

Some Nigerian String Figures

by

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ABSTRACT

Fifteen previously unknown photographs of Nigerian string figures taken by N.W. Thomas, between 1909 and 1911 and held in the Royal Anthropological Institute archives in London are analysed and reconstructed methods are suggested for all of the designs, using techniques described in previous collections from nearby geographical regions.

INTRODUCTION

Northcote Whitridge Thomas (1868–1936) served as RAI assistant secretary from 1900–1 and as a British government anthropologist who conducted two field research tours in Southern Nigeria between 1909 and 1911. As well as hundreds of wax cylinder sound recordings he also assembled a major artifact collection. His thousands of field photographs were split between the Royal Anthropological Institute (glass plate negatives) and Cambridge (albums of prints). Among the pictures in the RAI collection are 15 images of Nigerian string figures, which are reproduced and analysed in the article. These are among the earliest photographs of African string figures that have so far been discovered. From a study of extension positions and discernible string crossings, and aided by comparison with African collections made by Hornell, Haddon and Treleaven, and others, the following article suggests likely construction methods.

Nigerian titles for each design, literal English translations of those titles, and brief notes were handwritten by N.W. Thomas in a log book (MS 467) that accompanies his glass plate negatives. In this article both the RAI accession number and the number etched onto the glass plate negative by Thomas are listed. The latter number proved most useful in sorting and identifying the images. Oddly, identical numbers often appear on two negatives, but the number's position on the negative varies in a consistent manner (it alternates between upper right (UR) and lower left (LL) in the corresponding prints). This firmly establishes the order in which the string figures were photographed, and thus allows each image to be unambiguously matched with entries in the log book. Readers should note that for photographic purposes, informants were asked to display the final figure upside down in front of a board and paper background placed at waist level. However, the instructions in this article de-

scribe how the final figure would normally be displayed (for example, in front of the chest with arms bent at the elbow and fingers pointed up). A cropped and rotated version of each photograph, showing only the string figure as seen by the maker, is provided with the instructions. The original uncropped photograph is reproduced at the end of this article (under the heading “Plates”). It must also be noted that Thomas’s handwriting is often difficult to read. It is therefore likely that some of the Nigerian words in this article are misspelled.

The final designs are typical of others collected in various parts of Africa and quite distinct from collections in other parts of the world. Similarly the extension methods are quite distinctive and appear to be common throughout the continent of Africa south of the Sahara desert. String game collections have predominately come from the Niger-Congo/Congo-Kordofanian language family to which the area from which the photographs originate also belongs.

A common feature in the final display is the use of the middle and index fingers to hold the upper frame line, while thumbs press down on the near index string to create the lower frame line.

The use of these fingers in this collection strongly suggests the common use of the Kru (pronounced ‘Chwru’) opening as described by Hornell 1930:103. Hornell’s collection from the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (1940) does not show the same propensity of middle finger, index finger and wrist loop moves, perhaps because his informants were from an Afro-Asiatic language group.

In figures that require a “dive-down” extension, extra tension is added to the final design by wrapping the frame string around the thumb and little finger respectively before the design is displayed.

Among the Ibo (Igbo) of Southern Nigeria, the generic word for string figure is *akpukba* or *akpokpa* (Thomas 1913-14, 2:126, “cat’s cradle”). The equivalent term among the Edo is not listed in Thomas’s published report (Thomas 1910).

TERMINOLOGY

See the nomenclature section at the end of this volume.

Kru Opening

Hold LH with its palm facing the floor, fingers pointing away. With the RH place the string loop over the L forearm so that there is a loop on each side of the L forearm: a *near forearm loop* at the thumb side of the L forearm, and a *far forearm loop* at the little finger side of the L forearm. With the RH from the right enter the *near forearm loop* and the *far forearm loop*, then bring hands to an upright Normal Position. See Tessmann, Reichert, and Sherman (2001:171, figs. 52 and 53) for illustrations of the Kru Opening.

STRING FIGURE INSTRUCTIONS

1. RAI 16249, negative 2836 UR, eta nariwani ori (trap to catch thief)

1. Opening A.
2. Release 5 loop but do not pull tight, allowing a *large loop* to hang down from the far side of the figure.
3. With a throwing movement bring the *large loop* over the 2 and 1 loops towards the near side of the figure.
4. 2f now passes along the palmar side of 2 and 1. With 1, hook down 2f through 1 loop allowing the original 1 loop to slip off.
5. Extend with palms facing away from the body, 2 pointing up and 1 pointing down (fig. 1, plate 1).

This figure is known throughout West Africa, and often has the same name. See Tessmann, Reichert, and Sherman (2001:133-134) for distribution notes. In most locations a second player inserts a hand or finger into the lower trapezoid. When the first player releases his thumb loops and extends the figure, the second player is caught in a noose.

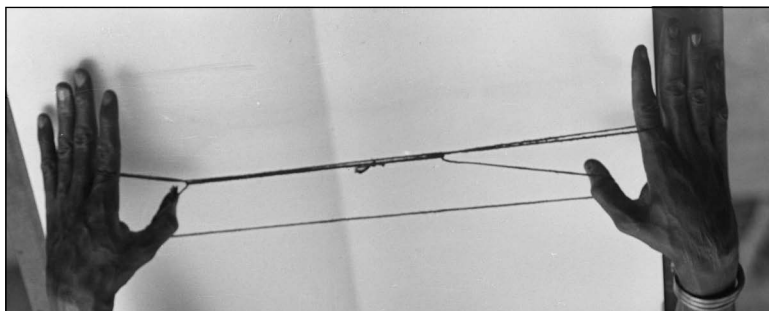


Fig. 1 - trap to catch thief

2. RAI 16250, negative 2836 LL, okba mwo fiebu mwadu (basket spirits use to carry person)

1. Kru Opening.
2. Two strings cross in the middle between the hands: one string runs from the far side of the L wrist to the near side of the R wrist, and the other string runs from the near side of the L wrist to the far side of the R wrist. With tips of R12 from above grasp these crossing strings slightly at the left from where they cross, pass them between L2 and L3 toward the dorsal side of the LH; pass the string which runs from the Lf wrist around the dorsal side of L3, then back towards LH palmar side between L3 and L4;

pass the string running from the Ln wrist around the dorsal side of L2, then back towards LH palmar side between L2 and L1. Release grip of R12.

3. With R2 pick up L2n from the near side and with R3 pick up L3f from the far side.
4. Four parallel transverse strings run from hand to hand: 2n, 3f, the near wrist string, and the far wrist string. With the mouth lift the near wrist string over the finger tips and release it on the far side of the hands. Extend (fig. 2, plate 2).

This figure is also known in Congo, Sudan, and Equatorial Guinea. See Tessmann, Reichert, and Sherman (2001:172) for distribution notes. In Nigeria the design represents a palanquin (sedan chair) for transporting a chief. In its most primitive form a palanquin consists of a basket suspended between two parallel poles. The inclusion of the word “spirits” in the title may refer to an ancient custom in which a large palanquin borne on the shoulders of six men, was used to transport a “spirit” during a funeral ceremony (Talbot 1923:165).

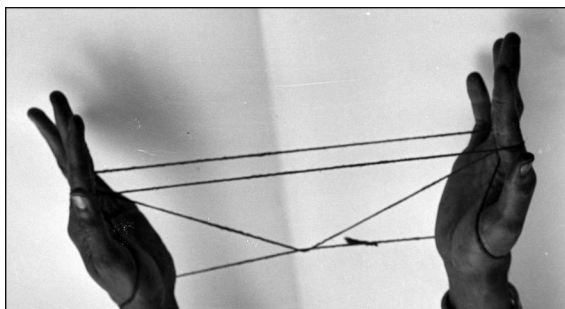


Fig. 2 - *basket spirits use to carry person*

3. RAI 16252, negative 2838 UR, ibeji okitoko (big piece of yam)

1. Kru Opening.
2. Two strings cross in the middle between the hands: one string runs from the far side of the L wrist to the near side of the R wrist, and the other string runs from the near side of the L wrist to the far side of the R wrist. With tips of R12 from above grasp these crossing strings slightly at the left from where they cross, pass them between L2 and L3 toward the dorsal side of the LH; pass the string which runs from the Lf wrist around the dorsal side of L3, then back towards LH palmar side between L3 and L4; pass the string running from the Ln wrist around the dorsal side of L2, then back towards LH palmar side between L2 and L1. Release grip of R12.

3. With R2 pick up L2n from the near side and with R3 pick up L3f from the far side.
4. Four parallel transverse strings run from hand to hand: 2n, 3f, the n wrist string, and the f wrist string. With the mouth lift the near wrist string over the finger tips and release it on the far side of the hands. With the opposite hand lift the far wrist string over the fingers and release it on the near side of the hands. Extend.
5. Give 3f an extra twist around 3 in the following way: Pass 3 away from the body over 3f, then hook up 3f by turning 3 down, towards the body under 3f and up.
6. With 1 press down 2n, at the same time turning the palms away from the body. Extend with 2 and 3 pointing up, and 1 pressed against the palm (fig. 3, plate 3).

Identical or closely related figures are known throughout Africa. See distribution notes in Tessmann, Reichert, and Sherman (2001:173). Nigerian yams belong to the genus *Dioscorea*. Prior to cooking, yams are peeled and cut into cubes, which are represented by diamonds in the corresponding string figure.

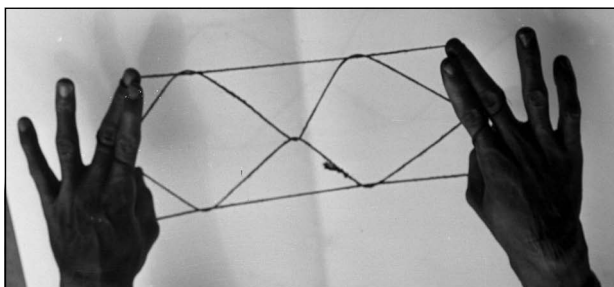


Fig. 3 - big piece of yam

4. RAI 16251, negative 2838 LL, ozu nakwa (corpse cloth)

- 1-4. Perform moves 1-4 of design 3 (RAI 16252).
5. With 5, from below, share the 3 loop, positioning the shared loop near the tip of 5.
6. With 1, from below, share the 2 loop, positioning the shared loop near the tip of 1.
7. Extend with palms facing each other, fingers pointing upwards and spread away from each other as far as possible (fig. 4, plate 4).

Unlike the previous figure, which is displayed in a vertical plane, this version is displayed in a horizontal plane since it represents something that covers a dead body. According to Talbot (1923:114), a corpse cloth is laid over the

limbs of the newly dead so that the indwelling spirit does not feel neglected and untended.

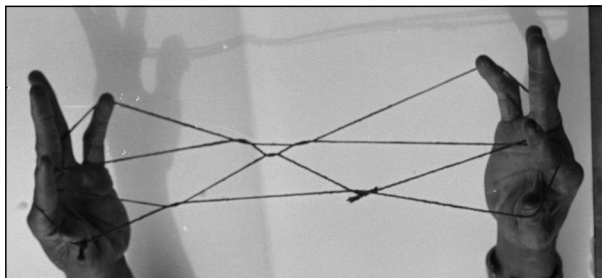


Fig. 4 - corpse cloth

5. RAI 16253, negative 2840 UR, nwerswelie ora odo (child of monkey eats a [?] its tail)

1. Hold LH with fingers pointing upwards, palm pointing towards the right. Place an untwisted loop over L23 so that a pending loop hangs down from LH palm.
2. With RH from above grasp L23 dorsal string segment between L2 and L3 and pull it out towards the right between L2 and L3. Release grip of RH.
3. With RH from above and between L2f and L3n grasp L2-L3 palmar string segment and pull it out towards the right between L2f and L3n. Release grip of RH.
4. Pass RH from above in the pending loop. Pass R2 under near string of the pending loop, then pass R2 from above in L2 loop close to L2 and hook L2n; simultaneously pass R3 under far string of the pending loop, then pass R3 from above in L3 loop close to L3 and hook L3f. Bring RH to the right through the pending loop.
5. Remove R2 and R3 from their loops, then re-insert them into their respective loops from the opposite side.
6. Give 3f an extra twist around 3 in the following way: Pass 3 away from the body over 3f, then hook up 3f by turning 3 down, towards the body under 3f and up.
7. With 1 press down 2n, at the same time turning the palms away from the body. Extend with 2 and 3 pointing up, and 1 pressed against the palm (fig. 5, plate 5).

The construction is similar to Haddon and Treleaven (1936:38, nr. 9 ‘A Pair of Scissors’) and Cansdale (1993:77-78, nr. 29 ‘Aeroplane’) though the final extension is somewhat different. Thomas was unable to fully translate the title. It is not clear if the design represents a baby monkey with a long tail, or a tailed creature that a baby monkey likes to eat.

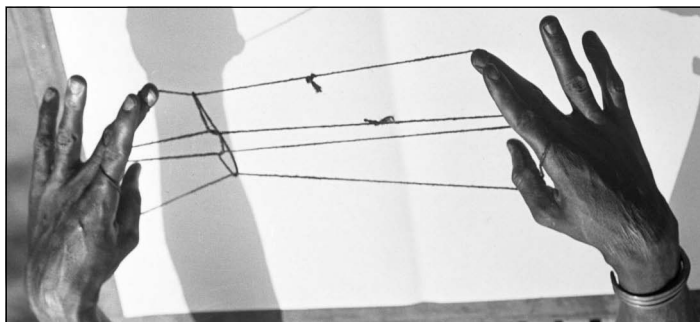


Fig. 5 - *child of monkey eats [?] its tail*

6. RAI 16254, negative 2840 LL, okulu ofadinwaiyi (big belly of old woman)

1. Hold hands 15cm apart, with loop over L1 and R1. 1n is short and 1f hangs down as a pendent loop. R2, over R1f, picks up R1n. Pass L2 under R2f then over R2n, and hook up R2n by turning L2 down, away from the body, and up. Extend. There is now a loop on each 1 and 2 with transverse strings running along 2n and 1f.
2. Pass 3 from below into 2 loop close to 2, then pick up 1f; return through 2 loop. Release 1 loop.
3. Give 3f an extra twist around 3 in the following way: Pass 3 away from the body over 3f, then hook up 3f by turning 3 down, towards the body under 3f and up.
4. With 1, over 2n, pick up 2f and 3n.
5. Keeping tension in 3f, with 1 press down 2n allowing double 1n strings to slip off 1 as palms turn away. The string running from L3n to R2f should remain slack in the process. Extend with palms facing away from the body, fingers pointing up, thumbs pointing towards the floor (fig. 6, plate 6).

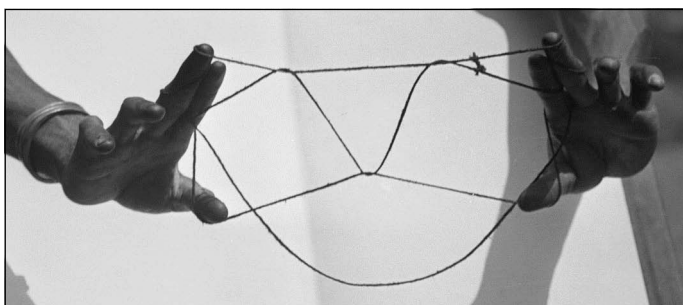


Fig. 6 - *big belly of old woman, as seen by an observer facing the maker*

This figure is identical to nr. 19 in Cansdale's collection (1993:76, 'When this animal went to fetch water, the sun came down'). In the Nigeria counterpart the loose hanging loop represents the sagging belly of an old woman.

7. RAI 16256, negative 2842 UR, okefi mfiagiliga (bull with long horn)

1. Place one toe into a loop. Wind the right toe string clockwise once around the toe.
2. Put both hands fully into the larger loop from below, and twist them inwards over the near string that goes from wrist to wrist, and continue rotating them so that they come up outside the strings that run to the toe.
3. With the palm side of the hand facing up, insert 5 from below into the tight toe loop, and hook the dorsal toe string toward you. Release the wrist loop while pulling the hooked string through the released loop. Pull tight to extend the figure (fig. 7, plate 7).

For the photograph it is likely that the double loop has been taken off the toe and is being held by a second person.

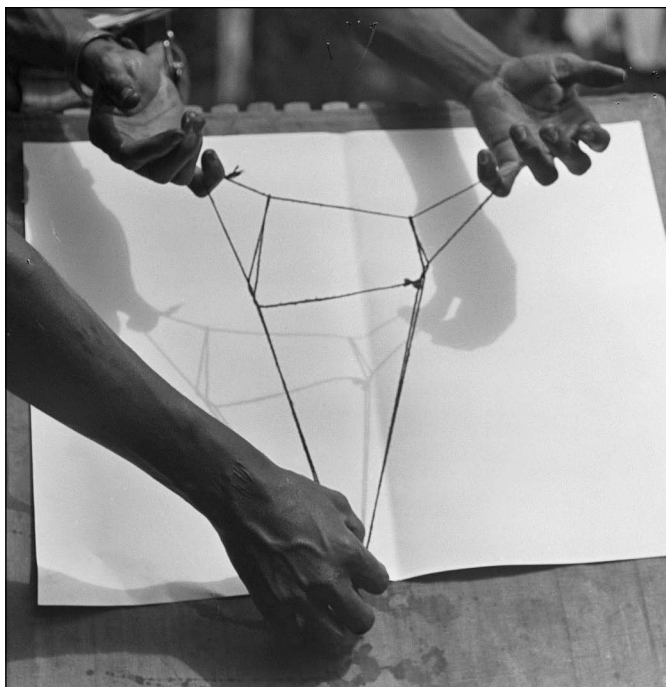


Fig. 7 - bull with long horn, as seen by an observer facing the maker

The figure is the same as Haddon and Treleaven (1936:34, nr. 2 'Bat') and was also recorded in Nigeria by Parkinson (1906:134-135). The design represents a bull's triangular face and his two horns.

8. RAI 16255, negative 2842 LL, ari ele (net for load)

1. Opening A.
2. Release 1 loop. Pass 1 under 2 loop and 5 loop and return with 5f. Release 5 loop.
3. Pass 1 into 2 loop from above and pick up 2f.
4. Pass 5 over 2n, and pick up lower 1f (an oblique string). Release 1 loops.
5. Pass 1 over 2 loop, and pick up 5n.
6. 1 picks up 2n close to 2. Navajo the loops on 1. Do not release 2 loop.
7. Bend 2 down into the triangle in front of 1, trapping the transverse string that runs from the 1f-2n segment of each hand. Release 5 loop, and at the same time turn 2 away and up to place the transverse string on its back. 2 loses its original loop in the process. Without losing 1 loop, hook 1n toward you, and down thus introducing a half twist into 1 loop. Extend with palms facing away (fig. 8, plate 8).

Same as Haddon & Treleaven (1936:37, nr. 7 'A Bridge'). The figure is widely distributed in Africa, where it often represents a 'Net'. See Tessmann, Reichert, and Sherman (2001:136-137) for distribution notes.

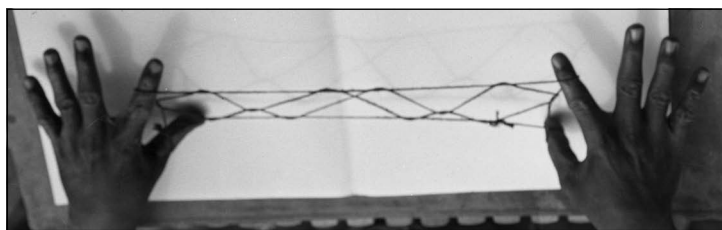


Fig. 8 - *net for load*

9. RAI 16258, negative 2844 UR, ubwadiye (fowl's anus)

Double a loop to make it shorter.

1. Place loop on LH in Position 1, with the pendent loop hanging down on the palmar side. With R12 pull the palmar string to the right and release it.
2. With R12 pull the new palmar string to the right and release it.
3. RH, from above, enters the pendent loop. From above, R1 hooks L1n, and R2 hooks L5f. Draw the hooked strings to the right through the pendent loop.
4. R345 join R2 in its hooked loop. R2345 distally remove hooked R1 loop.

Press R1 against the side of R2 where the two strings emerge from the RH fist (fig. 9, plate 9).

5. *Action*: Open and close the LH triangle by repeatedly flexing the R wrist.

This is the same as Parkinson's 'Moving Figure' (1906:135-136, nr. 7), where the design is made with a single loop. The figure is widely distributed in Africa. See Tessmann, Reichert, and Sherman (2001:179-180) for distribution notes. In Equatorial Guinea it represents a dog's anus.



Fig. 9 - *fowl's anus*

10. RAI 16257, negative 2844 LL, oga (mask for 'juju')

1. Opening A.
2. Pass 1 over 2n, and pick up 2f and 5n.
3. Navajo loops on 1 (single lower loop over upper double loop).
4. Release 5 loop. Extend with palms facing away, fingers pointing upward (fig. 10, plate 10).

When made with a smaller loop and with index loops placed near the tip of the finger, the design more closely resembles a traditional Ibo mask with horns (represented by index loops) and an oval mouth (represented by the oblong thumb loop).



Fig. 10 - mask for 'juju'

11. RAI 16259, negative 2846 UR, bokulei (rope on back)

1. Position 1.
2. Pass all fingers of the RH from below behind LH palmar string and return; pass all fingers of the LH from below behind RH palmar string and return. Each hand now has a wrist loop.
3. At the far side of the figure the far wrist strings cross beneath 5f. With R12 from the near side and under 5f grasp the crossing and place it over L1, thus creating an upper double L1 loop. Release grip of R12. With R1 from below share upper double L1 loop only. Extend.
4. Navajo loops on 1 (lifting single lower loop over upper double loop).
5. With help of the other hand lift wrist loop over all fingers and drop it on the palmar side of the hand. Extend with palms facing each other, fingers pointing up so that the figure is parallel to the ground (fig. 11, plate 11).

The central horizontal string represents a rope, presumably on the back of a person who is face down. The figure is identical to the Nigerian 'Dead Man Lying on a Bed' (Haddon and Treleaven 1936:35, nr. 5).

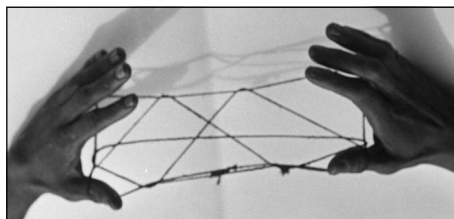


Fig. 11 - rope on back

12. RAI 20057, negative 3499 UL (flipped), ekbeli (doctor's basket)

1. Place loop over 234 of each hand.
2. With the RH lift the L dorsal string over L12345 and release it. Pass the RH under the L palmar string to give a RH wrist loop. With the LH lift the R dorsal string over R12345 and release it. Pass the LH under the R palmar string to give a LH wrist loop.
3. Between the tips of R1 and R2 grasp L1f and L5n, and remove L1 and L5 loops. Rotate the LH away, down, towards you, and up. R1 and R2 reset the grasped loops onto their original fingers.
4. Between the tips of L1 and L2 grasp R1f and R5n, and remove R1 and R5 loops. Rotate the RH away, down, towards you, and up. L1 and L2 reset the grasped loops onto their original fingers.
5. With the LH grasp R1n, lift it over R2345, and release it; with the LH grasp R5f, lift it over R1234, and release it. In addition to a R wrist loop, you now have two strings that form a cross on the back of the RH.
6. With the RH grasp L1n, lift it over L2345, and release it; with the RH grasp L5f, lift it over L1234, and release it. In addition to a L wrist loop, you now have two strings that form a cross on the back of the LH.
7. With the RH grasp L5n, wrap it once around L5, and release it; with the RH grasp L1f, wrap it once around L1, and release it; likewise with the LH grasp R5n, wrap it once around R5, and release it; with the LH grasp R1f, wrap it once around R1, and release it.
8. With the RH lift the L wrist loop off the LH and place it in Position 1 on the LH; likewise with the LH lift the R wrist loop off the RH and place it in Position 1 on the RH.
9. Observe the *triangular space* bounded by the palmar string, and the 1f string and 5n string that go toward the center of the figure. To extend, press together the five fingers of each hand, and from above dive into the *triangular space*. Display with fingers pointing down, with 1 and 5 spread far apart, and with backs of hands facing each other (fig. 12, plate 12).

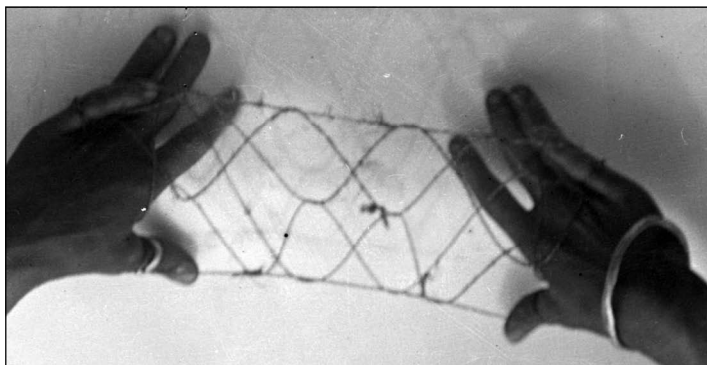


Fig. 12 - doctor's basket

This figure is the same as ‘Bongo Skin’ (Cansdale 1993:79, nr. 34) and ‘Buffalo Skin Pegged Out’ (Griffith 1925:293-294, XXI), both from Ghana. See Tessmann, Reichert, and Sherman (2001:143-145) for additional examples in Africa. A traditional witch doctor’s basket was used for divination purposes and resembled a shallow bowl. Its checkered weave pattern can be seen in the corresponding string figure.

13. RAI 19854, negative 3499 LL, esiso sol azi nilo (boil comes on tongue of azi people)

This design (fig. 13, plate 13) appears to be the same four diamond figure captured in photograph RAI 16255. The meaning of the title is obscure. If the figure represents a long tongue, perhaps each diamond is a boil.

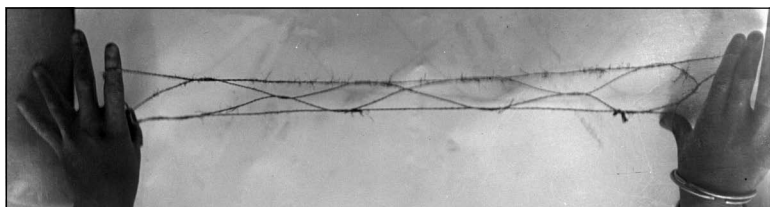


Fig. 13 - *boil comes on tongue of azi people*

14. RAI 19856, negative 3501 UR, ibeji (piece of yam), commencement

15. RAI 19855, negative 3501 LL, ibeji (piece of yam), completed

Two similar reconstructed methods are offered here for this figure. The first is more straightforward and more “elegant”, but at least one of the string crossings in the final pattern does not match that seen in the photograph. The second method introduces an extra step that rotates the figure 180° around its long axis so that the string crossing in question matches that seen in the photograph (i.e., the wrap close to R5 along the R5f frame line). For each method use a long loop.

Method 1

(String wrap along R5f close to R5 does not match photograph)

1. Pass an untwisted string loop over R big toe, then give the right string one extra twist around the toe in a clockwise direction (when looking at the tip of R big toe). A *toe string segment* now runs along the upper surface of the toe. Place the other end of the string loop on the wrist of the RH.
2. With L1 and L2 grasp the *toe string segment* and draw this segment (over the R wrist loop) out towards the body until it is longer than the loop on the R wrist.

3. With R1 and R2 grasp both strings of the pulled-out loop near the upper end (RAI 19856, fig. 14, plate 14), then fold the upper end toward the toe, releasing the grip of L1 and L2, so that it lies as an open loop on the distal side of the four strings between the RH and the big toe.
4. Pass L1 and L2, from above, through the open loop, then grasp the two strings that run from the R wrist to the big toe and draw them up through the open loop.
5. Release the R wrist loop and the two strings held by R1 and R2.
6. L1 and L2 now hold two loops. Separate them, so that they lie in a horizontal plane (as if opening a book), then insert the LH, from below, into the L loop and the RH, also from below, into the R loop to create a loop on each wrist. [intermediate figure = Hornell 1930:111, fig. 23]
7. On its upper side a *perpendicular string segment* crosses the figure, perpendicular to the strings running from the R big toe to cross the TV near wrist string. This *perpendicular string segment* passes around the far wrist string to become a *wrist crossing segment* on the lower side of the wrist loop. Pass 23 down towards the toe over the *perpendicular string segment*, pull it in its bend towards the wrist to the near side of the *wrist crossing segment*, then straighten 23, picking up the respective *wrist crossing segment*.
8. Pass 4 over far wrist string and pick up the continuation of the far wrist string (i.e., the string segment that runs from 23f to the toe).
9. Release strings held by R big toe.
10. With the help of the other hand lift each wrist loop over the fingertips and drop it on the palmar side of the hand. Extend with palms facing each other, fingers pointing upwards. There is now on each hand a shared 23 loop and a 4 loop.
11. Pass 1 from above in 23 loop and hook up 23n by turning 1 down, under 23n towards the body and up. Pass 5 from above in 4 loop and hook up 4f by turning 5 down, under 4f away from the body and up.
12. Keeping tension in the figure, bend fingers down into the figure, passing 1 over 1f, 5 over 5n, and passing 23 and 4 down into their own loops so that they slip off the fingers. Bend hands further down until fingers point towards the floor and palms are pointing in opposite directions. Then, keeping tension in the figure, turn RH around the wrist (bringing the elbow towards the floor) away from the body and up until RH fingers point upwards and right palm faces right (fig. 15, plate 15).

Method 2

(String wrap along R5f close to R5 matches photograph, fig. 16)

- 1-6. Steps 1-6 of *Method 1*.
7. On its upper side a *perpendicular string segment* crosses the figure, perpendicular to the strings running from the R big toe to cross the TV near

wrist string. This *perpendicular string segment* passes around the far wrist string to become a *wrist crossing segment* on the lower side of the wrist loop. Pass 2 down towards the toe over the *perpendicular string segment*, pull it in its bend towards the wrist to the near side of the *wrist crossing segment*, then straighten 2, picking up the respective *wrist crossing segment*.

8. Pass 1 under the 2 loop and over the far wrist string and pick up, from the outside and from below, the continuation of the far wrist string (i.e., the string segment that runs from 2f to the toe) and return under 2 loop with the help of the opposite hand.
9. Release strings held by R big toe.
10. With the help of the other hand lift each wrist loop over the fingertips and drop it on the palmar side of the hand. Extend with palms facing each other, fingers pointing upwards. There is now on each hand a 1 loop and a 2 loop.
11. 4, from above, removes the 2 loop; 23, from above, removes the 1 loop.
12. Pass 1 from above in 23 loop and hook up 23n by turning 1 down, under 23n towards the body and up. Pass 5 from above in 4 loop and hook up 4f by turning 5 down, under 4f away from the body and up.
13. Keeping tension in the figure, bend fingers down into the figure, passing 1 over 1f, 5 over 5n, and passing 23 and 4 down into their own loops so that they slip off the fingers. Bend hands further down until fingers point towards the floor and palms are pointing in opposite directions. Then, keeping tension in the figure, turn RH around the wrist (bringing the elbow towards the floor) away from the body and up until RH fingers point upwards and right palm faces right (fig. 15, plate 15).

The reconstructed methods are based on Kru XVIII, *Bakwa Giwa* ('the Tiger's Paw'), and Kru XXI, *Tamgba* ('the Raft') from Hornell (1930:108-111). In the photograph of the completed design (RAI 19855) tight rings on R1 and R5 are not clearly visible, but without them a wide extension is difficult to achieve. As discussed above (see RAI 16252), each diamond in the figure probably represents a cube-shaped chunk of yam ready to be cooked.



Fig. 14 - *piece of yam, commencement, as seen by an observer facing the maker*

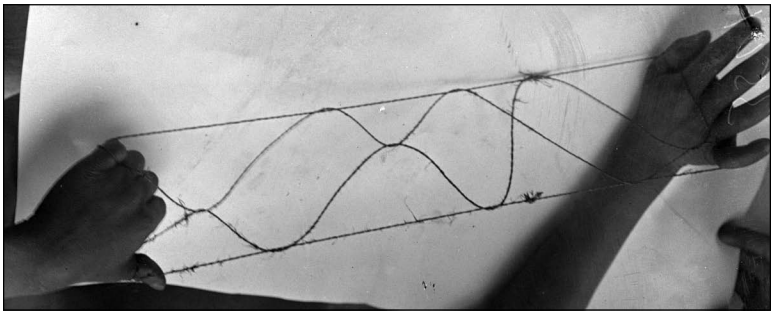


Fig. 15 - *piece of yam*



Fig. 16 - *enlarged view of string wrap along R5f close to R5*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks to Sarah Walpole archivist of the Royal Anthropological Institute (RAI) in London for drawing my attention to these photographs, and to Stephan Claassen, Joseph D'Antoni, and Mark Sherman of the International String Figure Association for their help and advice in reconstructing the designs and editing the instructions. Permission to reproduce N.W. Thomas's photographs was granted by RAI.

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PLATES



Plate 1 - RAI 16249, negative 2836 UR, *eta nariwani ori (trap to catch thief)*



Plate 2 - RAI 16250, negative 2836 LL, *okba mwo fiebu mwadu (basket spirits use to carry person)*

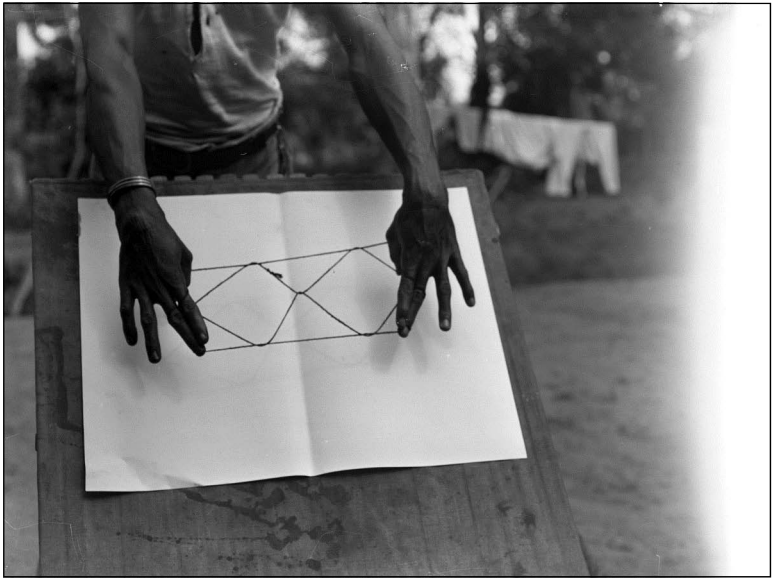


Plate 3 - RAI 16252, negative 2838 UR, *ibeji okitoko (big piece of yam)*

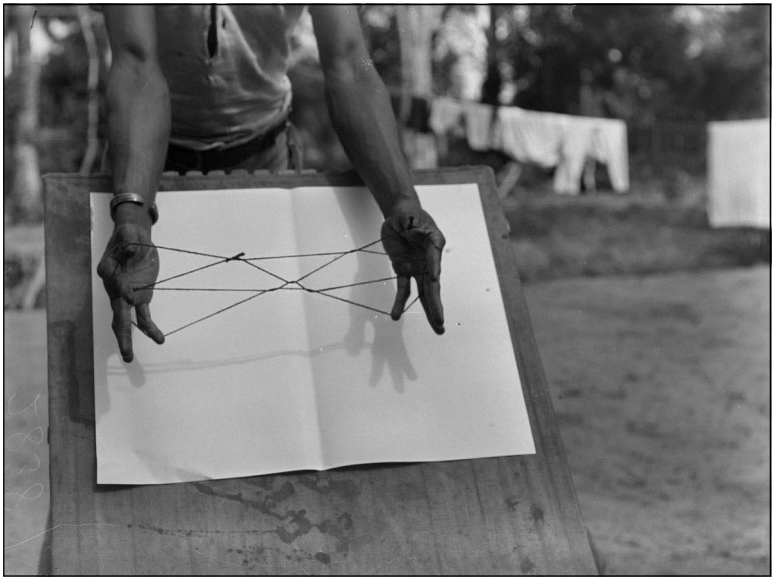


Plate 4 - RAI 16251, negative 2838 LL, *ozu nakwa (corpse cloth)*



Plate 5 - RAI 16253, negative 2840 UR, *nwerswelie ora odo*
(child of monkey eats a [?] its tail)



Plate 6 - RAI 16254, negative 2840 LL, *okulu ofadinwaiyi* (big belly of old woman)



Plate 7 - RAI 16256, negative 2842 UR, *okefi mfiagiliga* (bull with long horn)



Plate 8 - RAI 16255, negative 2842 LL, *ari ele* (net for load)



Plate 9 - RAI 16258, negative 2844 UR, *ubwadiye* (fowl's anus)

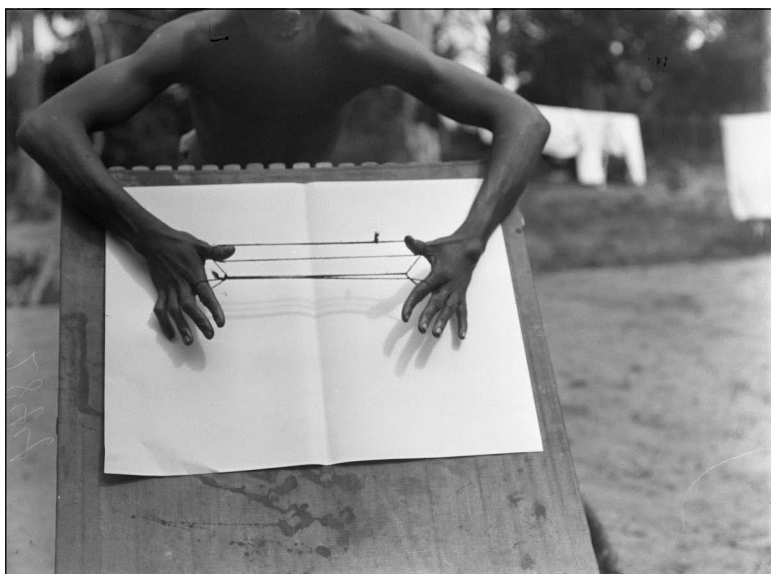


Plate 10 - RAI 16257, negative 2844 LL, *oga* (mask for 'juju')



Plate 11 - RAI 16259, negative 2846 UR, *bokulei* (rope on back)

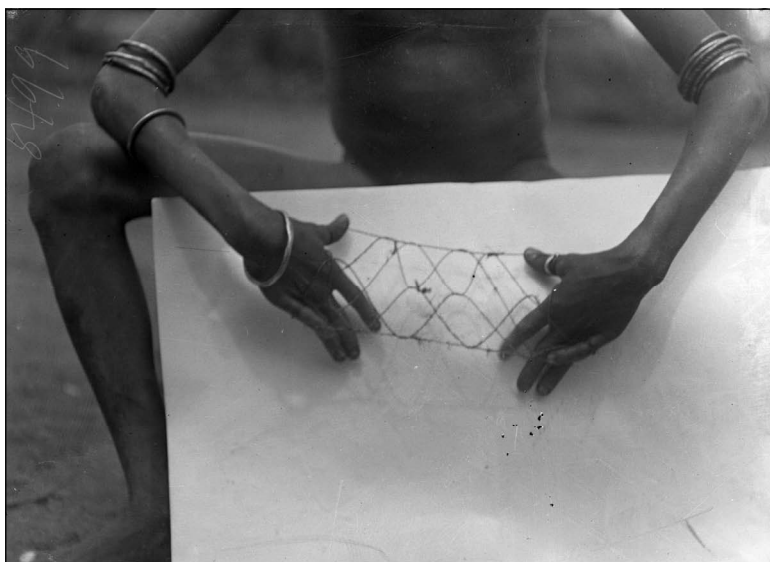


Plate 12 - RAI 20057, negative 3499 UL (flipped), *ekbeli* (doctor's basket)



Plate 13 - RAI 19854, negative 3499 LL, *esiso sol azi nilo*
(boil comes on tongue of azi people)



Plate 14 - RAI 19856, negative 3501 UR, *ibeji* (piece of yam), commencement

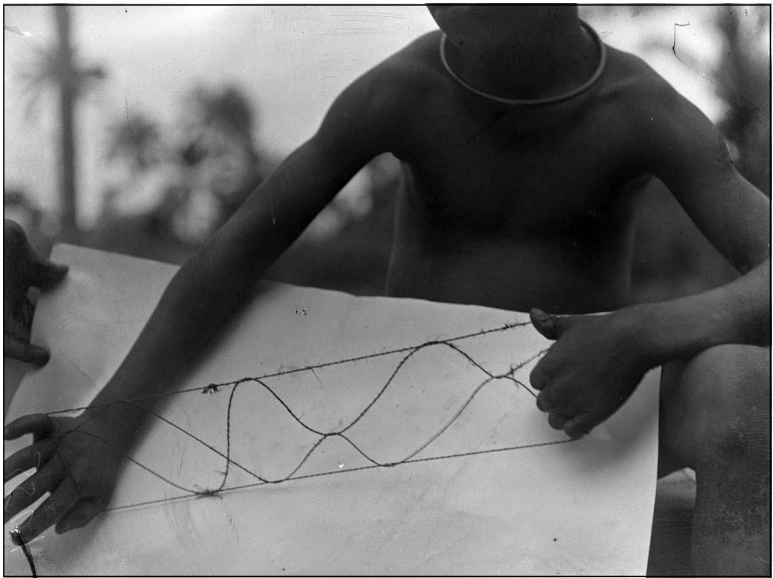


Plate 15 - *RAI 19855, negative 3501 LL, ibeji (piece of yam), completed*