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Reflecting on *African Reflections*

In the fall of 1993, the Elvehjem Museum of Art hosted the major traveling exhibition *African Reflections: Art from Northeastern Zaire*. To supplement this exhibition, the museum, in collaboration with the UW-Madison's Department of Art History and African Studies Program and an advisory committee of representatives from numerous community and school organizations in Madison, organized a series of arts, educational, and cultural programs including an opening festival of music and dance, an AfroPop dance party at the Memorial Union, a special brochure, docent training and tours organized by Anne Lambert, six teachers' workshops coordinated by Michael Afolayan, a teachers' educational packet and a UW-Madison Continuing Education in the Arts course on Zaire prepared by Shannen Hill, an African Studies Program Symposium on the historical and cultural roots of contemporary Zaire organized by Michael Schatzberg, African story-telling events for children and adults by Kasiye Phira Makaka and Harold Scheub, a book exhibition entitled *Perceiving Africa* in the Memorial Library Department of Special Collections prepared by David Henige, a graduate seminar devoted to an examination of the content and presentation of *African Reflections*, and a lecture series by several Africanist art scholars on the arts of Zaire, both developed by me. Russell Panczenko and I were the general coordinators for all these programs, and I served as the local curator for the exhibition.

This issue of the Elvehjem *Bulletin* presents four of the lectures, together with an invited essay by Professor Nicholas Mirzoeff. Like all successful exhibitions, *African Reflections* inspired as many questions as it sought to answer. Since the exhibition focused on materials collected among the Mangbetu and Azande peoples between 1909 and 1915 by Herbert Lang and James Chapin for the American Museum of Natural History, some of the following essays consider the rich diversity of artistic traditions from other cultures in central Africa. Others expand upon certain themes and interpretations presented in *African Reflections*. These essays thus are meant to be a dialogue with the exhibition and its catalogue, offering other visions and different perspectives.

I first summarize each of the essays, considering themes that resonate in several of them and then highlight a central issue that has relevance for all of them and art-historical (and museum) studies generally. The subfield of African art history demands innovative, multidisciplinary approaches. It often combines the theories and methods of anthropology/ethnography with those of art history and the cultural history of art, since this work is usually based on fieldwork as much as archival research. It is often the *lived* experience of art (by Africans and ourselves) that we try to capture in our writing. Our interdisciplinary ways of working may be seen as analogous to works or performances that are multimedial, for what often results are studies of visual culture that set the *arts* (visual as well as performed) into wide, complex cultural and historical matrixes.

In "Arts of Terror and Resistance in Eastern Zaire," Allen Roberts explores two issues. The first is the role of secret societies in determining and promoting aspects of form and iconography among many central African peoples. He suggests that such information may help us understand the rise and decline of Mangbetu anthropomorphic art. The second involves two masks, attributed to the Bua people, but which he thinks may be Mangbetu-related in light of his regional art-historical and ethnographic research.

Based on his work among the Tabwa of eastern Zaire, Roberts proposes that the development of masking among closely related and often-interacting peoples of the region, including the Mangbetu, illuminates the iconology of the two masks in question. For example, he argues that their painted pattern evokes the leopard, the central reference to secret socio-political societies, Mambela and Anioto, known as "leopardmen terrorists," and provides a detailed analysis of leopard symbolism.

He concludes with a discussion of a European (Belgian) representation of African "savagery" at the Royal Africa Museum, Tervuren—a larger-than-life bronze sculpture by P. Wissaert labeled "The Leopardmen or Anioto." Such a work raises the issue of European primitivism and racism, and the politics of representation generally—a theme that is explored by Nicholas Mirzoeff.

Mirzoeff, in "Photography at the Heart of Darkness," argues that the "discourse of race is the most problematic legacy of modernism." For more than 200 years, artists and others have tried to create a visual taxonomy of race and, despite the fact that the biological notion of "race" has long been recognized

as a fiction, the effort to define it still continues today. One repository of such efforts is contained in colonial photographs. Once used to represent the "reality" of race, such colonial images are now reconsidered and questioned in new ways—what did/do they represent then and now? What can we learn from them about the creation of colonial reality? What can we learn about the process by which race is written on the body, transforming the person into a specimen?

In this essay Mirzoeff considers the photographs of Herbert Lang, taken among the Mangbetu and Azande between 1909 and 1915, and prominently displayed in *African Reflections*. The exhibition catalogue suggested that Lang's photographs overcame the barriers of colonial difference because the Mangbetu "consciously constructed an image of themselves for outsiders that relied on their perception of outsiders' perception of them"[1]—a place of dialogue between the colonizer and indigenous people. As Mirzoeff points out, rather than pursue this intriguing possibility, the author concluded that the intimacy projected in some of Lang's photographs transforms them from simple contextual documents into works of art.

Mirzoeff takes issue with this notion of a "disinterested view of art that transcends the conditions of artistic production." Such a view, he states, valorizes and aestheticizes the photograph and leads to a reductive semiotics of photography because it elides all the social and historical factors that made the work what it is. He begins by implicating Lang in the discourse of eugenics—the pseudoscience about the supposed differences among various "races" of humankind. Yet the objects of Lang's photography were not passive for, as Lang recounted, Mbuti persons mimicked him taking their photograph—mimicry that, as Mirzoeff suggests, "is not far from mockery, and that can turn into menace." Thus Lang's photos are the intersecton of the double vision of mimicry, presenting no "authentic" vision of Africa, nor of colonialism, but a fragmentary glimpse of the interaction between indigenous peoples and eugenics. Analyzing the texts that accompanied some of Lang's published photos (as well as his manipulations of images), Mirzoeff shows how these took primacy in shaping how the photographs were to be seen and understood.

The author concludes saying that a photo is a "motivated sign"—it is meant to look like something. Lang meant his supposed objective documents "to show racial difference marked upon the bodies of his African subjects." But since the photographs could not do this alone, he was forced to "write" that difference in texts and captions that helped signify what he intended. Mirzoeff suggests that the images, words, and actions of colonial photographers in this ambiguous space need our attention in future studies.

In "'Bounce the Baby': Masks, Fertility, and the Authority of Esoteric Knowledge in Northern Kete Initiation Rituals," David Binkley considers the imagery and gender identities of certain masks in *buadi* initiation ceremonies and their relationship to the major themes of initiation. *Buadi* initiations, which take place about every fifteen to twenty years in sacred-forest groves, provide instruction in oral traditions, crafts, songs, dances, and the creation of costumes and masks. Raffia masks dominate the early stages of initiation and carved ones, the later stages. One of these, Kamakengu, takes two forms (raffia and carved) and is the only mask depicting a maternity figure. It represents an infertile woman who is made fertile through the initiation process. But in a larger sense, it symbolizes the generative powers of *buadi* which transform uninitiated males into initiated adults "in the same way it transforms infertile women into mothers."

But in other aspects, initiation masqueraders enforce the separation and distance of women from the rites which are seen as created by nature spirits, the source of success in hunting, fishing, human fertility, and healing. The Kamakengu masks representing females are kept at the periphery of buadi activities. Thus the oppositions and interactions of male/female, forest/village, strength/weakness, fertility/infertility are played out over the course of the initiation and embodied in the masks that are central to *buadi* ideology.

Binkley, from his personal involvement and participation in *buadi* initiation, has given us an account of aesthetic forms and experiences shared with his Kete companions. His approach is characteristic of much Africanist art ethnography in that it considers a broad cultural context of song, performance, and social action to illuminate the forms and significances of art objects.

The cut-pile and embroidered woven raffia cloth of Shoowa-Kuba women of Zaire is world famous.

In "'This is our Wealth:' Towards an Understanding of a Shoowa Textile Aesthetic," Patricia Darish suggests that this aesthetic can best be defined and understood in an analysis of the *process* of fabrication. She examines Shoowa parameters of innovation, discusses aesthetic preferences expressed by Shoowa women, critiques recent western scholarship which uses musical metaphors to discuss Shoowa design, and considers the possible impact of western aesthetics on recent Kuba textile production.

Based on her own participation with Shoowa women, Darish describes embroidering as an infrequent and irregular part of daily activity. Women have little spare time for embroidering which they do in the evenings once or twice a week—a schedule that may account for variations in design formats and symmetries. The work always begins with two stem-stitched lines 45 degrees from a hemmed edge which meet to form the apex of a triangle called the "starting points" or *ishiina a buiin.* In order to keep it clean, the worker rolls up the cloth as work is completed, another factor which "helps to account for design variations across the surface of the textile." Collaborations among mothers and daughters, sisters, or friends may also account for asymmetry and irregularity in the final designs.

Testimony by one talented weaver, Mboyo of Ishele village, reveals many aesthetic preferences: finesse and variation in form, color, and pattern; elaboration within the "bellies of the design"; and critical appraisals of several design "layers" within the textiles. In the last section Darish discusses the changes that Shoowa textiles have undergone in the last few years. Some weavers have been experimenting with different colored threads, but their work is still judged on the basis of skill and competence in technical execution. Other changes have been much more dramatic, primarily in response to the enormous demand in the West. She describes these, speculates about what these changes may mean for the future of Shoowa textile forms and purposes, and suggests areas for future research.

The dynamics of recent aesthetic formulations described by Darish are central to Enid Schildkrout's "Changing Fashions and Aesthetic Continuities: One-hundred Years of Mangbetu Art" which considers the ways in which new art styles develop and the relations between tradition and innovation in the context of culture contact. She suggests that the efflorescence of anthropomorphic art among the Mangbetu came about as patronage and audiences shifted increasingly to Europeans in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, she believes that the stereotyping of African life by both Africans and Europeans led to the "commoditization of tradition." Thus what became seen as a Mangbetu "tradition" was in fact an innovation—a process that often "takes place at, and defines, the epistemological boundary between cultures." For example, in encouraging Mangbetu artists to produce realistically sculpted heads, Westerners made a fetish of anthropomorphic art, as it had never been for the Mangbetu.

The author concludes that the innovations evident in Mangbetu art made for new patrons (in this case Europeans and local chiefs interested in influencing Europeans) included inventions of ethnic identities—of the Mangbetu themselves, their African neighbors, and of Europeans—sometimes with satiric, humorous mockery, sometimes with serious criticism.

Several ideas resonate through these essays, but perhaps the central and most intriguing one concerns the meeting of cultural "others" and how each uses these others to construct images of selves. No cultural universe is isolated; rather, its reasons for existing and its ways of being require the creation of difference. Such issues have been elaborated by such writers as Mikhail Bakhtin[2] and more recently in discussions of mimesis and alterity[3] and "occidentalisms."[4] In considering such images of others and selves we are invariably drawn into the politics and aesthetics of representation, the symmetries and asymmetries of all the forces (historical, social, religious, economic, etc.) that surround and shape the production, display, use, and transformation of works of art over time.

All the authors have explored this theme of intersections, interactions, and transformations of peoples and their images of themselves and others, in one form or another: Roberts's discussion of African men who envision themselves as leopards resisting the disruptions of colonialism, and Belgians who see them as savage terrorists; Mirzoeff's unmasking of the constructions of racial difference in Herbert Lang's photos and texts; Binkley's analysis of Kete male definitions of females through the Kamakengu mask in *buadi* initiations; and Darish's and Schildkrout's descriptions of the dynamics of intercultural

aesthetics and the invention of ethnic identities of selves through others, creating *trans*cultural artforms that evoke and, at the same time, transcend cultural boundaries.

As such global interactions increase exponentially, we are forced to consider the "location" of cultures. The movement of people and the migration of ideas raise fundamental questions about the traditional divisions of art-historical subject matter by geography—nation-state or "homeland." Rather, we need to chart and define a new art history based on mental maps evidenced in the arts of diaspora peoples, global visual cultures of selves and others. As the arts continue to be profoundly transformed in this process, we may find that we are as well.

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Notes

1. Enid Schildkrout, "The Spectacle of Africa Through the Lens of Herbert Lang: Belgian Congo Photographs 1909–15," *African Arts* 24, no. 4 (October 1991): 71.

2. Tzvetan Todorov, *Mikhail Bakhtin: The Dialogical Principle*, trans. Wlad Godzich (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).

3. Michael T. Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

4. James G. Carrier, ed., *Occidentalism: Images of the West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

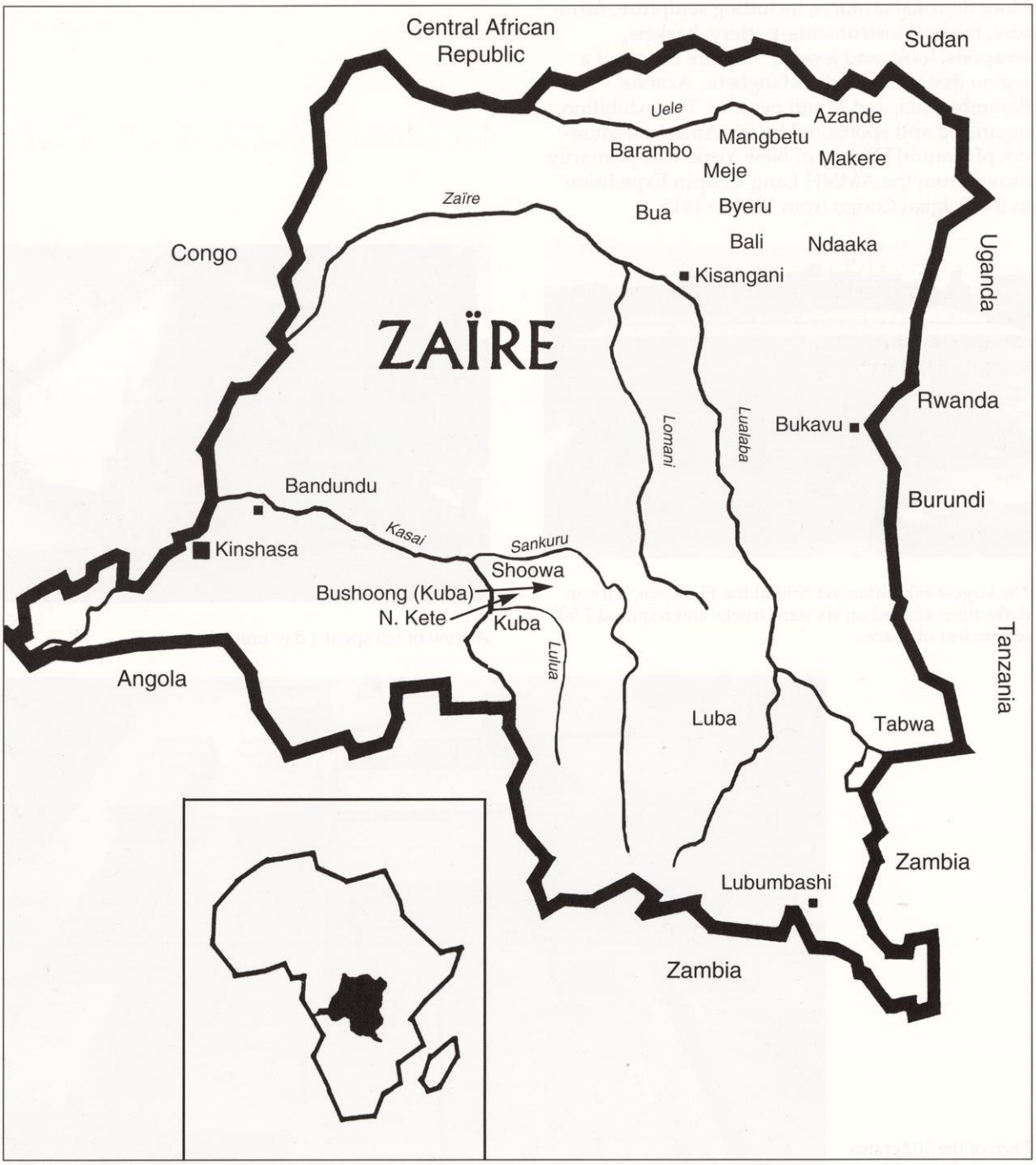
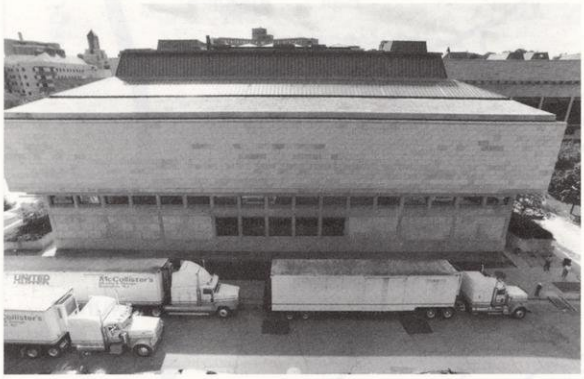


Fig. 1. Map of Zaire, showing locations of peoples discussed in following articles.

African Reflections: Art from Northeastern Zaire

September 4, 1993 – January 2, 1994, Galleries V, VI, VII, VIII, and adjacent niches

More than 400 artifacts, including sculpture, furniture, musical instruments, pottery, baskets, weapons, tools, and jewelry, explore the art of a region that includes the Mangbetu, Azande, Barambo, Bua, and Mbuti peoples. The exhibition, organized and sponsored by the American Museum of Natural History of New York, was primarily drawn from the AMNH Lang-Chapin Expedition to the Belgian Congo from 1909 to 1915.



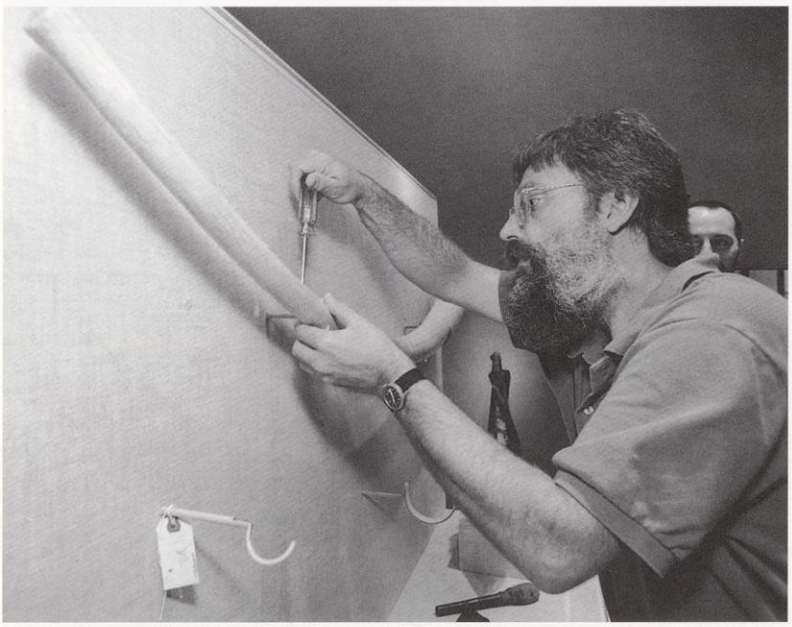
The largest exhibition yet held at the Elvehjem, African Reflections arrived on six semi-trucks and required 7,500 square feet of space.

A crew of ten spent a day unloading cases.

Each of the 102 crates unloaded into Paige Court averaged 500 pounds.

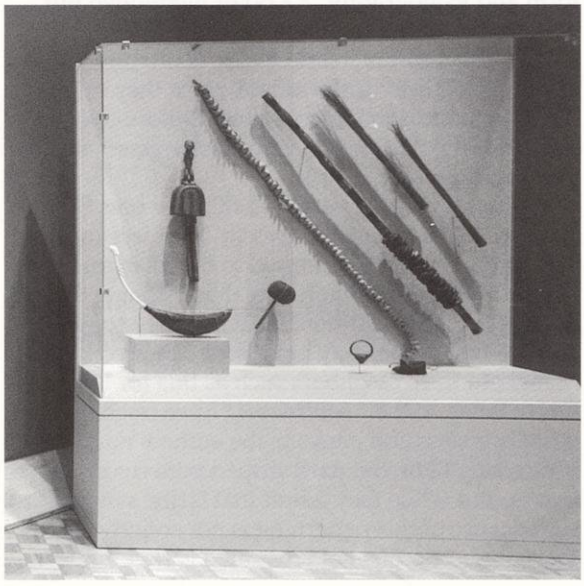
Belinda Kaye, registrar for the American Museum of Natural History; Henry Drewal, professor of African art and local curator for the exhibition; Jerl Richmond, Elvehjem head of installations; and Shannen Hill, graduate student in art history and project assistant, discuss plans for installation.

Registrar Lucille Stiger checked the condition of each object as the case was unpacked.



Jerl Richmond installs ivory horn.

Once *African Reflections* was installed in galleries V, VI, VII, and VIII, 41,000 people viewed the exhibition.



Arts of Resistance and Terror in Eastern Zaire

La griffe, voilá le symbole de la volonté pure.
["The claw, now there is the symbol of pure will."]
Gaston Bachelard (1939)

African Reflections is a landmark exhibition of Mangbetu art from Zaire that combines the strong field and archival research of historian Curtis Keim and anthropologist Enid Schildkrout. Mangbetu aesthetics and style have long proven engaging to western audiences,[1] and the documentation of the Mangbetu materials collected for the American Museum of Natural History between 1909 and 1915 by Herbert Lang and James Chapin is exceptional. Keim and Schildkrout organized a dramatic exhibition of visual materials, matched by innovative scholarship about the development of Mangbetu expressive culture over time.

In her exhibition review for *African Arts*,[2] Polly Nooter praises the many strengths of *African Reflections* but also raises a point that will be a focus here: that, as one would expect, "depending upon the data available to the curators, certain themes . . . received fuller treatment than others. . . . [For example,] the section on secret societies was spare, presumably due to the difficulty of penetrating these closed institutions." Nooter suggests that ethnography of other Zairian peoples such as Luba demonstrates how important a role such societies can play in determining and promoting "aspects of form and iconography,"[3] a point mentioned but not developed thoroughly by Schildkrout and Keim.[4] The authors' relative lack of attention to secret societies is "unfortunate, since they might have provided some pieces of the puzzle that underlies the rise and decline of Mangbetu anthropomorphic art."[5]

A second point is related to this first one. Schildkrout and Keim illustrate two wooden face masks collected in the 1890s and said to be "Mangbetu war masks," but state categorically that "Mangbetu do not have a mask tradition." Instead, they suggest that the two masks may have been acquired by Mangbetu from neighbors such as Bua [or Boa] or Budu, living to their southwest.[6] In an uncharacteristically conjectural passage, the authors note the contrasting light and dark striped patterns of the masks, and while they admit that "[t]he symbolic significance of this patterning is not entirely clear," they allude to a Bua hat illustrated earlier in their book that is made of woven plant fiber on which the "alternation of light and dark was said to represent the spots of 'certain cats,' almost certainly leopards." They then assert that "this suggests an association with the *Naando* [society], wherein the amambo-liombie ["shaman"] covers himself with white spots to represent a leopard."[7] Following their reasoning, then, the striped masks may represent leopards and may have been used in *Naando* activities.

This string of associations seems forced, as does the authors' boldly unequivocal assertion that "Mangbetu do not have a mask tradition." My comments on these matters must be speculative, for my own field research concerns Tabwa and related groups of southeastern Zaire rather than the Mangbetu cluster of the north-central region of the same country; and if, after their painstaking research on and among Mangbetu, Schildkrout and Keim were unable to provide a more detailed understanding of the masks, it would be absurdly presumptuous to assert that I can do any better.[8] Still, certain of their associations may be challenged through reference to cross-cultural art history and ethnography, with, at minimum, the goal of furthering our sense of what questions might be pursued in future research, to take us beyond the fertile ground where Schildkrout and Keim leave us. It is, of course, a strength of the "African Reflections" project to engender questions such as these. Let us start with the two "Mangbetu" wooden face masks (fig. 1a and 1b).

Sometime between 1895 and 1901, Guy Burrows, a British functionary working in the north-central territories of the Congo Free State (now Zaire), collected "the only two wooden masks ever identified (in this case by Burrows himself) as 'Mombuttou'" [Mangbetu]. The masks are now in the collections of the British Museum.[9]

The masks are simply constructed, with distinctly overarching, rounded foreheads cut perpendicularly to flat facial planes. They have round eyes and long, protruding noses that connect at the bridge to the forehead mass. One has a round pierced mouth, the other no apparent mouth at all, in ostensible reference to silence.[10] Both masks are covered with similarly placed black-and-white stripes, extending vertically down the forehead and horizontally across the face. Beneath the nose of one and the mouth of the other mask, a single vertical black line bisects the other stripes. Holes in the chin of one mask and a bit

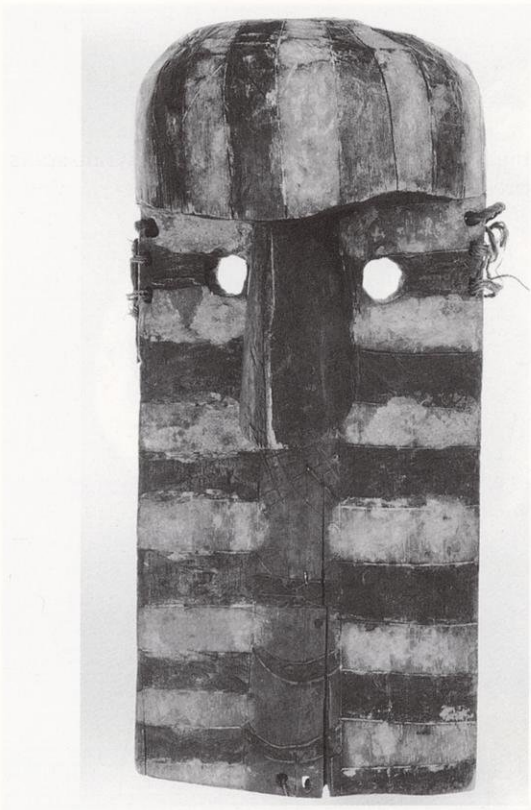


Fig. 1a. Mask collected by Guy Burrows in the 1890s and attributed to the Mangbetu. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum, 98.284

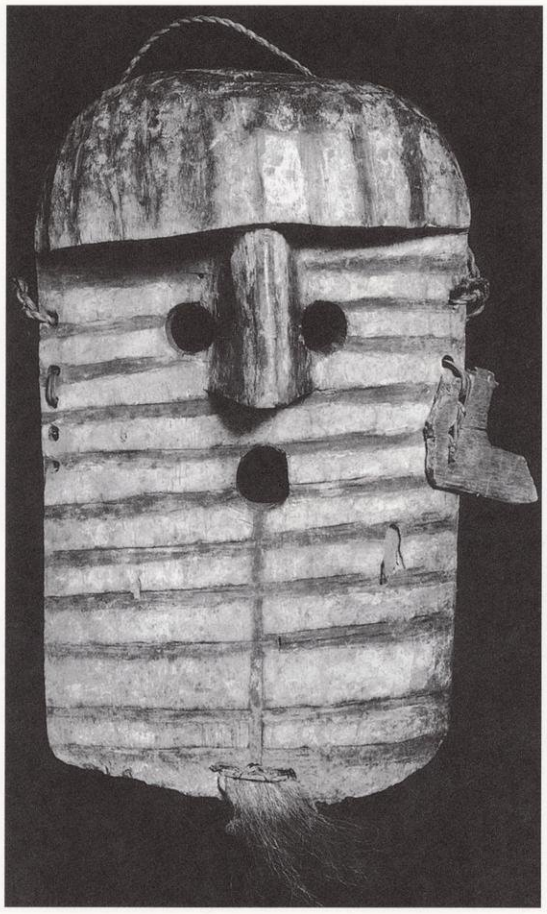


Fig. 1b. Mask collected by Burrows in the 1890s and attributed to the Mangbetu. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum, 98.285

of fur on the other may suggest "beards" or attachment to further costuming, as does a leather shred still bound to the side of one mask.

Schildkrout and Keim suggest that the Burrows masks may have been carved by Bua, neighbors living southwest of Mangbetu, and they associate them with Bua "warrior" masks. This seems improbable. Stylistically, the two "Mangbetu" masks have very little in common with the rare but well-known Bua "warrior" masks in public and private collections. The one from the Royal Museum of Central Africa (Tervuren, Belgium) that the authors illustrate to make their point does share something of the treatment of the bulging brow of Burrows's "Mangbetu" masks and is black-and-white (although in a very different configuration of contrasting pigmented triangles, rather than stripes), but the Bua and "Mangbetu" masks share no other readily discernible traits.[11] A Bua mask of the same genre in the Stanley Collection of The University of Iowa Museum of Art has unadorned, round eyes like the two "Mangbetu" masks, but it lacks the bulbous-forehead/flat-face volumetric relationship that would seem a key stylistic trait of the former and also has a different contrastive configuration of black-and-white pigment (fig. 2).[12] A third Bua mask of the same genre, apparently now in a private Belgian collection, also has roundish eyes but a different

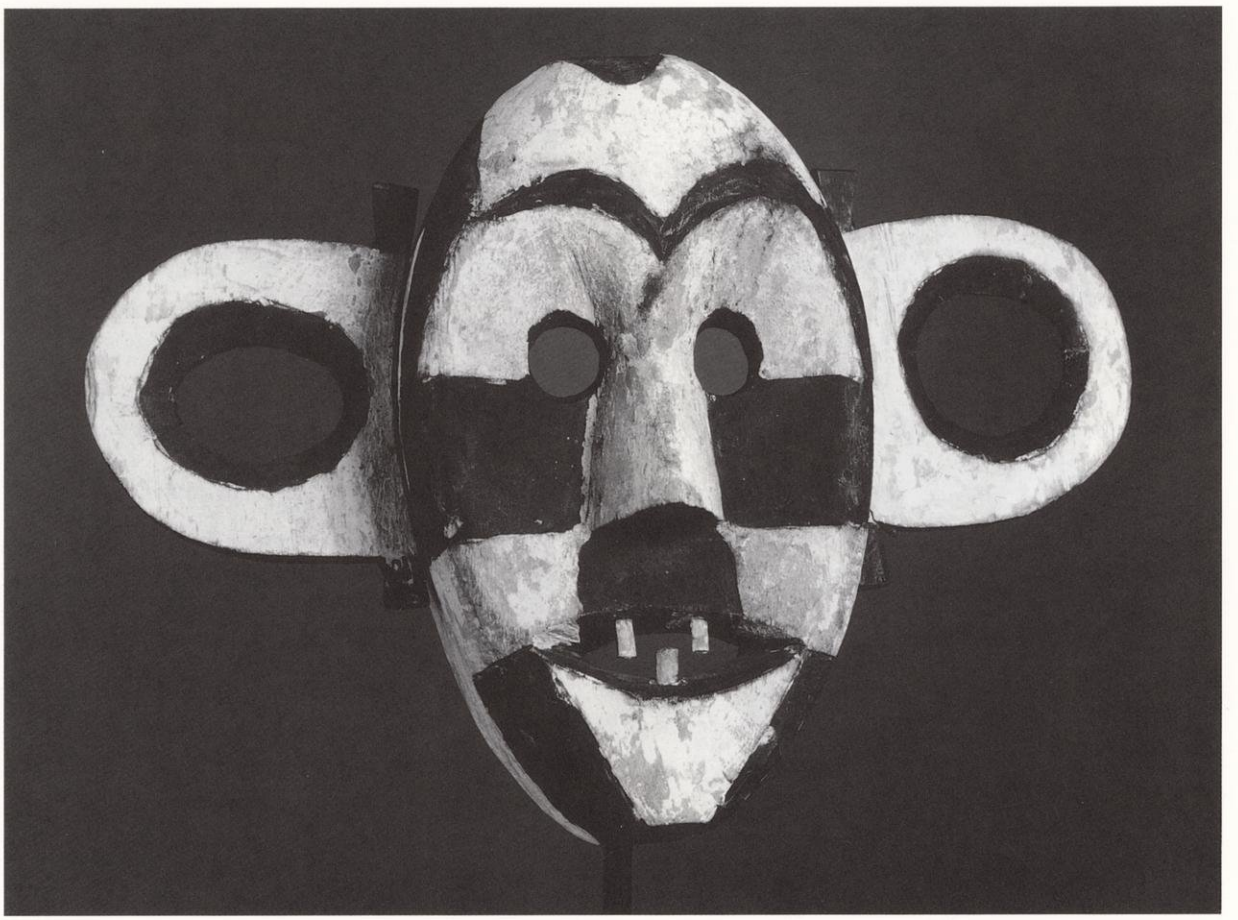


Fig. 2. Bua mask. Courtesy University of Iowa Museum of Art.

kind of brow. Pointed teeth are cut in a zigzag around the perimeter of its roughly ovoid mouth, reminiscent of some face masks made by Ndaaka and Mbo peoples living southeast of the Bua and Mangbetu.[13] Rather than black-and-white triangles or rectangles, it is covered by black-and-white spots that Marc Felix identifies as those of a leopard.[14]

Instead of looking southwestward to Bua for stylistic parallels, it seems more fruitful to consider expressive forms of peoples living in a culture complex extending across the Ituri rainforest to the south and east of Mangbetu, such as Meje, Mamvu, Bali, Ndaaka, and Komo.[15] One might compare them to a male/female pair of Komo masks photographed in 1973 by Charles Hénault, for instance, that appear strikingly similar in form.[16] Felix suggests that the wood of the two "Mangbetu" masks is from savannah rather than the forest species one finds Mangbetu artists using most commonly, suggesting a more distant origin for the works; he illustrates a biplanar polychrome Meje mask which he feels stylistically related to the two "Mangbetu" masks.[17] Meje are a "subject people" of Mangbetu, and in some ways are so closely associated with them that they "are treated simply as Mangbetu" by Schildkrout and Keim.[18] The "Mangbetu"/Meje masks suggest that more may have been going on than has met the (outsider's) eye.

In his richly illustrated book *Ituri*, Felix describes his "rediscovery" of masking among the congeries of peoples extending southeastward from Mangbetu,[19] who have long been considered to lack such

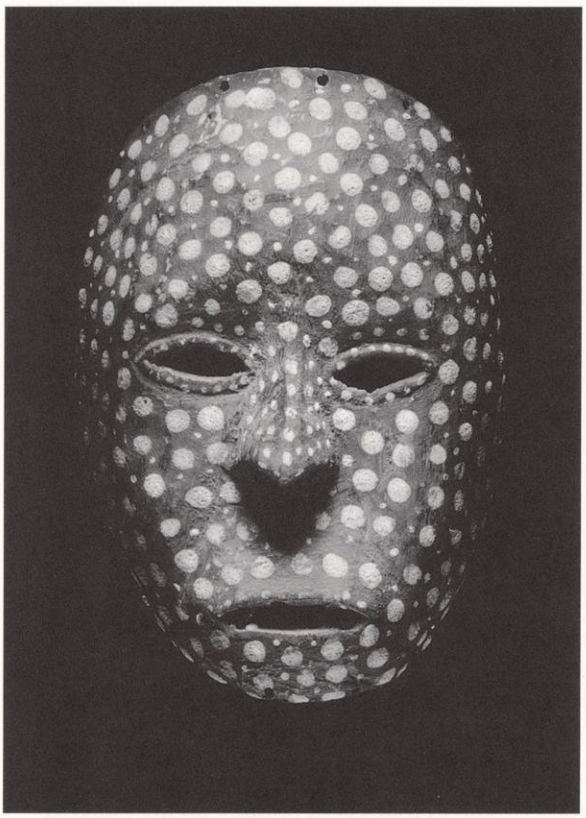


Fig. 3. Byeru spotted mask. Courtesy Marc Felix

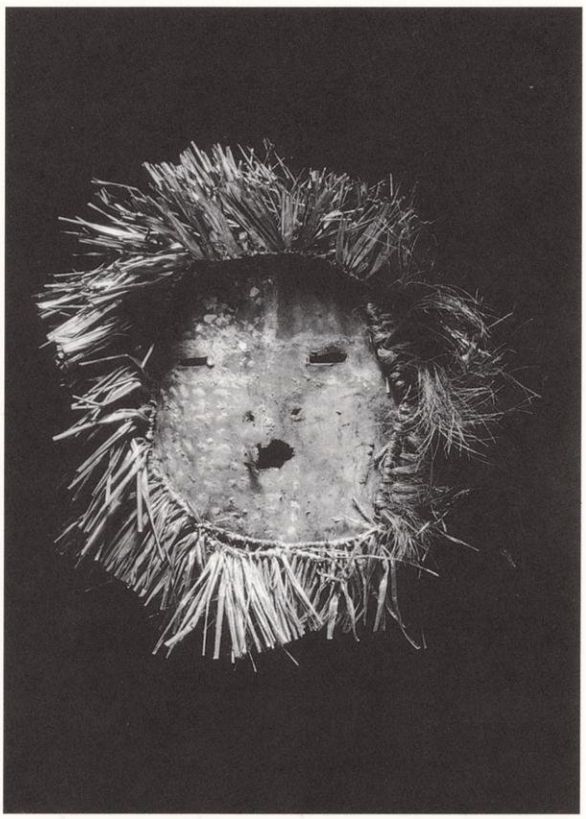


Fig. 4. Leather mask. Courtesy Marc Felix.

expressive forms.[20] His search began when he came across a photo published in an obscure German book[21] of an Ndaaka "head of initiation wearing a leopard mask."[22] Over the course of several years, Felix and his employees were able to document and collect an astonishing assortment of masks among Ndaaka and adjacent groups. Several masks, such as one from Byeru people living south of the Medye, will likely strike a western eye as among the most aesthetically compelling of all Zairian objects (fig. 3).[23] Again, the irony that these were found among groups whom most authorities had dismissed as lacking masking traditions is worth noting, for one must wonder what art forms remain to be discovered among "mask-less" Mangbetu, as well.

Even though they make the categorical statement that "Mangbetu do not have a mask tradition," later in their book Schildkrout and Keim do note that early European visitors to Mangbetu reported use of leather masks and "basketlike head coverings" by "jesters," hunters, and secret-society members.[24] Leather masks have been photographed and collected by such ethnographers as Paul Schebesta, Colin Turnbull, and Nestor Seeuws, among a number of such groups as Sua Pygmies, Bali, Byeru, and Nyanga living south of Mangbetu. Several such masks are held at the Royal Museum for Central Africa.[25] Felix has published field photographs of their continued use and has collected leather masks among Mbo, Beke, and adjacent peoples (fig. 4).[26] Most of these are painted with white "leopard" spots, and some are remarkably stylistically similar to wooden masks made by the same groups.[27]

The leather masks are used in male initiation and related rituals and seem an extension of the elaborate face-painting also practiced in ritual contexts.

Felix suggests an evolution of masking forms that extends from one metaphorical transformation to another, with wooden masks the most "distant" from face-painting and related "primary" ideas.[28] While any evolutionary sequence such as this one is conjectural, it is useful to consider the gradual development of an expressive form such as masking, as ideas are invented, borrowed, lent, and rejected among the closely related and often-interacting peoples of the region—Mangbetu included.[29]

Schildkrout and Keim also suggest that the black-and-white stripes of the "Mangbetu" masks collected by Burrows may be related to the iconography of a striped and "flecked" hat made by Bua of raffia or some other plant fiber. The authors seem to confuse stripes with "flecks" or spots and then make an unsubstantiated association between the hat's spots, said to be those of "'certain cats,'" and those of a leopard.[30] Leopards are not the only spotted cats found in central Africa, and genets, servals, civets, and cheetahs often have their own metaphorical entailments, different from (although sometimes overlapping with) those of leopards. The conceptual bridge to leopards, though, allows Schildkrout and Keim to posit yet another association, between the "Mangbetu" masks and the *Naando* society, whose shamans sometimes "cover" [and so mask] themselves "with white spots to represent a leopard."[31] The authors leave this association open-ended and do not offer an hypothesis as to how or why Burrows's "Mangbetu" masks might have figured into *Naando*.

Naando was (and appears to be still, in some forms) an important society, or, perhaps, "circle of knowledge" would be a better term, for *Naando* practices varied across Mangbetu lands and often included hunting rituals and magic, but also magic for "general good luck" and blessing, divination, healing, and witch-hunting. *Naando* was also the name of an hallucinogenic concoction derived from a forest plant (*Alchornea floribunda*). Use of the drug was associated with the mystical powers of the forest and was accompanied by dancing in costumes of pelts, fibers, leaves, and feathers, enhanced by body-painting with white spots and splotches.[32]

The authors do not explain how or why the leopard, "king of predators,"[33] would be an instrumental metaphor for the Mangbetu values and activities underscoring community cohesion. It is likely that rule implied control of violence and capital punishment among Mangbetu as among other politically centralized peoples such as Kongo.[34] Still, one may speculate about use of "leopard" as an instrumental symbol by referring to data in *African Reflections* that the authors do not assert to be related to the Burrows masks, but which, when considered in a broader context of regional history and ethnography, do offer some tantalizing hints as to what the masks and leopard symbolism more generally may have meant to turn-of-the-century Mangbetu and their neighbors.

A further question may be raised. *Naando* blessings confirmed reverence for one's elders and lineage.[35] While this detail provides an understanding of the "glue" holding Mangbetu society together, one must wonder if the same cohesion existed on the peripheries, among subject groups such as Meje, as it did at the Mangbetu center(s). Burrows's discovery of two "Mangbetu" masks introduces some doubt, as we shall see. It is suggested that *Naando* may be contrasted with the *Mambela* Society that flourished on the fringes of Mangbetu power, among their ardent adversaries.

Enter the Leopard

Schildkrout and Keim present a well-reasoned description of Mangbetu politics, taking pains to offer a properly balanced view of the purposes and prerogatives of Mangbetu houses and sacred kings with a strong sense of cross-cutting or rival institutions and affiliations, especially on the margins of direct royal authority.[36] Among the institutions that Schildkrout and Keim mention are *Mambela*, a form of male initiation practiced among and apparently spread by Bali and other southern neighbors of Mangbetu. *Mambela* networks linked "strings" of villages in ritual activity and "thus reinforced and expanded cooperation at the district level."[37] *Mambela* and related organizations helped Bali and other dispersed peoples to organize for political contest and outright war. In particular, the furtive *Anioto* Society of leopardman terrorists deserves especial attention as a foil to the rising consolidation of power by established and would-be Mangbetu kings,[38] and, later on, by European colonizers and their African followers.

Anioto is often ignored by scholars, and curiously enough, even the writing on the society that does

exist is frequently overlooked. Schildkrout and Keim make no mention of the two synoptic works on *Anioto*,[39] and even Randall Packard, whose *Chiefship and Cosmology: An Historical Study of Political Competition*[40] is a study of Shu people of east-central Zaire among whom *Anioto* was especially prevalent,[41] makes no mention of the society, despite *Anioto*'s being a primary means of the "political competition" he seeks to describe. It is quite likely that being overlooked was the point of *Anioto* itself; that is, leopardman terrorism was based upon "hiding in plain sight," a ruse maintained by strict secrecy. Had Schildkrout and Keim reviewed Joset's compendium of case studies and bibliography drawn from colonial archives, however, they would have recognized striking relationships between *Mambela* initiation and *Anioto* that might have helped them to understand better the leopard symbolism of some of the objects of the Lang and Chapin collections they presented in *African Reflections*.

Mambela initiation is said to have spread to Bali from neighboring Ndaaka, who may have learned it from related groups farther afield. For reasons to be explained below, it is quite possible that the photograph of an "Ndaaka head of initiation wearing a leopard mask" that led Felix to his discovery of so many other masks among the region's peoples[42] was of a man leading *Mambela* ritual. A further hypothesis may be suggested, that the two "Mangbetu" masks collected by Burrows were used in a similar context, perhaps as *Mambela* was being introduced to Mangbetu subject peoples like the Meje, on the periphery of the state.

The Ideology and Instrumentality of Transformation

Mambela initiation was an exceptionally rigorous affair. Initiands were put to the most demanding physical tests and received repeated floggings so severe that some fainted in pain, as they suffered great loss of blood.[43] Descriptions of these flagellations in colonial documents may be exaggerated, to confirm the "savagery" of Africans; yet they are so reminiscent of self-imposed deprivations and mutilations practiced in nativistic political contexts elsewhere in the world, such as the Sun Dance of Plains Indians, that one may accept that the accounts (in one case allegedly based upon a European administrator's eye-witness) are substantially accurate. If this is true, then what seems to be a radically increasing degree of suffering as *Mambela* was practiced on into the colonial period might reflect the desperation of people struggling to cope with the devastating humiliations of radical social change.[44] In other words, the benefits of *Mambela* outweighed whatever their physical sacrifices may have been. The same hypothesis might account for the wish among younger, acculturated Bali in the 1930s that *Mambela* would be eliminated, and the relief expressed by urban Bali in the 1950s that by then it had been.[45]

Mambela initiands were secluded in forest camps, as is common to male initiation throughout central Africa. The lore and magic of *Mambela* were taught there, and at the end of their ritual, the young men received elaborate scarification marking their ontological transformation. A bird—most probably the ground hornbill[46]—was said to execute the operation with a small knife called *abaka* that had its own sacred properties. It has been suggested that the scalpel-like iron claws used by *Anioto* leopardmen were an extension of the form of the *abaka* scarification knives and that some *Anioto* claws are decorated with patterns characteristic of *Mambela* scarification.[47] Bouccin further noted that *Anioto* adepts were initiated into *Mambela*.[48] The most frequent scarification motif *Mambela* neophytes received was a series of raised ovals,[49] which may have imitated the rosettes of a leopard pelt; while a less frequent, forked pattern might have stood for the iron claws of *Anioto* killers.

The secret lore and devices of *Mambela* used to assure health, protection, and prosperity were jealously guarded. The strict silence of adepts was striking to missionaries bent on subverting such affiliations which they deemed counterproductive to their proselytism.[50] Father Christen asserted that *Mambela* initiation "irrevocably closed the mouths" of adepts and that "certain people would rather die of hunger or even take poison than . . . divulge their secret."[51] *Mambela* secrecy was enforced by the fear of the initiators' potent magic, with which they were said to be able to eviscerate mystically any who betrayed them. Traitors would suffer the successive loss of parents and other loved ones.[52]

The "father of *Mambela*" was responsible for a "line" (*ape*) of villages constituting a "parish"[53] that did not correspond to the authority of any particular chief. Each of the villages of a *Mambela* line practiced slightly different rituals, in what may have been a hierarchical relationship presided over by the "father of *Mambela*." *Mambela* lines might be allied in broader networks, through exchange of neophytes or sacred paraphernalia. During *Mambela* initiation, Bali chiefs apparently recognized the authority of the ritual leaders, whose powers were an important "counterpoint" to chiefs, perhaps even after completion of the rituals themselves.[54] In the late nineteenth century, *Mambela* networks also stood as a foil to the growing political consolidation and encroachments of neighbors such as the Budu and Mangbetu, and during the first decades of this century, they continued to grow in significance in reaction to colonial forces.[55]

Several colonial authors suggested that the most terrifying means for assuring continued influence of *Mambela* leaders was through the *Anioto* Society.[56] Before undertaking terrorist killings (to be described below), *Anioto* adepts appear to have sought permission from *Mambela* leaders, and the close relationship established between *Mambela* "fathers" and the "sons" they initiated was called upon if an elder wished to launch a leopardman attack.[57] In order to understand the relationship between local-level politics whereby someone might send leopardman terrorists to punish betrayal or adversarial behavior, as well as the material culture such as masks and other objects covered with "leopard" spots that served as props and vehicles for such activities, we must ask the structuralist's first question: why would this animal prove such an apposite metaphor?

The Leopard's Spots

Throughout central Africa, the leopard (*Panthera pardus*) is symbolically associated with human authority.[58] For Hamba and Tetela of south-central Zaire, for instance, the leopard is "the representative of the elders' power in the animal world," and when a lineage chief is invested, "he looms out of the forest like a leopard." The identification between the two is such that the chief must not eat leopard meat thereafter, for "'the leopard does not eat the leopard.'"[59] Among Kuba of east-central Zaire, the king is "hot, like the leopard and the sun, and may scorch the earth should he venture across the field. He is able to transform himself into a leopard, the sorcerer's familiar, to take revenge on his enemies."[60]

The physiology and behavior of leopards readily lend themselves to the generation of politically useful metaphors. The configuration of their spotted coats (black on a rufous field) may represent "the alternation of day and night," and the common use of leopard skins by chiefs throughout Zaire may symbolize "the absolute mastery of the light of day by the king."[61] For some groups, the cosmological reference is more complex, for the spots may represents "stars," as they do for Luba, Zela, northern Tabwa, and some other Luba-influenced peoples; and the animal itself is said to bear the sun on its forehead, the moon at its nape, with the stars spilled down its back. For eastern Luba, the leopard shares these cosmogonic roles with the chthonic spirit that keeps the dead.[62]

The symbolic power of such a strongly "signifying animal"[63] as the leopard must be related to the contrastive colors of its black spots "in the form of 'rosettes,' on a buff or yellowish-tawny ground color."[64] In particular, reference must be made to black/white/red, the triad of primary colors recognized by Bantu-speaking peoples and other African groups.[65] The leopard is "solar" and "hot," with reference to its reddish coat that stands for the violent transformations of "red" bloodletting; but the black spots must add an important, mitigating though ambiguous nuance of the insightful secrecy and dangerous duplicity associated with "black."[66]

Even more revealing is the behavior of the leopard. Although "smaller than the lion, the leopard is incomparably more dangerous, this the more so in that it often climbs trees, from which it can leap upon an antelope, a dog, or even a man passing beneath its hiding place."[67] In this manner, "it is upon its prey before this latter can, by the least sign, detect its presence. It is extraordinarily audacious and penetrates not only into villages, but even into houses to take whatever animals are there, the dogs of which it is especially fond, and, very rarely, children."[68] And leopards cause great damage to domestic animals, for once having gained entry to a pen or byre, they kill all the livestock they encounter, seemingly in "play," to carry away a single carcass to consume at leisure, high in the

crooked branches of trees.[69] Tabwa people of southeastern Zaire feel that the leopard attacks "wantonly," "head-on, without shame," and repeatedly, until it has exhausted and dispatched its prey. It is always to be feared.[70] Indeed, for Tabwa the leopard represents utter rapaciousness.[71]

Leopards intrude on human habitat in a most dire and dangerous manner. They lurk and pounce, squeeze through and seize, slay and lay waste. A favorite prey are villagers' dogs, and sometimes children are taken. In the bush, monkeys—another "human" animal[72]—are frequently eaten, but so is virtually any other beast that finds itself in the wrong place at the leopard's right time. No living thing is safe from a leopard that has no natural enemies. Leopards are active day and night. They climb adroitly, swim well, and hide in otherwise impenetrable thickets along stream bottoms. Leopards go anywhere they wish and act with abandon. Their vocabulary of spitting "coughs," snarls, growls, and furious "screaming roars" strikes paralyzing terror.[73]

Leopard behavior stands in contrast to that of lions, which often inhabit the same territories.[74] If leopards act without measure or control, lions appear "refined." As Tabwa author Stefano Kaoze noted, a lion "does not always attack animals. There are moments when it knows to show itself indulgent. There are even moments when one might take it for a jackal and make it flee like a dog. But when there is reason to attack, the lion does so, relying upon more than its own physical strength. It does not take such an action lightly, but goes with patience, painstakingly, as watchful as it is serious, taking all into consideration, everything: the weather, the place, the behavior of its prey, and their number. When all is weighed, the lion leaps, throws down its victim, and rends it asunder. Such attacks are the more awesome for their being so calculated."[75]

A Tabwa adage has it that "to see a lion is to escape from it,"[76] reflecting the fact that the great cats are inactive for twenty or more hours a day, and even when food is scarce, lions lie about, "utterly relaxed, 'poured out like honey in the sun.'"[77] As the naturalist George Schaller has it, "as long as lions are visible to them, prey behave in a remarkably casual manner," but when they do disappear from sight, lions' hunting skills are such that no beast is safe.[78]

Tabwa use both leopard and lion symbolism in a number of contexts, but following the expectations of their remarkably egalitarian culture, they consider their chiefs to be "lions," not "leopards."[79] That is, Tabwa chiefs may be ruthless on occasion, but they are also kindly and wise "fathers" of their people. Not so the merciless "leopard" chiefs of other Zairian peoples, including, it would seem, Mangbetu and their neighbors.

Theriomorphic Terrorism in the Belgian Congo

Written documents from the late nineteenth century and on into the colonial period document frequent attacks by "man-eating leopards" and "lions" throughout what is now eastern Zaire. Early European visitors and settlers were told by local Africans that these were not "real" animals, but terrorists magically transformed and/or deviously disguised as the great cats. Most often, such accounts were dismissed as tragic proof of the "childish fantasy" of Africans.[80] The reasons for the colonizers' obstinate disregard of what Africans were telling them, although a topic worthy of study,[81] cannot be discussed here. What is important is that Africans knew all too well that the "leopards" or "lions" were anything but that. By the late 1920s, even the most condescending Europeans could no longer ignore the terrorism practiced at the peripheries of their gaze. Africans were accused, apprehended, and hanged, yet the deaths by "leopards" continued and even increased. Some regions, like the parts of eastern Zaire under discussion here, suffered a veritable hecatomb in the 1940s. Reverberations continue, even today.[82]

The random violence of terrorism is antithetical to the basis of political power through the recruitment and preservation of a stable residence group. If people flee in fear, authority dissolves.[83] Often persons who must be deemed altogether innocent and vulnerable, such as the young, halt, or aged, fell victim to leopard-and lionmen. They were pounced upon while occupied in the most mundane chores and ripped to shreds with scalpel-sharp, clawlike hooks. Bloody body parts were strewn about in ghastly display. Feline "footprints" were made at the scene of carnage, to suggest that these had been

tragic accidents, not heinous homicides. Africans were rarely fooled.

Leopard-and lionman terrorism was (and perhaps still is) an adaptive political strategy, used in circumstances of social change.[84] In the late nineteenth century, lionmen among Tabwa resisted incursion by intrusive Nyamwezi ("Yeke") elephant-hunters, menaced villagers to facilitate slave-taking, sought revenge for effrontery and homicide, and harassed adversaries in succession disputes. At the turn of the century, lionmen sometimes became agents of nativism, punishing those who supported conquest by missionaries and other colonizers; and on into the late 1940s, lionmen killed scores of Tabwa in outrage at the oppressive political economy and ontological shifts implicit to the imposition of colonial capitalism.[85]

In northeastern Zaire, *Anioto* leopardmen operated for some of the same reasons.[86] By some accounts, *Anioto* began among Bali people as a means to protect scarce and highly valuable iron-smelting sites.[87] Sometimes they might "defend the population against the greed of kings and chiefs who attempted to sell their own subjects to the slavers," and according to one observer, Bali undertook *Anioto* terrorism as a means to attack their far-stronger Mangbetu neighbors.[88] This same strategy was later applied to "the expulsion of the White Man from Africa";[89] or a more generally "conservative reaction against . . . [colonial] collaborators."[90] Leopardman organizations might be "xenophobic or nationalistic movements among the population," then, or even manipulated by "communist organizers," as Albert Schweitzer perniciously intimated.[91] More generally, though, Aniotism and its equivalent among Tabwa and other groups of southeastern Zaire was practiced by and against Africans caught up in longstanding struggles for economic advantage and political prerogative. Such "black-on-black" violence has tragic parallels to much more recent events, both in Zaire and in other parts of the world where underclasses take out their frustrations on the easiest targets: themselves.

A different explanation might be that leopardmen acted as Robin Hood-like "social bandits," as described by Eric Hobsbawm,[92] defying established order. Although this is probably too romantic a view for African circumstances,[93] leopard-and lionmen operating in what is now eastern Zaire were certainly "purveyors of violence" and, at least at times, "heroic criminals" operating in times of political and economic crisis.[94] Such an assertion would follow the vagaries of local-level politics, of course, for the families of Aniotic victims would hardly consider such activities "heroic." Yet *Anioto* were certainly protected and even admired, at least by some.[95] Even the survivors of early Aniotism seem to have understood the underlying motive for many leopardman attacks to be vengeance and vendetta, sometimes instigated by particular insult, but more often an aspect of long-simmering conflict over rights to land and political legitimacy. "'A cadaver demands a cadaver,'" noted a man being interrogated by authorities,[96] and rank hatred between members of rival clans was a strong motivation for such grisly activities. Other reasons for *Anioto* must be considered, however.

Aniotism reached a peak in northeastern Belgian Congo in the 1930s and early 1940s, in reaction to reorganization of local political economy through what the colonial administration called "la politique indigène"—their version of the Indirect Rule being implemented elsewhere in Africa.[97] Literally hundreds of people were murdered, in what must be considered a fairly "unrevolutionary" social protest, for Aniotism was not directed at the colonizers themselves.[98] As Hobsbawm has noted of "social banditry" in other parts of the world, these Congolese must be seen as reacting to their inability to overcome their own helplessness before modern technologies and forces of political economy for which they lacked the means to control or even fully comprehend. In anomic frustration, people resorted to blind violence, and such bloodletting "can make men drunk";[99] as one colonial administrator wrote, "*Anioto* sometimes kill for the pleasure of it."[100] In this, they personified the leopard's senseless rapaciousness.

Although only fragmentary evidence is available in the documents I have consulted, earlier events suggest that both *Mambela* and *Anioto* also played roles in the politics of resistance during the period when Burrows collected his two "Mangbetu" masks and when Lang and Chapin conducted their research among Mangbetu. As mentioned above, late nineteenth-century Bali sent *Anioto* to attack and cause panic among their Mangbetu enemies. While in everyday affairs, Bali may have contended with

Meje and other "subject peoples" more than with Mangbetu per se,[101] *Mambela* networks served to unite these silent but deadly adversaries to Mangbetu arrogance.

Data from the first decade of this century are more suggestive of the ways that *Mambela* and *Anioto* served as ideology and instruments of resistance. Through what Bouccin called "talismanic dances," people drew together in enthusiasm for political activism. A Bali dance called *basa* provoked Aniotic attacks and an outright revolt against colonial authorities in 1907, for instance.[102] One is reminded of the nativistic Ghost Dance of Plains Indians in the United States.[103] Beginning the very next year, another Bali dance called *ambodima* became a rallying point for more than eight years of turmoil, during which scores died in Aniotic violence. *Ambodima* dances were summoned by *Mambela* leaders, and their form was a direct outgrowth of *Mambela* ritual. The central icons of the society, such as the knife used in scarification and the bull-roarer with which adepts imitated the ground hornbill's "deep lion-like grunts," were brought out and displayed to *ambodima* dancers.[104] One is left to imagine that such performances echoed the way that *Anioto* victims were cut to shreds with iron "claws" explicitly derived from the form of scarification knives.

Again, though, it would be far too simplistic to consider the sole purpose of these activities to be resistance to colonial rule. Instead, the dance was more an "unrevolutionary" reaction to the effects of rule that often took a form reminiscent of headhunting among certain peoples of the Pacific:[105] it seems that honor and shame led to vendetta, pursued over many years. A V-shaped cicatrice on the foreheads of five men condemned to hang for Aniotic murders, for example, was said to indicate an outstanding blood debt they sought to avenge through terrorist attacks.[106]

Anioto victims were named during *ambodima* dancing. Bouccin cites testimony given by a man on trial (who was later hanged) that an adversary might be praised as "strong" during dancing, and the *Mambela* "father" would designate which dancers would execute him.[107] Unfortunately, the author does not explain what the term "strong" might mean. Based on evidence from other parts of Zaire,[108] one can guess that "strong" victims

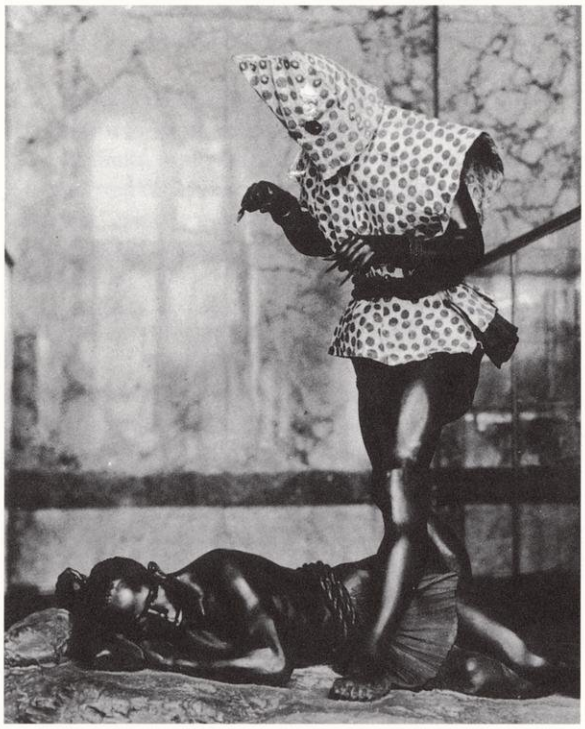


Fig. 5. Wissaert Sculpture. Courtesy Africa Museum, Tervuren, Belgium.

included acculturated persons finding success in the emerging arena of colonial capitalism. Evidence also indicates that certain chiefs engaged *Mambela* adepts and *Anioto* assassins in their quest for recognition of their paramountcy by colonial authorities.[109]

Summing Up

Secret societies have clearly had great significance to people in eastern Zaire. As Bali adepts of *Mambela* became more tightly organized in their confrontation with established rulers and with Meje and other Mangbetu-related neighbors, *Mambela* members reached what Bogumil Jewsiewicki has called an inevitable, "tragic impasse: to transform the relationship of [political] forces in a lasting way, it becomes necessary to oppose the political institution with another structured force, and so enter into the power game."[110] Their power game, though, was played by the bloodiest of rules. *Mambela* was a

contrapuntal institution, employing *Anioto* terrorists to exact the most terrifying toll on any associated with rival authorities.

Peoples on the margins of Mangbetu society, such as Meje subjects or neighbors farther afield, must have chaffed at their submission. *Mambela*, *ambodima*, and *Anioto* were responses. When Burrows collected two "Mangbetu war masks," we are not sure from whom he obtained them. Stylistically, the Burrows masks may be most closely related to Meje masks, and echo others made by Ndaaka, Kumu, and other groups for use in initiatory societies. The leopard is an emblem for both *Naando* among Mangbetu and *Mambela* among their southern neighbors. *Naando* was a ideological focus for Mangbetu lineage and House solidarity, and my hypothesis is that on the fringes of Mangbetu power, *Mambela* served similar functions. In particular, at least in some ways, *Mambela* was first defined and deployed in opposition to Mangbetu hegemony, then to colonial authority. The "wars" in which the Burrows masks may have been destined to play a role can be supposed to be those fought in such furtively contested arenas.

Last Echoes of the Leopard's Scream

While *Anioto* may or may not still exist in Zaire, it lives on in Belgian imagination. Generations of visitors to the Royal Africa Museum (previously known as the Royal Museum of the Belgian Congo and then of Central Africa) at Tervuren, Belgium, have felt a frisson of terror as they have walked past P. Wissaert's larger-than-life sculpture, "Les Hommes-Léopards ou *Anioto*" ("The Leopardmen or *Anioto*") since it was commissioned in 1913 (fig. 5). In blackened bronze and garbed in a spotted barkcloth, a leopardman ominously crouches above a defenseless, sleeping native (the proper term for such a construction), his hands gripping terrible iron claws set to sunder his victim.

The figures are so "disturbingly lifelike that they give the impression of truth . . . though not the whole truth. . . . They are not images of 'savages' so much as of 'savagery.'"[111] Along with the comical cement elephant across the street from the museum and the immense praying mantis at the end of the great gallery, one may presume that Wissaert's "Leopardmen" is one of the museum's most memorable icons of a certain Africa. Much like the gruesome dioramas of torture and execution in Madame Tussaud's waxworks, people have long been attracted to its horror.[112]

Nowadays, the Wissaert bronze is to be seen in the long central gallery of the museum, between cases housing objects classed by ethnic group and object type. Within the museum's collections, "Leopardmen" is complemented by some of the same monumental sculptures of Congolese persons by Herbert Ward that were once prominently displayed at the Smithsonian.[113] While the Ward pieces now seem disjointed and purposeless in spaces disattached from the visitors' flow, however, "Leopardmen" still mediates between viewers and objects of African material culture also on display.[114] Wissaert's scene is one always on the brink of bloody violence. The most recent caption by curator Viviane Baeke tells viewers that the scene depicts events among Bali people of Zaire and cautions that while *Anioto* assassins pursued vendettas, "one must nonetheless stress that this sort of ritual institution focussed exclusively on murder only very rarely saw daylight in Africa." One can guess that this message is decidedly different from what many museum visitors choose to believe.

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Notes

1. Allen Roberts, "'Mangbetu: Art du cour africain de collections privées belges,'" an exhibition review, *African Arts* 26, no. 2 (1993): 80–81.

2. Polly Nooter, "'African Reflections,'" an exhibition review, *African Arts* 24, no. 3 (1991): 76–79, 96; hereafter Nooter, "Reflections."

3. Nooter, "Reflections," 96.

4. Enid Schildkrout and Curtis Keim, *African Reflections: Art from Northeastern Zaire* (Seattle: University of Washington Press for the American Museum of Natural History, 1990), 239–41; hereafter Schildkrout and Keim, *African Reflections*.

5. Nooter, "Reflections," 78.

6. Schildkrout and Keim, *African Reflections*, 53, 240.

7. Schildkrout and Keim, *African Reflections*, 240.

8. My forty-five consecutive months of predoctoral anthropological fieldwork (1974–77) were conducted among lakeside Tabwa people of southeastern Zaire through the generous funding of the U.S. National Institute of Mental Health (grant-in-aid #1-F01-MH-55251-01-CUAN); the Committee on African Studies and the Edson-Keith Fund of the University of Chicago; and Sigma Xi, the Scientific Research Society. Archival and museum research in Europe has been supported by the U.S. National Endowment for the Humanities through a Summer Stipend (1984) and an exhibition implementation grant (1984–86), by Mellon Foundation Faculty Development Grants via Albion College (1983, 1985), and most recently (1994, 1995) by The Museum for African Art (New York). Thanks are extended to Marc Felix, Polly Nooter Roberts, Enid Schildkrout, and Jan Vansina for editorial and intellectual guidance in writing this paper. For Sid, Seth, Avery, and Polly and in memory of Mary Kujawski Roberts.

9. Schildkrout and Keim, *African Reflections*, 52.

10. The lack of a mouth on a mask or figure may be a specific reference to silence, in the sense of this term as a purposeful lack of speech. Alternatively, such an object may suggest that speech or other oral functions are irrelevant to the messages it is meant to communicate. My thanks to Polly Nooter Roberts for discussion of this point, raised as she was organizing *Secrecy: African Art that Conceals and Reveals* (Munich: Prestel for the Museum for African Art, New York, 1993).

11. Schildkrout and Keim, *African Reflections*, 241.

12. Christopher Roy, *Art and Life in Africa: Selections from the Stanley Collection, Exhibitions from 1985 and 1992* (Seattle: University of Washington Press for The University of Iowa Museum of Art, 1992), 211.

13. Marc Felix, *Ituri: The Distribution of Polychrome Masks in Northeast Zaire* (München: Verlag Fred Jahn, 1992), 43, 173–209; hereafter Felix, *Ituri*.

14. Felix, *Ituri*, 43.

15. I am grateful to Professor Jan Vansina for a discussion of this point (personal communication, 1993). Professor Vansina feels that the masks are indeed Bua, and while I accept his disagreement with my assertions here, I would assert that my discussion of the politics of Mangbetu and their peripheral neighbors holds for Bua as easily as it does for Bali, Ndaaka, and the other peoples I discuss.

16. Frank Herreman, "Face of the Spirits," in *Face of the Spirits: Masks from the Zaire Basin*, ed. F. Herreman and C. Petridis (Gent: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 1993), 11.

17. Felix *Ituri*, 159; 1993, personal communication.

18. Schildkrout and Keim, *African Reflections*, 25.

19. Felix, *Ituri*, 20–28.

20. Huguette Van Geluwe, *Les Bali et les peuplades apparentées (Ndaka-Mbo-Beke-Lika-Budu-Nyari)* (Tervuren, Belgium: Musée Royal du Congo Belge, 1960).

21. Hugo Bernatzik, *Die grosse Vülkerkunde*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1939), 291.

22. Felix, *Ituri*, 10.

23. Felix, *Ituri*, 217 and passim; Marc Felix is a well-known Belgian dealer in African art who specializes in Zairian and east-African materials. He has also written several books about Zairian art, based upon the collecting he and his employees have done and upon his own unparalleled connoisseurship (see Allen Roberts, "*Maniema* by Marc Felix," a book review, *African Arts* 23, no. 2 (1990): 22, 25, 27, 29). To Africanist scholars, Felix's work is controversial because of his status as an art dealer, because of ethical considerations about the deracination of African art, and because his contributions to the literature serve his own commercial purposes as well as broader academic ones (Roberts, "*Maniema*"). His intellectual positions are sometimes idiosyncratic, his field data-collecting often frustratingly sketchy, and his assertions occasionally fanciful; but Felix knows Zairian art like very few other experts, and his writing adds an important dimension to holistic discourse on African expressive culture. Indeed, some scholars who choose to dismiss the writings of dealers as "tainted" by their commoditization of African expression are comically ostrichlike in their assumption that their own writing contributes nothing to the marketing of African material culture, and absurdly romantic in their sense that if they ignore dealers such as Felix, they will somehow go away.

24. Schildkrout and Keim, *African Reflections*, 53, 240.

25. Felix, *Ituri*, 45, 133–34, 138.

26. Felix, *Ituri*, 129, 136.

27. Felix, *Ituri*, 196–99, plates 11, 12.

28. Felix, *Ituri*, 135 and passim.

29. A case study of the ongoing development of masks and related expressive forms among Tabwa is discussed in Allen Roberts, "Tabwa Masks, 'An Old Trick of the Human Race,'" *African Arts* 23, no. 2 (1990): cover, 36–47, 101–3; hereafter referred to as Roberts, "Tabwa Masks." There I posit that beaded face masks are an extension of beaded headbands, a representational idea still used by possession-cult adepts. The question of whether there might be correlations between

cultural perspectives and practices (including aesthetics) and linguistic differences between Sudanic-speaking Mangbetu and their Bantu-speaking southern neighbors deserves more explicit study. The matter of whether or not there is any such thing as "Bantu art" in the first place is broached in Allen Roberts, "Duality in Tabwa Art," *African Arts* 19, no. 4 (1986): 26–35, 86–87, in partial response to Jan Vansina's assertion that there is not, in *Art History in Africa* (New York: Longman, 1984), 10.

30. Admittedly, this may be a niggling point based upon a poorly constructed sentence. The "flecked hat" also has broad patterns that might be "stripes," and the photo caption reports that "Hutereau wrote of this hat that the alternating light and dark pattern was said to represent leopard spots" (Schildkrout and Keim, *African Reflections*, 116–17, plate 6.20). The authors might have stated more clearly that they are referring to the black/white contrast and its attendant color symbolism than to the "flecked" motif per se and stressed the further fact that leopard spots, stripes, and other black/white configurations are metonymically related in their contrast of colors and symbolic meanings, as examples or "tokens," as Wollheim might have it, rather than "types." On color symbolism among peoples of this part of Africa, see Anita Jacobson-Widding, *Red-White-Black as a Mode of Thought*. Uppsala Studies in Cultural Anthropology no. 1 (1979).

31. Schildkrout and Keim, *African Reflections*, 169–73.

32. Schildkrout and Keim, *African Reflections*, 169–73.

33. Jan Vansina, "Reconstructing the Past," in *African Reflections*, Schildkrout and Keim, 81; hereafter referred to as Vansina, "Reconstructing the Past."

34. Wyatt MacGaffey, The Eyes of the Leopard: Violence and Social Control in Central Africa, unpublished.

35. Schildkrout and Keim, *African Reflections*, 169–73.

36. Vansina, "Reconstructing the Past," 79–87; Schildkrout and Keim, *African Reflections*, 190–93.

37. Vansina, "Reconstructing the Past," 80–81.

38. Vansina, "Reconstructing the Past," 81.

39. P. E. Joset, *Les sociétés secrètes des hommes-léopards en Afrique noire* (Paris: Payot, 1955), hereafter Joset, *Sociétés secrètes*; Birger Lindskog, "African Leopard Men," *Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensia* 7 (1954).

40. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981.

41. Joset, *Sociétés secrètes*, 30 and passim.

42. Felix, *Ituri*, 10.

43. A. T. Bernard, "Le *Mambela*," *Congo* 2, no. 3 (1922): 349–53, reprinted in Joset, *Sociétés secrètes*, 201–4; A. Christen, "*Mambela* et *Anioto*," *Revue du Sacré-Coeur* (Brussels) 12 (1935): 203–5; hereafter Christen, "*Mambela* et *Anioto*."

44. The strategies and expressive forms that people in southeastern Zaire have developed to cope with radical social change are principal themes of my writing; e.g., "Social and Historical Contexts of Tabwa Art," in *The Rising of a New Moon: A Century of Tabwa Art*, ed A. Roberts and E. Maurer (Seattle: University of Washington Press for the University of Michigan Museum of Art, 1985), 1–48; "Through the Bamboo Thicket: The Social Process of Tabwa Ritual Performance," *TDR, The Drama Review* 32, no. 2 (1988): 123–38; and "Tabwa Masks."

45. Valdo Pons, *Stanleyville: An African Urban Community under Belgian Administration* (London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1969), 290.

46. Authors refer to "toucans" and "calaos." The ground hornbill (*Bucorvus leadbeateri*) stands some 42 inches (105 cm.) tall and strides about open woods, uttering uncanny "deep lion-like grunts" that can be heard over great distances (John Williams, *A Field Guide to the Birds of East and Central Africa* [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1964], 150; hereafter referred to as Williams, *Birds of East and Central Africa*). Adepts imitated these cries with a bullroarer, as a central mystery of *Mambela* (Joset, *Sociétés secrètes*, 98). The hornbill's black plumage includes white primary feathers seen only when the bird is in flight; it has an unfeathered, bright crimson face, throat and wattle, heavy bill, and large eyes (Williams, *Birds of East and Central Africa*, 150). Ground hornbills (and/or related species) are emblems of southern Zairian secret societies often called *Mungonge*, which may be a name for the bird itself (Luc de Heusch, *Le roi ivre ou l'origine de l'état*. [Paris: Gallimard, 1972]. *The Drunken King or The Origin of the State*, trans. Roy Willis [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982]; hereafter Heusch, *Roi ivre*; Filip De Boeck, "Of Bushbucks Without Horns: Male and Female Initiation among the Aluund of Southwest Zaire," *Journal des Africanistes* 61, no.1 (1991): 37–72. These and other ethnographic data concerning hornbills are discussed in Allen Roberts, *Animals in African Art: From the Familiar to the Marvelous* (Munich: Prestel for the Museum for African Art, New York, 1995); hereafter Roberts, *Animal in African Art*.

47. A. T. Bouccin, "Crimes et superstitions indigènes: Le *Mambela*," reprinted in Joset, *Sociétés secrètes*. Originally published in *Bulletin des Juridictions indigènes et de Droit colonial belge* 9 (1936): 228; hereafter Bouccin, "Crimes et superstitions indigènes."

48. Bouccin, "Crimes et superstitions indigènes," 220, 228.

49. Joset, *Sociétés secrètes*, 99, 217.

50. The biases of European missionaries and administrative authorities regarding terrorism by leopard- and lion-men during the colonial period of Zaire are discussed in Allen Roberts, "'Like a Roaring Lion': Tabwa Terrorism in the Late 19th Century," in *Banditry, Rebellion, and Social Protest in Africa*, ed. D. Crummey (London: Heinemann and James Curry, 1986), 65–86; hereafter Roberts, "'Like a Roaring Lion.'" In particular, one must suspect that some seeking to link *Mambela* and *Anioto* were motivated by a more general desire to eradicate rituals that some colonizers considered to epitomize the diabolical savagery of Congolese people. Still, the hypothesis that the two institutions were linked deserves further investigation, as complementary adaptive strategies. The "contested realities" of colonial encounter, as played out through leopardman attacks and related expressive forms, is the subject of my forthcoming paper: "Sinister Caricatures, 'Mimetic

Competition': European Cannibalism in the Latter Years of the Belgian Congo," Conference paper, Uppsala University, 1993.

51. Christen, "*Mambela* et *Anioto*," 203–5, cited in Joset, *Sociétés secrètes*, 102.

52. Bouccin, "Crimes et superstitions indigènes."

53. Cf. Jack Goody, *Death, Property and the Ancestors* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962).

54. Bouccin, "Crimes et superstitions indigènes," 211–13.

55. Vansina, "Reconstructing the Past," 81 and note 10 on 259.

56. E.g., A. Moeller, "Aniota et Mambela, ou les Hommes-Léopards et la répression de la sorcellerie au Congo Belge," *Semaine de Missiologie* (Louvain, 1936–37): 50–69, discussed in Joset, *Sociétés secrètes*, 101–2.

57. Joset, *Sociétés secrètes*, 104, with reference to particular court testimony.

58. Bogumil Jewsiewicki, "Présentation," in *Dialoguer avec le léopard? Pratiques, savoirs et actes du peuple face au politique en Afrique noire contemporaine*, ed. B. Jewsiewicki and H. Moniot, Groupe "Afrique noire" Cahier no. 10. (1988) (Paris: L'Harmattan for Eds. SAFI), vi, hereafter, Jewsiewicki, "Présentation"; African leopard symbolism is further reviewed in Roberts, *Animal in African Art*.

59. Luc de Heusch, *Sacrifice in Africa: A Stucturalist Approach* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), 32–33.

60. Heusch, *Sacrifice*, 98, citing Jan Vansina *Le Royaume Kuba* (Tervuren, Belgium: Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1964), 98–116.

61. Heusch, *Roi ivre*, 172.

62. N. Ferber, Rapport de sortie de charge de l'Administrateur territorial, copy of an unpublished manuscript of 1932 in the collection of Dr. G. Nagant, Kalemie, Zaire; Robert Schmitz, *Les Baholoholo* (Brussels: Albert Dewit, 1912), 260; E. Van Avermaet and B. Mbuya, *Dictionnaire kiluba-franìais* (Tervuren, Belgium: Musée Royal du Congo Belge, 1954), 431–32; a point to follow up in future writing is the possible correlation between leopard spots and mnemonic systems used by Luba, Bembe, Tabwa, and other groups of southeastern Zaire. Information is recognized in natural phenomena such as celestial constellations and asterisms, for instance, which stellify important relationships or snippets of origin myths (Allen Roberts, "Passage Stellified: Speculation upon Archaeoastronomy in Southeastern Zaire," *Archaeoastronomy* 4 [1981]: 27–37); and is encoded in pecked petroglyphs, scarification patterns, and the incising or encrusting of objects of material culture (Allen Roberts, "Tabwa Tegumentary Inscription," in *Marks of Civilization: Artistic Transformations of the Human Body*, ed. A. Rubin (Los Angeles: UCLA Museum of Cultural History, 1988), 41–56, 266–68). Such matters will be a principal focus of a book and exhibition program entitled "MEMORY: Luba Art and the Making of History," organized by Mary Nooter Roberts and Allen Roberts, to open at the Museum for African Art in New York City in February, 1996; see also Nooter, *Secrecy*.

63. Roy Willis, ed. *Signifying Animals: Human Meaning in the Natural World* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990).

64. Jean Dorst and Pierre Dandelot, *A Field Guide to the Larger Mammals of Africa* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1969), 144; hereafter Dorst and Dandelot, *Larger Mammals*.

65. Cf. Jacobson-Widding, *Red-White-Black*.

66. Allen Roberts, "Insight, or NOT Seeing is Believing," in Nooter, *Secrecy*. In a recent review of this article of mine, John Mack raises an intriguing point concerning the presence of all three colors of the red-white-black triad in a single representational field. This imagery raises "an essentially impenetrable problem—a dilemma for the viewer as confused as knowing how to act when all the lights on a set of traffic signals are simultaneously illuminated. Perhaps, however, confusion is precisely the point." (John Mack, "Review, *SECRECY: African Art that Conceals and Reveals*," *African Arts* 27, no. 1, 15). Indeed, in the case of the leopard's spots, such "confusion" may be a visual representation of the cat's limitless rapaciousness.

67. P. Bourgoin, 1955 *Animaux de chasse d'Afrique*. (Paris: Nouvelles Editions de la Toison d'Or, 1955), 33; hereafter Bourgoin, *Animaux de chasse*; Commission administrative du Patrimoine de l'Institut royal des Sciences Naturelles de la Belgique, *Manuel de zoölogie à l'usage des écoles du Congo belge et du Ruanda-Urundi* (Brussels: Fonds du Bien-Être Indigène, 1953), 33.

68. Bourgoin, *Animaux de chasse*, 159.

69. Dorst and Dandelot, *Larger Mammals*, 145.

70. Stefano Kaoze, "Les mikoa ou clans chez les Batabwa," 1947 unpublished manuscript abridged and reproduced in G. Nagant "Famille, histoire, religion chez les Tumbwe du Zaire," unpublished thèse du 3e cycle, Anthropology, école Pratique des Hautes études (Paris), 1976: II, annex III, 95.

71. Allen Roberts, "Heroic Beasts, Beastly Heroes: Cosmology and Chiefship among the Lakeside Batabwa of Zaire," Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1980, 406.

72. Dan Sperber, "Pourquoi les animaux parfaits, les hybrides et les monstres sont-ils bons à penser symboliquement?" *L'Homme* 15, no. 2 (1975): 5–33.

73. Theodor Haltenorth and Helmut Diller, *The Collins Field Guide to the Mammals of Africa and Madagascar* (Lexington, Mass.: Stephen Greene Press, 1988), 223.

74. Lion and leopard behavior and symbolism are contrasted for Tabwa people of southeastern Zaire in Roberts, "Heroic Beasts," 404–8 and idem, *Animals in African Art*.

75. Stefano Kaoze, Le mukoa ou clan, unpublished manuscript, private collection, ca. 1930, 3.

76. Allen Roberts, "'Perfect' Lions, 'Perfect' Leaders: A Metaphor for Tabwa Chiefship," *Journal des Africanistes* 53, nos. 1–2,(1983): 102.

77. George Schaller, *The Serengeti Lion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 120–22, citing Anne Morrow Lindbergh.

78. Schaller, *Serengeti Lion*, 120.

79. Roberts, "'Perfect Lions.'"

80. While deaths from "man-eating" leopards and lions do occur occasionally, they are quite rare and if anything, lions, in particular, seem to avoid taking human prey assiduously, as reviewed in Roberts, "'Like a Roaring Lion.'"

81. Roberts, "'Like a Roaring Lion.'"

82. Cf. Michael Schatzberg, *The Dialectics of Oppression in Zaire* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 52–70.

83. Although different in historical context and political purpose, the description of *Anioto* is consistent with Eugene Walter's conclusions concerning the despotic use of terror by Shaka the Zulu in *Terror and Resistance: A Study of Political Violence, With Case Studies of Some Primitive African Communities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969). My thanks to Professor Jan Vansina for bringing this parallel to my attention (personal communication, 1983).

84. Harold Schneider, "Male-Female Conflict and Lion Men in Singida," in *African Religious Groups and Beliefs*, ed. S. Ottenberg (Meerut, India: Archana for the Folklore Institute, Berkeley, Cal., 1982), 95–109.

85. Roberts, "'Like a Roaring Lion.'"

86. "*Anioto*" refers specifically to leopardman terrorism among Budu, Bali, and other peoples living just south of the Mangbetu, in the region north of the present-day city of Kisangani (ex-Stanleyville). The same term is employed to refer generically to similar activities elsewhere around the town of Beni in eastern Zaire such as Wahokohoko terrorism among Nande and other groups of extreme eastern Kivu. Some authors distinguish between "*Anioto*," the movement, and "*Aniota*," its practitioners, a linguistic distinction dropped in the present paper for the sake of clarity. Joset, *Sociétés secrètes* (2, 55) has coined (or perhaps echoed) useful derivative terms such as "Aniotism" and "Aniotic" to refer to leopardman terrorism.

87. Joset, *Sociétés secrètes*, 115.

88. Bouccin, "Crimes et superstitions indigènes," 219.

89. Emil Torday, "The Things that Matter to the West African," *Man* 13, no. 116 (1931): 100–13.

90. Lindskog, "African Leopard Men," 52.

91. Lindskog, "African Leopard Men," 52.

92. Eric Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels* (New York: Norton, 1959), hereafter Hobsbawn, *Primitive Rebels*; Eric Hobsbawm, *Bandits*, rev. ed. (New York: Pantheon, 1981).

93. Ralph Austen, "Social Bandits and Other Heroic Criminals: Western Models of Resistance and Their Relevance for Africa," in *Banditry, Rebellion and Social Protest in Africa*, ed. D. Crummey. (London: Heinemann and James Curry, 1986), 89–108. Hereafter Austen, "Social Bandits."

94. Austen, "Social Bandits"; Roberts, "'Like a Roaring Lion.'"

95. Bouccin, "Crimes et superstitions indigènes," 230.

96. Joset, *Sociétés secrètes*, 49, 77.

97. Joset, *Sociétés secrètes*, 27.

98. Joset (*Sociétés secrètes*) details a number of particular cases, drawing upon investigative documents and court records from colonial archives.

99. Hobsbawn, *Primitive Rebels*, 13, 24–26.

100. Joset, *Sociétés secrètes*, 113.

101. Bouccin, "Crimes et superstitions indigènes," 219.

102. Bouccin, "Crimes et superstitions indigènes," 223.

103. James Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," 14th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1892–93, part 2 (Washington, D.C.: 1896); hereafter Mooney, "Ghost-Dance Religion."

104. Mooney, "Ghost-Dance Religion," 224–25.

105. Renato Rosaldo, *Illongot Headhunting, 1883–1974: A Study in Society and History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980).

106. Bouccin, "Crimes et superstitions indigènes."

107. Bouccin, "Crimes et superstitions indigènes," 228.

108. Allen Roberts, "'Insidious Conquests': Wartime Politics Among the Southwestern Shore of Lake Tanganyika," in *Africa and the First World War*, ed. M. Page (London: Macmillan, 1987), 186–213.

109. Bouccin, "Crimes et superstitions indigènes," 228; a photograph in the archives of the Royal Museum of Africa (Tervuren, Belgium) showing a man only identified as of "Budu" ethnicity, bears the caption "the recognized chief is also an *Anioto*" (cliché Off. col. IX, 2332. 22e liste Migeon, Mabudu).

110. Jewsiewicki, "Présentation," vi.

111. Hugh Honour cited in Mary Jo Arnoldi, "A Distorted Mirror: The Exhibition of the Herbert Ward Collection of Africana," in *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*, ed. I. Karp, C. Kreamer, and S. Lavine (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), 438.

112. Over the years, the sculpture has been photographed with studio backdrops and perhaps outside, as though an actual event were taking place in nature; and these shots have been published repeatedly, sometimes as drawings so derivative as to seem authentic. Copies of photographic prints are preserved in the archives of the Royal Museum of Africa.

113. Arnoldi, "Distorted Mirror."

114. Arnoldi, "Distorted Mirror," 429; these observations were made during a visit in January, 1994. The Tervuren museum is in a transition period. The main entrance has been moved to what used to be the back of the museum, where visitors must now transit a large boutique in the back rotunda. Offices and reserves are being moved to a new building, and it is hoped that more exhibition space will become available. It may be that the present placement of the bronzes is temporary, then, as these changes are made. In January, 1995, an exhibition of contemporary African paintings was scattered like bright butterflies the length of the same corridor, standing in absurd contrast to the *Anioto* statuary lurking in their midst.

Photography at the Heart of Darkness: Herbert Lang's photographs of the Congo (1909–1915)

It is becoming increasingly clear that the discourse of race is the most problematic legacy of modernism. For two hundred years, western scientists, writers, and artists have attempted to create a visual taxonomy of this discourse without success. The locus of investigation has changed from the skull and skin to the gene, but the mission remains the same. Yet, as Henry Louis Gates forcefully reminds us,

> [r]ace as a meaningful criterion within the biological sciences has long been recognized to be a fiction. When we speak of "the white race" or "the black race," or "the Jewish race" or the "Aryan race," we speak in biological misnomers and, more generally, in metaphors.[1]

Nonetheless entire archives of visual material exist in museums, private collections, and laboratories seeking to find the visual clue to race. One such archive is that constituted by the mass of photography produced by colonial travelers, scientists, and governments in the former colonies of Africa and Asia. These anthropological studies, postcards, views, and "scenes of native life" were quickly designated an embarrassment in the era of decolonization, their previous popularity at once forgotten.[2] Works were consigned to a back drawer, an attic, or the far corners of a museum basement and left to gather dust. As these photographs are rediscovered, new questions about them must be asked. What do the colonial photographs represent, both for viewers in the period and today? What can be learned from them about "the creation of colonial reality," a process which implicated both colonizers and colonized?[3] Can we observe the process by which "race" is written onto the body, transforming the body from an individual into a specimen?

Two exhibitions in 1993 asked these questions and presented very different answers. In the by now infamous 1993 Whitney Biennial, Glenn Ligon presented an installation entitled *Marginal Notes to the Black Book*, in which a double row of photographs of black men by Robert Mapplethorpe were interspaced and interpellated by a series of framed quotations by named critics, models, and anonymous spectators. Ligon's work provided a unique opportunity for an intertextual discussion between the audience and Mapplethorpe's work, which was made all the more timely by the witchhunt of the latter's work by Jesse Helms and his acolytes. The piece aroused the particular ire of mainstream critics, precisely because it negated their function. The spectator was placed in the unusual position of being able to choose between differing views of these photographs in the presence of full-scale, quality prints. Of course, Ligon's choice of quotations placed limits on this freedom, but his range represented the scholarly views and showed a wry sense of humor and irony in juxtaposing them with snippets of conversation in very different voices. I was struck by one remark attributed to bell hooks, in which she compared Mapplethorpe's work to her grandmother's refusal to take pictures: "Isn't it interesting that the photographers always come just when the tribe is dying out? So too with the 'celebration' in these Mapplethorpe pictures of black men. Better catch them before they die out."[4] hooks's comment has force and insight. Photography was used by anthropologists from its earliest days in their attempts to establish a visual classification of racial, class, and sexual difference. In other words, in the colonial photograph—here extended to include any photograph by whites of non-whites—all that can be seen is the colonizer and his or her prejudice. Pictures were selected in order to conform to preconceived ideas of the racial inferiority of Africans and then presented as evidence of those same ideas. In this view, the resurgence of interest in the colonial photograph can be nothing more than imperial nostalgia, masquerading as enlightened concern.

A very different view was presented by the traveling exhibition *African Reflections: Art from Northeastern Zaire*. The show presented the collections of two travelers, Herbert Lang and James Chapin, from the American Museum of Natural History to the northeast of what was the Congo in 1909–1915. Their task was to report on the way of life of the local inhabitants and to record, collect, and identify the local flora and fauna. In the course of a six-year expedition, with over two years being spent in the field, Lang and Chapin also collected a prodigious number of cultural products, which formed the centerpiece of the exhibition. Lang was a dedicated photographer who took 10,000 plates on his travels, many of which were used to illustrate the show and its catalogue. Enid Schildkrout, one of the curators

of *African Reflections*, undertook important and pioneering research into Lang's work as a photographer. From an examination of published works, the forty-volume photographic archive established by Lang at the Museum of Natural History, and the contact prints from which he worked, Schildkrout concluded that Lang's work had overcome the barriers of colonial difference. His photographs thus presented a unique view of Mangbetu peoples which "depict a people who consciously constructed an image of themselves for outsiders that relied on their perception of outsiders' perception of them."[5] Unlike hooks, therefore, Schildkrout held that the colonial photograph was not simply a reflection of the colonizer's preconceptions but a dialogue between the colonizer and the indigenous people. Rather than pursue the intriguing possibilities of this argument, her essay concludes:

> In some respects, [Lang] always subscribed to ideas of Western superiority and never gave up some stereotypes he brought with him . . . However, in the six years they lived together in northeastern Zaire, he and Chapin developed a deep appreciation for those African cultures and peoples they came to know. This intimacy is projected in some of Lang's photographs and it transforms them from simple contextual documents for a museum collection into works of art.[6]

In an overly familiar move to art historians, the colonial photograph is transformed by intimacy from a document into art. This transcendent move is designed to shield the work from criticism such as that of bell hooks, and yet ironically has much in common with it. Both positions offer a disinterested view of art as transcending the conditions of artistic production. The difference is that hooks's lack of interest stems from her political rejection of the colonial photograph as anything but a document of oppression, whereas Schildkrout deploys the Kantian notion of disinterest in order to valorize and aestheticize the photograph. This lack of interest collapses the photograph into a sign, which refers not to the object depicted but has the photographer as the referent, in contradiction to the conventional notion that the photograph refers to the 'real.' But in using the photograph to determine the essence of the photographer, this reductive semiotics of photography refuses to engage with the photographs themselves. In these photographs, the subject is overwhelmingly the black body, sometimes named, sometime anonymous, but always preventing a reductive analysis of the photograph. Any reading of photography is dogged by the cultural construction of the photograph as either observed truth or transcendent art. However, any engagement with the colonial photograph which is capable of giving a place to the subjects of those photographs will have to bypass such comforting certainties. Instead, it is necessary to attend to the "ambivalence and undecidability" which Kobena Mercer has identified in Mapplethorpe's photographs of black men, for both black and white spectators.[7]

In this essay, I want to use Mercer's insight to examine the possibility of reading colonial photographs as visual documents, conforming to a certain grammar of colonial vision and yet very specific in their individual instances. Without claiming any universal verities, I shall discuss those photographs of the Congo published by Lang as a record of his journey. Lang's work will be treated in the context of the meanings given to the Congo by travel writers, politicians, and novelists in the period, in order to perceive both its originality and its conformity to prevalent modes of colonial discourse.

Many recent literary readings suggest that colonial literature and travel writing described the places visited and colonized by Europeans in terms derived from painting and photography, rather than in conventional literary metaphors.[8] It is then simply assumed that the visual imagery of the African colonies has been derived from these literary studies, with notable exceptions.[9] Perhaps the consistent domination of Orientalist studies over "Africanist" work, noted by Christopher Miller, has contributed to the current situation in which Orientalist painting has been widely commented upon, but European representations of sub-Saharan Africa continue to be ignored.[10] Photography has a unique and important role to play in the construction of such discourse, but it needs to be considered as it was presented, together with its text. Neither stands independently, for just as the photograph confirms the narrative of the text, so does the text explain the photograph and render it legible.[11]

Rather than seek a transcendent interpretation of "the" colonial photograph, I want to consider the part played by photography in constructing a cultural geography of colonialism in a specific time and place, namely Lang's Congo photographs. Imperialism was never an undifferentiated phenomenon, repeating its maneuvers regardless of time and place, but was always constructed in regard to local specificities, the domestic agenda of the colonizing nation, and with an eye to the other colonial powers. But the cultural geography of a place is not quite the same as its physical geography. Here landmarks are not used simply to record a terrain but to designate cultural meaning. It is an imagined geography which identifies France by the Eiffel Tower and New York by the Statue of Liberty. These metonyms are not simply indexical signs but connote the western sense of place, regardless of the actual travel experience of the spectator. Thus in film and photography, the Eiffel Tower indicates not just Paris, but France as a place of romance and elegance. In the cultural geography of imperialism created by this process, the Congo occupied a specific and important place as the degree zero of the "primitive" world envisaged by imperialism. Long after its interior had been explored and opened up to colonial exploitation of rubber and ivory, the Congo was considered the very "heart of darkness" and was immortalized as such by Joseph Conrad in his eponymous novella of 1899.[12]

Envisaging the Congo

This construction of the Congo as "a prehistoric earth" (HD 539) was a well-defined discourse, which was all but impervious to change. The cultural geography of imperialism and the imperial imaginary depended, and depends, on the Congo as its origin. From Schweinfurth's first published narrative of 1874, entitled *In the Heart of Africa,* subsequent travelers set out to the Congo with the specific aim of encountering the heart of darkness. Lang's first account of his expedition in 1910 was similarly entitled "In the Heart of Africa," and the title was used yet again for the account of a rival German expedition in the same year. Such conceits have lasted until the present day. The popular novelist Michael Crichton opens his novel *Congo* in a fashion recognizable to any nineteenth-century travel writer: "Dawn came to the Congo rain forest. The pale sun burned away the morning mist revealing a gigantic, silent world. . . . The basic impression was of a vast, oversized gray-green world—an alien place, inhospitable to man."[13] Crichton echoes Marlow's words in *Heart of Darkness:* "Going up that river was like traveling back to the earliest beginnings of the world, when vegetation rioted on the earth and the big trees were kings. An empty steam, a great silence, an impenetrable forest." (HD 536). The colonial anthropologist, traveler, and writer reiterate each other's words in a vain attempt to end the silence of the Other, in defiance of actual conditions in the Congo. By the time that Lang arrived in the region, western travelers were far from a novelty. A series of campsites was established for the use of western itinerants, even in the northeastern region. The British writer Marguerite Roby crossed the Congo from south to north on a bicycle in 1910. The official almanac for the Congo, published by the Belgian government, ran to over 700 pages in 1913, detailing businesses, traders, and addresses of Europeans in the Congo. Even when faced with the evidence of such activity, Lang continued to perceive the Congo as the heart of darkness: "Avakubi is a great rubber station, about twenty tons a month being received from the natives as taxes . . . Such an isolated spot can hardly exist anywhere in the world."[14]

Appropriately, Crichton's novel has an epigram from Henry Morton Stanley, the journalist and explorer, who gave shape to the Congo in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in both cultural and political terms. After his famous feat in finding the missionary David Livingstone, Stanley returned to the Congo as the agent of Leopold II of Belgium. He secured the colonial rights of the Belgian monarch to the entirety of the Congo basin as a personal fief, rights which were upheld at the Berlin conference of 1885. By the early twentieth century, thanks to the work of British consul Roger Casement and the journalist E. D. Morel, the Congo was notorious as the locale of the most extreme colonial brutality and oppression. Undoubtedly, the political impact of their campaign was reinforced by the perception of the Congo as a uniquely primitive and dangerous place. Travelers expected to find what Stanley had described and followed his tracks in order to do so. Both Lang and Adolf Friedrich, Duke

of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, who led the German expedition of 1908, could find no other way to describe the Congo forest than to quote Stanley:

> Imagine the whole of France and the Iberian peninsula densely covered with trees 6 to 60 metres in height, with smooth trunks, whose leafy tops are so close to one another that they intermingle and obscure the sun and the heavens, each tree over a metre in thickness. The ropes stretching across from one tree to another in the shape of creepers and festoons, or curling round the trunks in thick, heavy coils, like endless anacondas, till they reach the highest point. Imagine them in full bloom, their luxuriant foliage combining with that of the trees to obscure the sunlight, and their hundreds of long festoons covered with slender tendrils hanging down from the highest branches till they touch the ground, interlacing with one another in a complete tangle.[15]

Both writers charged Stanley with exaggeration, but could not replace his words with their own. Stanley describes the Congo as a place that cannot be described in the traditional fashion, but had to be imagined. The western heart of darkness had already been written and has yet to be rewritten.

Stanley's passage emphasized the darkness and all but unimaginable magnitude of the forest. Encountering the heart of darkness was thus a visual problem from the outset. It was, in Conrad's phrase, "the threshold of the invisible." (HD 593) In order to make the darkness visible, three ways of seeing—and not seeing—were possible in the Congo of the period. The first was that of the Emperor Leopold who claimed to own the Congo. Leopold funded Lang's expedition and gave numerous objects to the American Museum of Natural History, a debt repaid by Lang in a published defense of the Belgian regime in the museum's *Journal*. Leopold's gaze may be equated with that so well described by Michel Foucault regarding the emperor:

> At the moment of its full blossoming, the disciplinary society still assumes with the Emperor the old aspect of the power of spectacle. As a monarch who is at one and the same time a usurper of the ancient throne and the organiser of a new state, he combined into a single, symbolic, ultimate figure the whole of the long process by which the pomp of sovereignty, the necessarily spectacular manifestations of power, were extinguished one by one in the daily exercise of surveillance.[16]

Leopold's disciplinary gaze was all-seeing in his possession and exerted its dominion through taxation, legal sanctions, and property rights. It was an indifferent gaze, concerned only with the production of rubber and ivory and the maintenance of colonial order. Other events were literally invisible to the colonial gaze.

In opposition to this disciplinary gaze was the modern vision of the Congo reformers. They envisaged a Congo of free producers, whose participation in the market would be all the more effective because of their increased liberty. Casement and Morel, although undoubtedly outraged by the excesses committed in the Congo, sought to bring the colonial administration of the region into twentieth-century terms, rightly perceiving Leopold's system as an embarrassing anachronism. Their vision of the Congo was expressed by Morel:

> Seated in an imaginary airship, which we will fancy perfected and invisible, let us take a bird's eye view of the Congo as it was twenty-five years ago [i.e. before Leopold], not in the spirit of the anthropologist, naturally and rightly on the lookout for strange and repulsive rites; nor in the spirit of the moralist, lamenting the aberrations of primitive man with a zeal inducing unmindfulness of civilization's sores: but in the spirit of the statesman, which presupposes both the student and the man of broad practical sympathies, contemplating this vast new country for the first time . . . The mightiest forest region in the world now unrolls before us its illimitable horizon, the primeval forest whither races of black, brown and copper coloured men have been attracted or driven for untold ages . . . In these fertile villages, man has settled and multiplied. He is well represented almost

> everywhere on the banks of the rivers except where they are very low lying and habitually flooded. But he has made many thousands of clearings in the forest too, and has cultivated the soil to such good purposes where need was, that we shall be astonished at the number and variety of his plantations. Throughout this enormous forest region . . . we shall note an intelligent, vigorous population, attaining considerable density in certain parts, digging and smelting iron, manufacturing weapons for war and the chase, often of singularly beautiful shape, weaving fibres of sundry plants into tasteful mats and cloths, fabricating a rough pottery, fishing nets, twine baskets.[17]

Power has now attained its modern form in the shape of an invisible airship, which glides above the forest, discovering a society closer to William Morris's *News from Nowhere* than the colonial travel accounts. For Morel, the technology of the all-seeing eye must replace the autocratic body of the king. For Leopold and his supporters, the primitivism of the Congo justified and necessitated traditional forms of colonial power. Neither account represents Truth, but both speak a certain truth of colonial discourse. However, what was truly invisible to western eyes was not the primeval culture of the region but the obvious changes and upheaval taking place. Seeing the heart of darkness involved and depended upon not seeing both the local cultures and the change they were experiencing due to colonization. Although the colonial gaze fantasized that it was the "monarch of all I survey,"[18] it was in practice impossible for it to achieve this plenitude of vision.

Of course, the indigenous culture was not absolutely invisible, but it could only be seen in certain controlled circumstances and by the use of specific technologies. As Morel suggested, this third way of envisaging the Congo was that of the anthropologist. The anthropologist did not seek to view the region as a whole, nor to judge it. He was there to record it in detail and with precision, for the scientific benefit of western civilization. Anthropology claimed a remarkably wide scope in the late nineteenth century, which was still in force at time of Lang's expedition. In the words of Paul Broca, one of the founders of the discipline: "The history of the arts, that of languages, religions, literature, or political societies, that of biology, zoology, palaeontology, and geology forms part of the program of anthropology . . . [A]nthropology can exclude no branch of human knowledge which can furnish any data on the history of man and human society."[19] However, the anthropologist's obsessive recording of detail was above all applied to those countries colonized by the West and shared much with colonial methods of dealing with tropical conditions. In *Heart of Darkness,* Marlow attributes his survival to this method: "I had to keep a lookout for the signs of the dead wood we could cut up in the night for the next day's steaming. When you have to attend to things of that sort, to the mere incidents of the surface, the reality—the reality, I tell you—fades. The inner truth is hidden—luckily, luckily." (HD 537) By focusing on the everyday details, the colonialist could avoid seeing the truth that was all around him. Herbert Lang opted for this third, anthropological, way of seeing as befitted an expeditionary of the American Museum of Natural History. Even his partner Chapin was astonished by the energy Lang put into his work, collecting specimens and taking photographs by day and developing plates by night.

Anthropology, Eugenics, and Photography

Photography was no newcomer to the Congo. By 1913, one of the five sections of the Terveruen Musée du Congo Belge was entirely devoted to photography and the Belgian Congo was home to three photography businesses, two cinemas and one self-styled cinematographer.[20] Indeed, it was the rule for travel literature from the region to be illustrated with photographs taken by the author. The 1909 German Congo expedition returned with 5,000.[21] As such, the photographs served as a guarantee of the authenticity of the writer's account and were extensively captioned in order to explain their contents. These works, often poorly produced and weak in content, were intended to serve as documents, rather than works of art, as Molly Nesbit has argued.[22] At the Fifth International Congress of Photography, held in Brussels—capital of the Belgian Empire—in 1910, these works were specifically defined: "A documentary image should be able to be used for studies of diverse kinds, ergo the

necessity of including the maximum possible detail. Any image can at any time serve scientific investigation. Nothing is to be disdained: the beauty of the photograph is secondary here, it is enough that the image be very clear, full of detail and carefully treated." For one commentator, the document could also include "Negro" statues and other ethnographic materials. Lang collected photographs, just as he collected animal remains, Mangbetu artifacts, and plant specimens, to be documents for the use of the American Museum of Natural History. Lang's photography stemmed from the particular nexus of cultural concerns which caused him to be in the Congo in the first place.

In this period, the museum was increasingly turning its attention to the promotion of the new "science" of eugenics. Eugenics, in George Stocking's view, "was an attempt to compensate for the failure of natural selection under the conditions of advanced civilization."[23] These gloomy prophets sought to control the reproduction of the human race under conditions dictated by Gauss's Law of Frequency, believing that the statistically unusual "defective" types could be eliminated. Such control of breeding was based on the model of agricultural manipulation of livestock with careful provisos taking account of social factors. Eugenicists sought to eliminate not only disabilities and retardations of all kinds, but social evils, such as alchoholism, pauperism, orphans, and the catch-all category of ne'er do wells. Far from being confined to a lunatic fringe, these ideas achieved great currency in the early twentieth century, and by the First World War the majority of states in the Union permitted sterilizations of the "unfit" to take place in prisons, hospitals, and asylums. These actions were ruled legal by the Supreme Court of Oliver Wendell Holmes, and by 1941, 41,000 Americans had been sterilized under these laws. Henry Osborn, who became director of the Museum of Natural History in 1908 and organized the Congo expedition, was excited to stand "on the threshold of the application of science, or knowledge of the laws of Nature as they bear on human morals, welfare and happiness."[24] A new Hall of Public Health was opened at the museum with a rationale which Osborn described as follows: "It is cruel to bring a child into the world predestined to disease and suffering, hence eugenics. It is cruel to bring into our country the kind of people who will produce children like this, cruel I mean to those already here, hence the survey of immigration."[25] This museum was an activist institution devoted, in the words of its *Journal*'s masthead, "to natural history, exploration and the development of public education through the museum." These goals were theoretically linked and motivated by eugenics.

The Congo expedition was driven by a sense of the imminent disappearance of the indigenous cultures in the face of more "advanced" western civilization. The first report from the expedition explained that its goal was "[t]he Upper Congo region, that great, steaming land of equatorial Africa shrouded in jungle . . . They have seen strange places and stranger primitive peoples, of whom it is time that the world obtain complete scientific record in view of the rapid advance that civilization must make in the Congo in the immediate future."[26] The supposed disappearance of cannibalism was proof to the eugenically minded that such transformations were already taking place. Lang observed that eleven million people had formerly been devoted to anthropophagy from which they had been delivered by the Belgians, but the benefits were mixed: "[T]his horrible practice produced some fairly good results in eugenics, as in many tribes weakened people or crippled children helped to nourish their more sturdy brothers."[27] Lang therefore opposed the efforts to reform the administration of the Congo and indeed praised the "wise decisions of a responsible government," which contrasted unfavorably with the "impetuosity of the unfortunate campaign of the reformers."[28] Lang advocated instead a eugenic solution to the climatic, cultural, and political problems of the region: "White man's impetus must be the motive to progress, whereas the Negro will supply the activity to bring final order from chaos."[29] In other words, eugenics was to replicate in advanced society that which the cannibal variation of the survival of the fittest had achieved in the heart of darkness (fig. 1).

No reader of Lang's reports from the Congo in the journal of the museum, now titled *Natural History*, could be unaware of the eugenic ideas which motivated Osborn's museum. In the edition of December 1919, for example, Lang published an account of his encounter with the so-called Pygmies in the rainforest, the Mbuti people. In order to reach Lang's essay, it was necessary to pass through two

Fig. 1. Herbert Lang, "Chief of a Renowned Cannibal Tribe," published in *The American Museum Journal* 10, no. 6 (1910): 166.

lengthy accounts of the intelligence testing performed in the American army during World War I. This now notorious exercise in applied eugenics was not officially published until 1921, making the accounts in *Natural History* something of a scoop. The examiners believed that the intelligence tests had revealed important results: "[E]specially startling is the unusually large difference shown here between the distributions for Negroes and the distribution for white men."[30] Plotted on a graph, these results formed a regular curve, with the left side indicating the high percentage of failure by "Negroes" and the right-hand side showing the corresponding degree of success achieved by the whites. According to one psychologist, "the relationship between color and achievement was quite distinct, those with lighter skins making higher scores."[31] It need hardly be remarked that these tests were administered and conducted precisely in order to achieve such findings and have long been discredited, despite their recent revival in the book *The Bell Curve.* However, President George B. Cutten of Colgate University used them in the period to cast doubt upon the possibility of sustaining democracy in a country so widely populated with the "feeble-minded."[32] The diligent reader would thus not have been surprised to read that, in calling for the development of a "national art" in the United States, Herbert Spinden, assistant curator in anthropology at the museum, did not include Africa in the seven "type civilizations, upon the products of which must be based any statement of what a national art can and should be."[33] The highest realm of civilization was inevitably the Christian. Spinden ranked other "culture areas" in descending order with African being the lowest of all, coming after even Neolithic European cultures.

Only after all of these eugenically inspired pieces does one find Lang's report, entitled "Nomad Dwarfs and Civilization." This context makes it clear that the title was supposed to indicate a contrast rather than a connection. By way of example, Lang described how the Mbuti-Pygmy chief was afraid of the camera, and even when the instrument was disassembled, "he clung to his belief in the presence of a power for evil, adding that it was evidently harbored in the dark cloth of the bellows and could be destroyed only by fire."[34] This incident accorded well with prevailing notions of the primitive, as well as the West's sense that its superiority was manifested in its technology. Indeed, it is so convenient that it seems somewhat suspicious. Twenty years previously, the British missionary Albert Lloyd published a popular account of his experiences in the Congo under the dramatic title *In Dwarf Land and Cannibal Country.* As one might expect, Lloyd had little sympathy for the indigenous culture, believing that Africa sheltered "millions of her dusky sons in as gross a state of darkness as they were a thousand years ago."[35] Lloyd met a group of Mbuti-Pygmies in the Congo and was able to converse with them in Swahili through an interpreter. He at once set up his camera: "In the

morning I tried to photograph my little friends, but it was quite hopeless. It was too dark in the forest itself, and I could not persuade them to come out into a clearing where I might get light enough. I tried time after time, but always failed. I exposed nearly a dozen plates, but with no good results; snapshots were useless, and I could not get them still enough for a time exposure."[36] Nonetheless, Lloyd did later manage to photograph a "Pygmy lady" and reproduced the image in his book. His account mentions none of the "primitive" fear of the camera highlighted by Lang, which would have served admirably to bolster his imperial view of the Congo, and indeed the Mbuti seem to have shown considerable patience in sitting through his repeated photographic efforts. It seems highly unlikely, therefore, that the fear of the camera encountered by Lang was a simple reaction of backward primitives to advanced western technology. If his account is to be believed, it might rather suggest that in the intervening twenty years, Congo peoples had learned to distrust those bearing cameras. In short, the Mbuti had learned the necessity of becoming Pygmies. Nor were they wrong to do so, for Lang's eugenic theory held that the "backward" Pygmies would have to be eliminated in the interests of progress.

Lang's account of his meeting with the Mbuti provides evidence of this resistance to, and accommodation with, colonial authority in the form of mimicry. At one point, he noticed a man doing imitations:

> [T]he little fellow admirably imitated an official, taking especial advantage of the latter's habit of accentuating his instructions with peculiar abrupt gestures. When I asked him to mimic me he grinned happily. During the forenoon I had taken a number of photographs and my tripod camera was still standing in the shade. Without injury to the instrument he mimicked my every movement with just enough exaggeration to make everyone laugh. Finally he indicated that the 'evil eye had seen well'—and now came the climax to the performance. The Pygmy he had pretended to photograph, instead of unconcernedly walking away, dropped to the ground, illustrating the native superstition that the 'big evil eye' of the camera causes death. A block of salt laid on the 'dead' man's stomach instantly resuscitated him and the two entertainers walked off joyously, but only after the clown had received a reward.[37]

The Mbuti mimicker thus connected colonial power, photography, and the European belief in African fear of the camera into a satirical narrative of colonial life. Homi Bhabha has identified mimicry "as one of the most elusive and effective strategies of colonial power and knowledge." In this view, mimicry "is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other as *a subject of difference that is almost the same but not quite.*" This ambivalent process creates an uneasy tension between mimicry and mockery, which may turn into menace. Mimicry was not a simple exercise in colonial authority, creating masks behind which the essence of the colonial subject was concealed but rather: "the *menace* of mimicry is its *double* vision which in disclosing the ambivalence of colonial discourse also disrupts its authority."[38] Bhabha's focus was entirely upon the written text, but his analysis is central to an understanding of the colonial photograph. The mimicry Lang observed was of the colonizer's belief in the power of his practice, which was disrupted by this very imitation. The mimicker parodied both the colonial official and his means of recording the colonial vision. The photographs Lang took, then, are the intersection of the double vision of mimicry, presenting no "authentic" vision of Africa, nor of colonialism, but a fragmentary glimpse of the interaction between the indigenous peoples and eugenic anthropology.

Mimicry was an important constituent of colonial practice in the Congo, but it proved as hard to visualize as the heart of darkness itself. In Conrad's *Heart of Darkness,* as the narrator Marlow approaches the renegade company official Kurtz, he meets first with the latter's Russian deputy: "I looked at him, lost in astonishment. There he was before me, in motley, as though he had absconded from a troupe of mimes, enthusiastic, fabulous. His very existence was improbable, inexplicable, and altogether bewildering. He was an insoluble problem. It was inconceivable how he had existed, how he had succeeded in getting so far, how he had managed to remain—why he did not instantly disappear." (HD 568) Marlow refuses to believe his eyes when confronted with colonial mimicry, and

expects that at any moment, the phantom will disappear. Indeed, the illusion of colonial normality, already all but impossible to sustain in the interior of the Congo region, will soon be shattered by the discovery that Kurtz has "gone native." By the time of Lang's expedition, the situation had changed sufficiently that the local people made great efforts to sustain colonial mimicry. When Lang arrived in Mangbetu, he was disappointed to find that the great hall described by Schweinfurth did not exist. Okondo, chief of the Mangbetu, learned of this disruption to colonial vision and at once set about building the hall desired by Lang. It was dutifully photographed and recorded as an authentic example of Mangbetu culture, but, as Crew and Sims remind us, "[a]uthenticity is not about factuality or reality. Objects have no authority; people do."[39] To be more precise, the objects held no meaning outside the discourse of colonial mimicry. Lang knew what he expected to discover and the Mangbetu hastened to oblige. It was no coincidence therefore that Lang held Mangbetu in great esteem, describing them as "the most highly cultured natives of these regions. . . . Their pottery in its best samples reminds one of Ancient Greek work."[40]

In describing his meeting with the Mbuti, Lang was principally concerned with the correct identification of their racial type, and specifically "whether the Pygmies are merely degenerate types of Negroes and therefore of relatively recent origin, or the earliest type from which all taller African races have evolved, or one entirely distinct and as old as any living race."[41] The first two theories could easily be accommodated within mainstream eugenics. The third implied a polygenetic view of the human species, that is to say, that several entirely separate varieties of the human race had coexisted for millennia. Lang finessed his own argument by deciding that the Pygmies were indeed the descendants of the first peoples to settle Africa from Asia, then held to be the origin of human life. Although the survival of the fittest had driven them out of the rest of Africa, the unique qualities of the heart of darkness allowed them to survive in the rain forest, like the recently discovered okapi. This sweeping assertion was maintained even in the admitted face of failure: "At present no racial characters setting aside a majority of Pygmies from the tall Negroes can be stated and it is doubtful if physical traits have at any previous period been more uniformly pronounced."[42] However, Lang never doubted that these details could be discovered, and he set about creating a visual record of these disappearing creatures with his camera.

Lang was careful to follow anthropological and eugenic procedures in his photography. He took ninety sets of head and shoulder shots of local people in his search for the truly typical. Each set consisted of views from the front, side, and three quarters. The three-quarter view is that traditionally used in western portraiture and seems therefore more "sympathetic" to eyes accustomed to reading such portraits. Lang's intention was to avoid all "personal preference and prejudice. . . . Great is the temptation for a traveler to pick and choose the subjects for his picture gallery with an eye to beauty and interest. But we were anxious that our anthropological series of portraits should not be invalidated. After carefully ascertaining the tribal status of the natives, we lined them up indiscriminately and took every third, fifth, or seventh individual according to the number desired from any crowd."[43] Such elimination of personal preference was a central tenet of scientific practice in the period, which sought to eliminate all trace of the subjectivity of the scientist, leaving judgment and discrimination to the reader.[44] Despite this care, these portraits failed in their primary purpose: "It would be too daring to describe as typical these remnants of a race which has not escaped mingling with large neighboring communities."[45] The discourse of colonial mimicry invalidated the colonial photograph as a purely scientific document.

Eugenicists therefore argued for the correlation of word and image. The photograph could not stand on its own as it was an incomplete and atypical document. In his introduction to a 1910 collection of eugenic studies, the British eugenicist Karl Pearson cautioned that "[i]t is not always possible to maintain a proper balance between the graphic and the verbal descriptions; but I wish most strongly to insist on the point that neither are to be interpreted *alone;* they are component parts of one whole, and the reader who draws conclusions from the engraved pedigrees without consulting the verbal accounts is certain to be led into error [original emphasis]."[46] In order to signify correctly, the eugenic sign required a correlation of visual

Fig. 2. Herbert Lang, "At the Entrance of the Dense Forest," published in *The American Museum Journal* 10, no. 6 (1910): 160.

representation and critical assessment, in which the latter was dominant over the former. Lang's first published photograph from the Congo showed some buildings at the edge of the forest (fig.2) and carried the following caption: "The mightiest primeval forest known to man. A cold, gray picture is wholly inadequate to make vivid a tropical country, the splendid color, the sounds, the life—and the heat."[47] The caption directed the viewer's attention away from what was visible—local people and their dwellings—to that which was invisible and beyond the reach of the camera. Lang consistently treated the photograph as a partial notation, rather than the revealer of truth.

In his first article, Lang published a photograph of a Mangbetu woman, wearing a striking rafia headdress (fig. 3). This woman, whom Lang does not name, appears in a number of his photographs, making it reasonable to assume that Lang knew her status in the community. For the headdress was not merely decorative, but a signifier of rank only to be worn by the ruling class.[48] However, Lang captioned her photograph: "A 'Parisienne' of the Mangbetu tribe."[49] To his American readers, the term "Parisienne" was necessarily ambivalent. It mingled connotations of high fashion with the suspicion that the woman might be a courtesan or fallen woman for, as Molly Nesbit has observed, "Fascination with her [the Parisienne's] sexuality grew obsessive in the decade just before the First World War."[50] Lang's readers, unaware of the social position of the woman he had photographed, would certainly have located his *Parisienne* in this hybrid discourse of fashion and sexuality. Lang was not unaware of

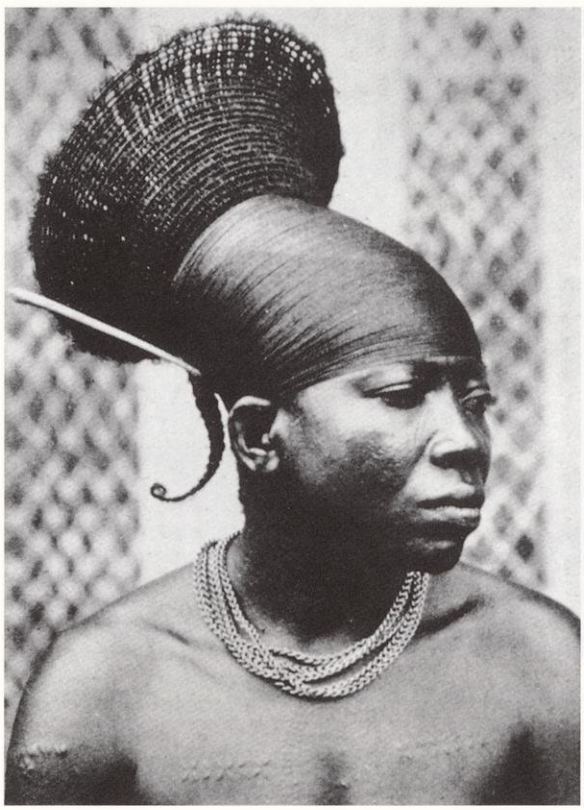

Fig. 3. Herbert Lang, "'A Parisienne' of the Mangbetu tribe," published in *The American Museum Journal* 15, no. 8 (December 1915): 383.

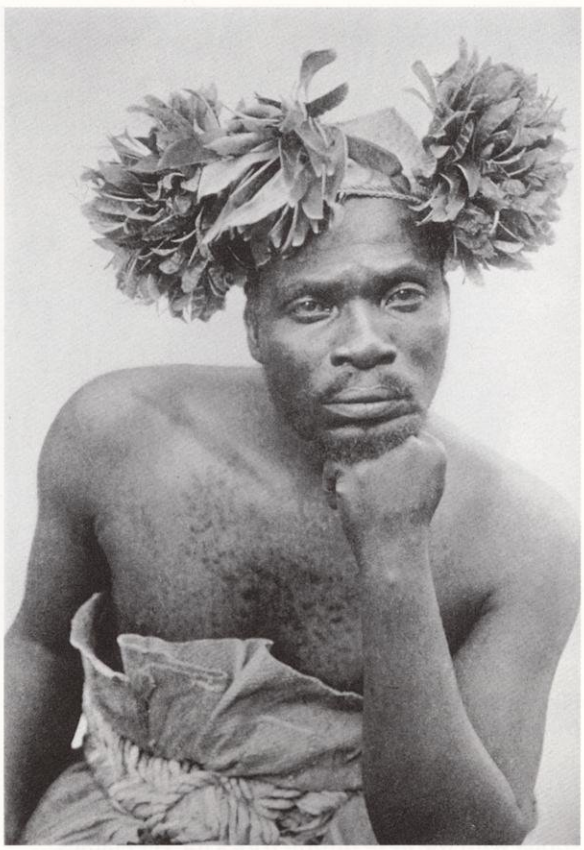

Fig. 4. Herbert Lang, "Manziga, a Chief of the Azande," published in *The American Museum Journal* 15, no. 8 (December 1915): special photography section, n.p.

social distinctions in the region and in the same article, he published photographs of Mazinga, an Azande chief (fig. 4), and the "head wife" of Abiembali, a Mayogo chief. Here, however, amongst Mangbetu whom he otherwise privileged, he described an elite woman as a prostitute. Like many other Europeans, Lang was both fascinated and repelled by the sexuality of the Africans he encountered. He noted privately of Mangbetu men that "as a rule they behave very arrogant in the absence of white men and often profit of the charms so easily offered by the Mangbetu women."[51] This remark is self-evidently a fantasy, for Lang could not by definition speak of the ways Mangbetu men acted in the absence of whites. Does Lang's ethnographic slip in identifying the noblewoman as a prostitute indicate that it was in fact he who was tempted by the "charms" of Mangbetu women? For an anthropologist and eugenicist such desire was unnameable, and yet this one uncharacteristic reference to sexual practice, which is otherwise passed over in silence, suggests that the full story of the American Museum expedition may not have been told.

The supremacy of caption over image is strikingly apparent in Lang's use of almost identical photographs for entirely different purposes in two publications. In 1915, Lang published a photograph of a group of Mbuti, posing with bows and arrows pointed at the camera. His caption was simply descriptive: "Pygmies from Nala, in the Uele district. They live by hunting, and exchange their

Fig. 5. Herbert Lang, "The whir of a Pygmy's arrow is the crowning step in the pursuit of a victim," published in *Natural History* 19, no. 6 (December 1919): 705.

spoils with the agricultural tribes for vegetables. Two hundred of them visited the expedition and many allowed plaster casts to be made of their faces."[52] Four years later in his article on the Mbuti-Pygmies, Lang described how he had won the confidence of the Mbuti chief while being threatened with arrows. A photograph obviously taken in the same session appeared again to bolster the story (fig. 5). In this version, an extra figure at the left was revealed, whose arrow points away from the camera, and whose forced expression seems to indicate the posed nature of the scene. Such casual procedures stemmed from a belief that the caption formed the predominant impression in the reader's mind. It states: "The whir of a Pygmy's arrow is the crowning step in the pursuit of a victim, be it man or beast. In the forest consummate skill does not depend upon shooting at great distances, but on the ability to steal up under the wind, unheard, unseen, and never miss the fleeting chance. Even among Pygmies there are only a few who have the patience, daring, and energy for such accomplishment."[53] In four years, Lang's picture had changed from being evidence of his encounter with a cooperative native people to a testimony of his own bravery in confronting such skilled and lethal adversaries. This picture indicates the textual and photographic liberties Lang felt entitled to take despite his avowed desire to achieve an unmediated anthropological truth.

The Politics of Cultural Difference

Indeed, the interpretation of photographic representations of the Congo was a politically contested field at this time. Lang and other apologists for the colonial regime in the Congo argued that the entire truth of the region could not be gleaned from photographs alone, whereas the reformers held that the photographs which had emerged from the region

told the entire truth of the matter. One of the many intellectuals to become involved in the question of Congo reform was the writer Arthur Conan Doyle. He wrote a preface to Morel's *Great Britain and the Congo,* which placed this issue at the center of his argument: "When we read of the ill-treatment of these poor people, the horrible beatings, the mutilation of limbs, the butt-endings, the starving in hostage-houses—facts which are vouched for by witnesses of several nations and professions, backed by the incorruptible evidence of the Kodak—we may ask again by what right these things are done?"[54] The defenders of the Belgian regime had two answers to such accusations. First, they were dismissed as untrue, and next in the words of Marguerite Roby, the British travel writer:

> As for the "incorruptible evidence of the Kodak," it is obvious that such evidence is strictly limited in its scope, if honorably employed. I mean to say that from the photograph of a mutilated person you can only deduce the fact that the person in question has suffered according to the picture. *Where* the crime was committed is quite another matter, and unless a very careful record be kept as to where such photographs are taken, it is almost inevitable that mistakes and misunderstandings will arise. Exactly the same remarks apply to the question of *When* was the crime depicted committed? and even the most honorable men may be misled on this score when they have not taken the photographs themselves.[55]

The polemicists of the Congo reform question thus took directly opposed positions on the question of the accuracy of the photograph. Doyle claimed that the photograph spoke for itself, whereas Roby argued that photographs could only be interpreted with the supplement of careful textual notations.

Lang was able to claim both the authorship of his photographs and provide the careful documentation Roby required, which he used to defend the Belgian administration at length. Like Roby, he argued that the natives benefitted from the colonial government, were not oppressed by it, and yet needed it:

> None of the natives indulge any longer in cannibalism; yet those most anxious to help them, and many of the professional reformers, speak even now about their "degraded condition," "shameless manners," and "behavior like animals," perhaps just because the warm climate allows them to walk about in just the state that seems, from all accounts, to have been the most satisfactory in Paradise. . . . It is true that they are born and die in the densest superstition, but this latter is their religion, their code of morals, their own very rigid set of laws, which binds then together in spite of all savage feeling in a true democratic spirit. . . . The greatest fallacy in judging natives is the common habit of travelers and many residents of basing their judgment about them upon information received from workmen, servants, or half-civilized negroes. Even the most truthful individuals among these natives generally try and speak from the white man's point of view, displaying in this great shrewdness, so that any question asked is answered with the desire of pleasing the inquirer.[56]

This passage is exemplary of Lang's cultural politics of representation. He presents the natives as happy, worthy peoples, who live and die in inevitably primitive conditions. The colonial administration, far from hindering them, has put an end to cannibalism, introduced the principles of commerce and the means, in the shape of railways and river steamers. However, the development of colonial mimicry has made it difficult to ascertain the exact truth as to conditions in the region. The proof of Lang's assertions was his photographs.

However, the apparent acceptance of cultural relativism by the defenders of the Belgian Congo was no more than that—apparent. Lang used his photographs to establish an image of Congo peoples as primitive, superstitious, but happy under the colonial regime. His picture of a group of local children informed the viewer that "[t]here are no orphans in the Congo, in the sense of homeless children. Food is plentiful and bringing up children involves little labor or expense; thus an orphan child is always taken into another family. These children lead happy, carefree lives, and, by helping in village and garden, learn without special training the domestic and other arts of their parents."[57] Any evidence that mitigated this Edenic picture was suppressed. Enid

Schildkrout has discovered that both in his published work and the archival albums at the American Museum, Lang "omitted many of the images that show western influence."[58] These include a shot of Mangbetu chief Okondo waving good-bye to the expedition, dressed in a western uniform. This suppression was made not just in the interest of ethnographic "authenticity" but to preserve the colonial case that the primitive nature of Congo peoples mandated an imperial presence in the region. Lang sought to establish not cultural relativism but an unbridgeable cultural difference between the "civilized" and the "primitive," which eugenicists held to be different ranks of humanity. Lang took pains to publish pictures showing the local acceptance of the regime. His picture entitled *Danga, a prominent Mangbetu chief* was captioned as follows: "Beside him stand two female body servants and behind are some of his people. The large medal hanging from his neck is the official sign of his rank as recognized by the Belgian administration. Of this he is very proud." Similarly, his portrait of *Manziga, a chief of the Azande* was captioned: "He is unusually intelligent and exhibits much tact and diplomacy in dealings with the colonial administration."[59] Manziga was portrayed in traditional dress, with the caption also referring to the Azande belief that they would be reincarnated as lions. Manziga is indeed "almost the same but not quite."[60] It is that difference, that not quite, to which Lang devoted his attention. Photography sought to discover the difference that the heart of darkness made all but invisible, which is to say, it seemed so apparent, so obvious, and yet resisted the taxonomic efforts of the anthropologist.

The colonial photograph sought to produce an effect of cultural difference as its primary motivation. The photographic sign is not purely arbitrary, in the way that the written word has been described by Saussure. Nor is it wholly natural, revealing only that which is "really there." It is rather a *motivated* sign, a sign which is supposed to look like something. In this case, Lang's photographs were supposed to show racial difference marked upon the bodies of his African subjects. According to his training both as a mammologist and a eugenic anthropologist, these differences were, by their very nature, visible. Yet that effect stubbornly failed to reveal itself. Lang saw the Mbuti as "nomad dwarfs," evidently inferior to the "tall negro," especially the Mangbetu people, but was unable to produce such definitive categorizations. The discourse of colonial mimicry frustrated any effort to reach the 'truth' of Africa. Instead, as Bhabha notes: "What emerges between mimesis and mimicry is a *writing*."[61] Lang could not visualize racial difference and was ultimately reduced, like so many of his eugenicist colleagues, to writing the difference of race onto the African body. His essays and captions seek to use the photographs as evidence, but they will not signify without Lang's direction. Like the fetishist, the colonial photographer cannot believe the evidence of his or her eyes and resorts to a dedicated belief in the averted gaze. It is this very failure to signify that constitutes the ground upon which the historians of colonial photography will have to work.[62]

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Notes

1. Henry Louis Gates, "Writing 'Race' and the Difference It Makes," in *"Race," Writing and Difference*, ed. Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 4.

2. David Prochaska, "Fantasia of the Photothèque: French Postcard Views of Colonial Senegal," *African Arts* 24, no.4 (October 1991): 40.

3. Michael T. Taussig, *Shamanism, Colonialism and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 5.

4. bell hooks, "States of Desire: bell hooks and British Filmmaker Isaac Julien on sex, style, and cinema," *Transition: An International Review* 53 (1991): 175.

5. Enid Schildkrout, "The Spectacle of Africa Through the Lens of Herbert Lang: Belgian Congo Photographs 1909–15," *African Arts* 24, no. 4 (October 1991): 71; hereafter Schildkrout, "Spectacle."

6. Schildkrout, "Spectacle," 85.

7. Kobena Mercer, "Reading Racial Fetishism: The Photographs of Robert Mapplethorp," in *Fetishism as Cultural Discourse*, ed. Emily Apter and William Pietz (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 320.

8. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), hereafter Pratt, *Imperial Eyes.*

9. Malek Alloula, *The Colonial Harem,* trans. Myrna Godzich and Wlad Godzich (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986); Christraud M. Geary, *Images from Bamum: German Colonial Photography at the Court of King Njoya, Cameroon, West Africa 1902–1915* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988).

10. Christopher L. Miller, *Blank Darkness: Africanist Discourse in French* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 14–23.

11. I have therefore restricted my discussion to those photographs published and commented on by Lang. The daunting task of applying this contextual reading to the entire corpus of Lang's photographic archive is far beyond the scope of this essay. Ironically, the consequence is that I shall discuss very few of the photographs which were displayed in *African Reflections,* the majority of which were taken from the archives.

12. Although the Congo is not named in *Heart of Darkness,* Conrad detailed the geography, climate, and culture of the region in precise fashion, down to the 50 lb. weight carried by 'native' porters, the brass wire used by the Belgians to 'pay' for ivory, and the navigation conditions of the Congo river. All references to *Heart of Darkness* will be cited as HD hereafter.

13. Michael Crichton, *Congo* (New York: Knopf, 1980), 1.

14. By contrast, British missionary Albert Lloyd wrote a decade earlier that "Avakubi is a beautiful place, quite an ideal station. Fine, lofty buildings constructed of good sun-burnt bricks, and the whole place was most compactly arranged. The Europeans' houses, built four square, with an open quadrangle in the centre, and a high brick wall surrounding the back part, which contained the servants' quarters and outhouses . . . The gardens at once took my fancy, for here not only was there every kind of European vegetable, but also the most beautiful flowerbeds, arranged with great taste" (Albert B. Lloyd, *In Dwarf Land and Cannibal Country,* London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1899, 288–89); hereafter Lloyd, *In Dwarf Land.*

15. Quotation from Stanley in Adolf Friedrich, *In the Heart of Africa,* trans. G. E. Maberly-Oppler (London: Cassell, 1910), 249; hereafter Friedrich, *Heart;* Mary Cynthia Dickerson, "In the Heart of Africa," *American Museum Journal* 10, no 6 (1910): 168; hereafter Dickerson, "In the Heart," 168.

16. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1977), 217.

17. Edmund D. Morel, *History of the Congo Reform Movement,* ed. Roger Louis and Jean Stengers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), 17, 21.

18. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes,* 201.

19. Paul Broca, "Transactions of the Anthropological Society of Paris during 1865–67," *The Anthropological Review* 22 (July 1868): 227–28.

20. *Annuaire du Congo Bèlge et l'Afrique Occidentale,* Brussels, (1913): 23, 186–88.

21. Friedrich, *Heart,* VIII.

22. Molly Nesbit, *Atget's Seven Albums* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 15–17; hereafter Nesbit, *Seven Albums.*

23. George W. Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: Free Press, 1987), 145.

24.Henry Osborn, "Address of Welcome," *The American Museum Journal* 10, no. 3 (1910): 63.

25. Henry Osborn as quoted in the Report by the Department, "Opening of the Hall of Public Health," *The American Museum Journal* 13, no. 4, (April 1913): 195.

26. Dickerson, "In the Heart," 147.

27. Herbert Lang, "An Explorer's View of the Congo," *The American Museum Journal* 15, no. 8 (December 1915): 382; hereafter Lang, "Explorer's View."

28. Lang, "Explorer's View," 380.

29.Henry Lang, "Nomad Dwarfs and Civilization," *Natural History* 19, no. 6 (December 1919): 698; hereafter Lang, "Nomad Dwarfs."

30. M. R. Trabue, "The Intelligence of Negro Recruits," *Natural History* 19, no. 6 (December 1919): 681; hereafter Trabue, "Negro Recruits."

31. Trabue, "Negro Recruits," 680.

32. As noted in Daniel J. Kevles, *In the Name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 84.

33. Herbert Spinden, "Creating a National Art," *Natural History* 19, no. 6 (December 1919): 623.

34. Lang, "Nomad Dwarfs," 708.

35. Lloyd, *In Dwarf Land,* 12.

36. Lloyd, *In Dwarf Land,* 271.

37. Lang, "Nomad Dwarfs," 712 n. 1.

38. Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in *October: The First Decade* ed. Annette Michelson et al. (Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press, 1987), 321; hereafter Bhabha "Of Mimicry."

39. Spencer Crew and James Sims, "Locating Authority," in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display,* ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 163.

40. Herbert Lang, "Report from the Congo Expedition," *The American Museum Journal* 11, no. 1 (January 1911): 48.

41. Lang, "Nomad Dwarfs," 699.

42. Lang, "Nomad Dwarfs," 703.

43. Lang, "Nomad Dwarfs," 707–8.

44. Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, "The Image of Objectivity," *Representations* 40 (fall 1992): 98–110.

45. Lang, "Nomad Dwarfs," 701.

46. Karl Pearson, "Introduction," *The Treasury of Human Inheritance* (London: Dulan, 1909), ix.

47. Dickerson, "In the Heart," 160.

48. Enid Schildkrout and Curtis A. Keim, *African Reflections: Art from Northeastern Zaire* (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1990), 125; hereafter Schildkrout and Keim, *African Reflections.*

49. Lang, "Explorer's View," 383.

50. Nesbit, *Seven Albums,* 133.

51. Schildkrout and Keim, *African Reflections,* 63.

52. Lang, "Explorer's View," 384.

53. Lang, "Nomad Dwarfs," 705.

54. Edmund D. Morel, *Great Britain and the Congo: The Pillage of the Congo Basin* (London: Smith, Elder, 1909), introduction.

55. Marguerite Roby, *My Adventures in the Congo* (London: Edward Arnold, 1911), 267.

56. Lang, "Explorer's View," 386.

57. Lang, "Explorer's View," 398.

58. Schildkrout, "Spectacle," 84.

59. Lang, "Explorer's View."

60. Bhabha, "Of Mimicry," 318.

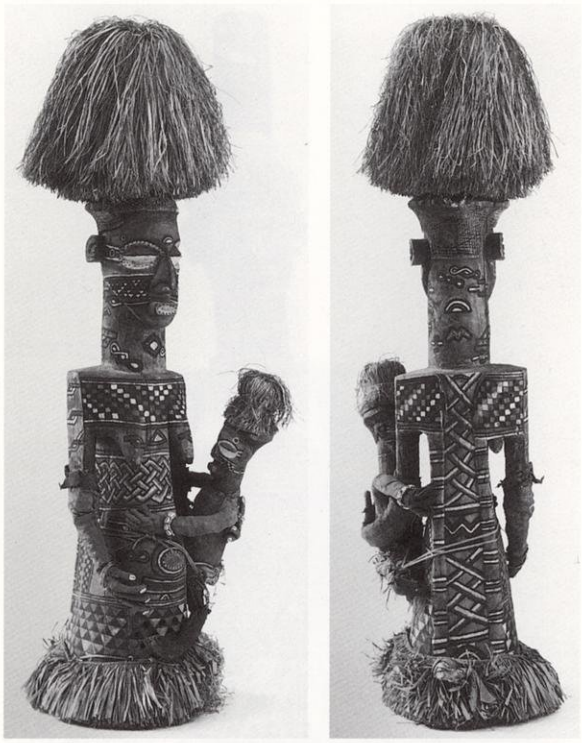
61. Bhaba, "Of Mimicry," 320.

62. A variant of this paper was published in Nicholas Mirzoeff, *Bodyscape: Art, Modernity and the Ideal Figure* (London: Routledge, 1995).

"Bounce the Baby": Masks, Fertility, and the Authority of Esoteric Knowledge in Northern Kete Initiation Rituals

Northern Kete masquerade figures fabricated during initiation rituals (*buadi*) display a body of characterizations which promote the dominant values of the institution. Initiation masks articulate and reinforce the role and status of the novices undergoing the rite vis-a-vis the uninitiated. Masks represent the power of secret knowledge and the authority of Kete elders.

Of all the various initiation masquerade figures fabricated for *buadi*, few are designated as female in gender.[1] Masks designated as female play a passive role during ritual performance as they are considered ancillary to more powerful masks designated as male. The one exception to this hierarchical ordering is the mask Kamakengu ka muana, which represents a maternity figure (figs. 1–3). The representation of maternity figures in African masquerade is not common, and Kamakengu ka muana is unlike other maternity representations such as Yoruba Gelede masks from Nigeria, which proclaim the fertile powers of women.[2] For the Kete, Kamakengu ka muana represents the generative powers of *buadi* itself which transforms the uninitiated (*mishindu*) into initiated adults (*bilombush*) in the same way it transforms some infertile women into mothers.



Figs. 1a & 1b. Kamakengu ka muana, 4771:06 (1.42 m H.), collected by Leo Frobenius in 1905 at Mwanika, Hamburgisches Museum für Volkerkunde.

The Southern Kuba Complex

Northern Kete peoples live in the southern Kuba region of south-central Zaire. The Northern Kete are not a homogenous grouping. Some Northern Kete together with Cwa (Pygmies) are the original inhabitants of the region, living in the area before the arrival of Kuba-affiliated groups, while others are late arrivals having migrated into the area only during the last one-hundred years.[3]

Another group of villages in the region are designated Bushoong *matoon*. *Matoon* villages are not principally composed of Bushoong peoples, but of peoples with varying ethnic backgrounds.[4] Clan sections in *matoon* villages often trace their ancestry to the Northern Kete. This common heritage with the Kete finds expression in a similar form of village organization, titleholding, and religious belief systems. It is also expressed in a similar form of men's initiation society and funeral ritual and their accompanying complex of masquerade figures.[5] One difference between the two initiation societies is that Northern Kete on occasion initiate women into the men's initiation society (*buadi*),[6] but women are never initiated in Southern Bushoong *matoon* villages. Because of this prohibition, the Kamakengu ka muana mask type is not carved or danced in those villages.

Northern Kete Masks and Men's Initiation

Initiation rituals for boys and young men (*buadi*) occur infrequently in the Northern Kete region—approximately once in each village every fifteen to twenty years. The rites are conducted away from the village in a forest camp and may take more than a month to complete. A critical feature of Kete thought concerning initiation rites is the distinction between village and forest domains. The Kete believe that a proper initiation can only take place in the forest.[7] Titleholding in Kete culture recognizes

Fig. 2. Kamakengu ka muana, Institut des Musées Nationaux du Zaire (71.275.49).

two distinct domains of authority: the village and the forest. A village headman (*shanshenge*) presides over village council meetings held in a public forum in the village, while the chief of the men's initiation society (*cimikaam*) presides over secret meetings held in the forest concerned with the enactment of initiation rites, masquerade performances, and related activities. Initiated men (*bilombush*, pl.; *kilombush*, sing.) believe that gathering in the forest to enact initiation rituals preserves the secret nature of the rite. The precise location of the camp is kept secret from the uninitiated including women living in the village.

The ascribed purpose of *buadi* is to transform the novices (*badi*) into full participating members of the adult community. To remain uninitiated (*mishindu*) is to be socially equated with women and children. *Buadi* has specific educative objectives in the socialization of young men as well. The structure of the rite and the acquisition of esoteric lore passed from senior to junior during *buadi* is believed to give the novices the skills necessary to achieve in the adult male sphere. While group cohesion is encouraged during *buadi*, some novices are given elevated titles comparable to those held by members of the village council. Novices with titles wield much the same power and authority within the initiation camp as their adult counterparts do in the village. Forest camp activities also include training in several craft traditions including weaving of raffia cloth and making mats. Various oral traditions are also taught in the camp. The elders present riddles, proverbs, and long recitations of esoteric lore that the *badi* are encouraged to memorize. Novices also acquire skills in the performing arts. During the seclusion period the *badi* learn special dances (*keke*) and songs. Novices also learn the techniques necessary to fabricate initiation costumes and masks and the characteristic movements, dances, and voices of each mask. These skills are considered secret, and at the conclusion of initiation, the *badi* recite an oath declaring they will not divulge the secrets disclosed to them during *buadi*.

When the costumes and masks are completed, the *badi* dressed in their distinctive raffia costumes are accompanied by the raffia mask Munyinga and several Kamakengu masks to the village to attend dances held in their honor.[8] The dances are called individual (*keke*) dances. During *keke*, the novices and the raffia mask Munyinga, which represents a warrior, dance singly or two by two across the village dance ground before such assembled spectators as parents, other relatives, and interested friends and neighbors.

Initiation masks appear on other occasions as well. A masked dancer (Munyinga) may enter the village to cajole and then demand food for the novices to assure the ongoing operation of the camp. Munyinga, who speaks in a rapid falsetto voice, also acts as a messenger to bring news of camp activities to the village.

The multiple versions of Kamakengu masks may be worn by any novice with the physical strength and the desire to dance the mask. The masked dancer enters the village during daylight hours to chase small boys and girls and taunt older girls and

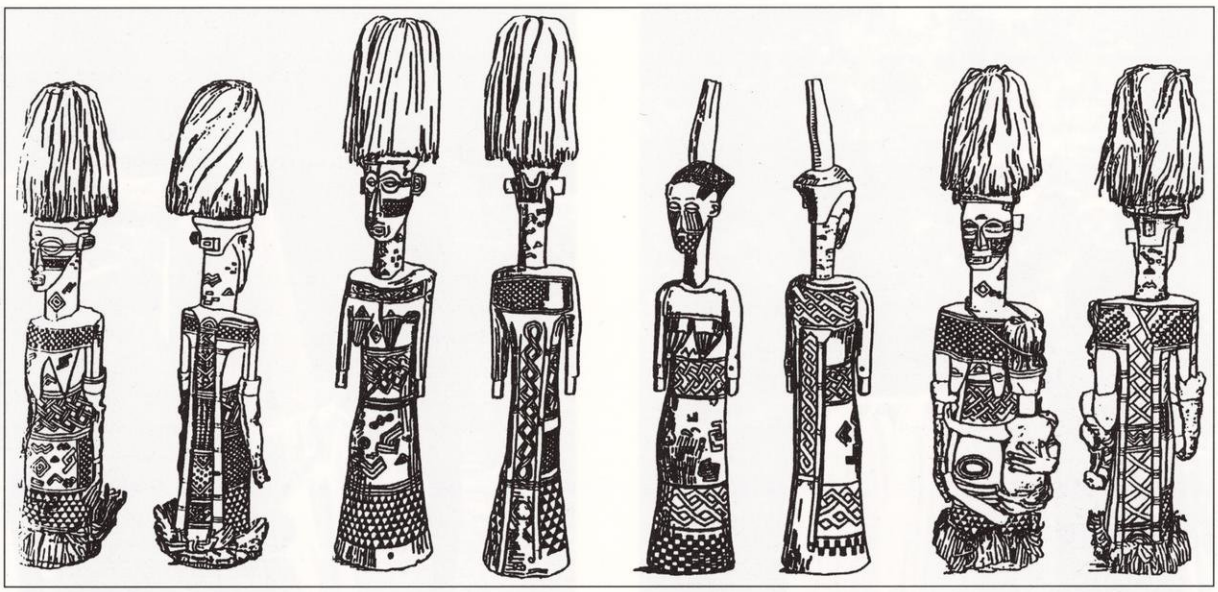


Fig. 3. Line drawings of the four Kamakengu ka muana masks collected by Leo Frobenius in 1905 at Mwanika. Courtesy Hamburgisches Museum für Volkerkunde (4768:06 (1.54 m H.); 4769:06 (1.67 m H.); 4770:06 (1.43 m H.); 4771:06 (1.42 m H.).

young women. However, the interaction between the novices and village residents is limited and often discouraged during *buadi.*[9]

Within days after an initiation camp is established in the forest, elders instruct the novices in the fabrication of several raffia masks. Raw materials are collected to fabricate the warrior mask Munyinga and multiple examples of the female mask Kamakengu.[10] Elders instruct the novices step-by-step throughout the fabrication process. The head of the Kamakengu mask is made from an old discarded basket or from tree bark rolled into a cone (compare figs. 4 & 5).[11] Another designation for both versions of this mask is Kamakengu *lukasa* which translates as Kamakengu "quickly made." In either version of Kamakengu, holes are pierced around the circumference of the basket or the bark cone. The split mid-ribs of palm fronds are carefully bent to follow the contour of the lower edge of the basket or cone and securely lashed in place. The long raffia leaflets are permitted to hang free to form the body of the mask. This process is repeated until the proper density for the mask's raffia body is achieved. Additional raffia palm fronds are also passed through a hole in the basket or cone head and firmly secured in place. When the mask is placed upright, the fronds naturally fall to form the head and to blend with the raffia body of the mask. Black pigment applied over a red or white ground color depicts the eyes, eyebrows, nose, and mouth of the mask (fig. 6).[12] Tear lines are also depicted just below the eyes of the mask. After the application of facial details, excess raffia is trimmed from around the face of the mask.[13] Several large forest leaves *(marua ma buadi)* are randomly placed on the lower body of Kamakengu before it is ready to perform. These leaves are distinctive symbols of *buadi.* The dancer also ties raffia fringes to his calves and ankles to obscure his legs and feet during vigorous movements. The dancer also wears a necklace onto which are attached whistles each made from a bent stick and a leaf.[14] The whistles make a high-pitched twittering sound considered the "voice" of the mask.[15]

Fig. 4. Elder instructing three novices in fabrication of Kamakengu mask (basket version) in forest camp. Photograph by David A. Binkley at Kambash, July 1981.

Fig. 5. Three novices fabricating Kamakengu mask (bark version) in forest camp. Photograph by David A. Binkley at Kambash, July 1981.

The Fabrication of Kamakengu ka muana

The production of raffia masks is associated with the early stages of rites of passage throughout central Africa. It is only at the conclusion of the rites that wooden masks seem to proliferate. In the Northern Kete region a variety of wooden masks are produced that then accompany the novices and the raffia masks for the dances celebrating the close of *buadi.* The number and type of masks produced depend on the expertise of initiation camp elders. Significant social prestige accrues to the elders and the novices who dance many masks at the close of *buadi.*

Wooden masks, like their raffia counterparts, form an ensemble of characterizations each with its distinctive form, performance style, and origin stories which support the expansive power of *buadi.* These include Kayeke—the Cwa (Pygmy) mask, Ngulungu—an antelope mask, Muadi nyoka—a snake mask, and the maternity mask Kamakengu ka muana. Kamakengu ka muana is a more embellished carved version of the basic Kamakengu mask type. The term Kamakengu ka muana means literally Kamakengu "with child" (figs.1–3).[16] The head and torso of the female figure is carved from a single piece of wood with a short vertical projection from the top of the figure's head. The figure's arms

Fig. 6. Kamakengu mask at Baka Tombe. Photograph by David A. Binkley at Kambash, July 1981.

are carved perpendicular to the torso but usually end abruptly at the elbows. The forearms and hands are fabricated from cloth stuffed with fiber and attached to the female figure at the elbows. The head of the child is carved and then attached to a body fabricated from cloth stuffed with fiber.[17] The figure of a child *(muana)* is then attached to the larger female figure. A mask collected by the German explorer and ethnographer Leo Frobenius (figs. 1 and 3) and an example in the collection of the Institut des Musées Nationaux in Kinshasa, Zaire (fig. 2) are two rare examples which still retain the figure of the child.

The finest examples of Kamakengu ka muana are the four masks Frobenius collected in the Kete village of Mwanika in 1905 which are now in the collection of the Hamburgisches Museum für Volkerkunde in Hamburg, Germany (figs. 1 and 3).[18] The female figures are beautifully carved and painted with alternating bands or zones of polychrome decoration. A decorative band of small triangles covers the lower portion of the face from under the eye to just above the mouth. A larger band of checkerboard pattern extends across the upper torso of the figure. An interlace pattern covers the figure at mid-torso just under the breasts. A decorative band composed of large triangles encircles the abdomen at the bottom of the mask. Another decorative band of various patterns extends vertically along the back of the figure from the shoulder line to the bottom of the mask.

Collectively, the decorative banding on the figures suggests a rich layering of textiles over the body of the figures. The checkerboard pattern, called "cloth of the leopard," and the triangular motifs commonly appear on the borders of men's skirts and on women's overskirts made from bark and raffia cloth. The interlace patterned band across the torso of the figure and vertically down the back of several figures relates stylistically to patterns found on women's skirts and on the border's of men's skirts. The vertical pattern down the back of one figure (see fig. 3) is further segmented into four separate patterned zones all of which refer to patterns found on embroidered women's textiles.[19]

Other decorative elements suggesting scarification patterns are interspersed between the decorative bands. These are placed on the forehead, neck, breasts, and abdomen of the female figure and contrast with the overall red background color in these areas. The abdominal scarification patterns are typical of those worn by women until recent times.[20] The complete Frobenius maternity mask is further decorated with other materials including cowrie shells that represent fingernails and a bracelet. Raffia tufts are also attached to the post-like cranial projections of the figures.

During performance, Kamakengu ka muana is worn on top of the head and shoulders as a helmet mask. Numerous holes pierced at the base of the figure in the hollow abdominal area allow the masked dancer to see. A short raffia fringe which represents an initiation skirt is attached to the lower edge of the figure. A longer raffia fringe is also attached to obscure the body of the dancer. The

Fig. 7. Munyinga mask dancing *keke* dance at Kambash. Photograph by David A. Binkley, July 1981.

addition of this raffia fringe stylistically relates this mask to the raffia Kamakengu masks.

Female Characterization in Northern Kete Masks

Throughout the southern savanna of central Africa, the jurisdiction under which initiation rituals and masquerade are conducted is based on the traditional authority vested in ancestral spirits. These belief patterns, whether expressed in the form of shrines dedicated to generalized ancestral spirits or the naming of novices and masks after particular ancestors who have recently died, are not shared by the Northern Kete. The Kete do not have a tradition of cults given over to the veneration of ancestors but ascribe other equally important powers to initiation rituals and to masks.[21] These include the power to inflict illness or infertility and equally the power to cure such maladies.

The verbal and visual artistic forms created during *buadi* express a ritual distancing of women and the uninitiated. The initiation camp is referred to as a cemetery and songs and other verbal utterances describe the novices as both dead and rotting. The vivid red masks invoke the appearance of corpses anointed with red camwood powder before burial. During initiation, the novices (*badi*) and the masks are also equated with poisonous snakes, forest birds, stinging red ants, dangerous monkeys, and antelope.

An even more powerful evocation of dangerous forest creatures is cited when the novices and the masks are referred to as nature spirits *(mungici).*[22] Northern Kete oral traditions place nature spirits at the establishment of *buadi.* Nature spirits also figure prominently in origin stories of several Kuba mask types. Many masks are regarded as literal portraits of the nature spirits encountered in the forest by the sculptors who first carved the masks.[23] It is important to note in this regard that nature spirits *(mungici)* are believed to be responsible for success during hunting and fishing and for human fertility and are also believed to be the source of a diviner's healing powers. Following the prohibitions or prescriptions of a diviner, infertile women can become pregnant through the mediating power of a diviner.[24]

The correlation between masks, death and decay, and nature spirits is observed in the prohibitions placed on the novices and the masked dancers. Any contact with the uninitiated is strictly forbidden. These prohibitions require that the novices remain chaste during *buadi.* The novices and masks are believed highly dangerous to women, especially women in their childbearing years. In large part contacts between the novices and village residents are prevented by the intervention of masks. Like raffia barriers which are placed over paths leading to the initiation camp, the masks emphatically separate the novices from women and the uninitiated.

The hierarchical ordering of masks and their performance styles during public dances also express both a spatial and a psychological distancing from the uninitiated.[25] Masks representing males dominate numerically during *buadi.* They perform at the very center of ritual activity. They are depicted as ferocious, angry, dangerous, chieflike, or warriorlike. By contrast, masks representing females appear weak and passive.[26] They are choreographed to a space at the periphery of important *buadi* activities. The separation between masks that represent men and those that represent women dramatically expresses the distance which separates men from women during much of the initiation cycle.[27] As discussed above, the *badi* and the masked figures are considered dangerous to women's health and fertility. A young women may become ill or infertile while an older woman may become sick and die.

During village dances, the masked dancers take precautions to make certain that women will not touch a mask or even a raffia leaflet which may have inadvertently fallen from a mask or the skirt worn by a novice. A primary reason for burning raffia costumes and masks together with the entire forest initiation camp at the conclusion of *buadi* is to protect its secrets, but this also protects women who may accidentally cross the area. If certain prohibitions are not observed, misfortune *(mukiya)* befalls these transgressors. This may result in stillbirths or infertility. *Mukiya* is a forceful reason young girls and women intentionally avoid contact with masked figures and never cross the dance arena when the *badi* and the masks perform.

Even with these precautions, on occasion *buadi* is believed to cause infertility. Two examples suggest the consequences and the remedies. A young woman from the Kete village of Kambash had prolonged difficulty with miscarriages and stillbirths. She consulted a diviner who ascertained that she had inadvertently touched and been harmed by *mashamba,* the raffia used in the construction of initiation dance skirts and raffia masks. The diviner counseled the woman to be initiated. Her only prerequisite was that she be pregnant for *buadi* to begin. Upon her next pregnancy, she entered a forest initiation camp with her husband. The conclusion of *buadi* coincided with the successful delivery of her child. She danced in Kambash with her newborn and several raffia masks. I met this mother and her son when he was initiated together with twenty-six other novices at Kambash in 1981. Even though her son was quite young, he was given the honorific title of elder (*mukulu wa badi*) because of his mother's status as an initiated person (*kilombush*).

In 1989, I met another woman living in the Kete village of Bamidima who had recurrent infertility problems until she also was initiated. At the conclusion of nine days in a forest camp she resided in an enclosure attached to her house until her child was born. She danced in Bamidima to celebrate the birth of her child. Commensurate with her new status as a *kilombush* she wore a raffia initiation skirt for a period of time after the birth of her child. As a tribute to the role *buadi* played in curing her infertility she also named her newborn daughter Kamakengu (fig. 8).

The mask Kamakengu ka muana represents an infertile woman who is made fertile through the initiation process. The mask is carved together with other wooden masks near the close of *buadi*. It performs on only one occasion, at the dance which concludes the rite. Unlike its raffia counterpart Kamakengu *lukasa,* it is not "quickly made" from a discarded basket or tree bark but requires significant expertise and labor to carve and decorate. Additional lavish decoration is placed on the body of the figure before it performs. This may include a beaded and shell laden headband, a belt, and one or more necklaces (fig. 9). Before the mask performs in the village a raffia necklace *(lundelemba)* may also be placed on the figure. This necklace, made from a single strand of raffia

Fig. 8. Initiated woman and her daughter named Kamakengu. Photograph by David A. Binkley at Bamidima, August 1989.

Fig. 9. Kamakengu ka muana and Munyinga masks. Photograph by Charles Ross, Jr. at Bena Mana, September 1968.

fiber worn around the neck, is the penultimate symbol of *buadi* membership (fig. 10). Kamakengu ka muana masks are not often decorated with facial tear lines even though tear lines appear on many raffia Kamakengu masks.[28] An informant reported that tear lines on raffia Kamakengu masks represent the sadness of barren women, and only through the *buadi* experience can an infertile woman be restored to fertility (figs. 6 and 11).

The celebratory performance style of Kamakengu ka muana is in marked contrast to the rather restrained performance style of the raffia Kamakengu mask[29] Kamakengu ka muana is not subordinate to other masks or weak and passive during its sojourn in the village when it appears at the head of the group of novices as they enter the village. The mask is accompanied by the raffia warrior mask Munyinga or more rarely by a wooden version of the warrior mask called Diyulu (fig. 10). The male mask in this ensemble represents the husband of Kamakengu ka muana. Because the figure of the child is loosely attached to the female figure, an animated jostling motion is created during performance which suggests the movements of a mother joyously dancing with her newborn. When the mask dances, family and friends yell *Selula muana! Selula muana!* "Bounce the baby! Bounce the baby!" The phrase "Bounce the baby!" acknowledges the spirited interaction between the assembled spectators and an accomplished masked dancer. The phrase also affirms the pride of the entire community when a mother dances through the streets celebrating the birth of her child. An infertile woman has through the fertile power of *buadi* successfully delivered a healthy child.

The appearance of Kamakengu ka muana suggests that a transformation in the novices has taken place as well. Family members and friends also celebrate the generative power of *buadi* to transform the novices from the infertile status of the uninitiated (*mishindu*) to the highly fertile status of the initiated (*bilombush*). It is not surprising that symbols of rebirth and fertility coalesce at the termination of *buadi*. In precolonial times initiation rituals most likely coincided with the time young men reached marriageable age.[30]

The appearance of male and female masks together at the conclusion of *buadi* does not suggest that men and women are equally responsible for fertility. Jan Vansina notes that the Bushoong who are neighbors of the Kete believe that men alone are responsible for conception.[31] This may also be true for the Kete. It coincides with the Kete conviction that *buadi* can control the fertility of women; inducing infertility in women who break *buadi* prohibitions while bestowing fertility to these same women who experience *buadi* themselves.[32] The prominent positioning of Kamakengu ka muana also does not suggest that gender polarization which is so much a part of *buadi* symbolism reaches catharsis at the conclusion of the rite.[33] The fertility associated with the initiated status relates only in part to subsequent marriage and childbirth. *Buadi* oral traditions are rife

Fig. 10. Kamakengu ka muana and Diyulu masks together with three Kamakengu masks and Munyinga in foreground. Photograph by Charles Ross, Jr. at Kalamba, July 1969.

with expressions which speak to the generative and fertile power of *buadi* to bestow upon the novices the necessary skills to succeed in adult life.[34] In Northern Kete culture as in Kuba culture in general success is ultimately tied to attaining titled position. Initiation elders firmly believe that *buadi* prepares young men for titleholding.

From the earliest stages of *buadi* signs and symbols set the novices apart from their counterparts in the village. These stages are associated with the use of uncultivated raffia palm fiber *(makadi)* and other materials appropriated from the forest to assemble initiation costumes and masks. These objects are created utilizing rather limited and straightforward knotting and tying techniques. The materials and skills associated with the forest realm are considered to be essential to articulating the *buadi* persona as untamed and wild. The stark contrast between the relatively simple construction of *buadi* costumes as compared with the beautifully constructed loomed textiles worn by adult initiated men is intensified because the silhouette created by both types of garments is almost identical in appearance.[35] In like manner, a comparison of the raffia Kamakengu mask mask to the wooden Kamakengu ka muana mask and other wooden masks which appear at the close of *buadi* vividly demonstrates the knowledge assimilated by the novices in the forest camp. Because *buadi* is separated by alternating periods of knowledge acquisition followed by the public demonstration of acquired skills during *keke* dances in the village, the entire ritual is characterized by the progressive display of increasing competence on the part of the novices.

Fig. 11. Kamakengu mask with tear lines on face. Photograph by David A. Binkley at Bamidima, August 1989.

La Fontaine has noted for rites of passage in general: "The polarity of male and female represents other opposed qualities with direct relevance to the organization of society."[36] The authority of esoteric knowledge establishes the "household and community as distinct categories" when the novices leave their homes in the village and enter the forest initiation camp.[37] Symbolic categories including male/female, forest/village, strength/weakness and fertile/infertile solidify these opposed domains. Northern Kete initiation masks image these oppositions as they display a body of characterizations which promote the dominant values of *buadi*. Masks articulate the role and status of the novices. They represent dramatic visual proof of the elders and the novices competence in the construction and performance of masks as the novices are officially incorporated into the wider sphere of adult male activity. Masks also represent the power of secret knowledge and the authority of Kete elders. The birth of a healthy child by a previously infertile woman confirms the power of *buadi* to cure infertility or perhaps more precisely to create fertility. The mask Kamakengu ka muana in a direct and powerful way proclaims for all to see the self-validating nature of the ritual.

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This paper is based on research undertaken among the Northern Kete and Southern Bushoong in the Western Kasai Region of the Republic of Zaire during 1981-1982 and for three months in 1989. I experienced *buadi* together with twenty-six novices at the Northern Kete village of Kambash during the dry season in 1981. I also interviewed novices during *buadi* at Kabao in 1981 and bilombush in other southern Kuba villages.

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Notes

1. The raffia mask Kamakengu *lukasa* and the wooden mask Kamakengu ka muana are the only initiation masks which represent females.

2. Henry John Drewal, "Gelede Masquerade: Imagery and Motif," *African Arts* 7, no. 4 (1974): 8–19, 62–63, 95; Margaret Thompson Drewal and Henry John Drewal, "Gelede Dance of the Western Yoruba," *African Arts* 8, no. 2 (1975): 36–45, 78. Female figures also appear on Yaka initiation masks. See Arthur P. Bourgeois, "Yaka Masks and Sexual Imagery," *African Arts* 15, no. 2 (1982): 47–50, 87.

3. This region is inhabited by several populations including Northern Kete, Bushoong, Pyaang, Bulungu, and Cwa. See Jan Vansina, *The Children of Woot: A History of the Kuba Peoples* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978),3–11; (hereafter Vansina, *Woot*) for discussion of various Kuba–related populations and their geographic distribution.

4. According to Kuba (Bushoong) oral tradition, the paramount ruler, Mboong aLeeng, who reigned in the latter half of the seventeenth century, is credited with the creation of the *matoon* village system. Certain villages were condemned to *matoon* status either because they were considered prisoners of war or because they were convicted of a crime. Once condemned, Bushoong *matoon* villages belonged to the paramount ruler or other members of the royal family perpetually. See Jan Vansina, *Le Royaume Kuba* (Tervuren, Belgium: Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1964), 95–96, hereafter Vansina, *Kuba*; Vansina, *Woot*, 139–40.

5. The similarities between these Northern Kete and Southern Bushoong are so striking, especially as it concerns initiation rites and mask-making, that the term "Southern Kuba" has been adopted. See David A. Binkley, "Avatar of Power: Southern Kuba Masquerade Figures in a Funerary Context," *Africa* 57, no. 1 (1987):75–77, hereafter Binkley "Avatar of Power"; David A. Binkley, "A View from the Forest: The Power of Southern Kuba Initiation Masks," 4–38, 143–45. Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, hereafter Binkley, "View from the Forest"; and David A. Binkley, "Masks, Space and Gender in Southern Kuba Initiation Ritual," *Iowa Studies in African Art* 3 (1990): 158–59, hereafter Binkley, "Masks, Space and Gender." For a discussion of Southern Kuba initiation practices see Binkley, "View from the Forest," Binkley,"Masks, Space and Gender." See also Emil Torday and T. A. Joyce, *Notes éthnographiques sur les peuples communément appelés Bakuba, ainsi que sur les peuplades apparentées: Les Bushongo, MRAC* (Tervuren, Belgium: Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1910), 81–86; Emil Torday, *On the Trail of the Bushongo* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1925), 185–91; and Jan Vansina, "Initiation rituals of the Bushong," *Africa* 25 (1955), 138–53, for discussions of initiation at the capital and in Southern Bushoong *matoon* villages.

6. Northern Kete women who are initiated cannot participate in female initiation rituals (*luambu*) or in any of its activities.

7. The term *buadi* means secret. The requirement to conduct rites of passage in the forest is a fundamental difference between Northern Kete initiation rites and the form of initiation held in other Kuba areas.

8. Multiple examples of Kamakengu are created for initiation. Three examples were made for initiation at Kambash and five examples were produced for initiation at Kabao in 1981.

9. Binkley, "Masks, Space and Gender," 160–62.

10. See Binkley, " View from the Forest," 99–101, for a discussion of the fabrication of the warrior mask Munyinga.

11. The basket version of the Kamakengu mask is alternately called Kamakengu kibonda and the bark version is called Kamakengu manyanga.

12. Other techniques are also employed to represent the face of Kamakengu. A small rectangle of wood with painted facial details representing eyes, eyebrows, nose and mouth may be attached directly to the basket head to represent the face. Alternately, cloth cut into the shape of facial details may be affixed directly to the basketry surface.

13. On some Kamakengu masks, short branches of green leaves (*mawawayi)* are attached horizontally on the back of the mask at shoulder level.

14. The construction of the whistle from bent wood and a leaf is a *buadi* secret.

15. The first sounds novices hear when they enter the initiation camp under cover of darkness are these whistles accompanied by bullroarers.

16. The mask is also called Kamakengu ka mutshi (of sticks) or Kamakengu ka mbumbu (of termites). Both of these designations refer to the fact that this form of Kamakengu is made of wood rather than raffia fiber.

17. The figure of the child may also be made entirely of wood.

18. Four masks were collected by Frobenius in the Northern Kete village of Moanika. Fieldnotes which accompany two of the masks suggest the village of Bulangu may be a possible origin. Bulangu is a village in the Northern Kete region whose initiation ritual is based on the Kete type. See Leo Frobenius, *Ethnographische Notizen aus den Jahren 1905 und 1906. II: Kuba, Leele, Nord-Kete.* Comp. and ed. Hildegard Klein (Stuttegart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH, 1987), 136–37, 210–11 for illustrations of the four masks. See *Hamburgisches Museum für Volkerkunde: Fuhrer durch die Sammlungen* (Munich: Prestel, 1984), 35 for color illustration of complete mask with figure of infant.

19. Patricia Darish, personal communication, 1993.

20. Many older women displayed scarification patterns in the 1980s although this form of body decoration has not been adopted by younger women.

21. Instead the Kuba and many Kete believe that after a generation or two deceased individuals are reborn as the cycle of life repeats itself.

22. *Mungici* is the term in Cikete. *Ngesh* is the term for nature spirit in Bushoong.

23. Binkley, "Avatar of Power," 81–82; "View from the Forest,"67–72; and "Masks, Space and Gender," 161–62.

24. See Vansina, *Woot*, 200–3 and Jan Vansina, "Les Croyances religieuses des Kuba," *Zaire* 12 (1958): 736–37. This information relates to Kuba belief in nature spiritis. Vansina states that the Kuba borrowed the practice of nature spirit veneration from the Kete when they moved into their territory. A thorough study of Northern Kete belief patterns relating to nature spirits, divination, and healing practices may answer questions relating to the manifestation of these beliefs during *buadi*.

25. See also Binkley, "Avatar of Power," 83–84, and "View from the Forest," 79–88, for a further discussion of the hierarchal ordering of masks.

26. Max Gluckman, "The Role of the Sexes in Wiko Circumcision Ceremonies" in *Social Structure: Studies Presented to A. R. Radcliffe-Brown*, ed. Meyer Fortes (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949), 164, notes that female masquerade figures are never functionaries in the initiation lodge.

27. Similar attitudes are also expressed by the numerous *buadi* songs, proverbs and riddles; see Binkley, "View from the Forest," 79.

28. Tear lines are found on most Kuba masks. During initiation rituals they often symbolize the pain and suffering endured during the rite while during funeral rituals they represent sadness at the loss of a member of the initiation society.

29. It is also in contrast to "the iconic formalism" of most other African maternity figures. Herbert Cole in *Icons: Ideals and Power in the Art of Africa* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), 87, describes them as conveying "a sense of emotional distance and aloofness of mother and child."

30. Vansina, *Woot*, 180–81, states this is the case for initiation in Bushoong *matoon* villages in the late nineteenth century, and I suspect it is true for the Northern Kete as well. Currently *buadi* occurs approximately every fifteen years. Novices may range in age from ten to twelve to almost thirty years or even older.

31. Jan Vansina, "La Famille nucléaire chez les Bushoong," *Africa* 28, no. 2 (1958): 100.

32. The Northern Kete are not unique in ascribing extraordinary powers to rites of passage. Kenneth Little notes that "Women who suffer from barrenness may be initiated (into Poro) as a means of obtaining a cure. Barrenness is regarded as the result of some infringement of Poro rules." (*The Mende of Sierra Leone* rev. ed. New York: The Humanities Press, 1967, 245). See also Daniel P. Biebuyck, "Nyanga Circumcision Masks and Costumes," *African Arts* 6, no. 2 (1973), 22, and Arthur P. Bourgeois, "Nkanda Related Sculpture of the Yaka and Suku of Southwestern Zaire." Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1979, 56, for comparison. More fieldwork is needed relating to Northern Kete concepts of fertility as well as the psychological states of women during pregnancy and childbirth.

33. See Binkley, "Masks, Space and Gender," 167–68, for additional discussion on this point.

34. Binkley, "View from the Forest," 105–15.

35. See Binkley, "View from the Forest," 180–84; Patricia J. Darish, "Dressing for Success: Ritual Occasions and Ceremonial Raffia Dress among the Kuba of South-central Zaire," *Iowa Studies in African Art 3*, (1990): 179–91.

36. Jean La Fontaine, *Initiation, Ritual Drama and Secret Knowledge Across the World* (London: Penguin Books, 1985), 137; hereafter La Fontaine, *Initiation*.

37. La Fontaine asserts this for rites of passage in general in *Initiation*, 137–38.

"This Is Our Wealth": Towards an Understanding of a Shoowa Textile Aesthetic

The cut-pile and embroidered raffia textiles produced by Shoowa women are renowned for the variety and visual complexity of their two-dimensional geometric design. Published descriptions characterize the ascribed asymmetrical compositions and irregularity of forms and motifs found on these panels as deliberate Shoowa design choices. Field research suggests that Shoowa aesthetic preferences can best be defined and understood by studying the *process* of textile fabrication rather than solely studying the completed textile.[1] In this paper I examine the nature of Shoowa women's methods of textile fabrication including the parameters of innovation and the concepts of aesthetic criteria as expressed by Shoowa women. I present western aesthetic preferences in relation to Shoowa textiles as well as a critique of recent western scholarship which characterizes two-dimensional African design, including Shoowa textile design, by evoking musical metaphors. The paper also considers possible western influences on recent Kuba textile fabrication and concludes with the question: Are the Kuba currently making textiles that fulfill western design preferences rather than their own?

The Setting

The name Kuba identifies a consolidation of approximately seventeen ethnic groups that organized into a kingdom as early as the seventeenth century. Kuba is a name given to these peoples by their neighbors and later adopted by outsiders including Europeans and Americans. Collectively, the Kuba are sedentary agriculturists who live in the western Kasai region of south-central Zaire.[2] The historical Kuba kingdom corresponds roughly to the present-day administrative zone of Mweka, which is bounded on the north by the Sankuru River and on the west and southwest by the Kasai and Lulua rivers respectively.

The Kuba have been subdivided into ethnic groupings according to shared cultural, linguistic, and historical traits.[3] The central Kuba grouping includes the Bushoong, the Ngeende, the Pyaang, and the Bulaang; they constitute more than 75 percent of the total population of the Kuba kingdom. All share a single tradition of migration into their present area and speak a variant of the Bushoong language. The Bushoong, who dominate the kingdom politically, are the most numerous.[4] The peripheral Kuba grouping includes the Shoowa, the Ngongo, and the Kel among others. Although today they share social and cultural institutions with the central Kuba, their languages and traditions of migration are different. The Shoowa language is distinct from those of the other peripheral Kuba groups. The Shoowa live in the northwestern area of the Kuba kingdom, east of the confluence of the Kasai and Sankuru rivers in south-central Zaire. Along the Sankuru and other river courses, fishing competes with agriculture as the primary occupation. In 1981, the Shoowa were organized into eight chiefdoms consolidated into fourteen villages. I conducted field research in twelve Shoowa villages during 1981 and 1982, concentrating primarily on raffia textile creation and use patterns.

Like other Kuba groups, Shoowa women and men create decorated textiles from plain-woven raffia cloth embellished with a variety of decorative techniques, including embroidery, appliqué, patchwork, and tie-dyeing. The types of textiles are similar to those created by other central and peripheral Kuba groups, although the styles are distinctive.

Cut-pile and embroidered textiles or design panels are characteristic of Shoowa production. In travel accounts and ethnographic and art-historical literature, Shoowa design panels are known by various names, such as embroidered cut-pile, velvets, plush cloths, and "velours du Kasai." These designations refer to the distinctively decorated surface, a combination of flat stitching and cut-pile executed in combinations of alternating light and dark colors of raffia thread forming geometric patterns. The Shoowa call these textiles *buiin* or "design" cloth (s. *buiin*, pl. *winu*) (fig. 1).

Typically, one unit of plain-woven raffia cloth (measuring approximately 23 x 26 in.) forms the foundation for a field of design, formed by multiple design repeats. To Shoowa women, a design repeat is represented by the configuration of the embroidered lines. Each textile builds a field of design from a repetition of these angular and geometric design repeats: in the words of one Shoowa embroiderer, "the lines give the name to the design."[5]

The two-dimensional geometric patterns exploited on Shoowa cut-pile and embroidered cloth are not limited to Shoowa consumption nor to their exclusive use on textiles. Rather, they are

Fig. 1. An example of a Shoowa *buiin*. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri (Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Morton I. Sosland), F91-44.

drawn from a body of designs historical to two-dimensional surface design in the Kuba region. These designs are shared by both genders and other Kuba groups and are incorporated into the entire arena of Kuba visual arts, including woodcarving, carved wooden and plaited architectural decoration, knotted raffia mats, and pottery.[6]

For the creation of Shoowa *winu*, all surface decoration and embroidery is completed by women. As source and inspiration, each woman works from a repertoire of design motifs—motifs that she has learned to produce through observation and practice—especially designs that she has learned from other women decorating textiles. Therefore, the transmission of designs changes from one generation to another; women teach other women and women teach younger generations of women. Since Shoowa textiles are primarily used as grave goods, rarely are older textiles from previous generations available for study. While in some instances older textiles are preserved in the lineage stores and women do have the opportunity to study them, these are isolated cases.[7]

While it has been suggested that there may be close to two-hundred distinct Kuba patterns, in fact women know only a fraction of these patterns and have technical competence with far fewer designs.[8] Most embroiderers questioned about their own design repertoire could list ten, fifteen, or at the most twenty designs that they knew, fewer that they had actually sewn.[9] Knowledge of and the popularity of specific designs evolve and change slightly from one generation to the next. A design repetoire is more correctly understood in terms of generations, because examples from previous generations were interred and are not available for study. Therefore, certain designs may disappear within a couple of generations.

The Creative Process

This study attempts to understand the creative process, including conceptualization and fabrication, from the perspective of the Shoowa women who make these design panels (*winu*). The descriptions and summaries are based upon my experiences living in twelve Shoowa villages from October 1981 through March of 1982: observing, documenting, and learning the techniques of Shoowa embroidery first-hand. In several Shoowa villages I was encouraged to learn the techniques of sewing *winu* myself. In this way, I grew to understand intimately how textile fabrication relates to daily life and work activity and within the creative process itself how technical and aesthetic decisions are made and how these decisions affect the completed textile.

Sewing textiles, a part-time activity, takes place after women return from their forest fields in the late afternoon or on Fridays and Sundays, when they do not work all day in the fields. Women have leisure time only when not occupied with cultivating fields (manioc, corn, peanuts), carrying water, gathering firewood, pounding flour, or preparing meals. Short periods of time spent embroidering alternates with the long-term demands of daily household, family, and farming duties.

To prepare the fabric for embroidery, the selvageless, four unfinished sides of a unit of plain woven raffia cloth are trimmed, folded under, and hemmed. At this stage, the fabric may be dyed red, orange-red, or yellow before the embroidery is added. This background color may serve as a component of the field of the embroidered design, but in most examples the embroidery and the cut-pile

stitching completely cover the surface of the cloth except for the narrow hemmed edge.

Shoowa women initiate *winu* patterns similarly regardless of which pattern is preconceived. This critical step in the working process has not been described elsewhere. First, to begin the embroidery along one edge, a short line of stem-stitching is sewn at a 45-degree angle to the hemmed edge of the textile. From the opposite direction along the same edge, another short line is stitched so that the two lines meet to form the apex of a triangle. Several of these triangular configurations are sewn at precise intervals along the same edge of the textile. These shapes are called the *ishiina a buiin* or the "starting points" or "base" of the design.[10] When these shapes are filled in with cut-pile stitching, these "bases" or "starting points" provide the points of reference for the dominant lines of the design across the surface of the textile. The majority of Shoowa *winu* originate with starting points (fig. 2).

After the starting points are established, embroiderers complete the overall field of the design in several ways. Some of the choices in working method account for the variations in design motifs and a so-called asymmetry which is so often lauded by outsiders as characteristic of Shoowa textile design. For example, some women initially stitch the entire field of the design repeats across the surface of the textile in terms of the embroidered lines of stem-stitching and then return to the beginning edge and complete the design with the cut-pile stitching. Other women progress across the surface gradually, first stitching the dominant lines of the design partially across the blank field and then completing and filling those areas with the cut-pile (fig. 3).

Another critical step which has not been described elsewhere also occurs in the working method. The starting edge of each *winu* in progress is basted to another section of coarsely woven raffia cloth. As the embroidery progresses across the surface, the completed section of the cloth is folded, rolled, and basted to this cover cloth to keep the completed portion of the work protected and clean while being worked and between embroidery sessions. The next occasion that a woman has a free moment to embroider, (which may occur from several days to a week or more later) she continues the embroidery from the exposed section of the textile. The embroiderer *does not* refer to or look back at the completed section as the work progresses. Given that the only visible section is the portion she is currently working on, the shape and size of the design repeat and the completion of the cut-pile designs may drift or vary as the embroidery progresses. In some examples, this very detail of the working method accounts for how the predominant lines of a Shoowa design evolve or change into another design motif as the embroidery is completed. This is not to slight the nuances of the creative process or the decisions made by the artist which rely upon a complicated coordination of eye, hand, brain, memory, and the perceptual process, but it does help account for design variations across the surface of the textile.

Fig. 2. Sewing the starting points of a *buiin*. Ikoko, 1981. Photo by Patricia J. Darish.

Fig. 3. *Buiin* in progress, Ishele, 1981. Photo by Patricia J. Darish.

Moreover, social relationships as they relate to the fabrication of *winu* can dramatically modify or alter the dominant design. Collaboration between women is often of great consequence; I documented examples in which a daughter, sister, or friend helped embroider the same textile, and the completed textile attests to this collaboration. In some examples, the conspicuous variations and shifts of pattern can be attributed to this sharing of the creative process. Every area of the textile may not be completed the same way; the quality of the stitching may vary, the colors of the thread may change and even shifts of pattern may occur. Thus, a so-called asymmetry or irregularity can also be ascribed to the working methods of the individual or the group of individuals who are working on a single textile (fig. 4).

Shoowa Criteria

But how does one account for that seductive character, the pleasing visual play of color, and of imaginative figure–ground relationships that so typify these Shoowa textiles? Consider the work and comments of one master Shoowa embroiderer, Mboyo, of the Shoowa village of Ishele. During my apprenticeship with Mboyo, conversations with her revealed how she intended to complete a work in progress, a

Fig. 4. A *buiin (lobandi likosho)* completed by several individuals, Maloong, 1981. Photo by Patricia J. Darish.

design known as *oyela ntshatsha* or "tail of lightning" (fig. 5). Although the stitched lines of the predominant design motif remained more or less the same size, she planned to vary two other components of the design as she worked across the surface. One of her goals was to incorporate as many different designs as possible within the main lines of the design known to Shoowa as the "bellies of the design." She planned to introduce different designs from row to row of the "tails of lightning" and, in her words, show off her knowledge and skill at reproducing them. In her example, Mboyo has outlined with stem-stitching the lozenge-shape design known as *luphondia* between the first row of the design (along the bottom of the photo). Between the first and the next row, the spaces between the "tails" are completed with a pattern known as *mongo.*

Another goal Mboyo described was to vary the form, pattern, and color of the cut-pile within the bellies of the design. For Shoowa women, the bellies of the design provide a critical opportunity to add variation and complexity to the overall field. The elaboration of detail through both linear designs and contrasting colors activates the figure-ground

Fig. 5. Mboyo's *buiin* in progress *oyela ntshatsha* ("tail of lightning"), Ishele, 1981. Photo by Patricia J. Darish.

relationship in such a fashion that in some textiles the predominant stem-stitched lines of the design are visually subordinated to these contrasting cut-pile patterns known as *tunjoko.*

Mboyo disclosed that she judged the quality of a finished textile in part by the skill and finesse of the execution of the *tunjoko* employed in the bellies of the design. According to her and to many embroiderers I worked with, the variation and complexity in the bellies of the design distinguishes truly excellent *winu* from average ones and reflects the ultimate skill of the person who embroiders it. Mboyo's example demonstrates that Shoowa women read the field of the design on several levels: the dyed background, the primary or named design of the embroidered lines, the subsidiary field within or between the lines of the design, and the capacity for color and shape variation with the *tunjoko.*

Another method of varying the overall visual effect of the design panels or *winu* was the choice of thread colors. During the research period, I noted an interest in using colors which differed from the color choices of undyed, yellow, red, and black to sewing examples using rusty-orange as the dominant contrasting color. There were also some examples using green and purple in small areas of the textile design.

While Mboyo's aesthetic criteria represent just one Shoowa woman's interpretation of the *winu* tradition, many of her remarks were corroborated during the following months of research. This interest in combining a variety of form and color within the boundaries of conventional Kuba design vocabulary is characteristically Shoowa in conception; it represents the fundamental Shoowa contribution to Kuba textile design. During interviews with a number of

Shoowa embroiderers, I repeatedly found that Shoowa women were not concerned with inventing new designs. In the twelve Shoowa villages in which I studied textile fabrication, I did not meet a single woman who would say that she had invented or created a new design. Shoowa women express innovation or invention by their giving individual interpretations to known conventional designs.

During research with Shoowa women, I was interested in following up the suggestion that Shoowa textile styles may be limited by village or influenced by marriage and residence patterns.[11] I found that Shoowa women were executing the same designs and similar styles in all of the Shoowa villages. The corpus of designs was not restricted to lineages, villages, or residence patterns. Women embroidered from a shared body of designs which was fairly constant throughout all of the Shoowa villages visited. For example, the *winu* shown in figures 6 and 7 are renditions of the same pattern, *mishuku* ("rope") by two artists. The examples clearly demonstrate different interpretations of the same design as evidenced by the different approaches to the bellies of the design, to the *tunjoko* and to the color palette chosen. My research suggests that instead of regional or village-based stylistic differences, *generational* differences can be discerned, wherein certain designs, combinations of designs, and color preferences appear.

Mboyo's aesthetic criteria always included qualitative remarks; from her perspective the skill of the embroiderer as evidenced by the quality of the embroidery could not be separated from the final overall assessment of the completed textile. During the following months, I continued my apprenticeship with other women and began to ask more probing questions concerning the aesthetic and qualitative criteria that Shoowa women use in judging *winu*. In short, according to Shoowa women, what makes a successful *buiin*?

Initially, I found it difficult to elicit any aesthetic or qualitative responses about textiles from Shoowa women in public or even in private conversations when more than one woman was present. I soon understood that it was not considered proper to discuss or critique one's own or another community member's embroidery.[12] I then designed another method in order to elicit critical comments about *winu*. I purchased six textiles that I considered were of varying quality based upon my experiences of working with Shoowa embroiderers. Some were purchased from a trader in the region who had

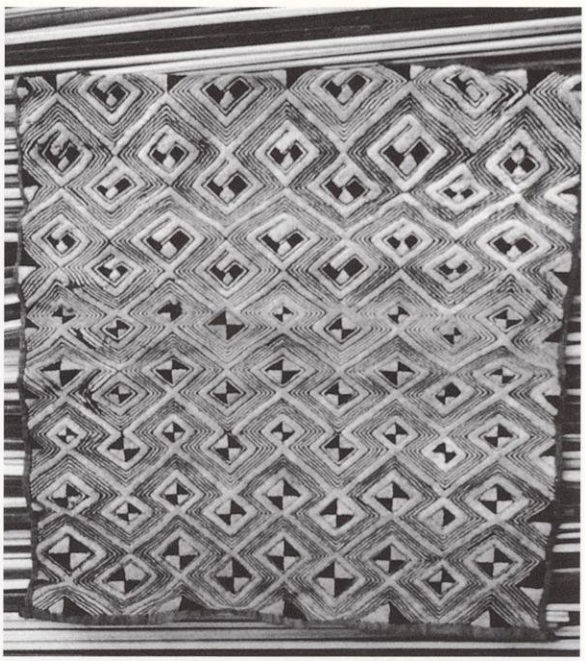

Fig. 6. An example of a completed *buiin, mishuku* ("rope"), Ishele, 1981. Photo by Patricia J. Darish.

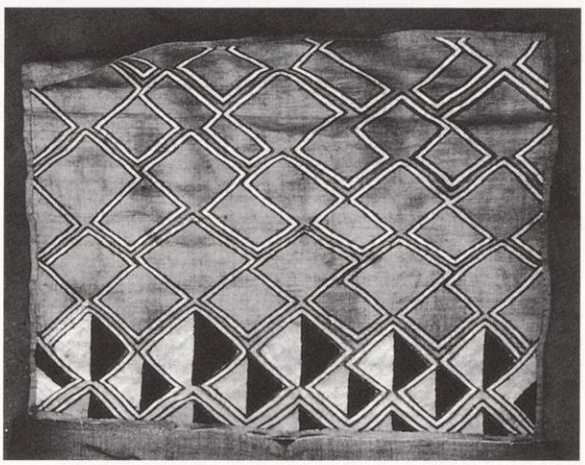

Fig. 7. An example of the design *mishuku* ("rope") in progress, Maloong, 1981. Photo by Patricia J. Darish.

acquired Shoowa textiles for export and others from another trader in Kinshasa. Returning with them to Shoowa villages, I began a series of private interviews telling each woman how the textiles had been obtained. The interviewed women considered the textiles to be anonymous and therefore felt much freer to critique the textiles. The women interviewed ranged in age from young adulthood to middle-age. They were all accomplished embroiderers and were both articulate about textile fabrication and confident about their own work.

During the interviews, the women were asked to examine six *winu*. Discussions focused on their textile preferences: which one was their first choice and why? What did they admire about each example? Which examples were least favored and why? A clear consensus arose in these interviews as to the ranking of the six textiles. This unanimity was based primarily on criteria of skill and competence in technical execution. Regardless of how often I directed the discussion toward design relationships within an overall field, the technical competence of the finished piece was of paramount importance in the view of each informant. For example, the women applauded the textile graded as the best example (fig. 8) for the following reasons: (1) the even size and regular repetition of the field of the design repeats; (2) the straightness and finesse of the sewn lines (which are also dependent upon the evenness of the underlying structure of the fabric); (3) the even, thick, dense quality of the cut-pile stitching (which is difficult for beginners to achieve). The example rated second was praised for the very same reasons (fig. 9). Overall, the qualitative properties of the examples emerged repeatedly in discussions with the informants; in short, if one

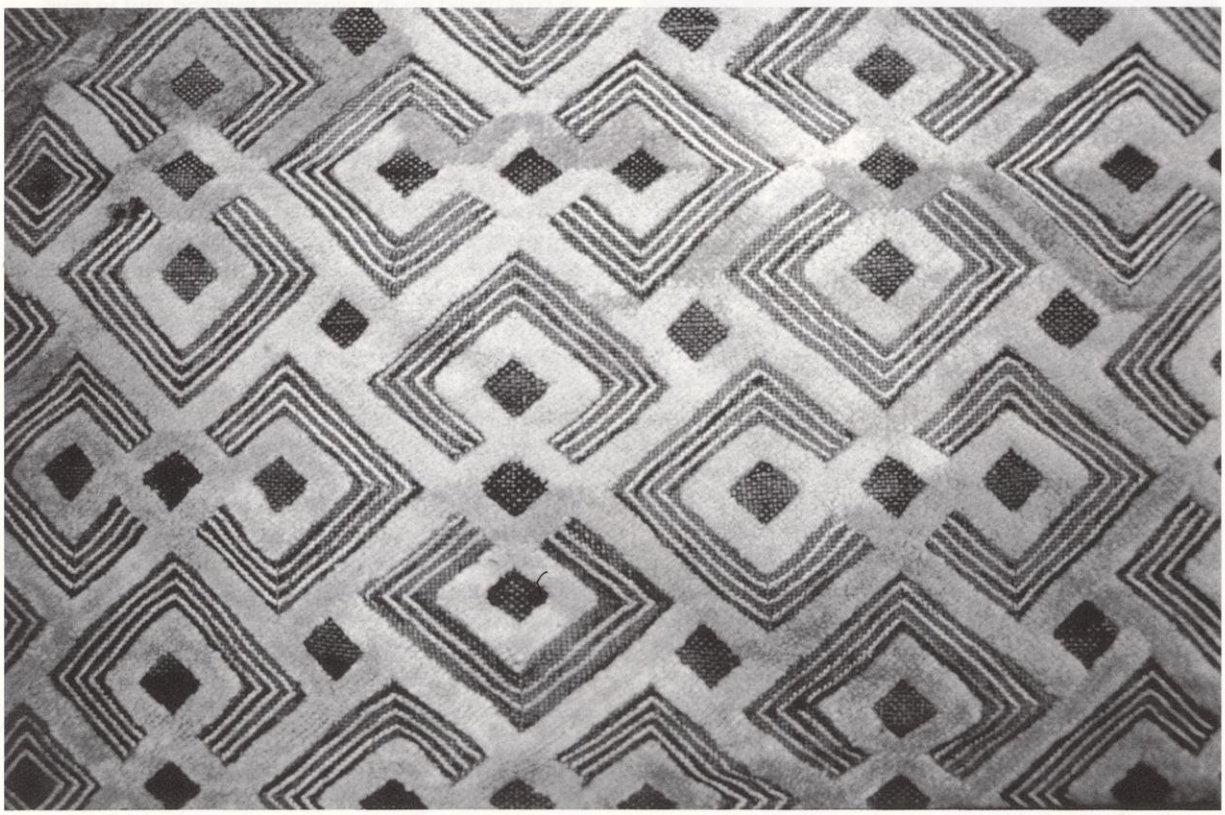

Fig. 8. An example of the *buiin* design known as *ingalo* (detail). Photo by Patricia J. Darish.

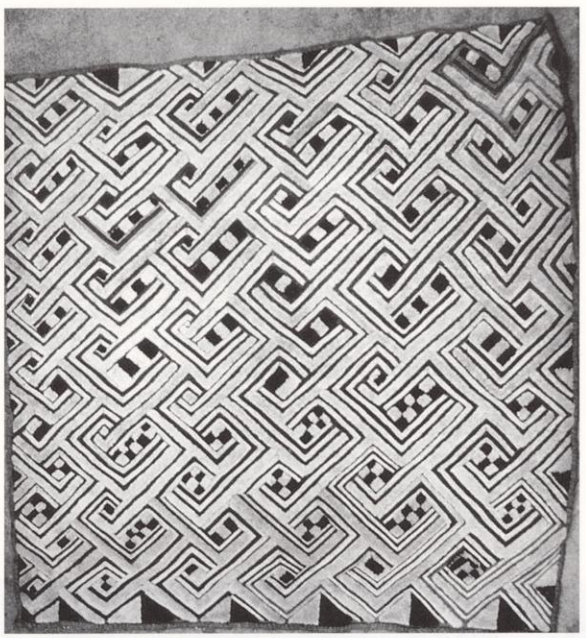

Fig. 9. An example of the *buiin* known as *dikata nkange.* Photo by Patricia J. Darish.

doesn't have technical mastery, then one doesn't have a praiseworthy example.

Reading Kuba Textiles

> Art is at once surface and symbol. Those who go beneath the surface do so at their own peril.
>
> — *Oscar Wilde* [13]

In the early twentieth century, Kuba textiles were often literally relegated to the background in published photographs and in museum displays as Kuba wood-carving traditions were emphasized. However, since the late 1970s Kuba textile arts have moved preeminently to a foreground of importance and have been literally unrolled and spread across the walls of galleries and museums and the pages of popular and scholarly publications. Scholarly discussion of Kuba textiles has directly related to these western forms of textile presentation. Kuba textiles are often discussed and analyzed as pure, flat, edge-to-edge design fields in a way that completely ignores the context of their creation and use patterns and creates a rarified atmosphere for aesthetic speculation. In addition, some scholars have related many African textile traditions, including Kuba textiles, to African music and American jazz. For example, in *African Art in Motion* Robert F. Thompson describes the character of strip-woven textiles from Burkina Faso as ". . . vibrant suspensions of expected placement of the pattern" and "staggered motifs on certain chiefly cloths [which] can be profitably compared with off-beat phrasing in music, dance, and decorative sculpture." He follows by evoking musical metaphors such as "on beat" and "off beat" in describing their compositions.[14] In another instance, Monni Adams also evokes musical metaphors in discussing Yoruba cloth which displays irregular elements occurring within "severely regular structures" as "silent beats."[15]

I have demonstrated above that the ascribed asymmetry or variation in Shoowa textile design is in part based on the working method and in part based on an interest by Shoowa women in creating variety and visual interest within the restraints of an overall rigid design arrangement. For most of Kuba surface design expressed in textile production and wood-carving traditions, the overriding aesthetic is one of uniformity and evenness across the surface. The two-dimensional designs of Kuba (including Shoowa) men's textiles and woodcarving production are geometric and evenly repetitive. But within Kuba textile decoration, the surface designs do not always conform to the right-angled crossings of the warp and weft structure of the foundation cloth. It is principally in the domain of women's textiles such as Shoowa *winu* and some styles of women's skirts that any variation or asymmetry in design exists.

Is a different aesthetic operative for Kuba women's textiles? Is this perceived irregularity or asymmetry in visual terms analogous to music as many writers have suggested? Would a musical analogy to Kuba textile arts be supported by the Kuba? Any such visual to musical correspondence should probably appear in other examples of design such as Kuba men's textiles or in wood carving, but it doesn't! One must remember that Kuba women do not perform drums, mbira, harps, or xylophones, but Kuba men do. Are the so-called visual asymmetries related to dance? Kuba women's dance movements are marked by a control, self-containment, and repetition that is in contrast to the exuberance

of Kuba men's dances. The critical difference between musical compositions and the visual arts is that no matter what the analogy, music has in its very nature a dimension that cannot be captured in a static and visual form—music, and its components such as rhythm, occurs over time.[16]

The art critic Adam Gopnik's review of the Jean-Michel Basquiat exhibition which appeared at the Whitney Museum in 1992 argues the same for contemporary western art.[17] Gopnik writes that throughout the Basquiat catalogue essays, endless comparisons are made between Basquiat's paintings and American jazz.[18] For example, because Basquiat once played in a "noise band" this gave him an "understanding of the heterogenous open-endedness, often furious tempo and edgy urban cadences" of jazz performed by Charlie Parker and other such luminaries. [19] And this musical dimension is supposed to help explain the frenzied nature and academic eclecticism of Basquiat's art.

Gopnik also cites contributing author to the catalogue Greg Tate, who describes the "cargo cult" aspect of western painting traditions "in which simple enumeration of a concern of the dropping of a name (á la Charlie Parker) is supposed to summon up magically the spirit of a fully realized art."[20] I believe Gopnik and Tate are correct; evoking comparisons between art and music has a greater power of suggestion than of elucidation! In the Kuba case of textiles, comparisons are both teasing and at first satisfying, but they are ultimately misleading because they do not emerge from a Shoowa or a Kuba point of view.

One other fundamental problem with the supposed visual-musical nexus is that Kuba textile examples are often exhibited in a manner which ignores the inherent nature of the textiles themselves. After being cleaned, blocked, and sometimes mended, the textiles are displayed stretched out flat and mounted on the walls of galleries and museums in Europe and America, and as such they are immediately transformed from a soft, pliable textile into a flat, hard, two-dimensional design surface.[21] In this way, the textiles are scrutinized as if they were easel paintings completed by Shoowa women. But to the Shoowa and to the greater Kuba, textiles are never seen as flat, two-dimensional patterning which evokes so-called regularity or irregularity—in fact they may never be read as irregular or as asymmetrical because like Chinese scroll paintings they are rarely if ever seen in their entirety as we view them in a gallery or reproduced in glossy photographs.[22] This is a vantage point created in the West for western audiences and for which they were never originally intended. This is often a dilemma in displaying textiles—the paradox of exhibiting the sculptural or three-dimensional entity of cloth as a flat, disconnected object. This appears impossible to avoid within western aesthetics of display. Unfortunately, this has become not only the norm but also the lens which has dictated how we perceive them and discuss them. But to a Kuba public, textiles are wrapped around or placed over a body and any analysis of the overall design must be discussed in relation to its intended purpose. Conclusions about Shoowa and Kuba design must emerge from the voices of the women who make them; let them guide the nature of our discourse.

A New Generation

The 1980s marks a critical period in the history of Kuba textile fabrication. This was a decade of accelerated change, with noticeable impact in terms of the creation and use patterns of Kuba textiles. Hundreds of textiles previously destined for internal consumption and use within a funerary context were exported from the region.[23] In effect, the focus of textile creation was changed from one primarily of internal consumption with little export, to one of spiraling production solely for export. During research in 1989, I was also told of incidents of graves being robbed for textiles to sell to the West. The impact of trade and the lure of economic gain from the increased monetary value placed on textiles meant that in some villages textiles placed on the body for funeral displays were returned to the family storehouse in lieu of burial with the deceased. Earlier, in 1981, a Shoowa titleholder had already lamented to me the recent loss of many textiles through sales to traders. He complained: "Why are they selling these? Can't they see that money is not important? This, [as he waved a textile in front of me] this is our wealth!"[24]

In order to keep pace with the impetus for economic gain, non-Shoowa men and women began to produce new styles of textiles solely for trade to the outside market. In some cases, this latest generation

of Kuba textiles is based on distinct prototypes, but differs in style, quality, and sewing techniques. I limit discussion here to the changes in one type of textile, the Shoowa design cloths (*winu*).

During the 1981–82 research, I noted that local art traders were exchanging *pagnes* or two-yard lengths of low-quality printed cotton fabric for both old and newly fabricated Shoowa *winu*. Demand for Kuba textiles at this time appears to relate directly to increased western interest in Kuba textiles. A part of this demand was in response to an article on Kuba textile traditions published in *African Arts* in 1978.[25] This form of exchange quickly expanded from Shoowa villages to include other northern and central Kuba villages including Ngongo, Ngeende, and Bushoong villages. In 1982 I met Nooha, a Bushoong woman living in Shongaam, who was sewing a direct copy of a Shoowa textile she had borrowed from her uncle (an art trader) expressly to obtain printed cotton cloth in exchange as payment (fig. 10)

During research among the central and northern Kuba in 1989, I was immediately struck by the appearance of another style of textile created solely for the market. By 1989, the manufacture of Shoowa style textiles in non-Shoowa communities had spread throughout the northern and central Kuba region as far south as Mweka, the administrative capital of the zone. Called *buiin* (meaning "design cloth") or *Shobo* (meaning "Shoowa cloth"), *Shobo* textiles were being made all over the area solely for trade and are now found in many western collections (fig. 11).[26] While Shoowa and other Kuba textiles have been purchased by western outsiders for at least one-hundred years, the recent demand for these textiles by the West is unprecedented. The relationship between textile production for internal consumption and textiles made for export has only recently influenced the essential motivation of some Kuba peoples who create these textiles. This fact, coupled with unparalleled inflation during the last dozen years, has had a dramatic impact on these traditions. In terms of the history of the cut-pile embroidered textile tradition, these new styles of *Shobo* represent another generation of change.

An important distinction in *Shobo* textile production is the change from a gender-specific activity (i.e., Shoowa *winu* being embroidered by women) to one that includes boys and young men who are sewing textiles for the first time for trade throughout

Fig. 10. Nooha, a young Bushoong woman, sewing a *buiin* copied from the textile reproduced in Fig. 9, Shongaam, 1981. Photo by Patricia J. Darish.

the northern and central Kuba areas. Another dramatic change is the transformation from a part-time activity in many cases to a full-time occupation of making textiles for export. In the Ngeende village of Pombo in 1989, I met and photographed a young man and a young woman taking turns embroidering the same textile. In the same village, I documented four young men working on a single piece.

Shobo textiles differ stylistically from Shoowa *winu*. The working methods in the creation of *Shobo* have also directly resulted in changes in overall style. Instead of proceeding directly from starting points and sewing in a progressive fashion across the textile, these needleworkers work from many

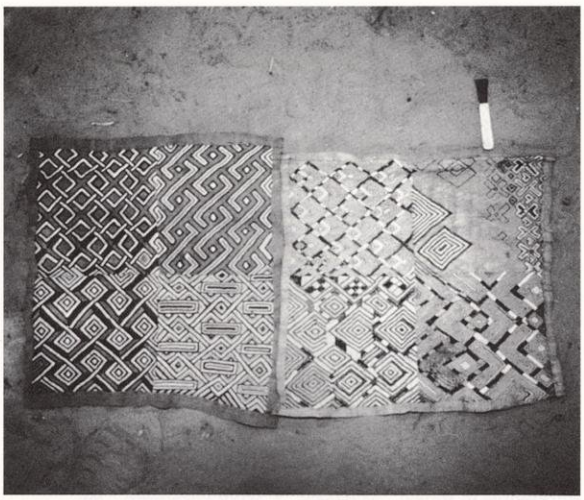

Fig. 11. Two examples of *Shobo* textiles created for export, Mweka, 1989. Photo by Patricia J. Darish.

different directions: often turning from one side to another and working toward the middle. As the work progresses, completed areas are not folded and covered. Therefore it is possible to refer to the completed sections of the textile as the embroidery progresses. Often produced by young men and women who have little familiarity with Shoowa *winu*, *Shobo* may demonstrate any combination of patterns, any free-form creation of design. In many examples, the textiles are conceived of as a visual field which is subdivided into several independent design areas including square or rectangular grids of separate design.[27] Not limited to a body of design possibilities, even representational forms such as a spiderweb or a mask can be embroidered on the surface (see fig. 11).

Several questions seem in order. Is the recent emphasis on design innovation a result solely of non-Shoowa creating textiles or of several persons working on a single textile? Are stylistic changes the result of boys and men working on *Shobo* rather than the tradition being solely a woman's activity? Or is it possible that some type of feedback is taking place and the Kuba are currently making textiles that fulfill western aesthetic preferences?

There is undoubtedly informal communication between purchasers and creators about which textiles are popular with collectors and will therefore readily sell. Surely this has an impact on design decisions and color choices as well as on qualitative considerations: for example, how much time to expend on a given textile in order to maximize the financial return. This type of oral transmission runs in both directions as pieces are selected at both ends of the network. I suspect that western taste does play a role in the dramatic changes which have occurred with the style of this textile tradition. The most striking differences occur with respect to freedom of design and innovation and the change from a gender-specific activity to an activity that ignores previous gender distinctions. Study of the entire system—from the runners in the Kuba area to the middle persons in Kinshasa and Brussels, to the galleries and dealers in Europe and America—may shed light on this new generation of textile production.

An important question for me is how will the Shoowa women I worked with in 1981 and 1982 respond to the increased economic value placed on textiles? Will there be a fundamental change in attitude and motivation among Shoowa and Kuba women towards their textiles? Will the next generation think that textiles are made only as a product to be sold, or will the creation of textiles and their display at funerals still remain a fundamental aspect of Kuba ideas about ethnic identity, traditional forms of wealth, and obligations toward the lineage and the deceased. The answers to these questions depend in part upon on how long the West remains interested in Kuba textiles.

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Notes

1. I conducted research among the Kuba peoples during 1981, 1982, and 1989. The 1981 and 1982 research was supported by the Fulbright–Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Program through Indiana University.

2. See Emil Torday, *Notes ethnographiques sur les peuples communément appelés Bakuba, ainsi que les peuplades apparentées: les*

Bushongo, Anthropology and Ethnography, Sér. 4, No. 2 (Tervuren, Belgium: Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1910), hereafter Torday, *Notes ethnographiques*; and Emil Torday, *On the Trail of the Bushongo*. (London: Seeley Service and Co., 1925); but especially Jan Vansina, *Le Royaume Kuba*, Anthropology and Ethnography, No. 49. (Tervuren, Belgium: Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale), 1964, hereafter Vansina, *Kuba*; and Jan Vansina, *The Children of Woot, A History of the Kuba Peoples* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978), hereafter Vansina, *Woot*, for detailed accounts of Kuba history, ethnography, and linguistics.

3. See Vansina, *Kuba*, 6–7 and Vansina, *Woot*, 5.

4. In 1950 when the last census of Kuba peoples was taken, the population was estimated to be over 70,000 (according to Vansina *Kuba*, 8).

5. As described to me by Mboyo in the Shoowa village of Ishele, 1981.

6. The relationship between the name of a design and its association to other levels of meaning is a question that is raised by the study of nonfigurative design systems. The variety of Kuba designs and the diversity of Shoowa *winu* is especially intriguing in this regard. In some cases, design names may directly evoke specific objects such as "turtle shell" (*mayulu*) and "stones" (*mamanya*) or abstractions evocative of natural forms such as "forest vines" (*olambu*) or "tail of lightning" (*oyela ntshatsha*). Many design names do not have such formal relationships with objects and are instead described by the Shoowa as simply names given to the pattern design.

7. Although one Shoowa woman explained that the ideal is to save *winu* from every generation, in fact there are few older examples kept in lineage textile stores. The older examples I documented were kept by the oldest women I met. These women were especially concerned about preserving examples of their mothers' and grandmothers' work.

8. See Vansina, *Woot*, 211.

9. One notable exception was a woman named Mbi from the Shoowa village of Maloong who could list thirty-six designs.

10. The word *ishiina* is a loan word, also found in the Bushoong language. It translates as "foundation, beginning, source, butt-end, bottom of, inside of, etc." according to Althea Brown Edmiston in *Grammar and Dictionary of the Bushonga or Bukuba Language as Spoken by the Bushonga or Bukuba Tribe who dwell in the Upper Kasai District, Belgian Congo, Central Africa*, [Luebo, Congo Belge: J. Leighton Wilson Press, 1929], 535.

11. Monni Adams, "Kuba Embroidered Cloth," *African Arts* 12, no. 1 (1978): 39; hereafter Adams, "Embroidered Cloth."

12. This also has to do with the inherent value of the textile with respect to work ethics and wealth of the clan section and with the role of the individual. The individual is subjugated to the needs of the clan section in terms of producing textiles for subsequent use as grave goods. See Patricia Darish, "Dressing for the Next Life: Raffia Textile Production and Use among the Kuba of Zaire," in *Cloth and Human Experience*, ed. Annette B. Weiner and Jane Schneider (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), 123–27; hereafter Darish, "Dressing."

13. The quotation is from Oscar Wilde's preface to *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, 1891 as cited in Joseph Masheck, "The Carpet Paradigm: Critical Prolegomena to a Theory of Flatness," *Arts Magazine* 51, no. 1 (September 1976): 95; hereafter Masheck, "Carpet Paradigm."

14. Robert Farris Thompson, *African Art in Motion* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974), 11.

15. Monni Adams, "Beyond Symmetry in Middle African Design," *African Arts* 23, no. 1 (1989): 38.

16. The appeal of relating aspects of music to visual composition is not new to western discourse about the visual arts. For example, in the latter half of the nineteenth century much discussion was given to relating the concept of the arabesque in musical theory to painting. In 1863 Hermann von Helmholtz argued that such analogies are impossible since "the whole pattern of an arabesque must be simultaneously present, which is impossible in music." Masheck, "Carpet Paradigm," 89.

17. Adam Gopnik, "Madison Avenue Primitive," *The New Yorker*, (November 9, 1992): 137–39; hereafter Gopnik, "Madison Avenue."

18. Richard Marshall, *Jean-Michel Basquiat* (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1992), passim.

19. Gopnik, "Madison Avenue," 139.

20. Gopnik, "Madison Avenue," 139.

21. For a description of western conservation treatments of Kuba textiles, see Ann E. Svenson, "Africa, Zaire, Kuba: An Introduction to Raffia Textiles," in *Textile Conservation Symposium in Honor of Pat Reeves* ed. Catherine C. McLean and Patricia Connell, (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1986), 58–62.

22. My data does not suggest that Shoowa women even conceptualize their designs as being either symmetrical or asymmetrical.

23. See Darish, "Dressing," 127–38, for a description of the use of Kuba textiles within the funeral context.

24. The *kikaam* in the village *of Ikutuluum*, December 1981.

25. Adams, "Embroidered Cloth," 24–39, 106–7. In the early 1980s many Americans and Europeans living in Kinshasa, Zaire had read this issue of *African Arts* article and were avidly collecting Kuba textiles in quantity. The competition between collectors was fierce. A conspicuous loser in this commerce was the Institut des Museés Nationaux du Zaire which did not have any acquisition funds.

26. *Shobo* was used to refer to the cloth, but in the Bushoong language it also refers to the Shoowa people.

27. The division of the surface into separate grids is also an influence of northeastern Kuba (Ngongo and Ngende) textile design.

Changing Fashions and Aesthetic Continuities: One-hundred Years of Mangbetu Art

Changing Patrons

Northeastern Zaire is not an area well known for sculpture nor for masks, the two forms of African art most interesting to western collectors. Nevertheless, from the first decade of this century a certain style of art became identified as Mangbetu in the western "catalogue" of admired African art forms. These objects were such functional items as knives, musical instruments, and ceramic jars that were embellished with carvings depicting the elongated head and fanlike coiffure then popular among Mangbetu women. At the turn of the century the Mangbetu practiced a form of permanent head elongation by binding the skulls of infants, male and female. The practice, seen as a sign of aristocratic status, was adopted by many people who were under the influence of the Mangbetu rulers.[1] Head elongation has ceased but can still be seen on elderly people today.

Starting in the early colonial period, around 1900, carvings showing long heads adorned with elaborate coiffures were placed on a variety of objects: on the necks of ceramic jars, on the wooden covers used on cylindrical bark boxes, onto the arms and backs of wooden folding steamer chairs, on the ivory or wood handles of metal knives and other tools, on the ends of many kinds of musical instruments and on ivory hairpins and hatpins. Many objects were made with multiple heads: double-headed pots, hairpins with six or seven heads, chairs with heads protruding from every possible piece of wood, harps with heads on the neck and on all five tuning keys.

With the exception of steamer chairs made on a western model, all of these forms had existed within the repertoire of Mangbetu material culture before the market in art developed in the region. Before contact with Europeans began in the mid-nineteenth century, these objects were very rarely adorned with sculpted heads. But anthropomorphic or figurative art really began to be popular around the turn of the century, at the same time that a market for Mangbetu-style art began to develop among Westerners.

A parallel development can be noted with regard to pictorial or graphic art. While wall painting was known and practiced before the colonial period, it changed markedly during this time. In addition, artists began to incise pictorial images on objects like ivory horns and bark boxes. Incising on wood, ivory, and pottery was well known in the area, but in the colonial period the images were sometimes combined with writing.

While the Mangbetu people themselves did not have a tradition of anthropomorphic art before this time, the idea of adorning functional objects with heads was present in the region. Figurative art per se was not a European or colonial import into the area. Functional objects adorned with heads were described as early as the 1850s by the earliest European visitors to the region—among the Azande, the Barambo, the Bongo, for example. The Italians Giovanni Miani and Romolo Gessi, the English couple Mr. and Mrs. James Petherick, and the Englishwoman Alexandrine Tinne collected harps and other objects adorned with heads from the Azande people—then known as NiamNiam—from the 1850s to the 1880s, decades before Westerners took political control. The Bongo living in the southern Sudan made trumpets and funerary sculpture with heads, described by the German botanist Georg Schweinfurth in the 1870s.[2] Collecting on a large scale began when the Belgians colonized the area in the 1890s. (Although the Congo Free State took over the Congo in 1885, the administration did not reach the northeast until 1891.) During the regime of King Leopold and the Congo Free State, the Belgians sponsored collecting expeditions for major museums in Europe and the United States, gathering all kinds of artifacts including knives and musical instruments with carved heads representing humans and animals.

Objects of beauty were valued and exchanged across ethnic boundaries before the foreign art market developed. Even art for art's sake may have existed before this time. Local rulers commissioned and exchanged fine knives, musical instruments, and pottery, and gifts of artwork were exchanged among powerful leaders in the area in diplomatic exchanges and as a form of tribute.[3] Some had artists employed in workshops fashioning objects in wood, metal, ivory, and clay. Fine objects like daggers and hairpins were treasured and worn in displays of wealth.

The efflorescence of anthropomorphic art in the Mangbetu style was, however, unquestionably associated with a shift in patrons and audience from other Africans to Westerners. In this context the

perceptions and misperceptions of taste, and the stereotyping of African life by both Africans and Europeans, led to the commoditization of tradition. Westerners admired and collected certain types of objects which they labeled "typically Mangbetu." The paradox, of course, is that the "tradition" was not a tradition at all but rather an innovation that developed in the context of early colonial contact. The western demand for certain kinds of objects created a small market and in fact led to the invention of a tradition. This whole process raises some interesting questions about the ways in which new art styles develop and about the relationship between innovation and tradition. In the case of the Mangbetu, as with most "ethnic art," this issue must be discussed in the context of culture contact. (See figure 1.)

Marketing Tradition

Several scholars have written about how the commodification of tradition in relation to so-called ethnic art takes place at, and defines, the epistemological boundary between cultures.[4] Benetta Jules-Rosette[5] has described the kinds of transactions which occur in this context in terms of a system of communication or the semiotics of the situation. Meaning is created as producers and consumers adjust their behavior and produce and acquire art in accordance with their perceptions of each other's needs, desires, and intentions. In colonial contexts, this encounter is described as one between western consumers—including tourists, curio and art collectors, museums, and natural scientists—and nonindustrialized "Others." A similar process of commodification of culture can take place at the boundary zone[6] of any two communities, as long as one is interested in consuming representations of the other. Similarly, a society can create representations of itself and reify them as history or tradition.[7]

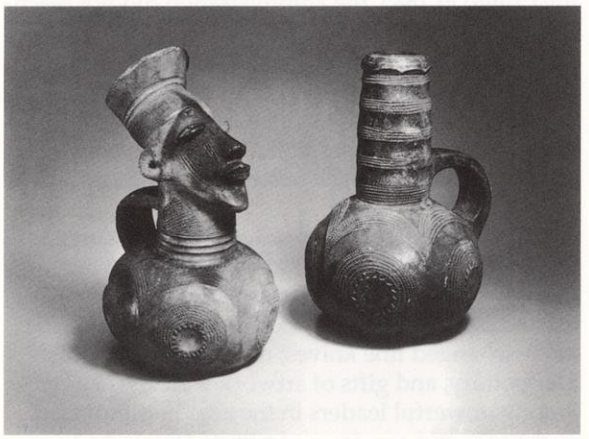

Fig. 1. Left: Pot, Mangbetu. ceramic, 8.8 in. H; 5.3 in. D. Lang. coll. Niangara, 1910. AMNH.90.1/4692. Right: Jar, Mangbetu, ceramic, 8.2 in. H, 5.4 in. D. Lang. coll. Niangara, 1910, AMNH. 90.1/4683. The anthropomorphic pot and the water jar, both Mangbetu, have the same patterns on their bases. This similarity suggests that the anthropomorphic styles were seen as an embellishment on the traditional household pottery. Photo: Lynton Gardner.

While not all artisan production, by any means, is produced at and for the market which develops in this contact zone, "ethnic art" or "tourist art" is the art of one society marketed to another as an expression of cultural tradition.[8] Its existence is based on maintaining cultural distinctions between producers and consumers, but it continually adapts to the changing perceptions of the tastes and traditions of each. When art moves out of the category of ethnic art and into the mainstream of any one tradition—including that of western art—the individual artist can more easily operate as a named artist, but the work is judged according to different criteria. It is no longer a representation of culture or a question of marketing tradition, but rather of the individual artist's personal vision, which may or may not draw upon "tradition" as a source of imagery or style.

"Ethnic art" tends inevitably to become static as it expresses the interacting stereotypes of consumers and producers. The extreme case of such stasis is the market for and manufacture of "airport art," mass-produced tourist curios (which may be made "by hand" in workshops, or mass-produced in factories). But these objects merely occupy one end of a continuum. From the point of view of the artisan/producer as an economic being, these very curios may represent the most successful end of the continuum. Although they originate as innovative responses to market demand, their success leads to mass production with only minimal further innovation. The pendulum swings between innovation and subsequent imitation or repetition of form, but both are responses to market forces.[9]

The presence of outsiders led to several different developments in the art of the region. The most important of these was the increase in the production of anthropomorphic objects and of pictorial representations. In surveying a century of Mangbetu artisan production, one is struck by the need for artisans to find an identifiable and marketable style on the one hand and their desire to innovate and respond to new opportunities on the other. These seem to be two contradictory impulses, and one can argue that the incompatibility between innovation and "Mangbetu style" ultimately meant the demise of Mangbetu art as a creative process. This means that the really great works of what have been taken to be "typical" Mangbetu art should be reevaluated, not as examples of "traditional" art but rather as the artistic expression of a particular historical period. Much of this work was made by artists who signed their work, were photographed, and usually left a stylistic signature on their pieces. Rather than representing tradition, this art distills the encounter between Westerners and Africans in the early years of this century.

While based on a style of art that had existed among neighboring people to the north of the Mangbetu, as well as on the representation of Mangbetu fashions of personal adornment, the increase in the production of certain kinds of pieces in the first quarter of this century cannot be understood without taking into account western demand.[10] This demand, as well as the response of the African artists, was based on a number of ideas that Westerners had of the Mangbetu, as well as on the Mangbetu interpretation and understanding of these images. Images of the Mangbetu in the minds of western visitors were based on a complicated mixture of myth and reality, fueled both by western fantasies about Africans and by Mangbetu manipulation of these fantasies.

The Mangbetu had been described, since the mid-nineteenth century, as the greatest producers of art in the northern Congo. Following Georg Schweinfurth's hyperbolic description of the Mangbetu court of King Mbunza, published in 1874, the Mangbetu were seen by all subsequent travelers who visited the region as the most politically and artistically advanced people in the region. Schweinfurth's description and drawings had depicted a powerful ruler, King Mbunza, dancing before his wives in an immense meeting hall (150 ft. long by 60 ft. wide by 50 ft. high) made of carved posts and woven reed walls. The German botanist praised the architectural skill of the Mangbetu, copied the geometric body designs painted on the women, noted the fine workmanship of their pottery and ironwork, and described the tools they used to carve ivory. Thus all subsequent western visitors had heard about the cleanliness and beauty of Mangbetu villages and their monumental architecture, about immaculately groomed and outgoing lascivious women, and about fine objects including pottery, metal weapons, and carved stools. Schweinfurth described King Mbunza, whom he called Munza, as a powerful cannibal king overseeing a large harem and a number of subchiefs. Although Schweinfurth never observed cannibalism, he claimed this practice went hand-in-hand with the relatively advanced state of the Mangbetu.[11] By the time colonial administrators and traders began to visit the area in the 1890s, the Mangbetu were in serious political disarray, with rival chiefs competing for power within the new colonial order.

Who were the Westerners who admired, collected, and influenced Mangbetu art? Besides the scientists and professional collectors like Herbert Lang and James Chapin from the American Museum of Natural history (AMNH), and Armand Hutereau, an ethnographer of the Congo Free State, they were a heterogeneous group of government administrators, military officers, and traders, mainly Belgians but also a few Greeks, Americans, Germans, French, and British. They were not tourists of the sort who made brief journeys to East Africa to view game and natives after the safari industry developed in the 1920s. Nor were they members of the artistic avant-garde who, in the ateliers and salons of Paris during the same period, were beginning to admire abstract forms in African art. Politically conservative, these colonial visitors brought tastes in visual art which ran from neoclassic representations to erotic exotica. Nowhere in the extant commentary on Mangbetu art is there any note to suggest that these visitors missed the abstract qualities associated with primitivism as it was being defined in the modernist art world. Craftsmanship and naturalism, not abstraction, were the qualities they most admired.

Visitors communicated their preferences in a number of ways: through their choices of items to

purchase, through the prices they were willing to pay for various kinds of objects, and through the way they valued work in different materials. Figurative sculpture was usually admired and more highly valued than nonrepresentational work, and ivory objects fetched a higher price than wooden ones. Many collectors documented their attitudes in fieldnotes, letters, and publications. There is evidence in the art itself that these attitudes were communicated to the artists.

When Europeans began to work in and visit the area after 1891, they sought out "curios" and souvenirs, as well as documented collections for the burgeoning museums in Europe and America. Representatives of the Congo Free State regime, in control of the area from 1891 to 1908 (when the Congo Free State became the Belgian Congo), officially collected artifacts for the Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale in Tervuren, Belgium and also gave collecting permits for zoological and ethnographic collections to other institutions. One large gift of ethnographic artifacts was given by the Belgian government to the AMNH in New York. It includes an iron knife with an ivory handle in the form of a human head. However, very few of the anthropomorphic objects in this collection are specifically identified as Mangbetu.[12] Most simply say "Uele region," referring to the nearest river. The largest collection of objects—numbering more than 10,000—was assembled in 1908–1910 by Armand Hutereau for the Belgian museum in Tervuren. Another large collection was made by Herbert Lang and James Chapin for the American Museum of Natural History, during the years 1909–1915 when they lived in the region making study collections of fauna and flora.[13] In the course of the six-year Congo expedition, expedition leader and zoologist Lang became fascinated with the local people, especially the Mangbetu living around the court of Chief Okondo. By the end of the American Museum expedition he had collected and documented more than 4,000 artifacts from the Mangbetu, Azande, Barambo, and other people of the region.

Hutereau and Lang may have been the most active collectors in the years 1909–1915, but they were not the only ones. In fact, Lang obtained his first example of anthropomorphic art from a colonial administrator. This was an iron dagger, with a beautifully carved handle in the form of a woman, that had been the property of a Mangbetu chief named Zebuandra. Lang noted that all the daggers in this style were carved by one artist who worked in Zebuandra's village. They were worn for display when new and used as utilitarian implements when old. At this time, anthropomorphic objects clearly were not common among the Mangbetu. The first eight-hundred objects Lang collected in the region contained not a single example of anthropomorphic carving. Both Hutereau and Lang wrote in their notes that the Mangbetu did not use such carvings for religious rituals and that carvings of animals or humans were seen by the Mangbetu simply as embellishments, what we would call "art for art's sake." Contrary to the use of "fetishes" elsewhere in the Congo—described by collectors of the period like Emil Torday, who collected for the British Museum, and Leo Frobenius, who sold some of his collections to the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin—the early collectors in the northeast noted explicitly that figurative carvings seemed to have no religious meaning for the Mangbetu.

This attitude toward art—often denied to exist in discussions of nonwestern art—may have been one factor allowing the Mangbetu and some neighboring artists to respond to the demands for certain kinds of art in the early colonial period. Not bound by ritual prescriptions relating to the use of anthropomorphic sculptures, they were able to assess and adapt to what they perceived to be the tastes of their new audience.

Patronage and the circulation of art among different groups were not new to this area. In the precolonial period Mangbetu chiefs, as patrons of the arts, commissioned art and used it in political exchanges with other leaders.[14] In some respects what happened in the colonial period was a continuation of this pattern, with western consumers (government officials, visiting scientists, and traders) becoming the patrons. Before World War I Mangbetu chiefs acted as intermediaries between new foreign patrons and artists. Art became a kind of currency used to solidify relationships between colonial officials and foreign visitors on the one hand and African chiefs on the other, as these chiefs jockeyed for position within the colonial hierarchy.

Because northeastern Zaire saw neither large-scale settlement by Europeans nor mass tourism, the production of art in the first quarter of the century

remained largely under the patronage of local political leaders. Workshops developed in major towns, but many of these remained under the eye of chiefs like Okondo and Ekibondo. Continuing a precolonial pattern of using art as tribute, these leaders utilized (even if they did not totally control) the process of manufacture and the distribution of art. One can argue from circumstantial evidence that the art died out by the 1930s, when the chiefs no longer acted as patrons. Herbert Lang, in his 1918 paper on the 380-piece ivory collection at the American Museum, noted:

> This collection is particularly valuable inasmuch as it cannot be duplicated, for Okondo, king of the Mangbetu, died in 1916, three years after we left him, and for administrative reasons his realm was divided among many smaller chiefs who more easily can be made to abide by the golden rule of civilization. These chiefs, being virtually without authority, possess comparatively few show pieces; nor can they offer inducements to artists in this line, as ivory is now scarce.[15]

Commissions

Western tastes were communicated to the chiefs and artisans by the choices collectors made and by requests for commissions. We know that in the six years Lang and Chapin were in the area (1909–1915) they commissioned certain kinds of works, including the building of a replica of the great meeting hall described by Schweinfurth (fig. 2). Subsequent visitors, such as Herman Schubotz, when looking at the hall Lang commissioned, took it to be the hall described by Schweinfurth forty years earlier. Lang also commissioned ivory objects including replicas of musical instruments, such as a seven-inch miniature slit drum. A large ivory, okapi, and elephant-hide trumpet was made for the American Museum as a replica of a similar instrument Lang had seen in a chief's court. By the time Lang and Chapin left the area, local artists were aware that they were producing items for a museum. Lang described Chief Okondo's court as a place where "exhibitions" of artworks took place, and he undoubtedly communicated the idea of a museum to the Mangbetu.

Fig. 2. Doorway of Okondo's Great Hall with woven rattan covering inside and out, Okondo's village, 1913. AMNH Archives, 111876. Photo: Herbert Lang.

Lang encouraged local artists to draw pictures, and the AMNH collection includes many incised ivory and gourd objects. In addition, Lang encouraged some artists to draw scenes on barkcloth. Every one of these developments involved a modification of an existing practice. Incising on ivory and gourd was a minor element of design before the twentieth century. Designs were usually geometric. Lang encouraged artists to draw people, animals, and objects in narrative compositions. Many of these pictures included images of Europeans and European objects, and quite a number of the drawings were signed with the artist's name. Lang's fieldnotes and his publication on the ivory collection include some of the stories the artists told him about the drawings, but they also suggest his attitude

toward their work: for example, "This is a cannibal artist's first attempt to portray tragedies in animal life."[16] Such remarks suggest that some of these drawings may have been visual responses to verbal dialogues between the western visitor and the artists. Among the illustrations were many scenes showing such traditional practices as how to hunt elephants or how to catch fish (figs. 3 and 4). There are western objects like coffee urns and tables and chairs. There are drawings that graphically illustrate ethnicity, for example, warriors from different ethnic groups with their distinctive weapons. And there are stories about family life: wives grooming their husbands' hair and copulating couples. Not only were these drawings solicited in the process of numerous interviews or encounters between visitor and artist, but by this time African artists, even in northeastern Zaire, had been exposed to European printed material including magazines, newspapers, and advertisements. One description of a particularly rich narrative drawing reads as follows (fig. 4):

> Pictograph of hunting and fishing—one party has been successful in the forest. The boar, suspended from a pole by hooks cut and pulled up from its own hide, is borne by two men, while a third follows, carrying the hunting nets. The fishing party, too, has been fortunate, its success represented by the proverbially large fish. The second figure in the boat, a little boy, eagerly awaits an opportunity to spear a fish; the two other spearlike implements are oars. In the group of three at the right, the leader of the party (in the middle), on returning home, threatens his flirtatious wife with severe punishment for her conduct with a warrior (extreme right). To appease his anger, she offers him in one hand a bowl of wine, and in the other, leaves to wipe his perspiring brow.[17]

Lang was particularly impressed by the idea that Mangbetu art could have a symbolic function, and "express ideals" such as "mother love." In a curious

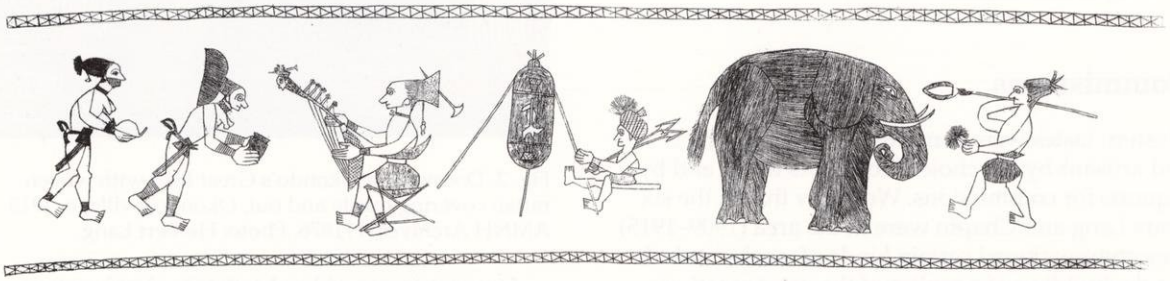

Fig. 3. A Zande hunter plays a harp while he waits for an oracle to predict a successful elephant hunt. From a pictograph engraved by Saza on an ivory and camwood box. AMNH 90.1/1766a.

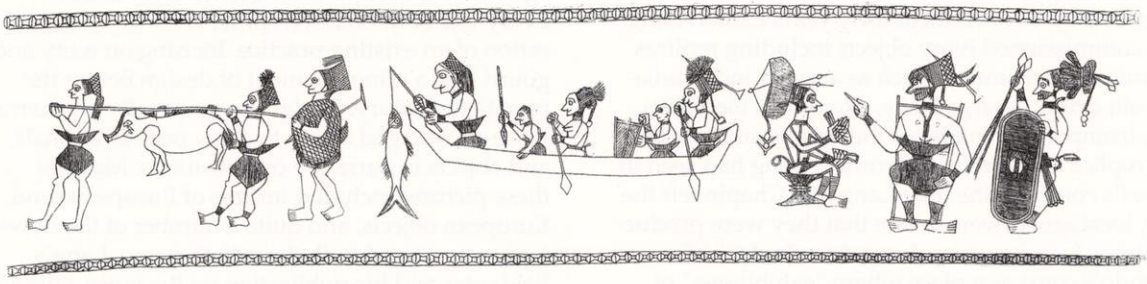

Fig. 4. Incised drawings of hunting and fishing scenes from an ivory and wood box. The box was carved by a Mangbetu, but the drawings were done by a Zande from Poko. AMNH 90.1/3919.

blend of astonishment, patronizing admiration, and underlying racism, one caption titled "Tribal and Personal Ideals Embodied in Ivory Carving" states:

> One would scarcely expect to find in ivory figures carved by Congo cannibals the embodiment of ideals. The figures, however, on the central piece, a mallet used to beat bark cloth, express, according to the artist, the supreme faith of these savages in mother love. The carvings on the box at the left express the unity of two friends. The female figure at the right is carved for the sake of beauty alone, as the Mangbetu have no idols; what appears to be a crown on the head is merely a conventionalized hairdress. . . . "[18]

Wall painting done on the outside walls of both square and round houses changed in a similar direction in this period: geometric designs became more regular and repetitive, and figure drawings in narrative compositions became popular. However, an extraordinary painting Lang photographed in 1913 included a single highly abstract figure composed of patterned blocks in the midst of complicated geometric patterns (fig. 5). This figure is not placed in a narrative context, and it forms part of the large geometric design. Whether this painting represents a single example or is typical of a more widespread genre is not clear. However, the geometric and figure drawing are clearly merged in a way that contrasts sharply with the drawings which became more common in Mangbetu villages later in the colonial period. Wall paintings began to include scenes with multiple individuals in action: a European man and woman sitting at a table with a checked tablecloth and a coffee pot, and scenes of soldiers taking prisoners (fig. 6).

Unlike many visitors, Lang encouraged the artists to make innovative objects when they were examples of fine craftsmanship. He felt that when exhibited in New York, they would prove Africans were capable of being civilized. As John Mack has pointed out, this is the very antithesis of the idea of primitivism, current in France and in certain circles in Britain at the same time.[19] Lang was given a set of delicately carved ivory forks and spoons, each with a unique handle. The artist told Lang these were meant to replace his "crude" pewter implements. Even though they were completely untraditional, such objects never became the common stuff of tourist curios. In both time and materials, they were too expensive for that.

Most western visitors were much more interested in objects they thought were traditional, even when these notions of tradition were misguided. Harps, for example, although not usually played by the Mangbetu, were the kind of object that conformed with western notions of authenticity. Even

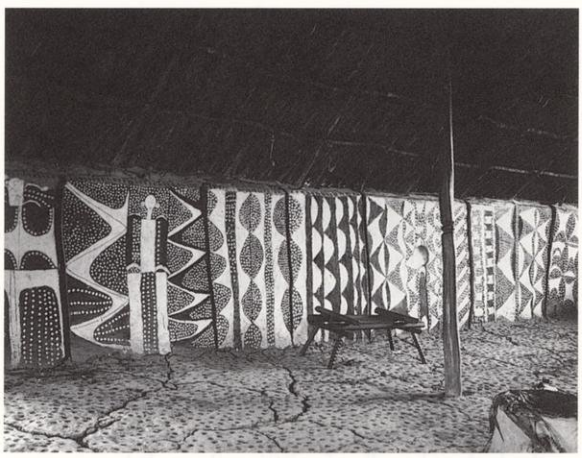

Fig. 5. Makere mural painting, Niapu, 1913. AMNH Archives, 225312. These designs were painted inside a house belonging to a chief. Photo: Herbert Lang.

Fig. 6. Mural painting, Bafuka's village, 1913. AMNH Archives, 111642. This red, black, and white painting on a Mangbetu-style house was made by a Zande. Photo: Herbert Lang.

if the Mangbetu did not play harps, most of their neighbors did, and most foreigners could not make accurate distinctions between the musical instruments of one group and another. Art that too obviously incorporated western forms, like the ivory forks, could not be authentic in the sense of representing tradition. However, unlike most western collectors, Herbert Lang prized innovation and celebrated the talents of the individual artists he had gotten to know. He saw innovation as a sign of intelligence and as an indication that the artists could change and join the march of progress toward western civilization.

Chief Okondo presented Lang with a number of harps, at least one of which was made specifically for the AMNH: an ivory harp with a carved human figure for the neck and tuning pegs with carved heads. This harp is covered with the coveted okapi skin, a material Okondo knew was particularly important to the collectors from America. In fact the okapi, a distant relative of the giraffe first discovered by Westerners in 1902, was one reason for the AMNH Congo expedition: the museum wanted specimens for the hall of African mammals. Another unique harp had a resonator covered with pangolin scales (fig. 7). These harps were show pieces, made to be seen more than to be heard. This is the case with many harps carved in the Mangbetu style,[20] not surprising given that Mangbetu musicians rarely played harps. Harp music was not part of the repertoire of court music, which was based on drums, bells, and rattles. Its brief popularity in the early part of the twentieth century seems to have been a passing fashion.

Symmetry and Naturalism

Judging from the art produced in this period, and from the comments of collectors at the time, two qualities were particularly admired: symmetry and naturalism. Both were considered marks of a relatively advanced civilization, raising the Mangbetu, in the eyes of most observers, above their neighbors. Both were assumed to be characteristics of traditional Mangbetu culture, rather than western introductions.

Symmetry was assumed by Schweinfurth and subsequent observers, including Herbert Lang, to be evidence of a higher order of intellectual ability. It

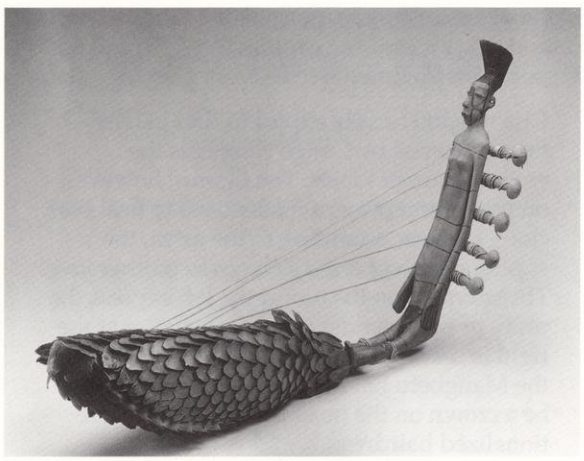

Fig. 7. Harp, Mangbetu(?), wood, pangolin scales, plant fiber, pitch, 22.2 in. L. Lang coll. Niangara, 1910. AMNH 90.1/3969. Pangolin scales cover this harp's resonator. The carved human figure with body-painting on the harp's neck combines with the unusual looking resonator to stress the visual qualities of this instrument. Photo: Lynton Gardner.

was taken to be a mark of intelligence or the capacity for becoming civilized. Discussing arrows and lances, Schweinfurth wrote, "the symmetry of the various barbs, spokes, and prongs with which they are provided is always perfect,"[21] and he described Mangbetu (Monbouttou) pottery as follows:

> [A]lthough they remain as unacquainted as other races with the use of the wheel, their productions, besides being of a superior quality, are of a more perfect symmetry than any which are elsewhere observed. All of the vessels and the drinking-cups of the Africans in general have the character of urns, being made without handles and being never otherwise than spherical in form; but those of the Monbuttoo exhibit a manifest improvement, and by having the surface decorated either with some raised symmetrical pattern (which is especially the case upon their coil vessels) or with some ornamental figures, they afford a firm hold to the hand, and thus make good the lack of handles for lifting them. It is, however, principally upon the waterbottles that the greatest care is bestowed, some of which may fairly be said to rival in symmetry

> the far-famed examples of Egyptian art, and to betray a considerable faculty of plastic genius.[22]

Lang spoke of the carvers' "keen sense for well-balanced composition"[23] and again, speaking of an ivory-handled hatchet: "The symmetry of ornamentation on the carved ivory handle and the well-fitted, simply decorated, iron blade make this hatchet a model of Mangbetu art."[24]

Geometric designs embellished pottery, ivory and wood carving, women's appliqued raffia back aprons, body painting, and bark cloth. While the designs found in the area by the early visitors were mostly nonfigurative, they were nonetheless extremely varied. Curvilinear and straight-edge patterns, detached designs like crosses and circles, and continuous border patterns were found. Although geometric, the designs decorating Mangbetu objects, homes, and bodies were not necessarily symmetrical. There is some reason to suggest that in the area of design, western admiration of the most regular and repetitive patterns encouraged a simplification and replication of pattern.

One example of this is in the changes that took place on the painted walls of mud-plastered buildings. Starting with Schweinfurth, Mangbetu villages were extolled as picturesque tropical paradises, clean and orderly with straight lines of round houses and neatly swept streets. In the 1920s and 1930s a number of chiefs encouraged visitors to visit their villages and a few of them became regular calling points on the African Grand Tour. Photographers and artists like Casimir Zagorski, Eliot Elisofon, Martin Birnbaum, and Alexandre Iacovleff of the French Citroen expedition, and writer and film maker Grace Flandreau visited Ekibondo and photographed and painted dances, wall murals, and women with elongated heads. Although wall painting was present before this influx of foreigners, many more houses were painted and repainted between then and the Second World War. These large geometric Mangbetu paintings, always done in red, black, and white, were much more symmetrical and mundane than the glorious abstract mural Lang photographed in the same region in 1913. And, as I have noted above, figurative painting also became more common after 1915.[25]

Summary

In contrast to many other Africans, there is no evidence that the Mangbetu used figure carvings for ritual purposes. Graves were usually marked by the planting of a tree, and powerful charms and medicines were based on the use of particular substances, not so much on their form. Nevertheless in the region, among surrounding peoples, sculptures were sometimes used in association with medicines and graves. In the colonial period, again starting around 1910, the carving of human figures became associated with Mangbetu art. As Keim and I have explained elsewhere, not all of this art was necessarily made by Mangbetu artists, but the carved heads and figures represented the Mangbetu style of dress and personal adornment.[26]

Starting in about 1910, ceramics and ivory and wood carvings were made with representations of the typical Mangbetu elongated head. In looking at this corpus of Mangbetu art in western collections, one is struck by the repetition of the same head. In some cases this repetition can be identified as the work of a particular artist; in other cases a group of artists, or a workshop, produced the art. But there is little doubt that this efflorescence of naturalistic anthropomorphic art was made as a response to western admiration and demand. It is not that Westerners introduced the idea of sculpting heads to the Mangbetu—they did not[27]—but their interest in this art turned it simultaneously into a commodity and a "tradition." Anthropomorphic sculpture became a fetish for Europeans in a way it had never been for the Mangbetu.

Postscript

By the 1930s, this invented tradition of making figurative art virtually ceased among the Mangbetu. Mangbetu-style art of inferior quality was still being made in mission station workshops and in tourist workshops. Today, Mangbetu-style art is made and sold in workshops, some as far away as Kinshasa; much of it is copied from work done in the first quarter of the century.[28] What started out as a brilliant innovation in response to the demands of new patrons—first African chiefs and later Europeans—became routinized as a "style."

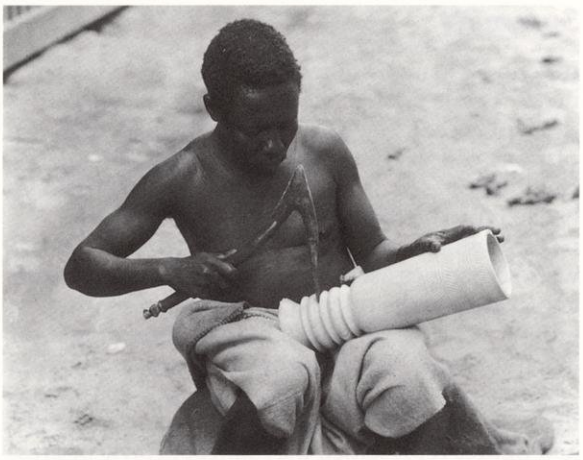

Fig. 8. Mangbetu artists carved ivory into numerous objects. Initial shaping was done with an ax and further carving with an adze, as seen here. The ivory surface was then smoothed with a moistened leaf containing silica crystals.

The innovation that occurred in this region was generated by both the demands of a small new audience and the response of the artists to this new demand. The artists who made Mangbetu-style art were by no means all Mangbetu. In the growing cosmopolitan centers of the region, in places like Niangara, the regional administrative center, Europeans gathered, showed each other the objects they had acquired, and commissioned works from local artists (fig. 8). The growing economic opportunities of these towns attracted artists from many different ethnic groups. Whether the western visitors understood this or not, these artists were not really working in traditional ways, and they were thus free to invent styles, traditions, and images of each other in their work. In the invention of an art style, ethnic identities were also being invented. The Mangbetu were redefining themselves, and their neighbors were redefining them, just as they were stereotyping and defining the nature of European ethnicity. The pieces often reflected and mocked the tastes of the consumers. The invention of a new style and the invention of ethnicity were inseparable. One can argue that this is always the case with art created in the contact zone between cultures.

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Notes

1. Curtis A. Keim, Precolonial Mangbetu Rule: Political and Economic Factors in Nineteenth-Century Mangbetu History (Northeast Zaire). Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1979; Enid Schildkrout and Curtis A. Keim, *African Reflections: Art from Northeastern Zaire* (New York and Seattle: American Museum of Natural History and University of Washington Press, 1990); hereafter Schildkrout and Keim, *African Reflections*.

2. Georg A. Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa: Three Years' Travels and Adventures in the Unexplored Regions of Central Africa from 1868 to 1871*, 2 vols. trans. Ellen E. Frewer (New York: Harper and Bros., 1874), vol. 1, 285–86, 288; hereafter Schweinfurth, *Heart of Africa*.

3. John Mack, "Art, Culture, and Tribute among the Azande," in *African Reflections*. Schildkrout and Keim, 217–32; hereafter Mack, "Art Culture, and Tribute."

4. Nelson H. H. Graburn, ed., *Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), hereafter Graburn, *Ethnic and Tourist Arts;* James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988); Edward Said, *Orientalism*. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

5. Benetta Jules-Rosette, *The Messages of Tourist Art: An African Semiotic System in Comparative Perspective*. (New York: Plenum Press, 1984); hereafter Jules-Rosette, *Messages*.

6. Boundary zones are what Mary Louise Pratt refers to as "contact zones": "social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination. . .." Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 4.

7. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Richard Handler and Eric Gable, "Colonialist Anthropology at Colonial Williamsburg," *Museum Anthropology* 17, no. 3 (October 1993): 26–31; Edward M. Bruner, "Lincoln's New Salem as a Contested Site," *Museum Anthropology* 17, no. 3 (October 1993): 14–25.

8. See for example Hobsbawm and Ranger on the invention of tradition, and the earlier discussions of tourist art and tourism in Jules-Rosette, *Messages;* Graburn, *Ethnic and Tourist Arts;* and Dean MacCannell, "Reconstructed Ethnicity: Tourist and Cultural Identity in the Third World," *Annals of Tourism Research* 11 (1984): 375–91.

9. Jules-Rosette analyzes more recent tourist markets in Africa and cogently describes the miscalculations and misperceptions producers can make about consumers' tastes, particularly in situations of cross-cultural ignorance. Thus they tend to saturate the market with forms that become undesirable. Jules-Rosette, *Messages*, 58, 197.

10. In *African Reflections: Art from Northeastern Zaire*, Curtis Keim and I have discussed the history of these developments in much greater detail than is possible here. See especially chapters 3 and 12.

11. Schildkrout and Keim, *African Reflections*, chapters 2 and 8.

12. In 1910 the museum opened a large African Hall that combined zoological and ethnographic objects and that featured the Congo. See Enid Schildkrout, "Art as Evidence: A Brief History of the American Museum of Natural History African Collection," in *Art/artifact* (New York: The Center for African Art and Prestel Verlag, 1988), 153–92; Schildkrout and Keim, *African Reflections*, 50.

13. In the 1920s the AMNH was building its famous African mammal dioramas—still on view in the Hall of African Mammals. Lang and Chapin obtained several rare animals from northeastern Zaire, including the okapi and the white rhinoceros.

14. Mack, "Art, Culture, and Tribute," 227–30.

15. Herbert Lang, "Famous Ivory Treasures of a Negro King," *The American Museum Journal* 18, no. 7 (1918): 527; hereafter Lang, "Ivory Treasures."

16. Lang, "Ivory Treasures," 548.

17. Lang, "Ivory Treasures," 551.

18. Lang, "Ivory Treasures," 535.

19. John Mack, Kuba Art and the Birth of Ethnography. Paper given at the American Museum of Natural History, October 1994.

20. Schildkrout and Keim, *African Reflections*, chapters 10 and 12; Eric de Dampierre, *Harpes Zande*. (Paris: Klincksieke, 1992).

21. Schweinfurth, *Heart of Africa (2), 110–11.*

22. Schweinfurth, *Heart of Africa (2), 116.*

23. Lang, "Ivory Treasures," 527.

24. Lang, "Ivory Treasures," 534.

25. Bogumil Jewsiewicki, "Peintres de cases, imagiers et savants populaires du Congo, 1900–1960: Un essai d'histoire de l'esthétique indigène," *Cahiers d'Études africaines* 31 (3), no. 123 (1991): 307–26.

26. Schildkrout and Keim, *African Reflections*, chapter 12.

27. Enid Schildkrout, Jill Hellman, and Curtis A. Keim, "Mangbetu Pottery: Tradition and Innovation in Northeast Zaire," *African Arts* 22, no. 2 (1989): 38–47.

28. In 1994 I purchased a painting at the shop of the Kumasi cultural center in Ghana, thousands of miles away from northeastern Zaire. The painting was of a turbaned man in a Muslim-style gown holding a Mangbetu harp. When I asked the clerk where the harp was from, she replied, "From the north." See Enid Schildkrout, "The ideology of Regionalism in Ghana," in *Strangers in African Societies*, ed. W. A. Shack and E. P. Skinner (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), 183–207.

Fiscal years 94 and 95 were particularly rewarding because not only did we bring the first quarter century of the museum's history to a successful close but we also engaged in a strategic planning process which, in broad terms, laid out the museum's course for the next quarter century. Although the Elvehjem's twenty-fifth anniversary will not be celebrated until the fall of 1995, it is promising to know that the museum is on a sound financial footing and that its next phase begins with an accepted plan of action.

First things first, however. Let me begin by acknowledging the university, our parent institution, whose commitment to the Elvehjem Museum of Art, as always, remains unflagging. Special recognition must be given to our chancellor, David Ward, for his dedication to the arts and to Phil Certain, dean of the College of Letters and Sciences, for his staunch advocacy of the museum and its role in higher education. Our dean's intelligent counsel and personal touch are very much appreciated. I also want to thank Sandy Wilcox and the staff of the UW Foundation, who continue to work tirelessly on our behalf; the numerous members of the faculty, especially those from the departments of art history, art, and family resources, who selflessly served on committees and gave of their time and advice; and the university's many professional, administrative, and support staff who so industriously turned institutional wheels to make things happen.

A special personal thank you goes to the members of the Elvehjem Council for their sound advice, moral support, and financial backing. I am especially grateful to Jane Coleman who served as the council's chairperson. It truly wonderful to have such a gracious and professional friend and colleague.

Once again, the docents have been the very heart of the Elvehjem's education and outreach efforts. Thanks to these dedicated and tireless volunteers, the museum has provided free educational services to over 35,000 school children during the past biennium. As educators and good-will ambassadors they have no equal. We join them in mourning Sara Fellman, who had graduated from the first docent class in 1971 and was still an active member at the time of her passing. I also thank the members of the Elvehjem League who helped with various public events and graciously promoted the museum at every turn.

Last, but not least, I wish to acknowledge the members of the Elvehjem staff whose professionalism and hard work are the key to everything. The creativity and unfaltering dedication of each and every member of the staff were essential to the unified team effort on which the Elvehjem so completely depends.

Financial support for this period's activities again came from a variety of university and nonuniversity sources. I wish to thank the corporations, businesses, both large and small, and individuals who are listed elsewhere in this *Bulletin*. Their generosity alone makes our exhibitions and public programming possible.

During this period there were some truly extraordinary donations that require special mention. Foremost among them is unprecedented gift of $1 million from John and Carolyn Peterson. Given specifically for the acquisition of a work of art, the funds were used to purchase a painting by Bernardo Strozzi which is undoubtedly one of the artist's masterpieces. We are very grateful to the Petersons, and we are very proud to be the custodians of such a unique treasure.

A special thank you must also be extended to the Evjue Foundation Inc./The Capital Times; the Brittingham Fund, Inc.; the Norman Bassett Foundation; the university's Anonymous and Hilldale funds for their continuing high levels of support. I also want to thank Walter and Dorothy Frautschi; Terese and Alvin S. Lane; Cecil and Jessie Jennings Burleigh; Ora C. Roehl; the Eulalie Charmian Beffel Estate; and the E. Rhodes and Leona Carpenter Foundation for their extraordinary generosity during this period.

In addition to support from the private sector, the Elvehjem has received significant grants from federal, state, and local agencies. It is important to mention these in addition to the general listing of funding sources because they speak directly to the quality of Elvehjem projects. Proposals are judged by a peer review panel, and awards are made based on quality and contribution to the field. The Institute of Museum Services, a federal agency, again recognized the Elvehjem's overall professional excellence with a General Operating Support grant. The National Endowment for the Arts funded our

forthcoming exhibition on Hogarth and underwrote a conservation survey of our works in metal. The Wisconsin Arts Board provided some funding for Gronk's residency, while the Dane County Cultural Affairs Commission contributed both to the Gronk residency and to the exhibition *Heritage of the Brush*.

Finally, before proceeding to the departmental reports, I would like to mention the Strategic Planning Process and acknowledge the work of the Strategic Planning Committee. It was a lengthy process which required a committee of fifteen and a professional facilitator. Serving on the committee as representatives of the Elvehjem Council and the Madison community were Frank Manley, council member and chair of the Strategic Planning Committee; Jane Coleman, chair of the council; Tom Terry, council member; Patricia Watkins, assistant director for university admissions and an African American community advocate; and William McClain, board member of the Madison Arts Center and UW professor of bacteriology. Assistant Professor Gene Phillips of art history and Professor Jim Escalante of the art department represented our largest university constituencies. Professor Don Crafton of communication arts and former director of the Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research served as liaison with that very important collection; Professor Virginia (Terry) Boyd of department of environment, textiles, and design spoke to issues involving the decorative arts in which the museum has significant holdings. Representing the university administration were Art Hove from the chancellor's office and Yvonne Ozzello, associate dean of humanities in the College of Letters and Science. Three elected members of the Elvehjem and I also served on the committee. Our facilitator was Frank Martinelli from Milwaukee.

After a year-long process a brief but pithy document including new mission statement, vision statement, and four strategic goals was developed and is here recorded:

MISSION STATEMENT

We collect, preserve, interpret, and exhibit works of art and present related educational programs in support of the teaching, research, and public service missions of the UW–Madison. We do this because the visual arts enrich individual human experience and because knowledge of art is essential to understanding diverse cultures, past and present.

VISION STATEMENT

The Elvehjem Museum of Art will be a leader among university art museums. Supported by the resources of the Kohler Art Library, it will be a dynamic center for research, education, and experimentation in the visual arts. The museum will also be a place for personal reflection and enjoyment. In addition to its own collections, the Elvehjem will care for and coordinate all of the UW–Madison's visual art resources, facilitating and encouraging their use and study.

STRATEGIC GOALS
(not listed in priority order)

Goal 1 To increase access to art that complements the diverse programs of the university

Strategies

1.1 Assess university needs for visual art support and adapt our sphere of collecting and exhibition activities to better serve the university.

1.2 Present temporary exhibitions that serve UW programs.

1.3 Collect art that meets the needs of educational programs of the UW–Madison.

1.4 Incorporate advanced technologies to provide broader access to the collections.

1.5 Expand facilities to accommodate current and future collections and exhibitions.

1.6 Position the Elvehjem as the primary curator of art objects and art collections campus-wide.

1.7 Develop a national network of supportive collectors.

Goal 2 To achieve leadership as a teaching art museum

Strategies

2.1 Assert the educational role of the Elvehjem in the university community.

2.2 Maximize use of Elvehjem resources by university departments.

2.3 Strengthen the Elvehjem's teaching program as a training ground for museum professionals.

2.4 Enhance the teaching of art history and art appreciation to local and regional communities.

2.5 Conduct original research and disseminate findings.

2.6 Expand facilities to accommodate programs and teaching activities.

Goal 3 To attract and engage current and prospective audiences

Strategies

3.1 Develop innovative cultural events and programs that complement the exhibitions and collections of the Elvehjem.

3.2 Achieve visibility for the Elvehjem among targeted audiences.

3.3 Recognize and respond to diverse audiences in the community.

3.4 Increase involvement of the university community in program and exhibition planning.

Goal 4 To assure a stable funding base and other resources that support the Elvehjem's flexibility and growth

Strategies

4.1 Demonstrate value of the Elvehjem to university leadership.

4.2 Assure adequate staffing levels to support the Elvehjem mission.

4.3 Enhance on-going support from individual donors.

4.4 Grow endowments in support of operations and art acquisitions.

4.5 Expand financial support from national corporations and foundations.

4.6 Seek continued funding from federal, state, and county agencies.

4.7 Expand volunteer support base.

4.8 Solicit support aggressively from local and regional business communities.

4.9 Attract collectors of art.

This Strategic Plan was reviewed by the full Elvehjem Council at its April 28, 1995 meeting and unanimously approved. It will be the Elvehjem's guide as we forge our way ahead into the twenty-first century.

Collections

In FY 1993–94 John and Carolyn Peterson donated $1-million specifically for the acquisition of one work of art for the permanent collection. This is the largest single gift the museum has received since it has been in operation. The Petersons' intention, if I may speak on their behalf, was that Madison have a truly outstanding work of art that would be an inspiration to young artists and art historians and an object of pride and pleasure to the entire community. This most generous gift was used to purchase *Christ's Charge to St. Peter* (1993.33) by Bernardo Strozzi (Italian, 1581–1644). Dating from 1630–35, the beginning of Strozzi's sojourn in Venice, it is undoubtedly one of his masterpieces. It is not only a work of great artistic and historic importance, but is also the only example of the north Italian baroque style and Venetian colorism in the Elvehjem collection. We are indeed very grateful to the Petersons for this extraordinarily generous gift.

Another significant acquisition of FY 1993–94 was the *Portrait of Lady Caroline Montagu* by Sir George Hayter (1993.44), the official portrait and history painter of Queen Victoria. Acquired in memory of Mrs. Frederick Miller, thanks to a memorial gift from the Evjue Foundation, as mentioned above, the painting now hangs in Paige Court and is

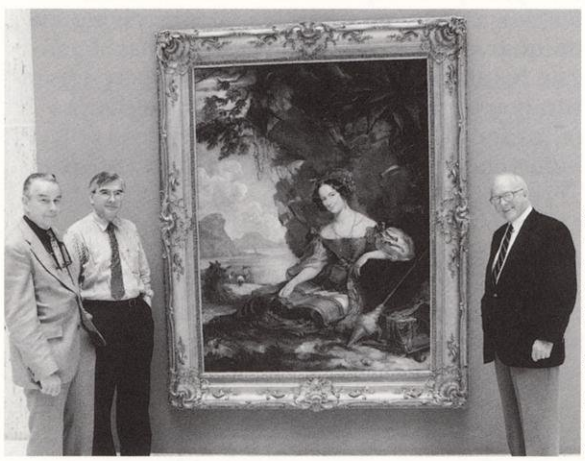


Photo: David Sandell, *The Capital Times*

Council member Frank Horlbeck, director Russell Panczenko, and Evjue Foundation treasurer Frederick Miller admire the Hayter painting

an excellent example of British portraiture as practiced in the early nineteenth century. Lady Caroline's Italianate costume, formidable weapons, and the wild setting of this monumental portrait also recall the romanticism of her era. Like a character from some Byronic episode, she presides over a treasure chest full of sparkling gems while several bandits disport themselves in the distance.

British art, particularly watercolors, has been for some time a vital collecting interest of the Elvehjem. *Sharper Tor with Sheep Tor and Village, Devon*, 1831, by John White Abbott (English, 1763–1851) and *La Pensierosa*, 1879, by Marie Spartali Stillman (English, 1844–1927) were among the recent acquisitions exhibited in *British Watercolors: 1750–1900*. Abbott's painting exemplifies the translucency of pure watercolor, which is applied in washes, while Stillman employs opaque bodycolor or gouache in her watercolor, which was favored by the Ruskinians or Pre-Raphaelites. In addition, the painting of watercolors is the subject of *Scottish Lovers* by Daniel Maclise (English, 1806–1870). Dated to 1873, the picture shows a young woman holding a sketchbook in her hand with her watercolors next to her. Her attention has shifted from her painting to her lover, dressed in a kilt, who is most likely carving their initials in a tree.

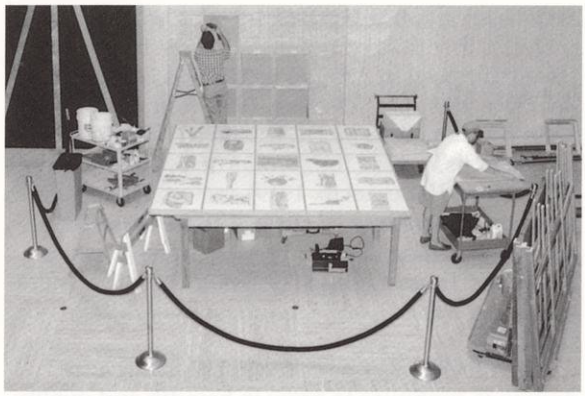
During the last two decades, the contribution of women to the visual arts has been increasingly recognized and explored. In conjunction with the scholarly activities of the Department of Art History and the Women's Studies Program, the Elvehjem consciously began to collect the work of women artists from all periods during FY 1993–94.

Specifically we acquired an early engraving by Diana Scultori (Italian, 1536–1590), who was descended from a several generations of printmakers. The print *Latona Giving Birth to Apollo and Diana*, about 1580 (1993.38) shows the goddess Diana and her brother Apollo just after their birth on the island of Delos. Marie Spartali Stillman, whose watercolor *La Pensierosa* was mentioned above, not only was a model for the Pre-Raphaelites but a talented and productive artist in her own right. She exhibited in the Dudley Gallery favored by the Pre-Raphaelites and at the Royal Academy. The Elvehjem has also acquired the work of photographer Mary Ellen Mark (American, b. 1940). Often compared to another great female photographer, Diane Arbus, Mark establishes an uncanny identification with her subject rather than communicating the feeling of voyeurism seen in Arbus's work. This is evident in *Roy Cohn with American Flag, 1986*, from the portfolio *In America* given by Dr. Kristaps J. Keggi. The Elvehjem has added four works on paper from 1993 by Suzanne Caporael (b. 1949), including the color monotype *Tree Rings IV* (1993.39) and three color dry point etchings for the Tandem Press archive, *Dissection: Tobacco Flower* (1993.60), *Dissection: Morning Glory* (1993.61), and *Dissection: Honeysuckle* (1993.62).

The Elvehjem's fine collection of prints and drawings continues to grow in breadth and quality. Pieter Brueghel the Elder (Flemish, 1525/30–1569) was one of the most significant artists of his era. *Solcitudo Rustica* (Country Concerns), about 1555–1557/58, (1993.76) is part of Brueghel's large landscape series in which the world unfolds in a myriad of detail. Although Will Barnet (b. 1911) is best known for his calm, planar images of women, through the generosity of Richard Brock the Elvehjem has received one of Barnet's early woodcuts, *Irish Kids* (1993.47) dating from 1938, which has an energetic graphic pattern.

Two outstanding drawings were also added to the collection in FY 1994–95. Julio González (Spanish, 1876–1942), a sculptor, produced *Personnage Noir #1* (1994.1) as part of a series done in preparation for two iron sculptures of *L'Homme cactus* (Cactus Man). Executed in india ink, pencil, and wash, the Elvehjem's drawing is closely related to the second of these sculptures, which was constructed in 1939–40. We are grateful to Alvin and Terese Lane for making possible the acquisition of this sketch for one of the artist's best-known works. The Elvehjem has also received a charming character study in ink and watercolor, *The Old Huntsman*, about 1915, by Jack Butler Yeats (Irish, 1871–1957) from Mary Katharina Williams (1994.22).

The museum also continues to increase its holdings in two important if distinct areas, the arts of Africa and the manufactured glass of René Lalique. Professor Henry Drewal of the art history department at UW–Madison, an expert on Yoruba art, was instrumental in arranging a gift of six Yoruba objects, including several fine examples of beadwork, from Drs. James and Gladys Strain of Riverdale, New York. Such efforts of collaboration



Chief of installations Jerl Richmond and assistant Steve Johanowicz remount and reinstall the monumental painting by Don Nice in Paige Court. The painting was so large it had to be dismantled to be brought through the doors

(left to right) Floyd Story, vice president of design, and Philip Gellat, president, represent the donor Northern Engraving Corporation of Sparta; artist Don Nice; David Ward, chancellor, Russell Panczenko, Elvehjem director of UW–Madison gather for the unveiling of the museum's largest artwork—*Beasts and Demons*

between faculty and the museum not only enrich the Elvehjem collection but the teaching potential of the university as whole.

Through the generous Ineva T. Reilly Endowment Fund, the Elvehjem has added three fine examples of René Lalique's perfume bottles, "Le Jade" for the fragrance by Roger et Gallet, "Calendal" for the fragrance by Molinard, and "A Côtes, bouchons papillons" and a drawing by Lalique of an olive branch. Executed in ink, pencil, and watercolor on parchment, this study suggests Lalique's design process.

Like those of FY 1993–94, the acquisitions of FY 1994–95 also require superlatives. Nine feet high and thirty-six feet long, *Beasts and Demons*, 1978, by Don Nice (American, b. 1932), is the largest work of art ever to come to the museum. Donated by Northern Engraving of Sparta, Wisconsin, *Beasts and Demons* (1994.27a-c) is so large that it had to be disassembled to be brought into to the museum where it now hangs on a long wall in Paige Court. Organized as a triptych, the center canvas painted in acrylic shows nine animals rendered with absolute naturalism portrayed against a white background. The side panels each consist of twenty-five square watercolor-on-paper images of the pleasures and preoccupations of children and adults. This is an excellent representation of second generation pop artists in the collection.

In FY 1994–95, the Elvehjem also received a most generous bequest from Mary Woodward Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodward. This donation includes sixteen watercolors by Salvador Dali (Spanish, 1904–1988) executed for Mrs. Lasker on commission between 1948 and 1952. Also included in the bequest were fifteen paintings all dating from the second half of this century. Included in this group are such important modern painters as Paul Jenkins and Sam Francis. This bequest of thirty-one works of art reflects Mrs. Lasker's warm relationship with the Elvehjem, dating from 1970, when she lent important paintings by Picasso and Braque to the museum's inaugural exhibition.

Through the purchase of the acrylic painting *Fragments of a Landscape* 1994 (1995.4) by Gronk (Glugio Gronk Nicandro, American, b. 1954) the museum has acquired immutable evidence of the energetic and evocative mural *Ironweave* which Gronk created on the Elvehjem's fourth floor in the fall of 1994. As artist-in-residence from September 26, 1994 to October 8, 1994, Gronk painted directly on the gallery walls, producing a continuous mural embedded with personal emblems and natural references. The mural was whitewashed after the exhibition closed on November 20, 1994. *Fragments of a Landscape* reflects the style and subject matter of

Ironweave. Executed on hand-made paper called Spanish bark, *Fragments of a Landscape* now hangs among the Elvehjem's permanent collection of twentieth-century art and represents the work of Chicano painters in Los Angeles.

Again in FY 1994–95, the Elvehjem used proceeds from the Ineva T. Reilly Endowment to add a variety of objects by Lalique to the permanent collection. Included were studies for bracelets executed in ink and watercolor on paper (1994.45), a commemorative medallion for the International Exposition of Art and Industry in Paris in 1937 (1994.47), and a clear and frosted glass table clock patterned with sparrows, 1921 (1994.46). We also purchased *Anemones*, a two-fold screen made of amber glass, lacquer, and painted canvas. This screen was designed about 1971 by Marie-Claude Lalique, granddaughter of René Lalique, for the London Lalique showroom.

We acknowledge an important development in the history of printmaking with our acquisition of an etching by Daniel Hopfer, *St. George on Horseback Slaying the Dragon*. Historians consider Hopfer to have invented the etching technique, and this work of expressive, delicate line was created at the height of Hopfer's powers. The museum's holdings of contemporary prints continue to grow thanks in part to Tandem Press. This year the Tandem archive added works by Richard Bosman, Joseph Goldyne, Gronk, Ed Paschke, Italo Scanga, Robert Stackhouse, and other well-known artists from across the United States. We also added a remarkable example of printmaking by the German artist Kiki Smith, *All Souls*; it places a politically charged, graphically strong image on the back of a paper so delicate and thin that the image shows through perfectly clearly.

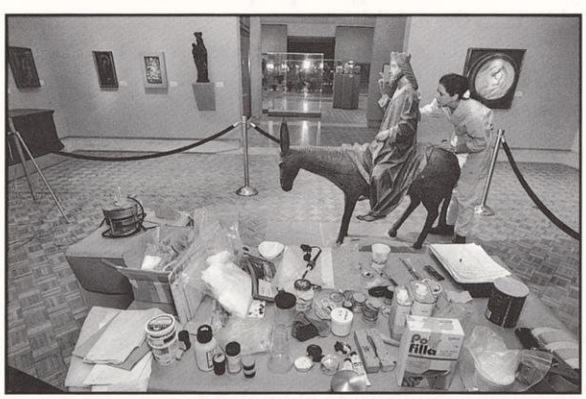
As in the previous year, we again added to our collection of British watercolors. An acquisition of special note is *The Fish Market on the Beach at Hastings* of 1819, by David Cox (British, 1783–1859). This work's size and quality suggest it was intended for an important annual exhibition, such as the Old Watercolour Society in London in 1819. Arthur Melville's (British, 1855–1904) *Pilgrims on the Way to Mecca*, painted in 1882, shows his interest in exotic subjects, which provided an opportunity to employ a lush color palette and incorporate novel decorative elements into his work.

Conservation

As part of its mission the Elvehjem not only acquires new works of art but makes all necessary efforts to conserve the works within its care. Conservation is an expensive undertaking; thanks to the Getty Grant Program, the National Endowment for the Arts as well as the College of Letters and Sciences of which the Elvehjem is a part, fourteen paintings and works on paper were treated in FY 1993–94. All of these were works by key members of CoBrA, an expressionist art movement active from the late 1940s through the 1960s which came to the Elvehjem through the bequest of Alexander and Henrietta Hollaender. Because of the experimental nature of their technique, the works by CoBrA are prone to develop instabilities and discoloration over time. Without the treatment received the works were not suitable for display and languished in storage.

In FY 1993–94 we also undertook preservation of our Palmessel, the popular fifteenth-century wooden figure of *Christ Riding a Donkey*, which is on view in Brittingham Gallery II. It is one of our most sought after objects used by students of medieval art and beloved of the various school groups that visit the museum. Cracks were filled and the painted surface was consolidated guaranteeing that this sculpture could remain accessible to our visitors.

Late in FY 1994–95, the Elvehjem undertook a conservation survey of 230 metal and metal com-



Judy Greenfield stabilizes the damage done to wood by insects and moisture over four centuries and paints the filled cracks to match the surrounding areas.

posite objects in its collection. These are adversely affected by even the most mild fluctuations in humidity levels. The survey, which was made possible largely by funds from the National Endowment of the Arts, identified the eleven metal sculptures which are in greatest need of conservation treatment. We are now seeking support to carry out the prescribed treatments.

Exhibitions

Special exhibitions at the Elvehjem in the 1993–95 biennium took visitors on a tour of the art world from Britain to Zaire, eighteenth-century China to present-day Silicone Valley, in an extraordinarily broad range of offerings. These provided insights into diverse media and methods of making art and also allowed visitors to become acquainted with the broad range of cultures that created the rich variety of works on view.

An especially popular example of this in FY 1993–94 was the exhibition *African Reflections: Art from Northeastern Zaire*. The exhibition, which was organized by the American Museum of Natural History in New York City, included an unusually broad selection of cultural artifacts such as exquisitely elaborated tools, musical instruments, objects of adornment created by the rich cultures of Zaire as well as watercolors and photographs by the American scientists who spent five continuous years with the Mangbetu people and collected the objects in the exhibition.

The fruits of a generous bequest from the Frederick Leach Estate made in memory of Lucia J. Leach were shown in the exhibition *British Watercolors: 1750–1900*. In the interest of creating a coherent and significant collection, the bequest has been used to acquire British watercolors. Not only were the British among the finest practitioners of the art, but the medium received its greatest development in England. The exhibition showed the remarkable range of potential in the medium as it was handled by artists of the sublime as well as the romantic, interested in recording foreign sights as well as idealizing the countryside of England.

Heritage of the Brush: The Roy and Marilyn Papp Collection of Chinese Painting brought together works from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries. Galleries VII and VIII were filled with the often contemplative works, giving the museum the air of the quiet scholarship that is the subject of so many of the paintings of the Confucian literati whose works appeared in the exhibition. The exhibition included paintings in a wide variety of formats and subjects, hanging scrolls of spectacular mountain scenes, fans depicting scholars in conversation, and long horizontal hand-scrolls, including one illustrating the Kangxi emperor's tour of the southern provinces in 1689.

Winslow Homer the Illustrator: His Wood Engravings, 1857–1888 opened a window onto our American past. Best known today for his intimate watercolors, Homer was more familiar to his contemporaries as an illustrator for weekly variety magazines like *Harper's*. He illustrated news items and fiction pieces, as well as being a roving correspondent, sending back drawings of the Civil War which brought the war home to the cities of the north.

Contemporary art has always found a receptive audience in Madison, and several Elvehjem exhibitions during FY 1993–94 catered to this interest. Magdalena Abakanowicz's haunting *Crowd No. 2* was installed in Brittingham Gallery VI. Visitors were confronted by tall, headless figures of stiffened brown burlap. Regimented ranks stood silently at attention, all facing in the same direction, in a space in the shape of a perfect cube. Whether seen as an allusion to contemporary politics or art, the effect was a chilling vision of the dangers of conformity.

The exhibition *Archie Lieberman: Close to the Land* depicted scenes close to home. Lieberman has been a professional photographer for more than forty years traveling the world taking photographs of rural landscapes for *Life* and *Look* magazines. This exhibition, sponsored by Lands' End, focused on people at work on the land.

The Elvehjem is a university museum and therefore its exhibitions always serve an educational purpose. On occasion, however, an exhibition reaches beyond the didactic to the experimental. One such exhibition in FY 1993–94 focused attention on the expanding horizons of art. *Information Art: Diagraming Microchips*, organized by the Museum of Modern Art in New York City, consisted of microchip diagrams. These diagrams, originally created for purely pragmatic purposes, have for

many become icons of our technological culture. Beautiful, they resemble oriental rugs and, once their functional use has been satisfied, are being framed and hung on walls, in homes, offices, and museums. The question posed by this exhibition: are they art?

The exhibition *Tandem Press: Five Years of Collaboration and Experimentation* exemplified another aspect of the Elvehjem's teaching role on campus. Tandem Press, which operates under the auspices of the UW–Madison Department of Art, brings established artists to Madison. While here they give lectures, critique student work, and, with the collaboration of advanced student assistants, produce an editioned print or prints which are then marketed. The revenue thus generated funds the continuing visiting artist program. The Elvehjem serves as the archive for the press and receives one copy of every editioned print. *Tandem Press: Five Years of Collaboration and Experimentation* was a retrospective look at Tandem's first five years; it presented the fifty-six works by thirty-three artists that have been produced since the press's inception. The exhibition, which traveled to two other museums after being shown in Madison, demonstrated the remarkable range of the press; the works were not only stylistically divergent but ran the whole gamut of print processes.

Individual students in various guises are always involved in Elvehjem projects. However, an entire class was instrumental to conception and mounting of *Lasting Impressions: The Art of Printmaking*. Students in the Museum Studies 602, under the guidance of Drew Stevens, our curator for works on paper, worked with the museum's extensive print collection for a semester. Developing their own connoisseurship skills, they organized an exhibition which explained relief, intaglio, and lithographic printing processes to their peers and other visitors to the Mayer Gallery.

Exhibitions during FY 1994–95 were equally rich and diversified. A far larger proportion of them than usual was organized in-house. Among the most innovative presentations of the year was *Gronk: Iron Weave*. Combining painting and performance, Los Angeles artist Gronk (Glugio Gronk Nicandro) used the walls of the top floor of the museum as his canvas. Deriving his title *Iron Weave* and his inspiration from a chance encounter with an advertisement for panty-hose of the same name, Gronk was in residence at the Elvehjem for the first two weeks of the exhibition working on his mural. From the very first day, Gronk generously opened the galleries where he was working to visitors, pausing to speak to interested individuals and groups that came to visit. The opportunity to speak to an artist and experience a work in progress was as important to visitors as the work itself. Following the residency the mural was painted over and the galleries on the fourth floor returned to their original function. The entire two-week residency was documented on film by Wisconsin Public Television, and a special half-hour TV documentary was produced by Debra Mims.

An exhibition stemming from a work long in the Elvehjem collection presented the work of a relatively unknown artist who exhibited with Robert Henri and John Sloan and was an influential teacher in his time. *Homer Boss: The Figure and the Land* was an exhibition long overdue. It brought together thirty paintings from different branches of the surviving family and from several public collections.

Never predictable but nevertheless an Elvehjem tradition, the UW–Madison Department of Art quadrennial faculty exhibition was presented in FY 1994–95. Steered by a committee selected by the Department of Art, the exhibition included works by emeritus and current members of the faculty. As in the past, the exhibition, which occupied all of the top floor, Brittingham galleries VII and VIII as well as the Paige Court and Mayer Gallery, presented the artists' most recent achievements. The works in the exhibition were extraordinarily wide-ranging in both style and medium, from contemporary furniture to computer-generated prints.

The largest of the museum's print exhibitions, both in terms of the space allocated to it and of the individual works themselves, was *James Rosenquist: Time Dust, Complete Graphics 1962–1992*. Organized by the museum at University of Southern California, this monumental exhibition traced Rosenquist's development as a pop artist from the early sixties to the present through his prints. The ninety prints in the exhibition required the Mayer Gallery for the early small works, Brittingham Galleries VII and VIII for the larger early works including the sixteen-foot long *F–111*, and the entire top floor for some of the truly monumental works, such as *Time*

Dust, a seven-foot-tall, thirty five-foot-long print, that the artist is producing today.

Photography continues to be featured in Elvehjem exhibitions. In FY 1994–95, we displayed the works of two undisputed masters of American photography: *Through Their Own Eyes: The Personal Portfolios of Ansel Adams and Edward Weston*. Seminal figures in the development of the crisp style of photography, both photographers looked to the world around them for their artistic inspiration. Toward the end of their careers, they both assembled portfolios. We were able to borrow the two portfolios from The Capital Group of Los Angeles thanks to the intervention of our council member Tom Terry. The juxtaposition of the two portfolios provided a rare opportunity to compare subjects and styles of these two great American masters.

A selection of prints entitled *Northern Old Masters: Prints from the Permanent Collection* was presented in the fall of 1994. It included beautiful and important works by such luminaries as Albrecht Dürer, Rembrandt van Rijn, Peter Brueghel the Elder, and Martin Schoengauer.

This exhibition was followed by *Judy Pfaff: Prints* which traced this contemporary artist's development from compositions that borrowed their vocabulary from pop art to her current work that uses organic forms often reminiscent of undersea life. Judy Pfaff produced this year's print for the Madison Print Club, and this exhibition was a service for this influential group of collectors.

Contemporary prints frequently compete with paintings in size as well as richness of color and imagery. In recent years, the Elvehjem has acquired a significant number of such works. Many were on display for the first time in *Monumental Contemporary Prints* shown in Brittingham Galleries VII and VIII from May 12 to June 18, 1995. Included were works by Frank Stella, Al Held, Leonard Baskin, and Howard Hodgkin.

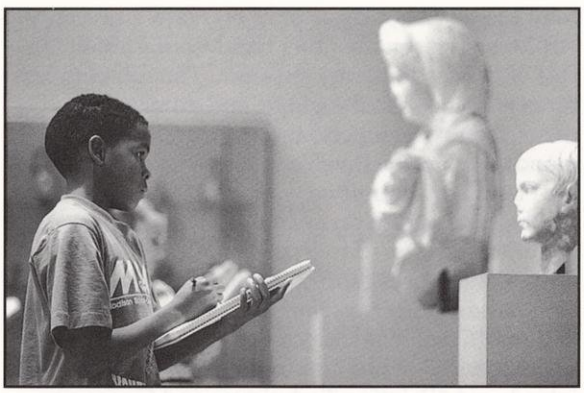
As in the previous year, the Elvehjem presented exhibitions directly dovetailed with classes, in this instance a class in the Department of Art History. *Paper Women: The Female in Japanese Prints* grew from a graduate seminar conducted by Professor Gene Phillips on the role of women as depicted in Japanese prints. The exhibition included a selection of prints from the Van Vleck collection presenting images of stylish beautiful women from the eighteenth through the nineteenth centuries. Students explored representations of the female as goddess and as monster as well as the equivocal courtesan.

One additional exhibition program should be mentioned here. Although much smaller in scale than the exhibitions mentioned above, during this past biennium the Elvehjem initiated a series of displays in the niche-cases between galleries III and IV and galleries VI and VII on the third floor. Drawn from the permanent collection, these mini-exhibitions are coordinated with specific class offerings in response to a request from a professor. As part of this series, we presented selections of Indian miniature paintings from the Watson collection, of Japanese prints from the Van Vleck collection and a group of Piranesi graphic depictions of the ruins of ancient Rome. These mini-displays will continue to be featured and expanded in scope and frequency as our collection becomes better known and more useful as a teaching tool.

Education and Outreach

African Reflections: Art from Northeastern Zaire, on view for the entire fall of 1993, involved the largest number of visitors for educational events of any temporary exhibition in the museum's history. Planning for the educational programming to accompany this exhibition began early in the spring of 1993. Two planning meetings were held with leaders from schools, African American community groups, government agencies, and appropriate University of Wisconsin–Madison departments and programs. Many good suggestions resulted from these public sessions including extending museum hours on week nights and an audience-specific mailing list of over five-hundred influential groups and individuals.

In addition to the brochure, exhibition catalogue, video about the Mangbetu people, and audiotapes of their music provided by the American Museum of Natural History, the Elvehjem's curator of education Anne Lambert worked closely with Henry Drewal, professor of art history and Afro-American studies, and Betty Wass, associate director of the African Studies Program, to develop a multifaceted educational program. This comprised tours of the exhibition, curriculum materials



A student from Emerson Elementary School of Madison studies the Roman sculpture in Brittingham Gallery I

for upper elementary and high school classes, storytelling for children and adults, special classes and workshops, and performances of African music and dance. It also included a semester-long series of lectures by nationally known Africanists which are being published in the present *Bulletin*.

Volunteer docents provided guided tours to 8,981 public school students and 2,996 adults, for a total of 11,977. (During the same period in 1988, *Frank Lloyd Wright and Madison*, the most popular exhibition prior to *African Reflections*, a total of 6,500 people came for guided tours.) In fact, over one-in-four visitors to *African Reflections* had a guided tour. These gains resulted from a greater use of the tour program by Madison middle and high schools and multiple visits from many elementary schools.

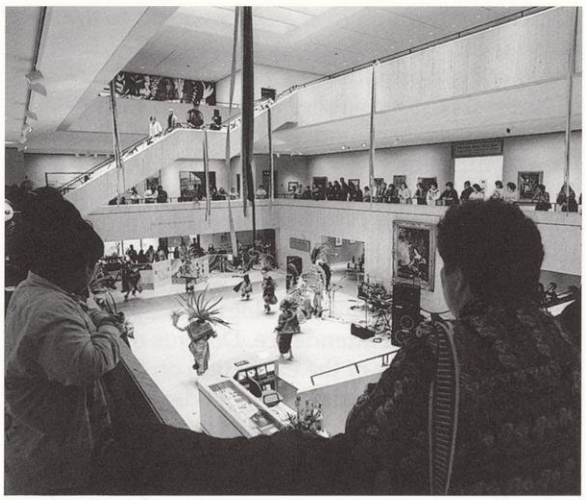
The elementary and high school classes that visited the exhibition came from 126 different schools. Of that number sixty-two were from Madison, twenty-nine from Dane County, three from Milwaukee, and thirty-two from other areas of Wisconsin. Algoma High School French students traveled three and one-half hours to take a guided tour in the French language!

Prior to the class visit, the teacher had been provided with a curriculum slide-packet. Written by Shannen Hill, a graduate student in the Department of Art History, it consisted of slides of objects in the exhibition and information about the cultural and historic context of the objects. Of the students who were brought on these tours, 57 percent (6,780) were shown the slides in advance, most of them in grades four through twelve. Subsequent to the visit, an hour-long video *Spirits of Defiance: The Mangbetu People of Zaire* provided by the American Museum of Natural History was lent on request to high school groups. Six hundred and seven students viewed this film.

Youth groups, including several organized by United Neighborhood Center agencies, preferred to schedule their tours during extended Wednesday night hours. Adult group tours which included university history and anthropology classes showed no specific pattern of attendance. Docents offered introductory tours of the exhibition on Sundays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays to meet demand, and all were equally well attended. Adult groups comprised from two to forty people.

Programs related to the exhibition *African Reflections* dominated the fall and winter of 1993. In early 1994 lectures related to different topics and exhibitions. Among the highlights was a lecture by James Cahill, professor of the history of art at the University of California at Berkeley and the preeminent American scholar of Chinese painting. He lectured in association with the exhibition *Heritage of the Brush: The Roy and Marilyn Papp Collection of Chinese Painting*. Master printers Andy Rubin and Bruce Crownover provided lively gallery demonstrations of woodblock printing at the opening of *Tandem Press: Five Years of Collaboration and Experimentation*. Patricia Junker, the Elvehjem's former curator of collections, returned to Madison and lectured on her specialty in association with *Winslow Homer, The Illustrator: His Wood Engravings, 1857–1888*. In summary, during 1993–94 the Elvehjem sponsored forty lectures and other educational events with a total attendance of over 4,040 people.

FY 1994–95 drew heavily on the experiences of the preceding year. In preparation for Gronk's residency and exhibition, museum staff members met with leaders of Madison's Hispanic community, interested university faculty, and other student advisors. Educational materials and programs that resulted from these planning sessions included a bilingual fact sheet on the artist, docent tours in English and Spanish, and performances of Mexican music and dance by local and national artists. While 4,100 individuals watched Gronk paint his mural, 1,079 attended ¡Fiesta Gronk! celebrating the mural's completion.



¡Fiesta Gronk! brought colorful and graceful dancers to an appreciative audience

Visitor-activated videos, which are proving to be an increasingly effective and popular component of our educational offerings, were available with three exhibitions. A four-video medley about the lives and work of Ansel Adams and Edward Weston accompanied *Through Their Own Eyes: The Personal Portfolios of Edward Weston and Ansel Adams*. The Department of Art provided an excellent video of its own production in conjunction with the quadrennial faculty exhibition. Entitled *Art Work in Progress*, it featured twenty-seven members of the faculty discussing their work. *Welcome to the Water Planet*, screened in conjunction with *James Rosenquist: Time Dust, Complete Graphics 1962–1992*, explored the collaborative printing processes of James Rosenquist and Ken Tyler.

Lectures are always an important part of the Elvehjem's education program, attracting over 1,700 members of the public and university community in FY 1994–95. As in the past, most of the lectures, listed elsewhere in this publication, corresponded with temporary exhibitions. Two, however, were part of the Elvehjem's strategic planning initiative. Evan Maurer, director and chief executive officer of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, discussed the consequences of that institution's strategic planning and the impact technology has had on their educational efforts. James Cuno, the John Moors Cabot Director of Harvard University Art Museums, on the other hand, spoke about the role of the academic art museum. Though both lectures were open to the public and attracted students, faculty members, and staff, attendance was mandatory for the Elvehjem's newly formed Strategic Planning Committee.

Based on a pilot program offered the previous summer, we offered two paid curatorial classes for general audiences during the summer months of 1995. Andrew Stevens taught a four-week course entitled "Color Woodblock Prints in Japan, Europe, and America," while curator Leslie Blacksberg introduced "Painting Techniques and Conservation." Class size was limited to fifteen. Both courses were fully enrolled, and the revenue generated will be used to support the professional travel needs of the two instructors.

In the above mentioned programs 8,330 individuals participated. Combined with the 11,712 who participated in the guided-tour program, the educational services of the Elvehjem directly affected a total of 20,042 children and adults in 1994–95.

Publications

Publications, although discussed separately for the purposes of this report, are integral to the Elvehjem's educational mission. *Wisconsin Poets at the Elvehjem Museum of Art*, published in the spring of 1995, was the culmination of a important docent initiative. Under the leadership of Sybil Robinson and Bea Lindberg, docents invited poets from throughout the state to write about works on display in the permanent galleries. The 150 poems thus collected were reduced to 32 by Ronald W. Wallace, director of the program in creative writing at UW–Madison. These, accompanied by color reproductions of the respective works of art, are featured in the slim volume designed by Jim Escalante, associate professor from the Department of Art. A special boxed edition of fifty books will be produced for the museum's twenty-fifth anniversary in the fall of 1995.

Other collection-driven publications in FY 1994–95 were six gallery guides. Specific to our permanent displays of Egyptian, Greek, Renaissance, Baroque, and nineteenth-century art, they

discuss select works, emphasizing their most significant art historical and artistic features. The guides, available free of charge in their respective galleries, were written by the museum's editor, Patricia Powell, for the nonspecialist. They can be used separately or bound together in a single loose-leaf volume.

The *Bulletin*, including the present volume, which generally contains scholarly articles on objects in the permanent collection is now being published on biannual basis. Not only does this reduce budgetary pressures in a time of overall fiscal cutbacks, but it also allows more time for the preparation of scholarly materials for inclusion.

During 1993–94 the Elvehjem published two exhibition catalogues: *Patrick Ireland: Labyrinths, Language, Pyramids, and Related Acts* and *Tandem Press: Five Years of Collaboration and Experimentation, 1987–1992*. The first catalogue was an overview of the artist's work and included photographs of two site-specific installations that he created as part of the Elvehjem exhibition. The catalogue featured an essay by Jan van der Marck, curator of twentieth-century art at the Detroit Institute of Arts, and letters from Patrick Ireland to various critics in which the artist discussed his work. *Tandem Press: Five Years of Collaboration and Experimentation, 1987–1992*, the second catalogue, contains a history of Tandem and is a permanent record of all the prints made during its first five years. As we are the archive for the press, production of this 116-page illustrated catalogue was part of our contractual obligation.

In FY 1994–95, we also published two exhibition catalogues: *Homer Boss: The Figure and the Land* and *University of Wisconsin–Madison Department of Art Faculty Exhibition*. The first publishes a biography of the artist written by the artist's niece Susan Udell and contains a wealth of information from the artist's personal archives and from oral histories gathered by Mrs. Udell from his students and family. It is illustrated with eight color plates and forty-two duotones. As is traditional, we documented the work displayed in the latest quadrennial Department of Art Faculty exhibition. This publication contains a curriculum vitae, an artist's statement, and a full-page illustration for each of the twenty-eight current faculty, two current staff members, and eleven emeriti professors. It serves the dual purpose of providing a visual record of the work by the department during the past four years and as an introduction to faculty work for prospective students.

In addition to these, in the last biennium, the publications department produced ten issues of *Artscene*, nine invitations to special events, and ten postcards of the permanent collection. One last item that deserves honorable mention here is the six-color poster featuring Yoshida prints from the Van Vleck Collection of Japanese Prints. It is a useful tool for promoting the museum and making more people aware of the existence of this wonderful resource.

Volunteers

Elvehjem Docents

As usual the docents deserve special praise. Their service during our busiest exhibition, *African Reflections*, was exceptional. Due to the extraordinary demands of this project, we recruited additional guides from the African American community and the African Studies Program, as well as other sources. Several students from Professor Henry Drewal's art history course focusing on the art of Zaire also joined the group.

In all, docents conducted 959 tours of *African Reflections*, an average of over 100 people per day, and contributed 3,801 hours of volunteer service to meet the demand. Written evaluations subsequently submitted by group leaders sang their praises in the highest possible terms.

With 19,330 people on tours during FY 1993–94, it is not surprising that the docents performed the most service to the museum in its history. Popular programs such as "Poetry about Art" continued under the direction of Bea Lindberg and Sybil Robinson. Through cooperative ventures with Wisconsin Youth Symphony Orchestra, downtown Madison museums, Madison School Community Recreation's "Kids Day Out," and UW–Madison Continuing Education in the Arts Advanced Placement in Art History program docents provided valuable interaction with our city's other cultural organizations.

In FY 1994–95, docents assisted with the Gronk residency. Sometimes in Spanish but usually in English they guided groups as divergent in interest

and age as high school Spanish language classes from Lake Geneva; University of Wisconsin–Madison classes in art, English composition, and Spanish for Spanish speakers; after-school programs from community centers and Centro Hispano of Madison; Hispanic elementary and middle school students; and students from alternative educational programs. Seven hundred seventy students scheduled tours to watch Gronk work.

The docents promoted our collections and educational offerings at booths at fairs for public school teachers and parents throughout the year, including three days at the Wisconsin State Teachers' Convention. They continued to visit schools to speak about the museum and its collection as far away as Columbus. This latter activity reached 957 people.

Collaborative programs with city organizations included Kids Day Out, a program for youngsters-out-of-school on teacher workdays, sponsored by Madison School-Community Recreation; a Wisconsin Youth Symphony Orchestra concert with a related Elvehjem museum tour for schools; and lectures on the collections for P.L.A.T.O., a group of retired professional adults.

Curator for education Anne Lambert recruited, trained, and evaluated nineteen new docents in 1994–95, a group of particularly high caliber. Two docents represented our Madison group at national conferences: Jean-Pierre Golay attended the national docent symposium in Atlanta in April and lectured on the Elvehjem's foreign language tour program on a panel entitled "When Touring in English Is Not Your Option." Beverly Dougherty represented the Elvehjem docents at the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County the following year.

Elvehjem League

The 1993–95 biennium featured several large events and special activities that were facilitated by the involvement and support of the Elvehjem League. Under the direction of league president Elizabeth Pringle, this hard-working group of volunteers assisted with the organization of receptions and the wonderfully successful fall galas. The league also hosted the teas following Sunday Afternoon Live music performances. On other occasions, they regularly greeted visitors, supervised galleries, and assisted with counting attendance.

League members were also responsible for the museum's Open House in December, 1993 which celebrated the holiday season as well as the opening of the museum's exhibition *British Watercolors: 1750–1900*. During the May 1995 Book Fair in Paige Court, league members hosted a membership and information table.

Sunday Afternoon Live

Sunday Afternoon Live from the Elvehjem celebrated its fifteenth year during the 1993–94 season. As in the past, during the 1994–95 biennium, the concerts were broadcast live on Wisconsin Public Radio and heard by thousands of listeners throughout the state. Admission to the actual concerts at the museum was still free, and the performances were attended by audiences that ranged in size from 50 to 250. Intermission segments continued to serve as a major promotional vehicle for other museum events. Following each concert, league members served complimentary afternoon tea and cookies, a gracious effort supported by donations from Steep & Brew, La Brioche, and Garden Deli & Bakery at Imperial Garden West. The Sunday Afternoon Live program continues to be an important training ground for students interested in arts administration: Suzy Beck, in FY 1993–94 and Julia Helmstadter in FY 1994–95, both graduate students in arts administration at UW–Madison, served as its coordinators.

The program consisted mostly of chamber music performed in FY 1993–94 by accomplished musical ensembles from throughout Wisconsin, notably the Wingra Woodwind Quintet, the Lawrence Chamber Players, the Wisconsin Brass Quintet, the Madison Marimba Quartet, Wausau Conservatory Faculty, and the ever-popular Pro Arte Quartet, and in 1994–95 by WPR's own Bill Lutes, the Wingra Woodwind Quintet, the Lawrence Chamber Players, the Wisconsin Brass Quintet, The Oakwood Chamber Players, and the Pro Arte Quartet.

Museum Shop

In conjunction with the exhibition *African Reflections: Art from Northeastern Zaire*, the Museum Shop

opened the African Shop in the Whyte Gallery. This venture metamorphosed into being partly a Holiday Shop on November 1 and closed on January 9. The addition was both a financial and educational success. Consignments of some masks and headdresses from a Wisconsin gallery elevated the quality of merchandise. Area teachers voiced appreciation for the book selection that augmented their classroom curriculum.

An annual catalogue sale, including Elvehjem catalogues published as early as 1970, was held in Paige Court; the sale cleared past stock and served as a useful reminder of the tradition of Elvehjem publications. Additional titles focusing on trends in art and our exhibitions were also available. This event was repeated in May 1995, coupled with a used-frame sale. In both years the Museum Shop ventured onto State Street with a booth in front of Walgreens during Maxwell Street days to add potential clientele and serve as an outlet for overstocked items.

The Van Vleck Collection of Japanese Prints was the source for eight note cards introduced by the Museum Shop for the 1993 holiday season. The note cards, sold boxed and single, greeted and blank, also added to our wholesale sales. In both years, the Holiday Shop opened November 1 to accommodate additional customers. The store in 1994–95 was arranged according to ethnic themes; Hispanic, in conjunction with the Gronk exhibition; Asian, where we featured our new Japanese print holiday cards; African, inspired by the success of the African Shop last year; and northern European, where traditional holiday decor abounds.

The highlight of FY 1994–95 for the shop was its remodeling. Construction took place in June, when the Museum Shop offered its selections from a small display in Paige Court. Everything is new from floor to ceiling, and the effect is stunning. The white oak that is seen throughout the museum is echoed in the vertical pilasters and shelves and is accented by colors of purple, teal, and red. Lighted cases displaying new art glass are installed along the far wall. A U-shaped jewelry counter provides three times the previous display area. The carpet ties this all together to create an inviting atmosphere in which to shop.

1993–94 Council Report

Our 1993 fall council meeting on October 1 offered us a wonderful opportunity to view the unveiling of the 1630 painting by Bernardo Strozzi purchased with funds donated for this purpose by John and Carolyn Peterson. Elvehjem staff members gave reports on the exhibition *African Reflections* and the fund-raising fall gala designed to bring to the Elvehjem people who had never been associated with the museum. We discussed long-term plans for collections and exhibitions, with council members expressing opinions on the purpose of the permanent collection and generating useful ideas for future collecting. Some possible roles for the council were also explored.

The spring 1994 meeting on April 22 coincided with the opening reception for the exhibition *Tandem Press: Five Years of Collaboration and Experimentation*. We had the special pleasure of seeing a printmaking demonstration by Tandem Master Printer Andy Rubin. Committee chairs reported on the events planned for the twenty-fifth anniversary year, and the council was apprised of Alvin Lane's generous offer to have an exhibition of his collection of about sixty sculptures and 200 sculptors' drawings from 1918 to the present. As Frank Manly noted, this exhibition "will bring a degree of prominence to the museum not otherwise possible." Russell Panczenko added that the exhibition would be "particularly important as a teaching collection, of immense value to see the sculpture and drawings together." Council member William

Barbara Kaerwer examines the new Strozzi painting unveiled for the spring 1993 council meeting

Wartmann initiated a council art purchase fund to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary and invited other council members to join the effort. Frank Manley, chair of the strategic planning committee, spoke of the duties and plans of the new committee and named the people from various departments who have agreed to serve on the committee.

Jane Coleman, chair

1993–94 COUNCIL

ExOfficio Members
David Ward, Chancellor, University of Wisconsin–Madison
Phillip Certain, Dean, College of Letters and Science
Russell Panczenko, Director, Elvehjem Museum of Art
Andrew A. Wilcox, President, UW-Foundation

Members-At-Large
Arthur Adams
Joyce Bartell
Anne Bolz
James Carley
Jane Coleman, Chair
Elaine Davis
Marshall Erdman
Marvin Fishman
Walter Frautschi
Nancy Gage
Leslie Garfield
Grace Gunnlaugson
Betty Trane Hood
Edith Jones
Barbara Kaerwer
Diane Knox
Alvin Lane
Frank Manley
Jean McKenzie
Fred Reichelt
Ora Roehl
Donald Ryan
Fannie Taylor
Thomas Terry
Nicole Teweles
William Wartmann
James Watrous
Jane Watson
Mary Alice Wimmer
Hope Melamed Winter

Faculty and Student Members
Prof. Frank Horlbeck, Department of Art History
Prof. Robert Krainer, School of Business
Joanna Inglot, Graduate Student Representative

Fixed-term Appointments
Gail Goode, Elvehjem Docents
Elizabeth Pringle, Elvehjem League

Janet and Marvin Fishman of Milwaukee enjoy a council reception

1994–95 Council Report

On October 7, 1994 the council met at Marshall Erdman and Associates, where we were given a tour of the Erdman gallery by curator Ellen Johnson. Frederic Mohs of Madison was introduced as a new council member. We adjourned to gather again at the evening opening reception for the exhibition *Through Their Own Eyes: The Personal Portfolios of Edward Weston and Ansel Adams* and the completion of the mural for the fourth floor *Gronk: Iron Weave*.

The council met for a full day on April 28, 1995 to hear facilitator Frank Martinelli. He briefed the council on the events which led to the formation of the Strategic Planning Committee and presented background for the long-range plan to the council, who unanimously endorsed the Strategic Plan of the Elvehjem Museum of Art. Russell Panczenko outlined the festivities planned for the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration and gave a preview of the new logo. Leslie Garfield reported on the success of the Wartmann art purchase initiative and discussed the timing for the first purchase. John Feldt, senior vice president of the UW Foundation, gave the foundation report on earnings of the endowment. We welcomed Gail Goode and Carolyn Peterson as new members to the council. We want to thank these board members who are retiring from the council for their valuable service: Grace Gunnlaugsson (joined 1992), Fred Reichelt (joined 1986 and chair from 1990–92), Nicole Teweles (joined 1992), James Watrous (served 1970 to 1978 and again in 1993 and 1994). We sadly note that Arthur Adams, who joined the council in 1992, died in October 1994.

Jane Coleman, chair

Council members watch a printmaking demonstration by Andy Rubin

1994–95 COUNCIL

ExOfficio Members
David Ward, Chancellor, University of Wisconsin–Madison
Phillip Certain, Dean, College of Letters and Science
Russell Panczenko, Director, Elvehjem Museum of Art
Andrew A. Wilcox, President, UW Foundation

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Walter Frautschi
Nancy Gage
Leslie Garfield
Gail Goode
Betty Trane Hood
Edith Jones
Barbara Kaerwer
Diane Knox
Alvin Lane
Frank Manley
Jean McKenzie
Frederic Mohs
Carolyn Peterson
Ora Roehl
Donald Ryan
Fannie Taylor
Thomas Terry
William Wartmann
Jane Watson
Mary Alice Wimmer
Hope Melamed Winter

Council chair Jane Coleman (left) welcomes guests to the annual dinner

Faculty and Student Members
Prof. Frank Horlbeck, Department of Art History
Prof. Robert Krainer, School of Business
Joanna Inglot, Graduate Student Representative

Fixed-term Representatives
Beverly Calhoun, Elvehjem Docents
Elizabeth Pringle, Elvehjem League

Annual Report

July 1, 1993
to
June 30, 1994

ART ACCESSIONS COMMITTEE

Russell Panczenko, Chairman
Barbara Buenger, Department of Art History
Frank Horlbeck, Department of Art History
Patricia Mansfield, Department of Environment, Textiles, and Design
N. Wayne Taylor, Department of Art

Western Art

PAINTINGS

Diaz de la Pena, Narcisse (Spanish, 1807–1876)
Untitled, n.d.
Oil on panel, 9 3/8 x 8 1/4 in.
Gift of Mary Katharina Williams, 1994.7

Hayter, George (English, 1792–1871)
Portrait of Lady Caroline Montagu, in Bryonic Costume, 1831
Oil on canvas, 77 1/4 x 57 3/4 in.
Evjue Foundation Grant purchase in honor of Mrs. Frederick W. Miller, 1993.44

Maclise, Daniel (English, 1806–1870)
Scottish Lovers, 1863
Oil on canvas, 28 x 36 in.
Elvehjem Museum of Art General Endowment Fund purchase, 1993.77

Strozzi, Bernardo (Italian, 1581–1644)
Christ's Charge to Peter, ca. 1630
Oil on canvas, 52 1/4 x 39 3/4 in.
John and Carolyn Peterson Trust purchase, 1993.33

Unknown, Rumanian
The Deposition, n.d.
Reverse painting on glass, 13 1/8 x 15 1/2 in.
Gift of Ludmilla Shapiro, 1994.14

WATERCOLORS

Abbott, John White (English, 1763–1851)
Sharper Tor with Sheep Tor and Village, Devon, 1831
Watercolor, 11 7/16 x 8 5/16 in.
John and Carolyn Peterson Trust purchase, 1993.34

George Hayter, *Portrait of Lady Caroline Montagu, in Bryonic Costume*, 1831. Evjue Foundation Grant purchase in honor of Mrs. Frederick W. Miller, 1993.44

Daniel Maclise, *Scottish Lovers*, 1863. Elvehjem Museum of Art General Endowment Fund purchase, 1993.77

Bernardo Strozzi, *Christ's Charge to Peter*, ca. 1630. John and Carolyn Peterson Trust purchase, 1993.33

John White Abbott, *Sharper Tor with Sheep Tor and Village, Devon*, 1831, John and Carolyn Peterson Trust purchase, 1993.34

Sandby, Paul (English, 1725–1809)
A Capriccio Landscape, 1791
Watercolor, 19 1/4 x 25 1/2 in.
John and Carolyn Peterson Trust purchase, 1993.35

Stillman, Marie (Spartali) (English, 1844–1927)
La Pensierosa, 1879
Pencil, watercolor, and bodycolor heightened with gum arabic, 21 1/4 x 17 1/2 in.
Edward Blake Blair Endowment Fund, Walter J. and Cecille Hunt Endowment Fund, Frederick Leach Estate Fund, Membership Art Purchase Fund, Cyril W. Nave Endowment Fund purchase, 1993.40

Paul Sandby, *A Capriccio Landscape*, 1791. John and Carolyn Peterson Trust purchase, 1993.35

Marie (Spartali) Stillman, *La Pensierosa*, 1879. Edward Blake Blair Endowment Fund, Walter J. and Cecille Hunt Endowment Fund, Frederick Leach Estate Fund, Membership Art Purchase Fund, Cyril W. Nave Endowment Fund purchase, 1993.40

Julio González, *Personnage Noir #1*, 1939. Alvin and Terese Lane Fund purchase, 1994.1

DRAWINGS

Ernst, Jimmy (American, 1900–1984)
Memory of Perelkino, 1962
Watercolor and ink on paper, 8 5/8 x 10 9/16 in.
Gift of Richard E. Brock, 1994.6

González, Julio (Spanish, 1876–1942)
Personnage Noir #1, 1939
India ink, pencil, and wash on paper, 12 1/8 x 7 3/8 in.
Alvin and Terese Lane Fund purchase, 1994.1

Theodore Roszak, *Cosmic Landscape*, ca. 1954. Elvehjem Museum of Art General Endowment Fund, Harry and Margaret P. Glicksman Endowment Fund, Alexander and Henrietta W. Hollaender Endowment Fund, and John H. Van Vleck Endowment Fund purchase, 1993.32

Lalique, René (French, 1860–1945)
Study of an Olive Branch, ca. 1900
Ink, pencil, and watercolor on parchment, 8 x 5 7/16 in.
Ineva T. Reilly Endowment Fund purchase, 1993.95

Roszak, Theodore (American, b. Poland, 1907–1981)
Cosmic Landscape, ca. 1954
Pen and ink and wash on paper, 43 x 83 1/2 in.
Elvehjem Museum of Art General Endowment Fund, Harry and Margaret P. Glicksman Endowment Fund, Alexander and Henrietta W. Hollaender Endowment Fund, and John H. Van Vleck Endowment Fund purchase, 1993.32

Yeats, Jack Butler (Irish, 1871–1957)
The Old Huntsman, ca. 1915
Ink and watercolor on paper, 9 3/8 x 6 1/4 in.
Gift of Mary Katharina Williams, 1994.22

PRINTS

A.G.B. Graphics Workshop
Portfolio of 11: agb 1 + 10, 1993
Etchings, approx. 22 3/8 x 30 in. each
Cyril W. Nave Endowment Fund purchase, 1994.2.1–14

Barnet, Will (American, b. 1911)
Irish Kids, 1938
Woodcut, 20 1/8 x 16 in.
Gift of Richard E. Brock, 1993.47

Will Barnet, *Irish Kids*, 1938. Gift of Richard E. Brock, 1993.47

Bellmer, Hans (German, 1902–1975)
Landscape, ca. 1974
Color etching, 25 7/8 in x 19 11/16 in.
Gift of Richard E. Brock, 1993.48

Bellmer, Hans (German, 1902–1975)
Women, ca. 1974
Etching, 31 1/2 x 23 in.
Gift of Richard E. Brock, 1993.49

Bosman, Richard (American, b. 1944)
Forced Entry, 1993
Color silkscreen, 28 3/8 x 43 3/16 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1993.74

Bradford, Katherine (American, b. 1942)
Color X, 1993
Color collograph, 20 1/2 x 24 7/8 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1993.65

Bradford, Katherine (American, b. 1942)
Dalmatian Print, 1993
Color collograph, 20 3/4 x 25 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1993.63

Bradford, Katherine (American, b. 1942)
Lavender Print, 1993
Color collograph, 20 3/4 x 24 7/8 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1993.64

Bradford, Katherine (American, b. 1942)
Nature Print, 1993
Color collograph, 20 3/4 x 24 15/16 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1993.66

Braque, Georges (French, 1882–1963)
Untitled, n.d.
Pochoir, 16 1/4 x 10 1/4 in.
Gift of Mary Katharina Williams, 1994.24

Brueghel, Pieter the Elder (Flemish, 1525/30–1569)
Solicitudo Rustica (Country Concerns), ca. 1555–1557/58
Etching, 12 7/8 x 17 in.
John H. Van Vleck Endowment Fund purchase, 1993.76

Caporael, Suzanne (American, b. 1949)
Dissection: Honeysuckle, 1993
Color dry point and etching, 31 1/2 x 25 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1993.62

Caporael, Suzanne (American, b. 1949)
Dissection: Morning Glory, 1993
Color dry point and etching, 31 1/2 x 24 15/16 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1993.61

Caporael, Suzanne (American, b. 1949)
Dissection: Tobacco Flower, 1993
Color dry point and etching, 31 1/2 x 24 15/16 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1993.60

Caporael, Suzanne (American, b. 1949)
Tree Rings IV, 1993
Color monotype, 39 3/4 x 28 7/8 in.
Alice Drews Gladfelter Fund purchase, 1993.39

Pieter Brueghel the Elder, *Solicitudo Rustica* (Country Concerns), ca. 1555–1557/58. John H. Van Vleck Endowment Fund purchase, 1993.76

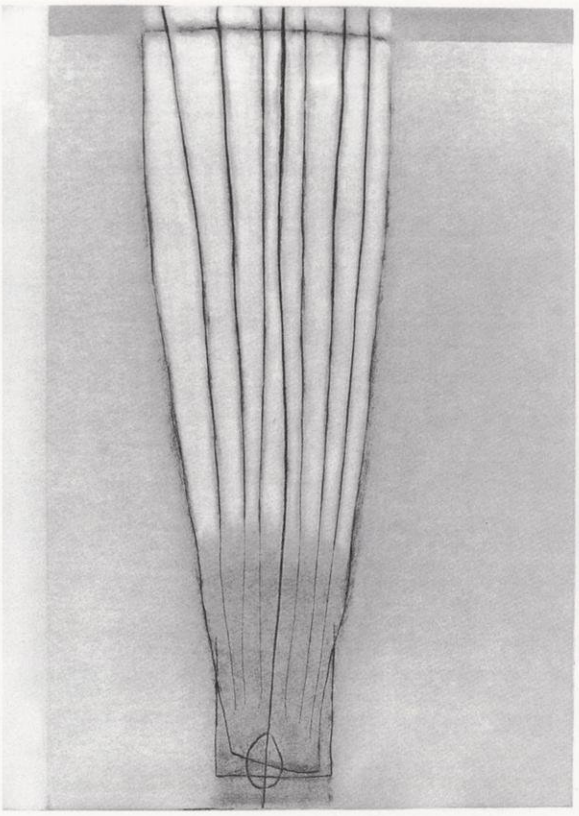
Cassatt, Mary (American, 1845–1926)
Looking into the Hand Mirror (No. 2), ca. 1905
Dry point, 7 3/4 x 5 3/8 in.
Gift of Richard E. Brock, 1994.4

Castellón, Federico (American, b. Italy, 1914–1971)
The Mask of the Red Death, n.d.
Color lithograph, 14 7/8 x 10 15/16 in.
Gift of Richard E. Brock, 1993.50

Chamberlain, John (American, b. 1927)
Untitled (Spurtlux), 1993
Color serigraph, relief print with collage, 81 3/4 x 29 5/8 in.
Gift of Bill Weege and Sue Steinmann, 1993.94

Cottingham, Robert (American, b. 1935)
Rolling Stock Series No. 22 for Bill, 1992
Etching and color collograph, 44 3/4 x 64 1/8 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1993.67

Cramer, George (American, b. 1938)
Neo-Harmony, 1992
Color lithograph, 25 x 30 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1993.73

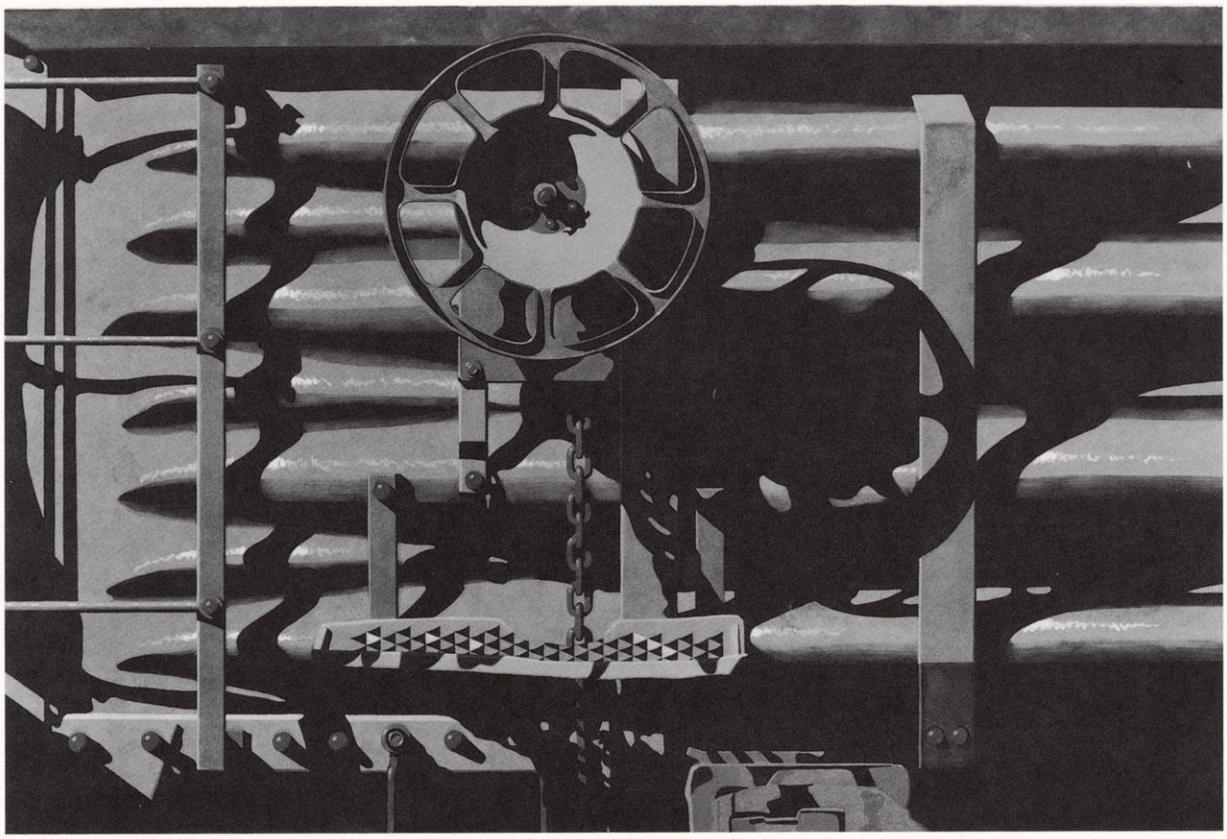


Suzanne Caporael, *Dissection: Tobacco Flower*, 1993. Transfer from Tandem Press, 1993.60

Daumier, Honoré (French, 1808–1879)
Un Vieil entêté, 1850
Hand-colored lithograph, 14 3/16 x 10 9/16 in.
Bertha Ardt Plaenert Endowment Fund purchase, 1993.37

Davies, Arthur Bowen (American, 1862–1928)
Passing of Dreams, 1921
Lithograph and lithotint, 15 1/4 x 20 in.
Gift of Richard E. Brock, 1994.5

Fischl, Eric (American, b. 1948)
Untitled, 1993
Solar plate intaglio, 18 7/8 x 15 in.
Malcolm K. and Bertha Whyte Endowment Fund purchase, 1993.36



Robert Cottingham, *Rolling Stock Series No. 22 for Bill*, 1992. Transfer from Tandem Press, 1993.67

Hnizdovsky, Jacques (American, b. Russia, 1915–1985)
Turkey, 1963
Woodcut, 24 15/16 x 19 7/8 in
Gift of Richard E. Brock, 1993.51

Ireland, Patrick (American, b. Ireland 1934)
Flying Open Cube, 1993
Color etching, 29 5/8 x 35 1/2 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1993.75.1

Ireland, Patrick (American, b. Ireland 1934)
Flying Open Cube, 1993
Color etching, 29 5/8 x 35 1/2 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1993.75.2

Ireland, Patrick (American, b. Ireland 1934)
Flying Open Cube, 1993
Color etching, 29 5/8 x 35 1/2 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1993.75.3

Ireland, Patrick (American, b. Ireland 1934)
Flying Open Cube, 1993
Color etching, 29 5/8 x 35 1/2 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1993.75.4

Ireland, Patrick (American, b. Ireland 1934)
Flying Open Cube, 1993
Color etching, 29 5/8 x 35 1/2 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1993.75.5

Kent, Rockwell (American, 1882–1971)
Good Women Must Weep, 1937
Lithograph, 10 3/8 x 7 3/4 in.
Gift of Richard E. Brock, 1994.3

Kunc, Karen (American, b. 1952)
Backwater Clearing, 1993
Color woodcut, 28 1/4 x 20 1/8 in.
Gift of the Madison Print Club, 1994.20

Lam, Wilfredo (Cuban, 1902–1982)
Les Cavaliers, n.d.
Color lithograph, 17 3/4 x 13 in.
Gift of Richard E. Brock, 1993.52

Leighton, Claire Veronica Hope (American, b. England, 1901–1989)
Man Cutting Wood, 1929
Wood engraving, 10 11/16 x 7 1/2 in.
Gift of Mary Katharina Williams, 1994.23

LeWitt, Sol (American, b. 1928)
Vertical Lines Not Touching, 1971
Etching, 17 x 23 7/16 in.
Gift of Richard E. Brock, 1993.53

Marin, John (American, 1870–1953)
La Madeline, Paris, 1908
Etching, 15 7/8 x 12 3/4 in.
Gift of Richard E. Brock, 1993.55

Matta, Roberto (Chilean, b. 1911)
Hom'mere, 1973
Color etching and aquatint, 26 1/4 x 20 1/4 in.
Gift of Richard E. Brock, 1993.57

Matta, Roberto (Chilean, b. 1911)
Les Oh! Tomobiles, 1972
Color etching and aquatint, 20 x 25 7/8 in.
Gift of Richard E. Brock, 1993.56

Pearlstein, Philip (American, b. 1924)
Male and Female Nudes on Spanish Rug, 1971
Aquatint and line etching, 22 1/4 x 29 15/16 in.
Gift of the artist, 1993.45

Picasso, Pablo (Spanish, 1881–1973)
Flammarion, 1953
Drypoint, 12 3/4 x 9 3/4 in.
Gift of Mary Katharina Williams, 1994.25

Ray, Man [Emmanuel Radinski] (American, 1890–1976)
Composition, 1969
Etching and aquatint, 24 1/2 x 17 7/8 in.
Gift of Richard E. Brock, 1993.54

Scholder, Fritz (American, b. 1937)
Flower at Barcelona, 1982
Color etching, 21 1/4 x 16 3/16 in.
Gift of Richard E. Brock, 1993.58

Scultori, Diana (Ghisi) (Italian, 1536–1590)
Latona Giving Birth to Apollo and Diana, ca. 1580
Engraving, 10 3/8 x 15 in.
Harry and Margaret P. Glicksman Endowment Fund purchase, 1993.38

Spalatin, Marko (American, b. Croatia 1945)
Matrix I, 1990
Color serigraph, 29 x 25 1/8 in.
F. J. Sensenbrenner Endowment Fund purchase, 1993.96

Spalatin, Marko (American, b. Croatia 1945)
Matrix II, 1990
Serigraph, 29 x 25 1/8 in.
F. J. Sensenbrenner Endowment Fund purchase, 1993.97

Spalatin, Marko (American, b. Croatia 1945)
Matrix III, 1990
Serigraph, 29 x 25 1/8 in.
F. J. Sensenbrenner Endowment Fund purchase, 1993.98

Spalatin, Marko (American, b. Croatia 1945)
Matrix IV, 1990
Serigraph, 29 x 25 1/8 in.
F. J. Sensenbrenner Endowment Fund purchase, 1993.99

Diana (Ghisi) Scultori, *Latona Giving Birth to Apollo and Diana*, ca. 1580. Harry and Margaret P. Glicksman Endowment Fund purchase, 1993.38

Spalatin, Marko (American, b. Croatia 1945)
Matrix V, 1990
Serigraph, 29 x 25 1/8 in.
F. J. Sensenbrenner Endowment Fund purchase, 1993.100

Spalatin, Marko (American, b. Croatia 1945)
Matrix VI, 1990
Serigraph, 29 x 25 1/8 in.
F. J. Sensenbrenner Endowment Fund purchase, 1993.101

Spalatin, Marko (American, b. Croatia 1945)
Matrix VII, 1990
Serigraph, 29 x 25 1/8 in.
F. J. Sensenbrenner Endowment Fund purchase, 1993.102

Spalatin, Marko (American, b. Croatia 1945)
Matrix VIII, 1990
Serigraph, 29 x 25 1/8 in.
F. J. Sensenbrenner Endowment Fund purchase, 1993.103

Summers, Carol (American, b. 1925)
Obersteinberg, ca. 1987
Color woodcut, 24 7/8 x 24 7/8 in.
Gift of Richard E. Brock, 1993.59

Teraoka, Masami (American, b. Japan 1936)
31 Flavors Invade Japan: French Vanilla, 1978
Color silkscreen, 11 x 55 in.
Gift of the American Academy of Arts and Letters, New York; Hassam, Speicher, Betts, and Symons Funds 1994, 1994.8

Unknown (Russian)
View of St. Petersburg, ca. 1800
Hand-colored etching and engraving, 12 1/8 x 18 in.
Printed for Rob Wilkinson
Gift of Ludmilla Shapiro, 1994.11

Unknown (Russian)
View of St. Petersburg, ca. 1800
Hand-colored etching and engraving, 12 3/16 x 17 7/8 in.
Gift of Ludmilla Shapiro, 1994.12

Unknown (Russian)
View of the River Fontancka, ca. 1800
Etching and engraving, 20 5/8 x 28 3/16 in.
Gift of Ludmilla Shapiro, 1994.13

Various Artists (American)
Portfolio of 34 prints: A Printer's Exquisite Corpse, 1992
Letter press prints
Gift of James Watrous, 1993.46.1–35

Van Vliet, Claire (American, b. 1933)
Moeraki Boulders II, 1993
Vitreograph, 28 1/2 x 23 1/8 in.
Gift of Jack Damer, 1994.9

Van Vliet, Claire (American, b. 1933)
Moeraki Boulders III, 1993
Vitreograph, 31 7/8 x 23 1/4 in.
Gift of Jack Damer, 1994.10

Wegman, William (American, b. 1943)
Bedrich Smetana, 1993
Color photogravure and lithograph, 14 3/4 x 30 1/2 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1993.71

Wegman, William (American, b. 1943)
Chopin, 1993
Color photogravure and lithograph, 15 1/4 x 12 7/16 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1993.68

Wegman, William (American, b. 1943)
Faure, 1993
Color photogravure and lithograph, 15 x 12 5/16 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1993.70

Wegman, William (American, b. 1943)
Janacek, 1993
Color photogravure and lithograph, 15 1/16 x 12 5/16 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1993.72

Wegman, William (American, b. 1943)
Scriabin, 1993
Color photogravure and lithograph, 15 1/4 x 12 1/2 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1993.69

Wood, Grant (American, 1891–1942)
Approaching Storm, 1941
Lithograph, 16 x 11 3/4 in.
Gift of Mary Katharina Williams, 1994.21

PHOTOGRAPHY

Lieberman, Archie (American, b. 1926)
Bill Hammer Jr. Age 14, June 1955
Gelatin silver print, 14 x 10 15/16 in.
Gift of Lands' End, Inc., 1994.15

Lieberman, Archie (American, b. 1926)
Bill Hammer Jr. Age 18, September 1959
Gelatin silver print, 14 x 10 7/8 in.
Gift of Lands' End, Inc., 1994.16

Lieberman, Archie (American, b. 1926)
Bill Hammer Jr. Age 29, August 1974
Gelatin silver print, 14 x 10 15/16 in.
Gift of Lands' End, Inc., 1994.17

Lieberman, Archie (American, b. 1926)
Bill Hammer Jr. Age 44, July 1985
Gelatin silver print, 14 x 10 15/16 in.
Gift of Lands' End, Inc., 1994.18

Lieberman, Archie (American, b. 1926)
Horse and Farmer, Turku, Finland, August 1967
Gelatin silver print, 19 7/8 x 24 in.
Gift of Lands' End, Inc., 1994.19

Mark, Mary Ellen (American, b. 1941)
Boy with Lasso, 1991
Gelatin silver print, 13 7/8 x 10 15/16 in.
Gift of Dr. Kristaps J. Keggi, 1993.84

Mark, Mary Ellen (American, b. 1941)
Boy & Baby, 1987
Gelatin silver print, 13 7/8 x 10 15/16 in.
Gift of Dr. Kristaps J. Keggi, 1993.85

Mark, Mary Ellen (American, b. 1941)
Bikers with Jesus T-Shirt, 1988
Gelatin silver print, 13 7/8 x 10 15/16 in.
Gift of Dr. Kristaps J. Keggi, 1993.88

Mark, Mary Ellen (American, b. 1941)
Girls on Motorcycle, 1988
Gelatin silver print, 13 7/8 x 10 15/16 in.
Gift of Dr. Kristaps J. Keggi, 1993.92

Mark, Mary Ellen (American, b. 1941)
Man in Suit on Beach, Miami, 1986
Gelatin silver print, 13 7/8 x 10 7/8 in.
Gift of Dr. Kristaps J. Keggi, 1993.91

Mark, Mary Ellen (American, b. 1941)
Old Woman in Black, Las Vegas, 1991
Gelatin silver print, 13 7/8 x 10 15/16 in.
Gift of Dr. Kristaps J. Keggi, 1993.89

Mark, Mary Ellen (American, b. 1941)
Roy Cohn with American Flag, 1986
Gelatin silver print, 13 7/8 x 10 7/8 in.
Gift of Dr. Kristaps J. Keggi, 1993.87

Mark, Mary Ellen (American, b. 1941)
Three Girls in Plaid, October 1986
Gelatin silver print, 10 5/16 x 10 3/8 in.
Gift of Dr. Kristaps J. Keggi, 1993.93
Mark, Mary Ellen (American, b. 1941)
Two Boys Playing in the Road, 1990
Gelatin silver print, 13 7/8 x 10 15/16 in.
Gift of Dr. Kristaps J. Keggi, 1993.86

Mark, Mary Ellen (American, b. 1941)
Two Girls in Dresses on Lawn, Miami, 1986
Gelatin silver print, 13 7/8 x 10 15/16 in.
Gift of Dr. Kristaps J. Keggi, 1993.90

GLASS

Lalique, René (French, 1860–1945)
Perfume Bottle: "A Cotes bouchons papillons," ca. 1911
Molded glass, 2 1/2 in. H., 3 3/8 in. Diam.
Ineva T. Reilly Endowment Fund purchase, 1993.43a-b

Lalique, René (French, 1860–1945)
Perfume Bottle for "Calendal" fragrance by Molinard, ca. 1929
Molded glass, 4 1/2 x 3 1/2 x 2 in.
Ineva T. Reilly Endowment Fund purchase, 1993.42a-b

Lalique, René (French, 1860–1945)
Perfume Bottle for "Le Jade" fragrance by Roger et Gallet, ca. 1926
Jade green glass, 3 1/8 x 2 1/2 x 1 in.
Ineva T. Reilly Endowment Fund purchase, 1993.41a-b

René Lalique, Perfume Bottle for "Calendal" fragrance by Molinard, ca. 1929. Ineva T. Reilly Endowment Fund purchase, 1993.42a-b

René Lalique, Perfume Bottle for "Le Jade" fragrance by Roger et Gallet, ca.1926. Ineva T. Reilly Endowment Fund purchase, 1993.41a-b

African Art

Yoruba People, Nigeria, West Africa
Beaded Royal Crown, n.d.
Beads, 9 x 12½ x 8 in.
Gift of Drs. James and Gladys Strain, 1993.79

Yoruba People, Nigeria, West Africa
Beaded Royal Crown with Bird, n.d.
Beads, 14 x 6¾ x 7½ in.
Gift of Drs. James and Gladys Strain, 1993.80a-b

Yoruba People, Nigeria, West Africa, *Beaded Royal Crown*, n.d. Gift of Drs. James and Gladys Strain, 1993.79

Yoruba People, Nigeria, West Africa
Gelede Headdress, n.d.
Painted wood, 8⅜ x 7½ x 8 in.
Gift of Drs. James and Gladys Strain, 1993.78

Yoruba People, Nigeria, West Africa
Ifa Diviner's Lidded Bowl with Multi-figured Base, n.d.
Wood, paint, 6½ x 6 in.
Gift of Drs. James and Gladys Strain, 1993.81a-b

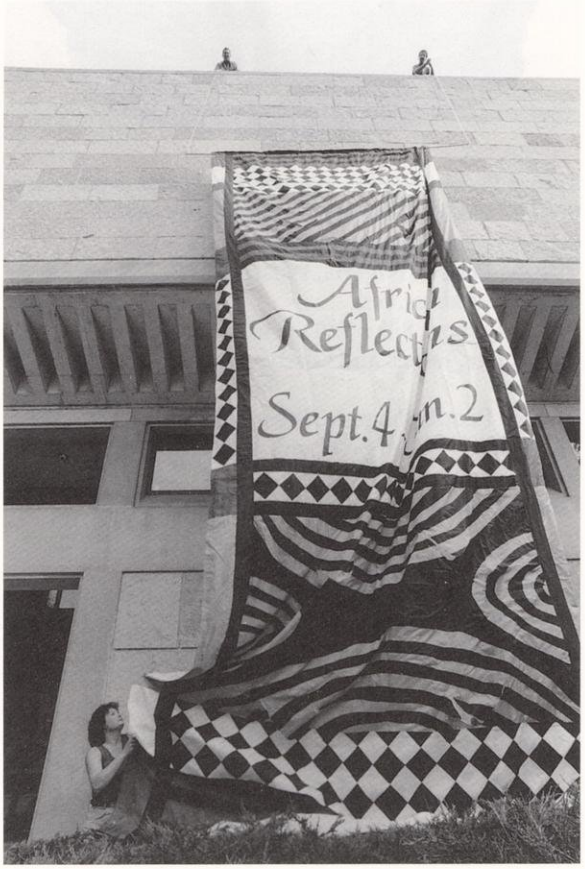
Yoruba People, Nigeria, West Africa
Yoruba Beaded Royal Ifa Diviner's Pouch, n.d.
Beads, linen, 8 x 7⅜ in.
Gift of Drs. James and Gladys Strain, 1993.83

Yoruba People, Nigeria, West Africa
Yoruba Wood Twin Figure (ere ibeji), n.d.
Wood, beads, paint, cloth, leather, 12 x 8 in.
Gift of Drs. James and Gladys Strain, 1993.82a-b

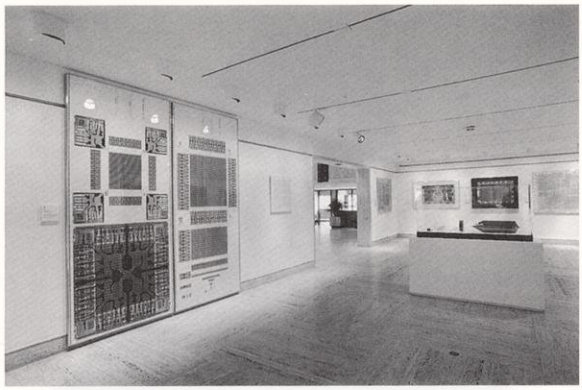
September 4, 1993–January 2, 1994, Galleries V, VI, VII, VIII, and adjacent niches

African Reflections: Art from Northeastern Zaire

More than 400 artifacts, including sculpture, furniture, musical instruments, pottery, baskets, weapons, tools, and jewelry, explore the art of a region that includes the Mangbetu, Azande, Barambo, Bua, and Mbuti peoples. The exhibition, organized and sponsored by the American Museum of Natural History of New York, was primarily drawn from the AMNH Lang-Chapin Expedition to the Belgian Congo from 1909 to 1915.



Raising the banner for the *African Reflections* exhibition



Information Art: Diagramming Microchips

September 4–November 14, 1993, Mayer Gallery

Information Art: Diagramming Microchips

The first exhibition to examine the computer chip as an icon of our technological civilization was organized by The Museum of Modern Art, New York. This exhibition presents thirty-one computer-generated plots of twenty-two circuits, along with the actual chips. Although not designed for aesthetic appeal, these large, intricate, and richly colored diagrams are powerful images in their own right.

November 20, 1993–January 23, 1994, Mayer Gallery

British Watercolors: 1750–1900

These superb examples from the Elvehjem's permanent collection span the history of British watercolor from its rise in the eighteenth century to its golden age in the nineteenth century and testify to the unparalleled achievements of British artists in this medium. The collection includes landscape and topographical view painting, architectural rendering, Ruskinian still-life studies, and Victorian figure painting.

January 29–March 20, 1994, Galleries VII and VIII

Heritage of the Brush: The Roy and Marilyn Papp Collection of Chinese Painting

For many Westerners, the most striking aspect of Chinese painting is the love of brush work for its own sake, a feeling transmitted from one generation of artists to another. The more than sixty important Chinese paintings from the Ming and Qing dynasties in this exhibition were chosen to show how major styles of Chinese paintings were passed from master painters and leading scholar-artists to their followers and descendants.

February 5–March 20, 1994, Mayer Gallery

Archie Lieberman: Close to the Land

Born in Chicago in 1926, Archie Lieberman studied at the Art Institute of Chicago and the Institute of Design, Chicago, where he worked with László Moholy-Nagy and Aaron Siskind, as well as Buckminster Fuller. These photographs form a retrospective spanning more than forty years of Lieberman's passionate interest in farmers and people who work the land in Scales Mound, Illinois, and others from around the world.

March 26–May 8, 1994, Mayer Gallery

Winslow Homer the Illustrator: His Wood Engravings, 1857–1888

This exhibition featured prints drawn from an extensive collection from the Cornell Fine Arts Museum of Winter Park, Florida. Thirty-one of the creative years of Homer's work were traced in these prints. They illustrated the Civil War, balls, holidays, factory life, the seasons, landscapes, oceans, children. These fascinating black-and-white narratives told the story of America through three decades. The exhibition tour was coordinated by Smith Kramer Fine Art Services.

Tandem Press: Five Years of Collaboration and Experimentation

April 9–July 17, 1994, Galleries VII and VIII

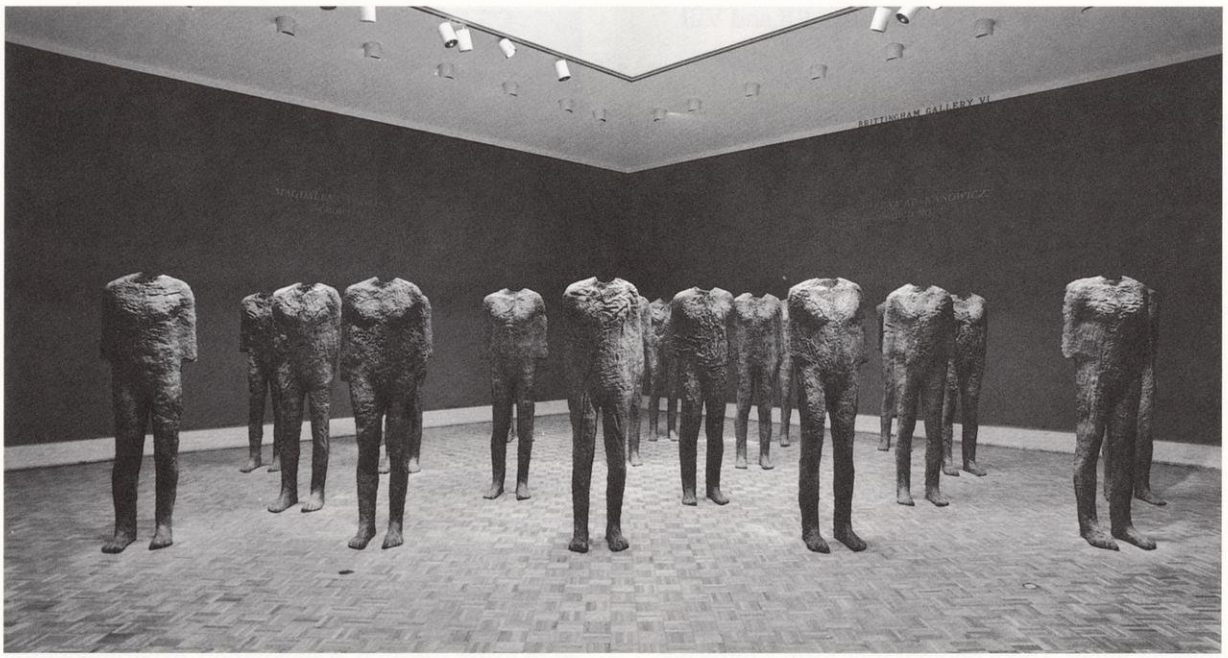
Tandem Press: Five Years of Collaboration and Experimentation

The University of Wisconsin–Madison Department of Art created Tandem Press, a workshop designated to foster research, collaboration, experimentation and innovation in the field of printmaking. At its inception the Elvehjem was designated the official archive for the fine arts press. This exhibition displayed fifty-six prints by thirty-three artists who created prints for Tandem Press from the years 1987 to 1992.

April 9–June 12, 1994, Gallery VI

Magdalena Abakanowicz: Crowd No. 2

This Polish artist embodied powerful mythic themes in her twenty vertical, mutilated figures, formed of burlap and resin. They are the artist's response to the physical and psychological violence of her life in Poland growing up during World War II and the subsequent Soviet occupation. The figures were on loan from the Richard Gray Gallery of Chicago.



Magdalena Abakanowicz: Crowd No. 2

May 14–July 10, 1994, Mayer Gallery

Lasting Impressions: The Art of Printmaking

Students in Art History 602: Museum Training and Connoisseurship planned this exhibition of forty prints from the permanent collection to illustrate these principal types of printmaking: relief, nonacid intaglio, acid intaglio, and lithography. The students were fully responsible for selecting, arranging, installing, writing labels, and planning the reception.

PUBLICATIONS

Patrick Ireland: Labyrinths, Language, Pyramids, and Related Acts, essay by Jan van der Marck. 104 pp., 24 color plates, 82 duotones. January 1994

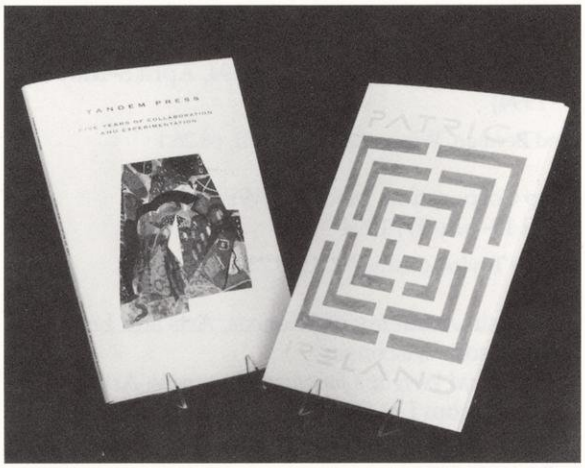
Tandem Press: Five Years of Collaboration and Experimentation, essay by Andrew Stevens. 116 pp., 33 color plates, 113 duotones April 1994

Bulletin/Annual Report 1991–93, 216 pp., 180 halftones. May 1994

Invitations to four exhibition openings

Artscene, 5 issues

Ten postcards featuring works from the permanent collection, April 1994



LOANS TO OTHER INSTITUTIONS

Patrick and Beatrice Haggerty Museum of Art, Milwaukee, Wisconsin
(*Politics of Nature: Art, Ideology, and Interpretations of Nature in European Prints and Drawings 1650–1850*, September 23–November 14, 1993)

Joseph Mallord William Turner, *Calm*, 1981.49
Unknown English, *The Night Mare*, 55.4.8

Japan Society Gallery, New York, New York
(*Kunisada's Japan*, September 30, 1993–November 14, 1993)

Toyohara Kunichika, *Memorial Portrait of the Artist Utagara Kunisada*, 1980.2604a-b

The Jordan-Volpe Gallery, Inc., New York, New York
(*A Rare Elegance: The Paintings of Charles Sprague Pearce* (1851–1914), October 22–December 4, 1993)

Charles Sprague Pearce, *The Shawl*, 1985.2

The University of Michigan Museum of Art, Ann Arbor, Michigan
(*Socialist Realism: Twentieth-Century Paintings from the Soviet Union*, December 4, 1993–February 27, 1994

S. P. Anikin, *Collective Farm in Georgia*, 37.2.27
E. Bolshenov, *Harvesting in Central Asia*, 37.2.78
Nikolai Dormidontov, *Five Year Plan*, 37.2.43
P. Fink, *A Factory at Night*, 37.2.45
I. K. Ivanov, *Village Council House*, 37.2.26
D. Kolobov, *Steel Foundry, 37.2.84*
B. Kostyanitzin, *Harvesting the Castor Oil Seeds*, 37.2.41
K. Vyalov, *Park of Rest and Culture*, 37.2.14

Milwaukee Art Museum, Milwaukee, Wisconsin
(*A Delicate Prey: Monotypes by Mark Mulhern*, December 10, 1993–February 14, 1994)

Mark Mulhern, Untitled, 1992.127

Nassau County Museum of Art, Roslyn, New York
(*American Realism Between the Wars*, March 27–June 5, 1994)

Grant Wood, *Approaching Storm*, 1985.308
Grant Wood, *March*, 1978.257
Grant Wood, *Midnight Alarm*, 1976.13

Patrick and Beatrice Haggerty Museum of Art, Milwaukee, Wisconsin
(*Wisconsin Artists: A Celebration of Jewish Presence*, April 7–June 12, 1994)

Alfred Sessler, *Thorny Crown*, 65.12.5

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Art Museum, Milwaukee, Wisconsin
(*Fred Berman Retrospective 1949–94*, April 8–May 29, 1994)

Fred Berman, Winter Landscape III, 68.26.1

Kipp Corporation, Madison, Wisconsin
April 19–July 17, 1994

Wayne Taylor, *Coxcomb 2*, 1988.73

Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters, Madison, Wisconsin
(*Frank Lloyd Wright's Japanism:* Japanese Art on Paper from His Collection, June 3–30, 1994)

Utagawa Hiroshige, *A Collection of Pictures of Famous Places in Edo*, 1980.2076

LECTURES AND PROGRAMS

Performing Arts: "Festival of Music and Dance"
Capoeira, Carlos "Quinto" Eguis-Aguila, HEDZOLEH, Lighthouse Gospel Singers, Neighborhood Intervention Program Dance Troupe, Unity Among Communities Drill Team, University of Wisconsin–Madison Music Students
Saturday, September 4, 1993

Enid Schildkrout, Curator of Anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History and organizing curator
"From Expedition to Exhibition: The Creation of African Reflections"
Sunday, September 5, 1993

Kazadi wa Mukuna and the Kent State African Ensemble
Performing Arts
Sunday, September 5, 1993

Harold Scheub, Professor of African Languages and Literature, University of Wisconsin–Madison
Storytelling: "Images of Fantasy and Reality"
Tuesday, September 7, 1993

Robert Farris Thompson, Professor of Art History, Yale University
"The Medicines of God: Congo Art and Atlantic Contacts"
Wednesday, September 8, 1993

The exciting African festival on September 4, 1993 drew large crowds

Kasiye Phiri Makaka, Graduate student in the Department of African Languages and Literature, University of Wisconsin–Madison
Storytelling: "KUKU NA NJIWA: Custodian of the Stories"
Saturday, September 18, 1993

Beatrice Lindberg and Sybil Robinson, Docents, Elvehjem Museum of Art
"Poetry about Art"
Sunday, September 19, 1993, Saturdays, February 12 and April 23, and Sunday, June 26, 1994

Symposium: "The Past as Prologue: Historical and Cultural Roots of Contemporary Zaire"
Michael G. Schatzberg, Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin–Madison, Coordinator. Lecturers: *Jan Vansina,* University of Wisconsin–Madison; *Bennetta Jules-Rosette,* University of California-San Diego; *Aliko Songolo,* University of Wisconsin–Madison; *Curtis A. Keim,* Moravian College; *Bruce Fetter,* University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee; *Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja,* Howard University; *Wyatt MacGaffey,* Haverford College; and *Crawford M. Young,* University of Wisconsin–Madison
Saturday, October 2, 1993

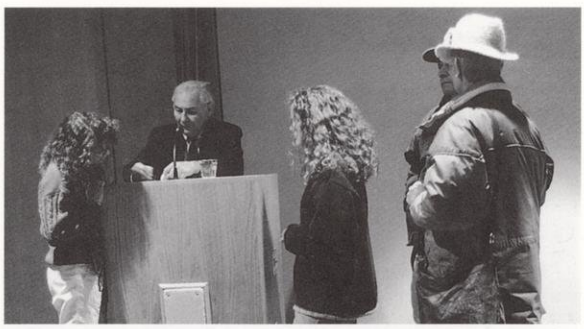
Ramona Austin, Associate Curator of African Art, The Art Institute of Chicago
"Power, Cosmos, and Legitimacy: The Regalia of Bakongo Chieftainship"
Wednesday, October 6, 1993

Allen Roberts, Professor of Anthropology, The University of Iowa
"Lions and Leopards and . . . Fears, Oh My! Arts of Terror and Resistance in Eastern Zaire"
Wednesday, October 20, 1993

David A. Binkley, Curator of Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas, The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art
"Shake the Baby: Initiation Masks and Fertility in Northern Kete Culture"
Wednesday, November 3, 1993

Patricia Darish, Adjunct Assistant Professor of the History of Art, University of Kansas, Lawrence
"This is our Wealth: Kuba Textiles of South-Central Zaire"
Thursday, November 4, 1993

Glugio Gronk Nicandro, Tandem Press/Department of Art Visiting Artist Lecture
Thursday, November 11, 1993



Photographer Archie Lieberman talks to audience and signs copies ofhis book after his talk on February 10, 1994

Panel Discussion: "Critical Issues in Contemporary Zairian Art" *Freida High W. Tesfagiorgis,* Professor of Afro-American Studies, University of Wisconsin–Madison; *Moyo Okediji,* Lecturer in Afro-American Studies, University of Wisconsin–Madison, and *Henry Drewal,* Professor of Art History, University of Wisconsin–Madison, Moderator
Wednesday, November 17, 1993

James Cahill, Professor of the History of Art, University of California at Berkeley
"Courtesans, Concubines, and Gentlewomen: Representations of Women in Later Chinese Painting"
Thursday, February 3, 1994

Archie Lieberman, Photographer
"On My Work"
Thursday, February 10, 1994

Alan Shields, Tandem Press/Department of Art Visiting Artist Lecture
Friday, February 11, 1994

Julia K. Murray, Associate Professor of Art History, University of Wisconsin–Madison
"Impeccable Taste: The Connotations of Style in Later Chinese Painting"
Thursday, March 3, 1994

Joseph Goldyne, Tandem Press/Department of Art visiting artist, talks to curator of prints Andrew Stevens (left) before his lecture on Wednesday, April 13, 1994

Gautama Vajracharya, Lecturer in South Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin–Madison
"Classical Elements in Rajput Paintings in the Watson Collection"
Thursday, March 10, 1994

Ed Paschke, Tandem Press/Department of Art Visiting Artist Lecture
Thursday, March 17, 1994

Patricia Junker, Assistant Curator of American Painting, M.H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco
"The Narrative Art of Winslow Homer"
Thursday, March 24, 1994

Chow Tse-heng
Calligraphy Demonstration: "The Nature and Characteristics of Calligraphy as Art"
Saturday, April 9, 1994

Joseph Goldyne, Tandem Press/Department of Art Visiting Artist Lecture
Wednesday, April 13, 1994

Andy Rubin, Master Printer, Tandem Press
Color Woodcut Demonstration
Friday, April 15, 1994

Bruce Crownover, Printer, Tandem Press
Color Woodcut Demonstration
Saturday, April 16, 1994

Andy Rubin, master printer at Tandem Press, gives a color woodcut demonstration during the reception for the Tandem Press retrospective, Friday, April 15, 1994

Andrew Stevens, Curator of Prints and Drawings, Elvehjem Museum of Art
"Collaboration Cubed: Designer, Printer, Audience"
Thursday, April 28, 1994

CONCERTS

Sundays at 2:30 p.m. in Brittingham Gallery III

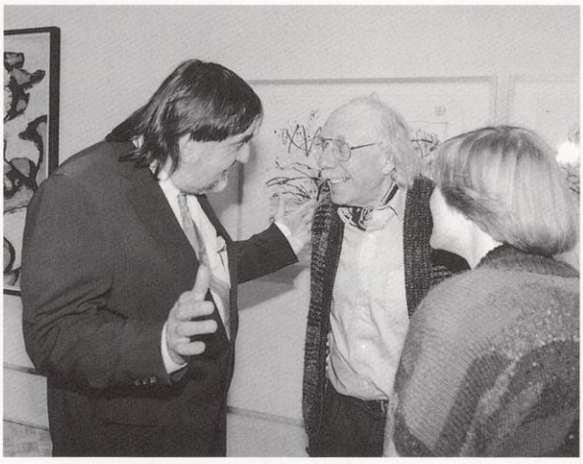
October 3
Pro Arte Quartet, Madison

October 10
Sarah Meredith, mezzo soprano, Green Bay

October 17
Parry Karp, cello, Madison

October 24
Wingra Woodwind Quintet, Madison

October 31
Bill Lutes and Martha Fischer, piano, Madison



Participating artist George Cramer discusses work at the reception for the Tandem Press retrospective

November 7
Pro Arte Quartet, Madison

November 14
Lawrence Chamber Players, Appleton

November 21
Wisconsin Arts Quintet, Stevens Point

December 5
Pro Arte Quartet, Madison

December 12
Wisconsin Brass Quintet, Madison

December 19
Madison Marimba Quartet

January 9
UW–Oshkosh Faculty concert

January 16
Wausau Conservatory Faculty concert

January 23
Ellsworth Snyder, piano, Madison

January 30
UW–Whitewater Faculty concert

February 6
Javier Calderon, guitar, Madison

February 13
Arlene Goter, piano, Platteville

February 20
Pro Arte Quartet, Madison

February 27
Solon Pierce, piano, Mt. Horeb

March 6
Wingra Woodwind Quintet, Madison

March 13
Duo Coriolan, piano and cello, Milwaukee

March 20
Veronika Quartet, Milwaukee

March 27
Mary Frantz, piano, Green Bay

April 10
Winner's concert—Wisconsin Public Radio Neale-Silva Young Artist's Competition

April 17
Pro Arte Quartet, Madison

April 24
Christina Dahl, piano, Appleton

May 1
Howard Karp, piano, Madison

May 8
Lawrence Chamber Players, Appleton

May 15
Katherine Proctor, mezzo soprano, Eau Claire

ELVEHJEM MUSEUM OF ART LEAGUE

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Hat Stevens

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Expenditures and Financial Resources

July 1, 1993–June 30, 1994

Operating Expenditures	Expended	UW	College of L&S	UW Trusts	Revolving Self-Sustain	Donations	Endowments	Grants	Total	Percent of Total Cost
Salaries (fringes included)										
Museum Staff	$547,595	$124,746	$384,327	$0	$38,522	$0	$0	$0	$547,595	
Museum Security	$206,966	$204,352	$0	$0	$0	$982	$0	$1,632	$206,966	
Museum Student/LTE	$72,515	$21,341	$25,253	$0	$12,905	$0	$0	$13,016	$72,515	
Subtotal Salaries:	$827,076	$350,439	$409,580	$0	$51,427	$0	$0	$14,648	$827,076	54%
General Operations	$64,018	$0	$38,477	$0	$257	$19,185	$0	$6,099	$64,018	4%
Maintenance of Permanent Collection										
Conservation	$21,146	$0	$8,113	$0	$0	$0	$0	$13,033	$21,146	
Study and Display Expenses	$18,722	$0	$7,772	$0	($1,395)	$12,345	$0	$0	$18,722	
Insurance of Collection	$23,603	$22,992	$0	$0	$0	$611	$0	$0	$23,603	
Subtotal Maint. Perm. Collection:	$63,471	$22,992	$15,885	$0	($1,395)	$12,956	$0	$13,033	$63,471	4%
Exhibitions	$198,266	$0	$3,255	$55,000	$6,282	$52,225	$0	$81,504	$198,266	13%
Museum Programs										
Education	$3,810	$0	$2,877	$0	$0	$833	$0	$100	$3,810	
Membership and Outreach	$9,942	$0	$80	$0	$0	$9,862	$0	$0	$9,942	
Concerts	$8,473	$473	$928	$8,000	$0	($928)	$0	$0	$8,473	
Subtotal Museum Programs:	$22,225	$473	$3,885	$8,000	$0	$9,767	$0	$100	$22,225	1%
Publications	$19,427	$0	$1,924	$0	$0	$17,503	$0	$0	$19,427	1%
Self-Sustaining Programs										
Museum Shop	$74,726	$0	$133	$0	$74,481	$112	$0	$0	$74,726	
Membership Trips	$185	$0	$0	$0	$0	$185	$0	$0	$185	
Subtotal Self-Sustaining Programs:	$74,911	$0	$133	$0	$74,481	$297	$0	$0	$74,911	5%
Building Maint. (Physical Plant)	$250,729	$249,425	$1,304	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$250,729	16%
TOTAL OPERATING EXPENDITURES:	$1,520,123	$623,329	$474,443	$63,000	$131,052	$111,933	$0	$115,384	$1,520,123	100%
PERCENT OF FINANCIAL RESOURCES		41%	31%	4%	9%	7%	0%	8%	100%	

Capital Expenditures	Expended	UW	College of L&S	UW Trusts	Revolving Self-Sustain	Donations	Endowments	Grants	Total	Percent of Total Cost
Acquisitions of Works of Art	$1,353,098	$0	$0	$0	$0	$1,017,886	$335,212	$0	$1,353,098	98%
Building Renovations	$4,235	$0	$3,252	$0	$0	$983	$0	$0	$4,235	0%
Equipment/Machines/Software	$19,824	$0	$19,470	$0	$0	$354	$0	$0	$19,824	1%
TOTAL CAPITAL EXPENDITURES:	$1,377,157	$0	$22,722	$0	$0	$1,019,223	$335,212	$0	$1,377,157	100%
PERCENT OF FINANCIAL RESOURCES:		0%	2%	0%	0%	74%	24%	0%	100%	
TOTAL OPERATING AND CAPITAL EXPENDITURES:	$2,897,280	$623,329	$497,165	$63,000	$131,052	$1,131,156	$335,212	$115,384	$2,897,280	
PERCENT OF FINANCIAL RESOURCES		22%	17%	2%	5%	39%	12%	4%	100%	

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Gretchen Block, Secretary to the Director (beginning March 1994)
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Shari Jacobson, Word Processor/Receptionist
Anne Lambert, Curator of Education
Corinne Magnoni, Assistant Director for Administration
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Annual Report

July 1, 1994

to

June 30, 1995

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Western Art

PAINTINGS

Adler, Andrew Hart
Wayfarer, 1979
Oil on canvas, 64 x 44 in.
Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.26

Bauchant, André Gustav (French, 1873–1958)
Bowl of Flowers, n.d.
Oil on canvas, 20 3/4 x 33 in.
Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.40

Bauchant, André Gustav (French, 1873–1958)
Le Fruitier, 1947
Oil on canvas, 40 x 28 in.
Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.28

Bauchant, André Gustav (French, 1873–1958)
Le Vase aux fleurs de printemps, 1948
Oil on canvas, 20 x 17 3/4 in.
Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.27

Francis, Samuel Lewis (American, 1923–1995)
Untitled, n.d.
Acrylic on canvas, 24 1/2 x 24 1/2 in.
Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.39

André Gustav Bauchant, *Le Fruitier*, 1947, Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.28

Gronk (Glugio Gronk Nicandro) (American, b. 1954)
Fragments of a Landscape, 1994
Acrylic on Spanish bark paper, 78 x 78 in.
Harry and Margaret P. Glicksman Endowment Fund, Juli Plant Grainger Endowment Fund, and Cyril W. Nave Endowment Fund purchase, 1995.4

Jenkins, Paul (American, b. 1923)
Phenomena Imperial Range, 1961
Oil on canvas, 50 1/8 x 48 in.
Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.36

Gronk, *Fragments of a Landscape*, 1994, Harry and Margaret P. Glicksman Endowment Fund, Juli Plant Grainger Endowment Fund, and Cyril W. Nave Endowment Fund purchase, 1995.4

Jenkins, Paul (American, b. 1923)
Phenomena Mesmer Wakes, 1969/70
Oil on canvas, 44 3/4 x 57 in.
Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.29

Mathieu, Georges (French, b. 1921)
Vinaya, 1958
Oil on canvas, 34 1/2 x 57 in.
Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.30

Nice, Don (American, b. 1932)
Beasts and Demons, 1978
Acrylic on canvas and watercolor on paper, 108 x 432 in.
Gift of Northern Engraving Corporation, 1994.27a-c

Okada, Kenzo (American, b. Japan, 1902–1982)
Noshi, 1966
Oil on canvas, 60 x 51 1/2 in.
Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.32

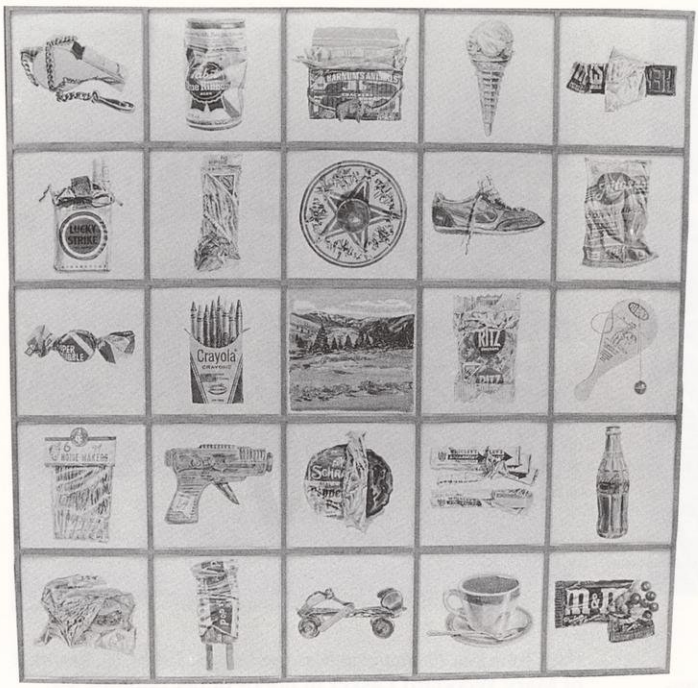
Paul Jenkins, *Phenomena Mesmer Wakes*, 1969/70. Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.29

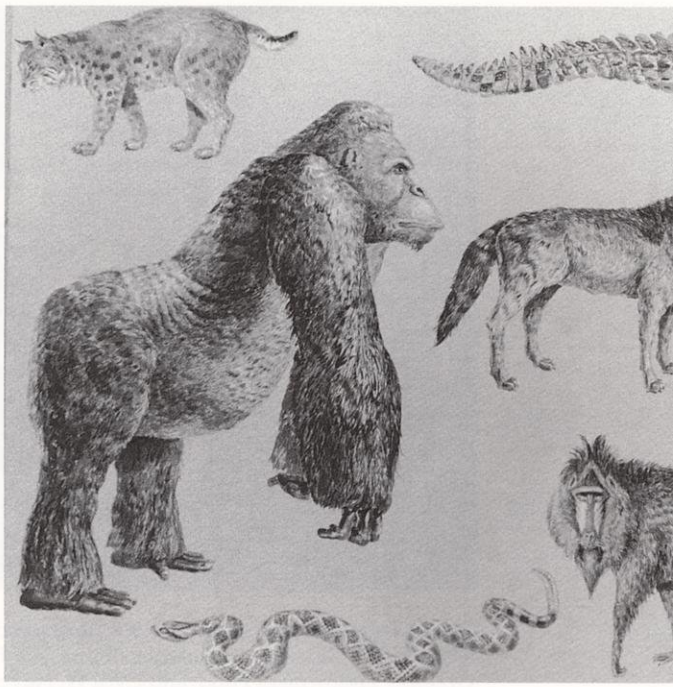
Okada, Kenzo (American, b. Japan, 1902–1982)
Self, 1962
Oil on canvas, 55 3/4 x 40 3/4 in.
Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.31

Okada, Kenzo (American, b. Japan, 1902–1982)
Small Morning Glory, n.d.
Oil on canvas, 33 1/2 x 38 in.
Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.33

Stamos, Theodore (American, b. 1922)
White Field, n.d.
Oil on canvas, 50 x 58 1/2 in.
Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.34

Sterne, Hedda (American, b. Russia, 1916)
Road No. 1, n.d.
Oil on canvas, 50 x 41 3/4 in.
Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.35





Don Nice, *Beasts and Demons*, 1978. Gift of Northern Engraving Corporation, 1994.27a-c

Stokes, Thomas Phelps (American, 1934–1993)
London Pale Pink, 1971
Oil on canvas, 40 x 34 3/4 in.
Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.37

Stokes, Thomas Phelps (American, 1934–1993)
London White Green, 1971
Oil on canvas, 70 x 64 in.
Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.38

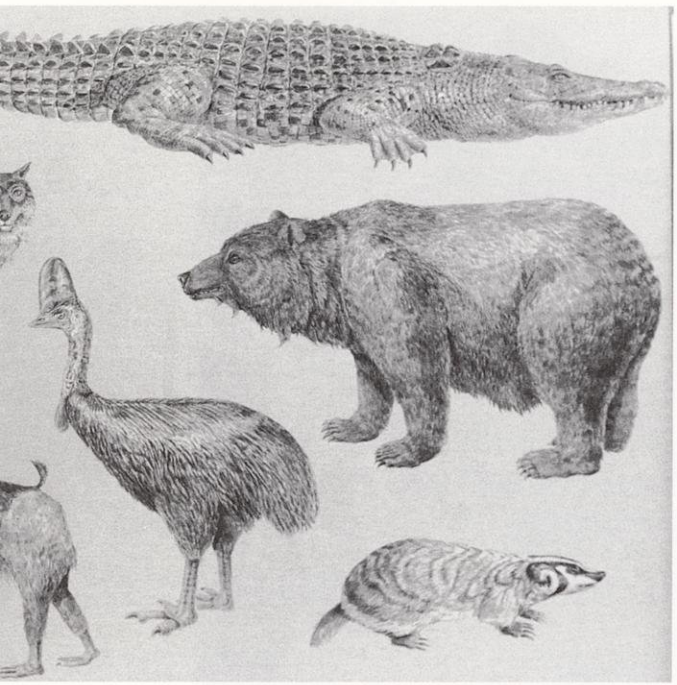
WATERCOLORS

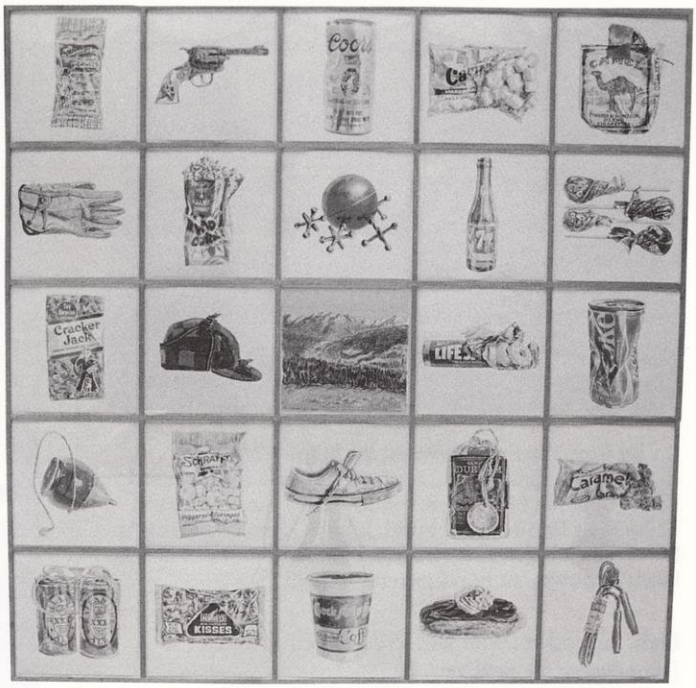
Armstrong, Francis Abel William Taylor (British, 1849–1920)
View of a Cathedral, n.d.
Watercolor on paper, 7 3/4 x 11 in.
Gift of James Jensen, 1994.80

Cox, David (British, 1783–1859)
The Fish Market on the Beach at Hastings, ca.1819
Watercolor, 19 5/16 x 27 5/16 in.
Frank and Roa Birch Endowment Fund, Edward Blake Blair Endowment Fund, Eugenie Mayer Bolz Endowment Fund, Elvehjem Museum of Art General Endowment Fund, John S. Lord Endowment Fund, Earl O. Vits Endowment Fund purchase, 1995.1

Crawford, William (attributed to) (British, 1825–1869)
Portrait of a Young Woman, n.d.
Watercolor on paper, 8 1/8 x 5 1/4 in.
Gift of James Jensen, 1994.81

Dali, Salvador (Spanish, 1904–1988)
Blue Angel on Rocks, 1934
Brush, black ink, and watercolor on paper, 29 7/8 x 22 in.
Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.19





Dali, Salvador (Spanish, 1904–1988)
Butterflies, 1948
Watercolor on board, 12 1/4 x 9 1/4 in.
Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.25

Dali, Salvador (Spanish, 1904–1988)
Butterflies and Jewels, 1954
Watercolor on board, 20 1/16 x 12 1/8 in.
Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.21

Dali, Salvador (Spanish, 1904–1988)
The Butterfly Dance, 1951
Watercolor over pencil on paper, 20 x 20 in.
Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.18

Dali, Salvador (Spanish, 1904–1988)
Cut Fruit and Volcano, 1951
Watercolor on board, 16 x 20 in.
Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.17

Dali, Salvador (Spanish, 1904–1988)
Dance with Butterflies, 1951
Watercolor on paper, 20 x 20 in.
Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.13

Dali, Salvador (Spanish, 1904–1988)
Dragonflies, 1949
Watercolor on board, 12 7/16 x 9 9/16 in.
Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.23

Dali, Salvador (Spanish, 1904–1988)
Flamingoes, 1948
Watercolor on board, 12 7/16 x 9 1/2 in.
Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.24

Dali, Salvador (Spanish, 1904–1988)
Flowers Before a Garden, n.d.
Watercolor over pencil on board, 19 1/2 x 15 1/4 in.
Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.16

David Cox, *The Fish Market on the Beach at Hastings*, ca.1819, Elvehjem Museum of Art General Endowment Fund, Eugenie Mayer Bolz Endowment Fund, Edward Blake Blair Endowment Fund, John S. Lord Endowment Fund, Earl O. Vits Endowment Fund and Frank and Roa Birch Endowment Fund purchase, 1995.1

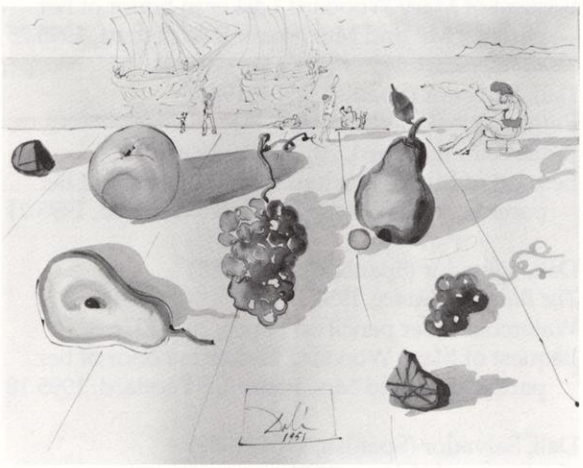
Dali, Salvador (Spanish, 1904–1988)
Fruit Before the Seashore, 1951
Watercolor on board, 15 1/2 x 19 1/2 in.
Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.12

Dali, Salvador (Spanish, 1904–1988)
The Lorelei, 1948
Watercolor on paper, 28 3/4 x 22 15/16 in.
Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.11

Dali, Salvador (Spanish, 1904–1988)
Magic Flowers, 1951
Watercolor on board, 20 x 16 1/4 in.
Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.10

Dali, Salvador (Spanish, 1904–1988)
Nautilus Cup, 1949
Watercolor on board, 12 1/2 x 9 1/2 in.
Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.22

Salvador Dali, *Flowers Before a Garden*, n.d. Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.16



Salvador Dali, *Fruit Before the Seashore*, 1951. Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.12

Dali, Salvador (Spanish, 1904–1988)
New York, 1950
Watercolor and pen and black ink on paper, 22 13/16 x 28 7/8 in.
Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.15

Dali, Salvador (Spanish, 1904–1988)
Versailles, 1951
Watercolor and pen and red ink on board, 18 1/4 x 22 1/2 in.
Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.14

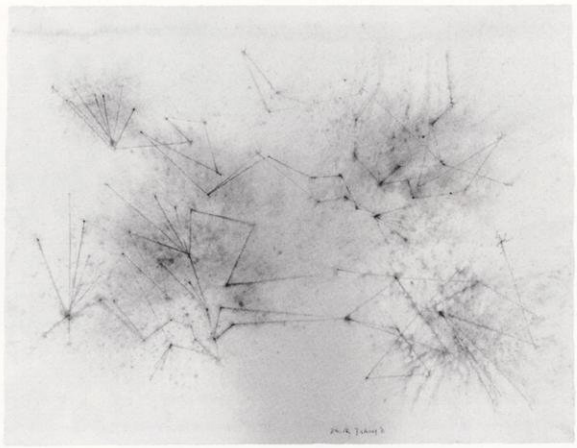
Dali, Salvador (Spanish, 1904–1988)
Washington, 1950
Watercolor and pen and black ink on paper, 22 7/8 x 28 15/16 in.
Bequest of Mary Woodard Lasker in honor of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Woodard, 1995.20

Dehner, Dorothy (American, 1901–1994)
Skylines, 1951
Watercolor, 15 7/8 x 20 3/8 in.
Cyril W. Nave Endowment Fund purchase, 1994.40

Lalique, René (French, 1860–1945)
Two Studies of Bracelets, n.d.
Ink and watercolor on paper, 11 1/16 x 8 11/16 in.
Ineva T. Reilly Endowment Fund purchase, 1994.45

Melville, Arthur (British, 1855–1904)
Pilgrims on the Way to Mecca, 1882
Watercolor on paper, 14 1/8 x 20 1/4 in.
Carolyn T. Anderson Endowment Fund, Elvehjem Museum of Art General Endowment Fund, Alice Drews Gladfelter Memorial Fund, Walter J. and Cecille Hunt Endowment Fund, John H. Van Vleck Endowment Fund purchase, 1995.2

Moore, Henry (British, 1831–1895)
Seascape, n.d.
Watercolor on paper, 11 1/8 x 15 5/8 in.
Carolyn T. Anderson Endowment Fund, Elvehjem Museum of Art General Endowment Fund, Alice Drews Gladfelter Memorial Fund, Walter J. and Cecille Hunt Endowment Fund, John H. Van Vleck Endowment Fund purchase, 1995.3



Dorothy Dehner, *Skylines*, 1951. Cyril W. Nave Endowment Fund purchase, 1994.40

Scott, John (British, 1802–1885)
Woman Seated in an Interior, n.d.
Watercolor on paper, 16 1/8 x 10 7/16 in.
Gift of James Jensen, 1994.82

DRAWINGS

Curry, John Steuart (American, 1897–1946)
Activities, 1941
Conté crayon on paper, 22 1/2 x 15 3/4 in.
Gift of Mary C. Berg-Schmitz, 1994.88

Curry, John Steuart (American, 1897–1946)
Divisions, 1941
Conté crayon on paper, 23 x 17 3/4 in.
Gift of Mary C. Berg-Schmitz, 1994.87

Curry, John Steuart (American, 1897–1946)
Seniors, 1941
Conté crayon on paper, 29 3/4 x 22 5/16 in.
Gift of Mary C. Berg-Schmitz, 1994.86

Arthur Melville, *Pilgrims on the Way to Mecca*, 1882. Carolyn T. Anderson Endowment Fund, Elvehjem Museum of Art General Endowment Fund, Alice Drews Gladfelter Memorial Fund, Walter J. and Cecille Hunt Endowment Fund, John H. Van Vleck Endowment Fund purchase, 1995.2

PRINTS

Attie, Dotty (American, b. 1938)
Mother's Kisses, 1982
Hand-colored lithographs, 6 x 6 in. each
University of Wisconsin Art Collections Fund purchase, 1994.39.1–29

Barnet, Will (American, b. 1911)
The Young Couple, n.d.
Color etching, 30 1/8 x 23 3/8 in.
Gift of Richard E. Brock, 1995.5

Belleroche, Albert de (British, 1864–1944)
Enid in Profile, 1916
Lithograph, 25 7/16 x 19 1/2 in.
Gift of George C. Kenney, 1994.85

Belleroche, Albert de (British, 1864–1944)
Grotte Chateaudun, 1911
Lithograph, 22 x 17 5/8 in.
Gift of George C. Kenney, 1994.83

Belleroche, Albert de (British, 1864–1944)
Village Scene, 1915
Lithograph, 12 x 6 7/16 in.
Gift of George C. Kenney, 1994.84

Bone, Muirhead (British, 1876–1953)
The Jews' Quarter, Leeds, n.d.
Etching and drypoint, 9 3/8 x 7 5/16 in.
Bequest of John H. Van Vleck, 1994.35

Albert de Belleroche, *Grotte Chateaudun*, 1911. Gift of George C. Kenney, 1994.83

Bosman, Richard (American, b. 1944)
Night Span, 1993
Collograph, 22 11/16 x 52 11/16 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1994.51

Bosman, Richard (American, b. 1944)
Phosphorescence, 1993
Collograph, 39 5/8 x 38 3/16 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1994.52

Bresslern-Roth, Norbertine von (Austrian, 1891–1978)
Crab, n.d.
Color woodcut, 6 1/8 x 6 15/16 in.
John H. Van Vleck Endowment Fund purchase, 1994.43

Norbertine von Bresslern-Roth, *Crab*, n.d. John H. Van Vleck Endowment Fund purchase, 1994.43

Chadel, Jules (French, 1870–1942)
Les Amis de l'art Japonaise, 1914
Color woodcut, 5 1/16 x 7 15/16 in.
John H. Van Vleck Endowment Fund purchase, 1994.44

Colescott, Warrington (American, b. 1921)
Audubon Paints the Birds of S. Florida, 1994
Color etching, 22 3/8 x 29 3/4 in.
Gift of the artist, 1994.30

Cramer, George (American, b. 1938)
Neo-Wisconsin Landscape, 1994
Monoprint, 41 3/8 x 53 7/8 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1994.90

Gilliam, Sam (American, b. 1933)
Composition, n.d.
Color silkscreen, 25 x 31 1/8 in.
Gift of Richard E. Brock, 1994.28

Goldyne, Joseph (American, b. 1942)
Carnival Aprons, 1994
Drypoint and monoprint with hand-colored additions, 30 7/8 x 24 in.
General Endowment Fund purchase, 1994.41

Goldyne, Joseph (American, b. 1942)
Floral Trilogy: Cadence into Chaos, 1994
Etching, drypoint, and monoprint, 15 9/16 x 32 3/4 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1994.50

Goldyne, Joseph (American, b. 1942)
Late Afternoon Learning, 1994
Etching, drypoint, and monoprint, 16 5/8 x 23 5/8 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1994.49

Gronk (Glugio Gronk Nicandro) (American, b. 1954)
C-Cup, 1994
Etching and aquatint, 13 15/16 x 12 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1994.58

Gronk (Glugio Gronk Nicandro) (American, b. 1954)
Chip on Her Shoulder, 1994
Color woodcut, 29 1/2 x 29 1/2 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1994.56

Joseph Goldyne, *Carnival Aprons*, 1994. General Endowment Fund purchase, 1994.41

Gronk (Glugio Gronk Nicandro) (American, b. 1954)
Cocktail I, 1994
Color lithograph, 38 3/8 x 26 1/2 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1994.53

Gronk (Glugio Gronk Nicandro) (American, b. 1954)
Cocktail II, 1994
Color lithograph, 26 1/2 x 38 3/8 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1994.54

Gronk (Glugio Gronk Nicandro) (American, b. 1954)
Down Street, 1994
Etching and aquatint, 16 1/8 x 25 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1994.66

Gronk (Glugio Gronk Nicandro) (American, b. 1954)
Figures, 1994
Etching and aquatint, 32 x 22 3/4 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1994.68

Gronk (Glugio Gronk Nicandro) (American, b. 1954)
La Tormenta, 1994
Color woodcut, 29 7/8 x 29 5/8 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1994.55

Gronk (Glugio Gronk Nicandro) (American, b. 1954)
More Chip, 1994
Etching and aquatint, 14 x 11 3/4 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1994.57

Gronk (Glugio Gronk Nicandro) (American, b. 1954)
St. Street, 1994
Etching and aquatint, 13 7/8 x 12 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1994.67

Gronk (Glugio Gronk Nicandro) (American, b. 1954)
30th Street, 1994
Etching and aquatint, 14 x 12 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1994.59

Gronk (Glugio Gronk Nicandro) (American, b. 1954)
31st St., 1994
Etching and aquatint, 14 x 12 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1994.60

Gronk (Glugio Gronk Nicandro) (American, b. 1954)
32nd Street, 1994
Etching and aquatint, 14 x 11 3/4 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1994.61

Gronk (Glugio Gronk Nicandro) (American, b. 1954)
33rd St., 1994
Etching and aquatint, 14 x 12 1/8 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1994.62

Gronk (Glugio Gronk Nicandro) (American, b. 1954)
34th St., 1994
Etching and aquatint, 14 x 12 1/16 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1994.63

Gronk (Glugio Gronk Nicandro) (American, b. 1954)
35th Street, 1994
Etching and aquatint, 16 x 25 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1994.64

Gronk (Glugio Gronk Nicandro) (American, b. 1954)
36th Street, 1994
Etching and aquatint, 25 1/4 x 22 5/8 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1994.65

Hollar, Wenceslaus (Czechoslovakian, 1607–1677)
Albrecht Dürer der Elter, 1644
Engraving, 9 1/4 x 6 5/8 in.
Bequest of John H. Van Vleck, 1994.32

Hopfer, Daniel (German, 1470–1536)
St. George on Horseback Slaying the Dragon, ca. 1515–1520
Etching, 8 7/8 x 6 1/16 in.
Frank and Roa Birch Endowment Fund and Brittingham Endowment Fund purchase, 1994.76

Lepère, August-Louis (French, 1849–1918)
Bucolic Moderne, 1901
Color woodcut, 12 5/8 x 17 3/8 in.
John H. Van Vleck Endowment Fund purchase, 1994.42

Lepère, August-Louis (French, 1849–1918)
Untitled, n.d.
Etching, 11 1/8 x 7 7/16 in.
Bequest of John H. Van Vleck, 1994.36

Lindner, Richard (American, b. Germany, 1901–1978)
24 HR. Self Service, n.d.
Color lithograph, 23 7/8 x 19 3/4 in.
Gift of Richard E. Brock, 1995.6

Daniel Hopfer, *St. George on Horseback Slaying the Dragon*, ca. 1515–1520. Frank and Roa Birch Endowment Fund and Brittingham Endowment Fund purchase, 1994.76

MacLean, William (American, b. 1897)
Snow Valley, n.d.
Etching, 11 15/16 x 14 15/16 in.
Bequest of John H. Van Vleck, 1994.33

Meeker, Dean (American, b. 1920)
Road to Sea, 1968
Color silkscreen, 23 1/8 x 35 1/8 in.
Gift of Richard E. Brock, 1995.9

Milton, Peter (American, b. 1930)
Second Opinion, 1974
Etching, 21 5/8 x 27 7/8 in.
Gift of Richard E. Brock, 1995.7

August-Louis Lepère, *Bucolic Moderne*, 1901. John H. Van Vleck Endowment Fund purchase, 1994.42

Milton, Peter (American, b. 1930)
Untitled, 1971
Photosensitive-ground etching and engraving, 9 7/8 x 14 3/4 in.
Gift of Richard E. Brock, 1995.8

Paschke, Ed (American, b. 1939)
L.A. EX, 1994
Color lithograph, 27 7/16 x 29 5/16 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1994.89

Quintanilla, Luis (Spanish, 1893–1978)
Garden Boy, n.d.
Etching, 12 15/16 x 9 7/8 in.
Gift of Richard E. Brock, 1994.29

Rivière, Henri (French, 1864–1951)
Lendemain de tempête, Baie de Launay, 1914
Color woodcut, 13 5/8 x 20 1/2 in.
John H. Van Vleck Endowment Fund purchase, 1994.37

Rouault, Georges (French, 1871–1958)
Homme en profil, vers la gauche, 1928
Photogravure with aquatint and etching, 16 11/16 x 13 1/16 in.
Gift of John Lavine, 1994.78

Ed Paschke, *L.A. EX*, 1994. Transfer from Tandem Press, 1994.89

Scanga, Italo (American, b. Italy 1924)
The Composer, 1994
Color woodcut, 36 5/8 x 28 3/8 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1994.71

Scanga, Italo (American, b. Italy 1924)
Golden Statue, 1994
Color lithograph, 30 1/8 x 22 1/8 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1994.73

Scanga, Italo (American, b. Italy 1924)
Siena, 1994
Color lithograph, 29 15/16 x 22 1/8 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1994.72

Scanga, Italo (American, b. Italy 1924)
Solitary Tree, 1994
Color woodcut, 24 1/2 x 20 1/16 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1994.70

Henri Rivière, *Lendemain de tempête, Baie de Launay*, 1914. John H. Van Vleck Endowment Fund purchase, 1994.37

Georges Rouault, *Homme en profil, vers la gauche*, 1928.
Gift of John Lavine, 1994.78

Schultheiss, Carl Max (American, b. Germany 1885)
Pastoral, n.d.
Engraving, 12 x 9 15/16 in.
Bequest of John H. Van Vleck, 1994.34

Smith, Kiki (German, b. 1954)
All Souls, 1988
Screen print, 18 1/16 x 21 3/16 in.
F. J. Sensenbrenner Endowment Fund purchase, 1994.38

Kiki Smith, *All Souls*, 1988. F. J. Sensenbrenner Endowment Fund purchase, 1994.38

Stackhouse, Robert (American, b. 1942)
Titanicprint, 1994
Silkscreen, collograph, and etching, 32 x 57 7/8 in.
Transfer from Tandem Press, 1994.69

Vlaminck, Maurice de (French, 1876–1958)
Untitled, n.d.
Lithograph, 15 1/8 x 18 3/8 in.
Gift of Rosemary Johnson, 1994.79

Wijngaerde, Frans van den (Flemish, 1612–1660)
Untitled, n.d.
Engraving, 4 3/4 x 5 15/16 in.
Bequest of John H. Van Vleck, 1994.31

SCULPTURE

Beaudin, André Gustav (French, 1895–1980)
Untitled, ca. 1931–37
Bronze, 11 1/4 x 13 1/2 x 8 1/2 in.
Gift of Mary Katharina Williams, 1994.26

Kolin, Sacha (American, b. France, 1911–1981)
Sun Ray, 1978
Stainless steel, 35 1/4 x 44 in.
Unclaimed property, 1994.75

René Lalique, *Moineaux*, ca. 1921. Ineva T. Reilly Endowment Fund purchase, 1994.46

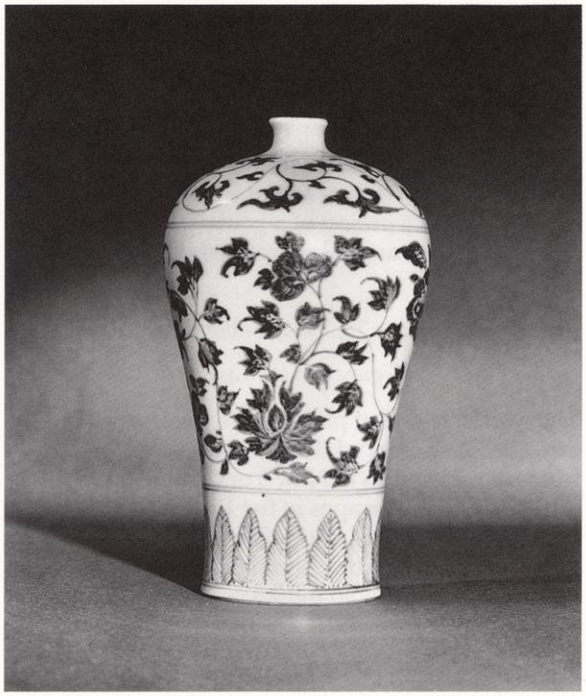
Kolin, Sacha (American, b. France, 1911–1981)
Two Standing Swords, 1978
Stainless steel, 36 x 12 in.
Unclaimed property, 1994.74.1–2

DECORATIVE ARTS

Lalique, Marie-Claude (French, b. 1935)
Anemones, ca. 1971
Amber glass, lacquer, and painted canvas, 60 1/4 x 70 in.
Ineva T. Reilly Endowment Fund purchase, 1994.48

Lalique, René, (French, 1860–1945)
Medallion, 1937
Clear and frosted glass, sepia patina, 3 5/8 in. Diam.
Ineva T. Reilly Endowment Fund purchase, 1994.47

Lalique, René (French, 1860–1945)
Moineaux, ca. 1921
Clear and frosted glass, 6 1/8 in. H.
Ineva T. Reilly Endowment Fund purchase, 1994.46



Chinese Ming vase, 15th century. Gift of Dr. Warren E. Gilson, 1994.79

Asian Art

DECORATIVE ARTS

Chinese
Ming Dynasty (1368–1644)
Vase, Early 15th century
Porcelain, 7 3/8 in. H.
Gift of Dr. Warren E. Gilson, 1994.77

July 23–September 18, 1994, Mayer Gallery

Paper Women: The Female in Japanese Prints

Thirty-five eighteenth-and nineteenth-century prints from the Van Vleck Collection were used to examine how woodblock prints created romanticized images of women's roles in the ukiyo. This exhibition was a project of a graduate seminar in Japanese prints taught by Professor Gene Philips.

July 29–September 25, 1994, Gallery VII

Homer Boss: The Figure and the Land

Thirty paintings and prints by Homer Boss (American, 1882–1956) traced the development of his art from his early years in New York when he exhibited portraits and landscapes in the 1910 First Independent Show and the Armory Show of 1913 to his later years sketching the beautiful landscapes of New Mexico and his Pueblo Indian neighbors.

July 29–September 25, 1994, Gallery VIII

Native American Designs in the Southwest

To complement the Southwestern paintings by Homer Boss this exhibition displayed Navajo rugs from the UW–Madison Helen Allen Textile Collection and about fifteen Southwest Indian baskets given to the Elvehjem in 1984 by Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Van Zelst. The baskets included Apache, Pima, and Papago coiled baskets from the turn of the century and more recent selections of Hopi coiled and wickerwork plaques.

Homer Boss: The Figure and the Land

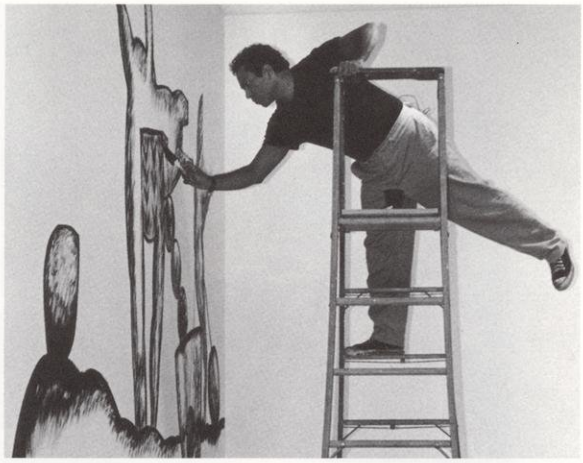
Native American Designs from the Southwest

September 26–November 22, 1994, Top floor gallery

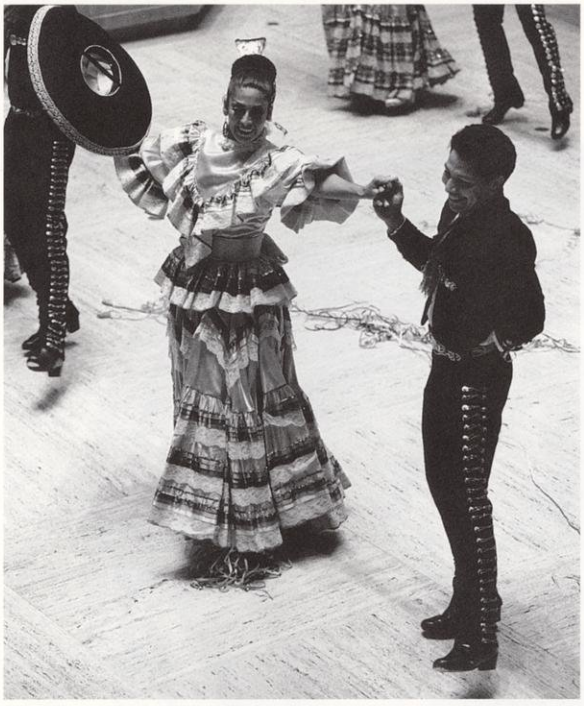
Gronk: Iron Weave

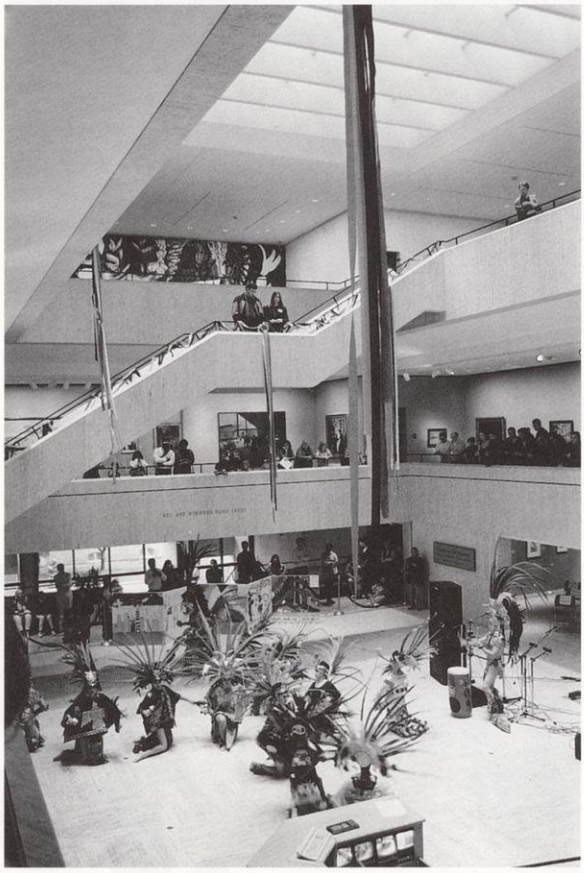
Guglio "Gronk" Nicandro, a Los Angeles performance artist, painted the walls of the fourth floor during the weeks of September 26–October 7, enjoying the participation and involvement of his audience while he worked. The murals were then left on view for seven weeks before being painted over.

Gronk: Iron Weave



Fiesta Gronk





Paula Panczenko (left) and Chancellor David Ward (right) discuss the complete of the murals with artist Gronk (center)

Through Their Own Eyes: The Personal Portfolios of Edward Weston and Ansel Adams

October 8–November 27, 1994, Galleries VII and VIII

Through Their Own Eyes: The Personal Portfolios of Edward Weston and Ansel Adams

Weston (1886–1958) produced some of the strongest landscape photographs ever made working with an 8x10 in. view camera. Adams (1902–1984), probably today's best-known landscape photographer, worked mostly in the West, particularly in the Yosemite Valley. These selections represented their own choices for their best work.

September 24–November 27, 1994, Mayer Gallery

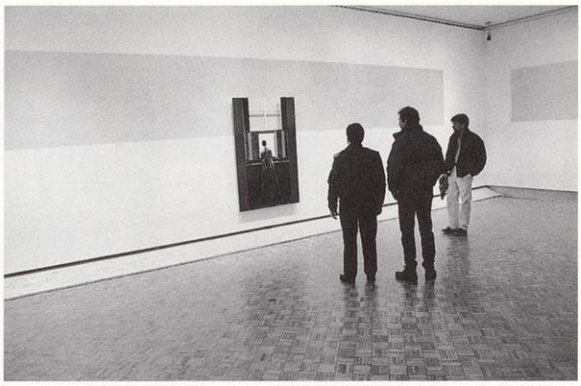
Northern Old Masters Prints from the Permanent Collection, 1400–1800

This exhibition highlighted the graphic work of Martin Schongauer, Albrecht Dürer, Peter Brueghel the Elder, Rembrandt van Rijn, and other old masters from the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries from the Elvehjem permanent collection.

December 10, 1994–February 12, 1995, fourth floor, Galleries VII, VIII, Paige Court, and Mayer Gallery

Sixth Quadrennial UW–Madison Department of Art Faculty Exhibition

Forty faculty and staff of the art department show their latest paintings, prints, performance art, sculpture, ceramics, videos, installations, and other media.

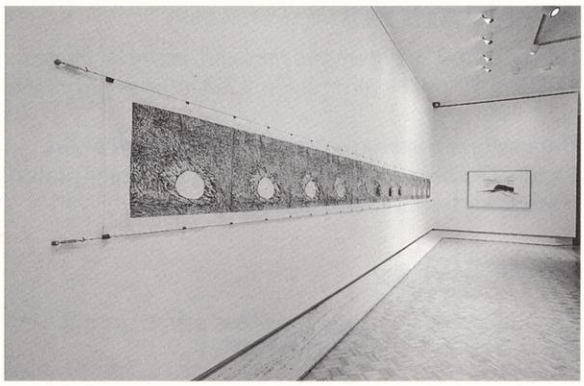


James Rosenquist: Time Dust, Complete Graphics 1962–1992

March 4–April 30, 1995, Galleries VII, VIII, Mayer

James Rosenquist: Time Dust, Complete Graphics 1962–1992

This traveling exhibition of this important twentieth-century artist surveyed his graphic production in more than 100 prints from his ground-breaking pop images to the mural-sized handmade paper and lithographic collage prints in 1989.



Monumental Contemporary Prints from the Permanent Collection

May 12–June 18, 1995, Galleries VII, VIII

Monumental Contemporary Prints from the Permanent Collection

These works reflect the trend among printmakers in the past three decades to use the technical advances in printing to create ever larger prints.

May 12–August 12, 1995, Mayer Gallery

Judy Pfaff: Prints

Best known for installations of large three-dimensional works, Pfaff uses the same motifs of shape and texture in her prints.

PUBLICATIONS

Homer Boss: The Figure and the Land, essay by Susan S. Udell. 72 pp. 8 color plates, 42 duotones. July 1994

University of Madison-Wisconsin Department of Art Faculty Quadrennial Exhibition, 88 pp. 37 color plates, 5 black-and-white illustrations. December 1994

Artscene, 5 issues

Ten notecards featuring Japanese prints from the Van Vleck collection, October 1994

Guides to galleries I–V, November 1994

Poster featuring four Japanese prints from the Van Vleck collection, January 1995

Invitations to five exhibition receptions

LOANS TO OTHER INSTITUTIONS

The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.
(*The Pictographs of Adolph Gottlieb*, September 17, 1994–January 14, 1995)

Adolph Gottlieb, *Recurrent Apparition*, 1980.56

Portland Museum of Art, Portland, Maine
(*The Pictographs of Adolph Gottlieb*, February 5–April 2, 1995

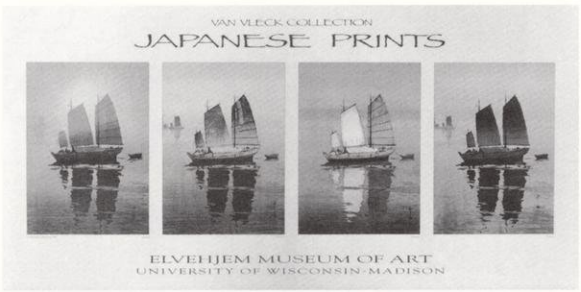
Adolph Gottlieb, *Recurrent Apparition*, 1980.56

The Butler Institute of American Art, Youngstown, Ohio
(*Tandem Press: Five Years of Experimentation and Collaboration*, March 5–April 23, 1995)

55 prints from the Tandem Press Archives

Phoenix Art Museum, Phoenix, Arizona
(*Frank Lloyd Wright and Japanese Art*, March 11–June 11, 1995)

51 Japanese prints once owned by Frank Lloyd Wright from the Van Vleck collection



The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, New York
(*The Pictographs of Adolph Gottlieb*, April 21–August 26, 1995)

Adolph Gottlieb, *Recurrent Apparition*, 1980.56

Palazzo Ducale, Genoa,Italy
(*Bernardo Strozzi*, May 6–August 6, 1995)

Bernardo Strozzi, *Christ's Charge to St. Peter*, 1993.33

Cedar Rapids Museum of Art, Cedar Rapids, Iowa
(*Tandem Press: Five Years of Experimentation and Collaboration*, June 22–October 21, 1995)

55 prints from the Tandem Press Archives

LECTURES

Susan S. Udell
Gallery lecture on *Homer Boss: The Figure and the Land*
Thursday, July 28, 1994

John Wilde, Tandem Press/Department of Art Visiting Artist Lecture
Thursday, September 22, 1994

Anton Rajer, Conservator
"The Restoration of the Sistine Chapel, A Personal View"
Thursday, September 29, 1994

Gronk, Artist
"Recent Work"
Monday, October 3, 1994

Performing Arts: "¡Fiesta Gronk!"
Ballet folklorico Mexico, Rudy Garcia, and *Grupo Sensación*
Saturday, October 8, 1994

Miriam Schapiro, Tandem Press/Department of Art Visiting Artist Lecture
Thursday, October 20, 1994

Gwendolyn Wright, Professor of Architecture, Columbia University
"Pragmatic Visions: Modernism and the American City in the Interwar Years"
Thursday, November 3, 1994

Philip Pearlstein, Tandem Press/Department of Art Visiting Artist Lecture
Thursday, November 10, 1994

Jennifer Lund, Director, Office of International Services, Georgia State University
"Docents: Communicating across Cultures"
Sara Fellman Memorial Lecture
Tuesday, November 15, 1994

Catherine Hurtgen, Researcher in Decorative Arts
"Painting and Printing at Worcester"
Tuesday, December 6, 1994

Catherine Hurtgen
"Worcester and Its Imitators"
Thursday, January 26, 1995

Truman Lowe, Professor and Chair, Department of Art, University of Wisconsin–Madison
"The Department of Art 3-D Faculty"
Tuesday, January 31, 1995

Evan M. Maurer, Director and Chief Executive Officer, Minneapolis Institute of Arts
"Museums into the Future: A Case Study at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts"
Sunday, February 26, 1995

Judy Pfaff, Tandem Press/Department of Art Visiting Artist Lecture
Thursday, March 30, 1995

Jane Goldman, Tandem Press/Department of Art Visiting Artist Lecture
Thursday, April 6, 1995

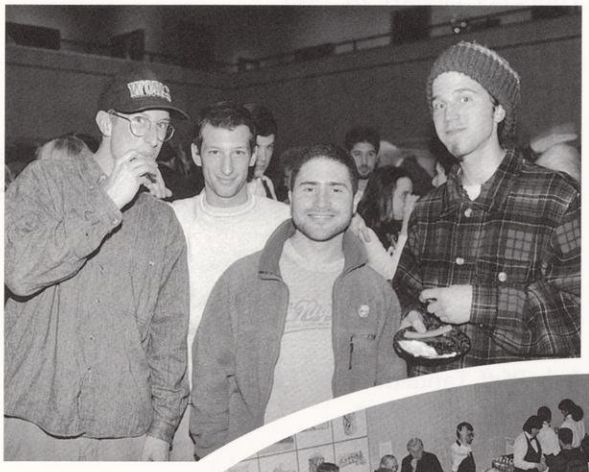
James Cuno, Elizabeth and John Moors Cabot Director, Harvard University Art Museums
"In the Crossfire of the Culture Wars: The Role of the Academic Art Museum"
Tuesday, April 18, 1995

Charmian Mesentseva, Curator of Northern European Prints and Drawings, State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg
"Unpublished Graphic Works from the Hermitage"
Tuesday, April 25, 1995

Charmian Mesentseva
"Subjektraritäten: Albrecht Dürer's 'Herkules am Scheidewege'"
Wednesday, April 26, 1995

David M. Sokol, Professor, History of Architecture and Art Department, University of Illinois at Chicago
"James Rosenquist: The Evolution of a Pop Artist"
Wednesday, April 26, 1995

Students turned out in record numbers for the reception for the James Rosenquist retrospective



CONCERTS

Sundays at 2:30 p.m. in Brittingham Gallery III

October 2, 1994
Paul Kosower, cello, Eau Claire

October 9, 1994
UW-Stevens Point Faculty

October 16, 1994
Pro Arte Quartet, Madison

October 23, 1994
Wingra Woodwind Quintet, Madison

October 30, 1994
UW-Stevens Point Faculty

November 6, 1994
Whitewater Brass Quintet

November 13, 1994
Bill Lutes, piano, Madison

November 20, 1994
Lawrence Conservatory Faculty, Appleton

December 4, 1994
Wisconsin Brass Quintet, Madison

December 11, 1994
Pro Arte Quartet, Madison

December 18, 1994
Madison Marimba Quartet

January 8, 1995
Griffith-Hanser Duo, Manitowoc

January 15, 1995
UW-Oshkosh Faculty

January 22, 1995
Lawrence Conservatory Faculty, Appleton

January 29, 1995
Oakwood Chamber Players, Madison

February 5, 1995
Pro Arte Quartet, Madison

February 12, 1995
UW-Whitewater Faculty

February 19, 1995
Parry Karp, cello; Frances Karp, piano

February 26, 1995
Wingra Woodwind Quintet, Madison

March 5, 1995
Pro Arte Quartet, Madison

March 12, 1995
Solon Pierce, piano, Mt. Horeb

March 19, 1995
Michael Nicolella, guitar, Appleton

March 26, 1995
Norman Paulu, violin, Madison

April 2, 1995
Winner's Concert—Wisconsin Public Radio Neale-Silva Woodwind Competition

April 9, 1995
Esther Wang, piano, Platteville

April 23, 1995
Jae-Kyung Kim, violin, Madison

April 30, 1995
Wausau Conservatory Faculty

May 7, 1995
Pro Arte Quartet

May 14, 1995
Uri Vardi, cello, Madison

ELVEHJEM MUSEUM OF ART LEAGUE

Vicki Hallam
Mary Ann Halvorson
Jane Henning
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Beverly Katter
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Henryka Schutta
Rita Sinaiko
Susan Stanek
Hat Stevens

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(Docents' language skills are indicated)

Christine Alfery
Emy Andrew (German)
Dorothy Berg
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Beverly Calhoun
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Suzanne Chopra

Curator Leslie Blacksberg speaks to docents about baroque art

Judy Christenson
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Beverly Dougherty
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Docent class photo in February 1995: (l–r from front) Helene Metzenberg, Henryka Schutta, Rosemary Penner, Carolyn Gaebler, Christine Alfery, Beverly Calhoun, Virginia Dymond, Anne Lambert; Ginger Long, Peg Stiles, Betty Wright, Susan Stanek, Marion Stemmler; Jane Eisner, Sally Jones, Ingrid Russell, Dorothy V. Little, Suzanne Chopra, Emy Andrew; Jean–Pierre Golay, Dorothy Berg, Marian Thompson, Cathy Bertucci, Emma Strowig, Louise Clark; Ruth Kaczor, Pauline Scott, Marjorie Nestingen, Nancy Webster, Olive Wile; Sybil Robinson, Judy Christenson, Susan Daugherty, Greta Lindberg, Jo Meier, Arlene Smith, Ellen Simenstad; Lynn Schten, Fred Polenz, Arnold Brown, Hiram Pearcy, Elizabeth McCoy, Sylvia Hultkrans; Mary Brennan, Ellen Louise Schwartz, Victoria Meyer, and Ann Kramer

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Expenditures and Financial Resources

July 1, 1994–June 30, 1995

Operating Expenditures	Expended	UW	College of L&S	UW Trusts	Revolving Self-Sustain	Donations	Endowments	Grants	Total	Percent of Total Cost
Salaries (fringes included)										
Museum Staff	$576,619	$124,965	$385,279	$0	$41,869	$1,772	$0	$22,734	$576,619	
Museum Security	$206,908	$204,360	$1,828	$0	$547	$0	$0	$173	$206,908	
Museum Student/LTE	$65,706	$18,269	$30,917	$0	$13,118	$414	$0	$2,988	$65,706	
Subtotal Salaries:	$849,233	$347,594	$418,024	$0	$55,534	$2,186	$0	$25,895	$849,233	55%
General Operations	$73,275	$0	$35,296	$0	$2,150	$17,184	$0	$18,645	$73,275	5%
Maintenance of Permanent Collection										
Conservation	$19,632	$0	$6,705	$0	$0	$2,458	$3,500	$6,969	$19,632	
Study and Display Expenses	$6,873	$0	$2,659	$0	$2,123	$5,853	($7,995)	$4,233	$6,873	
Insurance of Collection	$23,920	$23,004	$0	$0	$0	$625	$0	$291	$23,920	
Subtotal Maint. Perm. Collection:	$50,425	$23,004	$9,364	$0	$2,123	$8,936	($4,495)	$11,493	$50,425	3%
Exhibitions	$163,901	$0	$1,447	$45,001	$4,120	$102,152	$0	$11,181	$163,901	11%
Museum Programs										
Education	$8,082	$0	$1,617	$0	$552	$4,377	$0	$1,536	$8,082	
Membership and Outreach	$24,017	$0	$864	$0	$0	$22,798	$0	$355	$24,017	
Concerts	$6,234	$126	$1,184	$0	$0	$4,924	$0	$0	$6,234	
Subtotal Museum Programs:	$38,333	$126	$3,665	$0	$552	$32,099	$0	$1,891	$38,333	2%
Publications	$44,568	$0	$0	$0	$0	$40,200	$4,368	$0	$44,568	3%
Self-Sustaining Programs										
Museum Shop	$77,101	$0	$0	$0	$68,993	$674	$7,434	$0	$77,101	
Membership Trips	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	
Subtotal Self-Sustaining Programs:	$77,101	$0	$0	$0	$68,993	$674	$7,434	$0	$77,101	5%
Building Maint. (Physical Plant)	$251,594	$249,420	$1,473	$0	$0	$0	$0	$701	$251,594	16%
TOTAL OPERATING EXPENDITURES:	$1,548,430	$620,144	$469,269	$45,001	$133,472	$203,431	$7,307	$69,806	$1,548,430	100%
PERCENT OF FINANCIAL RESOURCES		40%	30%	3%	9%	13%	0%	5%	100%	

Capital Expenditures	Expended	UW	College of L&S	UW Trusts	Revolving Self-Sustain	Donations	Endowments	Grants	Total	Percent of Total Cost
Acquisitions of Works of Art	$197,585	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$197,585	$0	$197,585	79%
Building Renovations	$36,987	$0	$22,596	$0	$9,779	$4,612	$0	$0	$36,987	15%
Equipment/Machines/Software	$16,796	$0	$8,358	$0	$0	$8,438	$0	$0	$16,796	7%
TOTAL CAPITAL EXPENDITURES:	$251,368	$0	$30,954	$0	$9,779	$13,050	$197,585	$0	$251,368	100%
PERCENT OF FINANCIAL RESOURCES:		0%	12%	0%	4%	5%	79%	0%	100%	
TOTAL OPERATING AND CAPITAL EXPENDITURES:	$1,799,798	$620,144	$500,223	$45,001	$143,251	$216,481	$204,892	$69,806	$1,799,798	
PERCENT OF FINANCIAL RESOURCES		34%	28%	3%	8%	12%	11%	4%	100%	

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