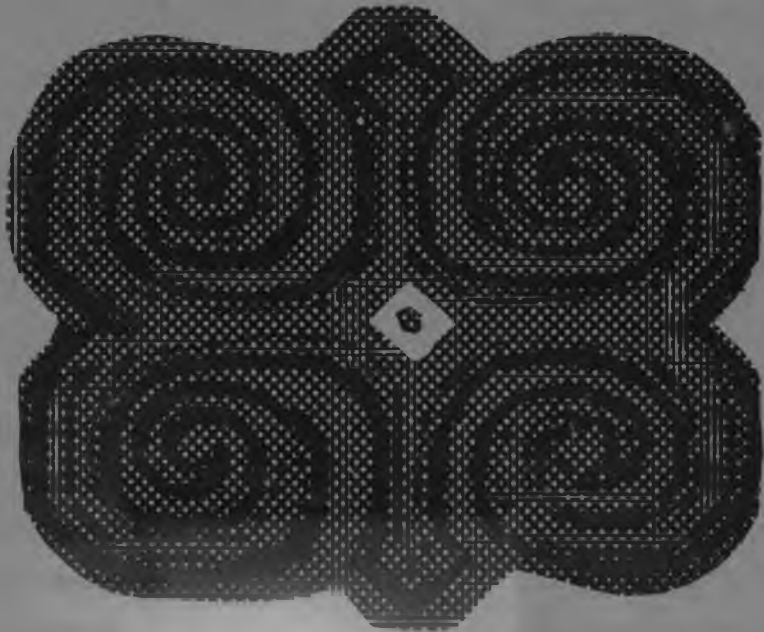


**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA
INSTITUTE OF
AFRICAN STUDIES**

**RESEARCH
REVIEW**



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RESEARCH REVIEW
VOL. 3 NO. 3

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RESEARCH REVIEW

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INSTITUTE NEWS

i.

Staff

New Appointments

Mr. I.K. Chinebuah B.A., M.A.(Lond)
has been appointed a Research Fellow in
Linguistics.

Mr. K. Asare Opoku B.A.(Lond.), B.D.(Yale)
has been appointed a Research Fellow in
Religion and Ethics.

Visiting Professors

Professor Richard Greenfield of Division
of Area Studies, State University College,
New Palts, New York who visited the Institute
as a Visiting Senior Research Fellow returned
to the United States of America.

CHARGE FOR DUBBING

We have now decided to charge individuals and Institutions who send in requests for copies of recordings held by the Institute.

- (1) Henceforth a charge of 50NP shall be made for an item of 3 minutes duration, and items of longer or shorter duration shall be charged pro-rata. Thus 30 minutes of recordings would cost N£5.00.
- (2) A list of the items recorded for any individual will be made and he will be asked to give a written undertaking that he will use the material for himself or his institution and that he will not sell or publish it commercially.
- (3) Photographs and documentary material on the recordings shall be ordered separately and paid for.
- (4) Institutions can have free copies of our material on exchange basis. Special consideration may also be given to members of the University of Ghana who wish to have copies of recordings for study or for their enjoyment.

MRS. M.W.F. TALBOT deceased

THE AMAURY TALBOT FUND ANNUAL PRIZE

The attention of Africanists is drawn to an Annual Prize being offered by the Amaury Talbot Fund.

The Trustees invite applications for the Prize, being the income of £5333.12.1. 4% Consolidated Stock less expenses (approximately £150 net). The Prize will be awarded to the author or authors of the most valuable of the works of anthropological research which are submitted in the competition. Only works published during the calendar year 1967 are eligible for the award. Preference will be given to works relating in the first place to Nigeria and in the second place to any other part of West Africa or to West Africa in general. Works relating to other regions of Africa are, however, also eligible for submission.

All applications, together with two copies of the book, article or work in question, to be received by 31st December 1967 by the Trustees, Barclays Bank Limited, Trustee Department, 35/37 Broadmead, Bristol 1.

Entries will not be returned to candidates but will be at the disposal of the Judges.

INTRODUCTIONTHE LAKPA - PRINCIPAL DEITY OF LABADI

One of the sociological fields of study in Ghana which needs some serious attention is that of religion. Without apology, it appears religion or religious belief is the basis of life in this society. A little study of the arts in Adangme, Ashanti, Sefwi, Nzima and Aowin bring this home vividly and show that religion and religious beliefs need a real reappraisal. Religion cannot be dismissed as a function of primitiveness¹ or undevelopment in the Ghana context.

In Ghana too, religion could be looked at from many angles. A sociological, psychological or metaphysical view may be taken, although these views of looking at Ghana religion are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

In Fielding's novel "Tom Jones Parson Thwackum is reported to have said that "When I mention religion, I mean the christian religion, and not only christian religion but the Protestant religion, and not only the protestant religion but the Church of England". It could be guessed from this that what is meant here is a sectarian practice of a particular brand of acknowledgment and worship of God. God, of course, is variously

¹ Levy Bruhl and of course the social evolutionists suggested that religious behaviour was the mark of primitiveness. St. Simon and August Comte categorically believed and said so in their writings. Imperial evidence in sociology today disproved this assumption.

projected by various people. It may be conceived as the collective spirit of the people or the universal or ultimate power in the universe.

Many anthropologists have had to deal with various manifestations of religion and it appears there is consensus of opinion among them that the sociological field of religion may be regarded as including those emotionalized beliefs prevalent in a social group concerning the supernatural, plus the overt behaviour, material objects and symbols associated with such beliefs.²

Gilling and Gilling³ - suggest that (a) All peoples have beliefs concerning what appears to them to be supernatural. (b) These beliefs are associated with emotions and psychic states such as awe, fear, ecstasy, reverence. (c) Activities are associated with these beliefs and viewed as controls of, or as approaches to, or withdrawals from, the supernatural. (d) Material objects of many types may be involved in these activities

² See Benedict Ruth "Religion" General anthropology. F. Boas editor, D.C. Heath and Co. Boston. 1938. pp.627-665.

Wallis W.D., Religion in Primitive societies, F.S. Crofts and Co. New York 1939, pp.1-2.

Lowie Primitive Religion - Introduction, Goldenweiser, A. Anthropology. F.S. Crofts and Co. New York, 1937 pp.208-295.

Radin - Primitive religion, Vikin Press N.Y., 1937, Chapter 1.

See difference in treatment of religion in Von Wiese, Leopold and Becker Howard, Systematic sociology. John R. Wiley and Sons, N.Y., 1932.

³ Introduction to Sociology.

John Lewis Gilling, Prof. of Sociology Wisconsin.

John Philip Gillin, Prof. of Anthropology, Duke University, U.S.A. The MacMillan Company, 1947.

(altar charms, vestments etc.) (e) Symbols either material, mental, or verbal play an important part in focusing attention on and giving expression to the feelings and attitudes associated with the supernatural. (f) The foregoing complex is meaningfully related to the culture and circumstances of the group.

The assessment of religion above says nothing about good or bad, sex morality 'plural deism' or 'mono-deism.' There is nothing of heaven and hell. Ruth Benedict has said that religion in preliterate societies was a technique for success in this life and concerned primarily with adjustment of human beings rather than with the future worlds of absolute verities.

It is not easy to feature the exact societies she calls preliterate but surely this cannot be true of Ghanaian societies past and present, since belief in world hereafter is the principal basis of all religious behaviour in the society.

There is certainly very significant attention to adjustment of human beings but to preclude a concern for future worlds from the considerations of religion will be understating the Ghanaian view of religion.

Universally, the supernatural area is believed to be charged with power which transcends anything known in ordinary life. This power can be beneficent or dangerous. As a result it should be approached with circumspection for it is sacred.

The next general view is that the sacredness could be personalized and the personalized entity has power.

Belief in the Lakpa deity to be examined is not

belief in the spirits in material things. In that sense, it may not be animism⁴. The belief appears to be a belief in supernatural personalities as was in the case of classical Greek and Roman pantheons. Such things as great rivers, lagoons or even animal kinds, may be identified with aspects of nature; for example, sun, moon and rain. It will be observed that there is a graded hierachy which tapers up to one all powerful God.

It is possible for powers to be organized into opposing groups and the camps may be the good and the bad forces with God at one end and the Devil at the other end. Labadi may have this, but what is known for certain is that the spirit of Lakpa is a force for good.

In the main, patterned activities can be universal part of complex religious institutions and like religious practices everywhere, they tend to be highly patterned, ritualized and solidified. It is pertinent to realize that some religious activities are meant to (a) help control the supernatural powers to the advantage of man. (b) Some powers are supposed to promote closer contact between man and the supernatural and some are meant to avoid some undesirable connection between the supernatural and man.

⁴ Tylors minimal definition of religion which does not fully apply here.

When we talk of the control techniques we think of magic and pure religion.⁵ Talking of religion and magic brings in material objects, in that they come in for effective operation in the two fields. In hierarchical system of spirits, are visual aids like cult medicines, models, effigies and then tangible and tiny portable charms tail the list... There are a number of 'artifacts' which confront the art historian or sociologist looking at society from its material culture. A study of religious symbolism in Ghana would yield very fruitful rewards; for it should help throw light on even religious affiliations in a geographical or historical context. Religion, of course, is a socializing agency. Present day religious tendencies would be understood if the religious or quasi religious activities of communities in Ghana are understood.

The following study of the Lakpa of the people of Labadi is an attempt to find out exactly what is this 'phenomenon' which has so much hold on the community. First then an attempt is made to present what the people think the Lakpa is. Later an attempt will be made to assess the significance of the Lakpa in the life of the people with a view to understanding this cultural group.

5

There is an element of magic in religion and religion in magic. The two, of course, are not mutually exclusive. Magic is power over power. It is practice of formula or set series of activities which must bring the result if gone through faultlessly. Religion has more of the attitudes of beseechment, petition, appeasement offering, sacrifice and prayer; and reverence.

The Lakpa

In the pantheon of Labadi (a section of the people of Ghana, who live **three** miles from the Capital (eastwards towards Tema) the 'Lakpa' is placed second after the Great, all-powerful God. This God is the same God, Yahwe of the Jews and the Allah of the Moham-medans. To the people of Labadi, this High God is both male and female. He is, therefore, called Ataa-Naa Nyomɔ; that is, Father-Mother God. 'Lakpa'⁶ is the first of the gods of the earth which they call Dzemawɔdzi.⁷ In Labadi alone there are ninety-nine deities besides the tutelary ones. Later the expres- sion "ninety-nine" was explained to mean many or un- countable. Many, however, seem to think that the ex- pression should be taken to mean what it literally says. All the gods of Labadi recognize the supremacy of the Lakpa over them. Many of these gods of Labadi have shrines; but the principal and best kept shrine is that of the Lakpa. It is situated almost in the centre of the town. It is believed that the Lakpa, unlike quite a few of the other gods, was brought down by the fore- fathers of the people from their original home, Benin city, in Nigeria. It is believed today that the name Labadi must be La Bɔne - Bɔne, being a corruption of the word Benin; the city from which the inhabitants of La- badi migrated to Ghana. Labadi or La Bɔne means the La people of Benin.

It appears that since Lakpa is regarded as the first of the gods of the earth, many of the attributes of the one High God are ascribed to it. For this reason

⁶ The name of the most Senior god of Labadi

⁷ Dzemawɔdzi - gods of the nations of the earth.

it is generally regarded as a god of benevolence and prosperity not wrath or punishment. The existence of the Lakpa is essential, as the great High God is not directly approachable. As the most senior of God's representatives on earth, petitions and prayers are transmitted to God through him. The Lakpa is said to be a sun, rain,⁸ war; indeed, an all-purpose god. Being a sun and war god, the priest must fast on rainy days.

Originally, the chief of Labadi was the wulɔmə^{8b} (priest) of the god. This may account for the reverence the Lakpa enjoys generally, in Labadi. Like many of the other towns of the Ga and Adangmes some few years ago, theocracy was the rule, and the priests of the

⁸ Since it is a sun god, I was told, the priest must always make sure he sees the sun at any one time he is breaking his fast. On rainy or cloudy days, he eats nothing.

^{8b} Wulɔmə means a little more than a priest. It means a custodian and representative. The Lakpa has another man who gets possessed. The Lakpa wulɔmə himself never gets possessed in the ordinary way. He needs not be visibly possessed to receive messages from the god. One strange thing is that it is said he does not even understand the language of the god when *it* is speaking audibly. There is always another man who gets possessed and who understands the language of the god.

most senior deities were the leaders of 'chiefs' of the people. Chieftaincy, as it is now practised in Labadi, is an alien institution. There is much evidence that it was borrowed from the Akan.^{9a} Today it is the chief of Labadi who installs the wulɔmɔ priest of the Lakpa and this priest merely acts for the chief.

THE LAKPA SHRINE

The principal paraphernalia of the Lakpa include one very tall drum for the Lakpa; one big drum for the god Awiri; and yet another for the god Akotia.^{9b} Other things include bowls (tsesei), coconut shell cups; large water pots (gbei) for storing well or rain water; ritual brooms and hoes and many other 'things.' The god itself has never been seen, even by the Lakpa priest, who must and does sleep in the special hut for

^{9a} The Labadi court regalia, the royal drum and music, and the Akan drum language are all clear evidences of the Akan origin of the institution of chiefship.

^{9b} Awiri and Akotia are other deities of Labadi

the deity. It is always stressed that the god is a spirit and is second only to God.^{9c}

All the sacred objects of the Lakpa are kept in the Lakpa hut. This hut stands in the middle of the shrine. No one enters this particular hut save the wulomɔ. It is out of bounds even to Naa Afiye, the wife of the priest, without whom the ministrations to the god cannot be complete and so not possible. The entrance of this hut faces the main way to the yard of the shrine. A few yards west of this principal hut is another, which is Naa Afiye's. Both are thatched with grass. The entrance into the hut is very low and narrow and the roof reaches low down. Since the entrance is narrow and the roof comes very low down, the inside of the hut is not visible from outside, even though the entrance is not blinded or provided with a shutter. Apart from these two huts, there are other three huts in the yard of the shrine. These other huts are used by other priests during the annual celebrations. Visitors of the priest and those who go to the shrine to be delivered of their children are also given lodging in them. This means the shrine provides some mid-wifery services to the people.

^{9c}This is the very core of the belief of the people of Labadi. To me it is a very important point. It indicates that the people recognize that all they see represents an Unseen POWER, not necessarily resident in the visible objects. This is one point the early missionaries appear not to have appreciated. My own view is that quite a few more people would have seen the point these missionaries were driving at, if they had observed this rudimentary teaching principle of teaching from the known to the unknown. I must say at once, however, that they might have considered their own approach against others before proceeding along the lines they did.

The god Lakpa has quite a few direct messengers. They include Awiri, Akwadzan and Akotia. The priest of Akotia must always be by the Lakpa priest in the shrine and go on errands for the Lakpa priest. This becomes necessary as the Lakpa priest must not travel. He must not be followed while in the paths or lanes of the town. He therefore, goes out only often at night, when he could be fairly sure this taboo may not be broken.

Dr. M.J. Field states in her "Religion and Medicine of the Ga People" that it appears the worship of some of these gods of Labadi was in the past a very bloody affair. Many of the spots regarded sacred, she reports, were believed to be the burial sites of live-men. It is difficult to say now from my investigations, whether this is only a myth to give prestige to the sacred spots. At least, such stories may help to explain why the sacred spots must not be treated lightly and why it is sacrilegious to step on any of the sacred spots. In the olden days, such offences were severely¹⁰ punished. Today the punishment for the offence includes fines either in money or in livestock.¹¹

The Lakpa is an all-purpose god. It is able to make barren women fertile. Individual or collective wants or desires could be sought from the Lakpa. One cannot, however, ask the god to do harm to one's adversary.

¹⁰The severest punishment often administered to those who contravened the sacred rule of keeping human feet off the sacred spots was the death penalty.

¹¹Sheep and fowls are the live-stock mostly sacrificed to many Ghanaian deities. A few prefer goats; the Lakpa is one of those that takes goats. Sheep is never sacrificed to the Lakpa.

At the annual festival of Həmowə, a first fruit festival of the Ga people, special blessings are invoked for everybody by the wuləmə. There are special divinations to find out whether the coming year will be good or evil. It is at this time of the year that many people see the priest. This has caused many people to think erroneously that the Lakpa is associated only with the Həmowə. It is, as hinted already, the national all-purpose god.

It is very important that the spirit of the chief must always be right with the god. He must make sure he serves the god reverently and with the proper decorum. He must show that he stands in awe of him by keeping the taboos without fail. The moment his spirit goes wrong with the deity, unhappiness may result, not only among his household but also in the whole town. It is believed for example, that some of the messengers of the god feed from the right wrist of the chief. On this right wrist of the chief there is always a string of white beads known as "Afli". When the chief is not in a state of ritual purity, the gods are offended and so refuse to eat from his wrist. This brings forebodings to the people. Even now that the chief is not the direct wuləmə of the Lakpa, it is believed that he is still the principal medium through whom the god ministers to the people.

The Lakpa and people seeking blessing from him

All types of blessings could be sought from the Lakpa. He could be approached for all kinds of spiritual and physical needs. This aspect of the deity's functions appears to be known by only the people of Labadi and strangers specially introduced to the shrine by the chief of Labadi.¹² There seems to be the belief

¹²Dr. Audry Richards, my wife Comfort Quarcoo and myself were introduced to the shrine by the chief, Nii Anyetei Kwakwanya II. During the libation, our names were mentioned to the Lakpa and the priest asked for blessings for us and especially for Dr. Richards.

that the privilege of seeking blessings from the god belongs principally to the indigenous people of Labadi.

Seekers of blessings could enter the yard of the Lakpa at any time of the day. Such "seekers" must be bare foot. There is a sitting place in front of the Lakpa hut, and for seats, some stones are placed in front of the hut.

When people go to shrine the priest comes out and sits before the hut. He then exchanges greetings with the strangers or clients. The mission of the visitors is then demanded through the Akotia priest. Usually, such visitors go to the shrine with the customary "drink" of a bottle of schnapps.¹³ The priest receives this drink and uses it to pour libation to the god and his many subordinates. The strangers or seekers after any particular blessings make their petitions through the Akotia priest. The Lakpa wulom listens intently nodding continually. After the petitioners have stated their case, the priest responds "Odzogbann, sane kpakpa sɔnn". "All right, this is all good talk." He gets up, bows and enters the hut. There he invokes a number of deities besides the Lakpa and pours libation to them. He tells them what the petitioners have come for, and mentions their names to the gods.

13

This is often a bottle of schnapps. It is the custom of the Ga people as well as many other tribes in Ghana not to go to a "superior person" without the respect paying "rum". It is not to bribe him to do what you desire for you, even if that which you ask, must, and could not be done. Unfortunately, this gift of respect has been exploited by some people in recent times. The Twi say, "Wɔmfɔ wonsa pan nkɔ panyin nkyɛn". You don't go to an elder with empty hands. So that this offer of drink is different from "bribe". It is not a gift with a string attached.

This is part of the following formal prayer for the libation in the hut.

The Akotia priest and all the others in the Court yard chime in "yao.....Yao"

"Yao".....means Amen or let that be done. Some of the words of the prayer are Twi ¹⁴ but others are meaningless words. Ei, Atta Nyɔmɔabadɔɔ nɔni wɔbaafee

nee no	..	Yao ¹⁵
Aboade Awiri eei! (Three times)	..	Yao
Okwankyerefo amanani	..	Yao
Ohi kplan	..	Yao
Aduo Pasako	..	Yao
Obɛ Adu ni otɔɔ Adu	..	Yao
Klolo Abutrufi, Awɔkɔwɔkɔ ¹⁶	..	Yao

¹⁴ Twi. This is used here broadly to mean the language of the Akan people (Ghana).

¹⁵ The prayer is interesting. Prayer for all things, even things the petitioners have not asked for; prayer for almost everybody. This is very comparable to some Christian prayers. The one significant difference is the prayer for evil for those who wish evil to the people praying. That is Mosaic, of course, but not Christian. The way Amen is chimed at the end of every line of the prayer is interesting. It is one thing the early missionaries could have used to advantage. Some denominations use this form and I myself think the effect is not unsatisfactory.

¹⁶ Onomatopoeic word representing a seasoned stump or trunk etc.

Osu Boni Abaa	..	Yao
Aglama Anye, Englesi <u>wiel</u> ¹⁷	..	Yao
Wara Beba, Obi nhia wo	..	Yao
Note Osabu, Note Osan, Note Nyomɔ		
Tsawe Note Blɔdu	..	Yao
Ogidigidi Aplelee!	..	Yao
Odze Ngaman ni mgman sa bo	..	Yao
Obleku, tuu...tuu...tuu	..	Yao
Ei Gbɔbu, Okonno Ohima ke enya Afieye	..	Yao
Asiwe Odame, Asiwe Kpesi	..	Yao
Ei Nii sei ke Nii Kumi	..	Yao
Ei Sakumɔ A-mantease	..	Yao
Wɔnya Wo a wɔnfre	..	Yao
Ei Nii Klan	..	Yao
Ei Akwadzan eii, Bledu Sika, Bledu mpon	..	Yao
Ei Akonodi	..	Yao
Ei Kantankani Boafo (Lakpa)	..	Yao
Enyinaa be hyia me	..	Yao
Bahe eko onu Aku..ni okedzomɔ dzrɔ	..	Yao
adzɔ wɔ		
Milee ngmaa kuli bii ayibo ni		
ma le nye yibo	..	Yao
Kedze Lamagma keyasi Obutu	..	Yao
Kedze Woyi keyasi ngmamli	..	Yao
Bibii ke ewudzi fee abanu eko	..	Yao
Mei ni banu abanu; Mei ni enuu le atsi		
amehe kaya sɛɛ	..	Yao
Ble mitsɛɛ nye efɔn ko he	..	Yao

Then the priest enumerates all that is being asked for and mentions the names of the petitioners again and again to the deities. If any promises are made by the petitioners, these are communicated to the gods.

¹⁷ Wie. An African climbing plant of the Capsium family. It has a burning sensation when chewed or smeared on the skin.

Translation of the prayer (literal)

O God Almighty, come and bless what we are		
	going to do	Amen
Great Awiri (ee!) Shouting for him		Amen
Oh Adu (Name of a god) Adu Pasako		Amen
If you have no Adu, You do not call (invoke) Adu		Amen
Klolo Abutrufi, Awəkəwəkə (Probably name of a		
	god) ¹⁶ Awəkəwəkə	
	indicated the flexi-	
	bility of the god	Amen
Osi Bəni's club		Amen.
Mother of Aglama, English 17		Amen
You will come by yourself, you need no helping		
	hand	Amen
Nəte Sabu, Nəte Osan, Nəte Nyəmə Tsawe, Nəte		
	Bleku	Amen.
(Names of deities being invoked)		
Ogidigidi Apl ^ε læε (Untranslatable) (Probably		Amen
	strong name	
	suggesting	
	might)	
You come from the plains and nowhere else can		
	be a better abode for you	Amen
Obleku...Tuu Tuu Tuu... Suggests softness and		
	peace	Amen
Gbəbu, Okəno Ahima and his wife AfieYe		
the King's Stool and the King's sword of		
	Office	Amen
Sakumə, the ancestral city		Amen
When we obtain you (get you) we desire nothing		
	else	Amen
King tiger		Amen
Akonodi		Amen
The god Lakpa		Amen

LEADING ARTICLE

17.

All of you should come and meet me (listen to me or help me)	Amen
All of you should come and drink this wine and bless us	Amen
I cannot count even maize and I cannot there- fore possibly know how many you are!	Amen
You spread all over from Lanma to Obutu	Amen
From the North to the South	Amen
Come and have some drink, one and all, both big and small	Amen
Those who wish to drink, come by all means and have your share	Amen
But those who should not have been called, please keep clear away	Amen
I have not called you for evil	Amen

Then the story and purpose of the visit of the visitors or petitioners is communicated to the deity. The wulo-mo then comes out of the hut to the front of the hut and there invokes blessings on the people thus:-

Tswa, tswa, tswa, omanyaba!	..	Yao
Wosei yi ati	..	Yao
Woblai yi ati	..	Yao
Wodze bu, wodze nu no	..	Yao
Woye wadzu wakodzi ano adzo wo	Yao
Nyomo ke dzomo adzoor aha wo	..	
Mawu adzo wo	..	Yao
Adzoo man	..	Yao
Adzoo agban	..	Yao
Adzoo wulomei	..	Yao
Adzoo wulumai	..	Yao
Ni woya abon ni woba abon	..	Yao
Wotakodzron akpa aba-mne wo dudonaa	..	Yao
Yeifoyei atsomo toi	..	Yao
Ni ameho ametra si	..	Yao
Osra atekewo	..	Yao

the entrance are three sticks which look like slender horns of an animal. On each of these sticks,¹⁸ a few drops of schnapps are sprinkled. Before this is done, the bottle of schnapps is shown to God in the Heavens. After this 'pouring of libation' to the sticks in the roof, some special spots in the yard are given drops of schnapps.

The wife of the priest Naa Afieye, who all this time must be sitting before her hut, takes over from her husband and pours traces of the schnapps from a coconut cup at other special spots in the yard. No ceremony is perfect without Naa Afieye.¹⁹ And so, her

¹⁸ Just a few traces of schnapps are sprinkled on the "horns" sticking out of the low end of the roof above the entrance of the hut. The medicine pad is also shown to all the three before it is placed in the centre of the wooden bowl. The pad is shown first to the middle stick, then to the right stick and finally to the left one.

¹⁹

Naa Afieye is specially chosen and specially wedded for the priest. The ministrations at the shrine is incomplete or even impossible without her.

assignment makes full the rites. The wulɔmɔ enters the hut again and brings out a wooden bowl (tsese) and water²⁰. Water is poured into the bowl and a pad of medicine leaves is placed in it. The medicine pad is first shown to God and then to the sticks in the roof of the wulɔmɔ's hut before it is placed in the bowl. A few drops of the 'rum' are poured into the water, and stirred into it by the priest with both hands. With both hands he takes some of the water into his mouth and it is blown back into the bowl in vapour. This is done three times.

Then the wulɔmɔ stands astride with his back to the shrine. He bends down and places both hands into the bowl. He gently lifts the left hand, which according to many tribes in Ghana is unclean, and sprinkles forward away from himself some of the water. That is said to be for the dead. Then he sprinkles towards himself, and therefore, towards the shrine, some of the water with his right hand. This is said to be for the living. It is a petition for long life. Next he sprinkles the water to his left and right and then on himself. The water so treated by the priest becomes holy. He drinks some of this water from the cup of his palms and then sits down. The Akotia priest, follows the wulɔmɔ and goes through the same process. At the annual festivals and on occasions when general blessings

²⁰The Lakpa would have nothing to do with pipe borne water. The water used at the shrine should either be rain water or well water. Only a few years ago there were no public stand pipes. One or two people, though, had private ones. Indeed, it appears that Teshie began to enjoy the use of stand pipes before Labadi. It was the La dignitaries who did not allow the Accra Town Council to give the people of Labadi the stand pipes. Their explanation was that the Lakpa did not like that type of water. This is confirmed by a number of people. Today, however, there are many stand pipes in Labadi and pipe borne water is used in almost every household. However, pipe borne water is still not used at the shrine.

are sought for the whole town, all the priests associated with the Lakpa, and the Mantse (chief) must go through the operation before the people are treated with the holy water. It appears that the implication is that the water becomes more potent for administration to the people or the town as a whole. During private visitations to the shrine by clients, however, the water is holy enough after the wulomɔ has treated it alone.

The client is invited to the bowl and the wife of the wulomɔ dishes out the water from the wooden bowl into his or her hands. The client then sprinkles the water so received at the hands of the wife of the priest on his or her body; then retires to his or her 'seat' in front of the priest's hut.

One of the coconut-shell cups is filled with schnapps by one of the attendants at the shrine for the wulomɔ. This is how he does it. The attendant taps the open end of the cup three times with the neck of the bottle. On the third tap, he pours some of the liquor into the cup. This first 'filling' is for the priest. The wife of the priest, Naa Afieye, is next served. The client is thereafter invited to kneel before the wulomɔ and to drink some schnapps from the same coconut cup used by the priest, his wife and other priestly dignitaries who may happen to be there at the shrine. Invariably, clients leave the shrine confident that all will be well. If anything goes wrong, it must be because the client was faithless or not diligent and therefore blameworthy.

It will be observed from this account that the priest demands nothing from the clients. The clients, however, have the obligation to make promises to the deity. They may vow that if their prayer is propitious they will give an offering of thanksgiving. Women who

ask for children promise to present the children to the shrine for blessing, when they are born. Besides, they promise to offer them for service at the shrine. Such children who serve at the shrine are called Nii Webii or mgwətsemei. The promises are not forced out of the clients; they are voluntarily made.

The Lakpa and the first fruit ceremony

The Lakpa is associated with many ceremonies in Labadi. Many of those who have heard of the Lakpa, however, know it only in connection with the Həməwə. To many, therefore, the Lakpa is the Həməwə god (or the god of ceremonies connected with the Həməwə). On the occasion of the Həməwə, the wuləmə engages in several purification rites and the administration of blessing to the town. The ancestors of the people are fed in a special manner and also 'worshipped during the Həməwə. In this paper, we mention only the "Alengengmēe".²¹ This is a special divination at the shrine to find out, and have an idea, at least, of what type of year the coming one promises to be. By the divination it is always, they say, possible to tell whether or not the coming year will be propitious'. There are several other ceremonies connected with the Həməwə festival, however, apart from this Alengengmēe and the dancing at the shrine on the Wednesday morning. There is general communal feasting on this day too. Old quarrels are settled and new life is begun.

On the Wednesday morning after the Həməwə Tuesday, the Chief of Labadi and all the sub-chiefs, priests and priestesses, the servers at the shrine called the džranəyei

²¹ Alengengmēe - Balancing of the drums of Lakpa to find out what sort of year lies before the nation.

and Ngmetsemei meet at the shrine. After their private meeting, there is a public meeting which all may attend. Libations are poured and several invocations made. The sacred drums of the Lakpa, Awiri and Akotia (gods) are brought out. It is believed that the huge Lakpa drum can balance only when it is held by more than two strong men. After many prayers, the drum is asked to indicate what sort of year the coming one is likely to be. This is the Kpaatsɔɔ or Alengengmɛɛ ceremony. If the coming year will be a good one, this drum and other drums that may so be tested, balance. On the other hand, if the year unfortunately threatens to be a bad one or not particularly good, the drums do not balance. Special prayers will then have to be said from time to time to mitigate the evils of the particular year.

After the divination, there are several ceremonies in front of the Lakpa yard. Featuring prominently among these are the dances by the wulɔmɔ Naa Afieye, the wife of (the Lakpa wulɔmɔ) the La Mantse, the Mankralɔ and other state dignitaries. As they dance, they are hailed by all, but especially by their own kismen, followers and admirers.

At the 1963 dance, there were some special high lights. Special invitations were sent out to people to witness the ceremony. Naa Afieye Okropɔng, (the wife of the wulɔmɔ) who was with the wulɔmɔ when I first visited the shrine with Dr. Audrey Richards was dismissed from office before the Hɔmɔwɔ. It became doubtful whether the ceremony of Kpaatɔɔ was going to come on at all. Fortunately, a young girl was secured and married to the wulɔmɔ just before the time. This was great luck and news to all Labadi. Many people, therefore, came to see the new "queen" and her maiden dance at the shrine.

The afternoon of this day is the occasion for the popular Kpaashimɔ²² of the people of Labadi. Special prayers are said for barren women in the morning. Barrenness, incidentally, is regarded as one of the greatest afflictions that could befall a woman. The deity is said to have wedded every female on the soil of Labadi that day. This is demonstrated in indiscriminate embracing of women by men in Labadi. This is symbolic of the desire of Lakpa that all women should be blessed with children during the year.

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The Kpaashimɔ is very popular. It gives opportunity to many people to let out some "steam". People dress in all sorts of funny ways and dance the traditional Kpaa for hours on end. One interesting feature is that people do disguise themselves with all kinds of old and torn clothes. They may also disfigure their faces by smearing clay of all colours. The point of the dance principally is that they have been spared another year of blessing and so they should "hoot at hunger." In other words they eat of the fruits of their labours in commemoration of the past suffering of the original settlers, of Labadi who arrived from (many say) Nigeria and faced initial starvation. Many people come to see this dance from many parts of the vicinity of Accra. This activity is a "much looked forward to activity"! Its intergrative significance is very readily seen and its entertainment value today is real. I tried to find out whether the popularity of the dance is waning in any particular quarter. My impression is that, as far as people do not take too many liberties, under the present circumstances - law of the land - both the old and the young will like to see the continuation of the La Kpaashimɔ every year.

In the afternoon the Kpaashimɔ begins and goes on till late in the evening. Men are free to embrace any women they come across. This is called "Shakamɔ". Women who show some reluctance in allowing themselves to be embraced are over-powered. Indeed, treatment of women that will normally be regarded as "indecent assault" or adultery is on this day condoned. The embraces, I was told, are meant to be gentle symbolic acts, and should never deteriorate into 'hooliganism or manhandling.'

The Lakpa wulɔmɔ - His appointment and induction

The word 'wulɔmɔ' has been loosely translated as priest in this paper. The wulɔmɔ is, however, not a fetish priest. The people stress that the idea of fetish worship is foreign to the people of Labadi. The wulɔmɔ is a servant of the deity and he interpretes the will of the deity to the people. The Lakpa, they say, is a dzemawɔn. Dzemawɔn is not a fetish. They say it is anything that can work, but cannot be seen. The dzemawɔdzi have some of the special attributes of God. They are therefore 'mediums' for God. The Lakpa priest is not that type of priest who gets possessed as do many priests common in some parts of Africa. There is, however, one person who usually gets into trance. Then he hears and passes on messages from the deity to the Lakpa priest or the chief of Labadi. It is possible for a message to come for a particular citizen through this man. The message so received, however, is not to be directly sent to that person. It must be passed through the Lakpa wulɔmɔ or the chief. The wulɔmɔ's position is essentially that of a custodian of the Lakpa. His existence reminds the people of the existence and power of the deity, and so of God.

The position of the Lakpa priest is today fairly complicated. Originally the chief of the town was the wulom̄. Now the Lakpa priest acts for the chief. Although he does not get possessed, he is the one who officiates at public worships and pours the periodic libations to the god. He also interpretes the will of the deity to the people. The Lakpa priest is the "father" of all the people of Labadi. He does not take sides. Since according to the people, the Lakpa cherishes only peace all the time in the town, the wulom̄ has to refrain from anything which is likely to forment ill feeling, and strife in the town. One of his main duties is to advise the people in time of trouble. His advice is essential in times of plague, sectional strife, and general unrest. It is believed that the deity is not the punitive type that destroys people reported to him. He cherishes conciliation and peace more than strife punishment and schisms.

The Lakpa wulom̄ is always chosen from the Leshi quarter of Labadi. The quarter is made up of three principal lineages. They are Ofoli Osr̄we, Patapaawe, and Yemowe. The post of wulom̄ must be filled immediately it becomes vacant, or else the chief of Labadi, for whom the wulom̄ acts today, must assume the post of wulom̄. This is necessary because the shrine must never be vacant.

The wulom̄ship becomes vacant on the death of any of the pair, that is, either the wulom̄ or his ritual wife. Both of them are regarded as one. Hence the death of one means the spiritual death of the other. When the priest dies, the wife is naturally removed from the shrine, since the new priest must step into office with a new virgin wife ritually wedded for him.

Again every new priest must have a virgin wife, and so a new priest does not inherit the wife of the dead priest. Should the wife of the priest get involved in any sexual immorality, both the woman and the priest are removed from office.²³

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While writing the draft of this paper in the first and second weeks of July, 1963 a message came to me that the Lakpa priest had been expelled from the shrine. I went to find out what was happening and learnt that the beautiful young wife of the priest had been involved in a case of sexual immorality. Indeed, when I went to the shrine with Dr. Audrey Richards, she expressed the fear that such a thing was not unlikely to happen. In some parts of East Africa, such important priestesses are women who have passed their menopause, she observed. As a result of the expulsion of the priest (following the sexual misbehaviour of his wife) the chief had to go to the shrine to stay there for a greater part of the day. As a rule, as I have said elsewhere, a mistake on the part of any one of the two people, the Lakpa Wulɔmɔ and the wife Naa Afieye, necessitates the removal of both of them. In 1963, when Naa Afieye, the "priestess" I met at the shrine during my investigations, was engaged in a sexual immorality affair, the Lakpa priest was injured by a man. This man was a lover of Naa Afieye. The Lakpa priest had to cross the Korle Lagoon to Korle Bu for his injury to be stitched. This he did contrary to the dictates of the deity. He must not cross the Korle Lagoon for any reason. Somehow, this time, instead of dismissing both the wulɔmɔ and Naa Afieye it was only Naa Afieye who was dismissed. This constituted a departure from the established norm.

When the 'priesthood' becomes vacant, the chief finds out from his 'elders' which lineage must provide the next priest. Candidates for the priesthood are selected from the three lineages in turn. The chief sends a bottle of schnapps (it used to be a pot of corn-beer) to the head of the lineage named by his elders and requests him to provide a priest-elect. The chief's delegation is headed by the Osabu priest. Custom requires that the Osabu priest must be given a bottle of schnapps to galvanise him on to his work. This is called "Osabu wulom nane mli mom" (literally meaning the holding of the foot of the Osabu priest.) On receiving this customary drink, the Osabu priest "lucks the town" Engmeo man le mli. That is, he informs all the deities in the town about what is going to take place by pouring libation to them. By this act, some sort of curfew is imposed on the whole town.

As in the case of a 'chief-elect' of Labadi, the chosen Lakpa wulom candidate must not be informed of his choice.²⁴ The consent of the head of the lineage is all that necessary. This head is informed because he should, in the first instance, nominate the candidate, and his assistance is necessary for the successful selection and induction of the priest. On an appointed day, kept secret by the Osabu priest, he and his followers enter the house of the prospective candidate. They carry with them a garland of some special herbs. This garland is flung round the neck of the candidate as soon as he is reached. If the selected candidate is away from home, he is sought. Sometimes it even becomes necessary to look for him in one of the several villages of the people of Labadi. It is said that sometimes prospective candidates often stay away from the town or these villages to escape the responsibility. Once the

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The present chief was snatched from his college while he was still a student.

prospective priest is decorated with the garland, he is bound to go with the Osabu priest to the palace of the chief. The chief welcomes them on their arrival to the palace and sends messages to the parents and relatives of the priest-elect saying that their scion has thus been honoured and shall thenceforth remain the priest of the Lakpa. Libation is poured and the priest is ritually confined for twenty-one days. The term for this 'confinement' is 'Tsu mli woo!'

During this confinement all the hair on the priest-elect is shaved. Thereafter, it is a forbidden thing for the priest to shave any hair from any part of his body. Contravention of this taboo necessitates his immediate removal from the shrine. During the Alengngm and other ceremonies, the hair of the priest is done in a special way, that looks feminine in style. It is during the confinement that he tunes himself finally for the work ahead of him. Meanwhile, the amlakuiats (the head of the servants of the deity), the Osabu priest, and the chief, school him for his work. Inventory of the equipment in the hut of Lakpa shrine is, as a rule, taken and then priest duly installed, is led to the shrine. Since he must go into the yard a ritually pure man, it is essential that no one should bear any grudge against him. He must not be a debtor. All his debts, if he has any at the time of his induction, must be paid for him by the chief of Labadi. In essence, it is the "town" or people of the town who pay this debt. On becoming the wulom, he automatically separates^{24b} from his previous wife or wives. He goes to the shrine with a virgin wife special

^{24b}

He may regard them as his secondary wives not. This is the current concession.

selected, and wedded for him. All cooked food that the priest ever eats after entering the yard must be from the hands of this ritual wife.

This priest abandons the name by which he has been known until the day of decoration with the medicine garland, and adopts a priest name. If he hails from Ofoli Osrowe, he becomes Yemo Broni. If he belongs to any of the other two remaining houses, he is styled Yemote Odoi.

Like the Lakpa wulɔmɔ, his wife, Naa Afieye Okropong, with whom he goes to the service of the god at the shrine, is specially chosen. The wife must also come from one of the following lineages. Apaintsewe in the Leshi quarter, Tunmawe in Abese, Klannaa and also from Sakumowe in Ga Mashi. In addition to this lineage qualification, the chosen girl must be a virgin. Other considerations, like beauty, poise, weight and character also weigh in the choice of the wife.

As in the case of the priest, the Osabu priest is the one who takes the leading part in the induction of the wife. Either he or people deputising for him enter the house of the girl and fling round her neck a garland made of some special herbs. This ring is called "komi" in Ga. The expression for the act of flinging the garland around a candidate's neck is "komingmɔɔ." As soon as the garland is around the neck of the girl the job of the Osabu company is over, and the members hoot and shout for joy. The girl has then no choice. If she escapes before the ring is put around her neck, she is free. If however, she escapes after the ring has been flung around her neck, it is believed that she will either become mad or suffer from all sorts

of maladjustments.²⁵ The girl thus secured is escorted to the chief's house. Messages from the chief reach her people who are informed of the new status of the girl. She is then taken to her own father's house for her ritual confinement. This lasts for twenty-one days. While in confinement she is instructed by the Dranoyei (servants of Naa Afieye at the shrine) in the art in which she is to be engaged.

The new "priestess" is not just taken to the shrine after her ritual confinement. She is grandly wedded with funds provided by the chief or town (nation). Her bride-wealth is always double that of the ordinary woman or girl in Labadi. This is an indication of her importance

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I remember when I was an acting assistant Headmaster in Secondary school in Labadi in 1958, the brothers and some other relatives of a girl in her second year came to ask permission for their sister to stay away from school for a couple of weeks. It was the turn of their lineage and particular house to supply a wife for the new Lakpa priest. This particular girl happened to be the most suitable in the house at the time. The relatives thought she was a girl with some bright future. She was therefore taken away to a village to escape the fate of being decorated and inducted as wife of the priest. Somebody else was secured and this girl was free and she came back to continue her education.

for she is actually the first lady of Labadi. Her maiden name is changed and she becomes Naa Afieye Okropong. She is taken to the shrine amid drumming and dancing. This is a special ceremony at which the drumming is provided by a special group from Gbese quarter in Ga Mashi (Accra). The drummers first perform on the ceremonial grounds at Labadi, known as Mandzaano. The ceremony is called "Kplokotodzoo", (Kplokoto dance). From the ceremonial grounds the drummers repair Lakpanaa (the Lakpa shrine area.) Later they go to Teshi and drum at the Ayiku shrine. They return finally to round off the drumming and merry making at Labadi when the new "priestess" is led to the shrine.

The Lakpa and change

There are now several modifications in the ceremonies and taboos connected with the Lakpa. Pipe borne water, which even in the early thirties was hardly used in Labadi, is now freely used. There are now public and private water taps everywhere in Labadi. In spite of the many changes, however, the people of Labadi seem to be still very much attached to the Lakpa. It is difficult to say whether or not, for many, it is not just something to see at the annual festivals, that keeps them attracted to the Lakpa. Labadi has always been known as one of the Ga towns which has many deities. It is difficult to predict when the many gods will disappear. Whether their disappearance will be advantageous to the people is not very certain. One thing is certain, and that is Labadi could have progressed, at least, a little more than it has done now, without the very many taboos of the many gods. Now many things have, however, changed, and many of their institutions are undergoing some change. However, the belief system appears to be somehow resistant and would not submit to total abandonment.

Although the belief system appears to be steadfast, some of the people now often question quite a few of the doctrines of the system. There are a number of views and some of the elders today feel it is wrong to allow the 'Lakpa' to check modern development in the way it did in the days past. Some people are feeling that the dictates of the deity were not properly interpreted in the days past.

The Lakpa worship - Fetishism or what?

This is a question which has been raised by some of the elders of Labadi.

A large number of people wish to be loosely connected with the Lakpa while they remain Christians or Mohammedans or hold other beliefs. For example, the present chief of Labadi, Nii Anyetei Kwakwanya II, thinks it is wrong to regard the performances and observances connected with the Lakpa as fetishism. The Lakpa, they say, embodies the spirit of the people. What is meant exactly by this needs some further investigation. Nii Anyetei thinks the Lakpa is comparable to the Golden Stool of Ashanti. In the case of Ashanti, however, there is something physical which is supposed to contain the spirit of the people. The point to note here is that, the Golden Stool is a symbol. In the case of the Lakpa, it is said, though there is nothing physical to see, the spirit of the deity or rather of the people, is collectively represented in the Lakpa. This is not easy to comprehend.

Fetishism as a description for the Lakpa may not be regarded as very appropriate. The term itself is still in use only because some missionaries continue to cling on to the term to cover a whole range of things.

African charms and cult objects "feitico" - meaning magic-like talismans worn by the Portuguese during the days they were first in Africa, were first called fetishes by the Portuguese. Factitius, as explained by Parrinder²⁶ means something made for art. In the light of this, anything could be fetish; but the Lakpa is not the worship of a "thing" at all. Even if fetishism is regarded as the worship of "sticks and stones"²⁷, Lakpa does not fall within that category. Indeed, analysis of the belief system and the behaviour in the situation which has been erroneously referred to in the literature as ancestor worship clearly shows that no one bows down to wood and stone in Ghanaian religious behaviour.²⁸ The Lakpa does not again fall into the class of fetishes, if the term is to apply to limited class of magical objects in West Africa as agreed upon by an anthropological committee.²⁹

Parrinder has made another point which is relevant to this discussion, when he says 'in view of the French and English speaking countries the term fetish is differently used'. The French fetish, it appears is the English juju. What Rattray calls fetishes, the French term 'grisgris'. Jou-jou of course comes from French and means a toy. For purposes of documentation and intelligible discussion on the Lakpa, the general Ga term under which it comes namely Adebowom, God created god, will always be more meaningful. Ceremonies connected with the Lakpa have never been the worship of

²⁶ West African Religion 1961 page 8.

²⁷ Primitive Culture 4th Ed. II 143-4, Parrinder.

²⁸ See a note on ancestor worship and the Ancestors and Ghanaian social behaviour - Research Review Vol.3 Nos.1 and 2, Michaelmas and Lent, 1966 and 1967.

²⁹ Geoffrey Parrinder, West African Religion page.9.

an inanimate object. The Lakpa is and has always been only just a medium for God. The Lakpa is, as hinted, nothing visible. The drums and the paraphernalia of the Lakpa are mere symbols. They are comparable to the other objects of reverence in other religious observances.

This leads on to another big claim that the people of Labadi often make. They realise that they have many mediums through which they reach the one God but they claim that the people of Labadi are essentially monotheistic.³⁰ The validity of this claim would be easy to accept only when a new interpretation is put on the theological term monotheism. It is nonetheless correct to think that the ultimate thing aimed at, in any 'religious' act connected with the Lakpa is, reaching God with the capital "G". My impression is that there is a strong resentment on the part of the Labadi people against being regarded as worshippers of stones and trees. Certainly, different theologies will view this claim differently. The orthodox Christian reaction is one of intolerance. Many people, especially

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I myself do not understand what is meant by the claim that the rites and other observances connected with the Lakpa are merely "customary". I do not know whether customary here means just "established usage" or practice that has become habitual. In this case customary may mean "learnt behaviour". If this is what is envisaged, then the desired impression is that the Lakpa practices form part of the culture of the people. Culture, being, according to Hoebel, the sum total of learnt behaviour trait characteristics of the members of a society. The classical definition of Tylor suggests that culture is a complex whole - "that complex whole that includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities acquired by man as a member of society."

a few years ago, were regarded in Labadi as not with the "Christian flock" when they merely watched the Lakpa dances.³¹ The Lakpa and the practices related to it form part of the system of belief of the people. It is then undeniably part of their culture. Would the claim of the Lakpa, following this line of argument, therefore, entitle the exponents of the deity to acceptability by all and by all religions? If on the other hand what is meant is that it is 'only fashion', then further questions are raised. Need everyone take to a particular fashion?³²

Probably, it is in this light that many of those who claim the Lakpa observances as 'only customary' view the whole affair. This may have to be looked at more closely before any categorical statement is made. One thing which is clear, is that the people of Labadi do realise that the Lakpa has been a very strong force of social solidarity. They also realise that but for some changes brought about by acculturation and the forces of social change, it could have been, as it surely was, a force to hinder or impair progress.

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I personally think of such festivals as the Ngmayen Həməwə and the like of Ghana as social functions and when freed of the religious content, will be effective functions that will foster modern social solidarity. Indeed, it may be argued that it is the religious content that actually makes them such useful functions. However, it is today, not the religious but the social aspect of some of these functions that the people cherish so much. Həməwə is heartily enjoyed by many serious minded ministers of Christian gospel and heads of Mohammedan groups. It is regarded as a social activity which helps the renewal of social relations and acquaintances.

The Spirit of the People (A claim for the Lakpa)

Hitherto we have been looking mainly at the deity and how blessings are sought at the shrine, the appointment and induction of both the Lakpa Wulom - the chief priest - and his wife Naa Afieye. An attempt has been made to examine very briefly the effects of social or cultural change on the Lakpa and the people, and the last section raised the question of 'ought the functionaries of the Lakpa deity be refused admission into other religious denominations as it is the case now'?

The fact of change in the operations of the Lakpa is important, since, it seems, cultural change has raised many questions and apparently reshaped people's ideas about the nature and function of the 'god'. Some people of the older generation appear to be still wedded to the idea that the Lakpa is god in its own right, except however, that it is and has always been subordinate to God. Their conception of God, as far as has been noted, is a God who after creating the earth, delegated some of his power to His subordinates. To Labadi, the principal subordinate is the Lakpa, supposed to be the eldest son of God.³³

³³ Lakpa then is a deity in a pantheon. This is the suggestion made. Like some African cosmologies, that of Labadi includes many gods, at the peak of which is the almighty God. This particular claim that this or that God is the first of the gods of the earth is not unique. See African Worlds, edited by Daryll Forde. A council of elders I met during the investigations at Labadi claimed that their conception of God is in consonance with the line of thought of both Hebrew and Christian thoughts. They claimed that they are essentially monotheistic. They cited the case of Angels, Arc Angels and Saints of the Christian faith as being in the same category. If this is accepted as valid argument then many people in West Africa are monotheistic.

The people of Labadi say the Lakpa is not any of the solid structures or paraphernalia in the yard of the Lakpa. It is regarded as the corporate spirit of the people. Some of them we have seen quote the Golden Stool of Ashanti,³⁴ Ghana, as a parallel of the Lakpa. The difference, however, being that the Lakpa was not commanded down by a man and it is not a solid or visible 'thing'. What the stool embodies and what it stands for is that which is parallel to the Lakpa for the Lakpa is a 'natural' deity³⁵, God created, not man made god.

³⁴ To indicate the real essence or position of the Lakpa today, the substantive holder of the Woloship referred to the Golden Stool of Ashanti as a parallel of the Lakpa. The Golden Stool was, according to tradition, brought down from the heavens through the magical prowess of Okomfo Anokye. This Okomfo, that is, priest, was the high priest of Osei Tutu, the then king of Ashanti. The priest told the Ashantis that the stool was to be the symbol of their unity and solidarity. A new sanction was provided by the concept of national unity which was focussed in the stool.

³⁵ Adebawon - The implication is that the Lakpa is a deity. Adebawon are Natural deities. They are not charms or fetishes or man devised in any way. If a shrine is built for an Adebawon or a model is made to represent it, the real thing - that is, the spirit is always believed to be external to it. The spirit may dwell in the physical things periodically but remains always a spirit. Some of the things that come under the category of Adebawon deities may be rivers, certain perennial trees, the wind etc.

It has been observed that the chief of Labadi was originally the Wulomom of the 'deity' and that he is still virtually the substantive holder of the post. The present 'chief priest' only acts for the chief. This arrangement became necessary because of the demands of modern chiefship, since the chief of today has to go from place to place, attend various council meetings of chiefs, speak on telephones and engage in various modern ways of life which desecrate the Lakpa. As a modern political functionary, therefore, it is difficult for him to live the life of a pure Lakpa priest. It was this problem posed by cultural change that necessitated some type of division of labour resulting in the post of chief priest being held by a separate person.

In view of the fact that the people of Labadi believed that the most senior man of the state was the high priest, they still regard or like to look upon the new position of chiefship as being closely associated with the Wulomomship of the state.

As the Golden Stool is considered to be a symbol of national unity, solidarity and continuity, so the Lakpa is held to be a spiritual force making for unity and continuity. So that it is an **integrative** force.³⁶ This appears in part to be in admission of the proposition that the Lakpa is a god in its own right. Indeed, the many ceremonies connected with the Lakpa bring the people together. The constant coming together for the festivities of the Lakpa foster national solidarity.

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This is true of every society. Every society has an integrative force. It may be myth or legend or law. If it is argued that anything that aids or brings about effective integration of a people is the spirit of the people then many religions or ideologies would be to them what the Lakpa is supposed to be to the people of Labadi.

Among these ceremonies, the first fruit festival of Hɔmɔwɔ is the most popular. All native Labadians celebrate the Hɔmɔwɔ. All the people eat the traditional food Kpokpoi or Kpekple (steamed maize flour) and sprinkle it on the day of Hɔmɔwɔ. Some claim to do it only for the fun of it. Deep down in the minds, however, they are given food to the ancestors of households and so, those of the nation.

This raises a further problem and the problem is whether the people are concerned, in the fruit festival, with the ancestors as such, or the Lakpa, which is regarded as the national 'spirit'? According to informants, the principal concern is with the ancestors, but at the same time they are engaged in remembering and honouring the spirit which led them from their Nigerian home to Ghana.

It is difficult under the circumstances for students of culture and society to answer the question of whether the functionaries of the Lakpa should not be denied admittance into societies like the Christian religious bodies.³⁷ Social scientists do not arrogate

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Some religions are very uncompromising and will definitely regard the rites and rituals connected with the Lakpa as false and therefore incompatible with the demands of their dogmas. It is therefore difficult to give a scientific answer to the question raised by the elders of Labadi. The Christian belief, for example, is a belief in "The One Lord, the one Faith, and the One Baptism". There is a "Creed" accepted by the whole Christian Church. This may account for the uncompromising attitude of the Church in this matter. I suspect, however, that their idea of the Lakpa being the son of God could be exploited by the Christian Evangelists. By the principle of 'elimination by substitution' the Christ they preach could be substituted for the Lakpa. Christian research scholars may be useful in this field. They may be able to give a 'good' answer to the question which worry the minds of the elders of Labadi which is hinted here.

to themselves the mandate to rank religious beliefs, although they cannot pass all religious practices as sociologically significant. This question which so much bothers some elders of Lakpa, therefore, cannot be answered by an analytical study of the Lakpa, in spite of the contention that the 'adherents' of the Lakpa are worshippers of one God.³⁸

My analysis is that the Lakpa was regarded no less than a national god of the people of Labadi. The accident of history, social contact and cultural change generally, is changing the views of many, as to the real significance of the 'deity'. To a number of people, the spiritual aspect of the Lakpa festivities have given place to the social significance of the festivities. It is correct that the spiritual aspect of the Lakpa is now being underplayed but it would be wrong to suppose that all the people of Labadi do not think of it as a god.

Remarkably, many of the taboos of the Lakpa are now not observed. One of the most notable was the avoidance of processed water for drinking. As late as the 1930's the 'nation' of Labadi was opposed to the introduction of pipe borne water in Labadi. It is realised today that a lot of those taboos were 'obnoxious' and they kept the town 'backward', and so they have been scrapped. There are then the positive signs that many of the festivities connected with the Lakpa and also

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Almighty God. Therefore the people are monotheistic. The implication is that the Lakpa is a god in its own right - with a definite place in the hierarchy of gods in Labadi. The whole system of beliefs and the rituals concerned with the Lakpa makes it a cult. The object of the cult being the spirit, called the Kpa of Labadi.

the rites may continue to be 'modernized'.³⁹

What then is meant by 'the spirit of the people' claimed for the Lakpa? Is it the 'moving ideology' for the people? Is it an integrative force, a symbol of unity, deified founder of the nation, or objectified, idea 'body' or spirit of the people?

The crucial point is the place and function of Lakpa today. Some have begun to look upon it as a great ancestor and therefore their attitude to it is no less than reverence to it, and all this stands for in their view. Others still think of it as a really potential force⁴⁰ which is still the spiritual mainstay

³⁹This word is meaningless except looked at in the light I use it here. It means lagging behind, as far as accepted modern ways of life are concerned. Examples being good roads, good sanitation, good housing, good drainage, modern formal education - and its benefits. These are some of the things the people woefully lacked.

⁴⁰As far as we know about the Lakpa of today, there are a few things about the rituals and rites which cut across "Universal Ethical standards". There are no longer bloody practices. The yard of the shrine is always in acceptable sanitary conditions, although we cannot say what the huts which are closed to all people save the high priest contain. Today, printed invitations are issued out for the Lakpa dance on the Wednesday following the $\text{H}\alpha\text{m}\alpha\omega\alpha$ Tuesday. Processed water is freely used in Labadi although in the yard of the Lakpa such water is still tabooed. Streets have now been permitted where they were forbidden some time ago. There is now a definite proposal to recondition many parts of Labadi. Formerly this would have been vehemently opposed.

of Labadi. Others yet think of it as a medium of Ḥḡḡḡḡ festivities which they enjoy.

It is bewildering to be told that the festivities, for example of the Lakpa, are 'customary' or 'cultural'. This definitely denies the the Lakpa the status of a deity in its own right; but many other things point to the fact that it is regarded as a deity. There are, however, many people in Labadi whose lives are not touched even in a very little way by the Lakpa. Other tutelary deities to them are more important. All Labadians, anyway, firmly believe that their ancestors matter a good deal and that these ancestors intercede for them - the living.

Ideas about the Lakpa are today then amorphous. Many of its change resisting aspects have disappeared or are relaxing, but it is still a formidable social, psychological and spiritual force in Labadi and its significance needs to be studied periodically.

A.K. Quarcoo.

A NEW APPROACH TO ETHIOPIA IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURY

The history of Ethiopia has so far been written from the point of view of the central imperial authority. Very little attention has been paid to the provinces as such and to what may be considered as purely provincial history.¹ One gets the impression that nothing of interest appeared to be happening within the provinces and that history was made only at the centre. Thus when the Imperial power fell on a period of decline and was not in a position to play a dominant role in the Empire the history of Ethiopia became either non-existent or at best uninteresting. This statement is proved by the fact that the period from about the middle of the 18th century to the advent of Theodore to the Imperial throne in 1855 is invariably dismissed in a couple of lines in the existing history books. These few lines merely point out that the Imperial authority was in decline and that in the provinces the period was marked by meaningless internecine wars. History is made to re-begin around 1855 when a man of great military talent successfully fought his way to the imperial throne and the central authority again started to play a dominating role throughout the Empire. Although this form of historiography may be useful for an understanding of certain periods in

¹ A few provincial studies have appeared in the last two or three years. But these are mostly anthropological cf. For example: D.N. Levine: Wax and Gold: University of Chicago Press, 1965; H. Lewis: A Galla Monarchy; W.A. Shack: The Gurage: Oxford University Press, London, 1966.

Ethiopian history it does not help us to understand the period 1750-1855. The researches of the present writer have led him to believe that we ought to go to the provinces and examine what was happening there in order to appreciate fully the importance of the period 1750-1850 in the general course of the development of Ethiopia.

The Scottish Traveller James Bruce who visited Ethiopia from 1768 to 1772 and other travellers who visited the country in the first half of the 19th century describe a state of incessant warfare in the Empire. These wars have been portrayed in the books as (to borrow a phrase from Professor Hugh Trevor-Roper) "unrewarding gyrations of barbarous" or ambitious provincial nobles.

A careful study of the period shows that far from being meaningless the wars reflect a definite development by which the Empire was saved from total collapse. They reflect a constitutional struggle at two different levels. At the national level it was a struggle between the imperial authority on the one hand and the provincial nobility of the highland on the other hand. The issue at stake appears to have been the traditional role of the Abyssinian² nobles in the government of the Empire. For the most part the nobles had the upper hand in this contest and provincialism got the better of imperial centralization.

The struggle which went on at the national level may be said to have been a magnification of that which took place at the provincial level. In many of the

2. Abyssinian - is here used in place of Amhara to refer to the highland peoples before the Galla conquest of the 16th and 17th century. It is intended to include Tigrean speaking and Amharic speaking peoples of the highlands.

provinces, at this period, an incessant contest was being fought between the provincial chiefs on the one hand and the petty chieftains of the various units which constituted the individual provinces. In this as in the struggle at the national level, the issue was one of centralization by the provincial chiefs as against the separatist tendencies of the districts. This is not surprising, for a provincial chief needed to have the whole of his province united behind him before he could confidently enter the constitutional struggle against the imperial authority and hold his own against other provinces. In the provinces, however, unlike at the national level, it was the forces of decentralization which lost the contest. Within the provinces therefore, the period 1750-1855 was marked by territorial expansion, centralization and consolidation of provincial autonomy by the provincial chiefs. It should probably be remarked that it was not all the provinces which passed through a period of territorial expansion. Nevertheless, it is true to say that practically all the provinces were in one way or another affected by the process of territorial expansion of centralization. The vicissitudes of the wars reflected the political as well as the territorial strength of the contending parties, so that a weaker province was invariably absorbed by its stronger neighbour. In this way provinces of varying strength and size emerged not only on the Highland but also in the Eastern Lowlands, in Harar and in the Maca Galla country to the south of Gojjam. By 1842 Highland Ethiopia was dominated by four large provinces: Tigre in the north, Amhara in the centre, Gojjam in the west and Shoa in the south. In addition there were smaller provinces, for example, Lasta, Simen, Begemder and Damot, all of which were to a smaller or greater degree dependent on one or the other of the four larger provinces. The present writer is convinced that a careful

and detailed study of the histories of these provinces especially in the 18th and 19th centuries will afford a far greater understanding of Ethiopia during the period of imperial decline than a study of the central imperial authority as such can do. In this article we shall outline the development of one of these provinces (Shoa) and relate it to the decline of the imperial authority. The object is to show how a study of the provinces can help us to understand the decline of the Empire.

Until about the end of the 16th century Shoa was an important part of the Empire of Ethiopia. The Shoan towns of Tegulet and Debra Berhan served as the capitals for a number of the Emperors of the "restored" dynasty and Debra Libanos was a religious centre of national importance. During the 16th century together with other southern provinces of the Empire Shoa was overrun by the Galla, and by the beginning of the 18th century Shoa was completely lost to the Imperial authority. The few Amharan families of Shoa who survived the Galla onslaught took refuge in mountain fastnesses in the district of Manz.³ In the course of time, as a result of warfare among the various Amharan families, the sub-division of Agancha emerged as the dominant power and a leading member of the Agancha Amhara, called Nagassi, became in effect the ruler of all the Amhara families in Manz. Nagassi died about 1703; on his death a struggle for the leadership which he had won for himself ensued among his sons out of which Sebastiyé emerged the victor. Sebastiyé gradually strengthened the position of power

3. Guebre Sellasie: *Chronique In regne de Menelik II, Roi des Rois d'Ethiopie*. Edt. Maurice de Coppet. Paris 1930-32 Vol.I. p.62-3.

which he inherited from his father and when he died about 1720 his son Abiye was acknowledged by the Manzian Amhara as the undisputed ruler of the whole of Manz. A hereditary dynasty was thus gradually emerging in Manz which owed its position largely to the military skill of its members.

Abiye contributed to the growth of the power of the rising dynasty in two important ways. In the first place, having consolidated his position in Manz, he made war on the Galla tribes surrounding Manz and in this way initiated the process of territorial expansion of Manz which led to the rise of the kingdom of Shoa and culminated in the unification of Ethiopia in 1889. Secondly, he adopted the title of Maredazmatch; this was a significant step made towards asserting the independence of the rising province from the Imperial authority for in the Medieval Empire titles had been granted by the Emperors to deserving subjects and not adopted by the subjects themselves. This leads one to the concept of the Empire.

Even at the height of its power medieval Ethiopia was not a firmly united country. The concept of the Empire which prevailed and which was to be repeatedly referred to by leading political figure in 19th century Ethiopia, was one of a central kingdom or province with outlying tribute-paying provinces. The degree of control exercised by the centre over the outlying provinces depended on whether the centre, in effect the actual occupant of the imperial throne, was strong or weak. If the centre was strong the provinces fulfilled their obligations regularly but if the centre was weak they tended to neglect their duties and became separatist in outlook. The emperors were not always in a position to assert their influence effectively over the outlying

provinces, but even the weakest of them never abandoned their claim to areas over which effective imperial control had once extended. This explains why, when Egypt occupied Harar from 1875 to 1885 Merelik could complain to the European powers that Egypt had occupied part of his territory⁴ though, in fact, Harar at this time was completely independent not only of Shoa but of the Christian Empire as a whole.

The Emperors of the period still claimed the Galla dominated province of Shoa as part of their Empire and indeed Nagassi did not behave in any way which implied independence from the Emperor.⁵ However, as the rulers of the expanding province of Manz or the rising kingdom of Shoa became more and more powerful, they tended to act like independent rulers. Wassen Saggad (1809-1813) the sixth ruler of modern Shoa adopted the title of Ras, the third highest title in the Empire besides Negus (king) and Negusa Nagast (Emperor) without any reference to the Imperial court at Gondar. His successor Sahla Selassie went a step further and in 1839 declared himself negus. The French traveller Antoine d'Abbadie who was in Northern Ethiopia at this time wrote thus on this action of Sahla Selassie's: "The Maredazmatch Sahla Selassie has made himself absolute master of Shoa."

4. See for example Libro Verde No.XV Ethiopia Doc 95 Menelik al Umberto I. Entoto 4: 6: 1885. (28 ghenbot 1'anno 20 del nostro regno).

5. Nagassi is said to have gone to the Emperor's court at Gondar presumably to pay his tribute to the Emperor and to receive at his hands the investiture acknowledging him as the principal chieftain in Manz.

He has assumed the title of king which is not recognized by the clergy and the nobles of Gondar."⁶ Much as the Emperor and his court at Gondar opposed this action they were in no position to force the king of Shoa to renounce this title and to bring him back to obedience. By thus making themselves independent of the Emperors, the rulers of Shoa contributed to a reduction in the resources of the imperial authority and thereby aggravated its weakened position and accentuated the decline of its influence.

From its small beginnings in Agacha, Manz expanded gradually and by the 1840's had developed into a powerful, prosperous and well-administered Kingdom of Shoa. By the opening of the 19th century, commitment to war had become an essential constituent of Shoa's strength and prosperity for in war lay territorial gains and increase in its manpower as well as material resources. As a result of the campaigns of conquest and expansion Shoa in 1842 covered an area estimated at 150 miles in length by 90 miles in breadth. Its population was estimated at 2½ million people of whom one million were Christians and the rest consisted of pagans and muslims.⁷ The general direction of the expansion was southwards and south-westwards so that the frontiers of the Kingdom were pushed further and further towards the richest part of the whole of the Ethiopian region - the Galla and Sidama lands which lie to the south of

6. M.A.E.(Paris). M.& D. (Afrique) Vol.13 p.9. Antoine d'Abbadie to M. le Directeur de la Division Commerciale au MAE 14: 7: 1839.

7. India Office Library: Bombay Secret Proceedings: LG 204 No.1216 Graham. Harris: The Highlands of Aethiopia (Lond. 1844)Vol.III p.28.

the Southern bend of the Abay River (the Blue Nile). In this way more and more of the trade of the area fell into the hands of the rulers of Asha. This had important effects not only on the development of Shoa but also on the financial and the general economic position of the central imperial authority.

The trade of highland Ethiopia was essentially transit trade; all the commodities which were described at the coast as Ethiopian or Abyssinian products came from the south-westerly Galla and Sidama provinces. Taxes on the trade constituted one of the most important sources of income for the rulers of Ethiopia. The products reached the sea ports by one of three routes: a northern route across the Abay through Godjam, Gondar and Tigre to the port of Massawa; an eastern route through what by the 1840's was southern Shoa to the Somali ports of Zeyla and Tadjura, and a south-eastern route through southern Gurage, Arussi and Harar to the ports of Zeyla, Tadjura or Berbera. Of the three routes the most important was the northern one and it was on it that the wealth of the imperial authority at Gondar largely depended. As Shoa advanced towards the sources of the Abyssinian products more and more of the trade came to be diverted through Shoa. This was of course to the detriment of the imperial authority. Thus the rise of Shoa and the assertion of her independence from imperial control weakened not only the manpower but also the material resources of the imperial power at Gondar. This had military and political consequences which were ruinous to the prestige and the effective physical strength of the imperial authority. In the 1880's Shoa's control over the eastern and south-eastern routes as well as her conquest of the south-westerly (i.e. Maca) Galla country became a source of conflict between Ras Adal of

Gojjam (backed by the Emperor John IV⁸) and Menelik the king of Shoa.

Between 1852 and 1855 Kassa, a man of great military skill and considerable administrative ability successfully fought his way to the imperial throne as Emperor Theodore II. Under him the imperial authority regained a good deal of its lost prestige and physical strength and once again asserted its effective control over the outlying provinces including Shoa. Although soon after its conquest in 1855-6 Shoa rebelled against the imperial government and indeed was to be in a state of rebellion throughout the reign of Theodore, between 1856 and 1859 she paid regular tribute to the imperial chest. After 1859 when Theodore's attempt to bring rebel Shoa back to allegiance failed Shoa once again became independent of the Empire. From 1865 to 1889 independent Shoa was the greatest domestic thorn in the flesh of the revitalized imperial power, now in the hands of Emperor John IV. The relations between Emperor John IV and Menelik, King of Shoa and the effects of the relationship on the policies of both rulers is a subject which needs a special study and will not be touched upon here. We only have to remember that under Menelik Shoa reached the climax of its development. Its area was more than doubled in twenty years and the manpower and material resources of its ruler increased correspondingly; European travellers who visited Ethiopia in the 19th century considered it the best governed and the most peaceful of all the Ethiopian "provinces".⁹

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8. Kofi Darkwah: The Rise of the Kingdom of Shoa 1813-89. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis London July 1966. P.170.
9. See for Example: A Aubry: "Une Mission au Choa et dans les pays Galla" in Bulletin de la Societe de Geographie de Paris 7^e Serie, Vol.VIII, 1887 Passim.
Jules Borelli: Ethiopie Meridionale. Paris 1890 Passim.

In conclusion it may be said that Ethiopia passed through an interesting period in the 18th century and the first three quarters of the 19th century. From the point of view of the imperial authority it was largely a period of decline.. We do not know for certain what was happening in each of the provinces, but the information available indicates that a number of the provinces of the Highland passed through a period of positive achievement in the form of territorial expansion centralization and consolidation of provincial autonomy. The causal relationship between the decline of the imperial authority and the separatist tendencies of the provinces is not easy to establish; but there is little doubt that the one intensified the other. The extent of centralization and the degree of autonomy would seem to vary from one province to another, but the exact nature of these developments can be shown only when detailed studies of the provinces are available.

R.H.K. Darkwah.

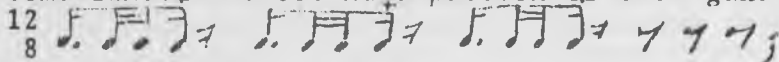
A PROFILE ON MUSIC AND MOVEMENT IN THE
VOLTA REGION PART II

As part one was concerned with movement, part two will pertain to music as observed in the area. To continue with the village of Anloga-Lashibi, the movement mentioned above in part one was exercised to the accompaniment of improvised instruments, which are used by some groups in this district, during the seasonal ban on instrumental music, due to a festival of the gods. One might think that such a taboo would preclude all sound as is commonly associated with the instruments, but this is not the case. The ban applies to all drums, the boat shaped bell, and double bell, but not to the rattle.⁶ Improvised instruments were bottles and wooden boxes; women handclapped throughout, while men drummed. The clapping technique was of right palm under the left palm, palms at an angle to form an X.⁷ At one point in a song, a bell player lent additional rhythm by effecting noises with his tongue.

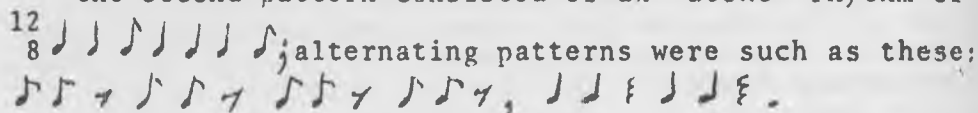
The Lashibi clan usually performs on the genuine instruments in August, before harvest, for they are farmers. An especially staged performance for us in April was indoors, because of the prohibition, although the group normally functions outside, in the evening, and in a semi-circle. Participation in this drumming group is limited to clan members.

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6. Every man must have a rattle. There may be as many as 60.
 7. Handclapping in the Volta Region is quite varied, and may change frequently during a single song, both in rhythm and tempo. Another technique is the division of clapping into rows, whereby one row claps a single rhythm, and a second row claps another, and so on. This was observed at Baika, and elsewhere.

Song cycles formed the typical Ewe pattern of introduction (without full range of instrumentation) consisting of a number of songs, and followed by dance - which is the main function. The five introductory songs were of the same style⁸: instrumentation for them consisted of two improvised bells ("gankongi" and "atoke"), gourd rattles and handclapping. Songs were strophic; each had as many as three verses. The "gankongi" bell pattern established a continuation between verses and between each song. The bell established the tempo and the time line. The ostinate pattern of the "gankongi" was



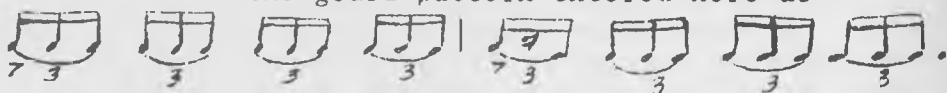
the second pattern consisted of an "atoke" rhythm of



In song three, handclapping was introduced as



the gourd pattern entered here as



ANALYSIS

The introductory group of songs has considerable unifying structure: the order of appearance is the bell (or rattle); cantor, female or male second voice in harmony and octaves with the cantor; and mixed chorus in octaves (sometimes with handclapping).

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Please refer to the transcription.

Not every verse of each song is identical melodically or rhythmically either in soli or chorus parts, but differences are usually minor, lend variety, and fit into the time span of the first verse. Song one, which is typical and may be used for further examples, repeats itself melodically on the second verse until B¹ and resumes on B² until the end; on the third verse, there is slight melodic alteration throughout until the chorus, at C.

Each song may be fitted into a key or mode; song one is in natural minor, but transcribed into "g." to facilitate reading. It is obvious that "g" serves as tonic because of its great frequency (25:100), length, and final position at cadence points, etc. "C" functions as dominant, but at B¹, "c" becomes the tonal center until the second phrase of B².

Characteristic melodic intervals are the major second (67%); the skip of a perfect fourth (23%) on g, c, or f (which is very apparent because it is usually preceded and followed by seconds); and also the minor third (6%),⁹ which are significant. None other occurs, except the minor seventh, which appears at section B with the female voice, and so distinguishes the section as to label it B.

The descending fourth (except for one instance) resolves either by ascending back to the previous note (d, s, d) or descending a step to the fifth (which functions here as a grace note) and returning (d s f s d). In section C, the note "a", next to the final, appears here singularly, and as a "passing tone" which leads to the fifth, which is in final position. The ascending fourth either is accounted for in this definition, or as

⁹. The major third occurs once; in Section A.

irregular notes which climax their sections, as the "f" in B¹ or the "g" in B². The interval of a fourth is more frequently descending than ascending, and the entire melodic contour is gradually descending, although individual sections are undulating.

The range of the independent lines is a major ninth; the low "f", which is always an eighth note, extends the octave. The entire range is two octaves and a second.

There is homophonous singing, note against note, except one instance when the bass progresses as it descends on a sixteenth note (B²). Homophony is found in sevenths, fifths, fourths, thirds, and octaves. Intervals are consonant in octaves, on both sections B¹ and C, the mixed chorus.

Parts are heterophonous; both vocal lines may stand independently, although they are similar. I analysed the top line as the melodic merely because the strident voice of the female singer overrides the soft, open, and relaxed voice of the male, so that the intervals are not easily discernible. The contrasting timbre of these two voices combined with the mixed chorus, and the ring of a bottle for the bell pattern provide the texture.

The tempo is seventy-five oscillations per minute per dotted quarter note. Durational values are $\text{♩} \cdot 7$, $\text{♩} \cdot 1$, $\text{♩} \cdot 1$, $\text{♩} \cdot 4$, $\text{♩} \cdot 19$, $\text{♩} \cdot 14$, $\text{♩} \cdot 58$, $\text{♩} \cdot 5$.

(one definite grace note) and equivocal rests. Rests are not counted in the analyses for they may be interpreted as pauses for breath, thereby lengthening the value of the notes. Rests contribute to phrasing, for every larger phrase is marked off by a rest.

The most frequent rhythmic value is the eighth note which usually is found in pairs, the second being followed by a longer value. At B, eighth notes are in groups of five or six in succession.¹⁰ Rhythmic values are at least two tied dotted half notes at cadence points, and eighth notes at sectional ends.

The cadence formula is composed of descending melodic progressions with notes of short duration followed by long ones at 'perfect cadences' ending B² and C, or the 'semi-cadence' ending A. Sectional endings and large phrases progress either upward a fourth or downward a third or fourth.

The climax of the verse occurs on the high "g" of B², and gradually descends to the cadence. The more important tones of the entire melody are discernible here in frequency and length, lesser tones are absent or very short.

To digress from Anloga-Lashibi, to a broader view of the Volta Region, music with texts concerning Christianity sung in the vernacular in one instance at least, seems not to differ in style from secular music. A Catholic influenced group in the Kpandu sang two such songs as well as other texts. The cantor of this group is the same who danced in a similar style to a cult priestess, and also sang in a mode resembling a woman's group in this town.

Basically, the vocal idiom consists of a leader and chorus, and responsorial technique, both soloistic and choral. The director of a group at old Baika reads from a printed sheet, and there is much alternating

10. In another song of the prelude, the chorus chants notes of small intervals (major seconds), and static rhythms, whereby eighth notes are repeated in succession 13 times or more. This style of recitative, found in short segments of songs, is characteristic of the Volta Region.

among leaders, who also have regular assistants who sing and dance. Some conduct with a baton, and sometimes cowtail switches function as a baton when they also are to be used in dancing.

Homophonic singing over the entire region was found in thirds, fourths, fifths, sixths, and sevenths, often in parallel movement, but sometimes contrary motion or contrasting independent movement.

Song texts in foreign languages also may be encountered frequently. In the dance "Kpatsa", which comes from an area of non Anlo, i.e., Ada speakers, the text was in Ada, and understood by most singers, but not all. People of Gakpevi, also Anlo speakers, often sing in Twi, just as a group in Old Baika sings a number of songs in their own Lapan language, as well as Ewe. The Oleke in Avalavi who sang one song in Yoruba but do not understand the words, simply like the song.

Instrumentation in the Volta Region was seen as follows: Both single and double membranophones of all sizes, from 23 to 72 inches high, with both straight wooden or bamboo, and curved sticks; hand technique and armpit control; held between the knees while sitting (tilted), placed directly on ground, or held with supporters while standing; both open and closed ends; with skins of alligator, deer, antelope, cow and horsehide; from 5 to 16 pegs; cylindrical, round, conical (hour-glass) shaped; natural color (they all claim the same wood, "twene") or painted green with red horizontal stripes which are standard colors of the area. A friction drum was noticed in a procession in Hohoe, which was welcoming a destooled chief, a political refugee from Togo.

Idiophones were gourd rattles with internal

strickers of beans, beads, and pebbles, and external strikers of cowrie, bamboo, and even the backbone of a python was used in Avalavi. There also were wicker rattles (in Old Baika); one and two toned iron gongs; a bell rang during the dance at Avalavi for incitement; and tongue clicking, handclapping, and foot-stomping.¹¹

One aerophone, a brass bugle (two-toned intervallic fourth) was used in Avalavi also to impart excitement. In Nyokɔ, a small boy was heading a funeral procession playing a short wooden flute, to announce the arrival of the queen mother.

In summary, music and dance style changes radically within a small geographical distance. Southern Ewe dance is characterized by shoulder contraction - release; middle region by rolled shoulders and alternating hand movement directed out-in, in contrary motion, and Northern region by stamping. Music and movement, religion, even dramatic action are thought of as a whole, not separate entities.

Performers are farmers, fishermen, weavers, and perform in their leisure for both religious and secular purposes.

Groups are divided by sex, age, religious beliefs, and common interest. Membership may be exclusive to a clan (Anloga-Lashibi), household (Gakpevi), or club (Keta).

Both traditional and recently composed music is used, and some musicians, such as Akpalu in Nyokɔ, who are well known and highly esteemed for their composition, are asked to travel from town to town to perform and teach. There also is a problem of tradition: Akpalu constantly reprimands his singers for improper recitation

¹¹. Footstomping was used in Gakpevi, on a wardance song, by both men and women in seated position, which lent a dramatic orientation.

of the text. Only the best are allowed to sing in public, and roles change frequently. Members are admonished publicly for attempting to sing with insufficient practice.

Not only is foreign language introduced into song texts, but an entirely foreign song, textually, melodically, and harmonically may be utilized, as well as imported styles of drumming (from Dahomey, for example as used by Gakpevi). Non-Ewe speaking peoples also sing in Ewe.

Improvised instruments may be played in place of some genuine instruments during a periodic religious ban on the instruments themselves and on formal performances. However, the ban does not apply to singing and rhythms played by, and textures produced by these improvised instruments.

Depth study on some of these surveyed topics such as relationships of the music and dance, involving varied subtleties of movement from one area to another, might prove fruitful for research in the future, and answer some pertinent questions in musicology.

Sylvia Kinney.

original pitch: f#

VOLTA REGION ANLOGA-LASHIBI CI AN

♩ = 75

ADZOANI

marcato

Bell pattern simile
legato
Male Voice A)

Handwritten musical score for 'ADZOANI'. The score is written on ten staves. The first staff is in treble clef with a 12/8 time signature and contains a bell pattern with 'X' marks. The remaining staves are in bass clef and contain a complex melodic line with various ornaments and slurs. The piece concludes with the label 'c) CHORUS-8va.'.

Handwritten musical score for a scale, labeled 'Scale n:25'. It consists of two staves. The top staff shows the scale notes with fingerings and accents. The bottom staff shows the corresponding scale degrees: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. The notes are marked with various symbols like 'T', 'D', and 'T+D'.

Handwritten musical score for a scale, labeled 'Scale n:25'. It consists of two staves. The top staff shows the scale notes with fingerings and accents. The bottom staff shows the corresponding scale degrees: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. The notes are marked with various symbols like 'T', 'D', and 'T+D'.

* an interjected note, characteristic of the style

SOME REFLECTIONS ON AFRICAN TRADE ROUTES

There will be four main factors in the reconstruction of pre-European African history south of the Sahara; the recording of oral history, the study of anthropology, archaeological research and geographical analysis, all four must always be co-ordinated, in some instances they will blend.

There is none of the northern antithesis between tradition and the written source for normally the few chronicles are essentially segments of oral history recorded at different periods in documentary form as in the case of the chronicles of Kilwa and of Pate. The factual value of traditional history must always depend on the character of the social setting in which it has been preserved, adapted and at times created. In consequence the valid study of oral history is inseparable from scientific anthropology. But it is also interwoven with archaeological research whether the study of sites or of beads or of pottery forms; African tradition has often provided archaeology with its clues as in Uganda, Archeology is providing the study of traditional history with a new technique for objective checking.

But geographical analysis combined with a perpetual awareness of economic factor must give the setting for any reconstruction of the African past. Perhaps the most immediate need is to apply the evidence of oral tradition, archaeology and geography to the re-discovery of pre-European trade routes. There are four main groupings of such routes to be investigated.

There are the lines of coastal traffic along the shores of the Indian Ocean and of the Atlantic, and perhaps along the deserts of the Sahara which formed an

inland sea. There are the tracks by which exports from far into the interior reached the coast and were ultimately forwarded to foreign markets. There is the network of internal trade within Africa brought into being by local needs for salt or iron or copper. Finally there is the possibility of transcontinental trade routes. And in each case we are only at the beginning of any scientific study. In this paper I am tentatively making suggestions based primarily on personal experience.

The trade route of which most is known is that of the coastal traffic along the African shore of the Indian Ocean. It is relatively well documented by Graeco-Roman and Arab geographers. Its traditional history has been recorded fully. An archaeological survey from the coasts of Somalia to those of the Transkei was finally completed in the spring of 1963. Yet even here there are still some elementary questions unanswered.

How far south did this coastal traffic extend before the Portuguese rounded the Cape? Until the winter of 1962 I had assumed that it coincided, even if only roughly, with the area of the monsoon and that Sofala was the most southerly mainland calling-port to possess significance. But that November I worked on finds from the Mapungubwe site in the north Transvaal and they prove contact with Indian Ocean trade. Most of these are very difficult to date - "trade-wind" beads and glass fragments - but they include some sherds of Chinese porcelain, Yuan ware celadon, which are clearly thirteenth century. Mapungubwe is an obvious clearance centre for copper from the Messina workings and gold from the north Transvaal; and air photography shows that it is the most easterly of a line of sites which stretch into Bechuanaland. It seems likely therefore that there is a still undiscovered entrepot at the mouth of the Limpopo river.

But perhaps the Indian Ocean trade route went still farther south. I think that I found evidence of this in 1963 during an archaeological survey of the shores of the Transkei. It has long been known that sherds of Ming porcelain have been reported from Pondoland, now the the Transkei coast. It was supposed that they had come ashore from sixteenth century Portuguese wrecks. It is clear from their surface texture that this is true of about thirty per cent of the sherds that I have examined. But at four sites in Pondoland, notably round at St. John and at Msicaba, and in the museum at East London there are fragments of Ming blue and white of the fifteenth or early sixteenth century which show no signs of being sea-tossed. More conclusively I have found numbers of Gujerati carnelian beads, characteristically fifteenth century types and carefully faceted, which show no mark of erosion; there were about eighty or ninety of them at Port St. John alone, and I have been told of others still brought in to up-country stores. It seems at last tenable that in the fifteenth century Pondoland was visited by Islamic traders from the north as the most southerly catchment area for ivory.

If in the fifteenth century there was a sea route from Somalia to the shores of South Africa were there transcontinental routes which would link this with the western coast? There are two possibilities; one leading from Kilwa in what is now Tanganyika to the old kingdom of the Congo and what was to be later San Salvador. The other from the Adan kingdom in what is now Somalia to northern Nigeria perhaps by way of Bornu. Traditions of the latter route are recorded by Burton. The first route is the only one that is yet documented.

Ibn Battuta who visited Kilwa island in 1332 described an overland route that led from there to West Africa through the land of the Lam Lam. No geographer, except Sir Hamilton Gibb, took this account very seriously; but this year it has received a rather surprising corroboration from two eighteenth-century French sources. Both were found by Dr. Freeman-Grenville and will be published in his forthcoming book The French at Kilwa Island. Morice writes in 1777 the fresh water sea of which I have spoken to you, is I estimate, a month's march from the ocean. This fresh water sea has a rise and fall of eight feet. It takes two days to cross it in a boat rowed by six oarsmen. On the other side lies a huge country which has been crossed by natives of the country, who, after two month's travelling, found the ocean and saw ships there manned by Europeans. There is every reason to believe that this is the coast of Angola. Cossigny added a few years later - an African caravan leaves Kilwa every year and proceeds to the west coast. There is a great lake which they say is a fresh water sea, in the middle of which there is a large island. They cross this lake on pieces of wood and make a halt at the island. The Africans assert that at the end of the journey there is a salt sea. They find there vessels like ours and Europeans to whom they sell their slaves. The agreement in their reports does not permit of any doubt as to the truth of the fact. The fresh water sea is presumably Lake Nyasa. It is tenable that the original route wound its way from Kilwa to the old kingdom of the Congo. There is still the tradition of a trade path from Kilwa to the southern end of Lake Nyasa. There was a nineteenth-century report of a series of stone forts along it, but this has never been investigated by an archaeologist.

I once came across a possible clue to another transcontinental trade route. I never had the opportunity

to follow it up, so it is perhaps worth recording in some detail in case some other archaeologist should have the chance to do so. In the winter of 1950 the government of the British Somaliland Protectorate invited me to make an archaeological survey. During it I worked on a group of twelve deserted towns along the frontier of British Somaliland and Ethiopia and carried out preliminary excavations at four of them. They are often of considerable extent; three of them, Amud, Abara and Gargesa, contain the remains of between 200 to 300 stone houses; in some cases the walls still rise to eighteen feet. It seems clear that they represent vanished cities of the late medieval kingdom of Adal. I examined twenty-six silver coins from them; the latest were struck at Cairo by Sultan Qait-Bey (1468-89); the earliest, also from Cairo, were struck by Sultan Barquq (1382-99). All were from mints either at Cairo or at Damascus. For the purpose of this essay there are three points worth noting. First, that these sites can be plotted in a pattern of a rather devious trade path of short marches. Secondly, that I was able to link them with an Indian Ocean terminus at Sa'ad-al-Din island, four miles north east of the modern port of Zeila. Thirdly, that during nearly twenty years field work throughout Africa I have never come across such evidence of late medieval wealth. There is the use of a silver coinage, unlike the copper which alone proliferates round Kilwa. There are the occasional gold coins; none have been reported elsewhere in East Africa. There is the quite exceptional quality of the porcelain. Fine celadon was predominant in each of the sites that I examined, found sometimes on the surface, sometimes beneath the surface to the depth of seven and a half inches, sometimes in the tight-packed middens that often rose to between four and five feet. There were sherds with a white crystalline body and green-white glaze without crackle, or glazed olive-brown; others with a grey granular body with a sea-green glaze or a blue-green glaze crackled all over. I also found a few

fragments of Ming, red and white, and others of white porcelain with an opaque bluish tint. There was also a good quantity of early Ming blue-and-white; fragments of bowls ornamented with tendril scrolls on a slightly blued ground with black spotting at the end of the strokes, or of bowls with floral designs in strong outlines of grey or black-blue.

The most reasonable hypothesis would seem to be that I was working along a short segment of a wealthy trade path of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that had one ultimate terminus in early Ming China and another northward, up the Red Sea, in Cairo. The signs of almost excessive wealth suggest that this track led far into the interior of Africa and even possibly tapped a gold supply; gold and ivory were two imports needed in late medieval China. Documentary evidence may yet be found to show that one pilgrim route from Mali to Mecca bent south of the Christian bastion of fifteenth-century Ethiopia and followed some such path as this.

There is a third possibility of transcontinental traffic which should be mentioned even if, as I suspect, later research discards it. The great medieval port of Aidhab lies far up the Red Sea, to the north of Suakin. It was destroyed in 1426. The height of its prosperity would seem to have been in the late fifteenth century. I have never been able to visit the site but I have worked on objects from it both in the British Museum and in the museum at Khartoum. They were oddly similar to those from the Adal towns. It is not impossible that another pilgrim route from the west came to Aidhab by way of Darfur; traffic with medieval Nubia alone does not seem sufficient to explain its wealth.

Finally late medieval Cairo was the apex of two trade paths, one leading to the kingdoms of the western Sudan, the other to the ports on the east coast.

It may have been Cairene merchants who first popularized in the West trading techniques that they had become familiar with in East Africa - the use of cowries for barter, possibly systems of gold weights. The riches of fifteenth-century Cairo were largely based on the African trade. But it seems probable that, while Cairo had trafficked with East Africa since the twelfth-century Fatimids, effective Cairene penetration into the West Sudan did not begin till the accession in 1382 of the first of the Burji Mamluks, Sultal Saif al-Din Barquq.

Foreign merchants may have been active along all these routes. But this would not have been the normal pattern in pre-European African trade routes. It would now seem more likely that throughout Africa there were wide areas in the interior where trade goods circulated by barter, freely or sluggishly. At points near the circumference of such areas tracks came into existence leading, however deviously, to markets along the coast frequented by foreign merchants. But until well into the nineteenth century, both east and west, it was normally traders from the interior who penetrated to the coast, not coastal traders penetrating into the interior.

At least in East Africa the final section of such tracks will usually be found to follow rivers; for even when these were not navigable by raft, they provided a secure supply of drinking water. This will explain why so many of the medieval trading centres are by river mouths or opposite to them. In Kenya Malindi was by the old opening of the Sabaki which led down from the Kenya uplands; Kipini was at the mouth of the Tana, and goods could be shipped from there to Lamu and Pate. Mombasa was served by a system of creeks and streams. In Tanganyika the wealth of Kisimani Mafia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was perhaps partly due to its position opposite the mouth of the Rufiji. There may always have been a track along the changing course of the Pangani and the streams that fed it. During a brief archaeo-

logical survey in Portuguese East Africa I noted how much the trade was dependent on the river systems of the Sabaki and the Buzi. Sofala was a river port.

But there were other routes that crossed rivers but did not follow them. Mr. Roger Summers has found traces of one which led from the gold-producing area round Penhalonga and the Ziwa people on the eastern border of southern Rhodesia to medieval Kilwa; this would seem to have crossed the Zambesi at Tete. But such routes may have been cut as wide as a swathe as the goods drifted from village to village in an unorganized traffic. It used to seem likely that most of the internal trade in pre-European Africa was after this fashion and that supply centres in southern central Africa were first stimulated in the twelfth century by the distant demand of Muslim traders on the eastern coast. Now I am not so certain. Dr. Brian Fagan has just discovered a new culture at Ingombe Ilede in Northern Rhodesia. It is reported to be well evolved, and a quantity of beads prove its contact with the Indian Ocean area. A radio-carbon dating gives 850 A.D., plus or minus. It was presumably a centre of copper diffusion, like Katanga in the Congo.

In the last months M. Mauny and Dr. Freeman-Grenville severally have worked on the references to the Wak-Wak peoples in the Book of the Marvels of India, the Kitab Ajaib al-Hind. They have established that there was an organized Indonesian penetration into East Africa during the tenth century. The demand for copper and for gold along the coast may have been pre-Muslim, created by Chola traders from south-east India and by the Sri Vijaya people from Sumatra and west Malaya. By the ninth century it may have been strong enough to have produced trade paths from Ingombe Ilede and Katanga and the entrepot that may have marked the earliest Zimbabwe. During the last two years the tendency in African archaeology has

been to favour earlier rather than later datings.

Perhaps in the next few years it may become increasingly apparent that the diffusion centres radiated west as well as east and south. A pressing need is an archaeological survey in Angola. This might begin with the Kola complex to the south-west of Benguela. It seems probable that Angola will be found closely linked with Southern Rhodesia and with Katanga copper ingots common to both.

The skeleton of pre-European African history and archaeology will be reconstructed by the discovery of its trade routes. It now seems likely that the skeleton will prove to be pan-African.

Gervase Mathew.

KINTAMPO 1967

This is a preliminary report on the first season of research undertaken by the Department of Archaeology into the prehistory of the Kintampo area. Philip Rahtz of Birmingham University spent 5 weeks in November-December 1966 excavating a rock-shelter (K1) 6 miles north of Kintampo. I carried on with work at this and seven other sites of the same type for 13 weeks in January-April this year. Not all the shelters investigated proved of much importance, and the tentative conclusions given in this report are largely based on the evidence from three sites:-

Site	Site Name	Location
K1	Bwigheli <u>Mo</u> : 'the high rock'	8 ⁰ 08'N 1 ⁰ 42'W
K6	Onyame Bekyera <u>Akan</u> : 'god will provide'	8 ⁰ 01'N 1 ⁰ 45'W
K8	Buobini <u>Mo</u> : 'the old hole'	8 ⁰ 04'N 1 ⁰ 44'W

It may be noted that only one rock-shelter had ever been excavated in Ghana before, the Bosumpra cave at Abetifi dug by Shaw in 1943.*

* Proc. Prehist. Soc. 10 (1944), 1-67.

BUOBINI CULTURE

The earliest culture we have been able to identify so far we propose to call the Buobini culture, after the rock-shelter K8 where it is best represented. It occurs also at K1, in the lower of two cave-earths (layer 9), and at K6 Onyame Bekyers. Radiocarbon dates shortly to be published suggest that the Buobini culture came to an end at K1 about 1600 BC.

The pottery is immediately recognizable. Almost every sherd bears some decoration, with typical motifs including cord-impressed lines and rough overall stabbed ornament. Harder to analyse is the prolific small-scale flake industry - 'microlithic' in none but the vaguest sense. The only tools recognized so far are a few lunates and other backed pieces. There are no polished stone axes - two small fragments from near the surface at K8 must be regarded as suspect -, no stone rasps, no querns or rubbers.

Two burials were found: one from K8 (K8-A), the other, only partly excavated this season, from K6. Also from K8 comes most of a skull with the mandible and a few other scattered bones, probably from a disturbed burial (K8-B). The K8-A burial was that of a young man. The skelton lay on its left side, in a flexed position, with the head to the north-east. Four beads of polished bone were found by the right wrist, two by the left, and one rather larger beneath the left upper arm. So far as we would tell, the K6 burial lay in a similar attitude, on its left side with the head to the north-east. Around the neck was a string of tiny shell beads. Both this burial and the scattered burial K8-B are thought to be of adult women. Both seem, moreover, to have undergone a similar mutilation which may well prove to be a regular feature of this culture: K6 had had seven of its

incisors extracted at an early age, K8-B all its upper incisors and canines.

STONE AXE CULTURE

The Stone Axe culture at K6 Onyame Bekyere extends through 3½ - 4 feet of finely stratified deposit, an accumulation of floors interleaved with spreads of ash and domestic rubbish. A small surface collection from K8 is also assigned to this culture; presumably it is from this occupation that the two small axe fragments noted above as suspect are derived. At K6, and apparently also at K1, the Stone Axe culture overlies Buobine levels; and it was shown at K6 to be almost certainly intrusive, not a local development.

* The pottery is altogether different from Buobini material. Even with small samples there is no room for confusion. Heavy rolled rims and plain incurved rims with a zone of oblique comb-impressed decoration on the shoulder are especially common. Polished greenstone axe-blades, sandstone rasps,* and a few rubbers or grinding-stones occur.

Flaked quartz, though never completely absent, is so rare that I did at one point wonder whether iron might have been in use, if only on a limited scale. On general grounds this would point to a date within the 1st millennium AD, possibly a little earlier. (Davies claims that iron was known at Ntereso before 1000 BC. He is not to be taken seriously.) But radiocarbon dates for the K1 site seem to mean the Stone Axe culture

* These are objects of the kind which Davies unhappily chose to call "terracotta cigars".

is very much earlier than that. The material from the upper earth (layer 8) at K1, dated roughly to 1600 -1200 BC, resists exact classification, but is at least broadly comparable with the Stone Axe culture at K6 - stone axes, a small proportion of quartz, and pottery which, in some details if not in overall aspect, can be paralleled at this latter site.

The term Stone Axe culture is, I should point out, only a temporary expedient. Not improbably this culture will prove to be the same as that, nowhere very adequately defined, which Davies called "Kintampo-neolithic". If so, the term Kintampo culture would be preferable.

ANCESTRAL MO

'Ancestral Mo' is for the moment a rather loosely defined term, but the pottery to which it applies is quite different from earlier material, and has certain distinctive traits of its own. Comb-impressed swags around the rim, for instance, are a characteristic feature. At K6 Ancestral Mo pottery is associated with tobacco-pipes datable probably to the latter half of the 17th century. When pottery of this style first came into use, on the other hand, is a question to which no firm answer can yet be given; though a southward movement of Grussi-speaking people into this area towards the beginning of the present millennium might be inferred from linguistic evidence.*

* Bendor-Samuel, Wilson, Swadesh and Swadesh: "A preliminary glottochronology of Gur languages", a paper read at the 5th West African Languages Congress, Legon, 1965.

CONCLUSIONS

Our work this season was on a small scale, designed to test the archeological potential of the area in general, and of caves and rock-shelters in particular. We hoped to recover the outlines of the cultural sequence, not to fill in all the detail. Judged on these terms, the work was extremely successful. It was particularly gratifying to find organic material so well preserved - including the Buobini culture burials which are of some incidental interest as the oldest human skeletons yet known from Ghana. Some of the finds are now on exhibition in the Archaeology Department, where those interested are welcome to see for themselves.

Much of course remains unknown or uncertain which only large-scale horizontal excavation can determine. It is very important, for instance, to define more fully the character and economic status of the Stone Axe culture, and further work is planned to this end next year at the K6 site. This is an enormous rock-shelter, of which so far only a tiny fraction has been excavated. All three cultures described above occur here in stratified relations, with tobacco-pipes neatly dating the latest levels.

There are implications of wider scope as well. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that much previous research has been sadly misconceived. Too much has been made of evidence of a kind which really does not allow any concise interpretation. The time is not ripe for synthesis. What we need first is a series of well-documented, well-dated local sequences like that we begin to piece together for the Kintampo area. And in this work caves and rock-shelters deserve to play a leading part.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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The work was carried out under article 13 of the Ghana Museum and Monuments Ordinance, 1957.

Colin Flight.

SIGNIFICANCE OF WRITTEN AND ORAL
TRADITIONS IN THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION
OF THE WALA

My investigation aims at concentrating on the important function that the inter-related oral traditions, history and religion have as both an expression of unity as well as that of social divisiveness amongst the Wala community at Wa, Northern Ghana.

The Wala people are a heterogeneous group whose background can be traced to the conquering Dagomba, Mamprussi and Muslim Mande peoples of the sixteenth century. Till now, the Walas claim no differences in the cultural traditions between themselves and the latter groups. Thus, it could be inferred that the Wala culture does not have clearly defined characteristics of its own. Yet, it has become increasingly clear to me during the intermittent eight weeks that I have spent at Wa that oral and Islamic traditions have a considerable sociological and psychological significance in the present life of the community. An understanding of the Wala characteristic traits (what are their cultural boundaries as distinct from that of their origins?) can only be viewed from a study of the function of their oral and religious traditions which respectively express stability and change in the community.

It could be said that the existence of the Wala people was, from the very start, based on cultural assimilation and acculturation. Arriving as conquerors, these different peoples settled and spread among other cultural groups, intermarried, integrated and united by calling themselves Wala thus expressing a cultural and social cohesiveness. Yet, to borrow a terminology from Redfield, this led to a "great tradition" inter-

acting with a "little tradition" - that is, a literate, historical and more universal tradition essentially religious, lending prestige to the community, and a local tradition expressing the 'basic' culture of the society. A social and psychological consideration of the two traditions (the reflective versus the unreflective) will lead to a greater understanding of the role that culture contacts and Islam had on the social organization of the community.

A social hierarchy evolved amongst the Wala, not only within Wa itself with its Wala quarters - twenty in all - but also between the town and the surrounding and scattered Wala villages, and this seems to be essentially based on genealogy and religious traditions though added to this is modern education and Islamic teachings.

Wa is the center for the Paramount Chief of the Wala whose population is approximately 130,000 (1960 census). The town itself - of 16,000 inhabitants - is clearly settled according to cultural groupings. Having made a detailed plan of the town, I found it distinctly divided into two sections. In the north are the Wala and in the South, the "foreigners" - the Lobis, Gonjas, Dagatis, Hausas and other cultural groups some of which had long been settled in Wa. The original inhabitants of Wa, called Sukpayiri, live in that section and are the Tindambas or landowners thus playing an important function in the political (distribution) and religious (protection) concerns dealing with the land. Yet, they consider themselves and are considered now as Wala though their origin is distinctly different and it seems that marriages between the "real" Walas and themselves are infrequent. Each of the Wala quarters then has its own genealogy, its tradition of origins and is consequently placed in a separate social position in

the complex political and religious organization of the community. For example, the Limamyiri quarter, where the religious leader resides, could be considered as the intellectual elites of the town and a girl marrying within that quarter would heighten the prestige of her own family. The Nayiri quarter is the political leader for it is there that the Princes live and they hold an important function in the Wa Na's (the Chief's) court. On the other hand, since the 1930's, a new Islamic movement was introduced (now without a civil war erupting) and brought a third level in the social organisation of the town. It is the liberal Ahmaddiya movement (hailing from Pakistan) which also set up its own leaders, mosques, schools and quarters and many individuals were either banned from or have broken ties with their original family quarters.

All these are factions that have brought about conflicts within the Wala community in Wa. Yet, a unity and cohesiveness overshadow these differences when a consideration of the town versus the villagers "Fufule", expressing an all-inclusive political, cultural and religious inferiority, a concept of the urban versus the rural. Yet, by tradition, the chieftaincy of Wa itself is based upon a system of rotation among four villages now very small in size.

I propose to view these conflicts counterbalanced by a social "esprit de corps" that is brought forth versus the villages through a study of the oral and religious traditions of the Wala. In this case, this cannot be limited to Wa alone but to a systematic contact with the Wala villages whose own considerations of the townspeople and of themselves would be expressed in their own local traditions.

A sociological and psychological evaluation of

the oral traditions of the Wala (primarily of Wa) - including their artistic and religious traditions - will add a greater perspective to an understanding of the values of this heterogeneous society whose social organization is based primarily on its religious and historical traditions.

Mona Fikry.

CONFERENCE REPORT

The Seventh West African Languages Congress was held in Lagos, Nigeria, from March 27 through March 31, 1967. The Congress was attended by three Research Fellows of the Institute of African Studies, all of whom presented papers:

- Dr. G. Ansre - Two Views of Noun Sub-classification in Two Languages (Akan and Ewe) (with Dr. L. Boadi)
- Miss M.E. Kropp - An Analysis of the Consonant System of Ga
- Dr. J.M. Stewart - A Deep Phonology of the Akan Monosyllabic Stem

The Linguistics Department of the University of Ghana was also represented by five members, three of whom presented papers:

- Dr. L. Boadi (1) paper presented with Dr. Ansre above.
- (2) Some Aspects of Akan Deep Syntax
- Dr. F. Dolphyne -
- Dr. A.S. Duthie - Notes on the phonology of Ewe
- Mr. H. Trutenau - Notes on the makeup of the Nominal in the Ga noun phrase

A set of the papers presented at the Congress has been deposited in the library of the Institute of African Studies.

Besides the opening session, there were four plenary sessions, held in the mornings, of which two were devoted to papers on phonology, one to papers on grammar and one to other topics. A highlight of the Congress was an address by the president of the West African Linguistic Society, Professor Joseph Greenberg of Stanford University, on Language Universals.

There were three working parties . on Oral Literature, the teaching of English and French, and on Benue-Congo languages. All of these were continuations of the working parties set up at last year's Congress. The present reporter attended the Benue-Congo group. This group is engaged in attempting a systematic comparison and definition of a large group of languages in the Eastern Nigeria-Camerouns area. Since last year, a great deal of work has been done in the collection of word lists and basic grammatical data. The collection was centred at the University of Ibadan where the data was correlated by Dr. Kay Williamson. This year the working party was engaged in trying to define what is uniquely characteristic of the Benue-Congo languages, on the basis of this data. Although these languages are not closely related to the languages of Ghana and its neighbours, it was felt that the method followed by the working party might be of interest in the future. From this point of view, the discussion on how to compare the noun class and concord systems was of particular interest, since eventually the comparison of the languages of this area will have to take account of the class and concord systems present in the Togo languages, and the traces of them that are found in most of the other languages of Ghana.

M.E. Kropp.

A NOTE ON TRADITION AND THE HISTORY OF ART IN
WESTERN GHANA

Two brief oral histories were recorded by the authors during a tour of Western Ghana. The traditional histories were collected from the Omanhenes of Aowin and Sefwi-Wiawso Traditional areas.¹ The histories are interesting because they both give Takyiman as a major point of rest in their migrations. Further, the Aowin history refers to the Nzima in such a manner that it would seem that they too had resided in Takyiman. Finally, during a visit to Dunkwa in Fanti to record a masking tradition we were told that the shrine of Yaw Dunkwa had been established at the completion of their migration from Takyiman.

Neither the Aowin nor the Sefwi-Wiawso tradition gives datable references. However, the move from Takyiman to Dunkwa was reported to have taken place during the reign of Osei Tutu, the founder of the Ashanti Union.

It is possible that these traditions record the break-up of the Bono Kingdom whose fall - before the forces of the Ashanti under Opoku-Ware (and not Osei Tutu) - is dated by E.L.R. Meyerowitz to the year 1740.² The Gonja Chronicle more accurately dates

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1. These histories, translated by A. Quarcoo from tapes made in April, 1967, are appended to this note.
 2. Akan Traditions of Origin, 1952, p.134. She does report that Fanti refugees left Bono after its defeat, pp.82-4.

it to 1722/23. If this were true we would have evidence to date the dispersion of the peoples, and indeed could explore the possibility that the regalia and other arts of these peoples may have had their sources in Bono.

Unfortunately the case is not that simple. Not only could the peoples of Aowin, Sefwi-Wiawso, Nzima and Fanti have begun to use Akan regalia of leadership later (obviously this is a point to be checked through the recording of the regalia and the traditions of its origin) but references to them in the literature open alternative possibilities: that their dispersion was somewhat earlier, and/or that Akan regalia of leadership has a history more complex than a simple derivation from Bono.

J.K. Kumah states that both Sefwi and Aowin states existed during the expansion of the Denkyira.³ His authority is Bosman (Eng. trans. 1705), who describes the late seventeenth century expansion of Denkyira to take over a major trade route to the coast. Denkyira was vanquished by the Ashanti under Osei Tutu in 1701. Thus the states of Aowin and Sefwi would seem to predate the fall of Bono.

3.

"The Rise and Fall of the Kingdom of Denkyira", G.N.Q., 9, 1966, pp.33, 35. The Denkyira are said to have resided in Bono thus not eliminating Bono as the ultimate source for Denkyira and Denkyira-influenced arts including Ashanti regalia.

Now, the Dutch map of 1629⁴ gives no name that can confidently be linked with the Aowin or the Sefwi. Goody suggests that the Incassa recorded on the map "might refer to one of the Akan-speaking kingdoms of the present Ivory Coast (i.e. "jaman", Bayle or Agni)"⁵ Both the Aowin and the Sefwi traditions refer to associated groups who today live in the Ivory Coast. Further, Meyerowitz offers evidence to equate the Nzima with the Agni (or Anyi) and calls the Aowin State Anyin and the people Anyii whose origin she places near Takyiman.⁶ Finally, Stewart divides the Tano language into Bia and Akan (Twi-Fanti). Bia subsumes both Agni and Nzima.⁷ He does not refer to Sefwi or Aowin; however they are associated with Agni-Baule by other linguists.

It would seem worthwhile to explore the following possibilities.

- (1) That Sefwi, Aowin and/or Nzema are Agni related, that they have a common origin and should have related art styles and types.

4. A copy is reproduced in G.N.Q., 9, 1966.

5. "The Akan and the North", in G.N.Q., 9, 1966, p. 19, n.1.

6. Op. cit., pp.84, n. 2 and p.117

7. "Akan History: Some Linguistic Evidence", G.N.Q., 9, 1966, p.55.

NOTES

- (2) That 'Takyiman' (that is, the Bono Kingdom and its capital Bono-Mansu) had a long range effect on the arts of regalia among the Akan and Akan related groups. This must include the study of alternative complementary sources: pre-Bono, Denkyira, Akyem and/or Akwamu.

A.K.Quarcoo & R. Sieber

BRIEF EXTEMPORE TRADITIONAL HISTORY OF
SEFWI-WIAWSO

Nana Kwadwo Aduhene II, Omanhene of Sefwi-Wiawso Traditional Area.

The people of Sefwi-Wiawso settled at their present site a few years ago. As far as it is remembered they have lived in Africa. One land mark of their history is their settlement at Takyiman with other Akan tribes. After sometime the great forefathers of the people of present Sefwi-Wiawso broke away and fought their way south westwards. One 'transit quarters' on their way to the present site was "Afieno" which is today in Wasa Amanfi. Other principal points at which the people stopped and actually settled for some time were Asaaman and Koguso. It is believed that from Koguso the people settled around present Sefwi-Wiawso.

Tradition has it that the first man who actually acquired this land by 'discovering' it was Obrumankama. He was a hunter and he used the present Wiawso site as his hunting grounds. It was however, the nephew of Okodom who actually first staved at Ahwiam, the land

adjacent to present Sefwi Wiawso. When his uncle died, Okodom moved and stayed in Wiawso which has become the seat of government of the Sefwi Wiawso 'state'.

It happened that the people of Sefwi lived here with others called the Ebinbono. There was a lot of disagreement between the Sefwis and the Ebinbonos, so there was strife between them. War resulted and the Ebinbonos were driven away from the land. Although this happened the 'kinship' relationship which existed between them is still alive. It is believed the present social distance between Sefwis and the Ebinbonos would have been narrower but for the advent of the European who brought about lines of demarcation, by way of boundaries.

The people of Sefwi, through Nana Aduhene the paramount chief therefore claim that the present vast land that they occupy was acquired through settlement and warfare.

Recorded by A.K. Quarcoo & Roy Sieber.

BRIEF EXTEMPORE TRADITIONAL HISTORY

by

Nana Attah Kweku II, Omanhene of Aowin Traditional Area - Enchi.

In very ancient days the Aowins lived in Egypt. From Egypt they came to Senegal and made the way Southwards through the Sahara desert and arrived at Tokuso.

NOTES

In present Ghana the Aowins remember settling in Takyiman. According to Nana Atta Kweku, the people then kept on fighting their way to arrive finally at the present site of the Aowins. Many places were passed and a number of camps were pitched during the march downwards. At Anyaayan the Aowin parted ways with the Nzimas with whom they had a common origin.

One point to be noted is that the Aowins on the other side of the Ghana Ivory border are Aowins. When the Aowins moved downwards, the 'Ivory Coast Aowins' fought for the land they occupy, and the Ghana Aowins also got theirs through warfare. What happened was that the 'Ivory Coast Aowins' announced their 'booty' to their Ghana counterpart and asked them what they should do. So they were advised to stay there and keep the land whilst their Ghana kin kept the present traditional area of the Aowins in Ghana. As far as the entire group was concerned, the whole land acquired by both sides was one indivisible piece for Aowins.

Then came the historical fact of the world wars and the artificial boundaries between Ghana and Ivory Coast resulting in the creation of a separate community over the border. Although this boundary is still there all the Aowins regarded themselves as one unit. Bogor, Chanchago, and Amperegro, are all Aowins.

Nana Atta Kweku, the present Omanhene of the Aowin traditional area claims to have crossed the boundary twice, since he became the paramount chief, to see his people over in the Ivory Coast area. Much as he desires to have a reunion of the Aowins over the border with his people in Ghana, the "artificial boundary" has made this wish unrealizable.

Nevertheless, the idea of a union someday is not abandoned.

This in brief is how the great grand sires of present Aowin arrived where they are today. Their original home as far as is remembered, was Egypt. They trekked down to Senegal, Tokuso, then down through the Sahara desert to Ghana(Takyiman) and later they arrived at the present site.

Recorded by A.K.Quarcoo & Roy Sieber.

NTORŌ AND NTŌN

The two sociological terms, Ntorŏ and Ntŏn in Akan, have been summarily treated as though they were one and the same thing. It has been suggested that "synonymous terms for Ntorŏ are Ntŏn, Sunsum, or bosom"¹; but a further study of Ntorŏ has revealed that Ntorŏ is not synonymous with Ntŏn. The writer of the statement quoted above must have been led into that error by a previous writer whose definition of Ntorŏ was not explicit enough. In that definition, an example under one of the various meanings was given as follows: "Me ntŏn or me ntorŏ ni"², and the meaning vaguely given was "we are of the same ancient family, worshipping the same fetish." This writer's difficulty can be appreciated as his informants must have confused him by stating that "in Akuapem, Ntorŏ is both patrilineal and matrilineal."³

The Twi Spelling Book also equates Ntorŏ with Ntŏn.⁴ There has been a long standing confusion between the two terms, which in turn has resulted in real difficulties, even among some Akans, regarding the meaning and character of the terms.

What then are Ntorŏ and Ntŏn? We shall begin with Ntorŏ. Ntorŏ is the general term applied to the spirit, in most cases totemic, of each of a number of patrilineages of the Akans. The spirit is passed on from father to son or daughter. The Ntorŏ which is passed on to a daughter

¹ Rattray: Religion and Art in Ashanti: Page 318, footnote.

² Christaller: Dictionary of the Asante and Fante language: Page 529.

³ Christaller: Dictionary of the Asante and Fante language: Page 529.

⁴ Twi Spelling Book: Twi Nsem Nkorenkon Kyerewbea: Pages 136, 138.

is not transmittable from her to her issues: at death, the daughter's Ntorə goes back to the spirit source which in all cases but one⁵ is with a river-god. Sons distribute part of their Ntorə to their children. The Ntorə therefore is spirit - a part and parcel of every child. It should not be confused with the "Okra," the soul. One child may have a combination of several spirits: the spirit of the father, the spirit of the person after whom he is named, the spirit of a great grand-parent of the mother's lineage, and sometimes the spirit of a god related to the child.⁶ These are sometimes referred to in Twi as "mmoaa" or vital parts, as in "ne ho mmoaa adwane": his spirits have fled out of him, that is, he is extremely terrified. The component spirits of a person may manifest themselves in what may be described as personality, unusual achievement in a special subject in which a dead relation shined, the gift of second sight, a close resemblance of an ancestor, etc.⁷ Note the expressions: "əwə sunsum": he is great-spirited; "ne sunsum yɛ duru": he is full of personality; "ne sunsum yɛ den": he is a man of strong will; "sunsummi": the dark-spirited one; "n'anim yɛ hare": he is without personality; "n'anim yɛ duru": he is imperious; "n'anim yɛ nyam": he is glorious etc. These are not spoken of the soul. The "sunsum" or "mmoaa" may be said to be the guard of the soul. When a person's spirit has been chased away or has disappeared - "ne sunsum adwane" or "ne ho mmoaa kə!" - then the soul, according to the Akans, becomes susceptible to capture or expulsion. (cf. "Yɛakyere ne kra": his soul has been

⁵ Bosomkrate: a shrine-god in Aburi, Akuapem.

⁶ Rattray: Religion and Art in Ashanti: general notes on Sunsum) Page 154

⁷ Rattray: Ashanti: Page 46.

arrested; "Honhom nni me mu bio": No vital breath is in him any more). This perhaps justifies the use of "Honhom" in the Twi Bible to mean the God-spirit part of Himself, and that in men called the soul.⁸ The "Okra" therefore is virtually the "Honhom" personified.

Of the derivation of the word Ntoro only a little can be said. The original meaning is lost, and it is only the method of plausible deductions which is here employed. An informant, born about 1880⁹, told me that Ntoro is an ancient term, and that it is a cognate of "to", to die. This may be true. There are two established Twi words spelt "ntoro". One is the variant of "atoro" or "etoro": a lie, as found in "oretwa ntoro / atoro/etoro": he is telling a lie. The other one is "ntoro": spirit, with which we are concerned here. That this word is traceable to "to": to die, cannot be gainsaid. In Asante Twi, one could say:

"Ebi rekɔ na ebi reba", and

"Ebi reto na ebi reba."

It is more rhetoric to say

"Ebi rekorɔ na ebi reba", and

"Ebi retorɔ na ebi reba."

So the form "toro" as a cognate of the verb root "to" is possible. It may be noted that there exist the Twi

8

- i. Genesis 2 verse 7
- ii. Rattray: Religion and Art in Ashanti: Chapter xxix.

9.

Ɔpanin Ahunuyea of Wawase, Kwabere 3, Ashanti: interviewed in 1953.

words "korɔbae": that which does not change its form 'when going or when coming', and "korɔbeaniagyɛ ": he who is happy wherever he finds himself. These also are cognates of "kɔ": to go. I am sensible to one or two points against this deduction, but those points are not indissmissible.

Again, the pattern of "ntorɔ" can be found in words like (i) Ntumi: the name of a man from Akuapem, meaning "the one against whom you cannot prevail", and (ii) Mpusu: the name of a fetish and of a man in Ofinsu, meaning "the unshakable." The investigation of the origin of "Ntorɔ" continues. But from the foregoing points, it can be argued that it is not peculiar that a term like "ntorɔ" should be formed by the sages of old to mean "that which does not die": the imperishable, which in fact is the connotation of the term "ntorɔ": the spirit which lasts as long as sons exist.

The term "Ntɔn" seems to have meant an "arch" though it does not by itself mean so today. We find the term in the names of some plants which have arched blades; examples are: the Ntɔn¹⁰ plant with which the ntɔnkɛtɛ(mat) is made; and the Twitɔn plant.¹¹ Ntɔn is also in the Twi word Anintɔn which means "the arch of the eye." There is again the Nyankotɔn, "the-sky-arch" or rainbow. The generic term Ntɔn therefore appears to denote the "arch" which has stretched over the centuries and reached to the present: an "arch" which not only connects the past with the present, but it also embraces all in it as members of one family. That is why Ntɔn is exogamous, and though the members forming it may come from different and distant places, they come under the same "family arch": wɔbɔ ntɔn korɔ.

¹⁰The Ntɔn plant: Pandanus sp.: See Irvine: Plants of the Gold Coast: P.320

¹¹The Twitɔn plant: Sansevieria sp: See Irvine: Plants of the Gold Coast: P.375.

Syntactically, another line can be drawn between the two terms Ntɔn and Ntorɔ. When one wants to know to which extended family you belong, one would ask: "wobɔ ntɔn bɛn?" The emphasis is on the verb "bɛ" which enquires whether or not you "join" or "belong to" the "abusua", the extended family. On the other hand, the verb used in agreement with Ntorɔ is "dware", to bathe. Hence the enquirer would say, "Wodware ntorɔ bɛn?" "In which spirit (river) do you bathe?". The Akans, particularly the Ashantis, believe that when a person is at the point of dying, his or her Ntorɔ flies off and plunges itself into its agnate river.¹² Often it does so with a shout: "Hu-u-u-u!" and then a splash! and disappears. If the river-god does not order it to go back at once but welcomes it, then the soul left alone in the body also leaves it. This point of the Ntorɔ spirit reporting back to the river-god is the idea reflected in the expression "kɔwuakra." Kɔ-wu-a-kra is a sentence-word referring particularly to the Ntorɔ of Bosomtwe. The full meaning of it is, "you to whom people send their Ntorɔ to say goodbye before they die!"¹³ The classic expressions to which I have tried to call attention are "bɛ ntɔn" and "dware ntorɔ."

To sum up, the generic term Ntɔn which is connected with the Akan matrilineage embraces such clan groups as Oyoko, Aduana, Agona, Asona, Ekoɔna, Bretuo, Asenneɛ and Asakyiri. There are two points to be noted about them: the first is that each of the Ntɔn may have subdivisions, as in the case of Aduana which has Aduana, Atwea and Aberade under the one major group known as ADUANA. The second point is that the Ntɔn groups may

12 & 13

See a similar account in Rattray: Ashanti: Page 55
(Same page - footnote - gives reference to Bossman.)

have different nomenclature at different areas; for example, Oyoko and Bretuo in Ashanti are the Anona and Twidan respectively in Fante.¹⁴

The Ntoro divisions traced patrilineally include Bosompra (River Pra), Bosomtwe (Lake Bosomtwe), Bosommuru (a river in Bɔdwesɛanwo in Adanse), Bosomnkatia (the Sea), Bosomdwerɛbe, Bosomakom, Bosomafi, Bosomayensu (River Ayensu), Bosomkonsi, Bosomsika, Bosomafram (River Afram), and Bosomkrete (a shrine at Aburi). These also divide up into several sub-divisions; in some areas, it is a sub-division which has persisted; for example, of Bosomnkatia it is the Adomakodeɛ subdivision which is better known in Ashanti. Among the very well-known subdivisions of the Ntoro are the Aboade and the Adufude of the Busummuru major group.¹⁵ NTORO is certainly different from NTɔN.

A.C. Denteh.

14

- i. Rattray: Ashanti: Pages 47 ff
- ii. Mensah: Asantesɛm ne Mmɛbusɛm Bi (1966): Page 36.

15

- i. Busia: The position of the chief in the modern political system of Ashanti: pp.1-2; 127
- ii. Christaller: Dictionary of the Asante and Fante Languages pp.600-601 (Appendix D).

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ETHNOGRAPHIC "FINDS" - DECORATIVE AND OTHER USEFUL ART

1. Small brass dish with handle (Ananane). Cat.I 66.73. Used in melting shea butter into repousse brass vessel (Forowa) for anointing the skin. Gift from Nana Owusu Sampah III, Akrokerrihene and elders. Cirf. 3½ ins. Age unestimated.
2. Assorted gold-weights with scale, shovels, spoons and storing box (Fotoo). Cat.I 66.77. Belonged to the treasury of the Akrokerrihene. They were traditionally used by the Treasurer (Sannahene) for the measurement of gold dust and tiny replica of the royal heirloom. Gift from the Akrokerrihene, Nana Owusu Sampah III and elders. Age unestimated.
3. Two Quartz stones with drilled holes. Cat.I 66.78 Dredged from the Anyanfuri-Offin concession of the Bremang Gold Dredging Limited. Gift from the Mines Manager, R.G. Penwill, Esq. Cirf.20 ins.
4. Two stone axes (Nyame akuma). Cat. I 66.79. Dredged from the River Offin at the new Miradani Concession of the Bremang Gold Dredging Limited. Gift from the Mines Manager, R.G. Penwill, Esq. Lengths 7½ ins; 3½ ins.
5. Brass and Copper bowls. Cat. I 66.80a-c. Obtained through dredging in the River Offin near Amponyasi Dunkwa in 1964. Belonged probably to the aboriginal Denkyiras who lived at Abankesieso and fled across the river about 1818 to Jukwa near Cape Coast. Gift from the Mines Manager, R.G. Penwill, Esq.

6. Brass oil-lamp with spoon (Kanea). Cat. I 66.81a-b
A wick made of rag was floated in palm oil into the bown from the top of the lamp stand. The spoon was for the collection of oil from the bowl on to the rag wick. Used by Essumegyahene Nana Kwabena Onomapon, contemporary of Asantehene Osei Tutu (1695-1731) and Opoku Ware (1731-1742). It was also used by successive chiefs till the introduction of imported lanterns. Gift from Nana Kwaku Agyeman III, Essumegyahene and elders. Height 4½ ins; Length 9 ins.
7. Sakra Charm. Cat. I 66.89. Consists of two ram horns and three small gourds all coated black; probably fowl blood and other ingredients. In the gourds are black powder. The charm was for curative purposes especially in cases of convulsion among children. Wherever this charm was kept, it was a taboo to remove fire from a hearth in the house and take it outside. Eggs, soot and fowls sacrificed on it to propitiate it. Procured by Kwabena Adade of Obogu near Juaso in Ashanti Akyem from Supom near Otiso (now inundated by the waters of the Volta). The original owner died some six years ago. His successor, Kwaku Atakora did not know its specific uses.
8. Siri Charm. Cat. I 66.90. Made of donkey tail, a rope and a snail shell containing 'black thick substance'. Rituals were performed with them in time of hostilities to invoke the defeat for the enemy. The charm may be propitiated with a red cock at any time it becomes necessary or is desired. It was produced from Gyema near Nkoranza in Brong Ahafo from a hunter of elephants whose name is not remembered, in 1923 by Oboguhene Yaw Kusi. Gift from Oboguhene Gyasi Ampeh II and elders.

9. Snuff box (Asratoaa). Cat. I 67.02. Made out of gourd. The snuff was made from pounded tobacco leaves (ɔbɔɔ). Used by Konongohene Kwasi Atobra, contemporary of Asantehene Mensa Bonsu (1874-1883) Height 3 ins; Cirf. 12 ins.
10. Locally made tobacco pipes (taasen). Cat. I 67.13. Surface find at the ruins of Kukuboase, the early settlement of the people of Ahinsan near Fomena in Adansi. The site is in the Hoahoam forest. Obtained from Kwasi Antwi of Ahinsan. Age c 1700, 1702, 1800.
11. Hearth consisting of three roundish pots (size height 9 ins. and cirf. 27½ ins. each) with a small hole on the top of each (Bukyia). Cat. I 67.22. The pots were placed in triangular form on the ground between which the fire was prepared. The holes make them withstand the heat of the fire. The cooking utensil was then placed on the pots. This was one of the indigenous "methods of cooking". The pots which stand for months may be smeared with red ochre every morning. Age 20 years. Obtained from Obaapanin Adwoa Bonto of Fomena.
12. Assorted god-weights. (Fotoo). Cat. I 67.23. Original owner, Kwadwo Tufuor of Fomena, used them for the measurement of gold dust to purchase slaves. Obtained from Obaapanin Akua Kwaako of Fomena. Age unestimated.
13. Kuduo repousse brass vessel with handle and three small balls on the lid. Cat. I 67.11. Used as container for gold dust and other valuables, and as a receptacle for ceremonial offerings. Made for the aboriginal chief, Nana Osafo Kantanka I. It forms part of the royal heirloom and kept in the

stool-room. Gift from Ahinsanhene Osafo Kantanka V
and elders. Age over 100. Height 6 ins: Cirf.13
ins.

A.K. Quarcoo.

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