

Traditional Pottery as Expression of Art Therapy in Western Bamileke Cameroon

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To cite this article:

Djoukwo Tsanetse Majolie Carine, Aihong Wang. Traditional Pottery as Expression of Art Therapy in Western Bamileke Cameroon. *English Language, Literature & Culture*. Vol. 6, No. 3, 2021, pp. 74-81. doi: 10.11648/j.ellc.20210603.14

Received: June 17, 2021; **Accepted:** July 6, 2021; **Published:** July 23, 2021

Abstract: Amongst the Bamileke people of the West Region of Cameroon, is associated with the phenomenon and practice of traditional rituals. Essentially, these rituals contribute to practitioners' good mental health, which is consistent with the Community action clauses that appeared in Quebec during the 1960s concerning art therapy. The goal is to improve the living standards and health conditions of the individual and the social group. In the various Bamileke groups, the activity of pottery faced some prejudices likely to discourage anyone wishing to make a career in this profession. Prejudices that, among others, the activity would be reserved for sterile and menopausal women, etc. The present study, led by the desire to bring a denial of these preliminary misunderstandings, presents the traditional pottery of the Bamilekes in its environment as the expression of art therapy. Indeed, pottery objects as well as the other forms of art of the said tribe accompany the individual or the group in the accomplishment of his deep aspirations. In each situation, the object and ritual that accompanies it provide a relatively effective solution. Our argument first consists of briefly presenting the concept of art therapy and some theoretical approaches supporting it, then present the pottery as therapy in a general way, and the pottery as the therapy in Bamileke. The argument continues with the unfolded prejudices related to the job of the potter in the Bamileke territory. Here we bring a denial by stating that if the traditional pottery materializes the concept of art therapy, it would like to say that it promotes fertility and not sterility. Finally, we ponder about the future of pottery as a therapy in the context of the Bamilekes. The different points approached allows us to investigate and understand the use of pottery objects in many rituals of the Bamileke people, considered as a form of practicing the art of therapy. The different rituals to which objects are associated have a single purpose: to seek the psychosomatic welfare of the individual and the community.

Keywords: Pottery, Prejudices, Bamileke, Art Therapy, Ancestral Worship

1. Introduction

"Nothing is in thought was first in the senses," says Sigmund Freud. Indeed, S. Freud has always associated art with his discipline. He even served his artistic inclinations to feed and enlighten his theoretical assumptions. In 1919, in the worrying strangeness, he stressed the existence of links between psychopathological and dynamic creative structuring, revealing the powerful sweating sources where the creation is originated [1].

He relied on the concept of sublimation, suggesting that art would be a diverted expression of sexual pulsions; The term sublimation arising from "sublime". Thus, the artistic expression could contribute to the integral well-being of the

one who exercises it, to its psychosomatic balance. Pottery or clay-modeling practices are considered an artistic expression as well [2]. Because of its relaxing character and anti-stress, it is among the most demanded activities by the art-therapists [3].

Aside from its use for health needs, it is an artistic practice that can generate immense revenues in a country. We have the example of the city of Jingdezhen in China [4], which is known as the world capital of porcelain, notoriety it owes to ceramic art. However, while this art is prized in other skies cities, there is a phenomenon quite contrary in the Western Cameroon region, among the Bamileke region in particular.

Indeed, for many generations, an oral tradition has spread in the region, aimed to discourage at discouraging anyone

wishing to make a career in the job of potter or potress. As a consequence, pottery production in that area hasn't evolved. Contemporary ceramics in the area both in terms of materiality and technical aspects are quite similar to the old production. In this context, objects have two main functions: they are used as cooking utensils or featured in individual or collective rituals.

These rituals having the role of responding favorably to the different requests of those who practice them for their well-being. [5] The purpose of this study is to show that the use of ceramic objects in the multiple rituals in Bamileke is a form of practice of art therapy. [6] To carry out this demonstration, we will briefly present the concept of art therapy and other related theories pottery as therapy [7]; pottery as therapy in Bamileke; prejudices on the practice of pottery in Bamileke. At last, this study aimed to answer the following question: What are the expectations and the possible development of the practice of pottery in art therapy [8] in the area?

2. Definition and Theoretical Approaches in Art Therapy

The term Art Therapy refers to a technique of psychotherapy based on the use of various artistic tools [9]. Through art practice, the patient can sublimate and freely expressed his emotions.

2.1. Definition

Jean-Pierre Klein [10] defines art therapy as an accompaniment of people in difficulty (psychological, physical, social, or existential) through their artistic productions: visual art, sculptural works plastic, sound, theatrical, literary, corporal, and dance works. This subtle work that takes our vulnerabilities as a material, research less to reveal the unconscious meanings of the productions to allow the subject to re-create itself, to create again, in a symbolic creation of creation in creation.

Art therapy is thus the art of projecting into work as an enigmatic message in motion and working on this work face oneself [11]. Art therapy is a detour to approach oneself. Klein defines it more succinctly as the therapeutic accompaniment of people, generally in difficulty, through the production of artistic works. Art-Therapist: Artist, or professional of the helping relationship, practicing art therapy [12].

Thus, the art-therapy as any true therapy is an accompaniment of the work of a subject on itself, of "autotherapy", with the particularity that it does through its productions supported by the art therapist. During the production of a work, patients are asked to start a path of introspection and self-understanding, with a consequence process of healing and self-improvement [13].

2.2. Theoretical Approaches in Art Therapy

Lise Pelletier mentions some approaches to art therapy as part of his master's memory in social work at the University

of Quebec in Montreal.

2.2.1. Art as Therapy

Edith Kramer is presented as the pioneer of this school which gives the artistic expression a preponderant place [14]. Kramer argues that symbolism, metaphor, and sensations are expressed with more freedom in art [15], bringing the person to move inside and outside his psychic and practical skills, then allowing him to take more awareness of its growth. Finally, it carefully considers the aesthetic qualities of work and the production of images completed.

According to this current, speech is superfluous since the creative process alone has the potential to act on the psychic process and transform it. This current will undergo Jungian influence in particular by the introduction of the active imagination and function of the therapist as the therapeutic container. The art-therapy studio takes root in this way in that it makes it possible to undertake an individual artistic approach in concordance with a psychological approach [16].

The art therapy studio particularly takes into account the creative process as the main source of expression of the psychological process and has a clear therapeutic function. The choice of artistic mediums, when proposed, is based on the needs felt and is congruent concerning the therapeutic characteristics sought [17]. We understand that this approach does not intend to share social change but can be useful in the development of individual empowerment [18].

Because by working on problem-solving, paves the way for the development of identity and strengthens the ability to act on one's life. In this way, in general, we encourage the production of finite works that may be exposed and sold, which will also contribute to the development of self-esteem and self-discovery especially related to identity.

2.2.2. Art Therapy

The therapeutic value of art is based on the fact that the most fundamental thoughts and feelings from the unconscious are expressed more easily throughout an artistic practice or a material activity.

2.2.3. The Process Approach

This approach seeks to use both the artistic process and the therapeutic process according to the needs of the customer [19]. According to the scholar Hinz Lisa, art is integrating, gives shape to emotion, and helps to reconcile opposites [15]. It considers that the symbolic interpretation expressed in words is often not necessary to promote awareness in artistic experiments.

2.2.4. Other Theoretical Approaches in Art-Therapy

Harriet Wadeson will introduce other forms of expression that exceed visual arts. His approach, known under expressive therapies, incorporates other modalities for art therapy and grants importance to movement, [20] body and pleasure, depending on the need felt in the therapeutic context [21]. It will infuse a new development in the field of art therapy and will expand the perspective.

In short, note that works aimed at the theoretical

development of the different skills related to art therapy are continuing and abundant in the field of neuroscience. Due to its properties, clay is a material highly used in therapeutic art sessions.

3. Pottery as Therapy

Pottery is an incredibly satisfying activity that offers numerous mental advantages. Christelle Gallet, a Petrosian ceramist artist, believes that this technique aids in relaxation and energy channeling. As such, she states: "Appeasement comes from touching and kneading matter, from producing items and from being able to take their labour home with them. Adults benefit from practicing pottery, while children benefit from it since it helps them to channel their energy, teaches them patience, and improves their motor skills "she asserts. Pottery as a therapeutic activity is the capacity to engage in artistic production for therapeutic purposes, to make contact with one's self [22], with one's inner world (feelings, unconscious, etc.), to express it, and to advance grace. Let's go through some of the important factors that contribute to Potter's art therapy.

3.1. The Expression of a Creative Effort

The pottery offers you a creative outlet to express yourself [23]. Thanks to art, a person can express all that is in her, which has a very therapeutic effect. Thanks to this process you have the opportunity to learn about yourselves.

Pottery demands a great deal of time and calmness, which motivates one to let go of their thoughts and take the opportunity to discover the depths of themselves. It may be viewed as a type of meditation for some. This is also the tangible outcome that it produces: a bowl, a plate, a vase, or a sculpture that individuals created from start to finish. Furthermore, creativity is indeed a major consideration. Along with the object's form, which can remain classic (particularly for novices), there's always this personal touch that you will incorporate be it a motive, colours, or writing, resulting from you infusing this moment and this object with your spirit.

3.2. Pottery: An Anti-depressant

Ashley Warner, an artist and psychologist, described to the New York Times how pottery is becoming therapeutic. She then emphasised the importance of creative and manual labour in "mitigating depression and improving a person's ability to solve difficulties." She further posits that "the clay responds as she expresses her needs. One must remain vigilant, since we're not with other mediums".

Working with the clay enables integration in "the brain's intellectual, emotional, and kinesthetic functions [24]. It is a comprehensive experience and an excellent approach to recover from a merism [25]. According to research, the brain is programmed to relax in reaction to a pleasant physical activity that is relatively uncommon in our daily routines. Making a bowl is pleasurable, as is the planning process".

3.3. Improvement of Concentration

Pottery requires a high concentration on the present activity, which allows you to escape from all the daily concerns of life and simply be in the present moment. This is also known in full consciousness and is recognized by scientists as beneficial for the well-being of anyone.

3.4. Reduction of Stress

An indirect consequence of improved concentration and a "fluidity" state is that stress levels fall [26]. External distractions are reduced and do not stress you anymore. The practitioner experiences different dimensions as a result of releasing his emotions. He is confronting himself, and a sense of emancipation and freedom awaits him once he has dropped, as well as the knowledge that there will be no condemnation directed at him. This freeing state is facilitated by the clay's opportunity to return to childhood. We return to this person when we mix, get dirty, and make unethical mud pies.

As a result, there are numerous approaches to pottery. Exercises can be performed in a workshop setting, with a kit to shape during a distance course, or via YouTube lessons. The calming impact of clay working on a potter tower, and the gentle sound of moist hands against matter, are already anti-stress.

3.5. Improvement of Motor Skills

Pottery can improve motor skills by soliciting the muscles of the arms and legs. More good motor skills are acquired because working clay requires hand-eye and leg coordination. This can be beneficial for people with arthritis because it requires synchronized movements and dexterity.

3.6. Pottery Like Artifact

Numerous archaeological discoveries are ceramic creations as a result of the clay's excellent preservation. This means that your work of art has the potential to endure over time and possibly serve as a statement to future civilizations. If you really do not believe in such things, your work will remain at least at home, where you can exhibit it to guests. Additionally, your work of art can serve as an excellent gift for just about any occasion.

3.7. Sensory Properties of Clay

The clay is also used in art therapy for its sensory properties as well as for its ability to facilitate the expression of the archaic aspects of the psyche. The clay allows the creation of volume forms that can be used as game objects between participants and/or participants and therapists. Thus, the creative space also becomes a game space, a relational space.

It is possible to perceive in these games the materialisation of a "transitional space," as articulated by Winnicott in his theories of Transitional Object Attachment and game, which are widely used in theorization of art therapy regardless of flows. Guy Lafargue, founder of the "raw art" movement,

which may be regarded as a distinct approach to art therapy, detailed its usage as a therapeutic mediation in his living clay book.

On the other hand, Beatrice Rey (This thesis, entitled Modeling, and Psychosis: Gross matter to its formatting. Sensoriality, Archaic's work, and symbolization are available for download from the University of Lyon website.), a doctorate in psychology with a specialization in psychoanalysis, studied the use of clay mediation with psychotic and autistic people with a positive relationship between clay mediation and mental improve in autis. Among the Bamileke, the art of pottery is not reserved only for psychotic and autistic, but it is solicited by anyone facing any dilemma.

4. Pottery as Art Therapy in Bamileke

It should be noted that our argument is inspired by the community action of Quebec in the 1960s. This is a collective action based on values of solidarity, democracy, equity, and autonomy. It is essentially part of a social development goal and incarnates in organizations that are aimed at improving social ties and living conditions as well as the development of individual and collective potentials.

These organizations respond to needs expressed by citizens who live a similar problematic situation or share a common wellness goal [27]. Individual and group conflicts, claims, and solidarization in the context of improving living and health circumstances are reflected in community action (Bourque, 2007). Consciousness and mobilization are at the base of practice since they generate empowerment.

Lise PELLETIER defines it as a process of appropriation and exercise of power by citizens and communities, but also as the development of capacities (choose, decide, act), restoring to individuals and organizations the means to act on their life. This is why social transformation is at the heart of the role of community organizations.

Considering this point of view, we will say that the objects of pottery present in the Bamileke territory correspond to the ideology of the Community action of Quebec. They are associated with most rituals; It is through this process that they take function and free the strength or energy needed to resolve the problem to which the individual is confronted [28]. We will first talk about a widespread traditional practice among the Bamileke commonly called "worship of the skull".

4.1. The Ratio Between Pottery, the Worship of the Skull and Art Therapy

A few years after the death of a patriarch, his skull is unearthed and carefully preserved in a clay or terracotta vase as can be seen in the images of Figure 1. It will be the subject of a cult during which the participants will be able to present their grievances with faith. The worship of the skulls or cults of the ancestors is born in a context marked by the mobility of the population concerned. It is considered the only means through which the living communicates with the illustrious

disappeared.



Figure 1. (1) Exhumation of the skull. (2) The skull in a clay vessel, on which the master of the worship spread palm oil. (3) The skull is kept in a corner of the house, BBC images, « Funeralizes Cameroon », 2016.

The skull of the deceased is religiously kept in a terracotta vase or a canary and receives offerings. Some deaths (ancestors) can live in particular places (caves, wood) that are places of worship [29]. Cheikh Anta Diop talks about it on this ethnicity of West Cameroon in these terms:

"The cult of the ancestors in Bamileke is a legacy of their ancestors of ancient Egypt. Following the conservation of the mummified bodies, the Bamileke, fugitive from war during their long journey of Egypt to the Valley of the Tikar Country (between the 1st half of the 11th century), to easily transport the Remains of their parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents in wartime had the great idea of keeping only the heads and bury the rest. This is how everyone had to keep the heads/ skulls of his ancestors in jars to bury in a corner of the house to wait for a possible leak consecutive to a lost war or other major catastrophes "[30].

Thus, the Crane Cult allows its followers to maintain contact with the illustrious disappeared, which guarantees them some psychological and emotional stability [31]. To have personally attended this ceremony, we will say that practitioners are gaining insurance.

4.2. Relationship Between Pottery, Rites and Art Therapy

a. vessel for purification (kop sua)



Figure 2. Purification vase (Kop sua), terracotta, the second half of the twentieth century, height 29 cm, diameter 45 cm Bandjoun, notue and Bianca, 2005.

The purification vessel (kop sua) [32], hemispherical

shape, is decorated with three stylized mygale figures, arranged horizontally. His name (Kop Sua) means "bad luck mortar". It is used in the owner's concession, a note bearing the title of Wabo (honorary title among the Bamileke). The container has the function of containing a purification product. This model of mygale ground vase, the symbol of wisdom, can only be used by the king and some notables who is having certain notoriety in the kingdom.

b. The terracotta plate (Kei)



Figure 3. Terracotta plate (Kei), clay, early twentieth century under the reign of King Fotso II, height 16 cm, diameter 16 cm, depth 18 cm, Bandjoun, cited by notue and Bianca, 2005.

This half-spherical plate was used by the king's servants to make offerings in sacred places. This kind of pottery is still very used today in Bandjoun (one of the Bamileke groups).

c. Terracotta marmite (ta'a)



Figure 4. Cooked terracotta (ta'a), terracotta, raffia ribs, indeterminate date, height 37 cm, diameter 34 cm, Bandjoun, quoted by notue and Bianca, 2005.

Oval marmite decorated with geometric patterns used by the *Jyeh* or Society of Men's Snakes and Mystical Group whose role is to protect its members and chiefs against natural but also supernatural plagues, especially during the *Kè* (transcendent and dynamic power, magic). The year of *Kè* is more important because it is that of the fertility rites of land and people, the initiation of young boys who must become full men, and the removal of the bad forces of *Ndo* (which translates bad luck into a Bamileke language).

It is therefore the entire regeneration [33] of the community that is involved. NDO is a well-rooted belief in the culture of the peoples of the West: it is a misfortune, bad luck, failure, sterility, natural plagues, all things that do not reach by chance or individuals or groups. The Bamileke believe that these misfortunes are due to anti-social acts as the ruptures of prohibitions enacted by the officials of various cults and the guardians of the custom, the suicides,

the suspicious deaths (spotted by an abnormally inflated belly), the 'burial of a corpse of a pregnant woman with his fetus, the resentment of an ancestor not celebrated, etc.

Such misfortunes being contagious between the members of the same lineage, it is suitable every two years, to "wash" these impurities, to "take out" that evil in power by a whole series of rites of purification and atonement [34]. It is the members of the *Jyeh* who take care of the cult of the cranks of the ancestors [35].

d. The poison vessel (Kè Mtchop)



Figure 5. The poison vessel (Kè Mtchop), clay, beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century, height 27 cm, width 22 cm, Bandjoun, cited by notue and Bianca, 2005.

The edge and base of the clay cylindrical vase are decorated with two friezes with geometric patterns. Between them develops a perforated composition, formed of a network of arched diamonds, at the decorated crosses of six small cylinders and twelve faces, humans in relief, carrying two edges of the container. According to the oral tradition, the container would have served to prepare the toxic potions to poison the spear of the warriors of the monarch during the inter-kingdoms wars that marked the history of Grassland in general and Bandjoun in particular.

During the troubles of Cameroon between 1936 and 1966, this vase was most used. At that time, the kings entrusted to the masters of ceremonies the mission to prepare the potion to poison the arrows and protect with bark and plants for the "warriors" or guardians of the kingdom.

e. Soup vase



Figure 6. Soup vase, clay, late-nineteenth-century early twentieth century, diameter 32 cm, depth 40 cm, Baham museum, cited by notue and Bianca, 2005.

The soup vase, earth ritual vase, double handle vase has an almost ellipsoidal shape and is on a vegetable cushion. During the funeral rites, the master of the session levies from the container the foods that will be offered to the family of the deceased or the deceased as a consolation.

f. Mortar Initiation (Kop)



Figure 7. Initiation mortar (KOP), clay, between 1870 and 1925, height 23 cm, width 40 cm, depth 40 cm, Bamendjou, cited by notue and Bianca, 2005.

The ceremonial vase Kop terracotta is semi-spherical and black in shape. The borders are rounded. In Baham, (one of the Bamileke groupings) the container is used during the offering of the sacrifices of the sits and the divinities of the family, during the initiation and enthroned ceremonies of the new king, for the preparation of the meal of the head of the family.

In short, in the Bamileke culture, various objects [38] of worship or prestige are reserved for the *fo* or king whose power inspires the fear, and also the judgments are borrowing of justice and kindness. However, the masters of worship have the authority to use it in case of need, to rescue any patient. Note that in the African culture in general and Bamileke in particular, everything is life and participates in life [37]; That's why art objects celebrate the victory of life on death through rituals [38].

Indeed, the ideology of life takes precedence over that of death, because life does not end up with death. On the other hand, it exceeds it, transcends it, and continues in the afterlife. Thus, death is not the last word of life for the Africans. This one is, and remains a dotted sentence that will end at the village of ancestors at the final return [39, 40]. Because of the foregoing, it would not be wrong to say that pottery in Bamileke is a favorable ground for the concept of art therapy. However, despite all its benefits, this artistic discipline faces a thorny problem in this Western region Cameroon.

5. Prejudices Related to the Job of Potter in Bamileke Territory

Within the said population, pottery has been considered from its origins as an "art destined for sterile women". Myth or reality?

5.1. Origin of Prejudice

J. P. NOTUE and BIANCA report on an oral tradition that lasted in this profession and whose value is

immeasurable now. "Did not take an interest in the work of the clay that sterile ladies or those who have already reached menopause"[41]. Because it was said, a young girl or woman who was approaching the clay workshop was either sterile or procreate so-called "child statuette children".

This is most likely one of the reasons why many of the descendants of potters ignored all noble art, as opposed to other areas of work such as pearls, sculpture, and wrought iron, where child-parent succession was quite common in the various kingdoms.

5.2. The Prejudice and Its Influence on the Pottery Nowadays

Today, many people refer to you as a loved one, a relative, a sibling who was a potter or a portress, without ever showing you a room that attests to this artist's work. Many poles with many potters exerted in the various groups do not keep any trace of this activity today. If the taboos of the oral tradition as mentioned above have helped to curb the transmission of the trade over the generations, it must also be pointed out that it is still the tradition, or better the worship of the ancestors, which survives.

The art of kneading clay in Bamileke is on the rise as demand for locally produced plates rises. Because it is used as a vessel for storing the unearthed remains of the ancestors for worship, a commercial production of this quality of pottery, carried out by young artisans who are generally poor and intended to satisfy the demand for ritualists and a few tour groups, has been preserved.

5.3. Denial of Prejudice

Marcel ANGANGA and other authors such as R. P. Engelbert MVENG agree that in Africa, to live is fighting; that is to engage in the triumph of life on death.

From this point of view, it would be inadmissible or even foolish to associate the artist with sterility, which would mean that his work also has no productive value, since it carries the imprint of the director (Note that among the Bamileke, the pottery was reserved for women, while men were black-smith). The object would thus be devoid of its first sense which is to promote life and not death.

We have previously shown that pottery objects in Bamileke territory constitute (together with rituals) of the assets favorable to the concept of art therapy; The goal sought through the different rituals being the welfare of the individual and the community. This reason makes it possible to invalidate the preliminary thought that pottery would be an activity reserved for sterile women. This misleading image of the Potter woman has unfortunately marked the spirits so that nowadays, the ceramic art sector in West Cameroon is weakly represented in the national and international art markets when compared to other regions of the country. From then on, the pottery associated with such a pejorative concept will be able to meet the expectations of any therapy?

6. The Future of Pottery as Therapy in Bamileke

In this cultural area, art and decoration pottery like all "fine arts", are intimately linked to beliefs and rituals. Art is hence a representation of a social, political, economic, and religious organization. Developed in the secret groups of initiates, and feared, it shows off the crowd of the villagers on many occasions were combining the joy of the feast and the fear of the sacred. The rites are true theatrical manifestations: all the actors have a defined role as the crowd that is required to attend.

Case of notables and artists, art in all its forms is a privileged means of expression of the powerful. The Bamileke region is unique in that it is still a traditional way of life today. All forms of culture are unfolding not so much for tourists and Aboriginal people [42]. The art of Cameroon is today, as it has been for several centuries, a way of maintaining customs, even in a context of modernity.

One of the reasons for this amazing survival is that very linked to the ideology of chiefdoms, art is always a celebration of the power of kings and initiatives [43]. In short, all these objects are collective symbols that recall the omnipotence of *Kè* (Transcendent and dynamic power, magic) through its most usual avatars, the king and his dual animals (Totem). Faced with a tribe as conservative, and proud of its customs, its tradition, we are entitled to think that the future of pottery as the therapy in Bamileke will not be hindered. What existed from antiquity still exists today and is transmitted from generation to generation. The rituals to which art objects are associated with a unique purpose: to celebrate life, ensure the welfare of the individual and the group, the fertility, and the productivity of the group as soon as the need to feel [45].

7. Conclusion

Through this research approach, it has questioned the world of art therapy. After defining the concept, we presented its main theories while stating that studies are continuing in this direction given the youth of the discipline. Further on, it is discussed that pottery could be considered a form of art therapy. Referring to the Community action in Quebec in the 1960s, we have shown that the art of pottery among the Western Bamileke Cameroon is a manifestation of art therapy.

In addition, we have identified a heavy prejudice of consequences in this geographical area. Indeed, according to an oral tradition that made its time in this profession and whose consequence today is invaluable. "Did not take an interest in the work of the clay that sterile ladies or those who have already reached menopause". Because it was said, a young girl or a young woman who approached the workshop where the clay was kneaded, were either sterile or procreate so-called "child statuette children".

We denied these retrograde precepts given the institutions and beliefs that found the Bamileke society [45] and which reflect in the various artistic achievements. Indeed, the object

of art through the ritual that accompanies works in favor of the human being, its balance, in short, of its mental and physical health [46]. Referring once again to Bamileke culture, we noted that the future of pottery as therapy will not be hindered in this tribal group. It is a traditional people who remained faithful to these customs despite the contribution of current modernism [47].

In the end, several factors allow us to affirm that the pottery found in Bamilekes materializes the concept of art therapy. In general, people who are recourse to rituals are morally slaughtered [48], or face a problem they have trouble finding the solution. That is why they are looking for either purification or protection against bad people or evil spirits or communication with the ancestors to present their grievances among others. It is not a banal gesture. Also, note that if the practice of rituals persists, it would like to say that the followers find their accounts there.

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