

## Zambian *Makishi* Masquerades and the Story of Categories

### Introduction

Luvale, Lunda, Luchazi, Mbunda, Thokwe, and other related peoples of western and northwestern Zambia often engage their ancestors to benefit from their spiritual influence and assistance.<sup>1</sup> The ancestors “come back to life” in their masquerade forms to participate in the affairs of their living descendants.<sup>2</sup> These peoples, living in areas of Zambia, Angola, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, create more than one hundred ancestral mask characters, or *makishi* (sing. *likishi*), which are performed during occasions such as the *mukanda* initiation of boys and the investiture and confirmatory ceremonies of chiefs (Bastin 1982: 81–105; Kubik 1983: 88–135; Félix and Jordán 1998; Jordán 1998).

The different *makishi* characters have distinct physical, symbolic, and behavioral attributes which relate directly to the particular roles they fulfill in ritual and ceremonial occasions. Their defined attributes and dispositions also indicate character-type similarities, however. In certain performative contexts, for example, *makishi* groupings, orders, or hierarchies are observed. This suggests broader categories within which *makishi* characters may either substitute or complement one another.<sup>3</sup>

Masquerade performances are part of a drama which is devised as an overarching narrative, or “story,” which symbolically branches out to touch on a variety of issues of socio-cultural significance.<sup>4</sup> This essay presents one such

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<sup>1</sup> This essay is dedicated to Marie-Louise Bastin, whose contributions to the field of African art history and dedication to the arts of Chokwe-related peoples are a source of inspiration for my own work. This article is based in part on fieldwork I conducted in western and northwestern Zambia from 1991 through 1993 and in 1997. Initial research was generously funded by the University of Iowa Project for the Advanced Study of Art and Life in Africa (PASALA). The second field research trip was sponsored by the Birmingham Museum of Art.

<sup>2</sup> See Wastiau (1997, 1998), Turner (1968), and White (1948a, 1948b) for documentation of other forms of ancestral manifestation.

<sup>3</sup> A choice of *makishi* characters is made for any given ceremonial or ritual context. What is most important is that at least one character from a particular category is present so as to maintain a certain hierarchy. Within these categories, any of a large number of characters may be selected to fulfill specific roles. This subject is elaborated in the section of this headed “*Makishi* Categories: *Mukanda* Context.”

<sup>4</sup> See Jordán (1993) for an elaboration on the socio-cultural ramifications of masquerades.



**Photo 1** Male Visaluke characters are assisted by women in finding objects hidden inside the body of a zoomorphic figure built from sand. Zambia, Northwestern Province, 1997.

narrative regarding the appearance of masquerades in the context of a royal confirmatory ceremony.<sup>5</sup> The narrative, based on direct observation in the field, taken together with other field information provides a contextual framework for the consideration of both established and proposed *makishi* masquerade categories according to defined physical, behavioral, and performative attributes.

### A contextual narrative

Early in the morning, the *makishi* mask characters crossed the Zambezi River in canoes, coming from the west, where the sun sets, where graveyards are located, and where the ancestors dwell.<sup>6</sup> When they reached the east bank, they moved out of sight of the spectators to regroup for a ceremonial procession. First appeared Pwevo, the mask of the beautiful woman, followed by younger females and a hierarchical line of *makishi* that included auspicious male ancestors, followed by certain ambiguous characters, in turn followed by intimidating *makishi* types.<sup>7</sup>

When the procession returned to the place of their river-crossing, the female characters moved aside and the male Visaluke (sing. Chisaluke) joined a number of women to search for items hidden inside the body of a large zoomorphic creature, which the women had modeled on the ground from river sand<sup>8</sup> (Photo. 1). The women provided a rhythm with songs and whistles and, along with the Visaluke, they fell to their knees and dug on the sand in a choreographed fashion. The male *makishi* found the hidden items, including bottles of alcoholic beverages that they kept as gifts.

<sup>5</sup> I purposely present the following section as a narrative to stress how the eventuality of *makishi* performances take the form of a dramatic context in which the main characters assume prescribed roles that follow hierarchies that configure themselves in defined categories. The information is based on my field notes and observations, as well as on the commentaries of Zambian assistants and friends who were present during the confirmatory ceremonies of the Luvale Paramount, Ndungu, in 1997.

<sup>6</sup> Actual graveyards are located beyond the west bank of the Zambezi River (near the town of Zambezi in northwestern Zambia) but *makishi* are always said to come from the west because the sunset is symbolically associated with death and is therefore the place of the ancestors.

<sup>7</sup> The "auspicious," "ambiguous," and "intimidating" attributes relate to categories I introduce later in this essay.

<sup>8</sup> The sand zoomorphic creature is consistent with figures created as part of *mahamba* ancestral shrines. See Wastiau (1997: ill. 20), Fontinha (1997: 153), Martins (1993: ill. 12) for related figures made from earth or clay.



When this was over, the *makishi* regrouped for a relatively long journey to the palace of Ndungu, paramount chief of the Luvale. The *makishi* eventually arrived at the chief's royal *mukanda* camp, where they remained in the privacy of the shelter in the company of a select group of initiated Luvale men.<sup>9</sup> Later that day, the *makishi* returned to the grounds surrounding the palace to interact with people. The performers of female characters danced to celebrate the occasion of Chief Ndungu's annual confirmatory ceremony, but also to show-off their dancing skills. The larger intimidating and aggressive *makishi* also came out of the *mukanda* shelter throughout the day to approach, and then harass and chase, women, children, and the uninitiated. These *makishi* later "relaxed" and performed energetic dances in a dance arena to celebrate the occasion.<sup>10</sup>

On the next day, crowds of people arrived at a stage where regional chiefs, government officials, and other dignitaries sat to wait for Chief Ndungu and his wife to arrive in a royal procession.<sup>11</sup> Several women in ceremonial dress, singing and gesturing with ceremonial axes and flywhisks, entered the stage first to announce the arrival of the chief and his entourage. The Luvale chief and his wife then appeared, carried on a palanquin and escorted by the police and court officials. Chief Ndungu and his wife sat on their thrones while a "master of ceremonies" made welcoming remarks and general announcements with the aid of a microphone.

Later, a procession of *makishi*, reminiscent of the chief's own, arrived at the ceremonial arena from the *mukanda* enclosure. The procession followed the model of organization observed the day before, except for the appearance of a two new characters, including the Luvale "king of all *makishi*," called Kayipu, and an assistant *likishi* (pl. *makishi*) called Kapalu.<sup>12</sup> Kapalu ran around keeping the crowds at bay while the *makishi* procession entered the arena. The *makishi* remained in the order they had arrived the day before except that Kayipu was now in front, escorted by Pwevo alongside. Behind them followed the younger females, the male characters, the ambiguous characters, and the large aggressive types. Kayipu, being the king of all ancestral masks, sat on a throne across the yard from where Chief Ndungu sat on his own.<sup>13</sup> The *makishi* knelt in front of Kayipu and greeted this king *likishi* in the same fashion as the audience had saluted Chief Ndungu. Later,

<sup>9</sup> *Mukanda* is the name of the initiation of boys into adulthood. It is also a term that refers to the initiation camp or the shelter where initiates remain in seclusion. The "royal" *mukanda* camp was made solely as the temporary place of residence for *makishi* participating in the confirmatory ceremonies and was not associated with an initiation. On the other hand, some of the participating *makishi* came from villages hosting *makanda* initiations and maintaining their own camps. Other mask characters were made specifically for the chief's ceremony.

<sup>10</sup> In different ceremonial occasions the aggressive *makishi* types adopt a more congenial behavior. They concentrate on their dancing abilities and refrain (for the most part) from threatening and chasing people.

<sup>11</sup> The dignitaries include members of the chief's court (title holders), other chiefs, Zambian government officials, and foreign dignitaries. The Swedish ambassador to Zambia was present during this event.

<sup>12</sup> These characters, being "royal," had not participated in the previous *makishi* processions but had remained in the royal *mukanda* camp until the main event.

<sup>13</sup> The "throne" was a large inverted mortar.



**Photo 2** Kayipu, the Luvale “king” of all *makishi* sacrifices a goat with a spear: Zambia, Northwestern Province, 1997.

Kapalu assisted Kayipu in sacrificing a goat (Photo. 2). Chief Ndungu’s ceremony continued and toward the end some of the non-aggressive *makishi* performed to honor the Luvale paramount.<sup>14</sup>

### *Makishi* Categories: Royal Ceremonial Context

Chief’s confirmatory ceremonies have a predetermined order and design. The participants tend to specific duties, follow prescribed steps, and perform within a hierarchy that includes the paramount chief, other regional chiefs together with their delegations and title holders, dignitaries, representatives of the chief’s legal system, police/military, male and female ceremonial and ritual experts, assistants, attendants or “keepers,” and the general audience or audiences.<sup>15</sup> These annual ceremonies help renew the bonds between the people and the traditional form of authority represented by the paramount chief’s sovereignty over the land and his constituency. In the case of Chief Ndungu, his leadership is justified in praises recited loudly by court orators and accounts presented publicly by court historians which exalt the achievements of those who have held the same (Ndungu) royal title. The presence of other chiefs, government officials, and dignitaries also validates the chief’s claims to supreme authority, and they honor and underscore his titular and personal legitimacy by paying tribute in the form of money placed at his feet.<sup>16</sup>

Similarly, the appearance of *makishi* at the chief’s ceremony represents a form of ancestral validation. Beyond being incidental forms of entertainment, the *makishi* signify the continuous interest of generations past in the affairs of their living descendants, sanctioning matters of the people and reaffirming the continuity of a chief’s royal lineage.<sup>17</sup>

Obvious parallels exist between the chief’s procession and that of *makishi*. Just as the *makishi* were received by women on the east bank of the Zambezi

<sup>14</sup> The performance was also part of a three-day competition of mask performers.

<sup>15</sup> The police presence has been increased recently due to inter-ethnic (Luvale vs. Lunda) unrest in the area (Boris Wastiau, personal communication: 2000).

<sup>16</sup> These royalties are probably a remnant of earlier forms of taxation established by chiefs.

<sup>17</sup> See Palmeirim (1994) for a detailed study of the “ideology of kingship” among the related Lunda of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.



river and the female *makishi* led the mask procession, so, too, a group of women similarly entered the arena first to announce the entrance of the paramount chief's procession. After Chief Ndungu arrived with his wife at his side, Kayipu, the king of *makishi*, entered the ceremonial arena in the company of Pwevo. Similarly, Chief Ndungu's police escort, representing law enforcement, may be matched metaphorically with the "aggressive" *makishi*, which size and weapons have a comparably intimidating effect. Kapalu (Kayipu's assistant) in particular performed his duty of crowd control by scaring spectators with the same long spear he used to kill the sacrificial goat. Although several other correlations could be drawn, the most obvious parallel with Chief Ndungu's gathering is the treatment of Kayipu as an enthroned king saluted by his *makishi* court, while seated on his throne mirroring chief Ndungu's own gathering and circumstances.

It is clear from the order of mask processions and their organization according to *makishi* type (female, male, ambiguous, aggressive/intimidating or royal) that masks exist within a hierarchy defined according to the physical characteristics and symbolic and behavioral attributes of their characters.

### *Makishi* Categories: *Mukanda* Context

The same mask typology is clear during *mukanda*, where particular roles are assigned certain *makishi* according to their defined dispositions.

The more accessible or approachable *makishi* often perform with participatory audiences to celebrate the event of *mukanda*.<sup>18</sup> This accessible category includes male and female (or anthropomorphic) masks, zoomorphic *makishi*, and masks that represent the fool and the foreigner; or neighbor (Photo. 3).

"Ambiguous" *makishi* types symbolically embody some of the principles of secrecy guarded by men in relation to their initiation practices, and mirror the men's access to complex supernatural powers.<sup>19</sup> People generally keep a respectable



**Photo 3** Pwevo, the accessible female ancestor; is surrounded by people in a ceremonial context. Zambia, Northwestern Province, 1997.

<sup>18</sup> Most active in these participatory audiences are women who directly interact with, and thereby maintain, the *makishi*'s performances by becoming their counterparts.

<sup>19</sup> *Mukanda* initiations are veiled in secrecy, and men claim that all sorts of supernatural agencies are active in such contexts.





**Photo 4** Katotola's feathered headdress and red-white eyes symbolically reflect the character's ambiguous nature and access to supernatural powers. Zambia, Northwestern Province, 1991.

distance from these *makishi* because their presence, physical appearance, and enigmatic behavior alone imply their extraordinary powers (Photo. 4).

"Aggressive" *makishi* types also have some of the powers of the ambiguous characters but their normally contentious behavior and intimidating physical attributes place these *makishi* a notch above the "ambiguous" characters and one below the awesome "royal" types in the hierarchy of power<sup>20</sup> (Photo. 5). Aggressive masks are the main guardians of the *mukanda* initiation. These characters actively chase and threaten the uninitiated with their weapons and perform crucial roles in key *mukanda* events.

A general order of *makishi* appearances, based on the attributes and dispositions of different characters, also exists for *mukanda*. Anthropomorphic types such as Pwevo and Chileya (also called Chiheu) may appear on the first day of *mukanda*, in relation to the actual circumcision of boys, when the characters arrive at the village to symbolically indicate the operation and its initial success.<sup>21</sup> Ambiguous and aggressive types are made and performed only as the *mukanda* initiation continues. These may appear weeks, or months, after the time of circumcision.

The aggressive *makishi* characters have specific ritual duties during *mukanda*. Once the circumcision wounds have healed, weeks after the onset of initiation, aggressive *makishi* appear at sunrise to escort initiates to a river for a ritual bath. Before this procession, the initiates and keepers of the camp honor these *makishi* through prayers and invocations. Towards the end of *mukanda* initiation, one of the aggressive *makishi* (e.g. Mupala, Utenu, Mwendumba, or another) temporarily relaxes its aggression and assists the women in stirring the ritual brew they prepare in large containers. Before and after this collaboration, however, the *likishi* plays on its passive-aggressive disposition. It gets angry for no reason, chases people, or simply stands and postures.

Other than at the onset of initiation, accessible *makishi* types also appear during *mukanda* events which mark key transitions towards the conclusion of *mukanda*.

<sup>20</sup> "Power" is an attribute that always came up when I discussed *makishi* types with different Zambian assistants.

<sup>21</sup> The characters do not come to the village until the circumcision process is finished.



Chisaluke, a male guardian ancestor; only appears during the last weeks of *mukanda* and is received by Pwevo and escorted to the village hosting the initiation where the character is received by women and the village head person. A few weeks before the graduation ceremonies, Pwevo and Chisaluke, as a male-female pair, visit a chief's village or court to request permission to conclude the *mukanda*-related events. Another accessible character, Ngaji, arrives at the village only days before the *mukanda* graduation ceremonies, to serve as a "judge" for the concluding events.

Although no ordered *makishi* processions occur during *mukanda*, which would help further distinguish the hierarchy of characters, the typology is evident in *makishi* appearances and the specific ritual/ceremonial roles *makishi* assume.<sup>22</sup> The people in charge of different *mukanda* camps, however, have a choice of which *makishi* characters to create. Any of a number of aggressive types (Mupala, Kalelwa, Chikuzu, Utenu, Mwendumba, or others) may be selected as the protective ancestor to guard a *mukanda*. What is most important is not which particular character fulfills the role of the protective aggressive ancestor but that at least one *likishi* of that type, or category, is included to perform specific symbolic and ritual/ceremonial duties. Similarly, while it is vital that an accessible female character appears in conjunction with *mukanda*; it is of minor importance whether that character type is represented by a woman, a young woman, an old woman or a female chief character.

During *chilende*, the *mukanda* graduation events, all the *makishi* appear to celebrate the initiates' accomplishments. The *makishi* perform one after another, until sunset. Although the coordination of *makishi* appearances for *chilende* is often erratic, the characters generally follow a prearranged order.<sup>23</sup> An accessible-type mask, such as Pwevo, may initiate the dances to get people in a celebratory mood. A Chisaluke *likishi* might follow to indicate the presence and participation of the tutelary male ancestor; followed by other accessible anthropomorphic masks and animal characters. These would generally be followed in turn by



**Photo 5** Mupala's large size and intimidating features are meant to reinforce the aggressive nature of the *likishi*. Zambia, Northwestern Province, 1997.

<sup>22</sup> *Mukanda* initiations may last anywhere from a couple of months to more than one year.

<sup>23</sup> *Chilende* is often erratic because many mask characters perform during the same day. That means that men within the initiation camp need to be prepared to quickly exchange costumes and other items. There may be twelve *makishi* characters in one *mukanda* camp but only four costumes available. This sometimes creates delays, and improvisation is often needed to be able to continue the ceremonies.

ambiguous and aggressive types in order of their size and powers. Towards the end of *chilende*, the *makishi* who appeared late in the initiation process, such as Chisaluke and Ngaji (the judge), along with such other anthropomorphic and accessible types as Chileya and Pwevo, are received in the village as “heroes” carried on the shoulders of *mukanda* attendants. This special treatment supports the proposition that they belong to a category distinct from the aggressive and ambiguous types.

## Established Categories

Marie-Louise Bastin (1982: 81-92) notes three major categories for Chokwe masquerades, including a “sacred” type that consists solely of Chikungu, which is a powerful royal mask kept and performed only by high-ranking chiefs during enthronement procedures or for propitiatory ceremonies that may require a ritual animal sacrifice. Her second category, “circumcision masks” with specific roles in relation to the *mukanda* initiation camp, includes such masks as Chikuza and Kalelwa, which are auspicious to the camp and the initiates and have symbolic attributes related to fertility, strength or endurance, and continuity. The third category consists of “dance masks,” which Bastin defines as secular and performed as forms of “profane entertainment.”<sup>24</sup> This category includes Chihongo, a Chokwe spirit of “wealth and power,” Pwo (also called Pwevo), the female ancestor; and such characters as Katoyo (“the white man”) and various animal types including Ngulu (the pig) and Hundu (the baboon).

Patrick Wele (1993: 22-26, 58-63) suggests two categories of Zambian *makishi* characters. His first category includes such masks as Kayipu, the Luvale equivalent of the Chokwe Chikungu that appears in Bastin’s “sacred” category, and Chikuza, Kalelwa, Mupala, and Katotola, which Bastin calls “circumcision masks.” Wele’s second division is similar to Bastin’s “dance masks” category, although he implies that subdivisions can be distinguished on the basis of character attributes.

The table below offers an alternative typological model for a selection of *makishi* found in western and northwestern Zambia.<sup>25</sup> The table is based on Bastin’s and Wele’s categorization of mask types, my own field documentation of Zambian *makishi* masquerades, the information provided by numerous Zambian friends and field assistants/informants, together with currently available sources pertaining to this region.

The selected characters are described and interpreted under the four major categories identified in this essay (royal, aggressive, ambiguous, and accessible), which are subdivided further according to the specificity of the characters’ symbolic, physical, and behavioral attributes.

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<sup>24</sup> I disagree with the idea that any mask type is a form of “profane entertainment” (Bastin 1982: 81) because though these masks entertain at one level, they still retain their religious and symbolic associations. They are also crucial to the transmission of knowledge and relevant socio-cultural information (Jordán 1998, Felix and Jordán 1998).

<sup>25</sup> Although I focus on characters that are most commonly performed in Zambia, these categories also apply to Chokwe-related masquerades in Angola and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.



## Table of *Makishi* categories

( ✓+ mainly associated with this group; ✓ created by this group; - not documented in relation to this group; ? possibly created by this group)

| Category                  | Name and People                                 | Description  | Attributes and Performance  |
|---------------------------|---|--|---|
| Ia.<br>Royal              | Kayipu,<br>Kahipu<br><br>Luvalé ✓+<br>Luchazi ? | Huge arched headdress with decorative or symbolic designs in the front and numerous feathers covering the back. Mask made from ephemeral materials. Anthropomorphic face with exaggerated mouth, nose, eyes, and cheeks, often highlighted in red. White feather, figurine, or small decorative panel protruding from the top of the head, in front of headdress. Overall knitted fiber/cotton costume. Wears blanket or printed textile as skirt. Holds spear or knife/sword ( <i>mukwale</i> ) for animal sacrifice. | "King" of all <i>makishi</i> . Kept only by senior or paramount chiefs. Represents aspects of Luvalé royal ancestry. Unsurpassed physical and supernatural powers. Performed in context of royal confirmatory ceremonies and funerals. Performance is mainly ceremonial. It leads <i>makishi</i> procession into chief's palace during annual ceremonies. Sits on its own throne in front of audience of other <i>makishi</i> . Kayipu is not accessible to people. The <i>likishi</i> or an assistant mask may physically punish anyone who gets too close to it. Severe legal consequences may result from an inappropriate approach to the mask. It is the most powerful of all <i>makishi</i> . The mask does not generally occur in the context of <i>mukanda</i> initiations. |
| Ia.<br>Royal              | Kateya<br><br>Mbunda ✓+                         | Gigantic, broad, abstracted, and 3-dimensional semicircular face/head fully covered with decorative or symbolic motifs. Mask made from ephemeral materials. Eyes, nose, large mouth, and multiple cheeks, defined in relief on bottom (straight) portion of semicircle. Fiber beard attached around mask's bottom edge. Back of "head" covered with feathers. Overall knitted fiber/cotton costume. Wears a skirt made of fibers. Holds an axe or an adze as weapon.   | Attributes similar to those of Kayipu. Represents a Mbunda royal ancestral spirit with extraordinary physical and supernatural powers. The <i>likishi</i> may perform as a royal Mbunda emissary during confirmatory ceremonies for paramount Luvalé chiefs, since the Zambian Mbunda do not have chiefs of equal political bearing. The mask also requires distance from spectators. It does not dance but remains at a visible distance from other Luvalé masks and people. The mask does not generally occur in the context of <i>mukanda</i> .  |
| Ib.<br>Royal<br>assistant | Kapalu<br><br>Luvalé ✓+                         | Face made of knitted fiber or cotton with large attached red and white eyes and a distinctive headdress of feathers "bunched" within a round fiber frame. Overall knitted fiber/cotton costume. Wears shorts or pants instead of skirt. Holds a long spear as a weapon.  | Kapalu serves as an assistant to Kayipu. It controls crowds during ceremonies by threatening them with a spear. The <i>likishi</i> asks for money from people and may openly collect any minor objects or items (hats, sunglasses, drinks, etc.) it wants. The mask may symbolically represent a form of "legal" authority. It may assist Kayipu in sacrificing a goat during ceremonies.   |

| Category         | Name and People   | Description  | Attributes and Performance   |
|------------------|---|--|--|
| 2.<br>Aggressive | <b>Chikuza, Chikunza</b><br><br>Chokwe ✓+<br>Luvale ✓<br>Luchazi ✓<br>Lunda ✓<br>Mbunda ✓ | Face has anthropomorphic details but head extends to form a very tall and slightly curved conical (antelope horn-like) shape with rings down a (frontal) spine. Mask is normally made from ephemeral materials. Chikuza wears a fiber skirt and neck covering. The <i>likishi</i> may hold a bell, a tree branch, an axe or other weapon.  | Chikuza is symbolically associated with fertility and success in hunting. It is auspicious to <i>mukanda</i> but may be present at ceremonial events and other occasions. Although Chikuza may chase women and the uninitiated with its weapons, it is probably the most "relaxed" of all the <i>makishi</i> in this category. Its dance stresses the mask's fertility attributes. The <i>likishi</i> plants its feet firmly on the ground (separated) and twirls its hips to create a "fanning" motion with its skirt.  |
| 2.<br>Aggressive | <b>Kalelwa</b><br><br>Chokwe ✓+<br>Luvale ✓<br>Luchazi ✓<br>Lunda ✓<br>Mbunda ✓           | Anthropomorphic face with a large headdress made in different styles. A tubular element extends from the middle-top of the head. Curved bands/extensions or arched "winged" structures connect the head with the upper portion of the tubular element, or surround the tubular element. Patterns or motifs decorate the headdress. Mask is normally made from ephemeral materials. The costume includes a fiber or animal pelt skirt. It may hold a tree branch, a machete, or any other weapon. | Kalelwa is mainly associated with <i>mukanda</i> . It is considered a protective spirit for the camp and initiates. It is one of the aggressive <i>makishi</i> which chase women and uninitiated males with its weapons. Kalelwa is one of a few <i>makishi</i> which may symbolically assist women in the preparation of alcoholic beverages towards the conclusion of <i>mukanda</i> initiations. It has attributes of physical and supernatural power. Its dance is similar to that of Chikuza, although a bit more emphatic. Kalelwa and Chikuza are generally agreed to be of Chokwe origin but they are commonly made by all the related peoples of western and northwestern Zambia. |
| 2.<br>Aggressive | <b>Mupala</b><br><br>Chokwe ✓<br>Luvale ✓+<br>Luchazi ✓+<br>Lunda ✓<br>Mbunda ✓           | Mupala is a smaller version of Kayipu. It has a similar but smaller headdress with feathers on the back, and an anthropomorphic face with exaggerated mouth, nose, eyes, and cheeks, but lacks Kayipu's feather, figurine, or small decorative panel atop its forehead. Wears an overall knitted fiber/cotton costume and an animal pelt as a skirt. Holds a tree branch, a machete or other weapon. Mask is normally made from ephemeral materials but wooden examples are made on occasion.    | Mupala is the "lord" and main guardian spirit of the <i>mukanda</i> initiation camp, but also appears in confirmatory ceremonies for chiefs. Mupala is an aggressive mask and it is more intimidating than other masks in this category because of its large size and exaggerated facial features. Its general behavior and dance are similar to those of Chikuza and Kalelwa. Mupala is made by all the related peoples of western and northwestern Zambia but it is generally perceived as having a Luvale or Luchazi origin. Other "aggressive" masks are closely related in morphology to Mupala.  |
| 2.<br>Aggressive | <b>Litotola, Katotola</b>   | A <i>likishi</i> easily mistaken as Mupala is instead identified as a Katotola or Litotola, solely because it has an additional small arched element placed atop the forehead, in front  | Mupala and Litotola/Katotola are closely related masks, built in a similar fashion. The names are interchangeable in some areas. Where the character distinctions are  |



| Category      | Name and People   | Description  | Attributes and Performance  |
|---------------|---|--|---|
| 2. Aggressive | Chokwe ✓<br>Luvale ✓+<br>Luchazi ✓<br>Lunda ✓<br>Mbunda ✓                         | of the larger arch. Katotola/Litotola sometimes lacks the feathers on the back of the headdress, which are typically present in the Mupala mask. Instead, a small keel-shaped structure may protrude perpendicularly from the back of the larger arch. The rear of the headdress may be painted with designs or divided down the middle by contrasting fields of red and white pigmentation.   | made, Katotola and/or Litotola are considered cousins of Mupala. The <i>makishi</i> functions, behavior, dance, attributes and symbolic associations are therefore very similar. Katotola/Litotola is mainly associated with the Lwena/Luvale, although the Luchazi also create the character.  |
|               | <b>Mwendumba</b><br><br>Chokwe ✓+<br>Luvale ✓<br>Luchazi ✓<br>Lunda ✓<br>Mbunda ✓ | A double arched headdress crowns this mask's anthropomorphic face. The back arch is smaller than the one it parallels to the front. The headdress is in the same shape but much smaller than that of Mupala and its "cousins." The headdress is decorated with decorative/symbolic patterns. The mask also wears an overall knitted fiber/cotton costume. It generally wears an animal pelt as a skirt. It may hold a branch or other weapons. | Mwendumba is another aggressive character that is auspicious to <i>mukanda</i> but appears in other contexts as well. Although identified as "the lion," it has little in common with other animal characters (including another version of the lion), which are placed here under a separate category. Instead, the association serves as a metaphor for strength or power, and the <i>likishi</i> behaves and performs in a manner that is similar to that of other aggressive characters. Mwendumba is smaller than other masks in the aggressive category, and most people consider it junior to the other masks. This <i>likishi</i> is made by all the related peoples discussed here but it is considered by some to be a Chokwe mask. |
| 2. Aggressive | <b>Utenu</b><br><br>Chokwe ✓+<br>Luvale ✓<br>Luchazi ✓<br>Lunda ✓<br>Mbunda ✓     | Utenu has an anthropomorphic face with a flat, keel-shaped headdress decorated with different patterns. The character wears an overall fiber/cotton costume and normally wears a pelt as a skirt. A machete is Utenu's favorite weapon.  | This <i>likishi</i> is also considered "junior" to such masks as Mupala and Kalelwa. Utenu is extremely aggressive in chasing people and it casts insults and makes rude utterances. The <i>likishi</i> is called "the angry one," and the name " <i>kazaye</i> " meaning "I am angry," is sometimes written on its headdress. The mask's dance is similar to that of other aggressive <i>makishi</i> , only more violent. The mask sometimes runs and "crashes" on the bushes or shrubs, demonstrating its uncontrollable rage.  |
| 3. Ambiguous  | <b>Katotola, Ngondo</b><br><br>Chokwe ✓+<br>Luvale ✓                              | Face made in knitted fiber or cotton with large attached eyes, often red and white, and a distinctive headdress of feathers added to the head or "bunched" within a round fiber frame. This mask is similar to Kapalu in the "royal" category, only with a smaller (shorter) crown of  | This version of Katotola (also known as Ngondo) is not to be confused with the aggressive mask of the same name (related to Mupala) that has a large arched headdress. Katotola's small feathered headdress is similar to those worn by diviners during exorcism rituals. The   |

| Category            | Name and People   | Description  | Attributes and Performance  |
|---------------------|---|--|---|
| 3. Ambiguous        | Luchazi ✓<br>Lunda ✓+<br>Mbunda ✓   | feathers. Another style, favored by some Lunda and Chokwe, lacks the feathers and includes a small structural arch from the front to the back of the head. Overall knitted fiber/cotton costume. May wear shorts (pants) instead of skirt. Holds two wooden sticks.  | mask is also a protective spirit. Its mere presence suggests supernatural powers. It does not have to chase people; they keep a distance from the <i>likishi</i> because they recognize its supernatural powers. Katotola plays <i>kukuwa</i> sticks, called the “bones of the ancestors.” It is said to be able to find things that are hidden or invisible.   |
|                     | Kalulu, Bwanda, Kashinshi<br><br>Chokwe ✓<br>Luvalé ✓<br>Luchazi ✓<br>Lunda ✓<br>Mbunda ✓     | This small mask has anthropomorphic facial features with distinctive “hare” ears projecting upwards from the sides. Mask made from ephemeral materials. Overall knitted fiber/cotton costume. Wears fiber skirt and neck covering. May hold an axe or a small weapon.  | Kalulu (Bwanda or Kashinshi) is “the hare.” Like the fast and sneaky animal, Kalulu is a trickster spirit with supernatural powers. Although an animal, the association is mainly metaphorical as the <i>likishi</i> acts as an ambiguous character that pretends to steal things, including taking babies from their mothers. Another version of Kalulu, manifested as a half-being and trickster, appears in the context of divination. |
|                     | 3. Ambiguous<br><br>Chimbanda<br><br>Chokwe ✓<br>Luvalé ✓<br>Luchazi ✓<br>Lunda ✓<br>Mbunda ✓ | Unless identified in the field as such, it is sometimes difficult to discern this mask from other anthropomorphic characters. Some distinguishing elements may be the incorporation of a feathered headdress of the type worn by Katotola/Ngondo on an anthropomorphic face mask made in wood or from ephemeral materials. Facial features may include details contrasted in red and white. Chimbanda may hold an axe and/or a flywhisk. | Chimbanda, the “healer” or “diviner” (more properly <i>nganga</i> in Zambia), has supernatural powers similar to those of Kalulu and Katotola/Ngondo, including the ability to see “invisible” things. Because Chimbanda represents a human healer/diviner, it has less abstracted features than the other ambiguous masks.   |
| 3. Ambiguous        | Luvwengi, Chikungila<br><br>Chokwe ✓<br>Luvalé ✓<br>Luchazi ✓<br>Lunda ✓+<br>Mbunda ✓+        | Anthropomorphic face mask related to Chimbanda in type and style. May similarly be created in wood or from ephemeral materials. Face may be divided down its midline by contrasting fields of red and white colors. Holds an axe and/or a flywhisk.  | Luvwengi (also Chikungila) is a version of Chimbanda with specific attributes of power that relate to its ability to eat or swallow anything it wishes (chickens, goats, tables, cars, etc.).   |
| 4a. Accessible male | Chihongo<br><br>Chokwe ✓+   | Anthropomorphic mask made either in wood or from ephemeral materials. The main distinguishing element is a disc-shaped beard carved or modeled below the chin.   | Chihongo represents a Chokwe male spirit of wealth and power. The disc-shaped beard and crown is reminiscent of those worn by some Chokwe chiefs. The   |



| Category               | Name and People  | Description   | Attributes and Performance  |
|------------------------|--|---|---|
| 4a.<br>Accessible male | Luvalé -<br>Luchazi -<br>Lunda -<br>Mbunda -   | Facial scarification details are added in strips of paper or carved in relief in the case of wooden masks. Wears a crown or high arched diadem to which feathers are sometimes added. Overall knitted fiber/cotton costume. Wears broad fiber skirt over a frame of bent branches.  | <i>likishi</i> may appear in initiations for the sons of Chokwe chiefs, at royal confirmatory ceremonies or during other events. Chihongo is not aggressive but rather represents an auspicious male spirit made accessible to people through its public performances. The Chihongo dance is characterized by a rhythmic swaying of the hips/fiber skirt from side to side. This character is rare in Zambia, where there are no Chokwe chiefs. However, I have been told that Angolan Chihongo masks have been sent to Zambia to perform in honor of other chiefs.   |
|                        | Sachihongo<br>Samahongo<br><br>Chokwe -<br>Luvalé -<br>Luchazi -<br>Lunda -<br>Mbunda ✓+ | Sachihongo is carved in wood in various related styles. The main style features a large, broad, rounded facial outline in which large eyes, nose, and mouth are carved in relief. Forehead "wrinkles" are commonly included in different Mbunda masks as incised undulating lines at the bottom of the forehead, above the eyes. Feathers are inserted in holes around the upper ridge of the circular masks. Other feathers may be attached to the top of the head. A fiber beard is tied onto the holes on the bottom ridge of the mask. It wears an overall knitted fiber/cotton costume, a fiber skirt and neck covering, and it may hold an axe or flywhisk. | Sachihongo is the Mbunda version of the Chokwe Chihongo male spirit of wealth and power: Sachihongo seems to have more attributes or symbolic associations as it may be described as a chief, a successful hunter, a diviner, or another social type. The <i>likishi</i> is also approachable through its public performances. As in the case of most other masks, the Sachihongo dance stresses fertility as it twirls its hips to create a "fanning" motion with its skirt.   |
| 4a.<br>Accessible male | Chisalukey<br><br>Chokwe ✓<br>Luvalé ✓<br>Luchazi ✓<br>Lunda ✓<br>Mbunda ✓               | Anthropomorphic face mask mainly constructed from ephemeral materials but also carved in wood. Facial features are carved or applied in paper and/or strips of cloth. A beard of fibers is tied or glued to the chin area of the mask. The main distinguishing features are three small, round lobes extending from the forehead, the central one with a "plug," and small animal pelts attached to its head as "hair." It wears an overall knitted fiber/cotton costume and shorts instead of a skirt. May wear <i>fuihui</i> phallic appendage.   | Chisalukey is a male tutelary spirit whose main role is linked to the <i>mukanda</i> initiation. It is the only mask character duplicated within an initiation camp, since each initiate should have his own Chisalukey as a tutelary ancestor. Chisalukey masks appear during the final two or three weeks of an initiation, and take an active role in revising the dancing skills of initiates before their graduation. Chisalukey's dances vary according to the occasion, and take on different behavioral attitudes to complement specific <i>mukanda</i> events. Chisalukey is one of several characters in this category which wear the <i>fuihui</i> phallic appendage in specific dances to stress attributes of fertility. |

| Category                  | Name and People  | Description  | Attributes and Performance   |
|---------------------------|--|--|--|
| 4 a.<br>Accessible male   | Chileya,<br>Chiheu<br><br>Chokwe ✓<br>Luvala ✓<br>Luchazi ✓<br>Lunda ✓<br>Mbunda ✓ | Chileya, also known as Chiheu, is similar to Chisaluwe, except for its lack of forehead lobes and different "hair," which is generally made by applying cotton or feathers to the mask's cap. It also has an anthropomorphic face mask constructed mainly from ephemeral materials but also carved in wood. Facial features are carved or applied in paper and/or strips of cloth. It wears an overall knitted fiber/cotton costume and shorts instead of a skirt. May wear <i>fufui</i> phallic appendage.  | Chileya is another male tutelary ancestor which appears mainly in the context of <i>mukanda</i> -related events. Its performance is related to that of Chisaluwe but it does not have a direct relationship with the initiates or their learning process. Chileya's behavior and performance vary according to the specific ceremonies in which it participates. Part of the performance behavior may seem "erratic" or "foolish" but that is just one aspect of the <i>likishi</i> 's persona. Although the character has sometimes been described as the "fool" and also as an "old man", two other characters specifically reflect foolish behavior (Ndondo) and old age (Kashinakaji).   |
| 4 a.<br>Accessible male   | Ngaji<br><br>Chokwe ✓<br>Luvala ✓<br>Luchazi ✓<br>Lunda ✓<br>Mbunda ✓              | Head/face covering made in knitted fiber or cotton. The face is defined by an attached flat, rectangular band (made of wood, cardboard or a strip of metal) placed horizontally across the middle to define facial features. The eyes and mouth are highlighted by white paper applied over a red background. A distinctive headdress of feathers is "bunched" within a round fiber frame (similar to that in same Katotola/Ngondo examples). Overall knitted fiber/cotton costume. May wear shorts instead of skirt. May wear <i>fufui</i> phallic appendage. | Ngaji is the most abstract-looking character in this category, and physically it may have more in common with <i>makishi</i> in the ambiguous category. Nonetheless, Ngaji's performance and attributes are closely related to those of such masks as Chileya and particularly Chisaluwe. Like Chisaluwe, Ngaji has a specific role within <i>mukanda</i> that relates to the last events during the initiates' graduation ceremonies and before the conclusion of the camp. Ngaji only appears during the last few days of <i>mukanda</i> to serve as a judge of the initiates and the final initiation events. For the <i>mukanda</i> graduation ceremonies, Ngaji, like Chisaluwe and Chileya, is carried on a man's shoulders into the performance arena. These <i>makishi</i> are treated as heroes and received by large crowds who celebrate the successful completion of <i>mukanda</i> -related events. |
| 4 b.<br>Accessible female | Pwevo,<br>Pwo,<br>Mubanda<br><br>Chokwe ✓<br>Luvala ✓<br>Luchazi ✓<br>Lunda ✓      | Anthropomorphic mask made either in wood or from ephemeral materials. May include elaborate facial scarification details applied in strips of paper or carved in relief for wooden masks. Wears a fiber coiffure that imitates one of several hairstyles favored by women. Beads and metal earrings are often added mainly as decorative elements. Overall knitted fiber/cotton costume. Lengths of imported/printed textiles worn as  | Pwevo represents a primordial female ancestor. Character is very active during <i>mukanda</i> events, with numerous appearances for the enjoyment of people celebrating the event. It is one of the main <i>mukanda</i> -related <i>makishi</i> although it appears at other ceremonial occasions, including the investiture of chiefs (where it may lead processions) and political rallies. Although danced/performed by men, it serves as a symbolic emissary   |



| Category                  | Name and People  | Description   | Attributes and Performance  |
|---------------------------|--|---|---|
| 4 b.<br>Accessible female | Mbunda ✓   | wrap-around skirt. A dance bustle and ankle rattles are worn to emphasize dance movements. May hold a small adze, axe or flywhisk.  | for women, particularly the mothers of initiates. It represents the beauty, morality, and abilities associated with women. It escorts male <i>makishi</i> such as Chisaluke to present an image of gender interdependence. Pwevo's performance imitates dances steps associated with women. A quintessentially accessible mask type.          |
|                           | Mwana Pwevo,<br>-Pwo,<br>-Mubanda                        | Physical attributes practically the same as those of Pwevo or Pwo, but to reflect the physical appearance of a young woman it may wear a simpler hairstyle and few or no facial scarification marks.  | Mwana Pwevo, or Mwana Pwo, literally means "young woman." The symbolic and behavioral attributes of this character are practically identical to those of Pwevo, although the younger female may represent more "modern" values or morals. In some areas the names "Pwevo" and "Mwana Pwevo" are interchangeable.                              |
|                           | Chokwe ✓<br>Luvale ✓<br>Luchazi ✓<br>Lunda ✓<br>Mbunda ✓ |   |   |
|                           | Chiwigi  | Another version of Mwana Pwevo with the same appearance and attributes. The only distinguishing feature is its straight and long, abundant (imported wig-like) hair:  | Chiwigi may further stress the attitude and demeanor (sometimes vanity) of some young women, which contrasts with the more mature and accomplished female, Pwevo.   |
| 4 b.<br>Accessible female | Kashinakaji  | Another version of the female character; carved in wood or made from ephemeral materials, with facial features slightly manipulated to represent old age. Wooden breasts, attached to its overall fiber costume, sometimes hang low to indicate the woman has raised many children. | Kashinakaji, the old woman, honors women of advanced age for their contributions to society and accomplishments as "fulfilled" mothers. The <i>likishi</i> may hold a stick or cane to emphasize the age attributes. Although Kashinakaji generally represents a old woman, occasionally the name refers to the representation of an old man. |
|                           | Chokwe ✓<br>Luvale ✓<br>Luchazi ✓<br>Lunda ✓<br>Mbunda ✓ |   |   |
| 4 b.<br>Accessible female | Lweji,<br>female chief                                   | Anthropomorphic Janus-faced mask made from ephemeral materials. The two faces project in opposite directions from a shared central arched headdress that represents a crown. Facial features and decorative   | Lweji represents the celebrated and welldocumented Lunda female chief of the same name. She represents royal attributes, and holds a stick with bundles of cloth to indicate her long journey from the world of the dead  |
|                           | Chokwe ✓   |   |   |

| Category                             | Name and People  | Description  | Attributes and Performance  |
|--------------------------------------|--|--|---|
| 4 c.<br>Accessible Outsider          | Luvale ✓<br>Luchazi ✓<br>Lunda ✓<br>Mbunda ✓   | motifs applied with strips of color paper. Overall knitted fiber/cotton costume. Lengths of imported/printed textiles worn as wrap-around skirt. May hold a stick over the shoulder with bundles of clothes.   | (and the past) to the world of the living. The <i>likishi</i> has only been documented among the Chokwe. However, versions of Pwevo (particularly in wood) created by these related peoples sometimes include elaborate diadems or small, arched crown-like elements, which may indicate that the character represented is a female chief or a woman with royal associations.   |
|                                      | Katoyo,<br>Chindele<br><br>Chokwe ✓<br>Luvale ✓<br>Luchazi ✓<br>Lunda ✓<br>Mbunda ✓    | Anthropomorphic mask made either in wood or from ephemeral materials. Katoyo has a protruding forehead or a cap. Facial features include a long or pointed nose and an "ugly" mouth with exaggerated teeth, which may be carved or formed by inserting bones, animal teeth or sticks. Facial hair is often attached near the mouth. Facial scarification details are often included. Overall knitted fiber/cotton costume. The character may wear a <i>fuifui</i> or phallus around the waist. | Katoyo represents the European, white person or foreigner. The <i>likishi</i> is intended as a caricature of "the other." It ridicules the "awkward" features and behavior of foreigners. Its performance, however, is similar to that of such <i>makishi</i> as Chileya and Chisaluke, since this character is carried on peoples shoulders during <i>chilende</i> where it performs "explicit" dances with its <i>fuifui</i> or phallus. This may relate directly to the perceived sexual behavior of foreigners. |
| 4 c.<br>Accessible Outsider          | Simonde<br>and Kankoya<br><br>Chokwe ✓<br>Luvale ✓<br>Luchazi ✓<br>Lunda ✓<br>Mbunda ✓ | Anthropomorphic masks made in wood or other materials. The masks are purposely "ugly" and include distorted, exaggerated or "unpleasant" facial features. Overall knitted fiber/cotton costume, sometimes wrapped with rags or old, torn clothes.  | These characters represent "the other," but more specifically "the neighbor." Simonde represents the Lozi (Barotse) and Kankoya represents the Nkoya of western and northwestern Zambia, who do not practice circumcision and are therefore perceived by some as culturally lacking. The characters ridicule the "uncivilized" attributes of these peoples. These characters are "accessible" and entertaining, at least to Chokwe-related peoples.   |
| 4 d.<br>Accessible anthropo zoomorph | Ngulu<br><br>Chokwe ✓<br>Luvale ✓<br>Luchazi ✓<br>Lunda ✓<br>Mbunda ✓                  | Mask normally carved in wood, although fiber versions are also made. The mask is generally created as a naturalistic representation of a pig. Animal furs (generally monkey but also genet or mongoose) are attached to the top of the head. Some examples have a fiber coiffure or cap. Overall fiber costume and addenda similar to those worn by most anthropomorphic <i>makishi</i> .  | Ngulu represents the domestic pig. Rarer variations of the character include a wild pig and an aardvark, which have quite similar physical and behavioral attributes, although the symbolic associations differ. The pig dances on the ground or standing, imitating the uncontrollable behavior of the animal, which is to be contrasted with the proper "civilized" behavior of such anthropomorphic types as Pwevo.  |





| Category                                   | Name and People  | Description   | Attributes and Performance   |
|--|--|---|--|
| 4 d.<br>Accessible<br>anthropo<br>zoomorph | Hundu<br><br>Chokwe ✓<br>Luvale ✓<br>Luchazi ✓<br>Lunda ✓<br>Mbunda ✓  | Usually carved in wood although fiber versions exist. The mask is generally created as a stylized representation of a baboon. Some examples blend human and simian features to the point that it is difficult to identify the character if it has lost its original headdress. Animal furs (normally monkey but also genet or mongoose) are attached to the top of the head. Overall fiber costume and addenda similar to those worn by most anthropomorphic <i>makishi</i> . | Hundu, the baboon, is actually treated as a hybrid character, part human and part animal. Baboons are symbolically interpreted as relatives of humans that inhabit the wilderness. The character may hold a flywhisk and its behavior is somewhat related to <i>makishi</i> that represent diviners or healers. Although the character has ambiguous attributes, it is “accessible” in its demeanor and is celebrated as a relative with powerful supernatural attributes, which derive from its experience in the wilderness or outside the realm of the village. |
| 4 e.<br>Accessible<br>zoomorph             | Ndumba,<br>Tambwe<br>plus<br>Mbachi<br>plus<br>Munguli<br><br>Chokwe -<br>Luvale ✓<br>Luchazi ✓<br>Lunda -<br>Mbunda + | Various animals, including Ndumba/Tambwe (lion), Mbachi (tortoise), Munguli (hyena), and others that are constructed by creating a frame of bent twigs and branches to which bark, burlap, or a similar material is added to model the body. The animal forms are hollow and the performer (sometimes two) hides inside the structure to animate the creature. The characters' mouths or heads are often articulated.   | These animal forms are mainly associated with the Mbunda of western Zambia (and the Mbwela in Angola) although Luvale and Luchazi examples also exist. These are not animal face-masks with body suits which are performed in upright position but forms that take the overall body shape of various animals, and perform “on four legs” on the ground. The animals appear in the context of <i>mukanda</i> and during chiefs' confirmatory ceremonies. These entertaining masquerades relate to proverbs and occurrences defined through story-telling.           |

## Conclusion

*Makishi* masquerades are created and reconfigured constantly, and from time to time new forms arise to comment on current events and situations. Besides the principal categories presented above, a further “modern” or “recent” category should accommodate relatively new *makishi*. Characters representing airplanes, helicopters, and butterflies have been performed in Zambia for many years (Photo. 6). Their performance behavior and physical attributes suggest that these characters fluctuate between the ambiguous and aggressive categories. Recent *makishi* characters include one with a head





**Photo 6** The “butterfly” *likishi* is a relatively new mask that may have derived from earlier forms representing birds. Zambia, Northwestern Province, 1992.

superstructure that takes the form of a VCR player and another representing a boom-box.<sup>26</sup> Because these forms are being developed currently it is best to categorize them separately, until the characters and their attributes have become clearer and they can be integrated into the appropriate place in the typology.<sup>27</sup>

The categories proposed here are by no means monolithic or static. In fact, *makishi* may traverse these categories to accommodate social, ritual or ceremonial needs. However, the documentation of these “intended” orders and hierarchies should support a better understanding of the logic behind *makishi* masquerades as these inform and complement broader social and cultural processes.<sup>28</sup>

A hierarchical typology of *makishi* characters emerges from analysis both of the roles *makishi* fulfill in different ritual or ceremonial contexts and of the symbolic, physical, and behavioral attributes of each *likishi*. The intricacy of this typology reflects the complex cosmology that is involved whenever the ancestral past reunites with the present concerns of the living. Furthermore, the repertoire of *makishi* ancestral characters mirrors society. Human and ancestral hierarchies are correlated, and their character types range in attribute and disposition from the sublime to the absurd. In the case of *makishi*, as in the case of humans, for every aggressive individual there is one who is benign, and for every king there is at least one fool.

<sup>26</sup> Dianne Emanuel, personal communication and photos, 2000.

<sup>27</sup> New forms of masquerades that are “successful” or deemed effective are immediately imitated and repeated in other *mukanda* camps. These may eventually become part of a large repertoire of familiar masquerade types. Those that “expire” or are not repeated are still worth documenting as they may relate to the specific needs or concerns of a community. The “recent” types are usually variations of already established forms. The airplane, for example, probably derives from one of the different representations of birds (Allen Roberts, personal communication: 1993). Similarly, the butterfly mask may be a variation of the same general theme of “things that fly.” Although the symbolic associations differ, the performances of these characters are similar.

<sup>28</sup> Other masking traditions are sustained by Chokwe related peoples. These include children masquerades that are devoid of a ritual or ceremonial context, women’s masquerades that “take-on” the personae of some *makishi* (Cameron 1998), and adult male *mungonge* initiation masks that should be categorized as “ominous” because they represent extraordinary spiritual agencies and supernatural powers that are different than those embodied by *makishi* (Jordán, et.al. 1998: 154-155; Kubik 1993: 27, 29; Baeke 1992: 102).

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