Ephemeral and Permanent Headdresses

This book concentrates on only a limited amount of objects — some listed in the literature as items of dress, others as ornaments, paraphernalia, jewels, or cosmetic elements — that are added to the hair, the head as a whole, the skull and parts of it, the forehead, the back of the head, and the temples. Intentionally or unintentionally, these artifacts modify in various ways the natural appearance of men and women in different cultures.

The comprehensive cross-cultural study of headdresses presents a difficult task because of descriptive and analytical problems resulting from the lack of scholarly information on some groups and the sketchy documentation on others. Although travelers and scientists have shown interest in these objects since the earliest contacts with ethnic populations all over the world, precise knowledge and understanding of many headdresses remain mysteries that will never be satisfactorily solved because of sweeping cultural changes and past neglect in scientific research. In analyzing the literature, one is struck by the piecemeal, casual, and superficial treatment of the subject under review. Only rarely are comprehensive statements provided that place equal emphasis on the forms, designs, styles, and materials, the modes of wearing and usages, the social personalities involved, the functions, meanings, situational contexts, the interrelationships among headdresses in the total system, and the patterns of acquisition, ownership, preservation or abandonment. Headdresses, like sculptures, were often ascribed to the wrong group; museum collections must still be filled with such erroneous attributions. An interesting case is the ceremonial headdress of a high dignitary in Tahiti (Della Santa, 1952, fig. 12 and pp. 49-50; the object is in the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels). This large headdress is made in coconut fibers, tapa, duck, chicken, parrot, and albatross feathers, pandanus leaves, human hair, and tridacna shell squares; it stands as a huge open fan. Earlier it was attributed to ancient Mexico, then to the Marquesas Islands, and finally to Tahiti (the object entered the Museum in 1857, and according to Lavachery it was used by the Heu-Oro-Oro, counselors of the King).

The artifacts illustrated in the plates are all drawn from the outstanding and extensive collection of N. Van den Abbeele (Brussels); additional examples are discussed in the introduction. The headdresses presented differ widely in ethnic and geographical origin, form, design, materials, accessories, manner of wearing, context and frequency of usage, function, meaning, and modes of ownership. Some are restricted to a particular ethnic group, a subgroup, or social status; others are distributed across several cultures. Some, like most caps, bonnets, and

hats, are closed headdresses covering the skull and parts of the forehead, temples, and back of the head; others, such as circlets, headbands, and diadems, are open and so leave part of the skull and hair uncovered, thereby emphasizing the forehead, the front and/or back part of the skull, or the temples. None of the objects illustrated are ephemeral in the strict sense of the term; in other words, they are intended to be used over and again, to be preserved and transmitted. Many, however, are made in brittle and fragile materials that may necessitate repair and replacements. In the course of a dance, ceremony, or ritual celebration, many are also enhanced with disposable materials. Others include highly valued ornamental accessories, some of which can be detached or affixed as the need arises. Some headdresses are very simple structures and others are extremely complex and demand exceptional craftmanship and artistry. Some are obligatory, others are optional, or at least include optional features that may be expressions of fashion and taste. Some are worn daily, others only on festive occasions or for exceptional events. Differentiations between daily, festive, ceremonial, and ritual dress and headdress frequently cannot be applied because of the multiple usages, functions, and meanings a single headdress may have in different contexts and situations for one or several users (for such distinctions, see Bromberger, 1979, pp. 113-14). Practical, aesthetic, social, ritual, and symbolic considerations are often blurred; they form a single whole, although in a particular context one functional attribute may be more evident than another.

All types of headdresses shown can be classified as permanent, even those made in fragile materials. It is well known that in most cultures various kinds of ephemeral and transitory headdresses occur, and these are made, used, and worn for a single occasion, or at least for a short period of time, to be discarded, abandoned, burned, or disassembled afterwards. Even if the headdress itself is ephemeral, some of the materials with wich it is constructed are often carefully preserved. In daily life and on many ceremonial occasions individuals use various head ornaments of flowers, leaves, vines, straw, and bark that are casually placed on the head or arranged as wreaths and complex bouquets, which are not intended to be preserved. Some of the temporary devices might also be added as accessories to permanent headdresses. Many of these casual adornments of the head and the body as a whole have been recorded in great detail. In Truk (Caroline Islands), for example, Krämer (1932, pp. 93-105) found rich body adornments made of blossoms, flowers and leaves derived from certain species and used in daily life as well as on festive occasions and in warfare. For the Marquesas Islands, Linton (1926, p. 424) mentions a variety of garlands and wreaths, made of ferns and fragant herbs and flowers, all chosen for their scent rather than beauty. Among the Nyanga (Zaire), I observed five to ten living nectaridae birds attached to the bark hood of the "guardian of the initiates" when he announces in the village the imminent return of the young circumcised men at the coming-out ceremonies. In some societies, like the Bororo of South America, the men delight in the improvisation of ornaments, including headdresses (Lévi-Strauss, 1970 reprint of 1961, p. 212).

Durable, permanent objects that can be inherited over generations are obviously very important but not necessarily more than the ephemeral ones made and remade in fragile materials. The significance is often linked with the

degree of exclusiveness of the right to make, to wear, and to display a certain object, be it permanent or ephemeral, and with the symbolic meanings conveyed by the plant, animal, and mineral materials employed. Some of the ephemeral headdresses are made by specialists from scarce and highly valued (in physical and/or symbolic terms) materials, which may be traded over long-distance routes.

One of the special types of headdresses not illustrated in this book are the many varieties of turbans, head scarves, and other similar coverings found widely in world cultures. The raw materials—pieces of cloth or scarves—are permanent items, but the artistically arranged headgear made with them are temporary and repetitive.

The many permanent and widespread adornments for the hair itself, in the forms of pins, combs, buckles, crescents, coins, shells, beads, single feathers, amber balls, and precious stones, are only occasionally illustrated in this book.

Permanent headdresses differ in shape, details of form and design, size and volume, materials and combinations of materials, styles, manufacturing techniques, manner of attachment and fitting, and modes of wearing. They are utilized and worn on different occasions in diverse situational contexts and by various categories of persons; their functions and the messages they convey are manifold and complex in numerous instances. The diversity resulting from this combination of traits in different ethnic groups, regions, areas, countries, and continents is astounding. North American Indians, for example, are frequently identified in the minds of readers and museum visitors with the spectacular feather headdresses from the Plains or the roaches from the Plains and the Woodlands. As Conn (1974, p. 118 and following) has succinctly shown, however, among American Indians one can find hoods and caps in fur or leather, wooden and basketry hats, sunshades of animal hair, visors of painted rawhide, head rings of bark or with a woven base, hairnets of wild iris fibers, crowns with bear claws, bird quills and other materials on a leather base, headdresses made of human hair on cloth or rawhide, headdresses constructed with feathers, rushes, or wooden rods, or others. And this enumeration is not indicative of the many variations in form, design, and materials, or of the many exceptional types of headdresses that occur (see, for example, Miles, 1963; Driver, 1964; Dockstader, 1973; Pearce, 1974; Scherer and Walker, 1974; Sturtevant, vol. 6, 1981; Furst, 1982). Similar, sometimes more complex, examples could be offered for South American Indians, for New Guinea, or parts of Asia and Africa.

Within homogeneous cultural groups, the multiplicity and heterogeneity of headdresses are equally impressive. The distribution of headdresses within a single ethnic group may involve a multitude of intersecting patterns and modes, depending on the recognition of distinct subgroups and autonomous social units, and the development of distinctive institutional frameworks that place emphasis on external forms of social differentiation. One can thus find in a single ethnic unit among the permanent headdresses numerous drastic differences as well as subtle variations. These are expressed not only in overall forms and designs, the types of materials, the colors, the amount of accessories used, the degree of complexity, and the manner of wearing, but also in the distribution of headdresses across sexual, age, and other status divisions, their frequency of usage,

their optional or obligatory character, and the relative freedom allowed for individual taste and fashion.

The exceptional diversity of objects found at the regional and ethnic, local and subcultural levels should not obscure the transethnic and geographically widespread occurrences of similar types of headdresses. These similarities are often caused by the dispersal of historically related groupings, by contacts and overlappings among heterogeneous peoples, by the spread of universalistic religions, by common ecological factors, by trade and exchange systems operating over great distances, and by the diffusion of particular institutions and culture complexes. Examples of cross-ethnically distributed headdress types abound: the men's small stiff *kola* hats made of cloth, lambskin, or felt, in many variations sometimes adorned with embroidery and sequins, from Iran, Afghanistan, and elsewhere; the women's *burq'a* head and face coverings in many parts of the Middle East; the men's fur hats of Tibetan nomads and peasants (Fairservis, 1971, pp. 71, 73, 103); the *telpek* fur bonnets of Turkmen in long sheep's hair, differing in form and height according to regions and occasions (Dupaigne, 1978, p. 8); the felt hats worn by both sexes in the Andes region; and the protective sun and rain hats of the Far East.

Headdresses as Part of a Total System of Body Modifications

The objects selected for this work obviously form a part of a complex whole of various modes by which the human body is modified, hidden, or enhanced. For purposes of focus, the headdresses have been isolated form the total system of vestimentary outfit, cosmetics, and other forms of body manipulations. The artificial modification of the physical appearance of the human body is a cultural universal. The natural body is shaped into a cultural entity destined to convey different messages about the person, even in the simpler hunting cultures. Although the Pygmies of northeastern Zaire and the Ituri region have borrowed many articles of dress and body adornment from their neighbors (e.g., Bira, Lese, Ndaka, Budu, Lika, Meegye), they possess numerous body ornaments of their own. These are mainly derived from the animal and plant environment (hides, bark, fibers, vines, leaves, flowers, hair, hairy tails, feathers, teeth, and fangs). Many of these objects (bonnets, diadems, necklaces, belts, tufts, bangles) are worn by men only on ceremonial occasions. Young men in particular, however, in ordinary circumstances like to wear colorful diadems of feathers, flowers, or leaves in their hair or behind their ears. Body adornment of women is even more elaborate (Schebesta, 1952, pp. 176-84).

Changes in the natural appearance of men and women are produced by different methods and for diverse purposes. Most modifications are intentional; some may be the corrolaries of certain habits, techniques, and interventions not aimed primarily at altering the bodily appearance. Some of the changes are permanent and directly affect the anatomical structure. Others are transient and ephemeral and are based on the addition to the body of various removable media. The permanent modifications can be cumulative, occur in sequences and at various times in the life cycle of an individual, and result from several intermittent interventions. Transient modifications are produced by temporary or durable devices and may be renewed, changed, or accumulated in the course of a lifetime. Both types of alterations are frequently combined. Modifications are not limited to the living body but also are applied to the dead, before and after interment.

Among the permanent changes are included:

- circumcision, subincision, incision, excision, infibulation, ablation or sewing of the labiae
- elongation of the skull, of the neck, of the breasts, of the labiae
- flattening of the forehead or the back of the head
- deformation of limbs: shortening of feet, compressing of waist, amputation,

shaping of the hand (continually holding certain things or rolling them in the hand to give it a definite shape)
- perforation of the septum, of the nosewings (alae) and the tip of the nose, of the earlobes, of the helix, of the lips, of the tongue, of the cheeks
- distension of the earlobes; molding the nose to depress it or make it more prominent
- extraction or other modification of the teeth (e.g., chipping, filing, inlay)
- scarifications and tattoos on different parts of the body; the patterns and clusters are sometimes elaborated over a period of time

Some permanent modifications are the unintended result of certain techniques and interventions with different purposes: scars left by repeated incisions for bloodletting as part of healing or blood pact rituals; swellings resulting from tightly worn bangles or belts; recurring bleaching or coloring of the hair and skin.

The transient, ephemeral alterations of the body include:
- coloring and painting parts of the body, including the nails, hair, and teeth; in some cultures this coloring, at least for some segments of the population, becomes a quasi-permanent modification in the sense that people are painted most of the time
- bleaching of the hair or skin
(e.g., oils, butter, pastes, mud, saps, scented materials)
- fattening (e.g., of chiefs before enthronement and of women during marriage) or deliberate starvation (e.g., during an initiation period)
- treatment of the head hair and the beard; removal of body hair, eyelashes, eyebrows
- growing and cutting of nails
- dress and adornement:
  - headgear:
    hats, skullcaps, caps, bonnets, berets, coifs, toques, fez, helmets, miters, hoods, headcloths, turbans
    headbands, bandeaus, rings, wreaths, visors, diadems, crowns, coronets, circlets
    hairnets, fillets, hair binders, hair bows, hair cords, hair sticks, sheaths, pads, wimples, frontlets, frontals, roaches
    wigs (of various sizes and types, e.g., full-bottomed, bagwigs, ramillie wigs, bob wigs)
    veils
    hairpins, combs, buckles, tufts, and other head ornaments
  - false hair, false beard; various extensions of braids; braid wrappings, braid ties, hair crests
  - ear puffs, ear flaps
  - kerchiefs
  - loincloths, collarets, ruffs, aprons, capes, vests, kilts, sashes, pants, robes, bundles, bodices, cloaks, tunics, capuchines, ponchos, jackets, doublets, shirts, gorgets, parkas, blankets, mantas, garters, streamers
  - penis-sheaths, buttock-covers
  - belts, strands, breast bands, corsets
  - bangles: bracelets, armlets, anklets

- neck bands, neck chokers, neck protectors
- pectorals and necklaces
- earrings, nose rings, nose sticks, labrets, lip plugs
- finger rings, hand and finger coverings, nail extensions
- arm and leg covers and protectors; gloves, gauntlets, mittens
- sandals, mocassins, shoes, "protectors," leggings
- things carried as insignia: axes, adzes, scepters, bags, staffs, arrows, wands, spears, bones, skulls

In different societies, these body alterations are combined into complex sets with special emphasis on certain categories of objects and techniques. In some groups primary attention is placed on body painting and ear and lip plugs; in others, on nose and chest ornaments and headdresses; and in still others, on dress or tattooing. Recent studies have shown that for select populations the central foci for adornment are influenced by philosophical and moral concepts about the body and modes of perception (see, e.g., Seeger, 1981, on the Suya of Brazil).

Because headdresses are an intrinsic part of a vestimentary, cosmetic, and ornamental ensemble, they frequently represent only a part of the total message that is being communicated by the adorned body or provide only one facet, albeit a very important one, of the total communication system. They emphasize, reinforce, or restate messages that are also contained in the total set of body decorations or conveyed by other means. Body painting and coloring, for example, have many functions: aesthetic improvement of the appearance; sexual attraction; display; reflections of moods (mourning, affection, honor, festivity); depiction of heraldic crests and ethnic or subethnic identities; disguise; protection and healing; transition and change of social personality; and differences of sex, age, political and social status, and initiatory experiences.

A similar range of functions can also be expressed by headdresses, although they have discrete attributes. Differently from tattoos, scarifications, and perforations (of nose, ears, lips), they do not require any physical deformation, although the shape, weight, or mode of wearing of certain headdresses may affect anatomical features or the body posture. Differently from elaborate hairdos, headdresses can be readily removed and reused without the extensive hair growing and hair treatment that may be necessitated by the coiffure. Most headdresses are independent of the dress, that is, they are not attached to a vest or cloak; they can be removed at will and combined with other modes of dressing and adorning the body. They may be worn with a minimum of dress and adornment or with none at all. Most importantly, headdresses, sometimes of great complexity, occur among peoples whose clothing and adornment are reduced to a minimum as well as among populations with sophisticated vestimentary customs. Headdresses are easily combined into complex composite sets. Among the Bororo of Brazil, for example, the complete headcovering used by men for important rituals includes a fan-shaped diadem, a feathered vizor, a tall cylindrical crown of harpy-eagle feathers, and a basketry plaque covered with sticks topped with feathers and down (Lévi-Strauss, 1970 reprint of 1961, p. 212).

The Special Significance of Headdress

Among the many devices that produce a temporary or permanent modification of the natural body appearance, headdresses hold a special place at many levels of inquiry. Selenka (1900) was one of the first authors to draw attention to the fact that Schmuck is a form of communication ("eine Art bildlicher Mitteilung, eine Bildersprache," p. 1). He distinguished six forms of Schmuck: Behangschmuck, Richtungsschmuck, Ringförmige Schmuck, Ansatz- or Vergrösserungsschmuck, Lokaler Farbenschmuck, and Kleidungsschmuck. Headdresses could be included in several of these categories because of their rigid and tight position on the head or the rhythmic movements they enhance, their color arrangements, and their size, height, and general structure.

As the term implies, headdresses are part of the vestimentary outfit, yet they have a somewhat independent existence and meaning. This can be perceived at once from the many categories under which various authors group them. When not treated separately as headgear, headdress, or under specific terms such as hats, hoods, headbands, diadems, etc., they are often included either with attire, dress, and clothing (French, vêtement or costume; German, Tracht or Kleidung) or with paraphernalia, ornament, finery, and jewelry (French, parure; German, Schmuck). These distinctions, however, cannot always be drawn easily and may obscure the multifaceted aspects of headdresses, some of which are so intimately associated with the coiffure that they could be part of the cosmetics (German, Körpertracht; for such distinctions, see, e.g., Weule, 1912, p. 120; Mauss, 1974, pp. 78-80; Leuzinger, 1950; Paulme, 1973; Vogelsanger and Issler, 1977, p. 10).

Headdresses draw special attention to the head, to different parts of the skull, and to the hair. The elaborate care and adornment centering around the head is not surprising when the extraordinary significance of the head and the hair in different cultures is considered. The head has been treated as a dominant part of the body and is frequently used in symbolism, oral literature, and sculptures as a *pars pro toto.* In many languages the term for head also denotes the leader or the chief and has further connotations. The Greek term *kephalê* and the Latin term *caput,* probably derived from the Indo-European *kap-* (Sanskrit *kapālām*), illustrate this range of meaning. *Kephalê,* head, is also synonymous for human being, with the head considered to be the noblest part of the body; figuratively, it means the dominant or principal part of something, the source. *Caput,* head, also means top, extreme, source, beginning and cause, person, life, leader, and spokesman. In other cultures too there exists a semantic relationship between head and chief (e.g., the term *he* in the Loyalty Islands or *kwat* in

Malekula). Equating headdress with leadership is expressed in a special way among the Bedik of Senegal. Children of the Keita clan "born with a coif" (i.e., the head still covered with part of the amniotic membrane) are said to be predestined for headmanship. It is said that for such a child "God gave him a chief's hat" (Clarkson-Goulet, 1972, p. 400).

A special sanctity is associated with the head, which is believed to be the seat or center of spiritual forces. Among the Tallensi of Ghana, the head is the seat of fortune (Fortes, 1973, p. 309). For the Yoruba of Nigeria, the body was created by Olodumare, the Supreme Being, but the head was modeled by Obatala (Verger, 1973, p. 61). The Yoruba conceive the head as "the seat of personal destiny" and hold that "the quality of the head determines the quality of life" (Thompson, 1971, ch. 9, pp. 1-2). Among the Shipibo of Peru, the head is the abode of one of the three souls; it contains the *bero yoshin* (eye spirit), which abandons the body at death and has an uncertain fate (Roe, 1982, and personal communication; see also Karsten, 1926, p. 46, for the head as the seat of the soul or spirits among many South American Indians).

The individual propitiates his head as a spiritual entity. In the Kore initiation doctrine among the Bamana of Mali, the forehead is the center of man's spiritual activities; it is the seat of the organs of thought, the place where all the "cords" of the other parts of the body end (Zahan, 1960, p. 222). The head, as a focus of spiritual forces, is thought to be sacred (*tapu,* in the double sense of forbidden and spiritually dangerous) among the Marquesas Islanders. The head of a firstborn male child is especially sacred: to touch his head or to pass someting associated with women over it is a grave offense. Adults take elaborate precautions to protect their heads from insults; nobody would leave anything that had touched his head in a place where women might walk on it (Handy, 1923, pp. 257-58).

The special significance of the head is illustrated in ritual practices connected with headhunting and the treatment of the skull of a dead person. In many societies all over the world, the skulls of chiefs, headmen, Big Men, lineage elders or high-ranking members of secret societies are carefully preserved in drums, shrines, baskets, boxes, and poles or as part of a sculpture not only a commemorative device but often to keep the power associated with the dead in the local group. Skulls of ennemies are taken not merely as proof of an individual feat but also as a sacrificial offering.

The "visual prominence of the head" (Rabineau, 1979, p. 42) and its mobility in walking, parading, and dancing make it a focus point for display, and these qualities are enhanced by the extreme malleability of the hair. The different natural types of hair and their changing patterns determined by age are manipulated according to the most diverse techniques. Hair is allowed to grow long; it is also trimmed, cut short, or partly or completely shaved. It is washed, cleansed, perfumed, groomed, braided, plaited, twisted, curled; it is colored or bleached, oiled, greased, or covered with lime or mud. It is artificially elongated with strands of human or animal hair, fibers, and other materials, or it is built up around crests and frames. Some ethnic groups have expanded headdressing into a veritable art of capillary sculpture by shaping it into single and multiple ridges and crests, buns, chignons, topknots, knobs, tresses, plaits, pigtails,

horns, discs, and fans. Ethnic groups, such as the Luba and several others on the western shore of Lake Tanganyika in Zaire, have developed a sophisticated capillary art for both men and women. Hair is also enhanced with hairpins, combs, beads, rings, coins, hairpieces, bows, pieces of fur and fiber, leaves, and flowers, or it is replaced by wigs and partly or entirely covered and combined with closed and open headdresses.

Hairstyles may reflect ethnic, sex, age, marital, political, and other status differences, certain moods and crisis situations (e.g., mourning, revenge), socio-ritual transitions (e.g., see Firth, 1973, p. 271), and particular conceptions about health, fertility, masculinity, potency, restraint, and well-being (see Leach, 1972, p. 338). In other cases hairstyles are specified for certain situations and occasions, such as courtship, ritual, or warfare. A few examples can illustrate these points.

For the Nilo-Hamitic societies of East Africa, Huntingford (1961, pp. 256-58) distinguishes for men the large chignon of the Turkana, the small chignon of the Jie, the pudding-bowl style of the Didinga, and the pigtails of the Maasai and the Nandi. These hairstyles are found not only in numerous variations within the ethnic unit but also across ethnic units to include Bantu groups such as Gikuyu and Kamba, who adopted the pigtail styles.

In many societies men and women have different hairstyles, but in others this opposition does not hold or is applicable only in certain rituals, ceremonies, and dances.

Among the pastoral Fulani nomads of West Africa, a woman's life stages (youth, adolescence, mature age, old age) are each marked by separate coiffures. The differentiation extends even further since there are also specific styles worn by women during the last week of the seclusion period preceding marriage, during the first three weeks after the naming ceremony of the newborn child and during the week following the return with the child to the husband's group, and by a widow during the five months of seclusion after the husband's death (Dupire, 1963, p. 91 n.5; 1970, pp. xii, 461; see also for the northern pastoral Somali women, Lewis, 1965, p. 337; for the Rendile of Kenya, Adamson, 1973, p. 106; and for the Mwila of southwestern Angola, Estermann, 1970, plates).

Among the Jie of Kenya, uninitiated men fasten their uncut hair into a large bun protruding above the head; initiated men wear a smaller bun plastered with grey clay that falls on the nape of the neck, while the hair above the forehead is covered with mud and colored in different ochers (Gulliver, 1965, p. 165).

In Umeda (New Guinea) the progression of males through four life cycles stages is accompanied by changes in coiffure: infancy is marked by short uncontrolled hair; bachelorhood by short controlled hair; young married men by long, controlled hair; and older married men by long, uncontrolled hair.

In Buka (Solomon Islands) individuals do not cut or paint their hair during a mourning period or when misfortune haunts the local group (Blackwood, 1935, pp. 420, 499).

In Lesu (New Ireland), the hair of both sexes of all ages is normally painted with white lime, but for certain dances it is colored red or blue and decorated with flowers or wreaths of leaves (Powdermaker, 1933, p. 230).

In some societies the special status of the dead is marked by elaborate hairdressing styles. In Torres Straits (New Guinea) when a man of high rank

in the *hukwa* dies, the body is decorated with garters, anklets, and armlets; special attention is paid to the hair, which is adorned with two flowers of a specific kind and two long cock feathers. Following the initial display, the hair is combed, rubbed with coconut oil and decorated with flowers and feathers of different species (Durrad, 1940, p. 94).

Hair itself, derived from the living or the dead, has many uses and symbolic connotations in different cultures. A widespread notion is that, in one way or another, hair has a special potency, a sacredness; for example, among many American Indian groups it is believed that the braided scalp lock represents a man's life (Hodge, 1907, vol. 1, p. 83 and passim), and among the Baktaman of New Guinea hair is conceived as the essence of potency, growth, and fertility (Barth, 1975, pp. 131-32). Depending on the contexts, hair is a beneficial or a dangerous power. This is particularly relevant with respect to hair that has been removed from the body. The cutting and shaving of hair seem invariably to be surrounded with many precautionary measures: the work can be done only by certain persons; care must be taken in the disposal of the cut hair (e.g., it is secretly hidden or buried, dispersed in a river or on the seashore, or collected and used for a prescribed purpose); the cutting of the hair is appropriate in certain social and ritual contexts (puberty, adulthood, mourning). In all these instances the major fears are linked with the possibility that enemies and "others" will get hold of the hair and use it in evil magic.

If the cut hair is preserved, care must be taken to ensure that it is done by the right people for the right purposes. If the cut hair is preserved, the overt purposes are manifold; the making of wigs, plaits, hairpieces, belts, armbands, and legbands; the adornment of certain sculptures and other artifacts; the use in healing, divination, sacrifice, growth and fertility rituals; the preservation as relics. The implied purposes are the bonding and mystic linkage of persons, the expression of sentiment, the participation with and conferment of powers symbolized by the hair, and commemoration. The following examples are illustrative. Among the Murngin cut hair is wadded into balls, wrapped in paper bark, and kept at the bottom of a basket until long strings are made with it to be used as belts, to serve as fringes for totemic emblems, or to be tied around an ailing limb (Warner, 1958, pp. 475-77).

Tikopia women wear head rings made of the shorn hair of certain male relatives as a token of sentiment and propriety (Firth, 1968 ed. of 1936, p. 171). Children in Tikopia are not allowed to touch their father's head, but they are allowed to wear the hair and other objects of their deceased father as ornaments that serve as "links of affection" (ibid., pp. 170-71).

Among the Samburu of Kenya, some hair removed from each of the temples of the groom, his best man, and the bride are mixed together on a stool to signify the definitive transfer of the woman from her group to that of her husband (Spencer, 1965, p. 243).

In the Marquesas Islands, hair donated by mother's brothers and father's sisters is made into ornaments for their nephews and nieces (Linton, 1923, p. 425).

The Toda of southern India twist hair into a cord, which is bound around a snake bite (Rivers, 1906, p. 574). Among the same Toda, a lock of hair is cut before the body is incinerated, ant it is wrapped with a piece of skull in a bark

package preserved as a relic (ibid., pp. 364-65).

In northwestern Australia men or women of a generation other than a deceased person remove his/her hair and make it into a belt with which distant relatives are summoned for the final mourning rites (Kaberry, 1935, p. 35).

In some societies, such as the Samburu of Kenya, a special bond prevails among men who constitute the "hair-sharing group." More specifically defined than the lineage, this group is one of six levels in their descent system. The men of such a group are mystically linked. It is believed that when one of them dies, the hair of his age-mates within a limited range of kinship is contaminated by his death; to avoid misfortune through ritual pollution all men of that group must go through the hair-shaving ritual soon after the death of their colleague (Spencer, 1965, pp. 71, 74).

As artifacts that place the symbol-laden head and hair into perspective, the headdresses appeal to the senses in a variety of ways. The visual aspect is immediately striking because of the forms and their variations, the sizes, the materials, and their combinations, the colors and hues, the ligth effects, the modes of wearing, and their mobile or static qualities. Many headdresses are sumptuous and alluring because of the use and rich combinations of highly valued, unusual, and colorful materials. They are remarkable for the manner in which they are worn: tightly or loosely fixed on a shaven or an unshaven head; intricately combined with elaborately dressed hair; standing free on the head or attached to the hair or with straps under the chin; worn straight or slanting forward, backward, or sideward accentuating the forehead, the temples, the center, front or back part of the skull. In numerous instances, the wearing of a headdress demands special skills (e.g., the tall balloonlike *upi* hats of Bougainville, Solomon Islands) and is uncomfortable (e.g., the Kuma men of the New Guinea highlands for several months assume headdresses that are fastened to an unyielding frame; Reay, 1959, pp. 160-61). The headdress sometimes is so intimately interlinked and blended with a particular style of hairdressing that one is inconceivable without the other. In this respect, Grosse's (1897, p. 9) observation that it is sometimes difficult to separate the ornamentation of the head (Kopfputz) from hair ornamentation (Haarputz) is a valuable one. Many headdresses accentuate the movement of the head when the wearer walks or dances; feathers, sometimes weighted, and other excressences wave, flutter, tremble, or bend to enhance the general movement of the dancer. Headdresses leave a visual impact also because of the manner in which they enhance the head and leave an impression of enlargement, tallness, forward or backward thrust or because of the way they disguise, blur, and modify the individual physical features and so transform them into something special.

Some headdresses produce sound from attachments of bells, chains, coins, hooves, scales, teeth, and feathers. Others spread a distinctive smell because they are rubbed with oils, butter, and fragrances or have special containers for perfumes. Headdresses work on the tactile senses not only of those who wear them (softness, resilience, tightness, weight) but even of other participants in rites and ceremonies (e.g., the Caroline headbands powdered with curcuma leave a trace of the passage of their wearers; Cole has noted that Samburu dancers beat one another's heads with the tails of their hats).

Acquisition, Ownership, and Preservation of Headdresses

Most of the sources are not specific in describing patterns of acquisition, ownership, and transfer of headdresses and in analyzing methods of preservation or disposal. Headdresses are acquired according to numerous social, jural, and ritual criteria operating within diverse contexts. They are obtained in the course of life-cycle rituals (infancy, adolescence and puberty, adulthood, marriage, old age, death), in initiation contexts connected with membership in cult groups and voluntary associations, in curing rites at dances and festivities, at public or private ceremonies confirming personal achievement, political and ritual offices, occupation, and social status, and in rituals linked with warfare, feud, and vengeance.

Some kinds of headdresses are made for specific occasions by those entitled to wear them or by a spouse, a kinsman, a partner, a ritual expert, or a specialized craftsman. Others are acquired through trade and exchange or through inheritance, either in their entirety or only some of their accessories, from a living or dead relative. The person wearing the headdress actually owns the object or else merely exercises the right to display it (Mauss, 1947, pp. 78-80, draws attention to the fact that all dress and ornament do not necessarily belong to the wearer).

The following examples illustrate some of these principles.

Among the Turkmen of Anatolia, a female infant receives a *terik* skullcap ornamented with silver pieces; later when the child has grown up and become a bride, she acquires from her family a coif with gold pieces and preserves her skullcap for her own daughter (Tansug, 1981, p. 45).

Bark hats worn at the coming-out ceremonies by circumcised boys among the Cokwe of Zaire are manufactured by them as an intrinsic part of their seclusion period activities.

Men among the Abelam in Papua New Guinea make impressive woven and feather ornaments for the back of the head that are mostly for personal use in the *kagu* dances (Koch, 1968, pls. 106-9).

Berber and Bedouin fathers invest part of the marriage payments in the silver jewelry bestowed upon their daughters; the intricate diadems and other ornaments are fashioned by specialized craftsmen (Weir, 1976, p. 59; Ross, 1978, p. 20).

The ritual wife of a Nyanga (Zaire) chief has a cap of flying squirrel specially constructed for the enthronement rites by a Pygmy.

All male members of the bwami association among the Lega (Zaire), from the lowest to the highest grade, display a small fiber skullcap (also called bwami) on the shaven skull and underneath a larger hat. The right to wear the skullcap

and the skullcap itself are obtained in a ritual that forms the climax of the initiations to the lowest grade. The skullcaps are not differentiated according to grade and remain the same throughout the men's ascent to higher grades in the association. They are made for the initiate by a close male agnate who is a member of the association. The larger hat worn above the cap, however, differs from grade to grade, and at the higher grades from level to level. The right to wear a particular hat is part of each stage of the initiations. The hat is constructed by the wearer or by an initiated kinsman, but some of the distinguishing accessories placed on the hat are inherited from initiated agnates and cognates as they move up in grade or as they die (Biebuyck, 1973, 1982).

People of Wabag (New Guinea) obtain headbands and other headgear in *te* exchanges from the male members of groups situated to the east of them (Elkin, 1953, p. 190).

Suya (Brazil) boys receive head ornaments made by their name givers when they become *sikwenduyi* (initiated unmarried men residing in the men's house) at the end of the initiation (Seeger, 1981, pp. 159-60).

Sometimes it is not the actual object that is transferred in this pattern, but rather the right to display it. Among the Kuma of the New Guinea Highlands, for example, the right to wear the brilliant "judges" wigs at the pig ceremonies is normally passed on from a man to his firstborn son; if a man's wife has reared many pigs for the ceremonies, he may transmit the right to her unmarried daughter (Reay, 1959, pp. 160-61). The wigs themselves, which the men had worn for several months before the pig-killing ceremony, are donned briefly by their wives while they watch the pig killing, then placed on the pig's carcasses, and finally thrown carelessly under the houses not to be used again (ibid., pp. 155-56).

Headdresses are owned by men and women, young and old. In some societies (e.g., Berber and Bedouin) women possess most of them or at least the most sumptuous and varied ones; in others (e.g., South American Indians; many groups in Papua New Guinea and Irian Jaya) men are the owners of most headdresses. There are numerous instances in which the most elaborate and diverse headdresses belong to young and middle-aged adults, whereas the older people have reduced versions of them or none at all. Specific ownership patterns usually are not clearly defined. Whereas for the Berber, Bedouin, Arabs, and other Islamicized groups it is generally noted that the rich headdresses worn by women are strictly their personal property, in many other instances it is not known whether this is the case or rather if they are heirlooms that are controlled by the social group.

When not in actual use, the headdresses are carefully stored according to fixed rules. Precise information on the methods of preservation and protection is often lacking in the literature, but some examples illustrate the care with which this is done. The precious *mamur* headdresses of Zaghawa and Bideyat (Chad) women are stored with other objects in special baskets attached to the ceiling of the house or hidden in granaries (Tubiana, 1968). Among the Ekoi (West Africa) some rarely worn chiefs' caps are preserved in drum-shaped chests covered with leopard and antelope hide (Schilde, 1929, p. 66). In Truk (Carolines) valued ornaments are rubbed with turmeric powder and placed in wooden

:hests (LeBar, 1964, p. 160). The Ango of the eastern highlands in New Guinea
ɛeep the fragile cassowary feather headdresses, which are generally worn only
ɔn ceremonial occasions, in bamboo holders (Lemonnier, 1981, p. 56). The
Tupi-Guarani groups in South America protect the feather ornaments in bamboo
ogs stopped with wax (Métraux, 1928, p. 149). Among the Yanoama of South
America, women keep their husband's ornaments in special bark boxes (Wilbert,
1972, p. 19). When they do not use their headdresses and other jewels, Bedouin
women of the Negev store them in a coffer in the tent (Korsching, 1980, p. 121),
ınd Berber women sometimes hide their ornaments in a hole at the foot of the
:ent support (Eudel, 1902, p. 65). In some groups of the Cameroun, feather
ıeaddresses are collapsible and reversible for better protection.

Materials

An incredible variety of materials enters into the manufacture of head-dresses. Many of these objects are used as accessories, that is, as coverings and adornments of the bases or frames that are manufactured in fibers, cloth, felt hide, bark, wood, or metal. Most headdresses include more than one type of material, and some exhibit the most heterogeneous combinations. The high conical hats of Akha women of Yunnan are composed of fur, feathers, grains buttons, and silver coins (*Encyclopédie Alpha,* vol. 4, 1973, p. 181). The materials incorporated into the headdresses occur in their natural state or they are slightly worked or elaborately transformed. Their procurement, selection, and incorporation are the work of ordinary men or women, craftsmen, or selected ritual experts. Different societies show distinctive preferences for certain materials. Objects chosen for making headdresses are obviously not restricted to that usage.

Following are the major classes of materials used in headdresses:

1. Vegetal origin: leaves, grasses, fern, straw, fibers, cotton, vines, bark, bast, cane, rushes, bamboo, spathe, wood, mosses, seeds, pods, nutshells, flowers, resin, amber, phosphorescent fungus; coloring materials.
2. Animal origin: hair of humans and animals; beards (of humans and animals), manes, hairy tails, bristles; wool; hides and skins (dried or tanned, including bird and fish skins); bird plumes, feathers, down, wings, and crests; live and stuffed birds; spider webs; insects (elythrae, wings); shells, pearls, tusks, teeth, fangs, claws, beaks, scales, quills, horns, carapaces, hooves, vertebrae, sting-ray pins, bones, tendons; coral.
3. Mineral origin: coloring materials, precious and semiprecious stones, stone, schist, metals.

The materials are obtained locally or regionally, or they are traded and exchanged sometimes over great distances. The bird plume trade in the New Guinea Highlands offers a striking example. Ethnic groups such as Chimbu, Melpa, Kuma, and Mae Enga use very large quantities of plumes of birds of paradise and other species and compete with other ethnic groups that also demand them. Plumes are traded in concentric rings around the core consumers (Healey, 1980, pp. 250-55, 270).

Materials are selected in different societies for their beauty and other physical qualities (sheen, color, shape, finish, size, freshness, iridescence), their odor, their mobility and plasticity, their scarcity and the difficulties in labor and

expense to obtain them, their perceived economic value, and their symbolic associations. In some societies there exist veritable hierarchies of materials. Among the Mae Enga of the New Guinea Highlands, alle exchangeable objects are ranked "in terms of desirability." Pigs and cassowary constitute the top category, and cassowary feather headdresses and shell headbands form the next rank, which is higher than bird of paradise plumes (Meggitt, 1974, pp. 169-70).

Identical materials can obviously have divergent significance in separate cultures. Hornbill beaks projecting from the forehead on Ifugao (Philippines) men's headdresses indicate wealth and social status; the same items on Ilongot (Philippines) headdresses are signs that the wearer has taken an enemy head (Casal et al., 1981, p. 241).

Within each of the broad categories and subcategories of materials carefully informed selections are made. Take the example of bird plumes and feathers. The feathers are derived from particular species of birds (parrots, ara, hornbill, eagle, cassowary, bird of paradise, woodpecker, chicken, etc.) and from certain parts of the body (tail, wings, crest, neck, chest, contour feathers, and down), thus presenting differences in size, shape, texture, rigidity, colors, and hues. The preferred feathers and plumes are obtained locally by special trapping and hunting methods; by capturing and raising nestlings, or by plucking the feathers of live birds (in some cases after applying the tapirage technique to obtain color modifications; Métraux, 1928). In other instances, the feathers are acquired through gift exchange processes and trade over short and long distances (see, e.g., Bulmer, 1968, for New Guinea; Elkin, 1953, pp. 177, 182, 190, for the Wabag area in New Guinea). These techniques of acquisition, in turn, give rise to special rights of control and ownership over particular tracts of land, trees, and species, and to complex intergroup and interpersonal relationships.

Each society has its own criteria for selection. The Tsembaga of New Guinea recognize at least nineteen native taxa of birds in the primary forest of high altitude, but only twelve of them are valued for their feathers; among the seven taxa in primary forest of lower altitude, they use the feathers of four taxa for adornment but consider only two of them highly valuable (Rappaport, 1967, p. 273). The selected bird feathers are not merely used in their natural state, but they may also be split, cut, trimmed, joined, colored, discolored, or weighted. They are used singly or in tufts, bunches, rows, superpositions, overlays, and mosaics in various monochrome or polychrome assemblages. They are stuck, hooked, tied, or woven into a base (basketry, cloth, netting), mounted on rods, or glued to a base or to the hair (for many details, see Jeanneret, Fuerst, and Schoepf, 1971, pp. 43-52; Rabineau, 1979). Feathers with crest or breast skin attached and whole wings occur in some headdresses as well as stuffed (e.g., Maasai of Kenya; Saitoti and Beckwith, 1980, pp. 82-83) and live birds (e.g., Nyanga of Zaire).

Particular types of decorative accessories abundantly used in headdresses are themselves made of different materials and applied according to many techniques, thereby resulting in a great diversity of forms. Beads offer a striking example: they are manufactured in glass, faience, shell, seeds, pith, reed, straw, bone, teeth, tusks, horn, vertebrae, stone, skin, amber, copal, metal, coral, and precious and semiprecious stones. They are strung on fibers, threads, wire, sewn

to cloth or leather, sheathed around a stem, and woven; they occur in many forms (rounded or faceted) and are of different sizes (diameter, length); they are decorated or undecorated (see, e.g., Orchard, 1975; Newman, 1976; Beck, 1981, pp. 53-54). Some beads are easily obtained through local craftsmanship, exchange, or trade; others involve extremely lengthy and time-consuming processes (e.g., the conus shell beads in the Admiralty Islands, Eichhorn, 1916, pp. 257-61; Belshaw, 1950, pp. 174-75, for the Central Solomons). It should be noted that trading and other transactions may include not only the primary materials sought for making headdresses but also finished products such as complete headbands and complex headdresses or parts of the latter (see, e.g., Lemonnier, 1981, pp. 53-54, for the Anga of the eastern Highlands in New Guinea).

Functions and Meanings

It was pointed out already that the headdresses represent only one item in an ensemble of dress and body adornment. They may be the most important or conspicuous object, the most highly rated or the most charged with meaning; they can be indispensable in that ensemble; they are also often rigidly prescribed in all aspects of form, materials, and accessories (see, e.g., Heider, 1969, p. 380). Among the Lega of eastern Zaire there are relatively few types of dress and adornment, but there is great diversity of hats worn by male members of different grades in the bwami association. The hats, which are strictly prescribed in forms, materials, and accessories, are the single most significant external indicators of rank within the association. They are part of an ensemble of required and optional paraphernalia, which include a low-hanging loincloth made in softened and reddened bark cloth, a genet hide apron, a beaded necklace with an unspecified number of leopard teeth, a broad hard belt of bongo antelope hide, and cosmetic features, such as shaven hair and body anointments with oil, red powder, and perfume. Bracelets and anklets often worn by individual initiates are optional in contrast to the above-mentioned items. The general form of the hats is conical, but the size and regularity of the cone differ according to whether the hat is made in hide or woven raffia or *lukusa* fibers. Only when a man is initiated to the highest level of the supreme grade (lutumbo lwa kindi) is he entitled to wear a conical hat of woven fibers completely studded with *maseza* pods (this is the oldest tradition; cowries, multicolored glass beads, and white buttons were gradually substituted for the pods; all four traditions co-existed in the fifties) and surmounted with a large piece of elephant's tail (usually decorated in part with some rows of glass beads). The elephant tail on the hat is its single most important part: it symbolically associates the kindi initiate with the calm power but potentially explosive fierceness of the elephant. The pods and cowries are, among other things, female symbols. The headdress of the kindi signifies a certain female connotation, just as the phallic headdress worn in the ritual by his initiated wife (kanyamwa) indicates a male association. Throughout the symbolism of the initiation rites, the complementarity (indeed, the inseparable linkage) of the male kindi initiate and of his initiated kanyamwa wife are placed in perspective. The more recent substitutes (glass beads and white imitation mother-of-pearl buttons) do not convey this sexual message; they are, however, exclusively used for the hats of the kindi initiates and are considered as expressions of the alluring beauty emanating from the adorned bodies.

Headdresses fulfill a wide variety of functions, not only in diverse societies

but also within a single group or institutional framework. Many of these functions are not specific to headdresses but are assured by other items of dress and ornament as well. Traditional Tibet, for example, is inhabited by peoples of different origins. Some live in valleys, others in the mountains; there are farmers, traders, city dwellers, and pastoral nomads; there are commoners, monks, and nobles. Dress changes according to regions, seasons, sexual divisions, and rank and status. Some of the most elaborate dress may be worn on everyday occasions, whereas simple forms of clothing and ornament may be preferred for solemn events. An extraordinary variety of headdresses is found. Ladies from Tsang City display imposing headdresses that differ in form and degree of complexity from those worn by ladies of Lhasa or from the countryside near Lhasa, or from eastern Tibetan nomads. Monastic and government officials have distinctive winter and summer hats; members of diverse sects are recognizable from their particular hats. Different headdresses allow one to distinguish a recluse or an adept in meditation, and an ordinary monk in daily attire from one dressed for special gatherings and ceremonies (Norbu and Turnbull, 1968, pp. 45-49, 78-83, 86-88; see also Olson, 1961, vol. 4; Reynolds, 1978).

Among the functions associated with dress and ornaments in general, authors such as Paulme (1973), Gabus (1962), Kalter (1976), and Leroi-Gourhan (1965, pp. 188-90) list criteria such as ethnic origin and identity, social and age status, particular roles, sex differentiation and sex specificity, political hierarchy, display of wealth, prestige, wish to stand out, aesthetic concerns, desire to attract, symbolisms of potency, magico-religious considerations (protection against invisible dangers and powers), disguise, proofs of bravery, expression of bereavement, and transitional states. These and other functions are easily exemplified by headdresses drawn either from different societies or from diverse contexts in a single group.

In numerous instances headdresses are multifunctional, that is, they fulfill more than one purpose either simultaneously or sequentially. The yellow-dyed cotton caps (*cema*) of the Bamana (West Africa) not only protect against cold, bad fortune, and death but also symbolically communicate cosmic concepts (Dieterlen, 1951, p. 107). The elaborately carved and painted hats of the Tlingit (Pacific Northwest Coast), worn by men on formal occasions, have decorative features that indicate a man's social affiliations, his wealth and importance (Dockstader, 1972, pl. 11). The hoods of dried and smoothened pandanus leaves carried at all times by women in Buka and Bougainville (Solomons) are primarily a means of concealment used at the approach of certain male affinal relatives. In addition, however, they offer protection for mother and baby against rain and heat and are also appropriate dress for all ceremonial visits (Blackwood, 1935, p. 401).

In societies in which many types of headdresses occur, functional differences may be correlated with variations in form, size, color, materials, accessories, and particular combinations of single headdresses into composite wholes. In Easter Island (Polynesia), differently named categories of feather circlets relating to status and special occasions are recognizable from the length, color, and arrangements of the feathers (Métraux, 1940, pp. 220-26). The flaring, plateaulike headdress of the betrothed Zulu (South Africa) girl is smaller and more compact

than that of older women (Mertens and Schoeman, 1975, pl. 44). The distinctions may be indicated also by subtle means. Tringus, Gumbang, and Serin Dayak women of Borneo wear conical headdresses of red, yellow, black, and white beads, strung perpendicularly on a circular wire panel; when worn by priestesses these headdresses are closed at the top with a circular piece of wood inlaid with tin and surmounted with feather tufts or hair (Roth, 1968 reprint of 1896, vol. 2, pp. 40-41). The Tuareg (North Africa) differentiate status by the manner in which certain jewels are attached to the coiffure. The wife of a chief or marabout has them fixed on the forehead; a woman of other castes wears them on the right temple; a Daga Tuareg woman displays them on the left temple (Dieterlen and Ligers, 1972, p. 41).

Utilitarian Functions. There are numerous headdresses that primarily have a utilitarian purpose, although this does not exclude that they may also have secondary functions. Hats, hoods, visors, and sunshades are used to guard against rain, cold, sun, and heat. Eskimo hoods, Aleutian wooden hats, Northwest Coast American Indian woven hats, Kalinga (Philippines) palm leaf hats, Dani (Irian Jaya) taro leaf caps, and Plains Indians or Tibetan fur caps exemplify these functions. Such protection can obviously be achieved by other means (a leaf, a mat, a hide). Women from the Solomon Islands shade themselves and their small children against the sun with a large mat held above the head as a tile (Bernatzik, 1934, pl. 17); Nyanga (Zaire) women use a leaf or a hide as protection against rain. In ancient Rome, men who normally wore nothing on the head shielded themselves against sun or rain by throwing part of the toga or pallium over the head (Carcopino, 1940, p. 170). Other types of headdresses, such as caps, circlets, headbands, braid wrappings, may be principally applied to hold long hair, a chignon, or a tress in place or in a certain shape.

Headdresses, such as helmets, caps, and headbands, may be worn as forehead or skull protection against injury. Helmets in wood, skin, basketry, or metal are utilized in warfare for physical safety but may also be intended to make the wearer look taller (Feest, 1980, p. 84), fiercer, and more powerful. A number of superposed caps may take the place of a helmet (ibid., p. 81), and among some groups in northeast New Guinea men do wear up to twelve normal barkcloth caps as a safeguard. Women among the Plateau, Great Basin, and California Indians put on basketry caps to preserve the forehead from carrying straps (e.g., California Yoruk caps of fiber with bead ans shell decoration; Coe, 1976, p. 210). Among the Ait Seghrouchen of Morocco, women fix chains and hooks to their enameled silver diadems in order to alleviate the weight of their earrings (Sijelmassi, 1974, p. 105). Men or women, like the Luba and Mbuun (Zaire) and the Dani (Irian Jaya; Heider, 1970, p. 248), use small caps to preserve their elaborate hairdos from dust and dirt. Married women of Bethlehem place small caps under their expensive *shatweh* hats to protect them against the sweaty hair.

Some headdresses are potential weapons, such as slings worn as headbands in Bolivia and the *chacra* metal band of India. Other headdresses serve as supports for ornaments or as devices in which to keep and hide useful objects. Among the Bakhtyari of Iran women don velvet bonnets onto which they fix with pins a veil and jewels that hang on the chest or in the back (Digard, 1970, p. 130).

Knitted fiber bonnets used by men in the Wahgi Valley (New Guinea) protect against the weather and also serve as supports for ceremonial feather headdresses (Villeminot, 1964, p. 106). Muria (India) men wind their turbans around the head in such a way that they can serve as receptacles for combs, mirrors, and leaf pipes (Elwin, 1947, p. 38).

There are also headdresses that are specifically devised to cause transformations of the head structure. Women in the Small Nambas and in southern Malekula (New Hebrides) produce elongation of their boys' heads by dressing them in tight woven baskets (Lewis, 1945, p. 103; Muller, 1972, p. 157).

In some societies the major purpose of the headdress is to cover and hide the hair. The balloon-shaped *upi* headdress of Bougainville (Solomons) are intended to contain the adolescents' long hair, which cannot be seen by women (Blackwood, 1935, pp. 222-23). Elsewhere headdress is used as a hunting disguise; among the Blackfeet (North Amercia), women wear buffalo skin headdresses with horns and feathers to attract the buffalo to come in range of the hunters (Conn, 1974). In some cases the headdress serves also as a vessel. In northern Luzon and among the north central Ifugao (Philippines), the bowl-shaped wooden hats normally worn for hunting, forest work, or travel, may function as food and water vessels (Casal et al., 1981, p. 240). Of the several knitted carrying bags that are hung from the forehead over the back and always worn in public by Dani (New Guinea) women, some are actually used to transport children and produce (Heider, 1970, pp. 243, 249-51). The *etsemat* feather headband of the Jivaro (Ecuador) is also utilized to carry a head trophy (Turner, 1982, p. 208).

Aesthetic Enhancement. Whatever their other functions, headdresses also fit aesthetic criteria, whether they contribute to the beautification of the person or are intended to hide and obscure the physical features. The splendor of some headdresses, easily appreciated by Westerners, is also keenly felt by the ethnic populations. Numerous Western authors have been awed by the sheer magnificence and grandeur of brides dressed in finery or dancers displaying colorful headdresses: "Over her brow a circlet of emerald beetles held two soaring plumes of the magnificent bird of paradise, golden showers of incredible delicacy that seemed to light the air around them" (Read, 1965, p. 260, about the Gahuku of Papua New Guinea). Aesthetic effects are achieved by the surprising shapes, the choice of materials, the color combinations, the accessories, the movement, sound and smell of headdresses, their size and height, and the manner in which they are worn. Many of the native taxonomies and aesthetic criteria on which this appreciation is based, however, escape us. Some of the raw materials used in the construction of headdresses and other forms of dress and ornament are aesthetically appealing. Tsembaga (New Guinea) men enjoy plumes and shells for their own sakes as the most beautiful objects (Rappaport, 1967, p. 108). The exact aesthetic impact often eludes us because the elements of pure beauty, splendor, magnificence, and attractiveness are interwoven with many symbolic connotations. Wigs made of human hair in Mount Hagen (New Guinea) are masculine embellishments, but the men also believe that abundance of hair (symbolized by the wigs) is a sign of the favor of the ghosts who lodge there (Brain, 1979, p. 40; see also Weir, 1976, p. 59, for the Bedouin). In the

impressive feather headdresses displayed by Melpa (New Guinea) men during the *moka* exchanges, every item is chosen for its color and symbolic connotations (Godelier, 1973). Kuma (New Guinea Highlands) men wearing their colorful "judges' wigs" at the pig festivals explicitly believe that these enhance their aesthetic appeal and personal charm in addition to being prestige items that suggest the wealth and glory of their clans (Reay, 1959, pp. 140-46, 160-61). Men among the Kaluli (Papua New Guinea) classify birds with the brightest red, black, and white feathers as "female" and consequently prefer these to beautify themselves (Feld, 1982, p. 66). Among the Dani (New Guinea), men don their most elaborate adornments for battle and at the *edai* dance, but there are many individual differences that result from personal taste for elegance (Heider, 1970, p. 243). The seductive beauty of the headdress is sometimes enhanced with magical devices, as in the *kaiko* ceremonies of the Tsembaga (New Guinea) during which "fight packages" are affixed to the dancers' headgear so as to attract "the fancies of the visiting girls" (Rappaport, 1967, p. 186).

Ethnic Identity. Although some types of headdresses are cross-culturally widespread, most ethnic groups and subgroups have their own distinctive headdresses. The visual differences from group to group are expressed in many ways: shapes, materials, accessories and combinations, techniques of making, designs, and modes of wearing. These distinctions can be enhanced because of their association with a particular type of hairdo or with other ornaments. For central Asia, Fairservis (1971, p. 74) mentions headdresses as striking indicators of ethnic identification: the large sheep's wool or lambskin hats of the Turkmen, the round pyramidal hats with a brim of fur of the Tartar, the cup hats with central peak of the Mongol, and the colored *tyubekerta* hats of the Uzbek. The ethnic identity of Bembe and Lega (Zaire) men initiated to the structurally uniform bwami association is recognizable because of the different shapes, materials, and accessories of their hats. In a vast area of northeastern Zaire inhabited by ethnic groups such as Zande, Mangbetu, Mayogo, Meegye, Malele, and Mangbele, a squared type of fiber hat is found among the men of these groups; ethnic differences, however, are revealed by the designs and kinds of attached feather bunches (in addition to the different nomenclature).

Sexual Differentiation. In many societies male and females wear different types of headdresses, at least from the time they have reached a certain age. In some areas among the Akha mountaineers of Thailand, boys and girls wear simple cotton bonnets, sometimes decorated with buttons, coins, and bands of cloth. As the girl grows up she adds silver discs, Job's tears grains, and red and white beads to the bonnet, and on reaching marriageable age she dresses in the *u coe* bamboo and silver headdress (Grunfeld, 1982, pp. 28, 99-100). In groups that mark sexual distinctions, the headdresses of the men may be the most diverse and elaborate, or vice versa. Baruya men of the New Guinea Highlands, for example, possess the beautiful forehead bands and feather headdresses, while women are forbidden not only to wear these adornments but also even to touch them (Godelier, 1980, p. 241). Men among the Plains Indians own the most elaborate headgear (Koch, 1977, p. 91). In some instances, as among the Banso

(Cameroun), high-ranking women who constitute the female membership of the supreme council have the right to wear caps that are identical to those of the men (Gebauer, 1979, p. 85). Numerous prescriptions and avoidance taboos might adhere to the male and female types of headdresses. Among the Urubu (South America), the feather headdress is a man's privilege. A woman must not touch the headdress, even to help her husband tie it, because the mythologically powerful yapu birds, whose yellow tail feathers are the most important items, would pick out her eyes (Huxley, 1957, p. 64).

In various ritual contexts, however, women may temporarily signify their special status by wearing men's headdresses or certain versions of them. Dani (New Guinea Highlands) brides are fetched by women who are dressed in feather and fur headdresses, normally associated with men (Heider, 1972, p. 181). In the course of the wedding ceremonies among the Bena Bena (New Guinea Highlands), the bride is allowed to borrow her father's or her guardian's elaborate feather headdresses (Langness, 1967, p. 168). To celebrate an arrival during the flamboyant *sosomaya* dances, Kaluli (Papua New Guinea) women don small versions of the men's cassowary headdresses tipped with red parrot and vulture feathers (Schieffelin, 1976, p. 125 n. 3). Turu (Tanzania) men have different types of war headgear; those made of baboon or colobus hide and of leather belts adorned with cowries and ostrich feathers may also be used by married women with children in the *mwimo* dances at the end of the dry season (von Sick, 1916, pp. 14-24)). During some culminating initiation rites of the supreme kindi grade among the Lega (Zaire), the initiates' wives wear their husbands's hats topped with elephant tails to signify, among other things, their acquisition of quasi-male status (Biebuyck, 1973).

Display of Wealth. Numerous headdresses have a display function and may be indicators of the wealth of the individual, the family, or the social group, and of their exclusive and privileged possessions and heirlooms. Many of the actual materials used in the composition of the headdresses are considered to be of great value, whether they are gold or silver coins, precious or semiprecious stones, feathers, or pelts. Their economic value is gauged in terms of scarcity, difficulties of procurement, amount of labor investment, purchase and exchange ratios, position in a taxonomic system, and various symbolic associations. In New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, and the Solomons (Melanesia), "heirloom-jewellery" occurs widely and in different forms. In the central Solomons some of these objects that demand high skill and time-consuming efforts are of central significance in ceremonial exchanges linked with marriage and initiation. Valued in terms of color of the shell and the length and number of the strings, they include headbands or necklaces made of strings of small discs of red or white shell strung on vines and sometimes interspersed with teeth of dogs and other animals (Belshaw, 1950, p. 171). Feathers of the bird of paradise, parrots, and eagles and certain pelts constitute separate classes of valuables among the Tsembaga of New Guinea and are partly traded in and out by them (Rappaport, 1967, pp. 103-5). Scholars writing about Islamic groups and populations living in the Himalayas often emphasize the aspect of wealth. Bedouin women of Jordan wear the *çaffa,* a forehead band made with rows of pierced coins stitched on a ribbon,

and underneath it the *aya,* a row of gold pieces sewn onto a bead-studded cloth. These are valuable personal belongings that can be sold in times of great duress, and they also symbolize the generosity of the family and of the spouse's father (Uzayzi and Chelhod, 1969). The sheer number of precious adornments worn by the Tlemcen (Algeria) bride is a show of family wealth. The bride has a conical embroidered velvet cap on her head and a long scarf in gilded silk on her forehead; on the scarf three golden diadems with precious stone inlays are superposed, and under the diadems are several pieces of wrought metalwork with precious stones in gold settings. At each temple the bride places a golden ring with clusters of pearls (Benouniche, 1977, p. 20). Many of the articles incorporated into the headdresses and other ornaments of women in the Himalayas are a form of "savings bank" that make women independent from men's arbitrariness; in addition they have protective value and mark their social position (zu Windisch-Graetz, 1981, p. 6). Headbands covered with the red crests of certain woodpeckers are accumulated among the Hupa of California by wealthy families who then outfit dancers' teams with them to perform at the annual harvest ceremonies (Rabineau, 1979, p. 26). Painted wooden headdresses with shell inlay have heraldic display functions on the Pacific Northwest Coast (Coe, 1976, p. 140). The number of woven rings superimposed on such headdresses among the Tlingit, however, refer to the gift-giving feasts sponsored by the wearer (Furst, 1982, pp. 116-17).

Headdresses that display wealth can also symbolize particular statuses and linkages between persons. Zaghawa and Bideyat (Chad) women receive at the time of marriage the complex *mamur* headdress, of which they have a small version for obligatory daily use and a larger one for festivities. The headdress, occurring in several variations, includes a copper bow (commissioned from a blacksmith) and a number of beads placed in a certain sequence. The beads, made of carnelian, glass, amber, and coral, are partly provided by the mother from her own headdress. Carnelians and coral beads are rare (mostly derived from older headdresses), and amber is an expensive commodity purchased at markets. Exclusively owned by women, the headdress signifies wealth and married status and also establishes a special bond between mother and daughter (Tubiana, 1968).

Social and Political Status. Kings, chiefs, queens, princesses, nobles, headmen, or elders are not the only ones who own distinctive headdresses as expressions of their status. Members of cults and semisecret or secret associations, persons occupying certain offices such as healers, priests, shamans, diviners, ritual leaders, rainmakers, persons who are recognized as headhunters, warriors, expert dancers, or those who fulfill specific functions as messengers possess their own types of headdresses. Clan, lineage, moiety, phratry, and age-grade affiliations can also be expressed by varying headdress styles. Unmarried and married women, women with children, and widows may be recognizable from their headdresses. The differentiations are conveyed by the forms of the headdresses, the materials in which they are made, the types of accessories, and the colors.

Examples where headdresses are linked with these socio-political and ritual

distinctions abound in the literature. The Swazi (South Africa) queen mother is entitled to wear at all times a unique crown topped at the center with the red feather of the rain bird (Kuper, 1973b, p. 354). The king of Kaffa (Ethiopia) displays a crown with a triple golden phallus; the independence of the kingdom and the power of the ruler are associated with this sacred object (Bieber, 1923, vol. 2, pp. 66-67). As part of their hereditary title, persons of high rank among the Carrier Indians (North America) possess wigs made of a netted sinew cap covered with rows of dentalia and bundles of artificially curled or twisted human hair and surmounted with sea lion whiskers or ermine strips (Sturtevant, 1981, vol. 6, pp. 420-22). Age categories among the Ersari of Afghanistan are designated by the color of their fur hats which, manufactured in a lamb's hide, are black for young men, maroon for adults, and white for elders (Dupaigne, 1978, p. 19). Among the Dogon of Mali, each social function has its "coiffure-emblème": a red *goro* bonnet for the ritual leader (*hogon*) and for the totemic priests, an embroidered bonnet for men who have celebrated the *sigi* rites, a "sesame bonnet" for adult men on festive occasions (Calame-Griaule, 1965, p. 280 and 1968, under *goro*). In Tibet, where differences in men's hats are generally governed by rank and office as well as regional affiliation, the single category of monks' hats varies greatly according to schools, rank, office, educational standing, and occasion (Tucci, 1980, pp. 124-36; Zwalf, 1981, p. 130). A bride among the Ersari Turkmen receives the elaborate *bogmag* headdress on the morning following the wedding night to designate that she is now a married woman. After the birth of the first child, the *bogmag* is less decorated; for an old woman it may be reduced to a turbanlike cloth without silver ornaments (Stucki, 1978). The status of a Kazakh or Kirghiz (U.S.S.R.) bride is indicated mainly by the tall conical *saukele* headdress ornamented with cloth, coral, silver plaques, and precious and semiprecious stones, the height of the headdress and the amount of ornament vary according to family wealth since the object is an obligatory part of the dowry (Delaby, 1981, p. 121). In Malekula (New Hebrides, Melanesia) members of the higher levels in the *nimangki* association are recognizable from their headbands, which, depending on grade levels, are made from specified plant materials connected with different degrees of sacredness. At the highest level this headband holds a spider's web headdress in place. Malekula women of high rank in the *lapas* association don a basketlike painted headdress with a plait falling in the back; the number of knobs in the plait indicate the amount of pigs killed to obtain the right to wear it (Deacon, 1934, pp. 266, 484-85). Among the Bassari of West Africa, a row of beads wrapped around the head and a porcupine quill ornamented with red wool in the hair signify a man's membership in a hunters' association (Gessain, 1963, fig. 12). Bari (Central Africa) rainmakers have a wheel-like headdress of feathers, which includes those of the ostrich, that are placed near the front part of the head (Seligman, 1932). Gurensi (Ghana) diviners and custodians of the earth are distinguished by dyed twined caps (Smith, 1978), and Cokwe (Zaire) diviners by feather hats (Baumann, 1932, pp. 13-14). The bearers of different classes of swords, court criers, and bodyguards all have distinctive caps among the Akan of West Africa (Cole and Ross, 1977, p. 23). The crown worn by shamans among the Tsimshian (Pacific Northwest Coast) is made of a band covered with the incisors of beavers

and mountain goat heads carved in goat horn (Furst, 1982, p. 133). The number of hornbill feathers placed in a circlet of bear fur indicates the headhunting prowess of a Sema (Assam) man (Elwin, 1959, p. 31), while among the Booli (Zaire) a leopard hunter is entitled to an eagle headdress during the celebrations (Schohy, 1952, p. 212). Solo dancers in the Kapauku (Irian Jaya) pig feasts don above the forehead a *maato* cassowary brush headdress, which differs from the everyday *tuku* cassowary headdress (Pospisil, 1963, pp. 289-94). The consecrated *manora* dancer in Thailand is privileged to display the *söt*, a tall crown in gilded wood with glass and bead incrustations (Cuisinier, 1946, pp. 62, 66-67). For the Menominee Indians, certain head adornments, such as a buck's tail, denote achievement as a fleet-footed runner, especially in the ball games (Hoffman, 1892-1893). The companions of the great *alowena* masker of New Caledonia are recognizable from their high *tidi* hats (Leenhardt, 1945, p. 32).

Crisis Situations. Among the many rituals linked with changes in the individual life cycle, those signifying transitions from one social age to another and those associated with death often demand the adoption of special body adornment. In this context, headdresses function as devices of concealment, protection of the self, expressions of modesty and of the *sui generis* status of the novice, and entail beliefs about growth, health, and well-being.

A case in point are the puberty rites to which girls and/or boys are exposed in different cultures. Special headdresses are manufactured and used at various stages of these rites de passage; many are made exclusively for these purposes and discarded afterwards. During their two-year seclusion, Tigania (Kenya) girls keep their eyes downcast under a fringe of metal chains that hang low around their foreheads (Adamson, 1967, p. 106). Teita (Kenya) girls are secluded at the age of fourteen in their mother's house; whenever a girl is allowed to leave it after dark, she must wear a cylindrical grass headdress and anyone meeting her must turn away (ibid., p. 328). Similar practices are widespread among North American Indians such as the Western Woods Cree, the Carrier Indians, the inland Tlingit, the Kutchin, and the Athna. Among the Athna, for example, a girl wears for a full year after her first menstruation a large fringed hood of moose skin adorned with rattling hooves to protect living beings and the sky from her ominous glance. Throughout her two-year isolation in a puberty shelter, a Tlingit girl carries a large hide propped out in front of her head on a willow framework (Sturtevant, 1981, vol. 6, pp. 262, 428, 477, 517, 658). Following a long seclusion, a Tukuna (South America) girl is dressed with a feather diadem and other ornaments before being introduced to the sacred musical instruments; when she enters the enclosure where the instruments sound, the diadem is pulled over her eyes so that she may not see them (Faldini, 1979, pp. 80-83). Cokwe (Zaire and Angola) circumcised boys make helmetlike hats of bark cloth and grasses that are painted red, topped with *ndua* feathers and provided with an eye screen of wicker for participation in the coming-out ceremonies of the *mukanda* initiations (Baumann, 1932, pp. 13-13). During the healing period following circumcision, Maasai (Kenya and Tanzania) boys make a personal headdress consisting of a large horseshoe-shaped frame to which ostrich feathers and stuffed birds are attached. Throughout this healing period, the highly prized

headdress is worn by the young men at ceremonies and dances (Saitoti and Beckwith, 1980, pp. 82-83, 96-97). Young adolescent male initiates of the Wovan (Papua New Guinea) dress for two years in the *yonggulit* net hat in the belief that the wearing of the net hat and the observation of numerous behavioral prescriptions linked with it will make their hair grow long, which is considered to be beautiful (Flanagan, 1981, pp. 42-43). For adolescents aged about fifteen among the Baruya (New Guinea Highlands) the most secret and sacred part of their initiation ritual consists in placing on the head a cane structure surmounted with a hornbill beak and two pig tusks that are pressed into the forehead (Godelier, 1980, p. 244).

It is well known that hair shaving and distinctive forms of hairdressing may be required for men and women bereaved by the death of one of their relatives. Special headdresses to be worn by men or women during the mourning period have also been devised. Pygmy women in mourning have a band of banana tree bark around their heads; the wives of a deceased *maki* initiate in Malekula (New Hebrides) are distinguished by a plaited cap that is dyed red in various patterns, while his daughters and mother receive a mourning headdress consisting of a strip of umbrella palm leaf (Layard, 1942, p. 396). Male mourners in New Caledonia wear a large rounded bark turban above their uncut hair (O'Reilly and Poirier, 1953). Special hoods and caps of woven string are typical mourning devices for women in many parts of New Guinea (Lewis, 1945, p. 226). When a woman goes into mourning among the Dunkwi Anga (eastern highlands, Papua New Guinea), she must dress in her husband's bark cape until she marries again (Mbagintao, 1971, p. 302). Melpa men place strands of *coix* seeds over their head and neck (Godelier, 1973).

Festivities and Celebrations. Numerous authors mention the use of special headdresses in certain festivities and ceremonies. It is not always clear if all male or female participants in such celebrations are required to wear them, if these are indeed ad hoc headdresses, or if even on these occasions criteria of status, age, sex, and social affiliation still intervene. Recurring dances and celebrations prescribed by the ceremonial calendar of events are occasions for making special ornaments, as among the Suya (Seeger, 1981, p. 47), and for displaying them, as among the Camayura and Bacairi (Oberg, 1953, pp. 58-71) of Brazil. At festive events participants are frequently requested to don their finest headdresses and ornaments or the most complete sets of them. In the Maghreb (North Africa), for example, the entire sumptuous women's costumes worn during the marriage week are also appropriate for feasts (Camps-Fabrer, 1970, p. 11; see also Delaby, 1981, p. 123, for the Kazakh and Kirghiz, U.S.S.R.). In Mount Hagen (New Guinea) formal dress is necessary for major celebrations, such as *moka* (ceremonial gift exchanges), cult manifestations, major funerals, and warfare (Strathern, 1979, pp. 243-44). Among the Tsembaga (New Guinea) the most valuable plumes (bird of paradise, parrot, eagle) form a distinctive class of valuables and their use is almost exclusively limited to display at the *kaiko* festivals (Rappaport, 1967, p. 191). On festive occasions Guayeka men of eastern Paraguay don high conical helmets made of the skin of newborn tapirs and jaguars and surmounted by a tuft of coati tail (Steward, 1946, vol. 1, p. 439).

Men among the Murngin (northwestern Australia) display vegetal headbands covered with white pipe clay or red ocher only in the *gunabibi, ulmark,* and *djungguan* ceremonies (Warner, 1958, p. 479). During mock battles that are a part of the preparatory events leading to the pig feasts, Dani (central highlands of Irian Jaya), boys and men have unusual headdresses made of moss. It is also on ceremonial occasions that women are required to wear the head ornaments of their husbands or other male relatives (for the Dani of Irian Jaya, see Heider, 1970, p. 252). There are fewer ceremonial instances in which men temporarily don women's dress. Male *wis-kwamba* dancers, performing at funerals in some Mossi (West Africa) areas, however, imitate a woman's coiffure with braided wigs (Roy, 1979, pp. 274–76).

Other Functions. Protective, talismanic, and apotrophaic functions of headdresses and their accessories are well known from the Islamic world. Benouniche (1977, p. 11), although recognizing their social significance (wealth, display, social rank), considers that North African jewels were originally talismans intended to avert bad fate, to reconcile nature, and to promote and protect life and fecundity. This is evident from the actual forms: the fish and triangle, for example, refer to fecundity; the hand, eye, rosace, and cruciform motifs are intended to repel the evil eye. The cartridges and boxes in various shapes that are an intrinsic part of many head ornaments contain Koranic texts with protective value (Eudel, 1906). The numerous precious and semiprecious stones included in the headdresses are power symbols. In Algeria and Tunisia, for example, topaze protects against jaundice and biliary afflictions, turquoise guards against hemorrhage and brings good luck and appeases anger, and ruby fortifies the heart and averts lightning and the threat of pest (Eudel, 1902, p. 248). These protective functions do not exclude the social, economic, and aesthetic significance of the ornaments (Marçais, 1958, p. 10) nor deep philosophical meanings linked with circles, triangles, and hexagons (Al-Jadir, 1981, p. 18). *Dzi* beads frequently found on Tibetan headdresses have protective value against spirits that bring disease and death.

Headdresses that function as power objects are known elsewhere. The net hats of the Wovan (New Guinea) help the hair to grow long, and the *tjemara* headdress of Atjeh (Indonesia) protects a woman againt the loss of hair. In the Nicobar Islands, men clearing plots for cultivation often wear around the head a wreath of split and plaited fresh green center leaves of the banana tree "to please the spirits of the jungle who take refuge under the leaves and now are dispossessed of shelter" (Whitehead, 1924, p. 91). In many areas of South America, headgear protects the head, which is the seat of the soul, against attacks by spirits, particularly in critical situations such as puberty, curing, and death (Karsten, 1926, p. 138). The Tapirape Indians of Brazil use red feather headdresses during dramatic ceremonies intended to lure the spiritual forces of lightning and thunder (Rabineau, 1979, p. 43). Headbands are used in love magic in western Australia (Berndt, R. and C., 1944, p. 157).

Other headdresses also occur in some societies as devices of disguise and markers of avoidance relationships. Balding men among the Dani (New Guinea) wear a wig of tiny black and red vine seeds strung on threads and attached to

the base of ordinary head nets (Heider, 1970, p. 248). Also among the Dani, men faced by spiritual crises may hide themselves from ghostly attack by draping women's nets over their heads (ibid., p. 241). Women in the northwestern Solomons (Melanesia) carry hoods of pandanus leaves to avoid the husbands of their daughters and sister's daughters and their brothers (Blackwood, 1935: see also Parkinson, 1907, p. 491). In Mount Hagen (New Guinea) people dress in feathers, paint, and leaves to disguise the "identity of the person as known through his physical features" (Strathern, 1979, p. 243).

Headdresses may also function as marks of etiquette, goodwill, and courtesy or as devices to honor someone. Among North American Indians, the conferment of headdresses by the kindred and initiates is often a form of honor shown the recipient (Hodge, 1907, vol. 1, pp. 17-19). The richly decorated headdress displayed by men of chiefly status among the Bella Coola has a hollow top filled with eagle down, which scatters about during the dance to indicate the chief's goodwill and generosity (Conn, 1974). In Mount Hagen (New Guinea) men put on a wig to greet a visitor (Strathern, 1979, pp. 243-44); when going on visits Kutubu (New Guinea) men wear a fringe of cassowary feathers to make an impressive appearance (Williams, 1940, p. 136).

Symbolic Messages

Headdresses function within a strictly delimited cultural and social context as material items that convey nonverbal information (see Leach, 1972, pp. 335-40). Some of these messages may be interpreted in myths, legends, songs, aphorisms, and general exegesis. Even though many texts and much of the native exegesis are still lacking in the published records, it is certain that they do exist. Among the Wovan of Papua New Guinea, for example, men in their early twenties participating in the cockatoo ceremony are told the origin myths of each item of dress (Flanagan, 1981, p. 45). Lega (Zaire) men, before receiving the bwami skullcap at the lowest level of the bwami association, learn about its meaning through a number of aphorisms sung in a dramatic action context in which the cap is handled as an initiation object: it is sacred and "comes from above" (i.e., no one can claim to have invented it); it is an indelible sign of initiate status and a symbol of personal fame as well of the eternity and omnipresence of the bwami association; it protects against death and calamity.

In many instances, headdresses, like other forms of vestimentary outfit and body adornment, seem to form a closed system of communication with its own rules and ineffable meanings. In the preceding pages it was noted that at the overt level the messages refer to the functional properties of headdresses. They relate to ethnic identity, kinship and group affiliation, sexual and age categories, social and ritual statuses, political offices, factors of prestige, wealth, and achievement, beauty canons, moods and sentiments, and magical considerations. At a deeper, often unexplored level, the messages are connected with cosmic ideas, relationships between beings and entities in the cosmos, values, philosophical and moral principles, aspects of social structure, and concepts about the human person. These messages are inspired and sustained by myths, taxonomic classifications, perceived attributes of animals, plants, minerals, and colors, and philosophical precepts; they are primarily conveyed, explicitly or implicitly, by the form and structure of the headdress, the design patterns, and the choice of materials. The crown with triple golden phallus worn by the Kaffa (Ethiopia) ruler is a sacred power object that symbolizes manhood, fertility, and heroism. The headpiece of woven cane through which an Umeda (Papua New Guinea) man draws his hair into a big knot at the top of the skull signifies controlled masculinity (Gell, 1975, pp. 297-302). In the feather headdress of the Plains Indians, each feather refers to an exploit. The headdress also symbolizes the council fire, and each feather stands for a member of the council; the central plume denotes the owner of the headdress (Coe, 1976, p. 175). The Zulu (South Africa) wear strings of

beads as coronets or around the neck and wrist. The proportions and colors of the beads and their combinations into certain patterns serve as personal messages about affective states and social situations prevailing among sweethearts (Grossert, 1978, pp. 51-60). Geometrical designs recurring in Islamic silverwork draw attention to deep philosophical meanings; for example, the circle stands for unity and eternity; the triangle, for spirit; and the square, for matter (Al-Jadir, 1981, p. 18). The Turkmen bride of Anatolia assumes the complex *kepez* headdress. In one of its variations it includes the following items and symbolic references: a copper plate, borrowed from a particularly fortunate neighbor, is placed on the head; above it is a white veil symbolizing purity, and a red one, marriage. Seven scarves of different colors are wrapped around the forehead; each relates to a certain quality, for example, red for happiness, green for nobility, violet for joy, and turquoise for good fortune (Tansug, 1981, p. 46).

The cosmic referents of headdresses have been discussed by some authors. Writing about the Bambara (West Africa), Dieterlen (1951, pp. 105-7) has noted that the materials involved in making dress are associated with certain aspects of metaphysics and that they exercise an action on the wearer. The *cema* skullcap that is presented at the initiations is made of yellow tainted bands and comprises two flaps, which symbolize not only ears but also a swallow's wings. In Bamana thinking, the swallow is dispatched by the aquatic spirit to inject into the womb a drop of blood that contains the life and soul of the child. The womb is indicated on each flap with two indigo dots. The stripes on the right flaps ensure numerous offspring, and those on the left flap a straight and secure life. The skullcap as a whole is conceived as a "link that maintains man's life"; it protects against cold as well as against misfortune and death.

Among the Dogon (West Africa), the *hogon* (chief, ritual leader) possesses a cylindrical headdress, slightly convex at the back, whose general shape suggests the moon. The *hogon* therefore may not wear the cap outdoors because it would disturb the course of the moon and the seasons. The cap is woven by eight ritual leaders (representing the eight mythical ancestors) from the stalks of seven sacred plants in a spiral pattern (from the center to the edge) symbolizing the path followed by the primordial cosmic seed. The female soul of the *hogon* resides in the cap; when he dies it is deposited in the granary near his home. Whenever a serious problem arises, the chiefs of the four Dogon tribes assemble around the headdress of the *hogon* of the Aru tribe. The latter speaks into his headdress to invoke the Creator Amma, and places it on the ground "as if it were a world upside down which has to be restored to order" (Griaule and Dieterlen, 1954, p. 99).

Cosmic connotations of headdresses have been described for other parts of the world. The halo-shaped horizontally worn headdress of yellow, red, and black feathers transforms the Urubu (South America) wearer into the sun: the halo represents the emblem of the sun's orbit (Huxley, 1957, p. 63). The Desana (Colombia) have a feather crown decorated with small vertically placed yellow feathers and long radial blue ones. The small feathers refer to the fertility of the sun and "the calm, hospitable conduct of the Desana"; the radial feathers signify contact and communication (Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1971, p. 116). The tall *takula ana'a* headdress worn by a Nias (Indonesia) chief represents the cosmic tree with

which a chief is identified (Barbier, 1978, p. 36 and pl. 28). In Tahiti the chief's feather toque, *te-ato-o-Tû* (lit., the cloud of Tû), is emblematic of the cloud in which the hero Tû found the divine baby Ro'o-te-ro'oro'o (Henry, 1928, pp. 286-87).

It is quite obvious that many materials derived from the animal world are selected because of their place in the hierarchical classification systems and because of their attributes and symbolic associations. Headdresses made of animal exuviae figure prominently in the *ncwala* national ritual of kingship among the Swazi of South Africa. Warriors, members of age-sets, priests, princes and princesses, the king, the queen and other wives of the king all wear on this occasion distinctive headbands, caps, crowns, or coronets manufactured with the feathers of prescribed species of birds. Warriors thus display a cap of black ostrich feathers with side pieces made of the long black feathers of the widow bird; princes don the red feathers of the lourie bird; the king's crown includes lourie, brown hornbill, eagle, ostrich, and widow bird feathers. Each bird species is selected because of perceived qualities, such as beauty, dignity, fertility, long life, defiance of death, and destructive power. Direct analogies with kingship are established through them: for example, the lourie bird shows the beauty of kingship, and the eagle, strength and farsightedness. The various animal species used for the headdresses and the other items of costume "concretise intangibles by representing a range of cosmic powers" (Kuper, 1973a, pp. 613-30). In some parts of Africa, chiefs wear a hat made of leopard hide to establish direct identity, and not just equivalence, with the animal: chiefs become leopards when they die. The hat of goat hide worn by an initiate of yananio grade in the bwami association of the Lega (Zaire) is adorned near the front rim with the two outer teeth of the dendrohyrax. Like the dendrohyrax, this initiate is a "climber," that is, a man who has risen high in the hierarchy through personal effort (Biebuyck, 1982). Owners of the circumcision rites among the Komo (Zaire) dress in a hat of osteolaemus crocodile hide, which is shaped like an obtuse cone. The hat is perceived to resemble the head of the giant pangolin; during the final ceremonies, the owners of the circumcision rites use the hat to represent the pangolin's snout, while they impersonate the animal's characteristic movements. The osteolaemus crocodile and the giant pangolin play a vital role in the circumcision rituals because of their classification as *nyama esomba,* ritual animals whose anatomical characteristics suggest symbolic relationships with the elders (de Mahieu, 1980, pp. 38-39).

Plants used as materials for headdresses and floral motifs incorporated into the designs have numerous symbolic references. Walbiri (Australia) men participating in one of the *banba* ceremonies don a doughnutlike headdress made with *mulga* branches and wrapped with strings of hair to represent the camp and the animal's hole (Munn, 1973, pp. 189-205). Newly circumcised boys among the Maasai (East Africa) display a headband of blue beads into which a stalk of green grass is inserted as a symbol of prosperity (Saitoti and Beckwith, 1980, p. 76). Among the Yörük Turkmen of Anatolia, the floral motifs on women's coifs refer to statuses (girl, bethrothed, spouse, mother, etc.) and also to moods and states of mind; the yacinth motif, for example, symbolizes love and happiness (Tansug, 1981, p. 47).

★
★ ★

In the following geographically organized plates the vast spectrum of forms, materials, usages, functions, and meanings of headdresses are illustrated with examples selected from the collection of N. Van den Abbeele (Brussels). Certain plates also show some objects in actual use. The photographs offer basic visual information; thus, the actual description of form and materials has been reduced to the most essential aspects. The exact ethnic and regional determination of the headdresses is frequently difficult because some are distributed cross-ethnically, while others represent local specializations. The discussion of contexts, usages, functions, and meanings point in several instances to the lack of relevant precise and multilevel information.