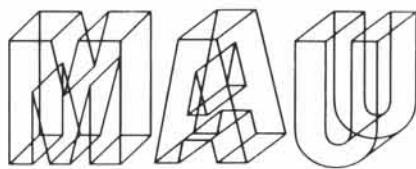


# Nakit

AFRIČKI NAKIT  
AFRICAN JEWELLERY  
Jelena Arandelović-Lazić



MUZEJ AFRIČKE UMETNOSTI  
MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ARTS  
Zbirka Vede i dr Zdravka Pečara  
Collection of Veda and Dr Zdravko Pečar



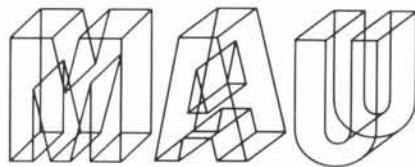
Design Slobodan i Saveta Mašić  
Studio Structure, Beograd  
Photo Branislav Nikolić

Photo Sapra Studio, Nairobi

# Nakit

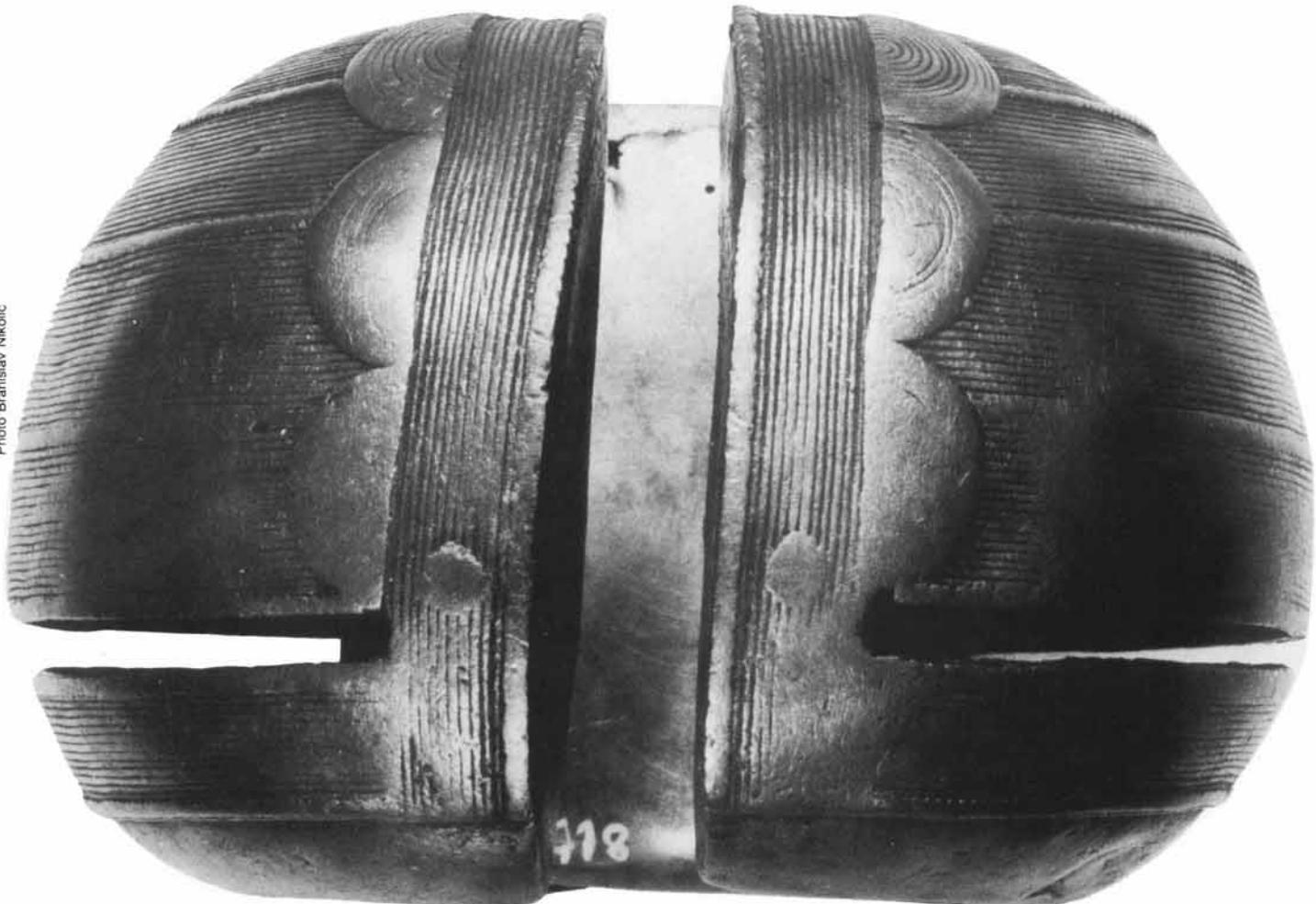
AFRIČKI NAKIT  
AFRICAN JEWELLERY  
Jelena Aranđelović-Lazić

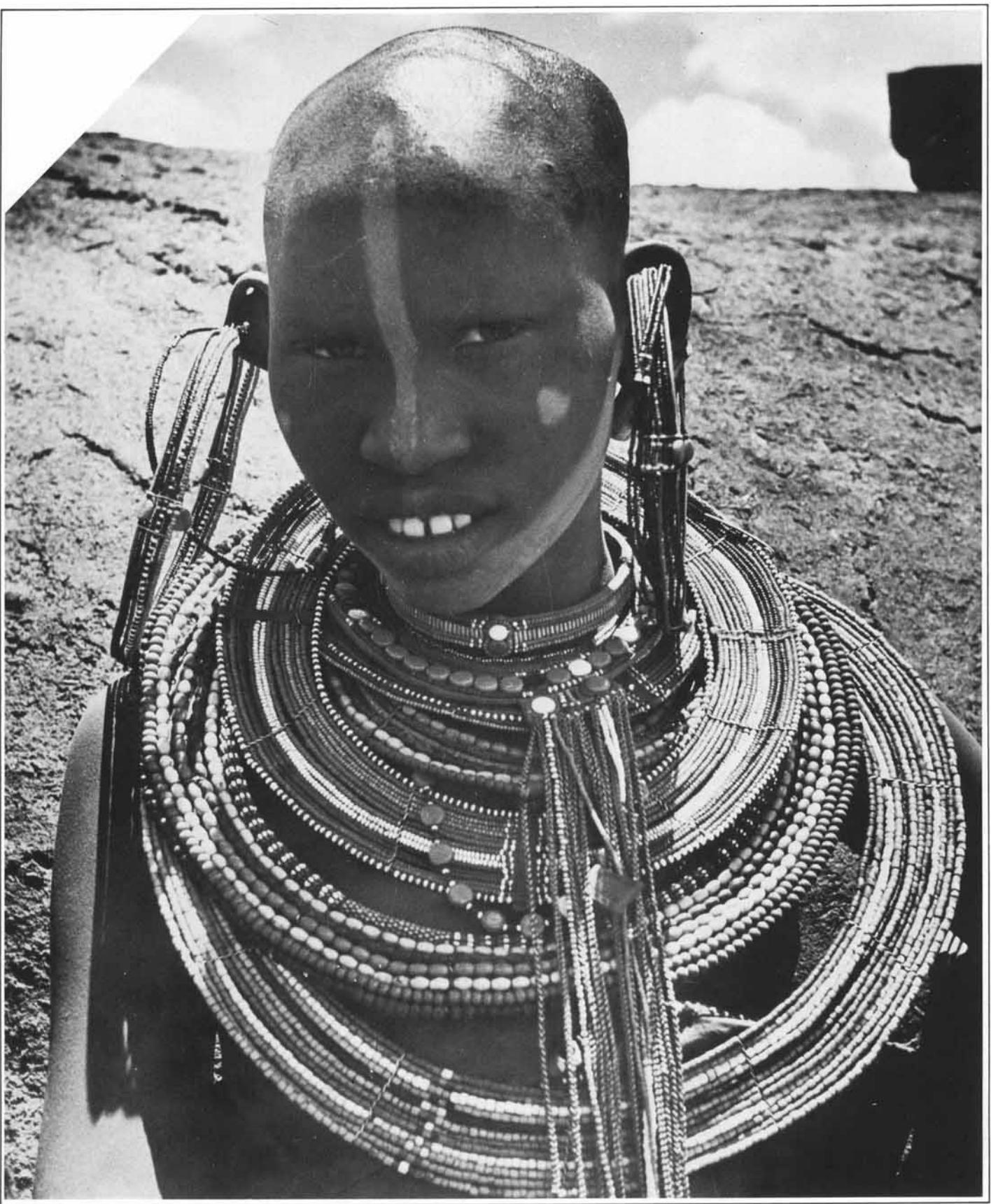
Januar/maj 1984



MUZEJ AFRIČKE UMETNOSTI  
MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ARTS  
Zbirka Vede i dr Zdravka Pečara  
Collection of Veda and Dr. Zdravko Pečar  
Beograd, Andre Nikolića 14

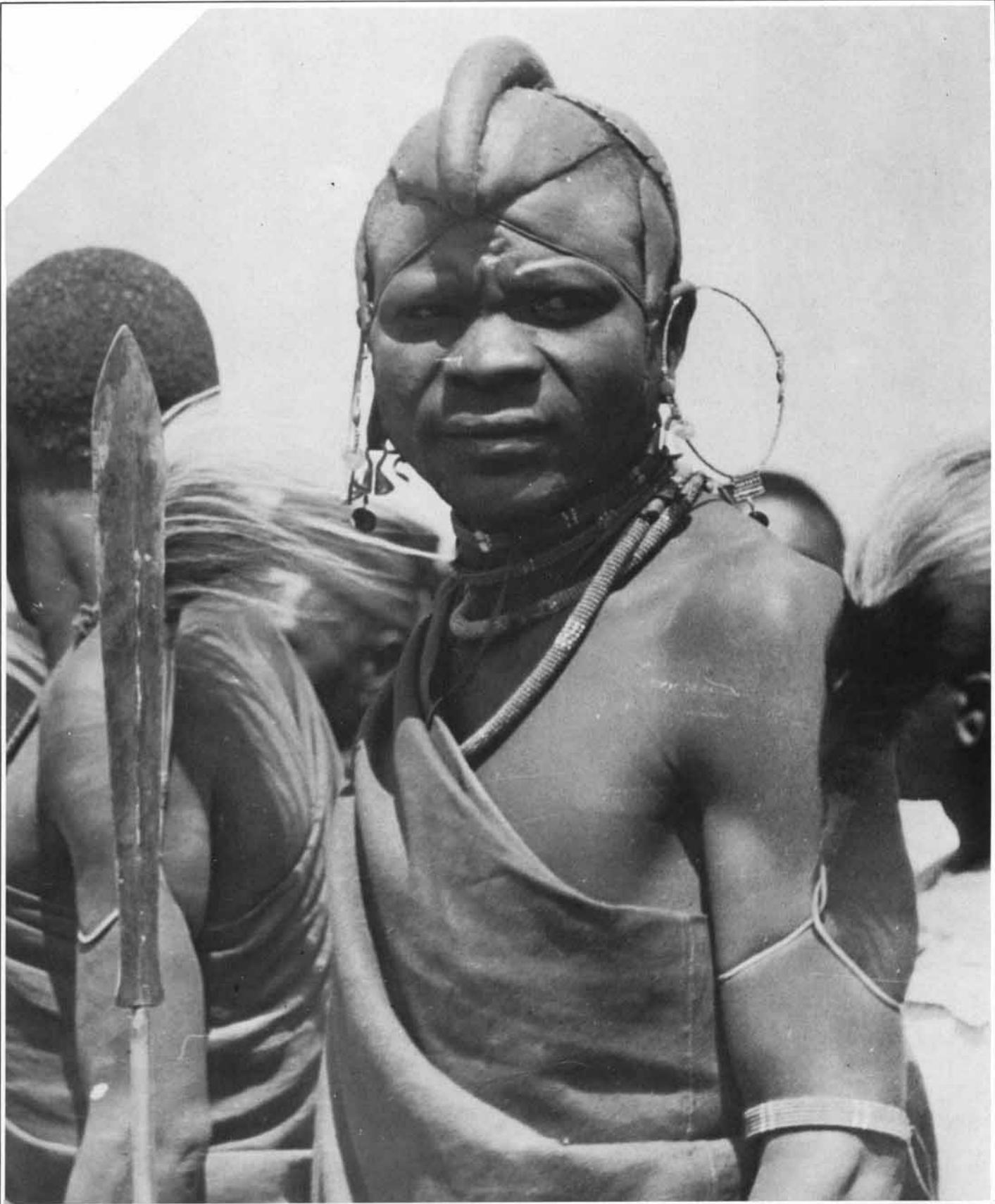
68 UKRAS ZA NOGE. BRONZA. MOSI. GORNJA VOLTA.  
LEG DECORATION. BRONZE. MOSI. UPPER VOLTA.

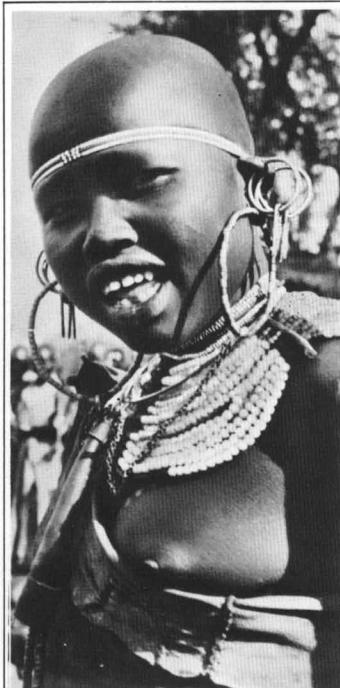




DEVOJKA IZ PLEMENA MASAJI SA NAKITOM  
OD PERLI, KENIJA  
MASAI GIRL WITH BEADS JEWELLERY,  
KENYA

RATNIK IZ PLEMENA GOGO, TANZANIA.  
GOGO WARRIOR, TANZANIA.





DEVOJKA IZ PLEMENA MARAKWET, UGANDA.  
MARAkwet GIRL, UGANDA.



IGRAČICE IZ PLEMENA MERU, KENIJA.  
MERU GIRL DANCERS, KENYA.

instrumenti, tkaniće, orude i posude, kao i izvanredna minijaturna plastika od bronze, koja je predstavljena sa 450 tegova za merenje zlata iz Gane.

## Muzej afričke umetnosti

Muzej afričke umetnosti, Zbirka Vede i dr Zdravka Pečara, nastao je zahvaljujući zbirci originalnih umetničkih predmeta koju su tokom svog dugogodišnjeg boravka u Africi sakupili naučni, kulturni i diplomatski radnici Veda i dr Zdravko Pečar i poklonili je Beogradu 1974. godine.

Zbirka Muzeja sadrži oko 1200 umetničkih predmeta, pretežno iz zemalja Zapadne Afrike: Malija, Senegala, Gvineje, Gornje Volte, Obale Slonovače, Gane, Toga, Benina, Kameruna i Nigerije. Eksponati predstavljaju deo tradicionalne kulture naroda: Dogon, Bambara, Malinke, Mosi, Bobo, Kisi, Baga, Dan, Gere, Senufo, Baule, Ašanti, Fon, Joruba i drugih. To je zbirka kulnih, magijskih, ukrasnih i upotrebnih predmeta od drveta, bronze, tekstila, kamena, keramike, a čine je: maske, figure predaka i drugi kultni predmeti, muzički

Moderna zgrada Muzeja, čiju je gradnju omogućila Skupština grada Beograda, a koju je projektovao arh. Slobodan Ilić, nalazi se u jednom od najlepših delova Beograda, u mirnoj i parkovima okruženoj atmosferi Topčiderskog brda, u ulici Andre Nikolića br 14. Muzej afričke umetnosti je za javnost otvoren 23. maja 1977. godine. Konceptu, programu rada i stalnu postavku Muzeja uradila je Jelena Arandelović-Lazić, etnolog. Projekat postavke sa likovnim rešenjima uradili su arh. Saveta Mašić i arh. Slobodan Mašić.

Muzej afričke umetnosti otvoren je svakog dana izuzev ponedeljka, od 10 do 18 časova.

## Museum of African Arts

The Museum of African Arts in Beograd, the Collection of Veda and Dr. Zdravko Pečar, has been opened to the public on May 23, 1977. Veda and Dr. Zdravko Pečar, scientists, culturologists and diplomats, during their many years of stay in Africa, have gathered a large collection of original works of African art, which was donated to the City of Beograd in 1974.

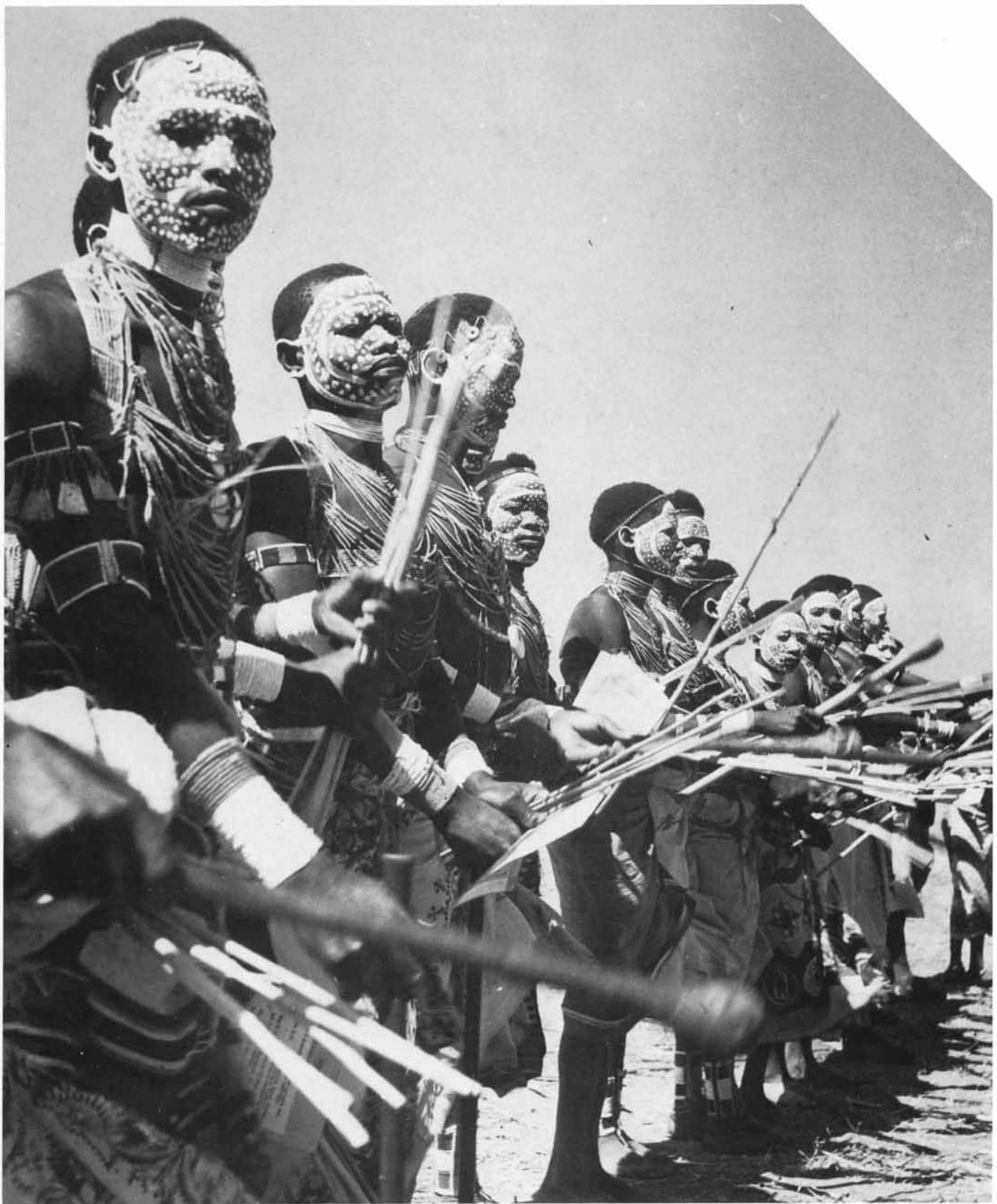
The Collection contains about 1,200 works of art, mostly from countries of West Africa: Mali, Senegal, Guinea, Upper Volta, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Togo, Benin, Cameroun and Nigeria. The exhibits represent a part of the traditional culture of numerous peoples: Dogons, Bambaras, Malinkes, Mosis, Bobos, Kisis, Bagas, Dans, Geres, Senufos, Baules, Ashantis, Fons, Yorubas, and many others. It is a collection of cult, magical, decorative and utility objects, made of wood, bronze, textile, stone and pottery, consisting of

masks, figures of ancestors and other cult objects, musical instruments, cloth, tools and dishes, as well as an exceptional set of miniature bronze plastic, represented by 450 weights for measuring gold from Ghana.

The modern building of the Museum, financed by the City Assembly of Beograd and designed by the architect Slobodan Ilić, is located in one of the nicest suburbs of Beograd, in the quiet and green atmosphere of the Topčider Hill, 14, Andre Nikolića St. The concept of the Museum, program of activity and the permanent exhibition have been laid by the ethnologist Jelena Arandelović-Lazić, while the design and the layout have been made by the architects Saveta and Slobodan Mašić.

The Museum of African Arts is open daily, except Monday, from 10 a. m. to 6 p. m.

RATNICI IZ PLEMENA WATURU, UKRAŠENI  
BOJAMA I NAKITOM, TANZANIA.  
WATURU WARRIORS WITH PAINTED DECORATIONS AND JEWELLERY, TANZANIA.





PRIPADNIK PLEMENA MASAJI SA METALNIM NAKITOM. KENIJA.  
MASAI MAN WITH METAL JEWELLERY. KENYA.



BUBNJARI PLEMENA CHUKA SA NAKITOM OD PERJA. KENIJA.  
CHUKA DRUMMERS WITH FEATHERS DECORATIONS. KENYA.

Jelena Arandelović-Lazić

## Afrički nakit

Afrika predstavlja ogromno područje na kojem vladaju veoma različiti uslovi života i gde žive mnogobrojni narodi i etničke grupe. Uslovi života, ekonomsko-istorijski i kulturni razvoj uzrokovani su u Africi susret najrazličitijim oblikima duhovne i materijalne kulture.

Afrički nakit kao deo kulturnog nasleda svakako je tema koja iziskuje brojne pojedinačne studije, jer je po oblicima, materijalu, i posebno po značenju koje sadrži, izvor za istraživanje najdelikatnijih kulturno-istorijskih i socijalnih pojava. Nakit je jezik kojim se izražavaju odredene društvene zajednice, sredstvo razumevanja i prepoznavanja, on otkriva, osim estetskog i umetničkog ukusa, socijalnu strukturu, religiozna shvatanja, ekonomske i trgovачke veze i drugo, odnosno, nakit je sastavni deo svedočanstva o istoriji razvoja čovečanstva.

Pod nakitom podrazumevamo mnogobrojne i raznovrsne predmete od

najrazličitijih materijala, kojima je čovek u prošlosti, kao što čini i danas, ukrašavao svoje telo. U širem smislu, nakit je i ukras koji se izvodi bojom, ožiljcima, i raznim drugim postupcima, na koži, kao što možemo reći da je nakit i na različit način formirana i očešljana kosa.

Nakit spada u najstarija kulturna dobra koja su ljudi tokom svoje istorije poznavali, bez obzira što je u različitim vremenskim razdobljima ili u različitim društvenim sredinama mogao imati različit značaj i značenje. Trajanjući za uzrocima ukrašavanja, naučnici su stvorili mnoge teorije o tome da li je već u rano vreme čovekove istorije nakit bio estetska potreba ili je njegova funkcija bila praktične ili religiozno-magističke prirode. Kako, uže u širem smislu, nakit čini deo odeće, to su česte rasprave i o tome da li nakit prethodi odeći, da li je stariji od odela ili je nastao kao dopuna odeva-ju. Povodom mišljenja da je nakit stariji od odela, koje zastupaju mnogi naučnici, posebno je vredno pomenuuti teoriju Tihomira Đorđevića, koji je poreklo odela i nakita doveo u vezu sa verovanjem u zle oči, smatrajući da je i nakitu i odelu prethodilo obeležavanje ljudskog tela kao zaštita od uroka.<sup>[1]</sup> Mi se ovoga puta ne možemo državati na istraživanjima ove vrste, no sigurni smo da je već u najranijim epohama nakit mogao imati mnogo-

Jelena Arandelović-Lazić

## African Jewellery

Africa extends over a huge area comprising highly-varied living conditions and inhabited by many peoples and ethnic groups. These living conditions and the continent's economic, historical and cultural development have made Africa the meeting-place for a multitude of spiritual and material cultures.

As part of the cultural heritage, African jewellery is a subject for research into the most highly sensitive cultural, historical and social phenomena as shown by the forms created, materials used and, particularly, by the importance attached to the jewellery. It is a language, a form of expression for particular social communities, a means of communication and recognition. Besides aesthetic and artistic taste, it bears witness to social structure, religious beliefs, economic and trade links etc. In short, jewellery is an essential testimony to the history of the development of mankind.

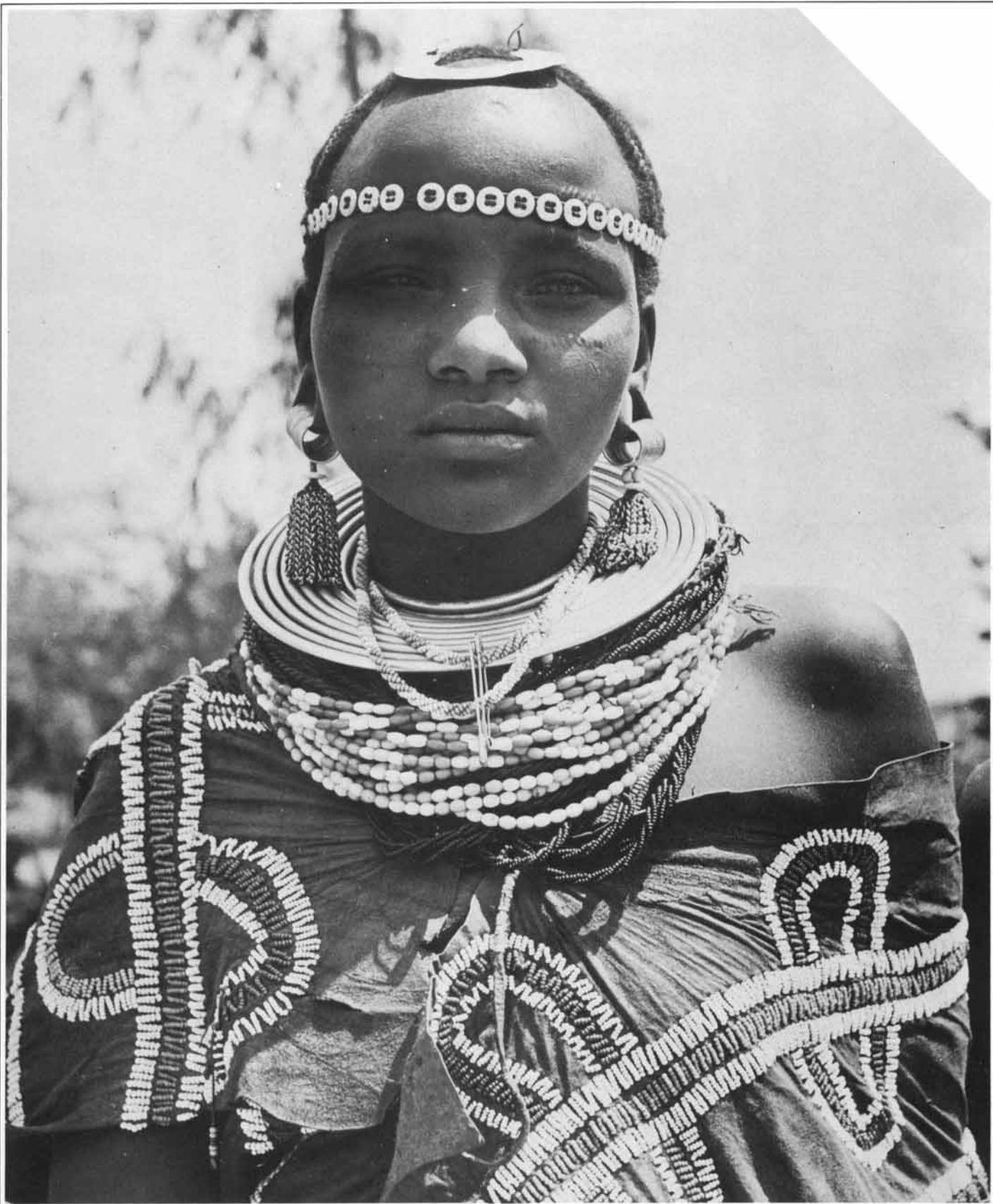
By jewellery we mean the many and varied objects made from all kinds of

materials, with which man in the past, just as he does today, decorated his body. Taken a step further, it is also the decoration applied onto the skin by means of paints and dyes, scarring or other methods. We can also say that such personal decoration extends to the various ways of hair dressing and combing too.

Jewellery is one of the most ancient cultural requisites ever known to man, regardless of the varying degrees of importance and significance attached to it at different times in history or in different environments. In the search of reasons for personal decoration, many theories have been put forward as to whether jewellery was an aesthetic requirement even in the early phases of man's evolution, or whether its function was purely practical, or religious and magical in nature. As, broadly speaking, jewellery can be taken as part of clothing, it is frequently disputed whether jewellery preceded clothing, whether it occurred at an earlier date than clothing, or whether it arose as a supplement to clothing. In support of the opinion that jewellery dates back further than clothing, a view held by many experts, it is interesting to note the theory of Tihomir Đorđević, who has linked the origin of clothing and jewellery with belief in the evil eye, considering that before both clothing and jewellery, the human body was marked to ward

DEVOJKA SA NAKITOM OD PERLI, METAL-  
NOM OGRILICOM I UKRASOM OD DUGMADI.  
TANZANIJA.

NYATURU GIRL WITH BEADS JEWELLERY,  
METAL NECKLACE AND BUTTON DECORA-  
TION, TANZANIA.

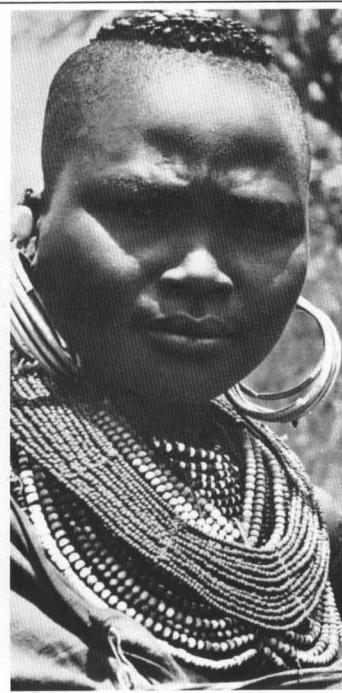




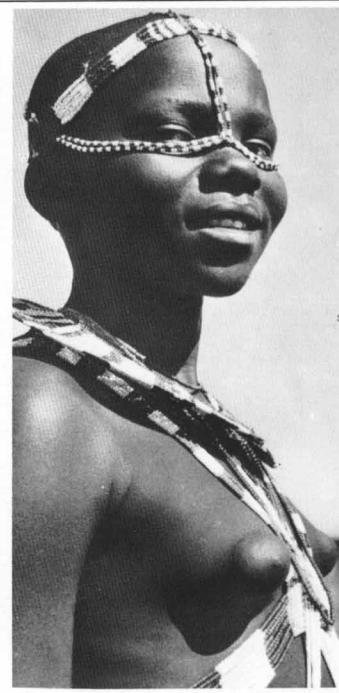
ŽENA IZ PLEMENA KAMBA SA NAKITOM OD PERLI I METALNIM NARUKVICAMA. KENIJA.  
KAMBA WOMAN WITH BEADS JEWELLERY AND METAL BRACELETS.



ŽENA IZ PLEMENA MASAJI SA NAKITOM OD PERLI. KENIJA.  
MASAI WOMAN WITH BEADS JEWELLERY.



DEVOJKA IZ PLEMENA MARAKWET SA NAKITOM OD PERLI. UGANDA.  
MARAKWET GIRL WITH BEADS JEWELLERY. UGANDA.



DEVOJKA IZ PLEMENA KAMBA SA NAKITOM OD PERLI. KENIJA.  
KAMBA GIRL WITH BEADS JEWELLERY. KENYA.

strukra značenja (estetska, praktična, magijska i dr.) i da je razvoj pojedinih delova ljudske kulture mogao ići uporedno, a ne u redosledu jedan za drugim. Nakit i danas, u pojedinim delovima sveta, ima sve one mnogobrojne funkcije koje ima i odeća. Mada je u visoko razvijenim industrijskim sredinama nakit uglavnom sveden na luskuzne proizvode sa pretežno imovinsko-klasnim značenjem, u mnogim evropskim sredinama omladina se kiti i predmetima koji ne bi spadali u kategoriju skupocenog nakita. Poslednjih decenija zapaženo je nošenje raznih dinduva, ogrlica i narukvica od školjki, semenja, sitnih plodova, odnosno od materijala uzetih iz prirode. Nije li ova moda – potreba čoveka visoko industrializovanih sredina da se približi prirodi, ili možda revolt protiv velikih društvenih razlika?

ogrlice ili upletene u kosu. O značenju ovog nakita zna se veoma malo. Nopored izvesne estetske vrednosti, savsim je verovatno da je on imao i određeno religiozno značenje. To se osobito odnosi na školjku kauri (ciprea) za koju se smatra da je bila simbol seksualnosti žene, odnosno simbol plodnosti.[3] Školjka kauri je tokom vremena dobila mnogo šire značenje, te se pored simbola plodnosti, smatra simbolum opštег napretka, beričeta i na kraju simbolum bogatstva, osobito u Africi, gde je dugo vreme služila kao sredstvo razmene i predstavljala vrstu novca.

Pored predmeta uzetih iz prirode, u neolitu ljudi poznaju umetnički izrađen nakit od najraznovrsnijih, retkih i skupocenih materijala. U ovo vreme ljevični nakit, sredstva za ulepšavanje ili materijal za njihovu izradu bili su glavni predmeti trgovine između dalekih područja.[4] Zlato, bakar, tirkiz, jantar, slonovača i drugi predmeti koji su privlačili ljudе svojom bojom ili sjajem, služili su za izradu perli i drugih oblika nakita.[5] Arheološki nalazi pokazuju da se u ovo vreme nose i ukrasni češljevi izrađeni od drveta i slonovače.[6]

Prve podatke o bojenju lica i tela kao načinu ulepšavanja kojim se služi čovečanstvo, nalazimo u neolitskoj kulturi Egipta. Iz Nubije i Sinaja se izvo-

off spells.[1] It is not possible to dwell upon such research here, but it is certain that even in the very earliest ages jewellery could have had multiple significance (aesthetic, practical, magical etc.) and that the individual parts of human culture could have developed on a parallel basis and not one after the other. Even today, in some parts of the world, jewellery retains all those many functions attributed to clothing. Although jewellery in the highly-developed industrial world comprises mainly luxury products with a property and class significance, in many European milieux young people decorate themselves with objects which do not fall into the category of expensive jewellery. Recent decades have seen the emergence of various trinkets, necklaces and bracelets made of shells, seeds, berries – that is material taken from nature. Is not this fashion a reflection of the need of man who inhabits highly-industrialised society to return to nature, or of a revolt against large social differences?

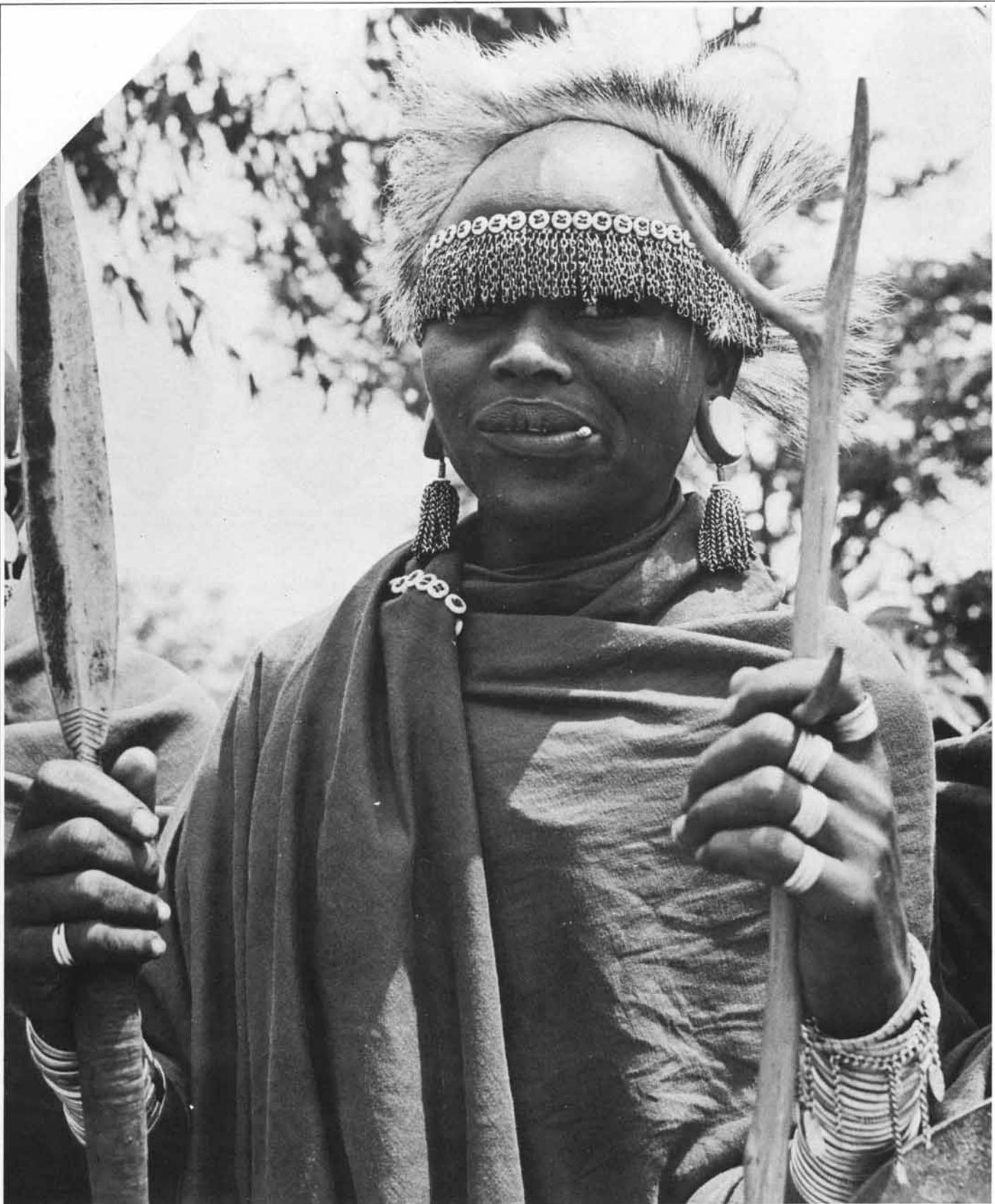
The oldest jewellery findings date back to the early Paleolithic age.[2] They comprise pendants made of animal teeth, bones or stones, made in such a way that they can be worn in rows in the form of necklaces, bracelets or anklets. The many discoveries from this period show that shells were especially used, either in rows in neck-

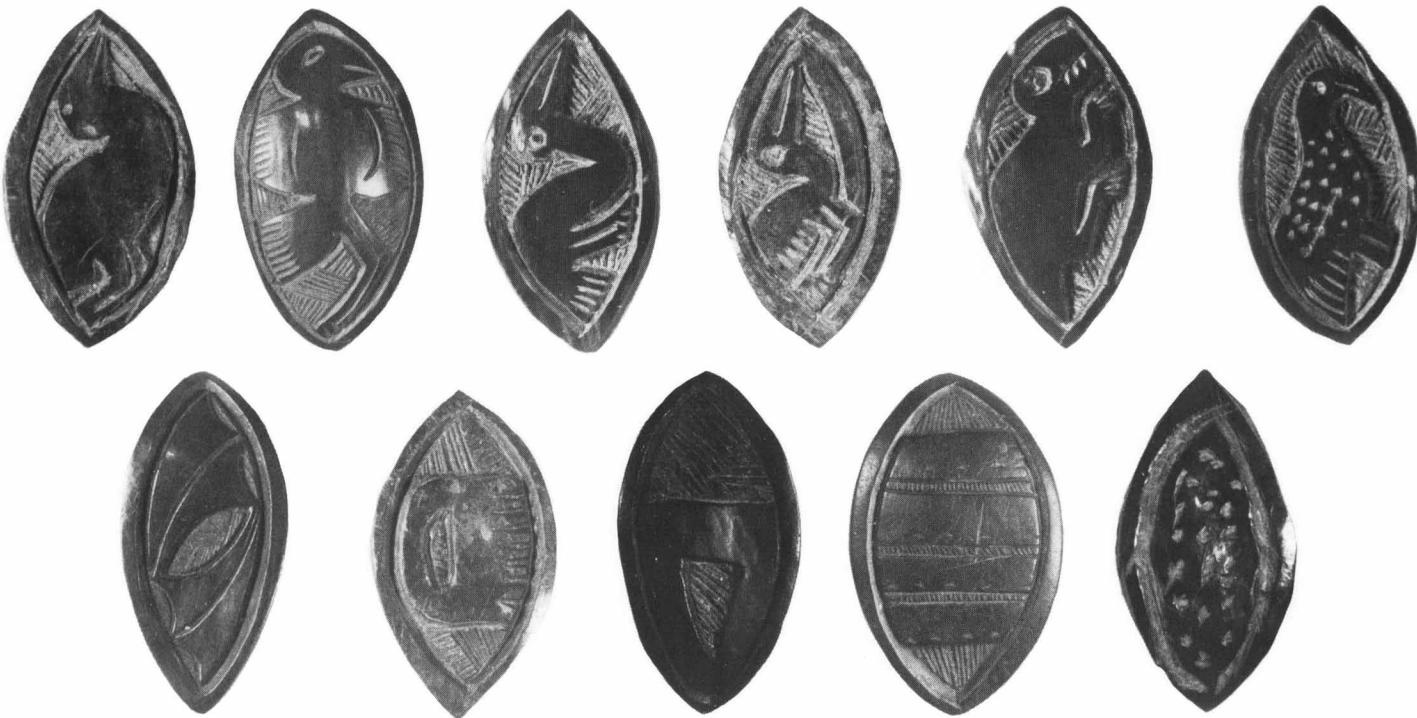
lace form, or plaited into the hair. Little is known of the significance of this jewellery. Besides a certain aesthetic value, it is quite probable that this jewellery also had a certain religious importance. This is especially true of the cowry (ciprea) shell, which is considered to have been the symbol of female sexuality or the symbol of fertility.[3] In time, the cowry shell took on far broader significance and, in addition to fertility, also became the symbol of overall progress, abundance and finally the symbol of wealth, especially in Africa, where for a long time it was used as a mean of exchange, that is, a form of money.

Besides objects taken from nature, in the Neolithic age people also became acquainted with jewellery made of varied, rare and valuable materials. At that time, personal ornaments, or the materials for making them, represented the primary objects of trade between distant regions.[4] Gold, copper, turquoise, amber, ivory and other materials, which were attractive on account of their colour or glow, were used to make beads or other forms of jewellery.[5] Archeological findings show that at this time decorative combs made of wood or ivory were also worn.[6]

The first information on the use of paint in order to decorate the face or body is to be found in the Neolithic culture of Egypt. Malachite (copper

RATNIK IZ PLEMENA NYATURU, TANZANIA  
NYATURU WARRIOR, TANZANIA





zio malahit (bakarni karbonat) korišćen za bojenje očiju. Prepostavlja se da je malahit prvo bitno upotrebljavan kao zaštita protiv bolesti, mada se ne isključuje i estetski efekat zeleno osenčanih očiju.[7]

Prastari načini ukrašavanja ljudskog tela sačuvali su se veoma dugo u pojedinih delovima Afrike i razvili u posebnu vrstu umetnosti sa izuzetno bogatim sadržajem. U mnogim afričkim sredinama ostali su do danas u upotrebi svi poznati oblici nakita i to od onih najstarijih, načinjenih od životinjskih zuba, semenja, plodova, školjki, pužića itd., do najfinije umetnički oblikovanog nakita od slonovače, dragocenog kamenja, srebra i zlata. Najrazličitije frizure i danas imaju znatnog uvela u izgledu Afrikanaca, a što je posebno važno, sačuvana su i značenja koja su u prošlosti bila strogo poštovana. Dok se u visoko razvijenim industrijskim zemljama na tradiciji bojenja ljudskog lica razvila kosmetička industrijia, u nekim oblastima Afrike, bojenje tela se razvilo u izuzetan vid umetničkog stvaralaštva, motivisanog pretežno estetskim podudarima, ali sa važnim društvenim značenjem. Jer, kako kaže Džems Faris (James Faris), u izolovanim rodovskim zajednicama, kao što su severoistočni Nube u oblasti Kordofan (Sudan), umetnička tradicija je više univerzalna i veze između umetnosti i

drugih sfera društvenog ponašanja su mnogostrukе i medusobno isprepletenе.[8]

#### Nakit od nanizanih semenki, plodova, pužića, školjki

Semenke raznih biljaka, plodovi, ljušta kokosovog oraha, nojevog jajeta, biljna vlakna, slama, životinjski zubi, školjke, pužići, skoro sve što se može naći u prirodi, što privlači svojom bojom, materijalom ili oblikom, osobito predmeti koji se lako mogu nanizati na vrpce od biljnih vlakana, od kože ili na metalnu žicu, nosi se na telu u vidu naniza, ogrlica, narukvica, pojaseva, visuljaka i drugog. Ponekad se ovi sitni predmeti različitog oblika samo probuše i nižu na užicu, dok se u nekim slučajevima boje, glačaju i kombinuju sa drugim materijalom. Čak i na ovom jednostavnom nakitu može se zapaziti veština u komponovanju boja i oblika i smisao za estetske vrednosti.

Nakit od prirodnog materijala ostao je u upotrebi kao deo kulturne prošlosti i njegovo nošenje je obično vezano za važne događaje čovekovog života, pre svega detinjstva, puberteta, mladosti. On nema funkciju prikazivanja društvenog prestiža i značaj bogatstva u tolikoj meri kao što je to slučaj sa nakitom od zlata, dragog kamenja i slonovače, ali ima važnu ulogu da ukrasi ljudsko telo, da istakne lepotu

carbonate), which was used for eye colouring, was exported from Nubia and Sinai. It is thought that malachite was used in the first place to ward off illness, although the aesthetic green eye-shadowing effect cannot be excluded.[7]

The most ancient methods of body decoration were retained for a long time in certain parts of Africa and developed into a specific form of art. In many regions of Africa the best-known forms of jewellery are still to be found to the present day – made of animal teeth, seeds, berries, shells, snails, etc., as well as the most delicately fashioned jewellery made of ivory, precious stones, silver and gold. Hair styles of the most varied types still play an important role in the appearance of the African and, what is more important, the significance so honoured in the past has been retained. While the cosmetics industry has evolved in the highly-developed industrialised countries on the basis of the tradition of painting the human face, the painting of the body has developed in some regions of Africa into an exceptional form of artistic creativity, motivated particularly by aesthetic reasons but also retaining major social significance. For, as James Faris says, in isolated geneological communities such as the north eastern Nube in the region of Kordofan (Sudan), artistic tradition is more universal, and the links

between art and other spheres of social conduct are many and mutually interwoven.[8]

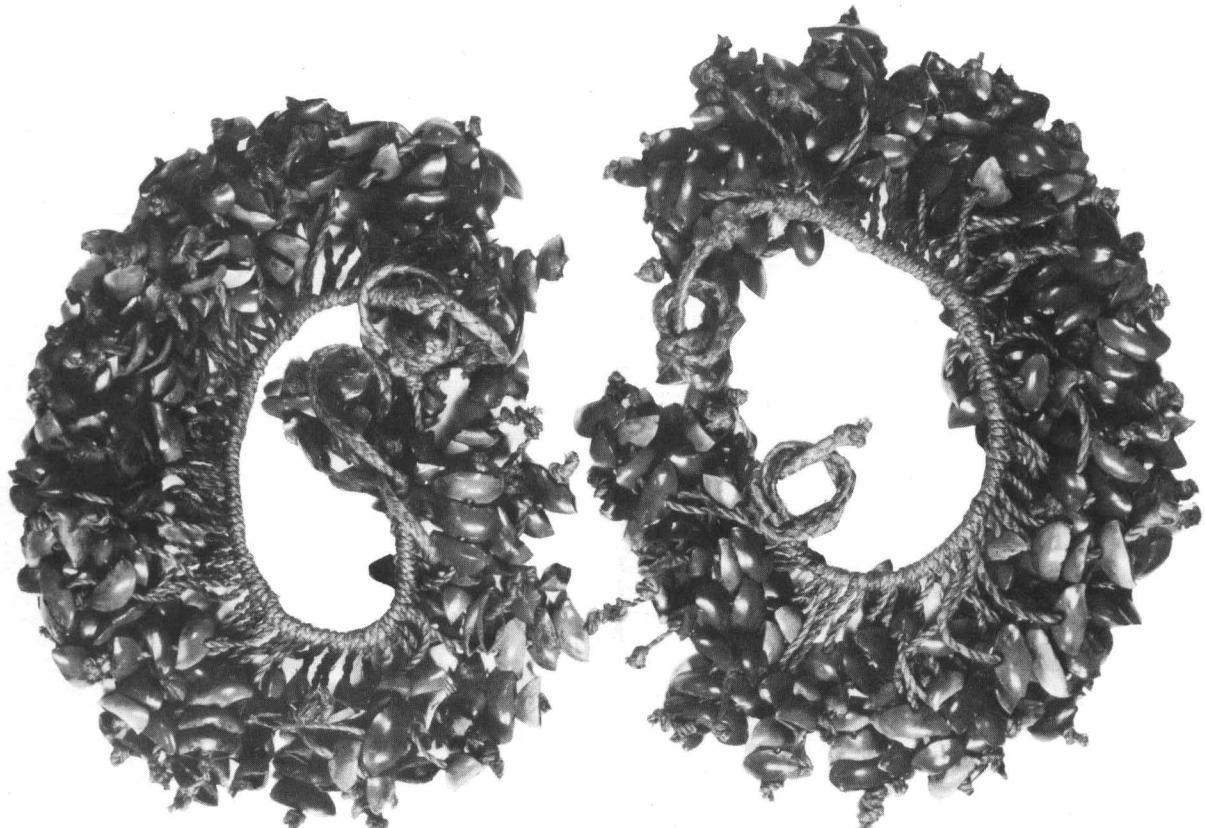
#### Jewellery made of rows of seeds, berries, snails, shells

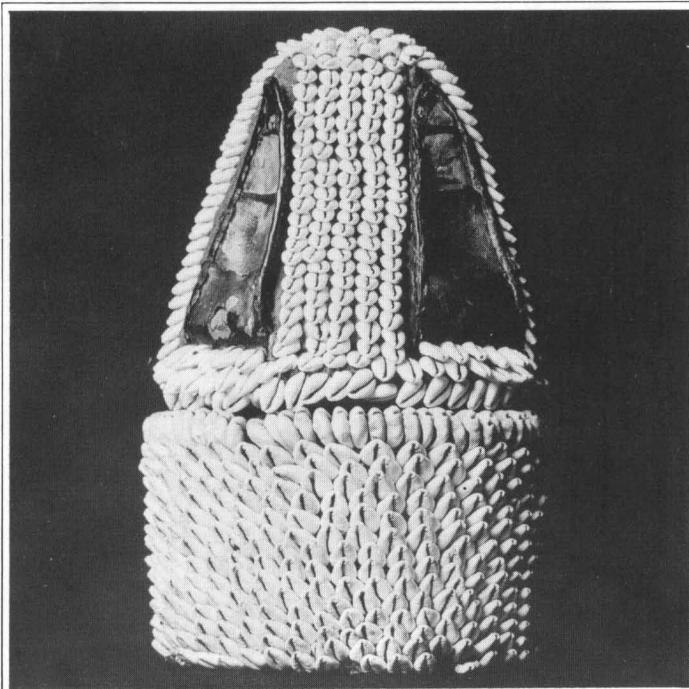
Seeds of various plants, berries, coconut shells, ostrich eggs, plant fibres, straw, animal teeth, shells, snails – virtually everything that can be found in nature which attracts the eye with its colour, texture or shape, especially objects that can easily be threaded on to plant fibres or thongs made of leather or metal wire – are worn on the body in the form of necklaces, bracelets, belts, pendants, etc. Sometimes these small objects are only pierced and threaded, while other times they are dyed, polished and combined with other materials. Even in the case of simple jewellery, a certain skill can be seen in the composition of colours and forms and the sense of the aesthetic. Jewellery made of natural materials has remained in use as a part of the cultural past and it is usually linked to important events in man's life – childhood, puberty, youth. It does not show social prestige, nor does it give sign of wealth, as is the case with jewellery made of gold, precious stones and ivory. It does, however, have an important role in decorating the body, accentuating grace of movement, showing virtues such as courage and –



13 PRIVESCI ZA OGRLICE. REZBARENE SEMENKE ABBIA. KAMERUN.  
NECKLACE PENDANTS. CARVED ABBIA SEED. CAMEROON.

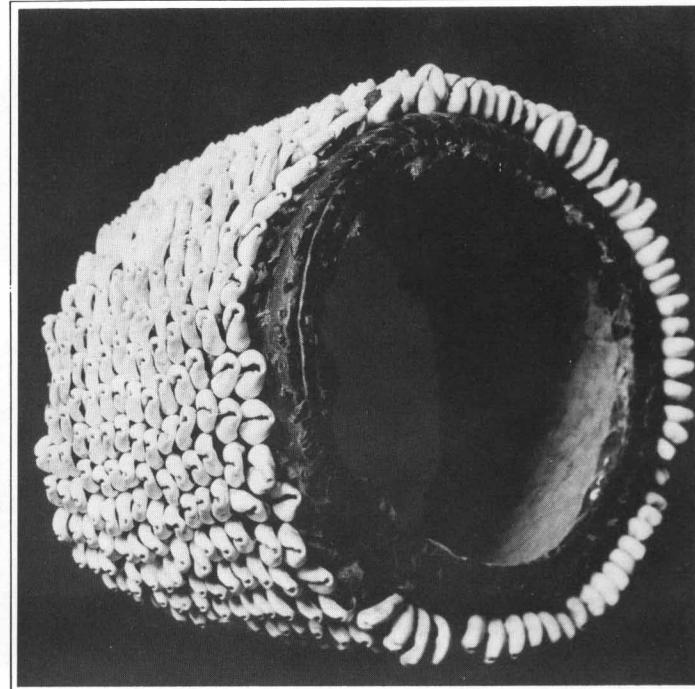
14 UKRASI-ZVEČKE. NOŠENE OKO ČLANAKA NA NOGAMA, ZA VREME PLESU. DAN,  
OBALA SLONOVACÉ.  
DECORATION RATTLES. WORN ON ANKLES DURING DANCE. THE DAN, IVORY COAST.





23 OGGLVJE – ILE ORI, JORUBA, BENIN.

ILE ORI – HOUSE OF THE HEAD. THE YORUBA, BENIN.



pokreta, obeleži osobinu čoveka, hrbrost, na primer, da svojim zvečanjem odagna zle sile ili doprinese ritmu igre. Od najranijeg detinjstva, još dok ih majke nose privezane na ledima, deca se zabavljaju slušajući zvečanje nakita majke ili narukvica na svojim rukama, navikavajući se tako na muziku i prirođan ritam pokreta. Pored ogrlica od raznobojnih semenki na našož izložbi su prikazani ukrasi za noge nošeni za vreme plesa u Obali Slonovače i Liberiji kod naroda Dan. Ovaj deo nakita, koji predstavlja i vrstu muzičkog instrumenta, napravljen je od ispletene vlakana palmoveg lista i osušenog semena akacije. Među nikitom od školjki, od posebnog su značaja predmeti načinjeni od školjke kauri (ciprea) koja je bila u širokoj upotrebi u skoro svim delovima Afrike. Služila je kao platežno sredstvo u razmeni za raznovrsnu robu. Školjkama kauri su kupovani robovi i plaćane neveste, a naziv novca u Gani sidi – potiče od lokalnog imena za ovu školjku. Još i danas se, na manjim seoskim tržnicama u unutrašnjosti kontinenta za školjke kauri mogu nabaviti neki proizvodi. Od školjki kauri je pravljen raznovrstan nakit, pre svega ogrlice i pojasevi koji su najčešće nošeni u posebnim svečanostima. Tako kod naroda Senufo, mladići i devojke nose pojaseve od ovih školjki za vreme inicijacija, uvođenja u red odraslih ljudi. Kod naroda Bete u

Obali Slonovače, pojaseve od školjki kauri nose igrači za vreme izvođenja ratničkih igara.[9] Maskirani igrači kod naroda Dogon (Mali) nose, na gornjem delu tela, posebnu vrstu odeće-ukrasa u vidu naramenica sa gusto našivenim školjkama kauri. Pored nakita i ukrasa na odeći, one su veoma čest ukras na skulpturama od drveta i nekim maskama, kao što je to maska Ntomo kod naroda Bambara. Neoprodne u mnogim ritualima i kultovima, školjke kauri su često darivane kao žrtva duhovima i božanstvima. Pored materijalne vrednosti, ova školjka je zadržala i svoje osnovno religiozno značenje – simbola plodnosti; ovo značenje je upotpunjeno i prošireno mnogim mitovima koji objašnjavaju njegov značaj.

Kod naroda Dogon u Maliju, školjke kauri, kao i svi ostali predmeti tradicionalne materijalne kulture, imaju svoje osnovno značenje i objašnjenje – u mitu o stvaranju sveta.[10] Prema ovom mitu, u odnosu nebeske stvaralačke sile Ama i Zemlje – stvorenog je dvojno božansko biće Nomo koje je sadržavalo u sebi muške i ženske odlike. Prema verovanju Dogona, gornji deo tela Nomoa je bio u ljudskom obliku, dok je donji deo tela bio u obliku zmije. Nomo je bio zelene boje, a njegova sústina je bila voda. Ama je zatim stvorio još jedan par blizanaca iz kojeg su proizašla

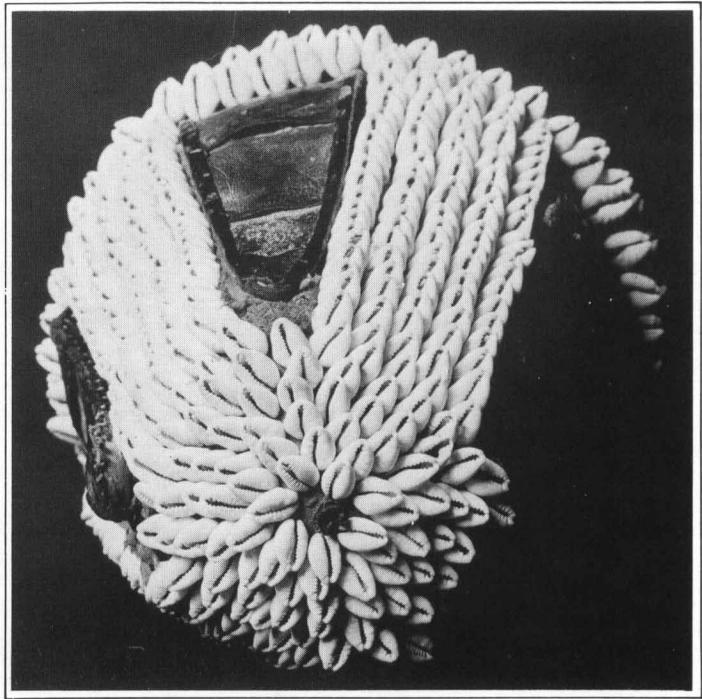
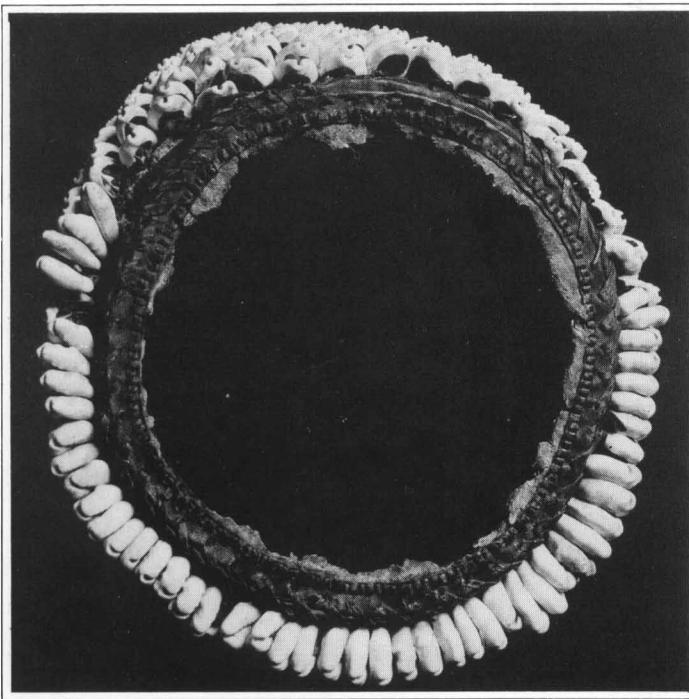
through the rattling sound it makes – warding off evil spirits or contributing to dance rhythm. From birth, even while carried on their mothers' backs, children amuse themselves listening to the sound of the rattling of their mothers' jewellery or the bracelets on their hands, becoming accustomed in this way to music and the natural rhythm of movement. Besides necklaces of multi-coloured seeds, our exhibition also shows the leg ornaments worn during the dance by the Dan in the Ivory Coast and Liberia. This jewellery, which is also a type of musical instrument, is made of plaited palm leaf fibres and dried acacia seed.

Of especial importance amongst the jewellery made of shells are those made from cowry shells, which were in extensive use in almost all parts of Africa. They served as a form of payment in exchange for other goods. Cowry shells were used to buy slaves, purchase brides, and the name of the Ghanaian currency – sidi – stems from the local name for this shell. Even today some products can be obtained at small village markets in the African interior in exchange for the cowry. The cowry shells were used to make various forms of jewellery, particularly necklaces and belts, which were worn most frequently at special ceremonies.

The boys and girls of the Senufo wear

belts made of these shells during the adult initiation ceremony. The Bete people of the Ivory Coast wear cowry shell belts during war dances. [9] The masked dancers of the Dogon people (Mali) wear a shoulder garment decorated with cowry shells. Besides being used for jewellery and for garment decoration, cowry shells are used to decorate wooden sculptures and masks, as is the case with the Ntomo mask of the Bambara people. Essential in many rituals and cults, the cowry shells are frequently offered as a sacrifice to the spirits and the gods. Besides their material value, these shells have also maintained their fundamental religious significance – the symbol of fertility. This special significance is coloured even further by the many myths surrounding it.

In the case of the Dogon people in Mali, the cowry shells, like other traditional objects, have their fundamental importance and explanation in the myth on the creation of the world.[10] According to this myth, the creative powers Ama and Earth made the dual god Nomo, which contained both male and female characteristics. The Dogon believe that the upper part of the body of Nomo was in human form, while the lower part had the form of a snake. Nomo was green and its essence was of water. Ama then created twins from which there in turn emerged another three pairs of

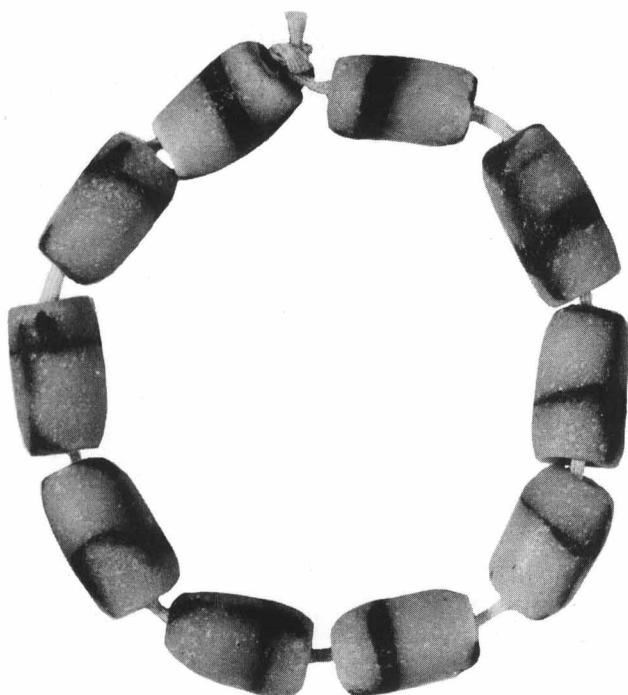


tri sledeća para. Ovih osam božanskih predaka od kojih potiču Dogoni i njihova celokupna kultura spojili su se sa prvočitnim Nomoom i otišli na nebo. Ljudi vode poreklo od osmog Nomoa koji se naziva Lebe i koji je, pošto je prividno umro, sahranjen u zemlju. U stvari, prema mitu, Lebe se pretvorio u zmiju, a u njegovom grobu, na mestu gde je ležalo telo, nadene je *kamenje predaka* i po osam školjki kauri kod svake ruke i noge, što iznosi ukupno trideset i dve školjke. Osmi Nomo je umro da bi očistio zemlju i omogućio njenu plodnost. Prema tome, Lebe je po dogonskom verovanju izvor celokupne plodnosti zemlje i ljudi. On simbolizuje čistoću i plodnost tla. Školjke kauri, nadene u zemlji, gde je prema verovanju sahranjen Lebe, nose u sebi životnu snagu koja utiče na razmnožavanje ljudi i dobara. One predstavljaju vrstu govora, *reči*, jer pomoću njih se *broji*, a na početku odnosa među ljudima, služile su u istom smislu kao i *reči* da se razmene ideje i dobra.[11] Životna snaga i snaga zakona predaka koja se nalazi u školjkama kauri utiče na robu, kao i na ljude. Zbog toga su ljudi koristili ove školjke kao novac i kao nakit. Zapravo, od trideset i dve školjke nadene u grobu Lebea napravljene su, prema verovanju Dogona, prve dve ogrlice za prve blizance koji su se neposredno posle toga rodili. Ogrlice

su bile od kožne trake, sa privescima od po osam školjki, a svakom blizancu je ostalo još po osam školjki za razmenu u trgovini. Po ovom predanju, po četiri školjke je menjano za jednu životinju, koje su se zatim razmnožavale; a veruje se da se i školjke kauri, koje su takođe živa bića, *množe u rukama vlasnika.*[12] Blizanci i danas kod Dogona imaju posebnu ulogu u trgovini i razmeni dobara. Veruje se da se sva dobra blizanaca umnožavaju mnogo brže. Zapravo, ljudi im rado daju malo više robe ili novca da bi dobili malo njihove sreće i njihove životne moći. Takođe se i danas mogu videti blizanci sa privescima od osam školjki kauri na kožnoj ogrlici. Iste ogrlice sa jednom ili više školjki nose mnogi ljudi kod Dogona. Kožna ogrlica sa sedam školjki kauri, prikazana na izložbi, predstavlja simbol jedinstva muškog principa, koji je kod Dogona označen brojem tri, i ženskog principa, označenog brojem četiri. Broj sedam, kao njihov zbir, predstavlja savršenstvo stvaralačkog čina Ame, savršenstvo samog Nomoa, koji je u sebi sadržavao oba principa, i savršenstvo ljudske ličnosti kao stvaralačkog bića.[13]

twins. These eight god-like ancestors, from whom the Dogon and their entire culture stem, joined with Nomo and went to heaven. People, the myth runs, originate from the eighth Nomo called Lebe who, having apparently died, was buried in the earth. In fact, Lebe was transformed into a snake and in his grave, at the spot where his body had lain, the ancestral stone was found and at each hand and foot – eight cowry shells, thirty-two in all. It is believed that the eighth Nomo died in order to purify the earth and render it fertile. The Dogon therefore believe that Lebe is the source of fertility both of the earth and of man. It symbolises purity and fertility of the soil. Cowry shells, found in the earth where Lebe was believed to have been buried, are thought to contain a vital force assuring human reproduction and prosperity. They represent a kind of speech, *words*, for they are used for *counting* purposes and, at the beginning of human inter-relations, they served the same purpose as *words* – to exchange ideas and property.[11] The vital force and the force of ancestral law inherent in the cowry shells also influence property as well as people. This is why the shells were used as money and jewellery. The Dogon believe that the thirty-two shells found in the grave of Lebe were made into two necklaces for the first twins which were born immediately afterwards. Each

of the twins had a necklace made of a leather throng and a pendant of eight shells. They each also had eight of the remaining shells to be used to trade. According to legend, each exchanged four shells for an animal, which then multiplied in number. It is also believed that *the cowry shells, which are also living beings, multiply in the hands of the owner.* [12] Even today Dogon twins play a special role in trade and property exchange. It is believed that property belonging to twins multiplies far more quickly. People therefore gladly give them more goods and money in order to receive some of their luck and their vital power. Even today, twins can be seen wearing pendants of eight cowry shells on a leather cord. Many of the Dogon wear similar cords with one or more cowry shells. The leather necklace with seven cowry shells on show at the exhibition represents the symbol of the unity of the male principle, which the Dogon depict with the number three, and of the female principle, which they depict with the number four. The sum of these two numbers – seven – represents the perfection of the creative act of Ama, the perfection of Nomo itself, which embodies both principles and the perfection of the human personality as a creative being.[13]



24 NARUKVICA. PERLE OD STAKLENE PASTE. GANA.  
BRACELET. BEADS OF GLASS PASTE. GHANA.



29 OGRLICA. PERLE OD STAKLENE PASTE. MAURITANIA.  
NECKLACE, GLASS PASTE BEADS. MAURITANIA.

#### Nakit od kamenih i staklenih zrnaca

Pored semenja, raznih plodova, pužića i školjki, u Africi se već od davnih vremena upotrebljavao nakit od nanizanih kuglica izrađenih od zemlje, kamena, stakla i metala, odnosno od materijala koji je zahtevao određenu obradu. Osobito su cijene perle od raznobojnog kamena i stakla koje su stizale u unutrašnjost Afrike karavanskim putevima, preko Sahare, kao i pomorskim putevima iz Indije, Venecije, Portugalije, Holandije i drugih zemalja Evrope i Azije. Perle su bile važan predmet razmene u trgovini, a vladari starih afričkih kraljevina, koji su veći deo trgovine držali u svojim rukama, merili su svoje bogatstvo mnoštvom nakita i predmeta izrađenih od raznobojnih perli. Perlama su pored kraljevske odeće i nakita, ukrašavani prestoli, krune, kao i kulturni predmeti, maske i skulpture predaka.

Pod perlama podrazumevamo sve predmete malih dimenzija različitog oblika, više ili manje ujednačenih formi koji su načinjeni od prirodnog ili veštačkog materijala, obično probušeni da bi se nosili kao ukras na odeći ili telu, nanizani ili pričvršćeni u nizovima. Perle mogu biti krupne, sitne, okrugle, kvadratne, nepravilnog oblika, cevaste, različitih boja, prirodnih ili posebno obojenih. Danas se još uvek najviše cene sitne

okrugle, staklene perle koje se mogu lako nizati, vezivati, šiti, utkivati, utiskivati u podlogu od drugog materijala, odnosno od kojih se prave najraznovrsnije likovne i skulpturalne forme sa izrazitim simboličnim značenjem vezanim za mitologiju i kulturnu prošlost pojedinih naroda. Nakit od kamenih i osobito staklenih perli nosi se u svim krajevima Afrike, a neki od afričkih naroda su čuvaju po izuzetnim umjetničkim predmetima izrađenim od perli, kao što su to Masaji u istočnoj Africi, sa svojim prekrasnim ogrlicama, ili narodi Bamileke u Kamerunu i Jorube u Nigeriji, gde je upotreba perli bila vezana za kraljevske oznake i gde osobite likovne forme od perli predstavljaju kraljevski prestoli i krune.

Smatra se da upotreba staklenih perli za ukrašavanje potiče iz neolita i da se nastavlja na mnogo raniju upotrebu nakita od školjki, zubi i pršljenova od riba, reptila i sisara.[14] Staklene perle su bile poznate na Bliskom Istoku već krajem drugog milenijuma pre nove ere, a u Egiptu su izradivane za vreme Pete dinastije.[15] Prema tome, već u davno vreme perle su mogле biti u upotrebi i u oblastima južno od Sahare.

Za vreme arheoloških istraživanja u Igbo Akvuu (Igbo Ukwu), u Nigeriji, 1960. godine, pronađeno je u grobu jednog vladara, pored ostalog i preko sto hiljada različitih vrsti perli.

#### Stone and glass bead jewellery

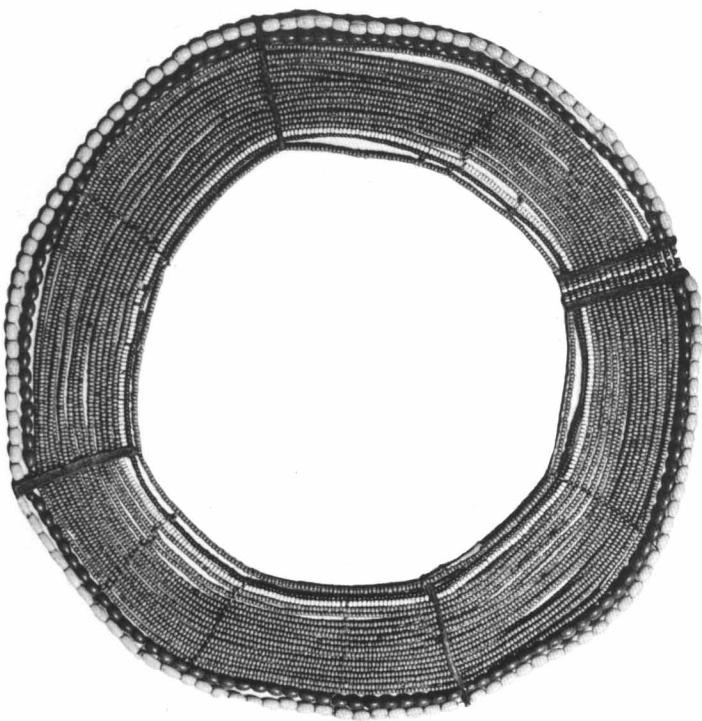
Besides seeds, berries, snails and shells, since time immemorial jewellery has been made in Africa of thread-ed beads made of earth, stone, glass and metal, that is, materials which required fashioning. Particularly appreciated are beads made of various coloured stones and glass, which were brought along the ancient caravan routes to the African interior from India, Venice, Portugal, Holland and other countries of Europe and Asia. Beads were an important trading object, and the rulers of the old African kingdoms, who controlled most of the trade, measured their wealth in jewellery and objects made of multi-coloured beads.

Besides being used as jewellery and to decorate the rulers' garments, beads were also used to decorate thrones, crowns and cult objects, masks and ancestral sculptures. By beads we mean small, multi-coloured objects, approximately similar in shape, made of natural or artificial materials, which were usually pierced and worn as decoration on the clothing or the body, threaded or affixed in rows. Beads can be large, small, round, square, irregular in shape, tubular, multi-coloured, and naturally or artificially coloured. Even today, the beads of greatest value are those which can easily be threaded, embroidered, sewn, or woven into a back-

ground of other material, that is, those which are used to create a variety of artistic and sculptural forms with marked symbolic significance linked to the mythology and cultural past of the individual peoples.

Jewellery made of stone and particularly of glass beads is worn throughout Africa, and some of the African peoples are renowned for their bead objects, such as the Masai in East Africa with its magnificent necklaces or the Bamileke in Cameroon and the Yoruba in Nigeria, where the use of beads was linked to royal insignia, and the royal thrones and crowns were depicted with specific art forms made of beads.

The use of glass beads for decoration is believed to date back to the Neolithic age and to be a continuation of the earlier use of shells, teeth and vertebrae of fish, reptiles and mammals.[14] Glass beads were known in the Near East at the end of the second millennium B. C., and in Egypt they were made during the Fifth Dynasty.[15] It is therefore possible that beads were in use in ancient times in the area south of the Sahara, too. During archeological diggings in Igbo Ukwu in Nigeria, 1960, over one thousand various kinds of beads were found amongst the other objects in a ruler's grave. They made up part of the ruler's ceremonial decoration during the period from the sixth to the



33 OGRILCA OD RAZNOBOJNIH PERLI. MASAJI, KENIJA.  
NECKLACE OF VARIEGATED BEADS. MASAI, KENYA.



31 OGRILICA. SREBRNE FILIGRANSKE KUGLICE I PERLE OD STAKLENE PASTE. MALI.  
NECKLACE. SILVER FILIGREE AND GLASS PASTE BEADS. MALI.

One su činile deo ceremonijalnog vladarskog nakita iz vremena od VI do IX veka. Veliki broj perli, uglavnom od bojenog stakla i od kornelina, ležao je, prilikom nalaza, u nizovima, premda je konac na koji su bile nanizane istrunuo. Pronadeni ostaci ljudskog tela, osobito lobanja, bili su okruženi perlama, a nadene narukvice su bile ukrašene plavim staklenim perlama postavljenim u okvir od bakarne žice.[16]

Prema dosadašnjim istraživanjima, u najstarije staklene perle izradivane u Nigeriji spadaju *segí* ili *popo* – perle koje podsećaju na staroegipatske. Pravljene su u blizini grada Ife, gde su poređe velike količine perli nadjeni i ostaci oruđa i peći za topljenje stakla. [17] Perle *segí* su ovalnog oblika, a po boji ima ih od bleđo tirkiznih do jasno plavih.

U periodu od X do XV veka grad Ife je bio značajan centar za izradu perli. Frenk Vileet (Frank Willett) smatra da se radilo o proizvodnji perli od materijala koji je dolazio iz Evrope i arapskih zemalja, odnosno da je staklo topljeno i preradišano u perle. [18] Ovaj način izrade perli poznat je danas u mnogim zemljama zapadne Afrike; koristi se staklo od starih boča koje se razbijaju, staklo topi i formira u staklena zrnca. Za proces topljenja stakla se koriste glinene peći i drveni ugajl. Najpoznatiji centar za izradu perli na ovaj način je grad Bi-

da, a postoje i manje poznati centri u Gani, Kamerunu i drugim zemljama.

Medu raznim vrstama perli posebno mesto imaju tajanstvene perle *agri* ili *akori* o kojima se pričaju mnoge priče i koje su mnogi afrikanci smatrali čudotvornim i magijskim. Stare perle *agri* su pravljene od plavog *korala* koji je vaden iz peskovitog korita reke Benin.[19] Neki naučnici smatraju da su ove perle radene od korala *allopora subvalacea* koji se skupljao uz kamenitu obalu Kameruna.[20] Perle *agri* su bile ovalnog oblika. Smatrane su za veoma skupocene, i samo jedno zrno perle *agri* bilo je najdragoceniji dar za nevestu u Gani.[21] Holandani su primali ove perle u razmeni za svoju robu, a zatim ih prodavali u Kamerunu i drugim zemljama. U novije vreme pod imenom *agri* podrazumevaju se šarene perle od raznobojnog stakla koje su izradivane u Veneciji i u Nemačkoj i uvožene u Afriku. Nešto manje skupocene, ali veoma popularne su i žute cevaste perle *aka* koje su u ovom delu Afrike prodavali putujući trgovci Nupe.

Kraljevska odeća ukrašena kamenim i staklenim perlama sačuvana je do danas. Osobito značajni umetnički predmeti su krune vladara Joruba, ukrašene figurativnim pretstavama i resama koje se spuštaju preko lica.

ninth century A. D. Many of the beads, mainly made of glass and cornelian, were found in rows, although the thread on which they had been joined had decayed. The remnants of the human body, especially the skull, were surrounded by beads, and bracelets were found decorated with blue glass beads set in a frame of copper wire.[16]

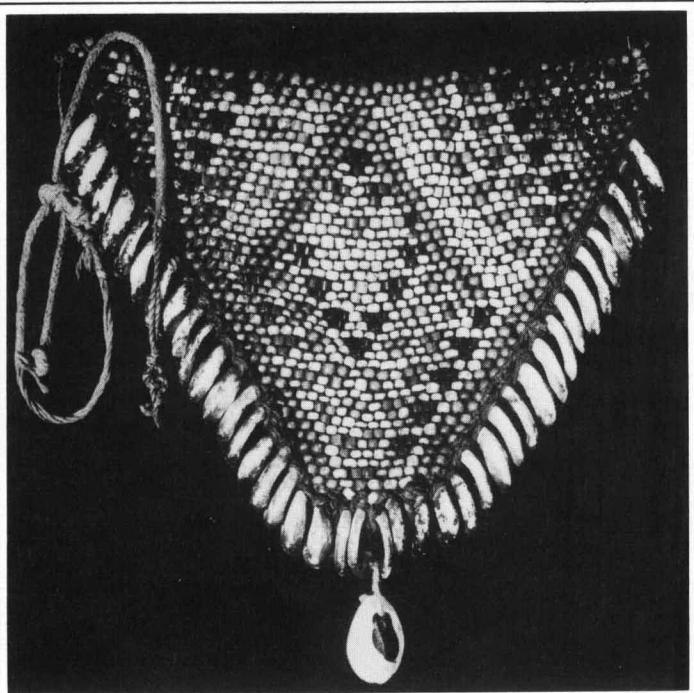
Research shows that amongst the most ancient glass beads made in Nigeria are the *segí* and *popo* beads, which are reminiscent of ancient Egyptian beads. They were made in the vicinity of the town of Ife, where, besides large quantities of beads, remnants of instruments and glass smelting furnaces have been discovered.[17] The *segí* beads are oval in shape and range from light turquoise to bright blue in colour.

In the period from the tenth to the fifteenth century A. D. the town of Ife was a major bead-making centre. Frank Willett believes that the beads were made from materials from European and Arab countries and that the glass was smelted and made into beads. Beads are still produced in this way even today in many countries of West Africa; the glass used is from old bottles which are broken, smelted and formed into beads. [18] Clay furnaces and charcoal are used for the glass smelting. The best known centre for producing beads in this way is the

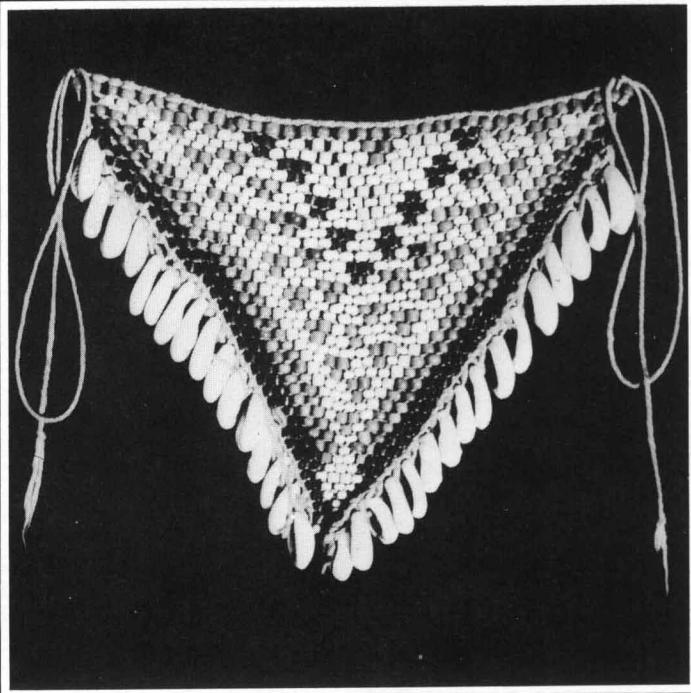
town of Bida, but there are also lesser known centres in Ghana, Cameroon and other countries.

Standing out amongst the various types of beads are the enigmatic *agri* and *akori* beads, about which many tales are told and which many Africans believe to be of magical and miraculous power. The ancient *agri* beads were made of blue coral which was dug out of the sandy bed of the river Benin. [19] Some experts believe that these beads were made of the *allopora subvalacea* coral, which was gathered from the rocky coast of Cameroon. [20] The *agri* beads were oval in shape. They were considered highly valuable and only one *agri* bead was considered the highest price for a bride in Ghana. [21] The Dutch accepted these beads in exchange for goods and then sold them in Cameroon and other countries. In later times the term *agri* also came to cover the colourful glass beads made in Venice and Germany and imported into Africa. The yellow, tubular *aka* beads, which were sold in this part of Africa by travelling Nupe traders, are slightly less valuable but nonetheless extremely popular.

Royal garments decorated with stones and glass beads have been preserved up to the present day. The crowns of the Yoruba rulers are artistic objects of particular significance. They are decorated with figurative motifs



36 STIDNA PREGAĆICA. RAZNOBOJNE PERLE I ŠKOLJKE KAURI. PEL, MALI.  
PUBIC APRON OF VARIEGATED BEADS AND COWRY SHELLS. THE PEL, MALI.



37 STIDNA PREGAĆICA. RAZNOBOJNE PERLE I ŠKOLJKE KAURI. PEL, KAMERUN.  
PUBIC APRON OF VARIEGATED BEADS AND COWRY SHELLS. THE PEL, CAMEROON.

Pored kraljeva Joruba, pravo nošenja krune i drugih vladarskih regalija od perli, imali su u Nigeriji jedino vladari Benina. U Beninu su osobito cijene perle od kamena i korala. Za izradu crvenih kamenih perli koristio se jaspis i ahat. Od XV do XIX veka u Beninu se za kraljevski nakit veoma mnogo upotrebljavao koral. U svećanim prilikama kralj je nosio i vrstu tunike izrađenu od korala. Posebno kraljevsko obeležje su ogrlice *odigba* od krupnih korala cevastog oblika koje su prekrivale vrat od ramena do brade. Nizovi ovih ogrlica su prikazani i na beninskim brončanim skulpturama iz ovog perioda. Veruje se da je najstarije perle od crvenog kamena u Benin doneo iz Ile Ife sin boga Oduduve, princ Oranmijan.[22]

Prema mitologiji Joruba, pravo nošenja krune od perli imaju samo oni vladari čije poreklo potiče od Oduduvinih sinova, odnosno čije je poreklo božansko, a zato im pripada i kraljevska vlast.

Mit o stvaranju sveta kaže da je bog Olodumare poslao šestnaest nižih bogova da osnuju svet i stvore život. Orinšali, koji je poznat i kao Obatala, dao je potreban materijal, tikvu *kalabaš* sa peskom, jedno pile i lanac. Na putu sa neba, Obatala se napiio palmovog vina i zaspao, a Odu-

duva je uzeo kalabaš i pile i spustivši se pomoću lanca nad praiskonsko more, prosuo je pesak iz kalabaša u vodu. Zatim je pustio pile koje je svojim nogama sakupilo pesak i tako se pojavila zemlja. Orišanliju je, iako je pogrešio, bog dozvolio da stvori ljudi, a Oduduva je postao, pošto je stvorio zemlju, osnivač i prvi vladar zemlje Ife. Oduduva je dao svojim sinovima krune od perli i poslao ih da osnuju svoja kraljevstva. [23] Prema tradiciji vezanoj za ovaj mit, krune od perli smeju nositi samo oni vladari čije poreklo potiče od Oduduvinih sinova. Međutim, svaki vladar je žeole da dokaže božansko poreklo svoje vlasti i pravo na krunu. Tokom vremena, ovo pravo mogao je kralj Ife priznati i drugim, nižim jorubskim kraljevima. Čak su u prošlosti i gradovi rangirani po tome da li njihovi vladari nose krune od perli.

Tradicija pravljenja i nošenja krune od perli sačuvana je do naših dana, a osobito je cvetala u XIX veku. Izrađeno je nekoliko kruna izuzetne umetničke vrednosti koje se danas čuvaju u muzejima ili su još uvek u posedu vladarskih porodica Joruba. [24]

Slično po obliku, pa i po funkciji po-

and have fringes going down over the face. In Nigeria, besides the kings of the Yoruba, only the rulers of the Benin had the right to wear bead-decorated crowns and other regalia. In especially high esteem in Benin are stone and coral beads. Jasper and agate were used to make red stone beads. Coral was used in the period between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries A.D. for royal jewellery. On ceremonial occasions, the king also wore a kind of tunic made of coral. The *odigba* necklaces made of large tubular-shape coral, which covered the neck from shoulder to chin, was a sign of royalty. Rows of these necklaces are also to be seen on Benin sculptures from this period. It is believed that the most ancient red stone beads were brought into Benin from Ife by the son of the god Oduduva, Prince Oranmian. [22]

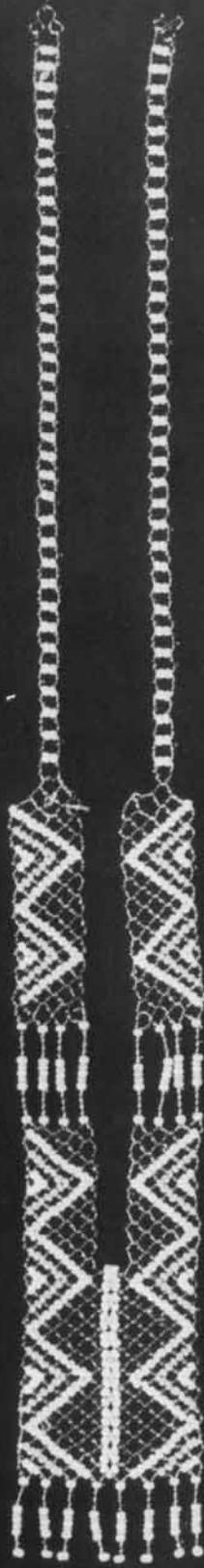
According to Yoruba mythology, only those rulers who could trace their origin back to Oduduva's sons, i.e. those of divine ancestry, had the right to wear the bead crown.

The myth on the creation of the world runs that the god Olodumare sent sixteen lesser gods to found the world and create life. He gave Orinshala, also known as Obatala, the necessary material – a *kalabash* gourd full of sand, a chicken and a chain. On his way from heaven, Obatala became inebriated on palm wine and fell

asleep. Oduduva took the gourd and the chicken and, descending over the primeval sea by means of the chain, dropped the sand from the gourd into the water. He then released the chicken which gathered the sand with its legs, and that was how the earth came about. Although he had erred, Orinshala was allowed to create human beings, while Oduduva remained, after he had created earth, the founder and the first ruler of Ife. Oduduva gave his sons crowns of beads and sent them to found their own kingdoms. [23] According to the tradition linked to this myth, the crown of beads can only be worn by those rulers whose ancestry dates back to the sons of Oduduva. However, each ruler wished to show the divine origin of his power and his right to the crown. As time went by, the king of Ife was able to pass this right on to other, lower Yoruba kings. In the past even the towns were ranked according to whether their rulers wore the crown of beads. The tradition of making and wearing the crown of beads has been preserved up to the present day, and it flourished especially in the nineteenth century A.D. A number of crowns of exceptional artistic value were made in this period. These crowns are preserved today in museums or are still in the possession of the ruling families of Yoruba. [24]

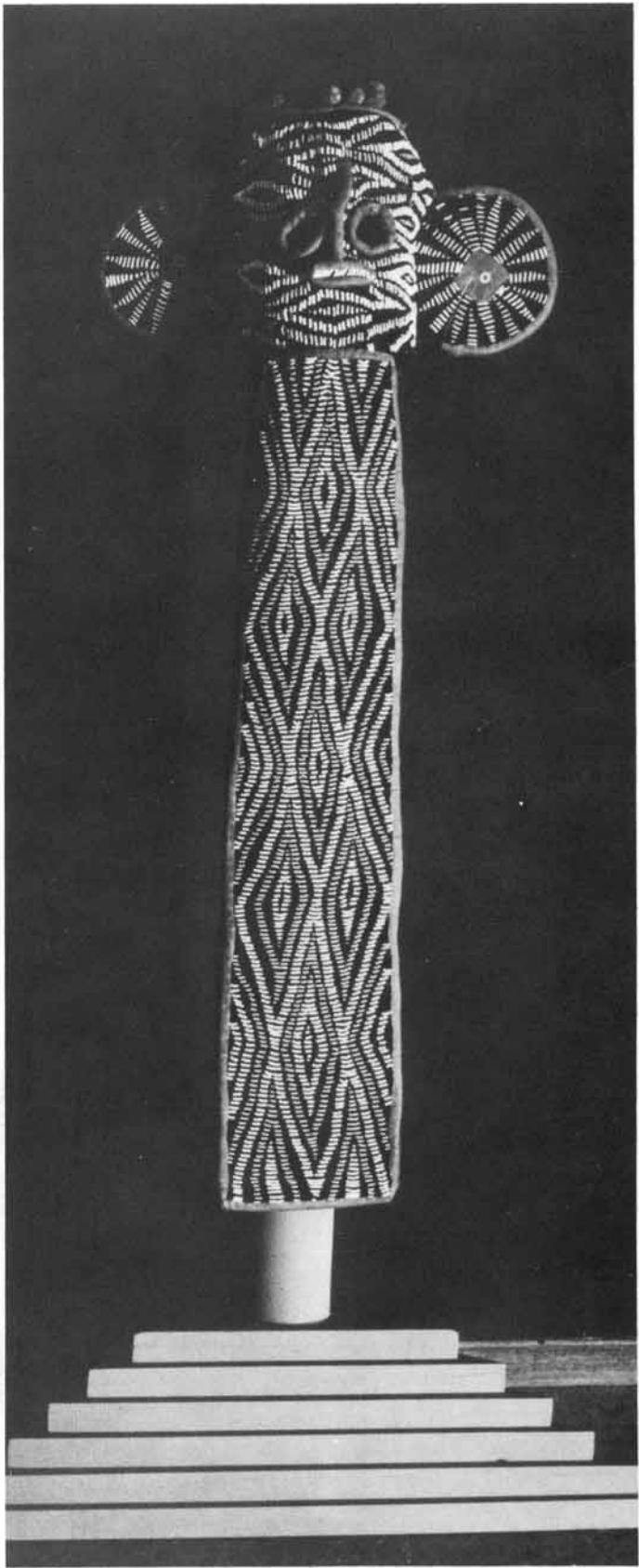
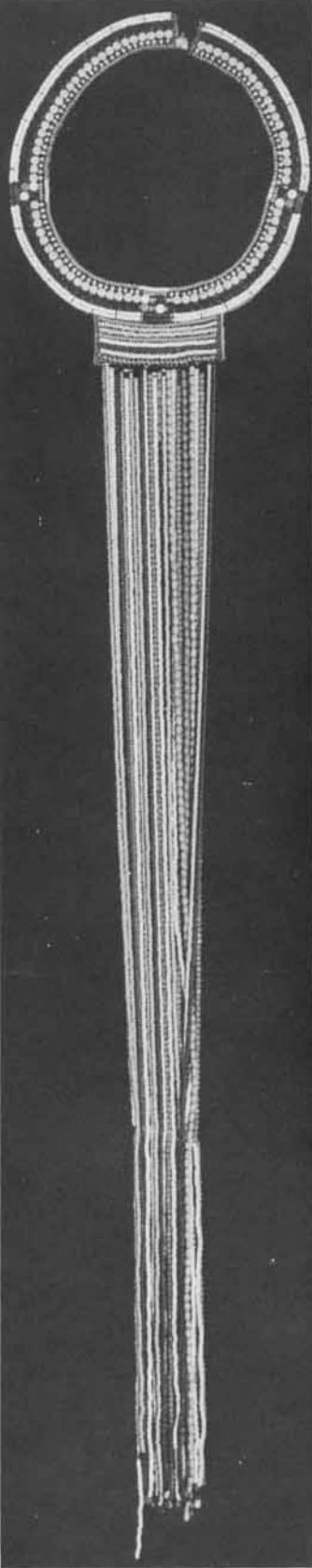
Similar in form, and in the special po-

40 MASKA, TKANINA SA RAZNOBOJNIM PERLAMA, PRESTAVLJA SLONA, BAMILEKE,  
KAMERUN  
MASK, TEXTILE AND VARIEGATED BEADS, REPRESENTS ELEPHANT, BAMILEKE,  
CAMEROON



34 OGRLICA, RAZNOBOJNE PERLE, MASAI, KENIJA.  
NECKLACE OF VARIEGATED BEADS, MASAI, KENYA.

38 OGRLICA, RAZNOBOJNE PERLE, KAMERUN,  
NECKLACE OF VARIEGATED BEADS, CAMEROON





26 NARUKVICE OD KAMENA. GANA.  
BRACELETS OF STONE. GHANA.

sebnih moći, koje po shvataju Joruba imaju kraljevske krune i svešteničke kape, je kupasto oglavlje *ile ori – dom glave ili kuća glave*, prikazano na našoj izložbi, a nabavljeno u Togou 1975. godine. Sastoji se od jednog obruča, načinjenog od kože i tkanine, prekrivenog gusto našivenim školjkama kauri, na koji se postavlja kupasti deo oglavlja takođe ukrašen školjkama kauri i kožom. Prema se o upotrebi ovog predmeta još uvek nedovoljno zna, Margaret Drevval (Margaret Drevval) [25] ga svrstava u predmete koji svojim oblikom i simboličnim značenjem predstavljaju skrivenе sile koje omogućuju vlasniku da kontroliše životnu snagu i upravlja njom, odnosno da u dosluhu sa natprirodnim silama upravlja ljudskim životima. Jorube, kao i većina Afrikanaca, smatraju da sve stvari poseduju životnu energiju (*ase*) kojom se može upravljati i time uticati na ljudski život. U određenim prilikama kada je sveštenik opsednut duhom, Jorube kažu *duh je u glavi sveštenika* ili primio je *ase* što znači izuzetnu moć da utiče na ljude i njihov život. Robert Tompson (Robert Thompson) kaže da *ile ori* predstavlja oglavlje koje je načinjeno u čast glave određene ličnosti, kao izvora njegovog providenja i herojskog uma. [26]

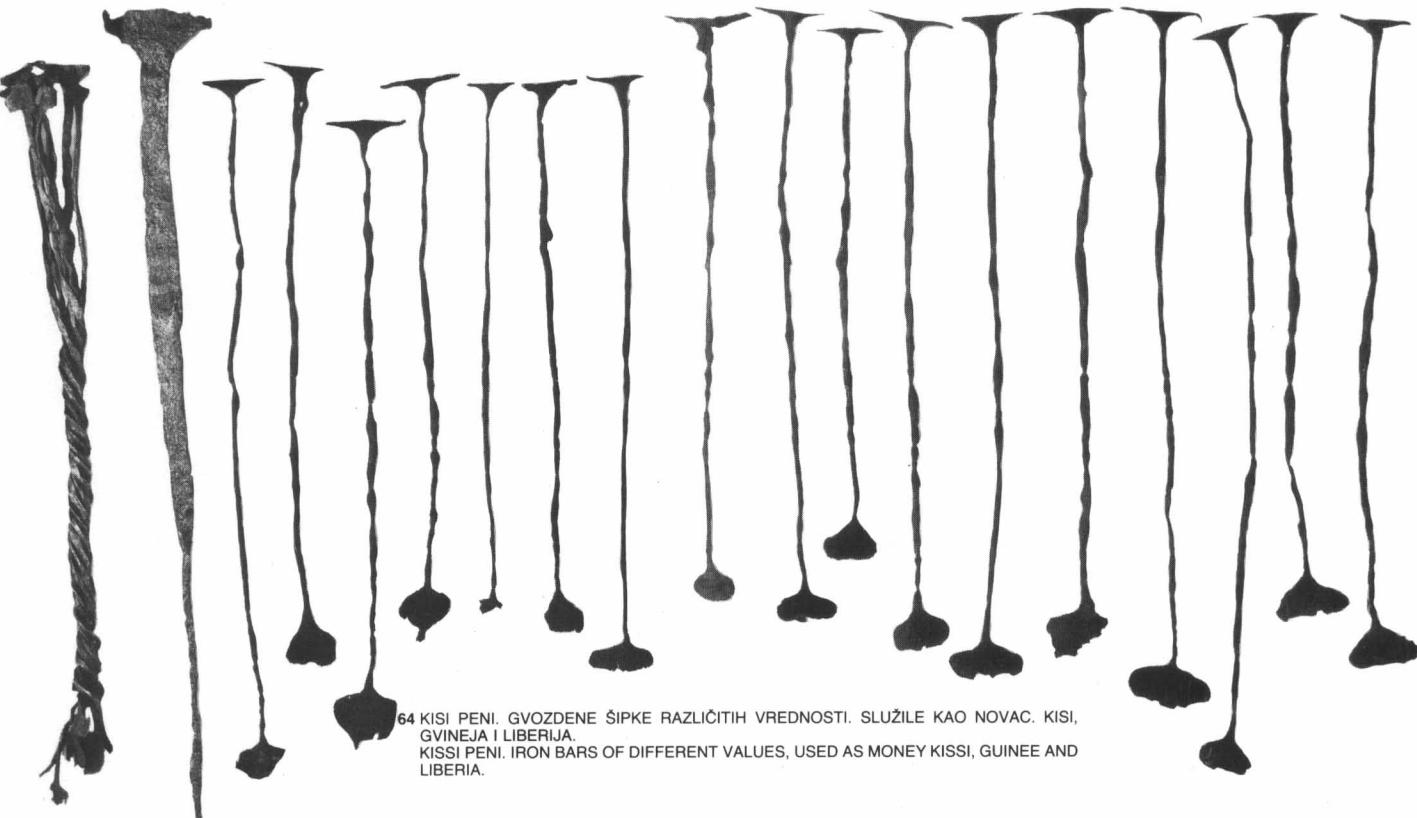
Pored kraljeva čiji su se bogatstvo i moć merili bogatstvom nakita od

skupocenih perli, perle su bile obeležje i mnogih kultova i njihovih sveštenika ili poštovaoca. Tako je u gradu Ife, bog mora Olokun istovremeno smatrani i za božanstvo bogatstva, posebno bogatstva u staklenim perlama i perlama od mediteranskog korala. Prema istraživanjima Ile Pokornovski (Ila Pokornowski) [27] perle određenih tipova i boje vezane su za mnoga božanstva Joruba. Tako poštovaoci Oduduwe, stvoritelja zemlje, ne nose perle, ali njegovi sveštenici nose perle bele boje. Poštovaoci Orišanle, stvoritelja čovečanstva, nose ogrlice od mnogo nizova sitnih, belih neprozirnih perli. Poštovaoci i sveštenici boga Ešu prepoznavaju se po jednoj ogrlici od sitnih tamno crvenih ili crnih perli. Ešu je bog glasnik, sveti izaslanik, koji prenosi poruke i žrtve prinesene na dar Olorunu. Sveštenici boga gromovnika Šango, nose ogrlice ili narukvice od crnih, crvenih i belih perli. Njegovi vernici upotrebljavaju crvene i bele perle, a kao nagradu za uvođenje u misterije kulta Šango, daruju sveštenicima perle zelene i žute boje poznate pod imenom *otutu* i *opon*. Perlama *otutu* i *opon* se plaćaju usluge sveštenicima božanstva bolesti velikih boginja Šapono, koji sahranjuju umrle od ove bolesti. Šapono je ustvari demon koji hara svetom, a njeno obeležje je narukvica od školjki kauri i ogrlica od malih crnih kolutića načinjenih od

wers inherent in the royal crowns and priests' headware, according to Yoruba belief is the *ile ori* – the *home of the head* or the *house of the head*, which is shown in our exhibition. It was acquired in Togo in 1975. This headware is made up of a circle of leather and fabric, covered thickly with cowry shells, on which is mounted the cone-like headpiece also decorated with cowry shells and leather. Although not much is yet known of the use of this object, Margaret Drevval [25] places it amongst those objects which, through their shape and symbolic significance, represent the hidden forces which make it possible for the owner to control the vital force, that is, in connivance with supernatural forces, to control the lives of men. The Yoruba, like the majority of Africans, believe that these objects possess vital energy – *ase* – which can be controlled and thereby influence human lives. In certain circumstances, when the priest is possessed of the spirit, the Yoruba say *the spirit is in the head of the priest* or that he has received *ase* which means the exceptional power to influence people and their lives. Robert Thompson says that the *ile ori* represents a headpiece made to honour the head of a certain person as the source of his providence and heroic spirit. [26]

Besides being the measure by which kings weighed their wealth and po-

wer, beads were also used by many cults, their priests and adherents. In the town of Ife, Olokun, the god of the sea, was considered at the same time as the god of wealth, especially wealth in glass beads and mediterranean coral beads. Ila Pokornowski [27] has put forward the theory that beads of specific types and colour are linked to many gods of the Yoruba. The worshipers of Oduduwa, the creator of the earth, do not wear beads, but his priests wear white beads. The worshipers of Orinshala, the creator of mankind, wear necklaces made up of rows of small, white, opaque beads. Worshipers and priests of the god Eshu can be recognised by one necklace of small dark red or black beads. Eshu is the messenger god, the divine envoy who transmits messages and human sacrifices offered to Olorun. Priests of the god of thunder, Shango, wear necklaces or bracelets of red, black and white beads. The worshipers wear red and white beads, and, as an award for introduction into the mysteries of the cult of Shango, they offer the priests yellow and green beads known as *opon* and *otutu*. These beads are used to pay for the services of the priests of the god of smallpox, Shapono, who bury the people who died from this disease. Shapono is in fact a demon which ravages the world and its mark is a bracelet of cowry shells and a necklace of



64 KISI PENI, GVOZDENE ŠIPKE RAZLIČITIH VREDNOSTI. SLUŽILE KAO NOVAC. KISI, GVINEJA I LIBERIJA.  
KISI PENI. IRON BARS OF DIFFERENT VALUES, USED AS MONEY KISSI, GUINEA AND LIBERIA.

ljuske palmovog oraha. I ostala božanstva Joruba, kao što su boginje Ojo i Ošun, žene boga Šango, ili njegova majka, boginja Jemoda, obeležena su perlama. Tako se sledbenici boginje Ojo prepoznavaju po cevastim tamnocrvenim perlama koje se nose nanizane oko vrata, a sveštenici i poshtovaoci boginje Ošun nose ogrlice od prozirnih žutih perli. Obeležje boginje vode, Jemoda, majke boga Šango, su plave perle ili bele perle od prozirnog stakla.

Izuvez društvenog statusa i raznih kultova, perlama su obeležene i etničke grupe. Zapravo, po samim perlama, načinu izrade, bojama i ornamentima, Afrikanci raspoznavaju plemensku i etničku pripadnost ljudi. Neosporno je, dakle, da perle svojom bojom, veličinom, načinom izrade, kvalitetom, oblikom, predstavljaju, kao i većina afričkog nakita, poseban jezik, koji ima značajnu ulogu u sporazumevanju ljudi unutar određenih društvenih zajednica. Zbog toga je nakit od perli, koji je sve do nedavno smatran interesantnim, ali ne i izuzetno važnim, postao u novije vreme predmet izučavanja mnogih stručnjaka. Kao deo ljudske kulture uopšte, nakit od perli ima veliko značenje i važnost za rekonstrukciju materialne kulture, za proučavanje trgovачkih veza i puteva, a svojim bogatstvom simbola predstavlja vrstu vizuelnog jezika koji se, kako to kaže

Peter Bogatirjev (Petr Bogatyrev), mora učiti na isti način kao što učimo da čitamo i razumevamo jezike raznih naroda. [28]

Kada se ima u vidu da su kamene i staklene perle vekovima predstavljale značajan materijal od kojeg se pravio afrički nakit sa svojim mnogostrukim simbolima, da je izrada ovog starog nakita zahtevala veliku veština, što je dugotrajan i težak posao, postaje nam razumljiva ogromna potražnja sitnih staklenih zrnaca kojima je Evropa zasula Afriku i od koje je načinila veoma unosnu trgovinu. Sitne staklene perle u bezbroj boja i nijansi, koje se i danas u ogromnim količinama mogu videti na tržnicama u Lomeu, Abidžanu i drugim gradovima, omogućile su razvoj jedne posebne umetnosti koja se u Africi održala do danas. Pomoću raznih tehnika, Afrikanci su pored izuzetno dekorativnog nakita sa najraznovrsnijim ornamentalnim motivima, stvorili i posebne skulpturalne predmete, kao što su maske i antropomorfne i životinjske figure. Sitne staklene perle upotrebljavaju se i kao ukraši na odeći i upotrebnim predmetima – na lulama, štapovima, posudama od tkanine i drugom. Koliko je ovaj materijal blizak afričkim umetnicima, pokazuje i savremeno slikarstvo. Poznati nigerijski slikar Jimoh Buraimoh koristi staklene perle u kombinaciji sa uljanom bojom za stvaranje

small black rings made of palm nut shells. The other gods of the Yoruba, such as the goddesses Oyo and Osun, the wives of the god Shango, or his mother, the goddess Jemodja, are marked with beads. The followers of the goddess Oshun wear necklaces made of transparent yellow beads. The mark of the goddess of water, Jemodja, the mother of the god Shango, is blue or white beads made of transparent glass.

Besides being a sign of social status and various cults, beads also mark ethnic groups. The people of Africa can recognise, tribal and ethnic adherence by the beads themselves, their form of fashioning, colours and ornaments. It is indisputable that by their colour, size, form of fashioning, quality and shape, beads represent, as does the greater part of African jewellery, a particular language, which plays a significant role in human communications within specific social communities. This is why bead jewellery, which has until recently been considered interesting but not of especial importance, has recently become a subject of research. As a part of overall human culture, bead jewellery is of major significance and importance for the reconstruction of material culture, for studying trade links and routes and, with its wealth of symbolism, it represents a kind of visual language which, as Petr Bogatyrev says, must

be studied in the same way as we learn to read and understand the languages of different peoples. [28]

Taking into account that for centuries stones and glass beads represented the fundamental material for making African jewellery, with all its multitude of symbolism, that the production of this jewellery required great skill and was a long and hard job, the huge demand for the small glass beads with Europe flooded Africa and which formed the basis for extremely profitable trade can be understood. The small glass beads in many colours and nuances, which can even today be seen in great quantity in the markets in Lome, Abidjan and other towns, made possible the development of a particular art, which Africa has retained up to the present day. By using various techniques Africans have, besides highly decorative jewellery with varied ornamental motifs, also created particular sculptures such as masks and anthropomorphic and animal figures. Small glass beads are also used as decoration on clothing and other objects such as pipes, sticks, gourd vessels etc. African artists' affinity for this material can be seen in modern art. The well-known Nigerian artist Jimoh Buraimoh uses glass beads in combination with oil paints in order to create his remarkable and highly appreciated paintings. [29]



71 NARUKVICA. BRONZA. NOSILA DECA KAO ZVEČKU. OBALA SLONOVACHE. BRACELET. BRONZE. WORN BY CHILDREN AS RATTLE. IVORY COAST.

svojih izuzetnih i visoko cenjenih slika.[29]

#### Nakit od metala

Veliki deo afričkog nakita izrađen je od metala, od gvožđa, bronce, srebra i zlata. Osobito je značajan nakit od gvožđa koje se u Africi koristi za izradu raznih predmeta od IV veka pre n. ere. Najstarije peći za topljenje gvozdene rude iz ovog perioda pronađene su u mestu Taruga, a prvi obradivači gvožđa bili su stalno nastanjeni zemljoradnici, nosioci ranije neolitske kulture Nok.[30]

Autohtona tehnologija topljenja gvozdene rude koja je dobijana iz površinskih naslaga, korišćena je u mnogim oblastima savanskog dela Afrike, osobito u Maliju, Gvineji i Gani. Za izolovanje gvožđa iz rude korišćene su, sve do nedavno, posebne peći načinjene od gline.

Između XII i XIV veka tehnologija topljenja gvozdene rude i obrade gvožđa doprla je do centralnih šumskih oblasti i do obala Gvajanskog zaliva. Smatra se da se u XIV veku, u severnim oblastima Gane proizvodilo oko sto tona gvožđa godišnje.[31] Trgovina gvožđem doprinela je da ovaj metal postane vid bogatstva koji je omogućilo porast političke moći i stvaranje pojedinih država. Upotreba gvozdenih alatki za obradu zemlje dovele je do unapređenja

poljoprivrede i porasta stanovništva, a upotreba gvozdenog oružja do superiornosti nad susednim stanovništvom. Gvožđe je bilo dragoceniji metal koji se u obliku kovanih šipki koristio kao novac sve do početka XX veka. Na našoj izložbi prikazane su gvozdene šipke korišćene kao novac, poznat pod imenom *Kisi peni*, kod naroda Kisi u Gvineji i Liberiji. Obradeno gvožđe u vidu alatki ili nakita imalo je veću vrednost. Narukvice, prstenje, ukrasi za noge, i drugi predmeti nakita, načinjeni od gvožđa nošeni su kao ukras, kao amajlje i kao znak društvenog prestiža.

Za razliku od gvožđa i zlata koji su vadeni i obradivani u ovom delu Afrike, ostali metali korišćeni za izradu nakita kao što su bakar i bakarske legure, bronsa i mesing, zatim srebro, uvoženi su preko severne Afrike, karavanskim saharskim putevima, ili pak pomorskim putem. Prema tome, izrada i upotreba predmeta od bakra i bakarnih legura, osobito bronsa, javlja se, prema dosadašnjim istraživanjima, u znatno kasnijem periodu. Činjenica je, međutim, da predmeti iz IX veka pronađeni u Igbo Akvuu (Igbo Ukwu) u Nigeriji, po tehničkoj savršenosti i virtuozinom stilu, predstavljaju razvijenu umetničku delatnost koja je morala imati i svoje ranije manje savršene oblike. U Igbo Akvuu je pronađeno



75 NARUKVICA. BRONZA. KAMERUN. BRACELET. BRONZE. CAMEROUN.

#### Metal jewellery

A large proportion of African jewellery is made of metal – iron, bronze, silver and gold. Iron jewellery is of especially great interest, for iron has been used for making various objects since the fourth century B. C. The oldest iron ore smelting furnaces from this period were found in Taruga, and the first iron workers were farmers of the earlier Neolithic culture Nok. [30]

The use of iron tools for working the land led to the promotion of agriculture and an increase in the population and, in turn, the use of iron led to superiority over neighbouring populations. Iron was a valuable metal which, in the form of forged bars, was used as money right up to the beginning of the twentieth century. On show at our exhibition are iron bars used as money, known as *kisi peni*, by the Kisi people in Guinea and Liberia. Iron in the form of tools or jewellery had greater value. Iron necklaces, rings, leg ornaments and other jewellery were worn as decoration, amulets and as a sign of social prestige.

Although iron and gold were extracted and worked in this part of Africa, the other metals used for making jewellery such as copper and copper alloys, bronze, brass and silver had to be imported via Northern Africa over the Saharan caravan routes or by sea. The production and use of copper and copper alloys, especially bronze, occurs, according to research carried out to date, at a considerably later period. It is a fact, however, that the ninth century objects discovered in Igbo Ukwu in Nigeria represent in their technical virtuosity a developed art which must have had former, less perfected forms. In Igbo Akwu there has been the discovery of much bronze and copper jewellery – bracelets, plaques, crown, pendants decorated



76 NARUKVICA. BRONZA. KAMERUN.  
BRACELET. BRONZE. CAMEROUN.



77 NARUKVICA. METAL. KAMERUN.  
BRACELET. METAL.. CAMEROUN.

mnogo nakita od bronce i bakra – narukvice, plakete, kruna, privesci ukrašeni raznovrsnim geometrijskim i figurativnim motivima, osobito motivima zmje, ptice, insekata i motivom ljudske glave.[32] Veći deo ovog nakita izrađen je tehnikom *izgubljenog voska* (*cire perdue*) koja se koristi i danas pri livenju predmeta od bronce, zlata i srebra, a pomoću koje se dobija uvek samo jedan primjerak skulpture dok se model od voska i kalup od gline uništavaju u toku procesa livenja. I kasniji centri poznati po bronzanim skulpturama livenim tehnikom izgubljenog voska, kao što su Ife (VI–XV vek) i Benin (XV–XIX vek), predstavljaju značajna nalazišta metalnog nakita.[33] Pored ovih istorijskih kulturnih centara gde je izrada bronznih predmeta bila uglavnom vezana za kraljevski dvor, u poslednje vreme pažnju naučnika sve više privlače manji seoski centri u Maliju, Gornjoj Volti, Obali Slonovače i Gani u kojima se izrađuju sitna plastika i osobito nakit. Kod većine naroda u ovim zemljama obrada metala, gvožđa i bronce, je jedan od najvažnijih zanata. Kovači i livci predstavljaju posebnu društvenu grupu koja je često endogamma u odnosu na ostalo stanovništvo. Među Dogonima obradom gvožđa se mogu po poreklu baviti samo pripadnici grupe *demeni* – velika koža što je aluzija na mehove. Po

njihovom odobrenju i pošto prođu određene inicijacije, ovim zanatom se mogu baviti i drugi ljudi, ali se oni nazivaju *irin*.[34] Zapravo, po mitologiji Dogona kulturni heroj Nomo je bio i prvi kovač. Mit kaže da je stvoritelj Ama odlučio da na zemlju pošalje Nomoa, kovača, u jednom velikom kovčegu-ambaru u kojem su se nalazile sve vrste životinja, biljaka, minerala, društvenih institucija, veština i zanata. Za vreme puta, Nomo je stojeći na krovu ambara, jednom drvenom kukom ukrao parče sunca u obliku usijanog željeza, sakrio ga u kožni meh i tako na zemlju doneo vatu i gvožđe. Kovač Nomo je prvi izdelio zemlju i napravio njive koje su zatim ljudi počeli da obraduju.[35]

Dogonski metalni nakit koji se kao i kod mnogih drugih naroda sastoji od narukvica, prstenja, privezaka ukrašenih figurativnim ili ornamentalnim motivima, često simbolično prikazuju pojedine delove mita o poreklu sveta i može predstavljati dragocene predmete koje nose sveštenici-hogoni, kovači ili druge osobe posebnog ranga. Neki od ovih predmeta, osobito stari primerici, smatraju se svetim, pošto su dugo vremena bili u ritualnoj upotrebi. Primerici nakita se često naručuju kod umetnika zanatlije po savetu sveštenika i to da bi se pomoću njih postiglo ostvarenje neke posebne želje ili da bi se čovek

with various geometrical and figurative motifs, especially those of snakes, birds, insects and the human head. [32] The greater part of this jewellery is made using the technique of lost wax, or *cire perdue*, which is still used today when casting bronze, gold and silver objects. Using this method only one sculpture can be obtained as the wax model and the clay mould are destroyed during the casting process. The later centres known for bronze sculptures cast in the *cire perdue* technique, such as Ife (sixth to fifteenth century A. D.) and Benin (fifteenth to nineteenth century A. D.) represent major sites for jewellery discovery. [33] Besides these historical and cultural centres, where the production of bronze objects was mainly linked to the royal palace, in recent times attention has been drawn to the smaller rural centres in Mali, Upper Volta, the Ivory Coast and Ghana where small ornamental objects and jewellery are made. The majority of the peoples in these countries consider the working of metals – iron and bronze – one of the most important skills. Forgers and casters represent particular social groups which are frequently endogamous with respect to the remaining population. Amongst the Dogon, iron working can be carried out only by members of the *dyemena* group – *large skin* – which is an allusion to bellows. Other people may deal in these

activities but first they must be approved by the *dyemena* and go through a certain kind of initiation. Then they are called *irin*. [34] According to Dogon mythology, the cultural hero Nomo was also the first blacksmith. The myth runs that the creator, Ama, decided to send Nomo, the blacksmith, to earth in a huge granary containing all kinds of animals, plants, minerals, social institutions, skills and crafts. During the journey, Nomo, standing on the roof of the granary, stole a piece of the sun in the form of red-hot iron with a wooden hook, hid it in leather bellows and in this way brought fire and iron to the earth. Nomo the blacksmith was the first to divide the earth and create the fields which people then began to work. [35] Dogon metal jewellery which, as in the case of many other peoples, comprises bracelets, rings, pendants decorated with figurative or ornamental motifs, frequently shows in symbolic form some parts of the myth on the origin of the world and represents valuable objects worn by priests, blacksmiths and other persons of special rank. Some of these objects, especially older examples, are considered sacred, as they have been in ritual use for a long time. Jewellery is frequently ordered from craftsmen on the advice of priests in order to fulfil some particular wish or to ward off some evil. The ring that the priest-hogon wears



68 UKRAS ZA NOGE. BRONZA. MOSI, GORNJA VOLTA.  
LEG DECORATION. BRONZE. MOSI, UPPER VOLTA.

sačuvao od nekog zla. Prsten koji sveštenik-hogon nosi kao privezak, na ogrlici oko vrata, ukazuje na njegovu moć da utiče na životnu snagu i plodnost ljudi. Za vreme molitve hogon daje ovaj prsten čoveku ili ženi da ga stavi na mali prst desne ruke.[36] Motiv konjanika na prstenu izloženom na našoj izložbi, koji je nošen kao privezak, predstavlja mitskog kovača Nomoa. U ruci kovač drži štap-kuku pomoću koje je ukrao nebesku vatru i usijano gvožde i doneo ih ljudima. Konj je po dogonskom mitu bio prvo biće koje je stupilo na zemlju pošto je izašlo iz nebeskog ambara kada je ovaj pao na zemlju. Konj simbolizuje poglavarstvo, moć i bogatstvo. Pored mitskog kovača Nomoa, skulpture konjanika često prikazuju i sveštenika hogona koji je duhovni voda i poglavica naroda, a u slučaju rata i vojskovođa.[37]

Veoma česti motivi na nakitu naroda Senufo su predstave vezane za duh šume *madebile*.[38] Zapravo, obilato nošenje nakita kod naroda Senufo proizilazi koliko iz potrebe za ukrašavanjem, koliko i iz želje da se ljudi zaštite od opasnog duha šume, da ga umilostive i da mu ugode. Osobito su značajne narukvice u obliku pitona. One su glavna oznaka proročica Sanda, a nose je i mnogi ljudi kao amajliju *yawiige* (yawiige). Dok se proročica obraća svetu duhova, velike na-

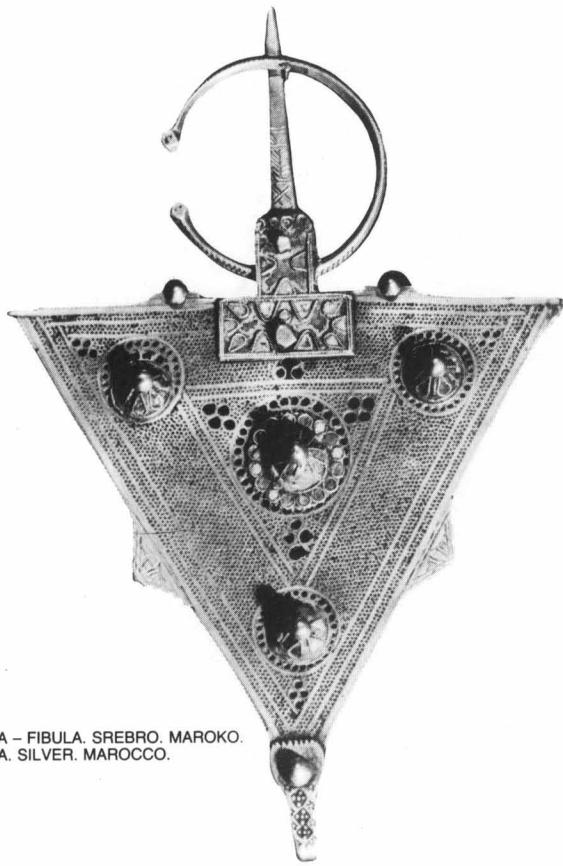
rukvice sa predstavom pitona obično stoje na oltaru načinjenom od zemlje i posvećenom bogu stvoritelju. Piton ili Fo je posrednik između duhova i proročice. Stalni kontakt sa vratčarama Sando, a preko njih sa duhom šume, siguran je put dà se obezbedi dobro zdravlje i život i da se na vreme izbegnu greške koje mogu imati kobne posledice. Prema tome, ako čovek, po savetu vratčare Sando, nosi narukvicu u obliku pitona, on je sigurno zaštićen od greške koju može učiniti u neznanju. Na primer, može se desi da ubije životinju koja je prerušeni šumski duh. Estetski kvaliteti narukvice samo povećavaju ovu osnovnu funkciju.[39] Kod naroda Senufo, kao i kod drugih naroda, nošeni su i drugi tipovi metalnih narukvica, od sasvim uzanih, jednostavnih ili spiralno uvijenih, do veoma širokih koje ponekad pokrivaju ruku od članka do lakta. Takođe su mnogo brojni ukrasi za noge, od kolotova sa zvončićima koji se koriste prilikom plesa ili kao vrsta amajlije, osobito za decu, do veoma velikih okruglih i cevastih ukrasa za noge poznatih u Gornjoj Volti kod naroda Bobo i Mosi. Kod ovih naroda su veoma česte male skulpture od bronce u vidu zoomorfnih maski koje su dodate kao ukrasi na polumesecastim ogrlicama ili na lulama. Istoga tipa su i velike maske od drveta, obično obojene, koje predstavljaju duhove zaštite-

as a pendant, points to his power to influence the vital force and the fertility of people. During worship, the hogon gives this ring to a man or woman for it to be put on the little finger of the right hand. [36] The horseman motif on the ring on display at our exhibition, which is worn as a pendant, represents the mythical blacksmith Nomo. In his hand, the blacksmith holds the hook by means of which he stole the divine fire and the red-hot iron and brought it to man. According to the Dogon myth, the horse was the first being to put foot on earth after the heavenly granary fell to the ground. The horse symbolises chieftainship, power and wealth. Besides the mythical blacksmith, Nomo, the sculptures of a rider on a horse or elephant frequently show the hogon priest who is the spiritual leader and chief of the people and, in the case of war, the commander. [37]

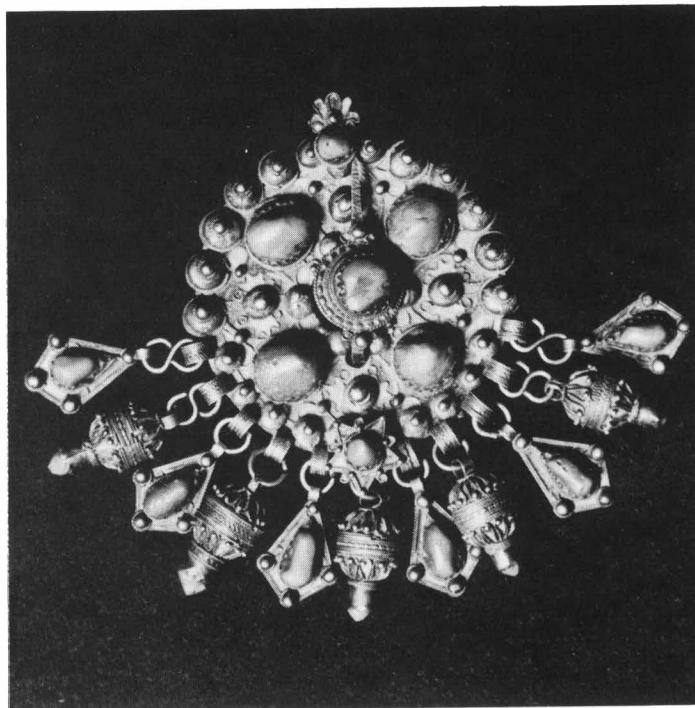
On the jewellery of the Senufo, frequent motifs represent scenes linked to *madebile*, the bush spirit. [38] The Senufo wear much jewellery both on account of the need for decoration and on account of the desire for protection from the dangerous bush spirit, in order to please him and make him merciful. Of especial significance are bracelets in the form of a python. They are the main mark of the prophet Sandoo, and they are worn by many as the *yawiige* amulet. While the prophetess addresses the world of the spirits, large bracelets depicting the python usually stand on an altar made of earth and dedicated to the god creator. The python, or Fo, is the intermediator between the spirits and the prophetess. Permanent contact with the Sando diviners and through them with the bush spirit, is a certain way to ensure good health and life and to avoid in time those errors which could have fateful consequences. Therefore, if a man, on the advice of the Sando diviners wears a bracelet in the form of a python, he is certainly protected from errors he might do in ignorance. For instance, it could happen that he kills an animal which is actually the bush spirit in disguise. The aesthetic quality of the bracelet only increases its basic function. [39] The Senufo, like other people, also wear other types of metal bracelets varying from the thin, simple and spirally twisted to the extremely wide kind which sometimes cover the arm from the elbow to the wrist. There are also many leg decorations varying from rings with bells on which are used during dance of as a type of amulet, especially for children, to large round and tubular leg decorations known in Upper Volta to be found in the Bobo and Mosi. These peoples frequently have small bronze figures in the form of zoomorphous masks which are added as decorations onto

67 UKRAS ZA NOGE, BRONZA MOSI, GORNJA VOLTA,  
LEG DECORATION, BRONZE, MOSI, UPPER VOLTA.





113 KOPČA – FIBULA. SREBRO. MAROKO.  
FIBULA. SILVER. MAROCO.



115 KOPČA – FIBULA. SREBRO, KORAL I EMAJL. KABILIJA, ALŽIR.  
FIBULA. SILVER, CORAL AND ENAMEL. KABYLIA, ALGERIA.

nike sela.

Od posebnog značaja u zapadnoj Africi su narukvice poznate pod nazivom *manila*. Pored joga što su služile kao nakit, upotrebljavane su i kao sredstvo razmene, vrsta novca, osobito u Nigeriji. Predstavljale su i sirovinu koja je pretapanjem i preradom služila za izradu različitih bronzanih predmeta. U obliku narukvica manila Portugalci, a zatim Holandani i Britanci uvozili su u Afriku bakar, bronzu i mesing i menjali ih za zlato, slonovaču i druge proizvode. Izradjivane su u evropskim industrijskim centrima specijalno za trgovinu sa Afrikom.[40] Uvoz bronze od XV do XIX veka, pomorskim putem, preko evropskih utvrđenja duž obale Gvajanskog zaliva, potisnuo je raniji uvoz bakra i bronze obavljan suvozemnim putem preko Sahare. Veliki broj narukvica manila transportovan je preko utvrdenja Elmina u Gani. Prema postojećim podacima, računa se da je u XV veku, samo preko Elmine uvoženo preko 120.000 manila godišnje. Estevao Baradas je od 20. avgusta 1504. do 10. januara 1507. godine, pored drugih metalnih predmeta, primio u Elmini pošiljke od 287.813 bronzanih i bakarnih narukvica manila.[41] Ove narukvice su zatim suvozemnim putem prenošene

u unutrašnjost kontinenta gde su u različitim mestima poznate pod raznim imenima. Import narukvica manila je prestao krajem XIX veka, kada je u ovaj deo Afrike uveden evropski novac. Međutim, narukvice manila su u Nigeriji i dalje upotrebljavane kao platežno sredstvo, sve do četadesetih godina ovog veka. Neke tipove su u kasnijem periodu izradivali i lokalni majstori. Velike narukvice manila, nazvane *kraljevske*, mogli su da poseduju samo izuzetno bogati ljudi. One su korišćene i u pogrebnim običajima, a u nekim mestima je ostao običaj da se u darove kojima se otkupljuje nevesta uključuju i narukvice manila. [42]

Na našoj izložbi je prikazana narukvica manila pronađena 1977. godine u centralnoj Liberiji, kod mesta Bange, prilikom kopanja temelja za jednu zgradu. Narukvica je bila na ruci roba sahranjenog u ležećem položaju pored gospodara, koji je sahranjen u sedaćem stavu. Na žalost, nije nam poznato da li je uz narukvicu pronađen još neki predmet, kao ni period iz kojeg potiče ovaj slučajni nalaž.[43]

Pored bakra, bronze i mesinga, srebro je takođe bilo predmet trgovinske razmene, osobito između severne Afrike i oblasti južno od Sahare. Iz severne Afrike su uvoženi ili već iz-

crescent shaped necklaces or pipes. Of the same type are large wooden masks, usually coloured, which represent the village protective spirits.

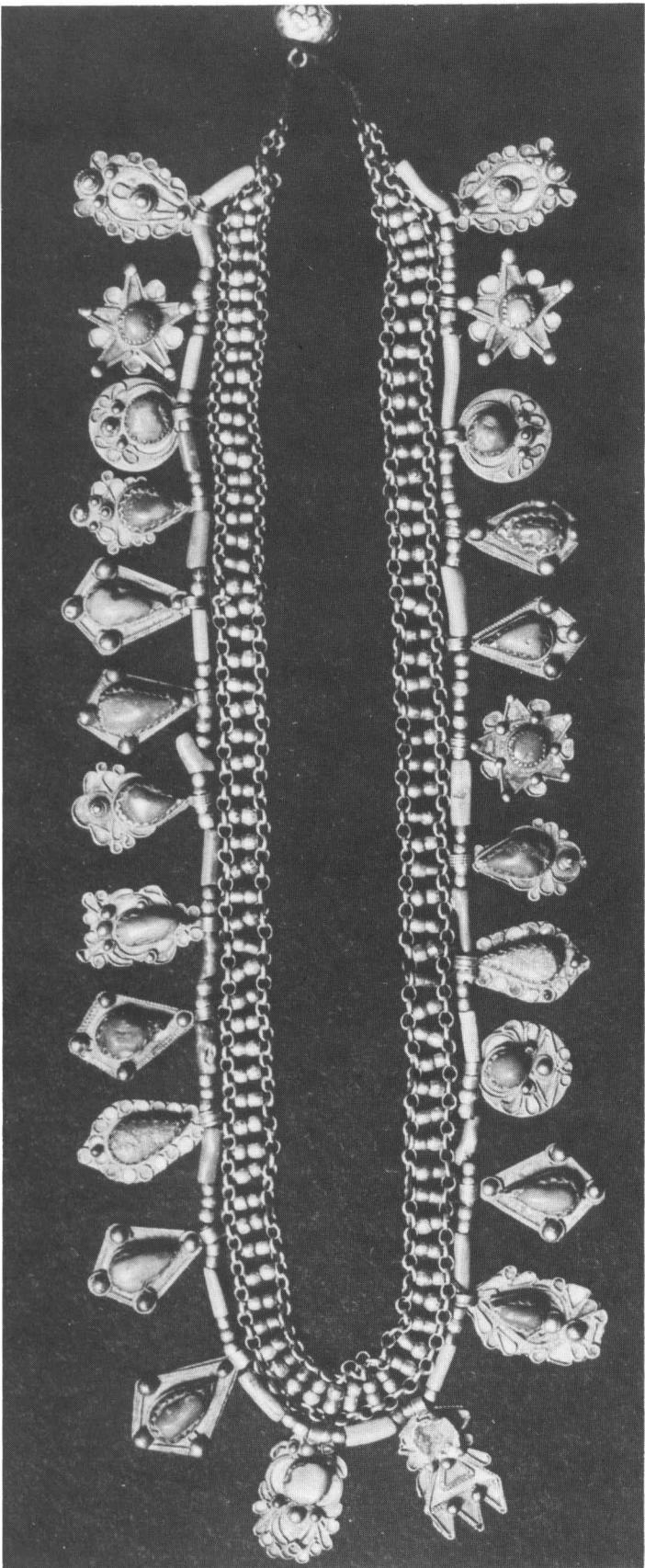
Of especial importance in western Africa are bracelets known as *manila*. As well as serving as jewellery, they were also used as a means of exchange, a kind of money, especially in Nigeria. They also represented a raw material which, after melting and fashioning, was used for making various bronze objects. The Portuguese, Dutch and British imported copper, bronze and brass into Africa in the form of *manila* bracelets and exchanged them for gold, ivory and other products. They were made in the European industrial centres especially for trade with Africa. [40] Bronze imports from the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries A. D. by sea via European strongholds along the coast of the Gulf of Guinea, put an end to the earlier copper and bronze imports carried overland, across the Sahara. A large number of *manila* bracelets were transported via the Elmina fort in Ghana. According to existing data, it is calculated that in the fifteenth century A. D. via the Elmina fort alone over 120,000 *manila* bracelets were imported a year. From August 20, 1504 to January 10, 1507 Estevao Baradas, besides other metal objects, received in Elmina shipments of 283,813 *manila* bracelets made of

bronze and copper. [41] These bracelets were then taken by land into the African hinterland, where they were known by different names in different places. The import of *manila* bracelets ceased at the end of the nineteenth century, when European money was introduced into this part of the continent. *Manila* bracelets were, however, still used in Nigeria as a form of payment right up to the 1940's. In the later period, some types were also made by local craftsmen. The large *manila* bracelets, called *regal*, could only be owned by the exceptionally rich. They were also used in funereal rites and in some places it has remained the custom to include a *manila* bracelet in the gifts with which a bride is bought. [42]

On show in our exhibition is a *manila* bracelet discovered in 1977 in central Liberia, near Bange, when foundations were being dug for a building. The bracelet was on the hand of a slave buried in a prone position beside his master, who was buried in a sitting position. Unfortunately, we do not know whether any other objects were discovered besides the bracelet, nor the period of origin of this chance discovery. [43]

Besides copper, bronze and brass, silver was also an object of trade exchange, especially between Northern Africa and regions south of the Sahara. Either already fashioned jewellery

116 OGRLICA. SREBRO, KORAL I EMAIL. KABILIA, ALŽIR.  
NECKLACE. SILVER, CORAL AND ENAMEL. KABYLIA, ALGERIA.



104 NAUŠNICA. SREBRO. MALI.  
EARRING. SILVER. MALI.

radeni primerci nakita, ili pak srebrni novac koji je služio kao sirovina lokalnim majstorima. Značajnu ulogu u ovoj trgovini su imale nomadske grupe Berbera, koje su u svom nakućtu pored islamskih elemenata sačuvale i elemente starog rimskog nakita.[44] To se osobito odnosi na kopče – fibule koje su kod Berbera, kao i kod Rimljana, upotrebljavane za pričvršćivanje odeće na ramenu. Izradom srebrnog nakita u južnoj Sahari su se bavili kovači tuareške grupe Enaden; očigledan je njihov uticaj kako na razvoj zanata i oblik nakita kod naroda grupe Mandingo u Gvineji i Maliju, tako i na srebrnom nakitu u južnim oblastima. U bogatom tuareškom nakitu veoma je čest privuzak u obliku krsta koji označava strane sveta, a za koji neki stručnjaci misle da je nastao pod ranim uticajem hrišćanstva na kulturu Tuarega.[45] Na srebrnom nakitu se vidi, međutim, daleko više islamskog uticaja, prvenstveno u ornamentici i oblicima nakita. Veoma mnogo su izrađivani i nošeni privesci u vidu trouglastih ili kvadratnih kutijica-amajlija u kojima se drže zapisi iz Korana ili drugi zaštitni magički materijal. Ove amajlije su nosili i stanovnici koji nisu primili islam.[46]

Iako je na našoj izložbi prikazano sa-

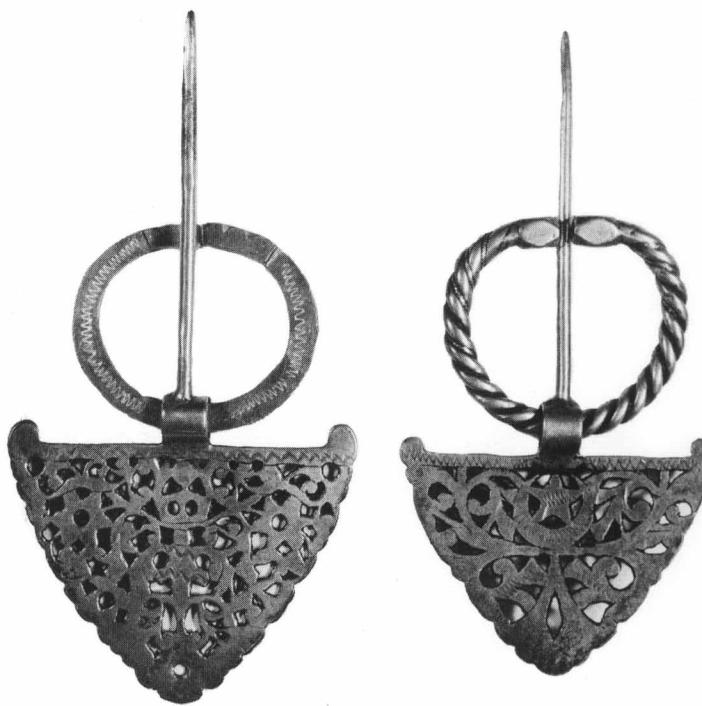
or silver coins to serve as raw material for local craftsmen were imported from Northern Africa. The Berber nomads played an important role in this trade for in their jewellery they preserved, besides Islamic elements, elements of ancient Roman jewellery. [44] This is especially true of the clasps – fibulae – which the Berbers, like the Romans, used to fasten garments at the shoulder. Blacksmiths of the Enaden Tuareg group were responsible for the production of silver jewellery in southern Sahara. Their influence, both on the development of the craft and on the form of the jewellery, is evident in the peoples of the Mandingo group in Guinea and Mali and in the jewellery in the southern regions. Frequently found amongst the rich Tuareg jewellery is a pendant in the form of a cross which depicts the corners of the earth and which some experts consider to have originated under the early influence of Christianity on the Tuareg culture. [45] The Islamic influence is far more evident in the silver jewellery, especially in ornaments and shape. Pendants in the form of small triangular or square lockets – amulets – containing writings from the Koran or other magical protective material were extremely popular. These amulets were also worn by those who were not converted to Islam. [46]

Although our exhibition only shows a





43 PRSTEN. ZLATO. NOSIO KRALJ NARODA AŠANTI. GANA.  
RING. GOLD. WORN BY THE ASHANTI KING. GHANA.



95, 96 KOPČE – FIBULE. SREBRO. TUNISIJA.  
FIBULAE. SILVER. TUNISIA.

mo nekoliko predmeta od zlata, neophodno je nešto više reći o zlatu i zlatnom nakitu koji je imao tako značajnu ulogu u istoriji nekih zemalja zapadne Afrike, osobito Malija i Gane. O velikom bogatstvu ovih srednjovekovnih država značajne podatke nalazimo u delima arapskih pisaca. Tako je, pored ostalog, poznato da je vladar kraljevine Mali Mansa Musa prilikom hodočašća u Meku, 1324. godine, u toku puta, a osobito u Kairu, razdelio toliko poklona u zlatu da je izazvao pad vrednosti ovog dragocenog metala.[47]

Kada su u traganju za bogatstvima Afrike, Evropske zemlje skrenule trgovачke puteve ka morskoj obali, počela je da opada moć imperije Malija, a u centar pažnje su došli narodi Akan, čije je bogatstvo zlatom doprinelo da se jedan deo obale Gvinejskog zaliva, današnja Gana, nazove Zlatna obala.

Područja bogata zlatom, koja se nalaze u unutrašnjosti Gvineje i Gane, bila su zaštićena i dobro čuvana, a trgovina se obavljala preko posrednika pod strogom kontrolom državne uprave, koju su pre svega predstavljali kralj i njemu podređeni niži kraljevi i poglavice. Zlato se ispiralo iz rečnih nanosa ili je vadeno zajedno sa zemljom iz posebno kopanih rupabunara, a zatim ispirano, sve dok se ne dobije zlatni prah ili sitniji i krup-

niji grumeni zlato. Samo mali deo pronađenog zlata ostajao je ljudima koji su radili na ispiranju, dok je veći deo uzimao lokalni poglavica sa obavezom da opet veći deo zlata preda kralju kao nadoknadu za vadenje zlata iz zemlje – koja je smatrana državnom imovinom. Zlato je korišćeno u razmeni za uvezenu robu, so, oružje, metal, tkanine i drugo, a takođe i u lokalnoj trgovini, osobito u Gani, gde je postojao poseban sistem za merenje zlata pomoću malih brončanih tegova, poznatih zbog svoje izuzetne umetničke vrednosti. Veliki deo zlata namenjenog kraljevskom dvoru služio je za izradu raznovrsnih predmeta, pre svega nakita i kraljevskih oznaka, kao što su ceremonijalni mačevi, krune, palice, prestoli i drugo. Zapravo, akanski kraljevi su bili okruženi predmetima od zlata, a za jednog od njih se kaže da je svakog jutro uranjavao prste u činiju napunjenu svežim zlatom koje je u toku noći glasnik na konju donosio iz najbližeg nalazišta.[48]

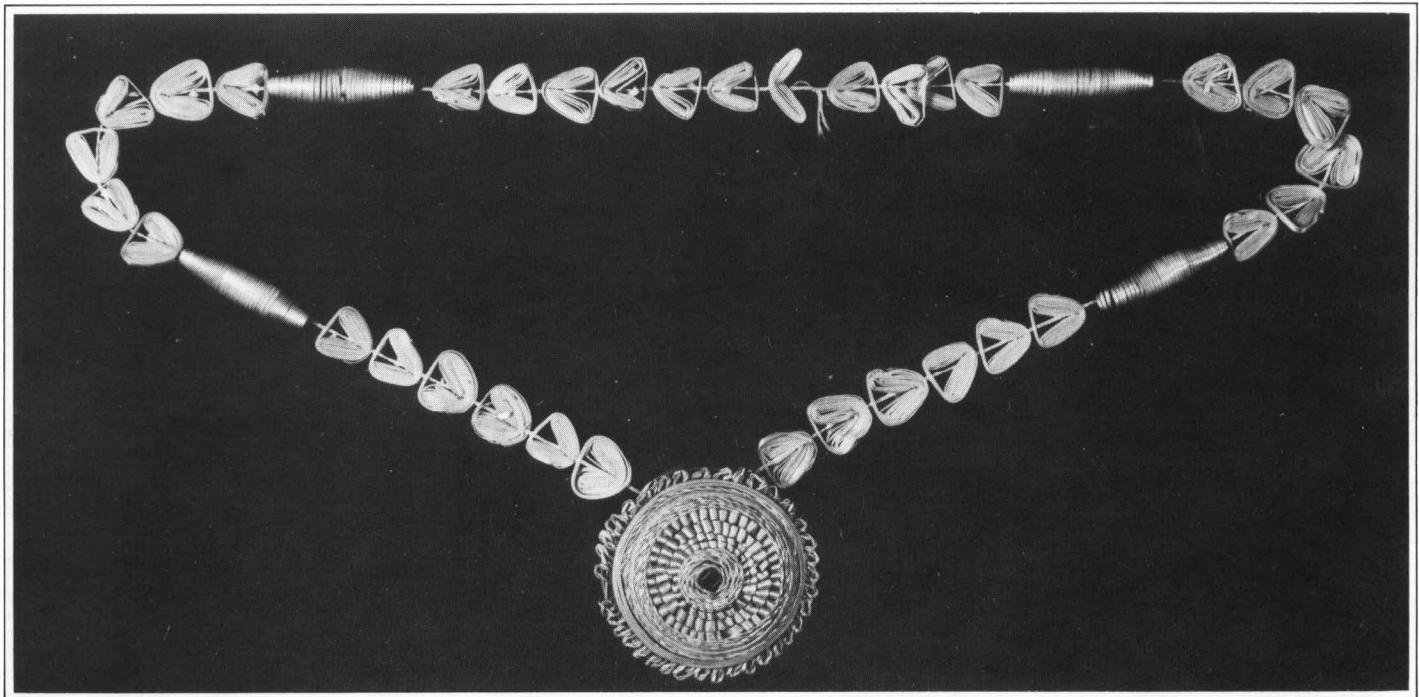
Bogatstvo zlatom, zlatnim predmetima i nakitu koje su posedovali akanski kraljevi imalo je svoje opravdavanje u narodnoj tradiciji i religioznim shvatanjima. Kralj je smatrani sinom boga Sunca, te je njegova dužnost bila da, kao i Sunce, daje život i omogućava prosperitet naroda. Zlato, kao simbol Sunca, trebalo je da ojača njegovu životnu snagu *kra*, ko-

few gold objects, more must be said of gold and the golden jewellery which played such an important role in the history of some countries of Western Africa, especially Mali and Ghana. We can find data on the huge wealth of these states in the middle ages in the works of Arab writers. It is known, for example, that the ruler of the kingdom of Mali, Mansa Musa, distributed so many gifts in gold on a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1324, especially in Cairo, that he provoked a fall in the price of that precious metal. [47] When in their search for the riches of Africa the countries of Europe turned their trade routes towards the coast, the power of the Mali Empire began to fade and the peoples of Akan came to the focus of attention. These peoples' wealth in gold was the reason for part of the coast of the Gulf of Guinea, today's Ghana, being called the Golden Coast.

The gold-rich regions in the interior of Guinea and Ghana were protected and well-guarded, while trade was carried out via an intermediary under the strict control of the state administration, made up primarily of the king and his lower subject kings and chiefs. Gold was panned from the rivers or extracted together with the earth from specially dug wells and then panned until gold dust or gold nuggets were obtained. Only a small part of the gold found was kept by the

people who worked on its panning, while the greater part was taken by the local chieftain and he, in turn, gave most of it to the king in return for the right to extract gold from the earth – which was considered state property. Gold was used in exchange for imported goods – salt, weapons, metal, cloth etc. and also in local trading, especially in Ghana, where a special system existed for weighing gold by means of small bronze weights, renowned for their exceptional artistic value. The greater part of the gold intended for the royal court served for the production of various objects, especially jewellery and royal insignia, such as ceremonial swords, crowns, batons, thrones, etc. The Akan kings were virtually surrounded by golden objects and one of them was said to have plunged his fingers every morning into a vessel containing "fresh" gold which a horseman envoy had brought during the night from a nearby deposit. [48]

The riches in gold, gold objects and jewellery owned by the Akan kings were justified in folk tradition and religious concepts. The king was considered the son of the Sun god and his duty was that of the Sun, to give life and prosperity to the people. Gold, the symbol of the Sun, was believed to strengthen his vital force – *kra*, which every man receives upon birth from the creator himself and which dictated



46 OGRlica, slama i vosak, mali.  
NECKLACE. STRAW AND WAX. MALI.

ju svaki čovek dobija prilikom rođenja od samog stvoritelja, a od koje zavisi ne samo lični život i snaga kralja, već i njegova moć uticaja na opstanak i napredak naroda.[49] Zbog toga je kralj Ašantija morao biti okružen zlatnim predmetima i nositi na sebi mnogobrojne komade nakita od zlata. Pored prstenja, oglica, narukvica, ovaj nakit su činile i male pločice i privesci prišivani na kraljevsku odeću, osobito na kape i obuću. Različitog oblika i veličine, oni su često ukrašavani zoomorfni motivima i drugim simbolima vezanim za pojedine izreke i poslovice. Slični simboli su se nalazili na prstenju, šefovskim palicama, mačevima i drugim predmetima. Pored kralja, nakit od zlata nosili su i drugi ljudi, pre svega njegovi savetnici, ministri, niži izvršioci vlasti, a i bogati ljudi uopšte. Mnoštvo privezaka i zlatnog nakita nosili su ljudi na sebi osobito u vreme svečanosti posvećenih zlatu i plodnosti koja se održavala jednom godišnje.[50]

Većina starog zlatnog nakita nalazi se još uvek u posedu pojedinih kraljevskih porodica u Gani, dok se jedan deo može videti u većim evropskim muzejima. Smatra se da je veliki deo srednjevjekovnog nakita propao jer je korišćen u trgovini, a zatim preradijan.

Zlatari koji su nekada imali povlašćeni položaj i koji su izradivali pred-

mete za kraljevski dvor, danas izrađuju savremeni nakit često ukrašen starim motivima sa simboličnim značenjem. Jedan od ovih motiva ukrašava kraljevski prsten prikazan na našoj izložbi. Prsten je ukrašen šljastim ispušćanjima koji predstavljaju stilizovanu čauru jednog insekta. Isti motiv se može videti i na brončnim tegovima za merenje zlata. Čaura insekta predstavlja metamorfozu i označava promenu, pretvaranje, a simbolički ovog motiva je iskazana izrekom da *izuzetnim ličnostima, kao što su kraljevi, nije lako da budu čvrsti u svojim odlukama*.[51] Zapravo, iako se od kralja očekuje da bude nepokolebljiv i nepristrastan, njegova raspoloženja i odluke su podložni uticajima i promenama.

Među mnogobrojnim i raznovrsnim nakitom u Gani veoma je čest privezak u obliku male maske koja predstavlja ljudski lik. Pored toga što se nosi na vrpcu oko vrata, ona može biti ukras na raznim predmetima, naročito na bubenju, na maču ili prstenu. Ove male maske su liveone od zlata ili bronce i najčešće se sreću kod naroda Ašanti i Baule. Smatra se da ovaj motiv predstavlja glavu pogubljenog neprijatelja i naziva se *Vorosa*. Vorosa je bio vladar zemlje Bandi, a ubio ga je oko 1765. godine kralj Ašantijski Osei Kwadwo (Osei Kwadwo), sveteći se zbog pogubljenih trgovaca Ašanti. Po drugim tu-

not only the king's personal life and force but also his power of influencing the survival and progress of the people. [49] The king of the Asante therefore had to be surrounded by gold objects and had to wear many pieces of gold jewellery. Besides rings, necklaces bracelets, this jewellery also comprised small plates and pendants sewn onto the king's clothing, especially onto the headwear and footwear. Of various shape and size, these gold plates and pendants were decorated with zoomorphic motifs and other symbols linked to certain sayings and mottoes. Similar symbols were also to be found on the rings, batons, swords and other objects belonging to the king. Jewellery was also worn other people, especially the king's advisers, ministers, lower administrators and rich people in general. Gold jewellery was especially worn during ceremonies devoted to gold and fertility, which were held once a year. [50]

The greater part of the golden jewellery is still in the possession of individual royal families in Ghana, while part of it can be seen in leading European museums. It is believed that a large proportion of medieval jewellery disappeared, either used in trade or reworked.

Goldsmiths, who once had a favoured position and made objects for the court, today produce modern jewelle-

ry, frequently decorated with ancient motifs holding symbolic significance. One of these motifs decorates the king's ring on show at our exhibition. The ring is decorated with pointed protrusions representing a stylised insect cocoon. The same motif can be seen on the bronze weights for measuring gold. The insect cocoon represents metamorphosis and change, transformation and the symbolism of this motif is explained in the saying that *it is not easy for exceptional people, such as kings, to be firm in their decisions*. [51] Although the king is expected to be unshakeable and unbiased, his mood and decisions are subject to influence and change. Frequently found among the many and varied pieces of jewellery in Ghana is a pendant in the form of a small mask which depicts a human face. Besides being worn on a throng around the neck, it can also be a decoration on various objects, especially drums, swords or rings. These small masks are forged out of gold or bronze and are most often found among the Asante and Baule. This motif depicts the head of a slaughtered enemy and is called *Worosa*. Worosa was the ruler of the land of the Bandi and he was killed around 1765 by king Osei Kwadwo of the Asante in vengeance for slaughtered Asante traders. According to other versions, this motif represents the head of Adinkira, ruler



55 MASKE – PRIVESCI. REZBARENA KOST. GVINIJA.  
MASK – PENDANTS. CARVED BONE. GUINEA.

mačenjima, ovaj motiv predstavlja glavu Adinkire, vladara zemlje Djaman, koga je 1818. godine ubio Mamponghe. [52] Za veliku zlatnu masku koja se od 1873. godine nalazi u Britanskom muzeju, Carls Reton (Charles Ratton) smatra, da takođe predstavlja portret Adinkire i da je napravljena posle njegove pogibije, kako bi ukrašavala zlatni presto Ašantija. [53] U svakom slučaju, motiv ljudskog lika na nakitu je mnogo stariji od pomenutih istorijskih događaja, pa je najverovatnije da ljudski lik na maski ne mora predstavljati određenu ličnost, već da označava savladanog neprijatelja.

Pretstava glave sa mačem i rukom na prstenu iz Gane, izloženom na našoj izložbi, očigledno označava glavu kao ratni trofej. Međutim, za motiv ljudskog lika koji je veoma čest na mnogim predmetima akanske tradicionalne kulture, vezana je i poslovica sasvim drugog značenja – *jedna glava ne donosi odluke*. Ova izreka upućuje na obavezu vladara da se u svim važnim pitanjima savetuje sa podređenim starešinama, kao i, uopšte, na potrebu da se čovek pre donošenja važne odluke savetuje sa drugima. [54]

#### Nakit od slame i konca

Tehnika livenja metalnih predmeta nazvana *izgubljeni vosak* (cire per-

due) kojom su u Africi vekovima izradivani najveći deo nakita od bronce i zlata i drugi predmeti od metala, doprinela je razvoju veštine modelovanja predmeta od voska. Za izradu zlatnih privezaka, kao i detalja na zlatnom nakitu, vosak je često izvlačen u veoma tanku nit da bi se oblikovali figurativni predmeti ili pak spiralni, kružni i drugi ornamenti. To je rađeno sa toliko preciznosti i veštine, da nam često ove stvari izgledaju kao da su rađene izvlačanjem i savijanjem same zlatne niti, a ne livenjem. Upotreba voska za vajanje predmeta pre izlivanja u metalu, doprinela je da se vosak upotrebni kao podloga za izradu nakita od mnogo jeftinijeg i pristupačnijeg materijala, kao što su slama i konac. Tako se u Timbuktiju (Mali) razvila i posebna umetničko zanatska proizvodnja nakita od slame, a u novije vreme i od konca, namenjena siromašnjim slojevima stanovništva. Ovaj nakit su najviše nosile žene Dogona, Sonraja, Pela i Tuarega.

Po oblicima i ornamentici nakit od slame često predstavlja venu kopiju zlatnog nakita. Svojom žutom bojom on na izvesnoj udaljenosti, obasjan suncem, dočarava sjaj zlata.

Tehnika kojom se izrađuje nakit od slame ukazuje na veliku spretnost. Pravi se na taj način što se od voska, prstima, modelira oblik određenog nakita, a zatim se na ovu podlogu

of the land of the Dyaman, who was killed in 1818 by Mamponghe. [52] In the case of the large gold mask which has been in the British Museum since 1873, Charles Ratton considers that it, too, represents the portrait of Adinkira and that it was made after his death in order to decorate the golden throne of the Asante. [53] The motif of the human head on jewellery is far older than the abovementioned historical events and it is most probable that the human face on the mask does not necessarily have to represent a specific person, but rather a defeated enemy. The head with a sword and hand on the ring from Ghana, which is on display at the exhibition, evidently depicts a head as a trophy of war. However, a saying of complete different meaning – *one head does not make decisions* – is linked to the motif of the human face, which is frequently to be seen on many objects of Akan traditional culture. This saying shows the ruler's obligation to consult his advisers and, in general, the need for a man to consult with others before making important decisions. [54]

#### Straw and thread jewellery

The technique for casting metal objects known as lost-wax process, which was used for centuries in Africa to make the greater part of bronze,

gold and other metal objects, contributed to the development of the skill in modelling wax objects. In the preparation of gold pendants, and in details on gold jewellery, wax is frequently stretched into a thin thread in order to shape figurative objects or spiral, circular and other ornaments. This was done with such precision and skill that these objects frequently look as if they made by stretching and bending the gold threads themselves and not by casting. The use of wax for modelling objects before being cast in metal contributed to the wax being used as a base for the preparation of jewellery from far cheaper and more accessible materials, such as straw and thread. In Timbuktu (Mali), for example, the craft production of straw jewellery developed and, later, thread was also used. This jewellery is made for the poorer strata of the population, and is worn most frequently by the women of the Dogon, Sonray, Pel and Tuareg.

In form and decoration, straw jewellery is frequently a true copy of gold jewellery. At a distance, its golden colour, glittering in the sun, looks very similar to gold itself.

The techniques used to create straw jewellery require much skill. It is made by finger modelling in wax the shape of the jewellery. On this base are placed blades of straw which are fixed by pushing the ends into the wax



55 MASKE – PRIVESCI. REZBARENA KOST. GVINIJA.  
MASK – PENDANTS. CARVED BONE. GUINEE.

postavljaju vlati slame i fiksiraju uvlačenjem krajeva u vosak pomoću malog štapića, velikog trna od bagrema, ili malim gvozdenim šiljkom. Slama se pre toga potopi u tečnost od šafrana ili kane da bi se dobila elastičnost i sjajnija žuta boja. Reljefni ukrasi na ovom nakitu su pleteni na razne načine, često u vidu rozeata kružnog ili ovalnog oblika. Lančići od slame i ukrasi za kosu se rade bez podloge od voska, samo pletenjem. Od slame se prave skoro sve vrste nakita: ogrlice, narukvice, naušnice, razni privesci, ukrasi za kosu i dijademe.

Poslednjih godina za izradu ovog nakita se sve manje upotrebljava slama, a umesto ovog trošnog prirodnog materijala sve više se koristi konac i to prvenstveno žute boje. Podloga od voska se obavlja koncem, tako da se vosak ne vidi, a reljefni ukrasi se rade preplitanjem konca. Pri izradi naušnica koje su uglavnom zadržale stari polumesečasti oblik, kroz vosak je proučena tanka žica koja služi za nošenje naušnice. Dok je nakit od slame uglavnom izobičajen oko 1970. godine, naušnice od konca još nose starije žene.[55]

#### Nakit od slonovače

Slonovača je od najranijih vremena smatrana dragocenim materijalom. Od nje su pravljeni mnogi predmeti

korišćeni u kultovima, a posedovanje slonovače je skoro uvek vezano za bogatstvo i društveni prestiž. Posebno ukrašena rezbarem motivima, bila je namenjena vladarima i ljudima visokog društvenog ranga.

Pored zlata i robova, slonovača je bila glavni izvozni produkt Afrike. Velika potražnja slonovskih kljova za kojima su tragali arapski i evropski trgovci doprinela je nemilosrdnom uništavanju slonova koji su iščezli u mnogim oblastima i kojih je danas, iako su pod posebnom zaštitom, sve manje u Africi.

Među prvim umetničkim predmetima koje su od XV veka u Evropu donosili trgovci, misionari, putnici i turisti, bili su predmeti od slonovače. U prošlosti su osobito cenjeni slanici, kutije, kašike, lovački rogovi, narukvice, bogato ukrašeni rezbarem motivima, radenim u Africi po narudžbini portugalskih trgovaca. Tako je nastala poznata afro-portugalska slonovača na kojoj, pored ostalog, nalazimo izrezbarene likove Evropljana, scene iz lova i druge motive evropskog ukusa, ali koja po svom umetničkom stilu predstavlja dela afričkih rezbara, često izuzetne vrednosti, koja omogućuju praćenje razvoja obrade slonovače u Africi u vremenu od nekoliko vekova.

Namenjeni evropskom ukusu i tržištu, predmeti od slonovače koje danas, savremenim alatom i u serijama, iz-

by a large acacia thorn or small iron point. Prior to this, the straw is dipped in liquid saffron or henna in order to obtain elasticity and a more shining gold colour. The relief decorations on this jewellery are woven in various ways, frequently in the form of a circular or oval rosette. Straw chains and hair decorations are made without the wax base, only by weaving. Almost all types of jewellery can be made from straw: necklaces, bracelets, earrings, pendants, hair decorations and diadems.

Straw has been used less and less in recent years for making this jewellery and thread, primarily golden thread, is used instead of this fragile natural material. The wax base is wound with thread in such a way that it completely covers the wax, and the relief decorations are made by plaiting the thread. In making earrings, which have mainly retained the old crescent form, a thin wire is passed through the wax which serves for fixing the earrings. While straw jewellery fell out of use around 1970, thread earrings are still worn by some older women. [55]

#### Ivory jewellery

Ivory has been considered a valuable material since the earliest times. It has been used to make many objects utilized in cults, and the possession of ivory has virtually always been linked to

riches and social prestige. Specially engraved, it was made for rulers and people of high social status.

Besides gold and slaves, ivory was Africa's main export product. The great demand for elephant tusks, so sought after by Arab and European traders, led to the merciless slaughter of elephants which have become extinct in many areas and which, although under special protection, are increasingly few in number in Africa. Amongst the first art works to be brought from the fifteenth century onwards into Europe by traders, missionaries, travellers and tourists, were ivory objects. Especially appreciated in the past were salt and pepper shakers, boxes, spoons, hunting horns, bracelets, all richly engraved and produced in Africa upon the order of Portuguese traders. This is the origin of the famous Afro-Portuguese ivory on which we may find engraved faces of Europeans, hunting scenes and other motifs according to European taste but which in their artistic style represent works of African engravers. These works are highly valuable and enable a study of the development of ivory working in Africa over a number of centuries. Fashioned to appeal to European taste and the European market, the ivory objects made by African engravers today, with modern tools and in series, have become the most valuable tourist souvenirs.



55 MASKE – PRIVESCI. REZBARENA KOST. GVINIJA.  
MASK – PENDANTS. CARVED BONE. GUINEA.

rađaju afrički rezbari, postali su najskupocenija turistička roba.

Za potrebe afričkih zajednica od slonovače su rezbarene manje skulpture, ukrasni češljevi, nakit, delovi kraljevskih prestola, kao na primer u Abomeju, male maske koje su nošene kao amuleti ili su obeležavale rang članova tajnih društava, zatim trube ili rogovi koji su najavljuvali pojavu kralja i drugih važnih ličnosti za vreme javnih svečanosti, kao i mnogi drugi predmeti.

Slonovača je izuzetno cenjena i kao nakit. Pored raznih privezaka i malih maski, koje su u Gvineji radene od kosti ili nošene kao amuleti i ukrasi, od slonovače su osobito pravljene narukvice i grivne za noge. Već samo posedovanje nakita od slonovače, koja nije morala biti umetnički rezbarena, označavalo je izvestan društveni prestiž. Veličina bogatstva, a time i društvenog ugleda, cenila se ne po umetničkoj obradi ovog nakita, već po veličini i debljini narukvica i po njihovom broju.

U mjestu Onitša u Nigeriji, postoji poseban društveni ceremonijal nazvan *Onitsha slonovača* koji je održavan prilikom dodeljivanja titule *ozo*.<sup>[56]</sup> Ovu titulu koja označava rang bogatih ljudi mogle su dobiti i žene, pod uslovom da poseduju komplet nakita od slonovače i da su u mogućnosti da prirede veliku svečanost, za vreme koje je naročiti sveš-

tenik obavljao *očišćenje* slonovače. Za tu priliku žena je nosila belu odeću, a pored skupocene ogrlice od velikih perli, morala je imati narukvice i grivne za noge od slonovače. Ovi čunkasti kolotovi, jednostavno izrezani s slonove kljove, bili su veoma teški, ponekad i preko pedeset kilograma, i da zbog oštreljivih ivica i težine ne bi ozledile udove, žene su oko članaka i gležnjeva obavljale belo platno. Samo stavljanje i skidanje ovog nakita bilo je veoma mukotrpljeno. No žene su ipak želete da ga imaju i da to bogatstvo prikažu drugima. Često su ovo postizale tek u starosti, posle mnogo godina teškog rada i štednje.

#### Nakit na odelu

Pored nakita koji se nosi na telu u vidu ogrlica, narukvica, prstenja i drugog, delovi odela od kože ili tekstila se mogu smatrati nakitom u širem smislu, pre svega zbog estetske funkcije koju odelo ima, a i zbog drugih značenja koje pojedinim delovima odeće daje sama tkanina svojom bojom ili ornamentima. To se osobito odnosi na specijalnu odelu koja su nosili maskirani igrači, pripadnici posebnih udruženja, socijalnih i verskih grupa, ili pak kraljevi ili njihovi dostojanstvenici.

Na ovim specijalnim odelima, osobito na kapama i tunikama, nalaze se

For African use, ivory was made into small sculptures, decorative combs, jewellery, throne parts, as in Abo-mey, small masks which are worn as amulets or to mark the rank of secret society members, trumpets or horns announcing the arrival of kings and other important personalities during public celebrations as well as many other objects.

Ivory is also highly valued as jewellery. Besides the various pendants and small masks which are made in Guinea and worn as amulets and decorations, it is also used to make bracelets and anklets. The very possession of ivory jewellery, which did not have to be artistically engraved, meant a certain social prestige. The extent of the riches, and thereby also of social esteem, was assessed not by the artistic fashioning of the jewellery, but by size and the thickness of bracelets and their number.

In Onitsha, Nigeria, there was also a particular social ceremonial entitled *Onitsha ivory*, which was held during the awarding of the title *ozo*.<sup>[56]</sup> This title, which denotes the rank of the rich, could also be obtained by women, under the condition that they possessed a set of ivory jewellery and they were able to organize a great celebration at the time when a special priest carried out the *purification* of the ivory. On this occasion the woman wore white clothing and besides val-

uable necklaces made of large beads, she had to have ivory bracelets and anklets. The pipe-like rings, simply cut from elephants' tusks, were very heavy, sometimes weighing over fifty kilograms, and the women used to cover their ankles and wrists with white linen in order to prevent injury from the sharp edges and the weight. The very act of putting on this jewellery was a very difficult process, but woman nonetheless wished to have it and to show it to others. This was frequently achieved in old age, after years of hard work and saving.

#### Jewellery on clothing

Besides jewellery which is worn on the body in the form of necklaces, bracelets, rings etc., parts of leather or textile clothing can be considered as ornaments, or jewellery in the broader sense, especially on account of the aesthetic function of the clothing and the other significance which the very fabric lends to the individual parts of clothing through its colour or ornaments. This is specially true of the particular garments which were worn by masked dancers, members of special associations, social and religious groups or by kings and their dignitaries.

Specific decorations are frequently sewn on these garments, especially on headwear and tunics, varying from

117 LOVACKO ODELO SA NAKITOM I AMULETIMA. BAMBARA, MALI.  
HUNTER'S DRESS SUIT, WITH ORNAMENTS AND AMULETS. BAMBARA, MALI



31



56 MASKA – PRIVEZAK. BRONZA. AŠANTI, GANA.  
MASK – PENDANTS. BRONZE. THE ASHANTI, GHANA.

često prišiveni i posebni ukrasi od najjednostavnijih resa i kožnih zamotljaka do izuzetno umetnički izrađenih zlatnih pločica, privezaka i broševa. Više nego ukras u estetskom smislu, ovi predmeti su pre svega obeležja društvenog statusa, sa osobitom funkcijom zaštite od natprirodnih sila – čijem su uticaju, po verovanju mnogih naroda, ličnosti posebnog ranga izuzetno izložene.

Kod naroda Bambara, kod Senufoa, kao i kod većine drugih naroda u zapadnoj Africi, lovci se smatraju izuzetnim ličnostima. Imaju veoma značajan društveni položaj i izdvajaju se od ostalog stanovništva. Oni su u prošlosti, a ponekad i danas, snabdjevali zajednicu mesom, što je svakako značajno, ali njihov društveni uticaj je mnogo veći od toga.

Lovac je zapravo kulturni heroj i centralna figura u usmenoj istoriji, pričama, poeziji, pesmama. Istoriski predanja govore da su lovci bili često pronašači novih oblasti u kojima su osnivana sela. Mnoga usmena predanja kod naroda Senufo kazuju kako je došlo do toga da lovac dobije najviši rang u tradicionalnoj društvenoj i religioznoj hijerarhiji. On je često osnivač roda, prvi poglavica sela, prvi šef udruženja Poro i prvi vlasnik zemlje. Postoje mnoge priče o borbi lovaca sa opa-

the simplest fringes and leather adornments to highly artistically fashioned gold plates, pendants and brooches. These decorations are more than mere adornments in the aesthetic sense, they are first and foremost the mark of social rank, with the particular function of protection against supernatural powers, to whose influence, many peoples believe, persons of particular rank are highly susceptible.

In the Bambara, the Senufo and the majority of other peoples in Western Africa, hunters are considered as exceptional people. They have an extremely important social position and are set apart from the rest of the population. In the past, and sometimes even today, they supplied the community with meat, which is doubtless highly important, but their social influence is far greater.

The hunter is in fact the cultural hero and the central figure in the history stories, poetry and songs passed down from generation to generation by word of mouth. History tells of hunters frequently being the discoverers of new regions in which villages were built. Many tales told by the Senufo say how it came about that the hunter received the highest rank in the traditional social and religious hierarchy. He is frequently the founder of the race, the head chief tain of the village, the first head of the Poro society and

snim životinjama, ali takođe i one u kojima se govor o posebnom odnosu životinja prema lovcu. Tako je prema jednoj priči, šumska krava naučila jednog lovca da koristi biljke za lečenje, te je on postao rodonačelnik specijalizovanog društva врача-vidara.[57]

Mnogi junaci i kraljevi iz istorije naroda Bambara bili su slavni lovci. O njihovim podvizima pevaju uz *koru* ili balafon bardi *djeli*. I legendarni *Kralj lav* Suniata Keita koji je osnovao staru kraljevinu Mali, bio je lovac.[58]

Prema tome, postati lovac, za jednog Bambaru znači stići mogućnost da se jednog dana postane slavan i uđe u istoriju i pesmu koju pevaju bardi. Ali, da bi se postao lovac potrebno je znanje, veština, moć da se preživi u surovim uslovima šume i gustog šipraža iz kojih vrebaju mnoge opasnosti. Treba znati iskoristiti darove prirode za hranu i lečenje, znati pratiti trag životinje i sačekati je na pravom mestu. I na kraju, znati sačuvati se od nevidljivog sveta duhova, osobito od najopasnijih duhova šume.[59] Iskusni lovac koji poseduje sva ova znanja i moć može biti i u doslihu sa ovim šumskim duhovima pa pored poštovanja često izaziva i strah kod svojih sampionika.

Zbog toga odelo koje lovac nosi u svećanim prilikama sa svim ukrasima na košulji i kapi, predstavlja simbole njegovog znanja i njegove moći. Oni su ukraši, amuleti, fetiši, trofeji i odlikovanja. Što je više ovih ukrasa to znači da je lovac iskusniji i da je postigao visoki rang u udruženju lovaca.

Lovačko odelo Bambara prikazano na našoj izložbi, koje se sastoji od širokih čakšira i košulje, sašiveno je od posebne tkanine poznate pod nazivom *bokolanfini*. Ova arhaična tkanina ukrashava se komplikovanom tehnikom slikanja blatom ili muljem. Geometrijski ornamenti na njoj predstavljaju simbole čija kompozicija može prikazivati razne dogadaje iz istorijske prošlosti naroda Bambara. Prednjica i leđa košulje su ukrašeni pričvršćenim privescima koji se sastoje od kvadratnih kožnih zamotuljaka sa tajnim magijskim materijalom, koji štititi lovca od opasnosti i povećava njegovu snagu. Sa obe strane košulje su još po jedna antilopina nogu sa kopitom, jednim delom prekrivena kožom, zatim po dve ptičije lobanje obavijene kožom iz koje viri povijeni kljun žute boje. Za košulju su još pričvršćena mala ogledalca koja sugeriraju životnu snagu i duhove. Okrugla lovačka kapa, od grublje domaće tkanine ukršena je kožom,

komadićima krzna, kandžama pantera, ogledalima i rogovima koji se nalaze na prednjoj strani kape. Po ivici kape su duge kožne rese koje simbolizuju biljke, a imaju i veoma značajnu funkciju zaštite čovekove glave, lica, osobito ušiju i očiju od nesnosnih insekata, od mušica koje se u ogromnim rojevima pojavljuju u savani u popodnevnim časovima.[60]

Rogovi se često nalaze kao ukras na lovačkim kapama i košuljama. Ponekad služe za smeštaj tajnog magijskog materijala – lekova i *svetih svarava*. Košulja na kojoj je puno rogova i drugih oštreljih predmeta uzetih iz prirode označava jednu od najviših lovcučkih titula *don-sogo* što znači *veliki ubicač bivola*.[61]

Pravi, šiljati i svega četiri santimetra dugi rogovi na lovačkoj kapi Bambara, prikazano na našoj izložbi, su rogovi male antilope *sephalophus*[62] koja živi u zapadnoj Africi u oblasti šuma i gustog šipraža. Poznata pod imenom *daiker* što znači gnjurac ili ronilac, ova mala bojažljiva antilopa se uvlači u šipraž i čestar gde provodi veći deo dana, zbog toga je veoma teško opaziti je i uloviti. Kreće se sama ili u parovima, uglavnom u sumrak i noću. Ako je ranjena može biti veoma opasna. Bambari smatraju da je veoma lepa i veruju da poseduje veliku količinu životne energije (njama) i da je zbog toga teško i opasno ubiti je. Cak i za lovca koji poseduje mnogo lične snage i znanja ovo je izuzetno težak zadatak. Zbog toga su rogovi male antilope na kapi lovca znak najveće hrabrosti, tajnog znanja i prema tome velikog odlikovanja i ugleda. Oni uvećavaju snagu lovaca, a sam toga za njega su ovi rogovи jednostavno lepi.[63]

### Nakit u kosi, frizure i češljevi

U tradicionalnim afričkim zajednicama, kao i svuda u svetu, ljudi posebnu pažnju poklanjaju ličnom izgledu. Pored odela i nakita koji se nosi na telu, osobita pažnja se poklanja kosi, načinu češljanja i ukršavanja. Način češljanja kose je poređ estetske uloge imao uvek i mnogo širi društveni značaj. Obeležavao je doba starosti, pol, društveni položaj i ugled, pripadnost određenom plemenu, pripadnost određenom kultu, posvećenost nekom božanstvu, zatim važne dogadaje u životu žene, kao što su udaja, rođenje deteta, žalost za umrlim mužem itd. Skoro je nemoguće nabrojati sve varijante frizura i njihova mnogobrojna značenja.

Formiranje različitih frizura moglo se postići jednostavno brijanjem pojedinih delova glave ili pak puštanjem kose, a zatim češljanjem i formira-

the original land owner. There are many stories on hunters' struggles with wild animals but there are also ones which speak of the special relationship of the animal and the hunter. According to one tale, a wild animal taught a hunter how to use plants for healing purposes and that hunter became the chieftain of a special Healer's Society. [57]

In the history of the Bambara many heroes and kings were famous hunters. Their feats are sung to the *kora* or the balaphone of the *djeli* bards. The legendary *King Lion*, Suniata Keita, who founded the ancient kingdom of Mali, was a hunter. [58]

To become a hunter means, for a Bambara, to gain the possibility of one day becoming famous and going down in history and the songs sung by bards. In order to become a hunter, however, it is necessary to have the necessary knowledge, skill and the ability to survive in the cruel conditions of forests and dense bush where many dangers lurk. They have to know how to make use of nature for food and cures, to know how to follow an animal's track and wait for it at the right spot. Finally, they have to know how to protect themselves from the invisible world of spirits, especially the most dangerous bush spirits. [59]

An experienced hunter who possesses all this knowledge and power could even be in connivance with these bush spirits and, therefore, besides respect also arouse fear in his fellow tribesmen.

This is why the garments worn by the

hunter on festive occasions, with all

the decorations on the tunic and the

headpiece, represent the symbols of

his knowledge and power. They are

decorations, amulets, fetishes, trop-

hies and signs of courage. The more of

decorations, the more experienced

the hunter and the higher his rank in

the hunters' society.

The Bambara hunting garments shown at the exhibition, which consist of wide trousers and shirts, are made from a special fabric known as *bokolanfini*. This ancient fabric is decorated with a complicated technique of mud painting. The geometrical decorations on it represent symbols whose composition can depict various events from the history of the Bambara. The back and the front of the tunic are decorated with attached pendants which are made up of square leather packages containing secret magical material, which protects the hunter from danger and increases his power. On each side of the tunic is an antelope's leg with hoof, partly covered in leather and two bird's skulls covered in leather emerging from which is a bent yellow beak. Also attached to the tunic are small mirrors, which suggest vital force and spirits.

The round hunting headpiece, made from rough, home-woven fabric, is

decorated with leather, pieces of fur, panthers' claws, mirrors and horns, which are to be found on the front of the headpiece. Along the brim are long leather fringes which symbolise plants and they also have the highly important function of protecting the man's head, face, especially the ears and eyes, from the unbearable swarms of insects which appear in the savannah in afternoon hours. [60]

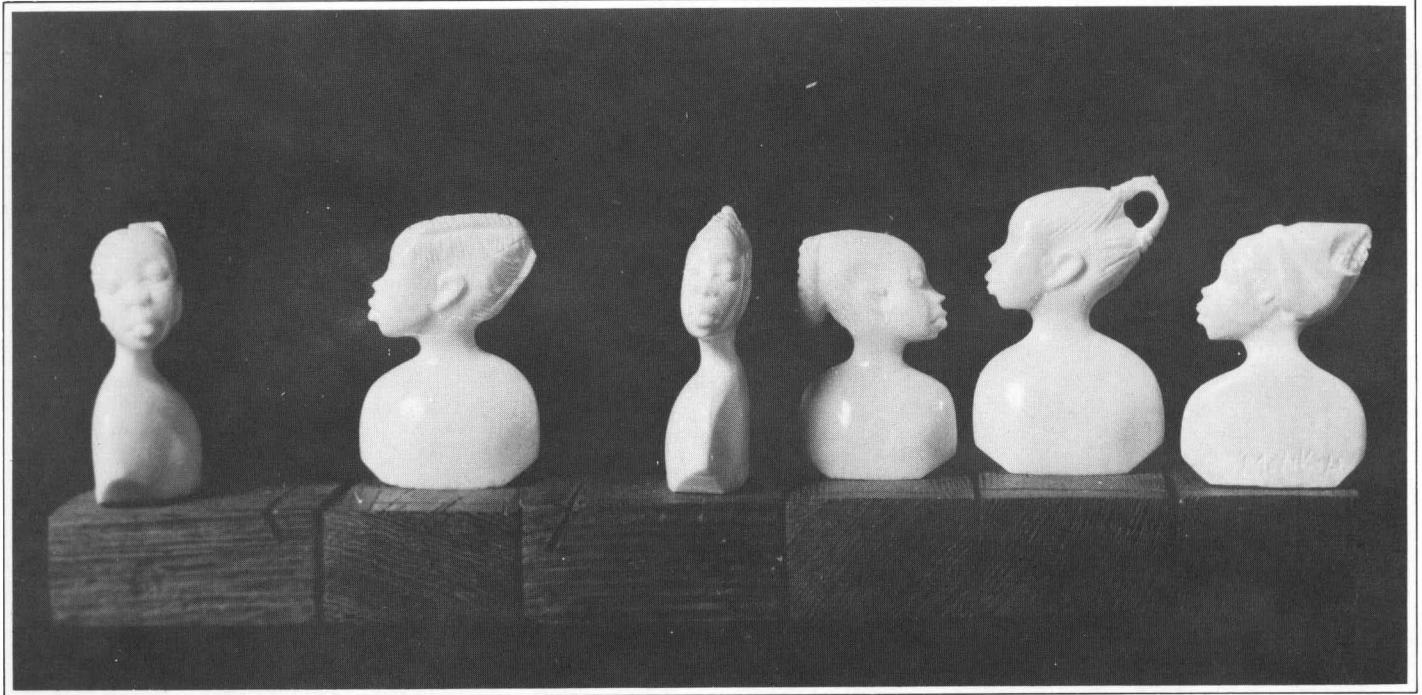
Horns are frequently seen as a decoration on hunting headpieces and tunics. They sometimes serve to keep secret magical material – medicaments and *sacred objects*. The tunic on which are many horns and other sharp objects taken from nature signifies one of the highest titles *don sogo*, which means *great buffalo pierces*. [61]

The straight, pointed, only 4 cm long horns on the hunting headpiece of the Bambara, which is on show at our exhibition, belong the antelope *cephalophus*, [62] which lives in Western Africa, in forests and dense undergrowth regions. Known as the *duiker* which means diver, this small, timid antelope spends the greater part of the day in the bush, and it is therefore very difficult to notice or catch it. It moves alone or in pairs, mainly at dusk and at night. It can be very dangerous when wounded. The Bambara consider this animal extremely beautiful and believe it to possess much vital energy – *nyama* – and it is therefore difficult and dangerous to kill it. This is a difficult task even for a hunter with a lot of personal strength and knowledge. The horns on the hunter's headpiece are considered a sign of the greatest courage, secret knowledge and therefore great esteem. They increase the power of the hunter and, besides, for him the horns are simply beautiful. [63]

### Jewellery in the hair, hair styles and combs

Like throughout the world, in traditional African communities people pay special attention to personal appearance. In addition to clothing and jewellery worn on the body, special attention is paid to the hair, the form of combing and decoration. Besides playing an aesthetic role, hair styles have always had a far wider social significance. They show age, sex, social position and renown, tribal membership, adherence to a particular cult, devotion to some particular god and important events in the life of a woman such as marriage, birth, mourning for a dead husband etc. It is virtually impossible to enumerate all the variants of hairstyle and their many meanings.

The different hairstyles can be created by simply shaving certain parts of the head or by letting the hair grow and then combing it into the most fan-



57 STATUETE SA AFRICKIM FRIZURAMA. SLONOVAČA. ZAIR.  
STATUETTES WITH AFRICAN HAIRSTYLES. IVORY. ZAIR.

njem kose u najfantastičnije oblike. Kosa je često smatrana sedištem životne snage, seksualne moći i plodnosti. Po pravilu, udate žene nisu u potpunosti brijale svoju kosu, dok su u mnogim zajednicama devojke pre udaje isle bez kose obrijane do glave. Deci se obično brijala kosa, izuzev jednog ili dva čuperka, kao na primer u Nigeriji ili Gani. Ali dečaci stočara Fulana nosili su dugu kosu sve do ženidbe, a zatim potpuno brijali glavu. Žene kod naroda Igbo u Nigeriji brijale su kosu u znak žalosti za umrlim suprugom.[64] Kod naroda Eko (Nigerija) bio je običaj da devojke pre udaje puste kosu da im izraste za pola santimetra, a zatim belom kredom iscrtaju po njoj geometrijske ornamente. Deo kose između naertanih šara se onda brije i boji tako da se dobija izuzetno dekorativna površina glave.[65]

Povlašena klasa aristokratije i dvorana na afričkim dvorovima, odvajala se od ostalog stanovništva, pored ostalog, i posebnim frizurama. Po načinu nošenja kose mogao se prepoznati ne samo položaj ličnosti u dvorskoj hijerarhiji, već su frizure bile i obeležje zaduženja u obavljanju državnih poslova.

Tako su na dvoru Joruba posebne frizure imali glasnici koji su prenosili poruke kralja ili visokih dvorskih ličnosti. Nazivali su se *ilar* što znači

*zarez ili obeležje na glavi*. U oblasti Ojo dvorski glasnici su brijali glavu svakih pet dana s tim što je na temenu ostavljan jedan kružni pramen kose koji je pleten i bojen indigom. Prilikom obreda primanja u službu glasnici su dobijali i posebna imena. Tako je kosa obeležavala kraljevog glasnika, a njegovo ime je označavalo poruku. Na primer ime Madarikan znači *Ne suprotstavljam se kralju*.[66]

Kosa se u Africi često plela u pletenice i to na dva načina: jednostavnim pletenjem u male i mnogobrojne pletenice pripojene uz glavu, ili je kosa pletena i uvijana koncem, što omogućava da se od ovih čvrstih pletenica formiraju veoma visoke i prozračne frizure. Većina starinskih frizura se formirala od četiri, osam ili dvanaest pletenica. Ali neke od njih mogu imati trideset do šezdeset pletenica, kao što je *irizura avoojo* što znači *četa vojnika u maršu*, koju su nosile žene iz kraljevske porodice Joruba. Frizuru sličnog stila nose i danas žene posvećene nekim bogovima Joruba, na primer bogu gromovniku Šango ili boginjama Oja i Ošun.[67]

U XVI i XVII veku među aristokratijom u Beninskem kraljevstvu bila je omiljena frizura koja je podsećala na portugalske frizure toga vremena. Sveštenicu u Beninu još uvek nose frizure sličnog stila.[68] Za pravljenje nekih starih frizura ko-

tastic styles.

The hair is frequently considered as the seat of vital force, sexuality and fertility. As a rule, married women did not shave their heads completely, while in many communities girls heads were shaved up to marriage. Children usually had their heads shaved, with the exception of one or two tufts, as for example in Nigeria or Ghana. The boys of the Fulani herdsmen wore their hair long up to marriage and then completely shaved their heads. The women of the Igbo in Nigeria shaved their heads as a sign of mourning for their dead husbands. [64] Among the Eko (Nigeria) it was the custom for girls to grow their hair half a centimetre before marriage and then to draw geometrical decorations on it with white chalk. Part of the hair between the drawn lines is shaven and coloured, thereby obtaining a decorative head surface. [65]

The aristocratic class at African courts could be distinguished from the rest of the population by special hair styles. The way the hair was worn showed not only the position of the person in the court hierarchy but hair styles were also a mark of duty in court affairs.

In the Yoruba court, for example, special hair styles were worn by the couriers who carried messages from the king or high-ranking court officials. They were called *ilar*, which

means *cut or mark on the head*. In the Oyo region, the court couriers shaved their heads every five days, leaving one circular lock on the temple which was plaited and coloured with indigo. While being admitted into the service, couriers also received special names. In this way the hair distinguished the king's courier and his name depicted a message. For example, the name Madarikan means *Do not oppose the king*. [66]

Hair was frequently plaited in Africa in two ways: by simple plaiting into a large number of small plaits close to the head or plaited and wound with thread, which made it possible for high and transparent hair styles to be formed. The majority of the old hair style were formed from four, eight or twelve plaits. Some could, however, have thirty to sixty plaits, like the *svoyoyo* style, which means *a company of soldiers on the march*. This hairstyle was worn by women in the king's family of the Yoruba. A similar hair style is worn today by women dedicated to some Yoruba gods, for example the god of thunder Shango or the goddesses Oyo and Oshun. [67] Amongst the Benin aristocracy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was a favourite hair style which was similar to the Portuguese hair styles of that time. Priests in Benin still wear similar hair styles. [68] Plant fibres and small batons were



rišćena su biljna vlakna i štapići, tako da je kosa formirana kao vrsta krune u raznim oblicima. Nošene su i frizure u obliku šlema, pri čemu je kosa sasvim prilepljena uz glavu. Da bi se kosa formirala u željenom stilu, mazana je uljem i kremovima dobijenim od posebne vrste biljaka, zatim ilovačom mešanom sa čadi ili indigom.

Prirodnog kosi se ponekad dodavala tuđa kosa. Tako su devojke kod Fulana nasleđivale od starijih u porodici kosu koju su uplitale u svoju da bi dobile što dužu pletenicu. Kosi su dodavani i razni ukrasi od školjki, perli, traka i češljeva, raznih visuljaka od metala ili zlata.

U Overiju u Nigeriji žena je objavljivala rođenje svog prvog deteta frizurom formiranom visoko kao kutija, dok je žena koja nema dece mazala kosu sasvim priljubljeno uz glavu, kremom, i ukrašavala je školjkama kauri koje bi trebalo da joj pomognu u nastajanju da dobije dete. [69] Žene poglavica u nekim krajevima Nige-  
rije nosile su u prošlosti leopardove kandže i nanizane perle prikaćene pozadi za kosu. Zvečkanje ovog nakita, prilikom hoda, objavljivalo je da žena očekuje dete. [70] Istovremeno ovo zvečkanje je trebalo da odagna zle sile.  
Da bi se kosa formirala na različite

načine potrebna je izvesna veština i veoma mnogo maštice. Većina Afrikanki uči ovu umetnost od starijih žena u porodici. Na taj način sačuvana su i imena frizura, kao i njihovo značenje. No postoje i žene specijalizovane za ovaj posao, koje ga obavljaju uz određenu novčanu naknadu. One obično nastavljaju zanat negovan vekovima u njihovoj porodici. Sa veoma jenostavnim priborom koji se sastoji od češlja, igle za deljenje kose, ogledala, konca, domaćeg parfema i kremova, one obavljaju ovaj posao na tržnicama u selu ili gradu, pod običnom nastrešnicom ili jednostavno na ulici.

Kao što tradicionalni stilovi afričkih frizura čuvaju deo afričke prošlosti, tako i češljevi korišćeni za češljanje kose ili nošeni u kosi kao ukras, svojim oblikom i rezbarijenim motivima predstavljaju deo kulturnog nasledja sa mnogostrukim značenjima. Češljevi su najčešće izrađivani od drveta, mada su poznati i češljevi od kosti i slonovače, a ponekad i pozlaćeni. U Gani, kao i ostalim zemljama Afrike, drvene češljeve su koristile žene iz svih društvenih slojeva, od ropkinja do žena iz kraljevskih porodica i to pošto su prošle pubertet i počele da pletu kosu. Žena može imati nekoliko češljeva, zavisno od društvenog položaja, od lepote i broja udvarača, jer je bio običaj da mladići poklanjaju češljeve devojka-

used to form some of the old hair styles. In this way the hair was styled as a kind of crown in various forms. Hair styles in the shape of a helmet, where the hair was quite flat on the head, were also created. In order to form the hair in the desired style, it was rubbed with oil and creams obtained from a special type of plant and then with clay mixed with soot or indigo.

Other people's hair was sometimes added to natural hair. The Fulani girls, for example, inherited hair from older family members, which they plaited into their own in order to obtain the longest possible plait. Various decorations made of shells, beads, ribbons and combs were added to the hair, as were various metal or gold hair pendants.

In Overi, Nigeria, women announced the birth of their first child wearing hair formed high like a box, while a woman without children rubbed cream into her hair to make it lie close to the head and decorated it with cowry shells which were supposed to help her conceive a child. [69] Wives of the chiefs in some parts of Nigeria used to wear leopard's claws and rows of beads attached to the back of the hair. The sound of this jewellery as she walked showed that she was pregnant. [70] This sound was also supposed to ward off evil powers.

In order to create various hair styles, skill and imagination were necessary.

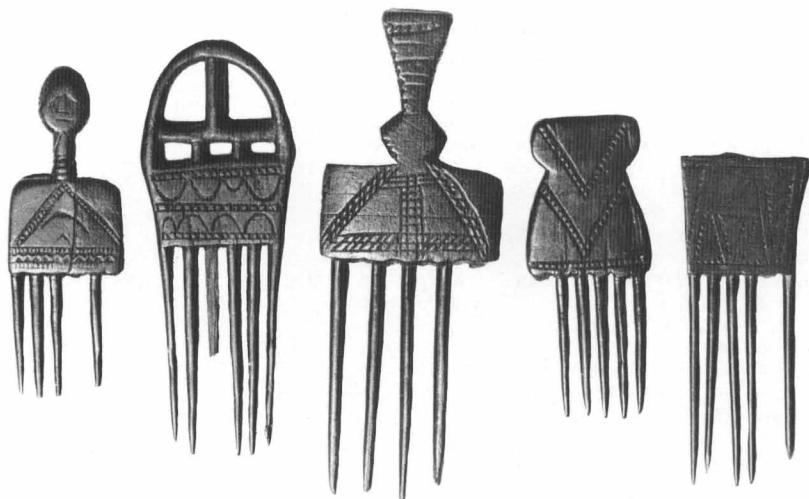
Most African women learn this art from older women in the family. This is how the names of hair styles and their significance were preserved. There are also women who specialise in this job for a certain remuneration. They usually continue the craft fostered for centuries in their families. Using extremely simple equipment consisting of combs, needles for separating hair, mirrors, thread, homemade perfumes and creams, they carry out this job in the village and town marketplaces, under an awning or simply in the street.

Just as the traditional African hair styles preserve part of the African past, so the combs used for creating hair styles or worn in the hair as decoration represent with their shape and engraving part of the cultural heritage with multiple significance.

Combs are usually made of wood, although there are bone and ivory ones too, and sometimes even gold plated combs can be found. In Ghana, as in the rest of Africa, wooden combs were used by women of all social strata, from slaves to women belonging to royal families. They were worn after puberty and when they had begun to plait their hair. A woman may have a number of combs, depending on social position, beauty and the number of suitors, for it was the custom for young men to present combs to girls. [71]



118 ČEŠLJEVI, ABONOS, TANZANIJA.  
COMBS. EBONY. TANZANIA.



119 ČEŠLJEVI OD OBOJENOG CRNOG DRVETA, GANA.  
COMBS OF DYED BLACK WOOD. GHANA.

ma.[71] Češljevi iz Gane i Toga obično imaju zupce na jednoj strani i to najmanje sedam, jer je broj sedam sveti broj u akanskim ritualima, dok je sa druge strane rezbarena drška, sa figuralnim i geometrijskim motivima. Često se po obliku drške ili po motivima može prepoznati kojem plemenu pripada češljač, jer je umetnik rezbar koristio one motive koji su vezani za plemenske simbole, mitologiju i izreke. Češljevi iz Gane su često ukrašeni simbolima koje nalazimo i na drugim predmetima akanske kulture, a koji označavaju određene izreke. Ponekad je drška češlja izradena u vidu antropomorfne figure ili samo ljudske glave u posebnom stilu, poznatom u izradi drvenih figura koje se nazivaju *akuaba*, a koje su simbol plodnosti i označavaju idealnu lepotu. Češljevi iz severnih oblasti Gane, Toga i drugih zemalja zapadne Afrike ukrašeni su geometrijskim ornamentima i pokazuju znatne uticajevne islamske. Mada se danas u Gani i drugim zemljama Afrike prodaju u velikom broju češljevi izrađeni od plastične mase, drveni češljevi sa rezbenim drškama su još uvek u velikoj upotrebi.

Češljeve izrađuju drvorezbari koji rade i druge predmete od drveta i prodaju ih na seoskim i gradskim tržnicama. Prave se obično od mekog belog drveta kao što je *odum* (*ery-*

*theum guineense*), *vava* (*triplochiton segerozylon*) i *njame dua* (*alstoria gongensis*).[72] Češljevi od metalala, kosti i slonovače su redi i nošeni su samo kao ukras za vreme svečanosti. Neki češljevi iz kraljevskih porodica ukrašeni su zlatom. U Gani su posebno značajni češljevi kraljice majke koji su, kao i njena odeća i nakit, odražavali njen izuzetni status i društveni položaj. Kraljica majka može biti kraljeva majka, kraljeva sestra ili sestrica. Ona vlasti zajedno sa kraljem i ima značajnu ulogu u državnim poslovima. Ona obezbeđuje da se presto nasleduje po materinskoj liniji srodstva.

Češljevi kraljice majke koje izrađuje porodični rezbar, često su ukrašeni amblemima klana koji označava krvno srodstvo po majci i amblemima *ntoroa*, koji označavaju pripadnost zajedničkom kultu po očevoj liniji srodstva. [73] Simboli klana i *ntoroa* izraženi su obično predstavom neke životinjske figure.

U mnogim zemljama Afrike postoji bezbroj stilova i varijanti češljanja i formiranja kose. Svaki od njih simbolizuje neki predmet, određeni dogadjaj ili priliku. Tako su u Nigeriji poznate frizure: *kohin sorogun* – okreni leđa suparnici, *suku* – korpa, *koroba* – buket, *akete Kono* – šesir iz *Konoa* i dr.[74] Tradicionalnim stilovima frizura pridružuju se u novije vreme frizure sa novim značenjem

Combs from Ghana and Togo usually have teeth on one side, at least seven, for the number seven is a sacred one in the Akan rituals, while on the other side is a carved handle with figurative and geometrical motifs. The shape of the handle or motifs engraved show tribal membership, for the wood carver used motifs linked to tribal symbols, mythology and sayings. Combs from Ghana are frequently decorated with symbols which we also meet on other objects of the Akan culture and which depict certain proverbs. Sometimes the handle of the comb is worked in the form of an anthropomorphic figure or a human head in a particular style, known in the carving of wooden figures called *akuaba* and which are the symbol of fertility and depict ideal beauty. Combs from the northern regions of Ghana, Togo and other countries of Western Africa are decorated with geometrical ornaments and show a considerable Islamic influence. Although plastic combs are sold in large number today in Ghana and other countries of Africa, wooden combs with carved handles are still widely used.

Combs are made by wood carvers who also make other wooden objects and sell them at village and town markets. They are usually made of soft white wood such as *odum* (*erythleum guineense*) *vava* (*triplochiton segerozylon*) and *nyama dua* (*alstoria gongensis*). [72]

Combs made of metal, bone and ivory are quite rare and are worn only as decoration during ceremonial occasions. Some combs used by royal families are decorated with gold. Of especial importance in Ghana are the combs of the queen mother which, like her clothing and jewellery, reflect her exceptionally high status and social position. The queen mother could be also the king's sister or niece. She rules together with the king and plays an important role in state affairs. She ensures that the throne is passed down along maternal line.

Her combs, which are made by the family wood carver, are frequently decorated with family emblems which depict blood relationship according to the maternal line and *ntoro* emblems, which depict membership of a cult according to the paternal line. The family and *ntoro* symbols are usually depicted with animal figures.

In many African countries there are numerous styles and variants of combing and forming hair. Each of them symbolises some object, a specific event or occasion. Nigerian hair styles comprise *kohin sorogun* – turn your back on your rival, *suku* – basket, *koroba* – bouquet, *akete Kono* – hat from *Kono*, etc. Traditional styles have recently been joined by hair styles with new meanings which depict modern

koje obeležavaju savremene, za narod značajne događaje. Tako su u Lagosu, pored drugih, poznate frizure *ogun pari* – kraj gradanskog rata, *Eko most* – frizura inspirisana novo-sagrađenim mostom u Lagosu, zatim frizura koja obeležava prelazak vožnje u saobraćaju na desnu stranu, ili frizura inspirisana gramofonskim pločama koja se naziva *zapadno-afričke ploče* itd.[75] Imena frizura se uopšte menjaju mnogo brže od samih stilova i može se slobodno reći da ona omogućavaju uvid u savremeni život, odražavaju najnoviji razvoj u narodnoj kulturi i savremenim dogadjajima.

Dok su u jednom periodu Afrikanke u gradovima nosile perike sa evropskim frizurama i određenim načinom pokušavale da isprave svoju kovrdžavu kosu, u periodu posle oslobođenja od kolonijalizma, a osobito sedamdesetih godina, mnoge obrazovane žene rado češljaju svoju kosu na tradicionalni način. Period nacionalnog preporoda ogleda se i u izgledu žena koje sve češće nose tradicionalnu odeću, nakit i frizure, a sve manje pokušavaju da svojim izgledom imitiraju evropsku modu.

Afričke frizure često predstavljaju najčudnije skulpture izradene od kose. Kosa se zaista može smatrati najlepšim nakitom Afrikanaca.

- [16] Thurstan Shaw, Nigeria, Its Archeology and Early History, Thames and Hudson, London 1978., 111.  
 [17] Eve de Negri, Nigerian Body Adornment, *Nigerian Magazine*, Lagos 1976., 24.  
 [18] William Fagg, Yoruba Bead-work, Rizzoli, New York 1980., 10.  
 [19] Eve de Negri, navedeno delo, 26.  
 [20] Pierre Harter, Les perles de verre au Cameroun, *Arts d'Afrique Noire*, No. 40., 1981., 6–12.  
 [21] Thelma Newman, navedeno delo, 193.  
 [22] Eve de Negri, navedeno delo, 25.  
 [23] Frank Willett, Ife in the History of West African Sculpture, Thames and Hudson, London 1967., 121.  
 [24] William Fagg, navedeno delo.  
 [25] Margaret Thompson Drewal, Projections from the top in Yoruba Art, *African Arts*, vol. XI, No. 1., 1977., 43–49.  
 [26] Robert Farris Thompson, African Art in Motion, University of California Press Ltd., Los Angeles 1974., 101.  
 [27] Ila Pokornowski, navedeno delo, 103–114.  
 [28] Peter Bogatyrev, The function of folk costume in Moravian Slovakia, navedeno u delu The Fabrics of Culture, New York 1979., 1.  
 [29] *African Arts*, vol. V. No. 1., 1971., 16.  
 [30] Thurstan Shaw, navedeno delo, 82.  
 [31] Thimothy F. Garrard, Akan Metal Arts, *African Arts*, vol. XIII. No. 1., 1979, 36.  
 [32] Thurstan Shaw, navedeno delo, 115.  
 [33] Frank Willett, navedeno delo.  
 [34] Marcel Griaule and Germaine Dieterlen, navedeno delo, 106.  
 [35] Pascal James Imperato, Dogon Cliff Dwellers, L. Kahan Gallery Inc. / *African Arts*, New York 1978., 14.  
 [36] Fisher H. Nesmith, JR., Dogon Bronzes, *African Arts*, Vol. XII, No. 2., 1979., 21–26.  
 [37] Isto, 24.  
 [38] Anita Glaze, Senufo Ornament and Decorative Arts, *African Arts*, vol. XII, No. 1., 1978.  
 [39] Isto  
 [40] Guide to the National Museum Oron, 64.  
 [41] Timothy F. Garrard, navedeno delo, 38.  
 [42] Guide to the National Museum Oron, 66.  
 [43] Za predmet i podatke zahvaljujemo Staniši Jovanoviću koji je kao stručnjak za eksploraciju šuma radio u Liberiji.  
 [44] Robert K. Liu, Liza Wataghani, Moroccan Jewelry, *African Arts*, vol. VIII, No. 2., 1975., 30.  
 [45] Nancy R. Mickelsen, Tuareg Jewelry, *African Arts*, vol. IX, No. 2., 1976., 18.
- events of importance for the people. Seen in Lagos, for example, are the styles *ogun pari – end of the civil war*, *Eko bridge* – a hair style inspired by a newly built bridge in Lagos, and a hair style depicting the start of right-hand driving, or inspired by records called the *West African records*, etc. The names of hair styles change far more quickly than the styles themselves, and it can freely be said that they enable an insight into modern life and reflect the latest developments in culture and modern events.
- While in one period African women in towns wore wigs with European hair styles and endeavoured to straighten their curly hair, after liberation from colonialism, and particularly during the seventies, many educated women started to comb their hair in the traditional manner. The period of national renaissance is seen in women's appearance, for they are increasingly wearing traditional clothing, jewellery and hair styles, and endeavouring less and less to imitate European fashion.
- African hair styles often represent magnificent hair sculptures. Hair can indeed be considered as the greatest ornament of the people of Africa.
- [1] Tihomir Đorđević, Poreklo nakita i odela, *Glas SKA*, CLXXIX, Beograd 1939., 63–79.  
 [2] Jacquette Hawkes, Prehistoric, Historija čovječanstva, Zagreb 1966., 193.  
 [3] André Leroi-Gourhan, Religije Preistorije, Zagreb, 1968., 75.  
 [4] Jacquette Hawkes, navedeno delo, 388.  
 [5] Isto, 388.  
 [6] Isto, 387.  
 [7] Isto, 388.  
 [8] James C. Faris, Nuba personal Art, Gerald Duckworth Ltd., London 1972., 6.  
 [9] Thelma R. Newman, Contemporary African Arts, Allen & Unwin Ltd., London 1974., 195.  
 [10] Marcel Griaule, Dieu D'Eau, Fayard, Paris 1966.  
 [11] Isto, 193.  
 [12] Isto, 190–191.  
 [13] Marcel Griaule, Germaine Dieterlen, The Dogon, African Worlds, Oxford University Press, London 1976., 82–110.  
 [14] Ila Pokornowski, Beads and Personal Adornment, The Fabrics of Culture, Mouton Publishers, New York 1979., 103.  
 [15] Thelma Newman, navedeno delo.
- Culture, Mouton Publishers, New York 1979, 103.  
 [15] Thelma Newman, Op. cit.,  
 [16] Thurstan Shaw, Nigeria, Its Archeology and Early History, Thames and Hudson, London 1978, 111.  
 [17] Eve de Negri, Nigerian Body Adornment, *Nigerian Magazine*, Lagos 1976, 24.  
 [18] William Fagg, Yoruba Bead-work, Rizzoli, New York 1980., 10.  
 [19] Eve de Negri, Op. cit., 26.  
 [20] Pierre Harter, Lès perles de verre au Cameroun, *Arts d'Afrique Noire*, No. 40, 1981, 6–12.  
 [21] Thelma Newman, Op. cit., 193.  
 [22] Eve de Negri, Op. cit., 25.  
 [23] Frank Willett, Ife in the History of West African Sculpture, Thames and Hudson, London 1967, 121.  
 [24] William Fagg, Op. cit.,  
 [25] Margaret Thompson Drewal, Projections from the Top in Yoruba Art, *African Arts*, Vol. XI. No. 1, 1977, 43–49.  
 [26] Robert Farris Thompson, African Art in Motion, University of California Press Ltd., Los Angeles 1974, 101.  
 [27] Ila Pokornowski, Op. cit., 103–114.  
 [28] Peter Bogatyrev, The Function of Folk Costume in Moravian Slovakia, cited in: The Fabrics of Culture, New York 1979, 1.  
 [29] *African Arts*, Vol. V. No. 1, 1971, 16.  
 [30] Thurstan Shaw, Op. cit., 82.  
 [31] Thimothy F. Garrard, Akan Metal Arts, *African Arts*, Vo. XIII, No. 1, 1979, 36.  
 [32] Thurstan Shaw, Op. cit., 115.  
 [33] Frank Willett, Op. cit.,  
 [34] Marcel Griaule and Germaine Dieterlen, Op. cit., 106.  
 [35] Pascal James Imperato, Dogon Cliff Dwellers, L. Kahan Gallery Inc. *African Arts*, New York 1978, 14.  
 [36] Fisher H. Nesmith, Jr., Dogon Bronzes, *African Arts*, Vol. XII, No. 2, 1979, 21–26.  
 [37] Ibid., 24.  
 [38] Anita Glaze, Senufo Ornament and Decorative Arts, *African Arts*, Vol. XII, No. 1, 1978.  
 [39] Ibid.  
 [40] Guide to the National Museum Oron, 64.  
 [41] Timothy F. Garrard, Op. cit., 38.  
 [42] Guide to the National Museum Oron, 66.  
 [43] For the article and information we thank Mr. Staniša Jovanović, forestry expert, who was working at the time in Liberia.  
 [44] Robert K. Liu, Liza Wataghani, Moroccan Jewelry, *African Arts*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, 1975, 30.  
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 [46] Patricia O'Connel, Bandi Silver Jewelry, *African Arts*, Vol. XII,



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- [52] Doran H. Ross, The Iconography of Asante Sword Ornaments, *African Arts*, vol. XI, No. 1., 1977., 19–22.
- [53] Charles Ratton, navedeno delo, 124.
- [54] Doran H. Ross, navedeno delo, 22.
- [55] Za podatke o nakitu od slame zahvaljujemo Vedi Zagorac i Mileni Kosić.
- [56] Eve de Negri, navedeno delo, 59–61.
- [57] Anita Glaze, navedeno delo.
- [58] Patrick R. McNaughton, The Shirts That Mande Hunters Wear, *African Arts*, vol. XV, No. 3., 1982., 54–58.
- [59] Isto.
- [60] Za podatak zahvaljujemo dr Zdravku Pečaru.
- [61] Patrick R. McNaughton, navedeno delo, 58.
- [62] Le Grande Livre des Animaux, Edition des deux Cogs d'Or, Paris 1981., 92.
- [63] Patrick R. Mc Naughton, navedeno delo, 58.
- [64] Eve de Negri, navedeno delo, 16.
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- [66] Marlyn Hammersley Houlberg, Social Hair: Tradition and Change in Yoruba Hairstyles in Southwestern Nigeria, The Fabrics of Culture, Mouton Pub., New York 1979., 370.
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- [68] Eve de Negri, navedeno delo.
- [69] Isto.
- [70] Isto.
- [71] Janet Adwoa Antiri, Akan Combs, *African Arts*, vol. VIII No. 1., 1974., 32–35.
- [72] Isto.
- [73] Isto.
- [74] Marlyn Hammersley Houlberg, navedeno delo.
- [75] Isto.
- [60] No. 1, 1978, 49.
- [47] Margaret Shinnie, Ancient African Kingdoms, Edward Arnold Ltd., London 1971, 45–53.
- [48] Eva L. R. Meyerowitz, Gold and the Akan of Ghana, *Africa South*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 103–108.
- [49] Ibid.
- [50] Charles Ratton, L'or Féтиche, L'art Nègre, Paris 1966, 119–131; Boris de Rachewiltz, Introduction to African Art, London 1966, 131.
- [51] Brigitte Menzel, Goldgewichte aus Ghana, *Museum für Völkerkunde*, Berlin 1968, 41, 181.
- [52] Doran H. Ross, The Iconography of Asante Sword Ornaments, *African Arts*, Vol. XI, No. 1, 1977, 19–22.
- [53] Charles Ratton, Op. cit., 124.
- [54] Doran H. Ross, Op. cit., 22.
- [55] We thank Veda Zagorac and Milena Kosić for information on straw jewellery.
- [56] Eve de Negri, Op. cit., 59–61.
- [57] Anita Glaze, Op. cit.
- [58] Patrick R. McNaughton, The Shirts that Mande Hunters Wear, *African Arts*, Vol. XV, No. 3, 1982, 54–58.
- [59] Ibid.
- [60] We thank dr. Zdravko Pečar for information.
- [61] Patrick R. McNaughton, Op. cit., 58.
- [62] Le Grand Livre des Animaux, Edition des deux Coqs d'Or, Paris 1981, 92.
- [63] Patrick R. McNaughton, Op. cit., 58.
- [64] Eve de Negri, Op. cit., 16.
- [65] Ibid., 16.
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- [67] Titus A. Ogunwale, Traditional Hairdressing in Nigeria, *African Arts*, Vol. V, No. 3, 1972, 44; Titus A. Ogunwale, African Traditional Hairdres, Ile-Ife, 1976.
- [68] Eve de Negri, Op. cit.
- [69] Ibid.
- [70] Ibid.
- [71] Janet Adwoa Antiri, Akan Combs, *African Arts*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, 1974, 32–35.
- [72] Ibid.
- [73] Ibid.
- [74] Marlyn Hammersley Houlberg, Op. cit.
- [75] Ibid.

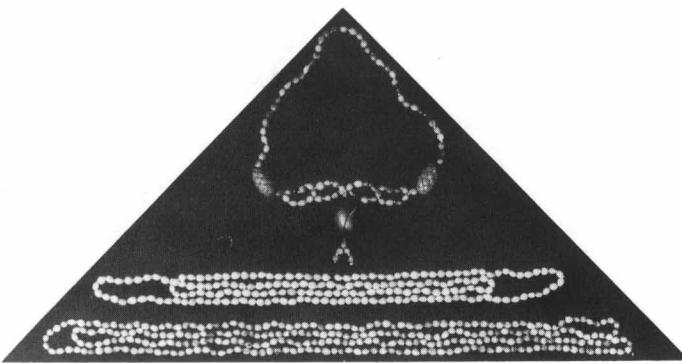
## Katalog

## Exhibits

Osnovu izložbe *Afrički nakit* čini kolekcija nakita koju su Veda Zagorac i dr Zdravko Pečar poklonili Beogradu u okviru svoje velike Zbirke afričke umetnosti i time omogućili stvaranje Muzeja afričke umetnosti. Pored zahvalnosti koju dugujemo Vedi Zagorac i dr Zdravku Pečaru, zahvaljujemo se svim priateljima Muzeja koji su svojim poklonima i pozajmicama proširili ovu kolekciju nakita i omogućili da se organizuje ova izložba.

Za poklonjene predmete zahvaljujemo: Vedi Zagorac, dr Zdravku Pečaru, Mileni i Branku Kosiću, Rože Dorsenivilu (Roger Dorsinville), Jeleni Arandelović-Lazić, Staniši Jovanoviću, Biljanu i dr Homavu Kosiju (dr Homawoo Kossi).

Za pozajmljene predmete zahvaljujemo: Vedi Zagorac, dr Zdravku Pečaru, dr Jokici Hadži Vasilevoj, Jeleni Nonveje (Jelena Nonveiller), Rabiji i Abderahman Bensidu (Abderahman Bensid), Slovenskom Etnografskom Muzeju, Ljubljana, i Muzeju Medimurja, Čakovec.



Vitrina I

**1** Ogrlica. Od semenki prirodne svetlosmeđe boje. Ukršena sa dve šišarke i priveskom od semena akacije. Između semenki su sitne perlice bele boje. Mali. Dužina 40 cm. [Inv. br. 1186] Poklon Milene i Branka Kosića.

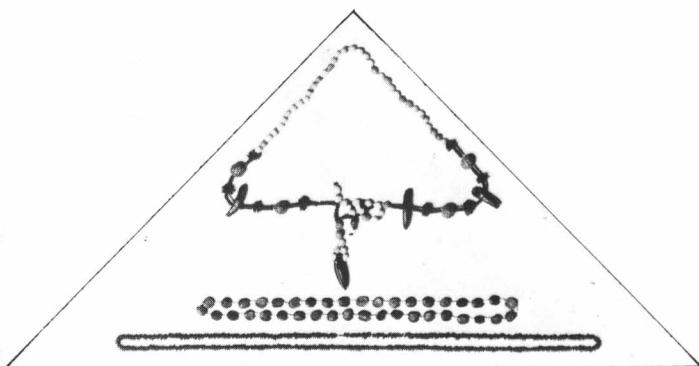
**2** Ogrlica. Od semenki prirodne bele boje. Mali. Dužina 95 cm. [Inv. br. 1312]

**3** Ogrlica. Od semenki prirodne sive boje. Mali. Dužina 132 cm. [Inv. br. 1308]

The Exhibition of African Jewellery is based upon the large collection of African art donated to Beograd by Veda Zagorac and Zdravko Pečar. This collection enabled the foundation of the Museum of African Art. Besides our gratitude to Veda Zagorac and Zdravko Pečar, we would like to express our gratitude too to all friends of the Museum who have, by their donations and loans, expanded this collection of jewellery and made possible the organization of the Exhibition.

We would like to thank particularly for the donated exhibits to: Veda Zagorac, dr. Zdravko Pečar, Milena and Branko Kosić, Roger Dorsinville, Jelena Lazić, Staniša Jovanović, Biljana and dr Homavoo Kossi.

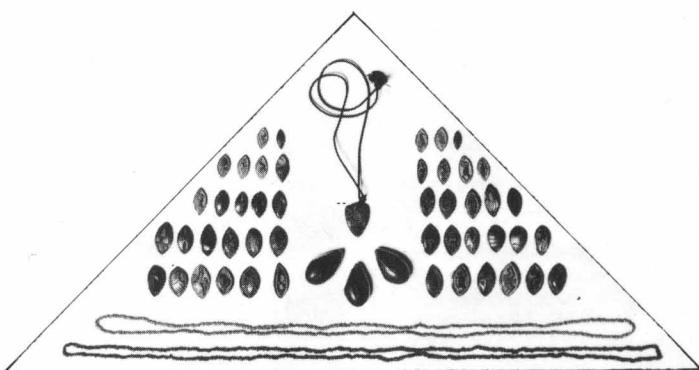
Our thanks for the loaned exhibits go to: Veda Zagorac, dr Zdravko Pečar, dr Jokica Hadži Vasilev, Jelena Nonveiller, Rabia and Abderrahman Bensid, Slovenskom Etnographic Muzeum, Ljubljana and Museum of Medimurje, Čakovec.



Vitrina II

Showcase II

- 4** Ogrlica. Od semenki i perli si-ve, smeđe i crvene boje. Mali. Dužina 47 cm. [Inv. br. 1354] Poklon Milene i Branka Kosića.
- 5** Ogrlica. Od semenki prirodne smeđe boje. Između semenki su nani-zane po tri perlice, bele boje. Gana. Dužina 37 cm. [Inv. br. 1309]
- 6** Ogrlica. Od semenki prirodne smeđe boje. Semenke su duguljastog oblika, pljosnate i veoma sitne. Gana. Dužina 54 cm. [Inv. br. 1306]
- 4** Seed and bead necklace, grey, brown and red. Mali. Length 47 cm. [Inv. No. 1354] Donated by Milena and Branko Kosić.
- 5** Bead necklace, natural brown; between seeds are stringed three white beads. Ghana. Length 37 cm. [Inv. No. 1309]
- 6** Bead necklace, natural brown; seeds are elongated, flat and very small. Ghana. Length 54 cm. [Inv. No. 1306]



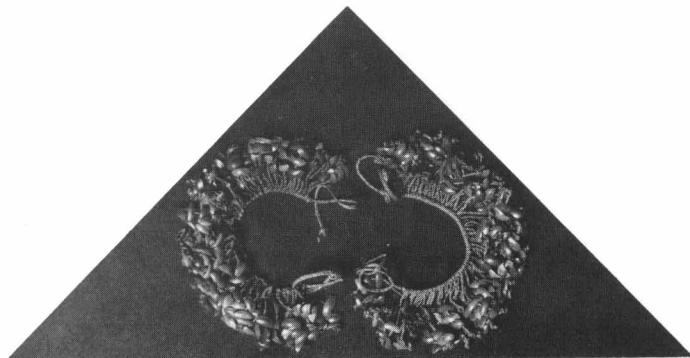
Vitrina III

Showcase III

- 7** Ogrlica. Od semenki crne boje. Semenke su veoma sitne, gusto na-nizane i obojene. Gana. Dužina 68 cm. [Inv. br. 1316]
- 8** Ogrlica. Od semenki crvene boje. Semenke su veoma sitne, gusto na-nizane i obojene. Gana. Dužina 62 cm. [Inv. br. 1313]
- 9** Ogrlica. Sa priveskom od rezbarenog semena abbia. Motivi: zvezde i mjesec. Kamerun. Dužina 38 cm. [Priv. vl.]
- 10** Privezak za ogrlicu. Rezbareno seme abbia. Prirodne smeđe boje. Motivi: riba i majmun. Kamerun. Ve-ličina 5×3 cm. [Priv. vl.]
- 11** Privezak za ogrlicu. Rezbareno seme abbia. Prirodne smeđe boje. Motivi: riba i ptica. Kamerun. Veličina 5×3 cm. [Priv. vl.]
- 12** Privezak za ogrlicu. Rezbareno seme abbia. Prirodne smeđe boje. Motivi: antilopa, gušter i ptica. Kamerun. Veličina 5×3 cm. [Priv. vl.]
- 13** Privesci za ogllice od rezbare-
- 7** Seed necklace, black; seeds are tiny, densely stringed, and coloured. Ghana. Length 68 cm. [Inv. No. 1316]
- 8** Seed necklace, red; seeds are tiny, densely stringed and coloured. Ghana. Length 68 cm. [Inv. No. 1313]
- 9** Necklace with pendant of carved abbia seed; motifs stars and moon. Cameroun. Length 38 cm. [Private property on loan]
- 10** Necklace pendant; carved abbia seed, natural brown; motifs fish and monkey. Cameroun. Dimensions 5×3 cm. [Private property on loan]
- 11** Necklace pendant; carved abbia seed, natural brown; motifs fish and bird. Cameroun. Dimensions 5×3 cm. [Private Property on loan]
- 12** Necklace pendant; carved abbia seed, natural brown; motifs antelope, lizard and bird. Cameroun. Dimensions 5×3 cm. [Private property on loan]
- 13** Necklace pendants; carved

nih semenki *abbia*. Motivi: biljni i životinjski. Kamerun. [Priv. vl.]

*abbia* seed. Motifs floral and animal. Cameroun. [Private property on loan]

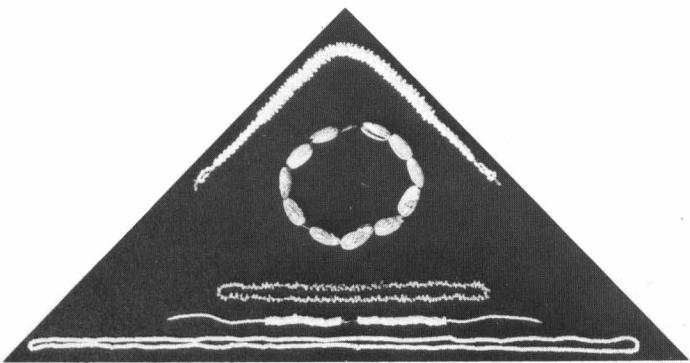


Vitrina IV

14 Ukrasi-zvečke. Prirodne smede boje. Izrađeno od palmovog lista i nanizanih semenki akacije. Nošene oko članaka na nogama, za vreme plesa. Dan, Obala Slonovače. Dužina 87 cm. [Inv. br. 1298.] Poklon Rože Dorsenville.

Showcase IV

14 Decoration rattles, natural brown; made of palm leaves and stringed accacia seed; worn on ankles during dance. Dan, Ivory Coast. Length 87 cm. [Inv. No. 1298] Donated by Roger Dorsenville.



Vitrina V

15 Ogrlica. Od školjki bele boje. Etiopija. Dužina 47 cm. [Inv. br. 1359] Poklon Jelene Lazić.

16 Ogrlica. Od školjki sive boje sa smedim šarama. Etiopija. Dužina 42 cm. [Inv. br. 1358] Poklon Jelene Lazić.

17 Ogrlica. Od pužića prirodne smede boje. Mali. Dužina 32 cm. [Inv. br. 1185] Poklon Milene i Branka Kosića.

18 Ogrlica. Od pršljenova i perl, bele boje. U sredini je perla od smedeg prugastog kamenja. Senegal. Dužina 40 cm. [Priv. vl.]

19 Ogrlica. Od pršljenova prirodne bele boje. Senegal. Dužina 140 cm. [Priv. vl.]

Showcase V

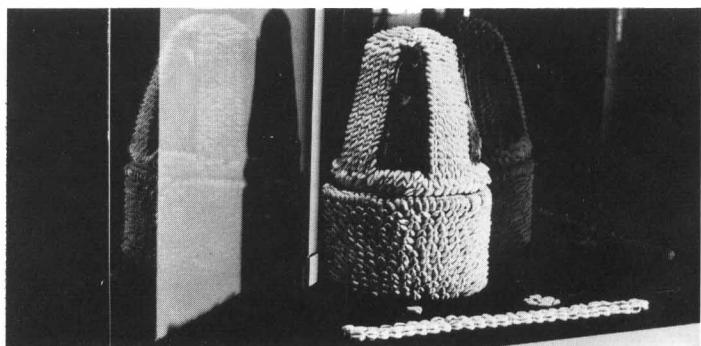
15 Shell necklace, white. Ethiopia. Length 47 cm. [Inv. No. 1359] Donated by Jelena Lazić.

16 Shell necklace, grey with brown stains. Ethiopia. Length 42 cm. [Inv. No. 1358] Donated by Jelena Lazić.

17 Smail necklace, natural brown. Mali. Length 52 cm. [Inv. No. 1185] Donated by Milena and Branko Kosić.

18 Necklace of vertebrae and beads, white striped brown stone bead in the middle. Senegal. Length 40 cm. [Private property on loan]

19 Necklace of vertebrae, natural white. Senegal. Length 140 cm. [Private property on loan]



Vitrina VI

20 Ogrlica. Od školjki kauri prirodne bele boje. Mali. Dužina 42 cm. [Inv. br. 1317]

21 Ogrlica. Na kožnoj vrpci je kvadratni kožni privezak sa jednom školjkom kauri. Smede i bele boje. Dogon. Mali. Dužina 23 cm. [Inv. br. 1182] Poklon Milene i Branka Kosića.

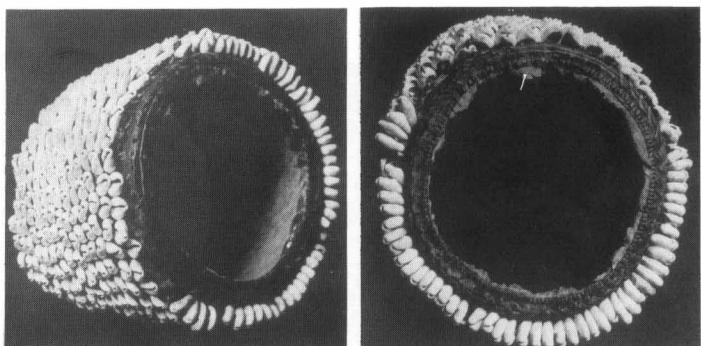
22 Ogrlica. Na kožnoj vrpci je kružni privezak od kože sa sedam školjki kauri. Smede i bele boje. Dogon. Mali. Dužina 31 cm. [Inv. br. 1183] Poklon Milene i Branka Kosića.

Showcase VI

20 Cowry shells necklace, natural white. Mali. Length 42 cm. [Inv. No. 1317]

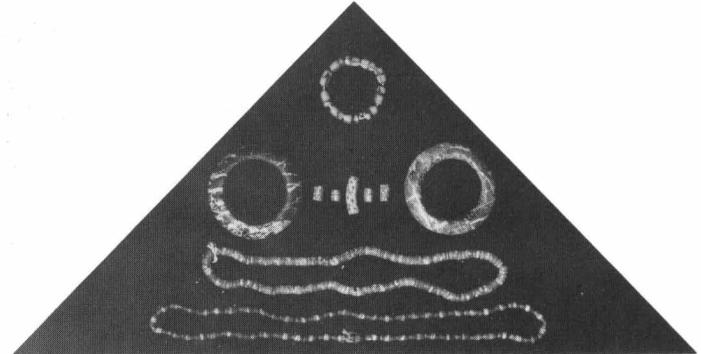
21 Necklace; a square leather pendant with one cowry shell on leather ribbon brown and white. Dogon. Mali. Length 23 cm. [Inv. No. 1182] Donated by Milena and Branko Kosić.

22 Necklace; a circular leather pendant with seven cowry shells on leather ribbon, white and brown. Dogon, Mali. Length 31 cm. [Inv. No. 1183] Donated by Milena and Branko Kosić.



23 Oglavlje – ile ori. Tkanina, koža i školjke kauri. Bele i smede boje. Joruba, Benin. Visina 35 cm. [Inv. br. 953]

23 House of the Head – Ile ori; textile, leather and cowry shells, white and brown. Yoruba, Benin. Height 35 cm. [Inv. No. 953]



Vitrina VII

24 Narukvica. Perle su radene od staklene paste, sive boje, sa plavim i grey, with blue and brown stains.

Showcase VII

smedim šarama. Gana. Prečnik 7 cm. [Inv. br. 1357] Poklon Jelene Lazić.

25 Perle. Od staklene paste žute boje sa plavim, belim i smedim šarama. Abidžan, Obala Slonovače. [Priv. vl.]

26 Narukvice. Od kamena sivo-bele boje. Gana. Prečnik 10 cm. [Inv. br. 1336, 1337]

27 Ogrlica. Perle su radene od staklene paste, plave boje sa belim šarama. Togo. Dužina 35 cm. Poklon Biljane Kossi. [Inv. br. 1299]

28 Ogrlica. Perle su radene od staklene paste, plave boje sa belim i smedim šarama. Gana. Dužina 45 cm. [Inv. br. 1049]

Ghana, Diameter 7 cm. [Inv. No. 1357] Donated by Jelena Lazić.

25 Glass paste beads, yellow with blue, white and brown stains. Abidjan, Ivory Coast. [Private property on loan]

26 Bracelets, grey-white stone. Ghana. Diameter 10 cm. [Inv. No. 1336, 1337]

27 Necklace, glass paste beads, blue with white stains. Togo. Length 35 cm. [Inv. No. 1299] Donated by Biljana Kossi.

28 Necklace, glass paste beads, blue with white and brown stains. Ghana. Length 45 cm. [Inv. No. 1049]

naroda Pel. Mali. Dužina 45 cm. Pel. Mali. Length 45 cm. [Private property on loan]

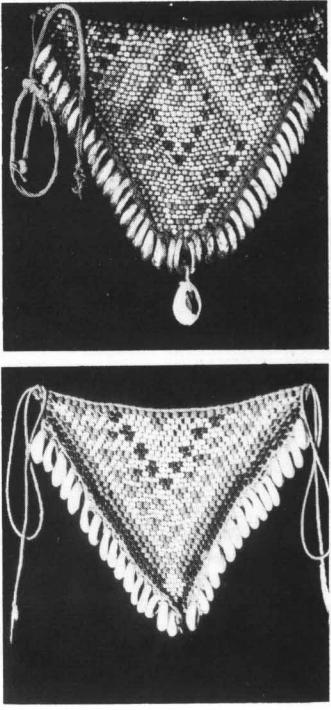
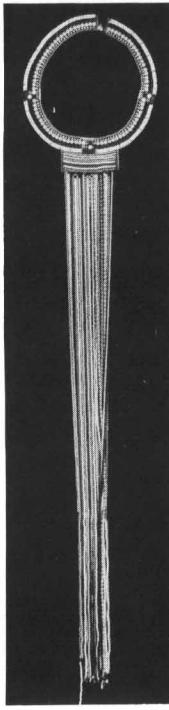
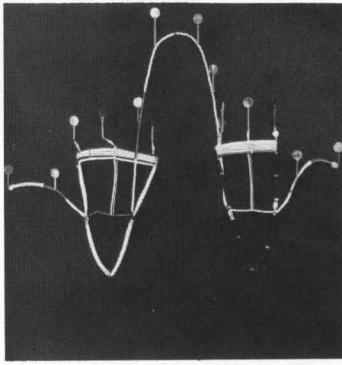
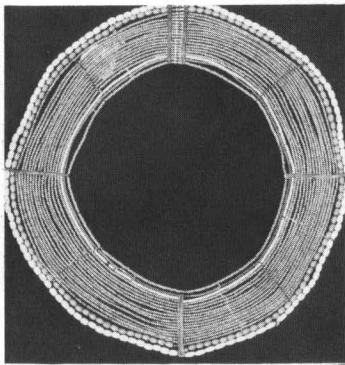


Vitrina VIII



Vitrina IX

Showcase IX

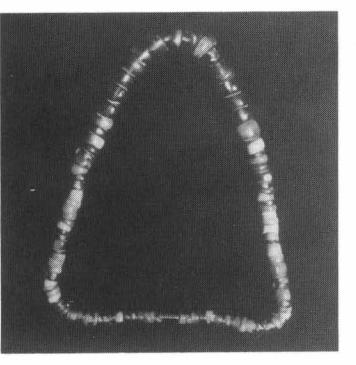


29 Ogrlica. Krupne perle valjkastog i ovalnog oblika radene su od staklene paste, tamnopлавe boje sa belim i crvenim šarama. Mauritanija. Dužina 66 cm. Muzej Međimurje, Čakovec. [Inv. br. 128]

30 Ogrlica. Perle radene od staklene paste, plave boje sa belim i crvenim šarama. Kamerun. Dužina 20 cm. [Priv. vl.]

29 Necklace, glass paste large beads of cylindrical and oval form, dark blue with white and red stains. Mauritania. Length 66 cm. Museum of Međimurje, Čakovec, [Inv. No. 128]

30 Necklace, glass paste beads, blue with white and red stains. Cameroun. Length 20cm. [Private property on loan]



31 Ogrlica. Od srebrnih filigranskih kuglica i perli radenih od staklene paste. Mali. Dužina 36 cm. [Priv. vl.]

32 Ogrlica. Od čilibara, prirodne žute boje. Nosile veoma bogate žene

31 Necklace, silver filigree and glass paste beads. Mali. Length 36 cm. [Private property on loan]

32 Necklace, amber, natural yellow; worn by very rich women of

33 Ogrlica. Od raznobojnih perli. Sastoje se od više nizova spojenih žicom. Masaji, Kenija. Prečnik 28,5 cm. Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana. [Inv. br. 5/70-d-MG]

34 Ogrlica. Od raznobojnih perli. Sastoje se od više spojenih nizova. Sa ogrlicom se spuštaju vertikalni nizovi perli. Nosile neveste kod naroda Masaji. Kenija. Širina ogrlice 3 cm. Dužina nizova 90 cm. Slovenski etnografski muzej Ljubljana. [Inv. br. 5/70-f-MG]

35 Naušnice. Od raznobojnih perli. Trouglastog oblika. Spojene nanizanim perlicama. Masaji, Kenija.

33 Necklace of variegated beads, several rows wire linked. Masai, Kenya. Diameter 28.5 cm. Slovenian Ethnographic Museum, Ljubljana, [Inv. No. 5/70-d-MG]

34 Necklace of variegated beads, several rows with vertical strings; worn by brides of the Masai, Kenya. Width 3 cm: length of strings 90 cm. Slovenian Ethnographic Museum. [Inv. No. 5/70-f-MG]

35 Earrings of variegated beads, triangular shape, linked by a string of beads. Masai, Kenya. Length 20 cm. Slovenian Ethnographic Museum. [Inv. No. 5/70-b-MG]

Dužina 20 cm. Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana. [Inv. br. 5/70-b-MG]

36 Stidna pregačica. Od raznobojnih perli i školjki kauri. Trouglastog oblika. Nošena ispod pojasa, kao ukras i amajlija. Pel. Mali. Dužina 19 cm. Muzej Medimurja, Čakovec. [Inv. br. 148]

37 Stidna pregačica. Od raznobojnih perli i školjki kauri. Trouglastog oblika. Pel, Kamerun. Dužina 13 cm. [Priv. vl.]

38 Ogrlica. Od raznobojnih, pretežno zelenih perli, sa geometrijskim ornamentima. Kamerun. Dužina 44 cm. [Priv. vl.]

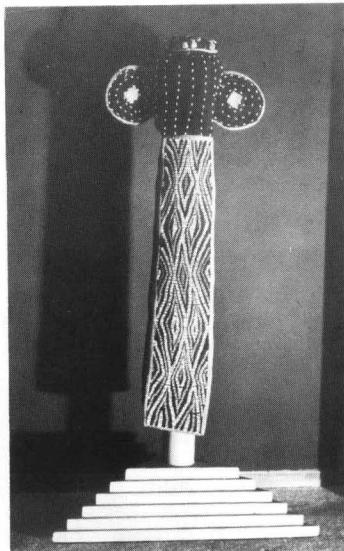
39 Ogrlica. Od raznobojnih, pretežno mirkih perli, sa geometrijskim ornamentima. Kamerun. Dužina 39 cm. [Priv. vl.]



Vitrina X



Showcase X



40 Maska. Od tkanine ukrašene raznobojnim perlama. Predstavlja slona. Bamileke, Kamerun. Dužina 122 cm. [Inv. br. 341]

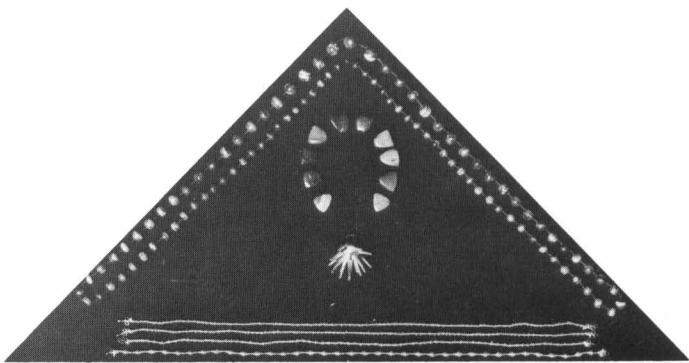
40 Mask, textile decorated with variegated beads represents an elephant. Bamileke, Cameroun. Length 122 cm. [Inv. No. 341]

36 Pubic apron of variegated beads and cowry shells, of triangular shape; worn below belt as amulet and decoration. Pel, Mali. Length 19 cm. Museum of Medimurje, Čakovec. [Inv. No. 148]

37 Pubic apron of variegated beads and cowry shells, of triangular shape. Pel, Cameroun. Length 13 cm. [Private property on loan]

38 Necklace of variegated, mostly green beads, with geometrical ornaments. Cameroun. Length 44 cm. [Private property on loan]

39 Necklace of variegated, mostly brown beads, with geometrical ornaments. Cameroun. Length 39 cm. [Private property on loan]



Vitrina XI

Showcase XI

41 Ogrlica. Od malahita. Zelene boje. Između kuglica su sitne staklene perle. Kinšasa, Zair. Dužina 85 cm. [Priv. vl.]

42 Perle. Od ahata trouglastog oblika. Crvenomrke boje. Togo. Veličina 2 cm. [Priv. vl.]

43 Prsten. Zlato. Ukršten šiljci-ma koji predstavljaju larvu insekta. Ovaj tip prstenja su nosili kraljevi kod naroda Ašanti. Gana. Prečnik 2 cm. [Inv. br. 1326]

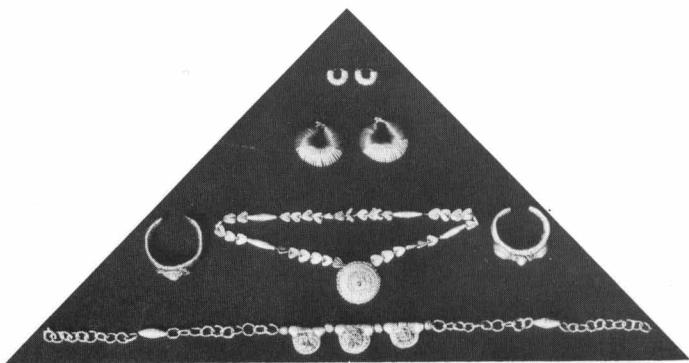
44 Ogrlice. Zlato. Sastoje se od posebnih izduženih valjkastih delova livenih tehnikom izgubljenog voska. Baule, Obala Slonovače. [Priv. vl.]

41 Malachite necklace, green; between malachite balls stringed small glass beads. Kinshasa, Zair. Length 85 cm. [Private property on loan]

42 Agate pearls, triangular shape, red-brown. Togo. Size 2 cm. [Private property on loan]

43 Gold ring, decorated with points representing an insect larva; this type of ring was worn by the Asanti kings. Ghana. Diameter 2 cm. [Inv. No. 1326]

44 Gold necklaces; made of special elongated cylindrical parts casted by the lost wax technique. Baule, Ivory Coast. [Private property on loan]



Vitrina XII

Showcase XII

45 Ogrlica. Slama i vosak. Prirodne žute boje. Sastoje se od spojenih, pletenih alkica i tri medaljona. Mali. Dužina 36 cm. [Inv. br. 1181]

46 Ogrlica. Slama i vosak. Prirodne žute boje. Sastoje se od pletenih spojenih listića i jednog okruglog medaljona. Mali. Dužina 34 cm. [Inv. br. 1187] Poklon Milene i Branka Kosića.

47 Narukvica. Slama i vosak. Prirodne žute boje. Sa ukrasom u vidu tri rozete. Mali. Prečnik 6 cm. [Inv. br. 1180]

48 Narukvica. Slama i vosak. Prirodne žute boje. Sa ukrasom u vidu jedne rozete. Prečnik 6,5 cm. [Inv. br. 1353] Poklon Milene i Branka Kosića.

49 Naušnice. Konac i vosak. Žute i crvene boje. Mali. Prečnik 5 cm. [Inv. br. 1355] Poklon Milene i Bran-

45 Necklace, straw and wax, natural yellow; made of small plaited rings and three medallions. Mali. Length 36 cm. [Inv. No. 1181]

46 Necklace, straw and wax, natural yellow; made of small plaited leaves and a round medallion. Mali. Length 34 cm. [Inv. No. 1187] Donated by Milena and Branko Kosić.

47 Bracelet, straw and wax, natural yellow, with a three roses decoration. Mali. Diameter 6 cm. [Inv. No. 1180]

48 Bracelet, straw and wax, natural yellow, one rose decoration. Diameter 6,5 cm. [Inv. No. 1353] Donated by Milena and Branko Kosić.

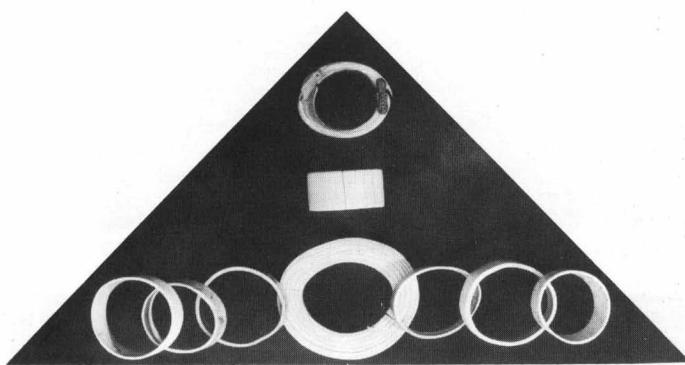
49 Earrings, thread and wax, yellow and red. Mali. Diameter 5 cm. [Inv. No. 1355] Donated by Milena

ka Kosića.

**50** Naušnice. Konac i vosak. Žute boje. Mali. Prečnik 2 cm. [Inv. br. 1356] Poklon M. i B. Kosića.

and Branko Kosić.

**50** Earrings, thread and wax, yellow. Mali. Diameter 2 cm. [Inv. No. 1356] Donated by Milena and Branko Kosić.



Vitrina XIII

Showcase XIII

**51** Narukvica. Slonovača. Sastoji se iz dva dela spojena metalom. Togo. Prečnik 10,5 cm. [Inv. br. 1329]

**52** Narukvica. Slonovača. Togo. Prečnik 8,5 cm. Širina 4 cm. [Inv. br. 1327]

**53** Narukvica. Slonovača. Ovalnog oblika. Nošena na nadlaktici. Togo. Prečnik 16,5 cm. [Inv. br. 1328]

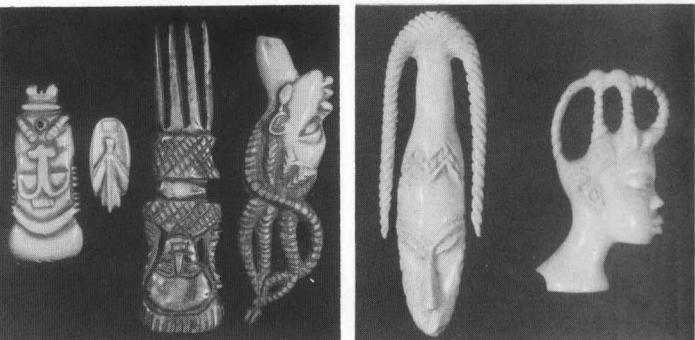
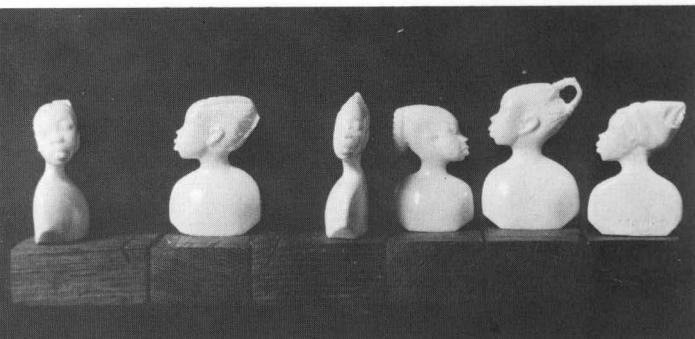
**54** Narukvice. Slonovača. Togo. Prečnik od 9 do 11 cm. [Inv. br. 1330–1335]

**51** Ivory bracelet, made of two parts linked by metal. Togo. Diameter 10.5 cm. [Inv. No. 1329]

**52** Ivory bracelet. Togo. Diameter 8.5 cm. width 4 cm. [Inv. No. 1327]

**53** Ivory bracelet, oval shape worn on upper arm. Togo. Diameter 16.5 cm. [Inv. No. 1328]

**54** Ivory bracelets. Togo. Diameter 9–11 cm. [Inv. No. 1330–1335]



vate property on loan]

**58** Ivory comb; handle of anthropomorphic shape. Cameroun. Size 13.5×3.5 cm. [Private property on loan]

**59** Ivory pendant, in the form of a woman's head with a high hairstyle. Cameroun. Length 13 cm. [Private property on loan]

**60** Ivory pendant, woman's head with a high hairstyle. Cameroun. Length 11 cm. [Private property on loan]

**61** Ivory pendant, woman's head with hairstyle. Cameroun. Length 8 cm. [Private property on loan]

**62** Pendant-mask, ivory, representing human face. Cameroun. Length 8 cm. [Private property on loan]

**63** Pendant-mask, ivory, representing human face. Cameroun. Size 4×1.5 cm. [Private property on loan]

[Priv. vl.]

**58** Češalj. Slonovača. Drška antropomorfnog oblika. Kamerun. Veličina 13,5×3,5 cm. [Priv. vl.]

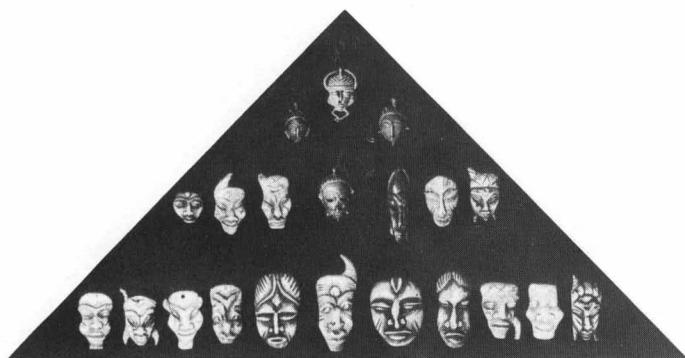
**59** Privezak. Slonovača. U obliku ženske glave sa istaknutom frizurom. Kamerun. Dužina 13 cm. [Priv. vl.]

**60** Privezak. Slonovača. U obliku ženske glave sa istaknutom frizurom. Kamerun. Dužina 11 cm. [Priv. vl.]

**61** Privezak. Slonovača. U obliku ženske glave sa frizurom. Kamerun. Dužina 8 cm. [Priv. vl.]

**62** Privezak-maska. Slonovača. Prikazuje ljudski lik. Kamerun. Dužina 8 cm. [Priv. vl.]

**63** Privezak-maska. Slonovača. Prikazuje ljudski lik. Kamerun. Veličina 4×1,5 cm. [Priv. vl.]



Vitrina XIV

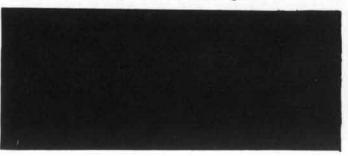
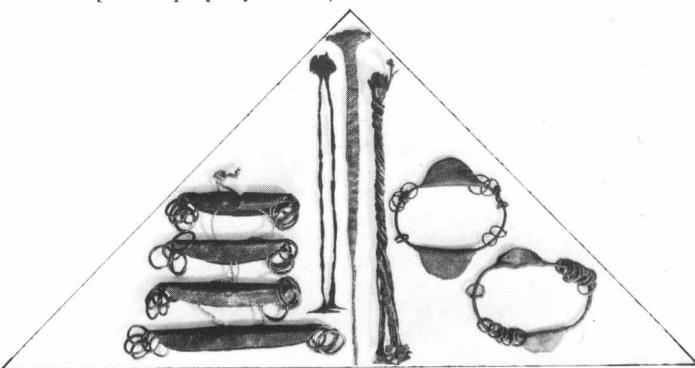
Showcase XIV

**55** Maske-privesci. Rezbarena kost. Prikazuju ljudski lik. Gvineja. [Inv. br. 388–404]

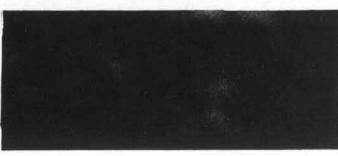
**56** Maske-privesci. Bronza. Liveno tehnikom izgubljenog voska. Prikazuju ljudski lik. Ašanti, Gana. Veličina od 4,5 cm. do 6,5 cm. [Inv. br. 462, 1323, 1324, 125/4]

**55** Mask-pendants, carved bone; shows human figure. Guinea. [Inv. Nos. 388–404]

**56** Mask-pendants, bronze, casted by lost wax process; show human figures. Ashanti, Ghana. Size 4.5–6.5 cm. [Inv. Nos. 462, 1323, 1324, 125/4]



Vitrina XV



Showcase XV

**57** Statuetes sa afričkim frizura- ma. Slonovača. Zair. Visina 6 cm.

**57** Statuettes with African hair- styles, ivory. Zair. Height 6 cm. [Pri-

**64** *Kisi peni*. Gvozdene šipke različitih vrednosti. Služile kao novac.

**64** *Kisi peni*: iron bars of different values, used as money. Kissi,

Kisi. Gvineja i Liberija. Dužina 29, 36, 40 cm. [Inv. br. 999–1001]

**65** Plesni ukras za noge. Gvožđe. Ovalnog oblika sa alkicama koje zvečaju prilikom igre. Togo. Prečnik 14 cm. [Inv. br. 1325]

**66** Plesni ukras za noge. Gvožđe. Sastoje se od po dva izdužena dela sa alkicama koje zvečaju prilikom plesa. Gana. Dužina 18 i 14 cm. [Inv. br. 1199]



Vitrina XVII

Guinea and Liberia. Length 29, 36 and 40 cm. [Inv. No. 999–1001]

**65** Dance leg decoration, iron, oval shape with rings rattling at dance. Togo. Diameter 14 cm. [Inv. No. 1325]

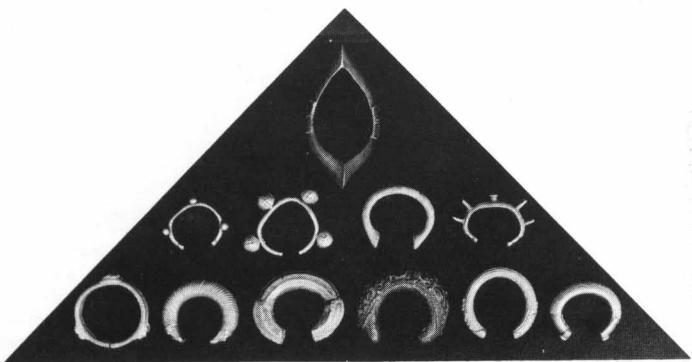
**66** Dance leg decoration, iron, two elongated parts with rings rattling at dance. Ghana. Length 18 and 14 cm. [Inv. No. 1199]



Showcase XVII

**67** Ukras za noge. Bronza. Izduženog, cevastog oblika sa stilizovanim krokodilom na spoljašnjoj strani. Mosi, Gornja Volta. Širina 18 cm. [Inv. br. 416]

**68** Ukras za noge. Bronza. Kružnog oblika. Spoljna površina ornamentalno ukrašena. Mosi, Gornja Volta. Prečnik 14 cm. [Inv. br. 418]



Vitrina XVIII

Showcase XVIII

**69** Narukvica. Bronza. Izvijenog čunastog oblika sa ornamentom na sredini. Nošena na nadlaktici. Zapadna Afrika. Veličina 8×17 cm. [Inv. br. 1036]

**70** Narukvica. Bronza. Spoljna površina ukrašena sa tri para kružnih ukrasa. Mali. Prečnik 7 cm. [Inv. br. 1188] Poklon Milene i Branko Kosića.

**71** Narukvica. Bronza. Na spo-

**69** Bracelet, bronze, twisted pine-like shape with ornament in the middle; worn on upper arm. West Africa. Size 8×17 cm. [Inv. No. 1036]

**70** Bracelet, bronze, decorated on the outside with three pairs of circular ornaments. Mali. Diameter 7 cm. [Inv. No. 1188] Donated by Milena and Branko Kosić.

**71** Bracelet, bronze; on the out-

ljašnjoj površini nalaze se četiri šuplja ukrasa za praporce, sa motivom krsta. Nosila deca kao zvečku. Obala Slonovače. Prečnik 7 cm. [Inv. br. 1035]

**72** Narukvica. Bronza. Pripada tipu narukvica *manila*. Nadena je na ruci roba koji je ležao pored svog gospodara, sahranjenog u sedecem stavu. Okolina Pange, Liberija. Prečnik 8 cm. Poklon Staniše Jovanovića. [Inv. br. 1190]

**73** Narukvica. Bronza. Ukršena silicima. Mali. Prečnik 9 cm. Poklon Branka i Milene Kosić. [Inv. br. 1184]

**74** Narukvica. Bronza. Na spoljnoj površini nalaze se tri kvadrata sa po četiri kružna reljefna ukrasa. Togo. Prečnik 8 cm. [Inv. br. 1318]

**75** Narukvica. Bronza. Površina ukrašena reljefnim urezima. Pri krajevima kvadratni ukrasa: sa po pet kružica. Kamerun. Prečnik 9 cm. [Priv. vl.]

**76** Narukvica. Bronza. Na krajevima dodati ukrsi od svetlijeg žutog metalra. Pripada tipu narukvica *manila*. Veoma teška. Kamerun. Prečnik 9 cm. [Priv. vl.]

**77** Narukvica. Metal. Spoljna površina ukrašena reljefnim, spiralnim motivima. Kamerun. Prečnik 10 cm. [Priv. vl.]

**78** Narukvica. Bronza. Ukršena reljefnim, paralelnim linijama, a pri krajevima trouglastim i spiralnim motivima. Pripada tipu *manila*. Kamerun. Prečnik 9 cm. [Priv. vl.]

**79** Narukvica. Bronza. Ukršena ornamentalnim prepletom. Pripada tipu narukvica *manila* koje su služile kao platežno sredstvo – novac u zapadnoj Africi, osobito u Nigeriji. Prečnik 7 cm. [Inv. br. 1034]

side three hollow ornaments for bells, with a cross motif; worn by children as rattle. Ivory Coast. Diameter 7 cm. [Inv. No. 1035]

**72** Bracelet, bronze, of the manilla type. Found on the arm of a slave lying by his master, buried in a sitting position. Surrounding of Banga, Liberia. Diameter 8 cm. [Inv. No. 1190] Donated by Staniša Jovanović.

**73** Bracelet, bronze, decorated with pins. Mali. Diameter 9 cm. [Inv. No. 1184] Donated by Milena and Branko Kosić.

**74** Bracelet, bronze; on the outside three squares with four circular relief ornaments. Togo. Diameter 8 cm. [Inv. No. 1318]

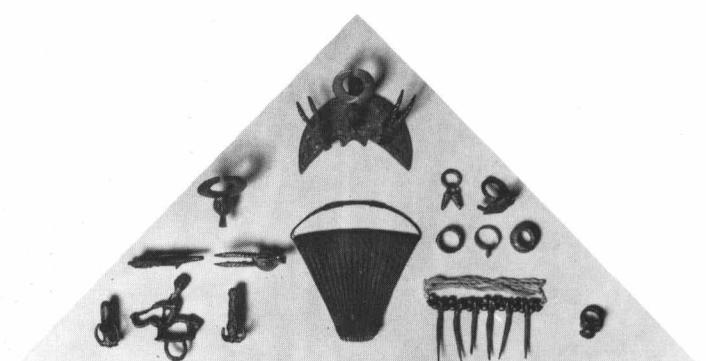
**75** Bracelet, bronze, surface decorated with relief carvings; square ornament with 5 rings by the ends. Cameroun. Diameter 9 cm. [Private property on loan]

**76** Bracelet, bronze, ornaments of lighter yellow metal added at the ends; belongs to the manilla type, very heavy. Cameroun. Diameter 9 cm. [Private property on loan]

**77** Bracelet, metal, outside surface ornamented with relief, spiral motifs. Cameroun. Diameter 10 cm. [Private property on loan].

**78** Bracelet, bronze, of the manilla type; ornamented with relief, parallel lines, and triangular, spiral motifs at the ends. Cameroun. Diameter 9 cm. [Private property on loan]

**79** Bracelet, bronze, of the manilla type (used as means of payment–money in West Africa, particularly Nigeria). Diameter 7 cm. [Inv. No. 1034].



Vitrina XIX

Showcase XIX

**80** Stidna pregačica. Gvožđe. Trouglastog oblika. Nošena na uzici, ispod pojasa, kao deo odeće. Severni Kamerun. Dužina 16 cm. [Priv. vl.]

**81** Stidna pregačica. Bronza. Sačinjaju se od dva reda nanizanih zrnaca i šest šljaka. Nošena ispod pojasa, kao ukras i amajlija. Pel. Kamerun. Dužina šljaka 7 cm. Širina metalnog dela 13 cm. [Priv. vl.]

**82** Privezak za ogrlicu. Bronza. U obliku polumeseca sa tri maske koje predstavljaju bivola i antilopu. No-

pubic apron, iron; triangular shape; worn on a string, below the belt, as part of dress. North Cameroun. Length 16 cm. [Private property on loan]

**81** Pubic apron, bronze; consists of two rows of stringed beads and six pins; worn below the belt as a decoration and amulet. Pel, Cameroun. Length of pins 7 cm. Width of metal part 13 cm. [Private property on loan]

**82** Necklace pendant, bronze; crescent shaped with three masks, re-

šen kao amajlja i ukras. Bobo. Gornja Volta. Dužina 13 cm. Muzej Medimurja, Čakovec. [Inv. br. 172]

83 Prstenasti privezak. Bronza. Prikazuje jahača na slonu. Dogon, Mali. Prečnik prstena 2,5 cm. Skulptura 7,5×8 cm. Muzej Medimurja, Čakovec. [Inv. br. 125/2]

84 Privezak. Bronza. Prikazuje leoparda kako jede pticu. Izreka vezana za ovaj motiv: *Gladan leopard ne bira žrtvu*. Gana. Dužina 9 cm. [Inv. br. 463]

85 Privezak. Bronza. Predstavlja bivola. Nošen o pojasu. Bobo. Gornja Volta. Dužina 5 cm. [Inv. br. 457]

86 Prsten. Bronza. Ukras u obliku kornjače. Ašanti, Gana. Prečnik 2,5 cm. Kornjača 5,5×4 cm. Muzej Medimurja, Čakovec. [Inv. br. 125/9]

87 Prsten. Bronza. Na prstenu su plastični ukrasi u obliku ljudske glave, ruke i mača. Nosile poglavice nižeg ranga. Ašanti, Gana. Prečnik 2 cm. [Inv. br. 1322]

88 Prsten. Bronza. Ukras u vidu kameleona. Ašanti, Gana. Prečnik 2,5 cm. Muzej Medimurja, Čakovec. [Inv. br. 125/10]

89 Prsten. Bronza. Sa dva kupa- sta ukrasa. Nosili sveštenici-hogoni. Dogon. Mali. Prečnik 2 cm. [Inv. br. 469]

90 Prsten. Bronza. Sa kružnim u- krasom u sredini. Nosile poglavice i stariji ljudi. Dogon, Mali. Prečnik 2,5 cm. [Inv. br. 468]

91 Prsten. Bronza. Sa ukrasom u vidu romba. Gana. Prečnik 3 cm. [Inv. br. 1321]

presenting bufallo and antelope; worn as amulet and decoration. Bobo, Upper Volta. Length 13 cm. Museum of Medumurje, Čakovec. [Inv. No. 172]

83 Ring pendant, bronze; represents a rider on elephant. Dogon, Mali. Ring diameter 2.5 cm; sculpture dimensions 7.5×8 cm. Museum of Medumurje, Čakovec. [Inv. No. 125/2]

84 Pendant, bronze; represents a leopard devouring a bird; the saying with this motif: *A hungry leopard does not chose the victim*. Ghana. Length 9 cm. [Inv. No. 463]

85 Pendant, bronze; represents a bufallo; worn at the belt. Bobo, Upper Volta. Length 5 cm. [Inv. No. 457]

86 Ring, bronze, turtle shaped ornament. Ashanti, Ghana. Diameter 2.5 cm; turtle 5.5×4 cm. Museum of Medumurje, Čakovec. [Inv. No. 125/9]

87 Ring, bronze, with plastic or- naments shaped as human head, hand and sword; worn by lower rank chiefs. Ashanti, Ghana. Diameter 2 cm. [Inv. No. 1322]

88 Ring, bronze, with cameleon shaped ornament. The Ashanti, Ghana. Diameter 2.5 cm. Museum of Medumurje, Čakovec. [Inv. No. 125/10]

89 Ring, bronze, with two conic ornaments; worn by hogons. Do- gon, Mali. Diameter 2 cm. [Inv. No. 469]

90 Ring, bronze, with circular or- nament in the middle; worn by chiefs and elders. Dogon, Mali. Dia- meter 2.5 cm. [Inv. No. 468]

91 Ring, bronze, with rhombic ornament. Ghana. Diameter 3 cm. [Inv. No. 1321]

trouglastim ornamentalnim ukrasom. Tunis. Prečnik 5 cm. Dužina igle 13,5 cm. [Priv. vl.]

96 Kopča – fibula. Srebro. Igla sa trouglastim ukrasom, Tunis. Prečnik 2 cm. Dužina igle 6,5 cm. [Priv. vl.]

97 Privezak. Srebro. Raden u obliku krsta sa ornamentalnim ukrasi- ma. Tunis. Veličina 4×7 cm. [Priv. vl.]

98 Narukvica. Srebro. Jedno- stavna, sa pravougaonim proširenjem u sredini. Kamerun. Prečnik 6 cm. [Priv. vl.]

99 Prsten. Srebro. Ukršten rom- bom i sa po tri kuglice sa strane. Mali. Prečnik 2 cm. [Priv. vl.]

100 Prsten. Bronza. Zmijastog oblika sa kružnim ispučenjima. Gana. Prečnik 2 cm. [Priv. vl.]

101 Narukvica. Srebro. U obliku zmije. Bamileke, Kamerun. Prečnik 7,5 cm. [Priv. vl.]

102 Narukvica. Srebro. Ukrštena stilizovanim ornamentom dvoglavu zmiju. Bamileke, Kamerun. Prečnik 7,5 cm. [Priv. vl.]

103 Naušnice. Srebro. Ukršene spiralno uvijenim urezima. Mali. Prečnik 3 cm. Poklon Milene i Bran- ka Kosića. [Inv. br. 1189]

104 Naušnica. Srebro. Ukršena spiralno uvijenim urezima. Mali. Prečnik 6,5 cm. [Inv. br. 1320]

105 Ogrlica – lanac. Srebro. Od spojenih alkica. Tunis. Dužina 67 cm. [Priv. vl.]

cm. [Private property on loan]

95 Fibula, silver; needle with tri- angular ornamental decoration. Tun- isia. Diameter 5 cm; needle length 13.5 cm. [Private property on loan]

96 Fibula, silver; needle with tri- angular ornament. Tunisia. Diameter 2 cm; needle length 6.5 cm. [Private property on loan]

97 Pendant, silver; cross shaped with ornaments. Tunisia. Size 4×7 cm. [Private property on loan]

98 Bracelet, silver; simple, with rectangular widening in the middle. Cameroun. Diameter 6 cm. [Private property on loan]

99 Ring, silver; rhombic orna- ment with three balls on each side. Mali. Diameter 2 cm. [Private proper- ty on loan]

100 Ring, bronze; snake shaped with circular bulges. Ghana. Diamete- ter 2 cm. [Private property on loan]

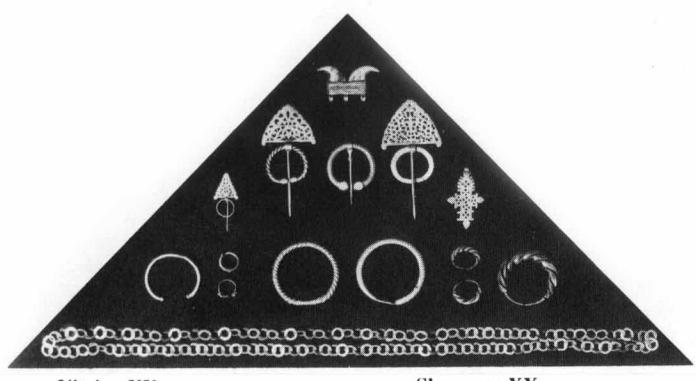
101 Bracelet, silver; snake shaped. Bamileke, Cameroun. Diamete- ter 7.5 cm. [Private property on loan].

102 Bracelet, silver; stylized “two-headed snake” ornament Ba- mileke, Cameroun. Diameter 7.5 cm. [Private property on loan]

103 Earrings, silver; decorated with spryal cuts. Mali. Diameter 3 cm. [Inv. No. 1189]. Donated by Milena and Branko Kosić.

104 Earring, silver; decorated with spryal cuts. Mali. Diameter 6.5 cm. [Inv. No. 1320]

105 Necklace chain, silver; made of rings and hand shaped pendant. Tunisia. Length 67 cm. [Private pro- perty on loan]



Vitrina XX

Showcase XX



Vitrina XXI

Showcase XXI

106 Privezak. Abenos i srebro. Kvadratnog oblika sa kružnim i trou- glastim ukrasima od srebra. Maurita- nija. Veličina 5×5 cm. [Priv. vl.]

107 Narukvica. Srebro. Filigran- ske izrade sa žutim kamenom. Alžir. Prečnik 6 cm. [Priv. vl.]

108 Narukvica. Prepletena dlaka slonovog repa, oivičena srebrom. No- šena i kao amajlja. Kenija. Prečnik 6,5 cm. [Priv. vl.]

109 Narukvica. Rog i srebro. Od crnog roga sa umetnutim srebrnim u- krasima. Mauritanija. Prečnik 6 cm.

106 Pendant, ebony and silver; square shaped with circular and tri- angular silver ornaments. Mauritania. Size 5×5 cm. [Private property on loan]

107 Bracelet, silver; filigree with a yellow stone. Algeria. Diameter 6 cm. [Private property on loan]

108 Bracelet, braided elephant tail hair, silver bordered; worn as a- mulet. Kenya. Diameter 6.5 cm. [Pri- vate property on loan]

109 Bracelet, black horn with sil- ver ornaments. Mauritania. Diameter

92 Privezak. Dve lavlje kandže spojene i ukrašene srebrom. Mali. Veličina 5×4 cm. [Priv. vl.]

93 Kopča – fibula. Srebro. Okru- glog oblika, ukrašena spiralnim urezi- ma. Tunis. Prečnik 5,5 cm. [Priv. vl.]

94 Kopča – fibula. Srebro. Igla je sa trouglastim ornamentalnim ukrasom. Tunis. Prečnik 5 cm. Dužina igle 13 cm. [Priv. vl.]

95 Kopča – fibula. Srebro. Igla sa

two lion's claws lin- ked and decorated with silver. Mali. Size 5×4 cm. [Private property on loan]

93 Fibula, silver; oval shaped, or- namented with spryal cuts. Tunisia. Diameter 5.5 cm. [Private property on loan]

94 Fibula, silver; needle with tri- angular ornamental decoration. Tun- isia. Diameter 5 cm; needle length 13

cm. [Private property on loan]

[Priv. vl.]

**110** Ogrlica. Ambra i metal. Sastoje se od valjkastih i kružnih delova spojenih metalom. Privezak u obliku polumeseca sa tri kuglice. Tunis. Dužina 37 cm. [Priv. vl.]

**111** Ogrlica. Abonos i srebro. Sastoje se od duguljastih perli izradenih od abonosa i ukrašenih umetnutom srebrnom niti. Mauritanija. Dužina 24 cm. [Priv. vl.]

**112** Ogrlica. Od srebra, cílibara i ambre. Tunis. Dužina 28 cm. [Priv. vl.]

6 cm. [Private property on loan]

**110** Necklace, ambergris and metal; cylindrical and circular parts linked with metal. Crescent shaped pendant with three balls. Tunisia. Length 37 cm. [Private property on loan]

**111** Necklace, made of ebony beads decorated with silver thread. Mauritania. Length 24 cm. [Private property on loan]

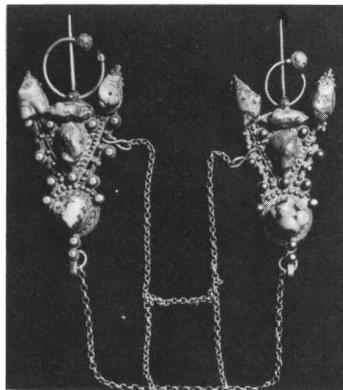
**112** Necklace, silver, amber and ambergris. Tunisia. Length 28 cm. [Private property on loan]



Vitrina XXII



Showcase XXII



**113** Kopča – fibula. Srebro. S velikim trouglastim ukrasom na kome su četiri reljefne rozete ukrašene emajlom žute i plave boje. Radena filigranom i iskućavanjem. Maroko. Prečnik 7 cm. Dužina trougla 17 cm. [Priv. vl.]

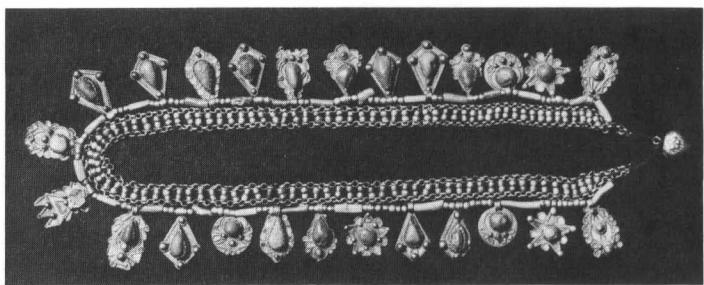
**114** Kopče – fibule. Srebro i koral. Sa trouglastim ukrasom na kome je umetnuto po pet korala nepravilnog oblika. Fibule su spojene lancem. Kabilia, Alžir. Dužina trougla 17 cm. [Priv. vl.]

**115** Kopča – fibula. Srebro, koral i emajl. Kružnog oblika, sa umetnutim koralima i privescima. Emajl žute, plave i zelene boje. Kabilia, Alžir. Prečnik 10,5 cm. [Priv. vl.]

**113** Fibula, silver, with a large triangular ornament with four relief roses decorated with yellow and blue enamel; filigree and hammering. Morocco. Diameter 7 cm; length of triangle 17 cm. [Private property on loan]

**114** Fibula, silver and coral, with triangular ornaments, linked by chain. Kabylia, Algeria. Length of triangle 17 cm. [Private property on loan]

**115** Fibula, silver, coral and enamel; circular shape with inserted corals and pendants; yellow, blue and green enamel. Kabylia, Algeria. Diameter 10.5 cm. [Private property on loan]



**116** Ogrlica. Srebro, koral i emajl. Sastoje se od srebrnog lanca i privezaka sa umetnutim koralima. Emajl žute, plave i zelene boje. Kabilia, Alžir. Dužina 34 cm. [Priv. vl.]

**116** Necklace, silver, coral and enamel; made of silver chain and pendants with inserted corals; yellow, blue and green enamel. Kabylia, Algeria. Length 34 cm. [Private property on loan]



Vitrina XXIII



Showcase XXIII

**117** Lovacko odelo sa nakitom i amuletima. Nošeno u svečanim prilikama. Bambara. Mali. Muzej Medimurja, Čakovec. [Inv. br. 34, 35]



Vitrina XXIV



Showcase XXIV

**118** Češljevi. Od abonosa, ukrašeni rezbarenim, stilizovanim, floralnim

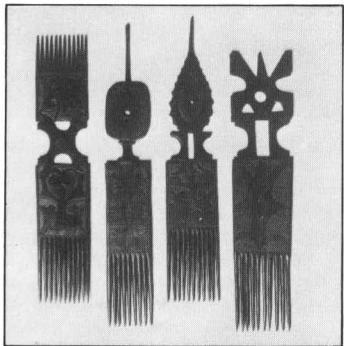
**118** Ebony combs, ornamented with carved, stylized floral motifs.

motivima. Tanzanija. Dužina od 30 do 43 cm. [Priv. vl.]

**119** Češljevi. Od obojenog crnog drveta. Ukršeni rezbarenim, geometrijskim i stilizovanim antropomorfnim motivima. Gana. Dužina od 12,5 do 20 cm. [Inv. br. 1192–1196]

Tanzania. Length 30–43 cm. [Private property on loan]

**119** Combs of dyed black wood, ornamented with carved geometrical and stylized anthropomorphic motifs. Ghana. Length 12.5–20 cm. [Inv. Nos. 1192–96]



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PLESAČI SA ZMIJOM. OBLAST SUKUMA.  
TANZANIJA.  
SNAKE DANCERS FROM SUKUMA LAND.  
TANZANIA.

STARA ŽENA IZ PLEMENA MASAJI KENJA.  
OLD MASAI WOMAN, KENYA.

