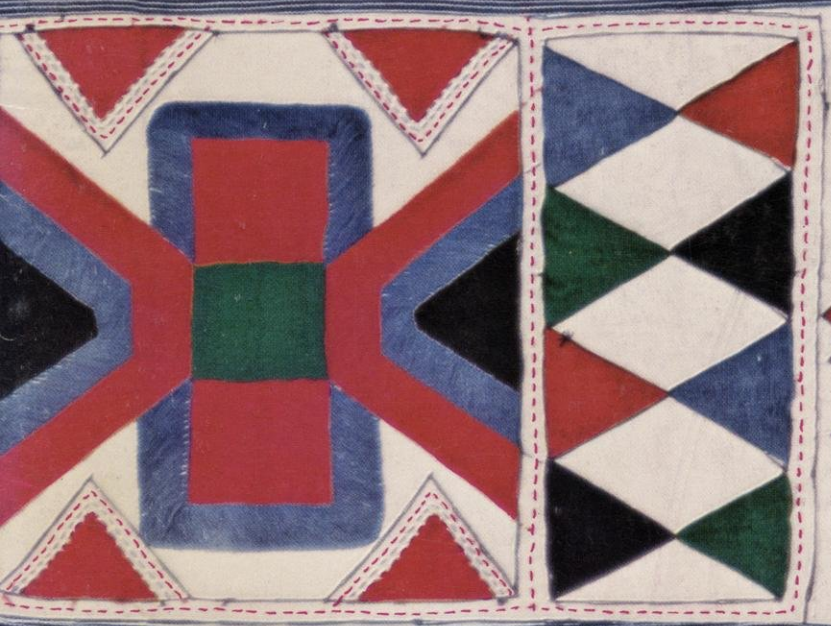
African textiles.

Wass, Betty Marguerite, 1935-; Murnane, Barbara
Madison, Wisconsin: Elvehjem Art Center, University of Wisconsin, 1978



AFRICAN TEXTILES

This volume was prepared in conjunction with the exhibition *African Textiles from Madison Collections,* held at the Elvehjem Art Center, April 9–June 4, 1978.

The exhibition was sponsored and organized by the Elvehjem Art Center, the African Studies Program, and the Helen Louise Allen Textile Collection.

Cover photograph
Woman's wrapper: Hausa; Sokoto, Nigeria. 44 × 70 in. 1976.
The Sokoto-style woman's wrapper consists of a panel of white commercial cotton fabric, embroidered with black, blue, green, and red threads, flanked by panels of dark blue, striped strip cloth. Collection of James and Barbara Murnane.

AFRICAN TEXTILES

Betty Wass and Barbara Murnane

Foreword

The rapid emergence of new African nations during the last twenty years has been accompanied by a parallel growth in international interest in African cultural history and art. Although Europe and the Americas have long been aware of the traditional African art forms—sculpture, painting, and jewelry, all of which conjure up specific and colorful images, only in the recent past have scholars and students of Africa looked to textiles as a medium meriting specialized study.

Since many members of the University of Wisconsin-Madison faculty and administration have had long associations with African nations, Professor Betty Wass' suggestion that the Elvehjem Art Center organize a major exhibition of African textiles, covering the last thirty years was enthusiastically taken up, and it was decided to turn to Madison collections for examples of that rich cultural heritage. Though the focus is on textiles produced during the three decades following World War II, the thrust of the exhibition is traditional.

Particular thanks are due Professor Wass and Ms. Barbara Murnane, who organized the entire exhibition, searched out and selected the objects, and authored the catalogue. Betty Wass, Assistant Professor of Environment, Textiles and Design in the School of Family Resources and Consumer Sciences, is particularly interested in the social significance of African textiles. She has spent summers in Africa, primarily in the western nations, studying this aspect of textile history. Barbara Murnane, who received her M.A. in textile design from Ahmadu Bello University in Zaria, Nigeria, provided the expertise and technical knowledge concerning the actual production of different textiles.

This exhibition bears witness to a continuing commitment by the Elvehjem Art Center to the showing of international textiles, a commitment which the museum deems an essential aspect of a well-rounded program in art history at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Eric S. McCready
Director

Acknowledgements

A number of persons have been instrumental in the preparation of this exhibition. The idea was promoted first by David Wiley, former chairman of the African Studies Program at the University of Wisconsin. Ruth Harris, former curator of the Helen Louise Allen Textile Collection expressed initial enthusiasm followed by continuous assistance. Marjorie Harris, assistant to the African Studies Program, publicized the request for textiles within the program and cheerfully gave advice when needed. All of the donors of textiles and photographs listed elsewhere gave generously of their time allowing their fabrics to be photographed before the selection and then arranging for delivery of the fabrics to and from the Elvehjem Art Center.

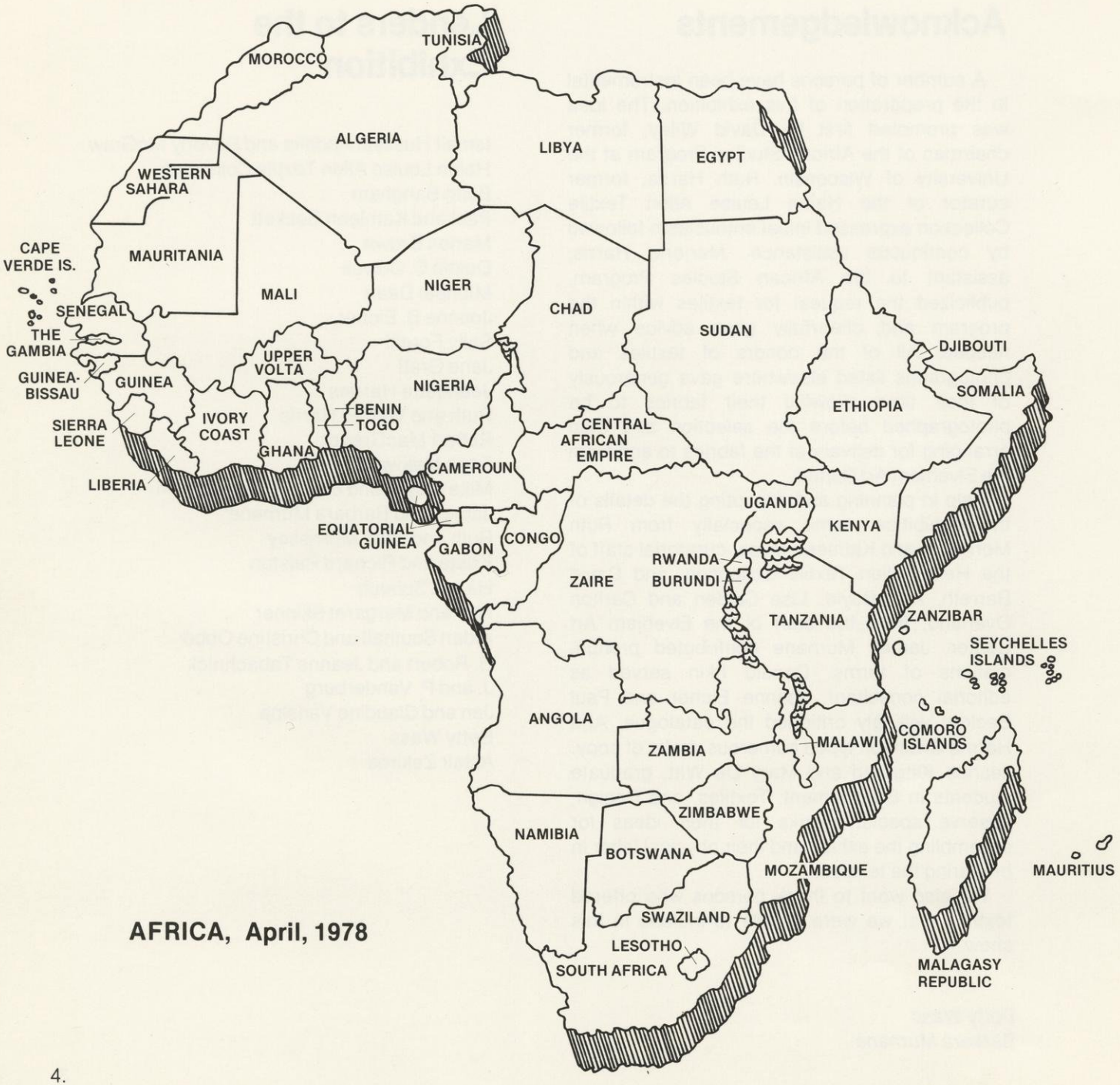
Help in planning and executing the details of the exhibition came especially from Ruth Morrissey and Kathleen Musa, curatorial staff of the Helen Allen Textile Collection, and David Berreth, Ann Boyle, Lisa Calden and Carlton Overland, from the staff of the Elvehjem Art Center. James Murnane contributed pronunciations of terms. Donald Itkin served as editorial consultant. Joanne Eicher and Paul Beckett willingly critiqued the catalogue. Arja Harma-Swanson typed numerous drafts of copy. Jeanne Klitgaard and Mary De Witt, graduate students in Environment, Textiles, and Design, deserve special thanks for their ideas for assembling the exhibit and their physical labor in preparing the textiles.

We also want to thank persons who offered textiles that we were unable to include in this show.

Betty Wass
Barbara Murnane

Lenders to the Exhibition

Ismail Hussein Abdalla and Beverly McGraw
Helen Louise Allen Textile Collection
Edith Bangham
Paul and Kathleen Beckett
Marion Brown
Dustin C. Cowell
Michael Dean
Joanne B. Eicher
Sally Forelli
Jane Graff
Jeannette Harries
Ruth and Wilfred Harris
Robert MacGregor
Edris Makward
Mike Meyer and Elaine Trzebiatowski
James and Barbara Murnane
Ruth and John Morrissey
Krista and Richard Ralston
Harold Scheub
Neil and Margaret Skinner
Aidan Southall and Christine Obbo
B. Robert and Jeanne Tabachnick
J. and P. Vanderburg
Jan and Claudine Vansina
Betty Wass
Astair Zekiros



AFRICA, April, 1978

Introduction

Until the present decade, the richness and diversity of African textiles were virtually unknown beyond the African continent. Westerners, guided by their perceptions of which media belong to the fine arts, overlooked the complex, sophisticated patterning and technical intricacy of indigenous handcrafted textiles. Thus, while masks were collected, analyzed, and categorized extensively, the textile which may form an integral unit with the African mask was long ignored. In 1972, the Museum of Modern Art in New York sponsored the first major exhibition of a variety of stunning textiles and decorative arts produced in Sub-Saharan Africa. In 1974, similar exhibitions were presented in Montreal, Chicago, and Los Angeles; since then, several museums and galleries throughout the United States have sponsored exhibits including African textiles. One country's products recently became the focus of attention in a magnificent presentation of "The Arts of Ghana" organized at the UCLA Museum of Cultural History in Los Angeles in 1977. Textiles were prominent in the display which featured a variety of art objects created for religious, political, social, personal, and utilitarian purposes.

Both the forms and the multiple functions of African textiles are receiving increasing attention in publications. For the culture that creates it, a textile serves to document both continuity and change in aesthetic preferences, technology, and social and religious traditions. Particular textiles also serve as symbols of ethnic identity, wealth, prestige, status, and the social roles of an individual. Frequently, a verbal-visual link exists in that a woven pattern or an applied pattern represents a proverb, an event, an important object or creature, or a mood.

The current presentation at the Elvehjem Art Center is the first major exhibition of African textiles in the Madison area. For this reason, it includes a sampling from throughout the continent of Africa, so that viewers may become acquainted with the variety of indigenous textiles. Nearly all of the items shown come from collections owned by residents of Madison, where a wealth of such art objects may be found. In addition to the thirty-three faculty designated as members of the University of Wisconsin's African Studies Program, which is rated by the U.S. Office of Education as one of the two top programs of its kind in the country, more than one hundred faculty currently in Madison have lived, studied, and worked in Africa. Combined with their considerable art acquisitions are those of over 350 African students who are pursuing degrees at the University, as well as those of local students, Peace Corps workers, merchants, visitors, and tourists, all of whom, intrigued by African arts, have brought unique handcrafted textiles to Madison. The textiles found in the collections of Madisonians represent regions of Africa ranging over the entire continent, an area more than three times the size of the United States. The largest quantity and greatest variety of textiles, however, are produced in West Africa and North Africa; therefore, items from these areas predominate in this exhibition.

No concise, unanimously accepted definition of a textile exists. Those materials generally thought of as textiles are flexible fibrous constructions having properties desirable for clothing and other domestic, institutional, and industrial uses. Methods of constructing textiles include weaving, knitting, braiding, felting, fusing, and knotting and twisting yarns into lace. Because of their functions as clothing and their fibrous base, materials made from raffia and bark are identified as textiles and are part of this exhibition.

Materials in the exhibition vary from the

mundane to the exotic. Some are common, such as the indigo tie-dye (adire) which is plentiful in West Africa and which Nigerian women consider appropriate for everyday wear at home or to the market. Others, such as the vivid applique work from Benin (Abomey applique), are familiar to Westerners; this particular textile, produced for tourist consumption in Benin, has caught the eye of American entrepreneurs: it is frequently sold in U.S. shops, and has been copied in a printed reproduction by an American commercial firm. In contrast, the finely crafted Buguma cloth, a type of drawn thread work done only in the island town of Buguma in Cross Rivers State, Nigeria, where women wear it for ceremonial or special occasions, is seldom seen outside of that area. Even rarer are the exquisite raffia pieces from the collection of Jan Vansina, pieces which were woven especially for the owner in 1964 by a craftsman in Brazzaville, Zaire. The craftsman was able to weave a complete repertoire of raffia cloths which had otherwise disappeared from the Tio culture. Another very unusual item is a Liberian chief's robe. About eighty years old, it was given to its present owner in return for aid to a chief in exile, with the stipulation that its sanctity not be violated by the touch of a woman or child. The request is being honored in this exhibition.

Most of the textiles in the exhibition were made within the last thirty years. All African textiles are made to be used for everyday, ceremonial, or ritualistic activities rather than for purely decorative purposes. A combination of practical use and the effects of climate deteriorates fabrics quickly, especially in the tropics. Even though the fabrics are relatively new, each represents the traditional technique and artistry of an ethnic group or region, although usually the origins of the craft are obscure.

Exhibitions and publications concerning African textiles have introduced enthusiasts to a corpus of terms differentiating one textile from another. Selected terms that have been used extensively in verbal presentations to English speakers are listed and defined in the body of this catalogue. A term may indicate the town where the type of textile is made, i.e., Akwete cloth or Okene cloth, or it may identify the ethnic group that produces the textile, as in Ewe weaving or Fulani blankets. The preceding terms, however, did not originate with the producers themselves; they were imposed by outsiders. All people who design textiles have in their indigenous languages, a detailed lexicon of terms describing their process and their product. To cover these terms inclusively would be impossible in the scope of this catalogue, but a few of these terms, such as adinkra and adire, have become *lingua franca* for producers and collectors, and these are presented in the material that follows. Another category of terms provides general explanations of weaving and woven structures.

The selection of terms is, by necessity, arbitrary. Not all viewers will concur with our decisions as to common terms; omissions are also inevitable. However, the lexicon is intended as a general guide to the observer who is being exposed to the diversity of African textiles for the first time. For convenience, names of textiles are followed by simplified pronunciation guides. The first term following the colon in each entry identifies the ethnic group associated with production of the textile; the second term lists the country or region of origin. In those cases in which an ethnic group resides in an area spanning political boundaries, only the country most frequently associated with that group is identified.

The numbers after each description refer to published sources of information about the item. The sources are listed in the bibliography.

Betty Wass, Assistant Professor
Environment, Textiles, and Design

Abomey (AH-bo-may) applique: Fon, Benin (formerly Dahomey)

Bright-colored designs depicting animals, objects, and humans are cut out of plain weave cotton fabric and are sewn to a monochromatic cotton fabric background. Details may be added by embroidery. Motifs are heraldic symbols of particular Dahomean kings and, as such, represent great achievements, historical events, or moral teachings. The appliqued prestige cloths are used as the regalia of royalty, as religious apparel, or as funerary cloths. In addition to appearing on royal banners, the emblems are sewn on chiefs' caps and state umbrellas.

Applique workers are men living in the city of Abomey who belong to a family guild that transmits patterns for design units from one generation to the next. A traveler reported seeing banners made by the Fon in 1734; other accounts, from 1851 and 1874, describe banners with motifs identical to those made today. Although much of the work is sold to tourists now, tradition dictates style and composition. **BB: 31, 39, 44*

**BB* = Bibliographical Reference Number

Adanudo (a-da-NOO-doh): Ewe, Ghana

See Ewe weaving.

Abomey applique: Fon, Benin. 32 × 65.5 in. 1972. Multicolored figures on a black background. Collection of J. and P. Vanderburg.

Adinkra (ah-DING-krah): Asante, Ghana

Rectangular areas on a toga-size cloth measuring 3 × 4 yards are stamped with symbols representing proverbs, historical events, persons, or objects. Within each rectangle, stamps carved from calabash are applied repeatedly in rows. Thick black tar made from bark of the *badie* tree serves as the ink for the stamps. While designs carved on the stamps appear to be basically geometric, they also bear a visual resemblance to such objects as ladders, drums, and combs, and are named accordingly. As many as 150 different designs may exist.

The cloth, originally worn as a symbol of mourning, gains its name from that function. *Di nkra* means "to part" or "to say goodbye." Adinkra cloths in brick red, brown, or black are worn by mourners, but adinkra in a wide array of solid colors is also worn for other occasions.

Popular innovations to adinkra include (1) tearing the base cloth into strips approximately 14 × 18 inches wide and joining the strips together again with either multi-colored embroidery or narrow, striped woven strips, and (2) using tie-dyed fabric as the base cloth. *BB: 10, 39, 63*

Adinkra: Asante, Ghana.
Adinkra stamping process, Ntonso, Ghana. 1973. Photograph by Betty Wass.

Adire (ah-DEE-ray): Yoruba, Nigeria

Indigo-dyed fabric is patterned by a resist method. Starch, raffia, or thread provides resistance to penetration of the dye. Two lengths, each 2½ yards long by 1 yard wide, are designed with matching motifs and are sewn together to form the customary size for a woman's wrapper.

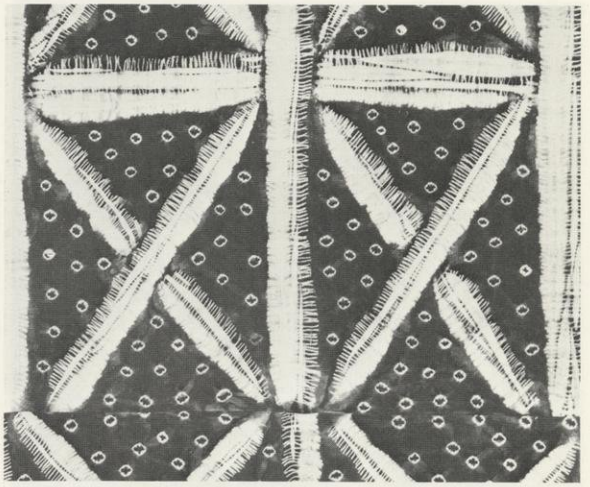
Adire alabere: Tie-dyed fabric using thread as the resist. Thread is stitched into a pattern either by hand or with a sewing machine. In these fabrics, universally known by tie-and-dyers as tritik, stitches may be drawn together tightly, so that the dye is prevented from penetrating the folds, or may be left flat, depending on the pattern desired.

Adire eleko: Fabric designed by hand-painting or stencilling with starch. Cassava or corn flour starch is either (1) applied with a feather or brush in geometric designs or stylized animal or plant forms, arranged horizontally and vertically in rows of rectangles or squares, or (2) forced through a metal stencil. The former method is employed by women; the latter is men's work.

After the starch dries, the cloth is carefully dyed, dried, and scraped so that starch is removed. Hand-painted cloths are more finely detailed than are stencilled cloths, because hand-painting allows greater intricacy in execution. Hand-painting is also much slower than stencilling, but both types of *adire eleko* sell for approximately the same price in the market.

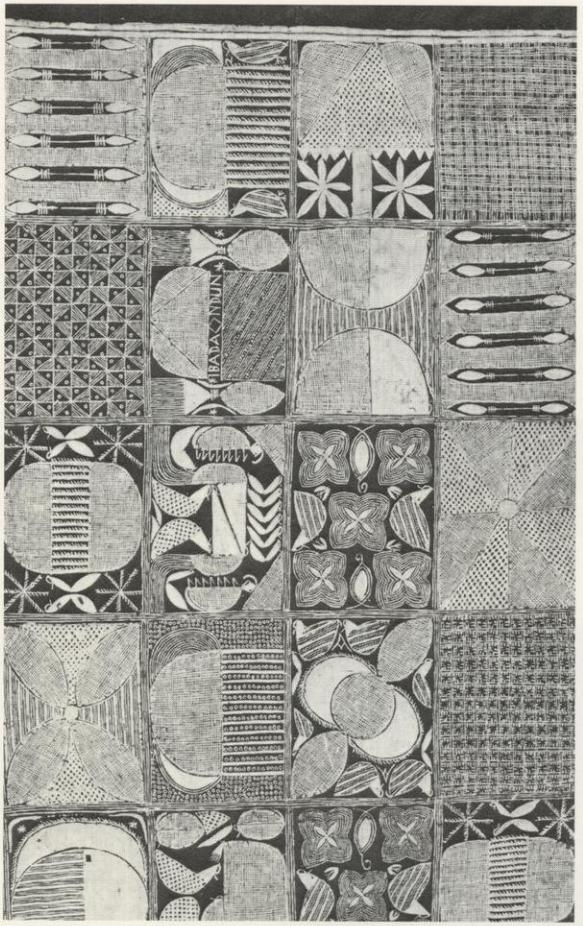
Adire oniko: Tie-dyed fabric on which the pattern is tied with raffia. Many pattern variations are possible. When the artist forms little peaks or clumps by tying the

cloth alone or by tying seeds or small objects into it, the resulting fabric is called *onikan.* One common design variation, uniform rings arranged in a circular pattern, is called *eleso*. Folding the cloth into pleats which are bound with evenly spaced strands of raffia creates *olino. BB: 3, 18, 39, 61*



Adirẹ alabẹrẹ: Yoruba, Nigeria. 64.5 × 80 in. 1975.
Hand-stitched, indigo resist piece collected by Paul and Kathleen Beckett in Kaduna, Nigeria.

Adirẹ ẹlẹkọ: Yoruba, Nigeria. 72 × 90 in.
An example of stencil resist, named Coronation stencil.
From the Helen Louise Allen Textile Collection.



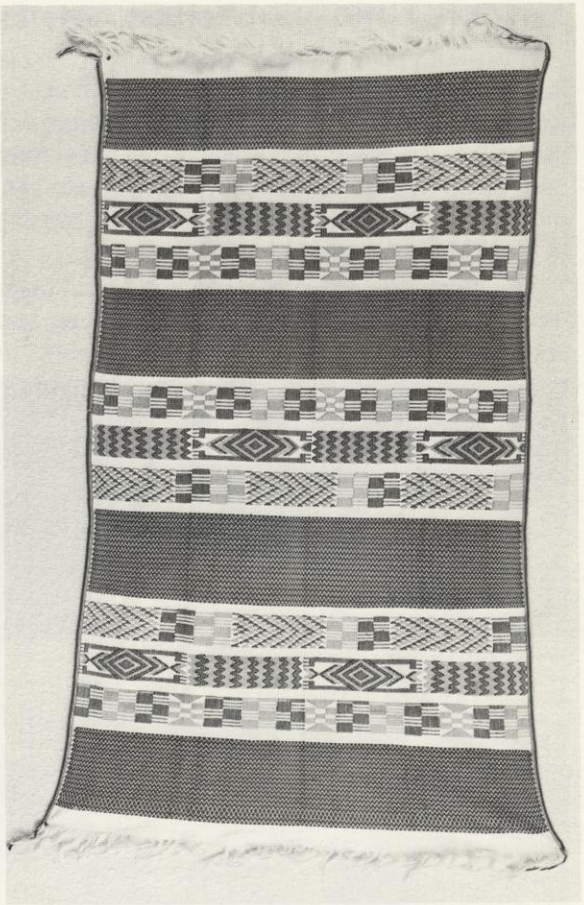
Adirẹ ẹlẹkọ: Yoruba, Nigeria. 72 × 90 in. 1973.
Hand-painted version of adirẹ ẹlẹkọ called "Ibadun dun", which means "Ibadun is pleasant." Collection of Betty Wass.

Adirẹ ẹlẹkọ: Yoruba, Nigeria.
Yoruba women painting cassava starch resist with a feather, Ibadun, Nigeria. 1973. Photograph by Betty Wass.

Akwete (ah-KWE-tee) cloth: Ibo, Nigeria

Handwoven on vertical looms by women in the town of Akwete in eastern Nigeria, a contrasting weft of low twist cotton, silk, or shiny rayon yarn is usually inlaid on a solid-colored background (see inlay). Traditionally, several different colors were used in the weft designs, although in contemporary cloths wefts may be monochromatic on matching backgrounds. As many as 100 different motifs exist, bearing names such as "comb", "tortoise", "bowtie", and "scissors", but no more than three or four motifs are commonly found on any one cloth.

The cloths, intended primarily as women's wrappers, are woven with uneven tension, causing one end to be three to five inches wider than the other. The variation in width allows the bottom edge of a wrapper to hang evenly when the wearer tucks in the wider end at the waist to secure the wrapper to her body. Akwete cloths are also identified by their ample width, roughly 45 × 65 inches, which is sufficient for a wrapper without seaming. These items are sold in pairs; one cloth serves as the wrapper, while the other section is either used as a stole, made into a matching top, or wrapped as a second layer over the bottom wrapper in a typical Ibo style called "up and down." *BB: 18, 39, 57, 75*



Akwete cloth: Ibo, Nigeria. 42 × 81 in. 1967.
A wedding wrapper woven with blue and black thread on a white background. Collection of B. Robert and Jeanne Tabachnick.

Aso-oke (ah-SHOH-kee): Yoruba, Nigeria

Narrow strips or bands measuring from two to five inches wide, but usually 3½ to 4 inches, are woven by men on horizontal looms. Lengths of the strips are sewn together so that they form one large cloth. Generically called *aso-oke*, most bands are given additional names referring to quality, color, or pattern in the weaving.

Traditional colors are deep red, tan, blue-black, and black. However, synthetic dyes and imported yarns provide unlimited colors in contemporary *aso-oke*. Fibers used are cotton or indigenous wild silk. Warp striping is common. Another decorative effect often seen on *aso-oke* is created with a series of small holes joined by long, loose yarns floating vertically or diagonally from one hole to another. Inlaid weft yarns may also be used.

In the Yoruba language, *aso* means cloth; *oke* refers to upland country. Literally, *aso-oke* is cloth made in the north, meaning the northern part of Yoruba land. *BB: 5, 18, 20, 39*

Aso-oke: Yoruba, Nigeria. 1973. Detail.

Barkcloth

Barkcloth is made from the inner bark of various trees and bushes. Once used throughout sub-Saharan Africa, it is found now only in a few countries in Central and East Africa. Soaking the bark of some trees in water makes the bark malleable, allowing it to flatten and stretch when beaten. Treating the bark with oil and drying it in the sun concludes the process. Painted or stamped designs may be added for decoration. *BB: 37, 74*

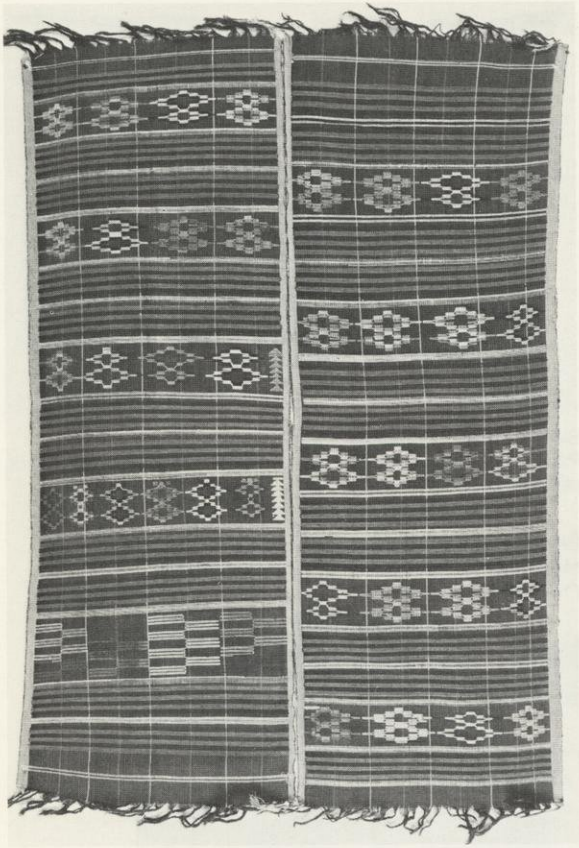
Berber weaving: Berber, Morocco

The Berber in Central Morocco, particularly the Imaghizen or Zemmour people, weave functional textiles on a fixed heddle, vertical loom (see Vertical loom, fixed heddle: North Africa). Almost invariably geometric in design, these Berber textiles are characterized by their predominantly dark red backgrounds, which in some geographical areas are accented with dark blue, and in others, with black, yellow, and white. The designs are based on the square with horizontal bands, horizontal and vertical bands, or overall designs, in contrast to another style of North African patterning based on a diamond or chevron motif. Some researchers consider the term "Berber weaving" to be too general, and prefer to classify all North African weaving according to the two aforementioned styles. Traditionally, the motifs are non-figurative, although the abstract designs are representations of common objects, and are named accordingly.

Practical and ceremonial uses for Berber weaving include women's or men's blankets or shawls, carpets, pillows or cushions, saddlebags, wall coverings, and tents. Using fibers of wool, cotton, goat hair, rayon, dwarf palm, and esparto grass, as well as sequins, Berber women make their textiles in woven structures of plain weave and skip plain weave, as well as in knotted pile techniques including the Ghiordes, Spanish, and clove hitch knots. Some pieces, such as the woman's shawl, can incorporate a combination of these techniques. It is interesting to note that a pile carpet is placed pile side down to both cushion the floor and preserve the carpet. *BB: 15, 21, 23, 48*

Berber carpet: Zemmour, Morocco. 6 × 9 ft.
Pile carpet woven with orange, white, and black on a dark red background. Collection of Sally Forelli.

Berber weaving: Ait Mgild, Morocco.
Moroccan woman wearing reversible cloak.
Photograph by Sally Forelli.



Bida cloth: Nupe, Nigeria. 30 × 80 in. 1971.
Double panel of woven cloth, collected by Paul and Kathleen Beckett in Bida. Dark blue with multicolored inlay designs.

Bida (BEE-da) cloth: Nupe, Nigeria

Bida cloth is woven by the Nupe women living in the town of Bida, Nigeria. Using the typical West African vertical loom, Nupe women weave a rich cotton cloth with multi-colored inlaid silk or rayon designs appearing on one side of the fabric. Red predominates as background color, but blue or yellow, with wide sections in one harmonizing color, are also popular. Thus, the length of the fabric may be broken into two or three wide stripes of contrasting colors. Two matching cloths, each about 24 inches wide, are sewn together into a wrapper. Borders woven with rows of decorative holes constitute another characteristic feature.

Nupe men also weave narrow bands, but the number of male weavers has decreased drastically in the past century, while the number of women weaving has increased. It is women's weave that is recognized as Bida cloth.

The Nupe have interacted with Yoruba and Hausa through years of war and trade, a contact that textiles have reflected. Early 20th century Nupe cloth was indistinguishable from Yoruba weaving. Current motifs have a geometric quality that suggests an Islamic influence from the Hausa. *BB: 39, 59*

Bokolanfini (boh-koh-lan-FEE-nee): Bamana, Mali

Narrow bands (approximately 4½ inches wide) of handspun, handwoven, indigenous cotton are joined together, dyed in a natural yellow dye, and painted with an aged mud solution. Small abstract and semi-abstract representations of common objects or historical events are uniformly repeated in rows over a large area of the cloth, appearing as off-white designs on a dark brown background. The background is darkened with a year-old mud solution applied with a bamboo stick. The cloth may be coated with mud three times to deepen the color. Finally, light areas are bleached with locally made soap containing caustic soda. Women are the artists who design bokolanfini but it is commonly made into men's clothing. *BB: 32, 66, 74, 77*

Buguma (BOO-ga-ma) cloth: Kalabari, Nigeria

Women modify commercially woven gingham by systematically snipping and removing threads from the checked or striped cloth to produce a sheer, lace-like pattern added to the original pattern of the gingham. Checked or striped gingham in any color is used. The drawn thread work reveals intricate solid-colored geometric shapes. The cloth is worn as a wrapper for special or ceremonial occasions. *BB: 18*

Country cloth:

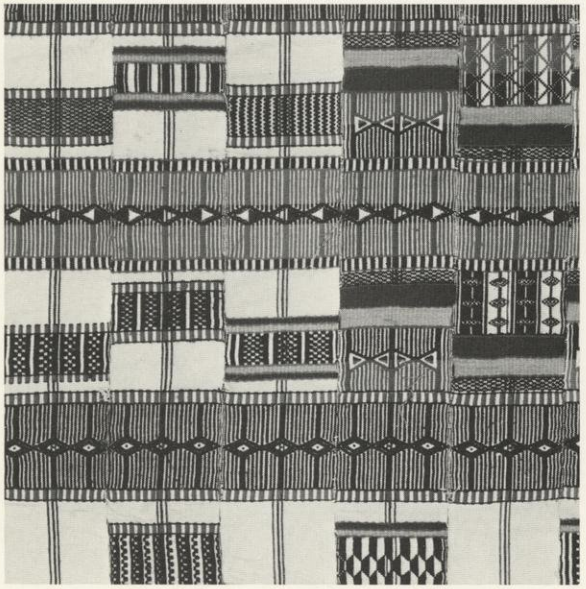
Country cloth is a term used imprecisely to identify a variety of handwoven or handcrafted West African textiles. In a more specific context, country cloth is handloomed cotton fabric produced on the West African horizontal loom. It can be made from handspun or machine-made thread. Woven by men, this cotton cloth is usually a plain weave with a plain, striped, plaid, or checked surface. It is not a prestige cloth.

The term "country cloth" probably originated as a reference to handcrafted fabrics brought from outlying areas for sale in urban markets. This fabric is also called "Sudanese cloth," a reference to the Sudan as a place of origin for country cloth. *BB: 2, 16, 39, 44*

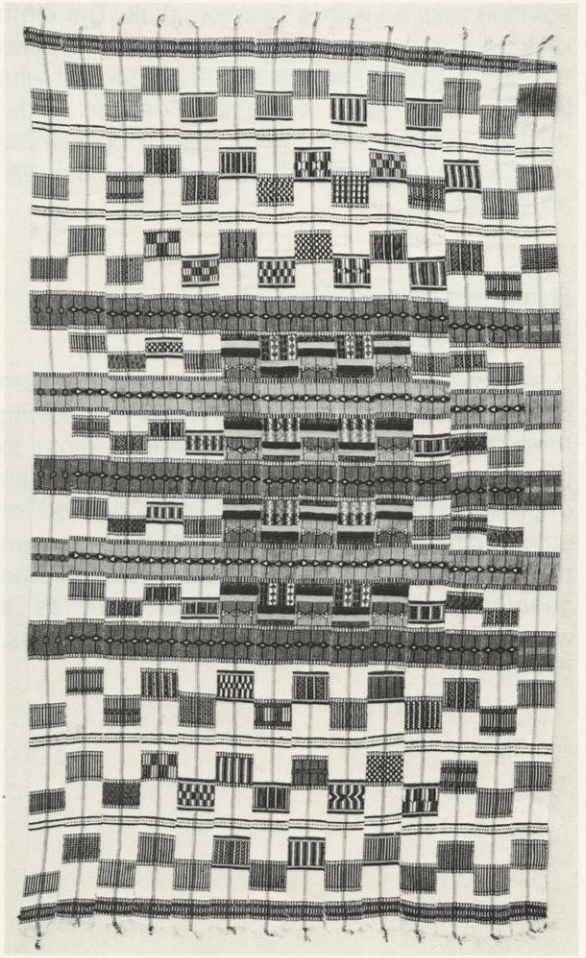
Djerma (JER-ma) cloth: Djerma, Mali and Niger

A large strip cloth, often called Djerma cloth, is named for its producers, the Djerma people. Men are the weavers. Types of Djerma cloth include a variety of weft patterned squares of predominantly black and red, woven into a white background. The finished blanket-sized pieces (about 65" × 110") are used for protective garments and as walls for nomadic tents. *BB: 4, 44*

Djerma cloth, detail.



Djerma cloth: Djerma, Mali and Niger. 64 × 105 in. 1976. Strip cloth with red and black designs woven into a white cotton background collected by James and Barbara Murnane in Zinder, Niger.

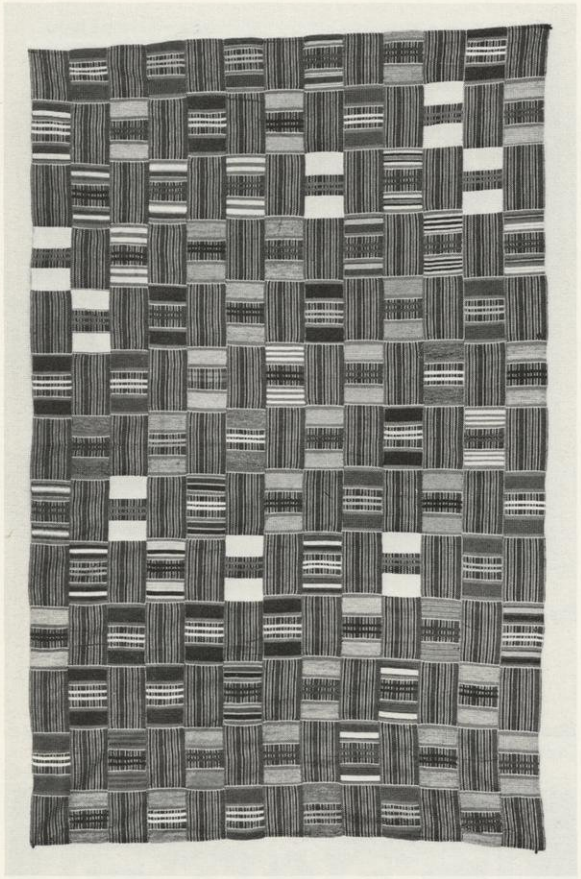


Egyptian applique: Egypt

Fabricated by Egyptian men, these colorful abstract applique designs are made from commercial cotton fabric sewn onto a heavy canvas backing. The pieces vary in size, and are sewn together in a patchwork fashion to form a large tent used for ceremonial occasions, such as religious celebrations or weddings. Tables and chairs are set up inside the tent which has the applique facing inside. The exterior is plain canvas.

Egyptian appliques: 17 × 17 in. 1976.

Sewn in colors of black, blue, green, red and white. Collection of James and Barbara Murnane.



Ewe weaving: Ewe, Ghana. 53 × 76.5 in. 1974.
Predominantly blue and green strip cloth with multicolored weft patterns. Collected by J. and P. Vanderburg in the Volta region of Ghana.

Ewe (E-vay) weaving: Ewe, Ghana

Ewe weavers are known for two types of handwoven cloth: (1) a variety of warp or weft-striped cotton fabrics are sold widely in the markets for everyday use, and (2) *Adanudo* cloth of high grade cotton, silk, or rayon woven with small representational or geometric designs inlaid on a plain background is made by request. Both types of cloth are woven by the Anlo Ewe in southern Ghana, the Adangbe Ewe near the Togo border, and the Central Ewe.

In addition, the Anlo have developed a twisted warp technique for yarn which produces a tweed appearance when woven into cloth. A checkerboard-style cloth (similar to that woven in Mali; see Mali blanket) associated with the Adangbe Ewe has evolved into alternating squares of weft bands and warp striping or representational inlay designs. The Central Ewe are distinguished by the use of handspun cotton yarn as well as weft-striped and inlay-designed *Adanudo* cloths.

Although much of the Ewe weaving has evenly spaced designs, Ewe also make a strip cloth which is sewn together with patterns and colors randomly placed for an interesting and unusual effect.

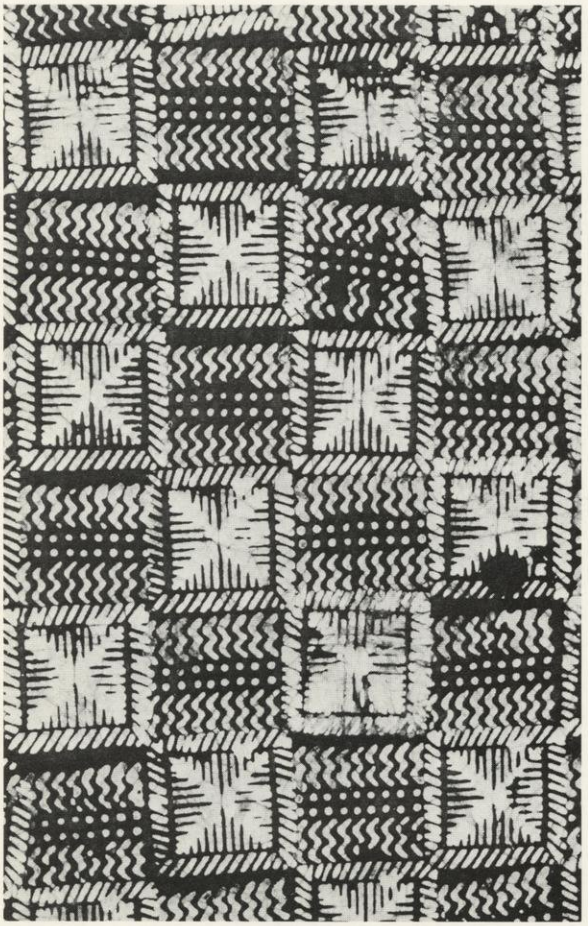
Even though the Ewe probably produce more cloth than do their fellow Ghanaians, the Asante, the latter are the renowned weavers, perhaps because Ewe customs do not include the dazzling display of textiles and other objects which surrounds ceremonies of the Asante court. In contrast to the bold colors of the Asante, one of the immediately distinguishing features of Ewe weaving is its subdued and subtle color choices. *BB: 39, 44*

Fulani (foo-LAH-nee) blanket: Fulani, Mali

The Fulani (also called Peul) weave patterned blankets in the Mopti region of Mali. Men weave the distinctive designs with elaborate geometric patterns of predominantly black plus red and yellow on a white background using a cotton warp and wool weft. Brocade-like designs are spaced evenly in the horizontal direction on the blankets, which are traditionally composed on eight, six inch wide panels. Men wear the articles as protection against mosquitoes and cold temperatures.

Also called *kassa, khasa,* Kano, or Peul blankets, they are not made in Kano, but they are widely available in the Kano market. *BB: 6, 34*

Fulani blanket: Fulani, Mali. 52 × 94 in.
White wool blanket with black patterns, accented with red-brown and yellow. From the Helen Louise Allen Textile Collection.



Gara: Sierra Leone. 45 × 68 in.
Stamp resist design dyed with indigo and kola nut dyes. Collection of Mike Meyer and Elaine Trzebiatowski.

Gara (gah-rah): Any ethnic group, Sierra Leone

Any cloth dyed locally in Sierra Leone in natural indigo dye or in synthetic dyestuffs is called gara. The term originally referred to the leaves of a leguminous plant from northern Sierra Leone that yields indigo dye, but "gara" has developed a broader meaning, applying to all dyeing done as a small scale industry. The majority of gara produced is tie-dyed through such methods as machine or hand sewing, or binding with cord into gathers or pleats, but Sierra Leonean dyers are also known for resist-dyeing by dripping or stamping candle wax onto fabric, applying cassava starch in a pattern (see kolingie), or lifting areas of the fabric (bunching) and distributing dye on those areas to achieve a marbled effect. *BB: 7, 77*

George: Ibo, Nigeria

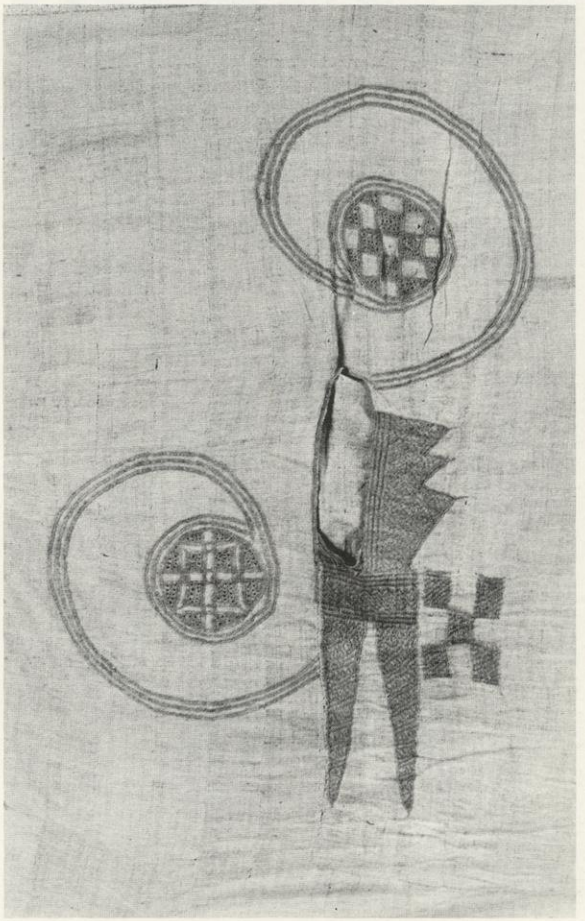
"George" is machine-made cloth produced in India for the West African market. This popular cotton fabric has a plaid appearance, with contrasting border colors, and often includes occasional abstract or representational designs woven with a shiny thread within the body or borders. The origin of the name "George" is uncertain. The Ibo women of Akwete, Nigeria, weave an imitation of this moderately expensive Indian fabric, using cotton warp and weft highlighted by lustrous rayon inlaid designs; this hand-woven version is also called "George." *BB: 57*

Hausa (HOW-sah) embroidery: Hausa, Nigeria, and many other countries

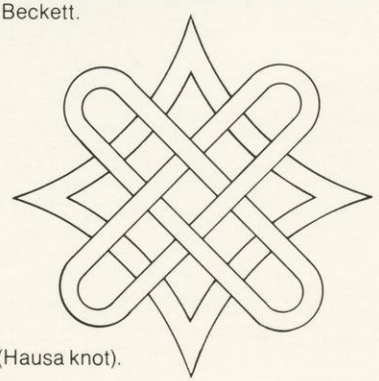
Embroidery of the Hausa people, one of the largest ethnic groups in Africa, has a distinctive style known throughout West Africa. The expansive monochromatic designs on the *riga* (a man's gown worn as an outergarment) and the small, detailed, multi-colored patterns on hats are usually nonrepresentational, a reflection of Islamic religious dictates. Two distinct types of patterns used are (1) interlacing forms of an abstract character and (2) angular and spiral shapes.

Embroidering is a man's occupation, and most of the embroidery is done on men's garments—caps, gowns, and trousers. Despite the advent of machine embroidery, hand embroiderers continue to work in both spun silk and cotton threads, executing their traditional designs, one being the interlaced oval called *dagi* (knot) seen throughout West Africa.

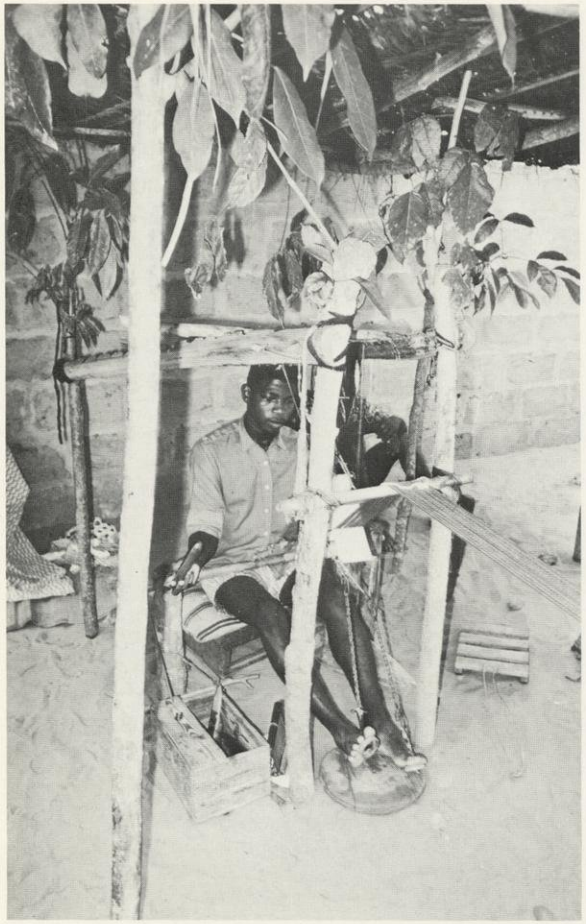
Innovations in the process and the patterns have appeared. Machine embroidery has become popular in many West African countries, and its practitioners tend to be less traditional and more experimental in style. Experimentation has also influenced cap embroiderers, who occasionally incorporate representational motifs into their designs. In addition, women have begun to embroider representational forms, such as plants and animals, on domestic items like bed covers and pillow cases. *BB: 26, 27, 28, 29, 30*



Hausa embroidery: Hausa, Nigeria. 48 × 88 in. 1976.
Hausa "riga" (gown) from Kano, handspun, hand woven cotton embroidered with natural silk. Collection of Paul and Kathleen Beckett.



The *Dagi* (Hausa knot).



Horizontal loom: West Africa.
Photograph by J. Vanderburg.

Horizontal loom: West Africa

The horizontal loom used by West African men is a double heddled loom operated by foot treadles; it produces the narrow bands characteristic of "men's weave." A product of this loom can be identified by its narrow strips, ranging from one and a half to fifteen inches in width, sewn together to make a cloth suitable in size for a variety of purposes. Men's weave is also called strip cloth or narrow band cloth, and it can be plain, striped, checked, or patterned.

The component parts of the horizontal loom are the cloth beam, the beater or reed, heddles in pairs, and heddle pulleys that are attached to the feet of the weaver. These parts may vary slightly in construction, but the operational concept remains standard throughout West Africa. Held in place by sticks driven into the ground, the cloth beam secures the warp threads and stores the cloth as it is being woven. The beater, or reed, consists of a frame in which the bottom section is wider than the top and sides, a shape which facilitates the motion of beating; the teeth of the reed are made from bamboo or palm fiber. The beater not only packs the weft in tightly, but also keeps the warp threads evenly spaced. Heddles are constructed in heavy strings attached to a stick. Heddle pulleys are often plain, but in the Ivory Coast one still sees carved-figure heddle pulleys, and the Asante in Ghana have used fetish figures for this purpose.

Portability, a characteristic of the horizontal loom, is an advantage for nomadic groups. A weaver can roll up his work at any time and then remount it on a frame when he is ready to resume weaving. This framework can be as simple as an overhanging tree, with forked sticks driven into the ground to hold the cloth beam. In other cases, a shelter is built with rafters for attaching the loom parts. A third example is a more formal box-like frame made to

specifications by a carpenter.

The weaver does not cut the warp to a specified length, but rather weaves a continuous long strip which is later cut into sections and sewn together. He winds this long warp between at least three sticks—one at either end and an additional one to form the figure-eight cross which defines the shed openings. The warp is attached to the cross beam and stretched out a distance from the loom; tension is created by wrapping excess warp around a dragstone, which is pulled toward the weaver as the cloth beam is turned.

Both men and women within an ethnic group may be weavers, but only the men use the horizontal loom which produces the narrow band cloth. These continuous bands are often wound into a wheel shape which is then cut in lengths appropriate in size to their purpose. A width of cloth made by sewing narrow strips together has greater bulk or body than is found in most cloths woven to size. In some areas one can buy either the strip wheel or a piece of cloth with the strips cut and sewn together; this cloth is often used for men's and women's garments or for tent walls by nomadic groups.

If the cloth is to be plain, striped, or checked, there is no need for planning. But if a pattern is introduced and is to be regular, the weaver must calculate and measure so that when the cloth is cut and sewn together, the pattern is in the proper position for matching patterns. Examples of this careful planning are seen in the Fulani blankets and in those woven in Mali. See also Aso-oke, Fulani blankets, Mali blankets, and Djerma cloth. *BB: 18, 39, 44, 66*

Indigo dye

Indigo is a natural dye used throughout West Africa to color textiles blue, navy blue, or deep blue-black. Indigo is said to have been imported from India around 1600 as a consequence of the spread of Islam. However, more than one West African plant yields the indigo dyestuff. Traditionally a vegetable dye, it has been replaced in some areas by a synthetic indigo.

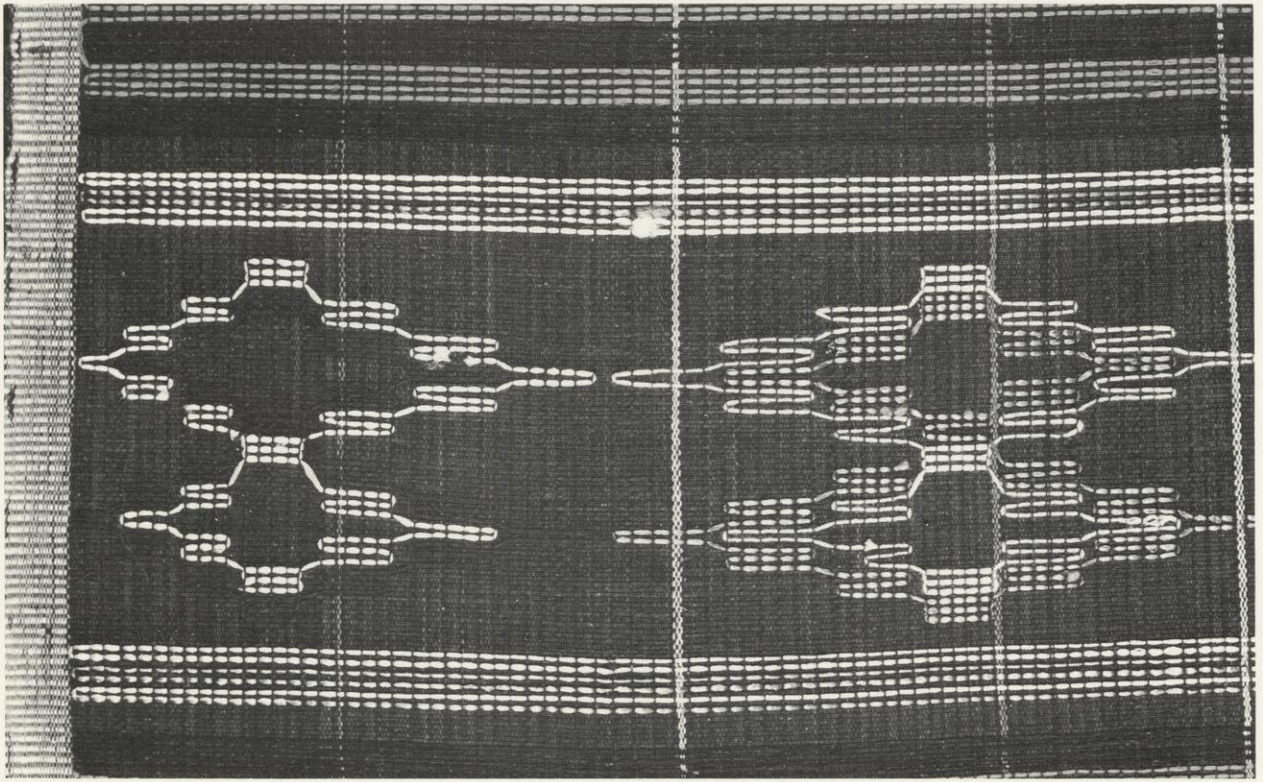
The dye is used in a variety of ways: to dye handspun cotton fibers, yarns, handwoven cloth, or commercial cloth, in their entirety; or in resist methods, including tie and dye, sew-dye, fold-dye, and adire (see adire).

Indigo blue fabrics are especially popular with the Yoruba. Dyeing is considered women's work in Yoruba land, where the dyebath is prepared in pots above the ground. Hausa men, to the north of the Yoruba, dye fabrics in deep pits dug into the ground. Both Hausa and Yoruba load fabrics with additional color by beating the powdered indigo into the cloth with heavy mallets, a process which imparts a blue-black sheen. In Northern Nigeria and Niger, this beaten indigo cloth is called "Dan Kura," named for the village Kura outside Kano, where men produce this cloth. Shiny indigo cloth is expensive and prestigious; in traditional Hausa society, a man wearing a shiny indigo turban belongs to the upper class of slaves to the Emir, a traditional Moslem leader. "Dan Kura" cloth also has cosmetic value, in that the blue-black color rubs off onto the skin. *BB: 3, 35, 37, 55, 70*

Inlay

Inlay is a method of achieving patterned weaving. As it is practiced in West Africa, inlay is usually woven into a warp-faced weave. The pattern rests on top of, or floats on, the plain weave structure; in most cases, it appears on only one side of a cloth. To make the design, weavers attach pattern heddles to the warp structure, in addition to the plain or tabby weave heddles. If the design is picked or patterned by hand, technically, it is not inlaid weaving. (For West African examples of inlay, see Akwete, Bida, and Okene cloths, and Ewe Adanudo). *BB: 18, 19*

Inlay
Detail of Bida cloth. Collection of Paul and Kathleen Beckett.



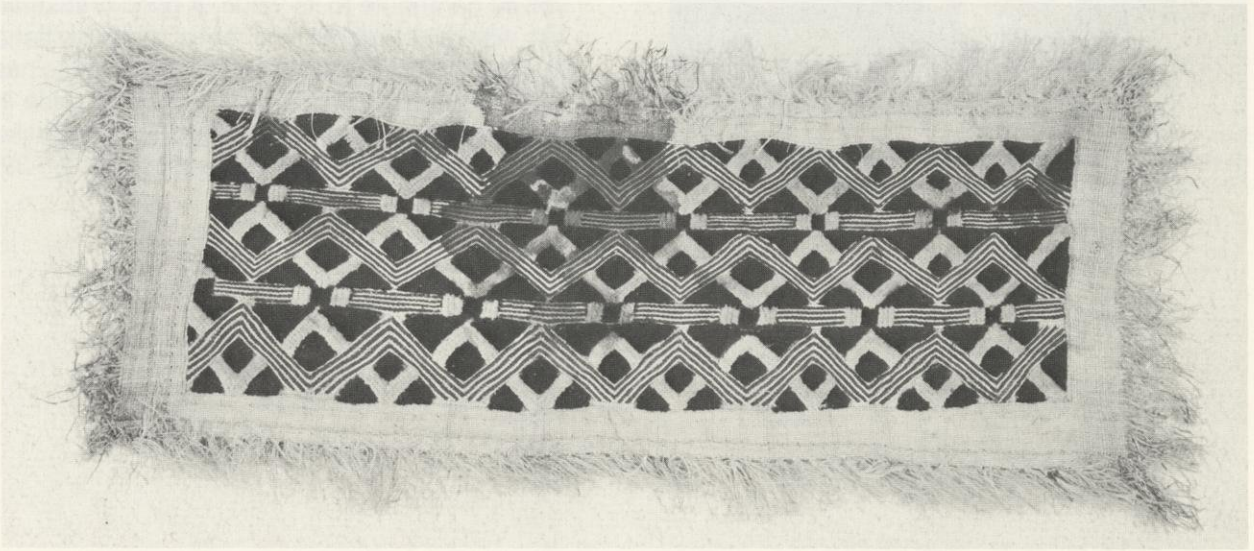
Kasai (ka-SIGH) velvet: Kuba, Zaire

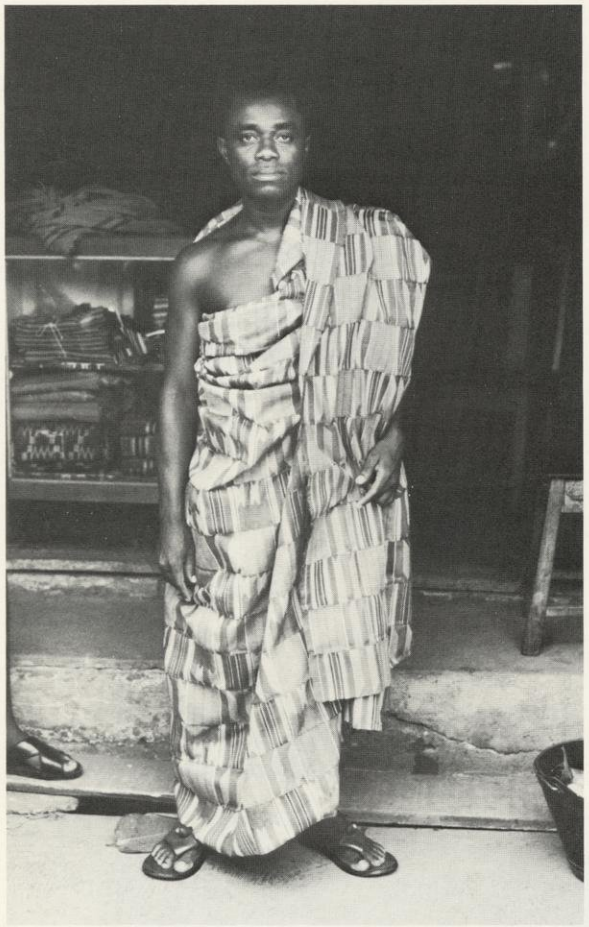
A pile surface (raised brushy surface) of raffia palm fibers is added to a woven raffia backing. On a vertical loom, men weave fine smooth strands scraped from palm fronds. The fiber is used in natural browns, or it is bleached white or dyed to various colors, including blue, purple, green, and yellow. Width of a cloth is limited by the size of leaf fibers, which range from 12 to 20 inches.

The material is not a true velvet, but a velvet-like texture is created as women embroider or insert additional raffia into the woven structure. The added raffia forms standing threads which may be cut or left in loops. This embroidery is done in traditional angular shapes, interlaced in designs as an all-over pattern. The designs have conventional names, such as "Back of Lizard" or "The Feathers of Baba"—Baba being a character in folktales of the Kasai area.

Raffia velvets were once worn in wrap-around fashion by men and women, and were esteemed as prestige cloths for weddings and burials. *BB; 37, 45, 73, 74, 78*

Kasai velvet: Kuba, Zaire. 10 × 23 in. 1930.
Traditional wrap garment fashioned in the "back of the lizard" pattern. Tan with black designs. Collection of Jan and Claudine Vansina.





Kente: Asante, Ghana. 1976.
Asante man wearing kente cloth in its traditional fashion. Photograph by Barbara Murnane in Kumasi, Ghana.

Kente (KEN-tay): Asante, Ghana

Kente woven by the Asante people is the product of narrow band weaving done by men on a horizontal loom with four heddles. Known for its vibrant colors and complex patterning, the "silk" (usually rayon) brocade cloth is made of 20 to 24 strips (each about four inches wide) sewn together to make a man's garment. A woman's kente wrapper and stole are smaller.

Patterns are nonrepresentational, but each pattern of background warp has its own distinctive name, as does each weft pattern; and cloths as a a whole are also named. The sources of these names include proverbs, current events, and common objects, examples being "Gold Dust," "New Ghana," and "Money Attracts Many Relatives." One cloth, comprised completely of weft patterning, is aptly called "I Am Exhausted."

Originally, kente was a garment worn only by chiefs, royalty, and court officials, but now the rich, elaborately patterned cloth is worn by anyone who can afford it. The quantity of "silk," the intricacy of the weaving, and the time involved contribute to its value. A good craftsman can weave only about nine feet of a narrow band in a day. A sign of wealth and prestige, kente has evolved for Ghanaians into a symbol of pride in their traditions. Men wear kente as a toga-like garment with one shoulder exposed. *BB: 24, 39, 44*

Keta (KAY-ta) cloth: Ewe, Ghana

Cloth produced by the Anlo Ewe of Ghana (See Ewe weaving) is often called Keta cloth, after the coastal town of Keta, the main marketplace for Ewe woven cloth from as early as the 17th century. Because of flooding in the 1960's, the cloth market for that region moved inland to Agbozume; presently, the Ewe sell their cloth mainly through the Agbozume market. *BB: 44*

Khasa (KAH-sah) blanket:

(see Fulani blankets)

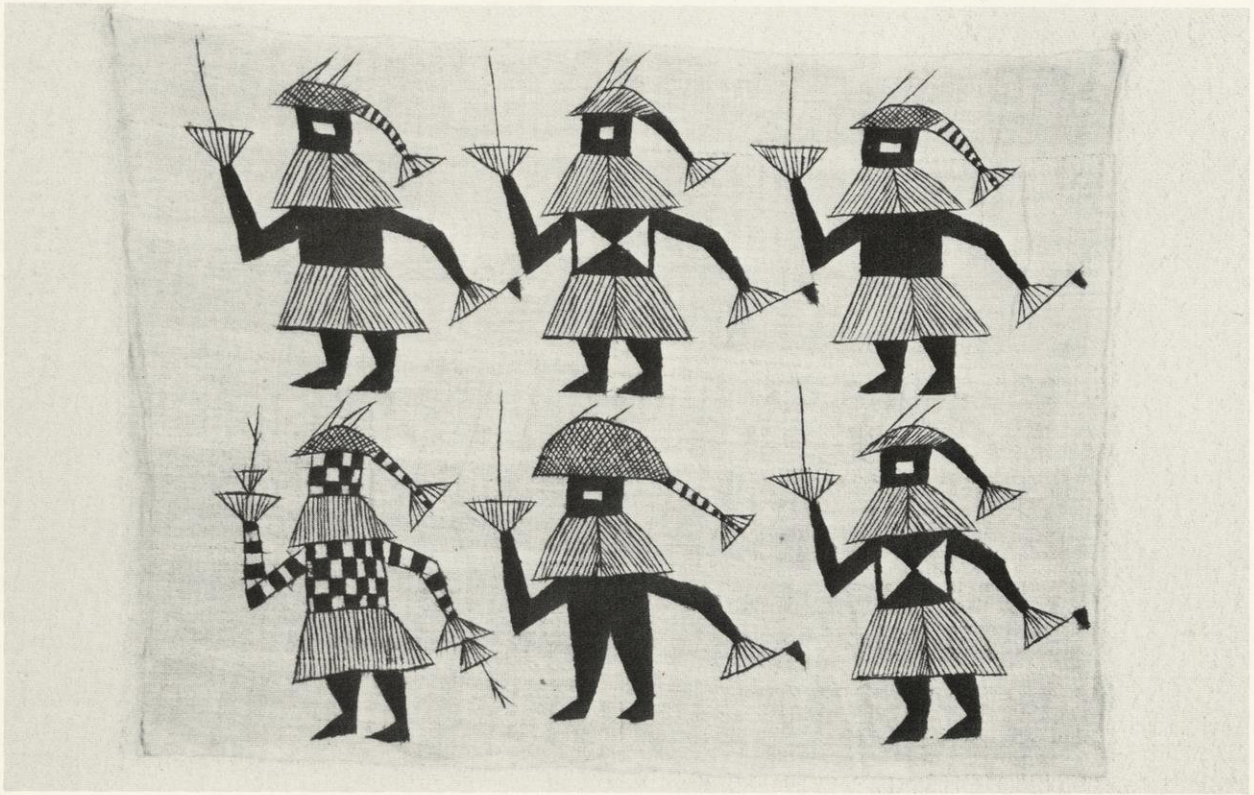
Kolingie (koh-LIN-jee): Any ethnic group, Sierra Leone

Wavy or circular lines created by the starch resist method used in Sierra Leone (see gara), add subtle pattern to fabric. Kolingie means "comb" in Mandinka. Paste made from cassava or rice starch is spread on background fabric, favorites for which are satin and damask. A comb is drawn through the paste to produce a textural effect. The fabric is then dyed and dried before the starch is removed. *BB: 77*

Korhogo (kor-HOH-goh) cloth: Senufo, Ivory Coast

Black or dark brown stylized animal and human figures are painted on off-white, coarsely handwoven cotton cloth. Men execute the fine line drawings. Similar to bokolanfini, the dark dye used is made of an aged mud solution. Motifs of geometric shapes and stylized human and animal figures, especially lizards, were painted in the direction of the warp threads on older cloths. Motifs on contemporary cloths have similar subject matter but appear in a randomized arrangement, placed crosswise rather than lengthwise. The zoomorphic figures had religious significance for secret societies, whose members wore the cloth for hunting or for dance. They seem to serve no traditional function today; Korhogo is produced for purchase by foreigners. *BB: 22, 39, 43, 77*

Korhogo cloth: Senufo, Ivory Coast. 34.5 × 47 in. 1969.
White hand-woven strip cloth with black painted designs.
Collection of J. and P. Vanderburg.



Mali (MAH-lee) blankets: Peul, Mali

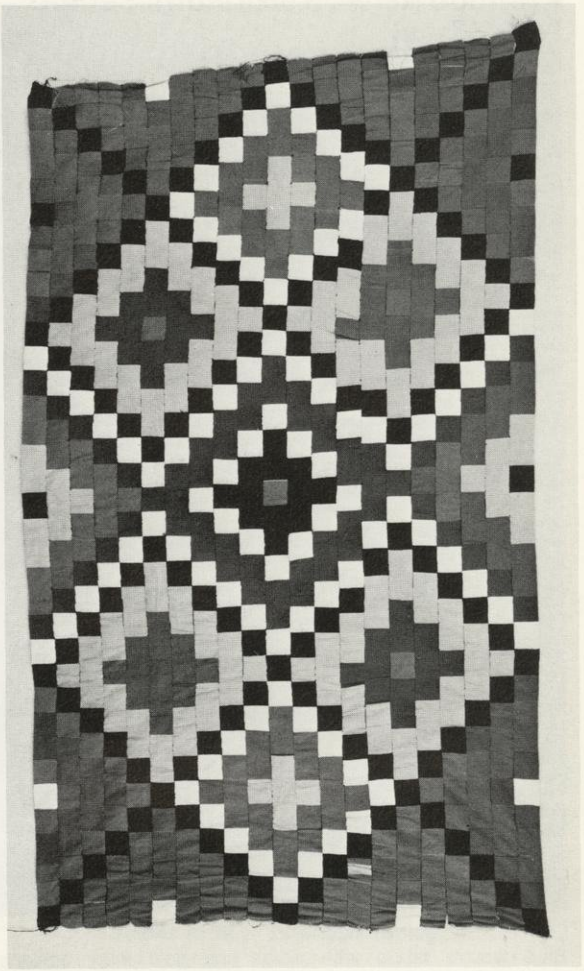
The term "Mali blanket" is associated with different types of blankets: multi-colored checkerboard blankets; colorful, wide, horizontally striped blankets; and white blankets woven with black and red weft patterns. A blanket made of a bright strip cloth, with solid-colored squares carefully planned to join together in a striking, massive geometric design of staggered blocks has become somewhat of a national design in Mali. Used for nomadic tent walls or as garments, these blankets are primarily woven in Mali, but are also made in parts of Niger (see Djerma cloth). *BB: 43*

Men's weave: West Africa

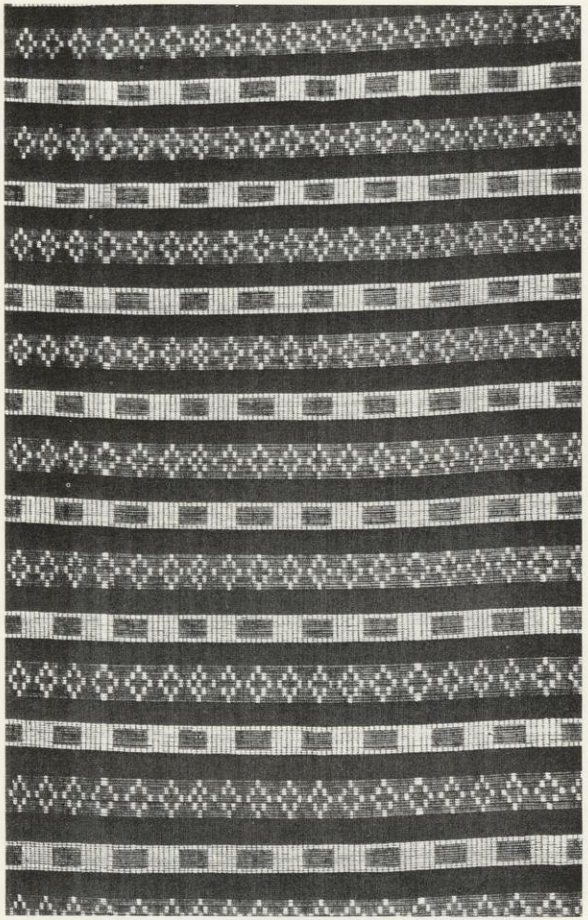
Men's weave is the product woven on the horizontal loom (see horizontal loom, aso-oke, Fulani blankets, Mali blankets, Djerma cloth).

Mud Cloth:

See Bokolanfini and Korhogo



Mali blanket: Peul, Mali. 65 × 110 in. 1976.
Black, white, red, orange, blue, and green squares of woven strip cloth from Bamako, Mali. Collection of James and Barbara Murnane.



Okene cloth: Igbirra, Nigeria. 23 × 90 in. 1967.
Blue woven fabric with silver and gold inlay designs.
Collection of B. Robert and Jeanne Tabachnick.

Okene (oh-KEH-nee): Igbirra, Nigeria

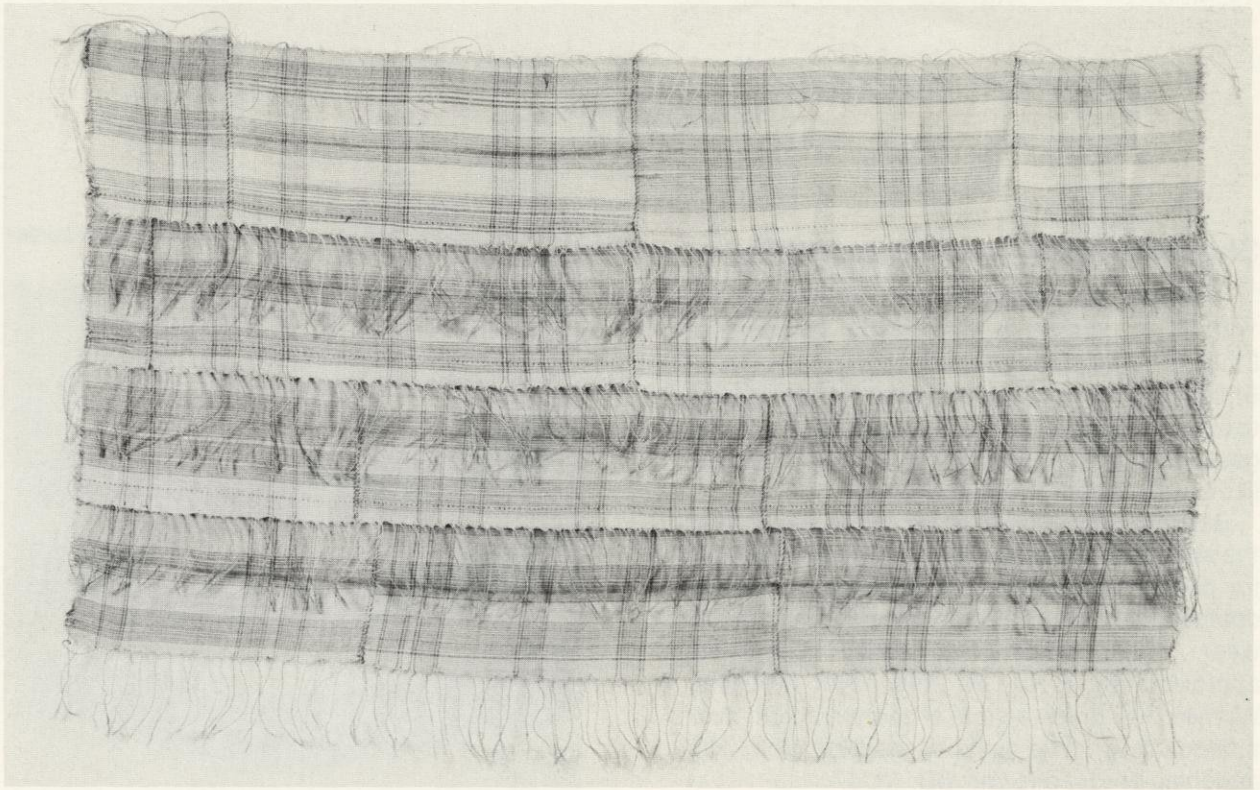
Okene cloth, a prestigious fabric woven by the Igbirra women of Southern Nigeria, is most often identified as a "silk" (actually rayon) cloth, with elaborate overall inlaid patterning on a smaller scale than in Akwete cloth (see Akwete cloth). But Okene weavers produce and market a wide range of cloth, from simple cotton fabric to the currently popular prestige cloth woven in stripes of cotton and metallic threads. Renowned for fine quality, the Okene women are experimental weavers, incorporating popular techniques and patterns from Yoruba men weavers and Akwete women weavers.

The fabric is named after the city of Okene, which has the largest Igbirra population and is the main distribution point for the cloth. Made on the typical West African vertical loom, it is woven and sold in the traditional fashion of three matching panels, each approximately 24 inches wide by 84 inches long; two pieces are sewn together for the woman's wrapper and one is used for the head-tie (see vertical loom). *BB: 39, 57, 58*

Raffia cloth: Kuba, Zaire

Men weave fine raffia fibers in plain weave on a vertical loom. The fibers are obtained by scraping raffia palm or pineapple leaves until they are a mass of fine, soft threads, which may be further softened by pounding. Combinations of natural shades of brown with fibers colored with locally produced dyes make striped, checked, and plaid patterns. Sources of dye are camwood (red), local vegetables (yellow), and clay (charcoal gray and white). Decorative fringes are exposed on pieces of cloth, which are joined together by overlapping, forming a larger cloth worn as a mantle. *BB: 45, 73*

Raffia cloth: Kuba, Zaire. 48 × 80 in.
Man's wraparound garment, called "four rounds"; tan with black and brown. Collection of Jan and Claudine Vansina.



Sanyan (SAH-nyan): Yoruba, Nigeria

A coarse silk cloth of natural tan or gray tones, sanyan is a luxury in Nigeria. Rare fiber obtained from the cocoon of a wild indigenous silkworm is woven into narrow bands which may be accented by a white cotton stripe appearing through the length of each band. The bands are sewn together to make widths ranging from a woman's stole to a man's robe. The term "sanyan" is also used, regardless of fiber content, to identify a tan color resembling that of wild silk. *BB: 18, 20, 39*

Strip weaving: West Africa

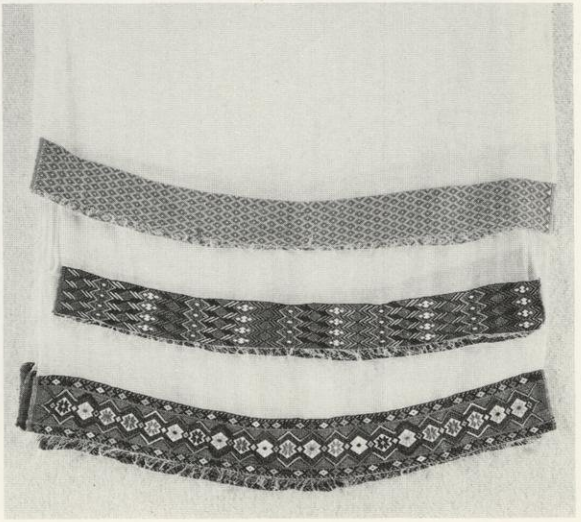
Strip weaving refers to cloth woven in narrow bands (see Adanudo, aso-oke, Djerma cloth, Fulani blanket, horizontal loom, kente, Mali blanket).

Shamma (SHAH-ma): Amhara, Ethiopia

Shamma, or *chamma,* is a word meaning "attire" or "dress" in the Amharic language of Ethiopia. The fabric used in the traditional Ethiopian garment is called *shamma* by English speakers. Made by men, the material is a white, gauze-like cotton cloth with a colorful brocade-like border woven in at either end.

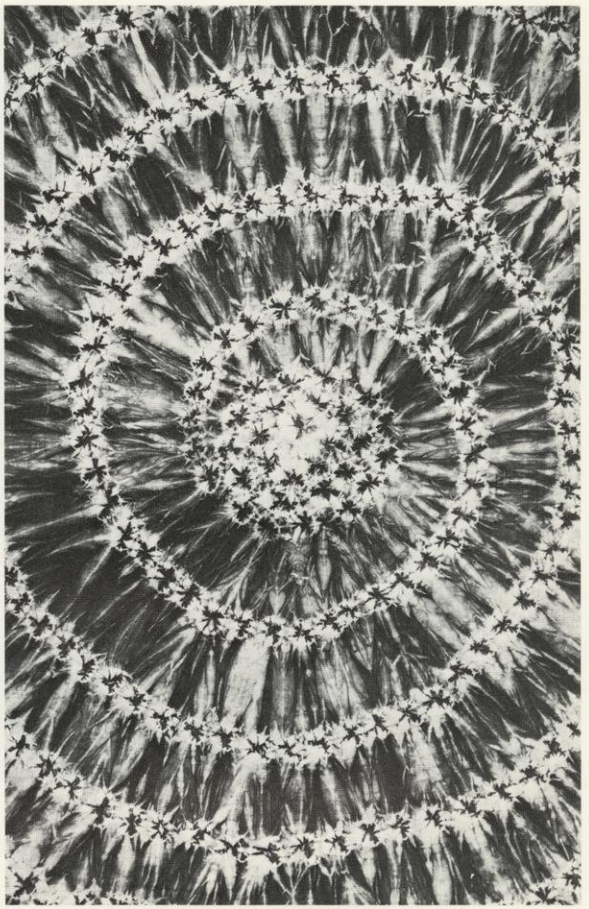
Both men and women at all social levels wear the shamma, which is made in different textures for different purposes. For example, a heavier double shamma provides warmth and longer wear. Men drape the cloth, measuring approximately 5 by 10 feet, over trousers. Women may drape a stole of shamma cloth over a fitted dress of the same handwoven cloth with matching border designs. *BB: 13, 47*

Shamma: Amhara, Ethiopia.
White, gauze-like woven cloth with multicolored border designs. Collection of Astair Zekiros.

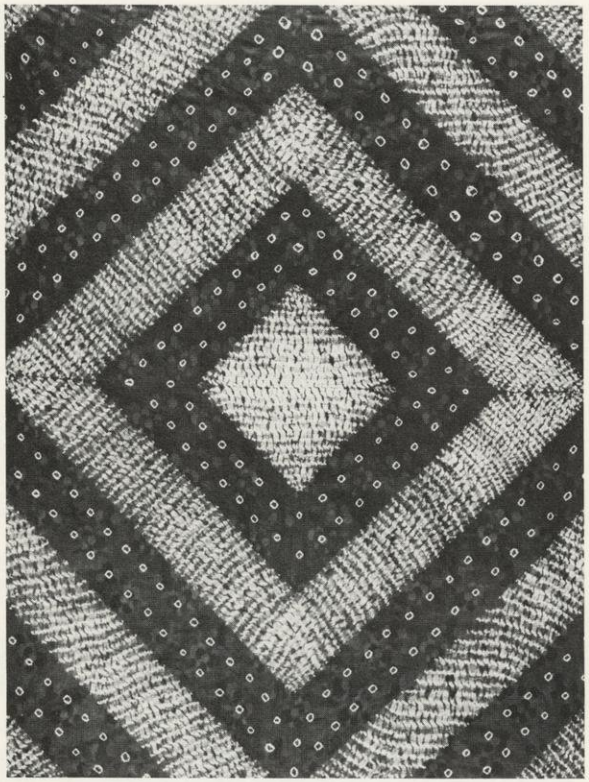


Tie and dye

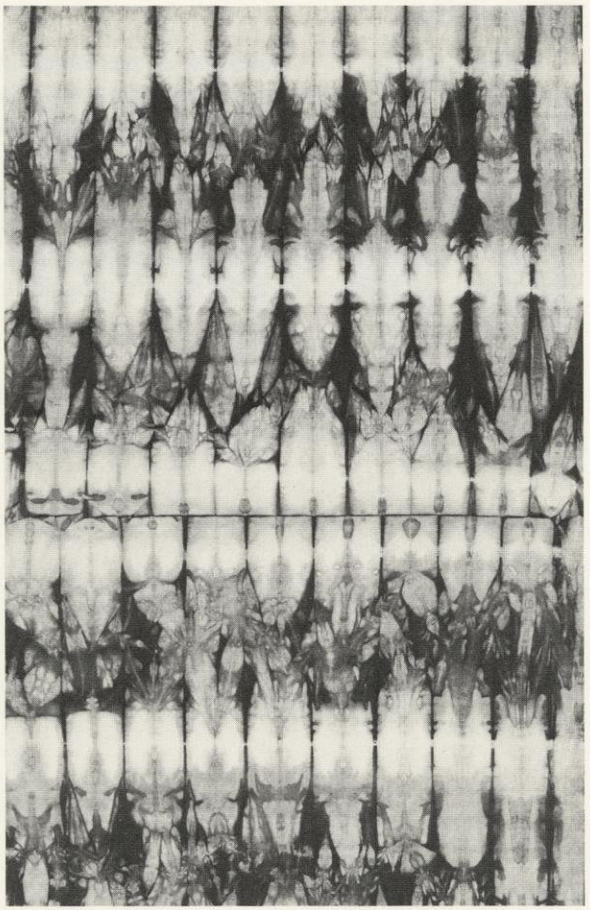
Raffia, string, or thread is systematically wrapped, tied, or sewn on to areas of a fabric to create a pattern. As the fabric is dipped into a dyebath, the material for tying resists penetration of the dye leaving tied areas in their original color. Tie dying is done by many ethnic groups including the Yoruba (see adire). Countless variations in patterns are possible. *BB: 18, 39, 61*



Tie and dye: Hausa, Nigeria. 54 × 70 in.
Called "pebble dye", this indigo-blue and white fabric is from the collection of Robert MacGregor.



Tie and dye: Sierra Leone. 55.5 × 70 in.
Designed by Mary Tholey, dark green and white tie and dye on damask fabric. From the collection of B. Robert and Jeanne Tabachnick.



Fold and dye: Hausa, Nigeria. 50 × 65 in. 1976.
Indigo-blue and white fabric. Collection of James and Barbara Murnane.

Vertical loom, string heddle: West Africa

The vertical loom used by West African women is an upright, string heddle loom; it consists of a framework to which warp beams are attached. Cross sticks are fastened by means of rope at the edges of the warp beams, and the warp is wound continuously around these sticks to form two crosses, one for plain weave and one for inlaid patterns. The warp beams are rounded, so that the cloth may be rotated; the weaver is thus able to weave cloth twice the size of the visible working area.

A string heddle is attached to one set of warps for the first shed opening of plain weave, and a cross stick remains to define the second shed opening. The weaver creates patterns, planned in advance in her mind, by attaching string heddles to create shed openings, allowing the pattern weft to float on top of plain weave wefts. She uses a wooden beater or sword to prop the sheds open, allowing the weft to pass; she then turns the beater and thrusts it downward to pack the weft in tightly.

Vertical loom: West Africa. 1975.
Photograph taken by Barbara Murnane in Okene, Nigeria.

Cloth woven on this vertical loom is referred to as women's weave. It is wider than its counterpart, men's weave. The structure of the loom dictates the size of women's weave, which averages 20 inches wide by 80 inches long. An exception is the cloth woven by the Ibo women of eastern Nigeria, who weave a cloth approximately 48 inches wide, using the same vertical loom. A weaver will generally create three matching panels, since two pieces are traditionally sewn together for the woman's wrapper or skirt, while the third is used for a head-tie. A single tufted piece might be woven for a baby wrapper, a strip of fabric that ties around the mother's torso and holds the baby comfortably and decoratively against the mother's back.

Women's weave can be plain, warp-striped, weft-striped, checked, plaid, or patterned. Elaborate patterning can be achieved, since any number of pattern heddles can be attached. The women from Akwete, Okene, and Bida in Nigeria are well known for their pattern weaves. (See Akwete cloth, Bida cloth, Okene cloth, inlay.) *BB: 18, 39, 66*

Vertical loom, fixed heddle: North Africa

The loom used by the Berber women is a vertical, fixed heddle loom—that is, one set of heddles is permanently raised. Upright beams fixed near a wall form the basic structure. Warping is done on three spikes driven into the ground; two spikes specify the length, and the third forms the cross. The weaver walks her warp around these spikes, while two helpers twine cord around each warp to allow for proper spacing. When the warping is completed, bamboo poles, inserted to hold the warp, enable the weaver to lift the warp off the spikes and place it on the ground for inspection. These bamboo beams are secured to the upright loom, and every other warp is fastened to a sturdy heddle rod which is held in place by hooks on the wall; this is the fixed heddle. A shed pole holds the second shed, and the weaver, who sits between the wall and the loom, raises and lowers the pole to create the shed openings. *BB: 21*

Vertical loom: Central Africa

The vertical loom of the Congo River region of Central Africa is similar to that of West African women, but is used exclusively by men to weave raffia cloth. Both looms use a string heddle and cross stick to define the shed openings. But the method of warping used with the Central African loom is quite different, due to the rough nature of the raffia; the warp is tied to a warp beam in groups rather than being wound continuously around the warp beams. Weavers in Central Africa place their loom at approximately a 45 degree angle to the ground and sit underneath it to weave; the West African loom, on the other hand, is upright. Another difference between the two is the length of the woven piece: because the warp can be rotated, the West African loom produces a piece that is twice the visible working area; since the Central African weaver cannot rotate his warp, his cloth can be only as large as his working area. (See Kasai velvet and raffia cloth.) *BB: 65*

Women's weave: West Africa

Cloth woven on a vertical loom is known as women's weave. It is wider than men's weave. (See vertical loom, Akwete cloth, Bida cloth, Okene cloth.)

References

1. Antubam, Kofi. *Ghana's Heritage of Culture.* Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1963.
2. Aronson, Lisa. "Designing Women of West Africa." *Natural History* LXXXIV, I (January 1975): 52–59.
3. Barbour, Jane and Doig Simmonds. *Adire Cloth in Nigeria.* Ibadan, Nigeria: University of Ibadan, Institute of African Studies, 1971.
4. Boser-Sarivaxevanis, Renee. *Les Tissus de l'Afrique Occidentale.* Basel: Pharos-Verlag Hansrudolf Schwabe AG, 1972.
5. Boyer, Ruth. "Narrow Band Weaving Among the Yoruba of Nigeria." *Craft Horizons* XXIV (November–December 1964):28–29, 52–53.
6. Breed, Hilda. "Blankets from Timbuktu." *Quarterly Journal of the Guild of Weavers, Spinners, and Dyers,* No. 52 (December 1964):684–687.
7. Chuta, Enyinna. "An Economic Analysis of Gara (Tie-Dye) Production in Sierra Leone." Paper presented at the African Studies Association Meetings, Houston, Texas, November 1977.
8. Clarke, J. Desmond. "Ilorin Weaving." *Nigeria Magazine,* No. 14 (1938):121.
9. Clarke, J. Desmond. "The Use of Vegetable Dyes." *Nigeria Magazine,* No. 18 (1939):158–160.
10. Cole, Herbert M. and Doran H. Ross. *The Arts of Ghana.* Los Angeles: University of California, Museum of Cultural History, 1977.
11. Davis, Marian. "Akwete Cloth and its Motifs." *African Arts* VII, 3 (Spring 1974):22–25.
12. Dodwell, C. B. "Iseyin: The Town of Weavers." *Nigeria Magazine,* No. 46 (1955):122, 143.
13. Donovan, Nancy. "Tsion Andom of Ethiopia." *African Arts* VII, 1 (Autumn 1973):38–39.
14. Douglas, Mary. "Raffia Cloth Distribution in the Lele Economy." *Africa,* 58 (1958):109–122.
15. D'Ucel, Jeanne. *Berber Art.* Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932.
16. Easmon, Dr. M. C. F. "Sierra Leone Country Cloths," Sierra Leone Section, British Empire Exhibition, 1924.
17. Eicher, Joanne B. *African Dress: A Select and Annotated Bibliography of Sub-Saharan Countries.* East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1970.
18. Eicher, Joanne B. *Nigerian Handcrafted Textiles.* Ile-Ife, Nigeria: University of Ife Press, 1976.
19. Emery, Irene. *The Primary Structures of Fabrics.* The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., 1966.
20. Ene, J. Chunwike. "Indigenous Silk-Weaving in Nigeria." *Nigeria Magazine,* No. 81 (June 1964):127–136.
21. Forelli, Sally and Jeanette Harries. "Traditional Berber Weaving in Central Morocco." *The Textile Museum Journal* (forthcoming, Vol. IV, No. 4, 1977).
22. Gardi, Rene. *African Crafts and Craftsmen.* New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1969.
23. Gobert, E. G. "Notes sur les Poteries Modellees du Paysan Tunisien." *Revue Tunisienne* (1940):162 ff.
24. Hale, Sjarief. "Kente Cloth of Ghana." *African Arts* III, 3 (Spring 1970):26–29.
25. Hambly, Wilfrid D. and A. E. Hambly, "Weavers of West Africa." *Craft Horizons* XIV, 4(July–August 1954):30.
26. Heathcote, David. *The Arts of the Hausa.* London: World of Islam Festival Publishing Company Ltd., 1976.

27. Heathcote, David. "Hausa Embroidered Dress." *African Arts* V, 2 (Winter 1972):12–19, 82, 84.
28. Heathcote, David. "Hausa Hand-Embroidered Caps." *Nigerian Field* XL, 2 (June 1975):54–73.
29. Heathcote, David. "Hausa Women's Dress in the Light of Two Recent Finds." *Savanna* II, 2 (December 1973):201–217.
30. Heathcote, David. "Insight into a Creative Process: A Rare Collection of Embroidery Drawings from Kano." *Savanna* I, 2 (December 1972):165–174.
31. Herskovits, Melville J. and Frances, S. *Dahomey; An Ancient West African Kingdom.* Vol. II. New York: J. J. Augustin, 1938. Reprinted: Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1967
32. Imperato, Pascal James, and Marli Shamir. "Bokolanfini: Mud cloth of the Bamana of Mali." *African Arts* III, 4 (Summer 1970):32-41.
33. Imperato, Pascal James. "Kereka Blankets of the Peul." *African Arts* IX, 4 (July 1976):56–59.
34. Imperato, Pascal James. "Wool Blankets of the Peul of Mali." *African Arts* VI, 3 (Spring 1973):40–47.
35. "Indigo." *American Fabrics and Fashions.* No. 109 (Spring 1977):41–42.
36. Innes, R. A. *Non-European Looms.* Halifax: Halifax Museums, 1959.
37. Jefferson, Louise E. *The Decorative Arts of Africa.* New York: The Viking Press, 1973.
38. Kamalu, A. Eme. "Akwete Cloth." Unpublished B. A. thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria, 1965.
39. Kent, Kate. *West African Cloth.* Denver: Denver Museum of Natural History, 1971.
40. Kent, Kate P. "West African Decorative Weaving." *African Arts* VI, 1 (Autumn 1972):22–27, 67–70, 88.
41. Kent, Kate P. "West African Decorative Weaving," additions and corrections. *African Arts* VI, 2 (Winter 1972):82.
42. Kyerematen, A. A. Y. *Panoply of Ghana.* London: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 1964. New York: Praeger, 1964.
43. Lamb, Venice, and Alistair Lamb. *West African Narrow Strip Weaving.* Catalogue of Exhibition of Lamb Collection, Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., March 7 to September 20, 1975.
44. Lamb, Venice. *West African Weaving.* London: Duckworth Press, 1975.
45. Loir, Helene. "Le Tissage du Raphia au Congo Belge." *Annales du Musee du Congo Belge.* October 1935, Series III, Vol. VI, pp. 1–73.
46. McCreary, Carol Phillips. *The Traditional Moroccan Loom.* Santa Rosa, Calif.: Thresh Publications, 1975.
47. Messing, Simon. "Nonverbal Language of the Ethiopian Toga." *Anthropos.* LV, No. 3/4 (1960):558–560.
48. Micaud, Ellen. "The Craft Tradition in North Africa." *African Arts* III, 2 (Winter 1970):38–43, 90–91.
49. Murnane, Barbara C. "A Study of the Relationship Which Exists Between an Okene Weaver and Her Cloth." Unpublished M. A. thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria, 1976.
50. Murray, K. C. "Arts and Crafts of Nigeria: Their Past and Future." *Africa* XIV (October 1943):156, 158.
51. Murray, K. C. "Weaving in Nigeria: A General Survey." *Nigeria* XIV (1938):118–120.
52. Newman, Thelma R. *Contemporary African Arts and Crafts.* London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1974.
53. *Nigeria Magazine.* Crafts Issue LXXIV (September 1962):1–99.

54. "Nigerian Industries—Weaving." *Nigeria Magazine,* No. 10 (April 1937):70–71.
55. Nordquist, Barbara and Susan Aradeon. *Traditional African Dress and Textiles.* Washington, D.C.: Museum of African Art, April 1975.
56. Ojo, G. J. Afolabi. *Yoruba Culture: A Geographical Analysis.* London: University of London Press, 1966.
57. Okeke, C. S. "Factors Which Influenced Igbo Traditional Woven Designs for Apparel Fabrics." *Textile History* 8 (1977):116–130.
58. "Okene". *Nigeria* XLV (1954):48–59.
59. Perani, Judith. "Nupe Textile Arts: Sources and Change." Paper presented at the African Studies Association Meetings, Houston, Texas, November 1977.
60. Plumer, Cheryl. *African Textiles: An Outline of Handcrafted Sub-Saharan Fabrics.* East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1970.
61. Polakoff, Claire. "The Art of Tie and Dye in Africa." *African Arts* IV, 3 (Spring 1971):27–33, 80.
62. Poynor, Robin. "Nigerian Handcrafted Textiles." Catalogue for exhibition of Joanne Eicher Collection. Tweed Museum, Duluth, Minnesota, October 22 to November 18, 1975.
63. Quarcoo, A. K. *The Language of Adinkera Patterns.* Legun, Ghana: Institute of African Studies, 1972.
64. Rattray, R. S. *Religion and Art in Ashanti.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927. London: Oxford University Press, 1959, 1969.
65. Roth, H. Ling. *Studies in Primitive Looms.* Halifax: Bankfield Museum, 1950.
66. Sieber, Roy. *African Textiles and Decorative Arts.* New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1972.
67. "Silk Work." *Nigeria* XIV (1938):129.
68. Smith, Shea Clark. "Kente Cloth Motifs." *African Arts* IX, 1 (October 1975):36–41.
69. Southern, A. E. "Cloth-Making in Nigeria." *Nigeria Magazine* XXXII (1949):35–40.
70. Stanfield, N. F. "Indigo Dyeing in Western Nigeria." *Quarterly Journal of the Guilds of Weavers, Spinners, and Dyers* 70 (Summer 1969):1251–1255.
71. Thompson, Robert Farris. *African Art in Motion.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974.
72. Thompson, Robert Farris. *Black Gods and Kings.* Los Angeles: University of California, 1971.
73. Torday, Emil. *On the Trail of the Bushongo.* London: Seeley, Service & Co., Ltd., 1925. Reprinted: New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969.
74. Trowell, Margaret. *African Design.* 2nd ed. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966.
75. Ukeje, L. "Weaving in Akwete." *Nigeria,* No. 74 (1972):33–41.
76. Vernon-Jackson, Hugh. "Craft Work in Bida." *Africa* XXX (January 1960):51–61.
77. Wahlman, Maude. *Contemporary African Arts.* Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1974.
78. "Weaving by the Bushongo Tribe of the Congo." *Quarterly Journal of the Guilds of Weavers, Spinners, and Dyers* 42 (June 1962):373–375.
79. World Crafts Council. *In Praise of Hands.* Toronto: Ontario Science Center, Exhibition June 11–September 2, 1974.

Elvehjem Art Center Staff
Eric S. McCready, *Director*
David S. Berreth, *Assistant Director*
Carlton E. Overland, *Curator of Collections*
Lisa C. Calden, *Registrar/Assistant to the Curator*
Margaret A. Lambert, *Curator of Education*
Doreen Holmgren, *FRIENDS Coordinator*
Kathleen E. Parks-Yoast, *Museum Shop Manager*
Henry A. Behrnd, *Craftsman/Gallery Technician*
Daniel C. Steen, *Project Assistant*
Ruth C. Struve, *Administrative Assistant*
Anne L. Boyle, *Graphic Artist*
Rosemary T. Birzer, *Account Examiner*
Gail O'Neal, *Typist*
Loni Hayman, *Typist*

African Studies Program
Fred M. Hayward, *Chairman*
Paul A. Beckett, *Associate Director*
Marjorie Harris, *Assistant to the Chairman*

Helen Louise Allen Textile Collection
Ruth Morrissey, *Curator*
Kathleen Musa, *Curatorial Assistant*

1000 copies printed by Litho Productions, Madison, Wisconsin.
Textile photography by Christine Sundt, Madison, Wisconsin.
Design by Phill Thill Design, Middleton, Wisconsin.
Typesetting by Fleetwood Graphics, Madison, Wisconsin.

ELVEHJEM ART CENTER
University of Wisconsin-Madison