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Frafra Dress

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# FRAFRA DRESS

FRED T. SMITH

Early 20th-century accounts of the Frafra (Gurensi, Tallensi, and Nabdam) of northeastern Ghana indicate a minimal emphasis upon adorning or covering the body.<sup>1</sup> Cardinall, for example, noted that "it is usual for all men, no matter what their age, to work in the farms stark naked, and when their labour for the day is done they usually don only a skin, which is worn over the back . . . Women wear leaves. Different trees supply the different modes. . . the women [also] affect many bangles of ivory and copper and earthenware" (1920:103). Yet, according to Meyer Fortes, "A man's granary, his cap and tunic, his bow and quiver are the emblems of his individuality" (1949:108). Fortes also stated that "clothes [in general] are very intimately associated with a person, they are a sort of extension of his individuality" (1949:279). In fact, Rattray has claimed that the personal effects, especially clothing, of a deceased man are special because they "have the 'dirt' of the dead man upon them" (1932:208). Frafra dress is associated with both individual and social status and does exhibit significant cultural, historical, and aesthetic dimensions that reflect indigenous development as well as outside influences.

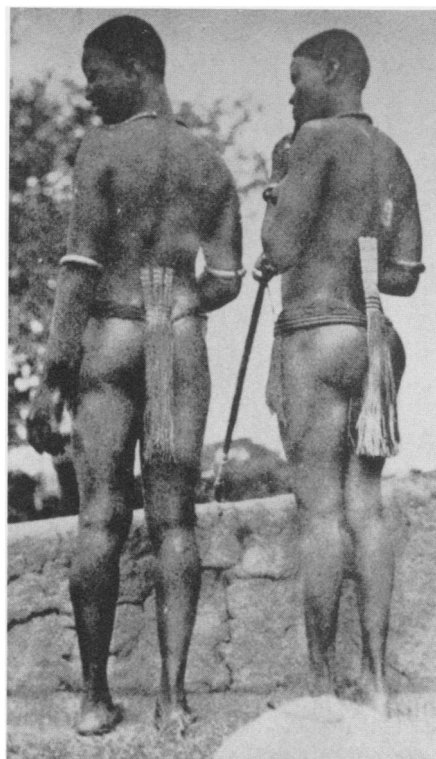
In much of northeastern Ghana, women traditionally wore woven grass waist bands with small forked branches of leaves attached to the front and rear. Different types of leaves were used depending upon social factors as well as individual preference. In his study of the Kassena, DeCarbo remarked that "different types of leaves are reported to have been associated with particular statuses or contexts; for example, widows in mourning" (1977:60). The use of leaves is relatively rare today, but it can still be found within some smaller villages far from the main towns. In many parts of the Frafra area, bundles of long grass were frequently substituted for leaves (Fig. 6). And in fact, Cardinall reported that "in Nankanni [Gurensi] long

grass in black, white and red is worn instead of leaves, and is woven in various patterns at the top" (1920:103). The grass bundle worn at the rear is usually the more elaborate one. In some cases this form, which resembles a tail, was made of leather or leather and fiber. According to Rattray, "The most fashionable . . . are the . . . 'leather leaves.' They cost from 3s. to 4s. and formerly only the very wealthy could afford them" (1932:332). In the past, women would receive such elaborate "tails" during courtship as signs of admiration and intent. The grass or leather "tails" were viewed as proper dress for special occasions. Today they are still used during funerary ceremonies where they are associated with tradition, respect, and the idea of individual enhancement.

Men, on the other hand, wore skins, such as sheep, goat, cow, and antelope, which were important symbols of an individual and by extension of his kin group. One skin was worn over the back and "kept in place by a fore and hind leg, sewn together" (Cardinall 1920:103). Another skin was worn around the waist

covering the genital area (Fig. 5). Very early in the 20th century, a triangular piece of cloth replaced the latter skin. The use of skins by men symbolizes their herding and hunting prowess, just as women's clothing reflects their special relationship to crops and vegetation. According to one source, "Frafra men help with the farms, but more importantly they care for the animals and they are hunters. A good hunter is a successful man" (interview at Zuarungu, April 1973).

Skins are still associated with leadership and tradition in northern Ghana. Even today, *tendanas*, or "custodians of the earth," wear skins and a black twined cap as emblems of their office. The *tendana* is the traditional politi-



TOP LEFT: 1. TRADITIONAL MALE DRESS, TONGO. TOP RIGHT: 2. WOMEN'S DRESS, ZUARUNGU. BOTTOM LEFT: 3. BANA'A, ZUARUNGU. BOTTOM RIGHT: 4. JAMPA, TONGO.

5. MAN WITH TRADITIONAL SKINS. RATTRAY 1932, FIG. 80.

6. FRAFRA WOMEN. RATTRAY 1932, FIG. 51.



cal and religious leader of the Frafra. Rattray's description of the investiture of a *tendana* clearly indicates the imperative of "proper" dress: "The elders met and discussed the possible candidates, and having decided upon one, he was sent for and put in a room by himself. When the discussion was over he was told to come out, and no sooner did he do so, than he was seized and stripped—if he happened to have any clothes—even down to his loincloth, and a new sheep, or calf, or antelope skin put around him . . . ; a new string hat was put on his head . . ." (1932:256). Throughout northern Ghana, skins, especially those of non-domesticated animals, are symbols of chieftaincy, a relatively recent institution. During his installation and when performing official duties in his residence, a chief will sit upon skins. This use of skins aligns him with the traditional power base of *tendanas* and hunters. Cole and Ross speculate that "the use of unworked animal skins [by chiefs] . . . may symbolically represent an assimilation of some of the *tendana's* powers by the new ruling class" (1977:145).

The wearing of skins is also an important symbol in the annual Tallensi planting festival, *gologo*. During the prepara-

tion of the fields, men of the indigenous Tallensi clans are required to wear traditional clothing (Fig. 1). According to a clan elder: "Every March we will dress thusly. If one refuses he may die suddenly. If we don't stop wearing cloth while preparing the fields, the gods would be angry and we wouldn't get food. We wear skins because we must please the gods" (interview at Shea, March 1973). In addition, the display of traditional dress at this time visually reinforces the belief that the indigenous clans are able to control the earth and its products.

Throughout the Frafra area, skin, not cloth, must be worn when sacrificing to very important shrines. Skin loin-cloths are still used in burial rites, where they serve to reflect the importance of tradition and kinship ties. The kind of skin used and the nature of the loin cover differ slightly from clan to clan. In recording one particular burial, Rattray noted that "next, a goat was caught and they . . . took a knife and skinned the neck of the goat—they did not kill it—and took the skin and tied it with a bit of *bea* string round the waist of the corpse and between its legs" (1932:210). According to Fortes, Frafra burial rites "symbolize the corporate unity and identity of the lineage and clan and its ties with other clans; but they also symbolize the group's dependence on and moral responsibility to their ancestors, collectively and individually. This is shown very well in the custom of each clan's using a particular kind of loin cover for the dead and in the associated custom of swearing an oath by the father's loin cover" (Fortes 1945:123).

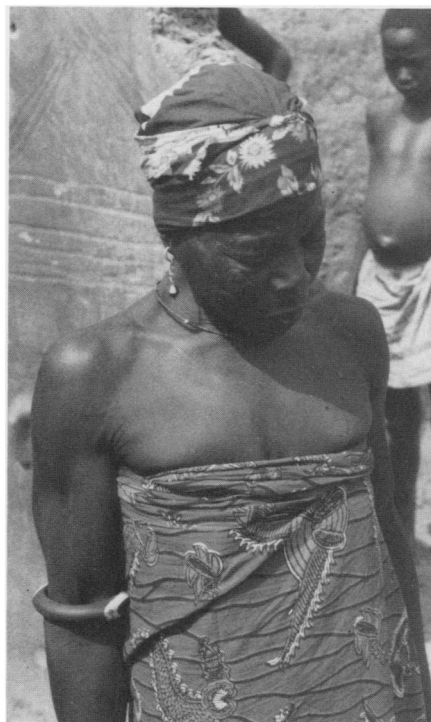
Although the use of cotton cloth by both sexes is relatively recent, it is now

widespread. Today when Frafra women leave the privacy of their own compound—especially if they are traveling to town—they usually wear a blouse, an ankle-length, untailored wraparound skirt, and a head tie (Fig. 2). Many women, including those who must transport a baby or young child on their back, wear an additional piece of cloth over the wrapper. In some cases, the fabric is made into a two-piece outfit consisting of a long blouse with ruffled bottom and a skirt (Fig. 7). This tailored outfit is often worn by younger women or those influenced by the modern world. In documenting this shift from "leaves" to cloth, Fortes noted, "Most women, especially the younger ones, have, however, a gaudy cloth or two for festive occasions" (1936:38, n.). Many women, if they are not "dressing up," will wear a single untailored wrapper extending from the chest to the shins (Fig. 8).

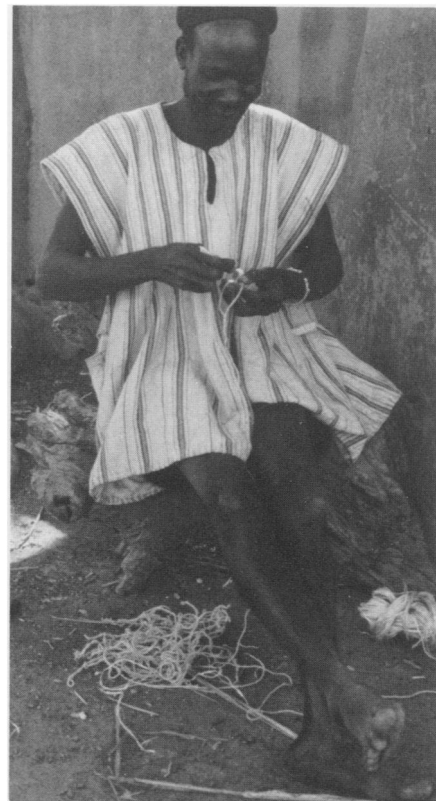
The cloth that is now commonly used in northeastern Ghana is commercially manufactured in Europe or southern Ghana. These colorful textiles are often wax-prints (machine-made batiks). In the Frafra area, medium to light blues, yellows, and greens are the preferred colors. One woman said that a "yellow and green wrapper makes my skin look good" (interview at Zuarungu, April 1973). The existence of local color preferences for commercial textiles is a common West African phenomenon. In addition, designs normally are named. The name is of local or national significance



7. CONTEMPORARY DRESS, BOLGATANGA.



8. CLOTH WRAPPER AND STONE BANGLE, SAMBRUNGU.



9. DANSEKA, ZUARUNGU.



10. CLOTHING ON DISPLAY AT FUNERAL, ZUARUNGU.

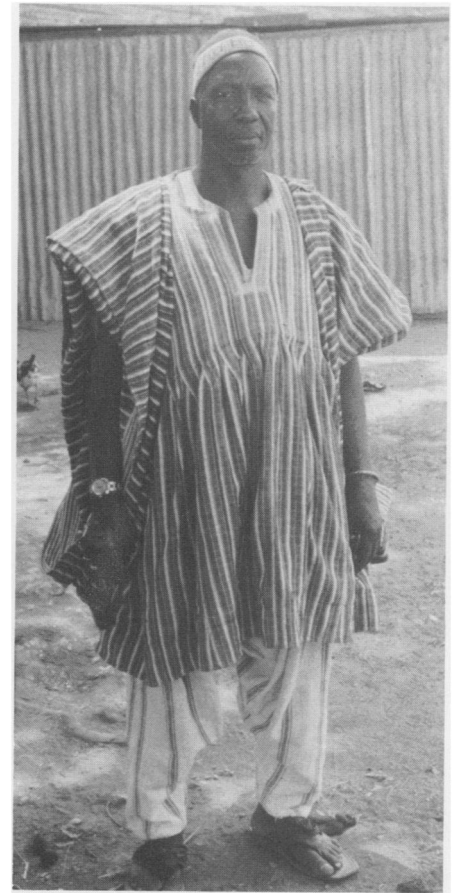
and may refer to an important person, event, concept, or concern. According to Nielsen, "When wax-prints are not significant enough to be named by the consumers, they are not kept, not considered traditional, and soon cease to be produced" (1977:10).

Frafra men now wear commercially produced slacks or shorts and various kinds of cotton smocks. By the 1970s Fortes noted that "many [men] have two or three garments—a cloth and a tunic, for instance—while well-to-do men have considerable wardrobes" (1945:11, n. 1). These smocks or tunics are tailored from strips of cloth woven by non-Frafra men on a horizontal loom. The Frafra themselves do not weave. One tailor related, "Our fathers did not weave. If we do so it may be harmful to us" (interview at Zuarungu, January 1973). However, most Frafra tailors believe that it is just easier to buy cloth either made by local Mossi weavers or brought in from other parts of northern Ghana or Upper Volta. In the late 1930s, Fortes remarked: "All cotton goods are imported. The Mossi cloth used in former days is still a favourite, especially for loin cloths and caps, and tunics for special wear. The bulk of it is still imported from French territory, but there are some Mossi weavers at Boleya [Bolgatanga] and Zuarungu who add to the supply" (1945:11, n. 1). Thirty years later, DeCarbo related that "the few weavers who are to be found in Navrongo (Kassena area) today are recent immigrants, and one has apprenticed in the home of a Mossi kinsperson in Upper Volta" (1977:99). Presently, there are four weavers in the Frafra town of Zuarungu—three are Mossi and one is Kusasi. Wheels of the narrow band weave are available in all of the major

markets of northeastern Ghana. Buyers purchase the cloth in units of between forty and sixty centimeters. Successful tailors might buy an entire wheel of cloth, especially the more basic patterns.

As with women's cloth, the design of the narrow band weave is named. A solid white strip, for example, is called *tampeliga*. According to Picton and Mack: ". . . it is perhaps worth saying that plain white cloth, woven of either hand- or machine-spun cotton yarn, is the ubiquitous produce of West African looms. Despite the fact that we, in common with other writers in this field, concentrate on design and pattern, it should not be forgotten that probably the greater volume of cloth produced in West Africa is plain white" (1979:103). However, the most common bands for the Frafra are those with various warp patterns. One popular example, called *iyanaba*, consists of narrow black stripes on a white ground. In general, there is a correlation between the cost of the fabric and the intricacy of patterning. A Frafra man said that "the more colorful and striking the cloth, the greater the value" (interview at Bolgatanga, January 1973).

In addition, the cut of the narrow-band smock reflects status and social importance. The most widespread and ordinary type is the *danseka*, a sleeveless smock (Fig. 9). This type, which can be worn by any adult, is the typical male garment of northern Ghana. A Dagomba example, illustrated in *African Textiles and Decorative Arts*, is referred to as "a *batakari* or *fuugu*, a popular northern-Ghanaian men's garment" (Sieber 1972:50). According to a Frafra tailor, "Anyone can wear a *danseka*, even a chief" (interview at Zuarungu, February 1973). Except for the *danseka*, which



11. KPARIKOTO, ZUARUNGU.

is usually purchased in the market, a smock of any importance is commissioned from a "reputable" tailor, especially one who handcrafts his product. The second type of Frafra smock is the *bana'a*, which has short sleeves (Fig. 3). The *bana'a* is associated with relative success and well being. The *jampa*, which indicates high status and/or minor chieftaincy, has sleeves that extend to the wrist (Fig. 4). The fourth and most significant type is the *kparikoto*, which has long, full sleeves (Fig. 11). The *kparikoto* is ultimately associated with chieftaincy and is normally worn only by paramount chiefs. A paramount chief may wear a number of smocks for important events; yet he usually wears the *kparikoto* as the outer garment. In general, smocks are closely associated with a person—especially his status and personality. It is also believed that a garment, through constant physical contact, assumes psychological and symbolic significance. According to a Frafra minor chief, "When I wear a *bana'a* or *jampa*, it states my position, but the cloth itself becomes important because I have worn it" (interview at Zoko, April 1973). The display of cloth smocks has now become a common feature of Frafra funerals. These are normally displayed on the roof of the compound head's room, which is adjacent to the compound entrance (Fig.

10). In addition, a common motif in wall decoration, *tana*, is said to depict strips of cloth.<sup>2</sup> This motif demonstrates “that the compound head is a man who has contributed to the well-being of his family” (interview at Zuarungu, April 1973). Although cotton cloth is a recent introduction, it has rapidly assumed considerable sociological importance for the Frafra.

Until this century, only a few hat types were traditionally worn by Frafra men, and these were associated with privilege or achievement. The most respected head covering is a blackened cap made of twined bast fiber. This cap is restricted to the custodian of the earth (*tendana*) and an important category of diviner (*bakolidana*). Both of these positions are vested with considerable influence and authority. When chieftaincy was introduced, a red fez became the emblem of a paramount chief. Chiefs also wear cloth caps enhanced by leather or metal amulets. Another traditional head covering is the semicircular calabash helmet used by hunters and warriors. This form, frequently decorated with cowrie shells, animal hair, or feathers, is symbolic of achieved success. For funerals there are two basic helmet types: the *nugo*, basketry cap with sheep-hair plume (Fig. 14), and the *nugo illa*, basketry cap with attached antelope or bushcow horns.<sup>3</sup>

Today a variety of basketry hats (*sapere*) and cloth caps (*zuvoka*) are worn. These have no symbolic value and can be owned by anyone since “no importance is attached to them. If one has money

one can purchase whatever kind that is desired” (field notes, May 1973). The coiled basketry form ranges from a truncated conical structure that is typical of the Western Sudan to a more recently introduced wide-brimmed hat with circular crown. A similar range of variation exists for the woven cloth cap.

During the 19th century, the Frafra and Kassena area was an important center for jewelry production. As with other components of dress, jewelry can be both decorative and symbolic. In fact, Frafra ivory, bone, and stone bangles represent status and wealth, while cast brass bangles are usually associated with power or are protective in nature. The ivory, stone, or bone type is worn by men and women on the upper arm. The ivory armband, which is expensive and highly prestigious, is primarily worn by women. According to DeCarbo, it “exists in two forms: a narrow band cut from a cross section of the tusk and a larger variety taken from a vertical section of the tusk eight to twelve inches in length with a center hole through which the arm is thrust” (1977:58). These armbands, particularly the ivory ones, are given to girls by their fathers as they approach a marriageable age. In this situation, the bangle embellishes the young female but also reflects the prestige and success of her father’s household. On the other hand, a woman who has achieved financial success, particularly in trading, may purchase an armband for herself.

Even though a number of Frafra have stated that the armband is the oldest bangle type, the brass bangle is also viewed as an old, indigenous form. The brass type, worn around the wrist and ankle, serves to protect or communicate a commitment or obligation. One example is the so-called mother-in-law bracelet, which a man would give to his wife’s mother after the birth of their first child (personal communication, Bongo, May 1973). Cole and Ross report: “Its geomet-

ric decorations are meaningful. The arrow-shaped reliefs on the two ends . . . refer to . . . long life. The small diamond shape is called a ‘chameleon’s eye’—able to see in all directions; the mother-in-law is then invited to examine her daughter’s marriage closely, while the husband and giver of the bracelet is saying that he has nothing to hide” (1977:31). This bracelet is also worn by a woman as a statement of pride in her daughter’s fecundity. Most brass bangles are purchased from the market or commissioned from a brass caster upon the advice of a diviner. The anklets and wristlets help avert misfortune and protect against bush spirits who are potentially harmful. As a young girl, Atipoka Ayanboya was told by a diviner to secure a pair of anklets of a particular style after she became afflicted with joint pain and had difficulty walking. After forty years Ayanboya still wears them (Fig. 13). If a person commits an offense against a spirit or tabooed animal, a diviner is consulted. Frequently the diviner will advise the person to build a shrine or wear a brass bangle. There does not appear to be a direct correlation between a particular offense and the particular form of bangle, but once a bangle has been selected it becomes invested with protective power and may become the focus of a shrine upon the death of its owner. In this case, the bangle becomes a symbol of the deceased person and continues to protect the surviving household members (Fig. 12). A number of bangle shrines can exist within any single compound where they are constantly cared for and receive periodic sacrifice. These shrines are in fact the primary ancestral references.

Scarification, in contrast to clothing and jewelry, is a permanent alteration of the body. For the Frafra, two areas of the body are modified in such a fashion: the torso and the face. Scarification on the chest, stomach, and back is clearly associated with embellishment, particularly female embellishment. According to Sieber, “The person who has undergone scarification is rewarded by the knowledge that others not only admire the results but recognize the cost involved” (1972:90). By the early 20th century, the practice of torso scarification began to disappear, and there are only a few examples remaining today. The shift to covering and adorning the body with cloth is probably the primary cause in the decline of body scarification. In fact Cole and Ross have suggested that because clothing was minimal in the Frafra area prior to the 20th century, fairly elaborate scarification resulted (1977:16).

The specific origin of Frafra facial scarification is not clear. Rattray suggests

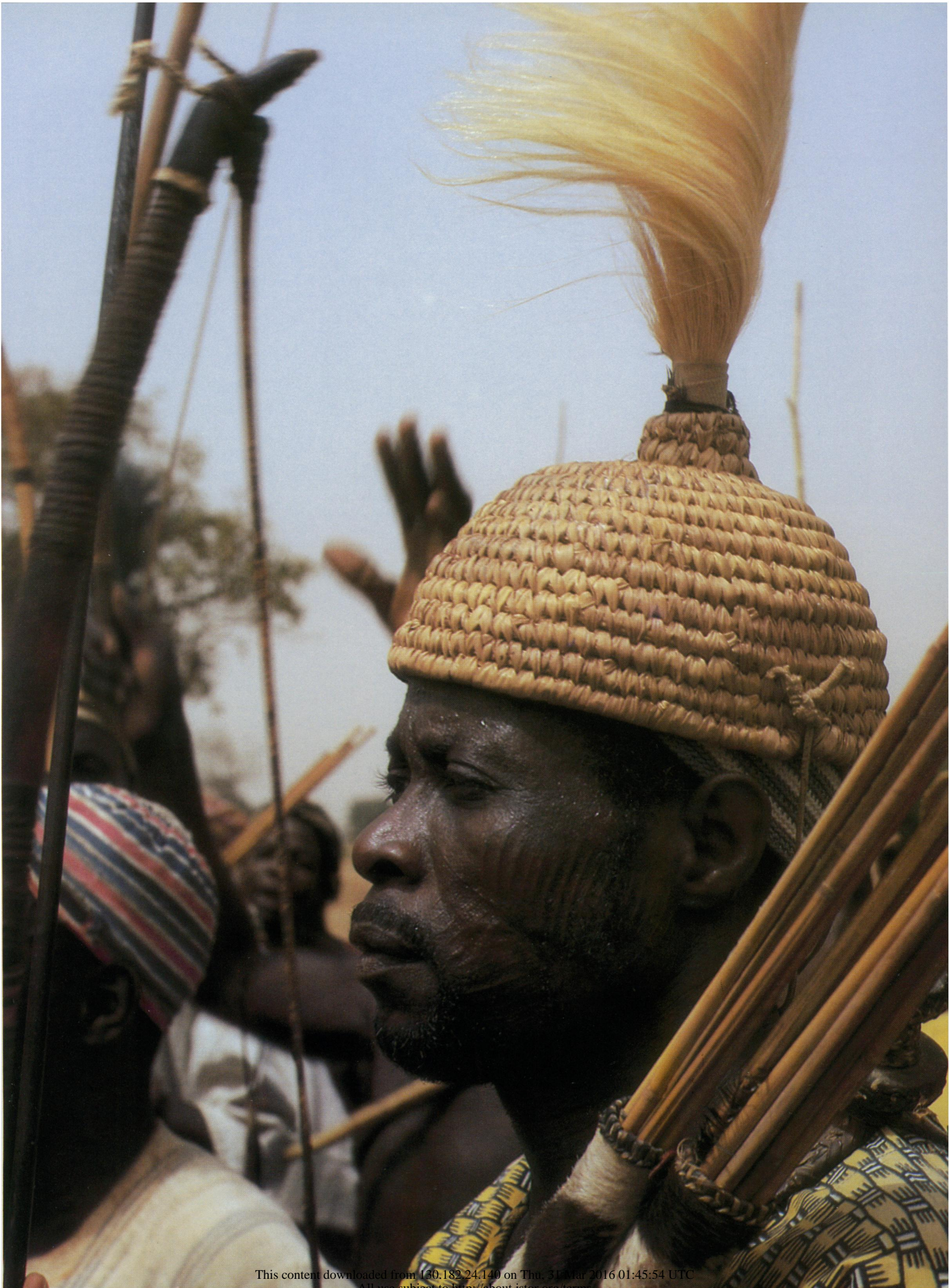


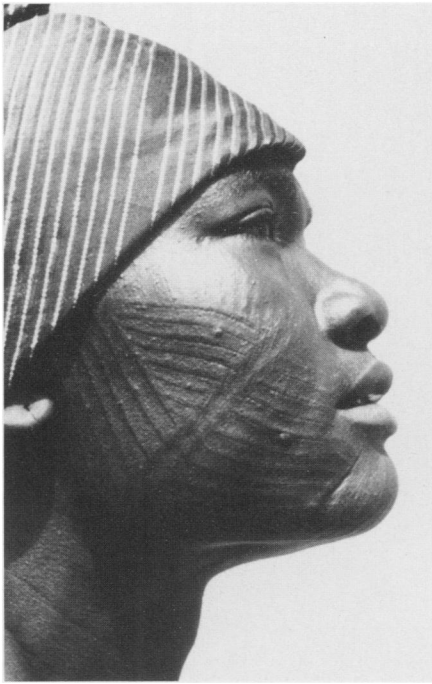
12. BANGLE SHRINE. ZUARUNGU.



13. ANYANBOYA WEARING ANKLETS. ZUARUNGU.

14. NUGO, ZUARUNGU.

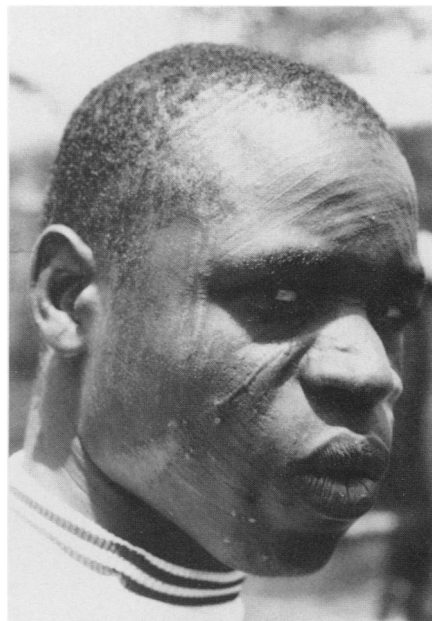




15. DUA SCARIFICATION, ZUARUNGU.

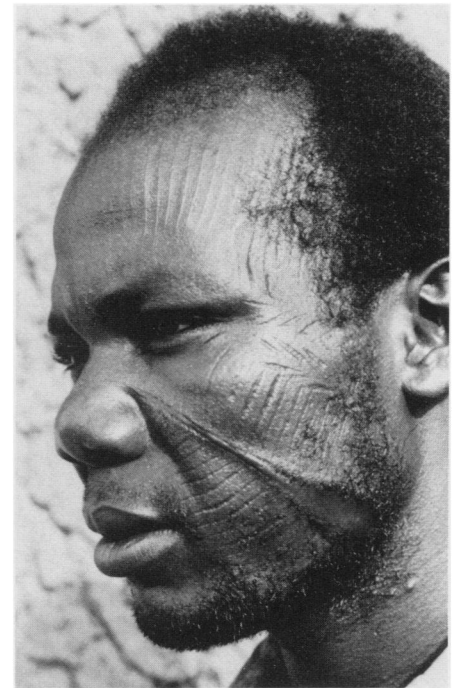
that it may relate to the slave-raiding activities of the 19th century and to a concern with ethnic identification. Overall facial scarification is now commonly listed as a characteristic or ethnic identifier of the Frafra, particularly by non-Frafra peoples of Ghana. But for the Frafra themselves, facial scarification has always been associated with a concern for individual embellishment. Early in this century Armitage noted that "... not only do members of the same section adopt different patterns, but even those of the same family may be differently marked, for the old custom of using a distinctive mark for each family or section is dying out, and the natives assume such patterns as please them" (1924:7). The selection of a pattern, however, is not as simple or arbitrary as Armitage implied. Scarification is usually done when a child is between four and six years old. The operation is performed by a specialist, *yagenwata*, who can be either a man or a woman. The particular type of scarification that a person has depends on the preference of his or her father, the style of the *yagenwata*, and the possible advice of a diviner, especially if there is anything unusual or special about the child. Also, the *yagenwata* will take into account the shape and character of the face. "Markers are skillful," said an important diviner from Zuarungu. "They study the face before they begin. If you have a long face, they will give you a particular pattern. This is also the case with a round face" (field notes, January 1973).

There was a greater degree of choice and variation in the early 20th century,



16. BONE SCARIFICATION, BONGO.

but even then four common elements existed: 1) one or two deeply cut diagonal lines on one or both cheeks; 2) an overall pattern of slightly curved, unbroken lines; 3) an additional motif between the eye and ear; and 4) the organization of lines into geometric shapes. At the present time, four basic scarification patterns can be identified: *dovisi*, *dua*, *bone* and *bene*. *Dovisi* consists of overall scarification broken by a leaf motif situated between the eye and the ear (Fig. 17). This pattern is fairly common, especially in the towns of Bolgatanga and Zuarungu. The leaf motif, called *dawa dawa*, represents the leaves of the African locust bean tree. The second type, *dua*, is characterized by a horizontal arrangement of triangular motifs (*saba*) (Fig. 15). This pattern was introduced in the 1940s by a famous *yagenwata* named Adongo. In the past, there were a number of people who were skilled at scarifying. A *yagenwata* usually received two hundred cowries for an overall pattern. Yet, according to an elder from Zuarungu, "A *yagenwata* would do his or her work for free or for a small gift if the person was of significance or had great influence" (field notes, April 1973). Certain people like Adongo had reputations for good work and were in demand over a large area. The third type, *bone*, is an unbroken overall pattern that is popular in and around the town of Bongo (Fig. 16). According to the chief of Bongo, this pattern was very common in the area north of Bolgatanga during the late 19th century (field notes, May 1973). Type four, *bene*, consists of a single or double diagonal line on one or both cheeks. In the past, *bene* was usually associated with an overall pattern, but now it occurs alone. Although scarification was outlawed by the Nkrumah government in 1960 it has continued, especially in the



17. DOVISI SCARIFICATION, BOLGATANGA.

rural villages, and the pattern currently in vogue is that of *bene*. In addition to these four major patterns of scarification, other less common and more idiosyncratic types exist. Recently the tattooing of insects or birds on the arms and face has become popular with the youth. Scarification and tattooing are believed to enhance and embellish the body. Of significance is the recognition that although the marks may embellish, that quality also depends on the talents of the *yagenwata* and on the face of the individual. It is possible to admire both the marks and how the marks can make a person look more beautiful.

For the Frafra, dress involves many acts of body modification that reflect both indigenous development and outside influence. As cultural artifacts, the elements of Frafra apparel and body adornment have many aspects of meaning. They function as vehicles for the expression of social values, serve as symbols of wealth, prestige and status, and are also statements of aesthetic preference. Each item of dress has its own history and socio-cultural significance. By investigating the history of each item, patterns of change and continuity in preference and meaning are clearly indicated. Certain items, such as cotton cloth, are introduced from the outside and rapidly become significant indicators of status. Scarification, on the other hand, illustrates the importance of individual preference and creativity to indigenous change. This study has attempted to demonstrate both the personal and socio-cultural nature of Frafra dress. □

Notes, page 92



1. The date of the founding of the Mossi states has been the subject of some controversy. Based on mention of the Mossi in the 14th century in the *Tarikh es-Sudan* and the *Tarikh el-Fettach*, the establishment of the first state of Ouagadougou has been dated traditionally to about A.D. 1050-1250. More recent research by J.D. Fage, supported by Izard in *Introduction à l'histoire des royaumes mossi*, suggests a much later date, circa 1490-1500.

2. The Mossi are an amalgamation of a number of groups of very diverse origins. Mossi society may be broken down into two major segments. The Nakomés hold all political power and are descended from the invading horsemen from Dagomba who established the Mossi states in 1490-1500. This group also includes disenfranchised younger sons of chiefs, the Talsé, and all of the groups of foreign origin who enjoy the protection of Mossi political hierarchy—the Silmisi (Fulani), and the Yarsé weavers. The second major Mossi subgroup is the Tengabisi, the descendants of the groups that were already in place when the Nakomés arrived from the south. The Tengabisi include descendants of the original farmers in the basin of the White Volta, some of whom were Gurunsi, Dogon, Kurumba, and Gurmantché. Also numbered among the Tengabisi are the Saja (smiths) and the Sukwaba, who use wooden masks in the southwestern areas of Mossi country.

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#### BOURGOIS, Notes, from page 53

- Fieldwork was carried out under the auspices of the Institut des Musées Nationaux, Kinshasa, and partially funded by the following grants: Samuel H. Kress Foundation, NDEA Title VI, Indiana University Graduate School Grant-in-aid. Research was conducted along the Inzia and Kwango rivers—Masi-Manimba, Kenge, and Popokabaka zones.
- British Museum: 1907.5-28.137; 1907.5-28.138. Kongo-Kwango Museum, Louvain: nos. 233, 226, 1239, 1246, 1247, 1479, 1480, 1481. Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, Tervuren: 61.18.9. A. Ryckman collection: n<sup>o</sup>. 71.
- There is a curious similarity between Yaka and Suku brimmed and crested *buwani* and the European metal morion helmet worn in the 16th century by musketeers and pikemen. The morion helmet, developed in Germany during the first decade of the 16th century, was used by all European nationalities until about 1530. The helmet was often fitted with a fabric cover for parade, and some examples feature two or even three keel-like crests after 1520 (Blair 1958:130).

4. Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden: no. 1370-36.

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##### Page

- 29 Photograph: Herbert M. Cole
- 31, 33 Photographs: Arthur P. Bourgeois
- 36, 38-42 Photographs: Fred T. Smith
- 43-47 Photographs: Lisa Aronson
- 48-53 Photographs: Christopher D. Roy
- 55, 58 Photographs: Patrick R. McNaughton
- 57 Photographs: Andrei Lovinescu
- 60, 61, 63, 65 Photographs: Daniel P. Biebuyck
- 66, 67 (right), 68-70 Photographs: Norma H. Wolff
- 77 Photographs: University of Iowa Museum of Art
- 79 Photographs: evaa-inkeri
- 80 (left) Photograph: Roger Asselberghs
- 80 (right) Photograph: Detroit Institute of Arts Vol. 15 No. 2, page 86 (right): Photograph: Karen Spence

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#### SMITH, Notes, from page 42

Research for this article was made possible by a Fulbright-Hays fellowship.

- For additional information on the Frafra, see Smith 1978a.
- For additional information, see Smith, 1978a.
- An article on Frafra dress and funerary ritual is in preparation by the author.

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#### BIEBUYCK, Notes, from page 65

1. Since the earliest beginnings of social anthropology, obviously there were exceptions. Radcliffe-Brown (1922: 407-94, based on fieldwork of 1906-1908) promptly abandoned the study of Andaman "technical culture" as a tool for "a hypothetical reconstruction of the history of the Andamans" (p. vii) and instead studied rites, symbolic objects, and myths as "expressive signs within a system of ideas, sentiments and mental attitudes" (p. viii). Blackwood (1935, based on 1920-1930 field research) discussed the role of hoods in in-law avoidance relationships among the north-west Solomon Islanders. Bateson (1936:12-22) analyzed patterns of ceremonial dressing and inversion among the latmul of New Guinea.

2. Leuzinger (1950:42-76) distinguishes between "Fester Körperschmuck" and "Beweglicher Schmuck" and in the first category includes body deformations, painting and tattooing, and hairdos. Paulme (1973) not only stresses the significance of dress as identification of origin, social status, and sex, and as an element of prestige, but also emphasizes other important aspects: the symbolism of potency, the link with the remote past, the protection against invisible dangers, the differentiation between man and beast, the focus on a part of the body, etc.

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