



CELEBRATING ADORNMENT IN KENYA'S DIVERSE CULTURES

RUTH NYAMBURA*; PETER WAWERU; TOM NYAMACHE*****

*Egerton University, Njoro Campus
Department of Philosophy, History and Religion

**Laikipia University College

***Mount Kenya University, Nakuru Campus
Associate Professor and Principal

ABSTRACT

Self adornment plays a significant role in ensuring the continuity of the political, socio-cultural and ethno-moral principles of communities in Kenya. Whether with permanent marks like tattoos or scars, or temporary decorations like makeups, clothing and hairstyles. Adornment is a way of signaling an individual's place in society, marking a special moment, celebrating a transition in life or simply following a fashion. This paper analyses the history of adornment practices from ancient civilizations in Kenya. The study was informed by cultural history theory. Cultural history focuses on the changes and practices in human agency. Culture is transmitted across generations through the memory which is a faculty of the individual mind. Adornment is part of societal practices and basically the skin serves as a visible way of defining individual identity and cultural differences. It also serves as a text upon which reality is inscribed. Since the nineteenth to the twenty first century adornment in Kenya has been influenced by cultural globalisation and technology where recycling is done to produce ornaments. The study was based on secondary data and observations. The findings revealed that adornment is a means for self expression. It changes the wearer into an object shaped by colour, movement, textures, patterns and designs. Equally artistic growth of individuals can create something beautiful from very little.

Key words: Adornment, Culture, beauty, symbolism

Background to the Study

Adornment carries powerful messages about the decorated person. It communicates a person's status in society, displays accomplishments, encodes memories, desires and life histories. Many of the objects in the case are meant to appeal for these reasons.

Body adornment falls under two categories; body art and body modification. Body art refers to the practice of physically enhancing the body by styling and decorating the hair, painting and embellishing the fingernails, wearing makeup, painting the body, wearing jewelry, and the use of clothing. Body art are by definition temporary. Body modification, on the other hand, refers to the physical alteration of the body through the use of surgery, tattooing, piercing, scarification, branding, genital mutilation, implants, and other practices. Body modifications are permanent and alter the body forever.¹

For example, the Maasai people find beaded collar necklaces very attractive, especially the way they sway as a woman dances. Among the Kuna, slender limbs are thought beautiful, so women wrap *wini* (long strings of beads) around their arms and legs to make them look thinner and appealing.² Most communities in Kenya adorned themselves in six general ways: scarification, body painting, beadwork, jewelry, piercing and hairstyling. Differences by gender, age, marital status and social position were thus expressed.

Blackmun's³ work gives a comprehensive presentation of art in Africa. It covers body arts from all parts of Africa, process of producing the works, and the reason of the arts. She states that East Africa is often neglected in the study of African art because historians of African art focus mostly on masks and sculptures, which is a rare art in east Africa. For this reason, East African people are erroneously thought to be less concerned with beauty than people from Central and West Africa. The real challenge is not to explain why one culture produces more or less in the way of material objects than another, but to establish how particular expressions or forms of

¹ M. Domello. (2007). *Encyclopedia of Body Adornment*. London: Greenwood Press.

² J. Handy. (2006). *Adornment from Head to Toe*. New York: Appleton

³ M. Blackmun et.al. 2001. *A History of Art in Africa*. London: Prentice Hall.

creativity relate to their makers' and users' intentions and how they function and are given meaning in particular social contexts.

Schurz⁴ states that before circumcision in Luhya and Agikuyu land the boys were smeared with fat and ochre. He wore a long thick hair reaching his shoulders. Sometimes it was left flowing but was always done upto many little tresses carefully arranged like a bundle of strings and painted with ochre and fat. Generally the circumcised boy added false hair to his natural one to attract attention to him and a quantity of tiny strings were worked in with the natural hair. The whole being was disguised with ample fat and ochre such that it looked like genuine hair. Cagnolo⁵ further reveals that boys adopted a cut commonly known as “Gutema rori.” Others shaved their head round from the forehead to the nape of their necks, others preferred to bind the back part of their hair into a narrow compact bundle like a cabbage stalk or pigtail. Those who followed this fashion usually added two more bunches of hair to their temples, others attached to hair one by one a considerable number of black feathers which were brought together at the nape with a light fan shape binding. Head shaving is common at many rites of passage, representing the fresh start that will be made as one passes from one to another of life’s chapters. Warriors are the only members of Maasai community to wear long hair, which they weave in thinly braided strands. Upon reaching the age of three “moons”, the child is named and the head is shaved clean apart from a tuft hair, which resembles a cock’s comb, from the shape of the neck to the forehead. The cockade symbolizes the “state of grace” accorded to infants.⁶

Watts⁷ quotes Barton in his notes on the “Turkana Tribe” who praise their beadwork, ornamentation and clothing, noting that the women wore “a thick belt of beads, a V shaped skin apron decorated with beads and a skirt of skins with jagged ornamented edges.” He further observed that men did not have such clothing and a woman with the most beautiful apron was rewarded and respected in the community. Watts⁸ adds that the neighbouring Samburu women are known to lavish beads on their on their warrior lovers (muran). The beads are part of the gift

⁴ A. Schurz. (2000) *Hairstyles, Headdress and Ornaments in Africa*. London: James Currey.

⁵ I.M. Cagnolo. (2006) *The Agikuyu: Their Custom, Traditions and Folklore* (2nd Ed.). Nairobi: Wisdom Graphics Place.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ J. Watts. (2011). *Perspectives on the Material Culture of East African Societies*. New York: Abrams.

⁸ Ibid.

exchange between the kin groups of the bride and groom during the marriage preparation and negotiation process.

In another work, Ifemesia⁹ provides a discussion on ornaments, decorations and dress of the Turkana. He alludes that the Turkana spend long hours choosing the right adornment, clothing, coiffures, finery and jewellery as they display the status of an individual in a society. The one traditional and most personal bodily decoration which merits some attention is a man's finely decorated clay hairdo (*emedot*). Styles have varied considerably throughout the century. The present fashion is in the manner of a chignon, packed and shaped and dyed blue. Several ostrich feather holders are tied onto the bun, embellishing the already remarkable coiffeur. Women and girls on the other hand have a great love of beads and take great care in choosing jewellery for their personal adornment. Beads are made from glass (*akoromwa*), seeds (*emus*), cowry shells (*ekame*), ostrich shell (*akirim*), iron (*asuat*) and are usually worn around the neck or used to decorate articles of clothing and belts.

Gilbert¹⁰ writes on the communities who occupy the lands of the Rift Valley, from the Gulf of Aden down to the great lakes and plains of Kenya, Tanzania, and Malawi. He acknowledges the decorations among warriors of the Maasai, Samburu, the Mursi, specifically the lip-plates. He states that the ability to withstand the pain as the elongations were done on the lips, signified strength and courage to endure future wars with other communities.

Sobania¹¹ has written on the Pokot living in the Rift Valley. He describes how the girls wear flat, wide, circular collars of incised water reds to indicate their availability for marriage. Similarly he states that the Turkana send similar message by wearing multilayered beaded necklaces with three pendants of sewn beads on the back.

A variety of materials are used in the making of Maasai jewellery. The materials include wood, metal, seeds, ivory, beads, stones, bones, ostrich shells, leather and feathers. Jewellery varies with the age of the girl and woman or boy and man. For example, a young unmarried woman cannot wear the necklaces or arm ornamentations or ear-rings of a married woman or a widow.

⁹ C. Ifemesia. (1996). *Turkana*. New York: Rosen Publishing Book.

¹⁰ E. Gilbert. (2008). *Tribes of the Great Rift Valley*. Michigan: University of Michigan.

¹¹ N. Sobania. (2003). *Culture and Customs of Kenya*. New York: Greenwood.

One glance at a woman's ornaments makes her status obvious to others in her community. Natural red soil or ochre is found in some areas of Maasailand and widely used after mixing with sheep fat for body decoration and adornment, to colour the braided hair locks of the Maasai *muran* or warriors and to give hides and skins used for aprons for young girls and dresses of the warriors (*toga*) the brown colouring that has become associated with the Maasai.¹² On the same Beckwith¹³ reports on the Maasai of Kenya and Tanzania describes their rites of passage the use of beads in decorating their clothes which are used in their ceremonial songs and dances. Kyoto¹⁴ reveals that among the Maasai and Samburu of Kenya, the wedding ceremony itself is symbolized by coloured beads. A variety of beads are worn around the neck and wrist. Beads of different colour are worn by the bride and groom as well as the family representative present. The colour of beads that the couple wear match with the colours of their dress.

Results and Discussion

Human Evolution and Adornment in Africa

Human evolution began, in Africa. The transformative shift in our ancestors to fully human intellectual and social capacities took place between 90,000 and 60,000 years ago. Earlier, by around 200,000 years ago, hominids in Africa developed many modern anatomical features, and sometime before 100,000 BP, in a period of interglacial climates, expanded their range from Africa to include adjacent warm-climate areas of the Levant. This period the hominids concentrated more on food and securing shelter. Despite Ice-Age conditions, fully modern humans of that later time advanced right across the eastern hemisphere within a relatively few thousand years, even into periglacial climes.¹⁵ Neanderthal and other hominid populations everywhere eventually became extinct in the face of the advance of fully modern humans. The crucial changeover was the development of language between 100,000 and 50,000. The

¹² T. Saitoti and C. Beckwith. (1980). *Maasai*. New York: Harvill.

¹³ C. Beckwith. (1980). *Maasai*. USA: Abrams.

¹⁴ N. Kyoto. (2005). *Adornments of the Samburu in Northern Kenya: A Comprehensive List*. The Center for African Area Studies, Kyoto University.

¹⁵ S. McBrearty and A. Brooks. (2000). "The Revolution That Wasn't: A New Interpretation of the Origin of Modern Human Behavior," *Journal of Human Evolution*. Vol., 39, pp. 453-563.

evolution of the full language capacity, allowed humans to form significantly larger co-operative and habitation groups and emergence of the mental and imaginative capacities.¹⁶

Among the capacities, were major new developments in tools, adornment, symbolic expression, and social relations took shape between 90,000 and 55,000 BCE. These include the making of deliberately fashioned bone tools in East Africa; shell beads in southern and eastern Africa; and very small backed stone blades, earliest in southern Africa but later also in East Africa. Another significant development by the period was the exchange of valued kinds of stone or other goods over distance, indicative of the emergence of social relations of reciprocity and formal procedures for cooperation between separate communities.¹⁷

For many years human beings, wherever they spread in the world, continued to be gatherers and hunters of wild food. Then, separately in different parts of the world, the climatic shifts at the end of the latest Ice Age set off a long episodic “First Great Transition” of human history, they formed a culture that expressed people’s values, beliefs and rituals as well as their material possession. The major economic activities were nomadic pastoralism and hunter gathering. They literally carried everything they owned with them. This included tools and large numbers of decorative and beautiful ornaments.¹⁸

Archeologists have found evidence that as early as 20,000 years later people did not just exist, they were living well. This was referred as “Upper Paleolithic Revolution” This time; man had stopped concentrating on obtaining food but turned to production of ornaments. As Fernandes, 2001:1 writes:

One reason is that they now had enough time on their hands....could obtain enough food for several days within five or six hours. This gave them time to think and dream and a desire to give those dreams form in tangible objects....Needles and pins were needed for sewing, blades were used for carving, cutting and shaping. There were grinding stones

¹⁶ P. Lieberman and R. McCarthy. (2001). “Tracking the Evolution of Language and Speech: Comparing Vocal Tracts to Identify Speech Capabilities,” *Expedition*. Vol. 49, No. 2, pp. 15-20.

¹⁷ S. Ambrose. (2002). “Small Things Remembered: Origins of Early Microlithic Industries in Sub-Saharan Africa,” in R. Elston and S. Kuhn. (eds.), *Thinking Small: Global Perspectives on Microlithization*. Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association, Vol. 2, No. 12.

¹⁸ Ibid.

which may have been used to crush pigments such as ochre. Those with the talent to do so could now create objects like strings and hang things whose sole purpose was aesthetic beauty....¹⁹

Three sets of peoples, speaking languages of the three language families that predominate across the continent today, probably began their early expansions in this period. Nilo-Saharan people spread out in the areas around and east of the middle Nile River in what is today the country of Sudan. Peoples of a second family, Niger-Kordofanian, spread across an emerging east-west belt of savanna vegetation from the eastern Sudan to the western Atlantic coast of Africa. In the same era, communities speaking languages of the Erythraic branch of the Afrasian (Afroasiatic) family expanded beyond their origin areas in the Horn of Africa, northward to modern-day Egypt.²⁰

The return of colder, drier conditions in the Younger Dryas, 10,900-9500 BCE, set off a new round of subsistence innovation, before fully post-glacial conditions took hold in the tenth millennium BCE. In a few areas of the world people began the first protecting of plants or animals, in this fashion laying the earliest foundations for agriculture. The rise of agriculture after 9500 BCE, separately and independently in different parts of the world, quantitatively transformed the directions of human history. The deliberate tending of plants and animals multiplies by magnitudes the amounts of food potentially obtainable from the same amount of land. However, Nilo-Saharan people of the southern eastern Sahara, took a very different first step toward agriculture. In the mid-tenth millennium BCE, a belated shift to wetter conditions spread Mediterranean climate, with cool-season rains and Mediterranean wild animals, most notably the cow, south to the middle of the Sahara they collected wild grains and moved with their animals from one place to another in search of pasture, They had important contacts, too, with the contemporary Afrasian communities immediately east of them in the Red Sea Hills region. These communities spoke early daughter dialects of the proto-Cushitic language. Even earlier, the Cushites began, like the Northern Sudanians, to raise cattle, and they either collected or cultivated sorghum.²¹

¹⁹ B. Fernandes. (2009). *Who made the first Beads?* USA: Harlequin Beads & Jewellery, Bead Information Library.

²⁰ C. Ehret. (2002). *The Civilizations of Africa*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.

²¹ Ibid.

Equally Illife notes that following desiccation in the 5th Millennium, pastoralists from the Sahara had grave goods differentiated by age and gender:

The inhumations of men were the richest as regards furnishing fine pottery vessels painted with ochre and necklaces composed of beads of carnelian and bone, lib studs, lumb of ochre and shells....Inhumations of women contained pottery vessels, pottery vessels, personal adornments such as necklaces of carnelian beads, beads made of marine shells used to decorate loin cloth. Graves of children contained pottery vessels, necklaces, nose stands and lumps of ochre.²²

Illife continues to say that these pastoralists may have been the Cushitic speakers who by 5th Millennium had spread southwards from Sudan into East Africa through the Rift Valley found enough wet land with lots of rainfall and embraced the culture of fishing and pottery making. As rainfall declined thereafter, the Cushitic group sat around the fire place in the evening painted their legs with ochre and put on necklaces made of chipped bones asking gods to bring the rains. The Nilo-Saharan speakers who they exchanged with food and cattle might have copied this culture although no exact archeological sources confirm this.²³

The evolution and development of the Kenya's adornment seem to have revolved around their contact with the environment, their political and social institutions, religious values, warfare and trade. Cole states that the pastoralists have no visual art other than personal decoration. Time is spent by men and women in hairdressing, jewellery making and application of pigments. Cole argues that pastoralists wear their portable wealth than stock presumably to keep their movable property to a minimum. The bulk of ornaments among pastoralists are beads, however some forms and styles of ceremonial dress exist, hairstyles, jewelry and body painting.²⁴ He adds that pastoralists of Kenya, Uganda and South Ethiopia such as Rendille, Dorobo, Turkana, Pokot, Suk, Karamajong and Maasai have similarities in adornment practices however, the Samburu have distinctive features of style, shape, texture and most important, colour.²⁵

²² J. Iliffe. (1995). *Africans: The History of a Continent*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ H. Cole. (1973). "Living Art among the Samburu" in J. Cordwell. (ed.) et.al. *The Fabrics of Culture: The Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment*. Great Britain: Mouton Publishers, pp. 87-102.

²⁵ Ibid.

Perhaps this can be explained by a mythology around the beads. Ettagale affirms that symbolism based on existing Maasai and Samburu communities' beliefs about the natural world remains valid today. Blue represents sky and embraces *Nkai*. Green represents grass, a sacred element revered because it nourishes the cattle that play such a central role in the cycle of life. Red and white are the life-sustaining colours. Red represents the blood of the cattle, and white stands for their milk. These are the basic Maasai foodstuffs. Cattle hides are used for clothing and material for pouches, slings, and straps. The imported beads enable the Maasai and Samburu to spell out the essential beliefs and elements of their lives in their dress and personal adornment.²⁶

As the communities migrated to their present land they found life comfortable and worth living as their animals were well fed. It was at this time that they decorated themselves to remind them of their god and create memories for their children.²⁷ Some of the decorations were made of beads.

Contacts between the Kenya's and other communities in the neighbourhood contributed to a great extent to the evolution and development of the Samburu adornment from the pre-colonial period. For example The Rendille community shares common boundaries with the Samburu in the region of the Ol Doinyo Lenkiyo, Ndoto and Nyiro Mountains. Though Cushitic the Rendille shares similar cultural traits with the Samburu, for example the *Murran* age set system.²⁸ Evidence from the field indicates that the *Mporo* neck bead worn by a Samburu bride has its origin from the Rendille community.²⁹ Similarly evidence of intermarriages between Samburu and El Molo women has led to a majority of El Molo speaking Samburu language sharing the same deity name and burial practices.³⁰ Further, Gartner states that the culture of branding as an adornment practice may have been copied from the Elmolo.³¹

Similar study by Straight show that the Kenya adornment has existed due trade with other communities from Europe and East Africa. For example the Antique Venetian trade beads used

²⁶ B. Ettagale. (2000). *The Glory of African Beadwork*.

²⁷ M. Amin, et.al. (2009). *Beautiful People of Kenya*. Nairobi: Camerapix Publishers International.

²⁸ M. Amin, et.al. (2009). *Beautiful People of Kenya*.

²⁹ Moses Lekamariu, O.I. December, 2012.

³⁰ M. Amin, et.al. (2009). *Beautiful People of Kenya*.

³¹ U. Gaertner. (1995). *Elmolo*. New York: Rosen Publishing Group.

in Samburu women's marriage necklaces *mporo* have recently undergone intense recommodification in the transnational trade bead market concurrent with their appropriation by Euro-American women in both religious and secular domains. The beads were acquired through regional trades in the 19th Century.³²

Arab traders, sailing down the East African coast in dhows introduced a variety of goods in exchange for ivory and other treasures. The earliest known Maasai and Samburu beaded jewelry items, dating from around 1850, were assembled from large red beads originally made in Holland. The traders introduced tiny, colorful glass beads which were uniform in size and had been imported from Czech Republic. These beads, already drilled with precise center holes, could easily be strung on threads or sewn onto leather. Their variety meant they could also be arranged in contrasting colors and geometric patterns. This revolutionized the look of ornament in East Africa and other parts of the continent.³³

According to Gikuyu traditions the work of spear making and other iron implements like traditional razors and clubs may have been the origin of adornment. The blacksmiths composed songs, which they sang as they worked especially when smelting by use of bellows. They equally scarified their bodies to wad off tiredness. This exercise brought enjoyment of the work and admiration from the onlookers who would often come to watch the blacksmiths or wait for their gadgets to be made. The blacksmiths sung to praise their works, tools and beautiful bodies, relate their experiences or expectations. This encouraged the onlookers who would request for similar marks by the blacksmiths.³⁴

Lynch and Robbins in their study on the relationship between art and ownership among East African pastoralist noted that “there exists a strong relationship between an engraved mark on an animal in a herd and a mark branded on the owner of that herd.”³⁵ They observed that brands on animals were made using a hot iron to differentiate sex and species of the animal. This was a

³² B. Straight. (2002). “From Samburu Heirloom to New Age Artifact: The Cross-Cultural Consumption of *Mporo* Marriage Beads” *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 104, No. 1, pp. 7–21.

³³ B. Ettagale. (2000). *The Glory of African Beadwork*. Oxford: Oxford University Printing Press.

³⁴ R. Larik. (1985). “Spears, Style and Time among Maa Speaking Pastoralists” *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, Vol 4, No. 3, pp. 206-220.

³⁵ M. Lynch and L. Robbins. (1977). “Animal Brands and Interpretation of Rock Art in East Africa” *Current Anthropology*, Vol 18, No. 3, pp. 538-539.

common practice among Turkana, Maasai and Samburu pastoralists. They equally put similar marks on their bodies especially on the upper arm and thighs.³⁶

The age set system and lifestyle equally determines Kenya's adornment. Cole observes that for both sexes personal ornamentation can be graphed from a minimum during infancy through a crescendo of weight and visual intensity in the prime of life, then to a falling off, in middle and later years. He adds that the illustrations reveal the distinct styles present between age and gender.³⁷

Throughout their early history, Kenya's relations with each and other communities became a source of adornment practices. This kind of interaction was witnessed in social ceremonies and competitions among others. For example, around 12th to 15th Centuries, the Samburu and Maasai would invite each other for weddings and music competitions. The Samburu were identified by their decorated red feet that the Maasai called them Sukuloi "people of the red feet". Being happy with their victory after a dancing competition they exchanged their adornment with the Maasai and sang all the way home.³⁸

Adornment practices and New Technology

Straight show that the most Kenya's adornment has existed due to trade with other communities from Europe and East Africa. For example the Antique Venetian trade beads used in Samburu women's marriage necklaces *mporo* have recently undergone intense recommodification in the transnational trade bead market concurrent with their appropriation by Euro-American women in both religious and secular domains. The beads were acquired through regional trades in the 19th Century.³⁹

Arab traders, sailing down the East African coast in dhows introduced a variety of goods in exchange for ivory and other treasures. The earliest known Maasai and Samburu beaded jewelry items, dating from around 1850, were assembled from large red beads originally made in Holland. The traders introduced tiny, colorful glass beads which were uniform in size and had

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ H. Cole. (1973). "Living Art among the Samburu" in J. Cordwell. (ed.) et.al. *The Fabrics of Culture*

³⁸ M. Amin, et.al (2009). *Beautiful People of Kenya*.

³⁹ B. Straight. (2002). "From Samburu Heirloom to New Age Artifact: The Cross-Cultural Consumption of *Mporo* Marriage Beads" *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 104, No. 1, pp. 7–21.

been imported from Czech Republic. These beads, already drilled with precise center holes, could easily be strung on threads or sewn onto leather. Their variety meant they could also be arranged in contrasting colors and geometric patterns. This revolutionized the look of ornament in East Africa and other parts of the continent.⁴⁰ In the 21st Century artisans are making recycled product. Jewellery is no exception. Glass and plastic has been recycled to make bracelets and anklets. This practice is good for many reasons; the commercial gain of the individual or community; the experience and skills acquired not only in creation of the product but also learning to manage the finances and marketing; the commitment to cleaning up the environment; the artistic growth of individuals and the value perceived in creating something beautiful from very little.⁴¹

Conclusion

From the discussion it is apparent that there are diverse reasons for the different adornment practices on the body and who can have them on. The different types have names and their meanings. Their significance is related to culture, memory and traditions of a particular community. Equally interactions of the communities through trade have modernized Kenya's adornment practices.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ B. Ettagale. (2000). *The Glory of African Beadwork*. Oxford: Oxford University Printing Press.

References

- Beckwith, C. (1980). *Maasai*. USA: Abrams.
- Blackmun, M. et.al. 2001. *A History of Art in Africa*. London: Prentice Hall.
- Cagnolo, I. M. (2006). *The Agikuyu: Their Custom, Traditions and Folklore* (2nd Ed.). Nairobi: Wisdom Graphics Place.
- Ettagale. B. (2000). *The Glory of African Beadwork*. Oxford: Oxford University Printing Press.
- Gilbert, E. (2008). *Tribes of the Great Rift Valley*. Michigan: University of Michigan.
- Handy, J. (2006). *Adornment from Head to Toe*. New York.
- Ifemesia. C. (1996). *Turkana*. New York: Rosen Publishing Book.
- Kyoto, N. (2005). *Adornments of the Samburu in Northern Kenya: A Comprehensive List*. Kyoto University: The Center for African Area Studies.
- Larik. R. (1985). “Spears, Style and Time among Maa Speaking Pastoralists” *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, Vol 4, No. 3, pp. 206-220.
- Lynch L. and Robbins.L. (1977). “Animal Brands and Interpretation of Rock Art in East Africa” *Current Anthropology*, Vol 18, No. 3, pp. 538-539.
- Straight. B. (2002). “From Samburu Heirloom to New Age Artifact: The Cross-Cultural Consumption of *Mporo* Marriage Beads” *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 104, No. 1, pp. 7–21.
- Watts, J. (2011). *Perspectives on the Material Culture of East African Societies*. New York: Abrams.