CENTRAL NIGERIA UNMASKED: ARTS OF THE BENUE RIVER VALLEY

A Curriculum Resource for Teachers

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This curriculum resource was developed in conjunction with the exhibition Central Nigeria Unmasked: Arts of the Benue River Valley.

The exhibition is organized by the Fowler Museum at UCLA in association with the Musée du quai Branly, Paris, and is curated by Marla C. Berns, Richard Fardon, Sidney Kasfir, and Hélène Joubert with Gassia Armenian.

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Central Nigeria Unmasked: Arts of the Benue River Valley

Introduction to the Exhibition

Central Nigeria Unmasked: Arts of the Benue River Valley—on display at the Fowler Museum from February 13–July 24, 2011—is the first major international exhibition to present a comprehensive view of the arts produced in the region, which include some of the most abstract, dramatic, and inventive sculpture in sub-Saharan Africa. The exhibition features more than 150 objects used in a range of ritual contexts, with genres as varied and complex as the vast region itself. The exhibition demonstrates how the history of central Nigeria can be ‘unmasked’ through the dynamic interrelationships of its peoples and their arts.

Diverse and remarkable artworks from central Nigeria include full-bodied maternal images, sleek columnar statues, helmet masks adorned with naturalistic human faces, horizontal masks designed as stylized animal-human fusions, imaginatively anthropomorphized ceramic vessels, and elaborate regalia forged in iron and cast in copper alloys. These objects had meanings and purposes that were vital to the ways Benue Valley groups faced life’s challenges and to the dramatic ritual activities conceived to solve them.

Central Nigeria Unmasked is designed to take you on a journey up the Benue River to introduce the major artistic genres and styles associated with more than twenty-five ethnic groups living along its Lower, Middle, and Upper reaches. This broad regional view highlights the distinctiveness of particular community traditions and the ways artists have innovated freely within the parameters of local styles. Yet, more importantly, through their often surprising resemblances, artworks associated with neighboring peoples can bear witness to historical communication and interaction across communities, something not often ‘unmasked’ in exhibitions on African art.

Additional Information

Organized by the Fowler Museum at UCLA in association with the Musée du quai Branly in Paris, Central Nigeria Unmasked features many works that have never before been on public display. Important loans come from major collections around the world, including those of the British Museum, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Art Institute of Chicago, Barbier-Mueller Museum in Geneva, Berlin’s Museum of Ethnology, Musée du quai Branly, and the Fowler Museum at UCLA as well as a number of significant American and European private collections.

After its world premiere at the Fowler Museum, Central Nigeria Unmasked will travel to the Smithsonian’s National Museum of African Art, Stanford University’s Cantor Arts Center, and the Musée du quai Branly. The exhibition is co-curated by Marla C. Berns (Shirley and Ralph Shapiro Director, Fowler Museum at UCLA), Richard Fardon (Professor of West African Anthropology, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London), Sidney L. Kasfir (Professor of Art History, Emory University, Atlanta), and Hélène
Central Nigeria Unmasked: Arts of the Benue River Valley

Joubert (Curator of African Collections, Musée du quai Branly) with Gassia Armenian (Fowler Museum at UCLA).

Major support for the exhibition is provided by the National Endowment for the Arts, the Shirley and Ralph Shapiro Director's Discretionary Fund, Jay and Deborah Last, Ceil and Michael Pulitzer, Joseph and Barbara Goldenberg, Robert T. Wall Family, and Jill and Barry Kitnick. Major funding for the publication is provided by The Ahmanson Foundation with additional support from the Ethnic Arts Council of Los Angeles. The planning phase of this project was funded by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

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Benue River Valley History

The Benue River Valley occupies a geographical and historical “in-between” zone in Nigeria that has been called the “Middle Belt.” It was too far south for Sudanic Arab chroniclers to have visited, and it was too far north for coastal European traders and explorers to have penetrated before the mid-nineteenth century. The peoples and arts of the Benue have thus received less scholarly attention than was the case with the more accessible ethnic groups of Northern or Southern Nigeria.

During the nineteenth century, however, dramatic and disruptive events originating in the north and south shook the Benue River Valley and decreased its isolation. First, from the north, came the Fulani jihad, declared in 1804 by the militant reformer Usman dan Fodio, which continued to be felt throughout the century. The nature of this impact was mediated by geography—the open terrain of the Lower Benue Valley made it susceptible to invading jihadists on horseback, while the remote and rugged uplands of the eastern Middle and Upper Benue regions acted as refuges from the advancing forces of change. The second event originated in the south with the arrival of the British around 1840, who initially sought to explore, trade, and missionize. This incursion eventually led to the establishment of colonial rule in 1900 and the imposition of strategies of control and pacification. It also led to the movement and return of some Benue peoples from mountain and hilltop refuges to the plains. This turbulent century changed the lives of peoples throughout the Benue River Valley in ways that are evident in their arts.

In 1960 Nigeria gained independence and with it came the delineation of states and local government areas. Policies of modernization were also implemented. Running parallel to these changes was the intensification of the work of Christian missionaries and Muslim...
reformers that had begun in the nineteenth century. The combination of these factors increased pressure on Central Nigerian populations to abandon local religions as well as the many types of ritual objects associated with them. By the end of the twentieth century, many of the arts presented here had disappeared from local usage; others had shifted in form, purpose, or intention; or been destroyed, sold, or stolen.

Knowledge of Benue Arts

The earliest references to the arts of the Benue Valley occur as asides in the writings of late nineteenth-century European travelers and military men. British and German colonial officers added their observations in the early twentieth century, but typically commented on Benue arts only when they collected pieces. More detailed descriptions can be found in the writings of British colonial government anthropologists and in the works of the German collector Leo Frobenius. Important examples of Benue arts entered European museums between the 1890s and the 1930s.

A second major wave of interest occurred in the late 1960s and early 1970s. An exodus of objects, mainly through Cameroon, took place during and immediately after the upheavals caused by the Nigerian Civil War (1967–1970)—also known as the Biafran War—that was fought in the country’s southeastern region. Emerging onto the international art market, many works entered private collections in Europe and the United States at this time. While we cannot reconstruct the circumstances under which many of these objects changed hands, the African “runners” who sold them (primarily to European dealers) often supplied “ethnic” attributions, which explain in part how certain objects came to be associated with particular peoples.

Fieldwork conducted by specialists since the mid-twentieth century has significantly enhanced our knowledge of the arts and peoples of the Benue region, and a number of objects in this exhibition were photographed and documented in situ. Gaps in what we know mean that the identities of other object types are difficult to determine at this remove in time. The inclination to align specific works with peoples living in the places where the works were collected has persisted into the twenty-first century, an approach that makes no allowances for the complicated genealogies and journeys of specific pieces. While scholars can agree that distinctions in forms or styles do cluster in ways that make ethnic determinations fruitful, even where documentation is thin, the preference here is to avoid assigning fixed attributions when meaningful collections data is absent and instead to identify the localized spheres in which objects are likely to have circulated.
UNIT ONE

The Lower Benue: Fluid Artistic Identities

1. THE MOBILITY OF SHRINE SCULPTURE
2. LOWER BENUÉ ARTISTS
3. LOST WAX CASTING ALONG THE BENUÉ
4. THE CIRCULATION OF MASQUERADES
The area around the confluence of the Niger and Benue Rivers has been the home to a changing constellation of peoples over many centuries. Today it is where the Igala, Ebira, Idoma, Afo, and Tiv peoples live, among others. The lower stretches of the Benue, a mile wide during the rainy season, have long been both a pathway and barrier: a path of escape, trade, or migration, but a barrier against advancing armies and other intruders. The incursions of the Fulani dislodged peoples from the north side of the Benue, who fled to the south, often with their important ritual objects. They gradually regrouped into new communities and exchanged ideas and forms with their new neighbors. Among these were the Tiv peoples, who expanded from the south and created a cultural wedge between other peoples who had shared histories.

These destabilizing events help explain the fluid identities of artistic traditions that span the Lower Benue and its open frontier with the Middle Benue. Maternal sculptures, often carved with one or more children, were used to safeguard women’s health and fertility. They also protected the earth, which was thought of as female, and the well-being of crops. Their usage throughout this region speaks to their power and efficacy and makes it difficult to assign specific ethnic affiliations to works lacking documentation. Certain distinctive Lower Benue masquerades were also highly mobile, perhaps none more so than the powerful ancestral incarnations in which performers were fully enveloped in burial shrouds and prestige textiles. Specific objects offer the opportunity to tell fascinating stories of meaning, history, and interaction, exposing the forces that have shaped artistic identities over time and space.

The exhibition begins in the Lower Benue region, and includes numerous examples of the predominant figurative genre: maternal shrine sculptures, often depicting mothers with one or more children, which were used to honor women and protect the young. A great variety of masks were performed in the Lower Benue, including dramatic helmet masks honoring the royal lineage of the Igala peoples, and white-faced masks, some with stunning stacks of two, three, or even four heads. In addition, cast copper alloy head crests, bells, staffs and figures testify to the diversity of arts from this region. Video footage from the 1960s to the present, some never-before-seen, offers a rare look at magnificent ancestral masquerades that follow the path of the Benue River. Representing resurrected ancestors, performers are concealed within burial shroud-like textiles to create cloth apparitions that leap, twist, and twirl.
Background Information

Across the Lower Benue region community and individual shrines focus on promoting the health of women and children and the fertility of the fields. Sculptures found on such shrines take the form of full-breasted females, seated and standing, some with arms raised as caryatids and others with children on their laps or backs (figs. 1.1–1.4). Their distribution is widespread, strong evidence of precolonial networks of production and exchange from the Lower to the Middle Benue regions.

The Idoma peoples and the neighboring Igala make offerings of food and water to Anjenu spirits, as embodied in shrine sculpture (fig. 1.3). The figures attract nature spirits that dwell in the Benue and other local rivers, and often make themselves known to people through physical symptoms such as dreams, headaches, infertility, or the death of young children. Offerings to spirits are made in the hope that in exchange for their followers' loyalty, they will heal their afflictions. In this region some Anjenu exhibit aspects of both bush spirits and Mami Wata, a spirit dwelling beneath the water. Since both Anjenu and Mami Wata can materialize causing trouble for people who ignore demands for attention, they command an important place on personal shrines.

Curriculum Connections

1. A Place to Honor

The Idoma peoples, according to art historian Sidney L. Kasfir, consider their most senior member to be the “owner” of the earth shrine and they define the fundamental socio-political unit as those who worship at the same earth shrine. Cultures throughout the world ascribing to a wide variety of religious beliefs respect the sacred aspects of shrines, place meaningful objects within them, and communicate with ancestors and deities at their sites. Students will possibly have a wide range of knowledge and personal experiences with altars (usually raised spaces) and shrines that they can share with the class. You might want to have them construct their own special places to hold objects that are meaningful to them or that honor their deceased relatives. If appropriate, the class could cooperatively design and build such a place to honor someone remembered by the school or community and deserving of the honor.

2. The Ubiquity of Shrine Figures

Students can speculate on the reasons for the prevalence of shrine figures. Why do objects made by one group so often closely resemble those of another?

- People who are made to leave long-time homes take valuable/meaningful possessions with them. Those in the new area will be influenced by these works and conversely the newcomers might incorporate styles and variations in use by the people already established in the area.
Objects made by one group are sometimes used by another.

The location where a work was field documented (or collected) may not be the place where it was originally made.

Sometimes an artist admires and emulates the carving styles of other artists.

The artist himself may travel into neighboring areas taking on new commissions.

Visitors to a region (missionaries, government officers, tourists) request works in a particular style.

Visitors, with power to do so, may demand modifications in the works (such as putting “clothes” on figures), with the dicta affecting many groups.

3. Water Spirits
This activity centers on Mami Wata, who like Anjenu spirits, demands attention from her devotees. Mami Wata was probably earliest revered in this and nearby areas of Africa, but she has counterparts in other parts of the continent and in the Diaspora where so many Africans were forcibly relocated, including Haiti and other Caribbean islands, Brazil, and the United States. Students can look for images of the great variety of Mami Wata figures (often with elaborate hairstyles, painted bodies, carrying a serpent, and frequently as half-woman half-fish) and depict her in drawings of her shrines. Teachers may learn more about Mami Wata traditions in the Fowler Museum publication *Mami Wata: Arts for Water Spirits in Africa and Its Diasporas* (Drewal (ed.), 2008).

They should add images of their offerings for her to their shrine depiction. These offerings should reflect appreciation of Mami Wata’s vanity, her desire for nice things, and her involvement with the local streams and rivers. Among the items they may choose to add are toy boats, mirrors to symbolize the threshold between land and water, nets, jewelry, pretty fabrics, perfumes, sweets, fruits, and flowers. Also within shrines to the water spirits are animals with an affinity for the water. Students can create their own sea creatures.

With the knowledge that these are water spirits, what do students think are the dangers if the spirit is not appeased? (*boats capsizing, floods, poor fishing yields, children drowning, tsunamis*)

If a dance were to be performed to honor the Anjenu, Mami Wata, or other water spirits, how would students choreograph it? What movements might reference moving water? What sounds would accompany the dancers as they recalled a murmuring brook or a noisy, rising surf?
THE LOWER BENUE: FLUID ARTISTIC IDENTITIES
The Mobility of Shrine Sculpture

Fig. 1.1

Oba (active 1930s–circa 1950)
Shrine figure (Anjenu), Idoma/Akweya peoples, early–mid-20th century
Wood, string, beads, pigment
Fowler Museum at UCLA; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Jeffrey Kuhn. X95.36.4
THE LOWER BENUE: FLUID ARTISTIC IDENTITIES
The Mobility of Shrine Sculpture

Fig. 1.2

Stool, Ebira peoples, early to mid-20th century
Wood
Collection of Toby and Barry Hecht. L2010.76.1
THE LOWER BENUE: FLUID ARTISTIC IDENTITIES
The Mobility of Shrine Sculpture

Fig. 1.3
Seated female figure (Anjenu?), Idoma/Akweya (?) peoples, early 20th century
Wood, pigment, fabric, buttons, mother-of-pearl, metal
Musée du quai Branly, Paris, 73.1996.1.46. L2010.40.2
Maternal figure, Lower Benue, before 1901
Wood, metal
Private Collection, Paris, 73.1996.1.46. L2010.50.1
The Horniman Museum London, 31.42; Museum Acquisition, 1931
Collected by Major F. H. Ruxton, Middle Benue, between 1901 and 1914
L2010.44.1
Background Information

Most works in the exhibition Central Nigeria Unmasked: Arts of the Benue River Valley were created by artists whose names were not recorded or retained over time. Scholars have been able to document some works associated with particular artists (sometimes interviewing the artists themselves), so that we know more about their lives and the factors that contributed to their talents and expertise.

A small group of known Idoma and Igala carvers are included in the exhibition. Several were born around 1900 before British military patrols penetrated the region and were among the first generation to grow up under British colonial rule. They were mostly part-time specialist woodcarvers and fulltime yam farmers who lived in rural villages reachable only by footpaths or dry-season roads. According to scholar Sydney L. Kasfir, none of the artists from Idoma had traveled outside Idomaland, gone to school, spoken on the telephone, or learned how to read and write; yet they were experts at many now-forgotten skills such as hunting and brass casting, and were repositories of minute knowledge on every tree, plant, and bush animal.

Ochai, who died around 1950, remains one of the most famous Idoma artists. Unlike most, he was a fulltime sculptor and had commissions from many villages beyond his own. His pieces in the exhibition with whitened faces, frequently a feature of masks and figures of the region (fig. 2.1), reveal the influence of neighboring groups, especially the Igbo peoples of southeastern Nigeria. The faces display lines of small incisions along the sides of the face and down the center of the forehead that emulate patterns of facial scarification. Ochai’s works display a characteristically bold, expressive carving style.

Also living in Otobi was Oba who may have been mentored by Ochai. This would not have been typical, however, since no formal apprenticeship system existed among Idoma carvers. Although the Anjenu sculpture in fig. 2.2 is thought to be by Oba, it is said to lack the finesse of Ochai.

The artist Umale Oganegi lived and worked in Ukuaja village near the town of Dekina. When a child he fell from a tree and became seriously disabled. He took up woodcarving using wood that his younger brother would collect outside the village and cut for him. Eventually Umale became very well known in the Dekina area for the bold simplicity of his carvings of female shrine figures and animal-headed helmet masks. He also was known for figurative boxes with lids, which were made to hold cosmetics (fig. 2.3) or as frames for mirrors.

The Idoma artist Oklenyi from nearby Okungaga spent time watching artists at work, and then practiced woodcarving in secret until he became a carver who was recognized for his talent by both Igala and Idoma clients. Oklenyi’s style is evident on his masks with multiple heads, each with a rounded mouth, neat rows of teeth, and scars curving upward.
from the edges of the mouth (fig. 2.4). Such multiheaded masks are carved throughout southeastern Nigeria.

**Curriculum Connections**

**1. Artists and Their Works**
Selected works by named Lower Benue artists are included at the end of this lesson to be shared with students. Teachers should discuss the biographies of the artists with students and have them attempt to match the works to each individual.

**2. Artists in their Community**
Students should read the following remarks by art historian Sidney L. Kasfir in the *Central Nigeria Unmasked* volume (Interleaf A: Idoma and Tiv Artists) about the above artists and others in the Benue Valley. Each excerpt could prompt a discussion about the role of artists in that region as well as in areas closer to the students’ homes.

“He [Onu…a sculptor, blacksmith and Anjenu priest] lived in Okpudu, Okwaga. His dwelling was next to a path that people took to the village market, and as a consequence, unlike any other Idoma artist I had met, he advertised. His marketing efforts consisted of a display rack stuck into the ground beside the path, with one or two masks hanging from it ‘in case someone wanted to place an order.’”

*How would you go about advertising a piece of art you’d produced?*

In… “Paul Bohannan’s (1966) classic essay on Tiv artistic criticism:… designs on a single walking stick are carved by four men passing it around during an evening of conversation, ignoring any sense of artistic ownership.”

*How important do students believe it is to claim a work as one’s own? What changes in that thinking result from cooperative or group projects? Is anything gained from working with others? Is anything lost?*

 “…why do we have to assume that styles and genres are always specific to particular artists or workshops? History and geography both suggest otherwise in the Benue region.”

*Can we, in our community, city, or country, identify styles and genres as that of a particular artist? What influences would be factors in your answer to that question?*

“When the anthropologist inquires why he [an artist who is stitching designs very haphazardly onto a length of cloth] does not pay more attention to what he is doing, the man replies that one does not look at a pattern until it is finished, in order to see how it has come out…: ‘If this one does not come out well…I will sell it…; if it
does, I shall keep it. And if it comes out extraordinarily well, I shall give it to my mother-in-law.”

*Does the quote tell you something about the artist, his approach to his work, his attitude toward consumerism, or relations with his family?*

### 3. The Training of Artists

What background experiences are necessary for someone who wants to be an artist? Artists in Africa and elsewhere may have a diversity of experiences in their training: some attend college and university art programs; others have no formal instruction but learned by watching a village sculptor or apprenticing to an accomplished carver. Some artists are born into families whose traditional art output is shared with the young members.

What are the ramifications of the separate experiences above? Who might be more apt to be innovative in their creations? Who might adhere to a particular style or method? How might any training listed above affect innovation?
THE LOWER BENUE: FLUID ARTISTIC IDENTITIES
Lower Benue Artists

STUDENT COPY

Fig. 2.1

Fig. 2.2

Fig. 2.3

Fig. 2.4
THE LOWER BENUE: FLUID ARTISTIC IDENTITIES
Lower Benue Artists

Ochai (active 1910–1950)
Face mask, Idoma/Akweya peoples, Otobi village, early to mid-20th century
Wood, pigment
Fowler Museum at UCLA; Gift of Bernice Barth. X2009.16.1

Oba (active 1930s–circa 1950)
Shrine figure (Anjenu), Idoma/Akweya peoples, early–mid-20th century
Wood, string, beads, pigment.
Fowler Museum at UCLA; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Jeffrey Kuhn. X95.36.4

Umale Oganegi (active 1940s–1970s)
Figurative box, mid-20th century, Igala peoples, Dekina town
Wood, metal
New Orleans Museum of Art; Museum Purchase, Robert P. Gordy Fund, 92.379a,b. L2010.90.1

Oklenyi (active 1930s–1970s)
Face mask, Idoma peoples, Okungaga village, early to mid 20th century
Wood, pigment
Collection of Toby and Barry Hecht. L2010.76.3
Background Information

Centers for casting objects of bronze (typically an alloy of copper and tin) and brass (alloy of copper and zinc) have been identified across the Benue corridor, from its confluence with the Niger to its upper reaches near the Cameroon border. Metal headdresses, small-scale standing figures, leadership regalia, smoking pipes, and ritual weapons reflect a variety of aesthetic and technical approaches. Most of these objects are relatively unknown when compared with other now-famous, metalworking traditions from southern Nigeria: the ancient Yoruba finds linked to Ife, the royal arts of Benin, and the archaeological objects excavated at Igbo-Ukwu.

Bronze and brass works were used in both the daily and ritual lives of the many people living there, and although made in specific locations in the valley, their comparatively small size and portability led to wide dispersal of individual pieces. This distribution and influence, along with the fact that itinerant specialists might travel beyond their home villages practicing their art, led to noticeable similarities in styles and details as well as local distinctions. The difficulty in determining original sources of many of the works is compounded by the fact that objects cast from copper alloys were easily recycled. A smith merely needed to light the fire and melt and pour molten alloys into molds, thus transforming the old into something new and different.

Many of the pieces have been made by lost-wax casting, a technique long documented in the Niger Benue region. As early as the sixteenth century, early explorers were impressed by the sophistication of the pieces made here. The process called for skills in both pottery and metalworking, some cast pieces receiving further embellishment by smiths who worked the metal with hammers and other tools, attaching additional elements to the piece.

Cast metal works throughout the Benue River Valley were held in high esteem for their beauty and durability and because their makers seemed to be employing special powers as they used fire to transform pieces of metal into sculptural forms. These attributes resulted in many pieces being made for or appropriated by high-status members of a community.

Curriculum Connections

1. Metal Head Crests
This elaborate head crest of the Egbira peoples (fig. 3.1) was worn during funerals, with the performer completely concealed by cloth and netting. In the 1850s, the Egbira kingdoms were overtaken by the expansion of Islamic forces from the north. After Egbira rulers adopted Islam, the production of non-Islamic ritual objects such as these head crests was later eliminated.

Students should compare this headdress to the wood and metal Afo crest masks (fig. 3.2A,B) with their arching silhouettes. They will note the greater degree of elaboration on
the tiered Egbira crest with its several component parts, surface embellishment, and dangling elements. This complex piece was the result of joining cast metal pieces with metal parts that had been hammered and otherwise worked by the smith.

A. Students can create a two-dimensional rendition of an elaborate crest mask based on simple geometric shapes. Point out the preponderance of curved lines in the crest masks here. If you provide students with outlines in the shape of a crescent, they can use cut-out shapes as impetus for crest masks of their own designs.

B. Students can also elaborate on a simply formed piece (metal or other material) with additions such as bells, dangles, streamers, braids, etc. Looking at the Egbira crest’s rooster (messenger of the deities), the Afo masks’ color-changing chameleon (demonstrating a potential for transformation), and the power-denoting antelope will suggest that including animal imagery would not only enhance the embellishment, but also the impact and power of the work.

2. Bells: Status and Memory
Elliptically shaped cast bells with looped handles were associated with Igala royalty and men of high status. The bells were kept in ancestor shrines belonging to titled clan leaders, where they could be used to “call” the ancestors and petition their aid.

Viewing the bells (fig. 3.3) in the exhibition might call to the students’ minds some bells that have been part of their own experiences. Perhaps in a religious context, in celebratory situations, being warned of impending danger, routinely at school and elsewhere, all have heard and responded physically or emotionally to the sound of bells. Have them share these experiences with the class.

To further examine the wide variety of bells, students could bring in examples they have at home, and after viewing, comparing, and commenting, let each student select one of his or her own that elicits a particular memory. They could express these “memories of the bells” in the form of poetry, as has been done by poets for a long time. A lesson on onomatopoeia would certainly be appropriate here. Younger students can incorporate their expressions on paper cut or outlined in the shape of a bell.

Students also might explore the use of bells in Nigeria and throughout Africa where they often have powerful political and ritual associations, perhaps proclaiming a sacred presence, on the one hand, and neutralizing hostile or harmful forces on the other. They will see and hear the use of bells in the masquerade and can talk about the role of the bell-ringer here. Throughout Africa, bells also supply musical accompaniment when worn on the torso, arms, or ankles, or attached to the masks and clothing of dancers. Although we think of a “bell-shape,” students will note that bells come in varied shapes, sizes, and materials, and can sound deep and solemn, bright and tinkling, and many sounds in between—another point for discussion.
3. Casting Metal
Students can learn more about the technique of casting metals by reading about Ancient Bronzes of the Asian Grasslands on the website of the Mabee-Gerrer Museum of Art (http://www.mgmoa.org/sites/mg/uploads/images/Education/StartwithArt/Ancient_Bronzes/2-SWA-Grasslands-Casting.pdf). Although the steps in casting metal would be a time consuming but satisfying task for students, the final actual pouring of molten metal would, of course, have to be done by an experienced adult. The alternative activity for young people is to do a casting using sand and plaster of Paris. Directions are on the website http://www.ket.org/artstoolkit/visual/ideafile/126.htm#endglobalnav

4. Many Metals
Older students may be interested in the differences among the metals described here: copper, bronze, brass, among others. They can research the metallurgic components of each, identify uses for the metals, and collect items or pictures of items made of the metals.
The Lower Benue: Fluid Artistic Identities
Lost Wax Casting along the Benue

Fig. 3.1

Head crest with rooster, Egbira peoples, 1875-1925
Copper alloy
Indianapolis Museum of Art, Russell and Becky Curtis Art Purchase Endowment Fund, 1999. L2010.65.1
Lost Wax Casting along the Benue

Fig. 3.2A
Crest mask, (Ekpeshi), Afo peoples, early to mid-20th century
Wood, abrus seeds
Musée du quai Branly, 73.1996.1.13. L2010.40.5

Fig. 3.2B
Crest mask, Afo peoples (?), early to mid-20th century
Copper alloy
Musée du quai Branly, 73.1996.17.1. L2010.40.6
Crest mask, Afo peoples, early to mid-20th century
Wood, metal, abrus seeds
Collection of Toby and Barry Hecht. L2010.76.6
The Lower Benue: Fluid Artistic Identities
Lost Wax Casting along the Benue

Fig. 3.3

Bells, Igala peoples, early 20th century
Copper alloy
Collection of Mark Clayton. L2010.5.1, 5.2
The Lower Benue:
Fluid Artistic Identities
The Circulation of Masquerades

Background Information

As one explores the masquerades of the Lower Benue region, teachers and students are urged to consider first the groundbreaking work of art historian Herbert M. Cole who writes of masquerade, theater, and dance costumes in Africa in the Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion:

“African masquerades, perhaps the continent’s premier art form, play grandly with illusion, ambivalence, and paradox. Masks and masquerades are both more, and less, than what they appear to be. Their illusionist play can be comic and lighthearted, or deeply serious, but always it is creative and imaginative, art and artifice. Never is it ordinary, and usually it is deeply meaningful and sometimes powerfully instrumental. Masquerades both create and help organize values and knowledge, and they are thus anything but trivial—a word that characterizes many Western ideas about masks. Masking is a powerful, pervasive aesthetic component in many African cultures” (Cole 2010, 1: 121).

In an earlier publication, I Am Not Myself: The Art of African Masquerade, Cole describes the liminal experience of the masker, from which he can act out, explore, and contest normal limits and actions:

“The arts of transformation in Africa range along a continuum from slight modifications of a visible face and body to wholesale alteration of the human form through its enclosure in a “costume” of non-human character. Our concern here…is with these latter, spirit-associated transformations which cancel or obliterate the wearer’s personality, even his humanity, by superimposing a wholly new form. The change is often into another human character—a pretty girl, old man, mother, hunter, or stranger—but something essential has happened; this being is also a spirit. Its visible face—the mask—is inanimate, with immobile features. This is and is not a human being. So transformed, the new being is saying: “I am not myself.”

Masking arts may also quite drastically alter human forms. Under a disguise the bodily armature can be bulked out to nonhuman shapes and sizes with hoops or pads; it may be armless and extended upward on a frame or pole, its face amplified with exaggerated quasi-human, zoomorphic, or bizarre features. Appearance and behavior are also extraordinary, otherworldly. The being glides, walks on or spits fire, speaks in a foreign or nonsensical tongue. The masker neither talks nor acts like a true human and, as he careens wildly through the village, seems to be outside human laws” (Cole 1985, 16).
Masquerades across the Benue Region

Throughout the Lower (and Middle Benue) regions, masquerades are performed to incarnate ancestors, enforce social codes, support royal and chiefly authority, celebrate warriors, or to entertain. Among those on view in the Lower Benue section of the Central Nigeria Unmasked exhibition are videos of “tall ghost” masks, as well as an impressive elephant mask, crest masks worn on the top of the head, and three imposing helmet masks that are used in masquerades to honor royalty among the Igala peoples.

The circumstances of war, migration, and resettlement since the nineteenth century have meant that masks were and continue to be highly mobile. They could be taken as war booty, bought and sold, adopted with or without accompanying rituals, and altered to suit aesthetic or social requirements of a new community. Reinterpreted by new owners, their meanings changed in response to different contexts and needs.

As cultural boundary crossers, masquerade traditions also retain some traces of where they have been. Their names, origin stories, accompanying musical instrumentation, idiosyncratic dance steps, or special adornments are all clues to their historical path.

The following curriculum connections explore masks familiar to the peoples in the Lower Benue region.

Curriculum Connections

1. Tall Ghost (fig. 4.1)

Up to fifteen feet tall and honoring their ancestors, “tall ghost” traditions travel along the Benue and Niger Rivers. The spirit is concealed—the face of the masquerader is disguised with a mask and the bodily armature is transformed, often by adding many layers, bulking out to non-human proportions and thereby commanding greater presence; or, as in the case of the tall ghosts, adding to its height with raised arms, a stick held up high, or a tall frame, often of bamboo. For these masquerades, the bodily armature is completely covered in woven cloth burial-like shrouds, and with a stick the masquerader manipulates the fabric, elongating and collapsing the covering as the “tall ghost” sways from side to side and leaps, twists, and twirls to the beat of drums. Voice disguisers add to the ghostly illusion. The tradition is widespread, one that perhaps originated in the Middle Benue with the Jukun peoples and moved down the Benue along with migrating populations. Some historians argue the reverse, theorizing that these masquerades originated among the Yoruba peoples. No matter the direction of adoption, the tall ghosts are a telling example of how an idea and form can travel.

A. Have the class view, at least twice, the Ancestral Incarnations along the Benue video on the Fowler Museum’s website (fowler.ucla.edu). After the first viewing have students comment
on, discuss, and question what they’ve seen, and then view the video again. Lead
discussions and questioning, perhaps stressing the following aspects:

- Note the interaction between participants and viewers.
- Be aware that the identity of the masquerader is concealed. The community is not
  supposed to know how the action takes place because the masqueraders are ancestral
  “ghosts.”
- What do students notice in the video besides the people—ghostly and otherwise?
- Are students aware of the sounds?
- Can students speculate on the significance of some of the actions and/or behaviors
  they see? (i.e., bowing in respect to ancestors, taunting, both attention and
  indifference)
- What words would they use to describe the performer? (agile, highly skilled)

B. Place the students in the role of observer/reporter at an actual masquerade. Immediately
reacting to what they’ve seen, have them tweet about it to a friend at home. Later, with the
understanding that “140 characters” will leave recipients of the tweet wanting to know
more, have them write a letter or journal entry describing the scene and the action, and
recounting their reactions.

C. Can students create miniature “tall ghosts?” Ideas to pursue are pop-up puppets or
marionettes; representing the dancer with forearms and hands as elbows rest on a table;
constructing a frame of wire, wood, or pipe cleaners to be covered with fabric scraps or
scarves. Let students be creative in manipulating the figure with side-to-side swaying
motions, an alternating elongating and collapsing movement, or a repetitive twisting
pattern. Perhaps they will emulate the movements of a “tall ghost” in a student-life-size
version.

2. Ekeucici (fig. 4.2)
Preceding the tall ghost a masked dancer, Ekeucici, serves as servant. His role is to clear the
path of any trash so the tall ghost can travel without stumbling or falling. The facial
features of Ekeucici’s mask, sharp and angular, are covered in ritual materials that are
usually classed as waste or trash. The name of the mask comes from the words *eku*, meaning
masquerade, and *ecici* usually translated into English as ‘rubbish,’ i.e., the loose stones,
sticks, leaves, and household and other detritus scattered over the ground. His blue and
white costume emulates the fabric used for the initial wrapping of a deceased person, has
distinct sleeves and pant legs, and is frequently embellished with many multi-colored
cloths.
A. Rooted in tradition and responsive to contemporary circumstances, the Ekuecici mask is one that commands novel interpretation from its maker. Sometimes “beast-like” in appearance, it does not strive to win beauty awards. Students could make an Ekuecici-inspired mask, preferably using “rubbish” as mask components.

B. Ekuecici masks now in public and private collections often look quite unlike the face covering of the performer who cleaned the path for the ghost dancer. In performance the mask was topped with dirt, rags, and sacrificial material. Before entering collections, these additions often were removed and the surface of the piece cleaned. What are other reasons that masks appear different when on display than they did when in use?

- On display, a mask is like a sculpture, fixed in its form and place; in use it is dynamic, moving in a variety of speeds and motions.
- The accompanying costumes, often made of organic materials are liable to have decomposed before the works entered collections. Sometimes costumes are completely or partially remade for each masquerade by the masquerade society that owns them.
- A mask in a museum setting lacks the components so important in a performance, including music, dance, rituals, audience participation, etc. These, of course, influence the perception of the mask.

3. Elephant (Itrokwu) (fig. 4.3)
This large elephant mask (Itrokwu) is a metaphor for greatness and for the chief’s potential for destructive power. It was performed with an indigo burial cloth, worn as a kind of cloak over other layers of cloth to enhance its size. Its dance is “hot,” bursting into the compound aggressively, knocking over food-drying platforms, scattering cooking pots and audience, who remain at a respectful distance. This elephant is highly stylized: the three long extensions at the front of the mask are the animal’s long trunk and tusks, one set of tiny ears is on the crown, and another longer set of “ears” project from the rear.

A. As the elephant is a powerful symbol in the Itrokwu masquerade, so its power is celebrated orally in stories and proverbs, and in songs and poems of praise. An activity built around the tradition of praise poetry of neighboring Yoruba peoples of southeastern Nigeria would be appropriate here, and an eloquent poem in honor of the elephant is included as example. After students read the poem “Oriki Erin” (Salute to the Elephant), they will see how the animal is described both metaphorically and as actually observed.

“Oriki Erin” (“Salute to the Elephant”)

Elephant,

Lafiakju,
The Circulation of Masquerades

Spirit of the bush,
skin full of money,
one-armed spirit,
spirit that shatters the forest
render of trees,
child of the forest destroyer,
offspring of the coconut-breaker,
elephant who kneels in a huge mass,
you whose mouth utters a laugh that enjoins respect…
If an elephant passes but once through a place,
it becomes a road and if his mother later passes through,
it becomes an extensive plain!...
His eye socket is like a big, wide pot,
his throat is like the dye pot.
But if nobody molests you, you molest nobody.
The elephant has only one arm but he can push down a palm tree.
If he had two, he would tear down the sky like a rag!
Coverer who covers this child like darkness!
(Drewal 1992, 186)

B. The class could cooperatively compose praise poems for other animals (preferably calling on a combination of research activity and experience).

C. Elephants are retained in the collective memory of a people. Even when there is none in the immediate environment or in lived experience, an artist may choose to portray the animal because of its enduring importance. Some portrayals are closer to the reality of the animal than others. The Itrokwu mask here is not a literal interpretation of an elephant’s appearance. Students may find other renditions as they look at masquerade images in the library or online, and they could determine which facets echo reality and others that function more metaphorically.
4. Ichahoho (fig. 4.4)
Ichahoho is a warrior’s masquerade indigenous to the southern Idoma. The Ichahoho’s carved mask is topped with horns, its knitted costume fits tightly, and it carries a machete as it challenges older men to mock battle. Formerly an expression of warrior-style aggression, the masquerade today is an expression of youthful hubris.

A. The Ichahoho is not performed for entertainment purposes, rather it is for social control. What other reasons can be found for masquerades? And what activities of youthful “acting out” are acceptable and/or predominant in students’ lives?

B. The Ichahoho mask is made of wood, which Lower Benue scholar Sydney L. Kasfir believes is not the oldest mask form in the Benue region (2011). In fact the wooden mask has developed at different times under differing circumstances. There are also acoustic masks that are only to be heard, and not seen; textile costumes; masks made of plant material; and others incorporating contemporary materials. Can students speculate on the order in which each of these, other than the wooden masks, started seeing use in the Benue River Valley?

- acoustic masks (the oldest and most widespread): conceptualized as “invisible spirits” and usually with powerful sanctions and taboos associated with breaking that envelope of invisibility provided either by the darkness of night or if heard during daylight hours by being hidden from view.
- plant material coverings (next to be used): made of leaves, tree bark…and in Idomaland, millet and guinea corn stalks or raffia palm fibers.
- textile costumes…developed after the introduction of the portable double-heddle loom through the trans-Saharan trade. For the Benue region this was no earlier than the tenth century. Textiles as burial shrouds for ancestral masquerade textiles are dated to approximately the sixteenth century.
- contemporary materials

5. Face Mask (fig. 4.5)
The artist Oklenyi carved this mask in his very individual style. His face masks typically have rounded mouths and neat rows of upper and lower teeth, often set off by upward curving scars from the edges of the mouth. The configuration of this Idoma carving is distinctively that of Oklenyi, although multiheaded masks are found elsewhere in southeastern Nigeria.

A. This mask is made to cover the wearer’s face and transform the masquerader into a spirit. Students should note to what extent other Benue masks conceal the body and look for examples in the exhibition.
THE LOWER BENUE: FLUID ARTISTIC IDENTITIES
The Circulation of Masquerades

- helmet masks that cover the whole head
- crest masks worn on top of the head
- forehead masks to rest on the forehead
- tall vertical masks that rest on the maskers’ shoulders
- fabric masks for enclosing the face and whole body

B. An activity related to the multiple-faced masks will have students also drawing multiple faces—one each on five of the six sides of a paper cube (one, the bottom side, remains blank) that they construct of paper. A heavier stock would offer better rigidity for the cube. The template for the cube is included in this lesson. When drawing the faces students should be sure that at least two sides of each face are drawn to the outer edge of the cube. You may choose to assign the theme of their project (people important in students’ lives, the students themselves at various stages of their lives or displaying varied emotions, members of their families, etc.)

6. Ungulali Crest (fig. 4.6)
The term ungulali means “flute,” and flute music accompanied the Ungulali masks’ performance. It was reportedly used at Christmas festivities, funerals of important people, and other special events.

Ungulali crests may have stacks of two, three, or even four heads. Although this particular headpiece was collected in the Idoma village of Otobi in 1958, no one in the village recognized it twenty years later, leading scholars to believe that such multiheaded masks likely originated in the Cross River area nearby. Since objects like these are so portable, it is difficult to ascertain the authorship and identities of particular mask types, such as the Ungulali.

A. Students should discuss why objects such as the Ungulali mask are moved so easily from place to place, contributing to the difficulties in identifying and discerning their origin. (the size of masks makes them portable, they can be taken as war booty, and/or masks can become a commodity to be bought and sold.)

B. They can challenge or agree with the statement made by Professor Herbert M. Cole in African Arts of Transformation (1970, 42) that the distribution of multiheaded masks is functional: “multiple heads mean multiple superhuman powers,” and discuss reasons for their opinion. Do students see analogies to the notions of multiplicity in their own lives, i.e. wearing multiple pieces of jewelry or bling, cars with multiple modifications, personal altars with multiple images of the same saint, and tattoos. What messages are communicated in these multiples? Do they increase visual and metaphorical efficacy?
7. Afo Crests (fig. 4.7A,B,C)
Among the Afo, who live on the north side of the Benue River opposite the Idoma, artists make crest masks to be worn by the drummer at a funeral for a noble or important village elder, and/or when the drummer accompanies the chief on a visit to another village. The drummer is called Ekpeshi or “Featherman,” a reference to the rooster’s comb on the mask (fig. 4.7A,B). The headdress (with holes for the cords that hold it on the wearer’s head) also includes references to chameleons and antelope horns, with each of these creatures evoking attributes to be prized (fig. 4.7A). The rooster is considered the messenger of deities and a signifier of abundance, the chameleon and its changing colors symbolizes magical powers of transformation, and the antelope horns are metaphors of power and fertility.

A. Each of the three crest masks here is unique, but related. Students could look for the correspondences and differences. Of the three, one is wood, one a copper alloy, and the third is made of both wood and metal. One presents a more simplified approach than the others, one has human figures in addition to the animal references.

B. We could end our experiences in this circulation of masquerades with a genre of poetry known as “mask” or “persona” poems. In this form the writer wears the mask and assumes the voice of the subject he or she is writing about. Here the students could assume the voice of one of the three creatures that typically appear on Afo crest masks: the rooster, the chameleon, and the antelope (as discussed above). Or they could assume the voice of an inanimate object as in the sample about bells that follows:

   Cold, quiet.
   Sounds? None.
   Approaching voices.
   Back and forth, side to side.
   Clang!
   Call dancers from the bush.
   Clang! Clang!

You could give guidelines to younger students as they take the voice of an object: Restrict the number of lines (about six or seven). The first and last lines name the subject. The other lines (as determined by you) could describe it with just an adjective or with a simile comparing it to something else; could tell something it can do, or wants, or wishes, or sees.
UNIT 1, LESSON 4

THE LOWER BENUE: FLUID ARTISTIC IDENTITIES
The Circulation of Masquerades

Fig. 4.1

Fig. 4.2
Ekuecici mask, Ebira peoples, early to mid-20th century
Wood, abrus seeds
Private Collection, Paris. L2010.54.3

Fig. 4.3
Oba (active 1930s–circa 1950)
Elephant mask (Itrokwu), Idoma/Akweya peoples, Otobi village, circa 1944
Wood, pigment, paint
Musée du quai Branly, 73.1996.1.75. L2010.40.4
The Circulation of Masquerades

Ochai (active 1910–1950)
Ichahoho mask, Idoma/Akweya peoples, Otobi village, early to mid-20th century
Wood, pigment, fiber
Collection of Toby and Barry Hecht. L2010.76.2
Oklenyi (active 1930s–1970s)
Face mask, Idoma peoples, Okungaga village
early to mid 20th century
Wood, pigment
Collection of Toby and Barry Hecht. L2010.76.3

Ungulali crest mask, Cross River peoples, (?), early
20th century
Wood, pigment
Private Collection, Paris. L2010.55.1
The Lower Benue: Fluid Artistic Identities
The Circulation of Masquerades

Fig. 4.7A
Crest mask (Ekpeshi), Afo peoples, early to mid-20th century
Wood, abrus seeds
Musée du quai Branly, 73.1996.1.13.
L2010.40.5

Fig. 4.7B
Crest mask, Afo peoples (?), early to mid-20th century
Copper alloy.
Musée du quai Branly 73.1996.17.1.
L2010.40.6

Fig. 4.7C
Crest mask, Afo peoples, early to mid-20th century
Wood, metal, abrus seeds
Collection of Toby and Barry Hecht.
L2010.76.6
THE LOWER BENUE: FLUID ARTISTIC IDENTITIES
The Circulation of Masquerades

Cube Template
Expand to preferred size and print on heavier paper stock. Students should cut solid line and fold along dotted lines.

Fowler Museum at UCLA
Central Nigeria Unmasked curriculum
UNIT TWO

The Middle Benue: Visual Resemblances, Connected Histories

5. RITUAL INTERMEDIARIES IN HUMAN FORM
6. MIDDLE BENUE IRONWORKS
7. MASQUERADES IN THE MIDDLE BENUE
The largest and most ethnically and geographically complex of the Benue subregions is the Middle Benue. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the establishment of Muslim Fulani states and the simultaneous intensification of slave raiding dramatically impacted the diverse peoples living there. These events were followed by further disruptive outside influences in the form of British colonization and the arrival of Christian missionaries starting in the early twentieth century.

Most contemporary ethnic identities within this area crystallized only during the colonial period, because the British needed them for administrative purposes, and local people embraced them out of a sense of belonging. The works of more than ten of these culture groups—with an emphasis on the Jukun, Mumuye, Chamba, Wurkun/Bikwin, Goemai, Montol, and Kantana/Kulere—are featured here.

Distinctive to the arts of the Middle Benue region are sculptures in human form, hybridized human-animal horizontal masks, and remarkable vertical masks that may have functioned as “walking sculptures.” The striking resemblances among these art objects speak to historical relationships and ritual alliances among neighboring peoples. All across the region, wooden figures served as intermediaries in rituals aimed at healing and protecting the community, especially from such crises as epidemics, drought, and warfare. And, horizontal and vertical masks were used in performances associated with funerals and remembering the dead, initiating youth, ensuring or celebrating a successful harvest, or healing the sick.

The figurative sculptures of the Middle Benue region are decidedly different from the favored maternal image of the Lower Benue. They are geometric in approach, and many examples have long held special appeal for modernist artists and collectors, who admired especially the abstraction and dynamic postures of Mumuye figurative sculpture. The highly stylized circular horns of the “buffalo” crest masks of the Kantana and Kulere peoples are also notable for their bold minimalist elegance. This section of the exhibition also includes Super-8 footage of several masquerade genres where performers wore voluminous raffia capes along with animal-human hybrid masks. The films were taken in 1965 and 1970 by UCLA art historian Arnold Rubin, whose fieldwork laid the foundation for this exhibition.
Background Information

Sculptures in human form were used as the focus of ritual activities across the Middle Benue region. The figures could stand in for specific ancestors, the collective dead, or spirits of the wild, all understood to be human-like in form. The dramatic, carved wooden figures served as intermediaries in rituals aimed at healing and protecting the community. Natural catastrophes such as epidemics and drought, and crises brought about by war and the slave trade all provided need for intervention. Important objects could be traded or sold along with the rituals used to activate them.

These ritual figures take a geometric form, differing from the more naturalistic maternal images of the Lower Benue. That they all have columnar torsos, encircling arms, short legs, heads with crest forms, and faces with rudimentary features demonstrates the dynamics of interaction and communication across the Middle Benue. Even with these correspondences, the figurative sculpture of the Mumuye, Jukun, Chamba, Wurkun, and Montol peoples exhibit enough stylistic difference to reveal local innovation and invention.

Curriculum Connections

1. Sculptural Forms
Teachers should show images of the Middle Benue ritual sculpture (figs. 5.1–5.6). Have students study these figures, looking at the overall appearance as well as the details. Notice the formation of the various parts of the heads, torsos, and limbs. Freely compare any of the figures to each other.

2. Following the Lines
Each student should select one figure and make a contour drawing of it. They should use a sharp pencil or fine tip pen and with eyes fixed on the contours of the figure, draw the contour very slowly with a steady, continuous line, without lifting the drawing tool or looking at the paper. It helps for students to imagine the pencil is in contact with the object. Then the eye slowly traces the contours of the figure, the hand moves the pen at a steady, slow, and deliberate pace and responds to every nuance and undulation of form. The drawings should be posted on a classroom wall. An alternate activity would have students work in pairs. As one student describes his/her selected sculpture, the partner may make a drawing of it based solely on the description.

3. Strike a Pose
Let students work in small groups as one in the group assumes the stance or pose of a particular sculpture. Other group members connect the posture with a Benue figure, perhaps using quick gestural drawings to capture the pose.
4. Variations In Form
To which particular aspects or components of a figure are students paying attention? (i.e., shape of the torso and the stance, the heads and faces, the arms and legs, body decorations) Let them call out the variations. (i.e., arms encircling the body or held straight at the figure’s sides; heads topped with a crest, elaborate hairdo, etc.) This activity gives students opportunity to construct and use precise visual language and practice skills of visual acuity.

5. Giving Form to Cultural Continuity
Although these figures provide evidence of the dynamic interrelations among the peoples in the Middle Benue, works of art may also display characteristics attributable to a given culture. First have students look for the variations as above. Then have them look at the following descriptions drawn from the exhibition text and the essay by Richard Fardon in *Central Nigeria Unmasked: Arts of the Benue River Valley* (2011), and match them with the correct images.

A. Ritual Intermediary, Chamba peoples (fig. 5.1)
Single and double columnar figures were used among the Chamba peoples as ritual intermediaries. The work displayed here reveals the artist Soompa’s distinctively volumetric approach to the human form. Soompa’s double figures—the torsos of a male and female sharing a single hip plinth and pair of legs or alternatively emerging from a single forked pole—are among the most original sculptural inventions of the Middle Benue. The double-figure sculptures are said to be a married couple.

B. Sculpture, Jukun peoples (fig. 5.2)
This and similar sculptures recall prominent past chiefs and their wives. Offerings were made to them to secure well-being or to avert misfortunes. The male figure wears cylindrical ear spools and carries the fragment of the staff signifying his office.

C. Figure, Kantana peoples (fig. 5.3)
Small sculptures were used by the Kantana…and other neighboring peoples in rituals associated with healing. The figures are typically short and stocky with their heads tucked into their shoulders, and they have a red powdery surface.

D. Figure, Montol peoples (fig. 5.4)
The Montol used single or paired figures in a men’s society called Komtin. The society was concerned primarily with healing, and these figures could be used for divining the causes of illness. One [style of Montol carving] involves a squat, chunky system of proportions …with precise geometrical shapes.
E. Figure, Mumuye peoples (fig. 5.5)
Mumuye sculptures demonstrating striking variety are particularly notable for their abstraction and the way their long, bent arms frame their columnar torsos, sometimes hanging from the shoulders in a horseshoe shape. A helmet-like headdress with flaps identifies a sculpture as male. Some works with long notched legs may have been used in rainmaking. The shape of their legs bears an intriguing resemblance to a jagged flash of lightning. It may be that such formal attributes encapsulate the potential of the spirits inhabiting the figures to act at the speed of lightning. Iron rainmaking wands used by the Mumuye have the same zigzag form.

F. Figures, Wurkun peoples (fig. 5.6)
A majority of Wurkun figures tend towards a minimalist columnar form with an elongation of the body and no legs. The stylization of arms pursues what is a tendency towards abstraction elsewhere in the region to an elegant extreme. Many figures have shoulders, arms and hands that connect as a single raised ridge forming a diamond or, with the angles of the elbows softened, an oval shape, which encircles the front of the torso. The figures’ necks are elongated and can be encircled with fiber, a feature reminiscent of Wurkun vertical masks.
THE MIDDLE BENUE: VISUAL RESEMBLANCES, CONNECTED HISTORIES
Ritual Intermediaries in Human Form

Fig. 5.1
Soompa (active 1920s–1940s), Chamba peoples, 1920s–1940s. Male-female double figure
Wood
Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, 2005.77; Gift of Robert and Nancy Nooter. L2010.71.2

Fig. 5.2
Male figure (Wipong), Jukun peoples, Gwana village, late 19th–early 20th century
Wood
Robert T. Wall Family. L2010.83.1
THE MIDDLE BENUE:
VISUAL RESEMBLANCES, CONNECTED HISTORIES
Ritual Intermediaries in Human Form

Fig. 5.3
Female figure, Kantana peoples (?), early to mid-20th century
Wood, resin, abrus seeds
Art Institute of Chicago; Restricted Gift of Claire B. Zeisler Foundation. 1972.173. L2010.60.1

Fig. 5.4
Female figure, Montol peoples, before 1970
Wood
Private Collection, Paris. L2010.50.5
**THE MIDDLE BENUE: VISUAL RESEMBLANCES, CONNECTED HISTORIES**

Ritual Intermediaries in Human Form

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**Fig. 5.5**

Figure, Mumuye peoples, late 19th–early 20th century
Wood
Udo and Wally Horstmann. L2010.57.1

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**Fig. 5.6**

Male and female *kundul* pair. Wurkun peoples, early to mid-20th century
Wood
Private Collection, Los Angeles. L2010.77.4.1, 4.2
Background Information

The use of metallurgy in Western Africa dates to about 1500 BCE and in the region of the Benue River Valley evidence of blacksmiths’ work has been found from the sixth century BCE. The earliest known civilization to possess the knowledge of the manufacture and use of iron in sub-Saharan Africa is that of the Nok culture (so named after the village where works of art in terracotta and metal were first found in 1944). The Nok area, in fact, is not far from the Benue Valley, northwest of the Niger/Benue confluence.

Across the region—historically and still today—the most powerful markers of ritual authority included forged iron rattles (fig. 6.1), spears (fig. 6.2), knives, and wands. Iron has provided the material for affirmations of regal status and power and it has been fashioned into essential tools of everyday living including weapons, hunting gear, and farming implements, most notably the hoe. Iron, with intrinsic supernatural power, serves as means of communication with powerful natural and ancestral forces.

Consequently blacksmiths, those who worked with iron, acquired a distinct position in society as they created such charged implements drawn from the raw materials of nature itself. Important members of their community, blacksmiths often moved into other areas where their skills were needed, and even though the iron pieces were produced by local or regional specialists, their very portability led to widespread distribution among neighboring groups.

Curriculum Connections

1. The Blacksmith and the Rainmaker

After students read the following tale they will discuss the questions that are posed right after the narrative by the author. It is a story similar to many that are told in this part of the valley about the two very important specialists, here portrayed as rivals, the rainmaker and the blacksmith. Each thought himself the more important and valuable member of the community. The following version of the story is retold from a version given to Adrian C. Edwards by blacksmith Martin Isa of Womkura, Womkasa. The version from which this is retold is quoted in Edwards’ article, The Blacksmith and the Rainmaker among the Verre. (citation). Edwards lived at Yadim in Verre country in the Benue River Valley from 1985–1987.

Blacksmiths were rivals with the rainmaker.
The blacksmith went to the rainmaker’s work, and when the rainmaker met him, he said that he was greater than the blacksmith.
The blacksmith said that it was he, the blacksmith, who was greater than the rainmaker.
That is why they became rivals.
Rainmaker stopped making rain for one year.
Then both the rainmaker and the blacksmith were hungry, and the next year the blacksmith brought fire.
The rainmaker’s rain put out the fire.

Then the blacksmith left smithing things, then they were hungry that year again, two years.
Then they came together, they said now they knew they were equal.
That is why, if the blacksmith brings fire, the rain does not quench it, until he finishes his work.

The rainmaker then came to the forge, and there met the blacksmith forging hoes.
He chose a hoe, gave it to the rainmaker, and said, ‘Let him farm,’ Then they held hands, and that is how they are equal.

The author (Edwards) discusses the significance of the above tale and poses some interesting questions that students may consider and discuss:

- Is it a political myth about the balance of power in Verre society?
- Is it a cosmic myth about fire and water as opposing principles?
- Is it a myth that justifies a ritual?
- Is it simply a “Just-So Story” about discovering equality through a quarrel?
- How, as Edwards writes, is “the contraposition of rainmaker and blacksmith…. to some extent a contrast of nature and culture…”?
- Why might the story have been particularly relevant in earlier times? Blacksmiths were more respected and more prosperous than most other group members since at that time their work was less readily available from other sources. The role of rainmakers, before the influence of Christianity and Islam, was certainly more significant.

2. Flash at the Anvil; Flash in the Sky
The forged wands in the exhibition (figs. 6.3 and 6.4) feature sinuously wavy lines or lines that are more sharply angled zigzags. As such, the lines are referencing snakes or lightning, but the same configuration might bring other images to the minds of the students. For this art and language activity each student will need one piece of white paper and one of black, about 9” x 12” each. Cut the black paper in half so students now have two pieces, each 6” x 9”. On one of those pieces draw an expressively jagged line, about ¼ to ½” wide beginning at one of the short ends and zig-zagging almost (but not quite) to the other end. Cut out this line. Glue the black paper with its cutout line to the white, matching top, bottom and one edge. The cutout piece of black can be positioned and then glued onto the white half of the paper using any design element the student prefers. The student may have a mirrored image, a duplicate [same direction] image, or other. See two examples on the following page.
An accompanying language exercise has students using one image to apply to two disparate ideas. The image might be of falling rain (how would the student depict this with cutout paper?) and the opposing thoughts might be “misting gently on my face” and “sharply thrusting sheets of water.” Perhaps he or she would think of a shoe, “bright red, shiny and party-perfect” contrasting with “worn, comfortable, ready-for-a-run sneaker.” The cutout image of a generic shoe would be placed on the paper, the title written on the back or on another piece.

3. Waves of Rain
Another activity would be based on the wavy-lined rainmaking iron. This time students will use two colors of smaller papers, one color about 3” x 5” and the second color about 1” less on both dimensions. On the smaller paper cut out a curving line dividing the paper in two. Place (but don’t glue yet) the paper onto the larger piece and move the two cut pieces slightly apart, creating a negative space between the two cutout pieces. Continue with more wavy lines, each time adding them, slightly separated, to the larger paper. Students will have to watch carefully that they retain the order of the separated pieces, so that if they were to rejoin all the cut pieces it would form the original rectangle. See the examples. You will notice that the separated pieces could be about the same size or could be graduated from large at one end to narrower at the other. The same could be true of the negative spaces formed.
4. Metal Transformation
Metalworking skills continue in present day Africa where artists and other workers use metal—both new and scrap—to fashion objects. Some become useful tools while some are mainly decorative. Students can use discarded metal (from kitchens, shops, schools, etc.) to fashion both.
Fig. 6.1

Rattle, Chamba peoples, 19th–20th century
Iron
National Museum of African Art, Smithsonian Institution; Gift of Tom Joyce and Museum Purchase with funds donated by Carl Jennings, 2002-10-24. L2010.69.2
THE MIDDLE BENUE:
VISUAL RESEMBLANCES, CONNECTED HISTORIES
Middle Benue Ironworks

Spear with clappers, Chamba peoples, 19th–20th century
Iron
National Museum of African Art, Smithsonian Institution; Gift of Tom Joyce and Museum Purchase with funds donated by Carl Jennings, 2002-10-12. L2010.69.3

Vessel with rainmaking wands, Mumuye or Chamba peoples (?), mid-20th century
Ceramic and iron
Fowler Museum at UCLA; Museum Purchase, 2008 X2008.32.3

Fig. 6.2

Fig. 6.3
Fig. 6.4

Rainmaking “snakes” (*taka*). Mumuye peoples, before 1970
Iron
Fowler Museum at UCLA; Gift of Jim and Jeanne Piper
Collected by Arnold Rubin, Zinna District, 1970. X86.2598, 2599
Background Information

Animal/human, king/commoner, wild/domesticated, home/bush, male/female and living/dead are among the dichotomies that come together in fusion mask performances in this middle portion of the Benue River Valley. These masquerades were held especially at times of change such as rites for initiation, assumption of high office, changing of the seasons, and at remembrances of the dead. The resemblances between the masks are evidence of a set of broadly shared religious ideas. Worn horizontally on the head, the masks combine attributes of human (the skull-like shape of the head, human shaped eyes and nose, hair, scarification markings) and animal (horns, beaks, ears, jaws) (fig. 7.1). A variety of animal featured may be represented, but prominent are the horns of the dwarf forest buffalo or bushcow, pointing backwards or forming an almost-complete circle (fig. 7.2). Some of these masquerades were performed in gendered pairs with the females taking a distinctively different form. Frequently capes of flowing hibiscus fiber were attached directly to the horizontal masks sitting on top of the head.

Another distinctive mask form in the Middle Benue departs radically from horizontal orientation with its very tall appearance (fig. 7.3). These towering impersonations—vertical walking sculptures—slowly lumber en masse, slowly forward or sideways, with their heads soaring high above those of the living. These large and dramatic mask configurations were used by several neighboring peoples living on both sides of the Middle Benue River—the Mumuye, Wurkun/Bikwin, and Jukun. They are enigmatic because of their form—some of them perhaps not worn since the space between their lower planks is almost too narrow for a person’s head to fit—and because there are no detailed field observations about how they were performed. Scholars surmise that in some cases the performer stood inside the support and balanced the mask on top of his head, holding the lower portion to keep it steady and seeing through a hole or vision port (fig. 7.4). Others with solid planks or no vision port would have been worn with the wearer’s head turned sideways to see (fig. 7.5). Still others must have been carried by one or more men. Holes along the edges of the planks show that grasses were attached at the sides and bottom to disguise the wearer (fig. 7.6).

These objects were likely to have functioned less like conventional “masks” than as “walking sculptures,” appearing during harvest and planting festivals to bestow blessings of agricultural success and community well-being. Among the Wurkun/Bikwin peoples, they also incarnated ancestors who returned to the human world in spectacular ceremonies.

Curriculum Connections

1. Walking Sculptures
With the class, try to solve the mystery of the vertical masks, or walking sculptures. Are they masks? Are they sculptures? Examining them raises many questions, which have been debated by those studying and working in the area. Read from the introduction or tell the
students about these entities that appear together, slowly moving forward or sideways, towering high above spectators, coming to bestow blessings for successful harvests or incarnating ancestors who are returning to the world of the living.

Divide students into two groups and give each group a set of the following clues, speculations, and observations collected from scholars in the field. Students can play the role of these investigators, conjecture answers, or perhaps raise more questions. Have each group report their findings and tentative conclusions to the class, including in their reports illustrated representations of the performance, complete with costumes. These creative renderings will, of need, be products of their imaginations since no photographs or detailed field observations exist to explain how the masquerades were performed.

Clues, Speculations, and Observations:

It looks like a mask – a really big mask. But is it? Was it worn? How? Or was it carried? How was it used? How would the wearer see?

1. There are no openings for vision.
2. There’s no real way to fit it on the head.
3. One investigator saw a mask that rested on the wearer’s head so he could look through a small porthole while supporting lower planks with his hand.
4. There is such a narrow space between the planks that the mask was probably carried, not worn.
5. It is carved from one piece of wood and is really heavy, so how can a masquerader balance it on top of his head even while steadying it from below?
6. When it is worn it can rise three feet above the performer’s head. It has a long neck.
7. If it was carried would it take more than one man to carry it?
8. The eyes and ears are placed widely apart, making these features visible from both the front and side.
9. The features are similar to figurative sculptures with exaggerated ears, prominent dance helmets, or crested coiffures.
10. The holes along the bottom and outer edges probably mean that fibers were attached.
11. But bodies of the Wurkun masks were decorated and meant to be seen; not hidden by fiber cloaks as was true of other examples.
12. We’re told that the figures were “danced into town” during rituals that lasted three days.
13. In 1925 a scholar wrote that he saw sixteen in one rite and “they are danced by those who are able.”
2. Vertical Power
Students can consider the differences between vertical and horizontal orientations. The walking sculptures discussed above have a distinct vertical orientation with the head upright unlike the mask forms we will discuss next that are horizontally oriented. Does the orientation affect the impression received by the viewer? Does perception of a stationary figure standing erect differ from that of a seated or recumbent figure (more horizontal)? Which, in students’ minds, might denote more power or status?

3. Horizontal Composite Masks
The class can combine original depictions of a mask as they draw their own versions of creatures and/or spirit beings. Horizontal masquerades, primarily in the shape and orientation of an animal, have elongated heads with more horizontal postures as compared to that of humans. Typically the heads are divided into three parts: an extended mouth or snout (sometimes full of dangerous-looking teeth) projecting forward, a cranium (the helmet that receives the dancer’s head), and for the final third, pointed shapes that extend back (often upward) from the head and are usually horns or representations of horns.

As students interpret the above three mask components, they will work with classmates to combine and recombine them into new creatures. Each student should be given 2 ½ index cards (two 4” x 6” cards and one cut in half for a 4” x 3” piece) that they will place as in the following drawing, labeling them in pencil as shown (including the dotted guide lines one inch from top and bottom).

On the center card they’ll draw the head of a creature, facing right, being sure to have the drawings end at the marks on the sides of the card. On the “front” card they will draw the mouth, snout or whatever front projection they choose and likewise on the back they will draw the rearward projection, possibly with horns or other devices. As with the center card, the front and rear end drawings should end at the 1” marks on the cards. Combined, the three cards will depict their version of a horizontal mask and since all parts connect at the
inch mark, the cards are interchangeable and students can configure and reconfigure their creature heads at will.

4. Animal Fusion Masks
Consider the animals depicted on composite horizontal masks and on ones of the students’ making. According to scholar Patrick McNaughton in his African Arts article of 1991 “People, snakes, antelopes, buffaloes, chameleons, elephants, hippopotami, crocodiles, hyenas, and birds have been identified as models for mask elements….But generally these elements are combined so that the finished sculpture portrays no single creature, and often the resulting composite image appears to be important because that is a visual means to a conceptual end” (1991, 47).

Masks usually reference familiar animals. Students can research the natural environment of the Middle Benue Valley to learn of the animals that live there. Or they can concentrate on the animals with which the students share their environment. If they were to design a mask of these animals (from the Benue River Valley or their home), what would the mask look like? They should draw or make a mask combining human elements with characteristics of this animal.

In so doing, consider that the mask is able to assume the qualities of the animals such as the speed of an antelope, the ferocity of a bushcow, the power of a bull. Students should be able to tell of the qualities they are trying to capture in their masks.

5. Bushcows
Students can learn of an animal common to this region of study. The horns of the masks in figures 7.7 and 7.8 represent the dwarf forest bushcow, one of three subspecies of buffalo (*Syncerus caffer*). The buffalo is culturally significant in many parts of Africa and often associated with leadership due to the its extraordinary strength and aggression when provoked. Middle Benue scholar Richard Fardon (as cited in Petridis 2008, 28-29) identifies the dwarf forest bushcow (*Syncerus caffer nanus*) as the source of inspiration for the horns of Chamba helmet masks (fig.7.9). More social and more sedentary than the savanna buffalo and Cape buffalo, the dwarf forest bushcow live together in small groups of females with their young. Thus, for the Chamba peoples this animal offers an image of protective motherhood.

Students will note the large horns depicted on these masks. How would they describe them? (*They're directed backwards, curve upwards and into the center, almost forming a circle.*) What are other ways to depict horns (or antlers which are not true horns)? (*In this region tall and upswept horns are waterbuck or reedbuck references (fig. 7.10). Horns can be parallel from the head, curve upward or downward, be many-branched (fig. 7.11), look like handlebars, curve in a spiral, or be small bumps on the head. Students' designs can be totally original and abstract in appearance.*)
6. Horn Power
Whatever the appearance of horns, incorporating them in a mask adds to the perception of power. Have students add that perception to an object within their lives. They might be inspired as they see examples of “powered” skateboards in the home of San Francisco architect Mason St. Peter. On each skateboard he attached a pair of antlers and displayed the group on his porch. Featured in the September 2010 issue of *Sunset Magazine*, you can find an image of the front porch here: [http://www.happymundane.com/2010/08/antler-skateboards/](http://www.happymundane.com/2010/08/antler-skateboards/)
THE MIDDLE BENEUE:  
VISUAL RESEMBLANCES, CONNECTED HISTORIES  
Masquerades in the Middle Benue

Fig. 7.1
Male horizontal mask (Vaa-Bong), Mumuye peoples, 1970
Wood, pigment, hibiscus fiber
Fowler Museum at UCLA, Gift of Jim and Jeanne Piper Collected by Arnold Rubin, Nigeria, 1970. X86.257

Fig. 7.2
Crest mask ("small" Mangam), Kantana/Kulere peoples (?), early to mid-20th century
Wood
Private Collection, Paris. L2010.50.6
THE MIDDLE BENUE:
VISUAL RESEMBLANCES, CONNECTED HISTORIES
Masquerades in the Middle Benue

Fig. 7.3
Vertical mask, Wurkun/Bikwin peoples, early 20th century
Wood, metal
Private Collection, Brussels. Collected by Pierre Dartevelle, 1969 L2010.48.3

Fig. 7.4
Vertical mask (Sukuru), Mumuye peoples, mid-20th century
Wood, pigment
Seattle Art Museum, Gift of Katherine White and the Boeing Company, 81.17.708 L2010.70.2
THE MIDDLE BENUE:
VISUAL RESEMBLANCES, CONNECTED HISTORIES
Masquerades in the Middle Benue

Fig. 7.5
Vertical mask, Wurkun/Bikwin peoples, late 19th–20th century
Wood, palm oil, pigments
Robert T. Wall Family. L2010.83.2

Fig. 7.6
Vertical mask (Zankani), Jukun peoples, late 19th–early 20th century
Wood, oil
Fine Art Museums of San Francisco, Gift of Earl Loran Family Collection, 2008.38.65. L2010.63.1
THE MIDDLE BENUE: VISUAL RESEMBLANCES, CONNECTED HISTORIES
Masquerades in the Middle Benue

Fig. 7.7

Bushcow mask ("small" Mangam), Rindre peoples, mid-20th century
Wood, ocher
Jill and Barry Kitnick. L2010.7.1
THE MIDDLE BENEUE: VISUAL RESEMBLANCES, CONNECTED HISTORIES
Masquerades in the Middle Benue

Fig. 7.8

Bushcow mask ("small" Mangam), Kantana/Kulere peoples (?), early to mid-20th century
Wood
James and Laura Ross. L2010.79.2
THE MIDDLE BENEUE: VISUAL RESEMBLANCES, CONNECTED HISTORIES
Masquerades in the Middle Benue

Fig. 7.9

Horizontal mask (Nam-Gbalang), Chamba Daka peoples
Wood, metal, fiber
The Trustees of the British Museum, AF1922,0610.1. Collected by Captain E. S. Lilley, 1921
Muri, Nigeria. L2010.45.1
Masquerades in the Middle Benue

**Visual Resemblances, Connected Histories**

**Fig. 7.10**
Antelope mask ("big" Mangam), Kantana/Kulere (?) peoples, mid-20th century
Wood, ocher
Fowler Museum at UCLA; Gift of Mr. W. Thomas Davis. X73.613

**Fig. 7.11**
Antelope mask ("big" Mangam), Kantana/Kulere peoples, early to mid-20th century
Wood, ocher
Collection of Mark Groudine and Cynthia Putnam L2010.75.2
UNIT THREE

The Upper Benue: Expressive and Ritual Capacities of Clay

8. FIGURATIVE VESSELS OF TRANSFORMATION

9. SPIRIT IDENTITIES IN CLAY

10. ANCESTOR SCULPTURES OF THE EASTERN GONGOLA VALLEY
Due to its relative isolation, the Upper Benue is distinct from other areas of the river valley. Its rugged, hilly terrain provided shelter from the incursions of invading groups, especially mounted Fulani warriors. The remoteness of the region also meant that local ritual practices were able to persist well into the late twentieth century when they were documented in the field. The arts of eight of the diverse peoples living in this subregion are represented here with a focus on the Cham-Mwana, Longuda, Jen, Ga’anda, ‘Bọna, and Yungur.

The predominance of sculptural ceramic vessels at the center of Upper Benue religious practices represents a marked departure from the wood figures and masks typical of the other two subregions. The highly decorated and anthropomorphized vessels, made primarily by women artists, instead exploit the expressive capacities of clay. Like wood sculpture, ceramic vessels served various ritual functions, including healing the sick, safeguarding hunters and warriors, and activating the presence of various ancestral and protective spirits. Vessels meant to “contain” specific illnesses often are crafted to look like the diseases they help combat; for example, a pot that plays a role in healing back problems has a barbed structure resembling a spine. Here, as elsewhere, there are striking convergences in the styles and functions of ceramic sculpture mapped among neighboring peoples, revealing the extent of their historical communication and exchange.

In a stunning deviation from the norm, monumental male figures carved in wood may be the only vestiges of an abandoned memorial tradition that persisted primarily in clay.
Background Information

Ceramic vessels are the focus of ritual activities across the Upper Benue region, in most cases conceived to “contain” various kinds of spirit forces.

The forming and firing of a new vessel was an important part of a healing process. Symptoms were drawn into the vessel and away from the person who was in need of healing. The disease-causing spirit entered the clay in its raw “uncooked” state, and health was conferred after the vessel is transformed by fire. As fire transformed the pot, so too, the disease was contained and controlled.

The most common use for “healing vessels” was to protect pregnant women, mothers, and children. One vessel, to shield infants from disease, was modeled as a woman with a baby on her back. Such vessels range from the relatively naturalistic to the highly stylized, taking full advantage of clay’s plastic potential.

In addition to the healing vessels concerned with protection from disease, in the western Gongola Valley figurative pottery was used in rituals to protect hunters (and formerly warriors) against the avenging spirits of animals (or people) killed in the hunt or in war. Other “spirit pots” were connected with bringing rain, fostering good crops, and punishing thieves. Variants among the Waja peoples include small vessels (about 2–6”) that serve as personal amulets, again in various forms depending on the disease being treated, and among the Tangale peoples a singular large figurative piece was transformed into a “power” sculpture with the addition of bicycle chains, bundles of sticks, horn, ax blades, pipes, and other materials, making it useful to protect the people. At least twice a year offerings were made in the form of added materials to keep the spirit active.

Spirit vessels were an integral component of traditions that served the collective needs of a particular community as they also addressed the unique requirements of individuals. And although the rituals differ from one group to another, their practices typically involve calling upon spirits to facilitate positive shifts in human destiny.

Curriculum Connections

1. Transformations

Students, after considering how clay is transformed into ceramic, will look at the transformations that have taken place in their own lives, and will compile these into an individual or group poem. They should be reminded that raw malleable earth, molded by human hands, is subjected to fire to become a ceramic vessel, abode for a spirit. Raw materials, “a state of nature,” thus become cultural entities. When molded clay is transformed by fire into ceramic, a shift, a transformation, occurs—not unlike humans who must experience changes—transformations—as they go through life.

As they consider the changes in their own lives, students can list in two columns ways they used to be and ways they are now; things they formerly liked (in the first column) they’ll
The Upper Benue: Expressive and Ritual Capacities of Clay Figurative Vessels of Transformation

compare (in the second) to their present feelings—either what they like now or how they now feel about their former likes, and life situations as they once were perceived and how they are perceived today, etc. These can be compiled into “Then and Now”, or “I Used to…. but Now” poems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Column</th>
<th>Second Column</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“I used to think that when I was one year older I’d be so much smarter”</td>
<td>Now I think that maybe it will take two years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I used to think that Jill was my best friend</td>
<td>Now Jill is Amy’s best friend and I need a new one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I used to get really upset when I didn’t win at ------</td>
<td>Now I don’t care because------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Vessels for Healing

After students learn about the formation and use of healing vessels, they will design vessels to symbolically address some problems with which they, their community, and the world are familiar. They should know that most ceramic vessels in the Upper Benue region are made to contain spirit forces. When activated, these forces help an ailing individual to heal, protect others from disease, help bring rain to the village, encourage successful crops, and shield hunters from the avenging spirits of killed animals. They thus serve both individuals and communities. In cases of illness, healer-diviners transfer the spirits of disease from a patient to a specially-made ceramic pot.

Have students study Figures 8.1, 8.2, 8.3, 8.4 and match the ceramic pieces to the ailments they are meant to alleviate. Note that Figures 8.1 and 8.2 are conceived to cure children’s diseases, Figure 8.3 treats vomiting, and Figure 8.4 is intended to cure backaches.

Have the class design pots that could address illnesses or physical problems they (or people they know) might have. How about emotional or social ills (i.e., sadness, shyness, fears) and how about problems of today’s societies (poverty, traffic, pollution, global warming, homelessness, wars, etc.)?

3. Fragments

We have seen that these vessels, whether they are used for healing or as repositories of ancestral spirits, are holders of power. This power accumulates over time and with the pot’s repeated use and even if the pot breaks, that power is not dispersed. Thus broken shards and intact heads are carefully preserved on shrines and other ritual sites. They are the focus of annual offerings, they continue to hold the essence of former leaders, and they remind
people of their long history and genealogies. It is likely that such figurative ceramics have been embedded in the cultural beliefs and practices of communities here over a long period of time.

Over two thousand years ago large terracotta figures, the earliest known in sub-Saharan Africa, were produced by the Nok culture in the nearby Jos Plateau between about 900 BCE to 200 CE. According to Ekpo Eyo in Treasures of Ancient Nigeria (1980, 4–5), these do not appear to represent the beginning of a tradition because “the art is too complex and sophisticated to have been made in the earliest stages of an evolving culture,” and he speculates that “one day, perhaps, a more ancient culture that gave birth to Nok will be discovered.”

- As students work from a part to the whole, they can sketch the head of a vessel fragment (selecting one in Figs. 8.5, 8.6, 8.7, 8.8) and then complete the drawing with the rest of the pot as they conceive it.

- They may also note the importance of fragments—of small pieces of a larger whole—in our own lives. Begin this activity, as an example, by taking a ticket stub out of your pocket. Identify it to the class and relate your experiences and feelings at the theater or sports event you attended. Discuss how this small remnant brings to your mind many parts of that afternoon or evening. Let students offer other possible fragments that serve as memory-awakeners and list them on the board (a piece of jewelry that someone else wore or gave to them; a quilt with patches made of familiar fabrics; remains of a favorite toy; a saved greeting card, photo or sports ribbon; some food that reminds them of festive meals or of someone who always cooked or liked that food. Each student should then write about the selected fragment and his or her memories of past events, long-ago places, and of people who are part of their own history.

- They might also take note of and emulate today’s artists who make use of a variety of fragments to create a collage, assemblage, or other piece of art.
THE UPPER BENUE: EXPRESSIVE AND RITUAL CAPACITIES OF CLAY Figurative Vessels of Transformation

Fig. 8.1

Ngaji (active 1960s–1970s)
Vessel for curing children’s diseases (jina kwimtiyu), Cham-Mwana peoples, before 1970
Ceramic, pigment
Collected by Arnold Rubin, 1970. Fowler Museum at UCLA; Gift of Arnold Rubin. X86.4690

Fig. 8.2

Vessel to cure children’s diseases (jina kwimtiyu), Cham-Mwana peoples, late 20th century
Ceramic

Fig. 8.3

Vessel to cure vomiting (gando), Cham-Mwana peoples, late 20th century
Ceramic
Musée du quai Branly, Paris, 73.1998.12.3. L2010.40.16

Fig. 8.4

Vessel to cure backache (kulok-kulok), Cham-Mwana peoples, late 20th century
Ceramic
Musée du quai Branly, Paris, 73.1998.12.4. L2010.40.15
**The Upper Benue: Expressive and Ritual Capacities of Clay Figurative Vessels of Transformation**

*Fig. 8.5*

Head fragment (*beji*), Tula peoples, before 1970
Ceramic
Fowler Museum. X86.4691; Gift of Arnold Rubin. Collected by Arnold Rubin, Tula Wange, 1970. X86.4690

*Fig. 8.6*

Head fragment (*shembera*), Ga’anda peoples, Gabun district, early to mid-20th century
Ceramic
Fowler Museum X86.4687; Gift of Arnold Rubin. Collected by Arnold Rubin, 1970

*Fig. 8.7*

Head fragment from a vessel (*kuchan*), Jen peoples, before 1912
Ceramic, pigment, fiber rope
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, III C29323
Collected by Leo Frobenius, 1912. L2010.41.7

*Fig. 8.8*

Head fragment, Cham-Mwana or Longuda peoples (?), before 1913
Ceramic
The Trustees of the British Museum, Afr1913.1013.48
Collected by C. L. Temple and O. Temple before 1913. L2010.45.3
Background Information

To the east of the Gongola River, the roles and meanings of figurative ceramic vessels shift to an emphasis on the containment and representation of specific, named spirit deities and of ancestral spirits. The forms and decoration of these vessels are equally distinctive, and they too are modeled to express the visual and conceptual linkages between pots and people. Most dramatically, their “skins” reference the body modifications that help define social identities and responsibilities and the connections between people and their spirit protectors.

Most of the figurative ceramics on view were housed in shrine enclosures. On behalf of individuals and communities, ritual leaders made regular appeals to the spirits contained in the vessels to secure their positive intervention. By the 1980s many of these enclosures had collapsed or disappeared altogether, leaving their contents vulnerable to theft or destruction.

The Ga’anda peoples produce several ceramic vessel types to contain particular spirit forces, and these are enshrined together in enclosures (literally, “houses for pots”) and maintained by lineage custodians. Every year after the November harvest, ceremonies occur when the Ga’anda renew these shrines and make offerings to protective spirits via their ceramic representations. These pots lead lives like people: their houses need repair, their bodies need washing, and their appetites need satiating. They also look like people, and the raised and incised motifs on the vessels depict patterns of body scarifications on Ga’anda women, as well as tools and weapons carried by men. The identity of each Ga’anda ceramic deity is defined by its distinctive shape and decorative program. Their positive intervention was considered vital to Ga’anda health and well-being.

Curriculum Connections

1. The Human Form

As students note how these vessels take the forms of humans, they might think about how anatomical terms are used to describe pottery. Have them tell how the following terms are relevant when talking about pottery:

- Necks
- Mouths
- Lips
- Arms (handles)
- Feet (the base)

In addition:

- The roundness of a vessel is like the roundness of a woman's body.
- It's a receptacle in the same way that a woman's womb can be a receptacle for new life.
THE UPPER BENUE: EXPRESSIVE AND RITUAL CAPACITIES OF CLAY
Spirit Identities in Clay

- Both the human body and a pot can be a primary canvas for modification and for ornamentation.

2. Family Journeys
Learning about two important culture heroes important in the history of the Ga’anda peoples can inspire students to pictorially trace their own family odyssey.

The Ga’anda protect their sacred objects in shrines that they locate in protected caves and rock shelters. Here are housed, among others, two spirits humanized in ceramic (fig. 9.1). Mbir’thleng’nda (pronounced bir-thleng-da) is regarded as the most influential spirit presence among the Ga’anda, best able to protect and sustain Ga’anda health and prosperity if treated properly. It takes a central position on the shrine, directly facing the entrance. The second spirit vessel (fig. 9.2) is Ngum-Ngumi, the culture hero who—as an ambulatory pot—led the Ga’anda peoples’ migrations.

Mbir’thleng’nda vessels range widely in size, and nearly all are identifiable by their surface decoration and humanizing aspects including a round head with a projecting mouth that serves as the vessel’s spout. Ngum-Ngumi vessels, too, are humanized but without heads or faces. A funnel-like shape serves as the vessel’s mouth. The surfaces of both are detailed with raised patterns that correspond to the scarification of females as they grow into womanhood.

Ngum-Ngumi showed the Ga’anda peoples where to establish their first settlement and then led them to all their subsequent locations. The placements of his clay image in shrines demonstrate the many stops in the migrations of the peoples and testify to the rights of the people to be there.

Students may be aware of their own families’ journeys, including those of grandparents and earlier family members, before they settled in their present locations. Have the students chronicle this actual odyssey (or a fictionalized one if necessary) and illustrate it with a map and/or drawings. Acknowledging how Ngum-Ngumi traces ancestral wanderings and beginnings of settlements, each student should design a symbol to be done in clay or shown on the map to represent the odyssey.

3. Family Portraits
An exercise on portraiture will follow an introduction to wiiso (fig. 9.3), vessels made by the Yungur peoples to contain the spirits of their deceased chiefs or village leaders. Wiiso always are rendered with human heads and individualized features that create stylized portraits and they remind living Yungur leaders of their responsibility to a long lineage of chiefs whose collective power ensures the prosperity of their descendants. Each wiiso is considered a portrait of a specific chief no longer living and their individuation comes from variances in size and profile, placement of faces and arms, and the depiction of such Yungur signifiers as body scarification, teeth filing, beards, and coiffures.
Selecting a medium, students should portray someone of importance in their lives or in the
history of their family or community. Papier mâché, paper sculpture, and collaged drawings
are possibilities. Clay, of course, would be effective and most readily suggested by the wiiso
here, but since the availability of time and resources is probably limited, students could
depict their portrayal in relief form on a clay slab.

The activity should follow a lesson on proportionality of a head and facial features. Have
students do preliminary sketches with pencil and paper. Start by folding a paper in half
vertically and then folding twice horizontally to make four horizontal quarters (eight
sections of the paper in all). Working from top to bottom, the top quarter approximates the
measurement of the top of the head to the hairline. The second quarter measures from the
hairline down to the eyebrows with the brows falling at about the halfway mark of the face.
The base of the nose lies at about the bottommost fold. Folding that bottom quarter in half
is a good indication of placement of the mouth. Ears lie generally between the eyebrows
and the base of the nose.

Generally the head is about five eye-widths across, with one eye-width between the eyes;
the nose about one eye-width wide; and the mouth about one and a half to two eye-widths
wide. There are several good websites with diagrams that would help in this exercise.

Since these are portraits of individuals, each will be different. What elements did the
students use to make their portraits different from those of their classmates?

4. Inscribing the Body

Marla Berns describes the Ga’anda program of body and facial scarification and its
relationship to decoration on ceramic vessels and gourds in The Essential Gourd: Art and
History in Northeastern Nigeria (1986). Before they begin a discussion of body art, students
should be aware that peoples in the Upper Benue River Valley practice patterns of body
scarification and replicate these on wooden figures, gourd containers, and ceramic vessels.

professor and Benue scholar Arnold Rubin, to whom this exhibition is dedicated, wrote and
edited articles about body art as practiced by peoples throughout the world. Included are
painting, tattoo, scarification, and piercing, some of which will be within the experiences of
the students and of people they know.

A. The students can begin their discussion of body art with their own experiences and with
those of their own society along with what they know of other groups. Some possible
questions to consider:

- Why do people practice body modification? (List the many reasons on the board and let
  students add to them. Possible inclusions: Beauty, expressing individuality, demonstrating
THE UPPER BENUE: EXPRESSIVE AND RITUAL CAPACITIES OF CLAY
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membership in a group, religious or group requirement, because “others are doing it,” as a way of showing defiance or rebellion against authority, means of social control.)

- If enhancing beauty is a factor, what do the students consider beautiful? What do they wear and do to enhance that beauty? (make-up, jewelry, clothing, body art?) Do they think that people all over the world have the same criteria for beauty? Can they give examples? Be sure to include peoples of non-western cultures.
- What body art is considered by some today to be “cool” or a popular trend? (Possibly tattoos, scarification, tongue or body piercing, enlargement of earlobe holes, henna painting, hair coloring?)
- How much of what is thought today as beautiful might not have been considered so in the past?
- How do they think their present ideas of beauty will persist into the future? Why?
- Are they aware of any health risks to any of the above procedures? (Lead a discussion.)
- Ask the students what substitutions they could make to practices that are potentially risky and still meet their desires or need for the reasons listed on the board at the beginning of this activity (i.e., for enhancing beauty, expressing individuality, demonstrating membership in a group, etc.)

B. At the exhibition, Central Nigeria Unmasked: Arts of the Benue River Valley, students may look for scarification designs on sculptural works in wood and clay: such as lines, triangles, chevrons, arcs, diamond shapes, semicircles, “ropes of rain” (closely placed vertical lines which look like continuous drops of falling rain), some of the patterns joined to others and some isolated. They can use polymer or clay to make geometric patterns of their own design by adding small pieces of clay to the base piece.

5. Poetic Form
Your students can explore a coming together of pottery and poetry. In her poem “Seven and Seven Pots of Poetry,” (in From Earth’s Bedchamber: A Collection of Poems, 1996) Nigerian poet C. G. Okafor (now at the University of Kansas) begins the first verse with:

“Potter’s sweat,
Sticky, slimy and alluring,
Clay binds and winds,
Through fine fingers”

And proceeds through all fourteen (“Seven and Seven”), with the last verse, Portrait, evoking her native country:

“Assie” [meaning Earth],
Whose loving breasts,
Like those of Ngum-Ngumi,
The ancestral pot of Ganda [sic],
Stretched far and wide,
Through lands….

Along the way verses are dedicated to various pots: Shrine pot, Musical pot, Dream pot, Water pot, Lonely pot, Half-baked pot, Hasty pot, Broken pot. The whole poem can be read on the writer's web site: http://www.chiwrite.com/stories.html.

Dr. Okafor, in her poetry, uses the idioms and symbolic language of her native Nigeria to evoke the feelings, both emotional and tactile, elicited by ceramic vessels. Is there something that is important in the students’ lives that could be the impetus for a many-branched homage? *(Perhaps an important person, a special place, an item of clothing, loved playthings or books)*
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Spirit Identities in Clay

Fig. 9.1
Spirit vessel (Mbir'ثلنگ'nda), Ga’anda peoples, Dingai, Chohita village, Hurwire hamlet, Finguela family, before 1970
Ceramic

Fig. 9.2
Spirit vessel (Ngum-Ngumi/Komalamne). Ga’anda/Bana peoples, Dingai, Ngwatkame hamlet, before 1980
Ceramic
Collection of Bill and Gale Simmons. L2010.82.1
Fig. 9.3
Ancestor vessel (\textit{witiw}), Yungur peoples, Diterra District, early to mid-20\textsuperscript{th} century
Ceramic

Fig. 9.4
Illustrations of Ga’anda scarification patterns (Berns 1986, 134)
Background Information

Although most sacred objects in the Upper Benue are made of clay, a tradition of making ancestral representations in wood also existed. Large and imposing male figures (figs. 10.1–3) may have functioned as effigies of dead chiefs, erected during the post-burial funerary rites held by a cluster of related Eastern Gongola peoples—the 'Bana, Yungur, and Mboi. These rituals were held before the planting season so that the blessings of the deceased could be conferred. Although we know that these rituals were held, nothing resembling these rare and highly muscular male sculptures has been photographed in the Upper Benue region (nor is anything comparable known from the entire Benue River Valley).

The most compelling evidence for the identities of these figures survives in the ceramic vessels (fig. 10.4) made by the Yungur to contain the spirits of deceased chiefs. Notice the similarities in the contours of their heads, facial features, caps, and thick elongated necks. These wooden sculptures may constitute a remnant of an abandoned memorial tradition that was preserved in the more enduring medium of ceramic. While it is difficult to ascribe a specific ethnic attribution to the wooden figures, it seems plausible that the idea for such effigies circulated in the Eastern Gongola Valley where communities of speakers of closely related languages shared cultural practices and material symbols.

Curriculum Connections

1. Burial Traditions

Students will read an account of memorial ceremonies held after the death of a Hwana (a group living near the Yungur and the Ga’anda) chief as described in 1931. They will then address ways in which they and their families remember and commemorate the lives of their deceased relatives.

The quoted author was C. K. Meek, a British Colonial officer and government anthropologist. He wrote:

“One month after the secret burial of the body, a log-shaped effigy covered in a white gown was displayed at the pre-burial ceremony. All members of the community threw seeds of guinea corn [sorghum] over the wooden figure so that the ‘soul’ would not go hungry….

“The corn thrown over the effigy was collected and converted into beer and flour for use at the funeral feast which was held at a later period. Meanwhile the effigy had been dismantled, but its place taken by a pot with a strip of cloth tied round the neck. This pot, which was set up on a forked branch beside the dead chief’s hut was carefully tended by the late chief’s widows, being washed regularly every day. At the final rites, i.e. the funeral feast held during the dry season, the pot was carried around and all the people saluted and called: ‘Go carefully, go carefully.’ At the
conclusion of the feast the pot was smashed and thrown away, as a sign that the chief and his people had parted forever.” (Meek, 1931, 439–440)

After commenting on the above account, students can tell of their experiences, reactions, and memories of burials and memorial services that they have attended for deceased friends and relatives. Why do people bring flowers, candles, and messages to the scene of an accident where a friend lost his/her life? What do the students feel are the perceived effects of people sharing a tragedy as opposed to mourning alone?

2. Memorializing Ancestors

Students can appreciate differences in practices as they learn that throughout Africa many peoples believe that ancestor spirits participate in the activities of the living with whom they work to make life and the afterlife better. They may review what they have seen in the exhibition, Central Nigeria Unmasked: Arts of the Benue River Valley, recalling the ways that contact with the ancestors is maintained including making offerings to ancestors, carving figurative sculptures as commemoratives, modeling ceramic vessels where ancestral spirits can abide, preserving relics of the deceased, and celebrating elaborate masquerades in honor of those who preceded them.

Give students the opportunity to interview family and religious leaders about traditions of memorializing ancestors. Do they hold any special celebrations? Do they leave flowers on graves or light candles at altars? Do they remember loved ones by sharing a family scrapbook or photo album? In addition, investigate the rituals practiced by diverse groups, including, among others, Mexico’s Dias de los Muertos; Qing Ming, the Chinese “Clear and Bright” Festival; Buddhist annual Obon festivals; and All Saints’ Day in the Philippines.
THE UPPER BENUE: EXPRESSIVE AND RITUAL CAPACITIES OF CLAY
Ancestor Sculptures of the Eastern Gongola Valley

Fig. 10.1
Male figure, Yungur peoples, 14th–16th century (?).
Wood, traces of red iron oxide
The Menil Collection, Houston, Y301. L2010.62.3

Fig. 10.2
Male figure, Yungur peoples, pre-20th century (?)
Wood
Private Collection, Paris. L2010.56.1
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Ancestor Sculptures of the Eastern Gongola Valley

Fig. 10.3
Male figure, Yungur peoples, pre-20th century (?) Wood Museum for African Art, New York, 2001.1.1 L2010.68.1

Fig. 10.4
UNIT FOUR

Classroom Extensions on Benue River Valley Studies
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These lessons, developed in conjunction with *Central Nigeria Unmasked: Arts of the Benue River Valley* address selected California State Content Standards for History-Social Science, Visual Arts, and Dance. Individual lessons may be more suited for specific grade levels. All the lessons were created, however, to be used by any K-12 classroom, under the assumption that teachers will make appropriate adaptations to the activities for their grade level.

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Fowler Museum at UCLA Central Nigeria Unmasked curriculum