. = 23  
cm; Brooklyn M. cat. no.  
76.20.6; (after Brincard  
1983, H 18).

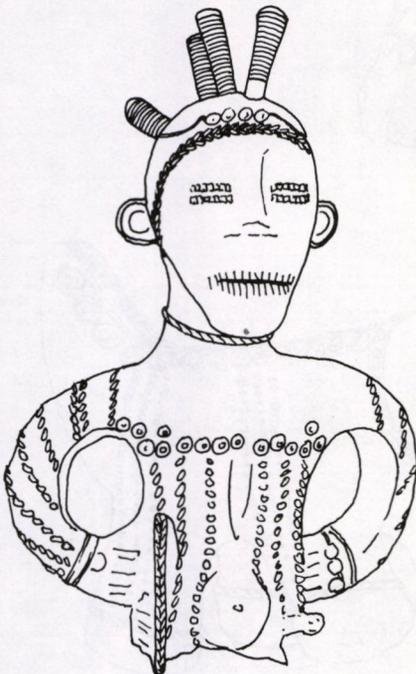




66  
 Anthropomorphic figure; Middle Cross River, Nigeria; ht. = 25,5 cm; Barbier-Müller M., Geneva, cat. no. 1015/23; (after Brincard 1983, H19).



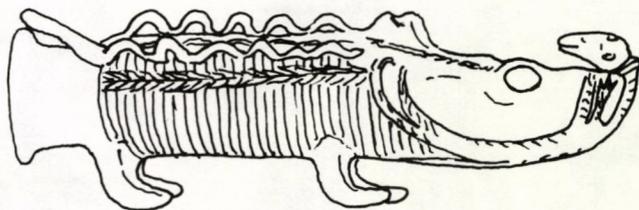
67  
 Stylized anthropomorphic figure; Cross River or Benue basin, Nigeria; ht. = 31 cm; coll. Baudoine de Grunne; (after Brincard 1983, H22).



68  
 Fragment of anthropomorphic figure; Cross River or Benue basin, Nigeria; ht. = 20 cm; Merton D. Simpson Gallery; (after Brincard 1983, H20).

69

Zoomorphic ceremonial  
object, "ofo" (?);  
Western Ibo, Nigeria,  
coll. George Ortiz,  
Geneva; l. = 20,6 cm;  
(after Leuzinger 1971,  
M 24).



70

Face mask — souvenir;  
Foumbam, Bamum,  
Cameroon, bought in  
1930s; ht. = 31,5 cm,  
w. = 24 cm; NpM cat.  
no. A 6.326.





71  
Face mask — souvenir;  
Foumbam, Bamum,  
Cameroon; ht. = 43,6  
cm, w. = 31,3 cm; NpM  
cat. no. 59.501.

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Hairpins  
Earrings  
Ear-plugs  
Lip-plugs  
Necklaces  
Bracelets and arm-rings  
Rings  
Ornaments worn on garments  
Anklets



## HAIRPINS

In our area, hairpins made from iron and vegetable materials are used, those cast in brass being relatively rare.

Frobenius (201), while visiting the Tiv before 1912, recorded two kinds of pins. The first was decorated at the end with an oblong or disc-shaped plaque mostly formed by a series of spiral-shaped discs, and the other with a bird figure (crane?). Figs. 72–74

The hairpins of the Margi and Duru (302), too, end in a geometrically treated button, but of a type different from that recorded by Frobenius among the Tiv. The same area is the home of a hairpin of the Hima. (303) Figs. 75 & 76

In 1908 Ankermann acquired a cap-pin decorated with three miniature human face masks, in the Bamum area. (304)

Lastly let us mention the city of Hanaruwa in the territory of the Muri, where Baikie saw brass pins in the hair, besides other brass objects (305), but he does not describe their shape.

## EARRINGS

It was Baikie, too (306), who saw brass earrings in the city of Hamaruwa, but once again nothing is known about their shape.

In the Field Museum in Chicago (307), crotal-shaped pendants are preserved, worn by the Fulbe women near Baruchi as earrings, five or six of them being stringed on each ring.

## EAR-PLUGS

A mushroom-shaped ear-plug is known to exist among the Bamum (308); its decorative part is openwork and moreover modelled into the form of a spider sitting amidst a ring of

cowrie shells. The peg may be dated before 1914. Identical pieces are also known from the Foubam Museum, again with the motif of a spider. Geary (309) notes that they represent jewelry of Bamum women of the turn of the century. Fig. 77

## LIP-PLUGS

Lip-plugs were worn by women in Central Nigeria and the Mandara Hills. Most of them are made from non-metallic materials, metal lip-plugs being mostly made from iron, tin and aluminium. Brass plugs are relatively rare.

Wente-Lukas (310) enumerates four types of them:

- a) ornaments imitating the shape of nails and only known among the Lamang;
- b) ornaments in terms of shape reminiscent of a slightly curved tooth. The author recorded them among the Bana. In the past, also the Marghi may have used similar kind of decoration; Barth (311) recorded an identically looking lip-peg in the portrait of a woman.
- c) ornaments reminding of little hooks, known among the Bana and Kapsiki;
- d) rounded pegs of the Daba tribe.

In the case of all of these types, Wente-Lukas states that their use depends on the fashion prevailing at the given moment.

## NECKLACES

The first type of necklaces is represented by the pieces set together from cylindrical or conic little bells (of the second type, see p. 36) cast in brass. Two samples of this kind are known, one found among the Duru and the other among the Chamba from Mangla

Gang. Both of them were acquired in 1908–1909. (312)

The second type is a necklace of the Kirdi or some tribe inhabiting the Mandara Hills, the data being not exact (313), composed of globular crotals (of the first type, see p. 38) and those slightly deformed into the shape of little cubes. The crotals were cast on a clay core, which is obvious in some places, due to defects of the casts.

The third type is a relatively massive pendant in the form of a double-conic pearl decorated with a row of half-pearl pattern on the cavity. Pendants of this type usually formed the centre of a necklace consisting of brass pearls (globular, cylindrical or egg-shaped). This was an ornament of the Vere women. The oldest extant piece was acquired in 1954. (313A). Fig. 78

Necklaces and pendants in the form of animal or human heads are only known from the Grassland area.

Brass rings locked with two little hooks and decorated with heads of bulls, as known among the Bamum and Bekom (314), or miniature human face masks of Bamum origin (315), form the fourth type of necklaces. Fig. 79. All of the mentioned pieces were acquired prior to 1914. According to Geary (316), necklaces decorated with human heads were worn by the Bamum ruler and perhaps also high ranking members of the palace organization during royal festivals. In his article, he reproduced all of the known seven pieces preserved in various world museums, dating them to the period of the rule of the Bamum king Nsangu, i.e. between 1869 and 1889. Gebauer (316A) notes that necklaces embellished with face masks were placed on the members

of the Great Council and visiting dignitaries as tokens of honorary membership in the Council. The Queen Mother of the late Sultan Njoya wore one on state occasions. According to him, necklaces decorated with buffalo heads were worn by the members of the nation's Great Council. The necklace was an insignium of rank — the members of the nation's Great Council sit on bleached buffalo skulls while in session.

Another type of necklace, also of the Bamum (317), is represented by flat unclosed rings adorned with wrought geometric décor and more or less stylized pairs of profiles of herons' heads. These necklaces are supposed to have belonged to the members of the Nsorro society; but Thorbecke (318) defines them as women's neck jewelry. Due to the difference of sixty years between these two data, the two alternatives perhaps do not exclude each other. Fig. 80

It was also the Bamum among whom a pendant in the form of a bird's head was acquired by Ankermann in 1908. (319); this was probably part of a necklace. Fig. 80A

Lastly we must mention the fact that brass necklaces were used not only by the Tiv (320), but also the Pabir and Bura (321), but their form is not known.

## BRACELETS AND ARM-RINGS

Out of all kinds of ornaments, bracelets and arm-rings form the most varied group which may be divided into more than ten types.

The first type is represented by unclosed cuff bracelets, the sides of which narrow down towards one edge and are slightly concave. They are usually adorned with a plastic décor of

fluting, semiarcs, lines and "cereal spikes". Generally they are ascribed to the inhabitants of Adamawa. (322) but even a more exact enumeration of the tribes in which they were collected or registered may be given. They were used by the Duru (323), Gude and Kirdi (324), Fali and Marghi (325). One piece was acquired among the Tula Baule, where it was worn by women at a dance, in 1970. (326) Another example was recorded among the Tangale in the city of Biliri, to be worn by men while dancing (327), and among the Vere (328) and Bana (329), where it was used by women. Figs. 81-84

A cuff-bracelet of this type was discovered during the archaeological excavations in Gwai and was ascribed to the Sao culture. This bracelet is ornamented with a plastic décor of wavy lines and braids. (330) The find indicates that the tradition of wearing bracelets of this type may be dated to at least the 16th century.

A variant of the same type is a Bana bracelet, cylindrical in shape and decorated by fluting. (331)

The second type of cuff-bracelets, also unclosed, is modelled into a convex ring in the middle, and sometimes decorated with a row of little bells placed on the perimeter of this ring. The surface may be adorned with a plastic décor of spirals, jags and lines or openwork surface. Such bracelets are known among the Vere and Bana. (332) Figs. 85 & 86

The third type of cuff-bracelets, cylindrical or slightly cylindrical in shape, was recorded among the Bamum (333) and the Jukun-Abakwariga (334). The Bamum bracelet is ornamented with a décor of plastic spindles, the Jukun variant has openwork surface with stylized figure motifs.

The fourth type is formed by broad unclosed rings with convex sides, known among the Ntundu (335) as well as from the graves of the Sao culture (336).

A closed variant of this type is known among the Bana (337).

The type No. 5 is represented by circular bracelets which are closed and on the surface decorated with a richly profiled or modelled décor composed of nets, pearls, semiarcs and rings. They were acquired among the Tikar (338) before 1914, and the Bana (339), where they were recorded in the 1960s probably in a more modern form.

The sixth type is probably derived from the horseshoe manillas so popular in the Guinea coast, and is therefore unclosed, with thickened and sometimes spaced-off ends. They are usually circular in diameter, but some variants are quadrangular or triangular. The surface may be adorned with a plastic décor. We know them from the Chamba (340), among whom they were worn by women during harvest ceremonies and also used as means of payment. They occur among the Bamum (341), Duru (342), Lamang and Bana (343) and in the area of the Mubi (344). Fig. 87

The seventh type is formed by low tape-shaped bracelets, either closed or unclosed, but decorated on the outer sides with a rich three-dimensional décor typical of our area: the motif of "cereal spikes", spirals and protrusions; also the motif of a row of cowrie shells appears, otherwise only known from the bracelets made in other parts of West Africa. We may include examples from the Bana, Guduf, Mora (345) and the Mandara Hills in general (346), the Gulak (347), Tangale (348) and Vere — the last one having been acquired in the

Ugi village (349). Figs. 88 & 89

The eighth type is represented by rounded bracelets of openwork surface, decorated in the Grassland geometrizing style known, for instance, from the ceramics; a zoomorphic motif is sometimes used in the decoration of the bracelet's sides. They belong to the Bali (350) and Tikar (351). Ankermann recorded them during his trip in 1907–1909 not only among the Bali, but also the Bamendin. (352) Figs. 90 & 91

The ninth type is called by Geary (353) "buffalo head". These are roll-shaped bracelets with a prominent protrusion in the centre of the bow. The sides are adorned with a plastic geometric décor or openwork surface. They are known among the Tikar and from Foubam, i.e. among the Bamum. Fig. 92

Similar to the preceding type is another one recorded among the Chamba and Tikar (354), but having no protrusion in the middle of the bow. The sides are again adorned with openwork surface. Three samples as parts of regalia have been preserved among the Chamba of Donga. These were worn by the newly elected chief on his wrists and ankles, so that they may be also included among anklets.

The eleventh type of bracelets are closed rings with three or four spherical bosses regularly dividing the perimeter of the bracelet. They are known among the Jukun, being part of the regalia of the chiefs of Kubo and Myita, then among the Vere (355), and are stated by Rubin (356) to have been also cast by the Bara in the hamlet of Kingin. Figs. 93–94

The twelfth type represent the bracelets which were not cast but made by "smithing" techniques, and also decorated in the same way, i.e. by hamme-

ring, twisting, turning into spirals, plaiting, etc. Their basic shape is derived from that of coiled wire, tape or triangular profile. Their use is attested among the Jukun (357), Tiv (358), Chamba (359), Bamum (360), Tikar (361), and Mandara (362). Fig. 95

Mention must be also made of three types of cast bracelets, by their shape suggesting either to have been used as war bracelets, or derived from the shape of iron or wooden war bracelets. Their existence is testified to by Wente-Lukas (363) among the Bana, although they are used by other tribes, too.

The first type probably imitates, in its décor and shape, the wooden war bracelets, the periphery of which is provided with nails driven in close to one another. The bracelets are rounded and either closed or unclosed. They are known among the Vere (364) and in the Mandara Hills (365). Fig. 96

The second type of the war bracelet – fourteenth in all – is characterized by spines placed less densely on the perimeter.

The last type of the bracelet is provided with only one longer spine reminiscent of an open bird's beak (from three to four centimetres long) and placed on the top of the bow. The bracelet is not closed. Rubin (366) acquired an identical piece among the Ga'anda in 1969 and he states that at that time, it was worn by men or women on the upper arm as an ornament. Fig. 97

A bracelet provided with a single bird-like spine was discovered in the Midigué necropolis, belonging to the set of Sao culture objects (367). Unlike the contemporary types, it is provided with halved spikes placed on the both ends of the open bracelet, but not on its top.

Lastly I shall mention reports on the use of bracelets, the pictures of which are not available. They are mentioned to exist among the Banjangi (368) and the Yakö, among whom the village priest-chiefs wore serpentine bronze bracelets on ceremonial occasions (369), and they are generally reported from the Cross River basin (370). They are also made by the Ibo smiths in the city of Abiriba; Ekejiuba (371) mentions a bracelet decorated with a plastically executed tortoise and another adorned with the motif of spirals. Bracelets made from non-ferrous metals are said to exist among the Basa (372), and Baikie's report (373) on bracelets from the city of Hamaruwa in the Muri area and the tribe of the Arago is dated 1854. We also know of their existence among the Kapsiki, Mofa and Mokolo in the 1960s. (374)

## RINGS

The first type belonging to the Bamum is formed by a ring provided with a small animal head or figure. One of such samples decorated with a buffalo head was acquired in 1908 and another with a figure of a frog, before 1914. (375) Fig. 98

Another type is the so-called snuff ring manufactured and used by the Tiv. Rings of this kind are formed by a little cylinder put on the finger; a figure-shaped or geometrically decorated neck runs upwards, ending with a flat area onto which tobacco may be poured. The rings served representational purposes, being worn as regalia by elders. The first rings seem to have appeared in European museums towards the 1920s and during the 1930s; series of them are to be found in British museums (376). At the same time first reports on them were published. (377) The flat area onto which tobacco was poured is usually suppor-

ted by a caryatid in the form of a human figure or a rider on horseback, or it is connected with the cylinder of the ring by means of a decoratively executed stalk. Only the set preserved in the Pitt-Rivers Museum is stated to have been cast by the members of the Kunav clan in Obudu. (378) Figs. 99–101

Rubin (379) states that during his research in 1960s, a couple of casters among the Jukun were making silver or brass rings according to Hausa models. In the collection of the UCLA Museum (380), some of such samples are preserved, among others also a ring with the decoration in the form of a stylized aeroplane; this is said to have been manufactured before the Second World War, though acquired only in 1965. These rings represent the third type.

We may suppose that rings, similarly as bracelets, were among the most current kinds of ornaments, but only little information on them is available. In the Ibo city of Aro, rings embellished with figures of animals and reptiles were worn (381). At the beginning of the present century (382), they belonged to the favoured jewels of both men and women; some women wore two or three brass rings in each finger of both hands. Rubin (383) mentions their contemporary production (in the sixties') in the territory of the Buro, in the hamlet of Kingin, south-east of Biu.

## ORNAMENTS WORN ON GARMENTS

Most of them are various pendants of women's loin-cloths, all of them originated in the Bauchi Plateau area and the Upper Benue region. The pendants are provided with an eye, a button-shaped protrusion, a ring or a little hook, so that they may be hanged on the waist. Some of these pendants are also known made from iron.

A flat pendant, hooked and adorned with a plastic décor, was worn by the women of the Bana. (384) Fig. 102

Another type is represented by slightly arching sticks, the lower end of which is modelled into a cylindrical button or an acorn. The Bana women used to wear them at a dance or while going to the market. (385) They are also known among the Vere and Kilba. (386)

Wente-Lukas (387) adds that according to the informants belonging to the Bana tribe, both of these types were meant to remind of phallus.

The third type of the pendant is egg-shaped, either straight or slightly curved, ending with a spiral or an eye. This was worn hanged on the girdle by girls among the Bana, Higi, Kilba, Sukur and Margi. (388) Although the specimen preserved in the Field Museum in Chicago (389) is only generally ascribed to the Adamawa area, a note is added that there were twenty-one of such pendants hanged on a loin-girdle. The girdles were worn at a dance or when marketing. Figs. 103 & 104

Also conic pendants are known among the Bana. (390)

The fifth type, again belonging to the Bana (391), is a ring provided with a decorative mushroom-shaped protrusion.

The sixth type of pendants is represented by little bells attached to various objects as ornaments (see crotals of the second type, p. 38). Wente-Lukas 392 recorded them among the Bana. (393)

The seventh type of "garments and their ornaments" may be seen in the women's brass cache-sexes. These are known among the Kapsiki (394), but their variants made from iron also occur among other tribes, e.g. the Kirdi (395). Fig. 105

A particular type is represented by brass pearls mentioned above, which were stringed or belted. They are known to exist among the Vere (396). Meek (377) states that girdles of this kind were made by the Bura and Pabir, the pearls reminding him of tin discs dug out on the Bauchi Plateau. Also the Gnari women (398) wore loin-girdles made from brass pearls by the casters of the Igbira. Dancing anklets were also made from pearls.

The last, i. e. the ninth type is represented by discs provided with a central phallic protrusion and worn by young boys, hanged on the loin-string. They have been found among the Bana. (399) Fig. 106

Among the Fulbe in Adamawa, a cap was observed, used during marriage ceremonies (400). Its shape is not known; but it may have been a remote echo of similar caps worn by the brides in the Maghrib area.

Parts of garments used to be decorated with coins, that is objects which had come to our area from outside. They were usually tied to the bottom end of fringes forming the skirt. They occur, e.g., on the skirts of the Lamang women and girls. In the recorded cases, 1/10 penny brass coins were used. (401)

#### ANKLETS

Among the Bana (402), we know a ring, the shape of which is derived from the anklets of North Nigerian, Hausa or North African origin. This is an anklet which is rounded, many-sided and at both ends decorated with many-faceted buttons. Wente-Lukas notes that similar anklets are cast from aluminium today.

Another type was recorded by Rubin (403) among the Jukun-Abakwariga.

This is of the shape of a truncated cone, with openwork-surface sides, and can be opened. Besides it is adorned with two rows of hanged-on little bells.

The other types were made in smiths' techniques rather than those of the casters.

Cylindrical rings provided with a broad ringlet in the middle of the side's height or without it and usually embellished with a wrought décor are known among the Ibo. They were worn by girls during wooing. (404) Figs. 107 & 108

A further type are anklets made from wire coiled into spirals. They are known among the Tiv (405) who wore them before the Second World War. But Laura and Paul Bohanan write that their use was a matter of fashion, out of which they had gone at the time of their research, i.e. after the Second World War, so that they might have been seen only on old women and little children. (406) Abraham (407) found several kinds of anklets among the Tiv. Rings made from wire coiled into spirals are also known in the Cross River basin. (408)

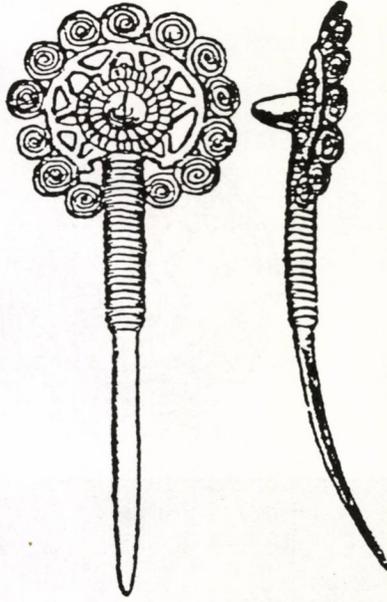
At a dance, the Gnari women (409) wore rings made from stringed brass pearls which were manufactured by the Igbira casters. In the Ibo area, in the vicinity of Enugu, anklets made from globular or cylindrical pearls (410) were used, acquired in the 1960s.

Rubin (411) mentions that the chiefs of the Chamba in Kashimbila and Rafim Kada preserve anklets with large bells in their treasuries and that these rings are reminiscent of those used in the Adamawa mountains. However, he does not describe their shapes.



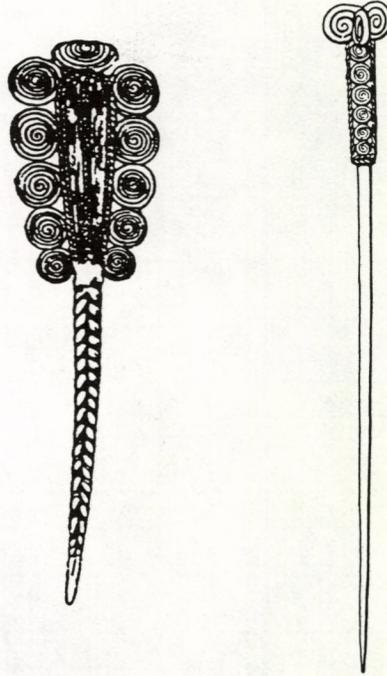
72

Hairpin; Tiv, Nigeria,  
before 1912; (after Fro-  
benius 1912, 637).



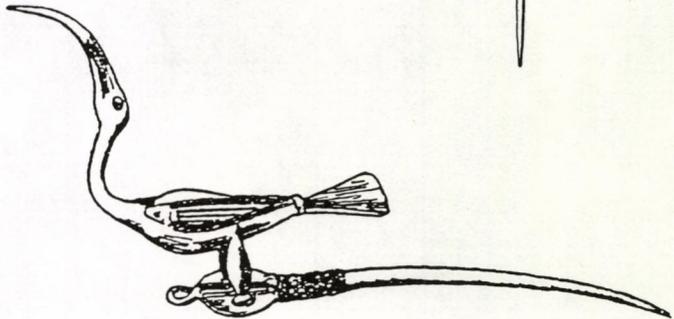
73

Hairpin; Tiv, Nigeria,  
before 1912; (ibid.).



75

Hairpin; Margi, Nigeria;  
l. = 29 cm; MfV Berlin  
cat. no. III C 26591;  
(after Wente-Lukas  
1977, Abb. 184).



74

Hairpin; Tiv, Nigeria,  
before 1912; (ibid.).



76

Hairpin; Duru, Nigeria;  
l. = 19,3 cm; MfV  
Berlin cat. no. III C  
22652; (after Wente-  
Lukas 1977, Abb. 185).

77

Earplug; Foumbam,  
Bamum, Cameroon,  
about 1900; diam. =  
5 cm; Foumbam Palace  
M.; (after Geary 1983a,  
fig. 101).

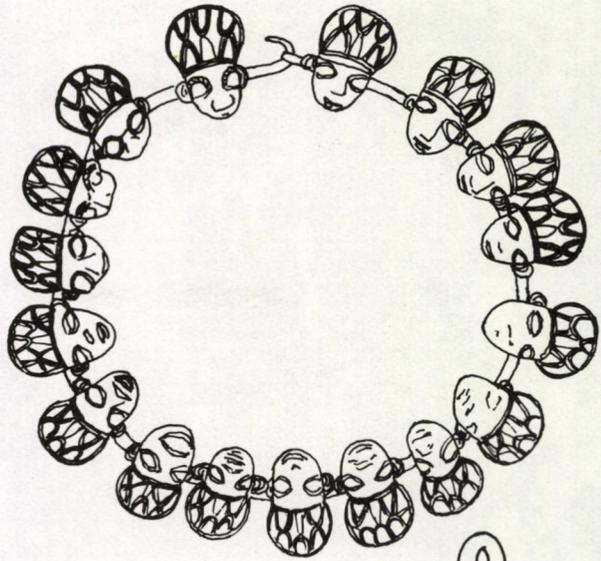


78

Necklace; Vere, Nigeria,  
bought in 1970s; l. =  
42,5 cm; NpM cat. no.  
21.195.

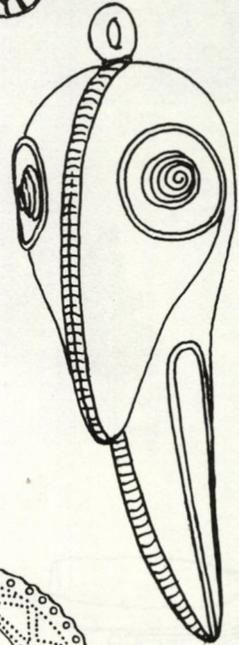
79

Neckring with 17 heads;  
Foumbam, Bamum,  
Cameroon, 19th century;  
diam. = 27,5 cm;  
Dresden M.; (after  
Arnold 1980, Abb. 31).



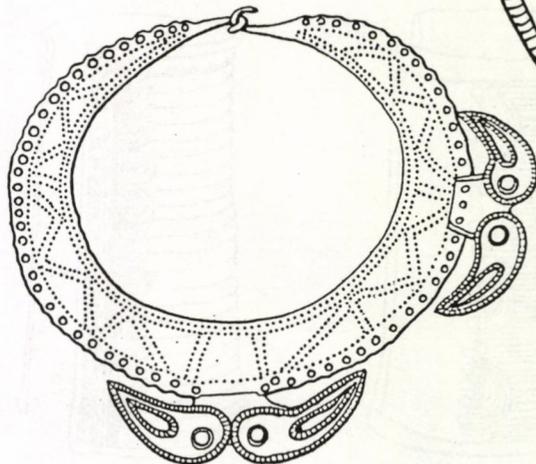
80A

Pendant; Bamum, Ca-  
meroon, acquired in  
1908; ht. = 13 cm, w. =  
4,5 cm; MfV Berlin cat.  
no. III C 25134; (after  
Sydow 1923, 123).



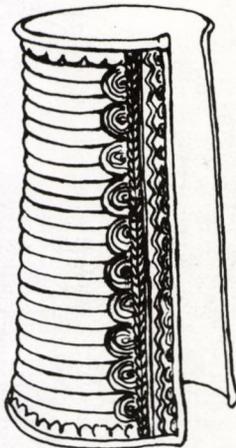
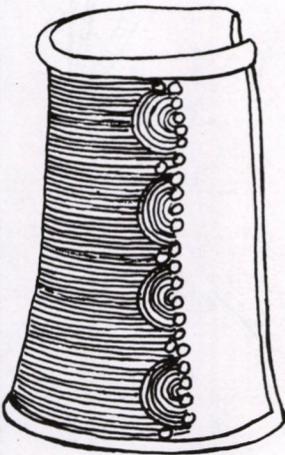
80

Neckring with double  
heron heads, called  
"mbangba"; Foumbam,  
Bamum, Cameroon,  
before 1914 (?); diam. =  
24 cm; Foumbam Palace  
Museum; (after Geary  
1983a, fig. 108).





81  
Bracelet; Mubi region,  
Nigeria, bought 1973;  
ht. = 15 cm; NpM cat.  
no. A 11.652.



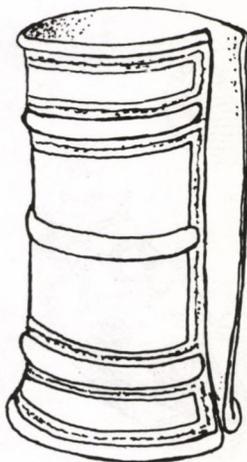
82  
Bracelet; Adamawa,  
Nigeria; ht. = 10,5 cm;  
MfV Berlin; (after  
Haberland 1922, Abb.  
204).

83  
Bracelet; Adamawa,  
Nigeria; ht. = 11,8 cm;  
MfV Berlin; (ibid.).

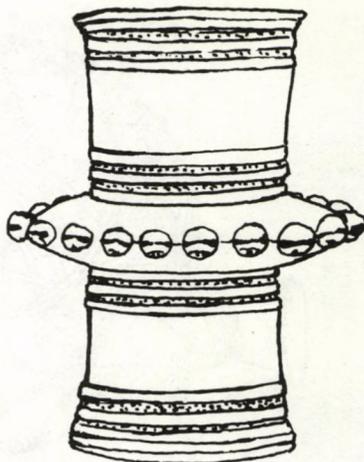
85  
 Bracelet; Vere (?), Nigeria, bought in 1970s; ht. = 11,2 cm, diam. = 8 cm; NpM cat. no. A 11.660.

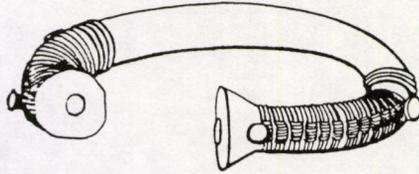


84  
 Bracelet; Adamawa, Nigeria; ht. = 7,8 cm; MfV Berlin; (ibid.).

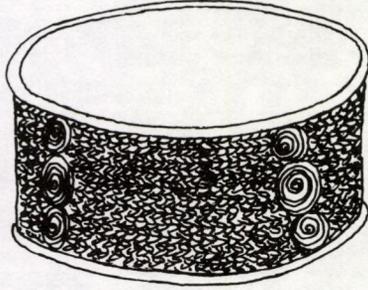


86  
 Bracelet, called "pongan"; Vere, Nigeria; ht. = 15 cm, diam. = 8 cm; Jos M. cat. no. 66j.1.592.

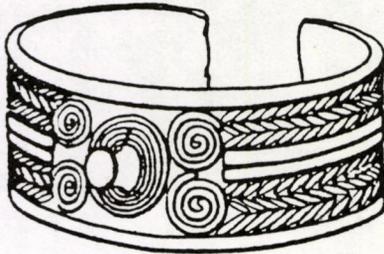




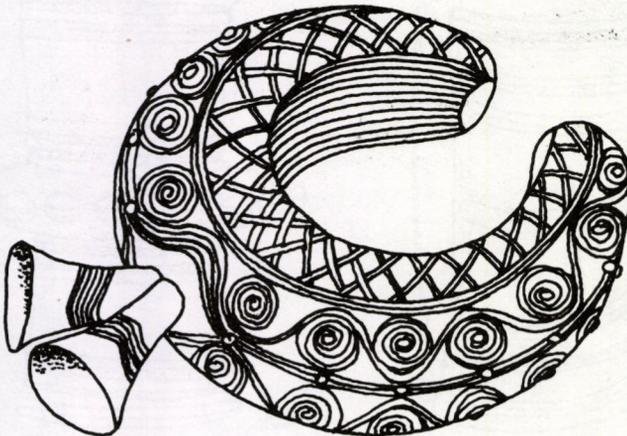
87  
Bracelet for women;  
Bana, Nigeria; Frobenius  
Inst. Frankfurt a. M. cat.  
no. Af 1913; (after  
Wente-Lukas 1977, Abb.  
218).



88  
Bracelet; Vere, Alantika  
Mts., Nigeria, bought  
1914; diam. = 8,5 cm,  
w. = 5,3 cm; Dresden M.  
cat. no. 33.647.

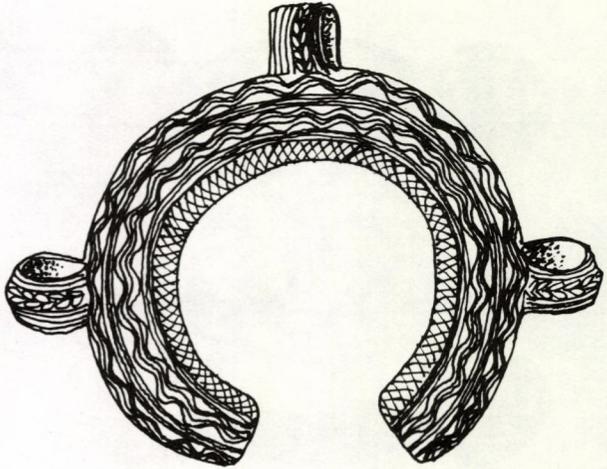


89  
Bracelet; Bana and  
Guduf, Nigeria; ht. = 2,2  
– 2,4 cm; Frobenius  
Inst. Frankfurt a.M. cat.  
no. Af 1898 or 1290;  
(after Wente-Lukas  
1977, Abb. 220).

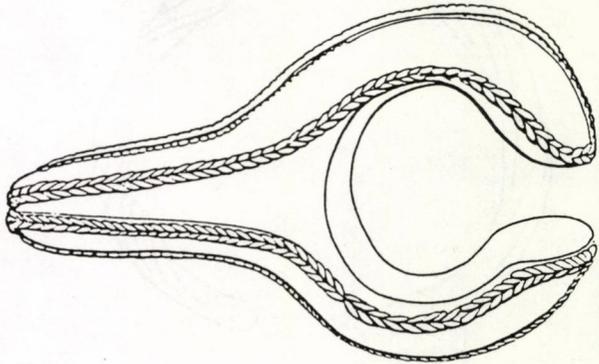


90  
Bracelet; Tikar, Came-  
roon, 19th century;  
Vienna M.

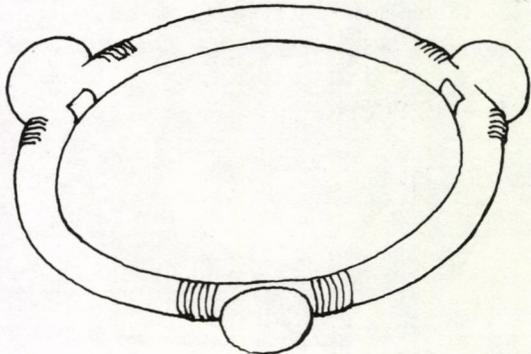
91  
Bracelet; Tikar or  
Bamum, Cameroon,  
collected before 1912;  
diam. = 9 cm; Dresden  
M. cat. no. 36. 703.

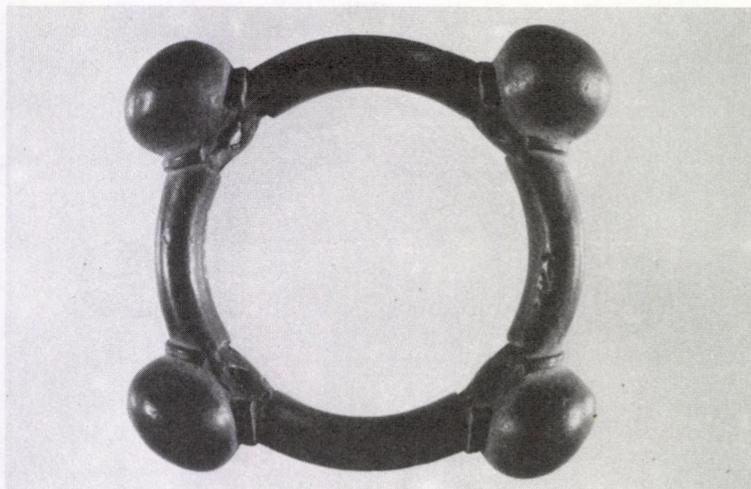


92  
Bracelet – stylized  
buffalo head; Foubam,  
Bamum, Nigeria, before  
1933; diam. = 19 cm;  
Foubam Palace  
Museum; (after Geary  
1983a, fig. 104).

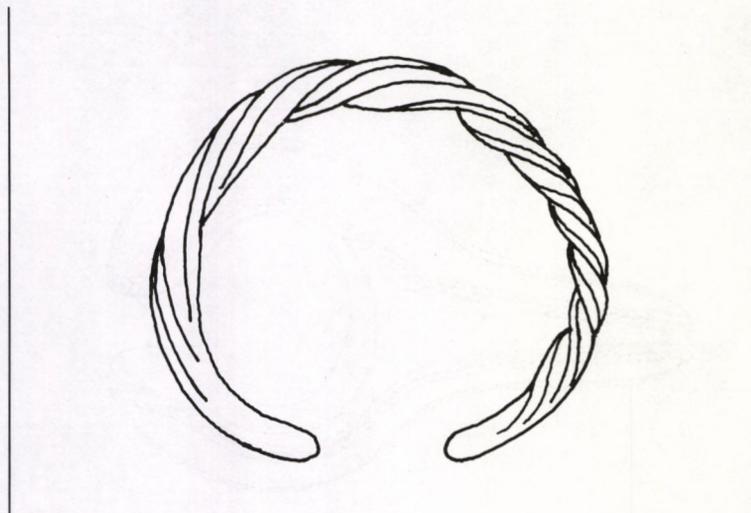


93  
Bracelet, called “wa-  
bemme”; Duru, Nigeria,  
collected 1909; diam. =  
28,5 cm; Dresden M. cat.  
no. 24.301.

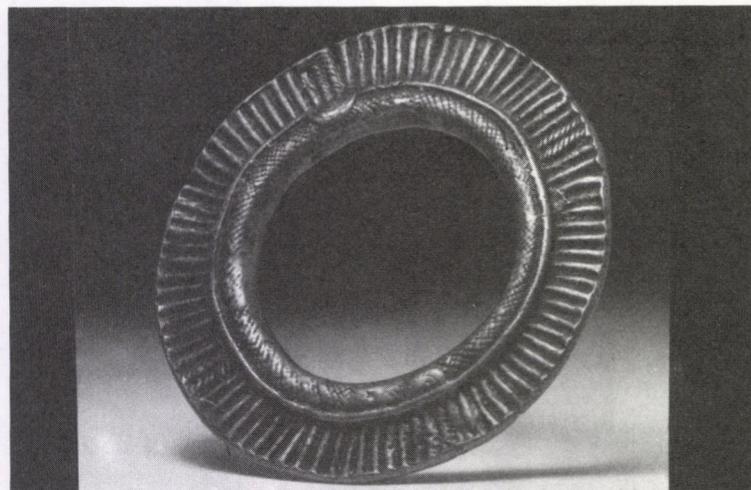




94  
Bracelet; Duru (?),  
Nigeria, bought in  
1970s; diam. = 10,3 cm;  
NpM cat. no. 21.223.



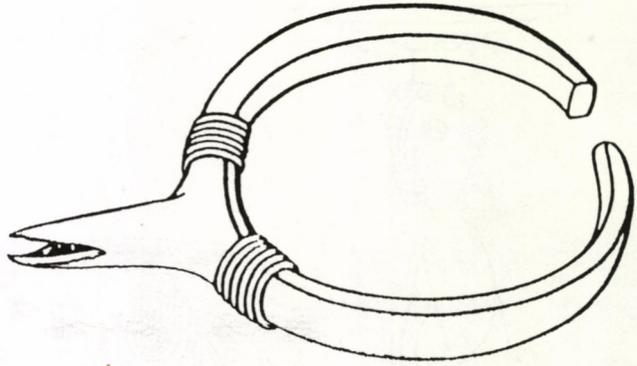
95  
Bracelet; Chamba of  
Gang Lameni, Nigeria,  
collected 1908; diam. =  
6 cm; Dresden M. cat.  
no. 24.085.



96  
War bracelet (?);  
Adamawa, Nigeria,  
bought 1973 in Jos;  
diam. = 10 cm; NpM cat.  
no. A 11.658.

97

War bracelet (?); Bana, Nigeria; Frobenius Inst. Frankfurt a.M. cat. no. Af 1878-9; (after Wente-Lukas 1977, Abb. 241).



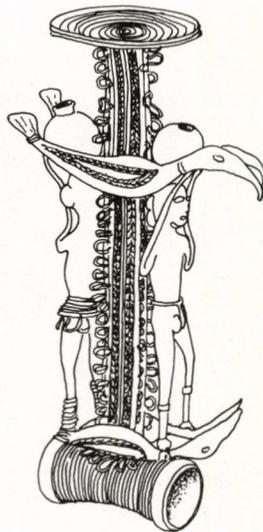
98

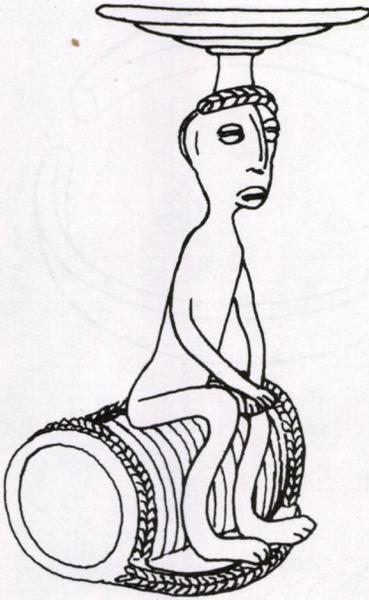
Ring with a buffalo head; Bamum, Cameroon, collected 1908; diam. = 3 cm; MfV Berlin cat. no. III C 25200; (after Krieger 1969, III, Abb. 100).



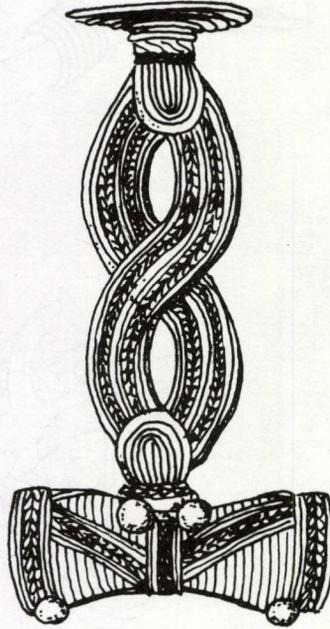
99

Snuff-ring; Tiv, Nigeria, early 19. century (?); ht. = 16 cm, M. of Man; (after Fagg-Plass 1964, fig. 131).

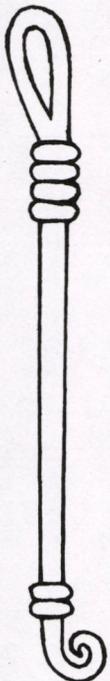




100  
Snuff-ring; Tiv,  
Nigeria; ht. = 8 cm;  
(after Christie's 24. 7.  
1979, lot 208).



101  
Snuff-ring; Tiv, Nigeria,  
collected 1950; ht. =  
14 cm; coll. H.D. Gunn,  
Penn., USA; (after Rubin  
1983, H2)

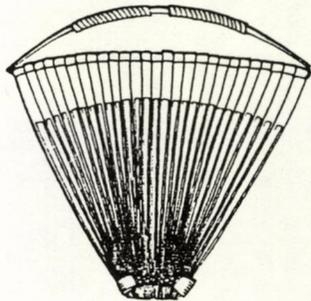
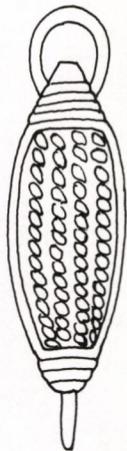


102  
Loin ornament; Ada-  
mawa, Nigeria, bought  
1968; l. = 4,3 cm,  
w. = 0,5 cm; Field M.  
cat. no. 221761.

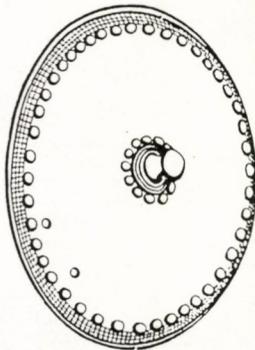


103  
Pendant, called "afa";  
Tiv, Nigeria, before  
1912; l. = 8,2 cm; MfV  
Hamburg cat. no.  
13.66.172 (Frobenius  
4017).

104  
Pendants; Kapsiki, Ni-  
geria; l. = 5,2 cm, w. =  
1,4 cm; Field M. cat. no.  
221693.



105  
Cache-sexe; Kapsiki,  
Nigeria; (after drawing  
by author).



106  
Ornament for young  
boys, called "bétkúmá";  
Bana, Nigeria; diam. =  
11 cm; Frobenius Inst.  
Frankfurt a.M. cat. no.  
Af 1872; (after Wente-  
Lukas 1977, Abb. 177).



107  
Anklets for girls, called  
"awbwa"; Ibo, Nigeria,  
1960s; diam. = 36 cm,  
ht. = 15,5 cm; NpM cat.  
no. A 6.264.



108  
Anklets for girls; Ibo (?),  
Nigeria, 1960s; ht. =  
13,8 cm, diam. = 11,3  
cm; NpM cat. no.  
A 3.829.





## CONCLUSIONS

If we are to sum up the data concerning the occurrence of certain types of objects, production techniques, use of materials and mutual cultural relations, albeit only in the field of metal-casting and metal-working, in order to define certain cultural-geographic areas and subareas, we must take into account the fact that we are dealing with coincidental groups of cultural phenomena which, though common to the entire area, are not — at least not all of them — shared by all of their components, i.e. tribes, local groups, etc. My starting point is that each of the phenomena under investigation must be shared at least by two groups or subgroups, in order to be “entitled” to be considered a “common” or “linking” phenomenon. This means that it should be included in the repertory of at least two subgroups or groups. Naturally this may eventually be the only phenomenon (object) “linking” the respective subgroup/group to the other units of the cultural-geographic area, as may be seen, for instance, from the lists on pp. 99–101.

The “common cultural phenomena”, i.e. the cultural phenomena occurring in the same subgroup/group and common to two or more components, may be found in various cultural structures (i.e. repertories) of these components. Their belonging to these structures may appear coincidental, but we can trace various historico-political, economic, religious and other reasons resulting in their linking up with this or that structure. However, cultural phenomena occur in definite configurations corresponding to the defined subareas and areas, the boundaries of which may be specified by a comparison of the frequency of the occurrence of the phenomena. “Within the bounda-

ries” of a subarea/area, common cultural phenomena occur to a higher degree (in larger numbers) than „outside the boundaries“.

The occurrence of common cultural phenomena of a given area/subarea also outside the boundaries automatically points to a geographic overlapping of some subareas or areas, or at least their components.

Lastly we must also take into account such cultural phenomena which are spread all over the area, being in fact common to all, or almost all, of them.

While studying phenomena of material culture, a problem is posed by the fact that, unlike social relations, they do not form nets and systems, but sets — numbers and structures which may be considered to be inventories of objects used or produced by individuals, groups, etc. Similarly as activities, also objects arise at a given moment and under the given circumstances, but they are enduring, being able to survive, and in fact surviving, the situations they arose (were made) for, thus often losing the “original” connection which may fall into oblivion, if not immediately recorded. In such a case, the object seems to be exceptional, a peculiarity of some later inventory which, in fact, it does not belong to, but which it was linked to by the field researcher. Besides, also the objects surviving in a secondary function within the system must be taken into account. These facts make the definition of the individual subareas/areas difficult. But let us turn our attention to the actual situation of metal-casting and metal-working in eastern and northeastern Nigeria.

When considering the region under study, we may see that this is divided into a few subareas, differentiated by both

- a) used/produced types of objects, and  
b) used techniques.

The first of such component subareas is the region of Iboland, along with all areas visited by itinerant Ibo smiths and casters; i.e. the territories of the Igala, Igbira, Nasarawa, Isoko, etc., as well as the region of the tribes inhabiting the Cross River basin.

We may meet here the same type of Ibo or so-called Igala bells, and also animal figures, especially known from the southern territory of the Ibo and the Cross River. An unambiguously differentiating phenomenon is the means of payment, called manillas, only occurring in this particular subarea. Common is also the use of latex as the material used at modelling, which is probably the cause of the absence of the technique of openwork-surface casting.

At the same time, this is an area where the brass-casting manufacture became extinct in the first half of the 20th century, only its oral tradition having survived till today. After the Second World War, as testified to by the reports of researchers (e.g. Neaher 1976a), casting of metal objects seems to be but incidental.

Formal characteristics common to the animal figures of the Ibo subarea are shared by zoomorphic vessels found in the territory of the Jukun. The fact that they were discovered without any documentation and cannot be dated, renders any other comparison than a formal one impossible.

Apart from the activities of the itinerant Ibo casters, the homogeneity of the Ibo-Cross River subarea seems to have been contributed to by long-standing commercial and cultural interrelations of the ethnics, as testified to by Oguagha in the case of the Ibo and Igala. (412)

As the second subarea, we may define the territories inhabited by the Jukun, Tiv, Chamba and their less numerous neighbours, i.e. the region situated on the both sides of the mid-Benue river basin.

This entire area used a characteristic type of the ceremonial axe provided with an anthropomorphic head. This was known by the Tiv, Jukun and Chamba, probably having originated among the Tiv. At the same time, this is an area of the occurrence of metal standards, ceremonial spears and tridents; these were cast in brass by the Jukun and made from iron by the Daka. (413) Moreover both latex and wax are used for making moulds for casting in the same region. As far as the date of the local manufacture is concerned, the Europeans have neither found nor recorded any standing casting production of objects mentioned above. Thus this manufacture must be supposed to have become extinct at least in the sixties' or seventies' of the 19th century.

This particular subarea is somewhat dubious, because its components (tribes) include in their repertoires also many cultural phenomena of the neighbouring subareas, notably those of Adamawa and the Grassland. But we must keep in mind that the route of the Jukun campaigns against the Hausa, and the other way about, ran towards the Adamawa mountains and further northwards. By the same route, the attacks of the Fulbe were coming from the north. Also a trade route ending in mid-northern Nigeria was directed here from eastern Sudan (Darfur). And lastly, along the river banks, paths (links) from the Jukun-Tiv-Chamba subarea ran to the Grassland and the Cross River. Historical relations between the Grassland and Adamawa,

on the one hand, and the Jukun-Tiv-Chamba area, on the other, may be attested at least since the 19th century. Thus the Grassland state of Kom maintained trade relations with the Jukun, exchanging cola-nuts and slaves for the Jukun blue-stenciled cloth, beads and salt. The smiths from the Kom state also worked in the territory of the Tiv, exchanging their iron hoes for cloth. (414) The Grassland ethnic group of the Bali-Nyonga, then, was in fact formed by a split-off Chamba group who penetrated into the Grassland at some time during the first half of the 19th century. (415) They are mentioned in the report by Clark from 1847 as already settled here. (416) In the 19th century, the area of the Grassland was also the goal of attacks of Fulbe military arrays from the Adamawa region, as testified to by the histories of the individual local states, e.g. of the Bamum.

These facts found their reflection in the structures of cultural phenomena, i.e. in the inventories of the individual tribes.

Thus among the Jukun, we may find objects of the Adamawa type, manufactured by the Vere, Margi, etc., e.g. swords or little bells. At the same time, objects from the Grassland may be seen in their inventory, e.g. bracelets with openwork surface. Among the Daka as well the Chamba, e.g. pipes made by the Vere are extant. (417) We must remember that the ethnic groups from Adamawa were tributaries to the Chamba rulers in the 19th century, which allows us to suppose that brass objects (e.g. swords) were part of the tributes.

Moreover the same group of specialists, i.e. the smiths of the Killa clan, worked both in the Chamba territory and that inhabited by the neighbouring

ethnic groups considered to belong to the grassland border area (e.g. the Bata, Mbula, Mambila). (418)

Another subarea is formed by the Adamawa territory proper, in the inventories of whose inhabitants we may find a number of objects shared by two or more ethnic elements. This is clearly testified to by the following survey:

- 1 The item of the inventory common to the item of the inventory of another tribe or tribal group (Further IIC...): Bata (sword I), Gude-Duru-Tangale (bracelet I), Kilba (ornaments of garments), Kumah (pipe IID);
- 2 IIC...: Sukur (ornaments of garments, axes), Tula (bracelet I, bell I), Mumuye (bag, pipe IID), Daba (tobacco-boxes II, pipe IID);
- 3 IIC...: Fali (sword I, bracelet I, bracelet VI), Higi (sword I, ornaments of garments, axes I), Kiridi (hoes, bracelets I, tobacco-boxes I);
- 4 IIC...: Marghi (sword I, bracelets I, ornaments of garments, axes I);
- 6 IIC...: Kapsiki (sword I, bags, axes I, tobacco-boxes I and II, pipes IID);
- 7 IIC...: Bana (sword I, bracelets II and VI, ornaments of garments, axes I, pipes IID, tobacco-boxes I);
- 8 IIC...: Vere (sword I, hoes, bracelets I, ornaments of garments, bags, tobacco-boxes I and II, bells I).

Thus the set of common cultural phenomena of the Adamawa subarea, in terms of metal-casting and metal-working, includes swords I, bracelets I and VI, ornaments of garments, pipes IID, axes I, bells I, tobacco-boxes I and II, bags and hoes.

The sporadic information has not yet made it possible to define any regularities explaining the varied frequency of "common objects" occurring among the individual tribes. E. g., this frequency does not appear to depend on the exis-

tence of metal-casting workshops. This is the subarea with the highest number of tribes with attested metal-casting, active even nowadays, albeit notably oriented at the manufacture of souvenirs during the recent decades.

The similarities proper or the common inventory may be also accounted for by a historico-cultural filiation. As revealed by archaeological excavations, we are justified to search for a direct link between the tribes of present-day Adamawa and the historical ethnic elements, at a time (in the 16th century?) inhabiting the vicinity of the Chad Lake and known under a common name of the "people of Sao". The Matakam, Mandara (?), Margi and others may be considered to be their descendents. E.g., Martin (419) used the oral tradition to reconstruct, with a certain degree of probability, the movements of the present-day Matakam as well as the segmentation of this "maternal" ethnic element, from which the filiation of a number of further small neighbouring tribes may be derived.

The same historico-cultural segmentation process may be also supposed among other small tribes of Adamawa.

The last subarea is formed by the territory of the Grassland, in terms of the number of the types of the objects cast in non-ferrous metals belonging among the richest areas, due to the activities of the Bamum casters. Here we find a number of common objects, too:

- 1 IIC...: Babungo-Nsaw-Mankou-Wum (pipes III), Bamenda (masks), Bamendjin (bracelets VIII);
- 2 IIC...: Kom (pipes III, necklaces III);
- 3 IIC...: Bali (pipes IIB and III, bracelets VIII);
- 4 IIC...: Bagam (pipes IIB and III, bells IIA, animal figures);
- 5 IIC...: Tikar (pipes III, bells I and IIA,

bracelets IX and XII);

- 7 IIC...: Bamum (pipes III, masks, bells I and IIA, bracelets IX and XII, necklaces III).

Thus the set of the objects common to the Grassland subarea includes masks, animal figures, pipes IIB and III, necklaces III, bracelets VIII, IX and XII, and bells I and IIA.

Here, too, a still living metal-casting exists, at least since the 1920s oriented at a souvenir production. In the Grassland subarea, however, we may distinguish a younger and still extant layer from an older one which may have become extinct at some time in the second half of the 19th century or earlier. This older layer is formed by the Tikar metal-casting only known from an oral tradition, similarly as, e.g., that of the Jukun.

But we may find in this area also objects testifying to a cultural overlapping with other subareas, especially Adamawa, the Jukun-Tiv-Chamba territory and the Cross River basin. Thus the Bamum, as mentioned above, share double gongs and bracelets VI with Adamawa, the Tikar having bells IIB and tobacco-boxes II in common with them. Also the decorating open-work-surface technique, known from Adamawa and the Jukun-Tiv-Chamba subarea, was used here.

The Grassland was connected, by means of trade paths, with the tribes inhabiting the Cross River basin, from which, e.g. palm oil was imported and where especially slaves were sold. This commercial link is attested in the 17th century already, viz. in the report by Samuel Braun dated 1614. (420) A connection with the Cross River automatically included also a link to the entire Ibo subarea. This is why we are not surprised to find a testimony to a common

object, which is a small brass cup with a handle on the side, in terms of form imitating the cups made from calabashes. The cup was seen among the Tikar, on the mid-Cross River and among the Ibo. A similar spread of "common" objects may be supposed to be contributed to by the very smiths; at least in the Cross River basin, among the Banyangi, we find that smith-slaves from the Grassland were active.

Lastly let us mention those types of objects, which may be stated to be shared by the entire area, i.e. to occur among some tribes in all of the subareas mentioned above. These are:

pipes IIA — known among the Ibo, Tiv, Duru and Tikar; bells I and IIA — spread all over the area. Bells I even occur among the finds of the "Lower Niger bronzes" which I have not included in the present survey, because of their relatedness to the Joruba-Benin objects.

A similar object common to our entire area may be found to be a cup with a handle on the side, recorded in two subareas, the Ibo and the Grassland ones, in the period of the "ethnographic present", i.e. till cca 1850 (?) (see p. 36). But the archaeological finds of the Sao culture, in the vicinity of the Chad Lake, suggest its larger geographic spread as well as dating to a more distant past. The latter surmise is corroborated by the find of similar vessels in Igbo-Ukwu (Iboland), dated to the 8th–9th centuries.

Moments of links may be also found within the framework of the entire area. Thus it was interconnected by the trade in metallurgists' and smiths' products, in the 19th century, the subareas of Adamawa and Grassland functioning as significant centres of metallurgy and smithing. But when

comparing these centres with those processing non-ferrous metals, we may find that they are far from being identical. A number of metallurgic centres smelting iron ores (Sukur, Bafut etc.) had nothing to do with the manufacture or casting of objects from non-ferrous metals. The relations and positions formed "on the basis of iron" were not at all valid and repeated in the structure of the working of non-ferrous metals.

On the other hand, the abovementioned subareas may also be defined on the ground of the multiplicity of phenomena of their material culture different from those connected with metal-casting. In the Iboland-Igala-Igbira-Cross River area, for example, we may refer to the writings by Talbot, documenting a cultural unity, or the articles recently published in the African Arts magazine (421), in the field of art creation. Rubin's (1969) monographs or the comparative analyses by Hambly (1935) treat the Jukun-Tiv-Chamba area. Adamawa was dealt with, in the most comprehensive and lucid way, by Wente-Lukas (1977), and the material culture of the Grassland was included, e.g., in the German handbooks of ethnography by Baumann-Thurnwald-Westermann (1940) and Haberland (1922).

Metal-casting and metal-working naturally represent but a small part of the global image of the material culture of the entire area (subarea), but applicable, as may be seen, in spite of their exclusivity (or perhaps just because of it) in defining subareas and cultural links within the framework of the entire area. But any "district" of material culture, with its own technology, specialists, etc., probably represented an independent, to some extent, substructure in the entire structure of the mate-

rial culture of a given geographic area or subarea.

## NOTES

In the notes, I quote besides literature also objects to be found in various museums, the names of which are given in abbreviations; these are their full names:

AAM-Washington / Museum of African Art, Smithsonian Institution

Dresden M. – Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Dresden

Edinburgh M. – Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh

Field M. – Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago

Heard M. – Heard Museum, Phoenix

Horniman Museum and Library, London

Horniman M. – Horniman Museum and Library, London

Jos M. – Nigerian National Museum, Jos

Lagos M. – Nigerian National Museum, Lagos

Lowie M. – Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley

M. of Man – Museum of Man (British Museum), London

Manchester M. – Manchester University Museum

Mannheim M. – Städtisches Reiss-Museum, Mannheim

Metropolitan M. – Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

MfV Berlin – Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin-Dahlem

MfV Hamburg – Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte

Munich M. – Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich

NpM – Náprstek Museum, Prague

Pitt-Rivers M. – Pitt-Rivers Museum, Univ. of Oxford

UCLA M. – Museum of Culture History, Univ. of California, Los Angeles

Vienna M. – Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna

1. Cline 1937, 68–69, 86; Willet 1967, 55–56.
2. Staudinger 1911, 147–153; Cline 1937, 84.
3. Cline 1937, 64.
4. For example among the Sukur (Sassoon 1965, 174–178), Duru (Frobenius 1913, 226–227), Bafut (Ritzenthaler 1962, 88–92), Igala (Boston 1964, 46), Rukuba (Gunn 1953, 135), Tula (Fagg 1952, 51) etc.
5. Lebeuf 1950, 31–33; Hartle 1967, 198.
6. Cline 1937, 79.
7. Cline 1937, 70.
8. Lawal 1972, 86.

9. Barrett 1949, XIII–XIV.
10. Wills 1968, 51.
11. Silverman 1983, 11–14.
12. Cline 1937, 70.
13. Ekejiuba 1967, 14–15.
14. Lebeuf 1950, 146.
15. Oguagha 1984, 237.
16. Willet 1967, 56.
17. Rubin 1974, 169.
18. Cline 1937, 80.
19. Shaw 1970, 278.
20. Jeffreys 1940, 112.
21. Williams 1974, 269–272.
22. Jeffreys 1958, 44.
23. Wills 1968, 19.
24. I am indebted to Dr. Jan Durdík for this information.
25. Geary 1983, 79.
26. Partridge 1905, 251; Stachewski 1917, 36.
27. Thus in the Lagos Museum, ten rings are preserved (Cat. No. 46.10.12) purchased in a market place in the Bauchi Province in 1946. At that time, their shape had gone out of fashion, the tradesman probably hoping to sell them to a brass-smith to be remelted.
28. Bronze is an alloy of copper (Cu), tin (Sn), lead (Pb) and other metals, respectively: silver (Ag), iron (Fe), manganese (Mn), arsenic (As), except zinc. The alloy is melted at the temperature of 1000 °C. Shaw (1970, 104), on the ground of an analysis of the archeological finds in Igbo-Ukwe, distinguishes seven sorts of the alloy; in all of them, a high percentage of copper (79% or more) is to be found.  
Brass is an alloy of copper (Cu) and zinc (Zn), sometimes with an admixture of lead, iron and tin. Brass is melted between 850 °C and 920 °C. The quality of brass, i.e. its malleability, temper, fragility, ductility and „fluidity“ depend on the proportion of zinc, its amount in an „ordinary“ brass usually being between 2% and 32%.
29. Lebeuf 1950, 186–187; Willet 1967, 55; Shaw 1970, 104; Williams 1974, 203–204.
30. Modern Arabic distinguishes the two terms, also using words taken over from European languages.
31. Nadel 1965, 269–274; Forde 1955, 28.
32. Meek 1931a, 155.
33. Cline 1937, 86.
34. Thorbecke 1919, 49–50.
35. Malcolm 1923, 2.
36. Willet 1967, 176.
37. Leuzinger 1971, 198.
38. Neaheer 1979, 44.
39. Shaw 1970, 273; Lagos M., Cat. No. 61.1.103.
40. Lagos M., Cat. No. 65.15.119 – After K.C. Murray.
41. Malcolm 1923, 3.
42. Ritzenthaler (1962, 92) states that the smiths of the Bafut made charcoal from three kinds of hard wood. Sassoon (1964, 175) mentions charcoal made from the Acacia, Khaya and Pterocarpus trees by the metallurgists of the Sukur, melting iron ore, as late as in 1963. Also the casters may be supposed to have used similar sorts of wood. (Malcolm 1923, 3.)
43. Vansina 1985.
44. Neaheer 1976a, 127.
45. Ekejiuba 1967, 12–13.
46. Ekejiuba 1967, 14.
47. Neaheer 1976a, 72–98, 132–156.
48. Boston 1964, 46.
49. Neaheer 1976a, 83–85.
50. Partridge 1905, 186–187.
51. Thomas 1969, 129.
52. Brown 1955, 60
53. Neaheer 1976 a, 117.
54. Fagg 1963, 40; Neaheer 1976a, 120–124.
55. Lagos M. cat. no. 61.1.105 – after P. Allison.
56. Lagos M. cat. no. 61.1.102, 61.1.103.
57. Leuzinger 1971, fig. 266; Leuzinger 1972, N 19.
58. M. of Man cat. no. 1927.11.8.7. – 1927.11.8.12; Pitt-Rivers M. cat. no. IX.62, IX.80.
59. Rubin 1969, 13, 51–55.
60. Rubin 1969, 46–47.
61. Meek 1931a, I, 146.
62. UCLA M. cat. no. X86-4615; Lagos M. cat. no. 65.15.119.
63. Meek 1931a, I, 415; Neaheer 1976a, 68.
64. Frobenius 1913, 203.
65. Baikie 1966, 158–159.
66. Gauthier s.d. VI, 3.
67. Wente-Lukas 1977, 286.
68. Malcolm 1923, 1.
69. Geary 1983a, 83.
70. Thorbecke 1919, 49.
71. Geary 1983a, 10, 75–79.
72. Ankermann 1910, 307.
73. Malcolm 1923, 1–4.
74. Geary 1983a, 83.
75. Stachewski 1917, 35–36.
76. Williams 1974, 180–185.
77. Malcolm 1923, 2–3.
78. Himmelheber 1960, 295 – quotes Meyers Deutsches Kolonialreich p. 489.
79. Malcolm 1923, 2–3; Dick-Read 1964, 166.

80. Cline 1937, 82.  
81. Rubin 1973, pl. X, XI, XIIa, b; 1969, fig. 18.  
82. Jos. M. cat no. 69.J.104.1 & 70.J. 67.48; Rubin 1973, pl. XVa  
83. Thorbecke 1919, tab. 23, Abb. 1–5.  
84. Rubin 1973, pl. XVIIa.  
85. Krieger 1969, III, Abb. 99.  
86. Krieger 1969, III, 94; Christie's 1979, lot 124; Leiris-Delange 1968, 371; Arnold 1980, 20.  
86a. Shaw 1970, 205.  
87. Lagos M. cat. no. 49.19.4 a 9, 12, 15–17, 23; 60.7.42a,b.  
88. Lagos M. cat. no. 49.19.8 a 10–11, 51.12.12.  
89. Lagos M. cat. no. 49.19.6.  
90. Lagos M. cat. no. 49.19.13.  
91. Jeffreys 1940, 112.  
92. Lagos M. cat. no. 58.6.10, 54.4.24, C.BM.6, 64.309, 64.310.  
93. Lagos M. cat. no. 49.19.5.  
94. Lagos M. cat. no. 49.19.14.  
95. Lagos M. cat. no. 49.19.21, 22.  
96. Ekejiuba 1977, 12.  
97. Field M. cat. no. 221756.  
98. East 1939, 150; Bohannan 1968, 229.  
99. Lagos M. cat. no. 54.11.57.  
100. Neaheer 1976a, 88.  
100a. Baumann-Vajda 1959, 224.  
101. Horniman M. cat. no. 30.383 – Balfour collection.  
102. Ekejiuba 1977, 12.  
103. Lagos M. cat. no. 61.1.103.  
104. Bohannan 1962, 68.  
105. Metropolitan M. cat. no. 69.156, 157; AAM Washington cat. no. 69.31.12.  
106. Rubin 1973, 227, pl. XXIVa,b.  
107. Meek 1931b, 447; Rubin 1973, pl. XIVb.  
108. Dike 1987, 76, fig. 9.  
109. Rubin 1974, 163.  
110. Littlewood 1954, 64.  
111. Geary 1983a, 172, fig. 127.  
112. Geary 1983a, 14.  
113. Lagos M. cat. no. 46.29.17, 72.1.1393; Christie's 3.4.1979, lot 142.  
114. Wente-Lukas 1977, 82, fig. 88.  
115. Passarge 1895, Abb. 190; Krieger 1969, III, Abb. 218;  
116. Pitt-Rivers M. cat. no. IX. 176; Munich M. cat. no. 27–39–12.  
117. Rubin 1969, 54–55; Rubin 1973, pl. XXIVc.  
118. Lagos M. cat. no. 72.1. 1534.  
119. Lagos M. cat. no. 72.9.18.  
120. Wente-Lukas 1977, 75, Abb. 83.  
121. UCLA M. cat. no. X86–4721.  
122. Thorbecke 1919, Taf. 21, Abb. II/4.  
123. Nicklin 1983, fig. 1.  
124. Cole – Aniakor 1984, fig. 80.  
125. Shaw 1970, I, 129; II, pl. 239.  
126. Lebeuf 1983, C4.  
127. Brown 1955, 60.  
128. Lagos M. cat. no. 72.1.1407.  
129. Thorbecke 1919, Taf. 23/14.  
130. Dike 1987, 76, fig. 6.  
131. Lagos M. cat. no. 72.1.1395.  
132. Dresden M. cat. no. 33. 671.  
133. African Arts XIX, May 1986, 17.  
134. Edinburgh M. cat. no. 1929.575.  
135. Rubin 1974, 169.  
136. Wente-Lukas 1977, Abb. 135-136.  
137. Field M. cat. no. 221734, 221691.  
138. Keterer 18.11.1978, lot 185.  
139. Jos M. cat. no. 70.J.68.16a.  
140. Wente-Lukas 1977, Abb.134.  
141. Thorbecke 1919, Taf 23/16.  
142. Jeffreys 1968, 25, fig. 6.  
143. Field M. cat. no. 221735.  
144. Lagos M. cat. no. 72.1.1521.  
145. Manchester M. cat. no. 0.4706.  
146. Manchester M. cat. no. 0.3541, 0.3544; Edinburgh M. cat. no. 1953.115.  
147. Jeffreys 1968, 25, fig. 2–4.  
148. Cole-Aniakor 1984, fig. 81.  
149. Hutter 1902, Abb. 79.  
150. Thorbecke 1919, taf. 22.  
151. Field M. cat. no. 369.  
152. Wente-Lukas 1977, Abb. 129.  
153. Leiris-Delange 1967, fig. 101.  
154. Lagos M. cat. no.72.1.793a, d.  
155. Field M. cat. no. 221733.  
156. Wente-Lukas 1977, Abb. 131.  
157. Wente-Lukas 1977, 105; Lowie M. cat. no. 5–4216.  
158. Hutter 1902, Abb. 79, Gebauer 1979, fig. P 103.  
159. Gebauer 1972, fig. 12.  
160. Migeod 1925, 121; Arnold 1980, Abb. 27.  
161. Migeod 1925, 121.  
162. Gebauer 1972, fig. 14.  
163. Leuzinger 1960, 145.  
164. Thorbecke 1919, Taf. 22; Dresden M. cat. no. 36.701.  
165. Arnold 1980, Abb. 26.  
166. Arnold 1980, Abb. 28; Benndorf 1967, cat. no. 76.  
167. Hurault 1962, pl. XV.  
168. Sydow 1923, Abb. 125.  
169. Benndorf 1967, cat. no. 78.  
170. Leiris-Delange 1968, fig. 371; Arnold 1980, Abb. 29; AAM-Washington cat. no. 70.35.5a,b.  
171. Leiris-Delange 1967, fig. 100.  
172. Gebauer 1972, fig. 6 – Determinates it as "Bamileke-Bagam"  
173. Gebauer 1972, fig. 11; Heard M. cat. no. Af-Ca-Km-P-1.

174. Migeod 1925, 121; Leuzinger 1960, 145.
175. Littlewood 1954, 79, 125.
176. Geary 1983a, 169–170, fig. 113.
177. Drost 1953, 61–79.
178. Brown 1955, 60; Gunn 1960, 75; Lagos M. cat. no. 61.1.155, 167.
179. Lagos M. cat. no. 61.1.103.
180. Tremeare 1912, 248.
181. Meek 1931b; 435.
182. Wenté-Lukas 1977, 105.
183. Ankermann 1910, Abb. 15, pp. 307–308.
184. Krieger 1969, III, Abb. 91; Arnold 1980, Abb. 25; Christie's 18.3.1980, lot. 318.
185. Geary 1983b, 137, I 1.
186. Metropolitan M. cat. no. 1984.515.5.
187. Geary 1983a, fig. 62, 65.
188. Dresden M. cat. no. 33.693, 33.694.
189. Dresden M. cat. no. 33.691; Jos M. cat. no. 66.J.11.251, 67.J.6.29, 69.J.104.1, 70.J.67.48; Rubin 1973, pl. XVa.
190. Wenté-Lukas 1977, 226, Abb. 299, 300.
191. Pitt-Rivers M. cat. no. IX. 28; Ketterer 3.11.1981. lot 168.
192. Meek 1931b, p. 134; Rubin 1973, pl. XIVa.
193. African Arts XIV/1981, 3, 77.
194. Krieger 1969, III, Abb. 95.
195. Arnold 1980, Abb. 20.
196. Thorbecke 1919, Taf. 19.
197. Krieger 1969, III, Abb. 96.
198. Arnold 1980, Abb. 20.
199. Leuzinger 1960, 145.
200. Ekejiuba 1967, 12.
201. Thorbecke 1919, Taf. 21, I/5.
202. Dresden M. cat. no. 36.704; Thorbecke 1919, Taf. 20, II/2, Taf. 21, I/4.
203. UCLA M. cat. no. X86–4615.
204. UCLA M. cat. no. X86–4617; during my stay in Yola (1974) bells were still in use.
205. Jeffreys 1968, 26, fig. 3.
206. I am indebted to E. Rassiga for this information.
207. Williams 1974, fig. 64; Neaheer 1979.
208. Jeffreys 1968, 24, 26–27; Lorenz 1983, H6; Ekejiuba 1977, 15.
209. Lorenz 1983, H7.
210. Munich M. cat. no. 25–29–11.
211. Nicklin 1983, fig. 2.
212. Thorbecke 1919, Taf. 21, II/1,2, Taf. 20, II/1,2,4.
213. Arnold 1980, Abb. 22; Malcolm 1923, 1.
214. Krieger 1969, III, Abb. 94; Geary 1983a, 181.
215. Thorbecke 1919, Taf. 21, II/3.
216. Field M. cat. no. 221786.
217. Thorbecke 1919, Taf. 20, I/2,4, Taf. 21 I/1.
218. Lagos M. cat. no. LG 46.29.8.
219. Wenté-Lukas 1977, Abb. 332.
220. Neaheer 1976a, 50.
221. Lorenz 1983, H8.
222. Lagos M. cat. no. LG 46.29.8.
223. Lowie M. cat. no. 5–4214, 5–4215.
224. Ekejiuba 1967, 11.
225. Nicklin 1983, fig. 2.
226. Wenté-Lukas 1977, 248.
227. Arnold 1980, 38.
228. Geary 1983a, 181.
229. Thomas 1969, 43.
230. Boston 1964, 44–46; Rubin 1967, 42; Wenté-Lukas 1977, 275.
231. Lagos M. cat. no. 65.15.119.
232. Gunn 1960, 75; Lagos M. cat. no. 61.1.150, 61.1.153, 61.1.105.
233. Lowie M. cat. no. 5–4214, 5–4215.
234. Rubin 1974, 167–168, 173.
235. Geary 1983, 12.
236. Lagos M. cat. no. LG 46.29.18.
237. Geary 1983a, 13, 191, fig. 322, 323; Anonym 1972, 73.
238. Geary 1983, I2; Geary 1983a, 13.
239. Cole-Aniakor 1984, 52.
240. Metropolitan M. cat. no. 1979.532.18–19, 1979.532.29.
241. Rubin 1973, 221–231.
242. Jeffreys 1968, 25, fig. 7.
243. Private Collection, Prague.
244. Rubin 1973, pl. XII, XVIII.
245. Anonym 1974, 51.
246. Rubin 1974, 171–172.
247. Pitt-Rivers M. cat. no. B.IV. 145.
248. African Arts XI, July 1978, 73.
249. Rubin 1973, 227, pl. XV; Williams 1974, 130.
250. Rubin 1974, 163.
251. Geary 1983a, 201–202, fig. 149.
252. Rubin 1974, 169, fig. 9.
253. Dresden M. cat. no. 36.700.
254. Wenté-Lukas 1977, 33, Abb. 28.
255. Ekejiuba 1967, 12.
256. Wenté-Lukas 1977, 281, Abb. 373.
257. Ibid. Abb. 374; Jos M. cat. no.
258. Dresden M. cat. no. 24.255.
259. Rubin 1974, 173.
260. Neaheer 1976a, 48, 77; Cole-Aniakor 1984, fig. 28.
261. Bentor 1988, 67, fig. 3,4.
262. Horton 1965, fig. 55.
263. Horton 1965, fig. 55.
264. Rubin 1967, 52; Rubin 1973, 224, Pl. XII.
265. Leuzinger 1971, cat. no. 266 – compare a pottery head published by Willet (1967, pl. 88); Leuzinger 1972, N 19 – compare female figure published by Leuzinger (1971, cat. no. 239).
266. Balfour 1951, fig. 13, 15; a part of the Balfour coll. is kept in Pitt-Rivers M. cat.

- nos. IX. 80, 4.51.428-429, 440.
267. East 1939, 248.
268. Cook 1973, 20; Williams 1974, 119; African Arts January 1976, 70; Edinburgh M. cat. nos. 1929.577-578; African Arts, Summer 1973, 89; Brincard 1983, H20; McLeod-Mack 1985, 25.
269. Pitt-Rivers M. cat. no. IX. 62; M. of Man 1957. Af 20.1 - i.e. woman carrying a child and bird on tripod.
270. Pitt-Rivers M. cat. no. IX. 80 - i.e. phallic figure with eyelet.
271. M. of Man cat. nos. 1927.11.8.7-12, 1927.11.8.14 - i.e. riders on horseback, animals and birds.
272. Christie's 24.7.1979. lot. 182.
273. Willet 1967, pl. 87.
274. Rubin 1973, pl. XXIIa,b, XXIIIa.
275. Rubin 1983, 43, H5.
276. Krieger 1969, III, Abb. 103-105; Arnold 1980, Abb. 24; Malcolm 1923, 4; Field M. cat. nos. 175747-48, 175756-57.
277. Field M. cat. nos. 175758-50.
278. NpM cat. no. 26.580.
279. Sydow 1923, 114; Robbins 1966, fig. 217-218; Field M. cat. nos. 221185-89; M. of Man 1927-11.8.10.
280. Field M. cat. no. 222766.
281. African Arts, January 1978, 12, 72.
282. Field M. cat. no. 175750 - 54.
283. Brincard 1983, H17.
284. Williams 1974, fig. 72; Brincard 1983, H15, 16.
285. Nicklin 1983, H21.
286. Nicklin 1983, H19.
287. Brincard 1983, H17; Willet 1971, fig. 52.
288. Nicklin 1983, H22.
289. Nicklin 1983, fig. 3.
290. Hausenstein 1922, Abb. 72; Trowell 1967, 170; Williams 1974, fig. 63;
291. Ekejiuba 1977, 12.
292. Lagos M. cat. no. 46.16.25 and 26.
293. Jos M. cat. no.
- 293a. Geary 1983a.
294. Fagg 1964, 146; Segy 1975, fig. 264; Himmelheber 1960. Abb. 227-228; NpM cat. no. 59.501 A 6.326; Gebauer 1979, fig. P 87-88, P 83-86.
295. Ritzenthaler 1962, 89, 91.
296. Brain-Pollock 1971, 55.
297. African Arts, Autumn 1972, 1.
298. Compare a whistle figure by Tiv, see Cook 1973, 20.
299. Lagos M. cat. no. 61.1.158 and 166.
300. Baumann-Vajda 1959, 293.
301. Frobenius 1912, 637, 648.
302. Wente-Lukas 1977, 151, Abb. 184-185.
303. Dresden M. cat. no. 43.979.
304. Krieger 1969, III, Abb. 101.
305. Baikie 1966, 161.
306. Baikie 1966, 161.
307. Field M. cat. no. 221761.
308. Sydow 1923, Abb. 10.
309. Geary 1983a, 173, fig. 138e.
310. Wente-Lukas 1977, 159, Abb. 205-208.
311. Barth 1957, II, 466.
312. Dresden M. cat. no. 24.324, 24.325, 24.090.
313. Field M. cat. no. 221745.
- 313a. NpM cat. no. 21.195.
314. Sydow 1923, Abb. 120; Krieger 1969, III, Abb. 97.
315. Krieger 1969, III, Abb. 98; Arnold 1980, Abb. 31.
316. Geary 1983, 158; 1983a, 166, fig. 83, 84.
- 316A. Gebauer 1979, P 97-98.
317. Geary 1983, 187, fig. 245-247.
318. Mannheim M. cat. no. IV Af 4952; Geary 1983a, 187.
319. Sydow 1923, Abb. 123; Krieger 1969, III, Abb. 102.
320. Horniman M. cat. no. 7.7.53/1, 31.52.
321. Meek 1931a, I, 146.
322. Haberlandt 1922, I, Abb. 204.
323. Dresden M. cat. no. 24.336.
324. Field M. cat. no. 221694.
325. Baumann-Thurnwald-Westermann 1944, Abb. 18/7.
326. UCLA M. cat. no. X86-4601.
327. Jos M. cat. no. 70.J.88.73.
328. Jos M. cat. no. 70.J.85.1b; NpM cat. no. A 11.652.
329. Wente-Lukas 1977, Abb. 227.
330. Lebeuf 1983, fig. 2.
331. Wente-Lukas 1977, Abb. 226.
332. Jos M. cat. no. 66.J.11.592, 70.J.85.1; Rubin 1973, pl. XI; Wente-Lukas 1977, Abb. 225.
333. Sydow 1923, Abb. 2.
334. Rubin 1973, pl. XVb.
335. Haberlandt 1922, Abb. 247/12.
336. Lebeuf 1950.
337. Wente-Lukas 1977, Abb. 224.
338. Thorbecke 1919, Taf. 23/7, 9, 17-19.
339. Wente-Lukas 1977, Abb. 223.
340. Field M. cat. no. 221756.
341. Geary 1983a, 174, fig. 14.
342. Dresden M. cat. no. 24.305.
343. Wente-Lukas 1977, Abb. 221-222.
344. Field M. cat. no. 221754.
345. Wente-Lukas 1977, 170, Abb. 220.
346. Jos M. cat. no. 68.J.43.2.
347. Jos M. cat. no. 60.J.144.40.
348. Jos M. cat. no. 70.J.88.73.
349. Jos M. cat. no. 68.J.43.2.
350. Krieger 1969, III, Abb. 99.
351. Thorbecke 1919, Taf. 23/1-6; bracelet with bell is kept in Vienna M.

352. Baumann-Vajda 1959, 224, 293.  
353. Geary 1983a, 174, fig. 104; Thorbecke 1919,  
354. Rubin 1973, pl. XVIIa; Thorbecke 1919,  
Taf. 23/1, 2, 5.  
355. Rubin 1973, 225, fig. 3; Jos M. cat. no.  
70.J.16.14.  
356. Rubin 1974, 173.  
357. Passarge 1895, Abb. 194.  
358. Hambly 1935, 437, pl. CXXVI fig. 1.  
359. Dresden M. cat. no. 24.084.  
360. Geary 1983a, 173–174, fig. 96–98, 100.  
361. Thorbecke 1919, Taf. 23/10–12.  
362. Field M. cat. no. 221746.  
363. Wentе-Lukas 1977, Abb. 238–241.  
364. NpM cat. no. A 11.658.  
365. Field M. cat. no. 221787.  
366. UCLA M. cat. nos. X86–4602 –  
X86–4605.  
367. Lebeuf 1983, C5.  
368. Stachewski 1917, 36.  
369. Nicklin 1983, 48.  
370. Partridge 1905, 167.  
371. Ekejiuba 1967, 12.  
372. Gunn 1960, 77.  
373. Baikie 1966, 158–159; Armstrong 1955,  
126.  
374. Lowie M. cat. no. 5–4199a,b.  
375. Krieger 1969, III. Abb. 100.  
376. M. of Man cat. no. 1954–Af. 23.1114;  
Edinburgh M. cat. no. 1929. 579, 580;  
Christie's 24.7. 1979, lot 208.  
377. Abraham 1933, pl. 42.  
378. Pitt-Rivers M. cat. no. IX. 176, B.IB.183.  
379. Rubin 1967, 47.  
380. UCLA M. cat. no. YX86–4618.  
381. Ekejiuba 1977, 12.  
382. Partridge 1905, 167.  
383. Rubin 1974, 173.  
384. Wentе-Lukas 1977, 122, Abb. 149.  
385. Wentе-Lukas 1977, 122, 125, Abb. 150;  
Metropolitan M. cat. no 1979.532.32.  
386. Field M. cat. no. 221760.  
387. Wentе-Lukas 1977, 125.  
388. Wentе-Lukas 1977, 130–131, Abb. 162.  
389. Field M. cat. no. 221761.  
390. Wentе-Lukas 1977, 131, Abb. 165, 166.  
391. Wentе-Lukas 1977, 131, Abb. 167.  
392. Wentе-Lukas 1977, 130, Abb. 161.  
393. M. of Man cat. no. 1954. Af. 23 1492a,b;  
Field M. cat. no. 221744; AAM–Washing-  
ton cat. no. 83.11.11; Private coll. Prague.  
394. Lembezat 1961, 27.  
395. AAM–Washington cat. no. 83.1.1.  
396. NpM cat. no. A 11.660.  
397. Meek 1931a, I, 146.  
398. Lagos M. cat. no. 61.1.160.  
399. Wentе-Lukas 1977, 137, 140, Abb. 177.  
400. Lagos M. cat. no. 72.1.101.  
401. Wentе-Lukas 1977, 133, Abb. 173.  
402. Wentе-Lukas 1977, 172–173, Abb. 231.  
403. Rubin 1973, 225, pl. X.  
404. NpM cat. no. A 6.264.  
405. Hambly 1935, 437, pl. CXXVI, fig. 1; East  
1939, 150.  
406. Bohannan 1969, 68.  
407. Abraham 1940, 219.  
408. Partridge 1905, 167.  
409. Lagos M. cat. no. 61.1.160.  
410. UCLA M. cat. nos. X86–4608 –  
X86–4609.  
411. Rubin 1973, 225.  
412. Oguagha 1984, 236–243.  
413. Frobenius 1913, 264, Abb. 1, 2.  
414. Nkwi 1976, 17–18; Chilver 1961,  
239–240.  
415. Chilver 1964, 121.  
416. Chilver-Kaberry 1970, 249.  
417. Frobenius 1913, 244.  
418. Meek 1931a, I, 23, 535.  
419. Martin 1970, 29–40.  
420. Chilver 1961, 237.  
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