

The Kanaga Symbol of Mali and the Dogon.

Whitney Smith

The use of political symbols is a fundamental aspect of the ideological organization of society (1). R.M. MacIver (2) and other political scientists have made it abundantly clear that every polity relies heavily on two principal political instruments. On the one hand there are the techniques by which men and resources are organized and, on the other, those "myths" by which such techniques are rationalized or justified, [i.e. by which such techniques are rationalized or justified] i.e. by which values are attached to facts. The concept and uses of the political myth could be developed at length, but the definition given by Harold Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan should suffice here: "the political myth is the pattern of the basic political symbols current in a society" (3).

Lasswell and Kaplan were thinking primarily in terms of those verbal symbols which modern societies utilize so extensively in the form of slogans, formulae, epithets, and declarations as well as full-blown philosophies. Yet the admitted predominance of verbal symbolism in contemporary experience should not blind us to other types of symbols -- which have likewise been constituent parts of the political myth in certain eras and societies. In particular stress should be laid on those graphic symbols which fulfil those role, not only for their general importance and special significance in traditional societies, but because of the tendency which political scientists have of leaving their study to cultural anthropologists.

The existence of such graphic symbols (including seals, flags, and coats of arms) has been acknowledged by not a few of the writers concerned -- with symbolism. Lasswell, for example, mentioned the icon which has a physical resemblance to some feature of the dominant ethos and which "eternalizes the cardinal ideas of the myth" (4); but no further attention is given to it. Likewise other writers mention but do not analyze graphic political symbols.

Rollo May developed the same question in his concept of the central cultural symbols "which infuse every aspect of that culture -- art, science, education, religion." (5). As an example, he suggests that we can best understand most aspects of the Middle Ages in terms of a triangle. Thus the political and economic relationships characteristic of feudalism may be formulated in terms of a hierarchy with a broad base and a lonely point at the top. In religion, the triangle is associated with the Trinity and with other mystical aspects of the number three extensively developed by medieval Christian theologians (6). Even Gothic architecture exhibits a triangular form, expressing the human aspirations towards the godhead.

Using other symbols, a strikingly similar formulation has been made of the Victorian Age and its contrasts with the style of the 20th century, although political aspects of the question are not dealt with (7). Unfortunately, in all these instances there is a major defect in that the graphic symbols involved are only attributions, outward interpretations invented by an author. The political scientist must be concerned with real rather than imagined relationships between symbol and society, -- wherein the former grows out of the latter.

It is to this latter class of symbols -- whose forms are not imposed form without, but which express implicitly the ideas and concerns of a people and provide answers to new problems confronting them -- that attention must be turned. One need not go so far as René Alleau, who asserted the preexistence of such a symbol to organized society itself (8); it is enough that it be understood that "symbols create the integration of a society, they consolidate the bonds between finite man and infinite meaning in which humans participate" (9).

At first such symbols are only outward manifestations, patterns conceived as most nearly representing the concepts or processes which activate the relations of human to human, human to nature, and human to -- the supernatural. Any part of the universe, being as it were only a specific instance of the universe itself, is capable of being so used symbolically. Therefore it is not surprising that the most diverse forms -- appear in the catalog of graphic symbols employed by peoples around the world -- the dung-beetle (scarabaeus) of the ancient Egyptians, the -- conch-shell of the Hindus, the wheatstalk of the Eleusinian mystery, -- and so forth.

Certain forms nevertheless have a universal appeal, not because of any archetypal patterns in the "collective unconscious" as Jung (10) and others would have us believe, but simply because of the common experience of people in certain tasks and phases of life. The bursting seed -- which promises new life or the egg which encompasses a universe within a shell (11); the (apparent) transit of the heavens by the stars; the purifying/consuming attributes of fire -- all of these have become powerful symbols transcending the limits of place and the span of time. It is a factor of no small significance that such objects and patterns generally retain an immediate, functional use in addition to their symbolic worth. Mircea Eliade recognized this in writing that:

symbolism adds a new value to an object or an activity without any prejudice whatever to its immediate value. In application to objects or actions, symbolism renders them "open"; symbolic thinking "breaks open" the immediate reality ... in such a perspective this is not a closed Universe, no object exists for itself in isolation; everything is held together by a compact system of correspondence and likeness... (12).

Without some system of this kind, whether metaphysical or rationalistic in form, we would lose perspective and a sense of the relatedness of -- people, actions, ideas, and institutions.

A symbol, particularly one of the all-encompassing graphic symbols of an interpretive nature, eventually becomes a factor that must be contended with in political activity. In innumerable cases such symbols or systems of symbols have taken on lives of their own, with an autonomy deriving equally from the permanence of form and the flexibility of function which they possess. When the process of encrustation of value and meaning in a given society develops to this extent, it usually constitutes a deeply ingrained aspect of the political sub-system eradicable only with great danger and difficulty.

Premier Khrushchev was well aware of this when he determined upon the removal of Stalin's body from the Lenin Mausoleum in Red Square. This was no simple, technical act to be accomplished overnight and forgotten thereafter. Brief though its history has been, that mausoleum now -- stands as the Holy of Holies in the U.S.S.R. and scarcely a single Soviet citizen can have regarded Stalin's removal from it with complete equanimity.

In other cases it has been active symbolism, i.e. ceremonial, which - defines and orders life, as in the 16th century Spanish court:

men and women ceased there to be human beings with a will; they became machines of reverence; everybody had his place marked out, and was kept mercilessly to it; the number of steps and the depth of bows which each person was to make on entering the royal presence -- the width of cloaks, the length of ribbons, and perhaps more of all, the elaborate division of offices and functions -- were fixed with a precision of which examples exist nowhere else (13).

Graphic symbols have particular appeal because they can be woven directly into the fabric of life, incorporated into literature, songs, language, clothing, architecture, advertising, and folk art including even household utensils and furniture. Regardless of what the outward rationalizations and procedures may be, these symbols work to create and -- maintain a pattern: they live, as it were, a life of their own in the hearts of people. Ernst Cassirer has stated their importance in these terms:

symbols are not to be taken as mere figures which refer to some given reality by means of suggestion or allegorical renderings, but in the sense of forces, each of which produces and posits a world of its own (14).

Let us examine such a world created and maintained by symbols, in order that it not be imagined that too ambitious claims are being made for - them. A culture whose social organization demonstrates particularly well the possibility of defining life in terms of a single graphic symbol is that of the Dogon (15), a tribe living in what is now the Republic of Mali. Their primary symbol, figuring in almost every area of life, is the stick-figure of a person (Fig. 1). The simplicity of the form -- knows, when used on a mask (Fig. 2) as kanaga -- is entirely deceptive, for to those who can read its meaning it encompasses a history of the universe, a statement of fundamental religious and philosophical principles, a view of the relationships between different classes, and a map of the world known to the Dogon.

It is not mere convenience which has permanently associated the kanaga figure with these ideas: for the Dogon it is humans who constitute that core within which every feature of the universe is implicit. Each person is the center

of a monstrous constellation extending to all which is conceived, visible, dreamed of, or palpable.... Everything relates to man, issues from man, the "kernel of the universe. (16)

This anthropomorphic concept is not at all unique with the Dogon. An - organic view of the body politic was held, for example, in the Middle Ages which drew its analogies from the human body, where by the ruler was the head, the army the heart, the people the hands, etc. Thomas - Hobbes, although presaging the mechanistic conception of government - which has been influential since his time, nevertheless used a man constructed out of many people (Fig. 3) as the graphic expression of his - Leviathan in the forntispieces of early editions of the book by that - name.

The Dogon man-universe relies on a number of interrelated concepts. Fore most is the stress laid upon ordered, predetermined growth. Neither humans nor nature nor society was created all at once; they are the results of "vibrations of matter" (17), imperceptible and insignificant at any given moment, but ultimately the source of all change. Any expectation which a person may have will find fulfilment, if at all, in such -

growth. People can plant the seed that will grow, can initiate a process leading to radically new conditions; but they can no more bring about anything unforeseen in the original circumstances of a society than they can raise wheat from a chicken egg.

The human being as the source of such potentialities is expressed through the digitaria exilis (fonio), the smallest cultivable seed of Dogon agriculture. Its ovoid shape suggests an encompassment of all that the world is or may be; its small size emphasizes the compactness which characterizes the totality of principles governing the world. The unfolding of the growth implicit in the seed proceeds by stages, accompanied by vibrations which sunder the sheath and send tendrils out in all directions. The seven stages discerned by the Dogon mark out the seven essential -- parts of a person -- the arms, legs, head, and sexual organ (18) -- and construct the prototypical kanaga. Expressed in Western verbal terminology, this would be equivalent to saying that a person is the highest manifestation of the development of the universe.

The second aspect inherent in the kanaga is the unity of opposites. The perpetual spiral motion of the unfolding seed, contained in the extended arms and legs of the graphic symbol, is significant of the simultaneous conservation and alteration of matter. In the stylized form used extensively on the facade of Dogon shrines, it incarnates the never-ending struggle of opposites in the world -- good and evil, female and male, heaven and earth, up and down, light and dark, and so forth (19). Each is a necessary element, for only together do they constitute a whole. The graphic image thus impresses on the viewer (at least one familiar with its meaning) the fact that all things have their opposites and that in the course of time, as represented by the helical movement of the septagonal figure, each of the forces will have moments of ascendancy and descendancy.

At the same time the integration of the contrasting facets of universal experience into a form originally deriving from (and hence reducible to) an ovoid reminds the viewer of the unified first cause of all things. -- Its corresponding social message is that people must strive to find in their own lives a resolution of conflicting positions in order to enjoy the harmony which nature possesses; and many of these oppositions are essential parts of humankind, as the kanaga demonstrates. Discord, destruction, and decay are the penalties for failing to take into account the philosophic principles of the image. Thus one author in generalizing from Dogon experience asserts that primitive African culture

is not an amalgam of mythologies and beliefs, but an immense institutional, ritual, technical, artistic, literary, and musical complex -- in brief, according to the frequently cited expression of Marcel Mauss -- a "total social phenomenon" whereby society at all levels (from its material base to its conceptions of the world) and man are in a state of reciprocity (20)

In addition to ordered growth and the unity of opposites, the kanaga symbol represents the role of the human as the microcosmic cell which constitutes the universe and sets its pattern. Instead of being the replaceable cog in a world-machine, which people tend to be in modern industrial society, they become the center and measure of all things. Indeed the Dogon heritage was codified and preserved through a system of 23,232 -- graphic symbols, equally divided between ones representing men and women (21).

The kanaga itself expresses the mundane beginnings and heavenly aspirations of humankind: at the base is the "earthly placenta", at the top -- the "heavenly placenta", the two linked by an ethereal cross or sun-symbol (Fig. 4). These three elements are interpretive of the motion (of which the solar transit is prototypical) which leads to perfection from imperfection (22). These are symbolized respectively by the lower, open

circle (imperfection) and the upper, closed circle (perfection). Simultaneously, the figure remains a person with feet planted on the earth and arms stretched toward the skies, issuing not a prayer of humility and submission but a proclamation of determination and self-confidence. This person, however, is all people, both in the fullest sense of the term and in the sense of all the men and women who have constituted the Dogon tribe, past, present, and future.

One could say ... that the macrocosm itself is made of the totality of persons in all eras, that it is an infinite person in which finite persons fit like teeth in a gearwheel. In effect the universe in Dogon symbolism is a living body (23).

It must not be imagined that the kanage emblem, which figures prominently in the clothing, ritual masks, house decoration, and other artifacts of the Dogon, is only symbolic of the way of life of these people; it is as its name "life of the world" suggests, the very pattern by which their existence is determined. The central part of the symbol, for example, is essentially a swastika (24) whose arms point out the four cardinal points. Each of these is in turn associated with one of the four Dogon tribes and the area it inhabits; with the four elements (earth, air, fire and water) and with the traditional responsibilities of the tribes, i.e. divination, agriculture, trade, and crafts (25). The spiral movement of these arms -- whether they are thought of in terms of the expansion of the fonio seed or of the progress of the sun across the sky -- is incorporated in the layout of the fields. Moreover,

as the theoretical arrangement of fields and the process of clearing the ground reproduce the primitive spiral form so the method of cultivation recalls the more delicate vibratory movement of the axis of the spiral. This screwlike movement ... is reproduced in the old method of cultivation which is like the technique of weaving (26).

At harvest time there are ceremonies involving all the chiefs, assembled on the parade-ground marked out in a human figure composed of cowry --- shells (27).

The premier chief of the Dogon, the Hogon of Arou, is further subordinated to the influence of the pattern. He lives in a house constructed in the shape of a person (Fig. 5). Every wall, every jar or mat inside, each window and door has great symbolic significance and the Hogon is expected at certain seasons to carry out rituals which will guarantee human health, i.e. the health of the universe known to his people (28). Lower class individuals are involved in the same way because their homes are constructed on the "person within the egg of the world" shape. Each village in similar fashion

is a person and must lie in a north to south direction; the smithy is the head and certain particular shrines the feet. The hutes used by women at their menstrual periods, situated east and west, are the hands; the family homesteads form the chest, and the twin-ness of the whole group is expressed by a foundation shrine in the form of a cone [the male sexual organ] and by a hollowed stone (female organ), (29).

The next level of symbolism is the district or union of villages: here the earthly and heavenly placentae are suggested by the pairs referred to as Upper X and Lower X. (30).

In the use of the kanaga all the thoughts and activities of the Dogon - are molded in a common frame wherein humans (and the seed form which -- they grow) form at once the prefiguration of all life and the cell which, multiplied on increasingly greater scales, is the building-block of the universe. For a Dogon to act outside of or contrary to this symbol-system would be impossible because by definition it would be unnatural, sacrilegious, and contrary to his or her best interests. This is precisely the type of condition which Guglielmo Ferrero had in mind when he said that

The symbol often finishes ... by entirely replacing the thing which it is supposed to represent; it absorbs reality and acquires an exaggerated importance -- the importance of the thing represented (31).

If the use of symbols by the Dogon outlined above were a unique instance one might well question whether such symbols had any real relevance to the process of conceptualizing the universe and of setting the limits within which political actions and institutions have the possibility of developing. In fact not only are there numerous other societies, primitive and modern alike, where such a symbol exists, but political elites are aware of the patterns and consciously utilize them to promote their own ends. The Indian dharma chakra, the Inca sun, the Aztec eagle-and-snake, and the garuda of South-East Asia are cases in point.

David Nelson Rowe has traced briefly the use of a single graphic symbol, the Oriental t'ai chi emblem, as an instrument of Japanese propaganda during the 1930's (32). He might have mentioned that the Japanese, in addition to symbolizing the Ta Tao (Great Way) government established at Shanghai (33) by the t'ai chi (Fig. 6), made extensive use of the hino-maru - (the "round of the sun" which was to shed its light and warmth throughout the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere) to symbolize Ko-do, the Imperial Way. The Japanese also employed other graphic symbols expressive of philosophic principles to stand for the right orientations of the local - (Japanese-sponsored) governments in Inner Mongolia, Manchuria, North China, Annam, and Burma (33).

Likewise the Communist government in Mongolia has not only made use of - the ancient soyonbo device, which epitomizes graphically traditional Buddhist-Mongol philosophical conceptions of life, but has emphasized and developed its meanings (34). Pluralistic Western societies, relying heavily on verbal symbolisms, are less frequently characterized by a single graphic symbol yet the swastika of Naziism, the quinas of Portugal, and the arms of Falangist Spain (35) certainly are instances of such usage. A -- point of particular interest in the symbols noted above is the similarity in their primordial meanings to those of the kanaga; the t'ai chi and the soyonbo express the unity of opposites and the hino-maru and swastika are sun symbols.

Attention should also be given to the modern role of the kanaga, brief - though it may have been. The Republic of Mali, in which the Dogon live, recalls with pride the empires in the Middle Ages of the same name which rivalled their contemporary counterparts in Europe in such things as -- wealth, social structure, and size. In resurrecting the name Mali as a substitute for "French Soudan" -- objectionable both because of confusion with the former Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and because the name bilad assudan (land of the blacks) was originally used by the Arabs in a derogatory manner -- the leaders of modern Mali wished to instill in the populace a pride in pre-colonial heritage (36). There was no corresponding graphic symbol, however, which could be used to recall the ancient wealth and power of the Mali Empires.

The kanaga was therefore chosen -- despite its derivation from a limited segment of the nation -- because of its age, its symbolic richness, and the consequent affirmation it made of the position of Mali as a country with authentic indigenous traditions worthy of international respect and attention (37). This idea was developed by Léopold Sédar Senghor, the -- first president of the Federation of Mali (created in 1959):

The Man, emblazoned in black on the flag of Mali, indicates our basic choice. This black man, our nearest neighbor, calls upon us to develop him in all aspects, to make him not just a consumer but above all a producer of culture (38).

Man, remains our last hope; constitutes our standard of measure. This is the significance of the man which figures on the flag of Mali, rooted in the earth and turned towards the heavens (39).

The kanaga was thus to be modernized, to carry its old meaning forward in terms of the new needs of a modern nation which had also recognized its heritage from France -- and especially the French Revolution -- in placing the "ideogram of Man", as the new kanaga was called, on a flag patterned after the famous Tricolor. President Senghor explained the combination of symbolisms as follows;

We do not build from a blank slate ... We retain what must be retained from our institutions, our techniques, our values... to create a Whole -- acquired from Africa or imported from Europe -- a dynamic symbiosis to the measure of Africa and the 20th century, but first of all to the measure of Man (40).

In the course of events the ideogram took on unforeseen meanings which lek, after only two years of use (1959-1961), to the abandonment of this symbol. Briefly, the problem was that it proved impossible to transplant the original meaning of the kanaga into modern minds, especially in view of the other hortative qualities which the figure had. To Europeans, the form suggested a very crude drawing of a person. Those predisposed to -- think of Africans as childish referred to it as a "bambino", "black mam-ba", "macaque", or "Negro dancer" (41), (similar contemptuous amusement may have been instrumental in changing other anthropomorphic national emblems, e.g. those of Nepal and Iran).

More seriously, certain Muslim elements of Mali were enraged that their national flag should be a gross contravention of [that their national flag should be a gross contravention] of shirk, the Islamic interdiction of any representation of a living thing (42). While Islam and animism have coexisted for a long time in Mali (43), the hajji (pilgrims) in Mali were especially strict so much so that they are commonly referred to as Wahhabis (44). This human symbol was objectionable to them both in its original pagan usage and in the new spirit with which the francisés (Europeanized Africans) of Senegal employed it. (It appeared in emblems other than the flag; the logo of Air Mali, for example, was a winged kanaga). Thus when Senegal and the Soudan separated in 1960, the latter, while retaining the name Mali, soon eliminated the kanaga from its flag (45).

Although the kanaga as a graphic symbol failed in its modern context, -- there appears to be nothing inherently impossible about altering the connotations of a symbol; indeed, given enough time, perhaps "it is possible, by mass indoctrination or conditioning to make any symbol mean what we want it to" (46). Moreover, the specific kind of alteration in meaning -- which the kanaga underwent, a process intended to focus the attention of people on new interpretations of old values expressed in a symbol familiar to them, has been quite common in political history.

FOOTNOTES.

1. Martin Foss, Symbol and Metaphor in Human Experience (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), p. 2.
2. R. N. McIver, The Web of Government (New York: Macmillan, 1948), ch. 3.
3. Harold Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, Power and Society: The Framework for Political Inquiry (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), p. 116.
4. Harold D. Lasswell, "Key Symbols, Signs and Icons," Symbols and Values: An Initial Study ... edited by Lyman Bryson et al. (New York: Conference of Science, Philosophy and Religion in their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life, 1954), p. 200.
5. Rollo May, "The Significance of Symbols," Symbolism in Religion and Literature, edited by Rollo May (New York: Braziller, 1960), p. 24.
6. Juan Aragón Osorio, La Influencia del Número 3 en la Historia del Mundo (n.p., Avendaño, 1965).
7. E.H. Gombrich, "Visual Metaphors of Value in Art," Symbols and Values, op. cit., pp. 265-267.
8. René Alleau, De la nature des symboles (Paris: Flammarion, 1958), p. 34.
9. Albert Salomon, "Symbols and Images in the Constitution of Society," Symbols and Society ... edited by Lyman Bryson et al. (New York: Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion in their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life, 1955), p. 104. See also Bronislaw Malinowski, Magic, Science, and Religion (New York: Doubleday, 1954), pp. 100 ff.
10. Carl G. Juan et al., Man and His Symbols (Garden City: Doubleday, 1964).
11. See further on in this study and also Sun Keun Lee, "The History of the Korean National Flag and its Significance," Kuksasang ui che munje, Vol. II (July 1959), pp. 242-251.
12. Mircea Eliade, Image and Symbols: Studies in Religious Symbolism (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961), p. 178.
13. Frederic Marshall, International Vanities (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1875), pp. 10-11; see also Ruth Benedict, Patterns of Culture (New York: Mentor, 1934), pp 54-55.
14. Carl H. Hamburg, Symbol and Reality: Studies in the Philosophy of Ernst Cassirer (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1956), p. 40.
15. Also spelled Dogo.
16. Marcel Griaule, "Réflexions sur les symboles," Cahier Internationale de Sociologie, Vol. XIII, No. 1 (1952), pp. 28-29.
17. Marcel Griaule and Germaine Dieterlen, "The Dogon," African Worlds: Studies in the Cosmological Ideas and Social Values of African Peoples edited by Daryll Forde (London: Oxford

University Press, 1954), p. 87.

18. Ibid.

19. This corresponds to similar meanings of the yang and yin; see Kaiser Wilhelm II, Die chinesisches Monarchie, ihre Geschichte und ihre Deutung (Leipzig, Koehler, 1934).

20. Geneviève Calame-Griaule, "Culture et humanisme chez les Dogons," Aspects de la Culture noire (Paris: Fayard, n.d.), pp. 9-10.

21. Griaule, pp. 27-28.

22. Montserrat Palau Marti. Les Dogons (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1957), p. 77; Calame-Griaule, p. 10.

23. Marcel Griaule, "Philosophie et religion des Noirs," Présence africaine, No. 8-9, p. 319. This recalls the reference Edmund Burke made to the communication of any people with -- and its participation in -- an "eternal society, linking the lower with the higher natures, connecting the visible and invisible world, according to a fixed compact"; cited in his Works (London: Bohn, 1861), Vol. II, p. 368.

24. See Thomas Wilson, "The Swastika," Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution ... (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894).

25. Griaule and Dieterlen, p. 89.

26. Ibid, p. 95.

27. Ibid, p. 103.

28. Ibid, pp. 100-101.

29. Ibid, p. 96.

30. Ibid.

31. Guglielmo Ferrero, Les lois psychologiques du symbolisme (Paris: Alcan, 1895), p. 93.

32. "The T'ai Chi Symbol in Japanese War Propaganda," Public Opinion Quarterly, Volume V (Winter 1941), pp. 532-547.

33. See Gerhardt Paul Grahl, "New Flags of World War II," THE FLAG BULLETIN, Volume I, Number 3 (Spring 1962), p. 20.

34. Yüngsiyebü Rinchen, "Soyonbo - Emblema Svobody i Nezavisimosti Mongolo'skovo Naroda," Mongolyn Sonin, 13 February 1957.

35. See Antonio María de Puelles y Puelles, Símbolos Nacionales de España (Cádiz: Cerón, 1941), pp. 137-170.

36. The same is true of such names as Ghana, Lesotho, Guyana, Haiti, Zimbabwe, and others.

37. This idea, while primary, was reinforced by the fact that one form of the kanaga resembled a crocodile, ancient totemic emblem of the Keita family which again took a leading role in Malian

politics; see Moussa Oumar Sy, Origine et signification, du masque "Kanaga" (n.p., n.d.), pp. 6-9.

38. Léopold Sédar Senghor, Nation et voie africaine du socialisme (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1961), p. 73.

39. Ibid, p. 89. Note the parallels to the old concepts of the earthly and heavenly placentae.

40. Ibid, p. 17.

41. Based on contemporary correspondence (from Europeans) in the files of the Flag Research Center.


42. Concerning shirk see Ahmad Mustafa Hakima, History of East Arabia, 1750-1800 (Beirut: Khayats, 1965), p. 127.

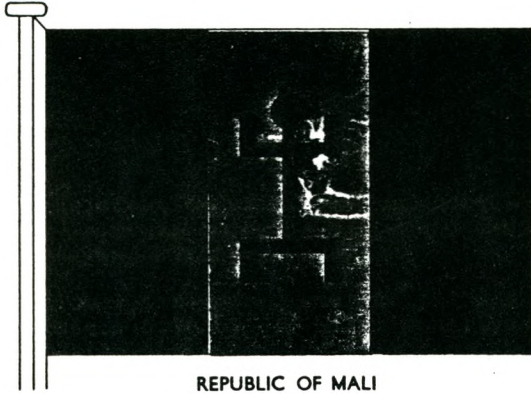
43. J. Amon d'Aby, "Attitude de l'animisme face à l'Islam et au Christianisme," Notes et études sur l'Islam en Afrique noire, edited by M. Chailley (Paris: Centre de Hautes Etudes sur l'Afrique et l'Asie modernes, 1962), p. 108.

44. M. Chailley, "Aspects de l'Islam au Mali," Chailley p. 36; Alphonse Gouilly, L'Islam dans l'Afrique Occidentale Française (Paris: Larose, 1952), p. 205.

45. See THE FLAG BULLETIN, Volume I, Number 2 (Winter 1961-1962), p. 5.

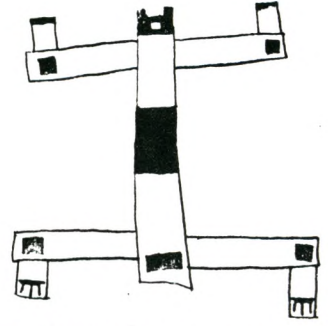
46. William G. Eliot, "Symbology on the Highways," Symbology: The Use of Symbols in Visual Communications edited by Elwood Whitney (New York: Hastings, 1960), pp. 54-56.


Dr. Whitney Smith



REPUBLIC OF MALI

Fig. 1



Werner Schmalenbach, African Art
(Macmillan, New York, 1954), p. 105;

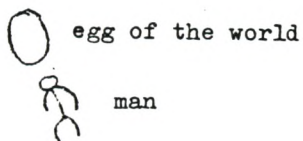
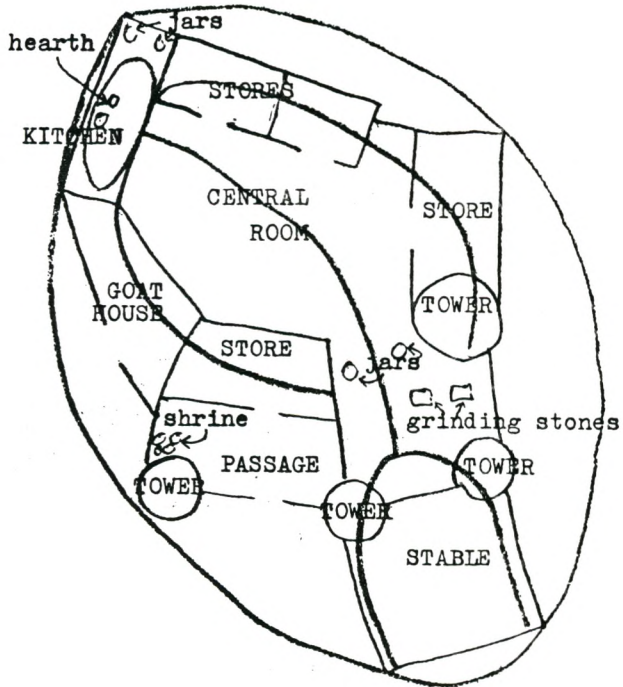
"French Sudan.
Dogon. Mask.
Wood..."

Fig. 2

(top only
shown here)



Fig. 3



egg of the world

man

Fig. 5

"The family homestead and the man"

Fig. 4

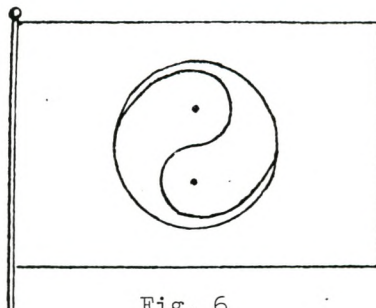


Fig. 6