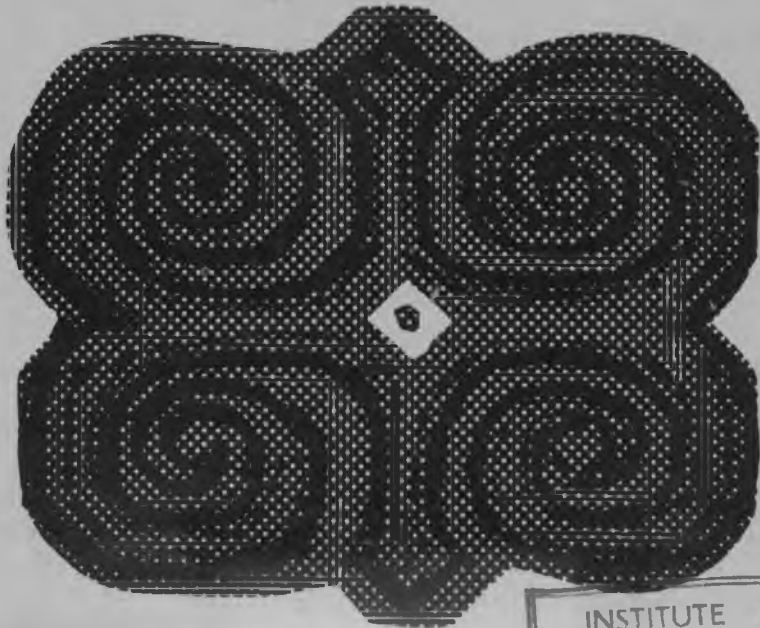


UNIVERSITY OF GHANA
INSTITUTE OF
AFRICAN STUDIES

*RESEARCH
REVIEW*



VOL 2 NO 3

INSTITUTE OF
18 JUN 1969
DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
LIBRARY

TRINITY TERM 1966

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA
INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN STUDIES

RESEARCH REVIEW
VOL. 2 NO. 3

TRINITY TERM 1966

C O N T E N T S

INSTITUTE NEWS

Staff	p. 1
M.A. (African Studies) Examination, June 1966	p. 1
Seminar Programme	p. 3

PROJECT REPORTS

Ashanti Research Project	p. 8
Arabic Manuscripts	p. 9

INDIVIDUAL RESEARCH REPORTS

Conference Reports	p.20
Research Material in the Ghana National Archives, Accra, on the History of Anlo 1850-1890	p.23
Up the Shai hills (Home of Shai pre-1892)	p.37
Salaga in 1892	p.41
The place of Western Music in the music education of Africa	p.54
Observations on spectator~performer arrangements of some traditional Ghanaian performances	p.61
The Saghanughu and the spread of Maliki Law	p.67

LIBRARY AND MUSEUM REPORTS

Draft Papers	p.74
(a) Titles of theses submitted in part fulfilment of the requirements for the M.A. Degree (African Studies)	p.75
(b) The Diploma in African Music - June 1966	p.77
Decorative and other useful art	p.78

NOTES

East African Studies	p.82
"Nsuae" - The Akan Oath of office	p.84
Notes on the Nayo Friko shrine in Awuna	p.87
Correction	p.99

INSTITUTE NEWS

1. Staff

Professor Ivor G. Wilks is resigning his appointment as Research Professor in African History on 30th September, 1966.

Dr. G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville is resigning his appointment as a Senior Research Fellow (East African History) from 30th September, 1966.

2. M.A. (African Studies) Examination, June 1966:

This year's M.A. (African Studies) examinations were conducted by the following examiners:-

Internal Examiners:

Addo, N.O.	-	Institute of African Studies
Andoh, A.S.Y.	-	Institute of African Studies
de Graft-Johnson, K.E.	-	Department of Sociology
Freeman-Grenville, G.S.P.	-	Institute of African Studies
Fynn, J.K.	-	Department of History
Goody, Esther (Mrs.)	-	Visiting Professor - Institute of African Studies
Holden, J.J.	-	Institute of African Studies
Ibrahim, S.	-	Institute of African Studies
Jones-Quartey, K.A.B.	-	Institute of African Studies
Kamali, S.A.	-	Department of the Study of Religions
Kropp, M.E. (Miss)	-	Institute of African Studies
Martin, B.G.	-	Institute of African Studies
Nketia, J.H.	-	Institute of African Studies
Nukunya, G.K.	-	Department of Sociology
Sadowski, Z.	-	Department of Economics
Seidman, A. (Mrs.)	-	Department of Economics
Senanu, K.E.	-	Department of English
Sieber, R.	-	Visiting Professor - Institute of African Studies

TUESDAY

A.M.

- 8.15-10.15 - HISTORY OF EAST AFRICA - Freeman-Grenville,
G.S.P.
- 10.30-12.30 - 19TH CENTURY ISLAMIC STATES IN THE WESTERN
SUDAN - Holden, J.J.

P.M.

- 2.30-4.30 - ARABIC (Proficiency) II - Ibrahim, S.A.
- 2.30-4.30 - AKAN (Proficiency) II - Denteh, A.C.
- 3.30-4.30 - SWAHILI (Proficiency) II - Freeman-Grenville,
G.S.P.

WEDNESDAY

A.M.

- | | | | | |
|-------------|---|--|---|--------------------------------|
| 8.00-10.00 | - | AKAN LINGUISTICS | - | Stewart, J.M. |
| 8.15-10.15 | - | AFRICAN NATIONAL
MOVEMENTS | - | (Andoh, A.S.Y.
(Twumasi, E. |
| 10.30-12.30 | - | THE IRON AGE IN
GHANA | - | Ozanne, P. |
| 10.30-12.30 | - | INTRODUCTION TO
THE HISTORY OF
ISLAM IN AFRICA | - | Kamali, S.A. |
| 10.30-12.30 | - | AKAN (Proficiency) II | - | Denteh, A.C. |

P.M.

- | | | | | |
|-----------|---|-------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| 2.30-4.30 | - | HAUSA (Proficiency) I | - | Alhamid, H. |
| 2.30-4.30 | - | ARABIC (Proficiency) I | - | Ibrahim, S.A. |
| 2.30-4.30 | - | AKAN (Proficiency) I | - | Denteh, A.C. |
| 3.30-4.30 | - | SWAHILI (Proficiency) I | - | Freeman-Grenville,
G.S.P. |

THURSDAY

A.M.

- | | | | | |
|-------------|---|--|---|---|
| 8.15-10.15 | - | AFRICAN LITERATURE | - | (Senanu, K.
(Sutherland, Mrs. E.
(Ansah, P. |
| 10.30-12.30 | - | POLITICAL EVOLUTION
OF WEST AFRICA FROM
1800 | - | (Jones-Quartey, K.A.B.,
(Holden, J.J. |
| 10.30-12.30 | - | AFRICAN LINGUISTICS | - | Kropp, E. (Miss) |

P.M.

- | | | | | |
|-----------|---|--------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| 2.30-4.30 | - | AKAN (Proficiency) II | - | Denteh, A.C. |
| 2.30-4.30 | - | ARABIC (Proficiency) II | - | Ibrahim, S.A. |
| 3.30-4.30 | - | SWAHILI (Proficiency) II | - | Freeman-Grenville,
G.S.P. |

FRIDAY

A.M.

- 8.15-10.15 - MUSIC IN AFRICAN CULTURE - (Nketia, J.H.
(Mensah, A.A.)
- 10.30-12.30 - AKAN LINGUISTICS - Stewart, J.M.
- 10.30-12.30 - ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA - Seidman, Mrs. Ann
7

P.M.

- 2.30-4.30 - HAUSA (Proficiency) I - Alhamid, H.

THE ASHANTI RESEARCH PROJECTList of Stool Histories (continued from Research Review Vol.2 No.2)

IAS	161	Sanakoroa Wono Stool History
IAS	162	Gyamfi Wono Stool History
IAS	163	Oti Kurom Stool History
IAS	164	Ahensan Stool History
IAS	165	Twafuo Stool History
IAS	166	Offuman Stool History
IAS	167	Paakoso Stool History
IAS	168	Asantehene's blacksmith Stool History (Atomfuo)
IAS	169	Kwamang Stool History
IAS	170	Hemang Stool History
IAS	171	Ntonso Stool History

ARABIC COLLECTION

This is the third check-list of Arabic manuscripts from the collection in the Institute of African Studies. As at September, 1966, four hundred and fifty-six manuscripts have been accessioned, and over four hundred provisionally catalogued. As we have indicated in earlier issues, these entries are intended to provide, for scholars interested in this field, a rough and ready guide to the material held by the Institute. A definitive catalogue can only be issued when it becomes possible to study individual manuscripts in much greater detail.

We continue to be deeply indebted to the numerous malams in Ghana and neighbouring areas who have so generously placed their works at our disposal. We also wish to acknowledge our debt, in cataloging these works, to Mr. A.B. Moro of Legon Hall.

Ivor G. Wilks.

IASAR/3ARABIC

- Author: AL-HĀJJ^C UMAR b. ABĪ BAKR of KETE KRAKYE
Title: NAẒM AL-LA'ĀLĪ BI AKHBĀR WA TANBĪH AL-KIRĀM
Description: Qaṣīda ending in mīm lamenting the arrival of the Christians and listing the towns and states conquered by them.
Date of work: 1318 AH = 1899/1900.
MS from: Copy in National Archives of Ghana, Accra. 8 fols.
Other copies: IASAR/8 and /139, largely similar and with same title. Same theme dealt with by the author in IASAR/4; /370; /417.

IASAR/4ARABIC

- Author: AL-HĀJJ^C UMAR b. ABĪ BAKR of KETE KRAKYE
Title: MASHRA^C MĀ AL-KHABAR LI-WĀRID WĀRIDUHA BI 'L NAZAR
Description: Poem in rajaz form on the arrival of the Christians, listing the regions conquered by them and advising Muslims to put their faith in God. Author refused to return from Kete Krakye to Salagha.
Date of work: 9 Muharram 1317 AH = May 1899.
MS from: Ms. from Yendi. Copy in National Archives of Ghana, Accra. 4 folios.
Other copies: IASAR 417. Same theme treated by the author in IASAR/3; /8; /139; /370.

IASAR/8ARABIC

- Author: AL-HĀJJ^C UMAR b. ABĪ BAKR of KETE KRAKYE.
Title: NAẒM AL-LA'ĀLĪ BI AKHBĀR WA TANBĪH AL-KIRĀM.
Description: Qaṣīda ending in mīm lamenting the arrival of the Christians and listing the towns and states conquered by them.
Date of work: 1318 AH = 1899/1900.
MS from: Yendi (?) 9 folios.
Other copies: IASAR/3 and /139 largely similar and with same title. Same theme dealt with by the author in IASAR/4; /370; /417; /43.

IASAR/9ARABICAuthor:

AL-ḤĀJJ ʿUMAR b. ABĪ BAKR.

Title:

-

Description:

Poem to thank those who made contributions to the repair of a mosque (? Kete Krakye), with especial praise for Ṣalaw, amir Zangho (i.e. Sarkin Zongo of Kumasi).

Date of work:

-

MS from:

Muḥammad Limām Thāni, of Kete Krakye. 4 folios. 16.5 x 21 cms.

Other copies:

IASAR/161.

IASAR/10ARABICAuthor:

AL-ḤĀJJ MUḤAMMAD B. AL-MUṢṬAFĀ

Title:

-

Description:

Compilation of early Gonja traditions, with a chronicle of events to the mid - 18th century.

Date of work:

-

MS from:

Imām Tahīr, of New Buipe. 8 folios + 1 detached folio with names of six Gonja chiefs.

Other copies:

IASAR/11; 12; 13; 14; 62; 248(i); 272.

IASAR/13ARABICAuthor:

-

Title:

-

Description:Fragment of the Kitāb Ghunjā, see other MSS.Date of work:

-

MS from:

Malam Bābā Ibrāhīm, deputy imām of Konongo. 4 folios. 12 x 16 cms.

Other copies:

IASAR/10; 11; 12; 14; 62; 248(i); 272.

IASAR/14ARABIC

- Author: AL-ḤĀJJ MUḤAMMAD B. AL-MUṢṬAFĀ.
Title: KITĀB GHUNJĀ - incomplete MS.
Description: Compilation of early Gonja traditions, with a chronicle of events to the mid-18th century.
Date of work: -
MS from: Imām Yūsuf b. Imām Nuhu, of Daboya. 4 folios, some damaged. 14 x 18 cms.
Other copies: IASAR/10; 11; 12; 13; 62; 248(i); 272.

IASAR/16 (ii)ARABIC

- Author: ḶUMAR B. ABĪ BAKR B. ḶUTHMĀN B. ḶALĪ
AL-KABAWĪ AL-KANAWĪ
Title: ṬALḶ AL-MUNĀFAḶA FĪ DHIKR AL-MUNĀZAḶA.
Description: Account of the civil war (? of Salaga) which started on Tuesday, 9 RamaḶān 13??, blaming the enemy for breaking friendly relations.
Date of work: Saturday, Rajab 1309 = February 1892.
MS from: Malam Babā IbraḶīm, of Konongo. 5 folios.
Other copies: -

IASAR/16 (xi)ARABIC

- Author: ḶALĪ b. MUḤAMMAD BARAW AL-SALGHAWĪ.
Title: FĪ NAJM DHU DHANAB.
Description: Poem on the appearance of the Salagha comet, 1881, and the "earthquake" (i.e. civil war?) of 1891/2, as told by al-ḥājj ḶUmar b. Abī Bakr.
Date of work: 1340 AH = 1921/2.
MS from: Na'ib al-imām, Malam Babā IbraḶīm of Konongo. 3 folios.
Other copies: IASAR/7; /408.

IASAR/17ARABICAuthor:

-

Title:

-

Description:List of nineteen Imams of Wa, from Ya^c muru to Sa^lih, with prayers.Date of work:

-

MS from:

Imam Yusuf, of Daboya. 1 folio. 10 x 16.3 cms.

Other Copies:

-

IASAR/27ARABICAuthor:AL-HAJJ^c UMAR b. ABI BAKR of KETE KRAKYE.Title:

TANBIH AL-IKHWAN FI DHIKR AL-AHZAN.

Description:Poem in rajaz form, describing the decline of religion and morals in Salagha, as well as the failings of its rulers, and containing a lengthy and detailed account of the Salagha civil war. Short prescription for increased virility added to the end of the poem.Date of work:

-

MS from:

al-hajj Muhammad, imam Thani of Kete Krakye. 9 folios edges destroyed.

Other copies:

-

IASAR/133ARABICAuthor:AL-HAJJ^c UMAR b. ABI BAKR.Title:GHADARAT SALMA^c DIYARAN.Description:Poem in praise of Husayn al-Kashnawi b. Ya^c qub Salaw (Sarkin Zongo of Kumasi), with reference to shortcomings of the wazirs of Kumasi.Date of work:

-

MS from:Malam Abu Bakr b. al-Hajj^c Umar b. Abi Bakr, of Kete Krakye. 4 folios. 16.8 x 21.6 cms.Other copies:

IASAR/239(ii).

IASAR/134ARABICAuthor: -Title: -Description: List of the Fulani amirs of Zaria (Zakzak) and Ilorin; of the children of Malam Isā Dando; of the sultans of Nupe; of the children of Uthman and Abdallāh b. Fudī; and of the rulers of Bornu of the Kanemi dynasty.Date of work: -MS from: Muhammad Limām Thānī, of Kete Krakye. 1 folio.Other copies: -IASAR/135ARABICAuthor: AL-HĀJJ CUMAR B. ABĪ BAKR (attribution).Title: -Description: Poem criticising the activities, in 1322 AH, of one Musā who arrived in Salaga and claimed to be a Mahdī.Date of work: 1322 AH = 1904/5 (verse 3).MS from: Muhammad Limām Thānī, of Kete Krakye. 7 folios.

16.5 x 22 cms.

Other copies: IASAR/109 (II).IASAR/149ARABICAuthor: AL-HĀJJ MUHAMMAD SA^CĪD JAYTIGHIKIYA.Title: KITĀB NĀFI^CĀT AL-WILDĀN.Description: Qasīda in nūn-alif, giving advice to the author's children, and recommending to them the example of their grandfather, al-Hājj Šālih.Date of work: -MS from: al-Hājj Ibrāhīm of Sunyani, b. al-Hājj Muhammad Sa^Cīd b. al-Hājj Šālih. 5 folios. 16 x 22 cms.Other copies: -

IASAR/171HAUSAAuthor: AL-HĀJJ ^ᶜUMAR b. ABĪ BAKR (verbal attribution).Title: TALĀUCI.Description: Poem on the social evils of poverty.Date of work: -MS from: Malam al-Hasan Kamaghatay, of Kete Krakye.
7 folios 16.5 x 20.2 cms.Other copies: IASAR/371.IASAR/181ARABICAuthor: -Title: SU'ĀD AW ASMĀ' AW DA D^ᶜAW HAWWA.Description: Qasida in alif-hamza, in praise of the people of Yendi, with a second short poem in lām-alif on the same subject.Date of work: -MS from: al-Hājj Muhammad Tetemu (of Kpong). 5 folios.
10.8 x 17 cms.Other copies: IASAR/93.IASAR/184ARABICAuthor: IBN (?) DUNB MĀLIK.Title: MUSRIF AL-SUDŪR ^ᶜAN HUBB DĀR AL-KHULŪBDescription: Qasida in ba', on the avoidance of temptation.Date of work: -MS from: al-Hājj Mu'min b. ^ᶜAbdallah Kamaghati, of Takyimantia.
8 folios. 15.8 x 21.8 cms.Other copies: IASAR/303.

IASAR/227ARABICAuthor:

C ABDALLĀH b. FŪDĪ

Title:

QAṢĪDA FĪ MADḤ ASLAḤ C IBĀD ALLĀH

Description:Poem in dāl in praise of the Prophet.Date of work:

AH 1202 = AD 1787/8.

MS from:

Limām Malām Abū Bakr Gharba b. Muhammad, of Amakom, Kumasi. 3 folios, 17.3 x 22.7 cms.

Other copies:IASAR/16(xvii); /130. Also possibly Kensdale 82/132, al-qaṣida ad-dālīya fi madḤ an-nabī.IASAR/228ARABICAuthor:

MUHAMMAD b. MASNAH (?) b. NŪḤ al-KAṢNĀWĪ et al.

Title:ASMĀ' KUTUB ALLATĪ AKTHAR MĀ FĪHĀ LĀ YANFA^CU.Description:

Compilation of book titles, the reading of which "is unprofitable" for Muslims.

Date of work:

-

MS from:

Limām Malām Abū Bakr Gharba b. Muhammad, of Amakom, Kumasi. 2 folios, 16.5 x 22 cms.

Other copies:

-

IASAR/229ARABICAuthor:

ABŪ BAKR B. AL-HUSAYN.

Title:

-

Description:Qasīda ending in lām, in praise of the author's shaykh, al-Ḥājj Salīh b. Muḥammad.Date of work:

(?) 1353 AH = 1934/5.

MS from:al-Ḥājj Ibrāhīm Tarawiri b. al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Sa^Cid, of Wēnchi & Sunyani. 3 folios, 17 x 22 cms.Other copies:

-

IASAR/247ARABIC

- Author: KARAMOKO FA BAKARI B. AL-ḤASAN TIMITĪ
(attribution).
Title: TADHKIRAT LIL-NĀS ʿAN WAQĀ'IC LIL-NĀS.
Description: Account of the Christians in Bonduku, with a
reference to Samori.
Date of work: -
MS from: Imām al-Ḥajj Muhammad Quddūs, of Bonduku.
2 folios, 16.2 x 22.1 cms.
Other copies: -

IASAR/298ARABIC

- Author: -
Title: AL-AKHBĀR SALTĀNAT BILAD WĀ.
Description: Historical notes on Wā, with reference to the
relationship between the 'princes', land-priests,
and imāms.
Date of work: -
MS from: Karamoko Fanta Siddiq, of Obuasi. 1 folio.
19.5 x 27.5 cms.
Other copies: -

IASAR/304ARABIC

- Author: AL-Qādī Abū 'l-Walīd Sulaymān b. Khalaf al-Bājī
(died 474/1081)
Title: SHARH FUSŪL AL-AḤKĀM (?).
Description: Fatāwī on theology and law as answered by Ibn al-Qāsim.
Date of work: -
MS from: Salīm Sulaymān b. Sahnūn Jānī, of Osu, Accra.
24 folios, 14.5 x 20 cms.
Other copies: GAL, I, p.534; GAL, Supp. I, p.743.

IASAR/321ARABICAuthor: -Title: KITĀB FADĀ'ĪL SHAHR RAMADĀN.Description: Treatise on the excellence of the month of Ramadān.Date of work: -MS from: Malam Salīm Sulaymān b. Saḥnūn Jāni, of Oso, Accra.

6 folios. 15 x 19.5 cms.

Other copies: -IASAR/348ARABICAuthor: -Title: MAS'ALAT AL-JIHĀD.Description: Accounts of the jihād of al-Hājj Maḥmūd and his son Mukhtar.Date of work: -MS from: al-Hājj ^CUmar Dao, of Koho. 1 folio.Other copies: -IASAR/350ARABICAuthor: AL-HĀJJ MUḤAMMAD MARḤABA.Title: NUḲḤBAT AL-BĀHITH FĪMĀ MADḤA MĀ HADARA

MIN AKHBĀR MULŪK AL-MŪSHĀWIYĪN.

Description: Literary edition, of a history of the Mossi written by

al-Hājj Musā Kunkū b. Shaykh Aḥmad Kunkū, with other fragments added.

Date of work: 'Edition' of 1383 AH, 11 October 1963.MS from:Wagadugu. 13 folios. 17 x 24 cms.Other copies: -

IASAR/370HAUSAAuthor:AL-ḤĀJJ^C UMAR b. ABĪ BAKR.Title:Description:qaṣīda ending in rā alif and rā yā dealing with the harmful effects of the European conquest of West Africa. Mentions the defeat of Samory, the Zabarimas, Sokoto, Dagomba etc.Date of work:

1321 AH = 1903.

MS from:Malam^C Isa Madaha b. Malam^C Umar of Salagha.
10 folios. 18 x 23 cms.Other copies:IASAR/380ARABICAuthor:MUḤAMMAD B. 'ALĪ AL-^CAWFĪ (d.1050/1640)Title:AL-JĀMI^C AL-FARĀ'ID WA'L-SUNNAN.Description:

On the correct observance of the obligations of Islam, compiled for his friend Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Zayd.

Date of work:MS from:Malam 'Abd al-Mū'min, imām Kātibī, Salaga.
8 folios. 16.2 x 22.6 cms.Other copies:

See IASAR/86. GAL, Supp. II, 452, 960.

IASAR/417ARABICAuthor:AL-ḤĀJJ^C UMAR b. ABĪ BAKR of Kete Krakye.Title:MASHRA^C MĀ AL-KHABAR LI-WĀRID WARADAHA
BI'L NAẒAR.Description:

Poem in rajaz form on the arrival of the Christians, listing the regions conquered by them, and advising Muslims to put their faith in God. Author refuses to return from Kete Krakye to Salagha.

Date of work:MS from:Other copies:

Malam Shahāb of Nsawam. 4 folios.

IASAR/4. Same these dealt with by the author in
IASAR/3; /8; /139; /370.

IASAR/440

ARABIC

Author:

-

Title:

-

Description:

Exchange of letters between Muhammad al-^cĀqib b. amir al-mu'minīn al-Hājj ^cUmar b. Sa'īd and al-Hājj Ya^cqub b. Āḥmad, concluding peace between them and granting the latter safe conduct, with a note in French by Capt. Rendsdorff (?) instructing al-Hājj Ya^cqub to present himself at Bandiagara upon his return.

Date of work:

Note in French dd. 3 April, 1899.

MS from:

Malam Adam Kūnatay, of Wench. 1 folio.
32.5 x 13 cms.

Other copies:

-

I.G. Wilks
J.J. Holden

CONFERENCE REPORT

The Sixth West African Languages Congress was held from March 18 - 22, 1966, in Yaounde, Federal Republic of Cameroun. Although the Congresses have been held annually, under the auspices of the West African Languages Survey, this was the first to be held as a meeting of the West African Linguistic Society, which was formed at the 5th Congress held at Legon in 1965.

About sixty delegates attended, from several West African countries, France, Germany, and the U.S.A. The delegates from the University of Ghana were Dr. J.M. Stewart and Miss M.E. Kropp from the Institute of African Studies, and Miss L. Criper, Dr. F. Dolphyne and Mr. C. Painter from the Linguistics Department. Three of the five gave papers:

- Dr. F. Dolphyne: A phonological analysis of Twi vowels
 Mr. C. Painter: The high tone verbal phrase in Gonja
 Dr. J.M. Stewart: Tongue root position in Akan vowel harmony

The Congress was opened by the Minister of National Education of Cameroun, and Professor Kenneth Pike of the University of Michigan gave the opening address. His paper fell into two sections. The first dealt with observations on tone, stress and rhythm in a number of languages, some of them Ghanaian, with which Professor Pike has dealt in the last few months. Basari data was used to give a convincing example of rhythmic timing of speech, independent of syllable length.

The second part of Professor Pike's address dealt with syntax, or rather, the structure of discourse; pieces bigger than the sentence. It seems that in the Bariba language, the use of direct or indirect discourse when quoting, in a speech, story, conversation etc., is a complicated affair. In a sentence such as 'He said, "I will follow you"'; the use of direct or indirect discourse, i.e. the presence or absence of a conjunctive element in the quoted sentence indicates whether "I" refers to the subject of the sentence, "he", or to the speaker. Usage also varies according to such factors as whether or not the narrator is one of the characters in the story being told; and whether the person quoted is a chief. Professor Pike's

method was to bring out the underlying regularities by application of his matrix techniques. Grammar on such a wide scale is new in West Africa, and clearly holds interesting possibilities.

Professor Pike's address apart, and unlike last year's Congress, syntax was little discussed. Of the seventeen papers presented in three plenary sessions, nine were on the structure of the verb. Eight, including Mr. Painter's paper, discussed verb structure in a particular language. One, Professor G. Manessy's Typologie Provisoire du Verbe Voltaïque, attempted a general classification of twenty-eight languages according to similarities and differences in their verb systems.

Legon was well represented in the Phonology section with two papers on different aspects of the analysis of Akan vowels. Except for the first part of Professor Pike's paper, the only discussion of tone occurred in a paper by Jan Voorhoeve, The morphotonology of the Bamileke noun. In this language, from Bangangte in Cameroun, the tonemic characterization of a morpheme apparently resides in the pitch level of the following morpheme rather than its own pitch level. For instance, one monosyllabic noun might have "raising" tone, in which case the following word will be higher in pitch, and another might have "levelling" or "lowering" tone, in which cases the following item will be at the same pitch level or a lower one, respectively. In the Bamileke tone system, a succession of down-stepping tones is normal, since low tone is defined as a tone lower than a following high, and high tone as higher than a following high. On the morphotonologic level, loss of a low tone results in a succession of two equal high tones.

In the languages of southern Ghana, on the other hand, the characteristic tone of a monosyllabic morpheme is normally realised on that very syllable, and loss of a low tone results in two high (non-low) tones of which the first is higher than the second. (This type of system has been described by Dr. J.M. Stewart in his The Typology of the Twi Tone System, Legon, 1965).

And so in the Bamileke system, a special mark (upstep) is required for a series of two or more tones of level pitch, but in Twi the mark (downstep) is required for a series of non-level pitches.

This year there were no papers in Historical and Comparative Linguistics. Also missing was last year's interest in the application of the methods of generative grammar to African languages. The University of Ghana approach to phonology was essentially prosodic. The Pike-Summar Institute of Linguistics approach to grammar was represented in papers by, of course, Professor Pike, and by J.T. Bendor-Samuel (Some contrasting features of the Izi verbal system). To a large extent this was Colin Painter's approach. But otherwise it seemed to the writer that contributors concentrated on traditional morphological description, and that theoretical issues were not in the foreground.

The working parties were on Benue-Congo Languages (genetic classification), Oral Literature, and the application of linguistics to the teaching of English and French in West Africa. Most of the Legon delegation attended the working party on the teaching of English and French. Although the teaching of European languages is not strictly speaking in the scope of a Congress on West African languages, it is strongly felt that the knowledge gained in the study of the mother tongues of the pupils has much to contribute to the more rational and efficient teaching of European languages. The working party was especially valuable for the exchange of information between anglophone and francophone investigators. It turned out that more intensive work had been done in this field by the French in West Africa than by the British, particularly at the Centre for Applied Linguistics at Dakar, and at B.E.L. in Paris. It was felt that linguists specializing in West African languages could make their contribution primarily by diagnosing problems in the learning of European languages in terms of interference by African languages. To take a simple example, most West African children have difficulty learning to consistently distinguish "he" and "she" in English, because in their own languages there is no such distinction. The problem can be approached in two ways, through "contrastive analysis", in which the grammars of the students' first language and the language to be learned are compared and the differences pointed out, perhaps leading to predictions about what will give students difficulty, and through error analysis, in which actual mistakes in the English or French of students are studied and perhaps traced to features of the students' first language.

In view of the huge variety of tongues spoken as first language by students of English and French in West Africa, either approach might seem to require an impossible amount of work, except that there are large groups of languages which, while different from each other, differ from

European languages in similar ways, so that their speakers make the same mistakes. Almost all West Africans have to be taught the sound 'th' as in "thing", because almost no West African languages use it.

In accordance with these considerations, the working party recommended to the Council of the Society that a questionnaire be constructed and administered to collect comparable data on the more important languages of West Africa, with special emphasis on tense and aspect systems. Something of this kind has already been done on the major languages of Nigeria, by Elizabeth Dunstan of the University of Ibadan.

M.E. Kropp.

RESEARCH MATERIAL IN THE GHANA NATIONAL ARCHIVES,
ACCRA ON THE HISTORY OF ANLO 1850-1890

The catalogue of material that follows is the result of my own research at the Archives in course of my search for material for the M.A. Thesis on the period.

It is necessary to preface this catalogue with a sketch of Anlo, showing its position and extent and so that the catalogue can have meaning for any one who may consult it. The geography of Anlo is sketched in detail because Anlo's history in the 1880's was greatly influenced by the geographical division of the country into two by the Keta lagoon, the coastal belt and the mainland.

Anlo is the name particularly applied to the Ewe people and country lying on the coast in the extreme south-eastern corner of Ghana. It is bounded on the south by the sea; on the north by Apipe, Wheta, and Klikor; on the east by Some; and on the west by Avenor and Tongu. The Anlo have a tradition of having migrated from Notsie in the Republic of Togo. It is not certain when they arrived in their present home, but it is probable that they were already well established by 1682 when Ofori, the King of Accra and his people were fleeing from the Akwamu to Little Popo.

The Keta Lagoon divides the country into two - the coastal belt and the mainland. The coastal belt running from Anyanui on the banks of the Volta in the West to Blekusu in the east, is a long narrow spit of sand, at nowhere wider than two miles; at some places about a hundred yards; yet it has very thickly-peopled settlements of varying sizes, "in continuous streams like beads along a string"¹. The most important of these settlements are Keta, Dzelukofe and Anloga. As might be expected from the nature of the soil it is particularly barren, and "has no farming land whatsoever and many essential commodities for life are drawn from the other side of the lagoon"². But the coast abounds in the "the coconut which has been found to thrive well and has afforded a valuable food supply cultivable on a sandy soil incapable of growing anything else"³. The same physical cause has helped to foster the rearing of poultry by a people following a sedentary mode of life in spite of the poverty of their soil. On the Anlo coast, every home-stead is a 'poultry farm'.

The Anlo coast also offers opportunity for the fishing industry. This industry has become the most important of the people, and has aptly earned for the area the distinction of being the "home of Gold Coast fishermen"⁴. Daniel Chapman who has made a study of the "Human Geography of Eweland" again emphasizes that "a good deal of the fishing in other parts of the Gold Coast was in the hands of those people, and fishing from Keta and nearby villages were found as far afield in the Ivory Coast, Dahomey"⁵. As recently as 1963, Polly Hill could still point out⁶ that the Anlo coast was more heavily fished than any other in West Africa⁶. Fish caught there find ready market on the Anlo mainland and in the interior, especially in the Krepi country.

The mainland is "a long depression running almost parallel to the coastal belt and containing fresh and salt water creeks and lagoons"⁷. The chief settlements are on the islands and the northern shores of the lagoon. Some of these are Anyako, Sadame, Afiadenyigba, Atiavi and Tsiame. Anyako is the most important because "in ancient times matters of state and war concerning all Anlo were finally determined under the 'Three Trees' of Anyako"⁸. Anyako was a convenient rendez-vous for both the littoral and mainland people.

The whole of the lagoon fringe is flat and sandy and in many parts swampy especially during the rains. But the country gradually rises and forms low chains of undulations in the distance. It is almost woodless with

isolated "clumps of trees to be seen spotting the whole surface like a park"⁹. Though by no means fertile the soil is much better than that of the coast, and produces nearly all the food the littoral needs. In response to their own needs, situation and natural resources the people have taken to farming, fishing and trading as well as practising various arts and crafts.

The Keta lagoon stretches from North to South for about 20 miles with an average width of about 10 miles, receiving its water partly from the rains and partly from a narrow inlet from the river Volta. From its shallowness it is not difficult to believe that it often dries up and passengers cross it dryshod, and herds of duicker are at times seen playing across it in every direction. It is known that in 1858 it was completely dry and the Bremen missionaries at Anyako were blamed for this natural phenomenon, as an expression of the displeasure of the gods with the people for permitting white men to stay on their land. When the lagoon dries up "large incrustations of salt which provide a most important article of trade for the locals"¹⁰ are collected for sale mainly to the inland Ewe and beyond. The lagoon is navigable for boats and large canoes as far as to Blekusu, the eastern limit of the Anlo country, and for small canoes as far as to Amutinu. In the rains, canoes ascend to Adafienu where the lagoon terminates in a swamp which extends almost to Denu. Apart from being used for communication, it also serves as a means of protection for the residual peoples who inhabit its shores and islands. It did contribute to the persistence of the slave trade in the Anlo country; and rendered smuggling easy because it afforded every facility for concealment and distribution of contraband goods. In spite of the 'divisive' nature of the Keta lagoon, "the economic relations between the towns north of the lagoon and those on the spit are very close, perhaps symbiotic, and therefore the Anlo country may be regarded as a geographical and economic entity, looking back on the lagoon as well as facing the sea"¹¹.

THE EXTENT OF ANLO

The term 'Anlo is also used comprehensively to cover what is called Anlo Akuaku or Anlo Proper, the territorial unit as has been delimited, and other sub-states that are in confederacy with Anlo Akuaku. The Anlo have always claimed to be paramount over all the Ewe peoples east of the Volta up to Togo, with the exceptions of the Tongu and Peki states. Included in this claim therefore are: Some, Aflao, Dzodze, Avenor, Wheta, Apipe, Klikor, Adaklu, Agave and Mafi. The Crowther Commission of Enquiry, 1912, has

shown that this claim was generally admitted by all, with the exception of Some, Agave and Mafi. Commenting on the relationship between Anlo Proper and these states that had acknowledged the Anlo claim, Crowther has this to say: "I can find no evidence to show that any strong rule has ever been exercised over any of them. With some of them no doubt there has been a sentimental alliance"¹². Anlo Proper and these states were all regarded as "the various divisions of Anlo"¹³, and as "independent sister states united by ties of common ancestry, history, language and custom"¹⁴. The other States acknowledge sovereignty of Anlo Proper only in their external relations, diplomacy and war. Anlo had to apprise them of any projected expedition, and they were free to join her or remain neutral as circumstances determined.

Some, also called the Ketas, was the Right Wing of the Anlo fighting forces. But in 1792 a quarrel broke out between them and the rest of Anlo. The Ketas were driven away to found their present home among the "fan palms" hence their name, Some¹⁵. Since then they have been independent of Anlo and friendly to her enemies.

The Agaves regarded themselves as a client-state of Ada. But some Agaves have their homes east of the Volta, on Anlo territory and often allied with Anlo in times of war. Only the Agaves west of the Volta remained loyal to Ada.

All Mafi, before 1865 was dependent on Ada. But in that year, a large portion of them defected, crossed to the east of the Volta and joined the Anlo forces encamped at Adidome under Geraldo and Akrobotu. Thus came into existence the Anlo-Mafi, "who crossed the river and never returned"¹⁶. They are under the King of Anlo, but were not necessarily subordinated to Anlo. For the purpose of this survey, therefore, the term 'Anlo' would mean, Anlo Proper and her 'dependencies' - ruled by semi-autonomous stools, linked to her by kinship and self-interest, ¹⁷ "but without the politically unifying force of a common sovereign ruler".

In 1850 the British took over the Danish Fort Prinzenstein at Keta. Thus began the British confrontation with the people of Anlo.

The bulk of material at the Archives comprises the correspondence between the Colonial Offices and British Government Officials on the

Gold Coast; and is in the main, administrative reports. It is catalogued ADM.1. The following contain useful material on Anlo History:-

1. ADM.1/451 (1850)

Governor Winniet's Journal - an account of the takeover of the Fort at Keta by Governor Winniet and his impressions of the Anlo country. The nature of the country and the important villages he passed through were mentioned. It is, important for the study of this period because it gives a background information on the whole period.

2. ADM.1/452 - ADM.1/453 (1851-53)

Early British attempts to exercise power and jurisdiction over Anlo. The fort was to be garrisoned because of the slave trade and "nature and character of the people, who in the words of Governor S. Hill, 'though now submissive needs to be controlled'. British administrative measures met opposition in every way".

3. ADM.1/455 (1857-59)

No garrison and Commandant at Keta. Keta outside the Protectorate, and Britain no longer responsible for any occurrences in the Anlo country. But in 1858 Governor Pine appointed Edmund Bannerman to take charge of Keta, but not to interfere in the affairs of the people generally.

4. ADM.1/456-462 (1860-1871)

Policy of non-intervention, the Anlo-Ada Wars and the years of unrest, ending in fruitless negotiations for peace. The Anlo-Ashanti alliance, the Krepi War. Ascent of the Volta by Glover gun-boat diplomacy and its repercussions in Anlo affairs.

5. ADM.1/463 (1871-73)

Twilight of non-intervention. Re-occupation envisaged through negotiation.

6. ADM.1/464-466

Anlo conquered in the Glover War of 1874 and re-occupied. British control re-established; Anlo's independence at an end. But only the littoral occupied. Britain extended the area of her jurisdiction into Some territory without informing the King of Some.

False alarm of Captain Williams about the State of affairs in the Anlo country.

7. ADM.1/468-469 (1878-1879)

The Ellis Period: Years of provocation, and smuggling on the increase; strict but unscrupulous measures to put fears into the minds of the Anlo and to overcome them with Britain's physical strength. Petition against the Hausa Constabulary.

Aflao and Denu acquired for revenue purposes.

8. ADM.1/484-485 (1884-1885) (Anxiety about the Mainland)

Geraldo's arrest followed by attack on Campbell at Huti. Imposition of fines on Anlo Shelling of coastal towns, excepting Dzelukofe and Keta. Anyako shelled by the use of flottila of surf boats.

Differences between the coast and the mainland became manifest. The mainland led by Tenge and Tsitsi and the coast by Tamakloe and Akolatse.

9. ADM.1/488-90 (1888-1890)

The last phase of Anlo resistance to British rule. The 1889 Expedition; Tenge fled. The Keta Palaver.

Keta trade adversely affected by the Tariff system of Togo and Agwei, neighbouring German and French territories.

The Keta Tariff Ordinance of 1890 passed to put the duties at par with those of Germans and the French, September 1, 1890; the Governor reported Keta was sending money to Accra.

10. The replies from the Secretary of States, Colonial Office also come under ADM.1 and begin from ADM.1/1. Reference to the date of the reply should make one get the trend of colonial thinking on Anlo affairs.

ENCLOSURES

At times attached to the Administrative Reports are correspondences between District Officers and the Governor or Reports of Special Commissioners. These documents throw light on specific situations in any district.

One important enclosure for Anlo history is Report of the Assistant Colonial Surgeon, W.J.G. Lawson, on the countries between Lagoons and Quittah, for information of the war office, Lagos, August 22, 1879.
ADM.1/642.

It gives an account of the nature of the country thus surveyed, names and approximate population of the main coastal villages of Anlo, Denu and Aflao, and calls attention to smuggling at Denu and insecurity of traders in the Aflao area. Undoubtedly it influenced the decision to take over Denu and Aflao in December 1879.

CONFIDENTIAL PRINTS Catalogued ADM.12.

Despatches between the Governor and the Colonial Office. These documents are not open to the public, except after 50 years of the incidents recorded therein. Confidential Prints ADM.12/8-9 (1888-1889) are useful for Anlo history. They show Britain's anxiety about Keta, especially after Germany began to take over states in the interior of Eweland. It deals with the German proposal to take over the east of the Volta and the British reply to this gesture from a rival colonial power.

DOCUMENTS SPECIFIC ON ANLO

- | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------------|-------------|
| (a) ADM.11/1106 | <u>Awunah Native Affairs</u> | (1878-1901) |
| (b) ADM.11/1113 | <u>Keta Native Affairs</u> | (1886-1910) |
| (c) ADM.11/1091 | <u>Agbozume Native Affairs</u> | (1884-1930) |
| (d) ADM.11/775 | <u>Ada-Awunah Boundary</u> | (1884) |

These documents are mainly reports of the District Commissioner of Keta, on the internal administration of the district. They are most revealing and therefore very useful.

AWUNAH NATIVE AFFAIRS: Information on the struggle for balance of power between the mainland and the coastal areas of Anlo. The roles of Tamakloe, leader of the left wing of the Anlo fighting forces and his counterpart, Chief Tenge, the warrior, come out clearly.

Anxiety and unrest on the mainland from 1884-1889, the arrest of Geraldo, and its repercussions on the mainland, culminating in the Anlo expedition of 1889 are recorded in these documents.

There is also a document on the Political State of affairs in Awunah 1882-1889.

Ada's reaction to the Keta Customs Ordinance of 1887 is found among these papers.

There are two papers with earlier dates: These are: Correspondence relating to the Awoonah War of 1874 and a Memo on the Anlo-Ada Wars of 1865-66. The former contains information on the actual fighting of the war and on the defeat of the Anlo. The latter contains Geraldo's role as the instigator of this 1865-66 war, the attempts at negotiations before and after the war, and reference to the Ashanti alliance with Anlo.

KETA NATIVE AFFAIRS: The D.C.'s letters on events in the Keta district. Mention has been made of the slave trade in the Some area, the acquisition of Denu, and stipends for the chiefs.

AGBOZUME NATIVE AFFAIRS: The Agbozumes and their struggle with the British over stipends, reference is made to the slave trade and kidnapping in Some.

ADA-AWUNA BOUNDARY - The question of whether the Volta was a convenient boundary between the Anlo and the Adas is discussed here.

PRIVATE PAPERS

These in the Archives are labelled Special Collections (Sc.) Those useful for Anlo history are (a) the Christian Jacobson Diary and (b) the Bannerman Papers.

- (a) Jacobson Diary: 1879-1951. SC.14.

Jacobson himself prefaced the diary as follows: 'Remarkable occurrences of the Gold Coast and Ashanti, compiled from various sources' by C. Jacobson of Native Factory, Quittah, W.C. Africa. Started in 1879.

Christian Jacobson came to Keta in the late 1870's. He took much interest in local politics. His keen observation of daily happenings in Keta made the diary a very useful

document of the history of Anlo from 1879 to 1951. He became the Secretary of Chief Akolatse, the Government Chief of Anlo and remained so through our period. The events he recorded were mainly political.

His record of the Ellis Period (1878-9) indicates that Captain Ellis' measures in Anlo were calculated to provoke the Anlos and to incite them to rise against the Government. Captain Hay and Jackson's Commission authenticated Jacobson's record of events.

The Papers also contain valuable information on the oral tradition of the Anlos. It is appropriate to sum up by saying that events in the Anlo district from 1879 to 1890 are well covered.

(b) Bannerman Papers: Sc.2.

Private letters of William Bannerman, Commandant of the Accra District in 1853. The collection contains letters between Governor Stephen Hill and Bannerman - reflecting the Government's opinion about the Anlo soon after the British take over of Fort Prinzenstein in 1850. One of the letters from Hill congratulated Bannerman on being able to make the Anlo pay the Poll Tax in 1853.

THE CROWTHER REPORT, 1912

NOTES OF EVIDENCE

Awuna, Addah, Akwamu.

F.G. Crowther, Secretary for Native Affairs of the Gold Coast was appointed in 1912 to enquire into the 'Constitutions of the Ewe-speaking peoples'.

The report contains the oral traditions of the Anlos, their history and reflections on contemporary events. The evidence of Chiefs Akolatse and Tamakloe are most revealing e.g.

1. Akolatse told the Commission "We (the Anlos) are fond of war. (During wars) we kill some people; catch some and sell and chop and marry their women".
2. The attitude of the Anlos towards the slave trade was revealed at the Commission. "There was no work, and we had to sell slaves".
3. Anlo's involvement in the war with the Adas in 1865-66, in the Krepi War in 1869 and the Glover war in 1874 are in the report.
4. Anlo's relationship with her neighbours - Ada, Accras, Akwamus, is given in great detail by Noah Kwami, linguist to the King of Ada.

No history of Anlo could be written without adequate use of this report.

All the documents listed contain a large number of place-names, whose spelling present some difficulty. Names of towns have been spelt differently in different official reports and in some cases the same town has been spelt differently in the same document. This poses difficulties of identification. In some instances Europeans gave names to towns which already possessed local names or they wrote down the names as they sounded to them; and spellings differ from writer to writer: Mary Caunt in her Alone in West Africa, London, 1912 points out "The English have decided that Keta shall be called Quittah which means nothing at all, but the native name is, and I imagine will be for a long time to come, be Keta which means 'on the top of sand', and on the sand the town literally". p.284. The following are found in the records:-

Ahwoonlah, Awoonah, Awuna, Ahuna, Angua, Angula, Angoranh, Angolas	-	Anlo
Afflowhoo, Affloho	-	Aflao
Blockhouse	-	Blekusu
Crepee, Keraapy	-	Krepi
Elmina Chica, Adinnar Cooma, Little Elmina	-	Adina
Adafie, Addafia	-	Adafienu
Jellah Coffee	-	Dzelukofe
Kwittah, Kwitta, Quittah	-	Keta
Attokor, Ahtokhoh	-	Attoko
Voji, Vogee	-	Vodza
Mlafi, Mliefi, Mlantifi	-	Mafi
Aggravie	-	Agave
Away, Vay, Ve	-	Woe
Suroubgoe, Sorobay	-	Srogbe
Tebay	-	Tegbui

With this, I close this brief survey of available materials on Anlo history 1850-1890. The survey goes as far as I can make it, but there is no claim whatsoever to finality, but I hope the usefulness of this work to others will be commensurate with the labour which has been so freely spent upon its production.

REFERENCES

1. Nukunya, G.K.: Kinship, Marriage and Family: A study of the Influence of Contemporary Social changes on an Ewe Tribe, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, June 1964, p.5.
2. Hill, Polly: Ewe Seine Fishermen, Legon, 1963, p.2. 'But there is some form of subsistence agriculture - cassave, maize, vegetables, shallot growing on the fringes of the Keta lagoon, especially in the vicinity of Anloga, made possible by effective manuring'.
3. Gold Coast Government: Report on the Census of the Gold Coast, 1891, p.11.
4. Chapman, D.A.: Our Homeland, Vol.1. Achimota, 1943, p.98-9.
5. Chapman, D.A.: Human Geography of Eweland, 1st International West African Conference 1964.
6. Hill, Polly: 'Pan-African Fisherman', West Africa (Weekly) December 1963, p.1455.
7. Chapman, D.A.: Ewe Newsletter No.1., Achimota 21/5/1945.
8. Kemevor, E.M.: History of the Missionary and Educational Work at Anyako, 1857-1957 - Anyako, 1957, p.4.
9. Lawson, W.J.G.: To Assistant Colonial Secretary, Lagos, August 22, 1871 with enclosure GNA.ADM.1/642.

10. Nukunya, G.K.: Op. Cit. p.7.
11. Hill, Polly: Op. Cit. p.2.
12. Crowther Commission
1912: Commission of Enquiry into the
Constitution of the Ewe-people:
Printed in The Gold Coast Review:
1927 Vol.III, No.1.
13. Chapman, D.A.: Anlo Constitution, p.5.
14. Ibid. -
15. Anlo Tradition: -
16. Evidence of Kwame Beko, Linguist
of Asem, King of Mafi: Crowther
Commission 1912, p.84.
17. Wilks, I.G.: 'The Rise of the Akwamu Empire'
1650-1710. Transactions of
Historical Society of Ghana
Vol.III pat.2. Achimota, 1957,
p.114.

J. Yegbe.

UP THE SHAI HILLS
(HOME OF SHAI PRE 1892)

We have been trying to get to the top of the Shai Hills ever since we became interested in the hill-top towns which were there in the nineteenth century. Somehow the fates always seemed to be against us. Either it was in the middle of the rainy season, and the ground around the hills was quagmire; or it was the height of the dry season, and the grass was so high that it covered everything; or the Army was in occupation, on some unpublicised business of its own. Only in June, within weeks of the final departure of one of us from Ghana, were we at last successful.

We could, of course, simply have walked up the hills without further ado. But to do that would almost certainly be to get lost in the tangle of ridges and clefts which make up the Hills; and there would be a real danger of falling on some over-grown precipice. We were fortunate to have as guides, two very experienced hunters from Doryumu, who know every path in the hills and could show us the old towns and other interesting places.

Though the hills look so steep and bare from the road, we were surprised to find that the path, with only one or two short steep stretches, was quite easy and well-graded - very much easier than the steep path up AdwuuKu known to those who have visited the seventeenth century site there. Moreover, much of the path runs through a very pleasant light woodland, which gives welcome shade on a hot day; we were fortunate in having guides who could cut away the undergrowth and the overhanging creepers, but for the most part the path was well-marked and in good condition. The grassy sections were much harder work, as well as being out in the full sunlight.

Having made a couple of short rests in the lower, steeper and more open part of the path, we had our self-respect partly restored at the "Young Men's rock", where men returning home had been accustomed to rest on their way; we passed at least one other "authorised" stopping place. Our respect grew for the young women who regularly trod the path with headloads of pots for the market; the road to Prampram, they told us, was covered with the broken remains of pots which had not survived the journey.

Pottery was the great industry of the towns of the Shai Hills. "We dug clay, and ground rock, and made pots; that was our work" - that was what one old priestess told us when asked about the towns in the hills. We had learned quite a lot about the towns by asking the very old women about them. It was in 1892 that the British Government forced the Shai people, and also the Krobo, to leave their hill towns; this was an attempt to suppress "Krobo customs", which were then widely believed to involve human sacrifice. Before 1892, although many of the Shai had farms in the Akwapim hill-foot and across the Akwapims, the hill towns were their home towns; there the dead were buried, there national and family festivals were held, and there girls underwent their puberty rites; and there, also, until 1892, all the Shai pots were made. A girl who was ten in 1892 would be 84 today; and we have interviewed quite a number of old women who were ten and over before they left the hills.

These old women had told us about the crowded houses, built of clay with stone footings to the walls, and only the narrowest alley-ways between the houses. On the hills we saw the stone footings still standing, supporting narrow terraces of flat ground on which the houses had been built. Only the chief's house, the house of the grandfather of the present paramount chief of Shai, has its swish walls still standing to a considerable height, in the area which we visited. All the old women insisted that the houses (except those associated with the puberty rites) were rectangular, and that agrees with what we saw of the walls. But an early visitor, the Missionary Riis in 1839, wrote of round houses with pointed roofs. Possibly the houses changed from round to rectangular in the course of the nineteenth century; houses in the Adangme coast-towns are believed to have changed in this way in the eighteenth century, and it is not unreasonable to suggest that the change in Shai may have been later.

We did not visit the area where the girls did their puberty rites, though we had been shown the place from below on a previous occasion; it is at some distance from the towns.

Several of the old potters who told us about the hill towns told us that, owing to the congestion in the towns, and the grass roofs of the houses, pot-firing was done in an open space called Gbætɛm, outside the towns. This open space we were shown, now overgrown with tall grass, but still deep in the ashes of generations of pot-burning fires; here and there

were pots which had cracked in the burning, left where the potters had abandoned them at least 74 years ago - pots exactly like those still made by Shai potters today. We do not know how long Gbetɛm was in use as a burning-field; it would make an obvious place to dig, as one might find well-stratified pottery remains there.

Much could also probably be done in the actual town sites. We were told of, but did not see, family tombs in the form of a stone-lined pits, in which the remains of former burials were pushed aside to make room for the latest burial.

Another place which we did not have time to visit was the meeting-place, Magbetɛ¹, which would doubtless yield tobacco pipes in some numbers.

One place which we were shown was the caves known as the "talking stones". According to the story, when the Akwamu defeated the Shai in the early eighteenth century, almost all of the Shai were driven from the hills, with the exception of six people who took refuge in these caves; they formed the nucleus for the eventual re-establishment of the hill towns.²

The caves are approached by a hair-raising scramble up one side of a sheer rock, and then part-way down a gully on the other side. The actual cave-mouth is so low that one has to crawl through it. There is an even narrower entrance at the other end, and a side-exit very reminiscent of the "postern" on Adwuuku, but partly blocked by a dry stone wall. The cave itself is triangular in section, formed by great blocks of stone leaning against each other. It has a population of white-winged grey bats. The top of the rocks forms a splendid watch-tower. The whole arrangement, though quite different in detail, is reminiscent of the "citadel" on Adwuuku, though there is nothing to correspond to the walled-in space with gun-parts on that hill. Both are admirably designed to keep out unwanted visitors, and to see them coming from afar; both could have been used as refuges after the Akwamu disaster.

We did not have any explanation of the name of the caves; it is not unlikely that some of the stones do "sing", as is not uncommon in this type of formation.

-
1. Magbetɛ was between Hiwe-wem and the bigger and more populous Mla-wem. See Carl Reindorf history of the Gold Coast and Ashanti.
 2. Story as given by the Hiwe division of Shai.

The area around the caves is now covered in light secondary forest; but it is believed that most of this has grown up since 1892, though a few larger trees are probably older. One extensive area of forest on the slopes is remembered as a place where cocoyams grew very well, and there seems to have been a good deal of farming actually in the hills up to 1892, though never enough to support the whole population. The old potters remember a great shortage of firewood, which would agree with the absence of forest in the hills.

Our visit was only the most preliminary of preliminary surveys. We did not visit Mla, the larger of the two nineteenth-century hill-towns, nor did we visit any of the hills which bear the names of other towns remembered from the seventeenth century. Moreover, the whole area was much overgrown, and much more could be seen if it could be burnt over at a suitable time of year - this applies to the grassland, not to the forest, which covers what was probably mainly farm land. There is scope for a general study of the natural history of the hills; to give one example only, the burning-field is covered with a grass quite different from that of the surrounding area; it is possible that the vegetation cover might give many more pointers to what lies underneath.

Now that the new road is open, the Shai Hills are easily accessible from Legon. They must be almost unique in being an uninhabited site of which the recent history is known in some detail, down to living memory; it even falls within the first Gold Coast census. We feel there would be scope for a study of the hills as a joint activity by people from many different backgrounds.

Marion Johnson
&
A.K. Quarcoo

SALAGA IN 1892

Adolf Krause, the German scholar-trader, was living in Salaga when it was invaded by the rebel forces of Kabachewura Issifa and his Dagomba and Nanumba allies. The date was Monday, December 5th, 1892, and marks the end of the reign of Napo as chief of Kpembe, the twin town of Salaga and residence of the royals of Eastern Gonja. In the following year, Issifa was enrobed as Kpembewura Isanwurfo II, an office which he held until his death in 1897.

Issifa was the first chief of Kpembe from the Kanyase dynasty for many decades. The mode of succession to the Kpembe chiefship was complicated. Three dynastic segments of the ruling dynasty of Gonja lived in the town, Singbung, Lepo and Kanyase. However the last two of these, whose founders were said to be twins, counted as one for the purposes of succession. When the reign of a Singbung chief had ended, it was the oldest of the senior chiefs of the Lepo or Kanyase segments who was entitled to succeed. For a number of reigns the system had worked to the exclusion of the Kanyase section. Whether this state of affairs was the result of accident or design is not altogether clear. But Kanyase were growing increasingly powerful by the end of the 1880's partly owing to the dealings that their chief, Asumani, had with Inspector Firminger, who acted as recruiting agent for the Gold Coast Constabulary and as trader on his own account. They therefore pressed for the rotational system to be established on the basis of strict alternation between the Lepo and Kanyase sections when it was their joint turn to provide the next chief. While Lepo agreed in principle, they disregarded the arrangement in practice. When Kpembewura Bangbanga, from the Singbung section, died, he was succeeded by Napo of Lepo in April 1892. Issifa, who then held the chiefship of Kabache, the second in seniority within the Kanyase section, withdrew from the capital to Litinkpa in the North in order to raise a rebellion against Lepo, who were subsequently assisted by Singbung and most of the Salaga Muslims. With Dagomba and Nanumba support, Issifa defeated the combined forces and entered Salaga and Kpembe with his allies on Monday, December 5th, 1892, the inhabitants having fled south before his advance.

Later some of the refugees started to trickle back and the Dagomba forces began to withdraw. But the new regime still depended upon the support of the northern kingdom for a number of years.

Krause lived in the Salaga area for some two and a half years between 1892 and 1894, and the letters he wrote back to the German newspaper, *Kreuz-Zeitung*, are translated below. The last of these refers to a visit to Kpembe of G.E. Ferguson, which ushered in a period of intense competition between the Germans and the British for control of the area, a struggle which eventually ended in the division of the Neutral Zone that these powers had established there a few years earlier.

The dispute arising out of Ferguson's visit had to do with the nature of the Treaty into which he entered with Isanwurfo II. Krause understood this to be a Treaty of Protection, whereas in fact it was a Treaty of Friendship and Trade, such as both powers had agreed it was necessary to conclude with the authorities within the Zone, lest a third European power, France, should decide to do so before them.

It was hardly surprising that Krause's informants, and possibly the Gonja themselves, could not distinguish between these two forms of treaty, with their very different international implications. Nor that, after thirty-one months without news, Krause himself should be out of touch with the latest diplomatic manouvres in Europe. But his misinterpretation of the treaty was at least partly responsible for the immediate increase in European activity in the Salaga region between 1894 and 1897, as well as in a running dispute between Germany and England.

Krause's letters about Salaga appeared in the *Kreuz-Zeitung* on November 6th, 1894. Their publication caused an immediate stir in Germany and paraphrases of them were transmitted to London by the British Ambassador. These versions later appeared in the printed Colonial Office Papers on West Africa but a translation of the full text is given below because of their importance in the history of Northern Ghana.

"From Togoland"

Supplement of the Neue Preussische (*Kreuz-Zeitung*). No.520. Berlin, November 6th, 1894.

From the African traveller, Gottlob Adolf Krause, the following letters have reached us:

Krachi, on the Volta, Togo.
September 13th, 1894.

Dear Sir,

I have today received your letter of May 5th, 1892. For more than two years and seven months I had been without any news from Europe. Today I received mail which covers the period from the end of January 1892 to October 1892, so there is now only a year and seven months of which I have been without news.

I last wrote to you on December 9th, 1892 immediately after the destruction of Salaga. As it is doubtful whether this letter came into your hands (it has not reached us) I will enclose a shorthand copy of it with this letter (No.1 below).

My letter of September 5th of this year from Yeji will be sent off at the same time as this letter.¹ (No.2 below).

From Sofo in Kete (near Krachi), who is recognised as the Hausa chief by the Germans, I have today received news which weighs heavily upon my mind. According to this Germany is involved in a war with France. The Germans are said to have conquered the French and to have killed their king. Can this be true, and does this war perhaps explain the events which I recount in my letter of the 6th inst.? Has England used this war to take possession of the Neutral Zone of Salaga etc.?

In Krachi the building of a station will be started in the autumn. Of the rectangle of forts which the situation of Togo demands - Kpandu (SW of the Salaga) and Atakpame (SE) in the south, and Krachi (near Salaga) and Fosoga in the north - the first will then have begun. The situation in Krachi is not satisfactory and the new station is sure to create peace and security. The head priest of the Odente fetish seems to be a great intriguer. He lives in enmity with the King: recently he was going to the station at Bismarckburg, no-one quite knew why, but on the way he was stopped and persuaded to return home.

1. From Yeji I went down the River Volta to Krachi. This reach of the Volta was new to me, but as I had not got a watch that worked I did not make an exact survey of the river.

The King of Krachi recently intended to send an embassy with some ivory to the English governor in Accra, in order finally to discover what their position really was. They were supposed previously to have belonged to the English; for some years it had been said that the English had handed them over to the Germans, but the English had never told them about it, and they were not happy with this situation. The King, a mild old man with a white square-cut beard, who is both peaceful and reasonable, visits me two or three times a day. I have clearly explained to him the situation in which he finds himself. In answer to my direct question as to whether he had been done any injustice by the Germans, he replied in the negative. It was only the manner in which they had been transferred from their former master to a new one, he said, which had offended them. Indeed, as the former masters had not even told them about this matter, they did not know at all whether this were so or not.

I think it probable that should a renewed attempt be made by the Germans to persuade the King of Krachi to accept the German flag, the desired effect would be forthcoming, as above all the building of a German station will show the King that the English will not further be concerned with the country - so far as it lies to the East of the Volta. In fact the King of Krachi has never been under English protection - of that I could give him proof - but all those tribes east of the Volta who until the Ashanti war of 1873/4 were subjects of the Ashanti and who then freed themselves when the English had destroyed the Ashanti power, regarded themselves from that time as dependent on the English. If the King of Krachi has since the first attempt of Captain von Francois, steadfastly refused to accept the German flag, this has not happened because he disliked the Germans but because he believed that he was under English protection.

When Lieutenant von Doering, the head of the German station of Bismarckburg in Adele, was here some time ago, he chained up one of the biggest scoundrels in the land, the head slave of the chief priest, but then set him free again.

Formerly a Hausa trader called Malami lived in Kete, a somewhat shifty man with a not altogether faultless past. Once he bought slaves from the Salaga people without possessing a penny to pay for them. Under cover of darkness he escaped and took the slaves to Lome. The Salaga people wanted to be indemnified by Malami's family, which he had left behind, but they did not do so because of the intervention of the elders of Kete, and peacefully waited for payment for months until Malami returned from Lome.

This man now possesses a document issued by the German station at Misahohe in which Dr. Gruner says that "Chief Malami of Kaleki is the protegee of the station of Misahohe" and which also bears the signatures of the Commissar S. Puttkamer among others, and requests that support be given to the owner of the document. Not it appears that this Malami came into possession of this document by dishonourable means, and was in any case helped further by an error of Dr. Gruner's. In Kete there are only two Hausa chiefs recognised by the Germans: the first, Sofo, and the second, Abdul Bedi, though it would be best if the latter were demoted. Dr. Gruner appears not to have known that "Kaleki", or more properly Karaki, is the Hausa name for Krachi and Kete, for in Togo Krachi is usually written as "Kratiji".

Malami has now gone to Salaga and has there become Maiungua, that is, chief of a quarter: thereby he is an official of the King of Kpembe. As such he can hardly have any further justification in continuing to keep this document, the more so since the English may see the presence of this man in Salaga as an infringement by the Germans of the treaty about the neutrality of Salaga.

I am now going to the coast, and, as soon as the doctor has given me clearance, to Europe. When I left Berlin in November 1889 I thought I would return in May or June 1890 at the latest. These six or seven months have now become five whole years. With this year it is 26 years since I first touched African soil.

With best wishes I sign myself gratefully

Yours sincerely,

G.A.K.

Salaga, December 9th, 1892.

Dear Sir,

A civil war has broken out in Salaga, in which the weaker and rebellious party has got the support of the King of Yendi in Dagomba.

The Dagomba army has advanced against Salaga with astonishing rapidity. At the news of the army's approach on the night of December 4/5 the inhabitants of Salaga were overtaken by a frenzied fear and rushed out of the place in wild flight. Out of a total of about 12,000 inhabitants, not 200, including the sick, can have remained in the town. I was quite alone with a freed native boy aged between seven and eight. On the 5th the Dagombas entered Kpembe, the King's residence near Salaga, and Salaga itself. Since then Salaga has been plundered and ravaged by fire, which broke out soon after the general exodus.

Up to the present I have not been touched either by fire or by people. So far hundreds of looters have been kept off by words alone.

The Dagomba army consists of about 200 cavalry and 2,000 foot: The King of Kpembe has fled through Kulipi and Sabon Gida to Alfai, whose chief he was before being elected chief of Kpembe at the beginning of April 1892. Alfai is meant to belong to the German territory of Togo.

The refugees have gone into German territory (Bajemeso, and Kete near Krachi) others to Kulipi, Yeji, Kafaba; many have taken the road to Dagomba.

The Dagomba army had orders not to enter Salaga, but only to take the present Chief of Kabache to Kpembe as Chief of Kpembe and to capture the present Chief of Kpembe and kill him. The army gave in to the lure of booty however. The Dagomba army is stationed east of Kpembe, but various princes sleep at night in Salaga with their booty. Orders are now being awaited from the King of Yendi: is the army to return home or to pursue the present King of Kpembe, which would mean taking the war into German territory?

Abdul Bedi, who is recognised by the Germans as the second Chief of the Hausa in Kete near Krachi and who is always acting the upstart, came to the assistance of the King of Kpembe in a ridiculous way, only to return home at once. The English might construe his action as an offence against the agreement regarding the neutrality of Salaga.

My "latest" news from Europe goes back to the end of January 1892.

In this year I have been ill with dyscentery again for five months.

In the coming year, 1893, when it will be 25 years since I first touched African soil and four years since I saw my home, I am thinking of going to Europe.

With best wishes I sign myself gratefully,

Yours faithfully,

G.A.K.

(Translated from Gabelsberg shorthand in Berlin, November 3rd, 1894.
Dr. Weip, Nollendorfstr. 34. Shorthand expert of the Reichstag).

Yeji, September 5th 1894.

I left Salaga, or rather the ruins of Salaga, on August 30th and I arrived here on the 31st. The distance between Salaga and Yeji is small, about 57 kilometers, but it is more than enough for a sick man whom a doctor in Europe would not allow to walk two steps, let alone a two days march of 57 kilometers, wading through water eight times. But in Africa the thing is very simple, you just have to do it.

Yeji is situated on the right bank of the river Volta, in English territory, on the road which in one direction leads from Salaga via Atebubu to Ashanti, and in the other goes via Atebubu and Okwau to Accra on the Gold Coast. Since the destruction of Salaga in December 1892, a number of the Salaga refugees have settled down here in grass huts, where they felt quite safe until a short time ago when the greater number of them fled further into English territory as they feared an attack of the new King of Kpembe (Salaga).

Since I left Salaga only a few days have gone by but they have brought events which are of great importance for this part of the world and of special interest to Germany.

In the year 1888 an agreement was reached between England and Germany, by which Salaga and its territory were declared neutral, and both countries undertook not to establish sovereignty over it. I do not know if the full text of this treaty has ever been published. (It has not been published). It has been learnt from other sources that the neutral zone includes not only the territory of Salaga but also Yendi and Gambaga. In the official memorandum of the German government about the Anglo-German treaty of 1890 concerning the delineation of the spheres of influence of both parties in Africa, reference is made to the neutral zone in which it is stated: "In the case of undertakings which would affect this neutrality Germany would be able to demand the right of priority by virtue of the protective treaty negotiated by Captain von Francois".

Has this Anglo-German agreement of 1888 been recently cancelled, have the views and demands of the German government which I have cited recently been relinquished? I do not know. (No). For two years and seven months events in Europe and in the whole of the civilised world have been to me as a book closed with more than seven seals and during that time I have received news neither from Europe nor from the coast - except for one single drop of news - but it seems to me unlikely, indeed utterly impossible that Germany should in the meantime have given up rights guaranteed by treaty. And if these rights in the neutral zone have not been surrendered by Germany, then they have been most grossly violated by England. Salaga has been put under English protection, Gambaga, Wale Wale, Mangu (Sansanne Mangu) have been put under English protection, together with Wagadugu, the capital of Mossi, which in 1886 I was the first European to visit. The King of Belusa in Mogho, the land of the Mossi,

rejected the English, and the King of Yendi in the land of Dagbong or Dagomba also refused to engage in negotiations after the English had made a treaty with Mangu. He said that Mangu belonged to him and he had fought it for years. And even now, after Mangu had received the English flag, he would kill every Mangu man who dared to come to Yendi.

The negociator on the English side is a young negro of 23 to 25 years, Mr. George Ferguson, who is officially called "Surveyor of Roads", born in the town of Anamabu on the Gold Coast. It seems questionable whether this young man had any knowledge of the existing treaties, also whether he acted on instructions. Perhaps he acted on his own initiative in placing Gambaga, Mangu and Salaga under English protection. That will soon be established and will be known in Europe before this letter arrives. Today the express messenger arrived in Yeji, a non-commissioned officer of the English Hausa force in the Gold Coast by whom Ferguson sends telegrams and treaties to the Governor in Accra. The man⁺ is of course familiar with the Anglo-German agreements and it will now be up to him to condemn Mr. Ferguson's treaties, to ratify them or simply to report back.

Mr. Ferguson arrived in Salaga a few hours after I had left on August 30th. Salaga is a heap of ruins in which you can find here and there some groups of inhabited huts. Only a negligible part of the inhabitants of Salaga who fled in December 1892 at the approach of the Dagomba army has returned. The refugees are living in grass huts (buka) in Yeji, Garin Mallam Shafa, in Kwobia, Yendi, in Bajemeso and especially in Kete, near Krachi in the German territory. All the efforts of the chief of Kabache, who is now the unjustly elected King of Kpembe, to persuade the refugees to return have been in vain: only the people who fled to Mpaha and Tuluwe (Tuhugu), seven house-owners, have been brought back to Salaga by the King of Tuluwe. The new King of Kpembe has neither power nor esteem, neither people nor money, neither intelligence nor discretion; no-one can bear him, not even the King of Yendi who installed him, nor yet his wives who have sided with others. In this unstable situation he thought he could gain support by throwing himself into the arms of the Europeans. These he hopes will build up again what he has destroyed by his criminal ambition: the town and market of Salaga. Thus some time ago he decided to send an embassy to the white man for this purpose, and consulted my opinion through a third person. I simply told him of the contents of the Anglo-German agreement of 1888. As a result he did not send the embassy.

+ The Governor.

From the time of the great flight of the inhabitants of Salaga at the beginning of December 1892, plundering has been an everyday occurrence in Salaga. There have been periods of peace, at other times it has got worse, but plundering has never entirely ceased. Indeed, if a small Hausa caravan had not recently been completely looted just outside Salaga, I should today still be in Salaga rather than safe in English territory at Yeji. Among the Hausa who had been robbed I found carriers, whereas I had not succeeded in finding carriers from outside, as they were afraid that they would be taken prisoner in Salaga and sold as slaves.

The procedure at the declaration of the English Protectorate over Salaga has been described in letters by two separate eye witnesses. One of them is written in the Hausa language, the other partly in Arabic, partly in Hausa. The first is so interesting as to justify a literal translation.

It runs:

It is R.R. who has written down the events which he has seen since your departure.

On Sunday, the first of the lunar month (i.e. 1. Rbei el awwal 1312; 2nd September 1894) the King of Kpembe called all his people together. Ferguson arrived with his soldiers who set themselves up in the King's entrance-hut. Ferguson sat on a chair, he put a big chest in front of him and put ink and paper on it. Then he took a book and read aloud from it but we do not know what he said. Then, when he had finished he asked the king, saying: "What is there between you and the English? I want to hear whether you want them or not". The King said: "There is no doubt that all we Gbanye people here (Gondschaua, the name of the inhabitants of the country in which Salaga is situated) were formerly dependants of the Ashanti, but now there are no Ashanti, therefore our land is without a Lord. Disorder has come upon us, yes we have even had a war, we have destroyed and have not been able to create order again. For this reason, I, Jusufu, King of Kpembe (alternatively Kombe, Pami, Pembe) declare that I do not wish that it should remain without a Lord. I recognise the English, I recognise the English, I recognise them, from today they own me and my whole country, they are my masters, I have no other masters but them". Ferguson asked him again and repeated this, as above, three times. Thereupon Ferguson said: "Where are the witnesses?" They said: "Here, the sons of the King

are all witnesses and the Moslems of the town". Thereupon Ferguson took some paper and said: "I will write that today you have become the friend of the English; from today you will have no other friend but them". The King said: "It is so. I agree to your writing it". Ferguson said: "Take the pen". He took it, he wrote (signed). Ferguson said: "Kanyasi (one of the great ones after the King) shall take it (the pen)". He took it, he wrote. So it continued until all the people of Kpembe had finished (all had signed). Thereupon Ferguson said that the Maingua Kuka (a chief of a ward in the town of Salaga) should take the pen. He took it and signed. He said to the Imam (chief priest of the Mohammedan Hausa): "Take the pen". He took it and signed. So it continued until all the great ones of Salaga had signed. Then Agjemaku signed (a trader from the coast residing in Kete in German territory, at present in Salaga), then the Maun from Krobo (a trader from Krobo in the Gold Coast Colony, at present in Salaga), finally the great men among the soldiers, they all took the pen and signed. Now that he was finished he said: "There are three papers. One I will give to you, King of Kpembe; one I will keep for myself and one I will send to Accra". Then Ferguson said: "Good, from today this market belongs to the English, people from all tribes shall come and visit the market, except the French". So it is and so it has happened.

Again Ferguson said: "The King of Mossi has recognised the English; he has even accepted the flag and hoisted it. The King of Mangu (Sansanne Mangu) has recognised the English; he has even received the flag and it has been hoisted in his country. But the King of Yendi has refused; he has said that between himself and all Christians there is only war, never protective sovereignty". He (Ferguson) said further: "Today on the first of your month you, King of Kpembe, have recognised the English; on a Sunday you have become one of theirs". Now Ferguson gave the King a handful of silver. I do not know of what kind, but I believe it was about 20 or 25 pieces, 4, 000 cowries each (i.e. 2 shillings each).

All these things happened while I, X.X., was sitting there, and I too took the pen with my own hand (and signed) on Sunday towards Azzuhur (towards 2 p.m.) on the first day of the lunar month.

Once again Ferguson spoke, saying that he would not leave until his messengers had returned from Mangu and Accra. He told the soldiers that they should walk round the market and wherever they saw a Dagomba man who was stealing, even if it were only a single cowry shell, or maize or yams, they should beat him, take the stolen property from him and return it to its owner. And so they did.

So much for the Hausa text.

What could have moved Mr. Ferguson to exclude the French from the market of Salaga is utterly incomprehensible. It is hardly conceivable that he should have acted thus in accordance with instructions from above. In this regard he may have acted on his own initiative and responsibility. I know from oral reports that my informant was not wrong and did not mishear; the text of the half-Arabic, half-Hausa document with references to the exclusion of the French from the market of the Salaga runs in literal translation as follows:

"After the rains the market of Salaga would be visited ("eaten"); both Igilischi (Englishmen) and Dschaman (the English word: German) can come, but they, the Faranschi (French) shall not come to Salaga".

The latter document goes on to say, among other things:

"The King of Kpembe said: 'The market is in my territory, anyone may come, I have no objection. We fear the Ashanti, but if the Christian brings them here, they may come and visit the market (since the war of the English against the Ashanti of 1873/4 the Ashanti cannot visit the Salaga market), but we will have nothing to do with their chiefs. We will allow them to visit the market if the Christian is responsible for them'.^{*}

A few days after the acceptance of English protection the King of Kpembe sent an embassy to the King of Yendi, who had installed him as

* As Mr. Ferguson gave Kabache the silver coins he told him (according to oral report) that he should buy gin with it.

King of Kpembe. Without the help of the King of Yendi the present King of Kpembe would, even in the most favourable circumstances, still be the ruler of the small village of Kabache, from which he is, even now, often simply called "Kabache". Now the King of Yendi (Dagomba) will have nothing to do with the Christians, and one is anxious to know how he will interpret Kabache's surrender. It is not impossible that bands of Dagomba raiders will once again descend on Salaga.

Note:

The signatories of the treaty signed by Ferguson and dated September 1, 1894, were:

Isifa, King of Salaga and Kombi (Kpembe).
Mengwa, Chief (presumably Mai Ngua, head of a ward in Salaga).
Kanyasuwula (i.e. Nchuani Soali).
Sraka Seidu (Serikin, chief of the Hausa Zongo?)
Lepolwura (Lepowura)
Mambumwula
Sungumwula (Singbungwura)
Bambarawula (Bambaliwura)
Kabachiwula
Kasimpinwula (Kasampu: is a village east of the R. Dakar)
Kribiwula (Kilibiwura?)
Mengwa Kuka (Mai Ngua Kuka, head of the Bernu section in
Salaga)

Alimani

Witnesses: Mama Gimalah (the Sergeant-Major)
Bossomboy Grunshi (Lance-Corporal)
Chr. A. Affu (i.e. Azzu)
Fredk. B. Morgan (the Maun of Krause's informant)
Thos. A. Josiah
W. Manasseh

The Malami referred to by Krause in his letter from Krachi, 13/9/94, is either the Mengwe or the Mengwe Kuka above. The Agjemaku who also signed the treaty is Azzu or Josiah.

THE PLACE OF WESTERN MUSIC IN THE MUSIC
EDUCATION OF AFRICA*

The history of the development of music education in West Africa has not yet been recorded. In this paper, I shall give an outline of this history with particular reference to Ghana where I have gained a first hand experience of it during the three years of teaching and musical activity in Ghana. I wish to deal with two main points. Firstly, how to perform West African rhythm and melody on western stringed instruments taught on the basis of our teaching method and secondly, the results that could be obtained in teaching strings at the Music Department of the University of Ghana at Legon.

Before proceeding with this, I would like to touch upon a question which has a bearing on my material and which appears as one of the themes of this conference, namely: What do we mean by exotic music? Where is the borderline between exotic and non-exotic music? Peoples of all continents have got their own special or characteristic music based on their own tradition. Hungarian traditional music would sound as exotic to the audience of a western country as an Akan funeral dirge¹. In one of his writings, Rabindranath Tagore similarly mentions that the European classical music is nothing but cacophony for an Indian.

What western musical forms produce any effect on musical life in West Africa, or more particularly in Ghana? As a consequence of the colonial period three influential forms may be mentioned here:

1. Church music
2. March music
3. Western song-hit

* To be read at the Interlochen Conference at Michigan, United States on the 18th of August, 1966.

1. J.H. Nketia: Funeral Dirges of the Akan People, Achimota, 1955

1. Church music:

A large percentage of the population of Ghana is Christian. Beside the Catholic Church, there are a number of Protestant missions as well as various sects such as Adventist, Quaker, etc. Not only churches and mission schools offer church music but also the State primary and middle schools too. Some of the texts of these songs are translated into African languages but English hymn books are also used, for English is the language of schools, Government and Commerce. This is because there are several different languages in Ghana, none of which has emerged as an agreed or official common language. So before teaching Ghanaian folk songs regularly at schools a lot of difficulties have to be overcome. No wonder that English folk songs and children's songs are still taught in some schools, while western music is taught in the high classes. A second difficulty arises from the fact that for a long time there were no systematic collections of folk songs available that would answer the requirements of musical education, although some steps have now been taken to remedy this situation.

2. The music of the military bands:

The march music enjoys a widespread popularity. The European brass instruments - trumpet, trombone, horn, tuba - are well-known. Local military and police brass bands are not bad at all. I have heard them play on festive occasions and to my great surprise in addition to the usual marchings there were some medleys of Mozart operas on the program, performed in military march tempo.

3. Western song-hit:

The Western song-hit makes its way through radio, film, gramophone records, local and imported jazz bands and the television joined them about half a year ago.

Against this background, let me now turn to the present phase of development and the material with which we are working.

The collection of folk songs was initiated by Dr. Amu^{*} only a few decades ago. His book of original compositions of "25 African Songs" based on his collection was published in 1932. It was he who improved on the structure of the bamboo flute and organized polyphonic flute ensembles. We have every reason to say that his activity was epoch-making in the development of African music studies in Ghana. Professor Nketia, Head of the School of Music and Drama at the University of Ghana is carrying on scientific research work into African music. His contribution to African studies in the field of ethno-musicology, in the form of essays, books, selections of rhythms and tunes for class work, collections of folk songs is of great significance not only to the study of the folklore of Ghana but also to the study of the music of Africa as a whole. Although under different circumstances, our Bartok and Kodaly followed the same path of activity. Young African musicologists are carrying on their research work under his directions.

Following the initiatives of Professor Nketia a new experimental Department was inaugurated three years ago for teaching Western strings - violin, viola, violin-cello, doublebass. On the invitation of the Professor, the University of Ghana at Legon entrusted me and Judith Domanyi to start this new department of violin-viola and violin-cello-doublebass.

What was the Professor's intention when setting up this department?

The principal intention was to enable African students to acquire the instrumental techniques of the West which could be used by creative people - creative performers and composers - in the development of African music. When there are competent performers, composers might be encouraged to compose new music in the African idiom for them.

As a corollary to this, there was also the ideal of bi-musicality emphasized in the school - the ideal of training young Africans to appreciate both Western and African music. Ghana is a pioneering country in this respect for western stringed instruments lack any tradition in the country and until recently they were quite unknown in many parts of the country.

* Dr. Amu is a Senior Research Associate of the Institute of African Studies, Legon - Editor's Note.

Parallel with instruction in musical instruments, such theoretical subject matters as notation, aural training, harmonic, counterpoint, form and analysis, history of music, etc. are being taught.

The instruction is not limited to western instruments. In a most appropriate way each student has to pass an examination in the handling of a traditional instrument. Generally they choose a percussion instrument but the bamboo flute and xylophone also enjoy popularity.

As to the teaching of strings in a non-western country, I had had some experience in a pioneer work like this, in 1957-58, in North Vietnam, but the circumstances were not as favourable as in Ghana. For example, no collection of folk music was at my disposal, and the time given to me was too short for I was expected to have trained music teachers and professional musicians in just one year. Both the school management and the Minister of Education emphasised the importance of putting folk music on the annual programme of the school even though a textbook or any other material was not available.

So it was a pleasant surprise at Legon to get into my hand a selection of African rhythms and melodies compiled by Professor Nketia and books on African folk music.

As a matter of fact I could not make use of this material at the beginning. Even the apparently easier tunes and rhythms could not be performed without accurate preliminary studies, but later on I could introduce the students to their own kind of musical tongue.

First Year:

The group of my students ranging in age 16 to 40 raised rather mingled feelings. All had some theoretical notions, a few of them could even play the piano; (in the big towns the organ, harmonium, and piano are well known) but none of them had ever learned a stringed instrument.

The picture was the same at the department of violoncello and doublebass. At the end of the first term I sent away four students whose rate of learning seemed hopeless. The instruction started at a low stage following up the well-proved Hungarian pedagogical methods.

The physiological endowments, stiff muscles, technical difficulties of playing on a stringed instrument with a tradition in Ghana raised serious problems. All the students could drum complicated African rhythms, could sing their own polyphonic songs without music and textbook, yet very elementary problems of notation such as reading a simple 2/4 tune, or playing the interval of the third correctly, or following persistent time-measure seemed to present difficulties. Certainly African music operates on certain definite rules, some of which are perhaps a little different from those that obtain in western music. There is room for the personal contribution and for the inspiration of the moment. The African can always compose, improvise and "live" his music, music which is closely linked with movement.

Cross-rhythms, traditional variations of 6/8, syncopations and upbeats used in African music are rather different from the accented and unaccented bars of western classical music.

When playing legato, it was not an easy task to explain how the sounds are attached as no legato can be played on their best-known instrument the drum.

Due to these obstacles the usual programme for a year has been divided into two years for those who could not cope with it in a year. Here I experienced for the first time how badly we needed tutors specially adapted to suit this new situation. African music had special requirements that could not be covered by our textbooks though they are of very high standard.

Besides, the students had to get used to regular exercises and learn to concentrate.

Last but not the least, I myself needed time to get thoroughly acquainted with my group, and to inspire them with confidence in me.

In the course of teaching I was rather surprised to see that the Hungarian folk song built on pentatonic scale, the sharpened rhythms were better appreciated than the Western classic music. Later on, having got acquainted with the African music I came to the proper explanation².

-
2. (a) Preparatory Exercises in African Rhythm:
 Mm**ə**b**ə** Mm**ə**b**ə** / Akan folk song/, Anu Deem Ayida/Kasem folk song
- (b) Egyenka Ba / Akan f.s. / Kanlana / Kasem f.s./

Towards the end of the first year I made some experiments with some of my pupils. I put on our programme some exercises of African rhythms and melodies. The music they heard, sang and played every day, could hardly be recognised. That was the first time they saw their traditional music in a textbook. It took them time to identify the written music with what they had only heard up to that time.

For the second year 12 students continued their studies in the department of cello-doublebass, while in the department of violin their number came up to 15.

Systematic teaching was carried on and I made the African tune-rhythm exercises obligatory as well as a selected material of folk songs. The programme was enlarged by playing music at sight, accompanied by piano, according to personal gifts, and playing in ensemble. This latter means that students of the string had an orchestral practice once a week where at the beginning they played in unison, or played polyphonic tunes.

The programme of the second year grew richer by a little collection for beginners selected by Judith Domanyi out of the collection of Professor Nketia. This was the first remarkable attempt to use West African music as teaching material for western string, while applying western teaching methods³.

The programme of the third year was gradually increased by incorporating into it more African music in addition to further synthetic instruction in classical music. In the course of the year, instruction in singing and wind instruments (wood and brass) was started. Thus there was the chance of enlarging the string orchestra with wind instruments.

The teaching of western classical chamber music has not been neglected in the programme. At the beginning only simple duets were performed, later enlarged by viola, violoncello into a quartet and piano trio.

3. Graded exercises in African Rhythm for violocello Book One. Elementary by Judith Domanyi and J.H. Kwabena Nketia.

A few works of chamber music of strings based on African idiom have already been composed by Professor Nketia and tried as an experiment. We have planned with Professor Nketia to combine African drum and other percussion instrument with string and wind. So far a work arranged for violin-cello-African drums, a violoncello-clarinet duet and a flute-piano partita have enriched the repertoire of our programme.⁴

What are our further aims?

1. To realize a more differentiated, multicoloured modern African music, with a fuller intonation, based on well-tried educational methods.
2. To make up a programme which would consist of both Western and African music elements.
3. To prepare a special literature both in theoretical and practical fields; to prepare new tutors and textbooks on the basis of the indigenous music of African students.
4. To introduce individual instrumental teaching at schools.

Working closely with our colleagues, we hope in this way to lay the foundations for a new system of musical education which makes use of western instruments in a new way. It is our hope that the School of Music and Drama will bring up not only a new generation of musicologists who will study the old traditional music but also a new generation of composers for recreating African music, soloists to perform the new music and music teachers to spread music education all over the country.

Elizabeth Partos.

4. Chamber music in African tune composed by Professor Nketia.

OBSERVATIONS ON SPECTATOR-PERFORMER ARRANGEMENTS
OF SOME TRADITIONAL GHANAIAN PERFORMANCES

These observations cover only a small part of a wide range of traditional situations in which the arrangement or seating of spectators and performances, whether spontaneous or organised, is both interesting and suggestive of ideas which might be of use when the need becomes pressing to adapt the conventional theatre more extensively to local conditions. One cannot pretend that the most has been made of light or space, or that the problem of crowding and ventilation has been satisfactorily solved, or that the form of architecture as is at present in vogue suits our traditional performances.

I start off with music and dance performances first because they are characteristic of all the peoples of Ghana and also because they occur in most of the other aspects to be examined later. Spectator-performer arrangements for music and dance performances fall into two main groups: (a) those for organised performances either for their own sake or in connection with an important observance e.g. funerals and festivals; (b) those for spontaneous performances like those which result when a few youths meet and without intending it, make music which in turn draws spectators, some of whom start to dance.

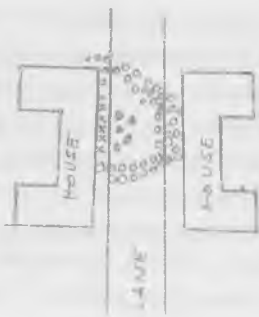
When a performance is organised, it is usual to choose an open place. But the presence of trees on the fringes of the chosen area is however regarded as an advantage. Temporary structures usually of bamboo poles covered with palm leaves are erected to provide shade. These shelters may be arranged in a circular or horse-shoe fashion to partly or completely enclose an open area. Sometimes it is one long shed or a couple parallel to each other. If, on the other hand, it is considered unnecessary to provide any of these shelters because of fair weather, chairs, arranged in the open on much the same lines as where there existed the shelters, would be quite sufficient.

This arrangement affords ample space for dancers, audience and musicians. There is freedom of movement and much room for executing variations of some of the intricate dances, the audience too, can come and

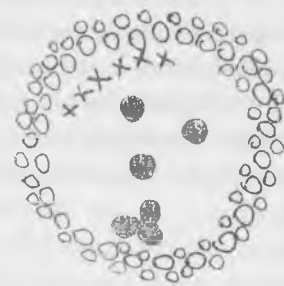
go without interfering with performance. The problem of ventilation does not assume such proportions as is likely in a fully-packed theatre; much of the perspiration seen on people during such performances is due more to the energetic nature of the dances and sometimes to costume (voluminous dark cloths of the men, tight kabas and layers of drapery of the women at an Akan funeral on a hot afternoon, for example).

Spontaneous dances are the unintentional outcome of a musical performance, itself not planned but started casually. Here no consideration could have been given to shelter or the weather which sometimes interrupts it. Sometimes the music starts in a lane, or on the spacious verandah of any house of the village, on a moonlit evening. Such performances can be brought to an abrupt end either by rain or the objections of other people either because their estates are being trespassed on or that the gathering is blocking a public route.

The formation here is rather less orderly than if it were organised. As spectators and dancers had gathered primarily because of the music, they would form a rough circle around the group of musicians, that is if there were room behind the musicians to allow that; otherwise the formation would be semi-circular, closing in on the musicians. The inevitable space for dancers in front of the musicians would develop as the gathering formed.



Plan of lane showing group.



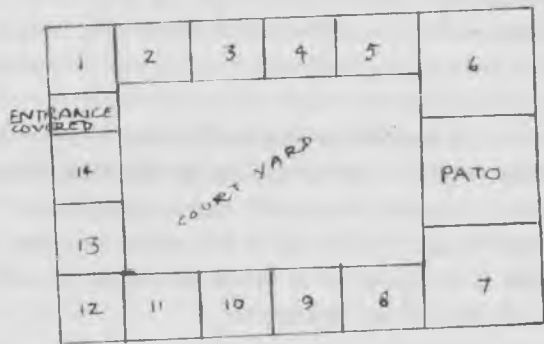
x musicians
• dancers
○ spectators

ins
led.

Customary rites sometimes afford us some interesting examples for the study of performer-spectator relationships. One such example is a gathering which took place in a house at Atwea in the Central Region during an annual festival last July. On the day in question, heads of families were pouring libation to the ancestors and members of their families both at home and from abroad had gathered at their houses for this purpose. In one house, a closed compound type, the head and elders were seated in the *pato* which is like any of the other rooms but without one wall and that on the inside of the house. Its floor is a step higher than the general level of the floor of the courtyard.



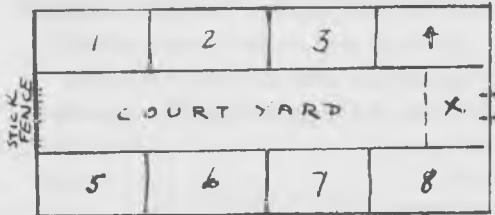
View inside house showing "Pato"



Plan of house.
Nos. 1 - 13 are rooms,
No. 14, kitchen

Other members of the family and us visitors sat in the courtyard, which is open to the sky. Sitting there in the courtyard, one felt compelled to look at what was happening on the *pato*, or was it originally some form of stage? In the same village we found a contrast to the *pato* type. This was in another house made up of two parallel blocks with a fence on one side and a covered entrance on the other. Here elders and members of the family were strung along the front of one of the blocks and on the opposite side sat visitors and such members of the family as could not find room as it were, family-side. People at extreme ends of both rows were clearly uncomfortable, having to crane their necks and look sideways - the distance also made it impossible for them to hear properly what was being said at the

centre, by the head of family. Maybe the covered entrance, shut, would have made a better sort of position for the elders and headman while the whole courtyard served as auditorium. Acoustics as well as vision would be greatly improved.



Plan of parallel-block house
1-8 are rooms
x is covered entrance

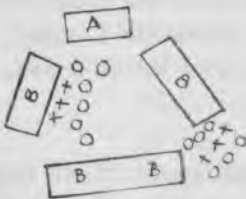
A double problem of vision and accommodation is solved in an interesting way in a fetish shrine at Aperade Nkwanta near Fumesa, Ashanti. The fetish is housed in a small two-compartment hut, one compartment has the normal-height walls while the other has low walls about 2 feet high. The whole is enclosed in a fence arranged in such a way as to allow space in front of the hut for adherents.



Sketch of shrine at
Aperade-Nkwanta near
Fumesa.

Worshippers sat in the enclosure, and faced the priest sitting outside the open sided part of the hut in which also was the fetish itself. When asked by an adherent to communicate a request, he would rise up, go inside and perform his office in full view of the assembly of worshippers but in a place apart. Those who planned this arrangement of hut, low walls and fence apparently did so with the purpose uppermost in their minds of accommodating the adherents in a particular area, housing the fetish decently while making it possible for them to view the rites taking place!

Basically arrangements for music and dance at funerals in most tribal areas do not differ much from those for music and dance performances organised for their own sake except that in the case of funerals the principal structure is occupied by the bereaved family (and the family's donation table) while the others are occupied by sympathisers with whom are seated the musicians. The space enclosed by the structure is reserved for the use of sympathisers making their way to sympathise with the bereaved and also for those who are taking part in the dancing.



- A: Bereaved family
- B: Sympathisers
- X: Music
- O: Dancers

Nowadays for shelter it is common to see sheets of tarpaulin stretched on 4" x 4" scantlings, but this is resorted to especially in large towns to save the trouble of having to go fetching for the palm branches of a now economically important plant. In villages it is sometimes a mark of prestige for some of the families can afford to supply the items without much trouble. At these funerals arrangements are made for large numbers of people and it is interesting to note that there is a lot of going and coming and even other 'side' activities take place but these do not in any way interfere with the main function of the gathering.

In conclusion one can say that the common advantages of most of the various arrangements are that there is no unpleasant crowding, that lighting is not a problem and vision is entirely unhindered from any angle. On the other hand one can argue rightly that in most cases these places of performance are not meant to be permanent or that there is no attempt to make goings and comings orderly. The challenge here is that the conventional theatre is the solution to problems that have had to be surmounted over the centuries in a particular climatic and cultural area mainly European.

Now with the efforts being made to interest the Ghanaian public in the life of the theatre it is perhaps necessary at this stage to take notice of some of the forms taken by such of our traditional performer-spectator arrangements as have managed to survive, as a piece of good luck to be taken advantage of not just because they are traditional or that we have to replace all that has been borrowed from other cultures. It is because we do have gems of useful ideas and answers to some of our present-day problems, hidden in some of these arrangements and conveniences. Our duty, I feel is to look carefully into those aspects that have a bearing on the arrangements or accommodation of audiences, examine their suitability and carry out further experiments which can help in the direction of evolving the theatre of tomorrow the architecture of which will suit not only our conditions but the sort of drama we produce. I see a welcome experiment in this direction - (conscious or not), in the Aggrey Memorial Chapel, Achimota, and the University Drama Studio in Accra, the latter shows, it seems, the influence of the pato form.

Finally, I think that this is not only a problem for those engaged in Drama Research alone, it must also be the business of those who have a say in the planning and provision of Recreational Halls, College Assembly Halls, Club Houses, Community Centres and Village Theatres to examine the probable causes and reasons for our traditional performer-spectator arrangements as they are and incorporate such ideas as are practicable in terms of modern architecture to achieve a theatre that is both sympathetic to, as well as uplifts, the productions of our performing arts.

John Kedjanyi.

THE SAGHANUGHU AND THE SPREAD OF MĀLIKI LAW:

a provisional note.

Ivor Wilks

Throughout the month of May, 1966 an Institute of African Studies team, consisting of Mr. J.J. Holden, al-Ḥājj^c Uthmān b. Ishāq Boyo, Mr. Cleophas Futuri, and myself, was able to work in Northern Ghana, Upper Volta, and Niger. In June we spent a further week continuing inquiries in the Sunyani-Wenchi area. Mr. Holden was engaged in following up his work upon 19th century Islamic movements in the area, with especial reference to the Zabarima incursions from Niger into the Voltaic region, whilst I was concerned primarily with further study of the spread of Māliki law in the same area, and particularly with the Saghanughu agency in this process. In the course of the expedition, however, we were able to obtain field data on other but related matters: on the jihād of al-Ḥājj Mahmūd Karantaw, on Mūsā Sati, on the Fulani of Sey, on the Baghayughu of Wagadugu and Yendi; and - not obviously related - were able to examine the vast iron-smelting site at Numudaga, near Bobo-Dioulasso. All field notes are being deposited in the Library of the Institute of African Studies, and a number of Arabic works which we were able to borrow for copying have been accessioned in the IASAR series.

It will take considerable time to work through the data obtained. The following provisional note is intended therefore to do no more than indicate the main lines of the study of the spread of Māliki law

which I sought to further in the course of these field trips. I have to acknowledge my deep indebtedness to al-Hājj ^ḥUthmān b. Ishāq Boyo for his invaluable assistance not only in the course of these journeys, but over many years, and of course to the Institute of African Studies for its financial support.

Since 1962 I have been able to examine some forty West African asnād (sing. sanad), chains of authority for the transmission of learning. All are written in Arabic script and language. All are from Ghana, Ivory Coast, Mali or Upper Volta. Xerox copies of many of them are accessioned in the Arabic Collection, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana - IASAR/49; 50; 141; 142; 162; 163; 175; 232; 295; 338; 339; 427; 436-9; 444. Others I was able to copy in the field.

The asnād, often referred to colloquially as salāsīl, (sing. silsīla), constitute a scholar's ijāza, or licence to teach. Upon the satisfactory completion of the study of a given work, the student receives a copy of, or is allowed to copy, his teacher's sanad, to which his own name is then added. Such asnād or salāsīl are valued according to the esteem in which are held the teachers whose names appear in it. In consequence, a student who has read, for example, Imām Mālik's Muwatta' over a period of many months may subsequently spend two or three further months in re-reading it from a more famed teacher, in order to obtain a sanad through the latter. Ideally, asnād should incorporate assessments of the qualities of the various teachers named: ḥilm al-rijālāt. The West African asnād that I have seen sometimes give some indication of the esteem accorded to this or that figure; one is simply muḥallim, another is al-shaykh, al-walī, al-faqih, etc., etc. In general, however, an outstanding teacher tends rather to be remembered in unwritten tradition, or else commemorated in independent works, often in verse (e.g. IASAR/18; 95; 352).

The keeping of such asnād is a tradition of some antiquity in West Africa: Ahmad Bābā al-Tinbukī (d. 1627), for example, is reported as having passed on "the chain of authority of the Mālikī law school" to Abū ^ḥAbdallāh Muhammad b. Yaḥyā of Marrakush...¹ Nevertheless, the practice might appear to have been restricted in its observance: that is,

1. See J.O. Hunwick, BSOAS, XXVII, 3, 1964, p.585.

in the forty asnād I have examined, the chains all converge upon one Muhammad al-Muṣṭafā b. ʿAbbās Saghanughu, who flourished in the mid-18th century, and whose grave at Boron in the northern Ivory Coast is still a considerable centre of pilgrimage. I know of no other corpus of comparable documents from elsewhere in West Africa².

I append a typical sanad for reference, that of ʿAbd al-Rahman b. Shaykh Hamīd Tarawiri of Wa, in northern Ghana. Somewhat paradoxically, the forty asnād, whether for Imām Mālīk's Muwattāʾ, for ʿIyād's al-Shifāʾ, for al-Suyūṭī's Tafsīr, etc., all run back to Imām Mālīk: that is, they are chains of teachers as such, rather than chains for the transmission of a specific work. The chains, however, are obviously incomplete. From Imām Mālīk to Muhammad al-Muṣṭafā Saghanughu, inclusively, the asnād list the names of nineteen teachers³, - an insufficient number to span about ten centuries. The early parts of the chains, from Imām Mālīk b. Anas (d.796) to ʿAbd al-Rahman b. al-Qasim (d.806/7) to ʿAbd al-Salām Sahnūn (d.854/5), are well known: they represent the spread of Imām Mālīk's teachings from Madina through Egypt to Qairawān, where Sahnūn became qādī in 848. It is probably at this point that the break occurs: I incline to associate such figures as Shaykh Sīsā Kūru and Shaykh Tūru Kūru with late medieval Mali - with the period when Mansa Sulaymān (d. 1360) "brought lawyers of the Mālīki school to his country"⁴ - while al-Hājj Salīm Sūwārī, Muhammad Būni, and ʿUmar Fufana are well remembered Malian ʿulama' of the 15th to 16th centuries. From the mid-16th century ʿUmar Fufana to the mid-18th century Muhammad al-Muṣṭafā Saghanughu transmission occurs through seven Saghanughu teachers, and one Tarawiri (Traoré), indicating the important position in the teaching field that the Saghanughu came to occupy in this period (and suggesting, incidentally, that the average age gap between a student and his teacher - a 'teaching generation' - was of the order of twenty-five years.)

-
2. I exempt from this remark the Tijāniyya and Qādariyya chains, which are common, but of a quite different character.
 3. A few have eighteen or twenty: such variations are often clearly due to a copyist's error.
 4. Al-ʿUmārī, Masālik al-Absār, ch.10.

'Saghanughu' is a nisba or identification name used by members of a Dyula lineage strongly represented in the northern and western Ivory Coast, and in western Upper Volta. To this day the Saghanughu retain their strong attachment to learning, providing numerous communities with imāms, qāḍīs, muftis, etc, and so forming one of the major components of the ʿulamā' class in the region. Indeed, I am indebted for much of the material in this note to al-Hajj Muhammad Marhaba Saghanughu, mufti of Bobo-Dioulasso whose knowledge of the spread of Māliki law in western West Africa - backed by the resources of his splendid library - is unexcelled.

The special status of the Saghanughu is acknowledged by the Malinke griots, who classify them among the five original Muslim lineages of the Mande world.⁵ They are to be regarded as a specialized 'clerical' lineage existing in symbiotic relationship with other Dyula groups whose association, historically, has been with commerce (Malinke dyula, 'trader'). The Dyula trading corporations of Mali, from the 14th century onwards, systematically extended the range of their activities and founded such southerly centres as Boron and Kong in the northern Ivory Coast, and Bi^{cū} (Begho) in Ghana, and there can be little doubt that the Saghanughu followed the traders in a religious and juristic capacity. The Ta'rikh al-Sudān suggests, for example, the presence of Saghanughu shaykhs as far south as Bi^{cū} by the end of the 15th century⁶. Earlier, in 1352, Ibn Battuta had visited the Malian town of Zāghari, lying north of the Niger in the Jenne region, and found it:

"large and inhabited by black traders called Wanjarāta. With them are a certain number of white men who belong to the schismatic and heretical sect known as the Ibadites; they are called Saghanughu".⁷

5. See G. Dieterlen, Africa XXVII, 2, 1957, p.125.

6. See Monteil's corrections, Bull. IFAN, B XXVII, 3-4, 1965 p.490. The identification of al-Sa^cādī's Bitu with Bi^{cū} is one for which I intend to argue in a future paper.

7. Ed. Defremery and Sanguinetti, iv, pp.394-5.

The Wanjarāta traders are, of course, the Dyula, who are still widely known by the alternative name Wangara. The structural resemblance between the mid-14th century community of Zāghari, where Ṣaghanughu Ibadites lived in association with Wangara traders, and present communities such as Kong, where Ṣaghanughu ^ḥulamā' co-exist with the Dyula traders, suggests strongly that Ibn Battūta's Ṣaghanughu and the modern Ṣaghanughu are one and the same - early Ibadite affiliations having been relinquished under pressure of West African Māliki orthodoxy. It may or may not be of significance, that while Ibn Battūta's white Ibadites must certainly have been of Maghribi background, in at least one extant version of their tradition (LASAR/246) the Ṣaghanughu attach their genealogies to Andalusian Umayyad ones.

In the second half of the 18th century the Ṣaghanughu appear to have entered into a particularly dynamic phase of activity, and the impact of their teaching became felt in many communities throughout the Voltaic region. Symptomatic of this was the establishment of new Ṣaghanughu imāmates: that of Kong by ^ḥAbbās b. Muḥammad al-Mustafā (died 1801), of Bobo-Dioulasso by Sa^ḥid b. Muḥammad al-Mustafā in 1774/5, and later, of Dār al-Islām (Upper Volta) by Maḥmūd b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Mustafā in 1849/50. To the Ṣaghanughu teachers in such centres came students from other towns, from Bonduku, Buna, Banda, Wa, Safane and the like. Completing their studies, with their licences to teach, they returned to their towns, opened schools, and taught new generations of students to whom they in turn issued asnād. In this way new teaching dynasties arose, like the Bamba ^ḥulamā' of Banda, the Timiti of Bonduku, and the Tarawiri of Wa.⁸ This process may be reconstructed in detail through a study of the proliferation of the chains of transmission from the time of Muḥammad al-Mustafā onwards⁹, though field data are necessary for the introduction of a geographical dimension, since the asnād seldom note the teachers' towns.

The important part played by the Ṣaghanughu in the spread of Māliki teachings in the later 18th and 19th centuries is, then, clear. Their relationship, however, to the 19th century Islamic revolutionary movements -

8. For Imam Sa^ḥid of Wa, who studied in Kong c. 1800, see my note in Research Review, Inst. of African Studies, Legon, II, 2, 1966, pp.65-6.

9. I am currently investigating the possibility of the use of a computer in this exercise.

to the mujāhidūn of the region - remains to be assessed. There are certainly suggestive links. Thus al-Ḥājj ʿUmar al-Fuṭī is creditably said to have studied ʿarūd, qāfiya, manṭiq and bayān (prosody, rhyme, logic and eloquence) under Ibrahīm b. Muhammad al-Muṣṭafa Saghanughu (d. 1825/6) in Bobo-Dioulasso¹⁰, while Muhammad al-Abyad b. Abī Bakr b. Muhammad al-Muṣṭafa taught Muhammad Karantaw whose son and pupil al-Ḥājj Maḥmūd created the Muslim state of Wahabu.

The problem of the availability of Māliki teachings - of the availability of the actual books and of scholars to expound them - has always been a pressing one for West African Muslim communities. While all members of a society, as individuals, may correctly observe the prayers, the fast, etc., the society as such can only regulate its affairs in accordance with Islamic precepts in so far as it has access to the sources of law, and to expositions of them. On the basis of field work carried out between 1962 and 1966 I hope to be able to give some account of the Saghanughu agency in the spread of Māliki teachings, and to attempt an assessment of the sociological importance of this for select West African Muslim - and non-Muslim - communities.

-
10. Al-Ḥājj Umar al-Fuṭī is said to have assisted in the construction of the mihrab of the Saghanughu mosque in Bobo-Dioulasso, which is still preserved though the remainder of the building has been reconstructed. The Fulani poetical biography of al-Ḥājj ʿUmar, by Muḥammad Aliyu Tyam, also refers to a visit to Kong.

DRAFT PAPERS

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| Armah, Ayi Kwei | - | African Socialism: Utopian or scientific. |
| Ballard, Charles A. | - | The concept of negritude: a search for identity? |
| Ballard, Charles A.
and Kotei, S.I.A. | - | Problems of economic integration in West Africa with special reference to the proposed iron and steel mill. |
| Egblewogbe, E.Y. | - | The poetry of Ewe children's songs. |
| Kea, R.A. | - | Fortifications and siegecraft in the Fulani empire. |
| Kea, R.A. | - | The rise of nationalism in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan: 1900-1956. |
| Kea, R.A. | - | The salt industries of the Gold Coast: 1650-1800. |
| Kodwo-Mensah, A.O'B | - | Comments on the religion of the Akans before and after the introduction of christianity. |
| Kodwo-Mensah, A.O'B | - | The distribution of the lateral in Ga. |
| Kodwo-Mensah, A.O'B | - | The morphology of the Ahanta verb. |
| Oyedipe, F.P.A. | - | An anthropological look at Achebe's novels. |
| Oyedipe, F.P.A. | - | "Where the rain began to beat us". Achebe's nostalgia. |
| Painter, N. Elizabeth | - | Egypt: an outline of its economy. |

DRAFT PAPERS

- | | | |
|-----------------------|---|--|
| Painter, N. Elizabeth | - | Relations between Dahomey and the Gold Coast, 1680-1881. |
| Schram, John | - | An analysis of the role of chieftaincy in republican Ghana. |
| Schram, John | - | Education and social change in Ghana. |
| Sorkpor, Gershon A. | - | The leading Amanto states and their role in the disintegration of the Ashanti empire during 1874-1901. |
| Sorkpor, Gershon A. | - | The rôle of Awuna in the tripple alliance formed by Ashanti, Akwamu and Awuna during 1867-1874. |
| Winstanley, M. | - | Political revolution in the Gold Coast. The rise of the "Petite Bourgeoisie". |
| Yegbe, J.B. | - | Research material at the Ghana National Archives on the history of Anlo 1850-1890. |

TITLES OF THESES SUBMITTED
IN PART FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE M.A. DEGREE (AFRICAN STUDIES) JUNE 1966

- | | | |
|---------------|---|---|
| Addico, A.J. | - | The Socio-Political Evolution of an Adangbe Town. |
| Akinola, G.A. | - | The Lindi Coast in the 18th Century. |
| Azu, G.A.M. | - | The impact of the modern fishing industry on Ga traditional fishing industry. |

- Ballard, C.A. - The Contemporary Youth Movement in Ghana: A comparative Study of the Ghana Young Pioneers and other Youth Groups.
- Darkwa, C. - The History of Mombasa with special reference to the Mazrui family.
- Ekemode, G.O. - The History of the Kilindi.
- Farias, P. - The Almoravid Movement: Its Origin and role in the History of the Western Sudan.
- Kodwo-Mensah, A.O. - Phonology of Ahanta.
- Sowah, E.A. - The Development of Tema.
- Sorkpor, G.A. - Geraldo de Lema and the part he played in the trade and politics in Awuna during the second half of the 19th century.
- Yarney, H. (Miss) - The transfer of the Seat of Government from Cape Coast to Accra.
- Yegbe, J.B. - The Anlos and their neighbours (1850-1874) (If enough material not discovered then 1850-89).
- Kotei, S.I.A. - Annotated Bibliography of West African Political Economic and Administrative Problems (1955-1965).
- Mensah, A.A. - The Guans in Music - A Historical Study.

DIPLOMA IN AFRICAN MUSIC
THESES SUBMITTED IN JUNE 1966

Assan, J.K.	-	Nyakrom Ahyewa Bands.
Banson, S.	-	Adzewa.
Fiagbedzi, N.S.	-	Songbadzi Songs - A Study of Yeve Music.
Wilson, C.B.	-	Work Songs of the Fante Fisherman.

We continue to make additions to our collections. Before we begin to give detail reports on some of the very topical ones, we give you brief descriptions of a few more of our collections under the title Decorative and other useful art. They include beads, brass and iron ware, gourds, ritual and secular objects.

We have a specimen of the famous Kuduo often mentioned as an artifact of Ghanaian art. Our example was secured from Akim-Ghana. From this same area we also got an example of Forowa - brazen vessel. This Kuduo contains some shea butter put into it by the original owner (1876-1927). The shea butter is supposed to have healing properties.

Another popular example of Ghanaian art figures we now have are the so-called Ashanti Gold-weights. Our specimens are in brass. These were obtained from Twenedurase, Ghana.

Mr. Kwabena Ameyaw, the Research Assistant for our collection has compiled tentative notes on the items, and you can obtain details on any of our collections on application to Institute of African Studies, Legon.

DECORATIVE AND OTHER USEFUL ART

1. Five assorted variegated beads. Inherited by the present owner from her grandmother. Local names "Tete" "aso"; "Nifie"; "Gyane"; "Ahwene bia". Collected from Tanoboase. Age c.100 years. Cat. I 64.202.
2. A pair of large brass anklets. Worn by women in the North of Ghana. Collected from Wiaga, Local name "Nakolga". Age c.50 years. Cat. I 64.236.
3. Silver bracelet. Collected from Wiaga, Upper Region. Age 25 years. Cat. I 64.237.
4. Pottery armband for elbow. Made by a woman and worn by women of the Upper Region. Collected from Zoko. Age unknown. Cat. I 64.304.
5. Stone, ivory, and brass bangles. Obtained from Fumbisi, Upper Region. Age c.50 years. Cat. I 64.240, 241, 248.
6. Brass anklet. Made generally at Kantia, Zaare and Torugu, all in the Upper Region. Obtained from Zuarungu. Cat. I 64.249.
7. Decorated calabashes. Made by Porku Namog of Birifor. Local name "Mwan wira". Cat. I 64.292.
8. Forowa brazen vessel. Used to contain shea-butter for the use of elderly persons. Original owner was Nana Yaw Attafua I (1876-1927), Omanhene of Akim (Oda) Kotoku. Collected specimen has some shea butter still in it. Given by Nana Frempon Manso III, Omanhene of Akim (Oda) Kotoku and elders. Height $12\frac{3}{4}$ ins. Cat. I 66.01.
9. Kuduo brazen vessel. Used as container for gold dust, trinkets and other valuables. Given by Nana Frempon Manso III, Omanhene of Akim (Oda) Kotoku and his elders. Height $9\frac{1}{2}$ ins. Cat. I 66.02.

10. A combined pestle and spoon. For domestic use. The pestle end for crushing vegetables and the spoon for stirring soup. Obtained from Pra River. Carved by Kwabena Siadan of Akwaboa village. Age 40 years. Length 12 ins. Cat. I 64.81.
11. Wooden platter. For covering men's food. Obtained from Obomeng. Age c 50 years. Diameter 11 ins. Cat. I 64.82.
12. Adze with carved human head, wooden copy of metal blade affixed to human head. Obtained from Chuchuliga, Upper Region. Length 20 ins. Cat. I 64.309.
13. Drum with illustrations. Used on social occasions by a dancing band composed of both sexes. Illustrations are of Akan wise sayings. Obtained from Bukuruwa. Age c 50 years. Height 33 ins.
14. Brass-ware lid. Dug from the bank of the River Jimi, tributary of the Offin, near Amponyasi by dredge. Probably used by the aboriginal settlers. Given by R. Gordon Penwill, Mines Manager, Bremang Gold Dredging at Dunkwa-on-Offin. Diameter 16 ins. Cat. I 66.45.
15. Lead bowl. Used by chiefs in the olden days; their belongings put in it for a journey. Obtained by dredge near Amponyasi and given by R. Gordon Penwill of Breman Gold Dredging, Dunkwa-on-Offin. Diameter 19 ins. x 16 ins. Cat. I 66.46.
16. Fragment of decorated wall. Collected from the old place at Nkwatia, Kwahu. Reconstruction copy in courtyard, Ghana National Museum in Accra. Cat. I 64.217.
17. Various Adinkra symbols. Stamped on piece of calico or grey baft and worn by either sexes as mourning cloth. Each symbol has a meaning. The symbols were cut from pieces of calabash. Obtained from Ntonso, Ashanti. Cat. I 65.120.

18. Fetters or Leg iron. Used on slaves to prevent their escape. Original owner was a slave dealer. After the abolition of slavery, it was used on violent lunatics and or "demons" who became culprits of cults to keep them under control. Local name "Dade weremfo" or "Mpokyere". Obtained from Besiase, Kwahu. Cat. I 65.05.
19. Native lamp. Used before the introduction of European lanterns. It was filled with shea butter or palm oil and a piece of rag to light. Collected from Weila-Mo. Local name, "Bobo". Age unestimated. Cat. I 65.14.
20. Two pieces of fire tongs. Made locally and used for removing pieces of fire from a hearth on to a smoking tobacco pipe. Obtained from Denkyira Obuasi. Local name, "Dawa". Age c.60 years. Cat. I 66.49.
21. Bark cloth. Obtained from Mampong-Ashanti. Local name "Kyenkyen". Cat. I 64.338.
22. Mortar, scooped out longitudinally. Used by some persons to whom it was a taboo to pound 'fufu' in ordinary or modern mortar on Sundays. Obtained from Amanten. Local name, "Odaase". Age 20 years. Length 20 ins. Cat. I 65.40.
23. Large and small wooden bowls. Used for winnowing gold dust. Collected from Akwaboso, Akim Abuakwa. Age c.90 years. Cat. I 65.72, 73.
24. Puberty chewing stick. Used during puberty initiation. Common custom in Ashanti and Brong-Ahafo Regions. Obtained from Tanoboase. Length 8 ins. Cat. I 64.200.
25. Straw cone hat. Used during puberty initiation. Common among the Adangmes. Obtained from Sra in Yilo Krobo. Woven by the Djemeli (chief fetish priest). Made of fan palm leaves. Local name, "Dipo pee". Height 9 ins. Cat. I 66.19.

26. Various styles of combs from Nteso, Cat. I 64.84, 117; Kwahu Tafo, Cat. I 64.101; 136; Pepease, Cat. I 64.102-105; Obomeng Cat. I 64.119, 140; Adukrom Akuapem, Cat. I 64.127; Abiriw, Cat. I 64.128; Mamfe, Cat. I 64.151; Larteh, Cat. I 64.152-154; Akropong Akuapem, Cat. I 64.175; Kukurantumi, Cat. I 64.176.
27. Quantity of brass "gold-weights" in various forms and some of geometrical designs, from Twenedurase, Cat. I 64.95, 184, 185; Abomosu, Cat. I 65.80; Akim Oda, Cat. I 66.05; Assin Manso, Cat. I 66.55; Hani, Cat. I 65.21.
28. Set of carving tools. Used on stools, wooden figures, Owari boards and mortars. Forged by Blacksmith. Obtained from a carver at Akorabo. Cat. I 64.183.
29. Cane hamper. Used for carrying goods in the early days. Obtained from Assin Jakai. Size 26 ins. x 20 ins. Cat. I 66.59.
30. Samples of meaningful Ghanaian cloth. Used for mourning. Local name "Adinkra". Obtained from Ntonso, Ashanti. Cat. I 65.120.

A.K. Quarcoo.

EAST AFRICAN STUDIESThe Mombasa Rebellion of 1631:

As already reported in the Research Review, Vol.2, No.2, Dr. G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville spent some time in Rome in July, 1965 searching for documents concerning the Mombasa Rebellion of 1631, but with only partial success.

This work has now been carried a stage further by the discovery of the processus, or formal application for the canonization, of the Africans and Portuguese who were martyred at Mombasa in 1631 for refusing to become Muslims, in the Vatican Archives. This discovery was made by the Very Revd. Fr. Damasus Trapp, O.S.A., after a prolonged search. The documents so far found amount to more than forty folios (or eighty pages) and provide what has never been available before - a day-by-day account of the rebellion. It is still not clear, however, why this process of canonization, which received the approval of Pope Urban VIII for its preliminary stages, was never completed. It is possible that some legal defect was discovered or that it was put a stop to by Portuguese court intrigues; for, although the greater number of the martyrs were Portuguese subjects, it is clear that the origin of the rebellion lay in the murder of the previous Sultan of Mombasa, which had been instigated by the then Portuguese governor.

It is hoped at a later stage to publish a complete account of this matter. It is worth noting in passing that the documents now available show that parts of the gatehouse of Fort Jesus, Mombasa, which hitherto had been thought to have been built after the rebellion, were already in existence when it took place.

Swahili Studies:

In collaboration with the Institute of Swahili Research, University College, Dar-es-Salaam, Mr. J.W.T. Allen has recently photographed more than 10,000 pages of hitherto unknown Swahili manuscripts on the Kenya coast. It is possible that at least an equivalent number, if not more, still remain to be photographed, and this estimate does not include

what is probably an equal number of Arabic documents written on the eastern African coast. In addition, Dr. Jean Martin, of the Sorbonne, has discovered in archives in Paris two important collections of letters and several local histories of former sultanates in the Comoro Islands. Work is now in progress with a view to the publication of a catalogue of all these new discoveries, which are of a far-reaching importance of which the extent cannot yet be assessed.

It is clear, however, that the historical material now available is far greater than was expected, and that it will now be possible to construct a detailed portrait of Swahili civilization for the whole of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Apart from prose works which include not only history but also law, religion, commercial transactions and family records, there is a very large body of poetry, epic, lyric, religious and political. Since 1885, when Swahili was spoken only along the eastern African coastal belt and islands, roughly from Mogadishu as far as the Comoro Islands, the language has spread inland and become the *lingua franca* of Tanzania (including Zanzibar and Pemba), Kenya, Uganda, Ruanda, Urundi, the eastern half of the Congo as well as pockets in Malawi and Zambia. The Swahili speaking area of Africa can thus now be said to be in possession of a substantial indigenous literature, a new bond of unity superadded to the already existing bond of language.

It is also clear that those Ghanaian students who were the first of their nation to begin Swahili studies in 1964, have an altogether unexpected and unique opportunity to participate in the future in a branch of African studies of which the possibilities are only just beginning to become plain. There are at present a number of Ghanaian students in their first and second years in the Department of Modern Languages who are studying Swahili, and it is very greatly to be hoped that some of them at least will be able to carry out advanced studies in the Institute of African Studies in years to come.

Tarikh al-Mazar'i:

Mr. Charles Darkwah, an M.A. student of the Institute, is now preparing an edition of the Tarikh al-Mazar'i, The History of the Mazrui Family, by Sheikh al-Amin al-Mazui, of which a translation has been made for him by Mr. Ritchie of Mombasa as a result of a grant of funds by the Institute. This history covers the history of this family from its origins in Oman and the Governors of Mombasa appointed from it between 1729 and 1827.

G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville.

"NSUAE" - THE AKAN OATH OF OFFICE

The "ntam" should be distinguished from "nse". Both are referred to as oath in English. Though it is quite correct to regard the Akan ntam as an oath, perhaps the nearest Akan equivalent of the English oath is the nse. An oath (in English) is "a solemn appeal to a god, or something holy or revered as a witness or sanction of the truth of a statement". Like "nsedie" in Akan society, the English oath is an appeal to the supernatural. In addition, however, to the nsedie - the appeal to the supernatural, Akan society has another type of oath, also an appeal - not to the supernatural, but to a personal, family or national tragedy. This is the ntam.

Among Akan societies, both types of oath are used and resorted to, depending on the occasion and the circumstances. Sanctions for abusing the nse, since it is an appeal to the gods and the supernatural, are imposed or expected to be imposed, by the supernatural. Society itself has no means of enforcing the nse. The ntam is different. It is an appeal to society itself, to its own past - and is therefore enforced by society. The nse is therefore an oath belonging to God, while the ntam is an oath belonging to Cæsar.

The ntam is used for several purposes, among which are the following:-

- (a) To assert a claim to a right or property.
- (b) To seek justice by moving the courts.
- (c) To force a person or group of persons to desist from a certain action.
- (d) To complete the installation of a chief. This is the ceremony called nsuae. - the swearing of the oath of office or of allegiance.
- (e) To make an irrevocable promise.

This paper will limit itself to the oath of office and of allegiance. This oath is sworn by all subordinate chiefs. It is an essential, perhaps, the most essential feature in the process of installing a chief. A sub-chief who has not sworn the oath of allegiance to his superior chief remains an Nkwankwahene (unconfirmed, unrecognized chief). All chiefs-elect swear the oath of office before their elders and people. In addition, as mentioned already, all sub-chiefs swear the oath of allegiance to their superior chiefs to complete their installation or enstoolment.

The ceremony is usually performed in the evening - preferably and traditionally, towards night fall. Drumming and singing take place during a greater part of the day, and precede the ceremony. Women sing from one end of the town or village to the other.

When the time arrives for the ceremony itself, the elders and wing chiefs or clan chiefs assemble and take the oath of allegiance to serve the new chief. The new chief then takes his oath of office before his elders. If he is not a paramount, independent chief, but a subordinate chief, he next has to take the oath of allegiance to his superior. A date is fixed for this. When the time comes, (in the evening), the superior chief, together with his councillors and other sub or wing-chiefs sit in state and send for the new chief - the chief-elect. He arrives with his

elders and a few followers. He would have paid a fee - called Abradie which his superior would have distributed among all the chiefs in the state, notifying them of the election of this new chief. He now has to pay certain fees before he swears. These include a fee to the sword bearer for the sword with which he will be swearing; the stool bearers; umbrella carriers; heralds, etc. and the aseda which is in effect a stamp duty or fee.

The chief-elect now approaches his superior, his cloth tied around his waist, his chest bare; bare-footed and supported by his attendants, he pulls the sword from its sheath, points with it towards the sky and then downwards towards the earth. Traditionally, the superior chief places his foot lightly, three times, on the head of the new chief when the latter bends down to point the sword towards the earth. The superior chief places a curse on him - saying - "may the gods kill you if you ever desert me". These days, and in some places, the superior chief places his foot three times on the sword rather than on the head of the subordinate chief. The subordinate or chief-elect now stands erect and proceeds to swear the oath of allegiance, pointing the sword at the superior chief. The chief-elect gives a brief history of his ancestry - mentioning glorious and famous names among his forebears, indicating the standards he wishes to follow and people he hopes to emulate; then he swears the oath "Meka ntam kɛsɛɛ sɛ sɛmammoa wo na mene wo ammuɔman yi, na sɛme metwa wo nkontompo, sɛ meyɛ wo dom, sɛ wofrɛ me anadwo o, awia o, na sɛ mamma a, meto ntam kɛsɛɛ ". I swear by the great oath to help you to govern this nation. If I ever lie to you, or desert you; if I fail to attend to your summons (whether in the day or night), I break my oath and offend the ntam.

The superior shakes hands with the new chief - whose installation is now complete. He wears his sandals and returns to sit with his people to receive white clay (hyire). The superior chief sends him drinks - which will really come out of the stock (nsuae nsa) presented earlier to the superior chief by the new chief.

This ceremony has the same effect as the coronation ceremony elsewhere. But while in Britain the coronation oath is an appeal to the supernatural - to God, among the Akans, the coronation oath, the oath of office or of allegiance is an appeal to Caesar - an "ntam" rather than an "nse". The ntam is a disaster - a sudden death, an inglorious defeat

or a plague. The event itself is hardly ever referred to directly. Thus we have weeks days - Dwoda, Benada, Wukuda, etc. as ntam. This is only a periphrastic way of referring to the actual incident or event which is the ntam. The name of the week is a word taboo only by association. Ntam is, therefore, to some extent, at least, the counterpart of apae - the heroic song or recitation, which recounts the glories and achievements of a chief's ancestors. The ntam records failure, disaster or defeat. Apae is fuller, as an oral record or history, than ntam, since the ntam refers to a single, particular episode, incident or event. It is the skeleton in the cupboard - as it were.

A.S.Y. Andoh.

NOTES ON THE NAYO FRIKO SHRINE IN AWUNA

There are two places in Awuna where this shrine can still be found. These are Vodja and the capital of Awuna, Awunaga.

According to an Ewe written account:

"Nayo Friko was a shrine of Nortsie to where it was brought from Ketu (which is regarded as the original home of the Awunas and the other Ewe tribes). It is said they are male and female and that they have power and control over many heavenly and earthly things. Formerly the people of Awuna, Accra, Akposo and Kpele made pilgrimage to Nortsie to worship it; they made sacrifices to it with rum, fowl and wine before the shrine in turn gave them their needs. Now the shrine is in a town called Prewu in Adele to which the Awunas still travel to worship it".¹

The shrine, as it is said, comprises twin deities - Nayo the female deity is the shrine of Pereu, and Friko is the male shrine which is at Dipongo. The two villages are a few miles apart in Adele.

It is not certain when and why the ancient shrine - Nayo Friko - was removed from Nortsie to be established in Adele. However, from the following account by Debrunner, it may be conjectured that

probably the shrine was removed to Adele for security reasons - to find protection for it safe from centres of inter-tribal warfare and ravages arising from the slave traffic.

"In Dedease at the foot of the Adele Mountains it required patience and skilful persuasion to procure permission for him (i.e. Debrunner) the first European² to visit the sacred village Dekpenko, the place of the tribal guardian spirit, Friko.

"The next day the steep path led first for three hours up the mountain, 2,000 ft. in height, past forests full of monkeys, then over the grassy mountain ridge to the eight small round huts of Dekpengko, hidden in a corpse. On the way no human settlement could be seen"³.

Indeed in Adele, the high mountains on which Nayo Friko was established, have since offered it the desired protection debarred from all other human habitation.

Just as the Ashantis used to consult the Dente shrine at Kete Krachi, so the Awunas also, undoubtedly since time immemorial, made many offerings to Nayo Friko in order to secure its assistance in wars against their enemies. Shrines were of great political as well as religious importance to the Ashantis, hence their anxiety to extend their empire east of the Volta can be regarded in a sense as an attempt to gain control over the mountain shrines, which of course included Nayo Friko.

Among the insignia of the shrine was a "large wonderfully carved Ashanti stool...with bells which he (i.e. Jaopura, the priest of Friko) sends ahead to every great assembly as a sign that he will appear himself"⁴.

Of Jaopura, a German officer wrote: "Jaopura's fame is widely known; with the king of Ashanti he stands or rather stood, in high esteem. He visited Kumasi several times and traders from there came in numbers to Adele"⁵. Moreover, the people of Dadiase spoke Ashanti, and had had an Ashanti governor⁶. Friko was thus closely associated with Ashanti.

To seek the help of this shrine during the Awuna-Ada crisis in 1865-66 when the British and many other coastal tribes in the then Gold Coast Protectorate backed the Adas, Geraldo de Lima journeyed to Adele during the second half of 1865.⁷ At Adele, Geraldo de Lima appealed to the shrine to help the Awunas overcome their enemies. At the end of the war the Awunas were victorious.

After celebrating their victory at Awunaga, during which, among many things, the Awunas made many offerings to their war-gods, particularly the principal war-god Nyigbla,⁸ Geraldo de Lima again travelled to Adele to thank the shrine. There, among other things he offered a maiden to the chief priest, Jaopura. When the girl grew up she became one of the wives of the chief priest. She was still there when Kling visited Dipongo in 1890. This is attested by his account which runs thus:

"Among the wives of Jaopura there was a dainty negress with extraordinarily small hands and feet, but pronounced negro type. She had been brought several years ago with a man [i.e. Geraldo de Lima] from Amra [i.e. Awunaga] which is said to lie in the neighbourhood of Kitta [Keta], to Dipongo and given to the priest as fetish maid, and he had made her one of his wives. She spoke fairly good Portuguese and wanted to give me her dainty little boy so that he could also learn English".⁹

Though this has still to be investigated, I am inclined to think that it was during this second visit that Geraldo de Lima, probably due largely to his financial influence, managed to acquire a similar Nayo Friko shrine which he established at Vodja. (Its grove can still be seen at Vodja). One may ask: why did Geraldo de Lima bring Nayo Friko to Vodja in Awuna? The answer is not difficult; in the first place he brought it for war purposes, so that he and the Awunas could consult it readily, without travelling far away, to secure its assistance in national emergencies. Apart from this, Nayo Friko played a significant role in the social and economic life of the people of Awuna. Since time immemorial, as already stated, they had been making many offerings to it in order to get their needs - for example, to bring rainfall so as to eradicate famine from their land, to help traders to reap large profits

from their traffic and be protected against their enemies, especially the British government which was trying to suppress smuggling in Awuna¹⁰, and to help parents whose babies frequently died at birth or shortly after, to begin to have their children live and grow¹¹. Just as in Adele at the present time, the Awunas regarded Nayo Friko as a deity which gave almost all good human needs after the necessary customs were performed at the shrine.

It is unfortunate that, probably because of mainly political changes in Awuna, many of the traditions regarding Nayo Friko in Awuna are lost to the present-day descendants of Geraldo¹². Not many of them could remember the time when it had not been there, and even those who could, did not cherish the memory except that all believed that it had been brought from Adele. The only tradition of the Nayo Friko shrine, which I was told by a native of Vodja is that, if you are a member of the shrine, you are not to eat, for example, maize and yam immediately harvesting begins. You are permitted to eat these products only after they have been offered to the shrine. This agrees with the rites performed for the Adele shrine which were recorded by Debrunner in 1958.

He happened to be there during one of the festivals - probably an annual festival - of the shrine. He wrote:

"From all the towns of western Adele delegates had come, chiefs, queens, priests. We were received with dignity by the head of the priests, Nana Bosumfo Akwasi Boafo, and by the head-priestess of all the women in western Adele, Nana Abena Aasakwi. The priestess, as a sacred person, only nodded to us. It would be dangerous to offer her one's hand. My visit was unprecedented. Until a few years ago, Dekpengko was accessible to priests alone"¹³.

He went on to record what one could regard as the traditions of the shrines which were given him by the priests and elders of Adele.

"Our guardian spirit Nana Friko has been since the very earliest times the king of western Adele. He hates all that is not good and knows what you are thinking. He cures illnesses and protects from magic and witches. Everything belongs to him. When you prepare a new field, you must pour out on the soil of the field a drink offering for Friko. When our tribe goes to war, we first approach Friko, for him to help us and send red ants against the enemies. No one may eat new yams until Friko has eaten some. The Friko priest and a couple of porters from every village bring 5-6 yam tubers to Dekpengko, as well as sheep, or fowls if the village is only a small one and has had a bad harvest. The Friko is the first in all Adele to eat of the new yams. The priest prays for forgiveness for all the people of Adele and for blessing on the new year. Then the priests and messengers go all together to the place, Deadease, where all the western Adeles have assembled. There, a sheep is sacrificed and the head of the priests reports to the silent crowd all that took place in Dekpengko, the sacred place and that the guardian spirit of the tribe had accepted the yams and the sacrifice. At night, old muzzle-loaders are fired and the people weep in their huts in memory of their dead and their ancestors.

"During the next three days amid rejoicing, singing, dancing and the beating of drums the new yams are eaten"¹⁴.

When one compares these ceremonies with those described earlier from the Ewe Reader, one can see that in almost all ways they are similar. People who have found themselves in grave calamities or misfortune, for example, famine resulting from bad harvest, war, frequent loss of children at birth, continuous loss in trade, general insecurity in a state, and many other such difficulties experienced in life, make offerings in various forms, probably depending on the nature of their plight, to the shrine to help them overcome them.

It appears that a time limit is given by the chief priest during which the deity is expected to solve the problem. At the end of the 15 time, the supplicant is expected to thank the shrine with other gifts. Thus at the end of the battle of Dasutagba in 1866, Geraldo de Lima went to Adele, and, offered, probably with other gifts, the maiden to the chief priest.

After the death of Geraldo de Lima in 1904, according to Awuna traditions,¹⁶ his children went to Adele, and having reclaimed the girl (who had by then undoubtedly grown into an elderly woman) brought her back to Awuna. It is alleged that soon after this, the whole of the Awuna kingdom began to get involved in misfortunes and hardships. There was, for example, a great famine and disunity in the kingdom. People could not make head or tail of the cause of all this. They became so desperate that the priests and chiefs of the kingdom decided to consult a soothsayer in order to find out the cause. The outcome of this move was that they were told that the basic cause of their plight was the removal of the maiden sent to Adele by Geraldo de Lima. It was because of this that the Nayo Friko shrine was having vengeance on the kingdom, because the maiden was offered partly in return, and partly as an appreciation of the great help given by the shrine to the Awunas during their encounter with the British and their allies in 1866, with the result that the Awunas emerged triumphant.

After they had heard this, they decided to pacify the Nayo Friko shrine at Adele. Shortly after the coronation of Torgbui Sri II, they sent delegates to ask the shrine to forgive and pardon them. The priest in charge of the shrine was very sympathetic with them and promised to comply with their request. The delegates also asked the chief priest to bring a daughter shrine to Awunaga to be established there. This request, too, was granted and on their return, the chief priest delegated some priests to accompany the Awuna delegates to Awunaga where they established, in the name of the King, Torgbui Sri II, a Nayo Friko shrine in the Awuna capital. The site is still there, just behind the new site of the Police Station.¹⁷

The chief priest of Adele gave the Awunas three years within which the shrine would solve their problem. After this time, they were expected to offer, this time no longer a human being as Geraldo de Lima had done, but a cow, to the shrine at Adele. The three years have elapsed long ago, but up to now the Awunas have not yet been able to fulfil their promise - they have not sent the cow to Adele as a thank-offering to the shrine. In Awunaga, in the circle of the priests and elders, there is a feeling of insecurity and threat which is attributed to their failure to settle matters with the Adele shrine. Because of this feeling, preparations are now afoot to select delegates from the five divisions of Awunaga to be sent to Adele, together with a cow, in order to pacify their ancient shrine.

As has been stated already, the Nayo Friko shrine, probably because of political upheavals since the close of the nineteenth century, has lost a great deal of ground among the Awunas. There are no proper priests in charge of the two centres of the shrine in Awuna, and no-one in Awuna who can say exactly how the annual festivals are performed.¹⁸

In Adele, Debrunner described one of the festivals as follows:

"Then the escorts and all the delegations went to the nearby shrine of Friko, which the author, not being initiated, was not allowed to visit. They sprinkled themselves for cleansing with water that had no doubt been prepared with wondrous herbs and roots of magic power. Each one received from a "medicine" a spot of colour in front on his forehead, at the side on both temples, on the chest and on each upper arm as a sign of belonging to Friko. When they came back they drank together as a sacred rite of fellowship. It was very solemn and impressive to watch. The high priest and a fellow priest sat on the sacred rock of sacrifice; the worshippers laid their hands on the rock and bowed their heads. Then the high priest poured palm wine out of a calabash slowly

over the rock and partly over the hands of the worshippers, whilst he prayed long litanies in the Adele language; the assistant joined in the prayer. When he had finished praying, the worshippers wiped a little of the palm wine moisture on the rock into the hair. Then the calabash was handed to each one as a sign of the unity of the tribe with its guardian spirit Friko".¹⁹

Debrunner was right to have formed the impression that Nayo Friko was the symbol of unity in Adele. The shrine represents "tribal unity by means of a kind of theocracy, the priest of the tribe's guardian spirit acting as the mediator of the will of that spirit who is considered the head of the tribe".²⁰

In Adele, this guardian spirit has all along been aware that it could not continue to maintain its position as the head of the tribe by letting the people go on empty stomachs - hence its first and foremost concern is to see that agriculture, that is the cultivation of the chief products, yam and rice, always prospers. Next, it helps the tribe to overcome their enemies in war. Generally speaking, it always seeks the welfare of the tribe and sees that peace abounds everywhere in Adele.²¹

But when we come to Awuna, especially during the second half of the nineteenth century, the importance the tribe attached to Nayo Friko was quite different. It is most probable that in the olden days the Awunas also regarded Nayo Friko as their head which provided almost all their daily needs and maintained peace, especially when it was in Nortsie. However, since the intensification of the trans-Atlantic slave traffic, when the shrine was removed from Nortsie to Adele for security reasons, the former importance and role of Nayo Friko began to decline in Awuna. Nayo Friko appeared to the Awunas as not so powerful as to help them meet the exigencies of those harsh times. Like the "Krobo of the Gold Coast who at this time of the slave trade adopted as their tribal guardian spirit a charm demanding human blood and thus made themselves feared far and wide, the Anglo too accepted a charm called Nyigbla and made him their tribal guardian spirit. He is said to come from Gbugbla (i.e. Prampram)..."²²

During the slave traffic, the Awunas came to regard Nyigblas as the guardian spirit which protected them against "all the terrors of the slave hunt, of the exchange of slaves in the interior for salt, and against war with the people of Ada, their old hereditary enemy beyond the Volta".²³

The fact that Nyigbla was solely for war purposes was again demonstrated when after the abolition of the slave-trade, especially from about 1867, the power of Nyigbla began to wane, and by the close of the century was relegated to insignificance. Its usefulness was over with the end of inter-tribal warfare, principally aimed at the capture of slaves for sale to the Europeans.

The people of Awuna, especially the descendants of Geraldo de Lima and the priests and elders of Awunaga are seriously considering turning again to the ancient shrine of Nayo Friko.

There is no doubt about the fact that it was Geraldo de Lima who began to revive the interest of the Awunas in this ancient shrine of their forefathers. Should the present generation of Awunas succeed in reorganising the Nayo Friko shrine, it will serve not only as a "monument" to perpetuate his memory, but also as an indication that the Awunas are retracing their steps to the former allegiance which their ancestors, before the intensification of the slave traffic, owed to the Nayo Friko shrine. We are now in a world where man's immediate and basic need is food to feed the ever-increasing population, and the chief concern of Nayo Friko is agriculture - how to enable the food production of the people who worship him to increase by leaps and bounds as the main pre-requisite to their peace and welfare.

REFERENCES

1. Ewe Reader, Part IV, G. Haerter, J. Speith and G. Dauble, (Bremen 1906) p.90.
2. At least one German officer went to Dipongo in 1890s, but did not enter the shrine itself. Kling's report of his visit to Dipongo, Mitteilungen and de deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1890.
3. H. Debrunner, A Church between Colonial Powers, London 1965, p.40.
4. Kling, op.cit.
5. Ibid.
6. D. Asante, Diary of journey to Salaga and Obooso, Geog. Gesellschaft zu Jena, 1886.
7. See Appendix 10 of my thesis "Geraldo de Lima and the Awunas", 1862-1904.
8. Geschichte der Ewe-Mission - G. Muller (Bremen 1904) pp.110-116.
9. Kling, op. cit. No-one knows the origins of the maiden, but from the fact that she "spoke fairly good Portuguese", it appears she was probably one of the daughters of Cesar Caquira de Lima, the ex-master of Geraldo de Lima, who died at Vodja where he had a slave-trading establishment in 1862. Apart from Madam Nyamafo, his Awuna wife who hailed from Tegbi, Cesar Carquira de Lima had other African wives and it is most likely that the girl was the daughter of one of these other African wives, all of whom, together with their children, Geraldo de Lima claimed after the death of his master. See also "Memorandum of the Hon. F. Evans on Geraldo de Lima" dated 19 January 1885.

10. Geraldo de Lima, being a great trader - up to about 1874 he was a great slave trader, and later a trader in spirits, textiles, guns and gunpowder - probably brought the shrine to Vodja to get protection for his business and more wealth from it; this could be his second major reason for bringing the shrine to Vodja.
11. The present chief of the Geraldo stool at Vodja and Mr. Philip Gbeho told me that they were initiated into this shrine during their childhood by their parents because their children had been dying at birth. Therefore, when they were born, fearing that they might also die, the parents made offerings to the shrine at Vodja to have mercy on them and help the children grow into men. It was on that day that the tribal marks on their faces were made. (See Appendix 2 of my thesis).
12. The present chief of the Geraldo Stool at Vodja told me that the family of Geraldo de Lima is contemplating sending representatives of the family to go to Adele and arrange for the reorganisation of the Nayo Friko shrine at Vodza and to bring back to life its traditions and rites.
13. Debrunner, *op. cit.* p.40.
14. *Ibid.*, p.40-44.
15. It appears that, as in the case of Geraldo de Lima, most people swear to the shrine that if they overcome their difficulties successfully, they will make a sacrifice to it.
16. See Appendix 10 of my thesis.
17. The fact that the Nayo Friko shrine was established first at Vodja and later at Awunaga, does not mean that it was the Adele shrine itself which was removed to Awuna. As in many other places in West Africa, shrines such as Atingere are established in other places when people who desire to own such shrines go to their original home and ask for them. When agreement is reached, usually after the necessary rites are performed, the chief priests either go themselves or delegate someone to go to the places where the new shrines are to be established.

They stay there until such time as the shrines are established, and then return to the headquarters of their own shrines. They do not remove the mother shrine, but, as it were, transplant daughter shrines to the new sites.

18. In Vodja the occupant of the Geraldo Stool appears to be in charge of the shrine there. He himself told me that he has a very faint and limited idea as regards the traditions and rites of the shrine. He assured me that it was high time they reorganised the shrine. He directed me to Awunaga where he expected me to be informed about how ceremonies are performed annually for the shrine. I was disappointed to find there nothing beyond what the Vodja chief told me in this connection. Not only did I find the shrine in ruins near the Police Station, but I was also informed that the real priest in charge of it is now settled far away in one of the Akan districts and rarely visits home. It seems he has shunned his responsibilities especially since the British government destroyed the ancient forest of the "Fifth Landing State" of the Awunas early in the 1950s and established the present police station - a policy which strained relations between the Awunas and the British Government. The Nayo Friko shrine was also in the forest, and it is strange that it was not destroyed along with the forest, and has retained its site.
19. Debrunner, *op. cit.*, p.40.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*, p.41-42.
22. *Ibid.*, p.61-62.
23. *Ibid.*, p.62.

CORRECTION

In the cyclostyle edition of the Salaga papers, owing to a mistake in typing, part of an account of Salaga in 1890, by Kling, has been printed as if it was the continuation of von Francois' account of Salaga in 1889. In the section German Official Travellers, the last paragraph of SAL/35/1, with the following pages SAL/35/2 and 3, should be re-numbered as SAL/67/2 to 4. The source for SAL/67 is: Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde, Berlin 1890. This paper should follow SAL/15/1, another account of the same journey.

In my paper on the background of the Salaga Civil War in the last Research Review, the date suggested for the death of Abdulrahman was based on the reading of this passage as if it was part of von Francois' account of 1889. In fact the gun was given to Abdulrahman by Kling in 1890 (von Francois had given a gun to the Sultan in the previous year). In 1890 Abdulrahman was an old man, snuffling heavily. Bambang must therefore have succeeded to the skin after this visit, though probably not very long after.

M.A. Johnson.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF GHANA
LEGON

1. PERIODICALS

i. Research Review, 3 issues a year

Yearly subscription	20/-
Price per copy	7/6

ii. Okyeame: (a literary Magazine) published
half yearly 4/-

2. SOURCES AND DOCUMENTS SERIES

No.1	Daendals, H.W.	Journal and correspondence of H.W. Daendals, Governor-General of the Netherlands Settlement on the Coast of Guinea. (Part 1, Nov. 1815-Jan. 1817) Translated by J.T. Furley	20/-
No.2	Gartensen, E.	Governor Cartensen's diary 1842-1850. (translated from Danish)	10/-
No.3	Klose Henrich	Klose's journey to Northern Gold Coast 1894 (translated by Inge Killick)	30/-
No.4	Romer, R.F.	The Coast of Guinea, Part IV (African history customs and ways of life. Copenhagen 1760). Translated by Kirsten Bertelsen	10/-
No.5	Cugoano, Ottoba	Thoughts and sentiments on the evil and wicked traffic of the slavery and commerce of the human species	20/-
No.6	Collier, Sir G.R. and others	West African Sketches, 1824 ...	20/-

No.7	Sultan Muhammed Bello	The Infaq Al-mysur of Sultan Muhammed Bello. 1227 AH (1812/13 AD) in Arabic	50/-
No.8	Johnson, M.	Salaga Papers, Vol.1	25/-
No.9	Kilson, M.	Excerpts from the Diary of Kwaku Niri (alias J.Q. Hammond) 1884-1918.	7/6

3. COLLECTED LANGUAGE NOTES SERIES

No.1	Callow, J.	Collected field reports on the phonology of Kasem	10/-
No.2	Rowland, Ron and Muriel	Collected field reports on the phonology of Sisala ..	5/-
No.3	Steele, M. and Weed, G.	Collected field reports on the phonology of Konkomba (in preparation)	5/-
No.4	Crouch, M. and Smiles, N.	Collected field reports on the phonology of Vagala. (in preparation)	5/-
No.5	Abbott, M. and Cox, M.	Collected field reports on the phonology of Basari. (in preparation)	5/-
No.6	Kennedy, J.	Collected field reports on the phonology of Dagaari. (in preparation)	5/-
No.7	Painter, C.	Linguistic field notes from Banda, and Language maps of the Guang speaking areas (in preparation)	

4. COMPARATIVE AFRICAN WORDLISTS SERIES

- | | | |
|--------------------|--|------|
| No.1 Stewart, J.M. | Awutu, Larteh, Nkonya
and Krachi | 12/- |
| No.2 Kropp, M.E. | Ga, Adangme and Ewe (Lome)
with English gloss | 10/- |

5. LEGON PAPERS IN AFRICAN STUDIES

- | | | |
|--------------------|---|-----|
| No.1 Wilks, I.G. | The northern factor in
Ashanti history | 5/- |
| No.2 Stewart, J.M. | The typology of the Twi
tone system (with comments
by P. Schachter and W.E.
Welmers) | 5/- |

Printed at the Institute of African Studies

University of Ghana

LEGON

Ghana



This work is licensed under a
Creative Commons
Attribution – NonCommercial - NoDerivs 4.0 License.

To view a copy of the license please see:
<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

This is a download from the BLDS Digital Library on OpenDocs
<http://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/>