



**Fig. 2:** Although the names *Pwo* and *Mwana Pwo* are usually treated as synonymous, some sources relate them to "fulfilled" woman and "potential" woman, respectively.

Baumann (1932:31) also mentions a wooden version of *Cihewu*. Borgonjon (1945:66) writes that *Cihewu* is a hideous mask that causes great laughter. It shows teeth like a keyboard, distorted cheeks, and a crooked nose. The masquerader dances like an old woman and fools around, engaging in conversations on vulgar and indecent topics with the women and wearing a huge wooden penis that he constantly uncovers while making obscene gestures (see also Baumann 1932: figs.

27, 29a; Centner 1963: fig. 24 opp. p. 108). Crowley (1971:319, 321), who ranks this character among the *mukanda* masks, describes *Cihewu* as "impotent man with bald head and sometimes with enormous wooden phallus," while he identifies yet another character, called *Katoyo*, whose headpiece is generally made in resin, as "an idiot-like clown." This character sometimes wears a wooden mask (Bastin 1982:92; Jordán 1998b:117 f.; Jordán [ed.] 1998: cat. nos. 76, 78–80).