

**RESEARCH ARTICLE**

# Architecture as a Conservation and Expression tool of a Fundamental Tradition: The Tammari Architecture in West Africa

Kodzo Anani Eugène Domtse<sup>1</sup> and Paolo Vincenzo Genovese<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> School of Architecture, Tianjin University, Tianjin, China

<sup>2</sup> College of Civil Engineering and Architecture, Zhejiang University, Hangzhou, China

Email: [pavic@zju.edu.cn](mailto:pavic@zju.edu.cn)

## ABSTRACT

It is generally acknowledged that the human being is the measure unit in Architecture. However, ancient architectures in general and at some extent religious architecture don't necessarily follow that rule. They have their own typical features based on the beliefs related to them. The objective of this paper is to contribute to the discussion of the metaphysical function of humans' dwellings. This investigation analyses the typical home in a Batammariba village (Togo, West Africa), which, more than a simple dwelling, is the most complete expression of their culture, cosmogony, and traditional spirituality. In this context, the research tries to identify different metaphysical aspects based on the main issues concerning the design process and the construction. It aims at lighting up how, more than the majestic looking of its physical features, the peculiarity of the Tata Tamberma, may be its strong concentration of the fundamental doctrine of the Batammariba people.

**KEYWORDS:** Architecture, Metaphysics, Dwellings, Tammari, Vernacular architecture

## HOW TO CITE THIS ARTICLE:

Domtse, K. E. and Genovese, P. V., 2022. Architecture as a Conservation and Expression tool of a Fundamental Tradition: The Tammari Architecture in West Africa. *Journal of African Cultural Heritage Studies*, 3 (1), pp 80–95 DOI: <http://doi.org/10.22599/jachs.111>

---

## Introduction

Architecture's main concern has been the creation of space in accordance with human needs and sizes (le Corbusier, 1955). Architecture is with Quiros (Quiros et al., 2001), believed to be part physical and part metaphysical and aimed to produce experiences that go beyond the tangible word. But if religious architecture, as an exception, reflects some metaphysic<sup>i</sup> symbolism, the architecture of residential houses in general is usually studied only by its physical aspects, as a place primarily designed to address the daily basic needs of their residents. However, and especially in traditional settlements, so many considerations have to be taken into account. In that context, this paper intends to study the extraordinary and unique architecture, the iconic element of cultural landscape of the *Batammari* \_ Unesco World Heritage Site<sup>ii</sup> \_ in West Africa.

## The Study of Vernacular Architecture

The study of vernacular architecture is a cross-disciplinary matter, as many viewpoints are essential for its thorough understanding. It is at the same time the strength and the weakness of this complex subject (Oliver, 2006). If the early approaches to the study of vernacular settlements, in the second half of the twentieth century, were one-sided, more interdisciplinary approaches are used today thank to the collaboration of specialists from various fields (Bold & Pickard, 2018; Nilson & Thorell, 2018). A fundamental subject in vernacular architecture studies is the form of the houses and the reasons leading to them. Whilst the role of the environmental context in the design choices can hardly be denied, it is not sufficient to explain the houses forms because quite different forms are produced in same conditions and similar forms are produced in far different physical conditions (Rapoport, 1969). This critic of the physical determinist view suggests the importance of other causes (Asadpour, 2020; Walker, 2001) among which religion and beliefs. Indeed, for instance, Bernard Rudofsky expressed the influence of the sacred in such terms: "In societies where food is looked upon as a divine gift rather than an industrial product, the architecture of granaries is solemn" (Rudofsky, 1964). But not only this influence touches outbuildings or certain parts of the houses, but in fact, the built environment is often the expression of a complex structure of a traditional conception of life. Thus, we aim in this article to analyse the symbolism used in Tammari architecture in accordance with local culture but also in parallel with other cultures from the world;

---

because the symbols are universal (Chwalkowski, 2016; Guénon, 1962; Pucciani, 1952) and are therefore similar in all fundamental traditions.

### **Methodology and Data Collection**

Data for this paper was collected mostly through secondary sources. Some elements also remained from our visit a few years back on the site, even if this visit was at the time on a basis of discovery and tourism. The cultural area attended by our research has been largely documented since the early European scholars visiting sub-Saharan African countries. The interest has grown even more since the registration of the site on the UNESCO World Heritage List. This is how a lot of information has been obtained by reading various existing books and articles on the subject. The sources used were the studies that used anthropological and/or architectural methods. The data thus gathered was analysed with the idea of bringing out the metaphors and symbols used in the architecture. The output of this analysis was then compared to similar symbols used in other traditional societies to reveal the profound meaning of the forms used in the intriguing architecture of the *Batammariba*.

### **The Land**

Located in West Africa, the settlements of the *Batammariba* people lie on a relatively large area that stretches from north-eastern Togo (in the prefecture of *Kéran*) to north-western Republic of Benin. The part of *Koutammakou* contained within the Togolese borders is 50,000 hectares wide. The renown of their landscape comes from their tower-houses called *Takienta*; a condensed expression of their culture and beliefs.



Fig.1. A view of the Koutammakou. Source: republicoftogo.com

### **Fundamental Elements of Batamariba Culture**

The *Batamariba* people share cultural traits with several Sahelian peoples, including the *Gourunsi*, *Lobi*, and *Rukuba*, all of whom share a desire for independence and liberty (Republic of Togo, 2002). The *Batamariba* people's origins are uncertain. However, they say to be from a location named "*Dinaba*," which may be a reference to the *Mossi* people, whose King is known as "*Moro Naba*". Between the 16th and 18th centuries, they must have found shelter in this mountainous region to defend themselves from the *Mossi*, *Gourmantché*, or *Mamprussi* and *Dagomba* kingdoms' attempts to assert dominance. The *Batamariba* have long been fiercely protective of their cultural traditions, which they continue to uphold to this day.

Architecture is a core feature of their society, as shown by their name (*Batamariba* means "those who mold the clay"). It is through architecture that they communicate their cosmogony and tradition.



Fig. 2. Location of the Koutammakou. Source: N’Kere, 2009

---

Every form of domination, whether external or internal, has often been resisted by the group. As a result, even though the population is divided into age classes with clear rights and obligations, there is no overarching concentration of ruling authority within the culture. Yet, a certain degree of hierarchical organization is tolerated. For instance, between elders and young people, there is a hierarchy that is necessary for society's stability. Thus, even though equity is pursued, injustice is recognized as natural, at least to some extent. There are even rights, especially for the village's founding families, but also for the *Okoti*, or household heads, who are usually chosen based on their age, but also on other factors such as intellect or the ability to make a speech and convince. In the villages of the *Koutammakou*, this sense of self-responsibility has resulted in a strong sense of identity, centered on the earth priests, the *Katenkaya*, who are descendants of the village's founders and thus serve the numerous clans that make up the village. They oversee the allocation of the common estate of the different tribes, in addition to their religious duties (the land and the trees). The scheme is built in such a way that the manager of a terroir always comes from a clan other than the one that strengthens it, and that this condition is mutual. Another unique feature is the systematic presence of two clans in each village, known as the "reds" and "blacks," who live in separate regions. Although, like the Chinese symbol of harmony, "Yin and Yang," the presence of dwellings of members of one clan in the area reserved for the other, this differentiation is broken by the presence of dwellings of members of the other clan in the area reserved for the other. Many clashes and excessive usage of municipal resources are avoided as a result of these peculiarities. It is very normal for individuals to join together to accomplish a significant mission. It occurs, for example, during the many neighbourhood hunts held each year, which are not only symbolic and ritual in nature but also aimed at strengthening social group membership. They have a close bond with nature, which is driven by a respectful mind-set. Many facets of faith and social traditions are effective in protecting unique areas and thereby maintaining habitats thus allowing for fair harvests. They are well-known for being outstanding farmers who grow a diverse range of livestock. They use faeces to re-fertilize land that has been exhausted, leading to the creation of a virtue circle; there is once again a vital quest for equilibrium. Everything in the *Tammari*<sup>iii</sup> cultural expression seems to go in the direction of the search for balance. Thus, the structure of the extended family has a dual character, patrilineal and matrilineal, and the dwelling is shared "faily"

---

between the female and male space (Joffroy & Nayondjoua, 2005), not to mention the social appropriation of the land.

In *tammari* society as in various traditions, especially in African peoples' cultures, the transition from adolescence to adulthood is one of the most critical stages in life. During that time, an initiation is held (called *Difuani* for boys and *Dikuntri* for girls).

#### *The beliefs in between religion and doctrine*

The *Batammariba* claim that anything in existence has a soul or, at the very least, that there are powers within and aspect of nature: plants, rocks, creatures, and so on. And certain powers can interact with individuals who have clairvoyant skills. But their core belief is that, above all of these powers, there is also a cult of ancestors that goes back to the creator God *Kuye*, who is embodied in the natural world by the light, as is popular in African traditional societies. They also say they are "the descendants of a grand, invisible, underground 'Serpent Mother' who bore the first eggs of their ancestors" (Wikipedia Contributors, 2021). The fate of living beings is decided by the ancestors. They are the life givers.

All living beings, according to the *Batammariba* people, relive the breath of a dead man who wished his birth. Therefore, it is important for humans to recall their own names in order to communicate with one another. The primary goal of constructing a *Takienta* (traditional house) is to provide a comfortable place for them to rest. This is one of the most important functions of the lower room (the arrangement of the house will be discussed later), which is where the altars, or receptacles for their breaths, are built. The offerings given on these altars are a means for the living to communicate with their ancestors who have passed away. You cannot access this location without sticking by the laws of courtesy, which apply equally to tourists and citizens alike.

#### *Expression of the doctrine in architecture and interpretation*

The *Koutammakou* is a reflexion of the permanent seek for harmony between human beings and their surrounding environment, a permanent dialogue between men and nature. The built environment is

remarkable by its scattered concessions, each of which is surrounded by a farm that belongs to the owners of the *Takienta*. The construction of the latter follows a specific rule peculiar to the *tammari* culture:

[The founder of a new village breaks away from his base clan, builds his "Takienta", a Takienta-mother, on the original model with all the configurations initiated by Kuye<sup>iv</sup> (towers, granaries, terrace,...).

He first makes an agreement with "Butan", the goddess of the earth, wife of "Kuyé", mother protector of humans who governs agriculture, forests, animals, cemeteries.

He raises shrines for the "Dibo", the "natural forces" with which the villagers will have to come to terms in order to use their territory.

Finally, the founder sets up a ritual center made up of the Great Ceremonial House, the Altar of the Tutelary Serpent and the cemetery.] Translated from French by the authors (Republic of Togo, 2002).

The *Batammariba*'s entire life is based on their basic conservative doctrine-based values. Their architecture is a direct expression of their ideology. The structures are more than just a mere shelter; their typology is a work of symbolism and a window into their history. None of the features is selected at random. All has a meaning, whether it is practical or symbolic, and it is often both. The *tammari* dwelling has a fortified farm look, with its turrets linked by a high perimeter wall. This fortress-like form is often compared to castles. It has been given the name "Tata" (or *Takienta*), a term used in West Africa to refer to any defensive structure or wall, thus the common names of *Tata Somba* (in Benin) or *Tata Tamberma* (in Togo).

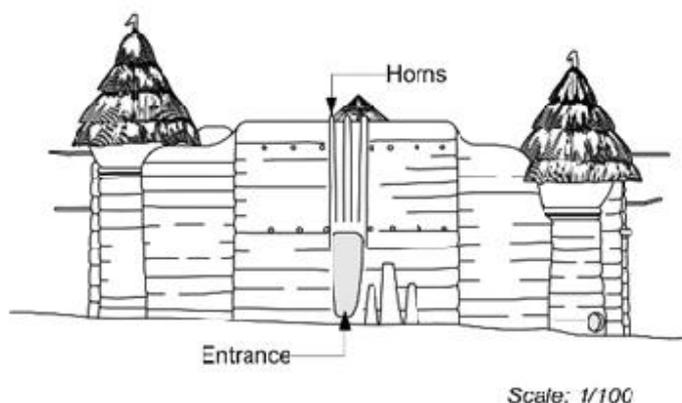


Fig. 3. West elevation of a *Takienta Source*: (Joffroy & Nayondjoua, 2005)

---

*Tammari* architecture is unique and elaborate, and it, like the territory's preparation, is in complete harmony with the people's culture and values. Since the *Takienta* is such an important part of the *Batammariba* people's lives, it acts as a home, shrine, and fold all at the same time.

As one could expect, for it is a fundamental principle in any vernacular architecture, the building rules are often the same, but they allow for modification and customization in terms of scale, decoration, and the number of rooms, which differ based on the rank and characteristics of the occupants. A *Takienta* can evolve over time to respond to significant changes, or it can evolve on a more temporary basis in response to particular events. Few adaptations are unique to particular clans or villages, but they do adopt the same design concepts.

The *Takienta* have a female-male duality that is characterized by east-west axis division. The right-hand half, the southern half, is both holy and human. The woman controls the northern half, the left hand. The appropriation of rooms, like attics, represents this distinction. So, on the south side, we have harvest seeds with male connotations (fonio, millet, sorghum, rice), and on the north side, we have the female attic, which houses beans, earth peas, fruits, and peanuts. This seems to be an expression of the primal artistic entity's androgynous essence, as it is in numerous cultures around the world. The front of the house, where the door is, still faces west, offering protection from the rains and harmattan (a wind) that blows from November to February. That door is not only in the right spot for accessibility, but it is also assumed (and probably the main reason) to face *Kuye's* mythic "paradise village."

Another symbolic division concerns the opposition between the second floor and the ground floor. The *tammari* conceptions of their dwelling make the second floor the place of the living people, the ground floor that of the dead ones, those close to the family (the ancestors) and the cattle that are primarily intended for them, according to the writings of Paul Mercier (Mercier, 1968).

The ecosystem acts as a home for all living humans and their ancestors, and it can also be treated as a place of worship. The altars, as well as all the magical defenses, are mostly located on the first floor. However, *Litakon's* altar (goddess of twins and fertility) is on the terrace, with a holy orifice paved with a

stone that is also used as a dining table for the evening meal. The soul of the dead will leave the house through this orifice. After that, the stone will be used as a tombstone. Other altars linked to the God *Kuye* or other deities are placed outside.

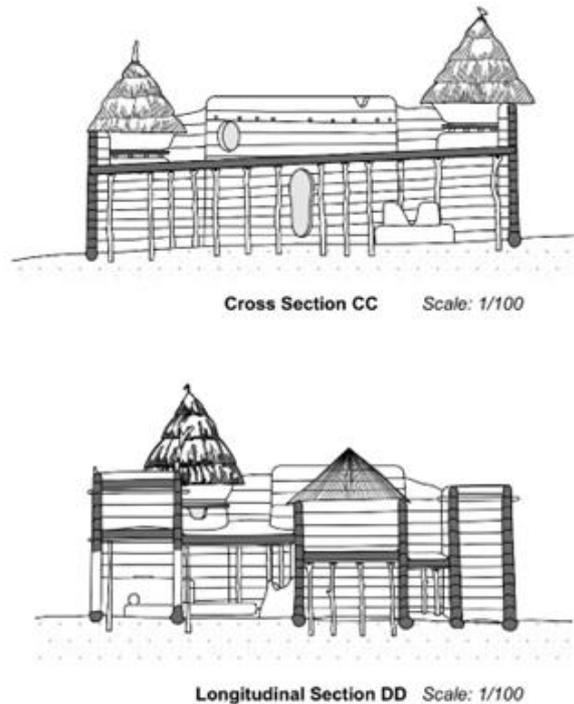


Fig. 4. Sections of the *Takienta*. Source: Joffroy & Nayondjoua, 2005)

The language and rituals associated with *Takienta*, as shown by Blier (Blier, 1987), cause it to be assimilated to a human body that also corresponds to the god *Kuye*'s. The *Takienta*'s components have been compared to multiple human body parts. The front door with the lips, the windows with the eyes, the attic with the stomach, the mortar to pile with the teeth, the lateral gargoyle with the penis (typical of sudano-sahelian civilisations' architecture), the bedroom with the female genital organ, and the rear gargoyle with anus are the most striking of these analogies. The spray is often made to look like human skin, with scarification-like incisions.

The dwelling and its outbuildings (garrets, stable, chicken coop, and hive) are all enclosed within a single frame. It often appears as a series of turrets, either round, ellipsoid, or rectangle, linked by walls that separate a wide room on the ground floor from a large terrace on the first floor, which the bedrooms overlook. The house has only one entry, allowing for better access and bolstering the defensive aspect.

---

This door leads to the house through a turret that divides the ground floor into a first vestibule with mortars and grain millstones, and the upper floor into a bedroom or kitchen.

The altars of ancestors, weapons, and livestock (cattle and poultry) are housed in rooms bounded by turrets, external partitions, and separation walls on the ground floor. The two turrets on either side of the entrance are topped by attics. The turret, which is topped by the woman's bed, is in the middle. To the left side of the front entrance is the staircase. A first staircase leads to an intermediate space, also in a turret, that serves as a kitchen in the event of rain. From there, you can ascend a third staircase to an intermediate terrace and then upstairs.

Most of the upper floor is taken up by a wide terrace. The upper parts of the turrets, which are either attics or rooms, and sometimes both at the same time, are accessible from this terrace. In addition, the attics are higher than the terrace, while the rooms' floors are lower. It is accessible via an opening in the upper part of the fork, which is covered by a hat separate from the main cover and is accessed by a staircase cut into the fork.

The house's primary living area is the terrace. It's used to dry grains, cook dinners, and do a number of other functions. During times of intense heat, it is perhaps the most convenient place to sleep. Each *Takienta* has a warming shelter. The newly harvested sorghum is preserved and dried on the roof of this shelter. There are also more attics on the inside. They're the same shape as the ones on the terrace, except they're on a pedestal made of branches positioned on forks to save the foundation from getting wet. Other houses, more or less isolated or clustered together, are also found outdoors and are occupied for young adults prior to marriage, but they are often designed for guests.

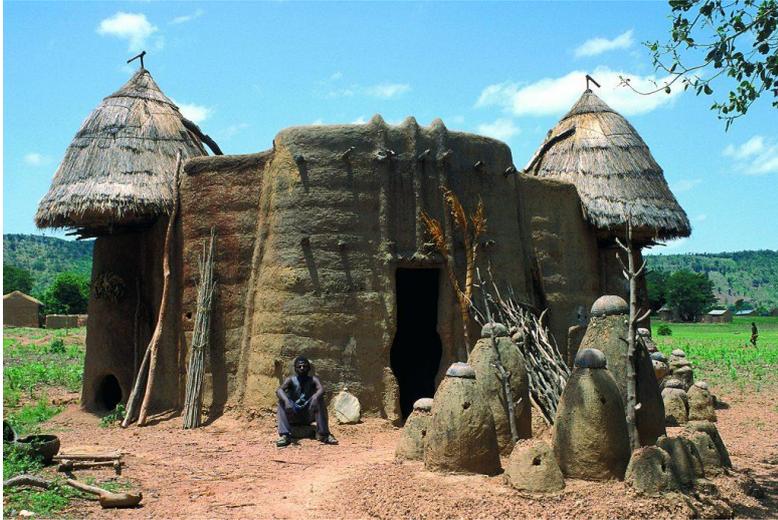
Construction takes place between December and March when the weather is dry. Many of the family members who will be staying there will be interested in the realization. It's very long, and "architects" only build one house each year on average. Over time and space, the *Batammariba* have passed on their building knowledge. Many of the habitat's elements are meticulously handcrafted by experts in the sector. These abilities ensure the long-term viability of the locally sourced components. Genders are segregated

---

throughout the whole job process. The men are in charge of doing the majority of the structural work. Each clan has its own set of experts. This talent is passed on through the generations. As he engages in building, the young man willing to become a traditional mason assists seasoned masons and observes methods and forms. In the building of a tiny *Takienta*, it is put to the test. Women work as well in the building industry. They are the ones that make the *Takienta* fully alive, aside from their function as water pourer for the earth's mixing. All finishing work, such as wall plastering and painting, is reserved solely for women. The older generation once again takes the initiative and eventually passes on their knowledge to the younger generation. As a result, the building of the dwelling is a huge collaborative effort involving people from all walks of life.

It's important to emphasize that the construction of a house is the subject of five (5) ceremonies. The first occurs during the installation of the foundation, the second during the installation of the front door threshold, the third during the installation of the link wall on the man side of the house, the fourth during the completion of the floor terrace, and the fifth and final during the completion of the house.

Generally, the only door of the house, faced the west, the direction of the Supreme God *Kuye*, is topped by three (3) horns (crossed or not). This is reminiscent of the phallic representations in sudano-sahelian traditional architectures (Thiam, 1979), but their position on top of the door allows them to be compared to the "*Kirtimukha*" of Buddhist culture and all the meanings related to it. In the tammari architecture, the number "3" appears to be quite significant. In total, the *Takienta* has six inhabited turrets, three (3) with a terrace roof and three others with straw roofs, arranged in a manner that resembles the Jewish culture's "Star of David"; the combination of two opposing triangles, among other related meanings, the symbol of analogy (Guénon, 1962).

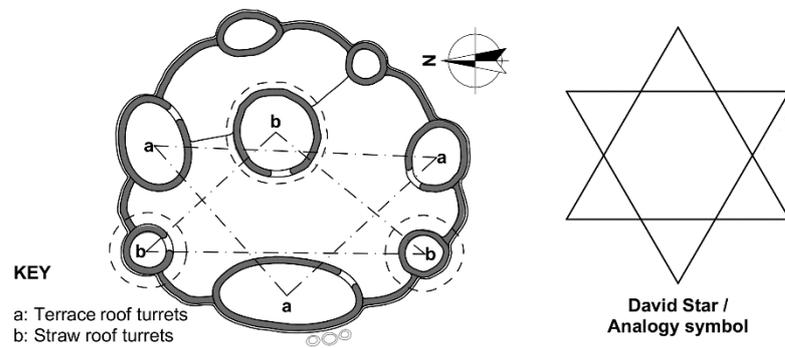


a) The horns on the top of the entrance door of the Takienta.  
Source : e-Patrimoines Africains, n.d.)



b) A *Kirtimukha* of 9th century Javanese Sailendra Borobudur portal, Indonesia. Source: (Wikimedia)

Fig.3. The horns on the top of the entrance door of the Takienta



a) Top view of a *Takienta*: arrangement of the turrets depending on whether they are covered with straws (b) or a flat roof (a)

b) The Star of David  
Source: Wikimedia Commons contributors, 2022)

Figure 4 Analogy between the arrangement of a Takienta turrets and the Star of David

---

The building as a whole is made up of both male and female ideals because it is an example of some abstract truth. Using the west-east axis as a guide, the male half of the house (with the male garret) is on the south side, and the female part is on the north side (with the female garret). And it is important to mention that these genres are not only related to the genres of the inhabitants of the house. This is reminiscent of the androgynous character of the primordial being or creative gods in the cosmogonies of various civilizations around the world.

The house's arrangement reflects the various dimensions' universes in accordance with their values. As a result, the ground floor is the realm of ancestors and angels, which is very dark and has little access to natural light. However, it is also where they hold their animals. Except for the altar of *Litakon* the goddess of fertility and twins, which is placed on the terrace, precisely beside the room of the first wife, most gods' representations are present on the ground floor. The human world is on the second floor (the terrace for the daily activities). And a third world is suggested by the existing on an orifice (a gate) on the terrace to connect the real great metaphysical world to that of ancestors through the human world. Under other aspects, this description of Takienta brings it closer to the symbolic image of the initiatory cavern (Guénon, 1962) as exposed by René Guénon; The upper orifice being that of the "resurrection", of the "extra-cosmic" birth.

## **Conclusion**

The *Batammariba* people are among those in Africa who seek to maintain their identity facing historical barriers (ethnic rivalries, colonisation, modernisation, etc.). Architecture is therefore a part of their identity since they are known as a people of great architects. They use architecture and building methods to communicate their values and lifestyles, and the meanings are handed on orally from generation to generation. The tamari architecture is a full world view in terms of their cosmogony, a dialogue between the real and intangible realms. Aside from the readily identifiable key characteristics, this paper compares some of its images to those of other cultures around the world to illuminate the spiritual dimensions conveyed.

---

## REFERENCES

- Asadpour, A. 2020. Defining the Concepts and Approaches in Vernacular Architecture Studies. *Nature: National Academic Journal of Architecture*, 7(2), 241. <https://doi.org/10.24252/nature.v7i2a8>
- Blier, S. P. 1987. *The Anatomy of Architecture: Ontology and Metaphor in Batammaliba Architectural Expression*. Cambridge University Press. <http://www.amazon.com/Anatomy-Architecture-Batammaliba-Architectural-Expression/dp/0226058611>
- Bold, J., and Pickard, R. eds. 2018. *An integrated approach to cultural heritage: the Council of Europe's Technical Co-operation and Consultancy Programme*. Council of Europe Publishing.
- Chwalkowski, F. 2016. *Symbols in arts, religion, and culture: the soul of nature*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- e-Patrimoines Africains. (n.d.). *Grande Takienta \_ Patrimoines Africains*. Retrieved March 9, 2022, from [https://e-patrimoinesafricains.org/patrimoinesafricains/fiche\\_patrimoine/grande-takienta/](https://e-patrimoinesafricains.org/patrimoinesafricains/fiche_patrimoine/grande-takienta/)
- Guénon, R. 1939. *La métaphysique orientale*.
- Guénon, R. 1962. *Symboles de la science sacrée*.
- Joffroy, T. and Nayondjoua, D. 2005. *Koutammakou Le Pays Des Batammariba : ceux qui façonnent la terre*. CRATerre Editions.
- le Corbusier. 1955. *Modulor 2*.
- Mercier, P. 1968. *Tradition, changement, histoire : les Somba du Dahomey Septentrional*. Éditions Anthropos.
- Nilson, T. and Thorell, K. eds. 2018. *Cultural Heritage Preservation: The Past, the Present and the Future*. Halmstad University Press.
- N'Kere, K. 2009. *Cartes du Koutammakou Aire sacrées, Limites, itinéraires, Projet de sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel des Batammariba du Koutammakou*. 30.
- Oliver, P. 2006. *Built to Meet Needs: Cultural Issues in Vernacular Architecture*. London, Elsevier.
- Pucciani, O. F. 1952. The Universal Language of Symbolism. *Yale French Studies*, 9:27–35. <http://www.jstor.orgURL:http://www.jstor.org/stable/2929054>
- Quiros, L. D., Burns, D. and Repp, E. 2001. *Achieving the Metaphysics of Architecture: The Architecture of Peter Zumthor*. Essay presented at Kansas State University. <http://www.quirpa.com/docs>.
- Rapoport, A. 1969. *House Form and Culture*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall.
- Republic of Togo. 2002. *Excerpt from the Report of the 28<sup>th</sup> session of the World Heritage Committee*.

---

Rudofsky, B. 1964. *Architecture Without Architects: A Short Introduction to Non-Pedigreed Architecture*. New York, Museum of Modern Art.

Thiam, A. 1979. Origines et développement de l'architecture des civilisations Saharo - Soudano - Sahéliennes. In Haberland. E. ed. *Le rôle des traditions dans le développement de l'Afrique : rapport final d'un symposium international*. Symposium Leo Frobenius II. Organisé par les Comm. Allemande et Sénégalaise pour l'UNESCO du 14-17 mars 1979 à Dakar.

Wikimedia Commons contributors. 2021. COLLECTIE TROPENMUSEUM Poort op de Borobudur TMnr 10015959.jpg. In *Wikimedia*. Wikimedia Commons, the free media repository. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:COLLECTIE\\_TROPENMUSEUM\\_Poort\\_op\\_de\\_Borobudur\\_TMnr\\_10015959.jpg&oldid=577422934](https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:COLLECTIE_TROPENMUSEUM_Poort_op_de_Borobudur_TMnr_10015959.jpg&oldid=577422934)

Wikimedia Commons contributors. 2022. File\_Star of David (bold).svg. In *Wikimedia*. Wikimedia Commons, the free media repository. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:Star\\_of\\_David\\_\(bold\).svg&oldid=620852222](https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:Star_of_David_(bold).svg&oldid=620852222)

Wikipedia Contributors. (2021). Tammari people. In *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia. [https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Tammari\\_people&oldid=1050530117](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Tammari_people&oldid=1050530117)

---

<sup>i</sup> Metaphysics in the sense of Aristotle (the pre-modern meaning) assimilable to “the first cause of things”. Or more precisely in the sense of René Guénon (Guénon, 1939)

<sup>ii</sup> ‘Koutammakou, the land of the Batammariba’ listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2004 with the reference: 1140

<sup>iii</sup> Tammari : Adjective derived from Batammariba

<sup>iv</sup> Kuyé : God creator, builder of the first Takienta for humans and gods

<sup>v</sup> Kirtimukha or ‘Face of Glory’, is a ferocious monster face with protruding eye-balls, huge fangs and gaping mouth often found on the lintels of the gates in temple architecture all over Asia