



**Fig. 9:** The male *Cihongo* mask, which symbolizes wealth and power, may be considered the counterpart of the female (*Mwana*) *Pwo*.



**Fig. 10:** Zambian Chokwe informants interviewed by art historian Manuel Jordán in the early 1990s reported that *Cihongo* is a royal or chiefly character.

singing, instrument-making and -playing, mask-making, and training in traditional lore and beliefs." The *mukanda* ritual does, however, change slightly from area to area and the details of the

initiation process may vary considerably in space and in time.

Borgonjon (1945: 15) relates that one of the first activities in relation to the *mukanda* ritual