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MUKANDA INITIATION RITES

The young men's Mukanda initiation rites occur in a vast region extending over southern Zaire, northeastern Angola, and northern Zambia. In this article, we will examine several questions: what is Mukanda (geographical and ethnic distribution, structure, organization, and purpose); what types of artworks (semantic, formal, and functional categories) are used in the rites; who commissions, makes, owns, and inherits them; where are the objects kept and how and when are they discarded or destroyed; by whom, how, when, where, and for what purposes are the artworks used; what are the general and the specific meanings of the artworks.

Definition

The complex Mukanda institution is placed under the control of political authorities, ritual experts, and elders. Held periodically within the context of an autonomous local community, the immediate aim of Mukanda is the circumcision of small groups of boys and young men. The rites extend over many months and involve more than the actual operation and healing. The purposes include the affirmation of values that are expressed in the formal learning of techniques, behavioral codes, texts, songs, and dances and in the enactment of ritual dramas, including masquerades. The rites are also connected with concerns about collective and individual solidarity, well-being, and fertility. Mukanda includes a sequence of dramatic rites that evolve according to an overall tripartite spatial scheme: they begin in the village, continue in several secluded parts of the bush, and end in the village. Some phases of the ritual are made public, and the women may act as participants or distant onlookers. Other private and secret stages exclude women and uncircumcised men. Mukanda is thus a complex rite-de-passage, an educational institution, an artistic center, and a religious drama.

Cultural and Geographical Distribution

Complex rituals that coincide with boys' and young men's circumcision and culminate in a prolonged seclusion period are widespread but not universal in the area of southern Zaire, northeastern Angola, and northern Zambia. In some ethnic groups of southwestern Zaire, such as the southern Mbala, Dzing, Ngongo, and Mbuun, very young boys are circumcised without ceremony; in others, such as the Holo or Wuum, boys are circumcised when they are a few days old but pass through more complex rituals at puberty. Elaborate rites are found among various divisions of the Kongo people in southwestern Zaire, northwestern Angola, and the Congo Republic, among the Luba in southeastern Zaire, and among the Bembe, Lega, Nyanga, Komo, and Enya of eastern Zaire. The following peoples hold the Mukanda rites:

1. Cokwe, Ndembu, Lwena (Luvale), Lucazi, Lwimbi, Minungu, Ngangela, Mbunda, Mbundu, Mbwela, Songo, Mbangala, Shinji; the so-called Wiko immigrants into Barotseland; and the Lunda of Kahemba. Although the Lunda ruled by the paramount Mwaant a Yaav in Zaire have had a deep cultural impact on all these groups, they do not have the elaborate form of mukanda.
2. Tukongo (related to Ding and Lwalwa), Benamai, Salampasu, and Ket.
3. Yaka, Nkanu, Suku, Pelende, Tsaam, Pindi, Luwa, and Soonde.
4. Pende.

The historical linkages between the Mukanda rites of groups 1 and 2 and of groups 3 and 4 are not documented. The rites of all these groups have many organizational and structural features in common, including the use of masks, which may differ in style but still show similarities in use, function, and meaning.

The present analysis deals mainly with peoples listed in group 1. According to Guthrie (1971, pp. 52-53, 55), they belong to four different linguistic groups--H20 Kimbundu: Mbundu and Songo; H30 Kiyaka: Mbangala and Shinji; KlO Chokwe-Luchazi: Cokwe, Lwimbi, Ngangela, Lucazi, Lwena (Luvale), Mbunda, Mbwela; L50 Lunda: Lunda (Ruund). These groups belong to the Lunda and Kimbundu culture clusters among the central Bantu (Murdock, 1959, pp. 285, 292-93).

Organization and Structure

Mukanda is distributed among many politically independent ethnic groups in a huge contiguous geographical region. Numerous variations thus occur in the complexity and elaboration of the rites, in the actual organizational stages, in the ages and number of the novices, in the duration, and in the nomenclature. Most of these peoples do not have centralized political states. The Cokwe, for example, are widely dispersed in southwestern and southeastern Zaire and in Angola and Zambia. Cokwe subgroups show significant cultural variations because of their geographical separation and their interaction with ethnic groups of diverse origin. Since the local communities that organize the rites act autonomously, regional differences are to be expected. These variations are manifested, for example, in the masks, which can be abundant and diverse in one group but scarce in another. Masks have been diffused across groups. Differently named masks may exercise similar functions in different groups; similarly named masks may have different functions. Despite the variations, the Mukanda rites have several salient features in common:

- **Personnel**: The rites are organized by individuals whose roles are well defined but complementary. While the local chiefs, chefs de terre, village headmen, and elders occupy a permanent position in the social and political system, others exercise special functions only in reference to the Mukanda rites. The principal categories of participants are: the holder, organizer, or establisher of the rites; the specialized ritual expert (*nganga mukanda*; *muka funda*) who knows the protective medicines; the circumcisers and their aides; the tutors, sometimes with a head tutor, and their attendants; the specialized teachers (e.g., head drummer and song master); an old woman who is the head cook (*nyacifwa*); the novices, sometimes ranked dyadically (always with the most senior and the most junior boy). The masked impersonators are recruited from these categories of persons.
- **Spatial layout**: Well-defined ritual activities take place consecutively in various places: the main village (the dance ground, the dwellings, a special shelter, a shrine), the bush (clearings where the novices are circumcised and bleed; the lodge; special clearings outside the lodge; the kitchen area; the river; the bush itself), the main village and other villages.
- **Ritual phases**: The entire Mukanda ritual is structured as a sequence of dramas expressing the themes of death and rebirth, fertility, protection, purity, discipline, and restraint:
    - The preliminaries, lasting several weeks, involve the selection of personnel and sites, the preparation of food, beer, medicines, costumes, and masks, the magical protection of the novices, and prolonged public dances.
    - Abduction of the novices: dramatic performances lead to the removal of the novices from the village; they are taken to a clearing in the bush and undressed.

- Operation: the novices are successively circumcised, often in a fixed order {determined by the social structure), and left to bleed and rest in separate clearings.
- Seclusion period: the novices spend from several months to two or three years in a secluded lodge and the surrounding bush. Numerous behavioral prescriptions are imposed during seclusion, but it is primarily a time of intensive learning about customs, techniques, oral traditions, and choreography.
- Return to the village: the final return, often preceded by a temporary incursion into the village, coincides with the destruction of the lodge and of many items used during seclusion. The return of the novices is marked by elaborate dance performances, which may continue for weeks in the main village and move to other villages in the region.

THE MASKS

Sculptures other than masks rarely occur in Mukanda. The small *cikunza* figurines carved with a tall conical headdress are placed on the trail leading to the lodge to prevent non-initiates and evil forces from entering (Bastin, 1977). Small mannequins representing Kalelwa have a similar use and function (Bastin, 1982). For protection, the ritual expert (*nganga mukanda*) may place a snakelike figure (*mwina*) in the camp (Borgonjon, 1945). Maskers such as Ciheu dance with a wooden doll-like figurine (called *mwana*, child) wrapped in netting. At coming-out ceremonies, Baumann (1932, pp. 16-17) saw novices giving dolls to the women, who rocked them and then returned them with gifts.

Masks are the dominant artistic element in Mukanda. The number of masks used differs from region to region, even from lodge to lodge. Masks may be essential, optional, or appear only occasionally. Although many masks are confined to the Mukanda context, others may occur *in* broader ritual and political activities a s well as in entertainment-oriented dramatic performances. Mukanda masks are classified into numerous semantic, morphological, and functional categories, which may be widespread or more limited in geographical distribution. Regardless of the differences in local and regional patterns, many common principles underlie the use of masks.

Technology and Morphology

All masks are worn on the head. (The only exception is a copper mask from the Tukongo, but its primary function lies outside the Mukanda.) The complete outfit of the masker comprises several parts:

- The "head," or the mask itself (called *buza* among the Cokwe of Zaire; Nange, 1974) to which may be affixed a headdress, plaits, braids, fur, hair, a beard, a moustache, feathers, or cloth. The mask may also have engraved, burned, or colored designs, earrings, or mouthpieces.
- The costume, which usually includes several items, such as netted pants and shirt (called *molu* and *civuvu* among the Cokwe of Zaire; Nange, 1974), hides, loincloth, fiber collarets, belts, beaded necklaces, anklet bells, colored designs and breasts may be added to the shirt.
- The dance paraphernalia carried by the masker, such as a whip, baton, club, ax, sword, rattle, bells, swatter, phallus, or doll-like figurine.

The distinctive identity of a masker results from combinations of these materials and his association with characteristic paraphernalia, dance steps, gestures, movements, music, songs, and modes of

speaking. Baumann (1935) distinguishes five types of masks based on the primary materials used for the "heads": masks in bark, in bark and resin, in hide, and network and wooden masks. Lima (1967, p. 123) adds masks in resin, in bark and cloth, in resin and cloth, in wickerwork, in wickerwork and resin, and, for the Tukongo group alone, in copper. He also distinguishes among face masks, false masks, helmets, full-length or dress masks, and half masks.

Masks can be classified into two basic types:

1. Construction masks:
   - Hoods: head covering in network or bark with half-calabash eyes and mouth (e.g., worn by Katwa, Ngzi, Ngondo).
   - Face masks: some made from bark stretched over a framework of bent branches; others constructed with bark coverings and resin molding over a frame of bent branches. Most masks have headdresses and back pieces to cover the head when the mask is worn. Cloth, fiber, fur, and feathers may be attached and polychrome coloring and designs applied.
2. Carved wooden masks: Made in prescribed woods, these masks are colored red and oiled and may have various decorative designs. Some masks have a headdress or an imitation hairdo; others are adorned with tufts of feathers, strips of cloth, beads, and other materials.

Semantic and functional types of masks may occur both as construction and carved masks. Except for a few faceless masks, most exhibit anthropomorphic traits (in general or in particular facial traits), although numerous stylizations and distortions are possible (the most "realistic" masks are those carved in wood). Numerous additions and designs transform the anthropomorphic mask into a unique configuration in which aspects of man, nature, society, and technology are blended and reflected (Turner ????). Only a few construction and wooden masks are explicitly zoomorphic (Ngulu, Hundu, and Kanga; Bastin, 1982). An anthropomorphic mask may be bifrontal (e.g., Cikungu; Bastin, 1982).

Nomenclature

Authors agree that the generic term for masks is based on the root *-kishi* (except for the Mbundu *ocinganji*, Lwimbi *ovinganji*, and Ngangela *kangandi*; Hambly, ????, p. 34; Tucker, ????, p. 49; Bastin, ????, p. 69). Combining the root with different prefixes to form *li-*/*makishi*, i/*makishi*, *mu*/*mikishi*, or *mu*/*akishi* complicates the understanding of the meanings of the term. For the Ndembu, for example, Turner (1962) makes a distinction between i/*makishi*, the masked dancers and costumes at initiations and funerals, and *mu*/*akishi*, a shade inflicting misfortune on the living. Gluckman (1974) notes that for the Wiko the root *-kishi* denotes an ancestor, a wooden figurine representing an ancestor, and a more abstract power in nature that is concentrated in some object. The term *-kishi* is definitely related to the words *nkisi*, *nkir*, and *nkit*, which are used by the Kongo, Yaka, Suku, and Yansi. For Laman (1936), the Kongo term *nkisi*, covers a range of meanings such as fetish, sorcery, bewitching, magical force, charm, or sickness caused by a fetish. The Suku, according to Lamal (1965), define *mukishi* or *kishi* as a material object, manufactured through the intermediacy of a ritual expert (*nganga*), that is capable of capturing a force which then operates through the object. Neither male nor female and not an ancestor, this force is inherent in nature and remains undefined until it is concretized in an object through the ritual action of mixing appropriate ingredients.

Mukanda masks are known by individual names (over sixty are documented). Morphologically different masks tend to be recognized as distinct semantic types, but morphologically similar masks may also fall in different semantic categories. In addition, a particular mask "character" is defined by the total combination of mask, costume, paraphernalia, dance steps, and movements. Across ethnic groups masks may differ in name and form but have the same meaning and function. For example, the Cokwe Cizaluke, the Lwena Cileya, and the Mbunda Pumpu (together with other masks such as Cindombe, Mutombu, Sumba, Ciheu) all represent a foolish character in the dance context (Lima, 1967).

Bastin (????) and Lima (????) distinguish two categories of masks: profane (*akisi a kuhangana*) and ritual (*akisi a kukumbuka*). Some masks, like the famous wooden Pwo and Cihongo, are considered to be profane because they occur in public dance performances staged by professional dancers. Most are classified as ritual masks because they occur in the context of the Mukanda rites as patrons, guardians, and "interveners," although some have additional functions in the investiture and exercise of political authority, in healing, hunting, and funerary rites, and, at least among some ethnic groups, in the activities of closed associations. This distinction between profane and ritual is artificial. Baumann (1932), for example, indicates that although the wooden Pwo and Cihongo masks had been used in public dances since the 1880s, they had formerly been connected with the Mukanda rites. Information on the manufacture and disposal of the wooden masks points to profound spiritual values.

Masks may be essential for the rites, occur only in special circumstances, or be optional. In spite of the local and regional variations, some features recur:

- Cikunza and Kalelwa masks and their assistants Cinyanga, Citamba, and Citelela (or their namesakes and equivalents in groups other than Cokwe) are the patrons and protectors of Mukanda.
- The Cikungu mask and the equivalents Katotola among the Lwena or Samahongo among the Mbunda intervene only in crisis situations.
- Other masks, including the so-called profane ones, appear at some stage in the Mukanda rites, either publicly or privately, but they may be more numerous and diversified in some ethnic groups and regions than in others.

Manufacture, Commission, Ownership, Usage, Preservation, and Destruction

The literature is confusing on the manufacture, commission, ownership, usage, preservation, and destruction of the masks. This stems from generalizations that ignore ethnic and regional differences, vague analyses, confusions made between a mask and its costume and between a real mask and a model or apprentice work, and subsequent internal changes. The following general conclusions, however, may be drawn from the available data:

Manufacture

Wooden masks are carved by professional sculptors (*songi*), who may also make construction masks. Construction masks essential to the rites are made by specialists (Bastin, 1982), sometimes by the performers, the tutors, or the novices. All masks are made in secrecy from prescribed materials. Some masks are manufactured before or during the Mukanda rites (e.g., novices learn how to make masks in the seclusion lodge; Bastin, 1982; Crowley, 1966): others that are status insignia or belong to

professional dancers are made whenever a new mask is needed because the old one had lost its power, was buried, or destroyed.

Commission

Masks are commissioned by status holders, professional dancers, tutors, novices of a previous mukanda cycle, and by the novices actually passing through the rites. Redinha (1956) describes the commissioning of the wooden masks by professional dancers. These men inherit this right matrilineally (e.g., from a maternal uncle) and, as the result of oracles, must continue the tradition or they will be "killed" by the spirit of their predecessor's mask. The masks are carved secretly by professional sculptors from wood cut from a prescribed tree growing alone in the forest. (Women must never use firewood from this tree because they would become mad.) When the dancer commissions the mask, he acts as a bridegroom would with his father-in-law, the sculptor, by providing him with a copper bracelet. The sculptor offers the bracelet and medicines at the foot of a sacred *musole* or *musala* tree to ensure that no spirit remains there. The patron pays a head of cattle or she-goats when the mask is completed.

Usage

The masks are worn by the chef de terre, his nephew, or son, by professional dancers who are devotees of the mask cults, by tutors, by the novices of previous Mukanda rites, and in some instances by the actual novices. Most masks are worn vertically before the face; in several cases, however, the mask is placed high so that the dancer looks through the fringes of the mask. The general behavior of those wearing the masks varies: they may sing, shout, speak through voice modifiers (e.g., mirlitons built on the inside of the mask), or remain silent. All have distinctive steps and movements: they stand, walk, run, jump, dance, chase, stride fiercely or solemnly. Some mimic, entertain, and frolic, while others are threatening or violent.

Preservation and destruction

Masks may be preserved either in the house of paraphernalia or in a mask house, or concealed in calabashes near the burned lodge, in the dancer's village, or in the thatch of the men's house (Ndembu; Turner, 1967). Some masks are also destroyed with the lodge at the coming-out rites. When an old wooden mask is thought to have lost its spiritual power, it is wrapped with its costume in cloth or bark and then placed in a solitary grave with offerings and invocations. When the owner of a wooden mask dies, the mask is housed in a small shack in the bush under the supervision of a male relative and is later abandoned there or buried. A sororal nephew may inherit the mask after special treatments to revitalize it.

Role of the Masks

Considerable differences occur in the types and numbers of masks involved, in the time and place of appearance, and in their activities during the Mukanda rituals. The following scheme summarizes the various roles of the masks:

Preliminary activities

During the weeks preceding the abduction of the novices, distinctive masks occasionally appear in public:

- During the preparation of corn beer by women:
  - a *likishi* helps the women among the Wiko (Gluckman, 1974)
  - Cikunza, Kalelwa, and Mbwembweto plunge the corn in the water for fermentation among the Cokwe of Angola (Bastin, 1961).
  - Ngondo or Mulimbula arrive with the ritual expert in the village and pour out the corn for brewing among the Cokwe of Dilolo (Borgonjon, 1945).
- During the preparation of the medicines:
  - Katotola and the most senior novice prepare medicines, which Katotola takes to the circumcisionarea among the Luvale (White, 1961).
  - Cikunza, Kalelwa, and Mbwembweto accompany the circumciser to the forest to fetch medicines among among the Cokwe in Angola (Bastin, 1961).
  - Kalelwa helps Nacifwa make the medicines given to the novices before the operation; he also drinks corn beer and medicines with the circumciser (ibid.).
  - the novices, assisted by a masker, collect leaves, which are pounded by Nacifwa for aspersion among the Cokwe of southwestern Zaire {Nange, 1974).
- During invocations: Katotola is taken to the ancestral shrine of the holder of the rites for invocations among the Luvale (White, 1961).
- During consecration of the masks: among the Lwena of Dilolo, Katotoji accompanies the men and circumcisors to the forest and is consecrated with medicines placed under the hides he wears (Delille, 1930).
- During selection of sites for the operation and the lodge: Cikunza, Kalelwa, and Mbwembweto indicate these sites among the Cokwe of Angola (Bastin, 1961).
- During collective dances:
  - to lead a dance: three or four masks among the Cokwe of Dilolo (Crowley, 1982).
  - to amuse the dancing women: Cileya among the Luvale (White, 1961), Ngondo or Mulimbula among the Cokwe of Dilolo (Borgonjon, 1945).
  - to chase and to terrorize women and noninitiates: Katotola among the Luvale, holding a sword and a spear, dances frenetically and kills a goat (White, 1961); Katotola wa Lisalasala among the Wiko dashes into the village and chases the noninitiates (Gluckman, 1974).

Abduction of the novices

The moment the novices are separated from their mothers is announced by the sudden arrival of a masker and his helpers. The masker may seize a boy and take him to the operation site. Katotola among the Luvale leads the senior novice to the circumcision place, and Katotoji among the Lwena removes the boys' clothing or guides the men and the novices to the bush (e.g., Cokwe; Bauman, 1935). The maskers also keep recalcitrant novices and overzealous mothers in check.

For the Cokwe of Angola the appearance of Kalelwa is an absolute signal for the novices to leave.

Operation and bleeding

The operation takes place in a clearing in the bush (called fwilo, fwiyo, or cifwa) away from the village and the lodge. One by one, the circumcised novices are led to a second clearing where they bleed, rest, and receive protective medicines. The masks do not play an active role in the operation, and, in contrast to other Zaire groups, the circumcisers have no special relationship with the masks. Among

the Cokwe of Angola, the masks are aligned in the village during the circumcision (Baumann, 1935); among the Cokwe of Dilolo, Kalelwa runs with a whip to restrain the children during the operation (Maes, 1932); among the Cokwe of southwestern and southeastern Zaire, the novices, before going into seclusion, are invited to catch and unmask Kalelwa or Cikuza (Borgonjon, 1945; Nange, 1974).

Seclusion period

The period extends over many months, sometimes a few years. Although it is known that masks intervene on different occasions, no complete overview is available for any one ethnic group and authors frequently refer to masks without indicating the full context. Three major phases can be distinguished: the healing period, the post-healing activities, and the last days before the coming-out rites. Some masks play a role throughout the entire seclusion period, while others function only at certain times and for specific purposes. Cikunza, Kalelwa, and other masked helpers participate in seclusion activities, at least in some areas. Crowley (1973) notes, among the Cokwe of Dilolo, that each day before dawn the novices, awakened by the whip of Cikunza, dance for one hour while the masker criticizes their steps and timing: in the late afternoon, these dance lessons are supervised by the Kalelwa mask (placed on a pole) and the older novices. For the Cokwe of Angola, Kalelwa and his masked helpers (e.g., Citelela) provide food when necessary (Bastin, 1961). The masks seem to have little importance during the healing period. Novices among the Cokwe of Dilolo must not wear a mask or even look at its interior structure (Borgonjon, 1945). Among the Luvale, Katotola hides near the lodge; the novices are successively sent to him, and he drags them into the bush as if he had killed them. When all the novices have passed through the ordeal, they are invited to "behead" the masker, that is, to unfasten the strings that tie the mask to the costume and reveal the identity of the dancer (White, 1961). Shortly after all novices are healed, rites are held in the presence of masks. Among the Luvale, the Cokwe of southwestern and southeastern Zaire, and the Wiko, the maskers escort the novices to their ritual bath. The maskers protect the novices from women and non-initiates, but they also prepare the medicines used to treat the people of the village. Among the Wiko, the maskers appear in the village to prepare medicines, help women brew beer, and also entertain women by depicting characters such as the good chief, beautiful maiden, old man, young man (Gluckman, 1974).

Ndembu maskers emerge at the *chikula* rite after the novices have been healed. Led by the senior tutor of the lodge, Mvwengi and Katotoji come to the camp; the maskers beat the novices, who are carried on their tutors' backs; the novices are consoled by their fathers. With the women present, the maskers give a silent show near the campfire and are led to the village shrines and given the names of remote male ancestors. Later that same day the maskers perform in the parents' camp and in the sponsoring village (Turner, 1967).

During the entire seclusion period, the maskers make regular visits to the village to collect gifts, entertain, and chase women (e.g., among the Mbwela of southeastern Angola, Kubik, 1977; among the Wiko, Gluckman, 1974). Sources indicate that during the seclusion period boys actually make masks (Bastin, 1961; Crowley, 1982) and netted mask costumes (Baumann, 1935) and also learn how to sing and dance (Ngangela; Bastin, 1969). The private and public activities of the maskers increase at the conclusion of the seclusion period. One month before the end, the Cokwe of Dilolo hold beer feasts, mock fights between men and women, and masked dances (Borgonjon, 1945). Among the Ngangela, shortly before the coming-out rites, the maskers are aligned around the camp enclosure;

blindfolded novices crawl under their legs and are whipped and encircled by more maskers; some of them are unmasked and the novices are asked to name them; the maskers then sing and dance (Baumann, 1935; Bastin, 1969).

Coming-out rites

Among the Cokwe of Angola, Kalelwa leads the novices back to the village (Bastin, 1961). Maes (1932) indicates that the novices among the Cokwe of Dilolo and Sandoa wear masks at the coming-out rites and perform dances in the villages for two or three days. The masks are then burned, while Kalelwa runs into the bush, tears his costume, removes the mask and tramples it, and throws everything into the river. According to Borgonjon (1945), however, novices are forbidden to don masks for at least one year after the coming-out ceremonies. After their public dance exhibitions and a ritual bath, the novices swear on the *ngondo* mask that they will never reveal the secrets of the circumcision rites; a weeping tutor then breaks a stick on the mask as a malediction. Ngangela maskers perform at the coming-out rites, and the masks are burned (Baumann, 1935; Bastin, 1969). Nange (1974) mentions a special case among the Cokwe of southwestern Zaire: the secret death of a novice is revealed at the coming-out rites by a mask made from a blackened calabash.

Functions

Although no complete overview of the role of Mukanda masks is available, it is known that many masks are multifunctional and that their functions can be determined from the contexts (village, *fwilo*, lodge, bush, river) of usage. Masks act as agents of social control: they are the supreme guardians of the lodge; their awesome power enables them to escort, watch, discipline, and restrain the novices. The masks symbolically kill the novices and guarantee the secrecy of the initiation through an oath taken on them. On their visits to the villages, the masks chase women and non-initiates, separate sons and mothers fetch food, and beg for gifts. They also participate magically in the preparation of beer and medicines and in the sacrifice of animals. Their power is intensified by consecration at the village shrines.

Masks may represent human characters, such as a foo1 or an old man. They frolic, mimic, and entertain, thus contributing to the release of tensions during the Mukanda period. Other masks, also depicting characters, perform during the dance tours following the Mukanda. Although their purpose is entertainment and the procurement of fees, they nevertheless also dispense a magical force.

Masks may have special functions outside the Mukanda. Cikungu, for example, the largest construction mask, appears in the Mukanda only in crisis situations. It is owned by the *mwanangana* (chef de terre), the person who holds ancestral land (*cifuci*) and may be worn only by him or his nephew. The mask is part of the *mwanangana's* paraphernalia and is kept in a small shrine house (*mutenji*) with the *lukano* bracelet, a conus necklace, an ax, an execution sword, and *mahamba* figurines. The mask appears at the enthronement rites of the *mwanangana*, at ancestral propitiations, and at the building of the enclosure for the *mahamba*. Traditionally, the mask could be seen only by the *mwanangana* and other notables. These same functions are associated with the Katotola mask of the Lwena, the Ngongo Munene copper mask of the Tukongo, the large Kakungu and Kazeba masks of the Suku, and the Phumbu and Mbologoto of the Pende (Bastin, 1961).

The Cokwe Kalelwa, prominent in Mukanda, also participates in rituals to avert rain (Bastin, 1961). Mvwengi of the Ndembu performs in female fertility rites (Turner, 1969), and Kandangu Kamashika of the Lunda of Zambia appears in mourning dances during funerary ceremonies for headmen (Turner, 1953). Among the Lunda of Kahemba (southwestern Zaire), maskers participate in the men's *mungonge* initiations (Struyf, ????). Capello and Ivens (1882) and Redinha (1956) also refer to the judicial functions of masks. Correct interpretation is hindered because the authors are vague about the type of mask used in these circumstances. The precise links between masks and political authority is not clearly established. In addition to the above mentioned *mwanangana* who owns Cikungu, the Cokwe of Angola have other authorities: the *mwata* (or *mwene*), appointed by the *mwanangana*, who controls villages within the landed domain; the *sukullu*, the village headman; and the *kalamba*, the lineage head. Whether or not these officials own masks, however, is unknown.

Although various authors refer to the functional hierarchies of masks, the classification systems of distinctive ethnic groups are generally undocumented. Bastin (1961) identifies Cikungu as the most important mask, even though it only occasionally enters the Mukanda proceedings; she distinguishes between a few mandatory masks (e. g., Cikunza, Kalel wa, and Katwa) and many optional ones (e.g., Cihongo, Pwo, and Ngulu). The latter masks occur in different numbers and combinations from group to group. Among the Cokwe of Dilolo, Crowley (1972) finds four essential masks (Cikunza, Kalelwa, Cihongo, and Mwana Pwo) out of the usual eight or ten. Bastin (1961) and Lima (1967) also indicate that masks may be subordinate to others. For example, the hoodlike network mask called Katwa is followed in hierarchical order by Mbwembweto, Nakazimu, and Ngondo, which look alike and perform similar tasks under Katwa's authority. A mask type, such as the wooden Pwo that represents a beautiful and graceful female dancer, may evoke related characters such as Napasa, Mwafina, Nandonji, or Nakundundu in different regions and contexts (Lima, 1967).

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